

BOOK OF ENOCH
BY R. ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA
THE HIGH PRIEST

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: *R. Ishmael ascends
to heaven to behold the vision of the Merkaba and
is given in charge to Metatron*

AND ENOCH WALKED WITH GOD; AND HE WAS NOT; FOR GOD TOOK HIM
(Gen. v. 24)

Rabbi Ishmael said:

(1) When I ascended on high to behold ¹the vision of the *Merkaba*¹ and had entered the six Halls, one within the other: (2) as soon as I reached the door of the seventh Hall I stood still in prayer before the Holy One, blessed be He, and, lifting up my eyes on high (i.e. towards the Divine Majesty), I said: (3) "Lord of the Universe, I pray

1-1 so *DE. A.*: 'in my vision the Merkaba'

Chh. i and ii. (Additional, see Introduction, section 7.) Chh. i and ii; which are not extant in *BCL*, form an introduction to the book, supplying the explanation of the frame of chh. iii-xlviii A, purporting to be revelations and communications given to R. Ishmael by Metatron-Enoch. By the present introductory chapters is indicated that the occasion of these revelations was Rabbi Ishmael's ascent to behold the vision of the *Merkaba* (the Divine Chariot). R. Ishmael's ascension to heaven and intercourse with Metatron, or the Prince of the Presence, forms an intrinsic part of the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*, including the so-called *Apocalyptic Fragment* (*BH.* v. 167-169, vi. 19-35; *Siddur R. Anram Gaon*, 3 b, 12 b-13 a; Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, pp. 609 seqq.). The R. Ishmael version of *Shi'ur Qoma* is also framed as a revelation to R. Ishmael from Metatron. See further Introduction, sections 7 c and 10. The 'R. Ishmael' introduced in these writings is, acc. to them, one of the ten martyrs, contemporary with R. 'Aqiba, also one of these martyrs with whom he exchanged opinions and contended teachings on mystical subjects, was a High Priest and the son of a High Priest, hence in possession of the Great Divine Name, by force of which he was able to ascend to heaven. The time of the martyrdom was the beginning of the second century.

Behold the vision of the Merkaba. Identical expression: *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 83. entered the six Halls etc. For the conception of the seven Halls cf. note on ch. xviii. 3 and chh. x. 2, xvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 1, xlviii c 8 and esp. *Hek. R.* The Halls are situated in the highest of the seven heavens. The *Merkaba* and the Throne of Glory are, acc. to the earlier conceptions represented here, located to the seventh Hall. For later developed conceptions cf. *Zohar*, i. 38 a-45 b, ii. 245 a-260 a; *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gate xxiv, and *Intr. R. 'Aqiba* also narrates his ascent to the seven Halls, in *Pirge R. Ishmael*, ch. xviii (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 a seq.). one within the other, lit. 'chamber within chamber', the Halls being arranged in concentric circles. Cf. *Mass. Flek.* iv ("the seven Halls, one within the other").

thee, that the merit of Aaron, the son of Amram, the lover of peace and pursuer of peace, who received the crown of priesthood from Thy Glory on the mount of Sinai, be valid for me in this hour, so that *Qafsiel*², the prince, and the angels with him may not get power over me nor throw me down from the heavens”.

(4) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, sent to me Metatron, his Servant (*Ebed*) the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and he, spreading his wings, with great joy came to meet me so as to save me from their hand.

(5) And he took me by his hand in their sight, saying to me: “Enter in peace before the high and exalted King³ and behold the picture of the *Merkaba*”.

(6) Then I entered the seventh⁴ Hall, and he led me to the camp(s)⁵ of *Shekina* and placed me before ⁶the Holy One, blessed be He⁶, to behold the *Merkaba*.

(7) As soon as the princes of the *Merkaba* and the flaming *Seraphim* perceived me, they fixed their eyes upon me. Instantly trembling and shuddering seized me and I fell down⁷ and was benumbed by the radiant image of their eyes and the splendid appearance of their faces; until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them, saying:

(8) “My servants, my *Seraphim*, my *Kerubim* and my *Ophannim*! Cover ye your eyes before Ishmael,⁸ my son,⁸ my friend, my beloved one and my glory, that he tremble not nor shudder!” (9) Forthwith Metatron the Prince of the Presence, came and restored my spirit

2 *DE*: ‘Qafsiel’ 3 so with *DE*. *A* om. 4 *E*: ‘fourth’ 5 *DE*: ‘sight’
 ‘appearance’ 6-6 *DE*: ‘the Throne of Glory’ 7 *A* ins. ‘from standing’
DE ins. ‘from my standing place’ 8-8 *DE* om.

(3) that the merit of Aaron... be valid for me, ‘be valid’, lit. ‘complete, complement my measure’. so that *Qafsiel*... and the angels with him may not get power over me. *Qafsiel* is here evidently the guardian of the seventh Hall. The forms *Qafsiel* and *Qaspiel* interchange. *Qaspiel* is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall acc. to *Hek. R.* xx. Cf. *ib.* xv and xix. *Zohar*, ii. 248 b. The form *Qafsiel* is attested in *Zohar*, iii. 3 b and *S. Raziel*, 4 b. For the guardians of the Halls, see ch. xviii. 3. (4) sent to me Metatron etc. also acc. to *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*, *BH.* vi. 19 seqq. Metatron is sent to take care of R. Ishmael. Cf. *Rev. of Moses Yalqut Re’ubeni*, ii. 67 a b.

(6) camp(s) of *Shekina*. Cf. note on ch. xviii. 4 and chh. xxxii. 4, xxxv. 3.

(7) princes of the *Merkaba*. Cf. ch. xxii. 10. *Seraphim*. Cf. ch. xxvi. They are here indicated as angels of the seventh Hall by the *Merkaba*: *Merkaba*-angels. The highest class of the *Merkaba*-angels is possibly, acc. to the present representation, the *Chayyoth* ‘beneath and above the Throne’ of vs. 12. Cover ye your eyes. Cf. ch. xxii v 5 seq.

(9) Cf. *Ap. Abrah.* x (ed. box): “Go, Jaobel, and by means of my ineffable Name raise me yonder man and strengthen him from his trembling”.

and put me upon my feet. (10) After that (moment) there was not in me strength enough to say a song before the Throne of Glory of the glorious King, the mightiest of all kings, the most excellent of all princes, until after the hour had passed.

(11) After one hour (had passed) the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me the gates of *Shekina*, the gates of Peace, the gates of Wisdom, the gates of Strength, the gates of Power, the gates of Speech (*Dibbur*), the gates of Song, the gates of *Qēdushsha*, the gates of Chant.

(12) And he enlightened my eyes and my heart by words of psalm, song, praise, exaltation, thanksgiving, extolment, glorification, hymn and eulogy⁹. And as I opened my mouth, uttering a song before ¹⁰the Holy One, blessed be He¹⁰, the Holy *Chayyoth* beneath and above the Throne of Glory answered and said: "HOLY" and "BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF YHWH FROM HIS PLACE!" (i.e. chanted the *Qēdushsha*).

CHAPTER II

The highest classes of angels make inquiries about R. Ishmael, which are answered by Metatron

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour the eagles¹ of the Merkaba, the flaming *Ophannim* and the *Seraphim* of consuming fire ²asked ^{2a}Metatron, saying to him:

9 lit. 'power' i.e. proclamation of God's power. 10-10 DE: 'the Throne of Glory'

Ch. ii. 1 E: 'children' 'servants' corr. 2 DE ins. 'came (and)' 2a-2a E om.

(10) to say a song. R. 'Aqiba, when arriving in the seventh Hall, utters a song of praise acc. to P. R. *Ishmael*, ch. xviii (referred to above). (11) opened to me the gates etc. The gates are the gates of treasures on high 'under the Throne of Glory', cf. ch. viii. gates of *Shekina* is difficult. Jellinek in E suggests the emendation: 'gates of Understanding' (cf. ch. viii and the expression 'the 50 gates of understanding'). (12) psalm, song... eulogy (נעימות). Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a, נעימות (= chanting). the Holy *Chayyoth*... answered. The Holy *Chayyoth* utter the *Qēdushsha* responses; cf. ch. xx. 2. Vide Introduction, section 17 a.

Ch. ii. The present chapter setting forth the inquiries of the angels concerning the admittance of R. Ishmael to the high heavens is a travesty of the similar passages, chh. iv. 7, vi. 2, xlviii D 7.

(1) the eagles of the Merkaba. One of the four *Chayyoth* is described as 'Eagle' in accordance with Ezek. i. 10, x. 14. The plural 'eagles' can be accounted for on the assumption that the tradition here represented holds the view that there existed two (or several) classes of *Chayyoth*. This may perhaps be hinted at in the preceding chapter, vs. 12: 'the *Chayyoth* beneath and above the Throne'. "The higher and the lower *Chayyoth*": *Zohar* frequ. "Two eagles": *Zohar*, iii. 170 b.

(2) "Youth! Why sufferest thou one born of woman to enter and behold the Merkaba?^{2a} From which nation, from which tribe is this one? What is his character?"

(3) Metatron answered and said to them:

"From the nation of Israel whom the Holy One, blessed be He, chose for his people ³from among seventy tongues (nations)³, from the tribe of Levi, ⁴whom he set aside as a contribution⁴ to his name and from the seed of Aaron whom the Holy One, blessed be He, did choose for his servant and put upon him the crown of priesthood on Sinai".

(4) Forthwith they spake and said:

"Indeed, this one is worthy to behold the *Merkaba*". ⁵And they said⁵: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!" (Ps. cxliv. 15).

CHAPTER III

Metatron has 70 names, but God calls him 'Youth'

R. Ishmael said:

(1) ²¹In that hour¹ I asked Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence²: "What is thy name?" (2) He answered me: "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy tongues³ of the world

2a-2a *E* om. 3-3 so with *D*. *A* corr. 4-4 *D*: 'who offered heave offerings'
5-5 *DE*: 'as it is written'

Ch. iii. *BCL* begin with this chapter. 1-1 *B* om. 2-2 *C*: 'When I had ascended to the Merkaba, I asked Metatron to write down for me all that has been written concerning the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and thus said I to him'
3 *BCL*: 'nations'

Chh. iii-xvi. The 'Enoch-Metatron piece'. See Introduction, sections 5 and 8.

Ch. iii, while stating that Metatron has seventy names 'corresponding to (the number of) nations of the world' gives the distinction to the name 'Youth' (*Na'ar*) as being that by which he is called by his 'King', the Holy One. Hereby it forms the introduction to the following chapter which is framed as an explanation of this name as applied to Metatron—the explanation being acc. to that chapter, vs. 10, that Metatron, as identical with Enoch, the son of Jared (Gen. v. 18, 21-24) who was taken up to the heavens and made an angel-prince, is as 'a youngster and a youth among the other angels and princes (existent from the days of Creation) in days months and years'.

(2) I have seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues (*BCL*: nations) of the world. The statement ascribing seventy names to Metatron, occurs also ch. xlviii. *D* 1, 9 et frequ. (cf. ch. xxix). The seventy names of Metatron are here connected with the seventy tongues (nations) of the world which represent the world in its entirety, i.e. their reason of existence is conceived of as founded on Metatron's functions as concerned with the nations of the world or with the affairs of the world as a whole. Hence the passage reflects the tradition of Metatron being *the Prince of the World*. Since the seventy nations are represented in heaven

and all of them ⁴are based upon⁴ the name ⁵Metatron, angel of the Presence⁵; but ⁶my King⁶ calls me 'Youth' (*Na'ar*)".

4-4 *BCL*: 'are similar to' 'are a reflection of' 5-5 *B*: 'of my King and my Creator' *C*: 'my King, the Holy One, blessed be He' *DE*: 'the King of the Kings of kings' *L*: 'kings' (corr. for 'my king?') 6-6 *L*: 'kings' (corr. for 'my king')

by the seventy (or seventy-two) 'princes of kingdoms' (cf. on chh. xvii. 8 and xxx. 2), the Prince of the World is depicted as the prince and ruler of these (see ch. xxx) and this function is also assigned to Metatron: chh. x. 3, xvi. 2, xlviii C 9 (cf. notes *ad loca*). In the last-mentioned passage, ch. xlviii C 9, Metatron's rulership over the seventy princes is expressly connected with his character of bearer of seventy names and he is there also pictured as wielding executive and governing power over the world and the nations through the seventy princes as agencies. Cf. *YR*. i. 57 b (quotation from *'Emeq ha-mMelek*): "Metatron is the Prince of the World, for he distributes maintenance to the princes of the nations of the world". In the rest of the present book Metatron's rulership is mainly presented in its celestial aspect; he is the prince, ruler and judge of the children of heaven, only implicitly brought into connection with the things terrestrial. Nowhere in this book is he definitely stated to be 'the Prince of the World'. This term is not used by the present Enoch-Metatron section and in the latter part of the book the 'Prince of the World' appears as different from Metatron (see chh. xxx. 2 and xxxviii. 3 and notes).

all of them are based upon the name of my King, the Holy One (acc. to the readings of *BCDE[L]* and the reading implied by the opening words of ch. iv: 'Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names?'). This is another aspect of the origin and import of Metatron's seventy names: they are a reflection of the seventy names of the Most High (cf. the reading of *BCL*). The same is stated in chh. xlviii C 9, xlviii D 1, 5, appearing also in the form of the dictum 'called by the name of His Master, for "my name is in him" (*Ex*. xxiii. 21)' and in the ascribing to Metatron of the name 'the lesser YHWH': chh. xii. 5, xlviii D 1. There are two lines of ideas to be distinguished here: (1) Metatron's names are conceived of as 'based upon' the Divine Name *καρ' ἑξοχην*, the *Tetragrammaton*, which simply means that the different names contain the *YHWH* or *YaH* as component part. This is not a trait exclusive to the Metatron-conception, but applied to various other high princes and angels, cf. ch. x. 3 and esp. ch. xxix. 1. (2) Acc. to the other line of thought the seventy names of Metatron are actually one by one the counterparts, images, reflections of the seventy names of the Godhead (cf. ch. xlviii D 5: 'seventy names of His by which they call the King of Kings of kings in the high heavens'). This is an exclusive feature of the Metatron-picture, as is also the name 'the Lesser YHWH'.

based upon the name Metatron. This strange expression which is attested only in *A* occurs also *Hek. Zot. Bodd.* מִיח. 9, fol. 69 b, where it signifies that the divers names are to be understood as referring to the angel-prince known as 'Metatron' (the names given there are such as nos. 6, 46, 84 of ch. xlviii D 1 and '*Pisqon, Sigron, Zebodiel* etc.'). The expression might, however, also refer to variants of the name 'Metatron', e.g. *Mitatron, Mittron, Mitton, Mitmon, 'Atmon, 'Otron*, etc.; cf. ch. xlviii D 1 and *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, 56 b. The reading of *BCDE* is presumably correct here. Cf. above.

my King calls me Youth (*Na'ar*). The name *Na'ar* is regularly ascribed to Metatron; cf. on ch. xlviii D 1. It is also applied to the Prince of the World, *TB. Yeb.* 16 b. The derivations and explanations of the name differ. The present section (cf. iv. 1, 10), as has already been pointed out, explains it from Metatron's identity with Enoch. In *TB. Yeb. ib.* the name '*Na'ar, Youth*' is deduced from Ps. xxxvii. 25: "I have been a youth and now am old", which is made to refer to the Prince of the World (who was young in the days of Creation). The *Tosaphoth* on

CHAPTER IV

Metatron is identical with Enoch who was translated to heaven at the time of the Deluge

R. Ishmael said:

(1) I asked Metatron and said to him: “¹Why art thou called¹ by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the servants, honoured above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness and glory: why do they call thee ‘Youth’ in the high heavens?”

(2) He answered and said to me: “²Because I am² Enoch, the son of Jared. (3) For when the generation of the flood sinned and were

1-1 so *CD*. *A*: ‘callest thou’ (corr.) *B*: ‘is thy name (like the name of thy Creator)’
2-2 so *BCDEL*. *A*: ‘for the reason that he (the Na’ar) is also (Enoch etc.)’

this passage state that Enoch-Metatron and the Prince of the World are both called *Na’ar*, yet they must not, acc. to the Tosaphists, be identified: Ps. xxxvii. 25 refers to the Prince of the World only, not to Enoch-Metatron. This of course implies that the verse in question was acc. to one tradition referred to Metatron (in fact Metatron is, apparently with reference to Ps. xxxvii. 25, described both as ‘*Na’ar*, Youth’ and ‘*Zāqēn*, Old, Eldest’; cf. *Yalquṭ Re’ubeni*, i. 60 a). See further the Introduction.

In *Zohar*, i. fol. 223 b *et al.* the appellation *Na’ar* as given to Enoch-Metatron is derived from Prov. xxii. 6, ‘*Chānōk la-nNa’ar*’, which is interpreted: ‘Enoch was made (the) *Na’ar*’. The present verse is quoted in *Zohar*, i. 37 b, from ‘Book of Enoch’.

Ch. iv. This chapter is framed as an explanation of the name ‘*Na’ar*, Youth’ as applied to Metatron. It relates how Metatron is Enoch of Gen. v who was removed to heaven and there made into an angel-prince. The reason of his translation was the sinfulness of the generation of the Flood to which he was to bear witness to future generations and in the world to come. His testimony was to justify the destruction of all living beings in that generation through the Flood. The high angels ‘*Azza*, ‘*Uzza* and ‘*Azzael* enter protest against Enoch’s translation, but God rebukes them and elevates Enoch into a ruler and prince over them.

(1) Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator etc. This part of the question is not answered in the chapter. It is to be considered merely as a repetition of the statement of the foregoing chapter. The real question is: Why do they call thee ‘Youth’ in the high heavens?

(2) Because I am Enoch the son of Jared. The identity of Enoch and Metatron is proclaimed in *Targ. Yer.* in the well-known passage to Gen. v. 24. There the ground for identification seems to have been the function of Scribe assigned both to Enoch and Metatron. For Enoch as Scribe cf. e.g. *Yub.* iv. 23, 2 *En.* liii. 2; for Metatron, *TB. Chag.* 15 a. This function of Enoch-Metatron is not emphasized in the present book, although the office of ‘witness’ of the sins of the generation in its original conception is probably connected with that of ‘scribe’; see the next verse.

(3) when the generation of the flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: Depart from us. . . (Job xxi. 14). The sins of the generation of the Deluge are not defined as to their nature, except as a rebellion. Acc.

confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways (Job xxi. 14)', then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that ³they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel³'.

(4) *ADEL*:

What sinned all those multitudes, their wives, their sons and their daughters, their horses, their mules and their cattle and their property, and all the birds of the world, all of which the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed from the world together with them in the waters of the flood?

BC:

What sins had they committed, all those multitudes? Or, let it be they sinned, what had their sons and their daughters, their mules and their cattle sinned? And likewise, all the animals, domestic and wild, and the birds in the

3-3 so *BCDEL*. *A*: 'the Merciful One is not cruel'

to chh. v, vi the sin of the generation that caused the removal of the *Shekina* and with the *Shekina*, of Enoch, was idolatry; cf. on ch. v. 6. The expression 'Depart from us etc. (Job xxi. 14)' is used already in *Jub*. xi. 6 in connection with the idolatry of the early times (the name '*Seroh* = *Suru*: depart' or *saru*). Cf. *Gen. R.* xxxi. 6: the '*chamas* (violence)' of which the earth was filled in the time of the Flood acc. to *Gen.* vi. 13, comprised the three cardinal sins, adultery, idolatry and bloodshed. to be a witness against them. The idea of Enoch's removal to heaven in order to be a witness against the sins of mankind is attested in *Jub*. iv. 21 seqq. His function of witness is there made the essential part of his office as Scribe: "(22) And he (Enoch) testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men... And Enoch testified against them all. (23) And he was taken from amongst the children of men, . . . into the Garden of Eden. . . and behold there he writes down the condemnation and the judgement of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. (24) And on account of it God brought the waters of the flood upon all the land". (Enoch's testimony brings about the decree of destruction, contrast the present chapter.) The same idea of Enoch as witness in heaven against man's sin persists in later traditions; cf. *YR*, i. 57 a (perhaps dependent upon the present fragment): "'When the generation of the flood sinned God took him (Enoch) to be a witness against them': (so that if anyone might say:) if man sinned that was because he was created from the four elements or because his generation were wicked men, God would answer: Behold, Enoch was also in a generation of wicked men, and he also was created of the four elements (*scil.* yet he did not sin)".

that they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel. (4) What sinned all those multitudes etc.' Enoch-Metatron is to bear witness to the justice of God's decree of destroying not only mankind, but all living beings, including the cattle and the wild beasts, in the waters of the Flood. How Enoch's testimony was to refute the charge of cruelty that might otherwise be raised against God is not further explained. No answer is given to the question: 'What did the cattle, beasts and birds sin?' The answer is probably to be understood thus: *even the animals were implicated in the wickedness of the generation*. The question is noted in Rabbinic. Cf. *Gen. R.* xxviii. 8, where it is stated that in the generation of the Flood even the animals sinned: "as it is written (*Gen.* vi. 12): 'all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth'. 'All men' is not written here, but 'all flesh'

ADL:

E:

BC:

Nor may say: What though the generation of the flood did sin; the beasts and the birds, what had they sinned, that they should perish with them?’

what had they sinned that they should perish with them?’

world ⁴ that God did destroy from the world?’

(5) Hence the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up⁵ in their lifetime⁵ before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, ⁶assigned me for⁶ a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.

(6) In that hour ⁷ ⁸three of the ministering angels, ‘UZZA, ‘AZZA and ‘AZZAE⁸ came forth and brought charges against me in the high

4 C ins. ‘what did they sin, and those that were taken away with them’ 5-5 BC om. L: ‘in their lifetime from the world’ 6-6 (B) CL: ‘made me into’. Above acc. to DE, lit. ‘joined me to the ministering angels as a prince and a ruler’. A corr. (Ziggēvūdi: me signavit?) 7 BCL ins. ‘when the Holy One, blessed be He, took me up to the high heavens’ 8-8 D: ‘three angels, ‘Azza, ‘Uzza and ‘Azrael’ B: ‘three angels: Mal’aki, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ CE: ‘three of the angels (of) ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ L: ‘three angels, Mamlaketi, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ YR. i. 35 a: ‘three angels from among the angels of ‘Azza and ‘Azrael.’

(i.e. including the animals). Yea, even the earth fell to whoredom”. Similarly *TB. Sanh.* 108 a (attr. to R. Yochanan): “‘all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth’; this means to say, that the cattle defiled themselves with the beasts and the beasts with the cattle and all of them with men and men with all of them”. Parallel is *Pirqe de R. ‘Eh’ezer*, ch. xiv: “(with reference to the curse put upon the earth on account of Adam’s sin) If Adam sinned, what was the sin of the earth? Only this, that the earth did not denounce the evil doings of man”. In other connections we find the very question repudiated as an undue criticism of God’s ways; so with reference to the narrative of 1 Sam. xv. 3 and Deut. xxi. 4 in *TB. Yoma*, 22 b and *Eccl. R.* vii. 33: “(in the former case) If the men had sinned, what were the sins of the women, what the sins of the infants, the cattle, oxen and asses? (and in the latter case) If man sinned, what was the sin of the cattle?” No answer is given but a quotation by *Bath Qōl* of *Eccl.* vii. 16, “Be not righteous over much”, explained thus: “Do not think that thou canst judge about what is just and unjust better than thy Creator!” Cf. also *TB. Shabb.* 54 b, 55 a.

(6) three of the ministering angels, ‘Uzza, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael. The three angels, ‘Azza, ‘Uzza and ‘Azrael are in the present chapter represented as belonging to the order of ministering angels, inhabitants of the high heavens, whereas acc. to ch. v they are evil agencies, inspirers of idolatry. They are usually mentioned as two only (‘Azza and ‘Azrael, ‘Uzza and ‘Azziel, etc.), not as three. (The readings of CE and YR, in fact, have ‘Azza and ‘Azrael only.) Cf. however 2 *En.* xviii. 4 and note on v. 9 (important parallel).

The names are in all probability of an early origin: they can be traced to 1 *En.*, to gnostic works (see Introduction) and in Talmud. The meaning of the words is pellucid: Strength, Might-God, Divine Power. Most of the preserved traditions represent them as fallen angels. They are attached to the speculations centring round the mystical piece *Gen.* vi. 1-4. In 1 *En.* vi. 7 ‘Asael’ is one of the leaders of the angels who fell and led mankind astray into fornication and idolatry. The

heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He: "9 Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: 10' Do not create man! 10" 11 The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto

9 BCDEL ins. 'Lord of the Universe!'
11 C ins. 'for he will sin' A ins. 'again'

10-10 C: 'Let not man be created!'

conception of 'Azza and 'Azrael as fallen angels evidently underlies the dictum, attributed to the school of R. Ishmael, recorded in *TB. Yoma*, 67 a, acc. to which 'Azazel of Lev. xvi. is to be considered as a composition of 'Azza and 'Azrael, 'for Azazel atoned for the sins of these'. *Rashi*, *ad locum*, connects 'Azza and 'Azrael with 'the sons of God' in Gen. vi. 2 (cf. 1 *En.* vi and Charles' note on 1 *En.* vi. 6).

In *Zohar* the same view is repeatedly set forth. See vol. i. 19 b, 23 a, 25 a b, 37 a with *Tosefta*, 55 a, 58 a, 126 a, vol. iii. 194 a, 208 a and 'Idra Rabba'. 'Azza and 'Azrael (in this form they are always referred to in *Zohar*) are the angels who had been thrown down from heaven 'from their state of holiness', and after that went astray with the daughters of men (*Nd'amah*, Gen. iv. 22) and also taught mankind sorceries (cf. ch. v. 9)—being now definitely unable to leave the lower regions (ctr. the present verse). A slightly modified version of the idea is found in 'Idra Rabba: "'Azza and 'Azrael are the 'giants' (Gen. vi. 6), not the sons of God (*ib.* 2)"—this is perhaps a reminiscence of the distinction emphasized in the *Book of Jubilees* between the sons of Elohim and the demons, the sons of the sons of the Elohim—"for the sons of God were not on earth but Azza and Azrael were on earth". The same is quoted from *Midrash Ruth* by *Siuni*, in *YR*, i. 61 b.

BH. iv. 127-8, instead of 'Azza and 'Azrael', has 'Shamchazai and 'Azrael'. *Shamchazai* is of course identical with the *Semiazaz* or *Senjaza* of 1 *En.* vi. 7, viii. 3 (cf. Charles, *ad loca*).

In the present chapter 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael are represented as high angels, accusing man before God on account of his sin: 'Said not the first ones rightly before Thee, Create thou not man?' One of the traditional statements about 'Azza and 'Azrael in the adduced references, in fact, reveals the view that the fall of these angels was caused by their accusing man before God. Thus e.g. in a citation in *Yalquf Re'ubeni*, i. 61 a, with reference to Gen. vi. 2: "the 'sons of God' are 'Azza and 'Azza'el who laid accusations (against man) before their Master and he threw them down from the holy place on high. . . and they defiled themselves with the daughters of men", and *ib.* (from *Kanfe Yona*), also with reference to Gen. vi. 2: "'Azza and 'Azrael are the angels that laid accusations against man and said: 'Why didst Thou create him? For he is going to sin and to provoke Thee'. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: 'Behold! If ye go down to the lower world, ye will sin as he', and He cast them down. And they are the 'sons of God' who took themselves wives from among the daughters of men. . . and after they had fallen into sin. . . they were no longer angels" and when they desired to return to their former place, they were unable to do so. Essentially the same is found in *Zohar*, i. 23 a, 37 a *Tosefta*. In *Zohar* they are even identified with 'the first ones' who opposed man's creation in the beginning.

This tradition harmonizes the two views represented in chh. iv and v respectively: the one regarding these angels as belonging to the celestial household, the other as evil agencies, demons inspiring idolatry. In their present setting the two views cannot, however, be harmonized: acc. to ch. v 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael are evil agencies (that is, acc. to the harmonizing view, fallen angels) before Enoch's translation to the heavens, acc. to ch. iv, on the other hand, they are still high angels in the presence of the Holy One, at the time when Enoch is taken up to heaven. Furthermore, the writer of ch. iv evidently does not think of the angels in question as fallen angels at all, to judge from the following expression: "he (Enoch-Metatron)

them: "I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will deliver". (Is. xlvi. 4.)

(7) As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is not he one from among the sons of [the sons of] those who perished in the days¹² of the Flood? ¹³"What doeth he in the Raqia'?"¹³

(8) Again, the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in my presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a

12 so *AL. BCD*: 'waters'

13-13 *DLE* om.

shall be a prince and a ruler *over you in the high heavens*", and from the representation in vs. 9: the angels yield and pay Enoch-Metatron due homage.

There are instances of traditions according with the view of the present chapter, representing 'Azza, 'Uzza or 'Azrael ('Azziel) as high angels and princes, with permanent membership in the Celestial Court. They are then often connected with the proceedings of Judgement. Thus acc. to *Sib. Or.* ii. 217, 'Azziel is one of five angels who lead the souls of men to judgement. Acc. to *S. ha-Chesheq (Add. 27120)*, fol. 12 b, 'Azrael is one of the "10 heads of the Great Sanhedrin in heaven". Acc. to a quotation from "a commentary on *Ma'areketh ha-'Elohuth*" in *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 55 a, 'Azza is the head of the angels of Justice, 'Uzziel the head of the angels of Mercy (cf. ch. xxxiii), but both under the authority of Metatron. *S. Raziel*, 40 a represents 'Azrael as one of the seven angels near God's Throne, cf. *ib.* 40 b, and *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 96, 99, introduces 'Uzziel as one of the guardians of the fifth Hall. Cf. *S. Raziel*, 27 b.

Said not the First Ones rightly before Thee: Do not create man! For the angels as opposing man's creation cf. e.g. *Gen. R.* viii. 5. Striking is here the parallel *TB. Sanhedrin*, 38 a: when God was about to create man, he first created a company of angels whom he asked whether they consented to man's creation or not. Upon being told of man's future deeds, they said "Let not man be created"—and were consequently consumed by the Divine Fire. The same happened with another company that God called into being immediately after. But the third acquiesced and remained in life. However, as soon as they "came to the men of the generation of the flood and of the generation of the dispersion whose deeds were confounded (cf. vs. 3) they said before him: 'Master of the World! Said not the first ones rightly before Thee: Create thou not man?' whereupon God answered with the first part of the scriptural verse laid in God's mouth also here: Is. xlvi. 4". The same narrative is echoed in *Ma'yan Chokma, BH.* i. 60 seq. in God's rebuke of *Hadarniel*. In the quoted *Talmud*-passage the expression 'first ones' naturally refers to the first created company of angels, here it simply means the angels present at man's Creation and opposing it. For the expression 'first ones' used of certain angels cf. also *TB. Ber.* 5 a (of Mikael).

(7) Is not he one from among the sons of those who perished in the days of the Flood? This seems to imply, not only that Enoch was counted as one of the men of the generation of the Flood, but even as living after the Flood or in the days of the Flood, a view which of course entirely disagrees with the chronological system of *Gen.* v, vii. 11, acc. to which Enoch disappeared from earth more than 600 years (669) before the Flood.

(8) What are ye etc. God's answer in the same expressions as those of the angels. that ye enter and speak. Even the highest angels are not allowed to enter before God's presence, with some distinguished exceptions (cf. the conception

prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens." (9) Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father¹⁴ for thy Creator doth favour thee".

(10) And because I am small and a youth among them¹⁵ in days, months and years¹⁵, therefore they call me "Youth" (*Na'ar*).

CHAPTER V

The idolatry of the generation of Enosh causes God to remove the Shekina from earth. The idolatry inspired by 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azziel

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹From the day¹ when the Holy One, blessed be He, expelled

¹⁴ C ins. 'and thy mother' ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ BCL: 'in years'

Ch. v. 1-1 BCL, YR. i. 59 a: 'on the day'

of the Curtain of *MAQOM*: on ch. xlv. 1, x. 1). he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens for I delight in this one more than in all of you. This probably is meant to refer not only to 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael, but to the ministering angels with them or else their suite of angels. Notice how *CE* in vs. 6 represents 'Azza and 'Azrael not as individual angels but as an *order of angels*, just as in the old tradition of 1 *En.* vi seqq. *Asael* was only one of the leaders of a multitude of angels. Metatron a ruler over 'Azza and 'Azrael: cf. quotation *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 55 a, referred to above, a ruler over the princes and angels in general: cf. ch. x. 3, 4.

(9) Happy art thou and happy is thy father. This beatitude echoes the conception of "the *Zakut* of a Pious Posterity" (Schechter's expression, *Aspects*, pp. 195 seqq.). The merits of the sons retroact upon and determine the fate of the fathers.

(10) because I am small and a youth among them. This is the answer to the opening question of the present chapter. Cf. note *ib.* The angels are existent from the days of Creation. Cf. above.

Ch. v. This chapter treats of the removal of Shekina from earth on account of the idolatry of Enosh and his generation. It contains no definite reference to the subject proper of the present section: Enoch(-Metatron) and his translation to heaven. Furthermore, it represents a different tradition from that of ch. iv as to the nature of the angels 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael. The connection with the context is, however, established by ch. vi. 1, 3, which associate the translation of Enoch to heaven with the removal of Shekina from earth. The chapter may therefore in its present position be considered as an introduction to ch. vi, offering a preparatory explanation of the reason and circumstances of the removal of Shekina, there alluded to. As regards the relationship between ch. iv on one hand and chh. v and vi on the other, it might be safe to assume that they represent respectively two different lines of tradition as to the translation of Enoch: one (ch. iv) connecting it with the sins of the generation of the flood of which he was to bear testimony to coming generations, the other (chh. v, vi) holding the view that Enoch—as the

the first Adam from the Garden of Eden (and onwards), *Shekina* was dwelling upon a *Kerub* under the Tree of Life.

(2) And the ministering angels ²were gathering together² and going down from heaven in parties, ³from the *Raqia'* in companies and from the heavens in camps³ ⁴to do His will in⁴ the whole world.

(3) And the first man and ⁵his generation⁵ were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the *Shekina*.

2-2 *B*: 'were entering' *CL*: 'were assembling' *DE*: 'were leaping' 3-3 *BCL*: 'and in companies and camps from *Raqia'*' *E* om. 4-4 *DE*: 'to roam, to fly over' 5-5 *EL*: 'and Eve'

only righteous man of his generation—was taken up on the occasion of *Shekina's* return to the heavens. The object of Enoch's translation, acc. to the latter view, was apparently not his function of witness, but is expressed by the last words of ch. vi: 'I have taken him as a tribute from my world' or 'as my only reward for all my labour with the first generations of the world'.

(1) From the day... *Shekina* was dwelling etc. This represents the frequently attested idea that the original abode of the *Shekina* was among the 'terrestrials, *ha-tTachtonim*' (*Cant. R.* vi, *Num. R.* xii. 5; cf. Abelson, *Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, pp. 117-139). The specific view of the present passage is, that *Shekina* remained on earth after the first Adam's fall until the rise of idolatry in the generation of Enosh. Acc. to *Cant. R.* vi (see Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 136) *Shekina* was removed from earth already with Adam's sin: to the first heaven, and then in six subsequent stages corresponding to the six following epochs of men's degradation from heaven to heaven (the epochs are acc. to that passage: the sins of Cain, of the generation of Enoch, of the generation of the Flood, of the Dispersion, of the Sodomites and of the Egyptians in the days of Abraham). Acc. to *Num. R.* xii. 5 (in a dictum attributed to R. Simeon ben Yochai) the *Shekina* was dwelling on earth in the beginning, was removed with the sin of Adam, and returned with the erection of the Tabernacle. *Ib.* (acc. to Rab) the *Shekina* is also said never to have taken up its abode on earth until the erection of the Tabernacle. Cf. on vs. 13. The *Shekina* here stands for the manifestation of God, to all intents and purposes identical with the manifestation on 'the Throne of Glory': when on earth *Shekina* is no longer in heaven, see vs. 11.

upon a Kerub. Cf. chh. xxii. 12, 16, xxiv. 1, 17. upon a Kerub under the Tree of Life. Cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, xxii. 3, 4: "When God appeared in Paradise mounted on the chariot of His Cherubim with the *angels* proceeding before him... And the Throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was". Here the *Kerub* takes the place of the Throne of Glory which is left in the highest of the heavens, acc. to vs. 11.

(2) And the ministering angels were... going down from heaven in companies etc. Cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, xvii. 1, xxii. 3 seq. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, letter '*Aleph*': "when the first Adam beheld the Sabbath, he opened his mouth in praise of the Holy One: then the ministering angels went down from heaven in companies..."; *ib.*: (in the world to come) "the angels will come down in companies from heaven to the Garden of Eden". And *ib. BH.* iii. 60: "(when God had created Eve and brought her to Adam) all the heavenly household went down... to the Garden of Eden". Cf. *Yer. Chag.* 77 a, 4 *Ex.* vi. 3.

(3) the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the *Shekina*. Although expelled from the Garden of Eden Adam and his generation still partake of the splendour of *Shekina*. Cf. *TB. Ber.* 17 a: "(in the world to come) the righteous will be sitting with crowns

✓(4) For the splendour of the *Shekina* traversed the world from one end to the other ⁶(with a splendour) 365,000 times (that) of the globe of the sun⁶. And everyone who ⁷made use of⁷ the splendour of the *Shekina*, on him no flies and no gnats did rest, neither was he ill nor suffered he any pain. No demons got power over him, neither were they able to injure him.

(5) When the Holy One, blessed be He, went out and went in: ⁸from the Garden to Eden, from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to *Raqia'* and from *Raqia'* to the Garden of Eden⁸ then all and everyone beheld the splendour⁹ of His *Shekina* and they

6-6 DE: 'in one moment, 365,000 and to the globe of the sun' A reads '65,000' instead of '365,000' (BCDEL). 7-7 DE: 'beheld' 8-8 BCDEL: 'from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to *Raqia'* and from *Raqia'* to the Garden of Eden' 9 so BCDL. A: 'splendour of the image'

on their heads and enjoy the splendour of the *Shekina*". The idea of the radiance of *Shekina* is closely related to that of the heavenly light, of which the light created on the first day was an emanation and which is reserved for the righteous in the world to come. Cf. next vs.

(4) The splendour of the *Shekina* traversed the world from one end to the other... And everyone who made use of the splendour of the *Shekina*... No demons got power over him. For a discussion of the conception of the 'splendour (*ziv*) of the *Shekina*' see Abelson, *op. cit.* pp. 85-89. [The splendour of the *Shekina* is here apparently conceived of as a light-substance protecting from illnesses, from the power of demons and from everything evil and unclean.] For the idea of the splendour of *Shekina* as protecting from demons cf. *Num. R.* xii. 3. It is also conceived of as a sustaining substance, a spiritual food, both for the angels and the saints. *TB. Ber.* 17 a (see Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 87; Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, p. 198). *Yalqut* on Ps. viii (*TB. Shabbat*, 88 a): "when God spread the splendour of *Shekina* over Moses the angels could not burn him". *Yalqut* on Ps. xlv: "the righteous will feed on the splendour of *Shekina* and... they will receive no injury". 'The splendour of *Shekina*' is further used as an attribute of honour and glorification for the highest angels; cf. ch. xxii. 7, 13. Cf. 4 *Ex.* vii. 42, 122, Rev. xxi. 23 (notes in BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 85, 127, 161). [The conception of the splendour of the *Shekina* is sometimes seen under the aspect of the 'first light of Creation' or as 'the uncreated light of the Divine Presence' of which the first light is an emanation: this light is referred to in similar terms as those used of 'the splendour of the *Shekina*'] Cf. in the present connection *Gen. R.* xi. 2, xii. 5: "in the light which God created on the first day (so *Gen. R.* xi. 2; *ib.* xii. 5: the light by which the world was created) the first Adam saw from one end of the world to the other... but as soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, beheld the deeds of the generation of Enosh, of the Deluge and of the Dispersion he took it away and treasured it... for the righteous in the world to come". *Sim. TB. Chag.* 12 a.

(5) went out and went in: from the Garden to Eden. The Garden of Eden is the greater whole of which Eden is a part: *Gen. R.* xv, the Garden and Eden are two distinct things: *TB. Ber.* 34 b. For the expression 'went out and went in etc.' cf. the account of *Shekina*'s ten different journeys in the Temple in *Lam. R. Pröem.* 25. The idea is probably deduced from *Gen.* iii. 8 ("and they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the Garden"): the passage is interpreted in this sense in *Num. R.* xiii. 4 (although there God's *Shekina* is said to have had its permanent abode in heaven, from where it went down and went up again).

¹⁰were not injured¹⁰; (6) until ¹¹the time of¹¹ the generation of Enosh ¹²who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world¹². (7) And ¹³what did the generation of Enosh do?¹³ They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in ¹⁴heaps like unto mountains and hills¹⁴ making idols out of them throughout all the world. And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs. (8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations, and placed them before the idols on their right hand and on their left, to attend them even as they attend¹⁵ the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written (1 Kings xxii. 19): "And all the host of heaven was standing by him on his right hand and on his left".

(9) What power was in them that they were able to bring them down? They would not have been able to bring them down but for ¹⁶'UZZA, 'AZZA and 'AZZIEL¹⁶ who taught them ¹⁷sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them¹⁷.

10-10 L: 'did not consume away' 11-11 lit. 'came' 12-12 E om.
 13-13 E om. 14-14 lit. 'in mountains and hills' 15 with BCDEL,
 reading *pi*"*el*. A has *hithpa*"*el*: 'make use of' 16-16 CL: 'Azza and 'Azza'el'
 D: 'Azza and 'Azzi'el' E: 'Uzza and 'Azza'el' cf. ch. iv. 7. 17-17 C om.
 L: 'the art of sorceries'

(6) until the time of the generation of Enosh who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world. The generation of Enosh is here specifically connected with idolatry. In Rabbinic the cardinal sins of idolatry, adultery and bloodshed (and the calling of God's name in vain and sorceries) are often promiscuously referred to the generations of Enosh, of the Deluge and of the Dispersion. But cf. *Lam. R. Pröem.* 24: "the generation of Enosh who were the heads of idol-worshippers".

(7) And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs. This as well as the following vs. seems to presuppose the view of the men of this generation as being of immeasurably higher stature than those of later generations, an idea occasionally met with in Rabbinic.

(8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations. There is perhaps here a covert trace of an original representation of the generation of Enosh as worshippers of the sun and the planets. In the present form the heavenly bodies are made the attendants of the idols: they placed them before the idols to attend them like as they attend the Holy One, blessed be He. The idea is to illustrate how man put the idols in all respects in the same place as that which rightly belonged to God alone. *Yalqut* to Gen. iv. 26 quotes an account of the deeds of the generation of Enosh of a similar character as vs. 7 and 8 here (idols of copper, brass, iron, wood, stone).

(9) What power was in them. . . 'Uzza, 'Azza and 'Azziel who taught them sorceries, whereby they brought them down. The quotation *Šimi, Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 53 a, has 'Shemchazai and Azzael' (so also *BH.* iv. 127-128, *Yalq. Shim.* Gen. xlv; cf. on the following vs.). On 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azzael see on ch. iv. 6. Here they are represented as evil agencies, teaching men sorceries and thereby supporting or rather inspiring the idolatry. The tradition here set forth is of course

(10) In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying before him: "Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men? As it is written (Ps. viii. 4) 'What is man (Enosh) that thou art mindful of him?' 'Mah Adam' is not written here, but 'Mah Enosh', for he (Enosh) is the head of the idol worshippers. (11) Why hast thou left

a direct descendant of that which has found expression in the pseudepigraphal writings, esp. 1 *En.* vi, vii, viii: Semiazaz and Asael among other leaders of the fallen angels who corrupted mankind. vii. 1: "they began to...defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments". viii. 1: "Azazel taught men...and made known to them the metals (cf. 'gold, silver etc.' here)...and all kinds of costly stones (cf. here)... (3) Semjaza taught enchantments... Baraqijal astrology. Kokabel the constellations,... Shamsiel the signs of the sun, Sariel the course of the moon", vide Charles, *ad loca.* Add *Jub.* iv. 22, v. 1, xi. 4 seqq.: "they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each their idol... and malignant spirits assisted and seduced them into committing transgression and uncleanness". 2 *En.* vii, xviii. 2 *En.* xviii. 4 is of special interest in the present connection, since it shows that already at an early time a tradition obtained that had fixed the number of these angels as three—as against the tradition of the passages quoted in 1 *En.* representing them as a large number: "and of them (*Grigori* = Watchers) there went three to the earth from the Throne of God to the place Ermon. And they entered into dealings etc." Later the number is further reduced to two, so always in *Zohar*; cf. on vs. 6 of ch. iv. Cf. *Midrash Pejirath Moshe, BH.* i. 129: "the angels 'Azza and 'Azza'el went down from the heavens and became corrupt in their ways".

(10) At that time the ministering angels brought charges against man before God etc. "What is man etc." This verse, Ps. viii. 4, is traditionally made to express the animosity of the angels against man, and rather suitably. See *Tanchuma, Par. Bechuqqothai* (Lev. xxvi); *Gen. R.* viii. 5 (in connection with the creations of man); *P. R. 'El.* xiii uses the similar passage Ps. cxliv. 3, 4 ("The ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Lord of all the World, what is man that thou takest knowledge of him or the son of man that thou takest account of him'"). Cf. *Jerachmeel*, xxii. 1, and *Ma'yan Chokma, BH.* i. 58. But the form of accusation here recorded is also, in particular, attributed to the angels 'Azza and 'Azrael. Thus in *Zohar* several times, 'Azza and 'Azrael are said to have used this argument when opposing man's Creation, *Zohar*, i. 23 a, and another quotation in *YR*, i. 60 a. A strange similarity with the present chapter is exhibited by the fragment quoted in *Yalqut* on Gen. vi. 2 (from *Midrash Abkir*): "the disciples of R. Yoseph asked him: what is 'Azrael? he answered them: as soon as the generation of the flood (cf. ch. iv) stood up and worshipped idols (cf. the present chapter) the Holy One was sorely grieved. Then forthwith came the two angels *Shemchazai* and 'Azza'el and said before him: Master of the World! Did we not say before thee when thou didst create thy world: what is man that thou art mindful of him. He answered them: if ye were to go down to earth, the evil impulse would get power over you more than over man... Let us go down... He said: Go down and dwell with them. As soon as they were on earth, they corrupted their ways with the daughters of men...". In that passage almost all the different statements about 'Azza and 'Azrael are woven together. Cf. on ch. iv. 6.

(11) Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens etc. This presupposes that when *Shekina* was dwelling on earth it was absent from the 'Araboth *Raqia'*.

ADE:

the highest of the high heavens, the abode of thy glorious Name, and the high and exalted Throne in 'Araboth on high

B:

the 'Araboth Raqia' which are full of thy glory, mighty and high alike, and the high and exalted Throne in the 'Araboth Raqia' in the highest

CL:

the highest of the high heavens which are filled with the majesty of thy glory and are high, uplifted and exalted, and the high and exalted Throne in the Raqia' 'Araboth on high

and art gone and dwellest with the children of men who worship idols and equal thee to the idols. (12) ¹⁸Now thou art on earth and the idols likewise. What hast thou to do with ¹⁹the inhabitants of the earth ¹⁹who worship idols? ¹⁸(13) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted up His *Shekina* from the earth, from their midst²⁰.

(14) In that moment came the ministering angels, the troops of hosts and the armies of 'Araboth in thousand camps and ten thousand hosts: they fetched trumpets and took the horns in their hands and surrounded the *Shekina* with all kinds of songs. ²¹And He ascended²¹ to the high heavens, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

18-18 B om. C: 'now that thou art on earth, thou art become in condition like as the inhabitants of the earth who worship idols' 19-19 L: 'those who go down to earth and are idol-worshippers' 20 C adds: 'and the Shekina ascended to heaven' 21-21 BCDEL om.

(13) Forthwith the Holy One... lifted up His *Shekina* from the earth... and he ascended to the high heavens. 'The Holy One' and '*Shekina*' are here practically synonymous. The idolatry is one of the main causes of the disappearance of the *Shekina* from on earth. Cf. *Sifre* (ed. Friedmann), 104 a, *Mekilta*, 72 a, *Tanchuma Lev.*, *Par. behar* (Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223, Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 101). The idol erected in the Holy of Holies by Manasse, by its presence, its "face" drives out the *Shekina* from the Temple. The *Shekina* and the idols cannot remain in the same place: this is the burden of the remonstrances of the angels acc. to vs. 12. Cf. *Cant. R.* vi, *Num. R.* xii. 5, already referred to, note on vs. 1. Cf. also *Lam. R. Proëem.* 24 (in connection with the destruction of the Temple): "I have no abode on earth. I will remove my *Shekina* from earth and take it up to my former place".

(14) And he ascended to the high heavens etc. Already acc. to ch. xlviii c the narrative about *Shekina*'s removal from on earth is connected with the taking up of Enoch as can be seen from the parallel to the present chapter found *ib.* (i.e. ch. xlviii c) vs. 1: "When I beheld the men of the generation of the flood (ctr. here and cf. ch. iv) that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my *Shekina* from among them. And I lifted it up on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5) 'God is gone up with a shout etc.'"

CHAPTER VI

*Enoch lifted up to heaven together with the Shekina.
Angels' protests answered by God*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, desired¹ to lift me up on high, He first sent 'Anaphiel H (H = Tetragrammaton), the Prince, and he took me from their midst in their sight and carried² me ³in great glory³ upon^{3a} a fiery chariot with fiery horses, ⁴servants⁴ of glory. And he lifted me up to the high heavens together with the *Shekina*.

1 C: 'sought me' 2 so BCDL. A: 'led me' 3-3 BCL: 'on a great kerub' 3a BCL: 'in' 4 BDEL: 'and a servant' C: 'and with songs'

Chh. vi seqq. The translation of Enoch. On the affinities of the representations of Enoch's translation in 1 *En.*, 2 *En.*, and 3 *En.* vide Introduction, 7 (a) and (b).

Ch. vi. According to this chapter Enoch was translated together with the *Shekina*. [The *Shekina* was removed from earth on account of the idolatry of men.] The chapter is a sequel to the antecedent chapter; cf. note *ib.* intr. As was pointed out above, note on v. 14, the connection of the removal of *Shekina* with the translation of Enoch is also attested in the 2nd Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xlviii c 1. There, as in ch. vii, it is referred to the sins of the generation of the Flood (ch. iv). Besides, the present chapter contains a new specimen of angelic accusation against man before God or of protest against privileges awarded to man: in this case Enoch's ascension to the high heavens.

(1) When the Holy One . . . desired to lift me up . . . He first sent 'Anaphiel H. For 'Anaphiel cf. ch. xviii. 18 and note. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxii Anaphiel is the highest of the angels, "higher than the Prince of the Presence and greater than he". Ch. xvi here (acc. to reading of BDL) he is the angel sent to 'punish' Metatron with strokes of lashes of fire. The meaning of the name: 'Branch of God' is explained ch. xviii *ib.* He represents the overarching majesty and sovereignty of God in the heavens, ramifying through all the firmaments. Hence he is also conceived of as protecting guide. The *Tetragrammaton* (H) is contained in his name, cf. on chh. x. 3, xxx. 1; cf. *Hek. R.* xxi. *YR.* i. 5 a (from *Södē Rāzā*): "the ring with the seal of heaven and earth (cf. on ch. xlviii D 5) are entrusted to him and all in heaven and earth kneel down and prostrate themselves before him".

upon a fiery chariot with fiery horses. The biblical narrative of Elijah's ascension to heaven has been suggestive here. In mystical literature the biblical traits ascribed to Elijah are referred to Enoch and vice versa: they are regarded as belonging to the same category of saintly men, since they were both removed from earth in their lifetime. "1 *En.* 70 describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah" (CHARLES, 1 *En.* xlix). (Cf. 1 *En.* lxxxix. 52, xciii. 8, 4 *Ez.* vi. 26, note (m) in Box, *Ezra-Ap.* pp. 77 seq.) In later mysticism Elijah is often identified with the 'twin-brother of Metatron', *Sandalphon*, in explicit analogy with the identification of Enoch with Metatron (*YR.* i. 54 b, 57 b, 58 a; cf. Introduction).

EL
E.
both
earth
new

(2) As soon as I reached the high heavens, the Holy *Chayyoth*, the 'Ophannim, the *Seraphim*, the *Kerubim*, the Wheels of the *Merkaba* (the *Galgallim*), and the ministers of ⁵the consuming fire⁵, perceiving my smell⁶ from a distance⁷ of 365,000^{7a} myriads of parasangs, said:

A:

"What smell of one born of woman and what taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ (is this) that ascends on high, and (lo, he is merely) a gnat among those who 'divide flames (of fire)'"

B:

"What is one born of woman between (among) us? The taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ which ascends to the high heavens to minister⁹ among those who 'divide flames of fire'"

CDEL:

"What smell¹⁰ of ¹¹a woman-born is this and what taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ that ascends to the high heavens to minister ¹²among dividers¹² of flames.

5-5 C: 'the fire which consumeth fire' L: 'the heavenly fire' 'the fire above'
 6 BE: 'spirit' ('ruhi' for 'rehi') 7 So BCDEL. A: 'among smells'
 7a L: '5360' YR. i. 55 b: '5380' and om. 'myriads' 8-8 lit. 'drop of semen'
 9 read pi¹¹el instead of hithpa¹¹el. 10 E: 'spirit' 11 L ins. 'a drop of'
 12-12 C: 'here and in (those) cut of flames' L: 'between hedges of flames'

(2) the Holy Chayyoth, the 'Ophannim, the Seraphim, the Kerubim, the Wheels of the Merkaba and the ministers of the consuming fire. This is evidently intended as an enumeration of the highest classes of angels. The classes here mentioned are the five classes of Merkaba-angels of the angelological section, chh. xxi, xxv, xxvi, xxii and xix resp. The 'ministers of the consuming fire' may refer to the ministering angels in general—whose substance is fire—or to the angels in charge of the fire issuing forth from under the Throne (cf. on ch. xxxiii. 4). For the present enumeration cf. the parallel in the following chapter. All these highest classes of angels are here represented as protesting against the privilege awarded to the man Enoch of ascending to the high heavens. Cf. *P. R. 'El. passim*. Cf. also *Deut. R.* xi. 4 (the *Galgallim* of the Merkaba and the flaming *Seraphim* praise God for not regarding persons—with reference to Moses).

perceiving my smell etc. For the expression cf. *Gen. R.* xxxiv. 10: "God perceived the smell of Abraham, the Patriarch, ascending from the furnace... of *Chananya*, *Misael* and *Azaria*... the smell of the generation of the religious persecution". There it equals 'foresaw'. Here it perhaps denotes the idea that any intrusion of a lower, unclean element or being into the higher heavens is immediately sensed and guarded against.

What smell of a woman-born... (*ACDEL*), what is a woman-born between (among) us (*B*)... Cf. *TB. Shabbat*, 88 b: "R. Yehoshua ben Lewi said: in the hour when Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Master of the World, what is a woman-born among us", i.e. 'what has he to do here?' The expressions 'one born of woman' and 'taste of a drop of *semen*' are of course used in a contemptuous sense, denoting the extreme insignificance of man in the eyes of the high angels. what taste of a white drop (*A*) etc. There is a play here on the two-fold meaning of the word *ta'am*, viz. 'taste' and 'reason, ground' ('what is the reason that one conceived of a white drop should ascend...') those who 'divide flames of fire.' The expression is deduced from *Ps.* xxix. 7 and denotes the angel-princes. In *Alph. R. 'Aqiba BH.* iii. 45, it is used of the 'Voice'.

(3) The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and spake unto them: "My servants, ¹³my hosts¹³, my *Kerubim*, my '*Ophannim*, my *Seraphim*! Be ye not displeased on account of this! Since all the children of men have denied me ¹⁴and my great Kingdom and are gone worshipping¹⁴ idols, I have removed my *Shekina* from among them and have lifted it up on high. ¹⁵But this one whom I have taken from among them is an ELECT ONE among (the inhabitants of) the world ¹⁶and he is equal to all of them in faith¹⁶, righteousness and perfection of deed¹⁷ and ¹⁸I have taken him for (as) a tribute from¹⁹ my world¹⁸ under all the heavens¹⁵".

13-13 so BCDELZ. A: 'host of (my Kerubim)' 14-14 L: 'and worship'
 15-15 L: 'but this one (only) have I taken from my whole world under all the heavens'
 16-16 BC om. 17 so DE. A: 'beauty, form (*tabnith*)'
 18-18 S, YR. i. 55 b (*Pirge Hekaloth*): 'he is the (only) reward that I have received for all my labour under all the heavens'

(3) My servants, my hosts, my Kerubim etc. Cf. ch. i. 8. A close parallel is the answer attributed to God acc. to *Hek. R.* xxix. 2 (on the protest of the angels against the revelation of the 'secret' to the *Yored Merkaba*): "My ministering angels, my servants, be ye not displeased on account of this etc."

he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness and perfection of deed states the justification for the translation of Enoch: his merits, his perfection. This is not explicit in ch. iv, but might have been understood. Enoch is worth as much as the whole generation.

I have taken him for a tribute (or: he is my reward, remuneration; YR.). There is a covert allusion here to the destruction of the rest of the generation, hence to the Flood: *Enoch is the only one preserved from the ruin of the first generation, God's only remuneration for all his labour.* Also in the tradition represented by chh. v, vi, Enoch was connected with the Flood (as is explicitly stated in the parallel ch. xlviii c 1, several times referred to). The original tradition seems to have been somewhat like this: Owing to the general downfall of the first generation, caused by the idolatry arising among men with Enosh and his followers—an idolatry inspired by the demons or fallen angels—*Shekina* was removed from earth, and on the removal of the *Shekina* followed the destruction of the entire race in the waters of the Flood. One righteous man, Enoch, was exempted from the general fate of his contemporaries: he was taken up to the heavens together with the *Shekina*.

The aspect in which Enoch's translation is seen here is his being the tribute from the first generation, God's remuneration—the Creation of the first generation had not been in vain. In ch. iv it is seen from the aspect of the function assigned to Enoch of being a witness before coming generations, in the world to come, to the sinfulness and corruption of the generation that was ultimately destroyed in the waters of the Flood.

CHAPTER VII¹*Enoch raised upon the wings of the Shekina to the place of the Throne, the Merkaba and the angelic hosts*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

When the Holy One, blessed be He, took me away from the generation of the Flood, he lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Shekina* to the highest heaven and brought me into the great palaces of the '*Araboth Raqia*' on high, where are ²the glorious Throne of *Shekina*², the *Merkaba*³, the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the fiery *Shin'anim*⁴, the ⁵flaming *Kerubim*, and the burning '*Ophanim*', the flaming servants, the flashing *Chashmallim* and the lightning *Seraphim*⁵. And he placed me (there) to attend the Throne of Glory day after day.

1 *B* places this chapter at the end of ch. xiv. 2-2 *BCL*: 'the glory of Shekina'
 3 *B*: 'the chariots of the mighty ones of anger' *L*: 'the chariots of the mighty ones'
 C: 'the great chariots of anger' 4 *C*: 'Accusers' 'Satans' 5-5 lit. 'the
Kerubim of firebrands' and the '*Ophanim* of (burning) coal and the servants of flame and the *Chashmallim* of spark and the *Seraphim* of lightning'

Ch. vii. Another short version of the translation of Enoch, connecting it with the generation of the Flood but also containing traces of its relation to the removal or lifting up of *Shekina* ('on the wings of the wind of the *Shekina*'). lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Shekina*. The wings of *Shekina*, a common metaphorical expression, often used as denoting proselytism; cf. Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 90. Here it rather expresses the protection given to Enoch from the Godhead (against the fury of the angels?), *TB. Shabbat*, 88 b: "when Moses was to ascend on high... God spread over him of the splendour of His *Shekina*, that the angels might not be able to burn him". For 'wings of the wind' cf. *chh.* xxxiv. 1, xxxvii. 2. Cf. 2 *En.* iii. 1 (Enoch raised upon the wings of the angels, upon the clouds etc.). Acc. to *Mysteries of St John and the Holy Virgin*, 6 b, St John is raised "on the wing of the light of the Cherub". Cf. ch. vi. 1 (*BCL*). where are the... Throne... the *Merkaba*, the troops of anger etc., the most prominent of the glories contained in the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth Raqia*'. Cf. *Mass. Hek.* v ("in the seventh Hall of '*Araboth Raqia*' are the Throne... the Chariots of the *Kerubim*... *Seraphim*, '*Ophanim*, *Chayyoth*, the *Chashmallim* of splendour and majesty, etc."). A parallel is ch. xlviii c 4, but notice the difference: there Enoch-Metatron is represented as appointed over and a minister of all the different classes of high angels, as well as of the Throne. Here he is represented as attendant of the Throne only (cf. however, x. 3). See ch. xv. 1. the fiery *Shin'anim*. The name *Shin'anim* is deduced from vs. 18 of the mystical Ps. lxxviii. The *Shin'anim* as a class of angels occurs frequently in enumerations of angelic orders.

the flaming servants. Cf. on ch. vi. 2.

the flashing *Chashmallim*. One of the ten classes of angels, in common with the *Shin'anim*. Cf. also ch. xlviii c and *Mass. Hek.* v, referred to above. The name is derived from the *Chasmal* of Ezek. i. 4. Cf. on ch. xxxiv. 1. The *Chashmallim* are in *Chag.* 13 b explained as "the angels (*Chayyoth*) who are sometimes silent

CHAPTER VIII

*The gates (of the treasuries of heaven)
opened to Metatron*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Before He appointed me to attend the Throne of Glory, the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me

¹three hundred thousand gates of Understanding
three hundred thousand gates of Subtlety
three hundred thousand gates of Life

1-1 Following is the order of the attributes in the other readings:

B (10): wisdom . . . understanding . . . life . . . subtlety . . . grace and loving-kindness . . . love . . . Tora . . . maintenance . . . meekness . . . fear of sin

C (12): loving-kindness . . . understanding . . . life . . . subtlety . . . Shekina . . . power

(*chash*) and sometimes speak (*mallel*): they are silent when the Word emanates from the Holy One, blessed be He, they speak when He has ceased speaking."

to attend the Throne of Glory day after day. This is a traditional function of Metatron, the Prince of the Presence. Cf. ch. xlviii c 4. *Hek. R.* xi: "when the angel of the Presence enters to exalt and magnify the Throne of Glory and to prepare the seat for the Mighty One in Jacob". *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9 fol. 67 b)*: "Metatron is the president of the Divine Thrones of Glory (of Dan. vii. 9)". But Metatron has also a Throne of his own: chh. x. 1-3, xvi. 1, 2, xlviii c 8.

Ch. viii. (1) The Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me three hundred thousand gates of Understanding etc. The gates are the gates of the treasuries of the heavens ('Araboth). Metatron is appointed over the stores of 'Araboth acc. to ch. x. 6, xlviii c 3. The treasuries are the treasuries of wisdom, understanding etc. i.e. the attributes by which the world is sustained. The abstract qualities here enumerated are to a large extent identical with those named as the agencies by which God created the world in, e.g. *TB. Chag. 12 a* ("wisdom, understanding, knowledge, strength, might etc."), *Ab. R. Nathan*, xxvii, xliii. Cf. ch. xli. 3: "wisdom, understanding, knowledge etc. by which the world is sustained"; and *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 20*: "God supplies the world day by day with gifts, without which the world could not subsist for a single day: spirit and soul, knowledge and wisdom and subtlety, counsel and might, and the different senses". The idea is, that the abstract qualities on which the world is founded and by which it is sustained emanate from God. Yet we are here in no way nearer the conception of the 'Ten Sefirot' than in the passages cited from *TB. Chag. 12 a* etc. For wisdom and understanding treasured in heaven cf. *4. Ez. v. 9*, "then shall intelligence hide itself and wisdom withdraw to its chamber", where the essential idea of the present representation is already extant: wisdom and intelligence as at work in the world have their home in 'chambers' (i.e. in heaven) from where they have emanated and whither they return. Cf. also ch. xlviii d 2, and for the 'opening of the gates of the treasures' *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, letter Aleph*: "5000 gates of wisdom were opened to Moses on Sinai corresponding to the five books of the Law, and 8000 gates of understanding, corresponding to the eight prophets and 11,000 gates of KNOWLEDGE corresponding to the eleven writings". three hundred thousand gates of Life. The 'treasuries of life' in heaven are frequently referred to. Cf. e.g. *Chag. 12 b*: "in 'Araboth Raqia' are . . . the treasuries of life . . ."; ch. x. 6 here.

three hundred thousand gates of 'grace and loving-kindness'
 three hundred thousand gates of love
 three hundred thousand gates of Tora
 three hundred thousand gates of meekness
 three hundred thousand gates of maintenance
 three hundred thousand gates of mercy
 three hundred thousand gates of fear of heaven¹.

(2) In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, added in me wisdom unto wisdom, understanding unto understanding, subtlety unto subtlety, knowledge unto knowledge, mercy unto mercy, instruction unto instruction, love unto love, loving-kindness unto loving-kindness,

and might... grace and loving-kindness... love... instruction (Tora)... maintenance... fear of sin... meekness

E (12): wisdom... understanding... subtlety... life... peace... Shekina... power and might... strength... grace and loving-kindness... love... meekness... fear of sin

YR. i. 54 b (12): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... Shekina... power and might... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... meekness... fear of sin

L (12): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... Shekina... might... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... meekness... fear of sin

D (15): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... peace... Shekina... power and might... strength... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... mercy... meekness... fear of heaven

three hundred thousand gates of Tora. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 43, 44*: "The Holy One, blessed be He, appointed Moses over all Israel, and over all the treasuries of Tora, and over all treasuries of wisdom, and over all treasuries of understanding". It is interesting to note, that acc. to this conception there is a special treasury of *Tora* (= the Celestial Tora?) besides the treasuries of wisdom and of understanding. Acc. to another conception the Tora is itself formed of the elements of wisdom and understanding, the 'secrets of the treasuries'; cf. on ch. *xlviij D 2, 3*.

gates of maintenance (*Parnasa*). Even the maintenance and sustenance of the needs of the world has its source in heaven. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, letter Zain*: "Zain, that is the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, for he feeds and maintains (*mepharnes*) all his creatures, day after day, as it is said (Ps. civ. 28): 'thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good'". From the 'maintenance' *Parnasa*, stored in heaven, the seventy princes of kingdoms take and "throw down to the nations of the world their maintenance" acc. to the *Lesser YR., sub voce Nedibim* et freq. "Metatron distributes *Parnasa* among all the companies of angels" (*YR. i. 56*, quoting *Pardes*).

The opening the treasuries or gates to Metatron presumably connotes not only the bestowal upon him of their contents (as in vs. 2) but also that they are put in his charge and to his distribution. As Prince over the Princes he has to distribute their contents among the angels, and perhaps also as functional Prince of the World to the earth and nations.

added in me wisdom unto wisdom etc. The attributes here enumerated are on the whole identical with those of vs. 1. Hence the idea probably is that the contents of the opened treasuries were conferred upon Metatron. more than all the children of heaven. The unique position of Metatron is here emphasized.

goodness unto goodness, meekness unto meekness, power unto power, strength unto strength, might unto might, brilliance unto brilliance, beauty unto beauty, splendour unto splendour,² and I was honoured and adorned with all these good and praiseworthy things more than all the children of heaven.

CHAPTER IX

Enoch receives blessings from the Most High and is adorned with angelic attributes

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) After all these things the Holy One, blessed be He, put His hand upon me and blessed me with 5360¹ blessings. (2) And I was raised² and enlarged to the size of the length and width of the world. (3) And He caused 72 wings to grow on me, 36 on each side. And

² C adds: 'and honour unto all honour, majesty unto all majesty, glory unto all glory and greatness unto all greatness'

Ch. ix. 1 so BCL. A: 'one thousand, 305 thousands' DE: 'one thousand, 365 thousand' 2 BC: 'elated'

Ch. ix. The subject of the present chapter is the metamorphosis through which Enoch was made into a high angel. This metamorphosis is viewed from another aspect in ch. xv. Here the different angelic attributes conferred on Metatron are: immense height of stature, wings, eyes covering the whole of his body, and light.

(1) blessed me with 5360 blessings. This connects the present chapter with its antecedent: the blessings are presumably conceived of as contained in the heavenly treasuries, opened to Enoch and the contents of which are bestowed upon him. The treasures of blessing(s) are mentioned as contained in the 'Araboth, e.g. TB. Chag. 12 b. The number 5360 is intended to reflect the number 365.

(2) I was raised to the size of the length... of the world. The immense size of the high angels is a constantly reiterated theme. Cf. ch. xxi. 1: "each of the Chayyoth is as the space of the world" (cf. Chag. 13 a), chh. xxii. 3, xxv. 4, xxvi. 4. The idea prevails: the greater an angel is (in rank) the larger his size. Cf. the versions of the *Rev. of Moses (Ma'yan Chokma, BH. i. 58, etc., YR. ii. 66 b-67 b, Zohar, ii. 58 a)*: "Hadarniel is greater than Qemuel by 60 myriads of parasangs, Sandalfon is higher of stature than Hadarniel by 500 years' journeying distance". Thus, in the other Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book, ch. xlviii c 5, the size of Metatron is seen from this comparative aspect: "I made him higher of stature than all. The height of his stature surpasses all others by ten thousand parasangs". The similar tradition preserved in *Zohar*, e.g. i. 21 a: "Metatron is glorified more than the highest angels (the Chayyoth) and higher than these by 500 parasangs".

(3) 72 wings. The number seventy-two is frequently used in the present book. It generally seems to imply reference to the rule of the world: the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, cf. note on ch. xvii. 8. Metatron is in the present section the ruler of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms: chh. x. 3, xiv. 1, xvi. 1 and 2. It is possible that the seventy-two wings here—extending over the whole world

each wing³ was as the whole world³. (4) And He fixed on me 365 eyes: each eye was as the great luminary. (5) And He left no kind of splendour, brilliance, radiance, beauty⁴ in (of) all the lights of the universe⁴ that He did not fix on me.

3-3 so *BCDEL*. A: 'filled the world'
the universe'

4-4 so *BCL*. A: 'praise, lights of

—symbolize Metatron's rulership over these. 36 on each side may be compared with ch. xvi. 1: 'the princes of kingdoms were standing... on my right hand and on my left'.

(4) 365 eyes. For the number 365 (= the number of days of the solar year) as mystical number cf. chh. v. 4, xxi. 3 ('the size of each wing of the Chayyoth as 365 wings'), xxxiii. 4 ('the breadth of each of the fiery rivers is 365 thousand parasangs'). The body of an angel-prince covered with eyes (round about) is a regular feature of the descriptions of angels: cf. chh. xxii. 8 ('his body is full of eyes', of Kerubiel), xxv. 2, where the number of eyes assigned to the angel-prince in question ('*Ophanniel*') is devised on the basis of calendary calculations ('8466 eyes corresponding to the number of hours of a year'), xxvi. 6. Cf. notes *ad loca*. each eye was as the great luminary. An identical statement about the eyes of Seraphiel, ch. xxvi. 6.

(5) fixed on me all kinds of splendour, brilliance etc. of the lights (luminaries) of the world. Cf. in the angelological descriptions: chh. xxii. 4, xxv. 6, xxvi. 2, 4. Cf. also *Mass. Hek.* iv: "On every door in the Hall(s) of 'Araboth there are fixed 365 thousand myriads of different kinds of lights like unto the great luminary'".

The repeated references by comparisons to the 'world' in the present chapter, vss. 2, 3, 5, and the possible allusion to the seventy-two princes of kingdoms or to the rule of the world in vs. 3 (cf. above) might conceivably be traces, if not intentional symbolical expressions, of Metatron's function as the Prince of the World. Vs. 2, 'I was raised to the size of the world', might also be a remnant of Metatron's connection with the speculations on the Primordial Man, the '*Adam Qadmon*'. Acc. to *Chag.* 12 a the first Adam reached from one end of the world to the other. This connection, which like the identification of Metatron with the Prince of the World (existing from the Days of Creation), was perhaps suspended in consequence of Metatron's identification with Enoch, reappears in later cabbalistic literature: the statement that Enoch-Metatron is the *Nëshāmā* of the first Adam, who left him before the sin of Adam (just as the universal size of the first Adam is represented as diminished through Adam's sin: *TB. Chag.* 12 a) is frequent. The difficulties arising from Metatron's identification with Enoch were now overcome through the new conceptions brought in with the doctrine of metempsychosis and related speculations.

CHAPTER X

God places Metatron on a throne at the door of the seventh Hall and announces through the Herald, that Metatron henceforth is God's representative and ruler over all the princes of kingdoms and all the children of heaven, save the eight high princes called YHWH by the name of their King

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me: ¹He made me ¹a Throne, similar to the ²Throne of Glory. And He spread over me ³a curtain of splendour and brilliant appearance, of

1-1 so ins. DE.

2 C ins. 'make of the'

3-3 BCL om.

Ch. x. This chapter presents Metatron as adorned with special attributes, distinguishing him from the other angels: a throne and a curtain, both reflections of the Throne and Curtain of the Godhead. He is furthermore explicitly pronounced a ruler over the princes of kingdoms and the children of heaven, a rulership defined as a vice-regency for the Holy One. The chapter really forms an explanation of the names 'Metatron' and 'Prince of the Presence'.

(1) He made me a Throne. This is *in itself* no feature confined to the descriptions of Metatron. Instances are frequent of thrones assigned to angels or meritorious dead. 1 *En. cviii.* 12 ("I will bring forth in shining light [cf. here] those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each one on the throne of his honour"). Cf. CHARLES, *ad locum*, Rev. iv. 4. In the 'Apocalyptic Fragment' preserved e.g. in *BH. v.* 167-169 David has a "Throne of fire" erected for him over against the Throne of His Creator. Acc. to *Gedullah Moshe* Moses sees in the seventh heaven "70 thrones fixed, of precious stones, pearls, gold etc. . . there are thrones for the scholars of the Law, for the *chassids*, the just etc. of different splendour acc. to merit of the occupants". And acc. to *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 34, the righteous in the world to come will each be seated before the Glory of the Holy One, on a throne of gold "like a king". For thrones assigned to angels cf. *Mass. Hek.* vii, acc. to which seven angels as court-officers are sitting upon seven thrones before the Curtain. Cf. Rev. xx. 4 ("I saw thrones, and they sat upon them", acc. to Bousset, *Comm. ad loc.* probably Christ and the angels as 'Gerichtsbeisassen'). The view predominant in Rabbinic seems to be that 'there is no sitting in heaven': *TB. Chag.* 15 a. Assigning a seat or a throne to any angel-prince or to any one beside the Holy One, might endanger the recognition of the absolute sovereignty and unity of the Godhead. Cf. ch. xvi. Acc. to the passage *Chag.* 15 a, just referred to, the privilege of 'sitting' was accorded to Metatron in his character as 'scribe': he was allowed "to sit and write down the merits of Israel". Here, no doubt, the assigning a Throne to Metatron is meant to denote his unique position: his character of God's representative or vice-regent. This is borne out by vss. 3 and 4 and also by what immediately follows: the Throne is similar to, *mē'ēn*, that is 'the counterpart of', the Throne of Glory. The character of Metatron's throne as an image of or counterpart of God's Throne is particularly emphasized by the additional feature: Metatron receives a curtain similar to the Curtain of the Throne of Glory. For the conception of the Curtain cf. note on ch. xiv. 1.

beauty, grace⁴ and mercy, similar to³ the curtain of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all⁵ kinds of lights in the universe⁵.

(2) And He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it.

(3) And the herald went forth⁶ into every heaven, saying: ⁷This is⁷ Metatron, ⁸my servant⁸. I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms⁹ and over all the children

4 DE om. 5-5 C: 'splendour and brilliance from all lights' cf. ch. ix. 4.
6 ABD ins. 'concerning me' 7-7 so C. 8-8 C om. 9 L ins. the gloss: 'the angels'

The Curtain regularly represents the recording of the Divine decrees with regard to the world, the secrets of the world's creation and sustenance, etc., in short the innermost Divine Secrets; cf. note referred to.

(2) He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it. This is an often-repeated statement. It is in ch. xlviii c 8 made to denote his function as judge and ruler over the princes and the children of heaven, as even here, acc. to verses following. In *Rev. Moses* (YR. ii. 66 b, *Siuni*, 93 c d, Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893) it is said: "Metatron, Prince of the Presence, stands before the door of the Hall of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he sits and judges all the hosts on high like a judge standing before the King". The contradiction between the two statements 'sits' and 'stands' in this passage is probably due to the influence of the tradition mentioned above, that there is no sitting in heaven, responsible also for the account of Metatron being divested of his privilege of *yeshiba* in *Chag.* 15 a and ch. xvi here. On his throne at the door of the seventh Hall Metatron faces all the hosts of the heavens, over which he has jurisdiction.

(3) the herald went forth into every heaven. The conception of the heavenly herald announcing important decrees of the Most High in the heavens is attested also in *Hek. R.* vi (BH. iii. 88, as ch. iv): "the herald went forth from the '*Araboth Raqia'*' etc." and in *Rev. Mos.*, *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, ii. 66 b: "*Gallişur* stands behind the Curtain and gets knowledge of the decrees of the Holy One and heralds it. . . and the herald commits it to Elijah and Elijah stands as herald on the mount Horeb". This is Metatron, my servant. **HERE THEN IS THE POINT**—in the course of the exposition of the present chapter—WHERE ENOCH IS PROCLAIMED AS METATRON. It is significant that THIS PROCLAMATION IS MADE TO COINCIDE WITH HIS BEING SET UP ON A THRONE—as a ruler over the princes and angels. See Introduction, section 12 (5). my servant, i.e. '*Ebed*'. '*Ebed* or God's Servant is an old-established name of Metatron. Cf. chh. xlviii c 1, xlviii d 1 (no. 17) and note. It seems to have been especially associated with the Prince of the Presence conception. Cf. *Hek. R.* xiii, BH. iii. 93: "*Surya*, '*Ebed*, the Prince of the Presence" (*Surya* is a common equivalent of Metatron as the Prince of the Presence, cf. no. 84, ch. xlviii. 1). In *Hek. Zot.* (Bodl. MICH. fol. 70a) the attribute 'my servant' is applied to Metatron as God's representative or vice-regent: "when I (the Holy One) leave the Throne of Glory to go down among the children of men". In *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104, Metatron is called "*Ebed-YHWH*, long-suffering and of great mercy". It is probable that the '*Ebed*' is derived from the picture of God's servant in *Is.* xlix. 1, etc.

I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms (= my princes of kingdoms). Here, as in ch. xvi. 1, 2, Metatron is explicitly stated to have special authority over the princes of kingdoms. This is a feature in the Prince of the World tradition: ch. xxx. 2. In the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xlviii c, vs. 9, Metatron's character of ruler over the princes of kingdoms and thereby as functional Prince of the World is better preserved than here: he is there depicted as ruler over the nations of the world 'who smites kings

of heaven, *except the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called* ¹⁰YHWH, *by the name of their King*¹⁰. (4) And every angel ¹¹and every prince¹¹ who has a word to speak ¹²in my presence (before me)¹² shall go into his presence (before him) and shall speak to him (instead). (5) ¹³And every command that he utters to you¹³ in my name do ye observe and fulfil. For the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding ¹⁴have I committed to him¹⁴ to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly

10-10 so with *BCDL(E)*. *A*: 'by the name of H their King' *E*: 'H by the name of the World' (corrupt for: 'H, by the name of the King of the World?') 11-11 *D om.* 12-12 *BCL om.* 13-13 lit. 'every word that he shall speak to you' 14-14 so acc. to *BCL*. *BL* lit. 'I have committed him (sing. = the Prince of Wisdom and of Understanding)' *C*: 'I have committed them (plur.)' *A*: 'are ministers to him'

and sets up kings'. Here his rulership is viewed mainly or exclusively from its celestial aspect, he is the ruler over the princes of kingdoms as inhabitants of the heavens, in common with all the children of heaven. Except the eight great princes... who are called YHWH by the name of their king. 'Called by the name YHWH' (cf. on chh. iii. 2, xxix. 1) probably means that these angels have the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their names, as '*Anaphiel H* of ch. vi. 1, the higher ones of the angels enumerated ch. xviii, and the *Merkaba* princes chh. xix, xx, xxii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. Which these angels are who are exempt from the jurisdiction of Metatron is not stated here. One might from ch. vi. 1 conjecture that '*Anaphiel* was regarded as one of them. A parallel can be brought from *Hek. R.* xxii, *BH.* iii. 99. This parallel is indeed so close that it can with some degree of certainty be assumed to represent the same tradition as the present passage. The guardians of the seventh Hall are enumerated—"and each of them, his name is called by the name of the King of the World"—(in the enumeration this statement is shown to signify the form of names of which the *Tetragrammaton* forms the latter part: *SSTIEL YHWH*, *N(ZURIEL YHWH)*, etc.). The greatest of them is '*Anaphiel H* (in whose charge the ring with the seal of heaven and earth is committed, cf. on vi. 1): "before him all on high kneel down, fall on their faces and pay homage to him when they see him. And those angels, standing before the Throne of Glory, who do not prostrate themselves before the Prince of the Presence, they prostrate themselves before '*Anaphiel YHWH*". 'Those angels' are evidently the angels in *Hek. R.* made into 'the guardians of the Seventh Hall'. The names of these angels are only seven in the enumeration, but acc. to the general scheme of *Hek. R.* (see chh. xv, xvii, etc.) the number of the guardians of each Hall is 'eight': likewise in *Mass. Hek.* iv ("there are eight guardians of the door of each of the seven Halls"). Hence also *Hek. R.* xxii might originally have had: "eight great princes, called H". This clause is most probably additional here, cf. Introduction, section 8 (u).

(4) Every angel... who has a word to speak in my presence, shall go... to him. HERE THE EPITHET 'PRINCE OF THE PRESENCE' IS EXPLAINED. (5) And every command that he utters to you in my name do ye observe and fulfil. THIS IS CLEARLY A PROCLAMATION OF METATRON AS GOD'S VICE-REGENT. Ex. xxiii. 21 may have been suggestive (Ex. xxiii. 20-22 are traditionally referred to the Prince of the Presence): "Beware of him and provoke him not: obey his voice". Here Metatron's jurisdiction extends only over the angels, ctr. ch. xlviii c 9. But his connection with the affairs of the 'world' is implied by the following, for the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding have I committed to him to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly things. 'The Prince of Wisdom and Prince of Understanding':

things, in the wisdom of this world and of the world to come. (6) Moreover, I have set him over all the treasures of the palaces of 'Arabôth and over all the stores¹⁵ of life¹⁵ that¹⁶ I have^{16 17} in the high heavens.

CHAPTER XI

God reveals all mysteries and secrets to Metatron

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹Henceforth the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me¹ all

15-15 L om. 16-16 E: 'are' 17 B ins. 'in my world'

Ch. xi. 1-1 BCL: 'the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me, the spring (well) of'

cf. ch. xlviij D 1 (no. 105) and 2 ('all the treasures of wisdom are committed in his hand'). The functions of the Prince of Wisdom are then naturally merged into the conception of Metatron: Metatron is the Prince of Wisdom. Cf. on ch. xviii. 11, 16. Metatron instructed in the 'secrets' is the subject of the following chapter. There it is God himself who instructs him. Cf. in 2 *En.* xxxiii. 11, 12: "two angels Ariukh and Pariukh appointed by God as *guardians of the Enoch-literature*".

(6) I have set him over all the treasures of... 'Araboth. Cf. ch. viii. Acc. to the present chapter Metatron's initiation in the wisdoms of heaven and earth and his disposal over the treasures is a necessary condition for (and corollary of) his office as God's representative. Stores of Life: ch. viii. 1, 4 *Ex.* viii. 54, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 26, 44.

Ch. xi. That METATRON IS IN POSSESSION OF ALL SECRETS AND MYSTERIES is an essential feature of the traditions concerning him. Cf. the other Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book: ch. xlviij C 7 (and 4). He is called the 'Knower of Secrets' *ib.* and *Hek. R.* ("wise in the secrets and Master of the mysteries"). The same is implied in chh. viii, x. 5. As a 'knower of secrets' he is also the 'revealer of secrets'. This is the eighty-eighth of the names in ch. xlviij D 1 and the sixty-seventh in the treatise *Names of Metatron*, *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a. He is the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding: ch. xlviij D 1 (105), 2, 6. He reveals the 'secret' to Moses: *ib.* 7. He is the guide and revealer of secrets to R. Ishmael acc. to the frame of the present book, to R. Ishmael and R. 'Aqiba (*e. a.*) acc. to *Hek. R.* (in the form of 'Surya'), *Hek. Zot.*, *Shi'ur Qoma*, the *Apocalyptic Fragment*, BH. v. 167-169, and in various scattered fragments (see Introduction). Also called 'guide of all treasures', e.g. BH. ii. 117. Besides it needs hardly to be pointed out that the revelation of secrets to Enoch and Enoch as possessor of and revealer of heavenly secrets is a prominent trait of the 1 and 2 *En.* Cf. also CHARLES, 1 *En.* xlix. 3, 4.

(1) Henceforth the Holy One... revealed to me. Acc. to vs. 5 of the preceding chapter the angel(s) called the Prince of Wisdom and Prince of Understanding are the instructors of Enoch-Metatron. Here it is the Holy One himself who reveals the secrets to him. An important parallel to this is found in 2 *En.* xxiii, xxiv. In ch. xxiii the angel *Vretil* tells Enoch of 'all the works of heaven and earth, etc. etc.', in ch. xxiv again it is God himself who reveals to Enoch 'the secrets of Creation'. The reason of the change is there to be seen in the explicit statement that these latter secrets are not even revealed to the angels and could therefore be handed over to Enoch only by God himself. It is probable that a similar idea has been at work here. It is at least certain that Metatron was thought to receive more

the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom ²and all the depths of the Perfect Law²; ³and all living beings' thoughts of heart and all the secrets of the universe³ and all the secrets⁴ of Creation were revealed unto me even as they are revealed unto ⁵the Maker of Creation⁵.

(2) And I watched intently⁶ to behold ⁷the secrets of the depth and the wonderful mystery⁷.

⁹ABL:

Before a man did think ⁸ in secret, I saw^{8a} (it) and before a man made a thing I beheld it. (3) And there was no thing on high nor in the depth of the world hidden from me.¹⁰

C:

Before a man did think, I knew what was in his thought. (3) And there was no thing above on high nor below in the deep hidden from me.

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2-2 so *BEL* (*L* om. 'Perfect') *A*: lacuna. *C* reads: 'all the secrets of understanding and all the depths of the mysteries of the Tora' 3-3 *BCL* om. 4 *BC*: 'orders' 5-5 *C*: 'the Creator of the work(s) of the Beginning' 6 lit. 'much' *BCL* om. *DE*: 'from that time onward' 7-7 perhaps to be emended with *C*: 'the deep secrets and the wonderful mysteries' 8 *B* ins. 'I knew, and before he did think' 8a *L*: 'I knew' and om. 'in secret' 9-9 *DE* corr. from 'before a man did think etc.' to the end of the chapter. 10 *B* adds: 'from the Creator of the World alone'

of the 'secrets' than the angels in general; cf. ch. viii. 2 end: 'I was honoured and adorned with all these... things more than all the children of heaven', referring *inter alia* to 'wisdom, understanding, knowledge'.

all the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom and all the depths of the Perfect Law. The mysteries of the Tora is a technical term, denoting THE INNER ESSENCE OF WHICH THE TORA ITSELF IS AN EXPRESSION, FORM, PHENOMENON. They are not to be defined as the sum of mystical interpretations of the Tora: the mystical interpretation aims at finding these secrets by the study of the Tora, in which they are embodied (cf. e.g. *Baraita of R. Meir, Pirque Ab.* vi: "Whosoever is busy in the Tora for its own sake... to him the mysteries of Tora are revealed"). They are in fact the 'mysteries of mysteries', the fundament not 'only' of the Tora but of the universe, of heaven and earth: cf. ch. xlviii D 8 and note *ad locum*. In the term are thus comprised also the following: the secrets of Wisdom and the depths of the Perfect Law and also the Secrets of Creation. See Introduction, section 14 (1). Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 43, 44, acc. to which God revealed to Moses (since Moses received the Tora on Sinai he was also thought to have received the 'Secrets' either directly from God or through Metatron; cf. ch. xlviii D 3, 7 seq.) 'the Tora... and opened to him the treasuries of Wisdom, which the Holy One... revealed to him, that he might see by His Wisdom all the orders of Creation...' Perfect Law. The expression is derived from Ps. xix. 8. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 14: "But for the Perfect Law (*Tord Temimd*) the whole world would not subsist" and *vice versa*.

all living beings' thoughts of heart... (2) Before a man did think, I knew, etc. (3) ...no thing... on high nor... in the deep hidden from me. Metatron seems here to be invested with the attribute of omniscience proper only to 'the Maker of the World'. All past, present and future events are recorded with God (on the Curtain cf. on ch. xlv. 1). These were also shown to Moses acc. to the passage *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 44, referred to above.

CHAPTER XII

God clothes Metatron in a garment of glory, puts a royal crown on his head and calls him "the Lesser YHWH"

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) By reason of the love with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved me more than all the children of heaven, He made me a garment of glory¹ on which were fixed² all kinds of ³ lights, and He clad me ⁴in it⁴. (2) ⁵And He made me a robe of honour on which were fixed all kinds of beauty, splendour, brilliance and majesty ⁶⁵. (3) And he made me a royal crown in which were fixed forty-nine costly stones

1 so BCL. lit. 'highness' A corr. 2 so C. ABDEL om. 3 B ins. 'beauty, splendour and majesty and' 4-4 supplied from C. 5-5 DE om. 6 CL add: 'and wrapped me (in it)'

Ch. xii. Continued description of Enoch's exaltation, ending with the climax: ENOCH-METATRON CALLED THE LESSER YHWH. A very close parallel to this chapter is found in 2 *En.* xxi. 5-11, xxii. 5. *Vide* Introduction, section 7 (b). (1) The Holy One...made me a garment of glory. Cf. 2 *En.* xxii. 8 (lvi. 2): God bids Michael clothe Enoch with 'the raiment of glory'. [In early traditions the 'garment of glory' ('raiment of honour', etc.) represents the light-substance in which the inhabitants of the high heavens appear; the 'glory' is light, splendour, probably conceived of as a reflection, outflow of the Divine Glory, the Splendour of Shekina. The putting on 'the raiment of glory' is a necessary condition of entering the highest heavens, God's abode of light. Hence it is also a mark of the holy, celestial nature of its bearers.] Cf. how acc. to *Asc. Is.* ix. 2-11 (vii. 25) Isaiah can only ascend to the highest heaven after having received the garment of glory. 'Garments of glory' are designed for the righteous and elect: 1 *En.* lxii. 15, 16. Similarly *Esdra*s ii. 39 ("those which are departed from the shadow of the world and have received glorious garments of the Lord"), explained *ib.* iv. 45 ("they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal"), 1 *En.* cviii. 12 (*vide* CHARLES' notes *ad loca cit.*), 2 Cor. v. 3 seq., *Rev.* iii. 5, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 28 and 34 (the righteous will be sitting on thrones before the Glory in royal garments and royal crowns).

[The garment of glory and robe of honour is here assigned to Metatron as distinguished from the other angels: 'by reason of the love with which [He] loved me more than all the children of heaven'. The writer has Metatron's rulership, his vice-regency in view. THE GARMENT AND ROBE ASSIGNED TO HIM ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS SYMBOLS OF HIS DERIVED KINGSHIP. This is apparent from the following context: Metatron crowned with a crown of kingship and especially by his pronouncement as the Lesser YHWH.] Acc. to *Alpha Beta de Metatron* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 81 b) Metatron "is clad in eight garments, made out of the splendour of Shekina (*ib.* 81 a: when the righteous parts from this world the Prince of the Presence conducts him to the Garden of Eden and there he clothes him in eight garments from the splendour of Shekina)". THE GARMENT(S) OF GLORY ARE A DISTINCTION ASSIGNED ALSO TO MESSIAH acc. to *Pirqe Mashiach*, BH. iii. 73 ("God will clothe Messiah in splendour and majesty...and garments of glory").

(3) And he made me a royal crown. 'Crowns' often termed 'Crowns of Glory' are frequently, one might say regularly, ascribed to angel-princes. Cf. in

⁷like unto⁷ the light of the globe of the sun. (4) For its splendour went forth ⁸in the four quarters of the 'Araboth Raqia', and in (through) the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world⁸. And ⁹he put it⁹ on my head.

(5) And ¹⁰He called me¹⁰ THE LESSER YHWH in the presence of all His¹¹ heavenly household; as it is written (Ex. xxiii. 21): "For my name is in him".

7-7 B: 'shining as' 8-8 B: 'from one end of the world to the other, and in the seven heavens and in the four quarters of the world' 9-9 lit. 'he wreathed it' C: 'they put that crown' 10-10 BC: 'they called me (by the name of)'
11 BCL: 'the'

the present book chh. xvi. 1, 2 (princes of kingdoms), xvii. 8 (item), xviii. 1-22 (all the angels and princes); in the angelological section, the Merkaba-angels and the princes set over them: chh. xxi. 4, xxii. 5, 11, xxv. 6, xxvi. 7, 8, further xxxix. 2, xl. 2, xlviii c 4. The Divine Names, ch. xlviii B 1. Cf. Rev. iv. 4. The righteous are to receive crowns in the world to come or in the after-life, e.g. 2 *Esdras* ii. 45. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 34, and *ib.* 36, God is represented as crowning the letters on the Merkaba with a crown of kingship and a crown of glory. In the present book 'the crown of kingship' is the special emblem of Metatron and of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms (whose ruler he is): ch. xvii. 8 (cf. xvi. 1, 2); in ch. xviii all the angel-princes are depicted with 'crowns of glory' except the 'seventy-two princes of kingdoms' who have 'crowns of kingship'. They are the celestial rulers over the nations of the world. The royal crown here is apparently meant to distinguish Metatron as representative ruler. The following chapter makes it clear that METATRON'S CROWN WAS CONCEIVED OF AS A COUNTERPART OF 'KETHER NĒRĀ' OF THE HOLY ONE AS KING OF THE WORLD (cf. ch. xxix. 1). its splendour went forth etc. Cf. ch. xxv. 6.

(5) And He called me the Lesser YHWH... "For my name is in him." The tradition that Metatron bears the name of his Master is attested in *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, with the same scriptural support as here, viz. Ex. xxiii. 21. The passage is frequently referred to Metatron. The reference has been interpreted from the equal numerical value of Metatron and *Shaddai* (the name of God Almighty). *The original meaning was, however, as here, that METATRON ACTUALLY WAS CALLED BY THE DIVINE NAME OR NAMES.* Such seems to be the import even of *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, since there Ex. xxiv. 1 is referred to Metatron: "And He said unto Moses, Come up unto YHWH"; 'Come up unto YHWH' is to be understood: 'Come up unto Metatron'. A very important parallel is found in *Apocalypse of Abraham* (ed. BOX), ch. 10: "I am called *Jaol* by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the seventh expanse upon the firmament, a power in virtue of the *ineffable Name that is dwelling in me*". *Jaol* is made up of the Divine Names, and therefore 'God's Name is in Him'. For Metatron called 'the Lesser YHWH' cf. *BH.* ii. 61, 114, 117, and also 3 *En.* xlviii c 7, xlviii d 1 (no. 102: 'the Lesser YHWH, after the name of his Master, "for my name is in him (Ex. xxiii. 21)"; *ib.* no. 14, YHWH is included as one of the names of Metatron). *Sepher ha-Qoma* ('*Inyanē Merkaba*'), *Bodl.* OPP. 467, fol. 61 b (where the variant reading, however, differs): "The Explicit Name, which is Metatron, the Youth" (var. "the explicit name which Metatron announces"). In the commentary on *Sepher ha-Qoma* (*Bodl.* OPP. 658, fol. 101 a): "for Metatron's name is YHWH the Lesser". *Add.* 27142 quotes from *Hekaloth (et al.)*: "And he (Metatron) is the crown of the attributes of the Holy One, and his name is as the name of His Master: THE LESSER YHWH" ~~X~~ *Add.* 15299, fol. 134 a (*Widdiyy Yaphē*): "all the princes that are standing beneath the Lesser YHWH". Cf. *Zohar*, i. 21 a. The ascribing to Metatron of the name YHWH

CHAPTER XIII

God writes with a flaming style on Metatron's crown the cosmic letters by which heaven and earth were created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) Because of the ¹great love and ¹mercy with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved ²and cherished ²me more than all the children of heaven, He wrote with his finger with a flaming style upon the crown on my head the letters by which were created ³heaven and earth, the seas and rivers³, ⁴the mountains and hills,⁴ the planets and constellations ⁵, the lightnings, winds, earthquakes ⁶and voices (thunders)⁶, the snow and hail, the storm-wind and the

C OM. CHH. XIII AND XIV.

1-1 so with BDEL. A: 'love of the Holy One,

blessed be He, and the'

2-2 L om.

3-3 ins. with BDEL. A om.

4-4 BL om.

5 B ins. 'the sun and the moon'

6-6 L om.

ha-QATAN is very near to ascribing to him an intermediary Function of Deity. But it here denotes his function of being God's representative. As His representative the Most High has conferred upon him part of His essence which is in His name. Cf. how acc. to later traditions Metatron is regarded as part of the Shekina, the body of Shekina, "the Shekina is called by his name Metatron" (YR. i. 57 a). Further on the significance of the name 'the Lesser YHWH' see Introduction, section 8. (Add. 27199, fol. 114 a: שם הגדול כי שמי בקרבו speaking of Metatron.) The expression 'the little Iao' is found in Pistis Sophia (ed. Horner), page 6 (12b) (ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8). Cf. Introduction, 8 (p) and 11 H 2 (a).

Ch. xiii. (Cf. the parallel chapter xli.) ON THE CROWN WITH WHICH THE HOLY ONE CROWNED METATRON ACC. TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER VS. 3, HE WRITES THE MYSTICAL LETTERS "BY WHICH HEAVEN AND EARTH ETC. WERE CREATED". This is indicated as a distinction assigned to Metatron over 'all the children of heaven' (cf. ch. xii. 1). The idea is presumably to denote that Metatron's crown is the counterpart of the Crown of the Most High, just as Metatron's throne and curtain (ch. x. 1) are the counterparts of the Divine Throne and Curtain resp. Acc. to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 13 and iii. 50, the "22 letters by which the whole Torah was given to the Tribes of Israel. . . are engraved with a flaming style on the Fearful Crown (cf. ch. xxix. 1)". And the latter passage continues: "and when the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to create the world, they all went down and stood before Him". *Mass. Hek.* vii: "the crown with the Explicit Name is on His (fore)head".

(1) the letters by which were created heaven and earth. Which are these letters? In three different ways the conception of 'Creation by letters' is expressed: (1) the world was created by the letter *Beth*, being the first one of the letters of the Tora (*Bērēshith*): *Gen. R.* i. 14, *Tʿ. Chag.* 77 c, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 5: for on the Tora the Creation was based; (2) the letters of the Divine Name are the constituents of the world (*Zohar*, ii. 76 a b), especially the letters of the *YHWH* and 'EHYE, viz. י, ו, ה, א. But also in particular the letters *Yod* and *He* (common to both these names and found in the name *YAHU*). The biblical passage *Is.* xxvi. 4

tempest; the letters by which were created all ⁷the needs of the world ⁸and all⁸⁷ the orders of Creation.

(2) And every single letter ⁹sent forth⁹ ¹⁰time after time as it were¹⁰ ¹¹lightnings, ¹²time after time as it were¹² torches, ¹²time after time as it were¹² flames of fire, ¹²time after time¹²¹¹ (rays) like [as] the rising of the sun and the moon and the planets.

7-7 L om. 8-8 so with BDE. A: 'upon all' 9-9 L: 'flew off'
10-10 BDE: 'figures like unto' or 'figures of aspects as' 11-11 DE om.
12-12 B as in 10-10.

(cf. ch. xlii. 4) is used as support, interpreted thus: "By *Yōd Hē* He created the worlds". The 'worlds': "the world to come with *Yōd*, this world by *He*" or *vice versa* (YR. i. 8 b). From the word *behūbbare'ām*, read *bē Hē bēv'ām* (by He did He create them), in Gen. ii. 4, support is brought for the statement: 'by *He* heaven and earth were created'. The first word of the Tora (*Bērēshūth*, read *Bārā Sheth* (He created (by) six) together with the passage Is. xxvi. 4 already mentioned (interpreted: By *YH YHWH* he created the worlds) are used as support for the creation of heaven and earth and the world by the six letters: ה, י, ה, י, ה, י (*Ma'ase Bereshūth*, S. Razi'el, Or. 6577 foll. (19 b, 20 a b). Cf. for further references: TB. Men. 29 b, T'f. Chag. 77, Gen. R. xii. 2, 9, Mass. Hek. vii, Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 23, 24, 53, 55, 56, YR. i. 4 b, 8 b. (3) The world was created by the twenty-two letters (which of course are also regarded as constituting the Divine Name). *Pirqe R. Ishm.* (Bodl. MICH. 175, foll. 20 a-26 a, ch. xxi cont.) the statement to this effect is based likewise upon Is. xxvi. 4. The creation of everything in heaven and on earth by means of the twenty-two letters is notably the fundamental doctrine of the *S. Yešira*: "By means of the 22 letters, by giving them a form and a shape, by mixing them and combining them in different ways, God made the soul of all that which has been created and of all that which will be" (ii. 2, cited by Abelson in *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 104). Cf. *ib.* p. 100 from *Ber.* 55 a: "Bezalel knew how to join together the letters by means of which the heavens and earth were created". Cf. also the "Sa'adya" commentary on *S. Yešira*, ii. 2. As no special letters are named here and no reference is made to the 'name', also because the wording suggests a plurality, THE 'LETTERS' ARE PRESUMABLY IN THE PRESENT CHAPTER TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS THE 22 LETTERS. In ch. xlviij d 5 the conferment upon Metatron of the twenty-two letters is explicitly stated.

(2) And every single letter sent forth etc. Cf. ch. xxxix. 1 and ch. xlviii b 1, from which it appears as if the reading of *L* might probably be original: 'flew off'. Cf. notes *ad loca*. On 'the mystical letters' *vide* Introduction, section 14 (1).

The idea of creation by letters (of the Name) is to be traced back in the Enoch literature to 1 *En.* lxix. 14-25: "the hidden Name (enunciated) in the oath... and these are the secrets of this oath... through it the earth was founded... the sea was created... the depths made fast... the sun and moon complete their course" (Charles' ed.).

CHAPTER XIV

All the highest princes, the elementary angels and the planetary and sideric angels fear and tremble at the sight of Metatron crowned

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, put this crown on my head, (then) trembled before me all the Princes of Kingdoms who are in the height ¹of 'Araboth Raqia' and all the hosts of every heaven¹; and even ²the princes (of) the 'Elim, the princes (of) the 'Er'ellim and the princes (of) the *Tafšarim*², who are greater than all the

1-1 *L om.* 2-2 so with *BL.* *A:* 'the princes of the 'Er'elim and the princes of the 'Elim *Tafšarim* and the princes of the 'Er'ellim' *DE:* 'the princes 'Elim and the princes 'Tafšarim'

Ch. xiv. In the form of a narrative of how different princes and angels trembled before Metatron, when they saw him crowned by the Most High, the PRESENT CHAPTER GIVES AN EXPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS ANGELIC POWERS UNDER METATRON'S AUTHORITY. These comprise mainly: (1) the princes of kingdoms, including Sammael ('who is greater than all of them'); (2) the princes (of) the 'Elim, 'Er'ellim and *Tafšarim*; (3) the so-called 'rulers of the world', i.e. (a) the angels appointed over the elementary powers of the world, fire, ice, wind, lightning, thunder, snow, rain, (b) the angels appointed over the heavenly bodies, including the angels of 'the day' and 'the night'. It will be noticed that these angels and angelic functions fall within the traditional dominion of the 'Prince of the World': METATRON IS HERE (cf. on chh. ix. 5, x. 3) DENOTED AS VIRTUAL PRINCE OF THE WORLD, HAVING AUTHORITY OVER THE 72 PRINCES OF KINGDOMS (cf. ch. xxx) AND OVER THE 'RULERS OF THE WORLD'.

(1) all the Princes of Kingdoms. Metatron is particularly depicted as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms; cf. chh. x. 3, xvi. 1, 2, xlviii c 9, and on iii. 2. For the conception of the princes of kingdoms—the representatives of the nations of the world—see on ch. xvii. 8 and cf. chh. xviii. 2, xxx. 2. who are in the height of 'Araboth Raqia', the highest of the heavens. The princes of kingdoms are usually represented as having their place in the highest of the heavens, near the Throne of God. They form the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Divine Council (ch. xxx). See on ch. xvii. 8 (in Raqia') and xviii. 2 (in the 'Araboth Raqia', but in rank under the guardians of the Halls of Araboth).

'Elim, the princes of the 'Elim. A class of angels mentioned also chh. xv B 1 and xix. 6 (in the reading of *B*). The name is derived from Ex. xv. 11 and Ezek. xxxii. 21. *Mekilta* on the former passage explains 'Elim' as "those who minister before the Holy One in the high heavens", thus denoting them as angels. The 'Er'ellim and *Tafšarim*, also in ch. xxxiii. 7. The 'Er'ellim, denoting angels (in general?) in *Ket.* 104 a and *Yer. Kil.* 32 a, are derived from Is. xxxiii. 7. They are one of the 'ten classes of angels' (under the rulership of Mikael, *Mass.* 'Asiluth, *Zohar*, Ex. xliii; *Maimon*, *Y. Ch. Y. T.*), also mentioned as one of the first classes of angels in *YR.* i. 13 a (from *Midrash Kōnēn*) and i. 31 a (from 'Or ha-Chayyim). The *Tafšarim* (*Jer.* li. 27, *Nah.* iii. 17) occur here and in ch. xxxix. 2 only. For the hosts of every heaven (*om. by L*) cf. xvii. 2.

ministering angels who minister before the Throne of Glory, ⁴shook, feared and trembled before me ³when they beheld me³⁴.

(2) Even Sammael ⁵, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms on high, feared and trembled before me.

(3) And even the angel⁶ of fire, and the angel⁶ of hail, and the angel⁶ of the wind, ⁷and the angel of the lightning,⁷ and the angel of anger, ⁸and the angel of the thunder⁸, and the angel of the snow, and the angel of ⁹the rain; and the angel of the day, and the angel of the night, ¹⁰and the angel of the sun and the angel of the moon¹⁰ and the angel of the planets and the angel of the constellations ¹¹who rule the world under their hands, feared ¹²and trembled and were affrighted before me, when they beheld me¹².

¹³(4) These are the names of the rulers of the world: *Gabriel*, the

3-3 *E* om. 4-4 *L* om. 5 *DE* ins. 'the Evil One' 6 *BL*: 'angels'
 7-7 *B* om. 8-8 *D*: 'the angel of the storm-wind, the angel of the earthquake'
B: 'the angel of the earthquake and the angel of commotion and the angel of hail'
L: 'and the angels of the earthquake and the thunder' 9 *L* ins. 'the lightning
 and' (cf. 7-7) 10-10 *L* om. 11-11 *L* om. from 'who rule...' vs. 3 to vs. 5.
 12-12 *B* om. 13-13 *B* om. vs. 4.

(2) Sammael, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms. For Sammael cf. on ch. xxvi. 21. He is here put in relation to the princes of kingdoms, probably regarded as the chief of these princes. As 'the prince of Rome'—ch. xxvi. 12—he is naturally included in this category, and as a representative of Rome, Israel's greatest oppressor, he also becomes the representative of all the Gentile nations and the leader of the princes who accuse Israel (represented by Mikael) on high. From this point of view one trend of traditions regards the princes of kingdoms, under Sammael, as evil, demoniacal powers. In the present book the tendency is contrary: in ch. xxx the princes of kingdoms, under the Prince of the world, together plead the cause of the world before God in a universal sense, and here they are all subjected under the rulership of Metatron whose authority supersedes that of Sammael.

(3) The angels of the elementary forces of fire, hail, wind, lightnings, etc., are comprised with those of the heavenly bodies under the category of 'rulers of the world' ('who rule the world under their hands'). Cf. 2 *En.* iv-vi where the first heaven is said to contain "the rulers of the orders of the stars" together with the angels guarding "the treasures of snow, ice, clouds and dew". The names and characteristics of the angels of 1 *En.* vi. 7 and viii show a combination of elementary and sideric-planetary powers: Kokabiel, evidently = Kokbiel of vs. 4 (planets or stars), Shamsiel (= Shimshiel of vs. 4: the sun), Sariel (the moon) and Ezeqeel (= Ziqiel of vs. 4: the sparks or lightnings); cf. Zaqiel, Baraqijal (= Baraqiel: lightnings), Jomjael (= Yomieli?, prince of the day, here Shimshiel). For the close connection of the gods, angels or rulers of elementary and planetary phenomena attested in Persian religion, Mithraism and Gnosticism cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 223-237. Cf. Diels, *Elementum*, pp. 41 seqq., pointing out that the στοιχεῖα, 'elements', of N.T.-time comprise elementary powers and planets (Gal. iv. 3, 9, Col. ii. 8, 20 etc.) For planetary angels, spirits or demons cf. 1 *En.* lx 15-22, 2 *En.* xv, xvi. 7, *Jub.* ii. 2, 4 *Ex.* vi. 41, 2 *Bar.* vi. 1, item 1 *En.* lxi. 10 ("principalities...and the powers of earth and water"), *ib.* lxvi. 2 ("angels...over the

angel of the fire, *Baradiel*, the angel of the hail, *Ruchiel* who is appointed over the wind, *Baraqiel* who is appointed over the lightnings, *Za'amiel* who is appointed over the vehemence, *Ziqiel* who is appointed over the sparks, *Zi'iel* who is appointed over the commotion, *Za'aphiel* who is appointed over the storm-wind, *Ra'amiel* who is appointed over the thunders, *Ra'ashiel* who is appointed over the earthquake, *Shalgiel* who is appointed over the snow, *Maṭariel* who is appointed over the rain, *Shimshiel* who is appointed over the day, *Lailiel* who is appointed over the night, *Galgalliel* who is appointed over the globe of the sun, *'Ophanniel* who is appointed over the globe of the moon, *Kokbiel* who is appointed over the planets, *Rahaṭiel* who is appointed over the constellations¹³¹¹.

(5) And they all fell prostrate, when they saw me. And they were not able to behold me because of the majestic glory and beauty of ¹⁴the appearance of the shining¹⁴ light of the crown of glory upon my head.¹⁵

14-14 *L* om.

15 here follows in *B* a recension of ch. vii, in *L* a version of

ch. xv B.

powers of the waters"), *ib.* lxix. 2 (Kokabel, Baraqel, cf. vi, viii referred to above), *ib.* vs. 22 ("the spirits of the water and of the winds"). (4) Gabriel the angel of the fire. This seems to be a remnant of a tradition, connecting the archangels or the four 'Presences' with the elements and planets. Such a tradition is preserved in *Tiqqunē Zohar*, no. 70 ("Mikael is appointed over the water or seas, Gabriel over the fire, Uriel over the wind, Raphael over the 'dust of the ground', the earth"). For Uriel as the angel of the fire, see BOX, *Ezra-Ap.* pp. 20, 21. Shimshiel, the angel over the day. The name is derived from *Shemesh* (sun). *Shemesh* and *Yom* are often equivalent (cf. *TB. Ab. Zar.* 4 b, 5 a, *Rashi*). The name *Yomiel* which would have been more strictly in accordance with the scheme of the preceding angelic names (each derived from the name of their function or of the element over which they are appointed) occurs already in 1 *En.* vi. 7 ('Jomjael' cf. above). In *Hek. Zot. Bodl.* MICH. 9, fol. 68 a, '*Yomael*' is one of seven angels connected with the seven heavens. Cf. note on ch. xvii. 3. Cf. also Shamsiel, 1 *En.* viii. 3 (who taught men "the signs of the sun"). For Galgalliel, 'Ophanniel, Kokbiel, Rahaṭiel, as angels over sun, moon, planets and constellations, see the identical representation—in a fuller form—in ch. xvii. 4-7. Cf. ch. xlvi. 3 (Rahaṭiel). 'Ophanni'el as the prince of the Ophannim, see ch. xxv (which preserves traces of the connection of this angel with "the globe of the moon"). Vide the consummate exposition of the angelic names in the parallel passage of 1 *En.* vi (with variant readings) given by CHARLES, in *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 16, 17!

(5) crown of glory. . . . Metatron's crown is here called 'crown of glory', in contrast to the preceding where it is always referred to as 'crown of kingship'.

CHAPTER XV

Metatron transformed into fire

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) As soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, took me ¹in (His) service¹ to attend the Throne of Glory and ²the Wheels (*Galgallim*) of the *Merkaba* and the needs³ of *Shekina*, forthwith my flesh was changed into flames, my sinews into flaming fire, my bones into coals of burning juniper, ⁴the light of⁴ my eye-lids into ⁵splendour of⁵ lightnings, my eye-balls into fire-brands, the hair of my head into hot flames, all my limbs into wings of burning fire and the whole of my body into glowing fire.

(2) And on my right were divisions⁶ of fiery flames, on my left ⁷fire-brands were burning⁷, round about me ⁸stormwind and tempest were blowing⁸ and in front of me and behind me was roaring of ⁹thunder with earthquake^{9, 10}.

1-1 so A. D: 'in joy' BCL om. 2 C ins. 'by consequence' 3 CSYR: 'arrangements' 4-4 BCL om. 5-5 B: 'sparks of' CL om. 6 so B. A: 'dividers' (cf. on ch. vi. 2). 7-7 so with (B)CDBEL. A corr. 8-8 so with BDE. A corr. L: 'were blown, roused' instead of 'were blowing' C om. 'were blowing' 9-9 BCDEL: 'thunder upon thunder' 10 CL end here. Cf. 16 on ch. xiv and 1 on ch. xvi.

Ch. xv. This chapter in common with ch. ix treats of the metamorphosis through which Metatron-Enoch was made into an angel. His body and substance are wholly changed into fire. For fire as the regular substance of the angels, see Introduction (Angelol., Nature, etc., of the angels). The *Tos.* (*Yeb.* 16 b) record the *piyyutic* statement: "Metatron, the Prince, who was made from flesh into fire", meaning "Enoch is Metatron". See YR. i. 54 b.

(1) my limbs into wings of burning fire. Cf. ch. ix. 2.

(2) on my right were divisions of fiery flames etc. High angel-princes surrounded by fire, thunder, tempest and storm-wind is a frequent representation of the angelological section, chh. xviii-xxvi. Cf. e.g. chh. xviii. 25, xxii. 9, 13, etc., xxxiv, xxxvii.

CHAPTER XV B

Addition occurring in B and L

B:

(1) *R. Ishmael said: Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence and the prince over all the princes—and he stands before*

L:

(1) *Metatron, he is prince over all the princes—and he stands before*

Him who is greater than all the Elohim. And he goes in under the Throne of Glory. And he has a great tabernacle of¹ light on high. And he brings forth the fire of deafness and puts (it) into the ears of the Holy Chayyoth, that they may not hear the voice of the Word (Dibbur)² that goes forth from the mouth of the Divine Majesty².

(2) *And when Moses ascended on high, he fasted 121 fasts, till³ the habitations of the chashmal were opened to him³; and he*

*Fragment of an
"Ascension of
Moses"*

B:

saw the heart within the heart of the Lion

L:

saw, that it was white as the heart of the Lion

1 L: 'above'
the chashmal'

2-2 L om.

3-3 L: 'they opened to him the habitations of

Ch. xv B. THIS ADDITIONAL PIECE which is embodied in B and L in a disconnected style PRESERVES A FRAGMENT OF AN 'ASCENSION OF MOSES' (vss. 2 seqq.). This 'Ascension of Moses' was connected with the Metatron-tradition, in so far as Metatron plays the rôle of an intermediary between the Deity and Moses (cf. ch. xlviii D 7): vss. 4 and 5. Cf. also the *Gedullath Moshe* and the quotation from *Pirqa Hekalot* by R. Ishmael in YR. ii. 66 a ("Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence: When Moses ascended on high, the Holy One, blessed be He, gave me command and conferred on me from his Shi'ur Qoma (stature) seventy thousand myriads by seventy thousand myriads of parasangs..."). (1) Metatron is standing before the Most High: 'Prince of the Presence'.

(1) he goes in under the Throne of Glory, the place of the treasures and also of the 'Tabernacle of the Youth'. he has a great tabernacle on high. The Tabernacle (Sanctuary) of Metatron under the Throne: *Sepher Qoma* (Bodl. opp. 467, fol. 61 a), "Metatron goes in under the Throne to say the 'Blessed'", acc. to *Hilkoth Metatron*, Add. 27199, fol. 114 a, item "to prostrate himself before the Holy One" (commentary on *Sepher ha-qQoma*, Bodl. opp. 658, fol. 101 a). "The Tabernacle of the Youth whose name is Metatron" was completed by the ministering angels simultaneously with the completion of the Tabernacle on earth acc. to *Num. R.* xii. 15 (with reference to Nu. vii. 1). Cf. *Zohar*, ii. 159 a and Introduction. Metatron is the High Priest on high (*Shemoth shel Metatron*, Bodl. MICH. 256, fol. 29 a), thus occupying the position elsewhere assigned to Mikael. Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: *two* Altars on high. The priest of the inner Altar is כהן עליון מכלה and of the outer Mikael, שר רבא, and he brings forth the fire of deafness etc. Literally the same is said in *S. ha-qQoma* (Bodl. opp. 467, foll. 61 a b) with the addition "(from the mouth of the Holy One) and the Explicit Name that the Youth Metatron recites (i.e. in the Tabernacle)".

(2) he fasted 121 fasts, i.e., probably, 121 days. The sudden introduction of

and he saw the innumerable⁴ companies of the hosts⁵ round about him. And they desired⁶ to burn him. But Moses prayed for mercy, first⁶ for Israel and after that⁷ for himself: and He who sitteth on the Merkaba opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. And a host of 1800 advocates⁸—and the Prince of the Presence, Metatron, with them—went forth to meet Moses. And they took⁹ the prayers of Israel⁹ and put them¹⁰ as a crown¹¹ on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) And they said (Deut. vi. 4): "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord"

4 lit. 'companies of' 5-5 L om. corr. 6 L om. 7 L ins. 'he asked mercy'
8 L ins. 'of Israel' 9-9 L: 'his prayer' 10 L: 'it' 11-11 L om.

the theme of the revelations to Moses is perhaps to be accounted for by the traditional association of the Tabernacle on high with the Tabernacle completed by Moses and by Metatron's function as revealer of the 'secrets' to Moses. Cf. ch. xlviii D 3, 7. the habitations of the chashmal. *chashmal*, derived from Ezek. i. 4, is interpreted either as an angelic name (*chashmal*, *chashmallim*, cf. note on ch. vii) or as a celestial Matter. In any case the 'abodes of the chashmal' here mean the highest or central place in heaven. Acc. to Gikatillas, *Sod ha-Chashmal*, the prophet (or the seer) after having entered the successive Halls at last arrives at the 'Hall of the Chashmal', the Chashmal being the equivalent of the 'Chayyoth of fire' (*Arze Lebanon*, 40 a b. Cf. 41 a: "the inner *chashmal* and the outer *chashmal* etc."). the heart of the Lion, the Lion = one of the four Chayyoth, Ezek. i. 10. they desired to burn him. Cf. the *Rev. of Moses*, e.g. YR. ii. 66 b ("I—Moses—saw the company of the angels of dread who surround the Throne of Glory... and they all desired to burn me"): it is a symbol of guard. Cf. i. 3, 4. opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. These are the windows through which the prayers of men are let into the Presence of the Godhead. In the *Widduy Yaphe* the supplicant prays that the Kerubim who are by the side of the Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory may open "the windows that are in the 'Throne of Glory... in the habitations'" and let in his prayer before Him who sitteth on the Kerub, etc. 1800 advocates, i.e. angels who plead in favour of Israel. The *kerub* is advocate already in *TB. Chag.* 13 b. the prayers of Israel... as a crown. This represents the frequent idea of the prayers wreathed into diadems on the head of the Most High. Usually the angel-prince *Sandalfon* is assigned the function of receiving the prayers of the righteous and making them into crowns for 'his Creator'. Here this function is ascribed to the advocating angels under Metatron. (*Sandalfon* is nowhere mentioned in the present book.) (Cf. *Chag.* 13 b, *Rev. Moses* YR. ii. 66 b, *Zohar*, ii. 58 a, i. 167 b.) Acc. to *Yalqut Chadash, mal'akim*, no. 25, "Metatron brings the prayers of Israel before the Holy One, blessed be He". *Ib. ib.* no. 9, "There are three who receive the prayers: 'Akatriel (cf. vs. 4), Metatron and *Sandalfon*", of these three, acc. to *ib. ib.* no. 38, 'Akatriel receives the prayers of the 'neshāmā' (the spirit, the highest part of man), Metatron those of the *ru'ach* (the soul, as it is perhaps best translated), *Sandalfon* those of the *nefesh* (the mental or vital part of man). And *ib. ib.* no. 95, Metatron receives the prayers and ascends through 900 of the 955 heavens (cf. ch. xlviii A 1), handing them over to *Akatriel*. A class of angels receiving the prayers, as here, is also represented in *Masseket Asilut*, ch. v (Jellinek, *Ginze Chokmuth ha-qabbala*), "in the world of 'Asiyya are the 'Ophannim and (the angels who) receive the prayers and requests..."

(3) And they said "Hear, O Israel etc." This seems to indicate that the fragment was connected with a midrashic exposition of the *Shēma*. It is difficult

B:

and their face shone and rejoiced
over Shekina

L:

and the face of Shekina shone and
rejoiced

and they said to Metatron: "What are these? And to whom do they give all this honour and glory?" And they answered: "To the Glorious Lord of Israel". And they spake:

B:

"Hear, O Israel: the Lord, our God, is one Lord. To whom shall be given abundance of honour and majesty but to Thee YHWH, the Divine Majesty, the King, living and eternal".

L:

"YHWH the Living and Eternal".

(4) In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth and said to Metatron, the Prince of the Presence: "Let no prayer that he prayeth before me return (to him) void. Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire whether (it be) great or small¹²".

(5) Forthwith Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to Moses: "Son of Amram! Fear not, ¹³for now God delights in thee¹³. And ask thou ¹⁴thy desire¹⁴ of the Glory and Majesty. For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other". But Moses answered him: "(I fear

12 ins. with L. B om.

13-13 L om.

14-14 L: 'thy need'

to determine the different subjects of the sentences of the present verse. 'They' and 'their' probably refer to the advocating angels mentioned in the preceding verse, except in they give all this honour etc. which is equivalent to 'is given all this honour. . .' and in they answered which should be emended 'he (Metatron) answered'.

(4) In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth. *Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth* is here in all probability a name of the Most High, not of an angel: cf. 'prayer that he prayeth before me' and vs. 5: '(Metatron says, probably with reference to the words attributed to *Akatriel* in this verse,) now God delights in thee'. *Akatriel* as a name of God occurs in the well-known passage *Ber.* 7 a. *Akatriel* ("the crown of God", "God crowned") is *cabbalistically* the name of the Godhead as manifested on the Throne of Glory. He is identical with the *Kerub ha-mMeyuchad* (*Or.* 5510, fol. 127 b) and represents the *sefra Keter*. *Akatriel* is, however, also a frequent name of an angel, in this case usually without the appendix *Yah Yehod Sebaoth*; cf. quotations in note on vs. 2 above. It may be apposite here to give the view of Cordovero (*Pardes*, quoted *YR.* i. 90 a): he maintains that *Akatriel* even in *Ber.* 7 a refers to an angel, not to God: "said R. Ishmael, I saw *Akatriel Yah YHWH Sebaoth* etc. This means the angel who receives the prayers, and not the King of the Glory, for if so, he (R. Ishmael) would not have said 'I saw'—God forbid! As is known, *Akatriel* is a prince on high and not God. And the '*Yah Yah Sebaoth*' means nothing more than that he is like other angels who are called by the name of their Master (cf. on *xxix.* 1, x. 3, *iii.* 2)".

Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire. HENCE METATRON IS CONCEIVED OF AS GOD'S REPRESENTATIVE NOT ONLY TO THE ANGELS BUT ALSO TO MAN. The underlying idea is here probably Metatron's identification with the 'angel' of *Ex.* *xxiii.* 20 seqq.

(5) For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other. Cf. *Ex.* *xxxiv.* 29. Moses has obtained from the ethereal light or splendour of the Divine

lest I bring guiltiness upon myself". Metatron said to him: "Receive the letters of the oath, in (by) which there is no breaking the covenant"¹⁵ (which precludes any breach of the covenant).

CHAPTER XVI¹

Probably additional

Metatron divested of his privilege of presiding on a Throne of his own on account of Acher's misapprehension in taking him for a second Divine Power

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) At first I was sitting upon a² great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall; and I was judging³ the children of heaven, ⁴the household on high⁴ by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. And I divided Greatness, Kingship, Dignity, Rulership, Honour and Praise, and Diadem and Crown of Glory unto all the princes of kingdoms,

¹⁵ the additions following upon this are in *B* definitely stated not to belong to 'the Baraita'

Ch. xvi. 1 Chh. xvi-xxii om. by *E*. Ch. xvi is not included in the *Part of Baraitas from the Ma'ase Merkaba* in *L*, but a recension of it follows immediately after the version of ch. xii, without reference to source. 2 so *BDL*. *A*: 'the' 3 *L* ins. 'all' 4-4 *BDL* om.

Glory. For 'the oath' cf. 1 *En*. lxix. 14-25. The oath contains Divine letters, i.e. letters of the Divine names. Cf. Introduction, section 14 (1).

Ch. xvi. The present chapter is a different version of the well-known narrative in *Chag*. 15 a (cf. *Tos. Chag*. 2, 3, *Yer. Chag*. ii. 1, fol. 77 b). The main DIFFERENCES between the two versions are: (1) in *Chag*. 15 a Metatron's privilege of 'sitting' in the heavens is explained from his being the scribe, recording the merits of Israel, here the view of the preceding chapters is accepted (ch. x. 2 seqq.) acc. to which Metatron was seated on a Throne of his own as judge and ruler over the angels, in particular the princes of kingdoms, (2) in *Chag*. the reason for or justification of the punishment administered on Metatron is that he did not rise when he saw Acher beholding him (so as to prevent the misapprehension as to the Unity of the Godhead; this is omitted here, (3) the execution of punishment is in *Chag*. attributed to a plurality of angels, not further defined, here the angel 'Anaphiel, known from ch. vi. 1 and allied traditions (see on ch. x. 3) as having occupied a position above Metatron, is used for this purpose. (*A*: "Aniyyel").

(1) At first I was sitting upon a great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall. Cf. ch. x. 1-3. THE OPENING GIVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CH. IS AN INDEPENDENT FRAGMENT. INDEED VS. 1 REPEATS THE DETAILS OF CHH. X, XLVIII C 8, 9, WITH THE EXPLICIT ADDITION THAT THE DISTINCTIONS IN QUESTION, CONFERRED UPON METATRON, WERE ONLY TEMPORARY ('AT FIRST', 'IN THE BEGINNING'). The rôle here assigned to Metatron is markedly primarily the rulership over the princes of kingdoms. Over these he presides in the Celestial Court, passing judgement upon the heavenly household but also as conferring upon them their authority and

while I was presiding (lit. sitting) in the Celestial Court (*Yeshiba*), and the princes of kingdoms were standing before me, on my right and on my left—by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) But when Acher⁵ came to behold the vision of the Merkaba and fixed his eyes on me, he feared and trembled before me and his soul was affrighted even unto departing from him, because of fear, horror and dread of me, when he beheld me sitting upon a throne like a king with all the ministering angels standing by me as my servants and all the princes of kingdoms 'adorned with crowns'⁶ surrounding me: (3) in that moment he opened his mouth and said: "Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven!" (4) Forthwith *Bath Qol* (the Divine Voice) went forth ⁷from heaven⁷ from before the Shekina and said: "Return, ye backsliding children (Jer. iii. 22), except Acher!"

5 DL: 'Elisha ben Abuya who is (also called) Acher' B: (instead of 'Acher came') 'came Elisha ben Abuya and he was standing behind (corr. reading for 'Acher') YHWH' 6-6 so DL (cf. on vs. 3 of ch. xii, chh. xvii. 8, xviii. 3 beg.). AB: 'wreathing crowns' (cf. also vs. 1 here: 'divided...crown...until etc.') 7-7 BDL om.

emblems of rulership: again a trait of the Prince of the World conception. presiding in the Celestial Court or council. Metatron is depicted in a position similar to that of God presiding in the Celestial *Beth Din* in chh. xxviii c 7-9, xxx. The conception is implied in ch. x and ch. xlvi c 8, 9. Metatron's presidency in his *yeshiba* is apparently pictured after the pattern of God's presidency in the highest *Beth Din*, and naturally so, Metatron being God's representative and vice-regent. by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. It is emphasized that Metatron's presidency in the *yeshiba* and his rulership are derived from 'his King'.

(2) when Acher came to behold the vision of the Merkaba. Acher, as Elisha ben Abuya was called after his 'fall', is a well-known figure of Rabbinic (in modern time characterized as 'the Faust of the Talmud'): see, besides *Chag. 15 a* and *Yer. Chag. 77 b*, *Rut. R. vi*, *Eccl. R. to vii. 8, 26* (*P. Aboth*, iv. 25), further Graetz, *Gnosticismus u. Judentum*, pp. 62-71, *Chaluz*, v. 66-72, Smolenskin in *Hash-Shachar*, v. 66-72, Steinschneider, *Elisha ben Abuya*, Bacher in *Agada der Tannaiten* (*R. Meir*, etc.) came to behold the vision of Merkaba: acc. to the Talmud-passages he was one of the four who 'entered Paradise' in their lifetime, an expression evidently denoting mystical experiences and speculations on the '*Ma'ase Merkaba*', here he is simply denoted as one of those who beheld the vision of the Merkaba (as R. Ishmael, ch. i. 1 seq.).

(3) Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven (cf. *Chag. 15 a*: "are there, God forbid, two Divine Powers?"). Acher is described as giving vent to the most abominable heretic view, that denying the absolute Unity of the Godhead. The Talmudic tradition emphasizes Acher's aberration into heresy, and also, as it seems, that his heresy was caused by his mystical speculations. Acher, after having entered Paradise 'cut the plantations', i.e., probably, seduced scholars from the right faith. (Cf. also the Tosaphists *ad locum*, *Chag. 15 a*).

(4) Bath Qol went forth...and said: "Return, ye backsliding children, except Acher!" (identical with *Chag. 15 a*). Acher was to be excluded from the opportunity of forgiveness through repentance, offered to all other children of God.

(5) Then came 'Aniyel⁹, the Prince, the honoured, glorified, beloved, wonderful, revered and fearful one, in commission from ¹⁰the Holy One, blessed be He¹⁰ and ¹¹gave me sixty strokes with lashes of fire¹¹ and made me stand on my feet.

CHAPTER XVII¹

The princes of the seven heavens, of the sun, moon, planets and constellations and their suites of angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) Seven (are the) princes, the great, beautiful², revered, wonderful

9 BDL: 'Anaphiel יַחַוְח' 10-10 DL: 'MAQOM' (the Divine Majesty) 11-11 lit. 'struck me with sixty lashes of fire' B: '(and) brought with him sixty lashes and hosts of fire'

Ch. xvii. 1 Chh. xvii-xxi om. by B. Extant in D and A only. Cf. ch. xv. 10, ch. xvi. 1. 2 D om.

(5) Then came 'Anaphiel (BDL) H etc. Cf. ch. vi. 1 and on ch. x. 3. The chapter accepts the tradition acc. to which 'Anaphiel is assigned a position higher than that of Metatron. He₂ is given six epithets, exactly as in *Hek. R.* xxii. 1. In *Chag.* 15 a the executors of the punishment are not defined ("they brought out Metatron and struck him..."). Cf. introd. of notes on the present chapter. For the punishment of angels with lashes of fire cf. *Yoma*, 77 a (Gabriel). made me stand on my feet, i.e. Metatron was deprived of his privilege of sitting on a throne. *Tosaf. Chag.* 15 a, explains: יתור כמאחרים לו יכולת היה לו שלא היה לו להודיע לו שלא היה לו.

Note. The position of ch. xvi within the present 'Enoch-Metatron piece' of the Hebrew Book of Enoch is discussed in the Introduction, section 8 (v).

THE ANGELOLOGICAL SECTION: chh. xvii-xxii, xxv-xxviii. 6.

Ch. xvii. With the present chapter begins a section treating exclusively of the different angels, princes and orders of angels which may conveniently be called 'the angelological section'. It comprises chh. xvii-xxii, xxv-xxviii. 6, containing at least THREE DIFFERENT EXPOSITIONS: ch. xvii (A 2), ch. xviii (A 3) and chh. xix-xxii, xxv-xxviii. 6 (A 1). On the angelology of this section, see Introduction, section 13 (1 A, B, C).

Ch. xvii presents an angelological system from the highest to the lower orders. The highest are the seven princes over the seven heavens, i.e. the seven archangels. Next to these come the princes appointed over the heavenly bodies, four in number. Each of these princes have under them myriads of angels.

(1) seven are the princes... who are appointed over the seven heavens... Mikael etc. It is noticeable that order and forms of the names of the princes of the seven heavens, the archangels, are not identical with those of vs. 3. Besides, the readings of A and D differ. In fact, great uncertainty seems to have prevailed from the very earliest as to the names of the seven archangels. No two sources extant, from 1 *En.* xx to mediaeval *Qabbala*, present exactly the same order and names of these angels. Cf. further on vs. 3.

and honoured ones who are appointed over the seven heavens. And these are they:

A:

MIKAEL, GABRIEL, SHATQIEL,
SHACHAQIEL, BAKARIEL, BA-
DARIEL, PACHRIEL.

D:

MIKAEL and GABRIEL, SHATQIEL and
BARADIEL and SHACHAQIEL and BA-
RAQIEL and SIDRIEL.

(2) And every one of them is the prince of the host of (one) heaven. And each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels.

(3) MIKAEL, the great prince, is appointed over the seventh heaven, the highest one, which is in the 'Araboth.

(2) each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels. The number 496,000 (myriads) generally refers to the ministering angels as performers of the *Qēdushsha* (cf. chh. xxxv. 1, xl. 3). 496 is the numerical value of *Malkut* (Kingdom): the song-uttering angels proclaim God's sovereignty, 'take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven' (ch. xxxv. 6). The hosts of song-uttering angels are usually depicted as under the authority, not of the seven archangels—'princes of the host'—but of the four 'princes of the army' (ch. xxxv. 3), 'the four presences' (1 *En.* xxxix f., see on xviii. 4): MIKAEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL (Nuriel) and RAPHAEL. The conception of the four presences is closely connected with that of the seven archangels.

Each one of them is the prince of the host of one heaven. (3) Mikael . . . is appointed over the seventh heaven, Gabriel, the prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven etc. The expression 'princes of the hosts' is used of Mikael and Gabriel in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 48. Metatron is called 'one of the princes of the host' in *Shi'ur Qoma* (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, fol. 18 b). The term is probably derived from Josh. v. 14 ("the captain of the host of the Lord"), "the prince of the host of YHWH" which is referred either to Metatron or to Mikael or to Gabriel (cf. *Siimi*, 53 b-d). The idea of the multitudes of angels as divided in hosts, distributed through the seven heavens underlies ch. xviii. 1 (cf. also ch. xiv. 1). The tendency of arranging the orders of the angels according to the system of the seven heavens appears already in the Pseudepigrapha, although the traditions are somewhat confused. *Test. Levi*, iii. assigns different classes of angels to each of the seven heavens (1st heaven: "the spirits of the retributions for the vengeance"; 2nd heaven: "the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement"; 3rd heaven: acc. to rec. 3 (SA^BS) = 2nd heaven (a); 4th heaven: "thrones and dominions in which always they offer praise to God"; 5th: "angels who bear answers (prayers) to the angels of the presence"; 6th: "the archangels who minister and make propitiation to the Lord"; 7th: "the Glory of God and the angels of the Presence" (SA^BS).) See CHARLES, A and P, *ad loc.* Acc. to 2 *En.* iii-ix, to the first heaven are located the rulers of the stars and the angels set over the treasuries of ice, snow, clouds, etc., to the 4th the sun and moon and the angels over them together with "an armed host of angels praising God", to the 5th the Grigori (Watchers), to the 6th "seven bands of angels . . . who make the orders and learn the goings of the stars and the alteration of the moon and the revolution of the sun . . . (who are) appointed over seasons and years etc.", to the 7th "fiery troops of great archangels etc." In 3 *Bar.* the angels attending the sun, moon (and the stars ch. ix. 1) are assigned to the 3rd heaven, in the 5th heaven (*ib.* xi. 1 seqq.) is Mikael "who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven". In *Ascension of Isaiah* similarly the seven heavens are depicted as containing different hosts of angels, each surpassing the lower one in glory. (*Vide* CHARLES, *Asc. Is.* in T.E.D.)

GABRIEL, the prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven which is in *Mākōn*.

³SHATAQIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fifth heaven which is in *Mā'ōn*.³

SHAḤAQI'EL⁴, prince of the host, is appointed over the fourth heaven which is in *Zebul*.

BADARIEL⁵, prince of the host, is appointed over the third heaven which is in *Sheḥaqim*.

3-3 *Db om.*

4 *Db*: 'Shataqiel'

5 *D*: 'Baradiel'

The seven archangels (holy angels who watch) are enumerated in the well-known passage, ch. xx of 1 *En.*, together with the dominions of their rulership: *Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Mikael, Saraqael, Gabriel, Remiel*. In none of the adduced passages the present conception of the archangels as rulers each over one of the seven heavens, is developed: the archangels are generally assigned to a specified heaven (the 6th or 7th, cf. the references to *Test. Levi* and 2 *En.* above). Parallels to the present picture are, however, found in *Pirqe R. Ishmael (Bodl. MICH. 175, foll. 20 seqq.)*, ch. xxi cont. and *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9, foll. 67 b, 68 a)*, although with different names and order. In the former passage, which is closely dependent upon the representation of *Chag. 12 b*, the names of the princes of the respective heavens are: *Wilōn-QEMUEL* (and the angels of destruction, cf. *Test. Levi* above and *Gedullat Moshe*), *Raqia'-GALLISUR, Shechqim-SHAPHIEL, Zebul-MIKAEL* (in accordance with *Chag. 12 b*), *Ma'on-GABRIEL, Makon-SANDALFON, Araboth*-no name given. In *Hek. Zot.* the seven angels "praising the Holy One, blessed be He, in each heaven" are: 1st heaven, MIKAEL; 2nd, GABRIEL; 3rd, SODIEL; 4th, 'AKATRIEL; 5th, RAPHAEL; 6th, BODIEL; 7th, YOMAEI. A trace of the tradition locating the archangels, each to one of the seven heavens, is perhaps recognizable also in *Test. of Solomon*, vss. 59 seqq. (ed. Conybeare, *YQR.* vol. xi. 1-45), "RAPHAEL...BAZAZATH who has his seat in the second heaven...RATHANAEL who sits in the third heaven...IAMETH...".

The close connection with the rulers of the heavenly bodies in which the archangels as princes of the seven heavens are represented in the present chapter is perhaps indicative of the range of ideas from which the conception has emerged: the planetary or sidereal speculations. The important role played by these speculations is discernible also in the pseudepigraphal passages referred to above. It is possible, that the idea of the seven archangels as rulers over the seven heavens was brought about through the conception of the heavens as planetary spheres, the archangels being originally the princes of the seven planets. The conception of the seven heavens as planetary spheres is attested in 2 *En.* xxviii. 3: "the seven stars, each one of them in its heaven". Cf. *YR.* i. 15 b, 16 b. This idea was probably obscured by the parallel tendency of assigning the heavenly bodies to a definite heaven, a tendency at work in the pseudepigraphal works in question and in its final form represented in the tradition locating the sun, moon, planets and constellations to *Raqia'*, the 2nd heaven (in Rabbinic, *Chag. 12 b et al.* and throughout the present book). The tradition of the seven archangels with their suites as rulers over the planets (including dominion over constellations and elements) might be traced in the representation of 2 *En.* xix, acc. to which seven bands of angels "make the orders and learn the goings of the stars"; cf. above. This conception obtains in later sources: *YR.* i. 6 a: "MIKAEL is appointed over Saturn, BARAQIEL over Jupiter, GABRIEL over Mars, RAPHAEL over the sun, CHASDIEL over Mercury, SIDQIEL over Venus, 'ANA'EL over the moon", *ib.* i. 16 a: "Mikael: the Sun, Gabriel: the Moon, Qaphsiel: Saturn, Sammael: Mars, Raphael: Jupiter, 'Ana'el: Venus". A trace of the same idea is possibly to be seen in vss. 35-41 of *Testament of Solomon*; seven archangels rule over and frustrate the seven demons

BARAKIEL⁶, prince of the host, is appointed over the second heaven which is in ⁷the height of (*Merom*)⁷ *Raqia'*.

PAZRIEL⁸, prince of the host, is appointed over the first⁹ heaven which is in *Wilōn*, which is in *Shamayim*.

(4) Under them is GALGALLIEL¹⁰, the prince who is appointed over the globe (*galgal*) of the sun, and with him are 96 great and honoured angels who move¹¹ the sun in *Raqia'*.¹²

(5)¹³ Under them¹³ is 'OPHANNIEL, the prince who is set over the globe (*'ophan*) of the moon. And with him are 88¹⁴ angels who move¹¹ the globe of the moon 354 thousand parasangs every night at the time when the moon stands in the East at its turning point.¹⁵ And when is the moon sitting in the East at its turning point? Answer: in the fifteenth day of every month.¹⁵

(6) Under them is RAHAṬIEL, the prince who is appointed over the constellations. And he is accompanied by 72 great and honoured angels. And why is he called RAHAṬIEL? Because he makes the stars run (*marhit*) in their orbits and courses 339 thousand parasangs every night from the East to the West, and from the West to the East. For

6 D: 'Baraqiel'
10 D: 'Galgiel'
sangs every day'

7-7 D om.
11 so D. A: 'bring down'
13-13 so with D. A corr.

8 D: 'Sidriel'

9 ins. with D. A om.
12 D adds: '365,000 parasangs every day'
14 D: '68'
15-15 D om.

connected with 'the seven stars' (the seven planets or the Pleiades, cf. Conybeare's note in *locum*). Of these seven high angels six are named: LAMECHALAL, BARUCH-IACHEL, MARMARATH (Marmaraoth, vs. 94), BALTHIEL, ASTERAOTH, URIEL. Uriel is the angel set over the stars acc. to 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii. In 1 *En.* xx Raguel is "one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of luminaries".

As regards the names of the seven archangels it has already been pointed out that all the different sources vary on this point. To the passages given above may be added *Test. Salomon*, vss. 73-81: the names are there: MIKAEL, GABRIEL, URIEL, SABRAEL, ARAEL, IAOTH, ADONAEI. From the different enumerations can be seen that the names most frequently recurring are those of the 'four presences', "Mikael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel", and of these Mikael and Gabriel are common to most of the sources. (Cf. how 1 *En.* lxxxvii, 2, 3 clearly represents the seven archangels as consisting of four, i.e. Presences and three with them.) Of the rest some are evidently derived from the old lists of superior angels, of which parts are preserved e.g. in 1 *En.* vi, viii, lxix (as Watchers, Fallen Angels), lxxxii, 10-20 (leaders of the stars, rulers of seasons and months). Baraqiel (D) here is the Baraqqiel of 1 *En.* vi, Baraqel, *ib.* lxix, 2. Cf. Barakiel (A) with Berkael 1 *En.* lxxxii, 17, Badariel (A) with Batael 1 *En.* vi, 7, Batarjal *ib.* lxix, 2. The names are older than the conception of the seven archangels. But it is significant that such names are chosen as originally represent the angels ruling over the heavenly bodies and over the elementary powers. in *Wilōn* which is in *Shamayim*, 'which is in *Shamayim*' is a gloss. 'Shamayim' is the Hebrew synonym of *Wilōn* (*velum*) as name of the first heaven.

(4-7) Under them are Galgalliel... Ophanniel... Rahaṭiel... Kokkiel, with subservient angels. The heavenly bodies are divided in the four categories of sun, moon, planets and constellations as in *Chag.* 12 b, and, as there, are assigned to the second heaven, the *Raqia'*. Each of these four categories is assigned a special prince, who is accompanied by a number of assistant angels. In the present system these

the Holy One, blessed be He, has made a tent for all of them, for the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars in which they travel at night from the West to the East.

(7) Under them is KOKBIEL, the prince who is appointed over all the planets. And with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honoured ones who move¹⁶ the planets from city to city and from province to province in the *Raqia'* of heavens.

16 so *D. A.*: 'bring down'

princes and angels are made to rank under the seven archangels as princes of the seven heavens. As has already been pointed out, it is highly probable, that the original representation was one of the seven archangels as princes each over one of the seven spheres as containing the planets with constellations. The present systematization can be regarded as a modification of this original view to the established notion of the *Raqia'*, the second heaven, as the place of the heavenly bodies.

The names of the princes, GALGALLIEL, 'OPHANNIEL, RAHAṬIEL, KOKBIEL are uniform with those of ch. xiv. 4. *Rahaṭiel* also occurs in ch. xlvi. 3 in a similar function. 'Ophanniel is the prince of the 'Ophannim, ch. xxv. The names *Galgalliel*, 'Ophanniel and *Kokbiel* are derived from *Galgal* (globe, i.e. of the sun), *Ophan* (globe, i.e. of the moon) and *Kokab* (planet) respectively. *Rahaṭiel* is, acc. to the intimation of vs. 6, derived from *rahaṭ* (to run). In *TB. Ber.* 32 b, *Rahaṭon* is the technical term for divisions of angels who have immediate rule over the stars and planets. *Rahaṭiel* is the prince over planets and constellations or luminaries in general acc. to *S. Razi'el*, 19 b, 21 b (cf. also *Qeneh Binah*, 34 b, and *S. ha-Chesheq, Add.* 27120, fol. 14 b). *Galgalliel* and 'Ophanniel seem to be comparatively late devices. *Kokbiel* is of early origin, cf. *Kokabiel*, 1 *En.* vi. 7, *Kokabel*, *ib.* viii. 3 (who "taught constellations"), *lxix.* 2.

For the conception of angels who 'move the heavenly bodies' cf. 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii ("the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries": CHARLES), URIEL being there the prince over the heavenly bodies; lxxii. 3 ("the leaders of the stars"), lxxv. 1 ("the leaders of the heads of the thousands who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars"), lxxix, lxxx. 1 ("the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them"), 6 ("chiefs of the stars"), lxxxii. 4 and esp. 10-20 (the names of the leaders of the stars), 4 *Ex.* vi. 3, 2 *En.* xi. 3-5 (15 myriads of angels attend the sun during the day, and 1000 by night), *Midrash 'Asereth Ma'amaroth, BH.* i. 64 ("365 angels are set over the sun, moving it from window to window in *Raqia'*"), 3 *Bar.* vi. 1 seqq. (the chariot of the sun drawn by forty angels), vss. 13, 16 ("for the sun is made ready by the angels"), *ib.* vii. 4 ("I saw the shining sun and the angels which draw it"), ix. 1 seqq. (the moon sitting on a wheeled chariot: "and there were before it oxen and lambs and a multitude of angels... the oxen and lambs... they also are angels"). The derivation of the numbers ninety-six and eighty-eight in vss. 4 and 5 resp. is not clear. The number seventy-two of the angels assisting RAHAṬIEL, the prince of the constellations, corresponds to the seventy-two divisions of the zodiac (cf. the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, vs. 8, etc.). KOKBIEL again, vs. 7, is assisted by 365,000 myriads of ministering angels. Literally the same statement is made about KOKBIEL in *S. Razi'el*, 19 b. These angels "move the planets (*kokabim*)". It is noteworthy, that acc. to *TB. Ber.* 32 b, referred to above, the different camps (of angels), in the last instance sorting under the constellations, have each under them "365,000 myriads of planets (*kokabim*) corresponding to the days of the sun (i.e. the solar year)". The latter parts of vss. 5 and 6 are somewhat obscure. They might be remnants of expositions of the courses of the heavenly bodies, such as are given at length in 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii (the 'portals of the sun'); ch. lxxii, the moon; ch. lxxiv, the portals of sun, moon, stars and all the works of

(8) And over them are SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS on high corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world. And all of them are crowned with royal crowns and clad in royal garments and wrapped in royal cloaks. And all of them are riding on royal horses and they are holding royal sceptres in their hands. And before each one of

heaven; ch. lxxv. 6 seqq., cf. ch. lxxviii. 7 seq., "and fifteen parts of light are transferred to the moon till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished (vs. 5 here)". The conception of the 'tent' for the sun, etc., is usually referred to Ps. xix. 5 (and 7).

(8) over them are seventy-two princes of kingdoms... *lit.* 'above them etc.' It is difficult to reconcile this vs. with the preceding. To whom does 'above them' refer? To the 365,000 myriads of angels of vs. 7 or to the princes and angels of the heavenly bodies in general? No doubt, as the context now stands, the seventy-two princes of kingdoms are intended as princes over the angels who 'move the planets', by analogy with the seventy-two assistant angels of vs. 6. This would seem to be additional, since the real counterpart of the assistant angels of vss. 4, 5, 6 are in vs. 7, the 365,000 myriads of angels. The expression 'above them' is not appropriate in the sense which it is here made to denote, the right phrase would have been e.g. 'over them are appointed' (ועליוהם ממונים). The inception 'above them' rather presupposes an exposition of the order of angelic classes, proceeding from the lower to the higher ones, hence quite contrary to that of the present chapter. The fragment is more akin to the angelological section, chh. xix seqq., to which it may even originally have belonged, since the beginning of that section is missing in the present book. See note on ch. xix. 1.

By the compiler of the present chapter the seventy-two princes of kingdoms are made the rulers over the planets. The conception of the princes of kingdoms as rulers of planets and constellations is frequently represented in later sources. Their appellation properly refers to their function as angelic leaders of the destinies of the nations, as representatives in heaven of the kingdoms on earth. As such their number is usually given as seventy (corresponding to the number of nations (tongues) of the world, enumerated Gen. x). The idea of heavenly guardians of the nations occurs in Dan. x. 20, 21, and is fully developed in Sir. xvii. 17, 1 En. lxxxix. 59 seqq. (in the metaphor of the seventy shepherds), *Targ. Yer.* to Gen. xi. 7, 8, *TB. Yoma*, 77 a, *Sukka*, 29 a, *Gen. R.* lxxviii, lxxvii, *Ex. R.* xxi, *Lev. R.* xxix, *P. R. 'El.* xxiv. They plead the cause of their resp. nations before God, each suffers punishment with the nation under his protection, they form the celestial *Beth Din* etc. For this range of ideas see chh. xxx. 1, 2, xlvi c 9 and note on xxx. 2.

The leader of the princes of kingdoms is acc. to *Midr. Abkir, Yalq. on Gen.* no. 132, *Targ. Ps.* xxxvii. 7, 8, MIKAEL, prince of Israel; acc. to ch. xxx here, the Prince of the World; and acc. to the Enoch-Metatron sections of the present book, Metatron (chh. x. 3, xiv. 1, xvi. 1, 2, xlvi c 9, cf. also xlvi d 5). In their aspect of leaders of the Gentile nations they were sometimes regarded as evil agencies (so already 1 En. lxxxix. 65, 69, xc. 17, 22, 23, 25), and as their chief was then named SAMMAEL, the prince of Rome (cf. chh. xiv. 2, xxvi. 12).

When associated with the idea of the planets and constellations as determining or ruling the destinies of the nations, it was only natural that the conception should develop into that of the princes of kingdoms as rulers over the heavenly bodies—just as the Prince of the World was made the ruler of planets and constellations (cf. ch. xxxviii. 3). This development may have begun at an early time. The seventy shepherds are already in 1 En. connected with the rulers of the world, the Watchers or Fallen Angels who, symbolized by stars, are judged together with the seventy shepherds acc. to 1 En. xc. 24. (On the identification of the princes of kingdoms with the Watchers see note on ch. xxix intr.) For the Watchers as rulers of elements, constellations, planets, etc., see 1 En. vi-viii, lxix, note on vs. 3 above and on

them when he is travelling in *Raqia'*, royal servants are running with great glory and majesty

A:

even as on earth they (princes) are travelling in chariot(s) with horsemen and great armies and in glory and greatness with praise, song and honour.

D:

and before every one of them, when travelling in *Raqia'*, there are running great armies, even as (the custom is) on earth, with chariot(s), in glory and greatness, praise, song and honour.

ch. xiv. 3, 4. The connection of the 'gods of the nations' with the planets is perhaps to be seen also in *TB. Sukka*, 29 a. Acc. to *Ma'areket ha'Elohuth*, 128 b, "the nations are allotted to the Princes and Constellations". *YR.*, i. 15 a, gives the following quotation from *Tub-ha-Ares*: "In the seven firmaments (heavens), under them, are the seven planets... (*Shešem Chanokol*: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon) and in these seven heavens are the Spirits of the seventy nations, ten nations under each planet, and the twelve constellations give abundance unto them".

Probably under the influence of their sideric significance the number of the princes of kingdoms was changed from seventy to seventy-two (the number of the divisions of the zodiac). In the present book they are mentioned as seventy-two in chh. xviii. 3, xxx. 2 and here. Ch. xlviii c 9, on the other hand, has 'seventy princes'. Cf. note on ch. xxx. 2 and also on ch. xlviii b 1. The two princes added were later understood as MIKAEL and GABRIEL or as MIKAEL and SAMMAEL. Acc. to *YR.*, i. 18 a, MIKAEL is the Prince of Israel and GABRIEL the Prince of all the nations of the world. A curious effect of the alteration of seventy into seventy-two is the gloss in the present verse: corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world, which is of course a mis-emption of the regular expression "corresponding to the 70 tongues of the world".

all of them are crowned with royal crowns etc., to designate them as rulers. Cf. notes on chh. xii. 3, xviii. 1.

when he is travelling in *Raqia'*. This seems to indicate that the princes of kingdoms were assigned to the second heaven, the region of the heavenly bodies and thus would tend to show, that the fragment itself, apart from the context, designates the princes of kingdoms as sideric rulers. Usually the princes of kingdoms are represented as being in the highest of the heavens, by the Throne of Glory: chh. xvi. 1, 2, xxx. 1, 2. Acc. to ch. xviii. 3, being in rank above the princes of the heavens, but below the guardians of the Halls, they are probably conceived of as having their abode in the highest of the heavens, but outside the Halls. Acc. to the passage quoted *YR.*, i. 15 a, referred to above, each of the seven heavens would contain a number of these princes. This is stated also in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 36 ("then come all the princes of kingdoms in every heaven").

Passages in the present book mentioning the 'princes of kingdoms' are chh.: x. 3, xiv. 1, 2, xvi. 1, 2, xvii. 8, xviii. 2, 3, xxx. 2, xlviii c 9, d 5; cf. also ch. xxvi. 12.

CHAPTER XVIII

The order of ranks of the angels and the homage received by the higher ranks from the lower ones

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) THE ANGELS OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when(ever) they see their prince, they dismount from their horses and fall on their faces.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the second heaven, he dismounts, removes the *crown of glory* from his head and falls on his face.

Ch. xviii. Angelological system A 3 (see Introduction, section 13 (1 c)).

This chapter (extant in *D* and *A* only) introduces an independent exposition of the angelic hierarchy. The point of connection with the preceding chapter is the mention of the princes of the seven heavens. In ch. xvii, however, these 'princes of the seven heavens' are regarded as constituting the highest rank of angels. That this is so is clear from the facts that the princes of the seventh and sixth heavens are identified with Mikael and Gabriel resp. and that they occur at the head of a classification which is arranged in an order beginning from the highest. In the present chapter, on the contrary, the princes of the heavens form the lowest class of angels in an enumeration from the lowest to the highest.

A peculiarity of this chapter which separates it in character from both ch. xvii and the rest of the angelological section is the monotonous repetition of the words 'when *X* see(s) *X* he (they) remove(s) the crown. . . from his (their) head and fall(s) etc.' the technical means by which the inferiority of one rank of angels or one angel-prince to the subsequently mentioned is indicated.

Another characteristic feature of this chapter are the abstruse forms of the names of most of the angels as compared with those of the other parts of the book, where the names are formed from the functions assigned to the angels. Here the derivations are obscure. It is noteworthy that most of the names are found in *Hek. R.*, to which this chapter even otherwise seems to be related—e.g. by the conception of 'the watchers of the doors of the Halls' (vs. 3), the common derivation of 'ANAPHIEL (vs. 19) etc. Though several of these angel-names are not registered by Schwab, *VA*, and a couple of them are ἀπαξλεγόμενα as far as printed books are concerned, they are preserved in many prayers, magical formulas, etc., extant in MSS. References are given below at each name.

(1) The angels of the first heaven. . . the prince of the first heaven. . . second heaven etc. On the seven heavens see note on ch. xvii. 3. The princes, *sārīm*, of the several heavens are pictured as having each one his suite of angels. They are mounted on horses (cf. *Mass. Hek.* iv and *Hek. R.* xvii seqq.) and pay homage one to the other when meeting. Unlike ch. xvii the present chapter mentions no names of these princes. That is to say, that the tradition embodied here probably knows no names of the 'princes of the heavens'. Consequently, in the view of this tradition, the heavens and their rulers form a comparatively low and unimportant part of the heavenly splendours, whereas the author of ch. xvii presumably sees all the glory of the Divine Court contained within the seven heavens.

Crown of glory is the mark of distinction common to all the angels and princes in this chapter with the exception of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms (vs. 3) and the two highest princes acc. to vs. 25, to whom is assigned the 'crown of royalty'. Crowns are in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature as well as in the Apocalyptic

And THE PRINCE OF THE SECOND HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the third heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE THIRD HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fourth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FOURTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fifth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

¹And THE PRINCE OF THE FIFTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the sixth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SIXTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the seventh heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.¹

(2) And THE PRINCE OF THE SEVENTH HEAVEN, when he sees THE SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

²(3) And the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, when they see THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL IN THE 'ARABOTH RAQIA' in the

1-1 D: 'And the prince of the fifth heaven from before the prince of the sixth and the prince of the sixth heaven before the prince of the seventh heaven' 2 D inserts as title: 'The Order of the Halls'

attributed to (a) God himself: *TB. Chag.* 13 b, *Ber.* 7 a, *Ex. R.* xxi; (b) the righteous in the world to come: *TB. Ber.* 17 a, b, *Lev. R.* xx, *Test. Benj.* iv. 2, *Asc. Is.* vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10; (c) angels: *chh.* xvi. 2, xl. Cf. *ch. xii.* 3. For the removing of the crown(s) as token of homage cf. *Rev.* iv. 4, 10. An exact parallel of expression is found in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, rec. B, *BH*, iii. p. 61.

(2) The seventy-two princes of kingdoms. They are the representatives in heaven of the different kingdoms on earth, but are also connected with the planets and constellations. Concerning them cf. notes on *chh.* xvii. 8 and xxx. 1, 2. In *ch. xxx* they are supplemented by a leader, 'the Prince of the World' (cf. *TB. Yeb.* 16b, *Chull.* 60 a, *Sanh.* 94 a). Their number varies between seventy and seventy-two: 1 *En.* lxxxix. 59, *P. R.* 'El. xxiv, *TB. Sukka*, 29 a. It is possible that the number seventy-two originated from the addition to the seventy princes of Mikael and Sammael (or Mikael and Gabriel) as their rulers. Mikael is the representative of Israel and Sammael of Rome and thereby the chief of all the Gentile nations. More probable is, however, that the number seventy-two is arrived at from astrological considerations. See note on *ch. xvii.* 8. Peculiar to this chapter is their position between the prince of the seventh heaven and the door-keepers of the Halls, their abode being usually near the Throne of Glory (*ch. xxx.* *Pesiqtha*, xxvii, *TB. Sukka*, 29 a). In *ch. xvii.*, again, they have their place in the second heaven (Raquia) and are in rank under not only the princes of the heavens but also the princes of the sun, moon and constellations. (Cf. however note on *ch. xvii.* 8.)

(3) The door keepers of the first Hall in the 'Araboth Raquia'. The seven Halls or Palaces are situated in the highest of the seven heavens, the 'Araboth Raquia', and are pictured as arranged in concentric circles, 'one within the other' (*ch. i.* 1). The conception of the seven Halls which plays so conspicuous a rôle in

highest, they remove the royal crown from their head and fall on their faces.

³And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL, when they see the door keepers of the second Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SECOND HALL, when they see the door keepers of the third Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE THIRD HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fourth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FOURTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fifth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIFTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the sixth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SIXTH HALL, when they see the DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SEVENTH HALL, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.³

(4) And the door keepers of the seventh Hall, when they see THE FOUR GREAT PRINCES, the honoured ones, WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER

3-3 *D* simplifies: 'And the door keepers of the first Hall before the door keepers of the second Hall, and the door keepers of the second Hall before (those of) the third, and the door keepers of the third Hall before those of the fourth etc.'

Hek. R. is in the present book quite outside the centre of interest. Cf. chh. i. 1, x. 2, xvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 1, xlvi. c 8. The door keepers of the Halls are in this chapter without names and definite number. In these respects it differs from *Hek. R.* xv, where each Hall is said to be guarded by eight angels, of which the names are given (chh. xv, xvii et seq.). Of these names—which comprise the door keepers of the first six Halls—two, viz. GEBURATIEL and ANAPHIEL, recur later in the present chapter (vss. 14 and 19) as names of higher angels.

Mass. Hek. iv, agreeing with *Hek. R.*, gives the number of the door keepers of each Hall as eight.

Names of the chiefs of the door keepers of the Halls are found in *Pirqe R.* 'Ishm. xx (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 a-26 a), although different from those of *Hek. R.* As chief of the guardians of the fourth Hall occurs SAGNESAGIEL of vs. 11 here. Cf. *Zohar*, i. 41 a and ii. 245 a-268 b.

The functions of the door keepers of the Halls are the guarding of the entrance to the Halls generally and especially the control of the admittance of the aspirants to the vision of the *Merkaba*, so that nobody may enter who is not 'worthy' ('*rā'ūy*') acc. to *Hek. R.* (cf. ch. xvii *e.a.*). This is probably implied also in ch. i. 3, where *R. Ishmael* begs God to protect him against the zeal of *Qašpiel* (or *Qafšiel*), an angel-prince who in this connection, no doubt, is to be considered as (one of) the guardian(s) of the door of the seventh Hall (cf. *ib.* vs. 2; *Zohar*, ii. 248 b).

(6) The four great princes...who are appointed over the four camps of

THE FOUR CAMPS OF SHEKINA, they remove the crown(s) of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(5) And the four great princes, when they see TAG'AS, ⁵the prince, great and honoured⁵ with song (and) praise, at the head of all the

5-5 in aramaic.

Shekina. In ch. xxxvii the four camps of *Shekina* are mentioned together with 'the four chariots of *Shekina*'. In ch. xxxv all the myriads of camps of angels are said to be arranged in four rows, at the head of each row there being 'a prince of the army'. Probably 'the four great princes' here are to be understood as identical with the princes of the army in ch. xxxv. 3. In this case the camps of *Shekina* are the four companies of ministering angels arranged by the Throne of Glory, especially in their aspect as performers of *Qēdushsha*.

In other writings 'the four camps of *Shekina*' is not an infrequent term and in later cabalistic traditions a considerable amount of speculation centres round this conception. (Cf. here esp. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: ר' מישריין)

Now one generally finds that the 'princes of the camps of *Shekina*' are named as Mikael, Gabriel, Uriel (more seldom: Nuriel) and Raphael. Cf. *Mass. Hek.* vi: "four companies of ministering angels praise before the Lord; the first *camp* under Mikael to the right, the second *camp* under Gabriel to the left, the third under Uriel before Him and the fourth under Raphael from behind", and it is added "the *Shekina* is in the middle".

Acc. to *Ma'ase Merhaba* (*Add.* 26922) 'the princes of the four camps of *Shekina*' are: Mikael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael, standing to the right, to the left, in front of and behind the Throne of Glory resp.

In *P. R. 'El.* iv the four angels Mikael, Uriel, Gabriel and Raphael stand by the Throne of Glory as leaders of four camps of angels glorifying the Most High. A similar picture is drawn by the *Widduy Yaphe* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 113 b).

The 'three men' visiting Abraham, *Gen.* xviii. 2 seqq. are in *Siumi ad loc.* once identified with the angels Mikael, Gabriel and Raphael, and again with Raphael, Uriel and Gabriel, "who are the camp of *Shekina*".

The conception of the four princes in charge of the 'uttering of the Song' before the Holy One, is traceable as far back as 1 *En.* chh. xxxix. 12, 13 and xl, lxxi, ix. 1, where there are mentioned "FOUR PRESENCES ON THE FOUR SIDES OF THE LORD OF SPIRITS... uttering praises before the Lord of Glory". Their names are here: Mikael, Raphael, Gabriel and *Phanuel*. See also 2 *En.* xviii. 9, and CHARLES, 1 *En.* note on xl. 2.

Towards the formation of the idea of 'four princes of the four camps of *Shekina*', speculations on the "four living creatures" of Ezek. i. 5, 10, and the traditions of the four princes Mikael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel have, presumably, combined. In later cabalistic sources one actually finds that the 'four camps of *Shekina*' are referred to the 'Eagle-Ox-Lion-Man' vision, e.g. *YR.* i. 80 a (*Meg. 'Annuq.*).

Instances of other developments of the conception of 'the camps of Shekina': the four camps of *Shekina* are imaged by the arrangement of the "armies of Israel", *Nu.* i. 3, acc. to *Bachya* (*ad loc.*); they surround the *Shekina* or "the body of *Shekina*" which is the same as the "Greater Metatron", but are above the Lesser Metatron who stands on the heads of the living creatures, the *Chayyoth* (*YR.* i. 57 a); "in the camp of *Shekina* are Metatron, *Sandalphon*, Uriel, Raphael, Mikael, Gabriel" (*Shēnē Luchoth ha-Berith*, cited by *Derek 'Emeth* on *Zohar*, i. 149 b).

(5) Tag'as. (תגאס). Not included in Schwab, *VA.* The name occurs in the prayer attributed to *R. Hammuna ben Sabha* (*Or.* 6577, fol. 13 a, *Add.* 27187, fol. 67 b, *Add.* 27199, fol. 299 *e.a.*), and also in another, anonymous, prayer in *Add.* 15299, fol. 104 b. In these cases it is a Divine name (really a double *temura*) always followed by שבעצב and letters of the *Tetragrammaton*. The epithet 'great

children of heaven, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(6) And Tag'aṣ, ⁵the great and honoured prince⁵, when he sees BARAṬṬIEL⁶, the great prince of three fingers in the height of 'Araboth, the highest heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(7) And Baraṭṭiel⁶, the great prince, when he sees HAMON, the great prince, the fearful and honoured, pleasant and terrible one—who maketh all the children of heaven to tremble, when the time draweth nigh (that is set) for the saying of the '(Thrice) Holy', as it is written (Isa. xxxiii. 3): "At the noise of the tumult (*hāmōn*) the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered"—he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(8) And Hamon, the great prince, when he sees ṬUTRESIEL⁷, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

5-5 in aramaic. 6 *D*: 'Aṭaphiel' 7 so acc. to the full reading of *D*. *A*: טטרסיאל. *D* adds 'וי' after the name.

and honoured prince' (שרא רבא ויקריא) is the same as that given to Metatron in the beginning of *Shi'ur Qoma* (*Bodl. opp.* 467, fol. 58 a, *opp.* 563, fol. 52 b, *S. Raziel*). Cf. also in *S. Elijahu, beg.*:... רבא ליה מיכאל שרא רבא.

This angel is said to be 'honoured with song and praise' and to stand 'at the head of all the children of heaven'. In view of the functions commonly assigned to the 'princes of the camps of the *Shekina*' of the preceding verse (see note above) these expressions are probably to be understood as referring to the performance of the 'Thrice Holy' and to the angels uttering the *Qēdushsha*. The function of the angel may be that of a conductor of the song-uttering angels.

(6) Baraṭṭiel (ברטטיאל). Neither this nor the 'Aṭaphiel of *D* is included in Schwab, *VA*. Aṭaphiel is found in *Hilk. Mal'akim La*, fol. 117 b. of three fingers. Cf. *Hilk. Mal'akim, ib.*: "'Aṭaphiel lifteth up the 'Araboth Raqia' on his fingers". Also ch. xxxiii. 3 of the present book ('the Holy Chayyoth bear the Throne of Glory... each one with three fingers'). Does the attribute 'of three fingers' here possibly stand in any connection with the recital of the Thrice Holy?

(7) Hamon, הַמוֹן ('tumult'). The expression 'makes the children of heaven to tremble etc.' probably means 'announces the arrival of the time appointed for the *Qēdushsha*'. The trembling and fear with which all the heavenly household is seized at the moment before the recital of the Thrice Holy is pictured e.g. in ch. xxxviii. For the attributes 'fearful, honoured, pleasant and terrible' cf. the parallels of chh. xx. 1, xxii. 1, xxv. 1, xxvi. 1. This method of heaping epithets after the name of a high angel-prince is frequently employed in *Hek. R.* The attributes were probably from the beginning intended as marks of distinction, applied according to a certain system to denote the resp. rank assigned to each prince. (Cf. also in *Mandaic.*)

(8) Ṭutresiel. See Schwab, *VA*, pp. 134, 136. The name is of frequent occurrence, although in variant forms. Schwab explains it as 'δύτροπος El', 'piercing God'. Here and in *Midrash Sar Tora* it is the name of an angel. Often it appears as one of the names of the Godhead (*Hek. R.* xi. 2, xii, xiii, xv) or of Metatron (*Sefer ha Chesheq*, foll. 4 b, 8 a).

There are many variants of the name, which are enumerated in *Hek. R.* xii.

(9) And Tūtresiel⁷ H', the great⁹ prince, when he sees ATRUGIEL⁸, the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(10) And Atrugiel⁸ the great⁹ prince, when he sees NA'ARIRIEL H', the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(11) And Na'aririel H', the great⁹ prince, when he sees SASNIGIEL¹⁰, the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(12) And Sasnigiel H', when he sees ZAZRIEL H', the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(13) And Zazriel H', the prince, when he sees GEBURATIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

7 so acc. to the full reading of *D*. *A*: מטרתיהל. *D* adds 'י' after the name.
8 *D*: 'ATRUGNIEL י' 9 *D* om. 10 *D* adds 'י' after the name.

See also *S. Raziel*, 40 a, 43 b. The שטֹרֵיִּיָּהּ of *Zohar*, ii. 245 b, 246 a, is perhaps also a variant (through transposition of the letters) of the same name.

(9 and 10) Atrugiel or Atrugniel (*D*) not in Schwab, *VA*. It is to be considered identical with the 'Atrigiel' of *Hek. R.* xxii. 1 and 3, the name of one of the door keepers of the seventh Hall. The form *Tagriel*, *ib.* xv and xvii, is apparently also a variant. Cf. the names 'Atrigi(ash)' (cited from *Hek. R.* xxx) and *Aṭarniel* in Schwab, *VA*, p. 51. Schwab derives the former from *τράγος*, he-goat, goat-buck, the traditional symbol of a demon (cf. *sa'ir*).

Na'aririel: *i.e.* Na'ar 'El (Na'ar = Child, Youth, the name of Metatron, ch. iii). Occurs in *Hek. R.* in the form of Na'aruriel as the name of one of the door keepers of the seventh Hall (ch. xxii, together with Atrugiel). The 'H' forming the second part of the name of this and the following princes stands for the *Tetragrammaton* (like 'י' in *D*). Cf. the expression 'called by the name of יְהוָה', ch. ix. 3 and note, *ad locum*.

(11) Sasnigiel is one of the variants of 'Sagnesagiel' or 'Segansagel', in ch. xlviii. 1, 2 appearing as the last of the names of Metatron, with the epithet 'the Prince of Wisdom'. Probably derived from גִּנְיָן (treasure), cf. גִּנְיָן הַכְּמָה.

In the *Apocalyptic Fragment* (e.g. *BH*. v. 167-169) likewise, it is the name of "the prince of the Presence" who shows R. Ishmael the future.

Other forms are:

SASNIEL: *S. Raziel*, 24 a, 41 a; ZEGANZEGAE: *ib.* 2 b, called "the Prince of the Tora"; SANSAGGIEL: Schwab, *VA*, cf. the explanation given there; ZANGEZIEL: *Midrash Petirath Moshe*; here he is introduced as Moses' teacher and, together with Mikael and Gabriel, fetching Moses' soul at the time of his death. He is also called "Prince of the world" (probably identical with *Metatron*).

In *Pirqe R. Ishmael*, xx, he is the chieftain of the door keepers of the fourth Hall.

Acc. to *Berith Menucha*, 37 a, he is one of the Seraphim and is appointed over "the peace".

(12) Zazriel, probably = 'the Strength of God,' 'the strong God.' Cf. the following names.

(13) Geburatiel = 'the strength of God'. Cf. the preceding verse. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xv and xvii, he is one of the door keepers of the fourth Hall. See Schwab, *VA*, p. 91.

(14) And Geburatiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ARAPHIEL¹¹ H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(15) And 'Araphiel¹¹ H', the prince, when he sees 'ASHRUYLU¹², the prince, ¹³who presides in all the sessions of the children of heaven¹³, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(16) And Ashruylu H'¹², the prince, when he sees GALLIŞUR H', THE PRINCE, WHO REVEALS ¹⁴ALL THE SECRETS OF THE LAW (*Tora*)¹⁴, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

11 D: 'Ta'raphiel' 12 D: 'Ashruyli' 13-13 D: 'who is the head
[over] all the students on high' 14-14 D: 'the secret of the crown of the Law,
the crown of Holiness, the crown of Kingship'

(14) 'Araphiel = 'the neck of God' (the neck is the symbol of strength). Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxi, he is one of the guardians of the second Hall. See Schwab, *ib.* p. 217.

(15) 'Ashruylu = 'who causes to dwell', 'who causes to rest', *scil.* the disciples of Tora in the heavenly colleges, hence the function here assigned to him: 'presideth in all the sessions of the children of heaven'. That the colleges on earth have their counterparts in heaven is a common Rabbinic idea. Cf. the somewhat different picture of Metatron's function in ch. xlviii c 12.

In accordance with the present view is the epithet 'prince of Tora' given to this angel in *S. Raziél*, 45 a. In *Hek. R.* xii, 'Ashruylii' is one of the twenty names of the Godhead; *ib.* xxx (*Sar Tora*) it is the name of an angel-prince. Cf. the interpretation, Schwab, *VA*, p. 77.

(16) Gallişur... who reveals all the secrets of the Law. The name is of comparatively frequent occurrence. *Pesiqta R.* par. xx, explains it as "he who reveals the reasons of the Creator" (*Şur*, Is. xxvi. 4).

The same explanation of the name 'Gallişur' is repeated, with the addition of some other details, in *Ma'yan Chokma*, *BH.* i. 60, in '*Aggadath Shema' Israel*, *BH.* v. 165, also in *S. Raziél*, 41 b, 42 a, 42 b, and *P. R. 'El.* iv, further in citations in *Siuni*, 93 d, and *YR.* ii. 67 a. Acc. to these sources he is identical with the angel, called 'Raziél' (= 'the secret(s) of God'); he hears the Divine decrees from behind the 'Curtain' (cf. ch. xlv. 1) and reveals them to the world; he stands next to the *Chayyoth* and spreads his wings, so that the ministering angels shall not be consumed by the fire that goes forth from the breath of the *Chayyoth*. Acc. to *S. Raziél*, 42 b, he is one of the Princes of the Law.

In *Sefer ha-Yashar* ("the book of the righteous", *Add.* 15299, fol. 91 a b) it is related, that the book in question "was given to Adam by the hand of *Gallişur*". (Note the similar narrative in *S. Raziél*, 3 a, which is probably another version of *S. ha-Yashar*, where the name of angel is Raziél.)

In a prayer in the same MS., fol. 144 a, he is invoked—with the '*kinnuyim*' (or supplementary names) of '*Yephiphyah*' (cf. ch. xlviii d 4) and *Yophiel*—to give assistance in the study of the Tora.

From these sources it appears that the traditions assigned to him mainly two functions: revealer of the Divine Secrets and Prince of the Law. These two functions are here, rightly, comprised in the one "revealer of all the secrets of the Law". The Divine secrets are embodied in the Tora, constituting its inner meaning, the technical term for which is "the secrets of the Law". (Cf. on chh. ix. 1 and xlviii d 7 et seqq.)

As the Prince of the Law he is here probably connected with the Divine Judgement

(17) And Galliṣur H', the prince, when he sees ZAKZAKIEL H', the prince who is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(18) And Zakzakiel H', the great¹⁵ prince, when he sees 'ANAPH(I)EL H', the prince¹⁶ who keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face¹⁶. Why is he called by the name of 'Anaphiel? Because the bough of his honour and majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows)¹⁷ all the chambers of 'Araboth Raqia' on high even as the Maker of the World (doth overshadow them). Just as it is written with regard to the Maker of the World (Hab. iii. 3): "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise", even so do the honour and majesty of 'Anaphiel cover all the glories of 'Araboth the highest.

15 *D* om. 16-16 *D*: 'he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And 'Anaphiel, the prince, he is appointed to keep the keys of the Halls of 'Araboth Raqia' 17 so *D. A* om., probably taking ʔןʔ as a verb, thus giving the meaning: 'Because his honour etc. (overbranch) overshadow all the chambers etc.'

which in its different aspects is represented in nearly all the following angel-names; through the said epithet he is also connected with the foregoing 'Ashruylu'.

(17) Zakzakiel, 'Merit-God', is the same both with regard to name and function as 'Zekukiel' of *S. Raziel*, 21 b: "the Prince of the merits of Israel".

(18) 'Anaphiel, 'the branch of God'. In ch. vi of the Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book he is the angel who removes Enoch to the heavens; *ib.* ch. xvi (acc. to the reading of *BD*) he is the angel who gave Metatron sixty strokes with lashes of fire. (Vide *Introd.* section 8 u, x, y).

Acc. to *Hek. R.* xv, xvii, he is one of the door keepers of the fourth Hall. *Ib.* ch. xxii. 4, he is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall. A similar, partly literally identical, explanation of his name as in the second part of the present verse is given there.

The expression 'who keeps the keys of the Halls of 'Araboth Raqia' is the only trace in this chapter of the connection of the high angel-princes enumerated here with the guardianship of the heavenly Halls, whereas all of them that recur in *Hek. R.* are there guardians of one or the other of the Halls, mostly the seventh or the fourth. He has here the control of all the Halls.

The said statement "keeps the keys of the Halls of 'Araboth Raqia'" together with the following part of the verse attribute a remarkably high position to 'Anaphiel: he is compared with "the Creator of the world". In *Hek. R.* xxii, he is called "the most beloved of all the guardians of the heavenly Halls, the Prince, 'Ebed (the Servant, Metatron's name), who is called thus by the name of his Master". A similarly high position is also implied by the passages in the Enoch-Metatron piece, just referred to. Another instance is the quotation from 'Södē Rāzā' in *YR.* i. 5 a: "the angel 'Anaphiel, to him are given in charge the 'ring' and the seal of heaven and earth, and all on high kneel down and prostrate themselves before him".

(19) And when he sees SOTHER 'ASHIEL H', the prince, the great, fearful and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called ¹⁸Sother Ashiel¹⁸? Because he is appointed ¹⁹over the four heads of the fiery river over against the Throne of Glory; and every single prince who goes out or enters before the *Shekina*, goes out or enters only by his permission. For the seals of ²⁰the fiery river²⁰ are entrusted to him. And furthermore, his height is 7000 myriads of parasangs. And he stirs up the fire of the river; and he goes out and enters before the *Shekina* to expound ²¹what is written (recorded)²¹ concerning the inhabitants of the world. According as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "the judgement was set, and the books were opened".

18-18 so *D. A.*: 'Sother and Ashiel' 19 *A* ins.: 'from the beginning'
 20-20 so *D. A.*: 'the four fiery rivers' (corrupt for 'the four heads of the fiery river'?)
 21-21 so *D. A.* om.

(19) Sother 'Ashiel H' = 'who stirs up the fire of God'. The explanations of the name as they appear in the present verse are quoted in *Hilkot ha Kisse La*, fol. 138 a. A points: סוֹתֵר אֲשִׁיֵּל (no other names in this ch. pointed).

He is here the angel appointed over the fiery river *Nehar di-Nur*, the speculations on which evolved from the beginning of Dan. vii. 10, the passage quoted in this verse. For the conceptions of the fiery river, see note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

The four heads of the fiery river. It is difficult to discern from *A*, whether 'four' or 'seven' are meant, the characters for 'daleth' (= 4) and 'zain' (= 7) being, in the current script employed there, almost indistinguishable. In *Hil. ha Merkaba* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 126 a) however, the "heads of the fiery river of the Throne of Glory" are definitely stated as four. If 'seven' is the correct reading here, the number '7000 myriads' would be explained as derived from 'the seven heads of the fiery river'. Ch. xxxiii. 4 mentions 'seven fiery rivers', an amplification frequently met with in the '*Södē Rāzā*' by Eleazar of Worms (cf. e.g. the quotation from this writing, *YR.* i. 4 b). The fiery river, usually described as issuing forth "from under the Throne of Glory" or "from the perspiration of the holy *Chayyoth*" is here simply described as being situated over against the Throne of Glory and is in the present connection probably conceived of as dividing the Throne of Glory with the *Shekina* from the world of the common angels and angel-princes, through which 'fiery stream' they must pass when they wish to enter before the *Shekina*. On this assumption the expression 'every prince... does not go out nor enter but by his permission' would be intelligible: *Sother 'Ashiel*, who is the guardian of the fiery river, also controls who shall pass through it to the *Shekina*. The fiery river as a bath of purification and preparation for the angels is a common idea in this and related writings. Cf. note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

he goes out and enters before the *Shekina* to expound what is written concerning the inhabitants of the world (*lit.* 'to expound in the writings of'). *A* perhaps reads: 'enters to the Curtain of the inhabitants of the world', i.e. the Curtain, on which everything is recorded acc. to ch. xlv. 1 seqq.). This strange expression obtains its elucidation by the quotation of Dan. vii. 10 with its reference to 'the Judgement'. The fiery river is also, and foremost, the symbol of the execution of the judgement on man. Hence *Sother 'Ashiel* is connected with the Divine Judgement, as far as he 'stirs up the fire of the *Nehar di-Nur*'. He, as it were, regulates the heat of the fire according to the requirements of judgement.

(20) And Sother 'Ashiel ²²the prince²², when he sees ²³SHOQED CHOZI²³, the great prince, the mighty, terrible and honoured one, he removes the crown ²⁴of glory²⁴ from his head and falls upon his face. And why is he called ²⁵Shoqed Chozi²⁵? Because he weighs ²⁶all the merits (of man)²⁶ in a balance in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(21) And when he sees ZEHANPURYU²⁷ H', the great prince, the mighty and terrible one, honoured, glorified and feared in all the heavenly household, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Zehanpuryu²⁸? Because he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place.

(22) And when he sees 'AZBUGA H', the great prince, glorified, revered, honoured, adorned, wonderful, exalted, beloved and feared among all

22-22 so D. A om. 23-23 D: 'Shaqadhozii "' 24-24 A om.
25-25 D: 'thus' 26-26 D om. 27 D: 'Zehaphṭaryi' 28 D: 'thus'

(20) Shoqed Chozi, also in the forms 'Shaqad Hozii', 'Sheqar Chozii' (the former in the readings of *D* and *Midrash Sar Tora*, the latter in *Hek. R.* and *S. Raziel*, 45 a). Derivations uncertain ('Waking' or 'Watching and Seeing'; Schwab, *VA*, p. 259: 'False Seer' [based upon the form 'Sheqar Chozii']). Cf. the name 'Sheqadyahiel', *Hek. R.* xxii and Schwab, *ib.*

The explanation given in the present version rather presupposes a form 'SHEQAL ZAKI' ('weighing merits') or similar. (Cf. Mandaitic: *Abathur*, Introd. sect. 13 Ce.)

In *S. Raziel*, 45 a (where other names of this ch. recur), he is mentioned after 'Ashruylu as one of "the Princes of Tora". In *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 8, foll. 68 b, 69 a)* the name recurs twice, in the form of *Sheqad Chozyah (a)* in a hymn to God, (*b*) as the name in which Metatron is invoked by the scholar who is watching and praying during the night.

For the idea of 'weighing merits' cf. BOX, *Exra Apocalypse*, p. 19, note p; 1 *En. xli. 1.*

(21) Zehanpuryu. Explained by Schwab, *VA*, thus: "this is the face of fear" (p. 121). More probable, at least in the connection in which the name appears here, is the explanation or reading of *S. Raziel*, 45 a: 'Zeh Paṭar' = 'this one exempts', 'this one sets free'. In this chapter he represents the attribute of mercy, a constituent part of the Judgement, acc. to chh. xxxi and xxxiii et. freq. Such is at least the apparent significance of the words: 'pushes the fiery river back'. Contrast the function given to Sother 'Ashiel acc. to vs. 19 of stirring up the *Nehar di-Nur*, an expression which is there explicitly referred to the Judgement. The fiery river is the means of or symbol of punishment and execution of judgement.

In *Hek. R.* xvii. 5, he is called "Prince of the Presence". *Ib.* xxi, he is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall. There might be some connection between this name and the 'PURIEL' of *Test. Abraham*, ch. xii, the name of one of the two high angels who function at the Judgement.

(22) 'Azbuga. Schwab, *VA*, p. 49, explains it as 'messenger'. Zunz, *GV*, p. 148, contains the notice that *Hek. Zot.* explains the name as denoting 'strength' (*ib.*). It recurs in *Midrash Sar Tora* and several times in *Berith Menucha*.

In a prayer in *S. ha Chesheq (Add. 27120, fol. 11 b)* he is invoked to deliver the suppliant from "every evil, disease and affliction". In this writing 'Azbuga is mostly one of the names of the Godhead. It is also the name of a 'temurā.'

In *S. Raziel*, 42 b, it is inscribed on an amulet which also contains the names of

the great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called 'Azbuga? Because in the future he will gird (clothe)²⁹ the righteous and pious of the world with the garments of life and wrap them in the cloak of life, that they may live in them an eternal life.

(23) And when he sees the two great princes, the strong and glorified ones who are standing above him, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And these are the names of the two princes³⁰:

SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) KILLETH, (Sopheriel H' the Killer), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, venerable, ancient and mighty one; (and)³¹ SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) MAKETH ALIVE (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, ancient and mighty one³¹.

29 so *Da. A*: 'because he is girded etc.' 30 so *D. A*: 'the angels, the princes' 31-31 in *D* this is transferred after 'he writes him in the books of the dead' vs. 24.

KERUBIEL (ch. xxii), SOPHERIEL (vss. 23 and 24 of the present chapter), YEPHIPHYA (ch. xlviii D 4) and GALLISUR (vs. 16 of this chapter).

the princes who know the mystery (or 'secrets' D) of the Throne of Glory. This probably refers to angels, who enjoy the privilege of constant access to the Throne of Glory, and hence know the *inner reasons of the Divine decrees*. The expression, then, has the same import as the phrase 'stand inside the Curtain' applied to some high angels. Cf. further, ch. xlv. 1 and references there.

Garments of life. Cf. 1 *En. lxii. 15, 16*: "and the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth... and they shall have been clothed with garments of glory, and they shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits". 2 *Esdra* ii. 45: "These be they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal". Cf. also 2 *En. xxii. 8*. For the conceptions expressed by the terms 'garments of glory' or 'garments of life' cf. note on ch. xii. 1. *The garments of life are here the means by which eternal life is conferred upon the righteous*, possibly according to the literary principle of 'pars pro toto'. They are the outer appearance of the essentially changed or new body (of the righteous in the future life), constituted of light-substance. *Vide CHARLES, 1 En.*, notes on chh. lxii. 16 and cviii. 12. 'Azbuga' is in the present chapter explained from שִׁנְיָ (= 'gird') and גָּבַב (= 'garment').

(23) Sopheriel... The name Sopheriel is not found in Schwab, *VA*. It occurs in *S. Raziel*, 21 b, as the name of "the Prince, appointed over the books of life", thus with the same function as is here assigned to the one of the two princes with that name.

It is obvious that the name here is understood as 'Sopheriel', i.e. 'the Scribe (of God)'. But the writing or spelling of the name (*Sin-Shin* instead of *Samek*) suggests that the name *earlier* or *originally* was referred to the word 'Shophar' (= 'trumpet'), meaning the angel who blows the trumpet, *scil.* at the judgement, perhaps at the time for the opening of the books (for this idea cf. *BOX, Ezra Apocalypse*, ch. vi. 23 and note d, p. 75). Since the angel, if this be correct, already was connected with the judgement, the change to the present interpretation was comparatively easy. In *S. Raziel*, 42, is found the similar name *Shaphriël* from 'Shefer' (= 'beauty').

The angels function as scribes. They are differentiated into two, one for 'life' and one for 'death' in accordance with the noticeable tendency of the book to place

(24) Why is he called Sopheriel H' who killeth (Sopheriel H' the Killer)? Because he is appointed over the books of the dead: [so that] everyone, when the day of his death draws nigh, he writes him in the books of the dead.

Why is he called Sopheriel H' who maketh alive (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver)? Because he is appointed over the books of the living (of life), so that every one whom the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring into life, he writes him in the book of the living (of life), by authority of *MAQOM*. Thou might perhaps say: "Since the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on a throne, they also are sitting when writing". (Answer): The Scripture teaches us (1 Kings xxii. 19, 2 Chron. xviii. 18): "And all the host of heaven are standing by him".

two polar opposites side by side. Cf. also ch. xxxiii. 2 and note (two scribes) and note on ch. xlv. 2.

The attributes 'H who killeth' and 'H who maketh alive' are in all probability derived from 1 Sam. ii. 6: "the Lord (H = יהוה) killeth and maketh alive". This passage is also used *TB. Rosh ha Shana*, 16 a, as point of support for the views concerning the Judgement which are expressed there.

(24) **Books of the dead. . . books of the living.** The 'books of the dead and the books of the living' are here merely the books recording the moments designed for each individual's birth and death. The books of the living contain the names of the living, the books of the dead those of the dead. Otherwise 'the book(s) of life' regularly refer to the righteous, which are recorded in this book for eternal life, for God's remembrance, and hence, when mentioned, 'the book(s) of death or the dead' are conceived of as containing the names of the wicked, for perdition. Parallel with this conception goes that, according to which 'the books' record the deeds of 'the world' or of the righteous and the wicked separately. The former idea is represented in the O.T. (Is. iv. 3, Ex. xxxii. 32 seq., Ps. lxix. 29, cxxxix. 16, Mal. iii. 16, Dan. xii. 1), in 1 *En.* xlvii. 3, civ. 1, cviii. 3, *Jub.* xxx. 20, 22, xxxvi. 10, *Ap. Elijah*, iv. 2, xiv. 5; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27;—the latter in chh. xxx. 2 and xxvii. 2 of the present book, Is. lxxv. 6, Neh. xiii. 14, Dan. vii. 10, 1 *En.* lxxxii. 4, lxxxix. 61 et seqq., xc. 17, 20, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 7 seqq., civ. 7, cviii. 7 seqq., 2 *En.* l. 1, lii. 15, liii. 2 seqq., *Ap. Bar.* xxv. 1, *Copt. Apoc. El.* lii. 13 seqq., xi. 1 seqq., *Asc. Is.* ix. 26, 4 *Ez.* vi. 20, Rev. xx. 12. For references and discourses see BOX, *Exra Apocalypse*, p. 74, note y on ch. vi. 20; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 171; Zimmern in *Keilinschriften des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed., ii. 505; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judentums*, p. 247; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 2nd ed., pp. 242, 282 et seqq.: further *Rosh ha Shana*, 15 b e.a., and the discourse on New Year's Day as day of Judgement in Piebig, *Mischna Traktat Rosch ha-Schana*, pp. 41-45. (Note. The '3 books' *ib.* p. 43, and note on ch. xlv. 1 of the present book.)

Māqōm = 'place', one of the technical terms of the Divine Majesty. Cf. the expression 'the Curtain of *Maqom*', e.g. ch. xlv. 1.

Thou might perhaps say etc. The suggestion that the scribes must be sitting when writing is refuted. "There is no sitting in heaven" cf. *Chag.* 15 a. The scriptural passage from which this is deduced, 1 Kings xxii. 19, is the one regularly used for the purpose. Acc. to *TB. Chag.* 15 a, however, Metatron, in his function as scribe, was at first allowed to 'sit and write', and in the Enoch-Metatron piece (chh. iii-xv) Metatron is placed on a Throne. Apart from this there seems to have been a set of traditions which felt no objection against ascribing 'yēshūbā' ('sitting') to angel-princes or righteous dead. (For references see note on ch. x. 1.) To the other prevailing view which was rigorous in this respect, it was probably the case

“The host of heaven”³² (it is said) in order to show us, that even the Great Princes, none like whom there is in the high heavens, do not fulfil the requests of the *Shekina* otherwise than standing. But how is it (possible that) they (are able to) write, when they are standing? It is like this:

(25) One is standing on the wheels of the tempest and the other is standing on the wheels of the storm-wind.

The one is clad in kingly garments, the other is clad in kingly garments.

The one is wrapped in a mantle of majesty and the other is wrapped in a mantle of majesty.

The one is crowned with a royal crown, and the other is crowned with a royal crown.

³² *D* ins. ‘is not written here, but “and *all* the host of heaven”’

of the ‘scribes’ that suggested a deviation from the strict rule; the question was raised as here: ‘how can they write, if they must be standing?’ Cf. further ch. xvi and notes.

The unwillingness to admit any ‘sitting in heaven’, apart from the Throne of God, has arisen from the interest of guarding the Unity of the Godhead: there must not be even the appearance of two Divine Powers (*Chag.* 15 a, ch. xvi).

With the two princes *Sopheriel H’*, ‘none like whom there is in the high heavens’, the angelological system of the present chapter is concluded. They are the highest of the angels of the hierarchy, the different ranks of which are here enumerated from the lowest to the highest. From this it is clear that ch. xviii is independent of the following chapters xix seqq., which from their present context appear as a continuation of the angelological system here set forth. *At the beginning of this chapter it was shown in the notes that this chapter is also independent of its antecedent chapter. In fact, it stands out by itself from all the rest of the book.*

The reason why it was embodied in the angelological section is apparently its seeming connection with ch. xvii owing to the mention in both chapters of the angels and the princes of the different heavens. Besides, the beginning of ch. xix, ‘above these three angels’, indicates a preceding exposition of high angel-princes, and when the original beginning of the fragment, of which chh. xix seqq. are a continuation was lost, ch. xviii was put in as a substitute, although not a very happy one.

(25) This verse, with its lengthy and extravagant descriptions of the ‘two angels’ constitutes a striking contrast to the concise, summarizing character of the foregoing part of the chapter. The beginning of the verse is not very lucidly connected with vs. 24. The question ‘how are they writing when standing?’ is not intelligibly answered. It is difficult to understand how it could facilitate the writing to be standing ‘on the wheels of the tempest’. Hence it is probable that vs. 25 is a later addition to the chapter. The end of the verse shows that the angels referred to are scribes like the princes *Sopheriel*. The addition was probably composed for the preceding verses, not adduced from another context.

The features used in the following description of the two angels are mainly those constantly recurring in descriptions of high angel-princes. Cf. the descriptions of *KERUBIEL* (ch. xxii. 1-9), *OFFANNIEL* (ch. xxv. 1-4), *SERAPHI’EL* (ch. xxvi. 1-7).

standing on wheels Cf. ch. xxii. 7.

clad in kingly garments etc. Cf. chh. xii. 1, xvii. 8.

crowned with a royal crown Cf. *ib.* and frequently.

The one's body is full of eyes, and the other's body is full of eyes.

The appearance of one is like unto the appearance of lightnings, and the appearance of the other is like unto the appearance of lightnings.

The eyes of the one are like the sun in its might, and the eyes of the other are like the sun in its might.

³³ The one's height is like the height of the seven heavens, and the other's height is like the height of the seven heavens.

The wings of the one are as (many as) the days of the year, and the wings of the other are as (many as) the days of the year.

The wings of the one extend over the breadth of *Raqia'*, and the wings of the other extend over the breadth of *Raqia'*.

The lips of the one, are as the gates of the East, and the lips of the other are as the gates of the East.

The tongue of the one is as high as the waves of the sea, and the tongue of the other is as high as the waves of the sea.

From the mouth of the one a flame goes forth, and from the mouth of the other a flame goes forth.

From the mouth of the one there go forth lightnings and from the mouth of the other there go forth lightnings.

From the sweat of the one fire is kindled, and from the perspiration of the other fire is kindled.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning, and from the tongue of the other a torch is burning.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone, and upon the head of the other there is a sapphire stone.

33 *D* ins. 'the one's splendour is like the splendour of the Throne of Glory and the other's splendour is like that of the Throne of Glory'

body full of eyes Cf. ch. xxii. 8.

the eyes are like the sun in its might Cf. ch. xxvi. 6.

their height like the height of the seven heavens Cf. ch. xxv. 4 etc., and esp. ch. xxii. 3.

wings as many as the days of the year, i.e. 365; cf. ch. xxv. 2, also ch. xxi. 3.

from the mouth of the one a flame goes forth Cf. e.g. ch. xxii. 4.

from the perspiration of them fire is kindled Cf. the current saying "from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* a fiery river goes forth". *Gen. R.* lxxviii beg., *Lam. R.* on ch. iii. 23. Cf. the note on ch. xxxiii. 4.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning Cf. ch. xxii. 4: 'his tongue is a consuming fire'.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone Cf. ch. xxvi. 5: 'the sapphire stone upon his head'; also ch. xxii. 13.

On the shoulders of the one there is a wheel of a swift cherub, and on the shoulders of the other there is a wheel of a swift cherub.

One has in his hand a burning scroll, the other has in his hand a burning scroll.

The one has in his hand a flaming style, the other has in his hand a flaming style.

The length of the scroll is 3000 myriads of parasangs; the size of the style is ³⁴3000 myriads of parasangs³⁴; the size of every single letter that they write is 365 parasangs.

CHAPTER XIX¹

Rikbiel, the prince of the wheels of the Merkaba. The surroundings of the Merkaba. The commotion among the angelic hosts at the time of the Qēdushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above ²these three angels, these great princes² there is one

34-34 *D*: '3000 parasangs'. This is perhaps a better reading. It is more natural, that the style should not have the same length as the whole scroll.

1 *D* includes this chapter in the foregoing. 2-2 *D*: 'them, the *two* angels, these high princes' (למעלה מהן משיני).

a wheel of a swift cherub. Cf. the expression 'chariots of a swift cherub', ch. xxiv. 17.

The scroll and style are of fire, the heavenly matter. 'Graven with a flaming style' is an uncommonly frequent expression, referring e.g. to the letters engraved on the 'Fearful Crown', the Names on the Throne of Glory, etc. Cf. e.g. ch. xxxix. 1 and references in note, *ad loc.* Item, ch. xiii.

The scribes are represented as writing with a style of fire on a scroll of flames. Cf. *Midrash 'Aséreth Ma'amaroth*: "Tora was written down by the arm of the Holy One, blessed be He, with dark fire on white fire".

The numbers used in describing the sizes of the scroll, the style and the letters are based on 3000 and 365. The number 365 is used very often in this book, see esp. ch. ix. 3. It was conceived of as a cosmic and celestial number, being the number of the days of the solar year. The 3000 is probably made up of 1000 times 3, the number 3 being, of old, a mystical number. Cf. the 300 thousand 'gates' of ch. viii.

Chh. xix-xxii, xxv, xxvi. (Angelological system A 1, see Introduction, section 13 (1 A).)

Chh. xix-xxii, xxv, xxvi, form an angelological description of a systematic structure. The centre, from which the system is evolved, is the conception of the *Merkaba* with the Throne of Glory. The objects of the exposition are the angel-princes, appointed over the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*' and over the four classes of superior angels who minister at the *Merkaba* and by the Throne, as well as these angels themselves.

Prince, distinguished, honoured, noble, glorified, adorned, fearful, valiant, strong, great, magnified, glorious, crowned, wonderful, exalted, blameless, beloved, lordly, high and lofty, ancient and mighty, like unto whom there is none among the princes. His name

For the *Merkaba* speculations—derived from Ezek. i and x—and the different arrangements of the details of the *Merkaba*-picture, see the Introduction, sections 13 and 14.

The importance of these chapters consists primarily in the fact that they reveal a clear attempt at systematization. Beginning with 'the wheels of the *Merkaba*', the description proceeds from the lowest to the highest of the four classes of superior angels which, wanting a more adequate comprehensive appellation, may be called the *Merkaba*-angels. They are arranged in an order, placing the *Chayyoth* as the lowest and the *Seraphim* as the highest, thus: *Chayyoth*, *Kerubim*, 'Ophanim, *Seraphim*. This order is by no means the one generally accepted. In most cases in the earlier cabbalistic literature it seems that the writers had no clear view of the mutual order of the *Merkaba*-angels, and the cases that suggest an intended classification, represent, when compared, nearly all possible permutations of the four classes in question. Furthermore, all of them are not mentioned, in such classifications, some omitting the *Chayyoth*, others the *Kerubim* and so on. It may suffice as an illustration, to refer to the arrangement presented in ch. xxii c 2, where the order is as follows: 'the *Galgallim*, the *Kerubim*, the 'Ophanim... the Holy *Chayyoth*, the Throne of Glory'. Cf. further the Introduction, section 13 (1 A).

On the other hand, in *P. R. 'El*. iv, we meet with an order of the four classes of superior angels which is identical with the order represented in this section. In contrast with the present system, however, *P. R. 'El*. puts the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*' together with the 'Ophanim and the 'princes' assigned as chieftains over the resp. classes of angels here, do not appear there.

(1) Above these three angels, these great princes. The beginning of the chapter points to a preceding description of angels. In the present context the opening words refer to ch. xviii. That it is highly improbable, however, that ch. xviii was the original antecedent of ch. xix, has been pointed out above, note on ch. xviii. 24. Who are then, originally, the angels and princes referred to? No answer can be given to this question apart from mere conjectures. First of all, the words 'these three angels' or, as the reading of *D* runs, "them, the two angels" sound like a gloss. They might, in fact, easily have been an emendation made by the redactor who combined ch. xix with ch. xviii. By this gloss—if our assumption is correct—ch. xix is made to refer to the last named princes of ch. xviii. This is particularly so, if the reading of *D* be adopted (the two princes are then, of course, the two Sopheriel H, ch. xviii. 23-25). Assuming that the original beginning of the chapter had the form 'above these great princes', the subject of the preceding angelological fragment to which this expression refers, might have been, say, the 'princes of kingdoms'. Now the princes of kingdoms are the subject of the last verse of ch. xvii. The style of ch. xvii. 8 is also similar to that of the present section. It opens with the phrase 'above these', which is the regular inceptive expression of all the chapters in this section. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT CH. XVII. 8 BELONGED TO THE SAME ANGELOLOGICAL EXPOSITION, POSSIBLE ALSO THAT IT IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED WHAT IS NOW CH. XIX. Further, on the connection of ch. xvii. 8 with the rest of that chapter, see note, *ad loc.*

distinguished, honoured, noble etc. On the epithets added to the name of an angel-prince cf. note on ch. xviii. 7 and chh. xx. 1, xxii. 1, xxv. 1 and xxvi. 1. The attributes are in the present case over twenty in number. This manner of excelling in variations of terms resembles the fashion of *Hek. R.* The words used here are mostly adduced from the O.T.

is RIKBIEĪ H', the great and revered prince³ who is standing by the Merkaba.

(2) And why is he called RIKBIEĪ? Because he is appointed over the wheels of the *Merkaba*, and they are given in his charge. (3) And how many are the wheels? Eight; two in each direction. And there are four winds compassing them round about. And these are their names: "the Storm-Wind", "the Tempest", "the Strong Wind", and "the Wind of Earthquake". (4) And under them four fiery

3 so *D. A.*: 'name'

Rikbiel. The names of the present section (with the exception of RADWERIEL, ch. xxvii) have a very simple derivation. RIKBIEĪ is derived from 'Rekeb' (= 'chariot' = 'Merkaba'), CHAYYLIEL is made to correspond to 'Chayyoth', KERUBIEL to 'Kerubim', 'OPHANNIEL to 'Ophanim', SERAPHIEL to 'Seraphim'.

The name RIKBIEĪ is not given by Schwab, *VA.* It recurs, however, twice in *Add.* 27199. The first time it is in the quotation of vss. 2-7 of the present chapter, see below. The second time in *Hilkoth ha Kisse*, fol. 138 a b, in a passage from an anonymous source, immediately following the quotation of ch. xxiii. 20 (cf. note, *ib.*) and (SOTHER ASHIEL), ch. xviii. 19 (cf. note, *ad loc.*), preceding the quotation of ch. xxii (KERUBIEL). The passage runs: "RIKBIEĪ H, the great and fearful prince by name, is standing by the *Merkaba* (cf. the last words of vs. 1 here) and he is appointed over the eight wheels of the *Merkaba*, two in each direction" Since this passage occurs in between quotations from this book it is probably directly dependent upon this chapter and might be regarded as a quotation. Notice, that the epithet "great and fearful prince" are regarded as part of the name.

(2) In a midrashic commentary on Ezek. i. 16 in *Add.* 27199, fol. 81 a, there is a passage on RIKBIEĪ which appears as a literal, though unacknowledged quotation, of vss. 2-7 of the present chapter.

the wheels of the Merkaba. (Hebrew: *galgille ham-merkaba*), wheels: 'galgallim'. The GALGALLIM are here, at least acc. to vss. 2 and 3, understood in their literal sense, although they, in vs. 7, are represented as speaking and apparently on a level with the four classes of Merkaba angels. Cf. for the present conception *Mass. Hek.* vii, e.g. "the wheels of the Merkaba upon which is the Throne of Glory". In *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba the four *Chayyoth* appear "from under the wheels of the chariot of His Throne (i.e. the Merkaba carrying the Throne of Glory)". (Contrast vs. 5 here.) In other connections they are clearly represented as one of the angelic classes, e.g. *Mass. Hek.* v: "In the seventh Hall are the Throne of Glory, the chariots of the Kerubim, the camps of the Seraphim, the 'Ophanim, the *Chayyoth* and the *Galgallim* of consuming fire". In this passage it is noteworthy that the 'Ophanim and the *Galgallim* appear as two distinct angelic classes. Originally the words 'Ophanim and *Galgallim* were, on the whole, identical notions, both meaning 'wheels'. See note on ch. xxv. 5. A third significance of the *Galgallim* is 'heavenly bodies', mainly occurring in the later cabbalistic literature. And through further developments of the speculations on the *Galgallim*, they are again identified with the 'Ophanim, or, according to another trend of thoughts, the 'Ophanim are made the rulers of the *Galgallim* or celestial spheres. Cf. note on ch. xxv. 5.

(3) The number of the wheels is presumably derived from Ezek. i. (not x): a wheel in the middle of a wheel by the side of each of the four living creatures.

four winds etc. 'Storm-wind' and 'tempest' are well-established parts of any descriptions of the celestial wonders. Cf. chh. xxxiv and xviii. 25. 'Storm-wind, East-Wind, Strong Wind and Wind of Earthquake' are represented in ch. xxiii. 15, 3, 2 and 6.

rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side. And round about them, between the rivers, four clouds are planted (placed), and these they are: "clouds of fire", "clouds of lamps", "clouds of coal", "clouds of brimstone" and they are standing over against [their] wheels.

(5) ⁴ And the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting upon the wheels. And between one wheel and the other earthquake is roaring and thunder is thundering.

(6) And when the time draws nigh for the recital of the *Song*, (then) the multitudes of wheels are moved, the multitude of clouds tremble, all the chieftains (*shallishim*) are made afraid, all the horsemen (*parashim*) do rage, all the mighty ones (*gibborim*) are excited, all the hosts (*šēba'im*) are afrighted, all the troops (*gēdudim*) ⁵are in fear⁵, all the appointed ones (*mēmunnim*) haste away, all the princes (*sarim*) and armies (*chayyēlim*) ⁶ are dismayed, all the servants (*mēsharētim*) do faint and all⁷ the angels (*mal'akim*) and divisions (*dēgalim*) travail with pain.

4 A ins. 'and these' 5-5 ins. in accordance with D. A om. 6 D ins.
'and 'Elim' 7 so D. A om 'all.'

(4) four fiery rivers. The number 'four' is to correspond with the four directions, the four *Chayyoth* etc. The four fiery rivers here should be compared with the mention in ch. xviii. 19 of 'the four heads of the fiery river'. Cf. note, *ib*. The fiery rivers here run under the feet of the *Chayyoth*. Cf. the usual expression: 'the fiery river goes forth from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth*'. The present conception of four fiery rivers is related to that of the rivers flowing between the four camps of Shekina as presented in ch. xxxvii. 1. Cf. *ib*. Clouds between the rivers, surrounding them. Cf. ch. xxxvii. 2. The object of the 'clouds' is acc. to ch. xxiv. 2 to protect from the heat of the fire. See also ch. xxxiii. 3.

(5) the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting upon the wheels. In accordance with the system of the present section the *Chayyoth* have their place next above the wheels of the Merkaba. Angels standing on wheels, cf. ch. xviii. 25 and ch. xxii. 7.

The different names of angelic classes and positions enumerated in vs. 6 are most of them deduced from the O.T. where they represent various divisions and orders within an army. This is natural from the point of view of these writers who picture the 'hosts of angels' as armies, camps and troops. The words 'appointed', 'princes', 'servants', 'angels', are familiar from the other chapters of the book. Cf. chh. xiv; iv, xxxix; xxx, vi; see Index; the other terms are all found in the enumeration in *Mass. Hek.* v of the contents of the seventh Hall and the different angelic classes there ("armies, hosts, troops, ranks (*ma'arakoth*), divisions and armies of chieftains, the men of war, mighty ones, powers (*azuzoth ta'ašumoth* (Ps. lxxviii. 36) horsemen, the officers of armies, princes etc."). *The presentation of all the different 'hosts' and 'princes' has the object of enhancing the impression of the SOLEMNITY OF THE MOMENT, WHEN 'THE SONG' IS TO BE SUNG.* The commotion of all heavens and all angels at the sound of the *Trisagion* is described in ch. xxxviii. Cf. also ch. xviii. 7. For passages recalling the present vs. see I *En.* lxi. 10, 11, 2 *En.* xx. 1 seqq., *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 59, *Zohar*, ii. 136 a b. For *dēgalim* applied to angelic troops cf. *Num. R.* par. ii with reference to Ps. lxxviii. 18, *Shir. R.* on ii. 4. In the quotation *La*, fol. 81 a, only eight classes are mentioned, viz. *shallishim*, *parashim*, *šebaim*, *gibborim*, *memunnim*, *sarim*, *mal'akim*, *dēgalim*.

(7) And one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other and one *Kerub* to another, one *Chayyā* to another, one *Seraph* to another (saying) (Ps. lxxviii. 5) "Extol to him that rideth in 'Araboth, by his name *Yah* and rejoice before him!"

CHAPTER XX

CHAYYLIEL, *the prince of the Chayyoth*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one great and mighty prince. His name is CHAYYLIEL *H'*, a noble and revered prince, a 'glorious and' mighty prince, a great and revered prince, a prince before whom all the children of heaven do tremble, a prince who is able to swallow up the whole earth in one moment (at a mouthful).

(2) And why is he called CHAYYLIEL *H'*? Because he is appointed over the *Holy Chayyoth* ²and smites the *Chayyoth* ² with lashes of

1-1 ins. with *D* (for the sake of symmetry).

2-2 ins. from *D*. *A om.*

(7) one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other. After the pattern of Is. vi. 3: "and one cried unto another, and said etc." A parallel to the present verse occurs *Mass. Hek.* vii: "and one *Bath Qōl* by the side of one wheel (referring to the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*') and another *Bath Qōl* by the side of another wheel; in that moment one wheel causes (its voice) to be heard to another wheel with thunder and earthquake. . . (saying) 'Extol to him that rideth in 'Araboth, by his name *Yah*, and rejoice before him'". The psalm here cited is the one specifically used in mystical interpretations. There are several cabbalistic commentaries on this psalm. The special attention of the mystics was drawn to this psalm already in the tannaitic period if not earlier. From the vs. referred to here, the name of the highest of the heavens, 'Araboth, was deduced (cf. *Chag.* 12 b). Other passages of this psalm to which special interest was devoted are vss. 17 and 18.

Elsewhere the *Galgallim* of the *Merkaba* are stated to partake in the celestial *Qēdushsha*, e.g. in the quotation, *YR.* v. 5 b: "the wheels of the *Merkaba* say: 'Blessed be the Glory of *H'* from his place etc.'"

Ch. xx. (1) Above these *scil.* RIKBIEL and the *Galgallim* of the *Merkaba*, described in the foregoing chapter.

Chayyiel. The name of the Prince is chosen to correspond to the word 'Chayyoth'. It is, however, derived from *Chayil* (= 'army') rather than from *Chayyā*. In accordance with this derivation 'CHAYYLIEL' was probably originally the name of the prince over the *Chaylim* (= 'the armies of angels', cf. ch. xix. 6). A remnant of a tradition to this intent is perhaps the passage, occurring in *Hilkoth ha Mal'akim La*, fol. 123 a, according to which he has the function of punishing the ministering angels, when they do not say the Song in the right time. The 'armies' sometimes are equivalent with the 'ministering angels'. In the same passage CHAYYLIEL is also the prince, appointed over the *Chayyoth*.

(2) smites the Chayyoth with lashes of fire. Here, where the expression 'smites the *Chayyoth*' stands in juxtaposition to 'glorifies them, when they give praise',

fire: and glorifies them, when they give praise and glory and rejoicing and he causes them to make haste to say³ "Holy" and "Blessed be the Glory of *H'* from his place!" (i.e. the *Qëdushsha*).

CHAPTER XXI

The Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Four (are) the *Chayyoth* corresponding to the four winds. Each *Chayyā* is as the space of the whole world. And each one has four faces; and each face is as the face of the East. (2) Each one has four wings and each wing is like the cover (roof) of the universe. (3) And each one has faces in the middle of faces and wings in the middle of wings. The size of the faces is (as the size of) 248 faces, and the size of the wings is (as the size of) 365 wings.

(4) And every one is crowned with 2000 crowns on his head. And each crown is like unto the bow in the cloud. And its splendour is like unto the splendour of the globe¹ of the sun¹. And the sparks that go forth from every one are like the splendour of the morning star (planet Venus) in the East.

³ *D* ins. 'after me (Metatron)'

¹⁻¹ Inserted from *D*. *A* om.

it seems that the 'smiting' would best be explained as referring to the punishment executed upon the *Chayyoth*, if they do not say the 'Holy' in the proper manner. Such an idea would better harmonize with a context, where 'ministering angels' had been substituted for 'Chayyoth'. Cf. how acc. to *YR*. i. 15 a, "God smites the *Chayyoth*".

Ch. xxi. The *Chayyoth* (singular form: *Chayya*) are the "four living creatures" of Ezek. i. They are, acc. to the present section, placed next above the wheels of the Merkaba. Acc. to ch. xxii c and *Hek. R.* xiii, they have their place immediately under the Throne of Glory, above the 'Ophanim and the Kerubim. For other representations see the introductory section.

(1) The number of the *Chayyoth* and the faces and wings of each one is in accordance with Ezek. i. 5 seq. Like the space of the whole world, cf. ch. ix. 1, and the immense measures ascribed to the *Chayyoth* in *TB. Chag.* 13 a ("the feet of the Chayyoth are of a size like that of the seven heavens, the ankles of corresponding measure, the knees of corresponding measure, and so forth"). (3) Faces in the middle of faces etc. Cf. 'the heart in the middle of the heart of the lion (i.e. one of the four *Chayyoth*)' in ch. xv b. The conceptions have probably been developed by force of analogy from Ezek. i. 16 ("a wheel in the middle of a wheel"). The numbers '248' and '365' correspond to the number of positive and negative laws resp. Cf. ch. xxxiii. 4. (4) crowned with 2000 crowns. Crowns are regular attributes of high angels, cf. note on chh. xii. 3, xviii. 1.

CHAPTER XXII¹KERUBIEL, *the Prince of the Kerubim.**Description of the Kerubim*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these ^{1a} there is one prince, noble, wonderful, strong, and praised with all kinds of praise. His name is KERUBIEL *H'*, a mighty prince, full of power and strength

AD:

a prince of highness, and Highness (is) with him, a righteous prince, and righteousness (is) with him, a holy prince, and holiness (is) with him, a prince

glorified in (by) thousand hosts, exalted by ten thousand armies.

(2) At his wrath the earth trembles, at his anger the camps are moved, from fear of him the foundations are shaken, at his rebuke the 'Araboth do tremble.

B:

a prince of highness, and with him (there is) a righteous prince, of righteousness, and with him a holy prince, of holiness, and with him (there is) a prince

1 Here *B* continues.

1 a *D:* 'the *Chayyoth*'

Ch. xxii. (1) Kerubiel. In this form the name is not found in Schwab, *VA*. Cf. however, *KRUBIEL*, p. 157, *ib.*, and *Kerubiyah*, *ib.*

In *Hilkoth ha Kissē*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 138 b, after mention being made of *SOTHER 'ASHI'EL* (cf. xviii. 19) and *RIKUBIEL* (ch. xix), there occurs a summary of the functions ascribed to *KERUBIEL*, a passage which is apparently drawn from vss. 1, 3-5, 7-9, of the present chapter.

A similar abridged quotation (*ba'arikut mizzeh ham mal'ak*) occurs in *YR.* i. 54 a, from *Sōdē Rāzā*, a quotation which is important, because it begins with *Gen.* v. 24, also forming the beginning of the present book, a fact which shows that the compiler of the *Sōdē Rāzā* used as one of his sources an *Enoch-fragment* or a book of *Enoch* which contained descriptions of *Kerubiel*, and, by consequence, probably also the essential parts of the angelological section of the present book.

In *Widduy Yaphe* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 133 b) he appears at the head of the *Kerubim* as here, but *ib.* fol. 134 b he is in common with *SERAPHIEL* (ch. xxvi. 8), represented as one of the twenty-six angels 'who carry the *Merkaba*'.

In the enumeration of different classes of angels which is given in *Mass. 'Asilut* (frequently referred to in notes and Introduction), the 'prince of the *Kerubim*' is called 'KERUBIEL'.

Even so in *S. ha Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120, fol. 14 b) *KERUBIEL* is introduced as the angel appointed over the *Kerubim*.

Acc. to 1 *En.* xx. 7, the prince of the *Kerubim* is *GABRIEL*, and acc. to *Zohar*, *Ex.* 43 (*YE*), this function is assigned to 'KERUB'.

The variant reading of *B* is most likely due to a false punctuation and subsequent transposition of the word 'immō' (= 'with him').

(3) His stature is full of (burning) coals. The height of his stature is as the height of the seven heavens the breadth of his stature is as the wideness of the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the seven heavens.

(4) ²The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire². His tongue ³is a consuming fire³. His eyebrows are like unto the splendour of the lightning. His eyes are like sparks ⁴of brilliance⁴. His countenance is like a burning fire.

(5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head on which (crown) the Explicit Name is graven, and lightnings go forth from it. And the bow of *Shekina* is between his shoulders.

(6) *AD*: *B*:

And his sword is upon his loins and his arrows⁵ And his sword is like unto a lightning; and upon his loins there are arrows like

2-2 *B*: 'from his mouth there burns as it were a lamp of fire' *D*: 'the opening of his mouth burns like a lamp of fire' 3-3 so *B*. *AD*: 'consumes fire'
4-4 *B* omits. 5 *D*: 'arrow'

(3) His stature etc. The simpler reading of *Hilkoth Kisse* (see above) might with advantage be adopted: "his stature is as high as the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the width of the sea". On the measures of high angels cf. ch. ix. 1, xxi. 1 and notes. Also ch. xviii c 5.

(4) The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire etc. The description of the body of this angel-prince is in the usual terms conveying that he is wholly made up of fire. The substance of the angels' body is regularly fire. So it is said in 2 *En*. xxix. 1, 3, with regard to God's creation of the angels: "for all the heavenly hosts I (God) fashioned a nature like that of fire: their weapons are fiery, their garment is a burning flame...". Descriptions of this kind are frequent. Cf. 2 *En*. i. 5 ("their faces shone like the sun, their eyes like burning lamps, fire came forth from their lips... their wings were brighter than gold"). Cf. also *Chibbut ha Qeber*, i, *Mass. Hek.* iv, *Rev.* xix. 11-15.

Occasionally one finds the statement that some angels are made of water in contrast with others who are made of fire or that the angels in general are composed of fire and water. E.g. *Midrash 'Asereth haDēbārōth*, pp. 64 seqq., *BH*. (on the contents of '*Araboth*): "the angels are made of fire and water, and there is peace between them etc.", based on Job xxv. 2. Cf. ch. xlii.

(5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head. The term 'crown of holiness' instead of the more usual 'crown of glory', probably with reference to the attribute of 'holiness' conferred upon this prince in vs. 1.

on which the Explicit Name is graven. Cf. ch. xii. 1 and note, also ch. xxxix. 1. Acc. to *Shir Rabba*, i, the explicit name was engraved on the crowns given to the Israelites at mount Sinai.

the bow of *Shekina*. The (heavenly counterpart of) the 'bow in the cloud' is probably meant. This has become a regular part of the speculations on the heavenly splendours, cf. ch. xxii c 4, 7. Then also it is understood as referring to the angel's weapon.

(6) his sword is upon his loins. Sword is a frequent concomitant attribute of the angel of death or of the angels of destruction. Cf. *Rev. R. Joshua ben Levi*, *BH*. ii. 48.

are like lightnings in his girdle. And a shield of consuming fire (is) on his neck and coals of juniper are round about him. unto a flame, and upon his armour and shield there is a consuming fire, and upon his neck there are coals of burning juniper and (also) round about him (there are coals of burning juniper).

(7) And the splendour of *Shekina* is on his face; and the horns of majesty on his wheels; and a royal diadem upon his skull.

(8) And his body is full of eyes. And wings are covering the whole of his high stature (lit. the height of his stature is all wings).

(9) On his right hand a flame is burning, and on his left a fire is glowing; and coals are burning from it⁶. And firebrands go forth from ⁷his body⁷. And lightnings are cast forth from his face. With him there is alway thunder upon (in) thunder, by his side there is ever earthquake upon (in) earthquake*.

(10) And the two princes of the Merkaba are together ⁸with him⁸.

6 so *B*. *A*: 'from his body' *D*: 'from him' 7-7 so *BD*. *A*: 'him' 8-8 lit. 'the two princes of the Merkaba are in his place' *B* reads: 'are of his size (like his stature)'

(7) the splendour of *Shekina* is on his face. On the conception of the splendour of *Shekina* see Abelson, *Immanence*, pp. 85-89, and cf. note on ch. v. 4. When it is said to be on the face of KERUBIEL here, it is to be understood as a reflection of God's glory, in analogy with the 'glory' that the first Adam possessed before his fall (*Ber. R.* xii) and which is to be restored to the righteous in the world to come (cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Kaph*, beg.).

horns of majesty on his wheels. The angels are often depicted as horned, cf. vs. 13 (horns of glory) and ch. xxix. 2 (horns of splendour). Horned angels are referred to in *Mass. Hek.* v (angels of horns of majesty: *ba'alē qarnē hōd*). Instead of 'on his wheels' one would have expected 'on his head'. Cf. vs. 13. No doubt the angel was imagined as having 'wheels', but it is possible that the reading here is corrupt ('*ofan*' as a synonym of '*galgal*' having been put in the place of the latter?). But cf. *Ezek.* x. 12. For Messiah ben Joseph as 'horned' cf. note on xlv. 5.

(8) his body is full of eyes. The angels have eyes all round to be able to see without turning: "there is no back in heaven" (*Chag.* 15 a). The passage forming the point of support is such a one as *Ezek.* x. 12. Cf. further chh. ix. 3, xxv. 2, 6, xxvi. 6, *Hek. R.* xxii. wings are covering the whole of his high stature. Cf. ch. ix. 2, *Hek. R. ib.* For vs. 8 and 9 in general cf. *Chibbut ha Qeber*, i.

(10) the two princes of the Merkaba. Cf. ch. i. 7. The princes of the *Merkaba* are carrying the *Merkaba* acc. to *Widduy Yaphe*, fol. 133 b. 'The princes of the *Merkaba*' are on the level with MIKAEL, GABRIEL, METATRON and SANDALPHON in so far as they, in contrast to other angels, are exempt from being burnt in the fiery river and 'created anew' acc. to *Šiuni*, quoted by the *Smaller Yalqut Re'ubeni* under '*Mal'ak*'. In *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Mem*, *BH.* iii, they are one of the highest classes of angels; together with the *Chayyoth* they minister by the *Merkaba*. In *Midrash Sar Tora*, *BH.* iii, *Hek. R.* xxx, an angel, called SIRBIEL, is defined as "one of the princes of the *Merkaba*".

* The literal translation 'thunder in thunder' etc. is presumably that which best corresponds to the idea in the mind of the writer: that thunder was thundering from the midst of thunder, earthquake roaring from the midst of earthquake.

(11) Why is he called KERUBIEL ⁹H', the Prince⁹. Because he is appointed over ¹⁰the chariot of the *Kerubim*. And the mighty *Kerubim* are given in his charge. And he adorns¹⁰ the crowns on their heads and polishes the diadem upon their skull.

(12) ¹¹He magnifies the glory of their appearance.¹¹ And he glorifies¹² the beauty of their majesty. ¹³And he increases the greatness of their honour. He causes the song of their praise to be sung. He intensifies their beautiful strength. He causes the brilliance of their glory to shine forth. He beautifies their goodly mercy and loving-kindness. He frames the fairness of their radiance. He makes their merciful beauty even more beautiful. He glorifies their ¹⁴upright majesty¹⁴. He extols the order of their praise, to stablish the dwelling-place of him "who dwelleth on the *Kerubim*".

(13) And the *Kerubim* are standing by the Holy *Chayyoth*,
and their wings are raised up to their heads (lit. are as the height
of their heads)

and *Shekina* is (resting) upon them

and the brilliance of the Glory is upon their faces

and ¹⁵song and praise¹⁵ in their mouth

and their hands are under their wings

¹⁶and their feet are covered by their wings¹⁶

and horns of glory¹⁷ are upon their heads

and the splendour of *Shekina* on their face

and *Shekina* is (resting) upon them

9-9 D om. 10-10 B: 'the chariots of the *Chayyoth*. And he adorns the
majesty and' 11-11 B om. 12 so D. AB: 'hastens' 13 BD ins. 'he
increases their beauty' 14-14 B: 'majestic strength' 15-15 D: 'song
of praise' 16-16 B om. 17 B: 'majesty'

In the two latter of these instances the 'princes of the *Merkaba*' are clearly indicated as more than two in number. Confer further on ch. i. 7 ('the princes of the *Merkaba* and the flaming *Seraphim*').

The expression 'are on his place' or 'are together with him' is perhaps a sign that the princes of the *Merkaba* had a function or occupied a position here ascribed to KERUBIEL or the *Kerubim*, a view which the writer tried to harmonize with his own in this way.

(11) KERUBIEL is the prince of the *Kerubim*. The *Kerubim* described here are "the four *Kerubim*" (Ezek. x). In the Pseudepigrapha they are mentioned, esp. in *Apoc. Moses* and 1 *En.* and 2 *En.* Further see the introductory section. mighty *Kerubim* is the expression used also in *Mass. Hek. iv.* chariot(s) of the *Kerubim*, also ch. xxiv. 1. Cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, xxii. 3 ("when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariots of his *Kerubim*"), and *ib.* xxxviii. 3.

(13) and *Shekina* is resting upon them and the . . . Glory is upon their faces. Cf. Ezek. x. 18. 'The brilliance of the Glory' is the resplendence of the 'Glory' of *Shekina*. their hands are under their wings, perhaps deduced from Ezek. x. 7. their feet are covered etc. obviously from Is. vi. 2. horns of glory

and sapphire stones are round about them
and columns of fire on their four sides
and columns of firebrands beside them.

(14) There is one sapphire on one side¹⁸ and another sapphire on another side¹⁸ and under¹⁹ the sapphires¹⁹ there are coals of burning juniper.

(15) And one *Kerub* is standing in each direction but the wings of the *Kerubim* compass each other above their skulls in glory; and they spread them to sing with them a song to him that inhabiteth the clouds and to praise with them the fearful majesty of the king of kings.

(16) And KERUBIEL *H'*, the prince who is appointed over them, he arrays them in comely, beautiful and pleasant orders and he exalts them in all manner of exaltation, dignity and glory. And he hastens them—in glory and might—to do the will of their Creator every moment. For above their lofty heads abides continually²⁰ the glory of the high king²⁰ “who dwelleth on the *Kerubim*”.

CHAPTER XXII B

L(mr), following after the B:

rec. of ch. xxii C. vss. 1-3
(middle):

R. *Ishmael said to me: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:*

(1) *And there is a court before the Throne of Glory,*

(1) *How are the angels standing on high? He said: Like a bride that is*

18-18 ins. with DB. A om.
sapphires'

19-19 so D. B: 'the sapphire' A: 'their
glory of the king'

Cf. vs. 7. sapphire stones. Cf. Ezek. i, etc. (vs. 26). columns of fire on their four sides. Cf. Ezek. x. 7.

(15) spread them to sing with them. The *Kerubim* are represented as singing with their wings. The 'sound' or 'voice of the cherubims' wings' of Ezek. x. 5 is interpreted as the sound of a song. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xi. 4: "the wings of the Chayyoth are full of rejoicing." The *Kerubim* themselves are singing acc. to vs. 13. Cf. 2 *En.* xix. 6 *e.a.* ("the indescribable singing of the host of the Cherubim").

(16) Cf. chh. xxv. 5, xxvi. 8.

The additional fragments, here marked chh. xxii B and xxii C, follow in B immediately after ch. xxii. Another recension of ch. xxii C occurs in *Add.* 27199, fol. 78 a, referred to here as '*L(o)*' or '*Lo*'. In the same ms. fol. 126 a (*Helak Merkaba*) there is a third recension, containing a version of ch. xxii C 1-3 (middle), followed by a piece parallel to but differing markedly from ch. xxii B 1, 3, 4: '*Lmr*'.

(1) there is a court before the Throne of Glory (*Lmr*). The place of God's manifestation in the highest heavens is depicted in the simile of the innermost part

(2) *which no seraph nor angel can enter, and it is 36,000 myriads of parasangs, as it is written (Is. vi. 2): "and the Seraphim are standing above him" (the last word of the scriptural passage being 'ל') [numerical value: 36].*

(3) *As the numerical value of ל' (36) is the number of the bridges there.*

(4) *And there are 24 myriads of wheels of fire. And the ministering angels are 12,000 myriads. And there are 12,000 rivers of hail, and 12,000 treasuries of snow.*

And in the seven Halls are chariots of fire and flames, without reckoning, or end or searching. (Lmr. ends here.)

placed over a river so that every one can pass over it, likewise a bridge is placed from the beginning of the entry to the end. (2) And three ministering angels surround it and utter a song before YHWH, the God of Israel. And there are standing before it lords of dread and captains of fear, thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand in number and they sing praise and hymns before YHWH, the God of Israel.

(3) *Numerous bridges are there: bridges of fire and numerous bridges of hail. Also numerous rivers of hail, numerous treasuries of snow and numerous wheels of fire.*

(4) *And how many are the ministering angels? 12,000 myriads: six (thousand myriads) above and six (thousand myriads) below. And 12,000 are the treasuries of snow, six above and six below. And 24 myriads of wheels of fire, 12 (myriads) above and 12 (myriads) below. And they surround the bridges and the rivers of fire and the rivers of hail. And there are numerous ministering angels, forming entries, for all*

of a Sanctuary. The seventh Hall is called 'the Holy of Holies'. The entry (B), then, is the entry of the innermost part of the sanctuary. The conception of 'bridges' in heaven is attested in *Hek. R. BH. iii. 93*. They are the bridges that are placed over the fiery rivers (cf. *ib.*). (2) three ministering angels. Probably the leaders of the song-uttering angels, who sometimes are represented as three, usually as four (cf. note on ch. xxxv. 3). lords of dread and captains of fear. Guardian angels who inspire dread and fear, cf. *Rev. Moses, YR. ii. 66 b* ("I saw the angels of dread who surround the Throne"). thousand times thousand etc. Derived from *Dan. vii. 10*. Cf. *chh. xxxv. 6, xxxvi. 1, Zohar, ii. 252 b*.

(3, 4) rivers of fire, rivers of hail. Cf. *ch. xlii. 1, 7*. wheels (*galgallim*) of fire. The wheels of fire are possibly conceived of as angelic beings. Cf. *Zohar, ii. 252 b* (in the fourth Hall): "under the *Chayyoth* are four *Seraphim* (cf. vs. 1 acc. to *Lmr*) . . . from these four *Seraphim* . . . there go forth flames of fire and from these flames are made 72 *galgallim* burning in the fire and from that fire is made the *Nehar di-Nur*". the treasuries of snow are usually said to be 'under the throne'. six above and six below etc. 'Above' and 'below' probably in relation to the

the creatures that are standing in the midst thereof, corresponding to (over against) the paths of Raqia' Shamayim.

(5) What doeth YHWH, the God of Israel, the King of Glory? The Great and Fearful God, mighty in strength, doth cover his face.

(6) In 'Araboth are 660,000 myriads of angels of glory standing over against the Throne of Glory and the divisions of flaming fire. And the King of Glory doth cover His face; for else the 'Araboth Raqia' would be rent asunder in its midst because of the majesty, splendour, beauty, radiance, loveliness, brilliancy, brightness and excellency of the appearance of (the Holy One,) blessed be He.

(7) There are numerous ministering angels performing his will, numerous kings, numerous princes in the 'Araboth of his delight, angels who are revered among the rulers in heaven, distinguished, adorned with song and bringing love to remembrance: (who) are affrighted by the splendour of the Shekina, and their eyes are dazzled by the shining beauty of their King, their faces grow black and their strength doth fail.

(8) There go forth rivers of joy, streams of gladness, rivers of rejoicing, streams of triumph, rivers of love, streams of friendship—(another reading:) of commotion—and they flow over and go forth before the Throne of Glory and wax great and go through the gates of the paths of 'Araboth Raqia' at the voice of the shouting and musick of the CHAYYOTH, at the voice of the rejoicing of the timbrels of his 'OPHANNIM and at the melody of the cymbals of His Kerubim. And they wax great and go forth with commotion with the sound of the hymn: "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, IS THE LORD OF HOSTS; THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY!"

bridges. for all the creatures that are standing in the midst thereof. . . . The 'creatures' probably refer to human beings, perhaps the souls or spirits who are ascending towards their abode near the Throne of Glory, i.e. after death. It is improbable that the *Yörädē Merkaba* are meant here. The angels are placed so as to form an entry, through the midst of which the souls proceed.

(6) the king of Glory doth cover His face. . . . This part of the verse recurs literally identical in *Hek. R.* xi, *BH.* iii. 92, and *Or.* 6666, fol. 4 b. the veil with which the Most High covers his face is often identified with the *Pargod*, cf. on ch. xlv. 1. Cf. also *Mass. Hek.* iii and *Chag.* 12 b.

(8) There go forth rivers of joy etc. The whole of this verse recurs in *Hek. R.* viii. 4, *BH.* iii. 90, *Or.* 6666, fol. 3 a. Only the very last sentence is somewhat different in *Hek. R.*: "(go forth with commotion) with *Qëdushsha*, at the hour when Israel say before Him: 'HOLY, HOLY, HOLY etc.' as it is written (Is. vi. 3) HOLY, HOLY, HOLY". In common with the rest of the book this chapter makes no reference to the *Qëdushsha* chanted by the congregation on earth.

CHAPTER XXII c

(in *B*, *Lo* and *Lmr*)

^{L. H.}
 °*R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence said to me:*°

(1) *What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs. 1 Their ascent is 12 myriads of parasangs, and their descent 12 myriads of parasangs*^{1, 2}

(2) *(The distance) between the rivers of dread and the rivers of fear is 22 myriads of parasangs; between the rivers of hail and the rivers of darkness*³ *36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers*⁴ *of lightnings and the clouds of compassion*⁵ *42 myriads of parasangs; 6 7 between the clouds of compassion*⁸ *and the Merkaba 84 myriads of parasangs; between the Merkaba and the Kerubim 148*^{8a} *myriads of parasangs*⁷; *between the Kerubim and the 'Ophannim 24 myriads of parasangs; between the Ophannim and the chambers of chambers 24 myriads of parasangs; 9 between the chambers of chambers and the Holy Chayyoth*¹⁰ *40,000 myriads of*¹⁰ *parasangs; between one wing (of the Chayyoth) and another*

0-0 *Lo*: 'R. Ishmael said' *Lmr* om (follows upon a par. to ch. xxxvii). 1-1 *L(o)*: '(12 myriads of parasangs) in their ascent and 12 myriads of parasangs in their descent. 12 myriads of parasangs' corr. *L(mr)* om. 2 *Lmr* adds: 'and there are the rivers of dread' 3 *Lmr*: 'snow' 4 *Lmr*: 'orders' 5 *Lo*: 'heat' *Lmr*: 'consolation' 6 *Lmr* ins. the gloss: '(why) clouds of consolation? Because they console the Glory (the Most High)' 7-7 *Lo* om. 8 *Lmr*: 'consolation' 8a *Lmr*: '185' 9 *Lmr* ins. the explanatory gloss: 'and in these chambers are honour and majesty. This is the mystical meaning (of the passage Ezek. i. 16), and the appearance of the 'Ophannim and their work' 10-10 so with *Lmr* and *Lo*. *B*: '1000'

Ch. xxii C. (1) *What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs.* The present chapter is mainly concerned with measures and distances. This was an early theme of the mystical traditions. A striking parallel is the well-known passage in *Chag.* 13 a (the distances between the heavens and the measures of the different parts of the body of the *Holy Chayyoth*). It was probably referred to as *Seder Shi'urin*. Cf. the *Shi'ur Qōmā*. The latter part of vs. 1 is a variant of the former part. (2) Vss. 2 and 3, by way of an exposition of the distances and measures gives a definite *Merkaba*-picture. The order is from the lower to the highest parts: rivers of dread—rivers of fear—rivers of hail—rivers of darkness—chambers of lightnings—clouds of compassion—the beginning of the *Merkaba* proper—the *Kerubim*—the 'Ophannim—the chambers of chambers—the *Holy Chayyoth*—the Throne. It will be seen that this order is entirely different from that implied in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxv seqq., and also from that of ch. xxxiii. 2 seqq. In placing the *Chayyoth* next to the Throne as the highest of the *Merkaba*-angels, this fragment agrees with *Hek. R.* xiii and the regular representation of *Zohar*, and also with the passage *Chag.* 13 a, referred to above. When it is said: "the *Holy Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory", this does not necessarily imply the *Chayyoth* being designed as the highest of the *Merkaba*-angels; the other classes may be conceived of as surrounding the Throne (cf. ch. xxxiii. 2, 3). The chambers of chambers are here the treasures and storehouses of the Most High.

12 myriads of parasangs; ¹¹ and the breadth of each one wing is of that same measure¹¹; and the distance between the Holy Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory is ¹²30,000 myriads of parasangs¹².

(3) And from the foot of the Throne to ¹³the seat¹³ there are 40,000 myriads of parasangs¹⁴. And the name of Him that sitteth on it: let the name be sanctified!

[(4) And the arches of the Bow are set above the 'Araboth, and they are 1000 thousands and 10,000 times ten thousands (of parasangs) high. Their measure is after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin (Watchers and Holy Ones) ¹⁵. As it is written (Gen. ix. 13) "My bow I have set in the cloud". It is not written here "I will set" but "I have set", (i.e.) already; clouds that surround the Throne of Glory. As His clouds pass by, the angels of hail (turn into) burning coal.

(5) And a fire of the voice goes down from¹⁶ by the Holy Chayyoth. And because of the breath of that voice they "run" (Ezek. i. 14) to another place, fearing lest it command them to go; and they "return" lest it injure them from the other side. Therefore "they run and return" (Ezek. i. 14).

(6) And these arches of the Bow are more¹⁷ beautiful and radiant than¹⁸ the radiance of the sun during the summer solstice. And they are whiter than a flaming fire and they are great and beautiful.

(7) Above ¹⁹the arches of the Bow¹⁹ are the wheels of the 'Ophannim.

11-11 *Lmr*: 'and the same (measure) is its length and its breadth' 12-12 so with *Lmr*. *Lo*: '30 myriads of parasangs' *B*: 'of that same measure'
 13-13 *Lmr*: 'where He is seated' 14 *Lmr* continues here with a parallel to ch. xxii c, see text *ib*. 15 *Lo* ins. the gloss: 'and this is what the poet lays down: the arches of the Bow with the wing(s) of the dragon' 16 *Lo* om.
 17 *Lo* om. 18 *Lo*: 'as' 19-19 *Lo* om.

(3) from the foot of the Throne etc. The R. Aqiba version of *Shi'ur Qoma* has: "from the seat of His Glory (Yāqār, not Kabod) downwards is (a distance of) 118,000 parasangs" (half the numerical value of 'כח' ורב כח', "and of great power": Ps. cxlvii. 5). Cf. *Hek. R.* x, *BH.* iii. 91 ("from His Throne of Glory upwards is a distance of 180,000 myriads of parasangs").

Vss. 4-7 cannot be harmonized with the Merkaba-picture of the preceding verse. They are in reality a mystical commentary on Ezek. i. 14 seqq., starting from the conception of the Celestial Bow, brought about by the combination of Gen. ix. 13 with Ezek. i. 28. Also in *Zohar*, i. 71 b, the passage Gen. ix. 13 is used to elucidate the mystical meaning of passages in the first chapter of Ezekiel. These vss. may have been added here on account of the reference to 'measures' in vss. 4 and 7. after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin. Cf. Rev. xxi. 17. The measures laid down in 'Shi'ur Qoma' are said *ib.* to be acc. to the measures of the Most High, to whom a span (*zéret*) means the distance from one end of the world to the other. For the 'Irin and Qaddishin see ch. xxviii. Vs. 4 recurs in *S. Raziel*, 30 a, preceding *Shi'ur Qoma*. (5) a fire of the voice etc. is an allusion to the *Qol H^o nullā* of Ezek. i. 24. It is here conceived of as a Divine Voice. The Voice goes forth in fire. The *Chayyoth* fearing the fire: cf. *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104. (7) vs. 7 recurs in *S. Raziel*, 4 a.

Their height is 1000 thousand and 10,000 times 10,000 units of measure after the measure of the Seraphim and the Troops (Gedudim).]

CHAPTER XXIII

The winds blowing 'under the wings of the Kerubim'

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) There are numerous winds blowing under the wings of the *Kerubim*.

There blows "the Brooding Wind", as it is written (Gen. i. 2): "and the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters".

(2) There blows "the Strong Wind¹", as it is said (Ex. xiv. 21): "and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night".

¹ Ins. with *BDE*. *A* om. *E* continues here. *DE* put at the beginning of this chapter as heading, 'Order of the winds'.

CHH. XXIII, XXIV.

Merkabah. The רוחות and מרכבות.

Chh. xxiii and xxiv stand out by themselves from the rest of the book. They are nearest akin to the chapters describing the heavens from their quasi-physical aspects, and can therefore conveniently be reckoned as belonging to section 6. (See the survey of the contents of the present book.) The different 'winds' and 'chariots' are enumerated. Their names are deduced from passages of the O.T. where the words '*ru'ach*' resp. '*merkaba*', '*rekeb*' or similar occur in different connections or with different attributes.

An almost literal parallel to ch. xxiii, although in a shorter form (the winds are reduced to eight), is found, *YR. i. 9 a*, quoted from *Sodē Rāzā*: "There are eight winds. The first is 'the wind of Jealousy', as it is written (Gen. vi. 3), 'My wind shall not always strive with man', the second is 'the Wind blowing in the world', as it is written (Gen. i. 2): 'the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters'; the third is 'the angel-wind' as it is written (1 Kings xix. 11): 'but the Lord was not in the wind', etc." As the word for 'wind' is also that for 'spirit', in all passages referred to here, where the English version has 'spirit', this word has been replaced by 'wind' in accordance with the significance '*ru'ach*' has assumed throughout the chapter.

Parallels for the present method of deriving 'names' of different heavenly objects from O.T. passages and enumerating them are found in *Mass. Hek. i* and in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Zain*.

In *Mass. Hek. i* it is the Thrones of the Holy One, blessed be He, which are dealt with according to this principle. The wording is almost literally the same as that of the present chapters. "Numerous thrones has the Holy One, blessed be He. He has 'the Established Throne' as it is written... He has 'the Throne of Justice and Righteous-ness'... He has the Throne of Loving-kindness... He has the Throne of Yah, as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): 'Because a hand is lifted up upon the throne of Yah'. (Cf. ch. xxiv. 20 here), etc."

In *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, ib.* the 'keys of the Holy one' are the objects. The 'winds', 'chariots', 'thrones' and 'keys' of the said passages are to be understood in their literal sense.

Ch. xxiii. (1) blowing under the wings of the Kerubim. This trait forms

(3) There blows "the East Wind"¹ as it is written (Ex. x. 13): "the east wind brought the locusts".

(4) There blows "the Wind of Quails"² as it is written (Num. xi. 31): "And there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails".

(5) There blows "the Wind of Jealousy" as it is written (Num. v. 14): "And the wind of jealousy came upon him".

(6) There blows the "Wind of Earthquake" as it is written (1 Kings. xix. 11): "and after that the wind of the earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake".

(7) There blows the "Wind of *H'*"³ as it is written (Ex. xxxvii. 1): "and he carried me out by the wind of *H'* and set me down".

(8) There blows the "Evil Wind"³ as it is written (1 Sam. xvi. 23): "and the evil wind departed from him"⁴.

(9) There blow the "Wind of Wisdom"⁵ and the "Wind of Understanding" and the "Wind of Knowledge" and the "Wind of the Fear of *H'*"⁵ as it is written (Is. xi. 2): "And ⁶the wind of ⁶*H'* shall rest upon him; ⁷the wind of wisdom and understanding, the wind of counsel and might, the wind of knowledge and of the fear of *H'*".

(10) There blows the "Wind of Rain", as it is written (Prov. xxv. 23): "the north wind bringeth forth rain".

(11) There blows the "Wind of Lightnings", as it is written (Jer. x. 13, li. 16): "he maketh lightnings for the rain and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures".

(12) ⁸There blows the "Wind, Breaking the Rocks", as it is written (1 Kings xix. 11): "the Lord passed by and⁹ a great and strong wind (rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord)".^{8, 7}

(13) There blows the "Wind of Assuagement of the Sea", as it is written (Gen. viii. 1): "and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged".

1 Ins. with BDE. A om. 2 E: 'Day' corr. 3-3 E om. 4 B quotes
1 Sam. xvi. 14: 'and an evil wind from the Lord troubled him' 5-5 B: "'and
the wind of counsel and might'" and "the wind of knowledge and fear of *H'*"
E: "'and Understanding,'" "the wind of counsel and might", "the wind of know-
ledge and fear"
6-6 so BDE. A om. 7-7 B om. from 'the wind of
wisdom etc.' vs. 9 to the end of vs. 12. 8-8 E om. 9 so D. AB: 'in'

the point of connection with ch. xxii, treating of the *Kerubim*. (6) and after that the wind. . . . The scriptural verse in question is interpreted in a sense different from the natural ('but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake, etc.), in order to furnish the notion 'wind of earthquake'.

(14) ¹⁰There blows the "Wind of Wrath ¹¹", as it is written (Job i. 19): "and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house and it fell".¹⁰

(15) There blows the "Storm-Wind", as it is written (Ps. cxlviii. 8): "Storm-wind, fulfilling his word".

(16) And Satan is standing among these winds, ¹²for "storm-wind" is nothing else but "Satan"¹², and all these winds do not blow but under the wings of the *Kerubim*, as it is written (Ps. xviii. 11): "and he rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea, and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(17) And whither go all these winds ¹³? The Scripture teaches us, that they go out from under the wings of the *Kerubim* and descend on the globe of the sun, as it is written (Eccl. i. 6): "¹⁴The wind goeth toward the south and turneth about unto the north; it turneth about continually in its course and the wind¹⁴ returneth again to its circuits". And from the globe of the sun they return and descend upon [¹⁵the rivers and ¹⁵ the seas, upon] the mountains and upon the hills, as it is written (Am. iv. 13): "For lo, he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind".

(18) And from the mountains and the hills they return and descend to the seas and the rivers; and from the seas and the rivers they return and descend upon ¹⁷ ¹⁶ (the) cities and provinces; and from the cities and provinces they return and descend into the Garden, and from the Garden they return and descend to Eden, as it is written (Gen. iii. 8): "walking in the Garden in the wind of day". And in the midst of the Garden they join together and blow from one side to

10-10 B om. 11 DE add: 'and Sorrow' 12-12 so D. BE om. A: 'for Satan has no wind (spirit?)' 13 BDE add: '(when) descending' 14-14 so DE(B). A om. 15 A ins. 'in the Garden and from the Garden and into' 16-16 B om. 17 DE ins. 'the country and from the country they return and descend upon'

(16) Satan is standing among these winds etc. Satan, acc. to the reading adopted above, is represented by 'the Storm-wind'. The winds are thus divided into good and evil ones. Cf. 1 *En.* xxxiv. 3: "and out of one portal they (the winds) blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals it is with violence and affliction on the earth. The 'storm-wind' represents the destructive agency among the winds.

(17) The winds are represented as going out from under the wings of the *Kerubim*. The idea common to older and later Apocalyptic and Rabbinic is that the winds are kept in treasures in heaven, from where there are sent out and whereto they return.

(18) into the Garden, and from the Garden . . . to Eden. On the relation between the 'Garden' and 'Eden' cf. note on ch. v. 5.

And in the midst of the Garden they join together. Cf. *Cant. R. Par.* iv. 31: "in the world to come God will make the north wind and the south wind to blow

the other and are perfumed with the spices of the Garden even from its remotest parts, until¹⁸ they separate from each other, and, filled with the scent of the pure spices, they bring the odour from the remotest parts of Eden and the spices of the Garden to the righteous and godly who in the time to come shall inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, as it is written (Cant. iv. 16): "Awake, O north wind; and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his precious fruits".

CHAPTER XXIV

The different chariots of the Holy One, blessed be He

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) Numerous chariots has the Holy One, blessed be He:

He has the "Chariots of (the) *Kerubim*¹", as it is written (Ps.

¹⁸ so with *DE*. *A* om. corr.

¹ *DE*: '(a) kerub'

together as one". are perfumed with the spices of the Garden. For the fragrance and sweet odour of the trees of *Gan Eden*, esp. of the Tree of Life, cf. 2 *En.* viii. 2, 3. In *Apoc. Pauli* the 'perfuming winds' are replaced by 'εὐωδέστων ὕδωρ', which "flows from the root of the tree of life". Cf. also *Rev. R. Joshua ben Levi*, Paradise, 5th Compartment: "a perfume breathes through it, more exquisite than the perfume of Lebanon" (Gaster's translation).

they bring . . . the spices of the Garden to the righteous . . . in the time to come. Here we are at once translated into a picture of the future world. It would have been more natural if the relative sentence ('who etc.') had not appeared here, for then 'the righteous and godly' could have been referred to the common conception, according to which they are already living in Paradise, having been brought there immediately after death. The author's glide from present to future time is, however, comprehensible and excused by the poetical form of expression of the chapter.

Also acc. to 2 *En.* ix, "the fragrances of the Garden of Eden are prepared for the righteous". Cf. especially *Num. R.* xiii. 3 (there, as here, with reference to Cant. iv. 16): "In the world to come God will make a feast for the righteous in the Garden of Eden. Neither balsam nor spices will then be needed, for the North Wind and the South Wind will come down and bring with them all the spices of the Garden of Eden and they will spread their perfume". See *Intro.* sect. 16, 6.

Ch. xxiv. The same method that is used in regard to the 'winds' in the foregoing chapter is here applied to the 'chariots'. The key to the understanding of the often far-fetched deductions from scriptural passages can be expressed by the principle: "WHENEVER IT IS STATED IN THE HOLY WRIT THAT GOD APPEARS, IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT HE APPEARS ON A VEHICLE". Thus, e.g. when it is said (vs. 5), 'I saw the Lord standing upon the altar', this is interpreted as referring to 'the Chariot of the altar'; 'appeared in the Tent' is interpreted as 'appeared in the Chariot of the Tent', etc.

(1) the Chariots of the *Kerubim*. This forms the connecting link with ch. xxii,

xviii. 11, 2 Sam. xxii. 11): "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly".

(2) He has the "Chariots of Wind", as it is written (*ib.*): "and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(3) He has the "Chariots of (the) Swift Cloud", as it is written (Is. xix. 1): "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud".

(4) He has "the Chariots of Clouds", as it is written (Ex. xix. 9): "Lo, I come unto thee in a cloud".

²(5) He has the "Chariots of the Altar", as it is written (Am. ix. 1): "I saw the Lord standing upon the Altar".

(6) He has the "Chariots of *Ribbotaim*", as it is written (Ps. lxxviii. 18): "The chariots of God are *Ribbotaim*; thousands of angels".

(7) He has the "Chariots of the Tent", as it is written (Deut. xxxi. 15): "And the Lord appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud".²

(8) He has the "Chariots of the Tabernacle", as it is written (Lev. i. 1): "And the Lord spake unto him out of the tabernacle".

(9) He has the "Chariots of the Mercy-Seat", as it is written (Num. vii. 89): "then he heard ³the Voice³ speaking unto him from upon the mercy-seat".

(10) He has the "Chariots of Sapphire Stone", as it is written (Ex. xxiv. 10): "and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone".

(11) He has the "Chariots of Eagles", as it is written (Ex. xix. 4): "I bare you on eagles' wings". ⁴Eagles literally are not meant here but "they that fly swiftly as eagles".⁴

(12) ⁵He has the "chariots of Shout", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout".⁵

(13) He has the "Chariots of *Araboth*", as it is written (Ps. lxxviii. 5): "Extol Him that rideth upon the *Araboth*".

(14) He has the "Chariots of Thick Clouds", as it is written (Ps. civ. 3): "who maketh the thick clouds His chariot".

(15) He has the "Chariots of the *Chayyoth*⁶", as it is written (Ezek. i. 14): "and the *Chayyoth*⁶ ran and returned". ⁷They run by permission and return by permission, for *Shekina* is above their heads.⁷

2-2 B om. vss. 5-7.
om. (perhaps gloss).
7-7 B om

3-3 B: 'YYY' (i.e. YHWH) MT as above.
5-5 B om. 6 so BDE. A: 'the Living Ones' (*Chayyim*).

4-4 BDE

treating of the *Kerubim* in general and mentioning the 'chariots of the *Kerubim*', vs. 11. Cf. *ib.* note.

(15) They run by permission *scil.* of the *Shekina*. *Shekina* is above their heads. Cf. the expression '*Shekina* is resting upon them', with reference

(16) He has the "Chariots of Wheels (*Galgallim*)", as it is written (Ezek. x. 2): "And he said: Go in between the whirling wheels".

(17) He has the "Chariots of a Swift *Kerub*", as it is written (?⁸): "riding on a swift cherub".

And at the time when He rides on a swift kerub, as he sets one of His feet upon him, before he sets the other foot upon his back, he looks through ¹⁰eighteen thousand¹⁰ worlds at one glance. And he discerns and sees into them all and knows what is in all of them—and then he sets down the other foot upon him, according as it is written (Ezek. xlvi. 35): "Round about eighteen thousand".

Whence do we know that He looks through every one of them every day? It is written (Ps. xiv. 2): "He looked down from heaven upon the children of men ¹¹to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God¹¹".

8 The reference is a confusion of Ps. xviii. 10 with Is. xix. 1. *B* om. vs. 17. 9 *D*: 'cloud' cf. vs. 3. 10-10 so *BDE*. *A*: '18,000 thousands (of worlds)' 11-11 *B* om.

to the *Kerubim*, in ch. xxii. 13. The *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory, the seat of *Shekina*.

Note the systematic order of the 'chariots' in vss. 15 seqq. The Chariots are those of 'the *Chayyoth* (vs. 15), the *Galgallim* (vs. 16), the *Kerub* (vs. 17), the '*Ophanim* (vs. 18) and the Divine Thrones (vss. 19 seqq.)'. This order recalls the system of the *Merkaba*-representation in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxiv seqq.: four classes of *Merkaba*-angels arranged according to rank under and next to the Divine Throne. If the order here presented is intentional, it appears that the *Merkaba*-picture of this chapter is different from that of the angelological section referred to: the arrangement (and names) of the superior classes of angels here is not congruent with that of the latter. Cf. further note on ch. xix and Introduction.

(16) Chariots of Wheels (*Galgallim*). On the *Galgallim* cf. note on ch. xii. 2.

(17) Chariots of a Swift *Kerub*. Cf. *P. R. 'El*. iv: "When God looks out on the earth his Chariots are on the wheels (*Galgallim*, cf. the preceding vs.), when riding in heaven, on a swift *Kerub*".

before he sets the other foot etc. The expression occurs also *Hek. R.* iii. 2 *et al.*

he looks through 18,000 worlds at one glance. "It was presumed that our present earth was preceded by many others which were not good in the eyes of the Creator (*Gen. R.* iii. 9, ix. 2) who traverses in all 18,000 worlds". The 18,000 worlds are co-existent with the present world.

The number 18,000 is here deduced from Ezek. xlvi. 35. So also in *S. Razi'el*, 36 (*Ma'ase Bereshith*).

Acc. to '*Abōdā Zārā*, 3 b, the number is derived from Ps. lxxviii. 18, interpreted somewhat in the following sense: 'God rides (through) twenty thousands (i.e. 20,000 worlds) less two thousand (worlds)'. This interpretation is repeated in later cabalistic works, e.g. '*Peli'a*' (cited *YR.* i. 7 b).

In the Talmud-passage just mentioned the Holy One is represented as traversing all the 18,000 worlds "on his SWIFT KERUB".

The number 18,000 is lastly deduced even in a third way, viz. from the first word of the Tora: *Bereshith*. The number of the letters of this word when written in full (*beth, resh, shin*, etc.) is 18. Hence the interpretation: "18 (scil. thousand worlds) created God".

With the conception of 18,000 worlds may be compared that of 955 heavens: ch. xlvi. 1 A 1 (cf. note, *ib.*).

¹²(18) He has the "Chariots of the 'Ophannim", as it is written (Ezek. x. 12): "and the 'Ophannim were full of eyes round about".¹²

(19) He has the "Chariots of ¹³His Holy Throne¹³", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 8): "God sitteth upon his holy throne".

(20) He has the "chariots of the Throne of *Yah*", as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): "Because a hand is lifted up upon the Throne of *Jah*".

¹⁴(21) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Judgement", as it is written (Is. v. 16): "but the Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgment".¹⁴

(22) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Glory", as it is written (Jer. xvii. 12): "The Throne of Glory, set on high from the beginning, ¹⁵is the place of our sanctuary¹⁵".

(23) He has the "Chariots of the High and Exalted Throne", as it is written (Is. vi. 1): "I saw the Lord sitting upon the high and exalted throne".¹⁶

CHAPTER XXV

'Ophphanniel, the prince of the 'Ophannim. Description of the 'Ophannim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one great prince, revered, high¹, lordly, fearful, ancient and strong. 'OPHPHANNIEL *H'* is his name.

12-12 *B* om. 13-13 *B*: 'the Holy Throne' *E*: 'the Throne of His Glory'
cf. vs. 22. 14-14 *ED* om. 15-15 *B* om. 16 *B* ends with this chapter.
1 *DE*: 'honoured'

(19-23) The Chariots of his Holy Throne... of the Throne of *Yah*... of the Throne of Judgement... of the Throne of Glory... of the High and Exalted Throne. The word 'chariots' seems here to be merely a metaphorical expression (= the vehicle of God's manifestation?). For the different 'Thrones' of God see *Mass. Hek.* i, ii. All the names of 'Thrones' of the present verses recur there, partly with the same scriptural references.

Ch. xxv. The continuation of ch. xxii.

(1) Above these... The opening words of the chapter make it evident that it cannot possibly be a continuation of the preceding chapter, as it appears to be from its present place. With ch. xxii, however, it fits in well, both with regard to style, phraseology and general arrangement. It treats of the third class of Merkabangels, the 'Ophannim, and their prince, 'OPHPHANNIEL, in a manner very similar to that of chh. xix-xxii, with regard to *Chayyoth* and *Kerubim*. 'Ophphanniel. The name occurs, chh. xiv. 10 and xvii. 5, as the name of the angel set over the course of the moon. Cf. *S. Raziël*, 19 b. No instance attributing to 'OPHPHANNIEL the function assigned to him in the present chapter is found among the references in Schwab, *VA*.

There seem to have been two different traditions concerning the name of the

(2) He has sixteen faces, four faces on each side, ²(also) hundred wings on each side². And he has 8466 eyes, corresponding to the days of the year.

A:

DE:

2190—and some say 2116—on each side³. 2191 (*E:* 2196) and sixteen on each side.

(3) And those two eyes of his face, in each one of them lightnings are flashing, and from each one of them firebrands are burning; and no creature is able ⁴ to behold them: for anyone who looks at them is burnt instantly.

(4) His height is (as) the distance of 2500 years' journey. No eye⁵ can behold and no mouth can tell the mighty power of his strength⁶ save the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, alone.

(5) Why is he called 'OPHPHANNIEL?

Because he is appointed over the '*Ophannim* and the '*Ophannim*

2-2 *D* om. 3 *A* repeats the last sentence. 4 so *DE*. *A* ins. 'to stand (and)' 5 so *D*. *A:* 'house' 6 so *DE*. *A:* 'eyes'

leader of the '*Ophannim*. According to one it was 'OPHANNIEL, according to the other RAPHAEL. The former tradition is represented by this chapter, the latter by *Zohar*, Ex. xliii. In *Masseket 'Asilut* the two are foisted together, so that there RAPHAEL and 'OPHANNIEL are given as the chieftains of the '*Ophannim*.

(2) he has 8466 eyes etc. The number of the eyes is a calendary one. The text is, however, corrupt, the reading of *DE* worse than that of *A*. If, instead of 'days of the year', we read (as Jellinek suggests in note, *ad locum*, in *E*) 'hours of the days of the year', the number 8466 would correspond to a lunar year of 352 $\frac{3}{4}$ days; the fourth part of 8466 is 2116 (plus $\frac{1}{2}$), the number of eyes on each of the four sides, according to one of the variants of *A*. The other variant, 2190, is the exact fourth part of the number of hours of the solar year, if counted as 365 days of 24 hours each. The variants of *A* thus point to two different readings, one of which used 'solar' numbers, the other 'lunar' ones. This fact does not imply any contention between solar and lunar calculations as in the earlier Apocrypha. In the present book the solar and lunar numbers are merely cosmic numbers, used side by side, apparently of equal value, although the solar ones are more frequent. The only reason to consider the variant, giving the lunar numbers, as the original in this case, is the fact that 'OPHANNIEL elsewhere—chh. xiv. 10 and xvii. 5 of the present book and *S. Raziel*, 19 b—is connected with the course of the moon (notice the use of the number 354 in connection with 'OPHANNIEL, ch. xvii. 5). Besides, the numbers 8466 and 2116 may be corrupt for 8496 and 2124 resp., corresponding to a lunar year of 354 days.

A parallel passage in *Mass. Hek.* iv runs (using solar numbers): "In each Hall there are 8766 gates of lightnings, corresponding to the number of hours of the days of a year". This parallel is pointed out by Jellinek in his note (referred to above) and is the point of support for the emendations suggested by him.

(3) two eyes that are in his face. His face, being pictured as that of a man, has two eyes only, whereas the rest of his body is wholly covered with eyes: see the preceding verse.

(4) appointed over the '*Ophannim*. On the '*Ophannim* cf. Introduction. The '*Ophannim* have here, as well as in 1 *En.* lxi. 10, lxxi. 7, 2 *En.* xxix. 3, *Yer. Ber.* iv. 5,

are given in his charge.⁷ He stands⁸ every day and attends and beautifies⁹ them. And he exalts and orders their apartment (*DE*: runnings) and¹⁰ polishes their standing-place¹⁰ and makes bright their dwellings, makes their corners even¹¹ and cleanses their seats. And he waits upon them early and late, by day and by night, to increase their beauty, to make great their dignity and to make them 'diligent in praise of their Creator.

(6) And all the 'Ophannim are full of eyes,¹² and they are all full of brightness¹²; ¹³¹⁴seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their right side¹⁴ and seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their left side¹³.

(7) And four¹⁵ carbuncle¹⁶ stones are fixed on the crown of every single one, the splendour of which proceeds in the four directions of 'Araboth even as the splendour of the globe of the sun proceeds in all the directions of the universe. ¹⁷And why is it called Carbuncle (*Baréqet*)?¹⁷ Because its splendour is like the appearance of a light-

7 *A* ins. 'And he is appointed to attend the 'Ophannim' 8 *A* ins. 'over them'
 9 *E*: 'makes them to fear and refreshes them' 10-10 *E*: 'assembles their
 meeting (congregation)' 11 *DE* instead of 'makes even' read: 'refreshes'
 12-12 *DE*: 'and all of them are full of wings, eyes over against wings, wings cor-
 responding to eyes, and in between them splendour and radiance are shining as
 the light of the planet Venus' 13-13 *E* om. 14-14 *D* om. 15 *E*:
 'seventy two' 16 so *D*. *EA*: 'sapphire' 17-17 so *D*. *A*: (Why is it
 called *Beraqot* (lightnings) (carbuncles)') *E*: 'Why is he called by the name of
 ŠIDQIEL?'

lost all traces of their original character of wheels (*galgallim*). Cf. the similar development of the traditions concerning the *Galgallim* (see note on ch. xix. 2).

Here the 'Ophannim are depicted as one of the classes of Merkaba-angels, with the regular appearance of angels (with eyes, garments, crowns etc. cf. vs. 6).

Later the 'Ophannim are identified with the *Galgallim*, e.g. in the cabalistic treatise on the Throne, the Merkaba and the Shekina, contained in *Harley Or.* 5510, fol. 127 a: "the 'Ophannim, they are (the same as) the *Galgallim*".

When the *Galgallim* are identified with the spheres or heavenly bodies, the conception of the 'Ophannim as those who 'move the spheres' arises. Such is the representation of the 'Ophannim in *Shefa 'Tal* (by R. Sheftel Horwitz, ed. 1612), fol. 41 c: "... the 'Ophannim, who act in the 'Asiyyatic world ('the world of creative matter') and move the spheres, as it is written (Ezek. i. 15) '... behold one 'Ophan upon the earth' etc."

It was, no doubt, through the connection of the 'Ophannim with the 'globes' that 'OPHANNIEL was made the prince appointed over the 'globe of the moon'.

(6) 72 sapphire stones are fixed on their garments. Cf. ch. xii. 1, and for the use of the number 72, vs. 1 of ch. ix.

(7) four carbuncle stones on the crown. . . . Carbuncle stone is mentioned as one of the different kinds of precious stones fixed on "the floor of the 'Araboth" in *Mass. Hek.* iv, where a similar statement is made to its splendour as here: "its splendour proceeds through the whole universe and through all the seven heavens".

why is it called Carbuncle? There is a certain confusion in the readings of the latter part of the verse. The reading of *D* is adopted in the translation, as being

ning¹⁸ (*Baraq*). And tents of splendour, tents of brilliance, tents of brightness as of sapphire and carbuncle inclose them because of¹⁹ the shining appearance of their eyes¹⁹.

CHAPTER XXVI

SERAPHIEL, *the Prince of the Seraphim.*

Description of the Seraphim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one prince, wonderful, noble, great, honourable, mighty, terrible, a chief and leader¹ and a swift scribe¹, glorified, honoured and beloved.

(2) He is altogether filled with splendour, full of praise and shining; and he is wholly full of brilliance, of light and of beauty; and the whole of him is filled with goodliness² and greatness.

18 *E*: '(the planet) Jupiter' 19-19 *A*: 'the shining appearance of them (the 'Ophannim), and of their eyes and before them (=and of their faces?)'. The adopted reading is that of *DE*.

1-1 *DE* om. 2 *A* omitting 'goodliness' has here a lacuna.

the most plausible: the unfamiliar word '*Bareqet*' is explained as derived from '*Baraq*' ('lightning'). The reading of *E* is based on the assumption that the word to be explained is that of an angel: the expression '*wēlāmmā niqrā shēmō* . . . = why is he called by the name. . . ' is the regular phrase introducing the explanation of an angel's name. Hence *E* presents the reading: "Why is he called by the name of ŠIDQIEL? Because his splendour is like the splendour of the planet Jupiter (*Šēdeq*)".

The reading of *E* is probably due to an emendation of a copyist. It is, however, difficult to understand why he should have substituted 'ŠIDQIEL' and 'Šēdeq' for '*Bareqet*' and '*Baraq*' resp. (it would have been more natural to choose, say, the name 'BARAQIEL', cf. ch. xiv. 10), unless one may assume, that he was dependent upon some tradition, according to which ŠIDQIEL was the Prince of the 'Ophannim. Acc. to *Zohar* and *Mass. Ašilut*, ŠIDQIEL is the leader of the class of angels, which is called *Shin'anim*. tents of splendour etc. The tents, like the clouds of ch. xxxiv. 2, serve the purpose of protecting the other angels from the splendour of the 'Ophannim.

(1) a swift scribe. As this attribute is omitted by *D* and *E*, and no second statement occurs in the chapter to the effect that SERAPHIEL had the function of a scribe, scarcely any importance can be ascribed to this single expression. It is possible that a copyist, missing a clear reference to the identity of the 'scribes' or 'scribe' in the present angelological section, there being only an occasional mention of 'scribes' in ch. xxvii. 2, concluded that SERAPHIEL, the highest of the princes of the Merkaba-angels held this function. To the 'scribes' was assigned a high position near the Throne of God. The conception is mainly connected with that of the Judgement.

(3) His countenance is altogether like (that of) angels, but his body is like an eagle's body.

(4) His splendour is like unto lightnings, his appearance like fire brands, his beauty like unto sparks, his honour like ³fiery coals³, his majesty like *chashmals*, his radiance like the light of the planet Venus. The image of him is like unto the Greater Light. His height is as the seven heavens. The light from his eyebrows is like the sevenfold light.

(5) The sapphire stone upon his head is as great as the whole universe and like unto the splendour of the very heavens in radiance.

(6) His body is full of eyes like the stars of the sky, innumerable and unsearchable. Every eye is like the planet Venus. Yet, there are some of them like the Lesser Light and some of them like unto the Greater Light. From his ankles to his knees (they are) like unto stars of lightning, from his knees to his thighs like unto the planet Venus⁴, from his thighs to his loins like unto the moon, from his loins to his neck like the sun, from his neck to his skull like unto the Light Imperishable. (Cf. Zeph. iii. 5.)

(7) The crown on his head is like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory. The measure of the crown is the distance of 502 years' journey. There is no kind of splendour, no kind of brilliance, no kind of radiance, no kind of light in the universe but is fixed on that crown.

(8) The name of that prince is SERAPHIEL H'. ⁵And the crown on

3-3 so D. A: 'streams'
stars'

5-5 DE om.

4 E instead of 'the planet Venus' reads 'the shining

(6) The description of the appearance of the body of SERAPHIEL in this verse seems to indicate that his body was conceived of as having human form, in contradiction to the statement made in vs. 3.

(7) The crown on his head. On the crown as regular accompaniment-feature of descriptions of high angels, cf. ch. xii. 3 note (also ch. xviii. 1). The measure of the crown is. . . Cf. *Shi'ur Qoma, Bndl. OPP.* 467: the measure of the crown on the head of the manifested Godhead is 500,000 by 500,000 (measures).

(8) Seraphiel H'. See Schwab, *VA.* p. 260. Among the different passages treating of 'SERAPHIEL' that which is nearest akin to the present representation is *Zohar*, ii. 252 b (*Hekaloth*), where SERAPHIEL is given as the name of one of the four *Seraphim*, viz. the first one.

Acc. to *S. Razi'el*, 36 b, he is appointed over one of the gates of the heavenly apartments.

Acc. to *Widduy Yaphe (Add. 15299, fol. 133 b)* SERAPHIEL is one of the twenty-six angels who carry the *Merkaba*.

In *S. ha Chesheq* he is invoked together with other angels by the suppliant, praying for "knowledge in purity".

In *Berith Menucha*, fol. 47 c, SERAPHIEL is mentioned as one of the company of 'consuming' or 'burning' angels. The words 'SERAPHIEL' and '*Seraphim*' are deduced from the verb '*saraph*' ('burn', 'to burn'). Cf. the explanation of the

his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace".⁵ And why is he called by the name of SERAPHIEL *H'*? Because he is appointed over the *Seraphim*. And⁶ the flaming *Seraphim* are given in his charge. And he presides over them by day and by night and teaches them song, praise, proclamation of beauty, might and majesty; that they may proclaim the beauty of their King in all manner of Praise and Sanctification (*Qëdushsha*).

(9) How many are the *Seraphim*? Four, corresponding to the four winds of the world. And how many wings have they⁷ each one of them?⁷ Six, corresponding to the six days of Creation. And how many faces have they? ⁷Each one of them⁷ four faces.⁸

(10)⁹The measure of the *Seraphim* and the height of each one of them correspond to the height of the seven heavens.⁹ The size of each wing is like the measure of all *Raqia'*. The size of each face is like that of the face of the East.

5-5 DE om.

6 A ins. 'the Holy *Seraphim* and'

7-7 DE om.

8 DE

add: 'in each direction'

9-9 E om.

name '*Seraphim*' in vs. 12 of the present chapter. Hence SERAPHIEL, acc. to '*Amtachat Binyamin*, fol. 38 b (cited Schwab, *ib.*), is invoked in case of fire.

And the crown on his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace." This statement is peculiar to *A*: it is not found in *D* and *E*. It is somewhat out of keeping with the style of this section, as well as of the whole book, in so far as it is the only instance where a special, artificial, name is given to any part of an angel's body or adornment. The attribution of special names to the different parts of the body of the Godhead is a marked feature of *Shiur Qoma*, and even of *Hek. Zot*. The sentence is no doubt a gloss.

in all manner of Praise and Sanctification. The *Seraphim* are singing praises to their Creator and especially the *Qëdushsha* or *Trisagion*. That the *Seraphim* perform the *Qëdushsha* is definitely stated also in the *Testament of Adam* (Patrologia Syriaca), in *Ma'yan Chokma*, *BH*. i. 58-64, and in the *Qëdushsha* of the Additional service for Sabbath and Festivals (the *Qëdushsha le-Musaph*). The last mentioned runs: "We will revere and sanctify thee as in the secret whisper of the Holy *Seraphim* who sanctify Thy name in Holiness, as it is written by the hand of the prophet (Is. vi. 3), 'And one cried unto another and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.'" The entire conception of the *Qëdushsha*-singing *Seraphim* is of course deduced from Is. vi. It is uncertain whether *Qëdushsha* here is really = *Trisagion*.

The *Seraphim* are identical with the *Chalkadri* of 2 *En*. xii and xv. 1 (according to CHARLES) and, probably, also with the 'serpents' of 1 *En*. xx. 7 ("Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim"). Cf. 2 *En*. xix. 6.

In *Apoc. Mosis*, xxxiii. 3, the *Seraphim* are connected with the *Merkaba* as here.

They appear as one of the classes of superior angels in 1 *En*. lxi. 10: "And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the *Kerubin*, *Seraphin* and '*Ophannin*'; and *ib.* lxxi. 7: "And round about were *Seraphin*, *Cherubin* and *Ophannin*...". Cf. further 2 *En*. xix. 6, xxix. 3, *TB. Chag*. 12 b.

As the first (and highest) rank of angels they are represented (as here) in the Coptic *Mysteries of St John and the Holy Virgin*, fol. 6 b (Budge's ed.): "I saw all the ranks of the angels. The first rank contained the *Seraphim*".

(11) And each one of them gives forth light like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory: so that not even the Holy *Chayyoth*, the honoured 'Ophannim, nor the majestic *Kerubim* are able to behold it. For everyone who beholds it, his eyes are darkened because of its great splendour.

(12) Why are they called *Seraphim*? Because they burn (*saraph*) the writing tables of Satan: Every day Satan is sitting, together with SAMMAEL, the Prince of Rome, and with DUBBIEL, the Prince of Persia, and ¹⁰they write¹⁰ the iniquities of Israel on writing tables which they hand over to the *Seraphim*, in order that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He, so that He may destroy Israel from the world. But the *Seraphim* know ¹¹from the secrets¹¹ of the Holy One, blessed be He, ¹²that he desires not,¹² that this

10-10 DE: 'he writes'
D. A om.

11-11 E: 'in a vision from'

12-12 ins. from

Berith Menucha, 38 b, also puts the *Seraphim* in the highest rank, under the leadership of YEHOEL.

Further on the *Seraphim*, see the Introduction.

(12) Every day Satan is sitting, together with Sammael etc. Satan is here the Prince of the Accusers, SAMMAEL and DUBBIEL being merely his assistants. This function tends more and more to be transferred to SAMMAEL, who as the representative of Rome, the head of the Gentile Nations, naturally becomes the chief supraterritorial enemy of Israel. So, ch. xiv. 2, SAMMAEL is explicitly named 'the Prince of the Accusers'. Likewise, in the *Pirqe Mashiach*, BH. iii. 68, SAMMAEL appears as the official accuser of Israel. In the earlier Apocrypha he is the angel of death, e.g. *Sir.* xxv. 24; 3 *Bar.* iv. 8, ix. 7. He is also identified with the serpent of the Genesis narrative of the primordial sin, or at least considered as the angel who led Adam astray acc. to 3 *Bar.* iv. 8, ix. 7. Traces of his character as angel of death are found even in later writings, e.g. *Midrash Peirath Moshe*, BH. i. 125, acc. to which 'SAMMAEL, the head of the Accusers' aspires to fetch Moses' soul at the time of his death. In the same line fall his functions of prince of the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river (*Zohar*, i. 40 a, ii. 243 b), and angel of Gehenna (*Midrash Kohen*, 'Arze Lebanon, 3 b, P. R. 'El. xxxi, xiii). As Prince of Rome Sammael is mentioned in *Gen. R.* lxxvii, in *Pirqe Mashiach*, *ib.*, in *Hek. R.* iv, v and freq. As such he obtains a prominent place among 'the Princes of Kingdoms', even at times represented as their leader. Cf. notes on chh. xiv. 2 and xvii. 8.

For DUBBIEL as the Prince of Persia cf. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a. *Vide* *Introd.* sect. 7.

For 'Satan' and 'Satans' as having access to heaven, *vide* CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 66, on the relation of 'The Parables' of 1 *En.* to the rest of the book. Acc. to 1 *En.* xl. 7, the Satans have access to heaven.

that they may present them before the Holy One. This conception of the Seraphim as having the function of handing over documents or petitions to the Holy One, is represented in a somewhat different form in the statement occurring in *Lev. R.* xxii and *Eccl. R.* x, that the record of man's deeds during the past day is during his sleep transmitted by the 'neshāmā' to a *Kerub* and by the *Kerub* to a *Seraph*, who in his turn presents it before the Holy One, blessed be He. The conception is based on the assumption that the *Seraphim* are the class of *Merkaba*-angels who stand next to the Throne.

know from the secrets of the Holy One. It was thought that some of the highest angels enjoyed the privilege of partaking in the knowledge of God's secrets;

people Israel should perish. What do the *Seraphim*? Every day do they receive (accept) them from the hand of Satan and burn them in the burning fire over against the high and exalted Throne¹³ in order that¹⁴ they may not come¹⁴ before the Holy One, blessed be He, at the time when he is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth.

CHAPTER XXVII

RADWERIEL, *the keeper of the Book of Records*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel¹ of H'¹, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above the *Seraphim* there is one prince, exalted above all the

13 E adds: 'of Glory'

14-14 so DE. A: 'he may not present them'

Ch. xxvii. 1-1 E om.

they knew beforehand the decrees and the reasons of the decrees. Cf. chh. xxviii. 4, x. 1, xlv. 1, 2 and notes resp., xviii. 16 and note. A technical term for this knowledge of the Divine secrets was the expression "know from inside the Curtain" or "hear from behind the Curtain". Cf. *Chag.* 16 a (concerning the ministering angels), *Chibbutz ha Qeber*, iv (of the angel of death), *Ma'yan Chokma, et freq.* (of the angel *Gallisur*).

receive them from the hand of Satan and burn them... that they may not come before the Holy One etc. Cf. how acc. to 1 *En.* xl, "the four presences on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits" "fend off the Satans and forbid them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth" (vs. 7). The accusations have no power to alter the Divine decrees concerning Israel, so far as they are sufficiently counterpoised by high merits on the part of Israel (for instance their acceptance of the Tora on mount Sinai, without which acceptance the whole world could not have subsisted). Of this impotence of the accusations the burning 'of the writing tables of Satan' is a metaphor.

The *Seraphim* are here represented as frustrating the plottings of the accusing angels. In *P. R. 'El.* on the contrary, SAMMAEL, the *Chayyoth* and the *Seraphim* in unity desire man's fall and plan to bring it about.

sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth. The interest begins to turn to the Judgement. Similarly, in the independent angelological exposition contained in ch. xviii, the functions of the last enumerated angels centre round the different aspects of the Divine Judgement. The Throne of Glory seems to the visionary as he directs his gaze higher, to reveal itself as the Throne of Judgement. For the expression 'judging in truth' cf. ch. xxxi. 1.

Ch. xxvii. Ch. xxvii, although belonging to the same angelological section as the preceding chapters, leaves the subject of the angels of the *Merkaba* and the princes appointed over them and approaches the subject of the Judgement, already alluded to by the last verse of the foregoing chapter. It treats of RADWERIEL, the heavenly registrar, the keeper of the Case of Writings, of which the most important is 'the Book of Records'. On 'the Book of Records' the Judgement is to be based.

(1) Radweriel H'. The name is, so far as is known to the present writer, an ἀπαξ-λεγομενον. So is also the reading of E: 'Daryoel'. But it seems very probable that

princes, wondrous more than all the servants. His name is RADWERIEL² *H'* who is appointed over the treasuries of the books.

(2) He fetches forth the Case³ of Writings (with) the Book of Records in it, and brings it before the Holy One, blessed be He.⁴ And he breaks the seals of the case⁴³,⁶ opens it,⁵ takes out⁵ the books and delivers them before the Holy One, blessed be He⁶. And the Holy One, blessed be He, receives them of his hand and gives them in his sight to the Scribes, that they may read them⁷ in the Great *Beth Din*⁷ in the height of 'Araboth Raqia', before the heavenly household.

2 *E*: 'Dāryō'el' . *D* marks, through vowel points, the pronunciation 'Radweriel', which is adopted above. 3-3 *E* om. 4-4 *D* om. 5-5 so *E*. *A* corr.: 'gives' 6-6 *D* om. 7-7 so *DE*. *A* (seemingly): 'before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Great One'

there exists a connection as well with regard to name as function between RADWERIEL here and the 'VRETIL' of 2 *En.* xxii. 11, 12 (and xxiii): "And the Lord called one of his archangels, by name Vretil, who was more wise than the other archangels and wrote down all the doings of the Lord. And the Lord said to Vretil, 'Bring forth the books from my store-places, and give a read to Enoch and interpret to him the books' etc." The affinities between this and the features represented in the present chapter are obvious. 2 *En.*: VRETIL, an archangel, more wise than the other archangels—here: RADWERIEL, above the *Seraphim*, the highest of the *Merkaba*-angels, exalted above all the Princes etc.; 2 *En.*: VRETIL brings forth the books from God's store-places—here: RADWERIEL is appointed over the treasuries of the books and fetches forth the 'Case of Writings with the Book of Records'.

The derivation of the words 'RADWERIEL' or 'VRETIL' is uncertain: from the Greek εὐπείρης (thus signifying 'fluent speech, fluent reading'?). Cf. vs. 3. He may originally have had the function, here assigned to the scribes, of 'reading the books before the Great *Beth Din* in heaven'.

(2) Case of Writings. The Hebrew word, here translated 'Case', is used in this sense in *TB. Soṭa*, 22 d, *Meg.* 26 b *et al.*, also *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*.

Book of Records (or 'of remembrance'). On the three main lines of conceptions of the 'books' at the Judgement cf. note on ch. xviii. 24. The 'book of records' evidently is conceived of as recording all the deeds of the inhabitants of the world relevant to the issues at the Judgement. The Book of Records is the basis of the Judgement also acc. to the liturgical prayer 'וַיִּתְּנָה תְּקֵף' ("and thou wilt remember all that is forgotten, and wilt open the Book of Records").

takes out the books. The plural might either refer to other books besides and inclusive of the Book of Records or be due to a confusion between two traditions, one knowing one 'Book' only, the other speaking of 'the books'. The second tradition is represented, e.g. in 4 *Ez.* vi. 20, *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1, *Rev.* xx. 12, not to mention *Dan.* vii. 10.

gives them . . . to the scribes, that they may read them. A similar situation, with the same expressions, is pictured in the *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*, only with the difference that it there takes place at the court of the Pharaoh. The illustrative features are borrowed from the writer's ideas of the proceedings at a royal court.

The Great *Beth Din* or *Sanhedrin* or Court of Justice. Cf. chh. xxviii. 9 and xxx. 1. The *Sanhedrin* on earth had its counterpart in heaven, the *Beth Din Shelma'ala* under the presidency of the Most High himself. The members of the *Beth Din* on high were the highest angels, according to ch. xxx evidently the seventy-two princes of kingdoms together with the Prince of the World, acc. to ch. xxviii. 9,

(3) And why is he called RADWERIEL⁸? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created: and he stands in the songs (in the singing company) of the ministering angels and utters⁹ a song before¹⁰ the Holy One, blessed be He¹⁰ when the time draws nigh for the recitation of the (*Thrice*) *Holy*.

8 E: 'Dāryō'el'

9 E: 'they utter'

10-10 E: 'him'

presumably, the 'Irin and Qaddishin (cf. notes, *ad loca*). See also *Hek. R.* v. 3, *BH.* iii. 87.

Concerning the conception of 'Scribes' cf. on ch. xxxiii. 2. Acc. to some passages, there is only one 'Scribe' as such: e.g. ch. xxxiii. 2 (in the reading of E) and *Hek. R.* v. 1. Acc. to chh. xviii. 23-25 and xxxiii. 2 (in the adopted reading) the Scribes are two in number. They record the deeds of the inhabitants of the world in the 'books', and also write down the divine decrees (*Hek. R.* v. 1). Here they are even more represented as reading what is written in the books before the *Beth Din* (cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*, referred to above). The last function was perhaps, as already suggested, originally assigned to VRETIL-RADWERIEL: in 2 *En.* xxii. 12, VRETIL is asked to "interpret to him (Enoch) the books".

(2) Why is he called Radweriel? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created. This explanation of the name presupposes the form 'DIBBURIEL' or 'DABARIEL'. The form 'DABAR YAH' is found in a MS. acc. to Schwab, *VA*. The derivation is perhaps a mere construction on the part of the writer. Exchanging 'W' for 'B' he reads 'Ra-Dabariel' or 'Radibburiel', regarding the 'Ra' as an epenthesis.

The ascribing to an angel-prince of the faculty of creating an angel by the 'word of his mouth' is rather singular. Such a statement is otherwise made of God, e.g. ch. xl. 4, *Chag.* 14 a, *Gen. R. Par.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* on iii. 23. It would seem that the present passage could be made to refer to 'RADWERIEL' only on the assumption that it is one of the different names of the Godhead, and not the name of an angel. The whole of vs. 3 might have been adduced from a treatise on the Divine Names. The instances where the same name at one time or in one writing is represented as the name of an angel, and in another as one of the names of the Godhead, are frequent in the cabbalistic literature. Cf. the case of 'TAG'AS', note on ch. xviii. 5; the 'Pardes' (quoted *YR.* i. 90 a) discusses the 'Akatriel' of *Ber.* 7 a, rejecting the view that it is the name of the Most High, and maintains that 'Akatriel' is "a Prince on high".

he stands etc. The 'he' probably refers to the created angel. in the songs. The Hebrew here might be translated 'in the service' instead of 'in the songs, i.e. in the singing company' of the ministering angels. But the latter is presumably the correct interpretation. The exact meaning is: 'he stands and sings the songs (*shiroth* as a technical term) which the ministering angels sing'. Cf. *Gen. R.* lxxviii: "God creates every day a new order of angels who utter a song, etc." See note on ch. xl. 4. On RADWERIEL *vide* *Introd.* sect. 13 A (6).

CHAPTER XXVIII

The 'Irin and Qaddishin

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above all these there are four great princes, '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* by name: high, honoured, revered, beloved, wonderful and glorious ones, greater than all the children of heaven. There is none like unto them among all the celestial princes and none their equal among all the Servants. For each one of them is equal to all the rest together.

(2) And their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory, ¹and their standing place ²over against the Holy One, blessed be He²,

1-1 *E om.* 2-2 so *D.* *A* uncertain, corr.; perhaps: 'is the place of the Throne (*Beth ha-kKisse*)'

Ch. xxviii. (1) '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*, i.e. the Watchers and the Holy Ones.

The '*Irin* and the *Qaddishin* are acc. to the present angelological system at the summit of the hierarchy of angels. They form the council of the Most High (vs. 4), have executive power over the terrestrials (vs. 6) and, acc. to the latter part of the chapter, they assist at the forensic as well as retributive judgement, being both 'court-officers' and executors of the Divine decrees.

The '*Irin* are mentioned in 1 *En.* (as 'Watchers'), alone or together with the *Qaddishin* (= 'Holy Ones') in chh. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi *et al.* In 2 *En.* they appear as the '*Grigori*', *ib.* xviii.

The expression 'Holy Ones' occurs frequently in 1 *En.* (chh. ix. 3, xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxi. 8, lxxxii. 5, cvi. 19. *Vide* CHARLES, 1 *En.* Index II, "Angels, the holy ones"). In ch. ix. 3 it refers to the four archangels or 'Presences', in ch. lxxxii. 5 to the seven archangels, in ch. xlvii. 2 possibly to the *Chayyoth*, in chh. xxxix. 5, lx. 4, lxi. 8, lxv. 12 to the angels or 'children of heaven' in general, the distinction from other classes of angels or as a definite class being uncertain, as is the case also with chh. lvii. 2 and lxxi. 8. Of special interest here are ch. xii. 2 ("watchers and the holy ones"), ch. xiv. 23 ("the most holy ones who were nigh to him did not leave by night [= watchers] nor depart from him"). These passages indicate a conception of the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* as a special class of angels, intimately connected with each other, and hence show affinity with the presentations of our chapter. Cf. also ch. lxix. 13.

As regards the 'Watchers' we meet with two different traditions in 1 *En.* One, the more prominent, is embodied in chh. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi, represents the watchers as fallen angels, identifying them with "the sons of God" (Gen. vi). The other view agrees with that of the present chapter in placing the Watchers near the Divine Presence and is represented in chh. xii. 2, xiv. 23, lxi. 12 ("those who sleep not above in heaven" = 'the Watchers') and, possibly, ch. cvi. 19. (Cf. however, CHARLES's distinction in *Pseudepigrapha* (*A and P.* II), p. 188, note 5.)

Notice the expression, 1 *En.* xx. 1: "the holy angels who watch", with reference to the seven archangels.

The names and conception are, of course, deduced from Dan. iv. 14 (10). See vs. 4, 8 and 9 here. The present interpretation of the said passage in Daniel is, however, by no means the general one. Cf. the commentaries.

(2) their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory... over against the

so that the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of the brilliance of the Throne of Glory¹. And the splendour of their countenance is ³a reflection of³ the splendour of *Shekina*.

(3) And they are glorified by the glory of ⁴the Divine Majesty (*Gēbūrā*)⁴ and praised by (through) the praise of *Shekina*.

(4) And not only that, but the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing in his world without first consulting them, but after that he doeth it. As it is written (Dan. iv. 17): "The sentence is by the decree of the '*Irin* and the demand by the word of the *Qaddishin*."

(5) The '*Irin* are two and the *Qaddishin* are two. And how are they standing before the Holy One, blessed be He? ⁵It is to be understood, that one '*Ir* is standing on one side and the other '*Ir* on the other side, and one *Qaddish* is standing on one side and the other on the other side.

1-1 E om. 3-3 so DE. A: 'like unto, similar to' 4-4 E: 'Shekina'
5 here the parallel of D breaks off.

Holy One . . . the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of . . . the Throne etc. This is best paralleled by what is said with regard to Metatron, chh. vii, x. 1 seq., xlviii c 4, 5, 7. These expressions will presumably convey the exclusive position of the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*. They are depicted as having their abode at the very top of the hierarchical structure: face to face with the Throne of Glory and the *Shekina*. For 'the splendour of *Shekina*' see note on ch. v. 4. Ch. xxii. 7 and 13, the splendour of *Shekina* is said to be on the face of KERUBI'EL, resp. the *Kerubin*. But there the splendour of *Shekina* is received from above; 'the *Shekina* is resting upon them', *ib.* 13.

(3) they are glorified by the glory of the Divine Majesty and praised by the praise of *Shekina*. The glorification and praise directed towards the *Shekina* are reflected also on the '*Irin* and the *Qaddishin*, owing to their near association with the Godhead.

(4) the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing . . . without first consulting them. Cf. *TB. Sanh.* 38 b: "the Holy One, blessed be He, doeth nothing without consulting the heavenly household, as it is written (Dan. iv. 17): 'The sentence is by the decree of the watchers etc.'" What in Talmud is applied to the angels in general ('the heavenly household') is here referred to the definite class of angels called '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*. The idea of God consulting the angels is common in Rabbinic: "when God wished to create the first Adam, he took counsel with the ministering angels" (e.g. *Gen. R.* viii. 4). The important feature here is that the function of Divine counsellors is limited to a specified class of angels; and this is evidently due to the attempt to systematize, characteristic to the present section. Of necessity the advising function could be ascribed to none but the highest class of angelic beings.

(5) The '*Irin* are two and the *Qaddishin* are two. The '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* are acc. to this verse only four in number. In vs. 9 they must be conceived of as being a larger number. The 'Holy Ones', 1 *En.* ix. 3, are four, being identified with 'the four Presences, MIKAEL, URIEL, RAPHAEL and GABRIEL'. Otherwise the "Watchers (and Holy Ones)" of 1 *En.* are numerous: acc. to ch. vi. 6 they are 200. There might possibly be some connection between the passage 1 *En.* ix. 3 and the present vs. (traces of the same tradition?). Cf. note on ch. xxviii. 9.

(6) And ever do they exalt ⁶the humble⁶, and they abase to the ground those that are proud, and they exalt to the height those that are humble.

(7) And every day, as the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement and judges the whole world, and the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead are opened before Him,

6-6 A om.

(6) And ever do they exalt the humble. *A* seems to read: 'And they make high the world'. abase...those that are proud and...exalt...those that are humble. This idea is deduced from Dan. iv. 17: "the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men", which follows after the words cited in support of the conception of the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*. What there is said with reference to God has been transferred to the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*, the counsellors and executors of the Divine decrees. Cf. ch. xlviij c 9.

CHH. XXVIII. 7-XXXIII. 2.

The Divine Judgement and the Heavenly Tribunal.

With vss. 7-10 of the present chapter (xxviii) a certain change in character is noticeable. The main difference is that the systematic exposition of the foregoing part, with its specific manner of expression seems to be ended. The theme which already from ch. xxvi. 12 has begun to verge into the conceptions of the Judgement is henceforth (till ch. xxxiii. 3) altogether absorbed in the different aspects of the Divine Judgement, the heavenly assize and the execution of the Divine decrees. But, in contrast to the preceding angelological section, this section reveals no clear progressive structure in the treatment of its subject, but leaves rather the impression of a complex of culled fragments from the different traditions of the proceedings at the Divine Court of Justice.

A divergence in the present vss. of ch. xxviii from the preceding has already been referred to: the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* are in vs. 5 said to be four in number, vs. 9 presupposes a considerably larger number. Chh. xxix and xxx furthermore maintain the identity of the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* with the seventy-two princes of kingdoms. (Acc. to the angelological section the 72 princes of kingdoms probably occupy a comparatively low place in the angelic hierarchy, see note on ch. xvii. 8.)

For divergences within the section notice e.g. (1) ch. xxviii. 7, the books on which the judgement is to be based are 'the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead'; ch. xxx. 2 speaks only of 'the book in which all the doings of the world are recorded'; and ch. xxxii. 1 of 'the book': (2) chh. xxxi. 1 and xxxiii. 1, two different representations of the same idea: the relation between the agencies of Justice and Mercy at the Judgement (esp. from the point of view of mediation between them). For the different conceptions of the Judgement cf. also the Introduction, sect. 16.

(7) every day as the Holy one... is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, i.e. every day, at the time when. The judgement here is daily. Cf. the dictum of R. Yose, *Tosephta Rosh ha Shana*, i, "man is judged every day". It is both *forensic* and *retributive*. The cases (vss. 8, 9) refer to the continual happenings in the daily life of man (and the world in general), and the decrees are executed immediately.

the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead. Cf. ch. xviii. 23 seq. In view of the character of the Judgement as daily, the Books of the Dead are here probably of the same significance as in ch. xviii. 24; they record the time destined for every man's death. The Books of the Living may be the records of the time destined for a man's entering life on earth, but are perhaps also conceived of as

then all the children of heaven are standing before him in fear, dread, awe and trembling. At that time, (when) the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting ⁷ upon the Throne of Judgement⁸ ⁹to execute judgement⁹, his garment is white as snow, the hair on his head as pure wool ¹⁰and the whole of his cloak¹⁰ is like the shining light. And he is covered with righteousness all over as with a coat of mail.

(8) And those 'Irin and Qaddishin are standing before him like court officers before the judge. And they raise and argue every case and close the case that comes before the Holy One, blessed be He, in judgement, according as it is written (Dan. iv. 17): "The sentence is by the decree of the 'Irin and the demand by the word of the Qaddishin."

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence in the Great Beth Din in 'Araboth. Some of them make the requests from before ¹¹the Divine Majesty¹¹ and some close the cases before the Most High. Others ¹²finish by going down¹² and (confirming =) executing the sentences on earth below. ¹³According as it is written¹³ (Dan.

7 E ins. 'as judge' 8 E: 'Presence' 9-9 E om. 10-10 so E.
A corr.: 'and he is wholly lifted up' 11-11 so with E. A has a lacuna.
12-12 E om., thus reading 'others execute the sentences etc.' 13-13 A lacuna.

recording the deeds (merits and transgressions) of the living (= the Book of Records, chh. xxx. 2, xxvii. 2).

Throne of Judgement. . . garment is white as snow etc. This is deduced from Dan. vii. 9. The Throne of Judgement as a conception plays a prominent part in 1 En. xc. 20, xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxix. 27 (only in the first of these instances, however, called "the Throne of Judgement", in the others "the Throne of Glory"), also 4 Ez. vii. 33 ("And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement"). See BOX, *Esra-Apocalypse*, p. 118.

(8) And those 'Irin and Qaddishin are standing before him like court officers before the judge. Acc. to *Mass. Hek.* "seven court-officers are sitting on seven thrones" before the Holy One. A quotation, YR. i. 7 a, from the writings of Eleazar of Worms treats of the "seven court officers (*shoṭerim*) in heaven by whose demand every decree is executed, whether for good or for evil, abundance or privation, war or peace".

they raise and argue. . . and close the case. The cases include all different issues arising from the course of the daily life of the inhabitants on earth. Acc. to *Ex. R.* xxxi, angels act as defenders and accusers of man at the judgement: "when a man has committed a transgression and stands before God to receive judgement, then some angels plead in his defence, others accuse him guilty".

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence. . . some of them make the requests. . . some close the cases. . . others finish by. . . executing the sentences. Cf. Sa'adya's *commentary* on Dan. iv. 17: "The 'Irin are the Holy Angels of anger and fury who pass the sentence". (Notice, by the way, how Sa'adya represents the angels in question as one class only, called 'Irin, regarding the 'Qaddishin = Holy Ones' as an attribute—further, how he identifies them with "the angels of anger and fury" usually but another name for the 'angels of destruction', cf. note on ch. xxxi. 2.) Cf. also *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 124 a: "the angel who passes the sentence and who issues the demands is called 'Ir and Qaddish".

It is evident from the way in which the various functions are depicted as divided

iv. 13, 14): "Behold an *'Irin* and a *Qaddish* came down from heaven and cried aloud and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off ¹⁴his leaves¹⁴, and scatter his fruit: ¹⁵let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches¹⁵".

(10) Why are they called *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*? By reason that they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire on the third day of the judgement, as it is written (Hos. vi. 2): "After two days will he revive us: on the third he will raise us up, and we shall live before him."

14-14 *A* lacuna.

15-15 *E* om.

between the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*, that they are in this verse regarded as comprising a comparatively large number. One might, with some certainty, venture the conjecture that the underlying idea here is the representation of the *'Irin* and the *Qaddishin* as the Heavenly *Beth Din*. The *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* would then be conceived of as 70 or 72. This is confirmed by the confusion in the two chapters following next, between these angels and the 72 princes of kingdoms who acc. to ch. xxx constitute the heavenly *Beth Din*. Also, in *Zohar*, e.g. ii. 6 a, the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* of Dan. iv. 14 are explicitly interpreted as "the 72 members of *Sanhedrin* who consider the judgements of the world".

That the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* in 1 *En.*, according to the prevalent representation there, are counted as a large number (e.g. ch. vi. 6: 200) is already recalled above. On the other hand, in later cabbalistic writings, they are likewise often pictured as a numerous class of angels, e.g. *YR.* i. 162 b (quotation from *Sōdē Rāsā*), they are referred to with the formula "the troops of *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*".

(10) they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire. The expression 'the body and the spirit' may be taken in two different senses, viz. as referring either to the angels in question (the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*) or to the body and spirit of a man who has undergone judgement; the judgement of man, referred to here, would in this case be the so-called *Din ha-qQéber*, the judgement on man immediately after his death. The interpretation of the present sentence in the sense of 'sanctify the body and spirit of the judged man' is probably the correct one, esp. in view of the difficulty, that otherwise arises, of explaining the meaning of the words immediately following: 'on the third day of judgement'. 'The third day' cannot very well be meant '*absolutē*', since the judgement here is daily and continual. But with the assumed interpretation it will naturally take on the meaning 'the third of the three days that man is judged', the third day being also the final one, on which the sentence passed on man is consummated through his purification in fire ('by lashes of fire'). Cf. ch. xlv.

The result thus arrived at accords with *Masséket Chibbut ha-qQeber*, *BH.* i. 151: "The ministering angels (corresponding to the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* of the present verse) receive man, after his death, from the hands of the angel of death; they judge him on the first two days on account of his character as developed during his life, through his observance or neglect of the statutes of *Tora*; on the third day they judge him, spirit, soul and body, by strokes with lashes of fire". This is a description of the *Din ha-qQéber*, referred to above.

The bath of sanctification or purification in fire is depicted as forming the conclusion of judgement also with regard to the ministering angels, in *Revelation of Moses* (tr. Gaster, *rec. B.* in *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1893): "the Almighty sits and judges the ministering angels, and after the judgement they bathe in that river of fire and are renewed". Cf. ch. xxxvi.

It is true that in other connections the *Qaddishin* are represented as 'sanctifying

CHAPTER XXIX

Description of a class of angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Each one of them ^(angel) has seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues ^{of the world}¹. And all of them are (based) upon

1-1 E om.

themselves in fire'. Thus in *Shemoth shel Metatron, Bodl. MICH. 256, fol. 40 b*, we read: "Metatron admonishes the angels every third day to bathe and purify themselves in the fiery river (*Nehar di-Nur*)".

Ch. xxix. Ch. xxix contains a short description of angels, the names or class of which are not defined in the chapter. As the context now stands, the description is, by the opening words 'each one of them', made to refer to the 'Irin and Qaddishin of the foregoing chapter. On the other hand, the following chapter, xxx, in defining 'the great princes who are called H' by the name of the Holy One' as the 72 Princes of Kingdoms, seems to have in view no others than the angels of the present chapter, of which it is stated here that their names are 'based upon the Name of the Holy One'.

Thus, in the present arrangement of the context, the 'Irin and Qaddishin are, by inference, identical with the Princes of Kingdoms. The identification is justifiable, since the functions of both categories, as represented in chh. xxviii. 7-xxx, are practically congruent: they are both depicted as constituting the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Divine Council or Court of Justice.

It is scarcely probable, however, that ch. xxix is the original continuation of ch. xxviii. 7-10. It gives the impression of being a fragment from an angelological description from some other source. When considered by itself, it can best be understood as treating of the Princes of Kingdoms, for the reason that the expression 'seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world' naturally—and usually—connects the angels or angel of which it is used, with the conception of the seventy nations and their representative body in the heavens.

Still it seems to be a necessary conclusion that to the Redactor, responsible for the present arrangement of chh. xxviii-xxx seqq., the identity of the 'Irin and Qaddishin with the Princes of Kingdoms, did not, at least, present any difficulty. Some tradition to this effect might have obtained. As a trace of such a tradition, although from a late source, may perhaps be regarded the passage on the Princes of Kingdoms in Menahem Reqanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Gen. x. 5 (*Ef*): "70 princes are set over the 70 nations. . . they are the 70 princes who surround the Throne of Glory and they are the same that are called in the Song of Solomon (Cant. iii. 3) 'the Watchmen (*Shōmērim*) that go about the city', for by their hands the decrees from on high are issued (cf. ch. xxviii. 8 seq.)".

Convergences between the conceptions of the Watchers and of the Representatives of the Nations (the Princes of Kingdoms) may have occurred at an early period, although then perchance in another aspect. The Watchers (1 *En.*) as well as the Princes of Kingdoms, acc. to a different trend of traditions, were regarded as evil agencies in the world (cf. 1 *En.* lxxxix. 59-65 and note on ch. xxviii. 1). The Watchers become the leaders of corrupt mankind on earth and the Princes of Kingdoms are the rulers of the Gentile nations: occasionally the leader of the Watchers is mentioned as SATANIEL or SAMMAEL, and the Princes of Kingdoms, as evil agencies, are later regularly represented as headed by SAMMAEL. Cf. on this *TB. Sota*, 9 a, *Sha'are 'Orā*, 65 a, 'Emeq ha-mMeleq, 121 b et al.

the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. And every several name is written with a flaming style ² upon the Fearful Crown (*Kéther Nōrā*) which is on the head of the high and exalted King.

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings. And each one of them is beset with horns of splendour round about. From each one lights are shining forth, and each one is surrounded by tents of brilliance³ so that not even the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* who are greater than all the children of heaven are able to behold them.

² *A* adds: 'of iron'

³ *E*: 'Understanding (*Binā*)'

(1) seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues. . . (based) upon the name of the Holy One. Exactly the same is said with regard to Metatron, chh. iii. 1 and xlvi c 9. [The expression 'seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues' is a formula, conveying the connection of the angels in question with the seventy nations.] So ch. xlvi c 9 the ascribing to Metatron of seventy names is clearly connected with his character of chief of the seventy princes of the seventy nations. The phrase 'based upon the Name of the Most High' with regard to a name, means that it contains the elements of the *Tetragrammaton*. Cf. note on ch. x. 3 and the angelic names ch. xviii. 9-24. written with a flaming style. Cf. chh. xiii. 1, xxxix. 1, xli. 4. upon the Fearful Crown . . . on the head of the . . . King. The Fearful Crown '*Kéther Nōrā*' is the technical term for the crown on the head of the Most High as seated on the Throne of Glory. In magical writings the 'Fearful Crown' plays a prominent role, being, together with 'the Great Seal', the most effectual of magical formulas. Cf. *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9, fol. 66 a)*: "the Fearful Crown. . . (follow some mystical letters). . . this is the crown with which one conjures all the Princes of Wisdom". Cf. also *Mass. Hek. vii*: "the crown on the forehead of the Holy One, blessed be He, on which the Explicit Name is graven".

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings etc. This verse repeats the phraseology of the angelological section. For 'horns of splendour' cf. ch. xxii. 6. For 'tents of brilliance', ch. xxv. 6. "not even the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* etc.' cf. ch. xxvi. 11. Does the present fragment know only the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* as *Merkaba*-angels? Or does it regard the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* as the two highest classes of superior angels by the *Merkaba*? (Cf. *Zohar*, ii. 252 b. תחות האי חיותא ארבעה שרפין . . . מאלין ארבע . . . כד נטלי נפקי שביבין דאשא ומאלין שביבין אתעבירו שבעין ותרין גלגלין מלהטן באשא)

CHAPTER XXX

The 72 princes of Kingdoms and the Prince of the World officiating at the Great Sanhedrin in heaven

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Whenever the Great *Beth Din* is seated in the '*Araboth Raqia'* on high ¹there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world save¹ those great princes who are called *H'* by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He.

1-1 *E om. corr.*

Ch. xxx. Another representation of the daily judgement in the Celestial *Beth Din*. The function of court-officers (ch. xxviii. 8) is here attributed to the Princes of Kingdoms with their leader, the Prince of the World. In contrast with ch. xxviii. 8, 9, this function is here seen exclusively from the aspect of defence or plea in favour of the world (vs. 2). The accusing part is hereby implicitly reserved for the Most High himself.

(1) Whenever (lit. every fixed time that) the Great *Beth Din* is seated. Every day, at a fixed time, the Great Sanhedrin assembles in the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth*, under the presidency of the Holy One. This is explicit from vs. 2: 'every day at the hour that', and 'pleads... before the Holy One, blessed be He'. The sittings of the *Beth Din* are here for judgement, although the judgement may include all the various decisions with regard to the affairs of the world. But the Celestial *Beth Din* has even a wider scope. So, e.g. in *Gen. R.* xlix. 6, it is said that God introduces new *Halakas* daily in His Celestial *Beth Din*. For the *Beth Din Shelma'ala* as giving daily decisions with regard to the happenings of the world cf. *Hek. R.* i-iii seqq.

there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world etc. For the expression in this sense cf. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba, BH.* iii. 57. Cf. also the phrase 'opening of the mouth for the *Minim* (heretics, Christians)' = scriptural points of support for heretical beliefs. Here it apparently means that no one is allowed to speak either as accuser or defender except the Great Princes called *H'*.

great princes... called *H'* by the name of the Holy One. Ch. x. 3 speaks of '8 great princes called *H'* by the name of their King', to whom also is assigned an exceptional status. Cf. note, *ib.*, and *Hek. R.* xxi. 'called *H'* etc. In most cases simply means that the *Tetragrammaton* forms the latter part of the name. It seems to have been a general assumption, that the highest circle of angels were marked out from the other angels by the common distinction of the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their name, whereby their names were 'based upon the Name of the Holy One'. But the traditions are at variance as to the further character, number and function of these highest angels. Thus, in the present book, ch. x. 3 (already referred to), 'the 8 Great Princes, called *H'* etc.' occupy so high a position as to be above the jurisdiction of Metatron (the Lesser $\Upsilon\text{H}\text{W}\text{H}$), which includes all the other angels and princes; in the angelological classification of ch. xviii each one of the sixteen highest princes have the '*H'*' at the end of their names; in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxv-xxvii (xxviii), the six princes there named have likewise all the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their names. (It is in fact altogether in harmony with that angelological section, when ch. xxix, the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*, the highest of the princes acc. to ch. xxvii. 1-6, are in ch. xxix represented, or made

(2) How many are those princes? Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms of the world besides the Prince of the World who speaks (pleads) in favour of the world before the Holy One, blessed be He,

to be represented, as having their names 'based upon the name of the Holy One'. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxii. 1, the highest angels who are there the door-keepers of the Seventh Hall and seven in number, have all names of the form X-H'; in the preceding chapter of *Hek. R.* one meets with the statement that the awe-inspiring power of these guardians of the seventh Hall and of their names lies just in the fact that "each one of them, his name is called (based) upon the name of the King of the Universe".

In the present chapter again, the Princes H' are defined as the

(2) Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms, and this evidently because, acc. to the view contended here, the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, inclusive of the Prince of the world, form the highest angelic order in their capacity of constituting the Celestial *Beth Din*.

For the different conceptions of the Princes of Kingdoms, cf. note on ch. xvii. 8. Here they are decidedly conceived of as the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. The conception of representatives in heaven of the various kingdoms on earth is a well-known, early idea attested in the O.T., Dan. x. 20, 21; it occurs in *Sir.* xvii. 17 ("for every nation He appointed a ruler. But Israel is the Lord's part"). Since the nations were counted as seventy, the number of these representatives was at first usually given as seventy (cf. ch. xlviij C 9); so in 1 *En.* lxxxix. 59 (seventy shepherds). Apposite for the resemblance to vs. 2 of the present chapter is *Targ. Yer.* to Gen. xi. 7, 8 ("every nation has its own guardian angel who pleads the cause of the nation under his protection"). In *Talmud* the conception occurs, e.g. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a (MIKHAEL, the prince of Israel, DUBBIEL, the prince of Persia etc.), *Sukka*, 29 a (the Gods of the nations suffer punishment with them). Cf. further *Gen. R.* lxviii, lxxvii, *Ex. R.* xxi, *Lev. R.* xxix, *Pesikta R.* xxiii, xxvii, *P. R. 'El.* xxiv. Notice, how in *Mass. Hek.* the conception of seventy princes is replaced by that of "70 thrones of the Holy One, blessed be He, corresponding to the nations of the world".

For discussion of the origin of the number 72 as ascribed to these princes, see note on ch. xvii. 8. In the present connection—the seventy-two princes of kingdoms constituting the Great *Sanhedrin* of heaven—one is reminded of the fact that the Great *Sanhedrin* proper, of which the *Beth Din shelma'ala* is a counterpart, is in a few Mishna passages represented as consisting of seventy-two members: *M. Zebachim*, i. 3, *Yad.* iii. 5, iv. 2.

For the princes of kingdoms as the Celestial *Beth Din* cf. also Bachya's *Commentary on the Pentateuch, Par. Beha'aloteka* (162 b): "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the 70 angels who surround the Throne of Glory... and they are the Beth Din of the Holy One". Cf. *Zohar*, i. 173 b, and *Mass. Hek.* v. 70, thrones always surrounding the Shekina. The 'thrones' in *Zohar* are angelic beings when termed כְּסִינֵי, and similarly their 'thrones' are termed קְתֻרָי.

the Prince of the World who speaks in favour of the world. The Prince of the World is here, then, the leader of the princes of kingdoms. He combines the functions of the rulers of the nations: they plead each one the cause of his nation, the Prince of the World pleads the cause of all the nations together, of the world in its entirety. There is no reference here to any contrast between the Gentile Nations, the idolaters, and Israel. On the contrary, the representation is strikingly universal in its character. The Accuser is God himself, whereas acc. to other views, the Prince of Israel and the princes of the nations, especially the prince of Rome (or of Persia) are represented as accusing each other before the Most High. Cf. the Introduction.

For the conception of the nations (or their representatives) appearing before God in judgement or pleading before God, cf. *inter alia* 4 *Ezra* vii. 37, and the reference in *BOX, Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 124, note *ad loc.*, to the passage in *TB. 'Aboda Zara*, 2 a b =

every day, at the hour when the book is opened in which are recorded all the doings of the world, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "The judgement was set and the books were opened."

CHAPTER XXXI

(The attributes of) Justice, Mercy and Truth by the Throne of Judgement

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, (then) Justice is standing on His right and Mercy on His left and Truth¹ before His face.

¹ so E. A: 'in Truth' (cf. Is. xvi. 5, quoted vs. 2).

"the nations appear before God in the future age to receive their reward. They are summoned up singly, are asked what they have done in the world, and each is condemned (Rome, Persia and other nations)".

On the Prince of the World see note on ch. xxxviii. 2, and cf. notes on chh. iii. 2, ix. 2-3, x. 3, xlvi c 9. In the Enoch-Metatron pieces, chh. iii-xv and xlvi c, Metatron occupies the same position as the Prince of the World here, i.e. leader of the princes of kingdoms and, notably, Metatron and the Prince of the World are acc. to one trend of traditions, identical. Here, in so far as Metatron is represented as the speaker, this is not the case.

at the hour when the book is opened etc. This is the same view of the book, forming the base of the judgement, that we meet with in ch. xxvii. 2, 'the Book of Records'. Cf. note, *ib.* The 'records' are here perhaps conceived of more from the point of view of the nations or the world at large than of the individual.

Ch. xxxi. Another short, independent, piece on the Judgement, characterized by the representation of the hypostasized attributes of Justice, Mercy and Truth as agencies at the Divine Judgement.

Justice and Mercy as attributes of God is a subject of speculation from the earlier periods: "Palestinian as well as Alexandrian theology recognized the two attributes of God, 'middath ha din' and 'middath ha rahamim' (*Sifre Deut.* 27, Philo, *De Opific. Mundi*, 60) and the contrast between justice and mercy is a fundamental doctrine of the Cabala" (*JE*, article 'Justice'). Among the Tannaites the doctrine of Justice and Mercy as the two main attributes of God was connected particularly with the name of R. Meir. Cf. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. ii. p. 60, and *TB. Ber.* 48 b, *Gen. R.* xxvi, *Ab. R. Natan*, xxxii, R. 'Aqiba, *TB. Sanh.* 67 b.

(1) At the time (or: in the hour) when the Holy One... is sitting on the Throne of Judgement. Although not clearly indicated, the judgement is probably here, as in the preceding chapters, the daily judgement, for which is appointed a fixed time, cf. ch. xxx. 2 and note.

Justice is standing on His right hand, Mercy on His left and Truth before His face. Since Mercy in vs. 2 is represented as supporting man, Justice probably stands for the accusing function at the judgement. Justice and Mercy as agencies at the judgement or of attributes of God as Judge are perhaps indicated in the *Talmudic* dictum as to the two Thrones, one of Justice, the other of Mercy (*Sedaqa*), *TB. Chag.* 14 a, *Sanh.* 38 b (attributed to R. 'Aqiba from R. Jose the Galilean).

(2) And when man² enters before Him to judgement, ³(then) there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff³ and stands in front of him. Forthwith man falls upon his face, (and) all the angels of destruction fear and tremble ⁴before him⁴, according as it is written (Is. xvi. 5): "And with mercy shall the throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth."

2 E: 'a wicked man' 3-3 E prob. corr.: 'the Mercy goes out from judgement towards him'
4-4 E: 'on his right'

For the hypostasized attribute of Justice as accusing cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, 2nd rec., BH. iii. 50*: "In that hour the attribute of Justice said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, even the righteous are designated for death (i.e. have sinned—according to Law no man shall be justified)'"

For a later representation of the roles of Justice and Mercy cf. *Sha'are 'Ora*, quoted *YR. 7 b, vol iii*: "The attribute of Justice gives to the supplicant... riches and all good things, but the attribute of Justice prevents (interrupts, annuls) the decision and says, Let us consider whether this supplicant is worthy that his supplication be granted him, and if not, let him be judged in the Great *Sanhedrin* etc." Notice the combination here of the two conceptions of Justice-Mercy and of the Great *Sanhedrin*.

The distinctive feature of the present chapter, vs. 1, is the introduction of the third attribute, the Truth, as mediating between Justice and Mercy. The combination of truth with judgement is deduced from or, rather, occurs already in the O.T. Reference is in vs. 2 explicitly made to Is. xvi. 5. Then in 4 *Ezra*, vii. 34 ("But judgement alone shall remain and truth shall stand"). For references to parallels in Rabbinic see *BOX, Ez. Apoc. p. 122, note ad loc.* Cf. further *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, beg.* ("The Holy One... is called Truth, and He sits on His Throne... in Truth... all his judgements are judgements of truth, and all his ways are Mercy and Truth"), and ch. xxvi. 12. The mediating character of the attribute of Truth is here symbolically indicated by the place assigned to it 'before the face of the Most High' between 'Justice' to the right and 'Mercy' to the left. Another expression of the mediation at the judgement is found, ch. xxxiii. 1 ("Angels of mercy, of peace, and of destruction").

The distinction involved in the expressions 'to the right', 'to the left', does not carry the extreme symbolical significance of certain gnostic systems and esp. the later *Qabbala*: there the accusing role is always assigned to the left side, the favour-pleading to the right. In the system of Ten *Sefiróth* Justice is on the left, Mercy on the right (contrast here).

(2) when man enters before Him to (receive) judgement, i.e. immediately after death, cf. note on ch. xxviii. 10. there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff and stands in front of him. This evidently means that the attribute of Mercy wields a protecting, supporting influence over man against forces working for the strict application of the principles of justice. And this influence is represented as prevailing over the latter, at least such seems to be the import of the words following: all the angels of destruction fear and tremble before him. The angels of destruction represent the execution of the decrees of justice (cf. ch. xxxii. 1), i.e. the punishment of man's sin. Here it appears that 'the staff' from the 'splendour of the Mercy' protects man from the rage of the angels of destruction.

For the conception of the angels of destruction cf. 1 *En. liii. 3* ("I saw all the angels of punishment abiding and preparing all the instruments of Satan [for the sinners]"), lvi. 1, lxiii. 1 ("In those days shall the mighty and the kings... implore God to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment"). 2 *En. x. 3*; *Ap. Petri*, 6, 8. *TB. Shab. 55 a*, presents an instance of the connection between the

CHAPTER XXXII

The execution of judgement on the wicked. God's sword

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹When the Holy One, blessed be He, opens¹ the Book half of

1-1 E: 'when they open before the Holy One, blessed be He'

angels of destruction and the attribute of Justice (as accusing and desiring the strict enforcement of the Law): "God said to Gabriel (with reference to the situation, Ezek. ix. 4 seqq.), 'Go and write on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, that the angels of destruction may not get power over them, but on the forehead of the wicked a mark of blood, that the angels of destruction may have power over them'. Then said the attribute of Justice before the Holy One... '... In what respect are those better than these?'" Cf. *ib.* 152 b, 89 a; *Yer. Shebu'oth*, vi. 37 a; *Rev.* vii. 2, xii. 7; *Test. Abr.* xii, xiii; *Gēdullath Moshe*, section *Gehinnom*; *Masseketh Gehinnom*, *BH.* i. 142; *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 62. See also ch. xlv. 2 and note. In these instances they appear mainly in two aspects: one is that of executors of punishment and of the divine decrees in general in the world, the other that of officials of *Gehenna* appointed over the wicked (and intermediate).

On their number and names the different sources are at variance, from those speaking of two angels of destruction, usually called 'APH and CHÉMA (i.e. anger and fury), cf. *SMKIEL* and *ZA'APHIEL*, ch. xlv. 2, to those counting them in thousands and myriads. *Rev. of Moses* (tr. Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, p. 589) represents the angel-prince QEMU'EL as the chieftain of 12,000 angels of destruction.

The 'man' who acc. to the present chapter, obtains the support of the attribute of Mercy is apparently man in general, the vast majority, perhaps those who elsewhere (e.g. ch. xlv) are referred to as the class of intermediate, 'bēnōniyyim'.

Instances of the attribute of Mercy pleading for man in opposition to the prosecuting activity of the attribute of Justice are numerous in later Qabbala. *YR.* i. 94 a, quotes from 'Asara Ma'amaroth the following passage: "The attribute of Mercy occupies itself with the merit of every creature... if a man commits a transgression, then the attribute of Justice comes to punish the man on account of the transgression but the attribute of Mercy says: 'Even if the man's hand has sinned, lo, yet his eye has not sinned... if thou wilt punish his body on account of the sin of the hand, lo, even the eye will suffer, and so it will be punished unjustly'", and continues the passage: "in this way the Mercy prevents tribulations and plagues from visiting the world (as punishments for the sins of mankind)".

Ch. xxxii. This chapter treats of the aspect of the judgement consisting in the execution of judgement on the wicked. The execution of the Divine decrees is referred to in ch. xxviii. 9, the executors there being the 'Irin and Qaddishin. The identity of the executors of judgement is in the present chapter not revealed. Regarded as immediate continuation of ch. xxxi. 1 of this chapter would imply that they are 'the angels of destruction'. That is, however, the natural conclusion presenting itself at a slight examination of the chapter, since the execution of judgement is here that on the wicked only, not of the Divine decrees in general. The plurality of angelic beings indicated by the words 'they go out from before Him in every moment' can in this connection scarcely be interpreted as any others than the angels of destruction, whose essential function is the punishment of the wicked.

(1) When the Holy One... opens the Book etc. One book as the basis of judgement here as chh. xxx and xxvii. 2 (i.e. the Book of Records). Cf. notes, *ib.*

which is fire and half flame, (then) they go out from before Him in every moment to execute the judgement on the wicked ²by His sword (that is) ²drawn forth out of its sheath and the splendour of which shines like a lightning and pervades the world from one end to the other, ³as it is written (Is. lxvi. 16): "For by fire will the Lord plead (and by his sword with all flesh)."

(2) And all the inhabitants of the world (*lit.* those who come into the world) fear and tremble before Him, when they behold His sharpened sword like unto a lightning from one end of the world to the other³, and sparks ⁴and flashes⁴ of the size of the stars of *Raqia'* going out from it; according as it is written (Deut. xxxii. 41): "⁵If I whet⁵ the lightning of my sword".

2-2 *E*: 'and His sword is'
'and sparks etc.' vs. 2.

3-3 *E* omits from 'as it is written etc.' vs. 1 till
4-4 *E* om. 5-5 *E* om.

they go out from before Him in every moment. 'They' is best understood as 'the angels of destruction'; cf. above and note on ch. xxxi. 2. For the angels of destruction as executing punishment on the wicked in the world, cf. *Hek. R.* v: "R. Ishmael said: 'What did the *Beth Din* on high do? In that hour they commanded the angels of destruction and they went down (to earth) and made a "consumption even determined" upon Caesar Lupinus". Further *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 50, 51 (with reference to the destruction of Jerusalem): "In that hour six angels of destruction were sent down on Jerusalem, and they destroyed the people in it. . . and these they were: 'Aph, *Chema* (cf. note, ch. xxxi. 2), *Qeseph* (= 'wrath'), *Mashchith* (= 'destroyer', Ex. xii. 23), *Mashmid* (also = 'destroyer'), *Mekallé* (= 'consumer') . . . And each one of them had a two-edged sword in his hand"; *ib. BH.* iii. 62 (in a context, treating of the idolaters of the world), "Forthwith 'Aph and *Chema*, two angels of destruction, . . . drew their sword . . . in order to destroy the world". Cf. further the references adduced in the note on ch. xxxi. 2. The expression every moment prompts the conclusion that the execution of the punishment is one that takes place in this world continually (as well as through periods of great crises); this is confirmed by pointing to the parallel passages just referred to. We are even in this chapter concerned with the daily judgement. Against this conclusion does not speak what follows:

by His sword (that is) drawn forth out of its sheath. In the two passages from *R. 'Aqiba* cited above, the angels of destruction are represented as armed with swords. Here the sword by means of which the punishment is executed is 'the sword of God', a conception, acc. to the statements in the present chapter itself, deduced from Is. lxvi. 16 and Deut. xxxii. 41. The sword of God is a well-known, eschatological, symbol of the O.T. Cf. Is. xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5, xlvi. 10, xlvii. 6, lxvi. 16, Ezek. xxi. 3 seqq. Later we meet with the same symbol of punishment and vengeance in 1 *En.* e.g. xc. 17, 19 (connected with the opening of the 'book'), "opened the book. . . and a sword was given to the sheep"; *ib.* xci. 12, "and a sword shall be given to it, that a righteous judgement may be executed". Add *ib.* xc. 34, lxxxviii. 2. Other instances of the same symbolic use of 'the sword' are Rev. i. 16, ii. 12, 16, vi. 3, 4, xix. 15. It may be noted that 'the sword' in this chapter again, as in the O.T., is *God's* sword, although wielded by the angels of destruction.

(3) And all the inhabitants of the world fear and tremble . . . when they behold His . . . sword . . . from one end of the world to the other. This is more in the style of a description of the Last Judgement. Perhaps the writer unconsciously falls in with the eschatological phraseology. Or, more probably, the situation in

CHAPTER XXXIII

*The angels of Mercy, of Peace and of Destruction by
the Throne of Judgement. The scribes. (vss. 1, 2)*

*The angels by the Throne of Glory and the
fiery rivers under it. (vss. 3-5)*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, ¹ (then) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right, the angels of Peace are standing on His left and the angels of Destruction are standing in front of Him.

¹ *E* adds: 'of truth'

the writer's mind may be that of a great general Divine visitation, such as a war. Passages representing the Divine sword as visible to an assembly or large number of people simultaneously, occur in Rabbinic: e.g. *Sifre* on Deut. xi. 12 (cf. *Lev. R.* xxxv, *Deut. R.* iv): "(At Sinai) A book and a sword came down from heaven... and the Voice was heard, saying: 'If you practise the doctrine of this book, you shall be saved from the sword, but if not, you shall be punished by it'". It should be noted that the 'sword' in this passage is said to be identical with the sword of Gen. iii. 24, which is another of the fundamental references on which the conception of the 'sword' is based. See *Gen. R.* xxi. 14 (the sword personified).

Ch. xxxiii. 1-2. Vss. 1 and 2 of the present chapter constitute the last fragment of the context treating of the Judgement. The representation of vs. 1 is but another version of the conception of the principal agencies at the Judgement, already met with in ch. xxxi. The hypostasized attributes of Justice, Mercy and Truth of ch. xxxi. 1 are here replaced by the *angels* of mercy, peace and destruction. It is safe to assume that the angels of mercy here more or less exactly correspond with the attribute of Mercy there as to significance and function, i.e. represent the activity of plea in favour of man. As regards the angels of peace their character of mediating forces is confirmed by the frequent usage of the term 'peace' for the mediation between two opposites, see ch. xlii. 7. The correspondence between the angels of destruction and the attribute of Justice was attested, note on ch. xxxi. 2, esp. in the passage quoted from *TB. Shab.* 55 a. The attribute of Justice perhaps more emphasizes the accusing part, the angels of destruction, again, the punishment, the strict carrying out of the principles of justice.

(1) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right. In contrast with ch. xxxi. 1, the defending agencies, the '*melammedim zakuth*' are assigned the place to the right side, cf. note, *ib.* The strict system of the later Qabbala is however not applied even here, since the opposing agency of the '*melammedim choba*' on the left is missing.

For the angels of mercy pleading in favour, cf. *Hilkot ha-hKisse* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 139 a): "211 myriads of angels of mercy are standing there (by the Throne) and they plead in favour of Israel". *Ib.* fol. 125 a (*Hilkot Mal'akim*): the 'angels of mercy' are the performers of the Thrice-Holy part of the *Qēdushsha*, perhaps a symbolic expression of the meritorious properties of the performance of the *Qēdushsha* (ch. xl. 1). The angels of mercy have their attentions and efforts fixed on the 'merits': cf. end of note on ch. xxxi. 2.

(2) And one scribe is standing beneath² Him, and ³another scribe³ above Him.

(3) And the glorious *Seraphim*

A:

E:

surround them like fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory.

surround the Throne on its four sides with walls of lightnings, and the '*Ophanim*' surround them with fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory.

2 so E. A: above Him'

3-3 so E. A: 'a *Kerub*'

The expression 'angels of peace' is perhaps derived from Is. xxxiii. 7. The 'angel of peace' is Enoch's guide acc. to 1 *En.* xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, lvi. 2 *et al.* Cf. also *Test. Dan.* vi. 5, *Asher*, vi. 6.

On the angels of destruction see notes on chh. xxx. 2 and xxxii. 1 (xliv. 2).

(2) one scribe is standing beneath Him, and another scribe above Him (acc. to the reading of E adopted above). The scribes record all the facts that have regard to the Divine Judgement, the fixed times appointed for man's entering and leaving this world (ch. xviii. 23, 24), his observance or non-observance of the Divine statutes, all 'the doings of the world', not only as to individuals but with reference to nations and the world at large (chh. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 7, xxx. 2). Besides such 'facts' the scribes also write down the decisions of judgement, the Divine decrees with regard to man after death as well as to the living.

For instances related to the ideas here presented cf. *Chibbut ha-qeber*, BH. i. 150: "a scribe and one appointed with him (function at man's death)... counting the number of his days and years"; *Sefer Chasidim* (EF. ii. 333): "two scribes record the place assigned for every man, whether in Paradise or Hell"; *Hek. R.* v. 1 (in the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*): "in that hour, the Holy One, blessed be He, ordered the *Scribe* incessantly to write down dire decrees and terrible plagues... for the wicked Rome". Note also *Hek. R.* xx, where GABRIEL, the *scribe*, is represented as writing down the merits and deeds of a man, desiring to behold the vision of the *Merkaba*, and also his application for the grant of this privilege.

Ch. xxxiii. 3-5. With vss. 3 seqq. of the present chapter the theme of the Divine Judgement is abandoned. What follows in this chapter is a short representation of the Throne of Glory, the *Merkaba*-angels surrounding it and the seven fiery rivers flowing through all the seven heavens down to Gehenna, thus forming a concise summary of the *Merkabah*-picture: the heavenly glories with the Throne at their centre. Since the emphasis here is neither on the Judgement-Throne—as in the section on the Judgement, just concluded—nor on the angelic classes of the heavenly hierarchy—as in the angelological section—it may be convenient to include these verses in the section comprising chh. xxiii, xxiv, xxxiv, xxxvii, which deals with various wonders of the heavens (the Throne of Glory, the '*Araboth*' and the seven heavens in general), esp. from the quasi-physical aspect. This section is of the same fragmentary, unsystematical character as the section on the Judgement.

As regards the relation between vss. 1, 2 on one hand and vss. 3-5 on the other, it is quite probable that they belong together even originally, the compiler having put this chapter in its present place merely because the two opening verses referred to the subject of the preceding chapters, the Judgement.

Considered as a unity the present chapter forms another instance of the *Merkabah* picture revealing the Throne in its highest aspect as a Judgement-Throne. This tendency is noticeable in both the angelological expositions: ch. xviii and chh. xix-xxviii. Cf. note on ch. xxvi. 12.

(3) This verse presents three classes of *Merkaba*-angels: acc. to A, *Kerub*,

And clouds of fire and clouds of flames compass them to the right and to the left; and the Holy *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory from below: each one ⁴with three fingers. ⁵The measure of the fingers of each one⁴ is 800,000 and 700 times hundred, (and) 66,000⁶ parasangs.

(4) And underneath the feet of the *Chayyoth* seven fiery rivers are running and flowing. And the breadth⁷ of each river is 365 thousand parasangs ⁸and its depth is 248 thousand myriads of parasangs⁸. Its length is unsearchable and immeasurable.

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of '*Araboth Raqia*', and (from there) it falls down to *Mā'ōn* and is

4-4 *E* om.

5 *A* repeats: 'each one with three fingers'

6 *E*: '6000'

7 *E*: 'length'

8-8 *E* om.

Seraphim and *Chayyoth*; acc. to *E* (probably the correct reading), *Seraphim*, '*Ophanim* and *Chayyoth*'; thus in both readings omitting one of the classes of the angelological section (besides the wheels of *Merkaba*). Apart from this, the adopted reading presents the same order as that of the angelological section: *Seraphim*, '*Ophanim*, (*Kerubim*), *Chayyoth*.

For the 'clouds of fire and clouds of flames' cf. the 'four clouds', ch. xix. 4 and chh. xxxix and xxxvii.

the Holy *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory. This is a frequent statement. Cf. *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* to iii. 23.

each one with three fingers. Cf. ch. xvii. 6. The measures of the fingers present some difficulty. Originally the passage might have contained some reference to the different measures ascribed to each of the three fingers, e.g. the first one 80,000, the second 70,000, the third 66,000, in a gradation intended to convey a correspondence in proportions to the second, third and fourth fingers of a human hand, respectively. For measures of the *Chayyoth* cf. ch. xxi. 1-3 and note, *Chag.* 13 a.

(4) seven fiery rivers running and flowing underneath the feet of the *Chayyoth*. Cf. ch. xix. 4 (under the wheels of the *Merkaba*, upon which the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting, four fiery rivers are continually running) and note, *ib.*, ch. xviii. 19 and note (the four heads of the fiery river), the fiery river of ch. xxxvi, the fiery rivers between the camps of *Shekina* in ch. xxxvii. Note also 'the rivers of fire', flowing in the midst of rivers of water', ch. xlii. 7. In 1 *En.* cf. ch. xiv. 19: "from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon" (seven rivers, *ib.* lxxvii. 5-7). 365 number of positive, 248 of negative statutes.

The conception of 'rivers of fire' from underneath the Throne of Glory or the *Chayyoth* is an amplification of that of the fiery river, derived from Dan. vii. 10, "a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him", and after this passage frequently called *Nehar di-Nur* and sometimes *Rigyon* (e.g. *Rev. of Moses, BH.* i. 59). Acc. to *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* iii. 21 (with reference to *Lam.* iii. 23); the *Nehar di-Nur* goes forth from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* who are perspiring under the burden of the Throne(s). Acc. to *Mass. Geh.* simply "from under the Throne of Glory".

The amplification of the conception of one fiery river into that of several rivers of fire, beginning with the assumption of four heads of the *Nehar di-Nur* (ch. xviii) is at variance as to the number of these rivers, one tendency being to make them into four (corresponding to the number of the *Chayyoth* and the 'winds'), another to count them as seven (so here).

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of '*Araboth Raqia*'. Cf. ch. xxiii. 17, 18. and (from there)... to *Ma'ōn* and is

stayed (?), and from *Mā'ōn* to *Zebul*, from *Zebul* to *Shechaqim*, from *Shechaqim* to *Raqia'*, from *Raqia'* to *Shamayim* and from *Shamayim* upon the heads of the wicked who are in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): "Behold a whirlwind of the Lord, even his fury, is gone, yea, a whirling tempest; it shall burst upon the head of the wicked".

stayed (?), etc. The heavens are enumerated with the omission of *Makon* and the substitution of the Hebrew name *Shamayim* for the Latin *Wilson* (*velum* or Greek *βήλον*). In ch. xvii. 3 both these names are given for the first heaven. In *Seder Rabba di Ber. Rabba* the *Wilson* and *Shamayim* appear as two different heavens, viz. the first and second respectively.

A parallel to the present conception of the fiery river(s) going through all the heavens and eventually falling down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna is found in *Mass. Geh. iv (BH. i. 149)*: "the fiery river goes down upon them (the wicked in Gehenna) and it runs from one end of the universe to the other". Similarly in the fragment, translated by Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, pp. 599-605, called *Description of Hell*: "the river *Di-nur* floweth from beneath the Throne of Glory and falleth over the heads of the sinners". Cf. *2 En. x. 2*: "in Gehenna there is a fiery river coming forth and it floweth from one end of the world to the other". In *TB. Chag. 13 b*, the fiery river from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* is said to "fall down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna" with reference to Jer. xxiii. 19, the scriptural passage adduced also by our verse. Cf. further *Apoc. Petri*, 8, *Apoc. Pauli*, 57. *Hek. R. xiii (Rigyon* surrounds His Throne. . . and covers all the chambers of the Hall of '*Araboth Raqia'* with fire-smoke).

In the vss. 4 and 5 of the present chapter we meet with a conception of fiery rivers that is brought about through an amalgamation of various views concerning the *Nehar di-Nur*.

(1) Founding upon Dan. vii. 10 the *Nehar di-Nur* became a constituent part of the picture of the splendours by the Throne. Flowing from underneath the Throne its origin was explained from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth*, heavily burdened by the weight of the Throne. In this aspect it serves no definite purpose other than to add to the glory of 'the Holy One, blessed be He, who sitteth on the Throne of Glory'.

(2) Brought into connection with the 'thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand' angels ministering before the Throne acc. to the same passage, Dan. vii. 10, from which the conception of the *Nehar di-Nur* was deduced—especially in their function of performers of the *Qēdushsha* or 'the Song' the fiery river became the bath of purification, by which the song-uttering angels were thought to prepare themselves for the saying of the Thrice Holy: see ch. xxxvi.

(3) Once connected with the ministering angels even other functions than the last named were assigned to the *Nehar di-Nur*. In the fiery river the angels were "renewed every morning" (in accordance with Lam. iii. 23). To the tradition holding the view that the song-uttering angels live only so long as to perform the *Qēdushsha* and then perish, the fiery river was the substance from which they were formed and whither they were sent back again: *TB. Chag. 14 a*, *Gen. R. lxxviii*, *Lam. R. iii. 21*. From this conception there is only a short step to that of the fiery river as the place of punishment for those of the ministering angels who uttered the Song untimely or improperly: ch. xlvii. 2.

(4) Lastly the *Nehar di-Nur*, as derived from Dan. vii. 10, is brought to bear upon the "judgement and the books" mentioned *ib.* Already serving the purpose of sanctification, purification and punishment of the ministering angels, it was easily made an integral part of the Divine Judgement. On one hand it served to purify man in general from sin after death (on the third day of judgement: cf. the purification with lashes of fire, ch. xxviii. 10, *Chibbut ha-qQeber*, *BH. i. 151*),

CHAPTER XXXIV

The different concentric circles round the Chayyoth, consisting of fire, water, hailstones etc. and of the angels uttering the Qëdushsha responsorium

R. Ishmael said: Metatron; the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) The hoofs of the *Chayyoth* are surrounded by seven clouds of

the means of purification and preparation of the Intermediate (the 'benoniyyim', cf. ch. xlv. 5), on the other hand it became the means of punishment of the wicked (in Gehenna), a conception which is attestedly old and related to that of the punishment of the wicked in a sea of fire etc. Cf. Rev. xix. 20, compared with 2 *En.* x. 2, CHARLES's notes on both passages, and Boeklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, pp. 119 seqq.

In the present vss. it is primarily the conceptions indicated in the points (1) and (4) that have been foisted together. As the place of the wicked was conceived of as Gehenna, Gehenna being situated below the heavens, it was necessary, in order to reconcile the different views (*Nehar di-Nur* in '*Araboth* and as means of punishment) to present the *Nehar di-Nur* or the fiery rivers as flowing from the Throne of Glory in the '*Araboth* through the heavens down to Gehenna. In *Ma'yan Chokma* (Rev. *Mosis*), *BH.* i. 58-64, the points (3) and (4) are combined: "after having undergone the judgement the ministering angels bathe in the fiery river and are renewed. And then the fiery river . . . falls down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): 'Behold a whirlwind of the Lord . . . it shall burst upon the head of the wicked'". Cf. vs. 5 above.

Ch. xxxiv. This chapter, in common with the latter part of the foregoing chapter, treats of the glories of heaven with emphasis laid on the celestio-physical parts of these. The centre is the Throne of Glory, the feet of the *Chayyoth* carrying the Throne, and out from this centre the heavenly splendours are represented as evolving in concentric circles. This tendency towards a view arranging the heavenly objects concentrically round the Throne of Glory is noticeable in a number of earlier and later cabbalistic writings, and is, moreover, extended to the cosmological theories of the structure of heavens and earths and their foundations. Cf. especially *Midrash Kōnēn*.

A parallel to the present chapter is ch. xxxvii. For parallels in other writings reference can be made to *Midrash Kōnēn*, *BH.* ii. 33, *Seder Rabba di Bereshit Rabba* (in Werthheimer's *Batte Midrashot*) and *Helak Merkaba*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 126 a.

In *Midrash Kōnēn*, *ib.*, where the 'concentricism' is already extended so as to include the whole cosmos—the lowest of the seven earths, the '*Eres ha-tTachtona*', and the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth* with the Throne of Glory, being on the same circle—the passage runs: "the outside of the '*Eres ha-tTachtona* is surrounded by fire and water, the water by earthquake and trembling, these by lightning and thunder, the lightning and thunder by sparks and commotion, the sparks and commotion by the likeness of the *Chayyoth* (Ezek. i. 5), the likeness of the *Chayyoth* by '*Rāsō wā-Shōb*' (Ezek. i. 14), the '*Rāsō wā-Shōb* by (those who utter) the Voice of Speech (Ezek. i. 24) . . . (these by) the still small Voice (1 Kings xix. 12) . . . (this by) those who utter the '*Holy*', . . . (these by) those who utter the '*Blessed* be the Glory of H from His place' . . . (these by) those who say 'Blessed be the Glory of H for ever and ever' . . ." *Seder R. di Bereshith R.*, repeating this, adds (after "those who utter the Holy"): "and behind all these are the Holy *Chayyoth*, and the '*Ophanim* and

burning coals. The clouds of burning coals are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of flame(s). The seven walls of flame(s) are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of hailstones (stones of 'El-gabish, Ezek. xiii. 11, 13, xxviii. 22). The hailstones are surrounded on the outside by ¹stones of hail (stone of *Bārād*). The stones of hail are surrounded on the outside by stones of "the wings of the tempest". The stones of "the wings of the tempest" are surrounded on the outside by ¹flames of fire. The flames of fire are surrounded by the chambers of the whirlwind. The chambers of the whirlwind are surrounded on the outside by ²the fire and the water².

(2) Round about ²the fire and the water² are those who utter the

1-1 E om.

2-2 E: 'walls of fire and water'

the Throne of Glory (cf. here ch. xxxiii. 3 and beginning of this chapter) and the feet of *Shekina* are resting upon their heads... and thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand ministering angels are standing round the feet of *Shekina* (cf. 'thousand camps of fire etc.', vs. 2 here)".

Helak Merkaba, referred to above, has the following representation: "Behind the Throne is the Wind, that surrounds the Throne, and Light surrounds the Wind, and splendour surrounds the light, fire surrounds the splendour etc.... and the colour of *chashmal* (Ezek. i. 4) surrounds the flames, and clouds surround the *chashmal* etc."

are surrounded on the outside by, *lit.* 'in front of' or 'before... are placed in a circle, are surrounded'. hailstones—stones of hail—stones of the wings of the tempest. These are used as mystical terms, and it is difficult to determine to what extent the writer when using them has a definite or clearly conceived idea in his mind as to what they represent. The 'el-gabish' seems, like 'chashmal', to have been a difficult and hence mysterious word which, especially as it occurs only in Ezekiel, was thought to have a deeper mystical connotation. It is then natural that it came to be regarded as denoting a celestial substance or object. 'Wings of the tempest' as a technical term occurs also e.g. in ch. xviii. 25. In *Midrash Kōnēn*, beginning of the *Ma'ase Bereshith*, the "wings of the tempest" appears as a definite part of the cosmological structure (after 'the mountains' and 'the wind' and next to 'Ereṣ ha-tTachtona'). As an illustration of the use of expressions like those of the present chapter in a mystical-technical sense, attention may be drawn to the passage preceding the one just referred to, *Midrash Kōnēn* (*BH.* ii. 32 seqq.): in a long enumeration of the foundations of the universe (the one resting upon or in the other) we meet with the statement: "the 'Ereṣ ha-tTachtona is stretched out upon (over) the waters, the waters upon pillars of *chashmal*, the pillars of *chashmal* rest upon mountains of *hailstones*, the mountains of *hailstones* upon the mountains of *hail*, the mountain of *hail* upon the treasures of snow etc." See also ch. xix. 3, 4.

For the walls of flames, walls of fire, flames of fire etc. (fire being the celestial substance, κατ' ἐξοχήν), cf. *Mass. Helk.* iv, according to which four walls surround the splendours in 'Araboth Raqia', "one of lappid (firebrands), another of flames, the third of burning fire, the fourth of lightnings". And *ib.* "the seven Halls (of 'Araboth) are all of them full of coal, firebrands, sparks, lightnings, pillars of coal, pillars of burning fire, pillars of lightnings, pillars of fires, pillars of flames".

fire and water. Cf. ch. xlii. 7. The counterbalance of the two polar opposites of fire and water is a well-established part of the cosmological speculations as well as of those of the mysteries of the heavens.

(2) Round about... are those who utter the "Holy"... those who utter the

"*Holy*". Round about those who utter the "*Holy*" are those who utter the "*Blessed*". Round about those who utter the "*Blessed*" are the bright clouds. The bright clouds are surrounded on the outside by coals of burning juniper; and on the outside surrounding the coals of burning juniper there are thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). And between every several camp and every several host there is a cloud, so that they may not be burnt by the fire.

CHAPTER XXXV

The camps of angels in 'Araboth Raqia': angels performing the Qēdushsha

¹ R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) 506² thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One, blessed be He, in the height of '*Araboth Raqia'*. And each camp is (composed of) 496 thousand angels.

¹ E puts as heading: 'the Order of the Camps' ² E: 496

"*Blessed*," i.e. the angels whose function is the performance of the responses of the *Qēdushsha*. This in the present context forms the transition to the section, beginning with the following chapter, a section which has the performance of the *Qēdushsha* in the heavens as main theme. Cf. Introduction, section 17.

thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). Referring to the angels arranged in camps (ch. xxxv. 1), hosts and armies. Cf. ch. xix. 6. The angels are made of fire, cf. note on ch. xxii. 4.

between every several camp... there is a cloud lest they be burnt by fire. For 'clouds' as protecting the angels cf. *Mass. Hek.* iii: "and clouds (are set) to protect the ministering angels from the splendour of the Throne of Glory".

Section 5. *The Celestial Qēdushsha.*

(Chh. xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xl.)

Ch. xxxv. With this chapter begins a new section centering round the conception of the heavenly *Qēdushsha*, the counterpart of the *Qēdushsha* on earth. Vss. 1-4 form an introduction, treating of the numerous camps in which the song-uttering angels are arranged. The different fragments all begin with an explicit reference to the performance of the '(Thrice) Holy' ("When the time for the saying of the 'Holy' draws nigh" or "when the ministering angels utter the Song") and are contained in chh. xxxv. 5, 6, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xl.

On the conception of the celestial *Qēdushsha* see Introduction, section 17.

(1) The number of camps: 506 thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One... each camp... 496 thousand angels. For parallels cf. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 21, and *Hilkoth ha-mMal'akim* (*Add.* 27199), fol. 125 a.

The passage of *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, placing the camps in *Shehaqim* (the third heaven) instead of, as here, in the '*Araboth* (the highest of the heavens)—by reason of the

(2) And every single angel, the height of his stature is as the great sea; and the appearance of their countenance as the appearance of the lightning, and their eyes as lamps of fire, and their arms and their feet like in colour to polished brass³ and the roaring voice of their words like the voice of a multitude.

(3) And they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows³. And the princes of the army are standing at the head of each row.

3-3 E om.

assigning of the celestial Sanctuary to the *Shechaqim*—runs: “In *Shechaqim* 1018 camps are standing before the *Shekina* in the Sanctuary which is the *Shechaqim*, saying before Him the ‘Holy’ every day, and each camp is (composed of) 1008 myriads of ministering angels. For ‘*Shechaqim*’ is by *Gematria* 1018. . . From the morning until the evening they say before Him: ‘Holy, Holy, Holy’, and from the evening until the morning they say ‘Blessed be the glory of H from His place’”.

Hilkoth Mal'akim, *ib.*, presents both conceptions, that of the present chapter and that of *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, in a developed form: “(Of) the angels 906,000 myriads (the number 906 is developed from ‘506’ of vs. 1 here through the addition of a ‘ת’ to the numerical letters: ‘תתקן’ instead of ‘תקן’) are standing to the right of the Throne and as many are standing to the left of the Throne, together with a troop without number and a host without reckoning. They teach song(s) and hymn(s). And in *Shechaqim* there are 1018 camps of angels (cf. the passage in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* above) who say ‘Holy’ and ‘Blessed’ from morning until evening. Before Him there are 496,000 angels who utter the ‘Holy’ by day and the ‘Blessed’ by night. And all the angels and all the camps bathe in fiery rivers seven times and restore themselves by fire 365 times (cf. ch. xxxvi. 2).”

Vss. 1 and 4 seem to indicate that the ‘camps’ here represent all the ministering angels. But the emphasis is clearly on the song-uttering angels and in the two parallel passages just referred to as well as in ch. xl. 3 the ‘camps’ refer only to the angels as performing the *Qēdushsha*. There was, moreover, a definite tradition current, to the effect that the number of ministering angels in general was countless, infinite (basing upon Job xxv. 3: “Is there any number of his armies?”). Cf. *Hilkoth Mal'akim* above (“a troop without number etc.”) and esp. *TB. Chag.* 13 b, where it is said expressly, that the passage Dan. vii. 10, which vs. 4 here uses as scriptural support, is to be interpreted as referring to the number of one troop only, “for the troops are without reckoning”. The ‘camps’, then, are understood as the armies of angels which have the performance of the *Qēdushsha* for their special object. Apart from this, of course, the view obtains that all the higher (and lower) classes of angels utter the ‘Thrice Holy’ or the ‘Blessed’. Cf. chh. xx. 2, xxv. 5, xxvi. 8.

The numbers ‘506’ and ‘496’ are arrived at by means of *gematrical* calculations, as it is expressly stated to be the case with the number ‘1018’ of the camps of *Shechaqim* in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, referred to above. (506 = kingdoms, 496 = kingdom. See Introduction, section 17 E.)

(2) From ‘the appearance of their countenance’ the description of the angels in this verse is in the literal terms of Dan. x. 6. The speculations concerning the song-uttering angels and the judgement are to a large extent drawn from interpretations of different passages of Daniel. Cf. vs. 4.

(3) they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows. Cf. ch. xxxvi. 2. The four rows here represent the same idea as ‘the four camps of *Shekina*’, chh. xviii. 4, xxxvii. 1 (see note on ch. xviii. 4) and as “the four camps of angels” glorifying the Most High, *P. R. 'El.* iv. the princes of the army at the head of the rows (the meaning is probably “one prince at the head of each row”) are,

(4) And some of them utter the “*Holy*” and others utter the “*Blessed*”, some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): “Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened”.

(5) And in the hour, when the time draws nigh for to say the “*Holy*”, (then) first there goes forth a whirlwind from before the Holy One, blessed be He, and bursts upon the camp of *Shekina* and there arises a great commotion among them, as it is written (Jer. xxx. 23): “Behold, the whirlwind of the Lord goeth forth with fury, a continuing commotion”.

(6) At that moment ⁴thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks, thousand thousands of them into firebrands, thousand thousands into flashes, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into males, thousand thousands into females, thousand thousands into

4-4 *E* corr. from ‘at that moment, etc.’ to ‘until they take upon themselves, etc.’

consequently, a parallel representation to that of ‘the four great princes...over the four camps of *Shekina*’, ch. xviii. 4, and identical with the “four angels at the head of the four camps of angels etc.”, *P. R. 'El, ib.*, whose names are MIKAEL, URIEL, GABRIEL and RAPHAEL. On these grounds it is possible to point to a connection between the tradition preserved in the present chapter and 1 *En*. The four ‘Presences’ of 1 *En*. xl, uttering praises before ‘the Lord of Glory’, MIKAEL, RAPHAEL, GABRIEL and PHANUEL, are there introduced in the close company of “the thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand etc.”, xl. 1, and of “those who stand before Thy glory and bless, praise and extol, saying, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy’, and, ‘Blessed be Thou and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever’”, ch. xxxix. 12 f. Cf. *ib.* ch. ix. 1 and lxxi and 2 *En*. xviii. 9 (“the Grigori are standing in four orders, while singing [the Praise of the Holy One] with one voice”). Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: “four משריין”. (*Vide* Introduction, section 17 A.)

(4) Some of them utter the “*Holy*” etc. some of them run as messengers etc. Cf. note above on vs. 1. Thousand thousands ministered unto him etc. Dan. vii. 10. This verse seems to have been used as an *epitome* of mystical *gnoseis*: it was the starting-point for the computation of the number of the angels, was used as support for the conception of the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river(s), the ministration of the *Qēdushsha* by hosts of angels, the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Judgement and the Book(s) of judgement.

Some say the ‘*Holy*’, some the ‘*Blessed*’, i.e. the *Qēdushsha*, consisting of the Thrice Holy and the response ‘*Blessed*’, of which latter there are at least two forms within the present book: (1) ‘*Blessed be the glory of H' from His place* (ch. i. 13), and (2) ‘*Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever*’ (ch. xxxix. 2). The *Qēdushsha* responsorium, as performed by the angels, is attested in 1 *En*. xxxix. 12 f., referred to above note on vs. 3. (Notice the form of the ‘*Blessed*’ there.)

(5) when the time draws nigh for the recital of the Holy...there goes forth a whirlwind. The moment before the *Qēdushsha* was one of commotion and shudder through all the heavens, of a ‘momentous’ significance. Cf. chh. xviii. 7, xix. 6, xxxviii. 1.

(6) thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks...flames...males...females...light etc. The angels are thus represented as changeable

winds, thousand thousands into burning fires, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into sparks, thousand thousands into chashmals of light⁴; until they take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator ⁵of them all⁵ with fear, dread, awe and trembling, with commotion, anguish, terror and trepidation. Then they are changed again into their former shape to have the fear of their King before them alway, as they have set their hearts on saying ⁵the Song⁵ continually, as it is written (Is. vi. 3): "And one cried unto another and said (Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.)".

4-4 *E* corr. (mistaking the abbreviation 'י'דננ'—thousand thousands o them are made into—for: saying Amen) 5-5 ins. with *E*. *A*: lacuna

into various forms from their original state of angels with bodily form. This is stated *Gen. R.* xxi. 13, with reference to Ps. civ. 4: "'(who maketh his angels spirits), his ministers a flaming fire', which changes, for they change, appearing at one time as males, at another as females, now as winds (or, spirits), now as angels". This dictum (attributed to Rab?) is quoted and commented upon by Maimonides in his *More Nēbukim*, vol. 1, ch. xlix. The expression 'are made into males...made into females' is somewhat suspect in its present connection, where the changing of the angels into all sorts of fiery, lifeless substances, is apparently conceived of as a punishment ad premonitum, till they acquiesce in performing their duty, the performance of the *Qēdushsha*.

until they take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator. By the recitation of the *Qēdushsha*, the angels take upon themselves the yoke of heaven. In the *Qēdushsha* they recognize the Holy One, blessed be He, as the king of the heavens—cf. the response in the *Qēdushsha* of the *Liturgy*: "H' shall reign for ever etc." Ps. cxlvi. 10. So the Israelites every day, when they recite the 'Shema' take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, *M. Ber.* ii. 2, and when praying in general, *TB. Ber.* 10 b. The *Qēdushsha* is in itself the religious duty of the song-uttering angels. In the performance of the *Qēdushsha* they put themselves as a harmonious unity in the heavenly kingdom, hence they are changed again into their former shape, described in vs. 2 as individual, manifested angelic beings, in which existence they remain only as long as they continue in the performance of the duty that is their only *raison d'être*. Cf. chh. xl. 3, xlvii. 1 f.

On the meaning of the expression 'take upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven' see article "Kingdom of heaven" in *JE* and Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 84.

CHAPTER XXXVI

*The angels bathe in the fiery river
before reciting the 'Song'*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time when the ministering angels desire to say (the) Song, (then) *Nehar di-Nur* (the fiery stream) ¹rises with many "thousand thousands and myriads of myriads" (of angels) of power and strength of fire¹ and it runs and passes under the Throne of Glory, between the camps² of the ministering angels and the troops of *'Araboth*.

(2) And all the ministering angels first go down into *Nehar di-Nur*, and they dip themselves in the fire³ and dip their tongue and their mouth seven times; and after that they go up and put on the garment of *'Machage Samal'* and cover themselves with cloaks of *chashmal* and stand in four rows over against the Throne of Glory, in all the heavens.

1-1 in acc. with the reading of E. 'bekamma' A: 'bamma' 2 so E. A: 'camp'
3 E ins.: 'in Nehar di-Nur'

Ch. xxxvi. The ministering angels, before singing the 'Song', i.e. in this connection presumably the *Qêdushsha*, purify their bodies, in particular their tongue and mouth, in the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river, see note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

(1) *Nehar di-Nur* rises etc. The beginning of the verse is a covert interpretation of Dan. vii. 10. The fiery river is represented as bringing with it the "thousand thousands etc." of Dan. vii. 10, all of which are fire "in strength and might". of power and strength of fire. The present writer is unable to translate this into intelligible English: it means that the fiery substance of the angels is on this occasion intensely radiant and sparkling.

The camps probably stand for the song-uttering angels, the troops for the rest: 'the host without reckoning'. Cf. 1 *En.* xl. 1 and note, ch. xxxv. 1.

(2) the angels... go down into *Nehar di-Nur*. Cf. *May'an Chokma*, BH. i. 58-64: "in the fiery river the ministering angels bathe themselves and are renewed every morning". their tongue... seven times, the special organ for the recital of the Thrice Holy needs special purification. Cf. the passage from *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, quoted above, note on ch. xxxv. 1. *Machage Samal*. No reasonable translation of this term seems possible. See Jellinek, *E*, ad loc. *chashmal*. Derived from Ezek. i. 4. four rows. Cf. ch. xxxv. 3.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The four camps of Shekina and their surroundings

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) In the seven Halls there are standing four chariots of Shekina, and before each one are standing the four camps of Shekina. Between each camp a river of fire is continually flowing.

(2) Between each river there are bright clouds [surrounding them], and between each cloud there are put up pillars of brimstone. Between one pillar and another there are standing flaming wheels, surrounding them. And between one wheel and another there are flames of fire ¹round about¹. Between one flame and another there are treasuries of lightnings; behind the treasuries of lightnings are the wings of ²the stormwind². ³Behind the wings of the storm-wind are³ the chambers of the tempest; ⁴behind the chambers of the tempest there are⁴ winds, voices, thunders, sparks ⁵[upon] sparks and earthquakes [upon] earthquakes⁵.

1-1 E: 'riding' 2-2, 3-3 E om. 4-4 E om. 5-5 E: 'and behind the sparks there are earthquakes'

Ch. xxxvii. This chapter belongs to the same category as ch. xxxiv. Cf. notes, *ib.* The reason why it was placed in its present context is probably the mention in vs. 1 of 'the four camps of Shekina' since the 'camps' are understood of the song-uttering angels.

(1) seven Halls, in 'Araboth, the highest of the heavens. Cf. note on ch. xviii. 3. The camps are conceived of as filling all the Halls, radiating from the centre of the Throne of Glory. The chariots of Shekina are here four, corresponding to the *four Chayyoth* of the Divine Chariot, an amplification of the One Chariot similar to that of one fiery river into four or seven. four camps of Shekina. See note on chh. xviii. 4, xxxv. 3. E misreads 'seven', probably by false analogy to the seven Halls.

(2) The text has probably suffered a confusion. Instead of 'between...and' read throughout 'behind' as in the latter part of the verse and as in the parallels of *Midrash Kōnēn* and *Seder Rabba di Bereshith Rabba* referred to note on ch. xxxiv, Introduction. The reading 'between...and' was presumably caused by the use of this expression with reference to the rivers as flowing between the camps of ministering angels. Cf. how in ch. xxxiii it is said about the fiery rivers: "each river turns round in a bow in...'*Araboth Raqia'*". The original intent of the chapter was to picture the concentric circles of flames, treasuries of lightnings, chambers of the tempest etc. surrounding the Throne of Glory and the camps. The confusion is, even after the suggested emendation, too great as to allow any clear reconstruction of the intended picture.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The fear that befalls all the heavens at the sound of the 'Holy,' esp. the heavenly bodies. These appeased by the Prince of the World

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time, when the ministering angels utter (the Thrice) *Holy*, then all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets do tremble, and ¹the gates of the Halls of '*Araboth Raqia'*'¹ are shaken and the foundations of *Shechaqim* and the Universe (*Tebel*) are moved, and the orders² of *Ma'on* and the chambers³ of *Makon* quiver, and all the orders⁴ of *Raqia'* and the constellations and the planets are dismayed, and the globes of the sun and the moon haste away and flee out of their courses⁵ and run ⁶ 12,000 parasangs and seek to throw themselves down from heaven, (2) by reason of the roaring voice of their chant, and the noise of their praise and the sparks and lightnings that go forth from their faces; as it is written (Ps. lxxvii. 18): "The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven (the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook)".

1-1 E: 'the gates of the Halls and 'Araboth Raqia'' 2 E: 'chambers' 3 E: 'Halls' 4 E: 'secrets' 5 so E. A corr. 6 E ins.: 'back(ward)'

Ch. xxxviii. The importance of the Celestial *Qēdushsha* is illustrated by a description of the commotion that seizes the whole Universe at the time appointed for its recital by the ministering angels.

(1) all the pillars of the heavens... tremble etc. This description is supplemented by the description of the fear of all the angelic hosts and different classes of angels at the time of the 'Song' in ch. xix. 6. A parallel in similar terms as those of the present verse and of ch. xix. 6 and of the same import is found in *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 59 seqq.: "all the heavenly hosts shake and tremble, and the Holy *Chayyoth* are struck dumb, the Holy *Seraphim* roar like lions... the *Galgallim* of the Throne... are moved, the thresholds of brilliancy quake and all the heavens are seized with terror". A similar expression in *Assumption of Moses*, x. 5: "and the circuit of the stars shall be disordered". Of the various heavens are here named: '*Araboth*, the 7th, *Shechaqim*, the 3rd, *Ma'on*, *Makon*, *Raqia'*, the 5th, 6th, 2nd resp. foundations of *Shechaqim* and... (*Tebel*), may be a hint of the connection of each of the seven earths with the corresponding heaven (elaborated in *Midrash Kōnēn* and often repeated in cosmological *Qabbala*), only that usually *Shechaqim* is represented as connected with the earth called '*Arqa*, whereas the earth called *Tebel* is combined with the *Raqia'*-heaven.

the orders of *Raqia'* and the constellations and planets... and... the sun and the moon. The heavenly bodies are situated in the *Raqia'*, the second heaven (cf. *Chag.* 12 b).

(3) Until the prince of the world calls them, saying: "Be ye quiet in your place! Fear not because of the ministering angels who sing the Song before the Holy One, blessed be He". As it is written (Job xxxviii. 7): "When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy".

CHAPTER XXXIX

The explicit names fly off from the Throne and all the various angelic hosts prostrate themselves before it at the time of the Qēdushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the ministering angels utter the "Holy" then all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of

(3) until the Prince of the World calls them. The Prince of the World is here the ruler or prince of the heavenly bodies, the constellations, planets, sun and moon. Ch. xxx. 2, he is the leader of the 72 princes of kingdoms and pleads the cause of the world (i.e. all the inhabitants of the world) before the Most High when seated on the judgement-throne. These two functions, leader of the planets-constellations and of the princes of kingdoms are naturally combined, when, according to the development of the conception of the princes of kingdoms, they are represented as the rulers of the planets and constellations (so even in this book, ch. xvii. 8, in its present redaction).

The Prince of the World has been identified with Metatron by one party of cabalistic traditionists. Within the present book functions are attributed to Metatron that are essential to the Prince of the World. Metatron is indicated as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms, chh. x. 3, xlvi c 9 *et al.*, and he has authority over the planets (and constellations) acc. to ch. xlvi. 2, and over the princes of kingdoms and the rulers of the world, ch. xiv. 1, 3.

The Prince of the World was present at the Creation and in the days of Creation he uttered the words of Ps. civ. 31 ("The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works"). *TB. Chullin*, 60 a, hence to him refers the passage, Ps. xxxvii. 25, "I have been young and now am old": *TB. Yebam*. 13 a. Cf. further, note on ch. iii. 2.

Ch. xxxix. This chapter continues the picture of the preceding chapter (the commotion of all the heavens with the inclusion of the constellations and the planets at the sound of the Thrice Holy): the Explicit Names on the very Throne of Glory and the highest classes of angels are all moved into expressions of glorification of the Most High at the time of the *Qēdushsha*.

(1) all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory. The explicit names are represented as a plurality; hence we are here on the ground of mystical speculations concerning the different Divine Names consisting of various permutations of the *Tetragrammaton* and of the other names of God and expressions representing the Godhead occurring in the O.T. For the various meanings attached to the term '*Shem Mēphorash*' see *JE* (e.g. vol. i. 622); Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*, intr.; Bousset, *Rf.* pp. 344 *et al.* The

Glory fly off like eagles, with sixteen wings. And they surround and compass the Holy One, blessed be He, on the four sides of the place of His Shekina¹.

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants, and the mighty 'Ophannim, and the *Kerubim* of the Shekina, and the Holy *Chayyoth*, and the *Seraphim*, and the 'Er'ellim, and the *Taphsarim*²

1 so E. A: '(the place of the) Glory of His Shekina' 2 A ins.: 'the troops of flame'

meaning that suggests itself in the present connection is that of "names that are explicit, have an individual, fixed form or appearance". Cf. ch. xlviii v 1, acc. to the reading of FGH: "The Holy One, blessed be He, has 70 names that are explicit, the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable". The Explicit Names are here distinguished as being graven on the Throne of Glory (with a flaming style; cf. chh. xiii. 1, xxix. 1, xli. 4). Cf. the enumeration of the different categories of Names in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 26. The Explicit Names are there in a separate class from those on the Throne, if the reading is correct: "The Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to Moses all the Names: both the Explicit Names, the Names that are graven on the royal crown on his head, the names that are graven on the Throne of Glory, the names that are graven on the ring of his hand, the names that are standing as pillars of fire round his chariots, the names that surround the Shekina like eagles of the Merkaba, and the names by which heaven and earth are sealed. . .". The intent of the passage is probably to denote all these names as Explicit Names.

fly off like eagles. Cf. above, 'the names that surround the Shekina like eagles'. For the names flying off, cf. *TB.* 'Ab. Zar. 18 a (the letters fly off from a scroll of the Tora, when burning), *Pesachim*, 87 b (when the tables of the testimony were broken by Moses, acc. to Ex. xxxii. 19, the letters graven on them, flew off). *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 53: "The letter *Kaph* went down from its place on the Fearful Crown and stood before the Throne of Glory". Similarly, ch. xlviii v 1, the Names of the Holy One are represented as going forth 'from before the Throne of Glory'. The names are thus represented as self-existent and capable of taking on the form of living beings. The object of the names flying off as eagles (angels of the form of eagles) is their participation in the responses of the *Qēdushsha*. This is explicitly stated with regard to the letters (the letters and the Names being vastly interchangeable terms) in the quotation from "the book of Enoch" in *Mishkan ha-'Edu* by Moses de Leon (*BH.* ii. p. xxxi): "the letters in the four different quarters round the Throne (cf. here: on the four sides of the place of His Shekina (fly off. . . and when flying off say: 'Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever'").

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants etc. The Explicit Names surrounding the Holy One are accompanied by great armies of princes of fire and mighty regiments of troops (*gēdudim*) of fire, says *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 25. For the present enumeration of various angelic classes cf. chh. vi. 2, vii, xiv. 1. xix. 6. No doubt the present verse is to be regarded as presenting a tradition of the orders of the highest angel-classes. This is indicated by the mention of the four classes of 'Merkaba-angels' ('*Ophannim*, *Kerubim*, *Chayyoth* and *Seraphim*).

angels of the host. Cf. the expression 'prince of the host' applied to the princes of the seven heavens, ch. xvii. 2 f. In each heaven there is one 'host'. The term 'host' need not necessarily refer to the whole multitude of angels, it might also mean one special class of angels. 'The angels of the host' would then, here, mean 'the angels of the host of the highest of the heavens'. Cf. ch. xiv. 1.

the flaming Servants. This expression occurs also ch. vii. Cf. note, *ib.*

the mighty 'Ophannim and the Kerubim of the Shekina, the holy Chayyoth and the Seraphim. The mighty 'Ophannim or 'the 'Ophannim of Gebura': *Gebura*

and the troops ³of consuming fire³, and the fiery armies, and the flaming hosts, and the holy princes, adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty, wrapped in glory, girt with loftiness, ⁴fall upon their faces three times⁴, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XL

The ministering angels rewarded with crowns, when uttering the "Holy" in its right order, and punished by consuming fire if not. New ones created in the stead of the consumed angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the ministering angels say "Holy" before the Holy One,

3-3 emended. *AE* both omit 'fire'
times' *E*: 'fall upon their faces'

4-4 emended. *A*: 'fall upon three

also means the Divine Majesty. The 'Ophanim, Kerubim, Chayyoth and Seraphim are the four classes of Merkaba-angels, described in the angelological section, chh. xx-xxii, xxv, xxvi. Cf. also ch. vi. 2. The 'Galgallim' or 'Wheels of the Merkaba' are missing here.

'Er'ellim and Taphsarim occur also ch. xiv. 1; cf. note, *ib*.

the troops of consuming fire. The term used is '(Esh) 'Okela', used ch. xlii. 3 as a Divine Name. the fiery armies and the flaming hosts. The attributes probably only convey the fiery substance of the angels. Cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 25.

the holy princes. This might refer to the 'princes of Kingdoms', ch. xiv. 2 (mentioned after the 'Er'ellim and Taphsarim), ch. xvii. 8 ('crowned with royal crowns, clad in royal garments etc.'). cf. here: 'adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty', in the present connection of course referring to all the enumerated angels and princes), chh. xxix and xxx (identical with the Watchers and Holy Ones, cf. note on ch. xxix, intr.).

Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. This is then the form of the response to the 'Holy, Holy, Holy...' according to the present chapter. Ch. i. 13 has the regular response: 'Blessed be the glory of H' from His place'. The present response is a glorification of God as King, of the Kingdom of Heaven, a form implied by ch. xxxv. 6.

Ch. xl. The ministering angels receive crowns as reward when uttering the 'Thrice Holy' in the proper manner. Hereby the performance of the *Qëdushsha* is indicated as a meritorious act, an observance of a religious duty. As such it is already characterized, ch. xxxv. 6 (the angels when singing the 'Holy' take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven). It signifies the sustainment of the whole order of the heavens by the recognition of God's sovereignty (the whole earth is sustained by the *Qëdushsha*, *TB. Sofa*, 49 a). The reward of the ministering angels performing the *Qëdushsha* is hence exactly paralleled by the rewarding of the Israelites with crowns at the time when they said, "We will do and hear (Ex. xxiv. 7)", related in *TB. Shabb.* 88 a ("60 myriads of ministering angels put crowns on every single one of the Israelites etc.")—but for the acceptance of the

blessed be He, in the proper way, then the servants of His Throne, ¹the attendants of His Glory,¹ go forth with great mirth from under the Throne of Glory. (2) And ²they all carry in their hands, each one of them² thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand crowns of stars, similar in appearance to the planet Venus, and put them on the ministering angels and the great princes who utter the "Holy". Three crowns they put on each one of them: one crown because they say "Holy", another crown, because they say "Holy, Holy", and a third crown because they say "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts".

(3) And in the moment that they do not utter the "Holy" in the right order, a consuming fire goes forth from the little finger of the Holy One, blessed be He, and falls down in the midst of their ranks

1-1 E om.

2-2 so E. A: 'every two of them carry between them'

Tora implied in those words the whole world could not have subsisted. The importance of the *Qēdushsha* in the present section always refers to the Celestial *Qēdushsha*, at any rate in the first place. The importance of the earthly *Qēdushsha* is the subject of *Sota*, 49 a, and *Hek. R.* ix *et al.*; to the latter at times the greater importance is assigned (the angels must be silent while the Israelites say the 'Holy' on earth).

(1) the servants of His Throne. . . go forth. . . from under the Throne. The servants of His Throne are the angels entrusted with the care of the treasures of the crowns which are under the Throne of Glory and hence also over the other treasures that are conceived of as having their place under the Throne. From under the Throne was brought forth the fire of deafness for the *Chayyoth* acc. to ch. xv B, and go forth the 'horns' acc. to *Hek. R.* xii. In the secret chamber under the Throne God hid Moses away from the fury of the ministering angels acc. to *Ex. R.* xxiii.

(2) they all carry in their hands. . . crowns. . . and put them on the ministering angels. The crowns are made of stars, in appearance like unto the splendour of the planet Venus. The 'planet Venus', 'the shining star', is a frequent term of comparison, cf. ch. xxvi. 6 *et al.* one crown, because they say 'Holy' etc. One would have expected 'one crown for each "Holy"' or similar. The same division of the Thrice Holy is found in the *Siddur of R. 'Amram Ga'on, Morning Prayer*, p. 4 (ed. Warsch), closely connected with the present chapter by reason of its being attributed to R. Ishmael: "*R. Ishmael said*: There are three companies of ministering angels who say the 'Holy' every day. One company says 'Holy', the other says 'Holy, Holy', and the third company says 'Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts. The whole earth is full of His glory'". The same is repeated in a different version, *ib.*, *Evening Prayer*, fol. 18, and also, with slightly corrupt readings, in *Seder Rabba di Bereshith Rabba* (ed. Werthheimer, *Batte Midrashot*). *Vide* Introduction, section 17 D.

(2) And in the moment that they do not utter the Holy in the right order or in the right time a consuming fire. . . consumes them in one moment. The same punishment of the ministering angels that utter the song out of order is set forth in ch. xlvii. 2. The fire is here not the fiery river, the regular means of punishment, but a fire sent out for the purpose from the little finger of the Holy One. In ch. xlvii. 2 the two ideas of the fire from the Most High and the fiery river are combined: the immediate extinction of the angels is effected by the fire 'from their Creator', but their continued punishment takes place in the fiery river.

and is divided into 496³ thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering angels, and consumes them in one moment, as it is written (Ps. xcvi. 3): "A fire goeth before him and burneth up his adversaries round about".

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates others in their stead, new ones like them. And each one stands before His Throne of Glory, uttering the "Holy", as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness".

3 E: '796'

The idea of the punishment by extinction in fire of the angels who utter the 'Holy' in the wrong way is echoed in *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 123 a: "Every angel who begins earlier or later than his fellow-angels when singing the Song, is immediately burnt by *lashes of fire* through CHAYYIEL, the Prince who attends the *Chayyoth*" (cf. ch. xx. 2).

Rekanati quotes from *Sepher Hehaloth* (one of the names of the present book), cited *BH.* ii. p. xvii: "All the ministering angels... who are standing before Him... none of them begins (the Song) too early or too late: anyone who tarries with his voice after his neighbour as much as a hair's breadth is instantly pushed into fire and flames". The singing the 'Song' in the wrong order is acc. to both these passages understood of the time. Cf. ch. xlvii. 2.

is divided into 496 thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering angels etc. This is apparently a confusion of the two conceptions of the four camps of Shekina (consisting of song-uttering angels) and the 496 (or 506) thousand myriads of camps each composed of 496 thousand angels. It seems to imply that the whole multitude of camps of song-uttering angels are destroyed. They are treated as a whole, a unity. (Contrast the quoted passages, *Hilkoth Mal'akim* and *Rekanati*.)

a fire goeth before Him and burneth up his adversaries. The angels who do not utter the Song in the right way are identified with the 'adversaries of God' of Ps. xcvi. 3; this is altogether in accordance with the view of the performance of the *Qēdushsha* as an all-important religious duty attested in the present chapter. The neglect of or unwillingness to perform the *Qēdushsha* is an act of enmity against the Kingdom of the Most High. The punishment in fire here should be compared with the changing of the angels into all kinds of lifeless fiery substances until their acquiescence in the performance of their duty, depicted ch. xxxv. 5, 6.

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates... new ones. Hence, according to the view of the present chapter (and section) the angels who continue their existence as individual, corporeal beings as long as they rightly perform their duty: the uttering of the *Trisagion*, are consumed by fire only as punishment for their non-observance of this duty after which new ones are created by a word of God. This view is a harmonization of the different views concerning the origin and fate of the song-uttering angels recorded *TB. Chag.* 14 a, *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* iii. 21: (1) the angels are created out of the fiery river and thither they are sent back again after they have uttered a Song; (2) the angels are created from the 'dibbur (word)' of God.

Cf. ch. xxvii. 3 and note on ch. xlvii. 2 (the angels after being consumed in the fire, viz. as corporeal beings, subsist in soul and spirit).

They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness: *Lam. R.* iii. 23. This was the fundamental starting point and basis of the speculations on the creation and duration of the angels. It is used, *TB. Chag.* 14 a, as support of view (1) above, and the review of the various traditions in *Lam. R.*, *ib.*, is attached to this passage.

CHAPTER XLI

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the letters engraved on the Throne of Glory by which letters everything in heaven and earth has been created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Come and behold¹ the letters by which the heaven and the earth were created,

²the letters by which were created the mountains and hills,

the letters by which were created the seas and rivers,

the letters by which were created the trees and herbs²,

the letters by which were created the planets and the constellations,

²the letters by which were created² the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun, Orion, the Pleiades and all the different luminaries of *Raqia'*.

(2) ³ the letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*,

1 *E*: 'I will show thee' Cf. the opening words of the following chapters. 2-2 *E* om. 3 *E* ins.: 'the letters by which were created the ministering angels; the letters by which were created the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth*'

In ch. xlvi. 4 this passage is used with reference to the renewal of the planets (stars) in the time to come.

Ch. xli. This chapter marks the beginning of a new section distinguished from the rest of the book by the setting in which the revelations of the heavenly mysteries are here framed. Whereas according to the preceding chapters the various celestial facts are represented as orally transmitted to R. Ishmael by Metatron, the various wonders of heaven are acc. to this section actually shown to R. Ishmael.

The contents of the revelations thus presented in this section are greatly varied and can scarcely be comprised under one heading. Three main themes are, however, discernible. One is the physical-cosmological aspect of the heavenly mysteries; to this may be reckoned the letters engraved on the Throne of Glory (in the present chapter), the various polar opposites (ch. xlii)—in which the cosmological interest is apparent—the Curtain spread before the Holy One (ch. xlv), and the stars and planets (ch. xlvi).

The second theme is that of the conditions of the souls and spirits, comprising not only the spirits and souls of the departed (righteous, wicked and intermediate chh. xliii, xliv), but also those of the unborn, and, even more, those of the punished angels (chh. xliii, xlvi).

The third theme, connected with and partly interwoven in the others is of eschatological character: chh. xlv. 7-10, xlv. 5, xlviii A. Ch. xlviii A forms the conclusion of the section.

(1) This verse is an almost literal copy of ch. xiii. 1, on which see note, *ib*.

(2) by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*. The letters are thus prior even to the Throne of Glory, the vehicle of

the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds⁴,
 (3) the letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, know-
 ledge, prudence, meekness and righteousness by which the whole
 world is sustained.

(4) And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised
 me upon his wings and showed me ⁵those letters, all of them⁵, that
 are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory: and sparks
 go forth from them and cover all the chambers of 'Arabôth.

CHAPTER XLII

Instances of polar opposites kept in balance by several Divine Names and other similar wonders

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, ¹the Angel, the Prince of the Presence,¹
 said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee, where the waters are suspended
 in the highest, where fire is burning in the midst of hail, ²where
 lightnings lighten out of the midst of snowy mountains,² where
 thunders are roaring in the celestial heights, where a flame is burning

4 E: 'World' 5-5 so E. A corr. 'the 'Ophan of the letters, all of them'

Ch. xlii. 1-1 so E. A om. 2-2 E om.

God's manifestation in the heavens. The Throne of Glory (pre-existent before the
 creation of the world) *created*, cf. *Gen. R.* i. 5.

(3) the letters by which were created wisdom etc.—by which the whole
 world is sustained. By ten things the world was created (wisdom, knowledge, etc.),
TB. Chag. 12 a, 'Aboth R. Natan, xxvii; upon three things the world is based, *Pirque*
Ab. i; by "knowledge, wisdom, understanding and faculty of speech the whole
 world is sustained", *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 43. The conceptions of creative
 agencies and of sustaining ideal forces are here recognizable together with an initial
 tendency towards the speculations emerging in the ideas of the *Sephiroth*.

(4) graven with a flaming style etc. Said of the Divine Names, ch. xxxix. 1.
 The mystical letters are the constituents of the Divine Names. A reads: "showed
 me the *Ophan* (i.e. circle, circuit) of the letters". The expression "*Ophan* of
 the letters" occurs in *Berith Menucha*, 3 b (ed. Amsterdam, 1648).

Ch. xlii. (For this chapter cf. notes on ch. xlii and 1 *En.* lxix. 14-25.)

The central idea of the present chapter is the COUNTERBALANCE OF POLAR OPPO-
 SITES, effected by one of the Divine Names in each case. The instances refer to the
 physical aspect of the highest of the heavens, where R. Ishmael is represented as
 shown the various wonders by Metatron. They are, however, certainly of cosmo-
 logical significance, since the heavens, esp. the 'Araboth, are the realm of causes and
 the correspondence between the 'upper world' and the 'lower world' is a funda-
 mental presumption of the present book in general. Hence what R. Ishmael beholds
 in the 'Araboth is the fountain of cosmical realities, which although they are the
 basis of the terrestrial world, are hidden from the eyes of man on earth.

in the midst of the burning fire and where ³voices make themselves heard³ in the midst of thunder and earthquake.

(2) Then I went ⁴by his side⁴ and he took me by his hand and lifted me up on his wings and showed me all those things. I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia' by (force of) the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE (Jah, I am that I am), ⁵and their fruits going down from heaven and⁵ watering the face of the world, as it is written (Ps. civ. 13): "(He watereth the mountains from his chambers:) the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work".

(3) And I saw fire and snow and hailstone that were mingled together within each other and yet were undamaged, by (force of) the name 'ESH 'OKELA (consuming fire), as it is written (Deut. iv. 24): "For the Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire".

3-3 E: '(the) voice makes itself heard'

4-4 E om.

5-5 E om.

(2) I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia'. The waters suspended on high are in all probability the 'Upper Waters', divided from the 'Lower Waters' by the Divine command, Gen. i. 6, 7. The cosmological speculations concerning these form a prominent part of *Midrash Kōnēn* and the tractate called *Ma'asē Bereshith* (e.g. in *S. Raziēl* and *Seder Rabba di Bereshith*, 9 a). The polar opposition is here not apparent, but is implied in the relation of the 'suspended waters' to the lower waters. The upper waters are referred to in a similar form in *Test. Levi*, ii. (6), 7: "I saw there (in the first heaven) a great sea hanging".

The upper waters are also conceived of as *male*, the lower as *female* (an ancient idea of cosmology), a clear polar opposition. This is attested in 1 *En.* liv. 8: "(And all the waters shall be joined with the waters): that which is above the heavens is the *masculine*, and the water which is beneath the earth is the *feminine*"; and in *Gen. R.* xiii. 14, where the fructifying, engendering function of the upper waters is connected with their nature of 'zēkārīm, males' (with reference to Isa. xlv. 8). Of this idea the expression in the present verse, 'their fruits going down from heaven', is a trace.

by the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE. The expression 'bēshēm, in the name. . . ' is in this chapter to be understood literally, as referring to a Divine Name. The names are here all such as are derived from the O.T. YAH: Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16, Isa. xxvi. 4, Ps. lxxviii. 5. 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE: Ex. iii. 14. The names here in general represent the mediating, sustaining force, and this is probably conceived of as depending upon their character as expressing the creative and ever-sustaining activity of the Most High himself. Their function is hence to be understood in a similar way as that conveyed by the frequent expression "the Holy One created. . . and sealed with the Name. . .".

What significance is to be assigned to the YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE here is not evident. Perhaps simply the permanence, inalterability of the suspension of the waters. The important rôle played by the name 'EHYE 'asher 'EHYE in cabbalistic speculations is well known. It is invariably repeated in the different enumerations of the Divine Names set forth in *Shi'ur Qoma* and *Hek. Zot.* *Seder R. di-Bereshith* speaks of 'טבעת אהיה אישר אהיה'. In *Zohar* this name ('EHYE 'asher 'EHYE as distinguished from the 'EHYE alone) represents the Godhead as containing and contained in the first pair of *Sephiroth*, the Wisdom and Intelligence, which are of course polar opposites, distinguished as masculine and feminine respectively (*Zohar*, iii. 65 b).

(3) Fire and snow and hailstone. . . mingled together. . . by (force of) the name

(4) And I saw lightnings that were lightening out of ⁶mountains of snow⁶ and yet were not damaged (quenched), by (force of) the name *YAH* ⁷*ŠUR* '*OLAMIM* (Jah, the everlasting rock), as it is written (Is. xxvi. 4): "For in Jah, *YHWH*, the everlasting rock".

(5) And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of fiery flames and were not damaged (silenced), by (force of) the name ⁸*EL-SHADDAI RABBA* (the Great God Almighty) as it is written (Gen. xvii. 1): "I am God Almighty".

(6) And I beheld a flame (and) a glow (glowing flames) that were flaming and glowing in the midst of burning fire, and yet were not damaged (devoured), by (force of) the name⁸ *YAD* '*AL KES YAH* (the hand upon the Throne of the Lord) as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): "⁹And he said⁹: for the hand is upon the Throne of the Lord".

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water¹⁰ and they were not damaged (quenched) by (force of) the name '*OSE*

6-6 *E*: 'flames of fire' 7 *E* ins.: 'YHWH' 8-8 *E* om. from '*EL-SHADDAI RABBA*' vs. 5. to '*YAD* '*AL KES YAH*' vs. 6. 9-9 *E* om. 10 *E* adds: 'and rivers of water running in the midst of rivers of fire'

'*ESH* '*OKELA* (consuming fire). Here the name seems to be chosen simply with regard to the fire, which is represented as unquenched in spite of its surroundings of snow and ice. For the idea of fire and its opposites kept in balance see vs. 7. '*Esh* '*Okēla* as attribute of God, see *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 37. In fact '*ESH* '*OKELA*, in later *Qabbala*, very often follows immediately on '*EHYE* '*asher* '*EHYE* in enumerations of the Divine Names, a fact that drew the special attention of Reuchlin who comments upon it in his *De Verbo Mirifico*, chh. xvii, xviii.

(4) lightnings. . . out of mountains of snow. . . by (force of) the name *YAH* *ŠUR* '*OLAMIM*. This is only another instance of the contraries of fire—ice (snow, water). The connection between instance and name seems to be, that the word '*ŠUR*: Rock' suggests a relation to the 'mountains (of snow)'. Else this verse, Is. xxvi. 4, is the regular point of support for the statement: God created the worlds by the letters *Yod He* (of *Yah*). In that case the '*Šur*' is interpreted from the root '*ŠUR*': to form, to create. Cf. note on ch. xiii. 1.

(5) thunders and voices. . . roaring in the midst of flames of fire. . . by force of the name '*EL SHADDAI RABBA*. The voice of God was thought to go forth in the midst of fire. The connection of the Voice with the name '*EL SHADDAI* is established by Ezek. x. 5: "as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh". Cf. 2 *En.* x. 2.

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water. . . Cf. 2 *En.* xxix. 2: "And fire is in the water and water in the fire and neither is the one quenched nor the other dried up". The juxtaposition of fire and water is a frequent cosmological simile. *TB. Pes.* 3 a, *Yer. Rosh. ha-shShana*, 58 a, *Cant. R.* to iii. 11: "the sky is made of water, the stars of fire and yet they do not damage each other". *Gen. R.* iv. 9: "The Holy One, blessed be He, took fire and water, mixed them together and out of them the heavens were created". *Gen. R.* x. 3: "The Holy One, blessed be He, took fire and snow, mixed them and so out of them the universe was created". In the last two passages the cosmology is apparent.

Emphasis is laid on the mediating function of the Divine Name, in this verse most significantly '*OSE SHALOM*, i.e. 'maker of peace'. 'Peace' is the technical term for the mediation, the synthetical agency or Divine activity. Cf. the 'angels

SHALOM (Maker of Peace) ¹¹ ¹²as it is written (Job xxv. 2): "He maketh peace in his high places¹²". For he makes peace between the fire and the water, ¹³between the hail and the fire,¹³ between the wind and the cloud, between the earthquake and the sparks.

CHAPTER XLIII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the unborn spirits and of the spirits of the righteous dead

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee¹ where are¹ the spirits of the righteous that have been created and have returned, and the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created.

11 *E* adds: 'BIMĒRŌMĀW (in his high places)'

12-12 *E* om.

13-13 *E*

om.

Ch. xliii. 1-1 *E* om.

of peace', ch. xxxiii. 1. *Midrash 'Aseret Ma'amaroth*, BH. i. 66: "the angels are made of fire and water, and there is *peace* between: neither does the water extinguish the fire nor the fire lick up the water". As denoting mediation and synthesis the '*OSE SHALOM*, 'maker of peace', was understood and used in *Qabbala*. Cf. e.g. the quotation from the '*Pel'va*', YR. i. 7 b: "Why is it called heaven (*Shamayim*)? Because water (*shemmayim*) is to the right and fire to the left and it is in the middle and receives from both, and to this is to be referred the '*OSE SHALOM* and the (saying) 'he mixed fire and water and made out of them the heavens', and it is called '*truth*' (the mediating agency, ch. xxxi. 1) and '*mercy*' and receives from (i.e. stands in the middle between) the Mercy and the Fear (= the second pair of opposites in the *Sephirothic* system, also called '*Mercy and Justice*', cf. ch. xxxi. 1)".

for he makes peace between the fire and the water, between the ice and the fire, between the wind and the cloud. This, referring to God, denotes that the names set forth in the present chapter represent God himself in his different aspects as sustainer and mediator between the dual forces, the *syzygies*. The Names are part of God's being and essence.

Ch. xliii. This chapter enters upon the subject of the condition of the 'spirits', one of the traditional subjects of mystical literature in general and of the Enoch-literature in particular acc. to 2 *En.* xxiii: among the secret instructions given to Enoch were those of "the souls of men, those of them which are not yet born and the places prepared for them for ever", further represented in Apocalyptic (*Ap. Bar.*, 1 *En.*).

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the righteous that have been created... the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created... (2) lifted me near by the Throne... revealed the Throne of Glory... showed me the spirits that have been created and had returned. The spirits of the righteous dead are here represented as having their abode by the Throne of Glory. Cf. *TB. Chag.* 12 a: "the '*Araboth Raqia'*, the highest of the heavens, contains the Throne of Glory and the spirits and souls of the righteous"; *ib.* 12 b: "the spirits of the righteous dead under the Throne of Glory"; *TB. Shab.* 152 b: "the spirits of the righteous are hidden under the Throne of Glory"; contrast here 'flying above'

(2) And he lifted me up to his side, took me by his hand and lifted² me up near the Throne of Glory³ by the place of the *Shekina*; and he revealed the Throne of Glory to me³, and he showed me the spirits

² E: 'conducted'

³⁻³ E om.

the Throne. The idea of the spirits of the righteous dead being hidden or stored (*gēnūzoth*) under the Throne is clearly connected with the conception of "the chambers of the righteous", 4 Ezra iv. 35, 41, vii. 32, 80, 95 etc., 2 Bar. xxi. 23. xxx. 2, 1 En. xxii. 3 ff. On this conception see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 33, 34 (note on ch. iv. 35), 37 (note on ch. iv. 41), 119-21 (note on ch. vii. 32). Cf. also CHARLES, *Comm. Revel.* note on Rev. xx. 13. Vs. 1 here refers to the spirits of those not yet born as well as to those of the righteous dead. Besides, the expression 'that have returned' of the righteous dead presupposes the pre-existence of the spirits. Acc. to vs. 2, however, R. Ishmael is only shown the spirits of the righteous dead that have returned and have their place by or above the Throne of Glory, but to the unborn spirits there is no reference. There is thus no explicit statement as to the place of the pre-existent souls. As the intent of vs. 1 is to reveal the abode of both the 'returned' and the 'unborn' spirits and acc. to vs. 2 R. Ishmael for that purpose is taken to the Throne of Glory, it is possible that the unborn souls were conceived of as having their place by the Throne in common with those of the righteous dead. How far one can press the expression 'have returned' (whether as referring to a fixed place in heaven—in such a case the Throne—or to the heavens in general) is uncertain. The other possibility is that the unborn spirits are conceived of as having a different abode from that of the righteous dead, e.g. in special chambers under the Throne of Glory. On this assumption it would be necessary to conclude that a piece describing the place of the 'spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created' has fallen out. For the possibility of this place having been the traditional 'GUPH' see below, note on vs. 3.

The place of the spirits yet unborn is acc. to 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 *et al.* 'the chambers' referred to above (which acc. to 4 Ez. iv. 35, are the abode of the righteous dead). Acc. to *TB. Chag.* 12 b, "the souls and spirits that are to be created together with the spirits of the righteous (*scil.* dead) are in 'Araboth, the highest of the heavens'. Acc. to *Ber. R.* viii. 6, the souls of the righteous "dwell with their King (in accordance with 1 Chron. iv. 23)" already before the Creation of the world: with them God took counsel before creating man. Acc. to a dictum of R. Assi (repeated *TB. Nidda*, 13 a, 'Aboda Zara, 5 a, *Yebamoth*, 62 a) the unborn spirits await creation in the *GUPH*, the storehouse of souls. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 26 (apparently dependent upon the same tradition as that of *Chag.*, 12 b) mentions in the 'Araboth: "the Throne of Glory, the stores of life, the treasuries of blessings, of dew... and the treasuries (contrast *Chag.*, *ib.*) of the spirits of the living and of the dead", the "treasuries of the spirits of the living" being a rather singular expression, probably meaning the treasuries of the unborn spirits (cf. *Sifre*, 143 b). Acc. to *Tub ha-'Ares*, i. 50 a, the spirits "go out to the world from the *Libnat ha-sSappir* (one of the seven Halls of 'Araboth)."

Hence one might conclude that the unborn spirits here referred to have their place in the proximity of the Throne of Glory, whether in special chambers or not.

The expression 'the spirits of the righteous, that have not yet been created' compels the question whether this implies a distinction between the righteous, wicketed (and intermediate) *even before this life*. Such a distinction is met with in *Wisdom of Solomon*, viii. 19, 20 ("For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit. Yea, rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled. . ."). This idea in its strictest connotation implies that the moral character of the spirits is already determined before their embodiment—the different courses of the living on this earth being merely a consequence of their qualities as developed in their pre-terrestrial existence; it reappears in *Zohar* in contexts treating of the problems of metempsychosis.

that have been created and had returned: and they were flying above the Throne of Glory before the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) After that I went to interpret the following verse of Scripture and I found in what is written (Isa. lvii. 16): "for the spirit clothed itself before me, and the souls I have made" that ("for the spirit was clothed before me") means the spirits ⁴that have been created in the chamber of creation of the righteous and that have returned

4-4 E om.

The fully righteous spirits are there termed "the spirits from the side of *Shekina*"; cf. *Zohar*, ii. 94 a b. But another interpretation of the expression 'spirits of the righteous not yet born' is "the spirits that when once having entered earthly life will turn out righteous. They are foreseen to be righteous". Their future perfection reacts upon their pre-existent state. This seems to be the underlying idea of the passage *Ber. R.* viii. 6 referred to above, and is represented in *Zohar*, ii. 96 b. (Cf. *ib.* iii. 168 a and ii. 94 a b, referred to above, *et al.*)

If chh. xliii and xliv be treated as a whole, it is evident that here the life on earth is regarded as determining the character of man, and indeed so that it is the terrestrial life that taints the previously pure souls. Treated as a whole then, these chapters convey an interpretation of the words 'spirits of the righteous not yet created' more in line with the latter of the two connotations just referred to, but rather to the effect that there are no unrighteous spirits in the pre-existent state. No other unborn spirits are referred to in these chapters. Although only available as a *demonstratio e silentio*, this fact tends to show that at least the compiler of the present section moves on the basis of the orthodox conception expressed in the prayer 'Elohe Nēshāmā (given in *TB. Ber.* 60 b): "O God, the spirit which thou hast set within me is pure etc." (BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 120). Cf. *Eccl. R.* xii. 7: "the spirit I have given thee is pure; if thou give it back to me in the same state it is good for thee; if not, I will burn it before thee". (Cf. ch. xliv. and *TB. Nidda*, 30 a, *Shab.* 32 b, *Baba Batra*, 16 a.) Also 4 Macc. xviii. 23 ("having received pure and immortal souls from God").

Still it is evident that the expression by itself presupposes a distinction between righteous and not righteous already in the pre-existent state, in one form or the other. Hence the impression is left, that this tradition is suppressed in the present context and the possibility remains, that a fragment describing the conditions and abodes of the unborn spirits is missing, which originally would have had its place after vs. 2.

(3) After that I went to interpret etc., *lit.* 'after that I went and studied this scriptural passage and I found according as it is written etc.' 'This scriptural passage' means the well-known scriptural passage traditionally used as support for the doctrines concerning the subject in question. The passage, Isa. lvii. 6, adduced here, is the starting point for the speculations as to the conditions of the unborn spirits both in *TB. Chag.* 12 b and *Yeb.* 62 a, '*Aboda Zara*, 5 a, *Nidda*, 13 a (see above). Acc. to the J. Targum, *ad locum*, it is also used with reference to the doctrine of resurrection. Here the way in which the passage is used for its present purpose is set forth thus: the former part of the verse, 'the spirit was clothed before me', is made to refer to the spirits that have been created, that is to say, apparently, clothed with a body, the latter part, 'the souls I have made', is interpreted as referring to the spirits that are formed by God but not yet created, invested with a body.

that have been created in the GUPH of creation of the righteous, the chamber of creative forms designed for the righteous. The GUPH (= body) is then here not the chambers where the spirits dwell until the time appointed for

before the Holy One, blessed be He; (and the words:) "and the souls I have made" refer to the spirits⁴ of the righteous that have not yet been created in the chamber (*GUPH*).

CHAPTER XLIV

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the wicked
and the intermediate in Sheol. (vss. 1-6)*

*The Patriarchs pray for the deliverance of Israel
(vss. 7-10)*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, ¹the Angel, the Prince of the Presence,¹ said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the wicked ²and the spirits of the intermediate² where they are standing, and the spirits

4-4 *E* om.

Ch. xlv. 1-1 so *E*. *A* om.

2-2 *E* om.

their life on earth arrives, but evidently the chamber where they are conducted just at the time when they are to enter terrestrial bodies. In this chamber they are then first 'created', i.e. invested with a body, a creative form, which presumably determines the individual, animal or terrestrial body they are to join. The passage, *Zohar*, iii. 107, referred to by Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 166, could be used as a commentary on the present verse, and one can safely assume that it belongs to the same line of traditions or development of traditions: "when the souls are about to quit their heavenly abode each soul appears before the Holy One, blessed be He, clothed with an exalted pattern (or image or form) on which are engraven the features which it will bear here below". The *GUPH* is here rather the chamber containing "the pre-existent forms or types of bodies" (Abelson's expression, *ib.* p. 165) than the abode of the spirits. The unborn spirits "have not yet been created in the *Guph*" of creation.

It should be added that there is a certain indication here of a beginning differentiation of the 'world of Creation' (*B'eri'ā*) as a form of existence different from the higher world of 'the Throne'.

Lastly the qualifying addition 'of the righteous' (the *GUPH* of creation of the righteous) raises again the question of the distinction between righteous and non-righteous in the pre-existent state. Is there also a division in the *GUPH* between the compartment for the righteous and that or those for the others? Or did the original tradition maintain the existence of several *GUPHs*? In its strict connotation the distinction between righteous and non-righteous spirits has as a necessary corollary the distinction between different bodily forms for these two classes.

Ch. xlv. The preceding chapter, in so far as it dealt with the abode of the righteous dead, is in this chapter continued by a description of the two remaining classes of spirits who have left earthly life, i.e. the intermediate and the wicked. The intermediate undergo a purgatorial process in fire in She'ol, assisted and supported in their purification by an angel, *SIMKIEL*, whereas the wholly wicked are delivered to the wrath of the angel *ZA'APHIEL* who punishes them in Gehenna with staves of fire.

(1) the spirits of the wicked and the . . . intermediate where they are standing,

of the intermediate, whither they go down, ³and the spirits of the wicked, where they go down³.

(2) And he said to me: The spirits of the wicked go down to She'ol by the hands of two angels of destruction: ZA'APHIEL and SIMKIEL are their names. (3) SIMKIEL is appointed over the intermediate to support them and purify them because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place (*Māqōm*). ZA'APHIEL is appointed over the spirits

3-3 E om.

i.e. probably at or immediately after the judgement which is daily acc. to the section on the judgement, chh. xxviii. 7-xxxiii. 2. the spirits of the intermediate whither they go down and the spirits of the wicked whither they go down, i.e. acc. to the following verses, Sheol.

(2) The spirits of the wicked (supply here, in accordance with the following verse: 'and the spirits of the intermediate) go down to She'ol through two angels of destruction. They are sent down from the Throne of Glory, before which they have undergone judgement. For the angels of destruction see notes on chh. xxxi. 2 and xxxii. 1. The angels of destruction carry out the judgement on the wicked, and are appointed over the different compartments of Gehenna according to numerous descriptions of the punishments assigned for the wicked in Gehenna. (Cf. 'Descriptions of Hell' and other translations by Gaster, *RAS's Journal* (1893), further *Masseket Chibbut ha-qQeber*, BH. i. 150, *Masseket Gehinnom*, ib., i. 147-149, *Gan 'Eden we-Gehinnom*, ib., v. 49 seqq., *Test. R. Eliezer*, *Seder Yeşirat ha-wWalad*, ib., i. 151-158.) They are then usually represented as numerous and as being assigned to a leader, 'the Prince of Gehenna' (*Gedullat Moshe*, Gehenna) (cf. QEMU'EL, note on ch. xxxi. 2). Here only two angels of destruction are mentioned. The older traditions speak of two angels of destruction as executioners of the divine decrees, 'APH and CHEMA. The angels of destruction function at the judgement, acc. to chh. xxxi-xxxiii, but represent there altogether the severe execution of judgement. Here one represents the attribute of Mercy, SIMKIEL (support of God), who is appointed over the intermediate to 'support and purify them' (cf. the staff of Mercy, ch. xxxi. 2).

The idea of the 'bēnōniyyim', the intermediate class, the large majority of those who are neither wholly righteous nor wholly wicked, belongs to "the orthodox Rabbinic theology" of Palestine. See BOX, *Exra-Apocalypse*, p. 155. The classical passages are *TB. Rosh ha-shSHana*, 16 b, 17 a, *Tos. Sanhedrin*, xiii. 3, *Aboth R. Natan*, xli, *TB. Shab.* 33 b. In *Rosh ha-shSHana*, ib., it is the second *dictum* introduced there that is particularly apposite in this connection ("there are three divisions [companies] for the day of judgement: one that of the fully righteous, another that of the fully wicked, the third that of the intermediate. The fully righteous are immediately written down and sealed for eternal life, the fully wicked... for Gehenna, the intermediate go down into Gehenna, but when they scream in prayer [transl. of BOX] they are permitted to come up again" (acc. to *Zech.* xiii. 9: "And I will bring the third part through the fire... they shall call on my name and I will hear them...") "and of them said Hanna (1 Sam. ii. 6): the Lord killeth and maketh alive (cf. ch. xviii. 24)").

because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place. The Place, the *Maqom*, is the Divine Majesty. The Prince of the Place is an unusual expression. It may be a synonym for 'Prince of the Presence'. A better reading would perhaps be obtained by substituting 'shel' (of) for 'sar' (Prince) and transl. simply: 'because of the great mercy of the Place, i.e. the Divine Majesty'.

ZA'APHIEL, 'the wrath of God'. In contrast to the supporting and helping attitude shown the intermediate from the Divine Mercy, expressed by the name

of the wicked⁴ in order to cast them down from the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, and from the splendour of the *Shekina*⁵ to She'ol, to be punished in the fire of Gehenna⁵ with staves of burning coal.

(4) And I went by his side, and he took me by his hand and showed me all of them with his fingers.

(5) And I beheld the appearance of their faces (and, lo, it was) as the appearance of children of men, and their bodies like eagles. And not only that but (furthermore) the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey on account of their deeds, for there are stains upon them until they have become cleaned from their iniquity in the fire.

(6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of ⁶the wickedness of their doings⁶.

4 *E*: 'intermediate' 5-5 so *E*. *A* corr.: 'to heat them for judgement in fire to Gehenna' (confusion of two variant readings?). 6-6 *E*: 'the multitude of their wicked deeds'

SIMKIEL, "support of God", stands the attitude of merciless wrath with regard to the wicked, symbolically expressed by the name ZA'APHIEL.

to be punished in the fire of Gehenna with staves of burning coal, probably pictured similarly to the passage *BH*. ii. 51 (of the angels punishing the wicked in Gehenna): "angels stand close by and with their staves drive them back into the fire and burn them". Cf. the punishment with lashes of fire, *chh*. xvi. 5, xx. 2 (the word translated 'lashes' Rashi interprets 'staves').

(5) the appearance of their faces as the appearance of children of men etc. The spirits have bodily form and actual bodies—like eagles, i.e. winged. These bodies are of course different from those they were invested with in the *GUPH*. The spirits of the righteous, that are 'flying above the Throne' are probably pictured in bodies of similar form. For the souls or spirits as having bodily form cf. 1 *En*. xxii. 9-14 ("these hollow places have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. . . their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain. . . scourgings and torments of the accursed for ever"), 4 *Ex*. vii. 78 seqq. (see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, note p. 121: "it seems clear that they (the souls of the unrighteous) are already endowed with bodies suitable to their altered condition. . . This conception apparently characterizes also 2 *Enoch*"). Cf. also how acc. to *ch*. xlvii. 4 the spirits and souls of the punished angels whose 'manifested' bodies have been consumed with fire, are represented as having bodily form, 'their countenance like that of angels and their wings like those of birds'.

the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey. . . (6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot. The sins are depicted as having tainted the spirits—originally white and pure—the intermediate being merely stained so that their original nature is still recognizable, but the wicked black 'like the bottom of a pot': their original character is totally blotted out. This simile presupposes the conception of the absolute purity of the pre-existent spirits, cf. note on *ch*. xliii. 1-2 (end).

like the bottom of a pot is used of the wicked also in *Masseket Gehinnom*, *BH*. i. 149, and *Pirqe Mashia'ch*, *BH*. iii. 75 ("their faces were black like the bottom of a pot"). As to the special sins that caused such an entire corruption there is no explicit reference here. The traditions were different on this point. *TB*. *Baba Mesia'*, 58 b, mentions three sins that consign for ever to Gehenna (cf. the fate of

(7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs Abraham Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous whom they have brought up out of their graves and who have ascended to the Heaven (*Raqia'*). And they were praying before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying in

the wicked as compared with that of the intermediate), and the same is repeated in the '*Treatise on Hell*' which appeared in translation by Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, p. 602: "(three sins cause those who commit them to go down to Gehenna and never return:) blaming one's neighbour in public, slandering him and adultery". *Masseket Gehinnom*, i. BH. i. 147, apparently follows another tradition as to the distinction between wicked and intermediate: there the full punishment—in the class of the wicked—is designed for those who cannot point to one single act of fulfilment of the Tora, "who have not one single statute in their hands". This corresponds with the statement, *TB. 'Aboda Zara*, 5 a: "the fully righteous are those who have fulfilled the Tora from the beginning to the end, from '*Aleph to Tav*". The *bēnōniyyim* acc. to this view are those who have endeavoured to fulfil the Law but have failed to keep all the statutes. A third view identifies the *bēnōniyyim* with those who have kept the negative statutes only, the fully righteous with those who have kept all the positive statutes as well as the negative ones.

As to the length of the period of purification assigned for the intermediate it is probably here conceived of as proportionate to the degree in which the sins have tainted them: they are kept in the purgatory until 'they have become cleaned from their iniquity'. Cf. the passage *Rosh ha-shSHana* etc. above note on vs. 2 and the transl. in *BOX, Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 155, where it is pointed out that the *bēnōniyyim* were thought to go up after screaming in prayer for one hour, acc. to *Yalqut* on *Zech. xiii. 9*. Rashi likewise (*ad loc. Rosh ha-shSHana*) puts as an explanatory remark on the difficult word '*mešafšefim*': "it means: they cry and weep in their agony for one hour and then (are permitted to) come up again". Cf. *Se'uddath Gan 'Eden*, BH. v. 45, *OM. i. 89 b*: "the wicked of Israel tormented in Gehenna are brought up from Gehenna to partake in the Feast of the Righteous".

CH. XLIV. 7-10.

Vss. 7-10 contain an apocalyptic-eschatological fragment with the motto: "*Israel's deliverance is prevented by the sins of the wicked*".

The fragment does not fit in here. The theme of the chapter, acc. to vs. 1, is the conditions of the spirits of the intermediate and the wicked after death. If it had originally belonged to the exposition of the conditions of the spirits it would have had its place in ch. xliii which treats of the spirits of the righteous. But the interest of the present fragment is not focussed on the various conditions of the spirits of the dead but on the deliverance of Israel from the oppression under the 'nations of the world', the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth and the 'wicked' to which it refers are not the spirits of the wicked but the living evil-doers within Israel who through their transgressions prevent the establishment of the heavenly kingdom. It is, moreover, probable, that this fragment represents a different outlook upon the fate of man after death from that of the preceding context (*vide* below).

The frame is that of the rest of the section: R. Ishmael beholds various wonders in heaven under the guidance of Metatron. It is in this respect closely related to the *Apocalyptic Fragment* (e.g. *BH. v. 167-169*): "R. Ishmael said: the Prince of the Presence said to me: sit here in my bosom and I will tell thee what shall befall Israel etc. . . .". An apocalyptic fragment of similar character with Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, as informant of R. Ishmael is contained in *Bodl. MICH. 175*, foll. 25 b, 26 a (part of the *Pirge R. Ishm.*).

(7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs . . . and the rest of the righteous who they have brought up out of their graves etc. This evidently marks the beginning of a new fragment. R. Ishmael is already shown the spirits of the righteous, acc. to ch. xliii. The expression 'have been brought out of their

their prayer: "Lord of the Universe! How long wilt thou sit upon (thy) Throne like a mourner in the days of his mourning with thy right hand behind thee ⁷and not⁷ deliver thy children and reveal thy Kingdom in the world? ⁸And for how long wilt thou have no⁸ pity upon thy children who are made slaves among the nations of the world? Nor⁹ upon thy right hand that is behind thee wherewith thou didst stretch out ¹⁰the heavens and the earth and the heavens of heavens? When wilt thou have compassion?"

(8) Then the Holy One, blessed be He, answered every one of them, saying: "Since these wicked do sin so and so, and transgress with such and such transgressions against me, how could I deliver my great Right Hand in the downfall by their hands (caused by them)¹¹."

(9) In that moment Metatron called me and spake to me: "My servant! Take the books, and read their evil doings!" Forthwith I took the books and read their doings and there were to be found

7-7 E: 'when wilt thou' 8-8 E: 'When wilt thou have' 9 E: 'And' 10 E
ins.: 'and didst span' 11 E reads: '(my great Right Hand) that has fallen down
in the downfall at their hands'

graves and have ascended to *Raqia'* is also suspect in this connection: it sounds as if we were here confronted with a different conception as to the fate of men after death, according to which the Patriarchs and (some of) the righteous enjoy the privilege of bodily resurrection before the final consummation.

How long wilt thou sit. . . thy right hand behind thee. The *Right Hand* or the *Right Arm of the Lord* represent the actualization of the kingdom of God on earth, the deliverance of Israel. That the Right Hand is laid behind the Lord is a symbol of cessation in His activity for this purpose. The deliverance of the Right Hand, hence, becomes synonymous with the deliverance of Israel. Cf. ch. xlviii A. It was God's Right Hand that stretched out the heavens and the earth, and so it must be His Right Hand that shall bring about the final establishment of the Kingdom on earth.

(8) Since these wicked do sin. . . how could I deliver my great Right Hand etc. The delay in the deliverance of Israel is caused by the wicked in their own ranks. That the downfall of Israel was caused by the wicked among them is a *dictum* attributed to R. Gamaliel II. In particular the idolatry was made responsible for the delay in the establishment of God's Kingdom. The coming of Messiah is suspended for a period which exactly corresponds to the number of years that Israel has been worshipping idols, acc. to *'Echa R. Proëm. 21*. Similarly, in the *Apocalyptic Fragment, Bodl. MICH. 175*, referred to above, R. Ishmael is represented as asking for the reason of the present sufferings of Israel, whereon he is informed that the deliverance is to be suspended for a time corresponding to that of their idolatry (700 years). Here evidently—see vs. 9—the 'sins' of the wicked comprise all 'transgressions of the Tora'.

'These sinners' was perhaps by the compiler thought to refer to the wicked of vs. 1-6, this being then one of the reasons why this fragment was given its present place.

(9) Take the books, and read their evil doings! On the conception of books recording the deeds of righteous or unrighteous etc. see note on ch. xviii. 24. The books here seem to be the records of the deeds of the wicked, cf. 1 *En. lxxxii. 4* (book of unrighteousness), *ib. xcvi. 7-8* ("every sin is every day recorded in heaven—all your oppression. . . is written down every day till the day of your

36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one¹² and besides, that they have transgressed¹² all the letters in the Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. 11): "Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy Law". It is not written 'al torateka but 'et (תָּן) torateka, for they have transgressed from 'Aleph (א) to Taw (ת), 40¹³ statutes have they transgressed for each letter.

(10) Forthwith Abraham, Isaac and Jacob wept.¹⁴ Then said to them the Holy One, blessed be He: "Abraham, my beloved, Isaac, my Elect one, Jacob, my firstborn!¹⁵ How can I now¹⁵ deliver them from among the nations of the world?" And forthwith MIKAEL, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice and said (Ps. x. 1): "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?"

12-12 so acc. to *E. A* corr.
15-15 *E*: 'I cannot now'

13 *E*: '36'

14 *E* adds: 'to themselves'

judgement"). Since Metatron here seems to have the 'books' in his charge, there must be a trace here of Metatron's function of scribe (*Chag.* 15 a).

36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one... Both readings (*A* and *E*) seem to be corrupt. The meaning seems to be: for each wicked one were recorded 36 transgressions of the Tora and in addition thereto a great many transgressions of each single letter of the Tora. from 'Aleph to Taw. Cf. *Lam. R. Proëm.* 24: "the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Abraham: 'thy children have sinned and have transgressed the whole Tora and the 22 letters of Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. 11), all Israel have transgressed thy Law' (thus here also the passage, Dan. *ib.*, is used as point of support)". The transgressing a letter of the Tora is in *Lam. R. ib.*, understood as equivalent to the transgressing a commandment beginning with that letter, or vice versa. But the expression 'from 'Aleph to Taw' represents the entirety of a thing, in this case the Tora, any part of which is based upon one or the other of the letters. In an absolute sense it represents the entirety of things in general, and is to be compared with the expression 'Alpha and Omega', Rev. i. 8. (See CHARLES, *Comm. on Rev.* i. 20, and Riedel in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1901, pp. 297 seqq., both regarding the 'Alpha and Omega' as an imitation of the 'Aleph to Taw'.)

(10) Mikael, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice. This is the only passage in the present book where Mikael is explicitly referred to as the Prince of Israel. Ch. xvii. 3, Mikael is the prince of the seventh (highest) heaven. The scarce occurrence of 'Mikael' (only twice) is remarkable. His position seems to have been taken over by Metatron. *Ctr.* the frequent reference to Mikael as the prince of Israel in 1 *En.* (ix. 1, x. 11, xx. 5, xxiv. 6, xl. 9, liv. 6, lx. 4, 5, lxxvii. 12, lxxviii. 2-4, lxxix. 14 f., lxxxi. 3, 8, 9, 13).

For Mikael bewailing calamities that have befallen Israel, cf. *Pesik. R.* xlv and the parallel trait there: God answers that the deliverance is dependent upon Israel: "(the apostates of) Israel must first turn to me, even if it were only as much as the point of a needle". Cf. also *Midrash Peṭirath Moshe*: when Sammael is about to take away Moses' soul, Mikael "cried and wept with a loud voice".

CHAPTER XLV

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael past and future events
recorded on the Curtain of the Throne*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Curtain of *MAQOM* (the Divine Majesty) which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be He, (and) whereon are graven all the generations of the world and all their doings, both what they have done and what they will do until the end of all generations.

(2) And I went, and he showed it to me pointing it out with his fingers ¹like a father who teaches his children the letters of Tora. And I saw each generation,
the rulers of each generation¹,

1-1 so *E. A.*: 'and like a father who teaches his children (he showed me) each generation'

Ch. xlv. R. Ishmael is shown the Curtain (*Pargod*) of *MAQOM* (the Place, i.e. the Divine Majesty as manifested on the Throne of Glory). This Curtain is spread before the Holy One. The Curtain of the Throne of Glory is referred to also, ch. x. 1. The Curtain separates the Throne of Glory and its innermost mysteries from the other parts of the highest heaven and from the world of angels in general, just as the curtain veiled off the Holy of Holies in the sanctuary. (Cf. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a.) The Curtain hence becomes the symbol of the last secrets of heaven and earth which are kept with the Godhead, hidden even from the angels. Occasional revelations of these secrets—the reasons of the Creator—are described either as obtained by 'hearing from behind the Curtain' or expressed by the phrase 'to know from behind the Curtain': this is one line of ideas. Or, according to another line, the secrets are represented as 'written down on the (inside of) Curtain'. As instances of the former line of conception reference may be made to the tradition concerning *GALLIŠUR-RAZIEL* (see note on ch. xviii. 16), further to *Mekilta* on Ex. xix. 9 (voices from behind the Curtain announce the answers of prayers), and *TB. Ber.* 18 b (there is heard 'from behind the Curtain, what tribulations are in store for the world'). It seems, that this tradition also contained the idea of special high angels being allowed inside or having their place inside the Curtain, in the immediate Presence of the Holy One, thus partaking of the Divine secrets: so acc. to ch. x. 1 in the reading of *BC* (cf. note, *ib.*) the case of *GALLIŠUR*, and in *Mass. Hek.* vii ("A curtain is spread before the Holy One... and the seven angels who were created first, minister before Him [i.e. inside the Curtain]"). The second conception is represented here and also *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 44—where it is as here called the *Pargod of MAQOM*. As a parallel in earlier Enoch-literature is to be noted especially 1 *En.* xciii. 2 and cvi. 19: "I Enoch will declare them unto you... acc. to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels and have learnt from the heavenly tablets" (the heavenly tablets correspond to the *Pargod* here).

(1-3) R. Ishmael is shown all generations and their doings, both past and coming. This implies the idea of pre-determination. In *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, one finds: "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed Adam every generation and its learned men (inter-

and the heads of each generation,
 the shepherds of each generation,
 the oppressors (drivers) of each generation,
 the keepers of each generation,
²the scourgers of each generation,²
 the overseers of each generation,
 the judges of each generation,
 the court officers of each generation,
 the teachers of each generation,
³the supporters of each generation,
 the chiefs of each generation,³
 the presidents of academies of each generation,
 the magistrates of each generation,
 the princes of each generation,
⁴the counsellors of each generation,⁴
 the nobles of each generation,
⁴and the men of might of each generation,⁴
 the elders of each generation,
 and the guides of each generation.

(3) And I saw Adam, his generation, their doings and their thoughts,⁵

Noah ⁶and his generation, their doings and their thoughts⁶,
 and the generation of the flood, their doings and their thoughts,
 Shem and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Nimrod and the generation of the confusion of tongues, and his
 generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Abraham and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Isaac and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
⁷Ishmael and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,⁷

2-2 so *E*. (סורקיהי) *lit.* 'flayers, hatchellers'; cf. *Zohar* i. 177 a: "סריקתא דקוסטרי"
A: 'eunuchs, officers' (?) 3-3 *E*: 'the helpers of each generation, and their
 pious men (*Chasidim*), their leaders, teachers, sages and heads of the schools'
 4-4 *E* om. 5 *E* ins.: 'Methuselah, his generation, etc.' 6-6 *E* om.
 7-7 *E* om.

preters of Scripture), every generation and its wise men, and when he came to the generation of R. 'Aqiba he (Adam) rejoiced at his (great understanding of) Tora but was grieved at his death (as a martyr)". In *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba this has the following form (*BH.* iii. 44): "Moses saw on the Curtain of MAQOM numerous hosts of scribes and hosts of (members of) Sanhedrin studying the Tora, the Prophets and the writings... and in the same hour Moses saw the fate (life) of R. Aqiba on the Curtain of Maqom how he was lecturing on the letters of Tora, expounding on each of the ornaments of each single letter 365 different significations of the Tora etc." The Curtain is here the repository of all past, present and future events, and it seems, as if the idea were rather, that the events, the 'generations,

Jacob and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Joseph and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 the tribes and their generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Amram and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Moses and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 (4) Aaron ⁸ and Mirjam ⁹ their works and their doings,
¹⁰the princes and the elders, their works and doings,
 Joshua and his generation, their works and doings,
 the judges and their generation, their works and doings,¹⁰
 Eli and his generation, their works and doings,
¹¹Phinehas, their (?) works and doings,¹¹
 Elkanah and his generation, their works and their doings,
 Samuel and his generation, their works and doings,
¹²the kings of Judah with their generations, their works and their
 doings,
 the kings of Israel and their generations, their works and their
 doings,
¹³the princes of Israel, their works and their doings; the princes
 of the nations of the world, their works and their doings,
 the heads of the councils of Israel, their works and their doings;
 the heads of (the councils in) the nations of the world, their genera-
 tions, their works and their doings;
¹⁴the rulers of Israel and their generation, their works and their
 doings;
 the nobles of Israel and their generation, their works and their
 doings; the nobles of the nations of the world and their generation(s),
 their works and their doings;¹⁴
 the men of reputation in Israel, their generation, their works and
 their doings;¹⁵
 the judges of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings;
 the judges of the nations of the world and their generation, their
 works and their doings;
 the teachers of children in Israel, their generations, their works

8 *E* ins.: 'and his generation, their thoughts and their doings' 9 *E* adds:
 'and her generation' 10-10 *E* om. 11-11 *E* om. perhaps rightly 12 *E* ins.:
 'Saul etc., David, etc., Salomo, etc.' 13 *E* ins.: 'the rulers of Israel, etc., the
 nobles of Israel, etc., the nobles of the gentiles, etc., the wealthy men of Israel,
 etc., the wealthy men of the nations of the world, etc., the wise men of Israel,
 etc.' 14-14 *E* om. 15 *E* ins.: 'the men of reputation in the nations of
 the world, etc.'

their thoughts and their doings', are pourtrayed on the curtain—the images are
 imprinted on it—than that the various facts are merely recorded.

and their doings; the teachers of children in the nations of the world, their generations, their works and their doings;

the counsellors (interpreters) of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings; the counsellors (interpreters) of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings;

all the prophets of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings; all the prophets of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings;

(5) and all the fights and wars that the nations¹⁶ of the world wrought against the people of Israel in the time of their kingdom.

And I saw Messiah, son of Joseph, and his generation¹⁷ and their works and their doings that they will do against the nations of the world¹⁷. And I saw Messiah, son of David, and his generation, and

16 so *E*. *A* corr. from here to 'the people of Israel': '(that the nations) of Israel wrought against the people of Israel' 17-17 *E*: 'and all the deeds of the nations of the world at that time'

(5) And I saw Messiah son of Joseph etc. From here to the end of the verse there follows a short eschatological piece. R. Ishmael, through the medium of the Curtain of the Throne, sees the events of the last times. The end of the course of the present world is marked by the appearance of Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David in whose times there will be wars between Israel and 'Gog and Magog'; the final consummation will then, so it seems, be brought about by the Holy One Himself.

For the conception of the two Messiahs, reference may be made to the scholarly expositions by Dalman (*Der leidende und sterbende Messias*, pp. 1-26), Buttenwieser (in *JE*. viii. 511 b, 512 a), Klausner (*Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, etc., pp. 86-103), Rabinsohn (*Le Messianisme dans le Talmud et les Midrachim*). Vide also Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 729, Schoettgen, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, i. 139, 267, 360-5, Wuensche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, pp. 65 seqq., Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, pp. 224-9.

It will perhaps be best to follow Klausner (and Dalman) in assuming that the origin of a double Messiah was the realization of the duplicity inherent in the traditional Messianic picture, e.g. the political and military traits as against the spiritual and ethical (esp. of Isa. xi and Zech. ix. 9). "Die Doppelnatur des Messias muss in einen Doppelmessias umgesetzt werden" (Klausner). (Cf. Dalman in a somewhat different vein: "es muss als möglich gelten, dass überhaupt ein etwa durch die hadrianischen Verfolgungen neu hervorgerufenes Interesse an dem Trost der Messias Hoffnung zu erneutem Schriftstudium trieb... Alles was in der heiligen Schrift darauf zu deuten schien, dass Edom-Rom gestürzt und Jerusalem, wenn auch nur vorläufig, an Israel zurückgegeben wird, musste dad en Forscher anziehen, und das Unbestimmteste gewann für das nach Erlösung dürstende Gemüt deutliche Umrisse und konkrete Gestalt. So erstand Messias ben Joseph, der sterbende Messias des Judentums".)

As to the designation 'ben Joseph' (son of Joseph), Klausner (*op. cit.* p. 97) holds that "when once a second Messiah has become necessary, he cannot be taken from any other tribe but that of Joseph" ("Der erste Messias ist ein Davidide, also ein Jüdäer. Was sollte nun der zweite Messias anders sein, als Josephite, beziehungsweise Ephraimite" [*Messiah ben Ephraim* is sometimes a variant of *Messiah ben Joseph*, vide below]). Also should be noted Klausner's remark that it "is highly

all the fights and wars, and their works and their doings that they

probable that *Bar Kochba's* death as hero in the war with the enemies of Israel, after having for a time been victorious and even reigned as a king, became the starting-point (*Vorbild*) for the conception of a Messiah who at first is victorious but in the end is overcome by the enemies of Israel". This is, most probably, the right explanation of the conception of a Messianic forerunner of the real Messiah: One had long been conscious of the duplicity in the Messianic picture; the Hadrianic persecutions and the *Bar Kochba* incident forced the attention on the Messianic ideas and hopes; the circumstances made one conscious of Israel's fate of having to go through many tribulations, temporal victories followed by severe debâcles: from this consciousness grew the picture of a forerunner-Messiah whose essential characteristic was described by the words of the *Baraita* (*TB. Sukka*, 52 a): "he will be killed".

Dalman explains the designation 'ben Joseph' from Deut. xxxiii. 17 ("His glory is like the firstling of his bullock and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh"). "The 'firstling of his (Joseph's) bullock' is nearly as much the emblem of Messiah ben Joseph: *Ren. R. lxxv. 6, Ex. R. to xlix. 14* acc. to *Pugeo Fidei, Num. R. xiv. 2, Midrash Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, 82 b, as the 'foal of an ass' of Zech. ix. 9 is the emblem of Messiah ben David". "Was dort (Deut. xxxiii. 17) von Joseph gesagt ist, führt den Gedanken an das spätere Königtum Ephraims, oder, wenn man das Wort zu der messianisch verstandenen Weissagung auf Juda in Gen. xlix in Parallele setzt, an einen in der Endzeit auftretenden mächtigen König Israels aus Josephs Stamm, einen Messiah ben Joseph. Die Rabbinen, welche in Deut. xxxiii. 17 wirklich einen Messias geweissagt glaubten, wurden dann in diesem Glauben durch ein Wort Jeremias bestärkt (viz. Jer. xlix. 20)".

[Schoettgen (*op. cit.*), adducing, apart from earlier sources, *Zohar* and *Zohar Chadash*, arrives at the conclusion that Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David are identical, and that the former represents the human nature of Messiah, destined to suffer death. The designation 'son of Joseph' Schoettgen believes to be derived from the Christian designation of Christ, the Messiah, as 'the son of Joseph' and points out how, in the genealogy of St Matthew (i. 1), Christ is called 'the son of David', in that of St Luke, on the other hand, 'the son of Joseph'.

Wuensche, in his first discourse on the present problem (*op. cit.*), also maintained that Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David really were identical. The identity he found established already in *TB. Sukka*, 52 a (where he, however, mistranslates; *vide* below and Klausner, *op. cit.* p. 91, note 2); in common with Schoettgen he further pointed to the fact that scriptural passages which receive Messianic interpretation are promiscuously referred now to Messiah ben Joseph, now to Messiah ben David—although passages interpreted as referring to the suffering Messiah are, according to Wuensche, more often applied to the former than to the latter; from the last-named fact he concluded that the figure of Messiah ben Joseph really symbolized the atoning function of Messiah.

Acc. to Friedmann (*Seder Eliyah*, Introduction, 20) the conception of Messiah ben Joseph goes back to the expectations among remnants of the tribes belonging once to the Northern Kingdom in Palestine for a Messiah from מְלִכּוֹת הַצְּפוֹנִיִּים.

Bertholdt (in *Christologia Judaeorum*, 157) conjectures that the origin was from certain Messianic speculations among the Samaritans.

Castelli (*op. cit.* pp. 234-6) thinks that Messiah ben Joseph was the Messiah contrived for the ten tribes exiled in Media who was to lead them back to Palestine from their distant abode beyond the river *Sambatyon* (on the river *Sambatyon*, a definite detail of the eschatological scheme, *vide* box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 296, 298, 300 seq.).

Hamburger (*Messianische Bibelstellen*, 111) and Levy (*Wörterb.*) think that the Messiah ben Joseph originated from the *Bar Kochba* incident. *Bar Kochba*, who

will do with Israel both for good and evil. And I saw all the fights

had been proclaimed as Messiah even by the great R. 'Aqiba (so *Yer. Ta'an*, iv. 68 d) was made to retain his Messianity by the formation of the doctrine of Messiah ben Joseph as the forerunner of the victorious Messiah ben David.

Jellinek (*BH*. iii. xlvi seqq.) expresses the view that the victory of Joseph Flavius in Galilee (thought as the region of the ten tribes or as part of the Northern Kingdom) followed by his defeat through Vespasianus influenced the 'saga' of the Messiah ben Joseph.

Buttenwieser (in *JE. loc. cit.*) says: "it is possible that the idea of Messiah ben Joseph is connected in some way with the Alexander-Saga". He points out how Messiah ben Joseph and Alexander (in the Koran) both are represented as horned.

Rabinsohn (*op. cit.*) finds the explanation of the 'son of Joseph' in Deut. xxxiii. 17. Cf. above on Dalman's theory.]

The conception of a Messiah ben Joseph goes back to Tannaitic times. The most important passages speaking of Messiah ben Joseph are found in *TB. Sukka* 52 a, dated by Levy, Hamburger, Friedmann, Dalman and Klausner as post-Hadrianic. One of the said passages is a *Baraita* (תנו רבנן) running as follows: "Messiah, the son of David, who will shortly be revealed in our days, to him says the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Beg of Me anything and I will give thee' as it is written (Ps. ii. 8): 'Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession'. As soon as he (i.e. Messiah ben David) saw Messiah, the son of Joseph, that he was (or: would be) killed, he says before Him: 'Lord of the Universe! I do not ask of Thee anything but Life'. He says to him: 'Life! Before thou didst say it, David, thy father, has already prophesied (this, i.e. life) concerning thee, as it is written (Ps. xxi. 4): He asked life of thee and thou gavest it him, even length of days for ever and ever'".

The other passage (according to Klausner, "eine amoräische Überlieferung einer tannaitischen Deutung") runs: "(Zech. xii. 12): 'And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart'; They say: 'Must not the rule *qal wachomer* (a *minori ad majus*) be applied here: if with reference to the time to come when they are occupied with wailing and the evil inclination does not have power over them, the Scripture says "men apart and women apart" how much the more (ought this to be the law) now when they are occupied with pleasure and the evil inclination *does* have power over them?' This wailing, what does it really signify? Rabbi Dosa and our teachers are divided on this point. The one says: 'It (refers) to Messiah the son of Joseph who is (will be) killed', and the other says: 'It (refers) to the evil inclination which will be exterminated'. Surely (the right lies) with the one who says (that it refers) to Messiah the son of Joseph who will be killed, according as it is written (Zech. xii. 10): 'And they shall look upon the one whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son'".

'*En Ya'aqob* preserves the following version of *TB. Sukka*, 12 b: "(Zech. i. 20, Hebrew Bible, ii. 3): 'And יהוה showed me four *charashim*'. What are they (i.e. the *charashim*)? R. Chunna bar Bizna says: R. Sim'on the Chasid says: this means *Messiah ben David, Messiah ben Joseph, Elijah and the Priest of Righteousness*."

Targ. Yer. i to Ex. xl. 11 speaks of Messiah the son of Ephraim through whom Israel will in the end of time overcome Gog ("uthërabbē yath kiyyura wēyath bēsisēh uthēqaddesh yatheh mē'ul Yehošū^a mēšumshanakh rabba dē-Sanhedrin dē 'ammeh dē'al yēdoy 'āthida' ar' a de-Israel le-'ithpēlaga umēshicha bar Ephraim denafiq minneh dē'al yēdoy 'āthidin beth Israel līmēnašha le-Gog ulēsi'atheh bēsof yomayya").

Targ. Yer. to Canticles iv. 5 and vii. 4 speak of Messiah ben David and Messiah ben Joseph as deliverers of Israel like Moses and Aaron.

The earlier passages represent Messiah ben Joseph merely as the forerunner of Messiah ben David and as the Messiah "who is killed". The passage in our book

and wars that Gog and Magog will fight¹⁸ in the days of Messiah, and all that the Holy One, blessed be He, will do with them in the time to come.

18 A ins.: 'with Israel'

goes no further: he is to appear before Messiah ben David and will be engaged in warfare. Though it is not expressly stated here that Messiah ben Joseph will be killed, this is probably presupposed.

Later passages in *Num. R.* xiv. 2, in *Pesiqtha Zut.* to *Num.* xxiv. 13, *Midrash 'Asereth Melakhim, Pirge Mashiach, BH.* iii. 70, *Pereq R. Yoshiyyahu, BH.* vi. 115 (Messiah ben Joseph called Nehemyah ben Hushiel) appears after the victory over Rome, is killed in the struggle with the Arabs and resuscitated by Elijah in the time of Messiah ben David. *Midrash Wayyosha', Nistaroth de R. Shim'on ben Yochai (BH.* iii. 80), *Tefillath R. Shim'on ben Yochai (BH.* iv. 124), *Othoth ha-mMashiach (BH.* ii. 58), *Sefer Zerubbabel (BH.* ii. 55) (*vide* Introduction, Sources and Literature, A 3 (B)) give the tradition that Messiah ben Joseph will be killed in the war with *Armilos*. In the *Nistaroth de R. Shim'on ben Yochai* there are three names of Messiah(s): Messiah ben Joseph, Messiah ben Ephraim and Messiah ben David. *Num. R.* xiv. 2, evidently dependent upon the tradition preserved in *TB. Sukka*, 12 b (acc. to '*En Ya'aqob*, *vide* above), interprets the four *charashim* of *Zech.* ii. 3 as: "Elijah, the Messiah who shall rise from the children of Manasse, the Anointed for War (*meshu^{ch} milchama*) who will come from Ephraim and the Great Redeemer who is one of the sons of the sons of David".

Attempts at systematization of the various traditions in respect of the two Messiahs were made by Sa'adya in '*Emunoth we De'oth*, viii, and Hai Gaon in *Ta'am Zeqenim* (ed. Frankf. am Main, 1854, pp. 59 seq.). For these *vide* Dalman, *op. cit.* and Bittenwieser (in *JE. loc. cit.*). A display of still later, especially cabalistic, traditions on Messiah ben Joseph is given in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 729 seqq. (from *Menorath ha-Ma'or, Shene Luchoth ha-bBerith, Yalqut Chadash, 'Emeq ha-mMelek*, etc.). Passages in the *Zohar* treating of Messianic times are: *Zohar*, i. 118 a, 119 a, 134 a b, 139 a b; ii. 7 a b, 32 a, 105 b, 109 b; iii. 67 b, 124 b, 125 a b, 153 a b, 212 b; in the *Tiqqunim*, 78 a, 95 a.

Gog and Magog play the rôle of "a collective anti-Messiah" (M. Friedlander, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 171-3). The war with Gog and Magog was speculated upon already in pre-Hadrianic Tannaitic times. Klausner says (*op. cit.* pp. 90, 100), basing upon *Siphra, Par. Bechuqqothai*, 2, *Siphre Deut. Pisqa.* 343: "We can with some certainty maintain that the belief current in pre-Hadrianic times was that the Messias ben David, supported by the presence of the Divine Glory (the *Shekina*), would wage war against and overcome the enemies of Israel (i.e. Gog and Magog), but in the post-Hadrianic times the warfare was assigned to Messiah ben Joseph destined after a temporal victory to be conquered, and the final victory, brought about by God Himself without shedding of blood, crowns Messiah ben David". This distinction is evidently correct. It will easily be seen that our passage reflects the post-Hadrianic belief in respect of the Messianic times; but it may also be noticed that the vivid impression of the fate of the Messiah ben Joseph characteristic of the Tannaitic dicta has been somewhat blurred out; there is not the same nearness of the picture of war and the conquering and death of Messiah ben Joseph; on the other hand there are no traces of new developments and elaborations of the original conceptions found in later sources. This suggests that the present passage belongs to a time of peace not too far removed however from the time of origin of the Messiah ben Joseph conception, probably some time during the third century A.D.

and all that the Holy One. . . will do with them: the final consummation will be brought about by the Holy One Himself.

(6) ¹⁹And all the rest of all¹⁹ the leaders of the generations and all the works of the generations both in Israel and in the nations of the world, ²⁰both what is done and what will be done hereafter²⁰ to all generations until the end of time, (all) were graven on the Curtain of *MAQOM*. And I saw all these things with my eyes; and after I had seen it, I opened my mouth in praise of *MAQOM* (the Divine Majesty) (saying thus, Eccl. viii. 4, 5): "For the King's word hath power (and who may say unto him: What doest thou?) Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing". And I said: (Ps. civ. 24) "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!"

CHAPTER XLVI

The place of the stars shown to R. Ishmael

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) (Come and I will show thee) the space¹ of the stars ²that are standing ³in *Raqia'*³ night by night in fear⁴² of the Almighty (*MAQOM*) and (I will show thee) where they go and where they stand.

(2) I walked by his side, and he took me by his hand and pointed out all to me with his fingers. And they were standing ⁵on sparks of flames round⁵ the *Merkaba* of the Almighty (*MAQOM*). What did

19-19 *E*: 'And there were' 20-20 *E*: 'both what they have done and what they will do in time to come'

Ch. xlvi. 1 *E* perhaps reads 'spirit' 2-2 emendated. *E* corr.: 'that are deep (or "high") in *Raqia'* and every night in fear (באמתו obviously miswritten for בראמתו)' 3-3 emendated acc. to *E*. *A*: ברקיע, an easy corr. of ברקיע, 'lightnings' perhaps under influence of vs. 2: 'they are standing on sparks' 4 emendated with regard taken to *E*; see 2-2. 5-5 *E*: 'in sparks of flames of (from)'

Ch. xlvi. In this chapter R. Ishmael is shown the place of the stars who are standing by the 'Throne of the *Merkaba*' praising the Holy One during the time that they are not occupied by 'doing service to the world'—in *Raqia'*, the second heaven. For the stars, acc. to vs. 3, have two functions: one (during the night) of lighting the world, the other of singing hymns to their Creator.

(1) The text of the chapter is in a bad state, both acc. to the reading of *A* and acc. to that of *E*. Especially is this the case with vs. 1. Emendations have been made in the translation with the help of a comparison of the two readings. (Come and I will show thee) is omitted in both readings but is obviously to be inserted by analogy with the opening words of the surrounding chapters, since the rest of the present chapter follows the scheme and phraseology of the other chapters of the section.

(2) standing on sparks of flames round the *Merkaba* of the Almighty (*MAQOM*) . . . flew off on flaming wings. The stars are depicted as standing by the *Merkaba*

Metatron do? At that moment he clapped his hands and ⁶chased them⁶ off from their place. Forthwith they flew off⁷ on flaming wings, rose and fled from the four sides of the Throne of the *Merkaba*, and (as they flew) he told me the names⁸ of every single one. As it is written (Ps. cxlvii. 4): "He telleth the number of the stars; he giveth them all their names", teaching, that the Holy One, blessed be He, has given a name to each one of them.

(3) And they all enter in counted order under the guidance of (*lit.* through, by the hands of) RAHAṬIEL to *Raḳia' ha-shSHamayim* to serve the world. And they go out in counted order to praise the

6-6 E: 'made them to fly' 7 E adds: 'from their place' 8 E adds: 'and the additional names (*kinnuyim*)'

and evidently conceived of as living beings, presumably as angels, cf. vss. 3 and 4. 'Wings' are the regular attribute of angels and angelicized beings, cf. ch. ix. 2 and 'the Names flying off like eagles', ch. xxxix. 1. The stars are hence probably pictured as having bodies and wings after the scheme of the description of angels. Cf. the representation of the fallen stars as having bodily form, in 1 *En.* lxxxvi. 1 seqq., lxxxviii. 1, xc. 21.

Metatron...clapped his hands and chased them off. Metatron here is represented as having authority over the stars—although their special '*mēmunnē*' (appointed one) is RAHAṬIEL. The authority over the heavenly bodies is a special distinctive mark of the Prince of the World, acc. to ch. xxxviii. 3—hence this may be regarded as a trace of the identity between Metatron and the Prince of the World, maintained by one trend of traditions: cf. note on ch. iii and intr. told me the names...has given a name to each one. Cf. 1 *En.* lxix. 21: "through that oath (i.e. *Akæe*) the stars complete their course. And He calls them by their names. And they answer Him from eternity to eternity". (Charles, 1 *En.* p. 140.)

(3) they all enter in counted order under the guidance of Rahaṭiel. FOR RAHAṬIEL as the ruler of the constellations, planets or heavenly bodies in general, see ch. xvii. 6 and note, *ad loc.* to *Raḳia' ha-shSHamayim*, i.e. the second of the seven heavens, which is the region of the heavenly bodies (*Chag.* 12 b, chh. xvii. 4, 7, xxxviii. 1). Here the stars are represented as entering the *Raḳia'* in order to serve the world, i.e. to give light, etc. to serve the world. For the expression and idea cf. 4 *Ezra* vi. 46: "and didst command them (the sun...moon and order of the stars) that they should do service unto man"; and see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 88, note *ad locum*, where attention is called to parallels in Clemens, *Recogn.* v. 29 and *Hom.* x. 25 ("the sun daily waits upon the world", etc.), and where also is pointed out that the underlying idea of the expression is to "emphasize the thought that the stars are man's servants because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods".

And they go out in counted order. 'go out' is here obviously meant as the opposite of 'enter (the *Raḳia'*)'. Hence the stars are here thought to leave the second heaven after having fulfilled their function of 'serving the world'. From the *Raḳia'* they are presumably pictured as proceeding to the '*Araboth*', the seventh heaven, since they are said (vs. 2) to be standing round the *Merkaba* or 'the Throne of the *Merkaba*'.

to praise the Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns. In their function of praising the Most High 'with songs and hymns' the stars are clearly conceived of as angelic beings, and this is especially marked by the manner in which their fate is associated with that of the song-uttering angels (see next verse). For the conception of the stars as angels, cf. Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 315.

Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns, according as it is written (Ps. xix. 1): "The heavens declare the glory of God".

(4) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will create them anew⁹, as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning". And they open their mouth and utter a song. Which is the song that they utter? (Ps. viii. 3): "When I consider thy heavens".

9-9 *E* corr.: 'and will help them anew'

Maimonides, *More Nebukim*, vol. ii, ch. v, uses the same scriptural reference as the present verse (Ps. xix. 2) in support of his view, that "the globes are living and rational beings... and they serve their Master and praise and glorify him with great praise and mighty glorification, as it is written (Ps. xix. 2): 'the heavens declare the glory of God'". The idea of the planets and stars as living, acting and dominating gods is, of course, fundamental in Babylonian and, by influence therefrom, in Persian religion—accompanied by the conception of special rulers of the stars. In the *Pehlevi* literature the planets and stars are represented as demons or else as animated or ruled by demons. See *Bundahish*, iii. 25, xxviii. 43, 44, *Zad sparam*, ii. 10, iv. 3, 7, 10, etc. In Jewish remodelling the planet-gods naturally become planet-angels, whereas the conception of special angels as rulers of the stars, constellations etc. or of the whole of the heavenly bodies is uncommonly frequent. The 70 princes of kingdoms are sometimes identified with the planets and constellations, although more often they are represented as the rulers of them. 'The angels are the souls of the heavenly spheres' is a comparatively frequent dictum. The 'Ophanim are the angels who move the spheres, cf. note on ch. xxv. 5. The identification of the heavenly bodies with angel-princes or demons was also prompted by the astrological speculations. The archangels are identified with the seven planets or represented as rulers of the seven planets, thus preserving the old conception of the seven sidereal rulers from which the conception of the seven archangels is supposed to have originated. (See *YR.* i. 16 a.)

(6) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will create them anew... and they open their mouth and utter a song. The creating the stars and planets anew is here explicitly connected with their character of song-uttering angelic beings. It is, moreover, supported by the scriptural reference which traditionally was used as basis for the speculations concerning the song-uttering angels, who also are said to 'be created anew': 'They are new every morning, great is thy faithfulness', Lam. iii. 23. See ch. xl. 4, *Chag.* 14 a, *Lam. R.* iii. 21, *Gen. R.* lxxviii. 1. The creation anew in the case of the angels is depicted as going on continually every day, whereas that of the stars is designed for the 'time to come'. The future world is sometimes represented as referred to in the said passage (Lam. iii. 23), cf. *Gen. R. ib.* and *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*.

NOTE. It is significant that there seems to be no remnant in 3 *En.* of the Gnostic idea of the planets and constellations as evil agencies, as enemies of the spirit and the spiritual world. Contrast e.g. the 'Seven Great Princes' and the 'Seventy-two Princes of Kingdoms' of 3 *En.* xvii. with the 'Seven' in *Mandaitic.* Vide also 1 *En.* xix. 13-16, xxi. 3-6. There are, however, indications that this idea was known at the time of our book. Thus the inimical rôle of the planets is in our book replaced by that of 'Uzza', 'Azza' and 'Azrael' (chh. iv, v), and the opposing angels in general. Possibly the present chapter is intentionally directed against the Gnostic (Parsic-Iranian) idea in question. (Cf. also Zimmern in Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 8th ed., p. 459, and Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 59 seq.)

CHAPTER XLVII

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael the spirits
of the punished angels*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee the souls ¹of the angels¹ and the spirits of ²the ministering servants² whose bodies ³ have been burnt in the fire of *MAQOM* (the Almighty) that goes forth from his little finger. And they have been made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river (*Nehar di-Nur*). But their spirits and their souls are standing behind the *Shekina*.

(2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time

1-1 *E* om. 2-2 so *E. A* om., but 3 *A* has a lacuna which represents 2-2 and is wrongly put there instead of before its antecedent word.

Ch. xlvii. As a sequel to the exposition in chh. xliii, xlv—the spirits of the righteous, the wicked and those not yet born—the spirits and souls of the song-uttering angels who have been burnt by the fire from their Creator (cf. ch. xl. 3) are here made the subject of treatment in the general scheme of the section: they are shown to R. Ishmael by Metatron who superadds divers explanations and informations.

The angels in question are those who have uttered a song in a wrong time or improper way, and therefore, as stated in ch. xl. 3, have been consumed by fire. The object of this chapter is apparently to show that this destruction by fire refers only to the bodies of the angels, whereas their spirits and souls 'return to their Creator and stand behind the *Shekina*'. (On the *real* object, *vide* Introd. sect. 15.)

Thus the nature and fate of the song-uttering angels who have failed in their duty are pictured in analogy with those of failing men. Yet there are a few differences between the representations of chh. xliii, xlv and the present chapter. Whereas in chh. xliii, xlv only the term 'spirit' (*nēshāmā*) is used, the present chapter uses both 'soul' (*nēshāmā*) and 'spirit' (*rūāch*)—although practically synonymously. And whereas acc. to ch. xlv the punishment by fire is for the 'spirits', it is here the bodies only that are represented as destroyed in fire, the spirits (and souls) on the other hand are said to return to 'their Creator', i.e. to their abode behind the *Shekina*, thus rather reflecting the picture of the spirits of the righteous above the Throne in ch. xliii.

(1) the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants. The terms 'soul' and 'spirit' are here evidently synonymous. whose bodies have been burnt in the fire of *MAQOM*. . . made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river. The two traditions of the fire from God's little finger (ch. xl. 3) and the *Nehar di-Nur* (see note on ch. xxxiii. 5) as means of punishment of the angels, are here harmonized, see further vs. 2. but their spirits and their souls are standing behind the *Shekina*. Even here the two terms 'spirit' and 'soul' are best understood as being synonymous. The juxtaposition of 'spirit' and 'soul' is a mere repetition of that in the beginning of the verse.

(2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time. . . they

or as not appointed ⁴ to be sung^{4 5} they are burnt ⁶ and consumed⁶ by the fire of their Creator and by a flame from their Maker,

A:

in the places (chambers) of the whirlwind, for it blows upon them and drives them

E:

in their place (= on the spot); and a whirlwind blows upon them and throws them down

into the *Nehar di-Nur*; and there they are made into numerous mountains⁷ of burning coal. But their spirit and their soul return⁸ to their Creator, and all are standing behind their Master.

4-4 E: 'and as soon as it has been sung'

5 A ins.: 'הרוחן' (representing a

corr. reading 'רוחן', 'their spirit(s)?)

6-6 E om.

7 E: 'mountains of

mountains' A has a lacuna: הריים...הריים, a sign of uncertainty in the text.

8 E: 'returns'

are burnt... by the fire of their Creator. Cf. on ch. xl. 3. and drives them into the *Nehar di-Nur*. This is to be understood as an harmonization between the view, acc. to which the song-uttering angels, when uttering the Song untimely or improperly, are consumed by a fiery stream from the little finger of the Holy One, and that, acc. to which the *Nehar di-Nur* is the place and medium of extinction of the angels. The latter view includes that represented in *Lam. R.* iii. 21, *Gen. R.* lxxviii. 1, which maintains that new angels are created continually to sing the song and then disappear—whither? answer: into the *Nehar di-Nur* from which they were created. there they are made into numerous mountains of burning coal. This should be compared with the statement of ch. xxxv. 5 seq.: the angels, until they acquiesce in performing the *Qëdushsha*, are changed into all sorts of lifeless, fiery substances,—by a 'whirlwind from before the Holy One' (cf. here). Cf. also 1 *En.* xxi. 3: "I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it (the place of punishment), like great mountains and burning with fire".

their spirit and their soul return to their Creator... standing behind their Master. This recalls ch. xliii, where the spirits of the righteous who have been created are said to 'return'. It implies that the spirits of the song-uttering angels like those of men are pre-existent before being manifested with bodies for the purpose of performing the *Qëdushsha* or singing hymns and songs. But in contrast with the case of men the punishment of the failing angels is assigned not to their spirits but to their bodies alone. That the permanent abode of the spirits of the angels, not only after the severance from their bodies but even in their pre-existent state, is the place 'behind the *Shekina*' may be hinted at in vs. 3: R. Ishmael sees 'all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants' standing behind the *Shekina*. Such a view may have developed from a wish to harmonize the different traditions concerning the creation or origin of the angels, one maintaining their pre-existence or creation on the second or fifth day of Creation, the other their continual or successive creation daily. The first view would then be made to apply to the creation of the spirits and souls, the second to their bodily manifestation. In fact the wish to harmonization in this case is sometimes attested in cabbalistic commentaries, cf. the statement: 'the angels who are created daily, sing a song, and then perish, are those who were created on the fifth day; those who were created on the second day do not perish'. On the other hand the view that the angels continue to exist in spirit after their destruction in fire is explicitly refuted in *Hilkoth Mal'akim* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 123 a): "for the angels who have been burnt, there is no kind of continued life (or resurrection). It is not as with men, whose bodies die, their souls however are living on high and their spirits return to God—

(3) And I went ⁹by his side⁹ and he took me by his hand; and he showed me all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants who were standing behind the *Shekina* ¹⁰upon wings¹¹ of the whirlwind¹⁰ and walls of fire surrounding them.

(4) At that moment Metatron opened to me the gates of the walls within which they were standing behind the *Shekina*. And I lifted up my eyes and saw them, and behold, the likeness of every one was as (that of) angels and their wings like birds' (wings), made out of flames, the work of burning fire. In that moment I opened my mouth in praise of *MAQOM* and said (Ps. xcii. 5): "How great are thy works, O Lord¹²".

9-9 ins. with *E*. 10-10 *E*: 'forthwith a whirlwind passed by' 11 emendated (cf. chs. xxxiv. 1, xxxvii. 2): כרדי instead of כנפי. 12 Emend. *E* quotes Ps. cxi. 2: 'the works of the Lord (are great)' *A* confuses Ps. xcii. 5 with cxi. 2.

for them there is continued life. Not so with the angels: they return to the *Nehar di-Nur*".

(3) who were standing behind the *Shekina* upon wings of the whirlwind and walls of fire surrounding them. This is of course not indicative of any idea of punishment being assigned to the spirits of the song-uttering angels. Cf. how acc. to ch. xviii. 25 the two high angels SOPHERIEL H' MECHAYYE and SOPHERIEL H' MEMITH are said to be standing on the wheels of the stormwind. The *Kerubim* acc. to ch. xxii. 13 are surrounded by 'columns of fire on their four sides and columns of firebrands beside them'. Acc. to ch. xxxiii. 3 'clouds of fire and clouds of flame compass the angels to the right and to the left'. Cf. also the Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xv. 2.

the likeness of every one was as angels and their wings like birds' (wings). Although separated from their bodies of manifested existence, the spirits and souls of the angels have bodily form; cf. chh. xliii. 2 and xliv. 5 and note on the latter.

NOTE. The juxtaposition רוחות ונשמות occurs in *TB. Chag.* 12 ב, רוחות ונשמות שעתיד להבראות, but immediately preceding: נשמתן של צדיקים. Is this passage dependent upon our book, chh. xliii and xlvi? Also in *Mandaic* the juxtaposition of 'spirit' and 'soul' in a similar vein is quite frequent. On the spirit (or perhaps better 'soul') as the non-physical body of the soul (spirit) in *Mandaic* vide Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 35. Cf. *Introd.* section on 'the conception of spirit and soul'.

CHAPTER XLVIII (A)

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the Right Hand of the Most High, now inactive behind Him, but in the future destined to work the deliverance of Israel

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Right Hand of *MAQOM*, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple; from which all kinds of splendour and light ¹shine forth¹ and by which the 955 heavens were created; and whom not even the *Seraphim* and

1-1 ins. with *E. A* has a lacuna.

Ch. xlviii (A). Ch. xlviii (A) is an apocalyptic eschatological fragment, closely connected with that contained in ch. xlv. 7-10. Like the latter it uses the symbolical expression of the Right Hand of *MAQOM* as representing Israel and the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The inactivity of God's Right Hand—its being laid behind him—is the symbol of Israel's oppression and sufferings among the nations of the world and the temporary suspension of the realization of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The deliverance of God's Right Hand is the deliverance of Israel and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom. Besides, God's Right Hand also represents God's activity for bringing about the deliverance, and is the instrument of the realization of the Kingdom.

Vss. 1-4 are in the frame of the present section: R. Ishmael is represented as shown the Right Hand of *Maqom* and sees the five streams of tears that go forth from its five fingers: it is bewailing the downfall of Israel. Vss. 5-10 on the contrary cannot in a strict sense be joined into that frame: without any transition we are there presented with a picture entirely eschatological and treating of the end of times that will see the final redemption: God himself will deliver His right Hand and by it work salvation for Israel and set up His Kingdom, the establishment of which will be marked by the appearance of Messiah and the banquet for the righteous in the restored earthly Jerusalem.

The fragment is distinguished by a more frequent use of scriptural quotations than the other chapters of the section and of the present book in general (with the exception of chh. xxiii and xxiv).

(1) the Right Hand of *MAQOM*, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple. The inactivity of God's Right Hand is here connected with the destruction of the Holy Temple. The cause of its continued inactivity is acc. to ch. xlv. 7-10 the sins of the wicked, here it is hinted that the dearth of saints and righteous in Israel accounts for its present downfall.

The destruction of the Holy Temple, the sign of the downfall of Israel, also implied the total suspension or cessation of the activity for the realization of the Kingdom on earth (the cessation of the activity of the Divine Right Hand), and this again was caused by the sins of Israel. The real catastrophe in the destruction of the Temple was the removal of the *Shekina* from earth, the presence of the *Shekina* in the Temple having made it the representative of God's Kingdom on earth. See *Lam. R. Proem. 24* (God removes his *Shekina* from the Temple on account of Israel's sin, and this is the cause of the destruction of the Temple. 'I have no longer an abode on earth').

by which the 955 heavens were created. Cf. ch. xlv. 7: 'thy right hand that is behind thee, wherewith thou didst stretch out the heavens and the earth and the

the 'Ophanim are permitted (to behold), until the day of salvation shall arrive.

(2) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand and showed me (the Right Hand of MAQOM), with² all manner of praise, rejoicing and song: and no mouth can tell its praise, and no eye can behold it, because of its greatness³, dignity, majesty, glory and beauty.

(3) ⁴And not only that⁴, but all the souls of the righteous who are counted worthy to^{4a} behold the joy of Jerusalem, they are standing by it, praising and praying before it three times every day, saying

2 E: 'and' 3 A: 'great greatness' 4-4 E om. 4a lit. 'and'

heavens of heavens'. The 955 heavens are, acc. to *Masseket Hek.* iii, above the seven heavens, constituting the Divine World from which the Holy One goes down when manifesting himself in the 'Araboṭh on the Throne of Glory: "in the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, descends from the 955 heavens and seats himself in the 'Araboṭh upon the Throne of Glory. . .". *Y. Ch., s.v. Mal'ot Kim*, no. 98, derives the number 955 by gematria from the letters of *haššāmim* (= 'the heavens', the final *mēm* counted as 600). Metatron alone of all the heavenly household can ascend into 900 of these heavens, but the remaining 55 heavens are the exclusive abode of the Holy One. Cf. *Lam. R.* Proëm. 24. In *Seder Gan 'Eden, BH.* iii. 139, the many heavens above the seven heavens are also conceived with the 18,000 worlds, and both are conceived of as the impenetrable 'Jenseits' into which no one from the manifested universe, whether from heavens or earth can enter. "A multitude of heavens above heavens did the Holy One, blessed be He, create—and the(se) highest heavens have no measure and no place (but they are the place of the worlds, cf. the similar saying about God). . . and no eye has seen these higher heavens except . . . God alone. . . and the 18,000 worlds (above the many thousands of worlds that are attached to and comprised in the seven heavens) have not been entered by any one save the Holy One, blessed be He, alone, as it is written (quoting Ps. lxxviii. 18, cf. note ch. xxiv. 17). . . for there is none who knows them save H' . . . alone".

whom not even the Seraphim and the 'Ophanim are permitted to behold. The *Seraphim* and the 'Ophanim are apparently represented as the two highest classes of *Merkaba*-angels, in agreement with the angelological section (chh. xxv, xxvi).

(3) all the spirits of the righteous who are worthy and (i.e. to) behold the joy of Jerusalem, are standing by it. The spirits of the righteous have their abode in the Presence of the Holy One, as acc. to ch. xliiii. The 'joy of Jerusalem' may refer either to the earthly or to the heavenly Jerusalem. The centre of the Messianic Kingdom in the end of times is acc. to vs. 10 the earthly Jerusalem. But the wording rather supports the interpretation of the expression 'the joy of Jerusalem' as referring to the heavenly Jerusalem: the spirits of the righteous are counted worthy and (are *novo*) beholding the joy of Jerusalem. For the conception of the heavenly City, and its different shades (the pre-existent Jerusalem, preserved with God in heaven; the heavenly city which is to descend on earth in the future age; "the heavenly counterpart of the earthly city, the eternal reality of which the literal city is but a shadow") in Apocalyptic, cf. 2 *En.* iv. 2, 4 *Ez.* viii. 52 (x. 26 seq., 54, vii. 26, xliii. 36), 2 *Bar.* iv. 2-6, Rev. xxi. 2, 9-xxii. 8 (Hebr. xi. 10-16, xii. 22, xiii. 14, 1 *En.* xc. 28, 29) and for a full discussion see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 198 seq. (further references given there). CHARLES, *Commentary on Rev.*, ch. xxi. 2, 10, BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johanns*, 5 Aufl., 1906, pp. 453 seqq. The heavenly Jerusalem is, acc. to *TB. Chag.* 12 b, contained in *Zebul* (the fourth heaven), acc. to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 21, in *Shechaqim* (the third heaven). Here it is perhaps

(Is. li. 9): "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord" according as it is written (Is. lxiii. 12): "He caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses".

(4) In that moment the Right Hand of *MAQOM* was weeping. And there went forth from its five fingers five rivers of tears and fell down into the great sea and shook the whole world, according as it is written (Is. xxiv. 19, 20): "The earth is utterly broken (1), the earth is clean dissolved (2), the earth is moved exceedingly (3), the earth shall stagger like a drunken man (4) and shall be moved to and fro like a hut (5)",⁵ five times corresponding to the fingers of his Great Right Hand.

(5) But when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, and no pious man (*Chasid*) on earth, and no justice in the hands of men; and (that there is) no man like unto Moses, and no intercessor as Samuel who could pray before *MAQOM* for the salvation⁶ and for the deliverance, and for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand⁶ that He put it before Himself again to work great⁷ salvation by it for Israel,

⁵ *E* ins.: 'behold'

6-6 *E* om.

7 *E* om.

regarded as having its place in the highest heaven by the Throne, since there is probably the permanent abode of the spirits of the righteous.

(4) the Right Hand of *MAQOM* was weeping. Cf. *Ber.* 3 a: the Voice goes forth three times every day (night) in the ruins of the Temple, bewailing its destruction and the dispersion of Israel among the idolatrous nations, and *Lam. R. Proëm.* 24: God weeping on account of the destruction of the Sanctuary.

five rivers of tears... shook the earth... five times. The number 'five' is deduced from the passage *Isa.* xxiv. 19 seq. from the five repetitions in that passage of expressions conveying the same thing: the earth being shaken.

(5) This and the following verses contain an eschatological piece treating of the final consummation by God himself in the end of times. No effort is made by the writer to reconcile it with the frame of the preceding acc. to which R. Ishmael is standing by Metatron's side beholding the Right Hand of God.

when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, etc. The deliverance of Israel and the establishment of the Kingdom on earth was to have been brought about as a consequence of the intercessions and prayers of the righteous and pious among the Israelites, see vs. 8. As the ideal examples of intercessors in the past the writer points to Moses and Samuel, cf. vs. 6. The identity as final goals of the deliverance of Israel, the revelation of the Heavenly Kingdom on earth and the reinstating of God's Right Hand in its right position and activity is here expressed: who could pray... for the deliverance, for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand, that He put it before Himself again. '*Again*', i.e. 'as in the ancient days, in the generations of old' (*Is.* li. 9) when it wrought salvation for Israel by the Red Sea (*Is.* li. 10) or when it stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth (*ch.* xliv. 7 and *Is.* li. 13).

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, ⁸favour, mercy⁸ and grace: and He will deliver His great Arm by himself, and His righteousness will support Him. According as it is written (Is. lix. 16): "And he saw, that there was no man"—(that is:) like unto Moses who prayed countless times for Israel in the desert and averted the (Divine) decrees from them—"and he wondered, that there was no intercessor"—like unto Samuel who intreated the Holy One, blessed be He, and called ^{8a}unto Him^{8a}, and he answered him and fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit (in accordance with the Divine plan), according as it is written (1 Sam. xii. 17): "Is it not wheat-harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord".

(7) And not only that, but He joined fellowship with Moses ⁹in every place⁹, as it is written (Ps. xcix. 6): "Moses and Aaron among His priests."¹⁰ ¹¹And again it is written¹¹ (Jer. xv. 1): "Though

8-8 E om. 8a-8a E om. 9-9 E om. 10 E adds: 'and Samuel among them that call upon His name'
11-11 E: 'and He says'

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, favour, mercy and grace: and He will deliver.... The final consummation brought about by God Himself is the burden of the whole fragment. The thought here is, that when the expectations for prayers and intercessions from the righteous in Israel are shown to be in vain, then God will support His work for the deliverance of Israel, i.e. the establishment of His Kingdom, by His own righteousness, merits and mercies: on their ground the establishment of the Kingdom by God Himself and alone will be justified—in spite of the lack of merits on the part of Israel.

Moses and Samuel. The interceding power of Moses with the Most High is a frequent theme in Rabbinic; it is especially attached to the narrative of the golden calf of Ex. xxxii (*TB. Ber. 32 a, Meg. 24 a, Ex. R. xlvii. 14, Num. R. ii. 14, Deut. R. i. 2*). Cf. also *Midrash Petirath Moshe, BH. i. 121* (Moses says: Rather sooner let Moses and a thousand like him perish than that one of the people of Israel should perish!" *ib. BH. i. 129*: "Numerous times did Israel provoke me to anger, but he (Moses) prayed for them and placated me"). Cf. further *TB. Ber. 7 a, Yoma, 36 b, Baba Bathra, 8 a*.

The verse, Is. lix. 6, 'And he saw that there was no man' etc. is also in '*Othioth ha-mMashiach, BH. ii. 60*, used of the end of times, preceding the appearance of Messiah ben Joseph. and His righteousness will support Him. This re-echoes the latter part of the quoted passage (Is. lix. 6): 'his righteousness, it sustained him'.

Samuel... fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit. The scriptural reference, 1 Sam. xii. 17, is to support the statement that God granted Samuel his requests, even when their fulfilment might not be in accordance with His own plan. To understand this the following part of the passage must be supplemented: "... I will call unto the Lord and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great... so Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain". The underlying idea is that God on this occasion interrupted the pre-determined course of events (implying a weather not destructive for the wheat-harvest) in favour of Samuel (sending thunder and rain).

(7) He joined fellowship with Moses, '*nizdawweg*': associated Himself with, revealed Himself face to face to.

Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Is. lxiii. 5): "Mine own arm brought salvation unto me".

(8) ¹²Said the Holy One, blessed be He¹² in that hour: "How long shall I wait for ¹³the children of men¹³ to work salvation according to their righteousness ¹⁴for my arm¹⁴? For my own sake and for the sake of my merit and righteousness will I deliver my arm and ¹⁵by it¹⁵ redeem my children from among the nations of the world. As it is written (Is. xlvi. 11): "For my own sake will I do it. For how should my name be profaned".

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world: for its length is as the length of the world ¹⁶ and its breadth is as the width of the world. And the appearance of its splendour is like unto the splendour of the sunshine in its might, in the summer solstice.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among ¹⁷the nations of the world¹⁷. And Messiah will appear unto them and He

12-12 E: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, will say (in that hour)' 13-13 E: 'my children' 14-14 so E. A: 'as my arm' 15-15 E om. 16 E adds: 'from one end of the world to the other' 17-17 E: 'them'

(8) How long shall I wait for the children of men (E: my children) to work salvation according to their righteousness. The salvation was ideally to be brought about by the righteousness and merits of Israel (in particular by their proclaiming His sovereignty every day in their prayers), but in the present lack of righteousness in Israel God will depend only on His own merit and righteousness.

The expression, 'how long shall I wait for my children to work salvation', shows that 'the righteous and pious man' (vs. 5) of whose total absence from within Israel the writer is conscious does not refer to a desired leader—in spite of the fact that Moses and Samuel are chosen as examples of righteous intercessors—but to a whole class of saintly men whose prayers and intercessions would have had the effect of drawing the *Shekina* and with it the Kingdom of Heaven down to earth again.

The symbolical expression, 'the Right Hand' of the Holy One, is in vss. 6-10 changed into that of 'God's Arm'. To the writer these two terms are apparently synonymous, since already, vs. 3, the 'arm of the Lord' in Is. li. 9 and 'His glorious arm' in Is. lxiii. 12, are made to refer to 'the Great Right Hand' of God. The variance of expressions is merely a reflection of the phraseology of the scriptural passages referred to in the fragment.

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world. The scriptural basis for this statement is given at the end of the following verse (Is. lii. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations". The revelation of the Arm is the revelation of the Kingdom but at the same time the Arm is the instrument for the realization of the Kingdom on earth.

its length is as the length of the world etc. Cf. ch. xxxii: God's sword 'like a lightning from one end of the world to the other'.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among the nations of the world—i.e. Israel's dominion will be established.

And Messiah will appear unto them and He will bring them up to Jerusalem. In contrast with ch. xlv. 5 this fragment apparently knows only one Messiah, the

will bring them up to Jerusalem with great joy. And not only that but

A:

they will eat and drink for they will glorify the Kingdom of Messiah, of the house of David, in the four quarters of the world. And the nations of the world will not prevail against them,

E:

Israel will come from the four quarters of the world and eat with Messiah. But the nations of the world shall not eat with them,

Messiah of the house of David; his role is to lead the dispersed Israelites up to Jerusalem. No Messianic wars bringing about the victory of Israel and the Kingdom are mentioned (contrast ch. xlv *ib.*)—on the contrary the actual consummation is to be effected by God Himself, through the aid of His Arm. Hence Messiah's role here is essentially passive: 'he will appear, be revealed to them'. Cf. 1 *En.* xx. 37, 38, lxii. 6, 7, 4 *Ez.* vii. 28 ("my Son, the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him"), *ib.* xiii. 32 ("then shall my Son be revealed"), 2 *Bar.* xxix. 3 ("it shall come to pass... that the Messiah shall begin to be revealed"), *Mysteries R. Shimeon B. Yochai, BH.* iii. 80 ("after that the Holy One, Blessed be He, will reveal to them Messiah, the son of David... Messiah will spring forth"), *TB. Sukka,* 52 b. In ch. xlv. 5 and 2 *Bar.* xl, on the other hand, the role of Messiah is decidedly active.

they will eat and drink (*A*)—Israel will come... and eat with Messiah (*E*). The Kingdom of Heaven as a feast is a well-known picture in the Gospels and Rev.: Matt. viii. 11, xxvi. 29, Luke xiv. 15-24, xxii. 16, 18, 30, Rev. ii. 7, iii. 20, xix. 9. For the banquet prepared for the righteous (with Messiah in the time to come) cf. 1 *En.* lxii. 14 ("And with that Son of man shall they [the elect] eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever"), 2 *En.* xlii. 5 ("At the last coming they will lead forth Adam with our forefathers, and conduct them there that they may rejoice as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him"), 2 *Bar.* xxix. 3, 4 ("Messiah shall then begin to be revealed... And Behemoth and Leviathan shall be for food for all that are left"), *Pirqe Aboth, iii.* 20 ("Everything is prepared for the banquet"), *Pesikta, 118 b* ("Behemoth and Leviathan are reserved for the feast of the righteous in the time to come"), *Pirqe Mashiach, BH.* iii. 76 ("Then [in the Messianic time] will the Holy One, blessed be He, make a feast for the righteous on Behemoth, Leviathan and the wild beasts of the field [Ps. i. 11, lxxx. 13]"), *Mysteries R. Shimeon ben Yochai, BH.* iii. 80 ("And Jerusalem will come down built and completed from heaven and Israel will dwell therein in safety for thousand years and will [sit and] eat Behemoth and Leviathan and... the wild beasts of the field [*ziz-ha-sSade*, cf. above, perhaps treated as a technical term]"). Cf. Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, 2nd ed., p. 327, BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 208.

To this conception is correlated that of the righteous in the future enjoying the (fruits of) the Tree of Life and spices of the Garden of Eden. Cf. ch. xxiii. 18, 1 *En.* xxv. 5, 2 *En.* ix, *Test. Levi*, 18, *Sibyll.* ii. 318, iii. 46, *Num. R.* xiii. 3.

(*E*) But the nations of the world shall not eat with them. Cf. and contrast St Matthew viii. 11, 12: "many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness". Cf. and contrast also Rev. xxi. 8 and especially xxi. 24, 27: "and the nations of the world shall walk in the light of it (the glory of God in Jerusalem) and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it... and there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth...".

Jerusalem is here obviously the earthly City: the nations of the world are outside its precincts, even desiring to conquer it: (*A*) 'the nations of the world will not

as it is written (Is. lii. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God". And again (Deut. xxxii. 12): "The Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him". (Zech. xiv. 9): "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth".

CHAPTER XLVIII (*cont.*) (B)

The Divine Names that go forth from the Throne of Glory, crowned and escorted by numerous angelic hosts through the heavens and back again to the Throne—the angels sing the 'Holy' and the 'Blessed'

AEFGH:

K:

(1) ¹ *These These are the seventy-two names written on the heart*

1 *FGH* begin: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, has seventy names that are explicit, and the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable. And these they are. (*The names are missing.*) These are the names etc.

prevail against them. There is no idea of a new earth nor even of the heavenly Jerusalem coming down (although this is not actually refuted). Contrast the passage in *Mysteries R. Shimeon ben Yochai, BH.* iii. 80, cited above, and Rev. xxi. The tradition embodied in the present fragment thus bears marks of being rather old (or at least archaistic).

(A) *the Kingdom of Messiah, of the house of David.* There is no hint that the kingdom of Messiah here is conceived of as temporary. On the contrary it is from the context to be identified with the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of God, see the reference to Zech. xiv. 9: "And *H'* shall be king over all the earth". The Kingdom of Messiah as identical with the Kingdom of Heaven represents the final consummation, in approximately the same sense as that of the prophetic eschatologies from which passages are drawn as scriptural support.

Ch. *xlvi* *cont.* (B, C and D). The additional fragments now following, in the translation marked 'ch. *xlvi* B, C and D' resp. entirely break off the continuity with the preceding. Not only is the frame of the present section and of all the rest of the book altogether abandoned, but there is also no connection whatsoever with the immediately preceding part of the chapter. *B*, treating of the Divine Names, is introduced without reference to any spokesman (in the preceding parts: R. Ishmael-Metatron). *C*, a short Enoch-Metatron piece is laid in the mouth of 'the Holy One, blessed be He'. *D*, dealing with the 70 names of Metatron and the revelation of the treasures of wisdom to Moses, is partly attributed to Metatron (vss. 6, 7), partly in general narrative form.

Neither *E* nor *A* can be made responsible for putting these additional fragments in their present place. In *A* they follow immediately on the preceding without the slightest break in the text; hence it is safe to conclude that they were already extant as concluding parts of the book in the ms. that *A* copied. Since *A* is in no way directly dependent on *E*, nor *vice versa*, both must be traced back to a common source in which the said fragments had been embodied.

The same fragments, however, recur in printed editions of the well-known *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba (rec. A), letter 'Aleph (although missing in some editions). And the ms.

A EFGH: K:

are the names of the Holy One, blessed be He: ŠŠ, ŠeDeQ {righteousness}, ŠaHI'eL ŠUR {Is. xxxvi. 4}, ŠBI, ŠaDdIQ

in the text-critical notes referred to as *m-š* (*Lm*), explicitly states its indebtedness for its recension of C 3-10, 12 and D (abridged) to *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*.

A common feature of *A* and *E* on one hand and the editions of *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* on the other is, that in the fragment *B* the actual Divine Names, there referred to, are missing—and were apparently missing already in the MSS. on which the said printed editions of 'Othiyot *R. 'Aqiba* were based (since they contain no express statement as to their being omitted in print, as in the case of the names of Metatron, fragment D, see text-notes, *ib.*).

In *Bodl. MICH. Add. 61*, fol. 13 a, however, following on a recension of the so-called *Sepher ha-qQoma* and *Seder Ma'ase Bereshith* (fol. 12 b) there occurs a fragment which no doubt is closely related to the present fragments—ch. xlviii b, c—although it represents only an abridged version. This fragment is embodied in text and translation in a separate column and is marked 'K' and כ resp. The distinguishing feature of *K* is that it gives the Divine Names and thus supplements the other sources.

Cf. further note on ch. xlviii c beginning and introduction.

(1) (*K*): These are the 72 names. . . . *FGH* count 70 'names that are explicit', and besides them innumerable names 'that are not explicit'. Ch. xlviii c 9, D 5, also refer to the '70 names of the Holy One'. The tension between the two tendencies of giving the precedence as holy or mystical number to 70 or 72 resp. is noticeable in the case of the Divine Names as well as of the Princes of Kingdoms (cf. note on ch. xvii. 3). In *Add. 27180*, foll. 39 b-61 a the Divine Names are given as 72, likewise in *S. ha-Chesheq*, where the (72) names are enumerated (*Add. 27120*, fol. 17 b). Cf. also the conception of the 72-lettered name.

that are written on the heart of the Holy One. . . . The specific place of the Divine Names is in different sources differently designed. The names are sometimes represented as written on the Fearful Crown, sometimes on the Throne, sometimes on the forehead of the Most High. Cf. the quotation from *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* in note on ch. xxxix. 1. Here the Names are represented as written on the heart of the Most High. In the *Shi'ur Qoma* or *Sepher ha-qQoma*, treating of the various members of the Godhead, it is said: "on the heart of the King of Kings there are written 70 names" (*Bodl. MICH. 175*, fol. 18 b; *Bodl. OPP. 467*, fol. 59 a b, in the second recension, the *R. Ishmael version*; *Bodl. OPP. 563*, fol. 92 b, also in the *R. Ishmael-recension*).

The names enumerated here are on the whole identical with those of the *Shi'ur Qoma* passage just referred to. The resemblance between *K* (ch. xlviii b) and that passage is as striking as to prompt the conclusion that one is dependent on the other. Hence the *Shi'ur-Qoma* passage in its different readings may be used as a text-critical aid to the present fragment.

The enumeration of Divine Names given here presents the following different categories: (1) firstly, the various synonyms of the Divine Name, originally drawn from the O.T., may be singled out from the rest. They comprise the category of Divine Names known as 'the Ten Names'. They are here ŠUR, ŠADDIQ, ŠEBAOTH, ŠHADDAY, 'ELOHIM, YHWH, YAH, CHAY, ROKEB 'ARABOTH. . . . The omission of the important name 'EHYE 'asher 'EHYE is, however, remarkable. In the *Shi'ur-Qoma* passage this name occurs after ŠEBAOTH in all the readings. It is probable that it was originally included also in the present fragment. The addition of this name, moreover, gives the number 72 as the number of names, agreeing with the specification in the opening of the fragment. For the name 'EHYE 'asher 'EHYE cf. ch. xlii. 2. (2) Another category is that of various permutations of the four letters constituting the *Tetragrammaton* and the 'EHYE', i.e. 'Aleph, Yod, He, Waw. (3) A third category comprises the permutations of other letters, derived from O.T. names or passages

A E F G H : **K :**

One, blessed be He, {righteous}, S'Ph, SHN, ŠeBa'oTh {Lord of Hosts}, ShaDdaY {God Almighty}, 'eLoHIM {God}, YHWH, SH, DGUL, W'DOM, SSS", 'YW', 'Y', 'HW, HB, YaH, HW, WWW, ŠŠŠ, PPP, NN, HH, HaY {living}, HaY, ROKeB 'aRaBOTH {riding upon the 'Araboth, Ps. lxxviii. 5}, YH, HH, WH, MMM, NNN, HWW, YH, YHH, HPhŠ, H'S, 'I, W', Š", Z', "", QQQ {Holy, Holy, Holy}, QShR, BW, ZK, GINUR, GINURYa', Y', YOD, 'aLePh, H'N, P'P, R'W, YYW, YYW, BBB, DDD, TTT, KKK, KLL, SYS, 'TT', BŠhKMLW {= blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever}, completed for MeLeK Ha'OLaM {the King of the Universe},

or from the different systems of substitutions of letters. Lastly a couple of names consist simply of a name of a letter of the alphabet: *Yod*, 'Aleph and *He*.

completed for *Mélek ha-'Olam*. The right interpretation of this is doubtful to decide. It seems that there was a tradition, according to which the explanation of the Divine Names or the series of the Divine Names was permissible as far as to the name *MELEK ha-'OLAM* (the King of the Universe). After that name it was not permissible to give explanations or discourses on the basis of the Names. Hence there arose the technical expression '*ad Melek ha-'Olam*'. Cf. e.g. *Bodl. opp.* 658, fol. 101 b. The real meaning of the expression in question here is thus probably (instead of 'completed for etc.'): here the series is completed with regard to the rule 'up to the name *MELEK ha-'OLAM* but not further'.

Holy, Holy, Holy... Blessed be the Name etc... Blessed be He who gives power to the faint etc. The names are inclosed in the responses of the *Qēdushsha* and in other glorifications. This is also the case with the names in the *Shi'ur-Qoma* fragment which in all readings ends with the response 'Blessed'. The letters representing the responses 'Holy' (QQQ) and 'Blessed' (bshkmlw) are to be regarded as together forming actual Divine Names, acc. to the *Notariqon*-system. Some of the other names are perhaps also derived from the responses, e.g. BBB, KKK, KKL. As Divine Names—and not as private additions of praise by the writer—are also to be considered the *Notariqon*-complexes at the end of the enumeration. As a support for these statements may be adduced the following commenting remark on *Sépher ha-Qoma* in *Bodl. opp.* 658, fol. 102 b: "the Names written in this book (*Sépher ha-qQoma*, thus including the parallel to our passage) are derived from scriptural verses and some of them are deduced from the '*Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever*'". For the early connection of the Divine Names with the *Notariqon*-system of, the so-called *Prayer of R. Neḥunya ben ha-qQana* embodied in the liturgy, the *Notariqon* of which forms the 42-lettered Name (known as אֵנָה בְּכַח גְּדִלַת יְמִינָךְ תַּתִּיר צְרוּרָה: וְנוּי: (אֲבָנֵי יְתִיב קָרַע שֶׁמֶן

(A) the names of the Holy One... that go forth... from the Throne of Glory. This echoes the idea represented in ch. xxxix. 1: 'the explicit names that are written with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory... fly off like eagles on sixteen wings'. See note *ad loc.* and cf. vs. 2 here: 'when they bring them back to their place, the Throne'. It is not actually stated here (as in ch. xxxix. 1) that the Names are written on the Throne, only that their place is before or by the Throne, and this in reality accords with the expression of *K* (and *Shi'ur Qoma*): 'written on the heart of the King of Kings, the Holy One', the 'heart' being in

AEFGH:

K:

BRĤ ĹB' {the beginning of Wisdom for the children of men}, BNLK W' Y' {blessed be He who gives strength to the weary and increaseth strength to them that have no might, Is. xl. 29}¹

that go forth (adorned) with numerous crowns of fire ² with numerous crowns of flame, ³ with numerous crowns of chashmal, with numerous crowns of lightning ⁴ from before the Throne of Glory⁴. And with them (there are) thousand ⁵ hundreds⁶ of power (i.e. powerful angels) who escort them like a king

AE:

FG:

with honour ⁷ and pillars⁸ of fire ⁹ and cloud(s)⁹, and pillars of flame,¹⁰ and with lightnings¹⁰ of radiance and with the likeness of (the) chashmal.

with trembling and dread, with awe and shivering, with honour and majesty and fear, with terror, with greatness and dignity, with glory and strength, with understanding and knowledge and with a pillar of fire and a pillar of flame and lightning—and their light is as lightnings of light—and with the likeness of the chashmal.

1 here follows a short fragment of C, see *ib.* 2 E ins.: 'with numerous crowns of righteousness' 3 FG ins.: 'with numerous crowns of flashes' 4-4 E om.
5 EFG ins.: 'myriads of camps of *Shekina* and thousand myriads of' 6 EFG: 'hosts' 7 E adds: 'with glory and strength and with great joy and rejoicing'
8 so E. A: 'pillar' 9-9 E om. 10-10 E: 'and they send forth as it were lightnings'

Shi'ur Qoma, the symbolical expression for the centre of the Throne. The Names are probably here as in ch. xxxix. 1 conceived of as self-existent beings. This is confirmed by the fact that they are depicted as crowned 'with flaming crowns, crowns of chashmal, crowns of lightnings etc.' and as escorted like 'kings' or 'mighty and honoured princes' (vs. 2) by hosts of angels. As self-existent heavenly beings the Names are naturally pictured in the form of angels: crowned (cf. note on ch. xviii. 1, xvi. 2, xl) and winged (acc. to ch. xxxix. 1). Cf. vs. 2. For the conception of the Names as crowned cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 24, where the letters of the Divine Name ('EHYE YHWH) are depicted as crowned: "and all of them (the letters) are crowned with crowns of brilliant flashes"; *ib.* *BH.* iii. 36: "At the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, enters the *Merkaba*. . . then the letters on the *Merkaba* come to meet him with songs. . . and the Holy One, blessed be He, embraces them, kisses them and wreathes them two crowns on each one of them: a crown of kingship and a crown of glory". Notice the hypostasized character of the letters (of the Divine Names) in the last quotation.

crowns of chashmal. . . with the likeness of chashmal. The *chashmal*, derived from Ezek. i. 4, is regarded as a celestial matter or substance. Cf. ch. xxxvi. 2 and note on ch. xxxiv. 1 (esp. the quotation from *Midrash Kōnēn, ib.*). From the same word is also derived the angelic class *Chashmallim* (cf. chh. vii and xlvi c 4).

thousand hundreds of power, i.e. angels. For this expression denoting angels cf. ch. xxxvi. 1 ('the *Nehar di-Nur* rises with many thousand thousands and myriads of myriads of power'). EFG in fact read 'hosts' instead of 'hundreds'.

(2) *And they give* ¹¹*glory unto them and they answer*¹¹ *and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy.* ¹² *And they roll (convoy)*¹³ *them through every heaven as mighty and honoured princes. And when they bring them all back to* ¹⁴*the place of*¹⁴ *the Throne of Glory, then all the Chayyoth by the Merkaba open their mouth in praise of His glorious name, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".* ¹⁵

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (C)

An Enoch-Metatron piece

<p>AEFGH: (I) <u>Aleph</u>¹ I made him</p>	<p>K: (I) "I seized him, and I</p>
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11-11 *EG*: 'unto them glory and praise of strength' 12 *GF* add: 'As it is written (Is. vi. 3): and one cried unto another and said: Holy, Holy, Holy' 13 *E* corr.: 'fill' 14-14 so *EFG* and *H. A*: 'their place' 15 *E* adds: 'And those names of the Holy One, blessed be He, that are not explicit, are innumerable and unsearchable. And these they are (!): *ADIRIRON*, Holy, Holy, Holy—I have written it in another place—*KPhTBIB*, that is *YaH*, the great name. They are written in another place'

Ch. xlviii (c). 1 *E*: 'thousand thousands'

(2) *And they give glory unto them and they answer and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy...* (and the Chayyoth say:) *Blessed etc.* The 'going forth' of the Names from the Throne of Glory is thus here, as in ch. xxxix. 1, connected with the heavenly performance of the responses of the *Qēdushsha*. Cf. vs. 1 (*K*). In ch. xxxix the performance of the *Qēdushsha* is treated as the central event to which the 'flying off' of the Divine Names was an accessory, here the representation is rather the reverse: the central interest is attached to the Names, the *Qēdushsha*-responses are even represented as addressed to the Names (just as the Divine Names are the objects of prayers and glorifications from the side of man).

they roll them. The 'rolling' is perhaps to be understood as referring to the names as angels mounted on wheels, cf. chh. xviii. 25, xxii. 7.

Ch. xlviii (c). This fragment is a version of the Enoch-Metatron tradition and exhibits traits very much resembling those of the Enoch-Metatron piece contained in chh. iii-xv of the present book. In fact, vss. 1-9 present the same details as those of chh. iii-xv, although in an epitomized form, vss. 10-12 add statements about Metatron's functions as establisher of the Divine decrees and as teacher of the prematurely dead children.

Both in *A*, *E* and the editions of *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba* the present fragment appears as a sequel to the fragment treating of the Divine Names (ch. xlviii B), and likewise in *K*. In the present context of *AE* as well as of edd. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba* there seems to be no internal connection between the two. In *AE* the fragment, ch. xlviii B, in its present form gives the impression of being quite out of place. Its only appropriate place would have been by ch. xxxix (also treating of the Divine Names). And also in *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*—although of a much looser structure than the present book—the reason for placing the fragment B in the context in which it is now introduced is not very apparent. The insertion of the fragment c, on the other hand,

A EFGH:

strong, I took him, I appointed him: (namely) Me-

K:

took him and I appointed him"—that is Enoch, the

is justifiable both as regards the present book and as regards the *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba: in the present book in view of its dealing with Enoch-Metatron, in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter 'Aleph, on account of its beginning with 'Aleph, representing the *Notarigon* (or mnemotechnical formula) for the three opening words אֶבְרַתִּי ('I made him strong'), לָקַחְתִּי ('I took him'), פָּקַדְתִּי ('I appointed him'), אֵלֶּם = אֱלֹהִים. The close connection that seems to prevail between the two fragments is hence neither to be explained by the assumption that they originally belong to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba (and when borrowed by other writings having been regarded as a unit) nor by the same assumption applied to the present book.

The explanation is presumably to be found in *K*, the only version that preserves the enumeration of the Divine Names in fragment B, an enumeration which must be presupposed as the original part of the fragment. In this enumeration of the Divine Names we find the word 'Aleph' as one of the Names (the 55th from the beginning). The 'Aleph' as representing the sentence 'I seized him, I took him, I appointed him (*K*)' is now the starting-point and basis of the exposition of the fragment, ch. xlviii c. Hence it is possible to conjecture that *the present fragment in reality is framed as a 'midrash' (in the proper sense) on the Divine Name 'Aleph.* On such a hypothesis the close connection between B and C would be easier to understand. Both B and C may have originated in the circles attaching great importance to the conception of Metatron, God's representative—whose names are based upon the names of his Creator (cf. vs. 9, chh. iii. 2, iv. 1, x. 3 seq., xii. 5). Among the Divine Names the 'Aleph' was chosen here as symbolizing the relation between the Holy One and His vice-regent, Metatron. 'Aleph is represented as the symbol of God's sovereignty in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, in passages preceding the version of B and C. 'Aleph as the name or one of the names of the Godhead is also vindicated by the *Shi'ur Qoma* passage (cf. above on ch. xlviii B). 'Aleph, Beth, etc., as symbolical for the Godhead, expressing different aspects of the Divinity, are dwelt upon in *TB. Shabbat*, 104 a. ('Aleph-Beth is explained as referring to the instruction in 'Intelligence', or the Tora.) As symbolical of Metatron the 'Aleph (and Beth) is expressly designed in *Hek. R.*, *BH.* iii. 104; Metatron's name is there "'Aleph, Beth", *BB*, *GG*, *DD*, *HH*, *WW*, *ZZ*, *HH*, *Metatron* etc. (cf. ch. xlviii D)". The name 'Alpha' seems also to have been ascribed to *Sandalphon* acc. to *Hek. Zof.* (*Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 67 a)—that angel occupying a position similar to or identical with Metatron's position (*scil.* in *Hek. Zof.*).

(1) I made him strong... in the generation of the first Adam. The word 'ibbartivo', here translated 'I made him strong', is of a doubtful interpretation. With reference to the expression 'in the generation of the first Adam' it is probable that the word was to express some activity from God's part in regard to Metatron. But Metatron is evidently from the beginning of the fragment identified with Enoch. Hence the meaning seems to be to allude to God's special care for Enoch during his life on earth, among the men of the generation of Adam. *K* has the easier reading 'I seized him', which of course is a mere synonym for 'I took him', and like the latter expression is made to refer to Enoch's removal to heaven.

For the details of the present exposition cf. on the parallel passages of the Enoch-Metatron section, chh. iii-xv. when I beheld the generation of the flood: ch. iv. 3. I removed my Shekina etc.: ch. v. 13, 14.

For vs. 2 cf. chh. vi. 1, 3, iv. 3.

For vs. 3 cf. chh. x. 6, viii. 1.

For vs. 4 cf. ch. x. 3 seq. I appointed him over the Chayyoth, the 'Ophanim etc. Cf. the angelic classes enumerated, ch. vii. Metatron is here represented distinctly as the Prince of the *Merkaba*-angels. (Contrast the angelological section, chh. xix seqq.)

AEFGH:

taṭron, ²my servant² who is one (unique) among all the children of heaven. I made him strong in the generation of the first Adam. But when I beheld the men of the generation of the flood, that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my *Shekina* from among them. And I ³lifted it up³ on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

(2) "And I took him": (that is) Enoch, the son of Jared, from among them. And I lifted him up with the sound of a trumpet and with a *teru'a* (shout) to the high heavens, to be my witness together with the *Chayyoth* by the *Merkaba* in the world to come.

AEFGH:

(3) I appointed him over all the treasuries and stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hand the keys of every several one.

K:

son of Jared, whose name is Metatron (2) and I took him from among the children of men (5) and made him a Throne over against my Throne. Which is the size of that Throne? Seventy thousand parasangs (all) of fire. (9) I committed unto him 70 angels corresponding to the nations (of the world) and I gave into his charge all the household above and below. (7) And I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence more than (to) all the angels. And I called his name "the LESSER YAH", whose name is by Gematria 71. And I arranged for him all the works of Creation. And I made his power to transcend (*lit.* I made for him power more than) all the ministering angels. (*Ends K.*)

Lm (begins here):

(3) He committed unto Metatron—that is Enoch, the son of Jared—all treasuries. And I appointed him over all the stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hands the keys of each heavenly store.

2-2 so *FG. A*: 'the Servant'

3-3 *FG*: 'ascended'

AEEFGH:

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes and a minister of the Throne of Glory (and) the Halls⁴ of 'Araboth: to open their doors to me⁵, and (of) the Throne of Glory, to exalt and arrange it; (and I appointed him over) the Holy *Chayyoth*⁶ to wreath crowns upon their heads⁶; the majestic 'Ophannim, to crown them with strength and glory; the honoured *Kerubim*, to clothe them in majesty⁷; over the radiant sparks, ⁸to make them to shine⁸ with splendour and brilliance; over the flaming *Seraphim*, to cover them with highness; the *Chashmallim* of light, ⁹to make them radiant with light⁹ and to prepare the seat for me every morning

Lm:

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes, and I made (of) him a minister of my Throne of Glory, to provide for and arrange the Holy *Chayyoth*, to wreath crowns for them (to crown them with crowns), to clothe them with honour and majesty to prepare for them a seat

A:

as I sit upon the Throne of Glory. And to extol and magnify my glory in

FGH:

when I am seated upon my Throne in glory and dignity that he may see my

Lm:

when he is sitting on his throne to magnify his

4 so FG. A: 'Hall' 5 FG: 'him' 6 so FG. A corr. 7 so ins. with FG
8-8 FGH: 'to bring them to remembrance' 9-9 FGH: 'to be girt with light'

a minister of the Throne of Glory...to exalt and arrange it. Cf. chh. vii and viii. 1.

to wreath crowns upon their heads etc. Cf. in the angelological section, chh. xxii. 12, xxv. 5 *et al.*

as I sit upon the Throne of Glory etc. The reading of *A* seems to be the best one. In *Lm* 'he' and 'his' should be emended into 'I' and 'my' resp. For the present representation cf. *Hek. R.* xi, *BH.* iii. 91: "When the angel of the Presence enters to exalt and glorify the Throne of His (God's) glory, and to prepare the seat for the mighty God of Jacob, then he puts thousand thousand crowns on

A:

the height of my power; (and I have committed unto him) the secrets of above and the secrets of below (heavenly secrets and earthly secrets).

FGH:

glory in the height of my power, in the secrets of above and in the secrets of below.

Lm:

glory in the height.

AFGH:

(5) I made him higher than all. The height of his stature, in the midst of all (who are) high ¹⁰ of stature¹⁰ (I made) seventy thousand parasangs. I made his Throne great by the majesty of my Throne. And I increased¹¹ its glory by the honour of my glory.

(6) I transformed his flesh into ^{11a} torches of fire^{11a}, and all the bones of his body into fiery coals; and I made the appearance of his eyes¹² as the lightning, and the light of his eyebrows as the imperishable light. I made his

Lm:

(5) The height of his stature among all those (that are) of high stature (is) seventy thousand parasangs. And I made his glory great as the majesty of my glory

(6) and the brilliance of his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory

10-10 so ins. with FGH. A here a lacuna 11 so FG. A corr. 11a-11a so FG. A: 'fire and thousands of fire' 12 FG: 'his appearance'

the honoured 'Ophannim...on the glorious Kerubim...the holy Chayyoth...the spark(s)''.

(I committed unto him) the secrets celestial and the secrets terrestrial (K: I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence. Cf. chh. x. 5, xi. 1, 2.

(5) I made him higher than all. Cf. ch. ix. 1. The measure here ascribed to Metatron, 70,000 parasangs, is unique to this fragment. As compared with the statement of ch. ix. 1 and the measures of the Throne of Glory acc. to ch. xxiii c the size here assigned to Metatron is remarkably small. Was the original reading perhaps 'surpasses all the others that are high of stature, with 70,000 parasangs'? The *Shi'ur Qoma* counts in thousands of myriads of parasangs in its description of the measures of the Throne (with the special units of measure prevailing in heaven) and *TB. Chag.* 13 a, in journeying distances of 500 years (the size of the world), cf. with that ch. ix. 1.

I made his Throne great by...my Throne of Glory. Cf. ch. x. 1.

(6) I transformed his flesh into fire etc. Cf. ch. xv.

AFGH:

face bright as the splendour of the sun, and his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory.

(7) I made ¹³ honour and majesty his clothing, beauty and highness ¹⁴ his covering cloak and a royal crown of 500 by (times) 500 parasangs (his) diadem.

Lm:

(7) his garment honour and majesty, his royal crown 500 by 500 parasangs.

AFGHLm:

And I put upon him of my honour, my majesty and the splendour of my glory that is upon my Throne of Glory. I called him ¹⁵ the LESSER YHWH, the Prince of the Presence, the Knower of Secrets: for ^{15a}every secret^{15a} did I reveal to him ¹⁶as a father¹⁶ and all mysteries declared I unto him ¹⁷in uprightness¹⁷.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my^{17a} Hall ¹⁸ that he may sit and judge the heavenly household on high. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him, to perform^{18a} his will.

(9) Seventy names did I take from (my) names and called him by them to enhance his glory.

Seventy princes gave I ^{18a}into his hand^{18a}, to command

13 FG ins.: 'glory' 14 FG ins.: 'and strength' 15 FG ins.: 'by my name'
 15a-15a: so FGLm. A: 'all' 16-16 FG: 'in love' Lm: 'as a friend'
 17-17 FGLm: 'as (I set up his Throne)' 17a Lm: 'his'
 18 FGLm ins.: 'on the outside' 18a, 18a-18a so with FGLm. A lacuna

(7) I made honour and majesty his clothing. Cf. ch. xii. 1, 2.

a royal crown...his diadem. Cf. ch. xii. 3. The measure of the crown, 500 by 500 parasangs, is an exclusive feature of the present fragment. In *Add.* 27199, fol. 114 a, the statement about Metatron's royal crown 'of 500 by 500 parasangs' is quoted from '*Ma'ase Merkaba*.'

I called him the LESSER YHWH. Cf. ch. xii. 4. ...the Knower of Secrets, 'Wise in Secrets' is part of the name of Metatron acc. to *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104. K. by Gematria 71: the numerical value of מְטַטְרוֹן is 71.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my Hall. Cf. ch. x. 2. that he may sit and judge the heavenly household. Cf. ch. x. 4, 5, xvi. 1, 2.

And I placed every prince before him... Cf. ch. x. 4, 5, xvi. 1, 2.

(9) Seventy names did I take from my names. Cf. chh. iii. 2, iv. 1 and xlviii D 5 (contr. xlviii D 1).

Seventy princes gave I into his hand, to command...in every language.

AFGHLm:

unto them ^{18b}my precepts and my words^{18b} in every language:

AFGH:

to abase ^{19a}by his¹⁹ word the proud to the ground, and to exalt^{19a} by the utterance of his¹⁹ lips the humble to the height; to smite kings by his speech, ²⁰to turn kings away from their paths²¹, to set up (the) rulers over their dominion as it is written (Dan. ii. 21): "and he changeth the times and the seasons, ²²" and to give wisdom unto all ²³the wise²³ of the world and understanding (and) knowledge to all who understand²⁴ knowledge, as it is written (Dan. ii. 21): "²⁵ and knowledge to them that know understanding", to reveal to them the secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement, (10) as it is written (Is. lv. 11):

Lm:

and to abase the proud to the ground
and to exalt the humble to the height
and to smite kings
and to bring rulers low
and to set up kings and rulers
and he changeth the times and the seasons
he removeth kings and setteth up kings
he giveth wisdom unto the wise
and knowledge to them that know understanding
and I appointed him to reveal secrets and to teach judgement and justice,

18b-18b *Lm* omits 19 *FG*: 'my' 19a-19a ins. with *FG*. *A* om. 20 *FG* ins.: 'to subdue rulers and presumptuous ones by his word' 21 *G*: 'kingdoms' 22 *FG* cont. (*MT*): 'he removeth kings and setteth up kings' 23-23 *FG*: 'kings' 24 *FG*: 'are intent upon' 25 *FG* ins. (*MT*): 'he giveth wisdom unto the wise'

the 'Princes of Kingdoms' are meant. Metatron is here definitely designated as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms, cf. chh. x. 3, xvi. 2.

to abase by his word etc. As chief of the princes of Kingdoms Metatron has general executive and governing power over the world. Through vs. 9 he is essentially defined as a 'Prince of the World'. Cf. on chh. xxx. 1 and iii. 2.

I appointed him to reveal secrets and to teach judgement and justice. Expresses the tradition of Metatron's character as communicator of the heavenly secrets to man (cf. ch. xlviij D 7), the role in which he appears in the frame of the present book.

AFGHLM:

'so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void ²⁶but shall accomplish (that which I please)²⁶'. 'E'eseh' (I shall accomplish) is not written here, but 'āsāh' (he shall accomplish)²⁷, meaning, that whatever word and whatever utterance goes forth from ^{27a}before the Holy One, blessed be He^{27a}, Metatron stands and carries it out. ^{27b}And he establishes the decrees of the Holy One, blessed be He. (Here the Lm version of fragment c ends.)

[(11) ²⁸"And he shall make to prosper²⁸ that which I sent". 'Ašliāḥ²⁹ (I will make to prosper) is not written here, but w^ehislīāḥ (and he shall make to prosper), teaching, that whatever decree goes forth from before the Holy One, blessed be He, concerning a man, as soon as he make repentance, they do not ³⁰execute it (upon him) but upon another, wicked man³⁰ ^{30a}, as it is written (Prov. xi. 8): "The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead".]

(12) And not only that but Metatron sits three hours every day in the high heavens, and he gathers all ³¹the souls of³¹ those dead who died in their mother's womb, and the sucklings who died on their mother's breasts, and of the scholars who died over the five³² books of the Law. And he brings them under the Throne of Glory and places them in companies, divisions and classes round ³³the Presence³³: and he teaches them the

26-26 A repeats dittographically 27 so FGLm (= MT) A: 'ma'aseh'
 27a-27a Lm: 'the mouth of the Divine Majesty (Gebura)' 27b Lm inserts 'by
 himself' 28-28 ins. with FG. A om. 29 FG: 'mašliach' 30-30 FG:
 'send him into punishment, but send them (the decrees) upon another, wicked
 man' 30a FG ins. 'instead' 31-31 so FG. A om. 32 FG om.
 33-33 FG 'himself'

(10) Metatron stands and carries it out... the decrees. Metatron *standing* and *executing* the Divine decrees represents another trend of traditions than those contained in the statement 'Metatron *sits* and *judges* the heavenly household'. But both seem to have been connected already at an early time. So in a pregnant (and contradictory) form in *Rev. of Moses* (Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893): "Metatron, the angel of the Presence, *stands* at the door of the Palace (Hall) of God. And he *sits* and *judges* all the heavenly hosts before his Master. And God pronounces judgement and he *executes* it". Cf. further on ch. xvi. 5.

(11) they do not execute it etc. This verse has no reference to Metatron, and it would seem that it does not belong to the Enoch-Metatron piece. It is a midrashic exposition on the continuation of Is. lv. 11, the scriptural passage used as support for the view on Metatron as executor of the decrees. It is omitted by Lm and may be regarded as additional.

(12) Metatron sits three hours every day... and teaches the prematurely dead. This is a well-known tradition with regard to Metatron, recurring in *TB. 'Aboda Zara*, 3 b (in a slightly different form), Metatron sharing the function with God himself, and frequently in later writings, cf. e.g. *YR. i. 31 b* (quoting 'Or haChayim).

Law, and (the books) of Wisdom, and Haggada³⁴ and Tradition³⁴ and finishes (completes) ³⁵their instruction (education) [for them]³⁵. As it is written (Is. xxxviii. 9): "Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand tradition³⁴? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts".

CHAPTER XLVIII (D)

The names of Metatron. The treasures of Wisdom opened to Moses on mount Sinai. The angels protest against Metatron for revealing the secrets to Moses and are answered and rebuked by God. The chain of tradition and the power of the transmitted mysteries to heal diseases

(1) *Seventy names has Metatron which the Holy One, blessed be He, took from his own name and put upon him. And these they are:*

1¹YeHOEL YaH, 2YeHOEL, 3YOPHIEL and 4Yophphiel, and 5'APHPHIEL and 6MaRGeZIEL, 7GIPpUYEL, 8Pa'aZIEL, 9'A'aH,

34 so FG. A plural 35-35 FG: 'for them the book of the Law'

Ch. xlviii (D). 1-1 In the printed editions FGH the names are left out except no. 105 'sAGNEZAGIEL' Lm: '(omission of names marked by a lacuna). Na'ar (= Youth, cf. chh. iii. 2, ix. 1). Ne'emana [= Faithful; again a lacuna] the LESSER YHWH [again lacuna] and he is called (NEGANZEGAE'L)

Ch. xlviii (D). This last fragment of the present chapter consists of mixed pieces of traditions only loosely bound together. The first, vs. 1, treats of the names of Metatron. Seventy names has Metatron. The number is given as 70 in accordance with chh. iii. 2, iv. 1, xlviii c 9. They are as in the passages mentioned, represented as a reflection of or based upon the Divine Name(s). The enumeration contains a larger number of names than the indicated 70. It evidently is a list of all the names that were known by the writer to be applied to Metatron. So also other enumerations, e.g. *S. ha-Chesheq*, ed. Epstein, and the commentary on Metatron's names, *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, exceed the number 70.

As to the character of the names here enumerated the majority are angelic names of the usual pattern. Nos. 83 and 85-86 (= *Zehanpuryu*) occur as names of angels in ch. xviii. 8, 21 of the present book. Cf. also no. 82 with *Zaksakiel*, ch. xviii. 17, and no. 73 with *Simkiel*, ch. xlv. 2, 3. In Schwab, *VA.*, the following names of the present enumeration recur as names of individual angels attested in other writings, viz. nos. 1, 3 and 4 (companion of Metatron, *Zohar*, i. 149 a, Prince of the Law, *ib.* iii. 197 b), 5 (Prince of Understanding, *S. Raziël*, 45 a), 6 (Prince of the Presence, *Hek. R.* xvii, xxvi, cf. xxx), 19 (in a variant form), 20, 21, 22 (in many variants), 24, 25, 48, 49, 51, 54, 60, 63, 83, 84, 85-86, 96, 104 (1 *En.* vi. 7).

These names which probably are understood as representing different aspects and functions of Metatron perhaps indicate that Metatron was to be conceived of as combining all the different functions assigned to the special angels of the resp. names. Cf. *YR.* i. 56 b, referred to below.

Another group among the names enumerated consists of variants of the name

10PeRIEL, 11TaTRIEL, 12TaBKIEL, 13'W, 14YHWH, 15DH
 16WHYH, 17'eBeD, 18DiBbURIEL, 19'aPh'aPIEL, 20SPPIEL,
 21PaŞPaŞIEL, 22SeNeGRON, 23MeTaTRON, 24SOGDIN, 25'A-
 DRIGON, 26'ASUM, 27SaQPAM, 28SaQTaM, 29MIGON,
 30MITTON, 31MOTTRON, 32ROSPHIM, 33QINOTH, 34Cha-
 TaTYaH, 35DeGaZYaH, 36PŞPYaH, 37'BŞKNYH, 38MZRG...
 39BaRaD... , 40MKRKK, 41MŞPRD, 42ChShG; 43ChShB,
 44MNRTTT, 45BŞYRYM, 46MITMON, 47TITMON, 48PiSQON,
 49ŞaPhŞaPhYaH, 50ZRCh, 51ZRChYaH, 52'B', 53BeYaH, 54HBH
 BeYaH, 55PeLeT, 56PLTYaH, 57RaBRaBYaH, 58ChaS, 59ChaSYaH,
 60TaPhTaPhYaH, 61TaMTaMYaH, 62ŞeHaŞYaH, 63'IR'URYaH,
 64'aL'aLYaH, 65BaZRIDYaH, 66SaTSaTKYaH, 67SaSDYaH,
 68RaZRazYaH, 69BaZRazYaH, 70'aRIMYaH, 71SBHYaH,
 72SBIBKHYH, 73SiMKaM, 74YaHSeYaH, 75ŞŞBIBYaH,
 76ŞaBKaŞBeYaH, 77QeLILQaLYaH, 78KIH HH, 79HHYH, 80WH,
 81WHYH, 82ZaKkIKYaH, 83TUTRISYaH, 84SURYaH, 85ZeH,
 86PeNIRHYaH, 87Z'ZI'H, 88GaL RaZaYYa, 89MaMLIKYaH,
 90'TTYaH, 91'eMeQ, 92QaMYaH, 93MeKaPpeRYaH, 94PeRISHYaH,

Metatron, e.g. nos. 23 (Metatron), 30, 31, 46, 47. This category of names forms part also of other enumerations of Metatron's names.

A few names are permutations of the letters of the *Tetragrammaton* and 'EHYE, after the pattern of the enumerations of Divine Names: nos. 13 = 16, (53), 80, 81. Cf. note on ch. xlviii B 1.

Lastly mention may be made of the specific appellations of Metatron: no. 17 'Ebed (= Servant) and no. 102 *the Lesser YHWH*. 'Ebed, 'servant', is expressly attached to Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron sections, chh. x. 3, xlviii c 1, the *Lesser YHWH* in chh. xii. 5, xlviii c 7. On the other hand it is noteworthy that the name 'Na'ar' which is given a prominent place in chh. iii and iv, is not included in the present enumeration, nor in those of YR. i. 60 b, *S. Chesheq*, *Bodl.* MICH. 256, foll. 29 a-44 a. It seems, however, to have been extant in the recension of which *Lm* is an abridgement. Besides, acc. to traditions appearing in *Zohar* (e.g. i. 223 b) and elsewhere, cf. YR. i. 56 a (from 'Pardes'), Na'ar is represented as equivalent with 'Ebed': "Metatron is called 'Na'ar' (= נאִר, Servant) because he does the service of a na'ar, he ministers before the *Shekina* and he distributes maintenance to all the companies of angels". (Metatron as 'na'ar' is also identified with Abraham's servant Elieser—through combination with Ps. xxxvii. 25 also called *Zaqen* and *Saba de-Beta*, the Eldest of his house: *Zohar*, i. 149 a et al.)

Among the other names may be of special interest: *Pisqon* (no. 48), occurring *Sanh.* 44 b, and by Rashi referred to Gabriel. It evidently denotes Metatron's office of deciding, passing judgement, cf. ch. xlviii c 8, 10, x. 5. This name also occurs in the form 'Ru'ach *Pisqonith*, the deciding spirit' (*Bodl.* MICH. 256, name no. 25); cf. *Pesiqtha* 27 b. *Senegron* (no. 22), i.e. 'defensor', whereby Metatron is indicated as occupying the same position as in Rabbinic is usually assigned to Mikael: defending Israel against the accusations of Satan, *Sammael*, or the representatives of the heathen nations, cf. on ch. xxx. *Gal Razayya* (no. 88) cf. *Razrazyah* (no. 68), i.e. 'Revealer of secrets' or 'knower of secrets.' Cf. ch. xlviii c 7, ch. xi. He is the mediator transmitting the celestial secrets to man. The name '*Galli-Razayya*' is the sixty-seventh of the names enumerated, *Bodl.* MICH. *ib.* Related to this name is no. 91 ('depths *scil.* of secrets'). Noteworthy is

95 *SePhaM*, 96 *GBIR*, 97 *GiBbORYaH*, 98 *GOR*, 99 *GORYaH*, 100 *ZIW*, 101 *OKBaR*, the 102 *LESSER YHWH*, after the name of his Master, (Ex. xxxiii. 21) "for my name is in him", 103 *RaBIBIEL*, 104 *TUMIEL*,¹ 105 *Segansakkiel*², the Prince of Wisdom.

2 FG: 'Sagnezagiel' Lm: 'Neganzegael'

Mekapperyah (no. 93) which would seem to assign to *Metatron* an atoning function. *Yehoel* (no. 1) is as well in earlier as in later literature the name of the high angel of the 'Presence' (cf. BOX, *Ap. Abr.* x, xii). His name is composed of the letters of the Divine Name, hence the '*shemi beqirbo*' ('my name is in him') could appropriately be applied to him. Cf. *Ap. Moses*, and in a later attestation e.g. *Add. 26922*, foll. 41 b seqq. (*Yehoel* on a level with *Metatron* as the Prince of the Presence). Lastly the *Tetragrammaton* itself appears as one of the names: no. 14.

For enumerations of the names of *Metatron* cf. *inter al.*: (1) *Hek. R.* xxvi. BH. iii. 104 (the centre of this enumeration are the 'eight names': *Margeziel*, *Giyothiel*, etc., *Yehoel*. . . *Sagnesagiel*): "In the camps of the holy angels they call him: 'Metatron, the 'Ebed YHWH (!), the long-suffering and the merciful or: YHWH, wise in secrets etc.'" (2) *Hek. Zof. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 69 b, containing nos. 6, 46, 84 here, and '*Uzyah*, *Menuryah*, *Sasnegaryah*, *Aṭmon*, *Sigron*, etc. (3) *Hek. Zof. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 70 a: "... the prince of the Host on high, the 'Ebed YHWH, God of Israel, blessed be He, longsuffering etc."; cf. *Hek. R.* above. The Divine Attributes (from Ex. xxxiv. 6-7, cf. 4 Ez. vii. 132 seqq.) seem to have been ascribed to *Metatron*, and the name 'Ebed' to have been referred to the 'Ebed YHWH picture of Deutero-Isaiah. (4) *Shi'ur Qoma*, e.g. *Bodl. OPP.* 467, fol. 59 a, *Bodl. OPP.* 563, fol. 92 b: "Metatron, *Ruḥ Pisqonith* (cf. above), *Iṭmon*, *Hegron*, *Sigron*, *Maṭon*, *Miṭon Neṭiṭ*, *Neṭiṭh*". (5) *YR.* i. 56 b from *Tiqquim*. This passage makes an attempt at explaining the meaning of the names. *Metatron*, it says, is called by the resp. names acc. to the various functions he is performing. He is called '*Oṭmon*' (from '*aṭam* = stop, shut') when he seals the guilty in Israel, '*Sigron*' ('*sagar* = shut') when he shuts the doors of prayers (i.e. the doors through which man's prayers are let into heaven), '*Piṭḥon*' at the time when he opens for the prayers, '*Pisqon*' (cf. above) at the time when he decides *Halakoth* in *Raqia'*, in the (celestial *Beth Din*. . . And this angel is called by 60 myriads of names of angels (cf. above). He is called '*Chaṣdiel*' when he does kindness to the world, '*Gabriel*' at the time when '*gebura*' is in the world, '*Sithriel*' when he hides the children of the world under his wings from the angels of destruction. He is also called *Sidqiel*, *Raphael* and *Malikiel*. (6) *YR.* i. 60 b, from a '*midrash*', with reference to *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*', hence possibly a fragment of a recension of the present verse. In fact, the following names of the present verse occur there: nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 27, 28, 17, 30, 49 (variant), 21 (and variant), 22, 48 (as *Pisqonith*), 25. Of the remaining twenty names of that passage five recur in *S. ha-Chesheq* and the related commentary on *Metatron's* names, *Bodl. MICH.* 256 and a couple of the rest in the *Hek. R.* and *Hek. Zof.* passages referred to above. (7) *S. ha-Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120, foll. 1 seqq.). The following names of the present verse occur there: nos. 11, 17, 21, 25, 30, 41, 49, 51, 54, 58-59, 60, 61, 64, 75, 77, 90, 94, 95. (8) *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, a treatise called *Shemoth shel Metatron*: 'The Names of *Metatron*', presenting 77 different names with commentary. The names and order of names are on the whole identical with or resembling those of *S. ha-Chesheq*. It may be noted that the '*Yephphyah*' of vs. 4 of the present fragment (the Prince of the Law who transmits the treasures of Wisdom-Tora to Moses) is included in this enumeration as a name of *Metatron*. *Sigron*, '*Iṭmon*', '*Ebed*', *Senegron*, *Galli-Razayya* also occur. The comments on the names consist in explanations by means of *Gematria*. The names are here also represented as signifying different functions of his. The name *Metatron* e.g. is by *gematria* '*Shaddai*', for he said to God's world: it is enough ('שָׁדַי'); and *Metatron* carries the world upon the great crown, and he is

(2) *And why is he called by the name Sagnesakiel? Because ³all the treasuries of wisdom are committed³ in his hand.*

(3) *And all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai, ⁴so that he learnt them during the forty days, while he was standing (remaining) ⁵ ⁴: the Torah in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, ⁶the Prophets in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Writings in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues⁶, ⁷the Halakas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Traditions in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Haggadas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues and the Toseftas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues⁷.*

(4) *But as soon as the forty days were ended, he forgot all of them in one ⁸ moment. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, called Yephiphyah, the Prince of the Law, and ⁹(through him) they were given to Moses as a gift⁹. As it is written (Deut. x. 4): "and the Lord gave them unto me". And after that it remained with him. ¹⁰ And whence do we know, that it remained (in his memory)?¹⁰ Because it is written (Mal. iv. 4): "Remember ye the Law of Moses my servant¹¹ ¹²which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even my statutes and judgements¹²". 'The Law of Moses': that is the Tora, the Prophets and the Writings, 'statutes': that is the Halakas and Traditions, 'judgements'; that is*

3-3 G: 'all wisdom is committed' F: 'the wisdoms are all committed' 4-4 Lm: 'for they taught him them in forty days while Metatron was standing' 5 FG ins.: 'on the mount of the Torah' 6-6 ins. with FGLm. 7-7 Lm om. 8 Lm ins.: 'short' 9-9 FG: 'he gave them to Moses as a gift' Lm: 'he gave him all of them as before (i.e. he had forgotten them) as a gift' 10-10 Lm om. 11 here Lm ends 12-12 so ins. with FG, for the sake of the following context.

suspended from the finger of the Holy One, blessed be He; it is by gematria 'Shu^{ah}' (from 'shi^{ah}' = prayer) for he is appointed to receive the prayers. The name *Ṭīṭṛasyah* is by gematria 'Gash' ('come near', numerical value 303), for he comes nearer to the Throne than any other angel. It is by gematria 'ha-Rahāmān' ('the Merciful'), for when the Holy One is wroth with his children, Metatron prays before him and turns him from the attribute of justice to the attribute of mercy (cf. ch. xxxi, Ber. 7 a) and so on.

(2) Sagnesakiel. On this name confer note on ch. xviii. 11. Because all the treasuries of wisdom are committed in his hand. Cf. chh. x. 5, 6, viii. 1, xi, xlviii c 7.

(3) all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai. . . . The treasuries of wisdom contain the heavenly Tora which was revealed to Moses. The narrative contained in vs. 3 and occurs in variant forms in *Ex. R.* xlvi, *Num. R.* xviii *et al.* It is also in a similar form extant in *Rev. Moses* (*Pes. R.* xx), *BH.* i. 60 seqq. and in this recension it recurs in *YR.* ii. 67 b, quoted from *Pirke Hehaloth*. Acc. to *Lm* and vss. 7 seqq. it seems that Metatron was the transmitter of the Tora to Moses. This would account for the insertion of the fragment here.

(4) he forgot all of them etc. 'when he began to go down and saw all. . . the angels of fear, of trembling, of awe and dread, then trembling seized him and he forgot all of them in one moment', acc. to *Rev. Moses*, *YR.* ii. 67 b.

the Haggadas and the Toseftas. And all of them were given¹³ to Moses¹⁴ on high¹⁴ on Sinai.

(5) These seventy names (are) a reflection of the Explicit Name(s) on the Merkaba which are¹⁵ graven upon the Throne of Glory. For the Holy One, blessed be He, took from His Explicit Name(s) and put upon the name of Metatron: Seventy Names of His by which¹⁶ the ministering angels¹⁶ call the King of the kings of kings,¹⁷ blessed be He, in the high heavens, and twenty-two letters¹⁸ that are on the ring upon his finger with which are sealed¹⁹ the destinies of the princes of kingdoms on high²⁰ in greatness and power and with which are sealed the lots of the Angel of Death, and the destinies of every nation and tongue²¹.

(6) Said²² Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence; the Angel, the Prince of the Wisdom; the Angel, the Prince of the Understanding; ²³ the Angel, the Prince of the Kings; the Angel, the Prince of the Rulers;

13 FG: 'said' or 'read' 14-14 FG om. 15 FG: 'is' 16-16 so ins. with FG. A lacuna 17 FG ins.: 'the Holy One' 18 FG: 'seals' 19 FG ins.: 'all the orders of the heaven of 'Araboth' 20 FG ins.: 'in reign and dominion' A lacuna 21 FG: 'kingdom' 22 so ins. with G. A lacuna F: 'For' 23 FG ins.: 'the angel, the Prince of the Glory, the Angel, the Prince of the Hall(s)'

(5) These seventy names are a reflection... Cf. on chh. xlviii c 9 and iii. 2. The seventy names are here referred to the Most High as King of the kings of kings, probably indicating the aspect of rulership over the world, the seventy nations. When ascribed to Metatron they signify, as may be assumed, Metatron's character of representative ruler of the world, esp. over the princes of kingdoms; cf. the statement following: '(put upon Metatron's name... the twenty-two letters... with which are sealed the destinies of the princes of kingdoms... and the destinies of every nation and tongue. Cf. also on chh. iii. 2, x. 3, xvi. 2, xlviii c 9 and vs. 6 here: Metatron... the Prince of the... princes, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth.

the Explicit Name(s)... which are graven on the Throne of Glory. Cf. chh. xxxix. 1, xlviii B 1, xiii. 1, xli. 4.

and twenty-two letters... The twenty-two letters are presumably conceived of as contained in the Divine Names that were 'put upon Metatron'. The holy letters constitute the Names, hence Names and letters are terms interchanged, with which are sealed. The creations and decrees of the Holy One are often represented as established by, sustained by or sealed with a Divine Name or a letter. Cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 24: "All the Explicit Names are written with He etc. And heaven and earth are sealed with it (them) and this world and the world to come and the days of Messiah. And how many are the letters by which heaven and earth are sealed? They are 12... namely the letters of the Name 'Ehye' asher 'Ehye' (Aleph, He, Yod, He, etc.)". on the ring upon his finger. Cf. *ib.* 25: "they are sealed with the ring: 'EHYE' asher 'EHYE". the destinies of the... Angel of Death and the destinies of every nation and tongue. 'The lots, 'D]E, of the angel of death' presumably means 'the records of the ultimate fate of individuals and nations, kept with the angels of Death'; cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, rec. B, BH. iii. 63: "the Pittaqa, the records of destinies of every nation are kept with thee (the angel of Gehenna, Negarsanael,) but the Pittaqa of thine do not include the people of Israel".

²⁴the angel, the Prince of the Glory²⁴; the angel, the Prince ²⁵of the high ones, and of the princes²⁵, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth:

(7) "H, the God of Israel, is my witness in this thing, (that) when I revealed this secret to Moses, then all the hosts in every heaven on high raged against me and said to me: (8) Why dost thou reveal this secret to ²⁶a son of man²⁶, born of woman, tainted²⁷ and unclean, ²⁸ ²⁹a man of a putrefying drop²⁹, the secret by which were created heaven and earth, the sea and the dry land, the mountains and hills, the rivers and springs, Gehenna of fire and hail, the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; and by which were formed Adam ³⁰and Eve³⁰, and the cattle, and the wild beasts, and the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, ³¹and Behemoth³¹ and Leviathan, and the creeping things, the worms,

24-24 FG om. 25 G: 'of the princes; the angel, the Prince of the high ones'
 F: 'of the high princes' 26-26 FG: 'the children of men' 27 A: 'tailed'
 28 FG ins.: 'men of blood and gonorrhoea' 29-29 FG: 'men of putrefying drops'
 30-30 FG om. 31-31 ins. with FG. A om.

(7) when I revealed this secret to Moses . . . the secret by which were created heaven and earth . . . Gehenna . . . the Garden of Eden . . . the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge etc. all the hosts of every heaven raged against me. With this may be compared the fragment, containing protesting words of the angels, preserved in *Hek. R.* xxix: "This Secret may not go out from the house of thy treasures and the mystery of subtle understanding from thy treasures. Do not make flesh and blood equal to us".

Another parallel is found in *Hek. Zof. MICH.* 9, fol. 68 b: "Thou didst reveal secrets and secrets of secrets, mysteries and mysteries of mysteries to Moses, and Moses to Joshua etc. (cf. below) . . . and Israel made out of them the Tora and the Talmud . . ." So also here the Tora, Wisdom and Knowledge are said to be formed through the 'Secret'.

The 'secret' is hence the Wisdom or totality of Gnosis on which the written and oral Tora is based, and by which the whole manifested world is created. If brought into connection with vs. 2, 3 the 'secret' of the present verse refers to the contents of 'the treasures of wisdom' that were all opened to Moses on Sinai. What the inner essence of the secret is conceived to be is not immediately apparent here. The chain of tradition set forth in vs. 10 suggests that it was thought to be contained in the mystical knowledge or traditions of the secluded circles of 'the men of faith'. In the present connection it would seem that the ultimate constituent parts or elements of the secret is the 'Letters and Names'. By the letters heaven and earth are created, acc. to chh. xiii, xli, and wisdom, understanding etc. 'by which the whole world is established' (ch. xli. 3, cf. here). The Tora itself, either celestial or as transmitted to Israel, is constituted by the letters in the mystical sense. God's conferring His Names and 'Letters' on Metatron symbolize Metatron's initiation in the celestial gnoseis; thereby he is the Prince of Wisdom, the guardian of the 'treasures of Wisdom' (vs. 2). This view is supported by the following passage in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 26: "God revealed to Moses on Sinai all the (Divine) Names, both the names that are explicit, the names that are graven upon the Crown of Kingship, the names graven upon the Throne of Glory, the Names graven upon the Ring on his hand, the names that are standing like fiery pillars round his chariots, the names that surround the *Shekina* as eagles of the *Merkaba*, and the Names, by which are sealed heaven and earth, the sea and the

the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

A:

Hast thou obtained authority from MAQOM? And again: Hast thou received permission? The Explicit Names went forth from before me

FG:

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority. And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth

with lightnings of fire and ³² flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away ³³with rebuke³³ from before him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all³⁴ the children of heaven.

(10) And Metatron ³⁵brought them out³⁵ from his house of treasures and committed them³⁶ to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra ³⁷and Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the elder, and Hillel the elder to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera, and R. Zera to the men of faith, and the

32 FG ins.: 'sparks of splendour' 33-33 so FG ins. A lacuna 34 ins. with FG 35-35 FG om. 36 FG: 'it' 37 FG ins.: 'the Scribe'

dry land... the orders of the world and the orders of Creation... *Zebul*, 'Araboth, and the Throne of Glory, the treasures of life and the treasures of blessings...' (Graetz: "the secret=*Shi'ur Qoma*!" see Introd.). (10) And Metatron brought them out... to heal all diseases etc. The verse may be additional here, since it assigns to the 'mysteries' primarily a practical, magical import, whereas the practical interest in the mysteries is nowhere represented in the rest of the chapter nor the whole of the present book. Besides it is not a direct continuation of vs. 9: it refers to the transmitted lore as 'them', in the plural, vs. 9, speaking only of 'it', the 'secret'. The transmitted secrets are included in the revelations of oral Tora from the treasures on high to Moses, as in vss. 3 and 4. committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The chain of tradition is modelled on the characteristic pattern, attested in *Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1 (Moses received the Tora from Sinai, and transmitted it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders etc.). A close parallel to the present passage is found in *Hek. Zof. Bodl.* MICH. 9, fol. 68 b, already referred to above, "...revealed... the secrets... to Moses, and Moses to Joshua and Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, the prophets to the *chasideim*, the *chasideim* to those who feared the Name, and these to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to all Israel, and Israel made out of them the Tora". For chains of secret tradition cf. also 2 *En.* xxxiii. 10, *TB. Chag.* 14 b, *Yer. Chag.* 77 b, *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b. to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera.

*men of faith*³⁸ (committed them) to give warning and to heal by them all diseases that rage in the world, as it is written (Ex. xv. 26): "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord, thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord, that healeth thee". (Ended and finished. Praise be unto the Creator of the World.)

38 FG ins.: 'to the masters of faith'

R. Abbahu, Palestinian Amora, head of the Academy at Caesarea, second generation; R. Zera, the pupil of R. Abbahu, migrated from Babylon to Palestine. The sponsor of the present fragment apparently regards the 'secrets' as belonging to the Palestinian teachings. the men of faith presumably is the technical term for the select few by which the 'secrets' were supposed to be guarded before they received the publicity of the writer's time. They are referred to as a definite class among those who are to be inhabitants of the future world in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 29. As receivers and guardians of the secrets 'the men of faith' appear also in *Zohar*, e.g. i. 37 b (בני מן־מִנְוֹתָא). Cf. the frequent Mandaitic expression בהירא זירקא (Lidzbarski: "Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit") and in this connection especially Lidzb., *Mand. Lit.* 269^{b-6} (also 268⁹—269²): "Hibil blessed thee (i.e. the banner *shishlamel*) and committed (or gave) thee to the hidden Adam. Adam blessed thee with great blessing and gave thee to the *Bêhirê Zidqa* (men of provèd faith, righteousness) to enlighten their appearance and cause it to shine exceedingly." *Vide* *Introd.* section 7. to heal...all diseases...as it is written (Ex. xv. 26) etc. The use of magical devices for purposes of healing was brought in connection with the passage Ex. xv. 26 already at an early time: the verse itself was used as a magical formula acc. to the denouncement of those 'who recite Ex. xv. 26 with a view to healing' attributed to R. Aqiba (recorded in *Ab. R. Nathan*, xxxix). Naturally the verse was also used to supply efficacious names (through permutations of the letters, acrostics etc.) for the same practical purpose. Cf. *Tos. Sabb.* 7, *Ab. Zara*, 67 b, *Mishna Sanhedrin*, xi. 1, *Tos it.* xii. 10, *Gem it.* 101 a; *TB. Sheb.* 15 b. For the 'secrets' committed to Moses containing 'רברִי רפואה' cf. especially the *Ma'yan Chokma* (end), *Arze Lebanon*, 46 b seq.

PART III

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES

the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

A:

Hast thou obtained authority from MAQOM? And again: Hast thou received permission? The Explicit Names went forth from before me

FG:

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority. And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth

with lightnings of fire and ³² flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away ³³with rebuke³³ from before him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all³⁴ the children of heaven.

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dry land. . . the orders of the world and the orders of Creation. . . Zebul, 'Araboth, and the Throne of Glory, the treasures of life and the treasures of blessings. . .'" (Graetz: "the secret=*Shi'ur Qoma!*" see *Introd.*). (10) And Metatron brought them out. . . to heal all diseases etc. The verse may be additional here, since it assigns to the 'mysteries' primarily a practical, magical import, whereas the practical interest in the mysteries is nowhere represented in the rest of the chapter nor the whole of the present book. Besides it is not a direct continuation of vs. 9: it refers to the transmitted lore as 'them', in the plural, vs. 9, speaking only of 'it', the 'secret'. The transmitted secrets are included in the revelations of oral Tora from the treasures on high to Moses, as in vss. 3 and 4. committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The chain of tradition is modelled on the characteristic pattern, attested in *Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1 (Moses received the Tora from Sinai, and transmitted it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders etc.). A close parallel to the present passage is found in *Hek. Zof. Bodl.* MICH. 9, fol. 68 b, already referred to above, ". . . revealed. . . the secrets. . . to Moses, and Moses to Joshua and Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, the prophets to the *chasidim*, the *chasidim* to those who feared the Name, and these to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to all Israel, and Israel made out of them the Tora". For chains of secret tradition cf. also 2 *En.* xxxiii. 10, *TB. Chag.* 14 b, *Yer. Chag.* 77 b, *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b. to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera.

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II. INDEX AND VOCABULARY TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATED TEXT OF THE WHOLE OF 3 ENOCH

(Abbreviations: *I.* the inceptive sentence of the chapters in question; *qu.* the word in question occurs in a Scriptural quotation; *s.* substantive; *adj.* adjective; *v.* verb.)

- Aaron 1³ 2³ 4⁵ 48 A⁷ *qu.*
Abba'u, R. 48 D¹⁰
 Abraham 44⁷ 10 45³
 abundance 25 B³
 academy 45²; celestial academy, *see* 'colleges'
 accuse 4⁶; *see also* 'bring charges against'
 Accuser, Accusers (angelic) 14²
Acher (Elisha ben Abuyah) 16^{2,4}
 Adam, the first Adam 5^{1,10} 45³ 48 C¹ 48 D⁶
Adrigo'n (a name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 25
 adversary 40³ *qu.*
 advocates (angelic) 15 B²
Akatriel Yah Yehod Seba'oth (Divine Name) 15 B⁴
Aleph 44⁹ (from *Aleph* to *Taw*) 48 C¹ alive, to make alive 18^{23,24}
 Almighty 42⁵
 altar 24⁵
 'al toratheka 44⁹
 'Amram 1³ 15 B⁵ 45³
 'Anaphiel H 6¹ 16⁵ (*BDL*) 18¹⁸
 Ancient Ones (angels) 4⁶
 Angel, Angels 1^{3,4} 3^{1,2} 6¹ 7¹ 11¹ 14¹ 15¹ 16¹ 17¹ 18¹ 19¹ 20¹ 21¹ 22¹ 42¹ 44¹; 4^{1,5} 10³ 14³ 17⁴ 18¹ 19^{1,6} 22^{1,6,7} 24⁶ *qu.* 26³ 27³ 35^{1,2} 44² 47¹; *see also* the following:
 Prince 1³ 4^{5,6} 6¹ 10^{3,4,6} 15 B¹ 16⁵ 17³ 18¹ 19¹ 20¹ 22^{1,11,16} 25¹ 26^{9,12} 27¹ 38³ 44^{2,10} 48 C^{4,8} 48 D¹⁴
 Prince of Israel (*Mikael*) 44¹⁰; (the) Kings 48 D⁶; (the) host 17³; *MAQOM* 44²; the Presence (Metatron) 1^{4,9} 3¹ 15 B^{2,4,5} 48 C⁷ 48 D⁶ 5¹ 42¹ 44¹; *Tora* (the Law) 48 D⁴; Understanding 10⁵ 48 D⁶; Wisdom 10⁵ 48 D¹ no. 105 48 D⁶; (the) World 30² 38³
 Princes 17^{1,10} 4¹ 10³ 14¹ 15 B¹ 17¹ 18^{2,3,4,5,22,23,24} 19^{1,6} 22¹⁰ 22 B⁷ 27¹ 28¹ 30^{1,2} 35³ 48 B², 48 C⁹; of the army (the) chieftains of the angels chanting the *Trisagion* or *Qedushsha*) 35³, *see* 18^{4,5} 40²; of Kingdoms 10³ 14^{1,2} 16^{1,2} 17⁸ 18^{2,3} 30² 48 C⁹ (seventy princes) 48 D⁵; of the *Merkaba* 1⁷ 22¹⁰; of the seven heavens 17¹ ff.
 The eight great princes 10³
 The four great princes, of the camps of *Shekina* 18^{4,5}; ('*Irin* and *Qad-dishin*) 28; great princes appointed over the books of the living and the dead 18²³⁻²⁵; great princes at the head of the angels chanting the *Qedushsha* 40², *see* 18^{4,5} 35³; great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory 18²²; Holy Princes 39²
 Archangels, seven 17
 Angel-Princes carrying individual names:
 'Anaphiel H 6¹ 16⁵ (*BDL*) 18¹⁸
 'Aniyel 16⁵
 'Araphiel 18^{14,15}
 'Ashruyly 18^{15,16}
 'Atrugiel 18^{9,10}
 'Azbuga 18²²
 Badariel 17¹ (A) ³ (A)
 Bakariel 17¹ (A)
 Baradiel 14⁴ 17¹ (D) ³ (D)
 Barakiel 17³ (A)
 Baraqiel 14⁴, 17¹ (D) ³ (D)
 Baraftiel 18^{6,7}
 Chayyiel 20^{1,2}
 Dubbiel 26¹²
 Gabriel 14⁴ 17^{1,3}
 Galgalliel 14⁴ 17⁴
 Gallisur 18^{16,17}
 Geburathiel 18^{13,14}
 Hamon 18^{7,8}
 Kerubiel 22^{1,11,16}
 Kokbiel 14⁴ 17⁷
 Lailiel 14⁴
 Ma'ariel 14⁴
 Mikael 17^{1,3} 44¹⁰
 Na'aririel 18^{10,11}
 'Ophanniell 14⁴ 17⁵ 25^{1,5}
 Pachriell 17¹ (A)
 Pazriell 17³ (A)

Angel, Angels (*contd.*):

Ra'amiel 14⁴
Ra'ashiel 14⁴
Radweriel 27¹³
Rahafiel 14¹ 17⁶ 46³
Rikkiel 19^{1,2}
Ruchiel 14⁴
Sammael 14² 26¹²
Sasnigiel 18^{11,12}
Seraphiel 26⁸
Shachagiel 17^{1,3}
Shatgiel 14⁴
Shathgiel 17^{1,3}
Shimshiel 14⁴
Shoged Chozi 18²⁰
Sidriel 17¹ (*D*)³ (*D*)
Simkiel 44^{2,3}
Sopheriel H' Mechayyeh 18^{23,24}
Sopheriel H' Memith 18^{23,24}
Sother 'Ashiel 18^{19,20}
Tag'as 18^{5,8}
Tutresiel 18^{8,9}
Yephiphyah 48 D⁴
Za'amiel 14⁴
Za'aphiel 14⁴ 44^{2,3}
Zakzakkuel 18^{17,18}
Zazriel 18^{12,13}
Zehanpuryu 18²¹
Zi'iel 14⁴
Ziqiel 14⁴
 (See also 'Metatron' and 'Names of Metatron')
 accusers (angelic) 14²
 advocates (angelic) 15 B²
 ancient ones 4⁶
 anger, troops of 7; angel of 14³
 armies, *see* 'camps' below
 camps: (a) camp of *Shekina* 35⁵;
 camps of *Shekina* 18⁴ 37¹ (40³)
 (b) camps of angels in general,
 companies, troops, hosts, parties,
 etc. 5^{2,14} 6³ 7 14⁷ 15 B² 17² 19⁶
 22^{1,2} 22 C⁷ 34² 35¹ 36¹ 39² 40³ 48 D⁷
Chashmallim 7 48 C⁴
Chayyoth 1¹² 6² 15 B¹ 19^{5,7} 20² 21¹
 22^{1,3} 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,5} 24¹⁵ 26¹¹ 29²
 33^{3,4} 34¹ 39² 48 B² 48 C^{2,4}; Holy
Chayyoth 1¹² 6² 15 B¹ 19^{5,7} 20²
 21¹ 22^{1,3} 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,5} 24¹⁵ 26¹¹ 29²
 33^{3,4} 34¹ 39² 48 B² 48 C^{2,4}; four 21¹;
 chariots of 24¹⁵; *Chayyoth* by the
 Merkaba 48 B² 48 C²; prince of 21
 children of heaven 8² 10³ 12¹ 13¹ 16¹
 18^{5,7,15} 20¹ 28^{1,7} 29² 38³ 48 C¹
 48 D¹
 companies, *see* 'camps' above
 death, angel of 48 D⁵
 destruction, angels of 31² 33¹ 44²

dread, Lords of (angels) 22 B²
 eagles of the *Merkaba* 2¹
 elemental angels 14³
'Elim 14¹
'Elohim 15 B¹
'Erellim 14¹ 39²
 fear, captains of (angels) 22 B²
 fire, angel of 14³
 first ones 4⁸
Galgallim 6² 15¹ (19¹) 24¹⁶; *see also*
 'wheels of the *Merkaba*'; chariots
 of 14¹⁶; prince of 19^{1,2}
Gedudim 19⁶ 22 C⁷
 glory, angels of the 22 B⁶
 hail, angels of 14^{3,4} 22 C⁴
 heavenly household 12⁵ 16¹ 18²¹ 27²
 48 C⁸
 heavens, the seven, angels of 14¹
 17² 18^{1,2}
 Herald (angelic) 10³
 host, angels of the 39²
'Irin 22 C⁴
Kerubim 1⁸ (5¹) 6^{2,3} 7 15 B² 19⁷
 22^{11,12,13,15} 22 B⁸ 22 C² 23^{1,16,17} 24¹
 26¹¹ 39² 48 C⁴; a *Kerub* 5¹ 18²⁵
 23¹⁸ qu. 24¹ qu. 17; flaming *Keru-*
 bitim 7; mighty *Kerubim* 22¹¹;
 majestic *Kerubim* 26¹¹; honoured
 Kerubim 48 C⁴; *Kerubim* of *She-*
 kina 39²; God's (His) *Kerubim*
 22 B⁸; chariot of 22¹¹; chariots of
 24¹; 'He who dwelleth on the
 Kerubim' 22^{12,16}; Prince of 22¹¹
 Kings (appellation of angels) 22 B⁷
 mercy, angels of 33¹
 Mighty ones 4¹
 Ministering angels 4^{5,6} 5^{2,10,14} 14¹
 16² 17^{2,7} 22 B^{2,4,7} 27³ 36^{1,2} 38^{1,3}
 39¹ 40^{1,2,3} 47² 48 C⁷ (*K*) 48 D⁵
 Ministers of consuming fire 6²
'Ophanim 1⁸ 2¹ 6^{2,3} 7 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,7}
 24¹⁸ 25^{5,6} 26¹¹ 33³ 39² 48 A¹ 48 C⁴;
 burning 7; flaming 2¹; honoured
 26¹¹; majestic 48 C⁴; mighty 39²;
 His (God's) *'Ophanim* 22 B⁸;
 chariots of 24¹⁸; crowns of 25⁷;
 wheels of 22 C⁷; Prince of 25¹⁻⁵
 parties of angels, *see* 'camps' above
 peace, angels of 33¹
 Presence, angel of the 3²; *see* above,
 'Prince of the Presence'
Qaddishin 22 C⁴ 28^{1,4,5,8-10}
 Rulers of the World (*Manhige 'Olam*)
 14⁴
 scribe, scribes 26¹ 27² 33²
Seraphim 1^{7,8} 2¹ 6^{2,3} 19⁷ 22 B¹ 22 C⁷
 26^{8-10,12} 27¹ 29² 33³ 39² 48 A¹ 48 C⁴;
 flaming 1⁷ 26⁶ 48 C⁴; glorious 33³;

- of consuming fire 11¹; Prince of 261⁻⁸
- Servants 1⁸ 2¹ 4¹ 6¹⁻³ 7 17⁶ 19⁶ 27¹ 28¹ 39² 40¹ 47^{1,3}; of consuming fire 6²; of glory 6¹ (see 40¹); flaming 7 39²; of the *Merkaba* 2¹ (*E*); of the Divine Throne 40¹; the royal servants of the princes of kingdoms 17⁸; ministering servants 47^{1,3}
- Shin'anim* 7
- sideral angels 14³ 17^{4,5,6} (46³)
- Tafsarim* 14¹ 39²
- Trisagion*, angels chanting the 34²⁻⁴⁰; see also '*Trisagion*' and 'Blessed' troops of angels, see 'camps' and '*Gedudim*'
- vehemence, angels of 7
- For other classes of angels see 19⁶
- Anger 7 22²; troops of 7
- animals 4⁴; see 'beast, beasts'
- '*Aniyel* 16⁵
- '*Aphaphiel* (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 19
- '*Aphphiel* (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 5
- appearance 1⁷ 5³ 10¹ 14⁵ 18²⁵ 22¹² 22 B⁶ 25⁷ 26⁴ 35² 40² 44⁵ 48 A⁹ 48 C⁶
- appoint over (see also 'set over') 10⁶ 17³ 48 C^{1,3}
- appointed (*memunneh*) 14⁴ 17^{1,3,4,5,6,7} 18^{4,17,24,19} 19^{2,8} 20² 22^{11,16} 25⁵ 26⁸ 27¹ 44² (47²)
- '*Araboth Ragia*' (the seventh heaven), see 'heaven, heavens'
- '*Araphiel* 18^{14,15}
- arm s. 35² 48 A^{3,6,7,8,9,10} (qu.)
- armies of angels, see 'Angel, Angels, camps of'; armies of vehemence 7; 5¹⁴ 17⁸ 19⁶ 22¹, prince of the army 35³; fiery armies 39²
- art (of sorceries) 5⁹
- '*Asah* 48 C¹⁰
- ascend 1¹ 4⁷ 5¹⁴ 6² 15 B² 44⁷
- ascension of Moses 15 B²
- ascent 22 C¹
- Ashruylu* 18^{15,16}
- '*Atrugiel* 18^{9,10}
- attend 5⁸ 7⁸ 8¹ 15¹ 25⁵
- attendance 35⁴
- (attributes, qualities) 8^{1,2}
- authority 16¹ 18²⁴ 48 D⁹
- '*Azbuga* 18²²
- '*Azza* 4⁵ 5⁹
- '*Azzael* 4⁶ 5⁹
- '*Azziel* 5⁹
- Badariel* 17¹ (A) ³ (A)
- balance s. 18²⁰
- Barad* 34¹
- Baradiel* 14⁴ 17¹ (D) 17³ (D)
- Barakiel* 17³ (A)
- Baraq* (lightning) 25⁷
- Baragiel* 17¹ (D) 17³ (D) 14⁴ (17¹ (A)): Bakariel)
- Barattiel* 18^{9,7}
- Baregeth* (carbuncle) 25⁷
- base *v.* (a name upon another) 3²; see 'names' (of Metatron and Divine)
- Bath Qol* 16⁴; see 'Divine Voice'
- beast, beasts 4⁴ 28⁹ qu. 48 D⁸
- beginning 22 B¹ 24²² qu. 48 B¹
- Behemoth* 48 D⁸
- behold 1^{1,5,6} (the *Merkaba*), 2² 2⁴ (the *Merkaba*), 5³ 11² 14^{1,3,5} 16² 25^{3,4} 16¹¹ 29² 32² 41¹ 42^{2,6,7} 47⁴ 48 A^{1,2,3} 48 C¹; 28⁹ qu. 33⁵ qu. 35⁵ qu.
- beloved 1⁸ (Ishmael), 4¹ (Metatron), 16⁵ 18²² 19¹ 23¹⁸ qu. 26¹ 28¹ 44¹⁰
- Beth Din*, the Celestial 27² 28⁹ 30¹
- bird 4⁴ 44⁷
- black, grow black 22 B⁷
- blameless 18²³ 19¹
- bless 9¹
- blessed (1) see 'Holy One, the, Blessed be He'; (2) the response in the *Qedushsha*, see '*Trisagion*' and '*Qedushsha*'
- blessing s. 9¹
- blow *v.* 15² 23^{1-18,18} 47²
- body 15¹ 18²⁵ 22^{8,9} 26^{3,6} 28¹⁰ 44⁵ 47¹ 48 C⁶
- books 18¹⁰ qu., 18²⁴ (books of the dead and books of the living), 27^{1,22} (books of judgement and the book of records), 28⁷ (books of the living and books of the dead), 30² (the book in which are recorded all the doings of the world), 32¹ (book of fire and flame), 35⁴ qu., 44⁹ (the books of records, esp. of evil doings), 48 C¹² (books of *Tora*)
- born of woman 2² 6² 48 D⁸
- bow 21⁴ (the bow in the cloud), 22⁵ (bow of Shekina), 22 C^{4,6,7} 33⁵
- branch s. 28⁹ qu.
- bridge s. 22 B^{1,3,4} 22 C¹
- brightness 22 B⁶ 25^{5,7}
- brilliance 8² 9⁵ 10¹ 12² 18¹⁸ 22^{4,12,13} 22 B⁶ 25⁷ 26^{2,7} 28² 29² 48 C^{4,6}
- bring *v.* 23³ qu. 48 A¹⁰, bring back 48 B², bring charges against 4⁶ 5¹⁰, see 'accuse'; bring down 5^{8,9}, bring forth 15 B¹ 23¹⁰ qu., bring into 7, bring into life 18²⁴, bring out 48 D¹⁰, bring up 44⁷

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 22 C⁷ (chambers of chambers), 22 C²
 (of lightnings), 34¹ (of the whirl-
 wind), 37² (of the tempest), 38¹ (of
Makon), 41⁴ (of Araboth), 42² qu.,
 43³ (chamber of creation), 47² (of
 the whirlwind)
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 of), 13¹ (orders of), 26⁹ 43³
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- Gehenna* 33⁵ 44³ 48 D⁸
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- graven *prt.* 22⁵ 39¹ 41⁴ 45^{1,6} 48 D⁵
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ing the *Trisagion*) 35³; four heads
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14¹ 17³ 18^{1,2,3,6,18} 19⁷ 22² 22 B^{6,7,8}
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of 'Araboth' 24¹³; paths of 'Araboth
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palaces of 'Araboth' 10⁶; angels of
each of the seven heavens 14¹ 17²
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'Trisagion' (*Qedushsha*)

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