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Bible. V.S. Apocryphal books. 3 Enoch

3 ENOCH

OR

The Hebrew Book of Enoch

EDITED
AND TRANSLATED FOR
THE FIRST TIME WITH INTRODUCTION
COMMENTARY & CRITICAL NOTES

by

HUGO ODEBERG

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To

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PREFACE

The writer owes profound gratitude to his teacher, Professor G. H. Box, of the University of London, without whose guidance, encouragement, generous interest and helpful criticism the present work would never have been brought into shape.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Westminster, Dr R. H. Charles, has authorized the writer to give the present book the title "3 Enoch".

The second and third parts of the book (Translation with Notes and Hebrew text with critical apparatus) are in the main identical with those of the writer's thesis for the Ph.D. degree. The Introduction, however, has been wholly revised and partly shortened. The revision has been approved by Professor Box, who has been kind enough to read through the Introduction in its final form.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the readers of the Cambridge University Press for the care and trouble which they have taken with the correction of the proofs and for the valuable suggestions given by them.

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HUGO ODEBERG

Björklinge, Sweden

15 February 1928

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PART I
INTRODUCTION

HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH

§ I. ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

I. GENERAL:

- A. and P.* = R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT.*
A. and P. (Ka) = Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT.*
Add. denotes a British Museum ms.
BH. = A. Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch*, 6 voll. (The different tractates, midrašim and other writings as appearing in *Beth ha Midrasch* are referred to as follows: *Hek. R.* ii, *BH.* iii. 69 = *Hekāloš Rabbāfi*, ch. xii in *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. iii. p. 69, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 5 = *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba in *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. iii. p. 5, etc.)
BMi. = S. A. Wertheimer, בתי מדרשות.
Bodl. = ms. in the Bodleian Library.
Br.G. = Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften (Ginza).*
GR., GL. = Petermann, *Thesaurus*, and M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza.* *GR.* x (y) = *Ginza Right*, p. x in Lidzbarski, p. y in Petermann.
JE. = *Jewish Encyclopædia*, 12 voll., New York, 1901-1906.
JM. = M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer.*
JQR. = *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 20 voll., London, 1889-1908; *JQR.* n.s. = *id.* new series, Philadelphia, 1910- (in progress).
J.Th.S. = *Journal of Theological Studies.*
M. = *Mišna.*
MGWJ. = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (begründet von Z. Frankel), Breslau, 1852- (in progress).
MICH. denotes a Bodleian ms.
ML. = M. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien.*
OM. = I. D. Eisenstein, אוצר מדרשים, 2 voll.
OPP. denotes a Bodleian ms.
Or. denotes a British Museum ms.
RAS. = Royal Asiatic Society.
REJ. = *Revue des études juives*, Paris.
RJ. = Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*²; *RJ*³ = *id.* 3rd ed.
TB. = Babylonian Talmud.
TED. = Box and Oesterley, *Translations of early Documents.*
TJ. = Palestinian Talmud.
VA. = M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélogologie.*

2. PSEUDEPIGRAPHA:

- 1 *En.* or 1 *Enoch* = *The Book of Enoch* (ed. R. H. Charles).
2 *En.* or 2 *Enoch* = *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Slavonic Enoch) (ed. R. H. Charles in *A. and P.*).

- Jub.* = *The Book of Jubilees* (ed. Charles).
Ap. Bar. = *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (ed. Charles).
Asc. Isa. = *The Ascension of Isaiah* (ed. Charles).
Test. XII Patr. = *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (ed. Charles).
 4 *Ex(ra)* = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (ed. G. H. Box).
Ap. Abr. = *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (ed. G. H. Box).
Test. Abr. = *The Testament of Abraham* (ed. G. H. Box).
Ap. Mos. = *The Apocalypse of Moses* (in *A. and P.*).
Ass. Mos. = *The Assumption of Moses* (ed. R. H. Charles).

3. TALMUD:

M. = *Mišna*, Tos. = *Tosafta*, TB., Tj. = *The G^emārā* of the Babylonian or Palestinian *Talmud* respectively. The abbreviations of the names of the tractates are those commonly used. Thus: *Ber.* = *B^erākōḥ*, *Shab.* = *Šabbāḥ*, *Pes.* = *P^esāḥim*, *Ta'an.* = *Ta^anīḥ*, *Meg.* = *M^egillā*, *Ḥag.* = *Ḥ^agigā*, *Yeb.* = *Y^ebāmōḥ*, *Sanh.* = *Sanhædrin*, *'Ab. Zar.* = *'Abodā Zārā*, etc., *Ab. R. Nat(han)* = *'Ābōḥ de Rabbi Nāpān*.

4. MIDRAŠIM:

Mek. = *M^ekilḥā*; *Gen. R.*, *Ex(od.) R.*, *Lev. R.*, *Num. R.*, *Deut. R.* = *B^erešit Rabbā*, *Š^emoḥ Rabbā*, *Uḡyyiqrā Rabbā*, *B^emiḏbar Rabbā*, *D^ebārim Rabbā*; *Cant. R.* = *Miḏraš Šir-ha-šŠirim*; *Ruth R.* = *Miḏraš Ruḥ*; *Lam. R.* = *Miḏraš 'Ekā*; *Eccl. R.* = *Miḏraš Qohælæḥ*; *Pesiḡtha* = *P^esiḡḥā d^e Rab Kāh^anā*; *Pesiḡtha R.* = *P^esiḡḥā Rabbāḥi*; *Tanh.* = *Tanḥumā*; *Procem.* = *Procemium*, פרתחמ; *Y. Sh.* = *Yalqut Šim'oni*.

5. For titles of reference and abbreviations referring to other Hebrew and Aramaic books and writings *vide* below, section 2, A, 5. ("List of abbreviations, etc.")

§ 2. SOURCES & LITERATURE

A. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC SOURCES & LITERATURE.

I. RABBINICA PROPER:

Babylonian and Palestinian *Talmud*; *Mišna*, *Tosafta* (ed. Zuckermann) and *G^emārā*.

'*En Ya^aqōḥ*, *vide* below, 3 B.

The *Targums*.

Miḏrāšim:

(a) *M^ekilḥā*, ed. Venice, 1545,¹ Friedmann, Wien, 1870.

Sifre, ed. Vencie, 1545,¹ Friedmann, Wien, 1867.

Sifrā, ed. Venice, 1545.¹

P^esiḡḥā d^e Rab Kāh^anā, ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868.

¹ Reprinted Berlin, 1925-26.

Pesiqṭā Rabbāḇi, ed. Friedmann, Wien, 1880.

B'erēšīḇ Rabbā, Š'emōḇ Rabbā, Uayyiqrā Rabbā, B'emidbar Rabbā, Deḇārim Rabbā and (Miḏraš Ester) Miḏraš šir-ha-šŠirim, Miḏraš Ruḇ, Miḏraš 'Ekā, Miḏraš Qohaelaḇ (so-called *Miḏraš Rabboḇ*), ed. Warshava, 1877. Cf. J. Theodor, *Bereschit Rabba mit krit.*

Apparate und Kommentare, Bojanowo, 1903-

Tanḥumā, ed. Venice, 1545, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1885.

Miḏraš T'hillim, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1892.

Miḏraš Mišle, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1893.

Miḏraš Tannā'im to Deuteronomy, ed. D. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1908, 1909.

(b) *Yalqut Šim'oni*, 2 voll., ed. Warshava, 1876-77.

2. COLLECTIONS OF MIDRAŠIM:

A. Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch* (referred to as *BH.*), voll. 1-6 (voll. 1-4, Leipzig, 1853-57; voll. 5, 6, Wien, 1873-77).

S. A. Wertheimer, *בתי מדרשות* 1-4, Jerusalem.

S. A. Wertheimer, *אוצר מדרשים* 1-2, Jerusalem, 1913-14.

L. Grünhut, *ספר הלקוטים Sammlung älterer Midraschim und wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, 1-6, Jerusalem, 1898-1903.

J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* (referred to as *OM.*), voll. 1-2.

C. M. Horowitz, *בית עקר האגדות*, Frankf. 1881; New York, 1915.

3. EARLIER MYSTICAL AND RELATED WRITINGS (Till about A.D. 1038):

A. MSS.

Bodl. MSS.: OPP. 556, MS. HEB. e 56, MICH. 175, OPP. 649, MICH. 256, MS. HEB. f 56, MS. HEB. f 59, OPP. 757, MICH. ADD. 28, MICH. 9, OPP. 467, OPP. 563, OPP. 658, MICH. 473, MICH. ADD. 61.

British Museum MSS.: *Or.* 6577, *Add.* 27142, *Add.* 15299, *Add.* 26922, *Harl.* 5515, *Add.* 27120, *Harl.* OR. 5510, *Add.* 17807.

B. Printed edd.

אגדת משיח *BH.* iii. 141.

קטן אגדת עולם *BH.* v. 57.

לוי אגדת ר' יהושוע בן לוי *OM.* i. 212.

בית עקר אגדת ר' ישמעאל *Bodl.* MICH. 175, fol. 25 b; Ch. Horowitz, *בית עקר האגדות* i. 59.

משיח אגדות המשיח *vide* אגדות המשיח.

עקיבה אגדות ר' עקיבה (*Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*), Ven. 1546, Amst. 1708, etc. (3 recc.), Petrokov, 1884.

הדני אגדת אלתר *Epstein, Eldad ha Dani*, Pressburg, 1891, *BH.* ii, iii, v (8 recc.).

אגדת אלתר אגדת אלתר אגדת אלתר 4 recc.; *BH.* ii, vi אגדת אלתר, Livorno, 1777 (late but cont. earlier fragm.).

- אלהו ספר *BH.* iii; *OM.* i. 26 a; Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse.*
- פרקי דר' אליעזר *vide* אליעזר.
- אלפא ביתא דבן סירא Saloniki, 1514; *OM.* i. 35.
- אמונות ודעות (Sa'adya), ed. Krakau, 1880.
- 1885 שלשה ספרים נפתחים Samuel Schönblum, ברייתא דישועה.
- OM.* ii. 542.
- ספר גדולת משה Salonica 1727 (*Rev. of Moses*).
- OM.* i. 91 b, 92 b; *BH.* i, v. 48.
- מסכת ניהגם *BH.* ii; *OM.* i. 83 b.
- סדר גן עדן *BH.* iii, v, vi; *OM.* i. 85 a, 89 a.
- דברי הימים של משה Const. 1516.
- דין הקבר *BH.* v. 49; *OM.* i. 94.
- הגדת שמע ישראל *BH.* v. 165 (*Rev. of Moses*, I rec.).
- 1889 ס' פרקי היכלות, Wertheimer, *BH.* iii; *OM.* i. 111; (referred to as *Hek. R.*).
- מסכת היכלות 'Arze L^ebānon, *BH.* ii; *OM.* i. 109 (referred to as *Mass. Hek.*).
- מ' ויושע Const. 1519.
- זרובבל *BH.* ii. 54-57; *OM.* i. 159; Const. 1519.
- מסכת חבוט הקבר *BH.* i. 151; *OM.* i. 93.
- חיי הנוך *BH.* iv. 129; *OM.* i. 182 a; *S. ha-y Yāšār*, Par. Berešip.
- חרבא דמשה (*The Sword of Moses*), ed. Gaster, 1896.
- מעם זקנים (Hai Ga'on), ed. Frankf. a. M. 1854.
- מדרש ה' בחכמה יסד ארין *BH.* v; *OM.* i. 104 (cf. *Midraš Kōnēn*).
- מ' יצירה Mantua, 1562, etc., etc., Warsaw, 1884 (with commentaries of R. Sa'adya Ga'on, Sabbathai Donnolo, Nachmanides, Eleazar of Worms, Moses Botarel, and others).
- סדר יצירת הולד *BH.* i. 153.
- מ' ה' בחכמה יסד ארין (cf. 'Arze L^ebānon).
- מלחמות מלך משיח *BH.* vi. 117; *OM.* ii. 394 b.
- and נגזי חכמ' הקב' Jellinek, (referred to as *Mass. As.*) in Lublin, 1891.
- מ' אגדת בראשית Lublin, 1891.
- מ' ספר מעין חכמה (the 2nd rec. of *Rev. of Moses*) 'Arze L^ebānon, 46 b; *Sīyuni, Paraša Uḡ'ā'ēḫammān, Zohar*, ii. 58 a (Aramaic version).
- מעשה אברהם *BH.* i, ii, v; *OM.* i. 2 b, 6 b, 7 b, 8 a.
- מעשה דר' יהושוע בן לוי *BH.* vi; *OM.* i. 211 a.
- מעשה בראשית *S. Raxiel*, 29 a (ed. Warsaw, 1913), *Bättē Midrašōḥ*, i. p. 47.
- תקונים ומלוואים, ברייתא דמעשה בראשית, in *BH.* ii; *OM.* ii. 390 a, רובל, 2 b.
- פרקי משיח *BH.* iii. 70 (cf. *BH.* iii. 141, vi. 117).
- ספר נח *S. Raxiel*, 3 b, c (ed. Warsaw, 1913) (together with *T^efillaḥ Ḍādām hā-Rišōn* the *Sefcer No^h* forms part of 'Aggāḏaḥ *Sefcer ha-Rāzim*). Another recension: *OM.* ii. 402 a.

יחזי נסתרות דר' שמעון בן יוחי *BH.* iii. 80.

Warsaw, 1865. סדר רב עמרם גאון

in *Siddur R. 'Amram Ga'on*, fol. 13; *BH.* v. 45.

סעודת לויתן *BH.* vi.

מדרש עשרת הדברות (*Midraš of the Ten Commandments*); *BH.* i. 62.

(containing fragments from the *Hekāloṣ* Literature):

(a) *BH.* v. 167–169 (referred to as 1 *Leg(end) of Martyrs*);

(b) *BH.* vi. 19–36 (referred to as 2 *Leg. Martyrs*).

מ' פמירת אהרון *Const.* 1516; *BH.* i. 91–95.

מדרש פמירת משה *Const.* 1516; *BH.* i. 115–129, ii, vi; *OM.* ii. 361 b.

פיומי בן קליר ed. Zunz, 1884.

פרקי דר' אליעזר *Const.* 1514; Warsaw, 1852 (with a commentary by Luria).

ר' שמעון בן יוחאי פרק ר' *BH.* iii. 78; *OM.* ii. 555 (Revelation of R. Sim'on ben Yoḥai).

שאלות ר' אליעזר *BH.* vi. 148; *OM.* ii. 579.

שעור קומה in *S. Raziel* (ed. Amsterdam, 1701, fol. 37 b, ed. Warsaw,

1913, foll. 30 b, d). Two versions, one shorter, usually attributed

to R. Iṣma'el, but in some MSS. to R. 'Aqiba, the other, and more

comprehensive one, attributed, sometimes to R. Iṣma'el, and

sometimes to R. 'Aqiba). MSS. containing *Ši'ur Qomā* or *Sefer*

ha-qQomā: *Bodl.* MICH. 175, fol. 18 b; *OPP.* 467, fol. 58 a; *OPP.*

563, fol. 91; *OPP.* 658, fol. 100 b (with a commentary); MICH. 473,

fol. 23 b; MICH. *Add.* 61, fol. 2.

שאלת ר' ישמעאל מר' נחוגית בן הקנה (referred to as *Hek. Zot.*) in *Bodl.*

MS. MICH. 9, fol. 66 a seqq.

שמושא רבא חומא *BH.* vi. 109.

שמתואי ועזאל *BH.* iv. 127.

ספר תגין ed. Machzor Vitri, Paris, 1874 (*OM.* ii. 564 a).

מ' תמורה *BH.* i. 106; at the end of Azulai, שם הגדולים, Livorno, 1786

(acc. to Jellinek thirteenth century).

תפלת אדם הראשון *S. Raziel*, fol. 3 a (ed. Warsaw, 1913); cf. ספר נח.

British Museum MSS. *Add.* 27199, fol. 299 a, OR.

6577, fol. 13 a.

תפלת ר' שמעון בן יוחאי *BH.* iii. 78, iv. 117; *OM.* ii. 551.

4. LATER MYSTICAL LITERATURE (Post-Ga'onic):

ס' אוצר הכבוד (Todros Abulafia, 1234–1304), Nowydwor, 1808.

ס' ארוי לבנון ed. Venice, 1601.

ס' הבהיר ed. Wilna, 1883.

ס' ברית מנוחה (Abraham ben Isaac of Granada), Amsterd. 1648.

גנזי חכמת הקבלה (A. Jellinek, *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik*), Leipzig,

1853 seqq.

ס' גנת אנון (Joseph Gikatilla), Hanau, 1615.

דרך אמונה (Meir b. Ezekiel ibn Gabbai), Padua, 1563.

- הלכות המזלות (Eleazar of Worms, d. 1237), in *S. Raziel*, 18 a (ed. 1913).
הלכות האופנים, הלכות המלאכים, הלכות הכסף, הלכות המרכבה, הלכות מטטרון
(Eleazar of Worms), Brit. Mus. Add. 27199.
- פה Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, fol. 133 b.
ספר הזוהר ed. Amsterdam, 1715; ЛЮБЛИНСЬ (Lublin), 1903.
זהר חדש ed. 1663 with תיקונים; ed. Warsaw, with *Zohar Hādās 'al*
Me'gillaḥ Ruḥ and *Bi'urim* on *Zohar Hādās*.
מנחת יהודה *vide* חייט.
- מ' (magical formulas), Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, fol. 45 b.
חסד לאברהם (Abraham ben Mordecai Azulai), Amsterd. 1685.
מ' החסידים (Judah ben Samuel the Pious), Bologna, 1538.
מ' חסד ויהוה ed. S. A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1899; *OM*. i. 194 a.
מ' (ה) חשק (on the Divine Names), Brit. Mus. Add. 27120.
מוב הארץ (Nat. b. Reuben Spira), Venice, 1655.
מעם זקנים (Ashkenazi), Frankf. a. M. 1854.
מ' טעמי המצות (Reḡanati), Const. 1544.
מ' יוחסין (Zacuto), Const. 1566.
מ' (on the *Mærkābā*, basing on *Ezek.* i), Brit. Mus. *Harl.* OR. 5510.
- מ' יהושע הצדיק (Gershon ben 'Asher), Mantua, 1561.
ילקוט אליעזר (Eliezer Sofer Sussmann), Pressburg, 1864-74.
מ' ילקוט חדש (Israel Belczicz?), Lublin, 1648; Warsaw, 1879.
ילקוט ראובני (Reuben Hoshq; cabbalistic quotations under headings
arranged in alphabetical order), Prague, 1660.
ילקוט ראובני על התורה (Reuben Hoshq; *The Greater Yalquṭ Re' uḇeni*,
referred to as *YR.*; cabbalistic quotations arranged as a פירוש
on the Pentateuch), Wilhelmsdorff, 1681; Warsaw, 1901.
ילקוט שמעוני Venice, 1566; Warsaw, 1876.
מ' ישעיה (Isaiah b. Eliezer Chayyim), Venice, 1637.
מ' הכוזרי (Judah ha-IlLevi), *Kitab al Khazari*, ed. H. Hirschfeld,
London, 1905.
מנחת יונה (Menaḥem Azaraya di Fano), Korez, 1786.
מ' לבושי אור (Mordeqai b. Abraham Yafæ), Lublin, 1594.
מ' ליקוטים נחמדים... מיוסדים על יסוד הקבלה Brit. Mus. Add. 17807,
fol. 24 b.
- מבחר הפנינים (Ibn Gebirol), ed. H. Filipowsky, London, 1851.
מ' מגלה עמוקות (Nat. ben Solomon Spira), Lublin, 1884.
מבחר הפנינים in מגלת אנשיכס ed. H. Filipowsky, *vide* above.
מ' המזלות (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziel*, 33 c (ed. 1913).
שמות של מטטרון (explanations—by means of *gematria* and *ṣiruf*—of
the names of Metatron (77 names); the names here given recur in
the חשק (ספר חשק), *Bodl.* MICH. 256, foll. 29 a-44 a.
מ' המלבוש (Eleazar of Worms), Brit. Mus. OR. 6577, foll. 1-12, also in
S. Raziel, beg.
מנחת יהודה (J. Ḥayyaṭ, comm. on מערכת האלהות), Ferrara, 1557.

- ס' מעין חכמה (Isaac Luria), Amsterdam, 1562. (Not to be confused with the earlier, anonymous, writing מעין חכמה, being the second recension of *The Revelation of Moses*; cf. also the following.)
- ס' מעין החכמה *OM*. ii. 307 b and Berlin, 1726 (on the "letters").
- מערכת האלהות Ferrara, 1557 (with commentaries).
- משכן העדות (Moses de Leon), *BH*. ii. p. xxxi.
- נפתולי אלהים (Naft. Treves), Ferrara, 1555.
- נחל קדומים (Dav. Azulai), Livorno, 1800.
- סוד השם המיוחד (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziél*, fol. 28 a (ed. 1913).
- סוד שמות ופעולותיהן (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziél*, 21 a (ed. 1913).
- סודי רויה (Eleazar of Worms, d. 1237), Brit. Mus. *Add.* 27199; parts of the work are contained in the *S. Raziél* and in Brit. Mus. OR. 6577.
- ס' עין יעקב (Jacob ibn Ḥabib) with יפה מראה (Samuel Japhe) and commentaries, Wilna, 1922 (edd. princ. Salon. 1516, Const. 1587).
- ספר עקדת יצחק (Isaac ben Moses Aramah), Salon. 1522.
- פירוש התורה (Menahem Reqan(a)ti), Venice, 1523.
- פירוש על התורה (Bachya ben Asher), Pesara, 1507.
- ס' פדרם רמונים (Moses ben Jacob Cordovero), Cracow, 1591.
- ס' צרור המור (Abraham Sabba), Const. 1514.
- ס' צרור המור (Isaac ben Abraham Laṭif), in *Kærcem Hæmæd*, ix.
- ס' ציינוי (Menachem Siyyon ben Meir), Cremona, 1560 (referred to as *Siyyum*).
- ס' קמיעות (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziél*, 33 d (ed. 1913).
- ס' הקנה (Elqana ben Yeruḥam), Korez, 1784.
- קנה בינה (Elqana ben Yeruḥam), Wilmersdotff, 1730.
- ענין רוח ובהו (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziél*, 9 a (ed. 1913).
- שם עולם (Jonathan ben Nathan Nata, Eybeschütz), Vienna, 1891.
- ס' שני לוחות הברית (Isaiah ben Abraham Horwitz), 1649.
- ס' שערי אורה (Joseph Gikatilla), Mantua, 1561.
- ס' שערי צדק (Joseph Gikatilla), Riva di Trento, 1561.
- ס' שפע מל (Shabthai b. Aqiba Horwitz), Hanau, 1612.
- שפתי כהן (Mordecai, the Priest, of Safed), Cracow, 1690.
- BH*. iii; A. Epstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthums-kunde*, Vienna, 1887.
- ס' מדרש תלפיות (Elijah ben Solomon Abraham), Lublin, 1884.
- ספר תמונה, printed together with *Zohar Hādāš*, ed. Korez, 1774.
- ספר תקני הזהר Livorno, 1854.

5. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TITLES under which some of the preceding books and writings are referred to:

Ap. Elijah: ס' אליה [3 (B)].

1 *Ap. Ishm.* (= *The 1st Apocalypse of R. Išma'el*): עשרה הרוגי מלכות and *Siddur* 'Amram Ga'on, 3 b [3 (B)].

2 *Ap. Ishm.* (= *The 2nd Apocalypse of R. Išma'el*): אנדת ר' ישמעאל [3 (B)].

- A. R.* 'Aq. (*Alphabet of R.* 'Aqīḏa): עקיבא [3 (B)].
Ascension of Moses: גדולת משה; גדולת שמע ישראל; הגדת שמוע ישראל Cf. 3 En. xv B.
Bahya (comm. on the Pentateuch): פירוש על התורה [4].
Beriṣ M^enuḥa: ס' ברית מנוחה [4].
BH.: Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch* [2].
Ḥayyat: מנחת יהודה [4].
Hek. R. (*Heḳāloṣ Rabbāḥi*): היכלות רבתי [3 (B)].
Hek. Zot. (*Heḳāloṣ Zoṯraḥi*): ישמעאל מר' נחוניא [3 (B)].
Hilkoṣ ha-mMærkābā, *Hilkoṣ ha-kKisse*, etc.: הלכות המרכבה; הלכות האופ' ; הלכות המלאכים (Eleazar of Worms) [4].
 Jerachmeel = Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*.
La: Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 27199.
 1 or 2 *Leg. Martyrs* (the 1st or 2nd recension of the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*): עשרה הרוגי מלכות [3 (B)].
Life of Enoch: חיי הנוך [3 (B)].
Ma'ase Bereṣiṣ: מעשה בראשית [3 (B)].
Mass. 'As. (*Massæḳæṣ 'Asihūṣ*): מסכת אצילות [3 (B)].
Mass. Hek. (*Massæḳæṣ Heḳāloṣ*): מסכת היכלות [3 (B)].
Midraṣ Kōnēn: מדרש כונן [3 (B)].
OM.: Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* [2].
Pardes (Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*): ס' פרדם רמונים [4].
Prayer of Raḥ Hammunā Sābā: תפלת רב המנונא סבא [3 (B)].
Prayer of R. Šim'on ben Yoḥai: תפלת ר' שמעון בן יוחאי [3 (B)].
P. R. El. (*Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*): פרקי דר' אליעזר [3 (B)].
 Reḳan(a)ti's *Comm. on the Pentateuch* (Reḳanati): פירוש התורה (מנחם ריקנטי) [4].
Revelations of R. Šim'on ben Yoḥai: פרק ר' שמעון בן יוחאי [3 (B)].
Rev. of Moses, 1st rec.: YR. 66 b הגדת שמוע ישראל [3 (B)].
Rev. of Moses, 2nd rec.: ס' מעין חכמה [3 (B)].
Sh. Q. (*Ši'ur Qomā*): שיעור קומה [3 (B)].
Siddur Raḥ 'Amram: סדור רב עמרם גאון [3 (B)].
Šiyyuni, Šiuni: ספר ציוני [4].
Sword of Moses (*Ḥārḇā d^eMošæ*): חרבא דמושה [3 (B)].
S. Yes. (*Sefær Yeširā*): ס' יצירה [3 (B)].
S. Zer. (*Sefær Zerubbābæl*): ספר זרובבל [3 (B)].
Ṭiqqune ha-zZohar: זוהר חדש ותיקוני ed. Warsaw [4].
Tractate of Gan 'Eḏen: סדר גן עדן; סדר גן עדן [3 (B)].
Tractate of Gehinnom: מסכת גיהנום [3 (B)].
Uidduy Yāfe: וידוי יפה [4].
Wars of King Messiah: מלחמות מלך משיח [3 (B)].
Yalquṯ Ḥadaš: ס' ילקוט חדש [4].
 YR.: ילקוט ראובני על התורה ed. Warsaw, 1901 [4].
 YRL.: ילקוט ראובני ed. Prague, 1660 [4].

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§ 3. MSS. & PRINTED BOOKS CONTAINING THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH OR PARTS OF IT

THE complete Hebrew Book of Enoch has never been printed before. Most of the MSS. preserved also present 3 *Enoch* in a fragmentary form.

The MS. which is made the basis of the present edition is the

- (*Œ*, *A*) Bodleian MS. OPP. 556, foll. 314 seqq. (Neubauer, 1656: "Written in German Hebrew cursive characters by Yiṣḥaq יִשְׁחָאק, about A.D. 1511?"), containing chh. 1-48 A B C D and entitled "Book of Enoch by R. Ishmael ben Elisha, High Priest". This MS. seems to be based on an earlier MS. in a very good textual condition, but it has suffered through the carelessness of the present copyist, though the corruptions caused by him are as a rule easily emended. Apart from these corruptions *Œ* without contradiction presents the very best readings of all the MSS. and printed fragments.

The text of *A* has throughout been collated with the following MSS. and printed fragments, and the different readings are given in the textual apparatus. The Hebrew text reproduces *Œ* exactly, but emendations are suggested in the Crit. App. and also, by the use of brackets, in the text.

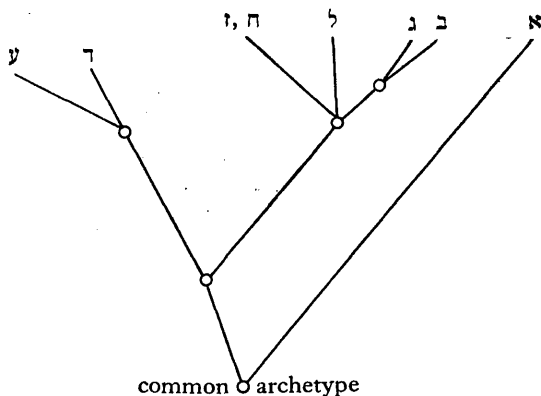
The MSS. and printed fragments made use of are

- (2, B) Bodleian MS. MICH. 175, foll. 18 b seqq. (Neubauer 2257, written in German Hebrew cursive characters), containing chh. 3-22, 23, 24 and after chh. 15 and 22 respectively, the additional fragments chh. 15 B and 22 B C. The said fragments are included with the *Ši'ur Qomā*, 2 *Ap. Ishm.* and a few other fragments under the common title: *Pirqē de R. Ishmael*.
- (3, C) Bodleian MS. MICH. 256, foll. 25 a seqq. (written in Old German Hebrew cursive characters), containing chh. 3-12 and 15, entitled "The Elevation of Metatron". (Neubauer, 1748.) Valuable.
- (7, D) The fragments preserved in the printed editions of "*Sefær Hekāloṣ*" by the Tanna R. Išma'el, High Priest", viz. Lemberg, 1859 referred to as *D 1*, and Warsaw, 1864, referred to as *D 2* (cf. Jellinek, *Qontras ha-mMaggid*, ii). Here are contained chh. 1-28, vs. 5 a and beg. of ch. 48 c. The readings are not very good, but sometimes valuable for critical purposes.
- (y, E) The printed fragm. in Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. v, pp. 170-190, containing chh. 1-15, 23-48 A. The text in a bad condition.
- (r, F) The Enoch-Metatron fragments inserted at the end of letter Aleph in the printed ed. of *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, Cracow, 1579, foll. 9 c-11 d, corresponding to ch. 48 B C D.
- (n, G) The same fragments in the reprinted edition of *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, Amsterdam, 1708, foll. 11 a-12 b.
- (2, H) The same fragments in *A. R. 'Aq. BH.* vol. ii.
- (2, K) Bodleian MS. MICH. Add. 61 (Neubauer, 1915: Spanish Rabbinic characters), fol. 13 a, containing a short recension of chh. 48 B and 48 c.
- (7, L) British Museum Add. 27199 (writings of R. 'Æl'azār of Worms, copied by Elias Levita), containing chh. 3-12, 15, 16 (foll. 11 b-114 b); 13, 14, 15 B (fol. 116 a b: *Lm*); 48 c^{3-10, 12}, 48 D (fol. 115 a b: *Lm*); 22 B, 22 C (fol. 126 a: *Lmr*); 22 C, 19²⁻⁷ (foll. 78 a, 81 a: *Lo*).
- (YR, S (x)) Quotations in *YR.* and *Šiyyuni*.

In the Dropsie College Library in Philadelphia there is a MS. containing, acc. to B. Halper (*Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia*, 1927, pp. 210 and 436), "the greater part of the *Sefær Hekalot*". It is possible that this MS. contains some parts of our book.

§ 4. THE MUTUAL RELATIONS AND AFFINITIES OF THE MSS. AND OTHER SOURCES

AN examination of the textual status of the various sources reveals a closer relation between γ and ψ on the one hand and between β , λ and δ on the other, whereas \aleph represents a comparatively independent textual tradition. ι , π and ζ are more closely attached to each other than to \aleph . The relation of the various sources to an assumed archetype may be illustrated by the following diagram.



§ 5. SHORT SURVEY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH

THE Hebrew Book of Enoch may be divided into the following sections, viz.:

- (1) Introduction, chh. 1, 2.
- (2) Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-16 (together with an additional fragment on the Ascension of Moses, ch. 15 B).
- (3) A section on Angelology, chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶. The section presents three different angelological systems, viz. A 2 (ch. 17), A 3 (ch. 18) and A 1 (chh. 19-22, 25-28⁶). Cf. below on the Angelology of 3 *Enoch*.
- (4) A section on the Judgment, chh. 28⁷-33².
- (5) The Celestial *Q'ēduššā*, chh. 35, 36, 38-40.

- (6) The 'by-work' of the *Mærkābā* ('Divine Chariot') and the quasi-physical aspects of the heavenly regions, chh. 23, 24, 33³⁻⁵, 34, 37 and the additional chh. 22 B, 22 C.
- (7) Metatron shows R. Ishmael various wonders of the heavens, such as
- (a) the cosmic or mystical 'letters', ch. 41;
 - (b) polar opposites kept in balance by the Divine Names, ch. 42;
 - (c) the *Pargod* of the Throne, on which all past, present and future events are portrayed, ch. 45;
 - (d) the constellations and planets, ch. 46;
 - (e) the spirits of the unborn, of the dead and the spirits and souls of the punished angels, chh. 43, 44, 47;
 - (f) matters of Apocalyptic character, chh. 44⁷⁻¹⁰, 45⁵, 48 A.
- (8) The Divine Names, ch. 48 B.
- (9) A shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 C.
- (10) The names of Metatron, the transmission of the secrets to Moses, the protest of the angels, the chain of tradition.

§ 6. QUOTATIONS OF AND REFERENCES TO 3 ENOCH

THERE are numerous instances in the later mystical literature of dependence upon or acquaintance with 3 *Enoch*. This is particularly marked in the case of the conceptions of Metatron. The influence of 3 *Enoch* in this respect is dealt with below on "the conceptions of Metatron in related mystical literature" and "the conceptions of Metatron in later mystical literature" (sections 9 and 10).

Apart from this, fragments of 3 *Enoch* are quoted in YR. in *Ṣiyyuni*, Reqanati, Moscato's *Qol Yehudā*, YRL. *Ma'arækæḥ ha-²lohuḥ*, *Midraš Ruḥ*, *Zohar*, *Bāraiḇā de Ma'ase B'rešīḥ*, etc.

(1) The question whether the Babylonian Talmud may be said to show acquaintance with the traditions embodied in 3 *Enoch* is discussed below, pp. 32-36, cf. also on "the conceptions of Metatron in Talmud, etc."

(2) *Ḥayye Ḥ'anoḥ* (BH. iv. 129seqq., OM. i. 182a-183b, *Sef'er ha-yYāšār*, *Par. B'rešīḥ*) shows dependence upon 3 *Enoch*, esp. chh. 6, 10³, 48 C¹, 4⁹,

although that fragment in other parts moves in a quite different trend of traditions from our book. The *Sefær Noʿaḥ* (or *T^efillaḥ ʿĀdām hā Riṣon*, *BH*. iii. 155; *OM*. ii. 401 a) also betrays some knowledge of the Enoch Literature, including 3 *En*.

(3) The *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 22^a, shows dependence upon 3 *En*. 18¹⁸; *ib.* ch. 26⁸ it reflects the expressions of 3 *En*. 12¹, 13¹.

(4) The *Heḳāloḥ Zoḡʿrāḥi*, fol. 70 a, likewise betrays acquaintance with 3 *En*. 12¹, 13¹, etc.

(5) *Ḥarbā d^e Mošæ*, end (ed. Gaster, London, 1896), reflects 3 *En*. 13 and 41.

(6) *Bāraiḫā de Ma^ʿse Berešīḫ* (in Rab Pe'alim, *Tiqqunim*, etc., pp. 46 seqq.), towards the end, quotes 3 *En*. 17⁴, 5^{6b}.

The *Miḏraš on Šemḥazai and ʿAzzaʿel* is, perhaps, dependent on 3 *En*. 5.

(7) *Šimnušā Rabbā* (*BH*. vi. 109 seqq.) resumes the contents of 3 *En*. 6–10 and 48 c.

(8) *Yalquṯ Reʿuḇeni*, foll. i. 54 a seqq., contains a great many quotations from 3 *Enoch*. These quotations are sometimes cited from the writings of R. ʿElʿāzār ben Yeḥudā (of Worms), such as *Soḏe Rāzā* (54 b, 56 a) and *Ḥākam hā-Rāzim* (55 a), sometimes from *Pirqē Heḳāloḥ* (55 b). The quotations are: 3 *En*. 22 (fol. 54 a); 4 and 8 (fol. 54 b); 6, 15, 3 (fol. 55 b); 12, 48 c¹², 5^{1–6}, 13–14² (foll. 56 a, 57 b, 59 a b).

(9) The *Lesser Yalquṯ Reʿuḇeni*, on Metatron no. 6, quotes 3 *En*. 6, 15 and 3 from *Pirqē Heḳāloḥ* (cf. *YR*. i. 55 b).

(10) MSS. containing writings of R. ʿElʿāzār of Worms quote 3 *En*. 3–12, 15 from “*Bāraiḫās* belonging to the *Ma^ʿse Mærkābā*” (*Brit. Mus. MS. Add.* 27199), and 3 *En*. 3–22, 23, 24, from *Pirqē de R. Išmaʿel* or *Bāraiḫās* (*Bodl. MICH.* 175).

(11) *Šiyyuni*, foll. 13 d, 14 a, quotes 3 *En*. 6, 15, 3 from *Sefær Heḳāloḥ*, cf. *ib.* foll. 9 c d.

(12) *S. ha-kKuzāri*, beg. and (13) Reqanati, comm. on the Pentateuch, ed. Venice, foll. 30 and 35 a, cf. 133 a, likewise (14) Moscato, *Qol Yeḥudā*, 189, quote fragments of the Enoch-Metatron pieces of 3 *Enoch*.

The quotations in the writings of R. ʿElʿāzār of Worms, in *YR.*, *YRL.*, *Šiyyuni*, Reqanati, etc., show that at one time 3 *Enoch* had become incorporated into a larger collection of writings concerned with the *Heḳāloḥ*, and, further, that this collection must have formed part of a compilation referred to as *Ma^ʿse Mærkābā*. From other quotations in the said works we know that the *Ma^ʿse Mærkābā* contained, besides 3 *Enoch* and the *Heḳāloḥ*, also the *Šiʿur Qomā*, *Revelations of Moses*, etc.

(15) *Ma^ʿæræḳæḫ ha^ʿÆlohuḫ*, ed. Ferrara, 1557, foll. 116 a seqq., quotes 3 *En*. 48 c from ‘*The Haggādā on Enoch*’.

(16) The *Zohar* refers to the Enoch-Metatron-*Na'ar* traditions as contained in 'the well-known *Bāraifās*' (i. 223 b).¹

The *Zohar* quite frequently quotes from 'The Book of Enoch'. These quotations show that 'The Book of Enoch' referred to in the *Zohar* was a large collection of Enoch traditions some of which are contained in 1 and 2 *Enoch*, others in writings now lost, whereas others again clearly emanate from 3 *Enoch*.

Zohar, i. 37 b,² iii. 240 a, 348 b, 10 b, quote from 'The Book of Enoch' matters contained in 3 *Enoch*.

Zohar, i. 37 b (after quotations clearly dependent upon 3 *Enoch*), ii. 55 a refer to details of 'The Book of Enoch', which are not found in 3 *Enoch*. They correspond well, however, with certain passages in 1 and 2 *Enoch* (vide 1 *Enoch* 24⁴, 5, 2 *Enoch* 8).

Zohar, i. 55 b, 58 b, ii. 100 a, 105 b, 192 b, 217 a, ii. 180 b, also cite 'The Book of Enoch' or 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ii. 180 b), but give no parallel whatever with 1, 2 or 3 *Enoch*.

It is evident that the *Zohar* regarded 3 *Enoch* as belonging to the Enoch Literature, and also, that it associated 3 *Enoch* with what is known to us as 1 and 2 *Enoch*. Lastly it should be noticed that 'The Book of Enoch' of the *Zohar* contains material from a time much later than 3 *Enoch*.

(17) *Midraš Ruḥ*, 85 b, resumes the traditions of 3 *En.* 48 c¹⁻⁹, 10, 12, 10, 6, 12.

(18) *Miškan hā'Ēḏuḥ*³ (by Moses de Leon) quotes from 'The Book of Enoch' passages reminding of 3 *En.* 39 and 48 B².

Brit. Mus. ms. *Add.* 15299, foll. 45 b seq., contains a 'Book of Enoch' which treats of the preparations necessary to obtain communion with the

¹ *Zohar*, i. 223 b:

דא איהו נער דאחיד שית מאה ותלת עשר מפתחן עלאין מסטרא דאימא וכלהו מפתחן עלאין בשננא דחרבא דחגיר בהרציה תליין ההוא נצר קרון ליה חנוך בן ירד באינון בריית דכתיב (משלי כ"ב) חנוך לגער על פי דרכו ואי תימא מתניתין היא ולא ברייתא במתניתא דילן אוקימנא מיילי והא אתמר וכלא מלתא הדא אסתכלו (ג'א אשתכללו) תחותיה.....

² *Zohar*, i. 37 b:

וכן תנינן ספר הזה ליה לחנוך. ודא ספר מאתר דספרא דתולדות אדם הזה ודא הוא דזא דחכמתא דהא מארעא אתגמיל דזא הוא דכתיב ואינונן כי לקח אותנו אלהים. והוא הגער דכתיב חנוך לגער על פי דרכו [cf. above] וכל גנזי עלאי אתמסרן בידיה ודא מסיר ויהיב ועביד שליחותא (cf. 3 *En.* 11¹, 48 c⁴)... מאה ברבאין נשיל בכל יומא (cf. 3 *En.* 9²) יקשיר קשירין למאריה (cf. 3 *En.* 48 c⁴) מעלמא נשיל ליה ק'בה לשמושיה (cf. 3 *En.* 15¹) דזא הוא דכתיב כי לקח אותנו אלהים. ומן דא אתמסר ספרא דאקרי ספרא דחנוך. בשעתא דאחיד ליה קדשא בריך הוא אחמי ליה כל גינזי עלאי. אחמי ליה אילנא דחיי בנו מציעות גנתא וטרפוי וענפוי (cf. 2 *En.* 8⁵ B, 1 *En.* 24⁴) וכלא חמינן בספריה

³ Given in Jellinek, *BH.* ii. p. xxxi.

high angel-princes, in particular with YEHOEL (another name for Metatron). It is immediately followed by *Sefær ha-yYāšār*. At the beginning of the latter the frequent tradition is put forth, according to which the *S. ha-yYāšār* together with another book was given to Adam by the angel GALLIŠUR, by Adam committed to Seth and after him to Enoch. This is also set forth at the beginning of *S. Rāzi'el ha-mMal'āk*. Acc. to *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b, one of these "two books" was 'The Book of Enoch'. On this cf. note on 3 *En.* 48 D¹⁰.

The 'S. ha-yYāšār' or, as it is also called, 'The Book of the First Adam' or 'The Book of Noah', really forms part of a vast literature consisting of various magical formulas, etc. The compilers of this magical literature were anxious to obtain authority for their 'books', and hence they tried to append them to the Enoch Literature by maintaining that 'two books were committed to Enoch'. The one was of course the older Enoch Literature, the other was intended to be understood as identical with the writings issued by them.

§ 7. ORIGIN AND DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH AND ITS RELATION TO COGNATE MYSTICAL WRITINGS

THE present book has not been made the subject of critical investigation as to origin and date of composition—apart from the short discussion of it by M. Bottenwieser¹ (see below). On the rare occasions when it has been referred to² it has almost without exception been grouped with the bulk of Jewish mystical writings which are termed 'Gaonic Mystical Literature', and within this group it has usually been counted as one of the so-called *Hekāloḥ* works (mainly because one of the titles under which it is quoted is 'Sefær Hekāloḥ', cf. *BH.* v. 170).

The history of the grouping together of the mystical works in question under the term 'Gaonic Mystical Literature' may be considered to begin with the chapter entitled "Geheimlehre" (Secret Doctrine) in Zunz's *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, 2nd ed., pp. 165-179. After dealing with the traces of mystical doctrines and speculations in the Talmud and accepting the possibility of the existence of early *Bārāiḇās* on mystical subjects, Zunz says:

"Erst mit der zweiten Hälfte des Geonäischen Zeitalters, etwa um

¹ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 678, article 'Apocalyptic Literature; Neo-Hebraic'.

² Usually the references to the 'Hebrew Book of Enoch' have in view only the fragments contained in ch. 48 B C D of our book, the actual 3 *En.* being unknown.

A.D. 780, also mit der Epoche der allmählich auflebenden Wissenschaftlichkeit und nachdem die Beschäftigung mit den Materien der Geheimlehre häufiger geworden, traten eigene (*sic*) Schriften auf, die sich an die Erläuterung der Schöpfung, an die Schilderung der göttlichen Majestät wagen." As mystical writings of this kind Zunz enumerates the following, viz.: (1) *S. Y^esirā*; (2) chh. iii and iv of *Pirqē d^e R. 'Æli 'azār*; (3) *Heḳāloḥ* which he regards as older than *P. R. 'El. iii, iv*; (4) *S. Rāzie'l* (acc. to Zunz younger than the *Heḳāloḥ*, though not to be confused with the *Sefar Rāzie'l ha-Gādol* by 'Æli 'azār of Worms); (5) *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*; (6) *Midraṣ Kōnēn*; (7) *S. ha-y Yāšār*; (8) *Yuhāsin*.

As may be seen from this list *the present book was unknown to Zunz*. Through the *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba* in its printed edd. he might, however, have gained knowledge of the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, corresponding to ch. 48 c of the present book, in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* (ed. Cracow et seqq.) inserted at the end of letter Aleph.

M. Steinschneider does not, in his treatment of the mystical literature,¹ lay down the results of his own investigations, but, as he expressly declares, follows the exposition of Zunz in the aforementioned chapter in *GV*.

A much fuller treatment than that of Zunz(-Steinschneider) is given to these writings by H. Grätz.² Grätz does not know of the present book, but he attaches great importance to the Enoch-Metatron fragment contained in the *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* at the end of letter Aleph (identical with ch. 48 B C of 3 *Enoch*). He uses this fragment together with a MS. containing polemical strictures by Salmon ben Y^eruḥām against Sa'adyā, as starting-point for his theory as to the original literary connection between the various writings under consideration. Ben Y^eruḥām quotes various passages, occurring in different mystical writings, from the *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*. From a comparison with the passages quoted by Ben Y^eruḥām Grätz maintains:

(1) that the Enoch-Metatron fragment was an original constituent part of the *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*;

(2) that the *Heḳāloḥ* belonged to the Enoch-Metatron fragments;³

1 In Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künsten*, ii. xxvii (1850), 400-404, article 'Jüdische Literatur', § 13. (Fuerst, in *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 15, confuses *Hek. Rab.*, *Hek. Zot.*, *Pirqē Hek.* and *Sefar Chanok.*)

2 In B. Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, viii (1859), 67-78, 103-118, 140-153.

3 Grätz's demonstration on this point is not convincing; his arguments are:

(a) Ben Y^eruḥām, after quoting from *A. R. 'Aq.* a passage (which is in reality part of *Ši'ur Qomā*) attributed to R. Isma'el, continues by mentioning that R. Iṣma'el was one of the martyrs, which is maintained also in *Hek. R.*, esp. chh. 3-5. Cf. 1 and 2 *Leg. Mart.*

(b) A MS. in the Oppenheimer Library (1061 a, after Steinschneider, cf. Neu-

(3) that there was originally a connection between the *Heḳāloḅ*, the *Sar Torā* (being chh. xxvii–xxx of the *BH.* edition of the *Hek. R.*) and the *Ši'ur Qomā*.

Grätz's argument for an original connection between the *Sar Torā* and the *Ši'ur Qomā* is in fact based on a misreading of Salmon ben Y^eruḥām, the passage from which he gives in full on p. 76 *op. cit.* Grätz says that Salmon ben Y^eruḥām in this passage quotes a chapter belonging to the *Sar Torā* from *Ši'ur Qomā*. The passage does not contain any reference at all to the *Ši'ur Qomā*, though the author in a preceding passage makes mention of the *Ši'ur Qomā* mysteries.

On the connection between the *Sar Torā* and the *Hek. R.*, Grätz says: The *Sar Torā* really belongs to the *Heḳāloḅ* "mit dem es nicht bloss zufällig zusammen copiert und zusammengedruckt ist, denn es beruft sich zum Schluss auf die in den echten *Hekaloth* ausgegebenen Gebet- und Lobformeln" (i.e. the '*Tiḅhaddar, Tiḅpromem u^e Tiḅnasse Mælæḳ M^efo'ār*, etc.' which in ch. 30 is cited by the beginning words but given in full in ch. 7²). "Folglich hing das *Sar Torah* mit *Hekaloth* zusammen... als ein Zusammenhängendes scheint es auch *R. Hai* zu fassen" (when referring to *Hek. R.*, *Hek. Zot.* and *Sar Torā*).

(4) The *Rev. of Moses* as it appears in *Yalquṭ R^e'uḅeni*, 101 c d (ed. Warsaw, 1901, vol. ii. fol. 67 a b, cf. below on *Metatron*), belongs to the same "single opus of mystical writings".

Grätz here, p. 103 *op. cit.*, bases upon a quotation from the same polemical writing of Salmon ben Y^eruḥām, but the parallel between this quotation and the *Rev. of Moses* is far-fetched.

What Grätz's arguments show is merely the fact, that the mystical writings in question were known to Salmon ben Y^eruḥām and possibly, as mystical writings on cognate subjects, were grouped together at that time, but it is not demonstrated by this that they *originally* formed a unity.

This is also, by the way, and almost inadvertently, admitted by

bauer) gives the *Heḳāloḅ* under the title 'Book of Enoch'. This ms. is no other than the *Bodl.* opp. 556, the N of the text edition of the present book—but Grätz quite naturally was led to believe that the ms. represented the *Heḳāloḅ* as known at that time, i.e. the *Hek. R.*, containing the references to the traditions connected with the 'Ten Martyrs'. In the ms. in question, being the Hebrew Book of Enoch, there is no mention of the martyrs, nor is R. Iṣma'el, who figures so prominently in it, referred to as one of the martyrs.

(c) Two quotations, one from *Yalquṭ R^e'uḅeni* (100 d), the other from *Šiyyuni*, containing material of an Enoch-Metatron character, cite *Pirqē Heḳāloḅ*. On this point cf. further below.

Grätz when he says: "Wenigstens lag es (the 'mystical opus') als ein Ganzes Salmon ben Y^eruḥām vor, woraus er seine Waffen zur Bekämpfung des Rabbinismus gegen Sa'ad^yā nahm." But from this sound critical position the author immediately departs to treat of the writings as an original unity.

Having laid down his theory as to the unity of the mystical writings in question, Grätz proceeds to demonstrate that these writings belong to a post-Talmudic period, viz. the Ga'onic time, mainly, as he declares, on the grounds "dass die darin herrschenden Vorstellungen theils dem Talmudischen Zeitalter unbekannt waren, theils von Talmudischen Autoritäten perhorresciert wurden". His arguments are:

(1) Metatron is in the Talmud not identified with Enoch. In Talmud Metatron is an angel existing already at the creation (Grätz cites Tos. *Yeb.* 16 b, *Hullin* 60 a, i.e. the passages on the Prince of the World). Enoch, on the other hand, is in Talmudic times so little glorified as to be put on the list of the wicked or regarded as a 'Schwankender', sometimes righteous, at other times wicked. (*Gen. R.* xxv).¹

"Auch Metatron selbst stand den Talmudisten nicht so hoch, dass sie ihn gewissermassen zum *δέυτερος θεός* stempeln sollten. Sie lassen ihn bestrafat werden. . . (alluding to *TB. Hag.* 15 a). Erst in folge der christlichen Dogmatik erhielt Henoch ein hohes Interesse: Die Interpretation des Verses (Gen. v. 24) wurde von der Patristik scharf betont, und Henoch galt als Protochristos und als Beweis für die Himmelfahrt, etc."

Because of his conviction of the entirely un-Jewish character of any glorification of Enoch, Grätz, on p. 106, polemizes violently against the view that the Ethiopic Enoch (1 *En.*) is of a pre-Christian origin. He says for instance: "Für jeden Unbefangenen aber ist es unzweifelhaft dass das Machwerk 'Buch Henoch' nicht in der politisch bewegten Hasmonäerzeit, sondern in der *mystisch dämmernden nach-apostolischen Epoche* entstehen konnte". The glorification of Enoch, Grätz maintains, must therefore have originated with Christians.

Grätz hence contends that the infiltration of the Enoch legend into Jewish circles must be relegated to the post-Talmudic age, and the medium through which it was brought into the circle of Jewish ideas was Islam, by whose adherents Enoch (*'Idris*) was held in high esteem (referring to Sura 19^{57, 58}).²

1 הנוך חנה היה פעמים צדיק פעמים רשע אמר הקב"ה עד שהו בצדקו אמלקונו

2 Acc. to Grätz Mohammed derived his view of Enoch from Christian sects and "in folge der Bedeutung, welche Henoch in der arabischen Sagenwelt erhielt,

(2) Further, acc. to Grätz, the 'rude anthropomorphism' of this literature (Grätz has the *Ši'ur Qomā* in view) points to a post-Talmudic origin.

(3) In the *Sar Torā* he finds references to Ga'onic institutions, viz. in ch. xxviii. 2. The passage runs as follows:

אני יודע מה אתם מבקשים... לקשור כתרים בראשיכם ועמרות מלכות לכוף מלכים להשתחוות לכם ליוזקק חזנים להשתמש לפניכם להפקיע שמכם בכל כיפה וזכרכם בכרכי הים להאיר פניכם כנורית היום ובין עיניכם בכוכב שחר

referring to the aspirations of the mystic who desires to partake of the magical power of the 'Seal' (*Ḥoṣṣām*), the 'Magical Formula', i.e. the Letters and Names of the *Kæþær Norā* or the *Sar Torā*. In the preceding passage (ch. xxviii. 1) reference is made to *Yeshiboth*, to *Torā*, *Talmud*, *H'elākā*, *Secrets*, *Pilpul*, which do not particularly point to a Ga'onic origin: cf. especially the parallel in *TB. Hag. 14 a*: "Masters of Scripture, Mišna, Talmud, Agada and *Šemu'op*". The *Sar Torā* is, however, probably later than the *Hek. R.*, and, in any case, it is later than 3 *Enoch*.

(4) His final argument for the post-Talmudic origin of the writings, Grätz finds in Sa'adyā's doubts as to R. Išma'el's authorship of *Ši'ur Qomā* (in *H'elikoḥ Qæðæm*, ed. Pollak, p. 69).

Within the Ga'onic period Grätz fixes the date of the whole group of mystical writings to the first half of the ninth century. His reasons are (apart from the fact that the quotations by Sa'adyā and ben Y'eruḥām necessitate the existence of the writings before the tenth century):

(1) The *Rev. of Moses* (i.e. one recension) is contained in *P'esiqḃa (Rabbāḃi)*, which collection was finished in the year 777 after the Destruction of the Temple (hence about A.D. 845). The *P'esiqḃa* as it wurden auch jüdischen Agadisten auf ihn aufmerksam und verwandeln ihn zu mystischen Zwecken indem sie ihn mit Metatoron identificierten".

Sura 19^{57, 58}:

وَأَذْكُرْ فِي الْكِتَابِ إِدْرِيسَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ صِدِّيقًا نَبِيًّا وَرَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا

"And commemorate 'Idris (i.e. Enoch) in the Book; For he was righteous and a Prophet, and we lifted him up to a high place." Vide also Sura 21⁸⁵.

وَأِسْمَعِيلَ وَإِدْرِيسَ وَذَا الْكِفْلِ كُلٌّ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ

Grätz might with as much reason have derived the whole pseudepigraphical literature of the OT. from, say, the *Mi'raj* of Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (vide Nicholson, *An Early Arabic Version of the Mi'raj*, etc.). Grätz's impossible deductions are reproduced here at length, since they form, directly or indirectly, the only basis for the usual anti-mystically biased representations of the time and provenience of the so-called Ga'onic mystical literature.

lay before R. Tam contained a reference to the various names of Metatron (acc. to *Tos. on TB. Yeb. 16 b¹*).

(2) Bishop Agobard of Lyons, in a polemical epistle to Louis the Pious against the Jews (*De judaicis superstitionibus*), about 829, betrays knowledge of the *Ši'ur Qomā* representations. The following may be cited:

“quod nobis non minime notum est qui quotidie pene cum eis (the Jews) loquentes mysteria erroris ipsorum audivimus. Dicunt denique Deum suum esse corporeum et corporis lineamenti per membra distinctum et alia quadam parte illum audire, alia videre, alia vero loqui, vel aliud quid agere, ac per hoc humanum corpus ad imaginem Dei factum, excepto quod ille digitos habeat inflexibiles ac rigentes, utpote qui nil manibus operetur”, which—save for the ‘inflexible fingers’—seems to reflect the *Ši'ur Qomā*. Another quotation from Agobard's letter given by Grätz presents the current picture of the Most High seated in the *Raqi^a* ‘*ayābōḥ*, in ‘magno quamvis palatio’, and surrounded or carried by the *Hayyōḥ* (bestiis). A third passage runs: “(The Jews say) Deum habere septem tubas, quorum una mille ei cubitis metiatur” (cf. letter v in *A. R. Aq.*), and a fourth shows that these works were extant in writing at that time: “et *conscripta mendacia, etc.*”

The origin of the mystical writings does not go back farther than about A.D. 820, says Grätz. This is, acc. to his opinion, not irreconcilable with the fact that already nine years later they were known in France to Bishop Agobard, for Grätz can point to a tradition preserved by Zaccuto² acc. to which

“der Kaiser Karl sich von dem Chalifen einen jüdischen Gelehrten für seine Staaten erbeten habe, und dieser hatte ihm einen R. Machir zugeschickt, der sich in Narbonne niedergelassen und... in Südfrankreich Schulen gegründet habe”. And hence “literarische Erzeugnisse konnten in kurzer Zeit ihren Weg vom Orient nach Frankreich finden” (!).

The absence in *Pirqē dē R. 'Eli'æzær* (between 809 and 813) of any reference to Enoch-Metatron and the *Ši'ur Qomā* is to Grätz a further evidence that the mystical writings were not in existence at that time.

(If this ‘argumentum e silentio’ were valid, it would seem that it would prove that also the Talmud, e.g. tractate *H'agigā*, came into existence between the years 820 and 829 A.D. (!). Grätz concludes: “Die Mystik mag sich also erst um 820 Bahn gebrochen haben, und so konnte sie um 829 bereits in Frankreich bekannt sein”.)

Grätz's interest in fixing the date to the beginning of the ninth century is due to his desire to maintain the Islamitic origin of the

¹ The parallel, *Tos. on Hullin 60 a*, cites from *Yuḥasin*, acc. to the reading preserved in *En Ya'aqōb*. The printed Talmud editions have *Sefær Yosifon*.

² In *S. Yuḥasin*, ed. Filipowsky, p. 84.

mystical writings in question. His contention is firstly, that the *Ši'ur Qomā* is the real kernel of the mysticism under consideration, secondly, that the 'gross anthropomorphism' of this writing cannot possibly have originated in Judaism, and must hence be derived from Islam, where especially the sect '*Mughassima*' and men such as 'Mughira ibn Said Alighi' held anthropomorphic views of the Deity.¹

The notice preserved by Maqrizi, acc. to which the Jews were divided into *Karaites*, wholly repudiating anthropomorphism (by Maqrizi called Ananites after Anan), *Rabbanites*, accepting a milder form of picturing God after the manner of man, and *Galutiya* who went farther than the Rabbanites, is therefore acc. to Grätz to be interpreted to the effect that one sect, the mystics (i.e. the Galutiya), had accepted the anthropomorphism of the Arabic Mughassima school and the related Mushabbihites and Hishamites.

The anthropomorphisms of the Islamitic sects in question were, acc. to Grätz, derived from no other source than the Qoran, from a literal explanation of relevant passages.

It should be pointed out here that when Grätz emphasizes the gross anthropomorphism of the mystical writings in contrast to the 'Talmudic' representations, he can only refer to the short passage in the *Ši'ur Qomā* which on the face of it looks like a description of the measures and sizes of the various Divine members but in reality merely concerns the Throne-of-Glory manifestation and *is on a level with the similar representation in the Babylonian Talmud*, Hag. 13 a (see below). The rest of the mystical works in question in no way go beyond the *Haggada* passages of the Talmud as regards 'anthropomorphic views'.

The mystical works, belonging to the same group (or forming parts of the same large work) which Grätz thus finally assigns to the ninth century, are enumerated at the end of his article as follows: (a) *Oḥiyyoḥ d' R. 'Aqiba*, and the following belonging to it; (b) *Sef'er H'anoḥ* (i.e. the small Enoch fragment at the end of letter Aleph in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*); (c) *Ši'ur Qomā*; (d) *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi*; (e) *Heḳāloḥ Ze'erḥa* (i.e. *Heḳāloḥ Zoṭ'erāḥi*); (f) *Sar Torā*; (g) *Ma'yan Hoḳmā* (i.e. a recension of the *Revelation of Moses*. See above under 'Sources and Literature').

To these he adds (after Hai Ga'on's statement) the writings devoted to 'practical mysticism', i.e. mainly magical in character: (a) *Sef'er*

¹ "Gott habe Gestalt und Körper mit Gliedern gleich den Buchstaben des Alphabets. Sein Gestalt sei die eines Mannes von Licht auf dessen Haupt sich eine Krone von Licht befinde."

ha-y Yāšār; (b) *Ḥarbā d^e Mošæ*; (c) *Rāzā Rabbā* or *Sefær hā Rāzīm*; (d) *Sefær Šem bæn No^{ah}*.

The arguments and conclusions by Grätz have since been often repeated, whereas no further arguments in support of his theory have been adduced by subsequent writers. Thus S. Karppe bases exclusively, it seems, on Grätz.¹ He gives the same list of writings, only with the omission of the *Sar Torā* and the *Revelation of Moses*. Concerning the connection between the writings, he says:

“Nous nous trouvons, en effet, en présence d'un certain nombre de fragments d'œuvres sans que nous puissions dire à coup sûr où ils commencent et où ils finissent, s'ils sont les chapitres d'un grand ouvrage synthétique, ou des parcelles d'œuvres indépendantes que le hasard ou la confusion des citations ultérieures a enchevêtrées. Ces fragments sont communément dénommés ainsi” (follows an enumeration of the writings).

Phillipp Bloch² also follows (and cites) Grätz. The Arabic influence in these writings is to him obvious. He follows Grätz also in assigning the writings to the ninth century. He gives exactly the same list of mystical works as Grätz, while adding, quite *ad rem*: “*Hechaloth Zutrathi und Sefer Chanoch lassen sich vorläufig nicht feststellen*”.

Bloch translates a few passages from *Heḳālōḅ* and *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqiba*, among which are the Enoch-Metatron fragment at the end of letter Aleph in the printed edd. of *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqiba* and the introductory chapters of *Sefær Heḳālōḅ* (corresponding to chh. 1 and 2 of the present book). Furthermore he gives Ga'on Šerirā's responsum on the *Ši'ur Qomā* (in translation): “Gott behüte dass R. Ischmael derartige Dinge aus eigenem Kopf gesagt hätte. Wie sollte auch ein Mensch auf solche Einfälle aus eigenem Antrieb kommen! Ferner ist unser Schöpfer zu hoch und erhaben, als dass er Glieder und Maasse haben könnte, wie der einfache Wortlaut besagt... Das ist aber nur die Ausdrucksweise einer Wissenschaft, hinter der grosse, bergeshohe und wundersame *Mysterien stecken...*”.

A. Jellinek in editing chh. from a ms. that correspond to chh. 1-15, 23-48 A of the present book³ does not give any opinion as to the time of origin.

Louis Ginzberg, in enumerating the mystic works “of Ga'onic

1 *Études sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901, ch. iv: ‘La Mercabah au temps des Gaonim,’ pp. 37 seqq. Karppe knows no more than Grätz of the Hebrew Book of Enoch. The ‘*Sefær Ḥ^{noḳ}*’ stands for the fragment inserted after letter Aleph in *A. R.* ‘*Aq.*’

2 In *Die jüdische Mystik und Kabbala* in Winter und Wünsche, *Jüdische Literatur*, iii. 217 seqq., Trier, 1896.

3 *Beth ha Midrasch*, v, Vienna, 1873, complementing from the Lemberg edition of *Sefær Heḳālōḅ* in his *Kontras ha-mMaggid*, ii.

times" (evidently depending on Grätz), mentions the present book as "a version of the Hekaloth".¹

M. Bittenwieser treats at some length of the Hebrew Book of Enoch.² With regard to time of composition, he says:

"Apart from the fact that R. Ishmael, of the period of the Hadrianic persecution, figures as the author, and from the allusion in the last chapter to the Destruction of the Temple (through which data the earliest date possible is fixed), there are no definite references to historical events and conditions from which the date of the composition of the Book of Enoch could be more exactly determined. There is, however, a passage in Talmud Berakot about R. Ishmael which naturally suggests itself in this connection, and which admits of the adoption of at least a latest possible date." (Buttenwieser here translates the well-known passage *Ber. 7 a* on R. Išma'el beholding 'aḥapri'el Yāh YHWH Š'ḇā'ōḇ sitting upon the high and exalted throne, etc.) "The parallel is obvious. The passages quoted compel the conclusion that the Hebrew Book of Enoch cannot have been written later than the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud."

R. H. Charles³ accepts the general view of M. Bittenwieser.

G. F. Moore⁴ refers to our book in the following manner: "Much later (*scil.* than the time of the Talmuds) Enoch re-emerges in a similar rôle (*scil.* as conductor to Paradise and Gehenna and heavens in general) with descriptions of the Heavenly Courts and the like, showing that some reminiscence of his journeys through the universe had survived or been revived. Several pieces of this sort are to be found in Jellinek, *Bet ha Midrasch*. . . Among these particular mention may be made of that in Part v. pp. 170-190 (i.e. the fragment of 3 *En.* referred to in the present edition as *E*)".

It seems that M. Bittenwieser has opened the right way towards a determining of the time of composition and origin of the present book, in treating it primarily on its own merits, and only in the second instance in its connection with the other writings that have come to be associated with it. Further, the date suggested by Bittenwieser as a *terminus ante quem* is probably correct. The 'parallel' from *TB. Ber. 7 a*, adduced by him, is, however, of less value in this connection. The passage is not generally accepted as genuine, and bears the marks of a later time than our book. But there are closer parallels. It may be suggested, to begin with, that *the main body of the book belongs to a time not later than e.g. TB. Hag. 11 b-16 a* (the largest continuous exposition of mystical matters in the Babylonian Talmud).

1 *J.E.* iii. 463 a, article 'Cabala'.

2 *J.E.* i. 678, article 'Apocalyptic Literature; Neo-Hebraic'.

3 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. 1912, Introduction, § 17, pp. lxxix-lxxxii.

4 *Judaism*, i. 128 and note 3.

The style, the matters dealt with in *Hag.* ii and chh. 3-48 A of our book respectively, as well as the general ideas met with in both, do not suggest a later time for our book, but, possibly, a different circle from which the conceptions have derived their peculiar shape. To show this, some parallels in ideas and manner of expression may be pointed out:

TB. Hag.:

Fol. 12 a: "The first Adam extended from one end of the world to the other" (as a symbol of his perfection), rel. by R. Y^ehuḏā b. 'Æl'ay.

Ib. "When he sinned, the Holy One diminished him."

Ib. "The first Adam saw by the first light from one end of the world to the other, but when God beheld the generation of the Flood and the generation of the confusion of tongues he removed it, etc." (cf. *Gen. R.* xi. 2, xii. 4, 5 including the generation of 'Eⁿoš); attr. to R. 'Æl'azār.

Ib. "God created heaven by mixing water and fire" (*Bāraiḅā*).

Ib. "By ten things the world was created, 'Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge, Might, etc.'" ('Abbā 'a^rikā, Rab.).

Hag. 12 b (*Bāraiḅā* of R. Yose): "The earth is standing upon pillars, the pillars upon the water, the water upon the mountains, the mountains upon the wind, the wind upon the tempest and the tempest is suspended on the arm of the Holy One".

Ib. The seven heavens and their contents. The names of the heavens agree with those of 3 *En.* 17³ and 33⁵. In other respects the *H^aḡiḡā* passage here contains elements belonging to a later stage than our book. Thus 3 *Enoch* agrees, against *H^aḡiḡā*, with the earlier Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic writings in assigning angelic inhabitants to all the heavens: cf. *Test. Levi* iii, *Ap. Bar.*, *Asc. Isa.*, 2 *En.* 3-20. The conception of Mikael at the Celestial Altar does not occur in our book: only in the additional ch. 15 B the Celestial Tabernacle—of Metatron—is mentioned. The song-uttering angels (in *Mā'ōn*, the fifth heaven) are in *H^aḡiḡā* pictured in a

3 *Enoch:*

Ch. 9²: "I was raised and enlarged to the size and the length of the world".

Cf. 3 *En.* 16⁵; 5¹⁰.

Cf. 3 *En.* 5¹, 3-5, 13, 14.

Ch. 42.

Ch. 41³: "the whole world is sustained by Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge, Prudence, Meekness and Righteousness". The same idea is put forth in ch. 8. On this point *Hag.* seems to represent a more developed stage than our book. See notes *ad loca*.

Cf. chh. 34, 37, 38¹, 48⁵ seqq. This is traditionally connected with the *Ma'ase Berešit*, and is found in the earlier parts of the *Midraš Kōnēn*.

manner more resembling that of *Hek. R.* than of 3 *Enoch* which here follows more closely the earlier traditions embodied e.g. in 1 *Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

The expressions used to describe the contents of *Mākon*, the sixth heaven, recall those of 3 *En.* 34 and 37 as well as of 2 *En.*: "the treasures of snow, of hail . . . chamber of the Stormwind" (*Sufā*), etc.

The representation of the contents of '*rāboḥ Rāqi*'^a, the seventh heaven—the treasures of Righteousness, Right, Mercy, Life, Peace, Blessings—corresponds to 3 *En.* 8, 10⁶, 48 c³; that of the souls of the righteous and the souls and spirits of those who are not yet created in '*rāboḥ*' exactly corresponds to 3 *En.* 43; for the pre-existence of spirits and souls the same scriptural passage, viz. Is. 57¹⁶, is quoted in both contexts; on the other hand, the conception of the resurrection-dew does not appear in our book. The short summary of the *Mærkābā*-picture in *Hag. ib.*—"Ofannim, Serafim, Hayyōḥ ha-qōdāš, the ministering angels, the Throne of Glory, the King, the Living God, high and lifted up"—is not substantially different from similar summaries in our book, cf. e.g. ch. 6². (Upon the present writer this passage *TB. Hag.* makes the impression of being dependent upon 3 *Enoch*. In this way a traditionist familiar with 3 *Enoch* could easily have summarized 3 *Enoch* in respect of the contents of the '*rāboḥ Rāqi*'^a; especially the little incident of an additional, meaningless, 'and souls' in *TB. Hag.* compared with 3 *En.* 43 and 47 is highly suggestive here.)

That the material used in *H^agīgā* contained a developed system of *Mærkābā*-angelology is apparent from the elaborate descriptions in the following context, e.g. on the *Hayyōḥ* on fol. 13 a.

The specific picture of the 'seven Halls' does not occur in *H^agīgā*, but the idea itself is not unknown to judge from the expression in *Hag.* fol. 13 a: distinguishing between the 'בתי גן' and the 'בתי ברא' which corresponds to the division between the six outer and the seventh inmost Hall in 3 *Enoch*.

Fol. 13 a. The speculations on the "*Rāqi*"^a above the heads of the *Hayyōḥ*" (after Ezek. 1²²) are more after the manner of the later *Mærkābā*-literature than of our book. (R. Aḥa b. Ya^aqōḇ, 4 B. A.) Cf. the additional chapters 15 B, 22 B C.

Ib. The measures or distances of the heavens and the sizes of the *Hayyōḥ* present a stage somewhat between the representations of 3 *En.* chh. 21 and 22 c (additional). Thus the description of the immense sizes of the *Hayyōḥ* is more extravagant in *Hag.* than in 3 *En.* 21.

It may be surmised, in fact, that the present passage, introduced as a *Bārāiḡā* of R. Yoḥ^anān ben Zakkai, is more related to the *Ši'ur Qomā* picture. The reference to the measures of the "feet of the Throne of Glory", of the "Throne of Glory itself", and the implied distance between the "feet of the Throne of Glory" and the seat of the Divine Manifestation, the "King 'El Hay u^e Qayyām Rām u^e Nissā" (cf. 22 c^{2, 3}), reads like an introduction or allusion to the *Ši'ur Qomā*, 2¹. The *Ši'ur Qomā* (2) begins by stating the distances between the seat of the Throne downwards (the

feet of the Throne) and between the seat and upwards. 'El Hay μ^e Qayyām is the expression used also in the *Ši'ur Qomā* when referring to the Divine Manifestation on the Throne.

Ib. The term *Sipre Torā*, i.e. the 'Secrets of Torah', the 'Secrets of the Law', is here used in the same sense as in 3 *Enoch*, i.e. as a technical term by preference for a certain aspect of the mystical doctrines. It designates the essence of the *Torā* and—what is considered equivalent—the first elements of the whole manifested world. Cf. 3 *En.* 11¹, 48 c^{4,7}, d^{3,7} and notes *ad loca.* (Attr. to R. 'Ammi, 3 P. A.)

Ib. The specific mystical importance attached to the *Hašmal* is paralleled in 3 *En.* 34, 36, 37, but more particularly in the additional ch. 15 B².

Haḡ. 13 b. The *Hašmal* used also with reference to a certain class of angels as in 3 *Enoch* where the *Hašmallim* are enumerated together with the *Merkābā*-creatures: chh. 7, 48 c⁴.

Ib. The speculations on and interpretations of the words רצוא ושוב Ezek. 1¹⁴, on which *H^aḡiḡā* expatiates, are not found in 3 *Enoch* except in the additional ch. 22 c⁵. They are very frequent in later works. The *Bāzāq* (Ezek. 1¹⁴) is in 3 *Enoch* not yet the object of speculations as in *H^aḡiḡā* here, and in *Hek. R.* (131, *et al.*).

Ib. "The אופן אחד בארץ (Ezek. 1¹⁵) refers to the angel *Sandalfon*." The conception of *Sandalfon* is nowhere met with in the present book. Neither is the picture of an angel-prince wreathing crowns for His Master represented in 3 *Enoch*. Both ideas seem to belong to a later stage than 3 *Enoch*. They recur frequently in later literature. *Sandalfon* is met with e.g. in *Rev. of Moses* (Hebrew) and in *Hek. Zoḡ.* (Cf. below on the conception of *Metatron*, pp. 106 f.) Here a *Bāraiḡā* connected with R. 'Æl'āzār.

Ib. The various *pānim* (faces) of the *Merkābā*-angels, in particular the *Hayyōḡ* (after Ezek. 1¹⁰, 10¹⁴). On this subject *H^aḡiḡā* is more elaborate than 3 *Enoch*, cf. 3 *En.* 2¹ ("eagles of the *Merkābā*"), 21^{1,3} and the add. ch. 15 B² ('the Lion'). *H^aḡiḡā* here approaches the *Hek. R.*, ch. 26⁴.

The changing of the שור into the כרוב is an idea not met with in 3 *Enoch*.

Ib. The numbers of the angels and the 'troops' or '*gē'dudim*' discussed on the basis of Dan. 7¹⁰. This is paralleled in 3 *En.* 17, 35⁴⁻⁶, etc.

Ib. Speculations on the *N^ehar di-Nur* or 'fiery river' (on the same scriptural basis). These are well in line with those of 3 *Enoch*; cf. chh. 18^{19,21}, 19⁴, 33⁵, 36^{1,2}, 47^{1,2}. The fiery river goes forth from the perspiration of the *Hayyōḡ*; cf. 3 *En.* 18²⁵, in our book usually "from under the Throne of Glory" as in 1 *En.* 14¹⁹.

Haḡ. 14 a. The traditions concerning the creation of the angels from the fiery river or through the Divine word and their immersion (and extinction) in the *N^ehar di-Nur* are presented in similar, although somewhat varying, manner in *Haḡ.* and in our book, chh. 27³, 40⁴, 47^{1,2}. The same scriptural support is used by both; cf. notes *ad loca.*

Ib. The two Thrones of the Holy One. The dictum (attributed to R. Yose the Galilean), acc. to which one Throne is for Judgement, the other for Mercy, reminds us of chh. 31 and 33 (the two Divine aspects, the Attributes of Justice and Mercy).

The second dictum (attributed to 'Æl'āzār bæn 'Azaryā), acc. to which one Throne is placed beneath the other, as a sort of foot-stool

(or [attributed to R. ^Aqībā as his original opinion] the one being the Throne of Glory, the other the Throne of David, i.e. the Messiah, cf. *TB. Sanh.* 38 a, 67 b), raises the question, whether behind this there is not a covert allusion to the traditions of *the throne of Metatron being placed below the Throne of Glory*. In any case, the different explanations here given of the 'thrones' of Dan. 7⁹ show an intimate familiarity with the view of a second Throne by the side of the Throne of Glory.¹

Ḥag. 14 b. The well-known passage about the four who entered Paradise (repeated in the *Hek. Zoṭ., Bodl. MICH.* 9) emphasizes the dangers of entering to behold the various heavenly mysteries, and may hence be said to be paralleled by the notions expressed in ch. 1³ of 3 *Enoch*. Closer parallels are, however, found in the later cognate works, e.g. in *Hek. R.*, ch. 17 *et al.* It is to be noted, that R. Iṣma'el in 3 *Enoch* is not represented as being shown Paradise. The 'entering Paradise' refers to a certain part of the vision of the *Mærkābā*-mysteries. Thus Moses, acc. to the *G^oḏullaḥ Mošæ*, is shown Paradise after he has been shown the heavens and the Throne in the highest.

Ḥag. 15 a. The passage on Metatron, of which ch. 16 of the present book is simply another version, will be often referred to in the following.

Ib. "I have heard from behind the *Pargod*" and

Ḥag. 16 a "the angels hearing from behind the *Pargod*". Cf. on chh. 45¹ and 18¹⁶ of our book.

Important for the question of the relation between the Talmud and 3 *Enoch* is also *TB. Yomā*, 67 b: תנא רבי רבי ישמעאל וזאזל שמכפר על מעשה עוון ועוואל compared with chh. 4 and 5 of our book. This presupposes at least the *traditions* embodied in 3 *En.* 5 ('Uzzā and 'Azzāel as fallen angels or evil agencies).

With regard to the special reasons adduced by Grätz for a post-Talmudic origin of the mystical group of writings in question—in which also our book, although unknown to that scholar, would be

¹ The present writer has not ventured to accept definitely as authentic the linking up of these dicta with the names of such Tannaitic teachers as R. ^Aqībā, R. 'Æl'azār bæn 'Azaryā, R. Yose the Galilean. The authenticity might perhaps, however, be taken for granted, since so great an anti-mystical authority as G. F. Moore, in his *Judaism*, vol. ii, p. 337, speaking of this passage says: "it remains that Akiba saw for himself no objection to assigning the second throne to the Messiah". Cf. also Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i, pp. 224, 225, 324, 361. The fact of the occurrence of speculations on 'two thrones' in the time of and among the said Tannaim, would be of immense importance for determining the time of origin of the conception of Metatron as the second, lower throne. It is evident that the controversy related in *TB. Ḥag.* 14 a, *Sanh.* 38 a, 67 b, touches a subject that was, from some cause or other, rather delicate, i.e. closely connected with views abhorred as heretical. Suggestive of the consciousness of the dangerous background of these speculations is R. Yose's rebuff of R. ^Aqī'a's view with the words: עקיבא עד מתי אתה עושה שכינה חול; the profanation, or heresy, would consist in establishing a similarity either with the Christian enthronement of the Christ-Messiah or with other views accepting an enthroned Messiah (e.g. after the manner of 1 *En.*). But the new element that has here entered is precisely the idea of a *second, lower* throne, i.e. the distinctive, constitutive feature of the Metatron-conception: the basis for the formation of the Metatron-conception has been already given.

involved, and has been thus involved by later followers of Grätz—the following observations may be made:

With regard to point (1)—Metatron in the Talmud not identified with Enoch—this does not necessarily prove that the identification of Enoch and Metatron belongs to the post-Talmudic period. The aversion of the Rabbis,¹ especially those ultimately responsible for the fixing of the text of the Talmud, constitutes a sufficient reason why they should have eliminated, as much as possible, any trace of a glorification of Enoch, which might have obtained in the mystic sources from which they drew, with reserve, some scattered details of the Metatron-conception.

If, in fact, the sources from which the Talmudic fragments were derived already contained the tradition of the identity between Enoch and Metatron—and if this was suppressed by the Talmudic authorities—there should be some trace of the functions acquired by Metatron in fusion with Enoch. Such a trace can, indeed, be pointed to, viz. in *TB. Ḥaḡ.* 15 a, where it is said of Metatron, that he had been given permission to be seated in order to *write down the merits of Israel*. Metatron's function of Scribe here is most naturally explained from the assumption that he has already been identified with Enoch, "the scribe of righteousness" (*vide* 1 *En.* 15¹). In 3 *Enoch* Metatron's function of Scribe-Witness is connected exclusively with the Enoch-aspect of him, chh. 4², 48 c². It seems never to have been attached to the specific Metatron-aspect.

(2) The 'gross anthropomorphism', which is the main basis on which Grätz contends for the Islamitic origin of the group of mystical writings, is not specially characteristic of our book in contrast to the Talmudic literature.

The points (3) and (4) (*vide* above, p. 27) do not concern 3 *Enoch* and are, therefore, irrelevant here.

A difference between the three representations of Metatron in the Talmud (in *TB. Ḥaḡ.* 15 a, *Sanh.* 38 b, 'Ab. Zar. 3 b) and those of 3 *Enoch* is to be seen, further, in the fact, that Metatron is in the latter commonly called "the Prince of the Presence", but in the former not referred to by this epithet. In *TB. Ber.* 51 a, however, we find the tradition of *Suriel* (or *Surya*) as the Prince of the Presence, in special communion or relation with R. Iṣma'el, imparting to him teachings or revelations. *Suriel* (or *Surya*), in related mystical writings, is most often only another name for Metatron, used specially when denoting him as Knower of Secrets (as befits the Prince of the

¹ Cf. the well-known passage in *Gen. R.* 25₁, referred to above, p. 26, n. 1.

Presence to be). In *Hek. R.*, *Surya*, as the Prince of the Presence, sometimes seems to be contemplated as different from Metatron—on the ground that Metatron in *Hek. R.* is sublimated almost into a part of the Divinity, whereas *Surya*, as the Prince of the Presence, retains Metatron's less exalted functions (cf. below, pp. 99–101). The parallel *TB. Ber.* 51a is important also because it shows that R. Iṣma'el already at the time of origin of that *Haggādā* must have been represented as enjoying a special personal communion with the Prince of the Presence as he does in 3 *Enoch*.

For *Surya* as a name of Metatron, cf. ch. 48 D¹, no. 84.

The language of the main, that is the oldest, part of 3 *Enoch* is most akin to that of the earlier Haggadic dicta of the Babylonian Talmud, or, in general, that of the dicta attributed to the Tannaitic teachers and the earlier Amorae.

An indication of time and place of the final composition of the present book is also to be seen in the representation of ch. 26¹², acc. to which the special accusers of Israel, next to Satan, are “Sammāel, the Prince of Rome, and *Dubbiel, the Prince of Persia*”. This, of course, suggests a Babylonian environment. Now the authorities cited in the mystical literature are the early Palestinian *Tannas*, R. Iṣma'el, R. 'Aqīḇa, R. Nēḥonyā bæn haqQānā, also R. Yoḥānān bæn Zakkai and R. 'Aḇli'æzær hagGādol, and others. The first origins of the mystical teachings of course go back to Palestine (e.g. 1 *Enoch*). And Palestine must have continued to be the home of the mystical speculations even under the earlier *Tannas*, until the reaction set in, which tried to oust the specific mystical teachings from orthodox Judaism. Thus, the development and elaboration of the traditions embodied in the Hebrew Book of Enoch would seem to have taken place in Babylonian circles. The above-mentioned explicit reference to *Dubbiel, the Prince of Persia*, in juxtaposition to Sammael, the Prince of Rome, by which the former is indicated as sharing the dominance of the earth as it were equally with the latter (cf. 3 *En.* 14²), points to a period when the Sassanides were in full power, and probably to a time of warfare with the Roman Empire (such as was carried on in Mesopotamia in the last quarter of the third century A.D.).

The fact, that the book, with the exception of the allusions in chh. 26¹², 44⁷ seqq. and 48 A—in a mild form—to oppressions by the “Nations of the World”, presents a pronouncedly *irenical*, almost universalistic attitude towards the nations in general (cf. esp. chh. 3¹, 30, etc.), indicates that the book has taken shape at a time when

the Jewish circles in question were living in peace and comfort. The animosity against the "nations of the world" which has found expression in the apocalyptic fragment, ch. 48 A, seems to be due more to the traditional phraseology adopted from the apocalyptic patterns used, than to actual experience of a real persecution. Furthermore, there is a tendency noticeable in chh. 44⁷⁻¹⁰, 48 A towards assigning the real cause of the downfall of Israel to the wicked within the nation and to the dearth of righteous and 'pious' men, and towards focussing the reader's mind on this aspect.

This points to a place and time of composition (*i.e. redaction*) such as the Jewish colonies in Babylonia during the third and fourth centuries, when the Jews enjoyed a perfect tolerance from the Sassanian rulers.

In contrast to the general attitude of our book, we find in the later apocalyptic or mystical works from the time of the rising Moslem power a different outlook: 'Rome and Persia' are no longer regarded as the established world powers, but 'Išma'el' (= Islam) is looked upon as the power destined to prepare the way for the deliverance of Israel by engaging in prolonged and destructive warfare with the older empires, a warfare which will cause the ruin of all the Gentile nations (cf. 2 Ap. Išm., Revel. R. Šim'ōn bæn Yoḥai).

There are, however, further indications for an early date of origin. Thus the *Qe'duššā* met with in 3 *Enoch* takes us back to the time when this had not yet received any of the amplifications attested in the *Gemārā* of the Babylonian Talmud. It is, moreover, not yet connected with the *שַׁמַּיָה עֵשְׂרִי*. It is presented in its most simple and primitive form, a form which in fact seems to have been established already at the time of 1 *En.* 39^{12, 13}, i.e. before the Christian era (cf. below, § 18 A. pp. 184 *seq.*).

A means of determining the *terminus post quem* of the composition of our book is the picture of the Messianic expectations given in ch. 45⁶, postulating a post-Hadrianic time. On this *vide* note *ad loc.* (p. 147), where the present writer urges that the 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 in the third century A.D.

The conception of the pre-existence of the spirit (*nešāmā*) and its 'creation' in the *Guf* as met with in sect. 7 (chh. 41-48 A) of our book may perhaps be taken as evidence for a time of origin of that section not much earlier than the beginning of the third century A.D. *Vide* below on "The conceptions of Spirit and Soul, etc." pp. 179 *seq.*

Of great importance for determining the time and position of

3 *Enoch* are, lastly, the affinities between our book and the earlier Enoch literature. These affinities—which are discussed at length below, sect. 7 A and B—show that 3 *Enoch* represents a direct continuation in development from the earlier Enoch literature with influences on the one hand from extraneous ideas (Gnosticism, etc.), on the other from Rabbinic traditions developed during the Tannaitic period.

The conceptions which form the central interest of the book seem to have been elaborated in a certain distinct circle¹ which had a greater propensity for mystical matters than their contemporaries, the scholars whose views determined the attitude of the Talmud (and among those scholars both *Tannaim* and *Amoraim* are represented). The men of this circle or tendency of thought apparently cherished with veneration the traditions of the earlier apocalyptic and angelological literature, especially the Enoch literature; naturally they concentrated upon the mystical experiences connected with the vision of the Throne and the Divine Chariot, and may have accepted the various extraneous conceptions or forms of expression (or of visualizing), with which they were brought in contact and which seemed to them in keeping with their own experiences and speculations. Thus they accepted, already at an early time, the idea of a celestial representative of the Godhead, a vice-regent, a second, lower *θρόνος*, in the form of Metatron. They were also particularly interested in the elaboration of systems of angelology, picturing the vast angelic hierarchy from the lowest of common angels up to the highest angelic figure, the ruler—by God's authority—over all the hosts under him.

These mystics behind 3 *Enoch* were not in opposition to the Rabbinic teachers. Apart from their special interest in mystical matters, the *Ma'asē Brešit* and the *Ma'asē Mærkābā*, and their occupation with the earlier mystical literature, they held the general views of the 'orthodox' Rabbis, and evidently themselves had the learning of the schools. They held the Tannaitic teachers (R. Išma'el) in high esteem and referred to them as authorities in the mystical doctrine. It is also evident that a great number of the Tannas and Amoras, at least during periods of their life, devoted themselves to penetrating the *Mærkābā*-mysteries: Yoḥānān ben Zakkai, Yehošua' ben Hānanya, R. 'Aqiba, 'Æl'azar ben 'Arāk, Hānanya ben Hākinai (*TB. Hag.* 14 b, 15 a, *Tj. Hag.* 77 b, *Tos. Hag.* 2¹⁻⁵, *Gen. R.* 5¹¹), also Šim'on bæn Zoma and Šim'on bæn 'Azzai, not to mention the

¹ On the existence of several Jewish circles devoted to mysticism *vide* Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 22-25 and below (on the origin of the conception of Metatron).

ultimate apostate 'Æliša' bæn 'Aḅuya. This is admitted by G. F. Moore in his *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 411, nor can it possibly be denied.

No doubt the 3 *Enoch* circle regarded themselves as orthodox (if that word may be used) and in no way considered themselves as sectarian. There is no definite sign in the main part of the book that they even looked upon themselves as *separated* from others by a deeper insight into mystical matters or by the possession of a higher *γνώσις*. One may probably best describe their attitude by stating simply that they were interested in and inclined towards mystical matters and experiences. From the point of view of the Rabbinic teachers, determining the attitude of the Talmud, the position of these circles and of their writings was, however, to be judged differently. The mystical interests of the recognized Rabbinical authorities could not be ignored nor could the Haggadic dicta revealing those interests be obliterated. But the 3 *Enoch* circle and its like would naturally be ignored, if not classed among the *minim* (or heretics), and the Enoch literature would be included among the 'extraneous writings' just as were the earlier apocalyptic writings, which were passed in silence.

That writings of this kind could exist and that there is no need of assuming the *mere* oral tradition of the mystical matters is quite clear. Now that Strack in his *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš*⁵ (pp. 9-16) has demonstrated the existence of early writings even on H^olā kā, and, the more naturally, on Haggadic matters, there is not the slightest reason for keeping up the unfounded fiction that "there was nothing written on mystical subjects between the time of the so-called Pseud-epigrapha and the Gaonic times". No one at all familiar with the Talmudic and Midrašic writings could deduce the non-existence of such writings from the well-known injunction in *M. Hag.* 2¹ against the promulgation of mystical matters to more than 'three', 'two' or 'one'. One need only point to the fact that not only the *G^emārā* but even the *Tos^eftā* to the same passage speak quite freely on such subjects that are treated in 3 *Enoch*. If still deeper mystical matters are meant in that injunction (cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 384, *Tos. Hag.* 2), then again the passage evidently cannot be used as a demonstration for the non-committing to writing of matters that 'are not so deep' (such as those of 3 *Enoch* and *TB. Hag.* 11 b seqq.). The

1 *Tos. Hag.* 2²:

ר' יוסי בר' יהודה אומר ר' יהושע הירצה לפני רבן יוחנן בן זכאי
 ר' עקיבא הירצה לפני ר' יהושע הנניא בן חכינאי הירצה לפני
 ר' עקיבא

Tos. Hag. 2³: ארבע נכנסו לפרדס בו עזאי ובן זומא אחר ור' עקיבא

truth is of course that *M. Hag. 2* does not describe how the mystical matters were actually treated by all Jewish speculators upon them, but lays down a rule how they should henceforth be treated.¹

The additional chapter 48 D¹⁰ of our book contains the notice that the Palestinian Amoras R. 'Abbaḥu and R. Zera—who had received the secrets handed down from the time of Moses—committed the mystical teachings or traditions to a larger body, "the men of faith". "The men of faith" apparently is a term denoting the circle of mystics to which the writer belonged. If there were any historical reality behind this statement, it would seem to indicate the time of RR. 'Abbaḥu and Zera (second generation Amoras, end of third century A.D.) as the period when the tradition of literature in question gained special adherence among Babylonian Jews. The fragment in which this statement is found is however of a much later date than the main part of the book, and represents a development of the mystical teachings on somewhat different lines from those of the rest of the book (cf. note *ad loc.*).

The time of composition or redaction which would best fit in with the various data considered above seems to be the latter half of the third century.

We have, so far, been concerned with the main body of the book, comprising chh. 3-48 A, and its redaction.

To this main body have been joined, in different stages, the following:

(a) Ch. 48 B C: the Names of the Godhead, and the interpretation of one of these names, the 'Ālæf, with regard to Metatron. The oldest part of this mystical treatise is contained in the 'Ālæf-Enoch-Metatron piece, 48 c¹⁻⁹. This version of the Enoch-Metatron tradition which in substance (*vide infra* on Metatron, pp. 80 ff.) agrees with the Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-15, seems to have been regarded as specially connected with R. 'Aqiba (the rest of the book is presented in the name of R. 'Išma'el). It was included in the *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba at the end of letter 'Ālæf. Furthermore, in the *D*-editions of *Sefær Heḳāloṣ* (*D* 1, foll. 13 b, 14 a, *D* 2, fol. 10 b) a fragment of ch. 48 c, corresponding approximately to the version *K*, is introduced as a *Tosæftā*, beginning: "R. 'Aqiba said: I heard a voice going forth from under the Throne of Glory, speaking. And what did it say? Answer: I sold (corr. for 'made him strong', מַכַּר for אָבַר) him, I took him, I appointed him, namely Enoch, the son of Jared, whose name is

1 Cf. Leo Bæck, *Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik in Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion*, pp. 99 seq.: "Zwischen dem Worte höchsten Preises, das Jochanan ben Sakkai gesprochen, und diesem Worte der Verurteilung in der Mischna liegt die Abkehr von dieser theosophischen Mystik. Sie war bewirkt durch die Erkenntnis der Gefahr welche von daher der Reinheit der Lehre, der Eigenart des Judentums, drohen konnte".

Metatron, etc.”¹ The fragment is, however, quite independent of the *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqībā*.

(b) The introductory chh. 1 and 2, supplying the frame of the book, in so far as they describe the occasion when R. Išma‘el ascended to behold the *Mærkābā* and was brought into contact with Metatron who imparted to him the revelations contained in the book. These chapters, probably, belong approximately to the same time and circle as the *Hek. R.* and the earlier (lost) versions of the *Leg. Martyrs*. The occasion of R. Išma‘el’s ascension to heaven is here, however, not intended to be understood as that of his last *Mærkābā*-vision, described in *Hek. R.* chh. 3–5 and in 1 and 2 *Leg. Martyrs*, i.e. immediately before his purported death as a martyr (in the Hadrianic persecution, A.D. 135). The object of his ascension is in ch. 1 defined by the expression “in order to behold the vision of the *Mærkābā*”. These two introductory chapters are responsible for the title *Sefær Hekāloḥ* given to the present book, or for its occasional inclusion in collections of *Hekāloḥ* works (quoted e.g. in *YR.* i, 55 b as *Pirqe Hekāloḥ*).

(c) The chh. 15 B, 22 B C represent the third stage, when the 3 *Enoch* is used, together with the *Ši‘ur Qomā*, as the central part of a larger collection called *Ma‘asē Mærkābā*. The mysteries of the *Mærkābā* are here treated in a more elaborated form. Further Metatron is conceived, primarily, as the revealer of secrets to Moses. To the same stage is, on this account, to be assigned the insertion or addition of ch. 48 D. Characteristic in the case of ch. 15 B is the importance given to the *Šema‘*; this reflects the later period when the *Šema‘* was introduced as an essential part of the (celestial) *Qēḏuššā*; but even that period in all probability is pre-Islamitic.²

It will not be necessary to point out that the main part of 3 *Enoch* (chh. 3–48 A) is no homogeneous unity, or a work by a definite author in the modern sense of the words. It is even possible to discern earlier and later strata in the part in question. Thus to the earliest stratum must be assigned chh. 3–15 (the *Enoch-Metatron* piece³), whereas

1 The original part of this fragment strikes an early note; it is, at least, not later than the *Enoch-Metatron* fragment of 3 *En.* 3–15. Unfortunately the text of all MS. sources of the fragment is in a bad state. This fragment has traces of the Primordial Man conception of Metatron as the Ruler of the World and does not contain the *Enoḥ*-episode of 3 *En.* 5.

2 Cf. Louis Ginzberg, *Geonica II, Geniza Studies*, New York, 1909, pp. 48, 49, on the insertion of the *Šema‘* into the *Qēḏuššā*—caused by a persecution of the Jews by the Christians, which ceased when the Christians were defeated by the Mohammedans. Resp. by a pupil of Y^ehuḏai Gā‘on, *ib.* pp. 50 seqq., and resp. by Sar Šalom Gā‘on in the *Siddur* of ‘Amram Gā‘on, 11, cited *ib.*

3 This probably goes back to the second century, and in some parts even to the end of the first. Cf. below, pp. 79 and 188.

section 7, or chh. 41-48 A, possibly was composed at or not much before the time when the collection of chh. 3-48 A was made.

There is no difficulty with regard to the collection of the various fragments (forming the different sections of our book) into a book called 'Book of Enoch'. It must be assumed, on the contrary, that the different topics treated of in these fragments were from the very beginning considered as rightly belonging to the Enoch literature. They were the topics (or similar to the topics) dealt with in the archetype, viz. 1 *Enoch*. If any incongruity was felt, this was overcome by representing all the fragments as revelations given by Enoch-Metatron.

§ 7A. IDEAS AND EXPRESSIONS OF 1 ENOCH RECURRING IN 3 ENOCH

(References and quotations from 1 *Enoch* are acc. to the edition by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1912. 'Notes' (n.) refer to Charles's notes *ib.*)

1 *Enoch*

1⁵, 10^{9, 15}, 12⁴, 13¹⁰, 14^{1, 3}, 15², 16^{1, 2}, 91¹⁵. The 'Watchers' as fallen angels.

12^{2, 3}, 20¹, 39^{12, 13}, 40², 61¹², 71⁷. The 'WATCHERS' as high angels, 'archangels' (n. on 1⁵).¹

6¹⁻⁸. The Fall of the Angels. Their number given as two hundred. The number of the leaders is twenty ('chiefs of tens'), 6^{6, 7, 8}. The chief of the leaders is SEMJĀZĀ, 6^{8, 7}, cf. 69² (twenty-one leaders).

Among the names of the leaders are to be noticed: ASAEL, 6⁷; AZAZEL who acc. to one tradition seems to have been regarded as the chief leader (instead of SEMJĀZĀ), 10^{4, 8}, 54⁵, 55⁴, 81^{2, 3}, etc., 13^{1, 2}.

Further: KOKABIEL, EZEQEEL (i.e. SHA-CHAQIEL, 6⁷ n.), BARAQIJAL, SAMSAPEEL (= SHAMSHIEL), BATARJAL (= BADARIEL), 69², 8³.

7¹, 8^{1, 3}, 10⁸, 64², 65^{6, 10} ('sorceries'), 69^{1, 4-12}. The fallen angels lead men astray by teaching them 'secrets', magic and sorceries, 'worthless mysteries' (16³).

9¹, 10^{1, 4, 9, 11}, 40²⁹, 71^{8, 9}, 87². The Four Presences: MIKAEL, URIEL (or PHANUEL), RAPHAEL, GABRIEL (n. on 49²).

3 *Enoch*

The 'Watchers', 'IRIN, are high angel-princes, 28.

The tradition of Fallen Angels is preserved in ch. 5⁹, in the representation of the evil agencies 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZI'EL. These are most probably contemplated as the *leaders* of the Fallen Angels. They are *three* as in 2 *En.* 18 A.

Cf. note on 3 *En.* 17³ end. These names recur among the names of the Rulers, 14⁴, and archangels, 17^{1, 3}.

"taught them *sorceries*", 5⁹.

The four great princes set over the camps of Š^ekīnā, 18^{4, 5}, 35³; cf. 17.

1 Watchers: 𐤇𐤍𐤅𐤍.

1 *Enoch*

10. "The Dooms pronounced by God on the (Fallen) Angels" (Charles).

11¹. "... I will open the *store chambers of blessing* which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth."

². "And *truth* and *peace* shall be associated together."

12². Watchers and *Holy Ones*.¹

14⁸. "... the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven."

⁹⁻²³. Picture of the *Throne* and the *Mærkåbå*. Cf. 1 *En*. 71.

14. ⁹"a wall built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire."

¹⁰"a large house built of crystals";

¹⁵"a second house greater than the former ... built of flames of fire."

¹¹"like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery *KERUBIM*"; "the vision of the *KERUBIM*".

¹⁵"the portal of the second house."

¹⁸"a lofty *throne*... the *wheels*³ thereof as the shining sun."

²⁰"the Great Glory sat thereon."

¹⁹"from underneath the throne came *streams* of flaming fire."

²²"ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him."

²³"the most *Holy Ones* who were nigh to Him *did not leave by night* nor depart from Him."

15¹. "fear not, Enoch... approach hither."

³. "Wherefore have ye left the high, holy and eternal heaven."

15⁸⁻¹⁶¹. The giants produced from the Fallen Angels; the demons, being the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants.

1 *Holy Ones*: 𐤆𐤓.𐤀𐤆.

2 The two houses, one within the other, the innermost containing the throne, really correspond to the *Hekåloþ* of 3 *En*. The houses are, acc. to 1 *En*. 71⁵, situated in the heaven of heavens: 𐤀𐤓𐤂𐤁: 𐤀𐤓𐤂𐤁 = שמי השמים = ערבות רקיע.

3 𐤆𐤓𐤀 (τροχός, Flemming-Radermacher: 'Umkreis'; Dillmann, *Lexicon*: circulus, orbis).

3 *Enoch*

Not in 3 *En*. Cf. however the punishment of the angels, 40³, 47.

Cf. ch. 8¹ and note 1 b and Index, 'treasury' and 'store'.

31¹ compared with 33¹.

'IRIN and QADDIŠIN, ch. 28.

Ch. 7. "He lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Šeḳinā*."

Cf. Introduction, § 15.

33³, 34¹, 47³, 4.

The *chambers*. *Halls* called *Hekåloþ*,² esp. 1¹, 2⁶, 18³, 4, 18, 37¹, 38².

33³, 7, 22¹¹⁻¹⁵, 39² (*Ke-rubim* of *Šeḳinā*), 22 B⁸.

"Door or Gate of the Seventh Hall", 10², 1².

19²⁻⁷, 15¹; Ind. 'Throne'.

22 B⁵, esp. 15 B³, 5.

33⁴, 26⁴, 19⁴ frequ.

22 B³, C⁴, 7, 36¹.

I.e. the *Holy Ones* as Watchers: 'IRIN and QADDIŠIN, ch. 28 and note.

15 B⁵, 1⁵.

5¹¹. "Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens, etc."

Not in 3 *En*. Demons only in 5⁴.

I *Enoch*

16³. "All the mysteries had not been revealed to you and you knew worthless ones, etc."

17¹. "those (i.e. angels) who were there were like flaming fire, and when they wished they appeared as men."

18¹³⁻¹⁵, 21³⁻⁶. "seven stars like great burning mountains... have transgressed the commandment of the Lord... because they did not come forth at their appointed time."

19¹. "their spirits assuming many different forms."

20. The "Holy Angels who watch" identical with the seven archangels: URIEL, RAPHAEL, RAGUEL, MIKAEI, SARAQAEI, GABRIEL, REMIEL.

22. (Acc. to Charles's critical text; cf. note on ch. 22 beg.) Three chambers in *Sheol* corresponding to three divisions of men, viz.

- (1) the righteous;
- (2) the wicked who have not met with retribution in this life;
- (3) the wicked who have.

22³. "the *spirits* of the *souls*¹ of the dead... all the *souls* of the children of men."

24⁴, 25^{1, 4, 5}, 29². The fragrance of the Tree of Life. 29², "*Aromatic trees*² exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh".

25^{4, 5}. The fragrant tree to be given to the righteous and holy in the time to come. "Its fruit shall be for food to the elect."

3. The Throne of Judgement.

5. The "temple of the Lord, the Eternal King".

33³. "I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, etc."

3 *Enoch*

The angels as possessors of *parts* of the secrets only: 11¹ n., 18²² n.; Introd. Angelol. A 3, (4) (d) [p. 161]. 35⁶ and n.

47². The punishment of the angels who have not chanted the Song at their appointed time: "are made into numerous mountains of fire".

35⁶. The Holy Ones and Watchers are *four*, 28⁵ (seventy-two, 30²); Archangels, ch. 17^{1, 3}.

Three different abodes for the spirits of men corresponding to three divisions (43, 44):

- (1) the righteous (near the Throne of Glory);
- (2) the intermediate (*Sheol*);
- (3) the wicked (*Ge-henna*).

47¹. "the *souls* of the angels and the *spirits* of the servants, etc."

The fragrance of the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, 23¹⁸.

Bring the fragrance to "the righteous and godly who... shall inherit the Eden and the Tree of Life".

24²¹, 26¹², 28⁷, 31¹, 33¹. 48 c⁸. "My *Hekāl* (Temple, Palace, Hall)."

46^{2, 3}. "he pointed out all (the stars) to me... told me the names of every single one... they enter in counted order under... RAH^ATI'EL."

1 'Spirits of souls': መኖሩበት ለእንግሳት.

2 Acc. to emendation by Prätorius—Beer—Charles. Ethiopic: ዕዕው-ዮከንጌ: trees of judgement.

1 *Enoch*

39². "And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath."

6, 7. "I saw the Elect One... and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits."

10-13. The *Q^eäuššā*. Notice the forms of the 'Blessed'.

10. "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore."¹

13. "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever."²

61¹¹. "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."³

40¹. "thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand... who stood before the Lord..." (Dan.).

2. "four presences⁴ different from those that sleep not."

3. "And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory."

7. "fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth."⁵

41¹. "I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance."

3. "the secrets of lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds."

4. Chambers containing the elemental forces.

43¹. "And I saw... the stars of heaven and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him."

2. "their revolution acc. to the number of the angels."

41⁵⁻⁷, 43^{1, 2}. The conscious existence of the sun, moon and stars (*vide* Charles's note on 41⁵).

3 *Enoch*

Cf. below on 2 *En. B*, VII (a), VIII.

Enoch-Metatron placed near the Throne "under the wings of Shekina", Introd.

The forms of the *Q^eäuššā*; *vide* Introduction, pp. 184 f. The 'Blessed' has two forms, but each form is chanted singly.

22 B², C⁴, 7, 35⁶, 36¹, 40².

The four princes "of the army" set over the four camps of angels "who utter praises before the Holy One", 18⁴, 5, 35³, 40².

The Seraphim take the documents of accusation written by Satan and destroy them by fire, 26¹².

18²⁰. ŠOQEDĒ ḤOZI weighs all the merits of man in a balance.

Chh. 23, 42.

37², 22 B³, 4.

46².

17⁴⁻⁷.

46², 3, esp. 3. "they (the stars) go out... to praise the Holy One." Cf. note *ib.*

1 ቡሩክነውአቲውደትባረክነአምቅድም፣ ወእስክነለዓለም፣

2 ቡሩክነአንተውቡሩክነስሙለእግዚአለላለሙ፣

3 ቡሩክነወደትባረክነስሙለእግዚአለላለሙ፣ ወእስክነለዓለም፣

4 አ፣ባሰቲ፣ገጽ = פנים פועל (four faces; Ezek. 1^{4-6, 10}). Originally no doubt derived from the "four faces of the four *Hayyot*" in Ezekiel.

I *Enoch*

45³, 55⁴, 62³, 5. "The Elect One will sit on the throne of his glory" (note by Charles on 45³).

46¹. "His head was white like wool" (Dan.).

3. "who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness."

"who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden."

"the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him."

4⁵ "this Son of Man... shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats... and shall loosen the reins of the strong... shall put down kings from their thrones and kingdoms."

6. "and he shall put down the countenance of the strong."

47². "the Holy ones... shall unite with one voice... and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits."

3. "and His counsellors stood before Him."

48²⁻⁶, 46¹⁻², 48³, 6, 49² (note by Charles on 48). The pre-existence of the Son of Man.

4. "a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall."

49². "The Elect One is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, etc."

3. "in him dwells the spirit of wisdom."

4. "he shall judge the secret things..."

51³. "the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne, and his mouth shall *pour forth all the secrets of wisdom*... For the Lord of Spirits hath given them to him and hath glorified him."¹

¹ It is important that in 3 *Enoch* Metatron, although obviously otherwise pictured in the manner of the Elect One, the Chosen One of I *En.*, is altogether lacking Messianic character, as well as never identified with the "one that looked like a man" of Dan. 7¹³. This is most certainly not accidental, but intentional. It is the result of a strong negation of central ideas of the sects to which the circle behind 3 *Enoch* felt itself in opposition: those sects may have been Christian or Gnostic or something else; the fact remains that 3 *Enoch* rejects the idea of an enthroned Messiah as God's vice-regent and appointed ruler. Cf. below on the origin of the conception of Metatron, p. 146.

3 *Enoch*

Many of the features of the Elect One and the Son of Man in I *En.* are transferred to Metatron in 3 *En.* The differences are, however, greater than the resemblances.

Throne of Metatron, 10¹, 48 C^{5, 6}.

I *En.* 46¹; 3 *En.* 28⁷.

I *En.* 46³; 3 *En.* 22¹, 48 C⁹.

Enoch - Metatron "an Elect One", 6³.

3 *En.* 48 C⁹: "to abase by his (Metatron's) word the proud to the ground... to put kings away from their kingdoms, etc." Cf. 28⁶.

The *Q'ēduššā* chanted by the *Mærkābā*-angels and the Great Princes, *vide* Introduction, § 18, B (2).

28⁸, 30^{1, 2}. "standing before Him, etc."; 72, counsellors.

The pre-existence of Metatron perhaps alluded to in 48 C¹.

Cf. 31².

48 C⁷. "Knower of Secrets." Cf. 8, 10^{5, 6}, 11.

8, 10^{5, 6}.

11, 48 C^{8, 9}.

Metatron is *never* represented as seated on the Divine Throne.

48 C⁷, 12^{1, 2}.

1 *Enoch*

53³. "the angels of punishment",¹ 56¹, 62¹¹, 63¹.

54⁵, 55⁴, 67⁴, 6, 7, 11, 12, 90²¹⁻²⁴, 91¹⁵. Punishment of the angels (*vide* Charles's Index II, 'Angels', page 316).

54⁸. "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."

57². "the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from one end of heaven to the other, in one day."

58⁶. "and there shall be a light that never endeth."

60¹. "a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet."

^{3, 4}:
11-12. Earthly and heavenly physics.

15-21. The "spirits" of the elemental forces.

61⁵. "the secrets of the depths of the earth."

⁸. "the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven."

⁹. "then shall they all with one voice speak and bless and glorify and sanctify (*Q^e dūsšā*) the name of the Lord of Spirits";
¹¹ "and shall all say 'Blessed is He, etc.'"

^{10, 12}. Enumeration of orders of angels: "all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the *Cherubin*, *Seraphin* and *Ophannin*,² and all the *angels of power*,³ and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth and over the water...all who sleep not above in heaven (i.e. 'IRIN)...all the Holy Ones (i.e. QAD-DIŠIN)".

1 መላእክት መቅደሳት.

3 Angels of power: መላእክት-ነግሪል, cf. ፩ካእነገ 7¹, 19⁶, 36.

3 *Enoch*

"angels of destruction,"
31², 33¹, 44².

Punishment of the angels, 40³, 47.

The Upper Waters and the Lower Waters as polar opposites, 42² (*vide* note).

38¹.

5⁴ and note.

38¹, 19⁶.

17, 8.

34, 37, 22 B C, 42.

Angels of elemental forces, 14³.

11^{1, 2, 3}. "nothing on high nor in the depths of the earth"; "the secrets of the depth."

48 C⁸. "I set up his (Metatron's) throne...that he may judge the heavenly household."

22 B⁸, 38². Cf. Introduction, § 18, B (1), (2) and E. See above, parallels to 1 *En.* 39¹⁰⁻¹³.

In 3 *En.* similar enumerations, including the *Mærkābā*-angels, are found e.g. in chh. 19⁶, 6², 7, 39², 48 C⁴. The similarity in this case is striking. (Cf. Introd. Angelology, E (a), (2).)

2 Ophannin: ኦፍኒን.

I *Enoch*

62¹⁶. "(the righteous and elect) shall have been clothed with garments of glory, and these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits."

69¹¹. No evil could get power over men until they had learnt the secrets and sorceries from the Fallen Angels and through the practice of these had been led astray, into idolatry, etc.

61¹³. *Kaspiel* (ካሶ-በኤል).

13. The "oath"¹ and the "hidden (Divine) name",² through which "the heaven was suspended, and the earth was founded upon the water", through which the sea was created and the depths made fast and through which the sun, moon and stars complete their course.

70. "The final translation of Enoch." "His (Enoch's) name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from among those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit."

71. A Picture of the *Mærkābā* (cf. ch. 14).

². "streams of fire" (አፍግግጎሳጎሳጎሳ).

⁶. "on the four sides of the house (*Hekal*) were streams full of living fire."

³. "Mikael led me forth into all the secrets..."

⁴. "and he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven and all the chambers of all the stars, etc."

⁵. "he translated my spirit into the *heaven of heavens*, and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals..."³

⁶. "and my spirit saw the girdle which girt that *house of fire*..."

7. "and round about were SERAPHIN, CHERUBIN and OPHANNIN; and these are they who sleep not ('IRIN) and guard the Throne of His Glory."

3 *Enoch*

18²².

5⁴, 6-9.

Kaspi'el, Kafsi'el, r³.

13¹, 41¹⁻³. The letters (of the Divine Names) through which heaven and earth, seas and rivers, etc. were created.

4⁵. "The Holy One raised me (Enoch) aloft in their lifetime", 48 c²; "I took him (Enoch) from among them", 6¹; "he took me from their midst in their sight and raised me aloft upon a fiery chariot ... together with the Shekina".

19⁴. "under them four fiery rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side."

11, 46.

The expression "heaven of heavens" corresponds to the innermost part of the seventh heaven in 3 *En*. The 'house' containing the Throne of Glory corresponds to the Seventh *Hēkal* (Hall, Palace) of 3 *En*.

The *Mærkābā*-angels and the 'IRIN: Introd. Angelology, A 1, (3), (4), (5), (7); ch. 7.

1 መሐላ

2 ከምግብጎሳ

3 ወርኢኩ፡በህየ፡ማእከሉ፡ዝኩ፡በርሃ፡ኩሙ፡በቱ፡በይት፡ጊደዮ፡እምእብ፡ኣስሐትዮ፡

1 *Enoch*

8. "and I saw angels who could not be counted, a thousand thousands and 10,000 times 10,000 encircling *that house*,

9. "and MIKAEL, RAPHAEL, GABRIEL, and PHANUEL, and the holy angels (*Qaddišin*) who are above the heavens go in and out of that house."

71¹⁰.

72¹. URIEL as the guide of the luminaries (also in 74², 75³, 79⁶, 82⁷).

75, 82¹⁰⁻²⁰. "the leaders of the heads of the thousands who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars" (these leaders are 'luminaries', not angels, acc. to Charles, note *ad loc.*).

80⁶. "and many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed), and these shall alter their orbits and tasks, etc."

81^{1, 2}. The *heavenly tablets*¹ and the *book of all the deeds of mankind*.² (*Vide* Charles's note on 47³: "the heavenly tables record all the deeds of men to the remotest generations".)

87², 20. The reconciliation of the two ideas of seven archangels and four presences, the seven archangels being represented as consisting of the four Presences and three companion angels: "there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men; and four went forth from that place and three with them". In the enumeration of the seven archangels in ch. 20 the names of the four Presences are included.

89⁶⁹ seqq. The Seventy Shepherds, the angelic rulers and representatives of the 'nations' (*vide* Charles's note *ad loc.* pp. 199-201) here regarded as the oppressors of Israel.

93². "According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision (1) and which I have known through the word of the holy angels (2) and have learnt from the heavenly tablets (3)."

3 *Enoch*

"the innumerable companies of the hosts round about him", 15 B²; "thousand thousands, etc.", 22 B 2, 3, C 4, 7, 35⁶, 36¹.

Cf. above at 1 *En.* 40².

28⁷.

Cf. RAHA'TI'EL, 14⁴, 17⁶, 46³; KOKBI'EL, GALGALI'EL, etc. 17.

the "rulers over the world", ch. 14. The leaders and angels of the heavenly bodies, 17⁴⁻⁷.

38².

30², 27^{1, 2}, 44⁹ (books of records). In ch. 45 the *Pargod* corresponds to the 'heavenly tablets' of 1 *Enoch*.

Ch. 17^{1, 3} and notes. In the various enumerations of the seven archangels the names of the four Presences are almost invariably included.

The Seventy Princes of Kingdoms, the representatives in heaven of the nations on earth, 10³, 14^{1, 2}, 16^{1, 2}, 17⁸ (note), 18^{2, 3}, 30² (note), 48 C⁹, D⁵.

Three sources of knowledge of celestial things and secrets:

(1) visions, 1¹, 16², etc. (the main part of the book);
(2) words of an angel, 4 seqq.;

(3) *Pargod* and the books, 45¹, 44⁹.

1 *Enoch*

91¹². "and a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors."

98⁷. "every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High."

104¹. "in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One."

(Cf. Charles's note on ch. 15².)

3 *Enoch*

The Sword of execution of punishment, 32^{1, 2}.

27^{1, 2}, 30², 44⁹.

30², 31², 33¹ (angels of Mercy); 15 B² (angelic advocates).

The above parallels quite sufficiently show (1) the close dependence of the ideas of the later Enoch Literature, represented by 3 *Enoch*, upon those of the earlier, esp. of 1 *Enoch*,¹ but also (2) the considerable development of those earlier ideas, which has taken place in the time between 1 and 3 *Enoch*. Both dependence and development are perhaps nowhere so clearly discernible as in the case of the conceptions of Enoch. In 1 *Enoch* he is the saint-man of old who was worthy of receiving disclosures on future things and on celestial wonders, and this mostly in visions. He is the authority behind the Books of Secrets carrying his name: here is the central interest of the earlier Enoch Literature. There are, however, indications of an initial focussing of the interest on the *final* translation of Enoch, his elevation into a high celestial being, viz. in ch. 70 (Enoch "raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit to the Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth"). And, possibly, the following chapter 71, treating of Enoch's translation 'in spirit' into the heaven of heavens near the 'house' containing the Throne of Glory, was interpreted as referring to a definite elevation of Enoch. This is supported by the fact that the Enoch-Metatron pieces of our book show particular dependence upon these chapters in manner of expression and general terms of describing the elevation of Enoch. *Vide* above. The transformation of Enoch into a high celestial being is clearly enunciated in 2 *Enoch*.

1 Cf. George Foot Moore (in *Judaism*, etc. ii. 281): "At a much later time Enoch and what he saw in the heavens appear in Hebrew writings whose resemblance to features of our Book of Enoch suggests subterranean channels of communication, if not literary acquaintance". It would be interesting to know what those possible 'subterranean channels' exactly were. It is evident that 1 *Enoch* must have lain before the 3 *Enoch* circle much in the same form—with regard to composition—as it is preserved to us, i.e. there is no trace of separate existence of the different parts of 1 *Enoch* at the time of 3 *Enoch*.

§ 7B. PARALLELS BETWEEN AND COGNATE
CONCEPTIONS IN 2 ENOCH AND 3 ENOCH

(References to 2 *En.* acc. to Charles, *Apocrypha
and Pseudepigrapha*, II.)

A. ANGELOLOGY.

2 *Enoch*

I. Angels near the Divine Throne and in the highest heaven.

(a) Individual, named, high angel-princes: MIKAEL and GABRIEL to the right and left of the Throne respectively: 24¹ AB; MIKAEL called 'archangel, general, archistrategē' 22⁶, 'great captain' 33¹⁰.

ENOCH, 'one of His Glorious Ones' to the left of the Throne, Scribe, 24¹ BA.

VRETEL, archangel, Keeper of the Books, Registrar, Knower of Secrets, 22¹¹⁻²³.

SHEMUEL and RAZIEL (B) or RAGUEL (A), 33⁶, the guides and instructors of Enoch, virtually "Princes of Understanding and Wisdom".

(ORIOCH and MARIOCH, guardians of the Enoch writings, 33¹¹ B.

SATAN-SATANAIL, 18³, 29^{4, 5}, 31⁴⁻⁶.)

(b) Classes of angels functioning by the Throne:

(1) The *highest order of archangels*, 20, also called GLORIOUS ONES, 21 B, 22^{7, 10} A, and SERVANTS, 22 BA. To this class the individual angel-princes are reckoned: 21 BA, 22^{10, 11}, 29^{4, 5}.

(2) The highest order of *Mærkåbå*-angels, viz. KERUBIM, SERAPHIM, SIX-WINGED ONES (i.e. HAYYOṢ), explicitly defined as ministers of the Throne 20¹ A, 21¹ BA; OFANNIM (miswritten '*Ostanim*') 20¹ B.

(3) Acc. to A: "INCORPOREAL POWERS", LORDSHIPS, PRINCIPALITIES, POWERS, THRONES, THE WATCHFULNESS OF MANY EYES: 20¹.

The last-named may be an allusion to the 'IRIN (Watchers), acc. to 18 BA originally belonging to the highest heaven. Cf. below II (b).

Notice especially the *THRONES*.

3 *Enoch*

3 *En.* contains 57 names of high angel-princes. See the Index, 'Angels'.

MIKAEL, 'archangel', 'great prince', 17^{1, 3}; Gabriel, *ib.* and 14⁴.

ENOCH-METATRON, the highest angel, 3-15, 48.

RADŪERI'EL, ch. 27, cf. note and Introd., Angelol.

PRINCE OF WISDOM and PRINCE OF UNDERSTANDING, instruct. of Enoch-Metatron, 10⁵.

Not in 3 *En.*

SATAN, esp. 26¹² (23¹⁶).

Cf. esp. the angelological system of A 1 (Introd.).

Cf. ch. 17: archangels include MIKAEL and GABRIEL, etc. In A 1 and A 2 more developed than in 2 *En.*

A 1: six classes of *Mærkåbå*-angels: GALGALLIM, HAYYOṢ, K^{ER}UBIM, 'OFANNIM and S^{ER}AFIM. Cf. Index.

Perhaps to be compared with the 'ER ELLIM, ṬAF-SARIM, 14¹; HOLY PRINCES, 3⁹², etc.

The 'IRIN and QADDIŠIN above the *Mærkåbå*-angels in the highest heaven, 28.

Metatron possibly the highest THRONE (Introd.).

2 Enoch

II. The remaining angelic orders, in chh. 3-19, represented as distributed among the six lower heavens.

(a) Angels of the sixth heaven.

(1) The *lower order of archangels* who are 'Rulers of the World', appointed over the stars and the government of the earth, and "Rulers over the lower orders of angels", having control especially over the chanting of the Celestial Songs by the angels, 19¹⁻³ BA.

(2) The angels of elemental forces, the angels ruling over seasons and years, etc., 19⁴ BA.

(3) SCRIBES, angels registering the deeds of all men, 19⁵ BA.

(4) The *lower orders of Mærkåbå-angels*, seven of each class: seven PHOENIXES, seven KERUBIM, seven SIX-WINGED ONES (ḤAYYŌḶ). Chief function: celestial chant, 19⁶ BA, cf. 29³ B (all the troops of. . .).

(b) Angels of the fifth heaven:

The 'IRIN (*Egoroi*, B; *Grigori*, A), originally belonging to the seventh heaven, but after the fall of their brethren they have descended into the fifth heaven, or because of their silent and mournful attitude they are not accounted worthy of having their abode in the highest heaven. Their proper functions are: Service at the Divine Throne and chanting of the Celestial Songs, 18¹⁻⁹ A, 18¹ B.

(c) Angels of the fourth heaven:

(1) Angels attending the sun and the moon, numbered: 15,000 myriads, 1000, 400, 100, etc. Chh. 11^{4, 12}, 12¹, 14^{2, 3}, 15, 16⁷.

(2) Angels specially appointed for the chanting of the Celestial Songs, 'song-uttering angels', 17 BA.

(d) Angels of the third heaven:

(1) The angelic guardians of Paradise, ch. 8⁸ BA, cf. 30¹ A, 42⁴ B.

(2) The angelic guardians of the place of torment: the angels of punishment, ch. 10³ BA.

Cf. guardians of hell, 42¹ BA.

3 Enoch

A2 and A3 both speak of hosts of angels distributed among the diff. heavens, but the functions of these are not defined with the exception of those of the second heaven. Most of the following are located in the seventh heaven.

RULERS OF THE WORLD, 14⁴; PRINCES of the SONG-UTTERING ANGELS, 18^{4, 5}, 35³.

ELEMENTAL ANGELS, 14³, included among the RULERS OF THE WORLD.

33².

In 3 Enoch no lower order of *Mærkåbå-angels*.

The 'IRIN have their place in the seventh heaven. Functions, see A1 concerning the Fallen Watchers, cf. chh. 4^{6, 5} and notes, *ib.*, also Introd., section 13 E (a) 3, 4: 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azzael both for fallen and not fallen angels.

Angels attending the sun and moon in the second heaven, A2, ch. 17^{4, 5}, 96 and 88 (angels).

Angels specially appointed for the *Q'ēduššā*, chh. 35, 40; cf. Introduction, § 18 D.

Not in 3 En., cf. ch. 18²², 'AZBUGĀ.

Angels of destruction, 31², 33¹, 44²; appointed over the punishment of the wicked in hell.

2 *Enoch*

(e) Angels of the second heaven:

The fallen 'IRIN, kept as prisoners and awaiting the final judgement. SATANAIL-SATAN, acc. to *A*, their chief, 7 *BA*, 7³ *A*, 18 *A*, 31⁴⁻⁶ *A*.

Notice. Ch. 18 *A*, the fallen 'IRIN or, more probably, their leaders, are given as *three* in number.

(f) Angels of the first heaven:

(1) The "elder, the ruler of the stellar orders" (*A* plural: elders, rulers), the Prince(s) appointed over the stars and planets, with 200 assistant angels, 4 *BA*.

(2) The angelic guardians of the treasures of elemental forces, chh. 5, 6 *BA*, 40 *BA*.

Outside the above hierarchical system there are references to various classes of angels, to individual angels or angels in general without indication as to their place in the hierarchy.

A. General terms: ARMED HOSTS, 23 *A*; HEAVENLY TROOPS, 29 *BA*, 39 *A*; INCORPORAL TROOPS, 29; SPIRITUAL HOSTS, 29 *A*; FIERY ANGELS, 30 *A*, etc.

B. Definite classes of angels with definite functions: the GUIDES OF ENOCH, 1, 3 seqq., 21, 33, 67; SONG-UTTERING ANGELS, 31 *A*, 42 *B*; THE GUARDIANS OF THE GATES OF HELL, 42 *BA*; THE GIANTS, 18 *A*, etc., etc.

B. THE CONCEPTIONS OF ENOCH.

2 *Enoch*

I. Enoch is taken up from earth to the heavens by two angels sent by the Holy One.

(a) Acc. to the former half of 2 *En.* this ascension of Enoch seems to be merely temporary: he is to return to earth again, 1³, 2⁴, 1

(b) Acc. to the latter half of the book Enoch's ascension implies a final departure

1 It should be noted, however, that Enoch's ascension takes place at the end of his life ("when 365 years were fulfilled to me"), 1¹.

3 *Enoch*

The 'IRIN are not said to be fallen (28),

But 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZI'EL of 5⁹, the *three* evil agencies, are clearly allusions to the Fallen Watchers.

RAH'ATI'EL and KOKBI'EL with 72 and 365,000 myriads of assistant angels, 17⁶, 7.

Cf. 14³.

Also in 3 *En.* general terms: SERVANTS, TROOPS, ARMIES, etc. See *Introd.* Angelol. *E* (a) 1.

Definite classes of angels outside the hierarchical systems: ŠIN'ANIM, HAŠ-MALLIM, TROOPS OF ANGER, ARMIES OF VEHEMENCE, 'ELIM, ACCUSERS, etc. See *Index*, 'Angels'.

3 *Enoch*

6¹. Enoch fetched from on earth by 'ANAFI'EL sent by the Holy One. Enoch's elevation is final, and when he descends into terrestrial regions he does so as a Celestial Being, 1⁴.

2 Enoch

from earthly life. His return is for a short time only and then he has no longer terrestrial nature; chh. 21 onwards, esp. 33⁵⁻¹¹ BA, 36² BA, 38¹ A, 55^{1, 2} BA, 56² BA, 67² BA.

II. Enoch is conducted through the six lower heavens by the two angels. During his journey through these lower heavens Enoch is still only a 'mortal man' (7⁵ BA). This is acc. to the former half of the book, chh. 1-21.

III. When arrived in the outer regions of the seventh heaven Enoch is brought by GABRIEL before the Presence of the Holy One, 21^{3, 5} BA. There he is given in charge to MIKAEL, the chief of the archangels, 22⁶ seqq. BA.

IV. Enoch is transformed into a CELESTIAL BEING, in rank on a level with the ARCHANGELS and is made into an angel of the Presence:

(a) his earthly 'robe' (= nature) is changed into 'garments of God's Glory (*Kābōd*)' and he is anointed with the Lord's "holy oil", 22^{8, 9} BA;

(b) thereby he is made like "one of His Glorious Ones (= the highest order of archangels)", 22¹⁰ BA;

(c) he is to stand before the Lord's face for ever, i.e. as an angel of the Presence, 21³ BA, 22^{4, 6} BA.

The elevation of Enoch is a 'trial' of the highest angels; these, however, acquiesce in the will of the Lord, 22^{6, 7} BA.

V. As high archangel and prince of the Presence Enoch is in rank equal with GABRIEL and next under MIKAEL; he has his place at the left side of the Throne, 24¹ BA.

VI. Enoch is initiated in the Secrets:

(a) first by the archangel VRETIL, and

(b) after that, in the secrets not known even to the angels, by God Himself, 22¹¹⁻²³ BA, 24^{2, 3} BA. The latter secrets are in the first instance the *Ma^asē B^eresīḥ*, 24 seqq. BA, 64⁵ A.

Thus Enoch is specifically a 'Knower of Secrets' (*Yodē^a Rāzīm*).

3 Enoch

Enoch's ascension thro. the six lower heavens is not dwelt upon in 3 En. 4³, 6¹, 7.

Enoch is brought into the highest heaven and in the Presence of the Throne by 'ANAṬ'EL and by God Himself, 6¹, 7.

Enoch transformed into a Celestial Being: his flesh is changed into fire, he is clad in garments of Glory, etc.

He is made into a ruler over the highest angels (Introd.).

Enoch as Metatron, the Prince of the Presence (10^{3, 4}, 48 c).

The highest angels protest against Enoch's elevation, ch. 6^{2, 3}.

Enoch in rank above all angels, 48 c^{8, 9} (cf. Introd. Met.).

Enoch initiated first by the Princes of Wisdom and Understanding (10⁵), then by the Holy One Himself, 11, 48 c⁴, esp. Secrets of Creation, ch. 11.

Enoch 'Knower of Secrets', 48 c⁸.

2 *Enoch*

VII. With Enoch's initiation in the Secrets his function as Scribe is closely connected. This function is much emphasized in the latter half of the book.

(a) Enoch writes down the secrets revealed to him in Books of his own, and the contents he reveals to men. (The books, 23⁶ BA, 33³ BA, 33⁵, 8-11 BA, 35², 36¹, 40², 12, 43¹, 47², 64⁵.)

Obeying a Divine command, Enoch reveals the books to his sons and to the men of his generation, in order that they may hand them over to the next generation and so on, 33⁵⁻¹¹ BA, 35², 36⁶, 40-54 BA.

(b) As Scribe he knows and records all deeds of men, and Divine Judgements, decisions and decrees, 40¹³ A, 50¹ BA, 53², 3 BA, 64⁵ A.

Notice esp. 50 A ("no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed: I, i.e. *Enoch*, see all").

VIII. The works written down by Enoch in heaven and subsequently revealed to men are, acc. to the latter half of 2 *En.*, identical with the Enoch Literature, of which the current Books of Enoch, hence also 2 *En.*, formed part. This Enoch Literature was considered to be very rich: the 'Books of Enoch' are not less than 360 (acc. to B) or 366 (acc. to A) in number, 23⁶, 68² A.

(The latter half of 2 *En.* is probably intended to be interpreted as a conclusion of an imaginary collection of Enoch books.)

It is particularly incumbent upon each generation or each group of men to whom the books of Enoch have been handed down, that they in turn communicate them; this is to continue till "the end of time": 33⁸, 9 BA, 47² A, 48⁶ A, 54 BA.

The exclusive importance of the Enoch books is expressed in 47² A as follows:

"There have been many books from the beginning of Creation and shall be to the end of the world, but none shall make things known to you like my writings."

3 *Enoch*

Enoch Scribe-Witness-Testifier. This is not much emphasized, 4⁵, 48 c².

The 'Books' of Enoch not mentioned in 3 *Enoch*.

The only parallel to this is the add. ch. 48 D¹⁰; the chain of tradition.

3 *En.* ch. 11¹, 2; "all living beings' thoughts of heart were revealed to me". "Before a man did think in secret, I saw it."

There is no direct parallel to this in 3 *Enoch*. Cognate ideas are: Enoch-Metatron possesses all the secrets of the universe and reveals some of them to men worthy to receive them, as e.g. Moses (48 D) and R. Išma'el (3 seqq.); further, it is implied by 48 D¹⁰ that it is the *duty* of the "men of faith", who have received the secrets from earlier generations, in their turn to communicate them to those worthy of them.

C. THE CELESTIAL SONGS.

2 *Enoch*

I. The character of the songs.

There are various kinds of songs, "various singing", 17 *A*.

Terms denoting different kinds of 'songs': THE SONG OF TRIUMPH, 31² *A*; TRIUMPHANT SONGS, 42⁴ *B*.

Verbally cited are:

(1) "THE GIVER OF LIGHT COMES TO GIVE HIS BRIGHTNESS TO THE WHOLE WORLD": 15² *A*.¹

(2) "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF SABAOOTH. THE HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE FULL OF THY GLORY", i.e. the *Q^eđuššā*, 21¹ *A*.

There is no reference to an interdependence or interrelation between the Celestial Chant and the Service performed by the congregation on earth.

II. The performers of the Celestial Songs.

(1) Angels specially appointed for the sole purpose of chanting the songs, "song-uttering angels", are perhaps referred to in 17 *BA*: "armed troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice". Cf. also 23¹ *A*.

(2) The glorification of the Holy One is a duty incumbent upon the angels in general:

(a) The angels of the seventh heaven, 20⁴ *A*; the highest order of *Mærkābā*-angels utter the *Q^eđuššā* before the Throne, 21¹.

(b) The lower order of *Mærkābā*-angels sing and voice to each other as one, 19⁶ *BA*.

(c) The 'IRIN (*Grigori*) sing with one voice, 18⁹ *A*.

(d) The angels appointed over the sun "sing a song at the command of the Lord", 15^{1,2} *A*.

(e) The angelic guardians of Paradise, 8² *BA*, 42⁴ *B*.

III. The time appointed for the chanting of the Celestial Songs.

(1) The performance of Celestial Songs is represented as continual and uninterrupted: "with incessant voice", 8⁸ *BA*, 17 *BA*; "never cease rejoicing", 42⁴ *B*.

1 Cf. the "*ha-mmē'ir lā'āræš*" in the Jewish Liturgy.

3 *Enoch*

Cf. here the Introduction, § 18.

Terms, see *ib. A*.

The songs consist of Scripture verses exclusively. Cf. however 46⁴.

The *Q^eđuššā* important in 3 *Enoch*. Cf. below, the performance of the Celestial Songs, etc.

3 *Enoch* dwells on the Celestial hymns only. Hence = 2 *En*.

See Introd. *ib. B*.

See Introd. *ib. B* (1), "song-uttering angels".

See Introd. *ib. B* (2).

See Introd. *ib. B* (2).

3 *Enoch*, ch. 46⁴.

Introd. *ib. C*.

Contrast in 3 *En*. a fixed time every day for the *Q^eđuššā*, 18⁷, 19⁶, 23³, 35⁵, 36¹, 38¹, 39¹.

2 *Enoch*

(2) A definite time in the day perhaps implied by 20³, 4 *B*.

IV. Manner and arrangement:

"with one voice", 18⁸, 19⁶;

"with the accompaniment of cymbals and organs, etc.", 17;

introduced by the sounding of four trumpets, 18⁹ *A*.

The performers of the Celestial Songs are arranged in four orders, 18⁹ *A*.

V. The import of the Chanting of the Celestial Songs

Is an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, a realization of and conforming to the Kingdom of Heaven. This is implied by 15¹ *A*, 21, 8⁸, 42⁴ and also 31² and symbolized by the expression "with one voice", 18⁸, 19⁶. Apparent in ch. 18¹.

3 *Enoch*

Introd. *ib.* *D* and *B* (1).

Cf. note on 3 *En.* 40³, end.

The camps of song-uttering angels arranged in four *šuroḫ*, 35³, etc.

Introd. *ib.* *E*.

Introd. *ib.* *E*.

= in 3 *En.*

D. THE DIVINE JUDGEMENT.

2 *Enoch*

I. Two different Judgements are referred to, of which one is preliminary, the other final.

(a) Preliminary Judgement:

(1) of the rebelling angels (Watchers), 7¹, 3 *BA*, 18⁴, 6, 7 *A*;

(2) of man, by which he is assigned to Paradise or to the place of punishment, acc. to his deeds, 40¹² *BA*, 13 *A*, 41-42¹ *A*, 42³, 4 *B*, 9 *BA*, 10 *BA*.

The preliminary judgement of man is a *daily judgement* (decisions as to man's fate given after his death), 40¹³ *A*.

(b) Final Judgement, concerned with

(1) the whole world, 10 *B*, 18⁷ *A*, 65⁶, 7 *BA*;

(2) the individual, 40¹² *A*, 58⁴, 5 *A*, 6 *B*, 65⁶ *A*, 7 *B*;

(3) with the fallen Watchers, 7¹ *A*, 18⁶, 7 *A*.

II. The Court Proceedings are not described in detail, but only alluded to, 42¹³ *A*, 58⁴⁻⁶ *BA*, 65⁶, 7 *BA*.

3 *Enoch*

See Introd.: "The Divine Judgement".

Only one judgement is referred to, viz. the *daily judgement*. This is concerned

(1) with the whole world;

(2) with the nations of the earth;

(3) with the individual;

(4) with the angelic world.

The Court Proceedings are described. See Introd. *ib.*

2 *Enoch*

III. It is implied that the judgement is based partly upon records of man's deeds: the Divine decisions and decrees are also recorded.

Angelic Scribes and Recorders are:

(1) VRETEL, recording "all the doings of the Lord", 22¹¹ BA.

(2) ENOCH, 40², 12 A, 64⁵ A, 50¹ BA, 53² BA.

(3) Angels "over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord", 19⁵ BA.

IV. As 'accusers' of men are mentioned only the "souls of the beasts", 58⁶ BA.

V. In Judgement men are divided into two main classes, viz.:

(1) THE RIGHTEOUS or JUST who are kept in Paradise in the third heaven until the final judgement, after which they are to be gathered together for the life in the new age, this world having perished; their dwelling-place will then be a new Paradise, "the Great Paradise", 42⁴ B, 65⁸⁻¹⁰ BA.

Cf. however 9 BA, 42³⁻⁵ B.

(2) THE WICKED. As regards the place of punishment assigned for the wicked, the former and latter halves of the book are at variance. Acc. to the former the place of torture situated in the third heaven is "an eternal inheritance" for the wicked from the first judgement, the final judgement making no change in the fate of the wicked. Ch. 10 BA.

Acc. to the latter the wicked are punished in "hell" situated below the heavens, probably under the earth. Their punishment begins immediately after death, but they await the final decisions as to their punishment to be given at the final judgement, 40^{12, 13} BA, 42^{1, 2} B, 42^{1, 12} A.

The non-righteous Israelites, however, were assigned a special position: they will be conducted to Paradise in the time to come, i.e. after the final judgement. Until that time they undergo punishment in hell, 42⁵ B, 41 A.

3 *Enoch*

The judgement is based on records of man's deeds and of all events in the whole universe. The Divine decrees are recorded. See *ib.*

Scribes and Keeper of the "Books":

RADQERI'EL, ch. 27²;

ENOCH, 4⁵, 48 C².

The "Scribes", 27², 33², 18²³⁻²⁵.

S'ERAFI'EL, ch. 26¹.

Angelic accusers, 14².

3 *Enoch* speaks of three classes of men, viz.:

(1) the Righteous. Their spirits have their abode in the Presence of the Throne of Glory, 43². In the time to come the righteous shall inherit the Garden of Eden, 23¹⁸;

(2) the perfectly wicked who are punished in Gehenna, 44³, 33⁵;

(3) the intermediate, the *bēnōn(iyy)im*, who have to go through a sort of Purgatory until they are cleansed from their sins. After being purified they are probably accounted as righteous, 44^{3, 5}.

The *bēnōn(iyy)im*, acc. to 3 *Enoch*, are the large majority of men, not perfectly righteous but neither wholly wicked.

2 *Enoch*

VI. The executors of the judgement are angels specially appointed for this purpose. "Cruel, relentless. . . angels tormenting without pity" execute the punishment of the wicked, 10 *BA*.

Cf. "guardians of the keys of hell" in 42¹ *BA*, 2 *B*.

Similarly there are guardians of Paradise, 9⁸ *BA*, 42⁴ *B* (cf. 30¹ *A*).

VII. The instruments of punishment are: the "weapons of the angels" of punishment, 10³ *BA*; the fiery river, 10² *A*; "fire and flame and cold and ice and dungeons", 10² *B*.

3 *Enoch*

The executors of Divine decisions are the 'IRIN and QADDIŠIN, 28⁹.

The executors of punishment are the angels of destruction, 31², 33¹, 44².

Instruments of punishment are: the Sword of God, ch. 32; "staves of fire", 44³; the fiery river, 33⁵, 47.

The parallels adduced above clearly show that 3 *Enoch* bases on the same traditions as 2 *Enoch*, at least to a considerable extent; secondly, that, on the whole, the development of these traditions is further advanced in 3 *Enoch* than in 2 *Enoch*; thirdly, that, apparently, the conceptions of 3 *Enoch* in most cases are direct continuations on the lines of development begun by 2 *Enoch*.

(1) Thus, in Angelology, the tendency towards systematization evident in 2 *Enoch*, as compared with 1 *Enoch*, has resulted, in 3 *Enoch*, in the very elaborate angelological systems, in this Introduction referred to as A 1, A 2 and A 3 (*vide* the section on Angelology, Introduction, § 14).

In these angelological systems the interest has been focussed in an ever-increasing degree on the angelic inhabitants of the highest heaven, the angels of the *Mærkābā* and the Throne, and hence 3 *Enoch* here presents elaborate accounts of this angelic world, which in comprehensiveness by far transcend those of 2 *Enoch*. The treatment of the angelic orders of the lower heavens is, on the other hand, poorer in 3 *Enoch* than in 2 *Enoch*; but this is explained by the fact that most of the particular orders of angels, in 2 *Enoch* assigned to various of the lower heavens, are, in our book, located in the seventh heaven, with the exception of the angels of the planetary and stellar orders of angels, who, in accordance with Rabbinic traditions, are all located in the second heaven.

(2) With regard to the conceptions of Enoch, 2 *Enoch* shows itself very clearly as belonging to a stage of development later than 1 *Enoch*, but earlier than our book; moreover, in this respect 2 *Enoch* may be

said, speaking metaphorically, to be on the straight line connecting 1 *Enoch* with 3 *Enoch*.

Whereas in 1 *Enoch* the *visions* of Enoch are the essential feature in the Enoch-conception (*vide* above), in 2 *Enoch*, on the contrary, the idea of Enoch's *transformation into a high Celestial Being* plays an important part (see the above parallels, under B IV, V). This idea has, however, not yet advanced as far as in 3 *Enoch*. Thus, Enoch, as a high archangel, still is in rank below MIKAEL, and has his place on the *left* hand of the Most High. It is evident that at the time of writing of 2 *Enoch*, the idea of Enoch as the *ruler over all* the angels and the *vice-gerent* of the Holy One, had never as yet been put forth. With this coheres that there is in 2 *Enoch* no trace of the identification of Enoch with Metatron, one of the central features of 3 *Enoch*, nor of Enoch as enthroned, although 2 *Enoch* knows of an angelic order called THRONES (ch. 20¹).

(3) Respecting the conceptions of Judgement and Fate of Souls and Spirits 2 *Enoch* is more in keeping with 1 *Enoch* and the earlier Apocalyptic Literature, whereas 3 *Enoch* on this point rather reflects the earlier Rabbinic teachings (especially those of Beṣ̄ Šammai).

As is evident from the parallels between 1 and 3 *Enoch* given above, 3 *Enoch* reveals familiarity with the ideas and expressions of 1 *Enoch*, i.e. 1 *Enoch* must have been well known to the circle from which 3 *Enoch* emanated. That this was the case also with at least parts of the writings embodied in the present 2 *Enoch* is postulated by the close parallels between 2 and 3 *Enoch*, some of which are as striking as to suggest a direct dependence of the latter upon the former. Special importance should perhaps be attached to the following features which appear in 2 and 3 *Enoch* exclusively:

(1) The leaders of the Fallen Angels or Seducers of mankind as *three* in number, 2 *En.* 18 A, 3 *En.* 5⁹.

(2) RĀḌĪERIEL-VREṬIL, the Keeper of the Books, the Heavenly Registrar, 2 *En.* 22¹¹-23, 3 *En.* 27 (*vide* note on 3 *En.* 27).

(3) Enoch instructed in the secrets, first by angels, and then, in the highest mysteries, by the Holy One Himself, 2 *En.* 22¹¹-24³, 3 *En.* 10⁵, 11.

There are, however, a few conceptions and passages of 2 *Enoch* which reflect a later development than our book. Still these are—in most cases—easily recognized as late additions. Such are:

(1) The conception of higher and lower orders of *Mærkābā*-angels, a conception which, by the way, is frequently met with in the *Zohar*,

2 *En.* 19⁶, 20¹, 21¹ (*vide* above on the Parallels between 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Enoch*, A I (b) 2 and A II (a) 4); cf. *Zohar*, i. 22 a, i. 41 b seqq., *et frequ.*

(2) The ten ranks of angels, 2 *En.* 20³ A.

(3) The eighth, ninth and tenth heaven, strangely enough carrying the Hebrew names of *Kokābim* (planets), *Mazzālōḥ* (constellations), and *‘Arābōḥ* (in reality the name of the seventh heaven). This is however only found in a corrupt passage quite out of keeping with the context. It is easily observed that 2 *Enoch* knows only of seven heavens. *Vide* Charles's note on the passage in his edition of 2 *Enoch*, 1896, 2 *En.* 21⁶-22³ A.

(4) The advanced calendary computations, 13-16 A, cf. 31, 32 A.

Also on this point the addition-character of the passages showing later developments is unmistakable, and is, moreover, proved by a comparison of the two versions extant, A and B (as they are marked in Charles's edition in his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 431-469). B here presents the more original text, whereas in A the passages in question are inserted which reflect late calendary computations.

Thus, ch. 14¹, where B reads simply, "according to the number of the days", A has "according to the number of the days 365 and the quarter of a day". That the latter half of the passage in A is a late gloss is obvious. Even more apparent is the addition-character of the largest part of ch. 16 of the version A. Whereas ch. 16 B simply speaks of the 12 gates of entrance and the 12 gates of exit of the moon, 16 A makes these gates to represent the 12 months of the solar year, further alludes to the leap-year, speaks of the "great circle of 532 years," etc. *Nothing of this is found in B.*

(5) Parts of the account of Creation contained in 30-33² acc. to A reveal influences from ranges of ideas outside the traditions reflected in 3 *Enoch*, *vide* in particular vss. 3, 8, 9, 13-18 of ch. 30, further 31⁴ (Satan-Satanail), 33^{1, 2}. It is highly significant that these passages also are only found in A. What is found in B is altogether compatible with the conceptions of the earlier *Enoch* Literature.

It is interesting to note that it is mainly on the grounds of the conceptions found in the additional sections or passages referred to under (4) and (5) above, that Mrs Maunder in *The Observatory*, August 1918, argues for a late origin of 2 *Enoch*, maintaining that it reflects the traditions of the Bogomils. The arguments brought forward by Mrs Maunder obviously carry weight only for the passages on which they are based, and cannot be applied to 2 *Enoch* in its original form,

not even to the present form of version B. The observations of Mrs Maunders may be valuable for the textual history of 2 *Enoch*.

Mrs Maunders's suppositions as to the late origin of 2 *Enoch* as a whole are obviously refuted simply by the fact of the relations obtaining between 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Enoch*; for neither can 3 *Enoch* be dependent upon a writing of *Slavonic origin*, nor can such a writing be conceived of as dependent upon the Hebrew 3 *Enoch*.

Before arriving at a final conclusion as to the relation between 2 and 3 *Enoch* the following considerations may be made, viz.:

(1) The entirely Jewish character of a considerable part of the present 2 *Enoch*;

(2) the strikingly close parallels, not only in general and detailed conceptions, but also in terms and expressions, between this Jewish stratum and 3 *Enoch*, as shown above;

(3) the impossibility of conceiving any direct dependence of 3 *Enoch* upon a non-Jewish writing, to the extent obtaining here;

(4) the unmistakably earlier stage of development in 2 *Enoch*—as compared with 3 *Enoch*—of otherwise identical conceptions and ideas common to 2 and 3 *Enoch* (as has been shown above).

On these considerations it may be urged that there was originally a Jewish writing, belonging to the Enoch Literature and embodied in the present 2 *Enoch*, and that this Jewish Book of Enoch was well known to the circle from which 3 *Enoch* has emanated.

Further, from this assumption follows, as a corollary, that the Jewish writing in question must have originated at a fairly early date. In fact, the general types of ideas met with in this oldest and essential stratum of the present 2 *Enoch*, fit in perfectly with the date assigned to it by Charles, i.e. some time in the first century A.D.¹ This would also fit in very well with assigning some date in the third century for the redaction of 3 *Enoch*; the interval would allow for the developments reflected in 3 *Enoch* and for the assimilation which has taken place in 3 *Enoch*, on the one hand with the conceptions of Metatron and on the other with certain Rabbinic ideas (cf. above).

¹ Since the edition by Charles, 1896, has now gone out of print, a new separate edition of 2 *Enoch* by the same outstanding authority is greatly to be desired.

That 2 *Enoch* has been extant in Greek is evident. The traces of a Greek text underlying the present 2 *Enoch* are numerous: Phoenixes, Chalkadri, Arkhas, the Greek names of the planets, etc. *Vide* Charles's Introduction to the edition of 1896.

§ 7c. PARALLELS AND SIMILARITIES OF EXPRESSION
IN MANDAÏTIC LITERATURE

(Quotations from Petermann's *Thesaurus*, Lidzbarski's *Mand. Lit.*,
Joh. B. d. Mand and *Ginza*. Mandaïtic script transcribed in
Rashi characters.)

1. Similarities to the Enoch-Metatron pieces (3 *En.* 3-16, 48 c).

(a) In general.

GR. III. 68²⁶⁻³³ (72¹⁶⁻¹⁹) (cf. GR. 78^{29 seqq.}):

הו רבא עהאבלה זיוא ונהורא
ואטפילה על דעתלה
עהאבלה לבושא רבא דשאנאי וסאכא ליתלה
בירכה בנירכתא ראצתיא
דעתיבריכה רורביא
אבא שאוייא דעותריא
ומזאוד זואדיא לראמה

He, the Great One, gave him^t splendour
and light and added for him to that which he
had, he gave him a great garment, exquisite
and imperishable, he blessed him with great
blessing with which are blessed the mighty
ones; they made him the father of the
'Upras, and he gives maintenance to his
friends.

GR. III. 70³⁻⁹ (73^{20 seqq.}):

קרין ופאקדון רביא
וזארוון ופאקדון ושארדון
ושאלטון על כול נבו
פאקדון על שכינאתא

ועל תירי רורביא דאתאר כאסיא
שאלטון על עותריא כאסיא
דקאימין ותשאביא לרורביא

The Great (Life) has created and ap-
pointed thee, has prepared thee, appointed
thee and sent thee, has made thee a ruler over
every thing, has appointed thee over the
S°kīnas and over the mighty gates of the
Secret Place, has made thee a ruler over the
Hidden 'Upras that are standing and praising
the Mighty (Life).

1 Vide Brandt, *Mand. Schr.* pp. 125-129, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 63 seq.,
referring to *Mandā dHayye*.

3 *En.* 9⁵, 48 c⁸.

8². (הוסיף לי חכמה על וגו');
"... the Holy One added
in me wisdom unto wisdom,
etc."

12^{1,2}.

(עשה לי לבוש של גאוד);
"... He made me a gar-
ment of glory, etc."

9¹ ("blessed me with...
blessings").

For Metatron as the
possessor and distributor
of *Parnāsā*, vide note on
3 *En.* 8¹.

3 *En.* 48 c¹ ("I made
him strong, I took him,
I appointed him, namely
Metatron").

3 *En.* 20⁶, 48 c³. Meta-
tron appointed over all the
Treasuries and stores of
every heaven.

3 *En.* 48 c⁴. Metatron
put over the Hall of
^אaraboy and its gates.

3 *En.* 10³, 48 c⁴, 8, 9.

GR. III. 74^{7, 8} (76¹⁷): "Since I am one among the Great Ones, the Life Himself revealed to me..."

3 En. 11¹ (*vide note ib.*) and 48 c⁷.

GR. III. 94⁷⁻¹² (91⁴⁻⁶):

דירכא לטאביא דירכית
ושאוית באבא לאלמא
באבא לאלמא שאוית
ותראניבא כורסיא
כורסיא לטאביא תירנית
ותאקניבא פאסימכא

Ib. 23, 24 (*ib.* 11, 12):

כורסיא חירנית לראב זוייא
ותירנית קודלמא פאסימכא

"I made a path for the good and put up a gate for the world, a gate for the world I put up and erected in it a throne, a Throne for the good I erected and fixed on it a lamp... a Throne I erected for the Prince of the Glorious Ones;

and erected before it a lamp."

3 En. 10^{1, 2}. "All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me: He made me a *Throne*, similar to the Throne of Glory. And He spread for me a carpet of splendour and brilliant appearance, of beauty, grace and mercy, similar to the carpet of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all kinds of lights in the universe. And He placed it at the *Door* of the (Seventh) Hall and seated me on it."

GR. XVII. I. 401^{3, 4} (373^{8, 9}):

על באבא דבית הייא
כורסיא לראב זוייא תרין

"At the door of the Chamber of Life a Throne was erected for the Prince of the Glorious Ones."

3 En. 48 c⁸. "I set up his throne at the door of my Hall, that he may sit and judge the heavenly household. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him."

ML. 188⁸⁻¹⁰ (Oxf. I. xviii):

כורסיא תרין לראב זוייא וראב
זוייא יאתיב עלא

"For the Prince of the Glorious Ones a Throne is erected... and the Prince of the Glorious Ones is seated upon it."

Cf. with reference to 'Abapur, the "Third Life":

ML. 16¹²⁻¹⁷ (Qolasta I. ix): "I extol, honour and glorify 'Abapur, the ancient,

3 En. 10³. "I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdom and over all the children of heaven."

high, secret and guarded one, . . . at the door of the Chamber of Life a Throne is founded for him, and he is seated on it, the balance is erected before him; he weighs works and rewards; he sees and knows the worlds and the æons, what they are doing."

על באנא דבית הייא כורסיא רמילה מוואניא
תריז קודאמנה תאקיל עובאדיא ואגריא. האויה
ופאריש אלמיה ודאריא מאהו דאבדיא

Cf. further on 'Abapur, *GR.* 174¹, 195³; *ML.* 91¹⁴; *GR.* 285⁴⁰⁻⁴², 286¹ (288²²⁻²⁴):

"'Abapur, the ancient, high, secret and guarded one, who is *high* and seated in the *deep*, and *sees* what is *hidden* and searches the *worlds* and generations, sees what they are *doing* and is appointed over the spirits to weigh all works that they have done,— [him] we call as witness".

YM. 222⁸⁻¹²:

כסאיתא לאבאחור מן שיביאהיא ונטאריתה על
בינויה מן ריש זריש אנהרתה ותאקינתה מן
בוסמא דאיאר שרין עלה תאקינין לעבידאטה
ותאקינה למימרה מן ריש זריש

"I hid 'Abapur away from the planets and preserved his treasure exceedingly well. I made him shining and glorious by the fragrance of ether resting on him. We made his works and words exceeding glorious."

ML. 233, 234 (Oxf. II. ii):

ביומא דליבשיה מאנרא דהייא ללבושיה ויוה על
אלמיה דנהורא דנא

"On the day when *Mandā dHayye* clad himself in his garment of light,¹ his splendour rose over the worlds of light. . . all gathered together before him. . . opened their mouth and blessed *Mandā dHayye* . . ."

ML. 234, 235 (Oxf. II. iii): "On the day when they bound the girdle on *Mandā*

3 *En.* 48 c⁸ (cf. preceding page).

3 *En.* 11^{1, 2}. "All living beings' thoughts of heart and all the *secrets* of the Universe and all the Secrets of Creation were revealed to me. . . Before a man does think, I know what is in his thoughts. And there is nothing above on *high* nor below in the *deep* hidden from me."

3 *En.* 15^{1, 2}, 48 c^{6, 9}.

3 *En.* 7¹. "When the Holy One etc."

3 *En.* 12^{1, 2}.

1 On the significance of *ML.* 233 seqq. in that connection *vide* Lidzbarski's note 2 on p. 233 *op. cit.* "Im Folgenden werden die einzelnen Stücke der sakralen Kleidung der Mandäer. . . durchgegangen. . . wie sonst wird das Geschehnis in die Urzeit verlegt und mit einem höheren Wesen in Verbindung gebracht."

dHayye, his splendour rose over the 'Uḡras and Šeḳinas. When the 'Uḡras and Šeḳinas saw the splendour of *Mandā dHayye*, they all were affrighted before his splendour".

(כולהון מן זיוה סאר)

ML. 236, 237 (Oxf. II. vi):

ביוםא ד־תרֻאנלֶה תֻאגֻא למֻאנדֻא ד־היֻא זיוֶה על
הילבֻניה ד־נֻא

"On the day when they put the crown on *Mandā dHayye*, its splendour rose over all the eggs...all the worlds shine through it(s splendour)."

3 *En.* 12^{3, 4}. "He made me a royal crown...its splendour went forth in the four quarters of the 'Arāboḥ Rāqi^a', and through the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world."

ML. 232 (Oxf. II. i):

כנֻאף עֻתריֻא וכנֻאף שֻכֻינֻאתֻא
כֻורֻסיֻא ליֻאורֻא מֻאלֻכֻא ד־עֻתריֻא תֻראנֻלֶה
כֻורֻסיֻא תֻראנֻלֶה ליֻאורֻא מֻאלֻכֻא ד־עֻתריֻא
וֻתֻראנֻלֶה בֻריֻשיֻה כֻליֻיא רֻאוֻיֻא
זיוֶה על עֻתריֻא ועל שֻכֻינֻאתֻא ד־נֻא
עֻתריֻא ושֻכֻינֻאתֻא ד־היֻזיוֻיֻא לזיוֻא
דיֻאורֻא מֻאלֻכֻא ד־עֻתריֻא כֻולֻהון
לזֻאתֻה כֻאנֻפיֻא כֻולֻהון כֻאנֻפיֻא לזֻאתֻה
...ובֻיֻאמיֻנון דֻאכֻיֻא מֻאֻסיֻמיֻא עלֶה
ומֻבֻארֻכֻילֶה בֻנֻרֻכֻתֻא רֻאֻבֻתֻא

3 *En.* 14¹. "When the Holy One put this crown on my head..."

"The 'Uḡras and Šeḳinas gathered together, they erected a throne for Yaḡar, the King of the 'Uḡras,...they put shining crowns (garlands) upon his head. His splendour went out over the Uḡras and Šeḳinas. When the 'Uḡras and Šeḳinas saw the splendour of Yaḡar, the King of the 'Uḡras, they all gathered together by him...and laid their Right Hand upon him. They blessed him with the Great Blessing."

3 *En.* 14¹⁻⁵. "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 of 'Arāboḥ Rāqi^a' and all the hosts of every heaven... and they all fell prostrate when they saw me."

ML. 241 (Oxf. II. xi):

אֻבֻון עֻהֻאבֻלֻאךְ עֻאדֻאכֻשֻאר דֻאכֻיֻא וּפֻאקֻאדֻתֻא
ד־רֻבֻיֻא פֻאקֻיר עֻלֻאךְ

"Our Father! They gave Thee the true (pure) dominion and the command which the Great (Life) has committed to Thee."

3 *En.* 48^c.

(b) The 'Youth'.

ML. 244 (Oxf. II. xix):

וּטְאִנְאִלּוֹן לְעוֹתְרִיא וּמִיִּאֲנִקְאֲנִלּוֹן לְפִאֲסִימְכִיא
רִאֲבִנָא וּרִאֲבִנְאִיא כִּאֲפִשְׂאִי דְשִׁתִּית מִיָּא מִן פּוֹס
פִּרְאֲט

"Small am I among the 'Uḫras, a suckling am I among the Shining Ones, yet I am great, and my soul is great in me for I have drunk water from the mouth of Euphrates."

GR. v. 4 192¹³⁻¹⁵ (191¹¹⁻¹³): *Mandā dHayye* addressed by *Yōhānā* from the Jordan: "Come, come, *little youth* of three years and one day, smallest among his brothers and oldest among his fathers, who himself is small, but his words distinguished".

הָאָהָא אֲתָא יֵאלֶדָא זּוּטָא בֵּר שְׁנִיא תְּלָאֲת וּיּוּמָא
דִּרָא זּוּט אֲהֵהּ וּקְאֲשִׁישׁ אֲבָהָאֲתָהּ דִּהּוּ זּוּט
וּפּוֹגְדָאֲמֵהּ מִרְאֹרְבִיא

The Youthful Child, *Rābya Ṭalya*, occurs in ML. 229² (Oxf. I. lix), 264⁴ (Oxf. IV. i) with the name *Arsṣān* and the epithet "son of the Splendours" (= the Glorious Ones): בֵּר זּוּיָא. In GR. 243²³⁻²⁷ (also ML. 248⁹) *Hibil bar Adām* (the Abel of OT.) is called thus. A particular rôle is played by the *Rābya Ṭalya* in the latter part of the ninth book of GR. pp. 235-238. On this *vide* Lidzbarski's introduction, *ib.* pp. 234, 235. The First Life (or its 'sons') creates through his word "the only (unique; *μονογενής*: Lidzbarski) son, the great, righteous *Unique One*, who went forth from the great, righteous *Unique One*". The First Life clothes him in "garments of splendour", puts "diadems of light" upon him. He is questioned by the messenger 'Adākas-Malala or 'Adākas-Ziṭa: "What is Thy Name?" and answers: "I am the Youthful Child, the righteous, great *Unique One*". Then he is brought by that messenger to the "Šēkina within the Šēkina" and he beholds the "Splendour which is above all splendour, the Light above all Light, on the right of whom there are 1000 times 1000 shining ones and on his left 10,000 times 10,000 shining ones". When he

4¹⁰. "Because I am small and a youth among them (*scil.* the Angels) in days, months and years, therefore they call me 'Youth' (*Na'ar*)."⁴⁹: "he (the youth Metatron) shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens".

3 *En.* 48 c¹. "I made him strong (אִיבְרִיתִיו, perhaps בְּרִאֲתִיו, 'I created him', was originally meant to be conveyed), I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron, my servant who is one (*unique*) among all the children of heaven."

Cf. and contrast 3 *En.* 3^{1, 2}. R. Ishmael asks Metatron: "What is thy name?" He answers him: "... my King calls me Youth".

3 *En.* 1¹: "chamber within chamber".

3 *En.* 6³. "this one whom I have taken from among them (i.e. men) is an Elect One among (the inhabi-

goes down he finds the First Life in its Š^ekinā, tells of his vision, and thereupon proceeds to the other worlds of light which are committed to him that he may put them in order; at last he is sent by the 'Great, Mighty Mānā' with a message to the devotees on earth (the Naṣoreans, i.e. Mandæans). *Vide* also beg. of eleventh book, p. 251 (249), which book acc. to Lidzbarski "in einem anderen Kreise als die sonstigen mandäischen Schriften entstanden ist".

GR. XI. Peterm. 249¹⁶⁻²⁰:

יִהְיֶה רַבָּא זְרַיקָא...
 קִיאִים וְקִרָא עוֹתְרָא רִימָא
 דְּנִיחִיָּא פִּירוּשָׁא לֵבָּ וְלִזְנוּיָא
 זְרַיקָא... וְלִפְרִים עַל כּוֹלְהוּן
 עוֹבְדֵי דְּנִיחִין וְאִפְרָשְׁתָּא
 נִיקִיאִים קוֹרָאִים אֲנוּיָא

"The Unique, Great, Righteous One... created a beloved 'Upra that he should be a discerner (teacher: פִּירוּשָׁא) for himself and his father, the Righteous One, ...that he should teach concerning all works that shall be (done) and arrange teaching before his father." (c) 'Enoš.

In the Mandaic literature 'Enoš ('Anoš) is given a prominent place. The name itself is derived from the OT. 'Ænoš; mostly he is mentioned in juxtaposition with Hiḅil (= Abel) and Šipil (= Seth), all three being 'Upras with special functions, differently represented in different contexts. On the significance of 'Enoš one may in the first place refer to Reitzenstein, *D. Mand. B. d. Herrn d. Grösse und Das iran. Erlös. Myst.* pp. 115-134.¹ 'Enoš is the last Messenger and Revealer of Truth to the world, the Guide, and Saviour of those who follow him. It will be unnecessary here to repeat the whole of the "Enoš-episode" in the Apocalypse of GR. analyzed by Reitzenstein and Schæder (*GR. 30*⁴⁸):² "Enoš-Upra comes into the world...heals the sick, opens the eyes of the blind, makes the lepers clean...vivifies the dead; he wins adherents among

tants of) the world and he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness, and perfection of deeds."

48c⁹. "I (God) appointed Metatron over the angelic rulers of the world to reveal to them the secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement."

To illustrate the manner and import of the rejection of 'Ænoš in 3 Enoch, it may be allowed to repeat here the relevant fragment, ch. 5:

"From the day when the Holy One expelled the First Adam from the Garden of Eden Š^ekinā was dwelling upon a Keruḅ under the Tree of Life...and the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the image of the appearance of the splendour of Š^ekinā... And everyone who made use of the splendour of Š^ekinā... he neither became ill nor

¹ *Vide* also the valuable expositions by Schæder in Reitzenstein und Schæder *Stud. z. Ant. Synkret. aus Iran v. Griechenl.* pp. 306, 326-341.

² Schæder, *op. cit.* pp. 332-336.

(מ'האימין מן) the Jews",... "Enoš-'Upra ascends (on high) and sits with (joins) the *M'esunne-Kušta*" (= Die zur Seligkeit entrückten Mandäer: Lidzbarski). Cf. later *Mf.* 242 (also *GR.* 338⁸⁰, 339 seqq.). In the present connection attention must be called to *GR.* 47³⁵ seq. (52⁴⁹ seq.)—an insertion acc. to Lidzbarski:

ענוש עותרא אתיא מן קודאס טופאיניא מיא
לואתה דנו ושורבאתה

"Enoš-'Upra comes before the Water Floods to Noah and his tribe" (cf. *GR.* 263¹⁸⁻²⁹).

This should be put by the side of the traditions in *GR.*, eleventh book (*vide* Lidzbarski, *GR.* pp. 250, 251). The Unique One sends the three 'Upras, *Hibil*, *Šipil* and 'Anoš into the world to give assistance to the spirits of the faithful. The Planets (being the Enemies of the Spiritual World) try to overpower them, and plan the destruction of the whole generation, first through the sword (against *Hibil*), then through Fire (against *Šipil*)¹ and lastly through a Deluge (against 'Anoš). (Cf. how in 3 *En.* the removal of Enoch is connected as well with the idolatry of 'Enoš as with the Deluge.) 'Enoš is represented as fearing the attempts by the Planets but is addressed by *Mandā d'Hayye* as follows (*GR.* XI. 266¹³ seqq. Pet.):

ענוש ווטא... לא תידהול מן בישיא דאלמא האזין
מן טופאיניא מיא האזין על רישאך דילאך
מיתנאסביא... עיאייתילאך ויוא ונהורא דאדיארר
ניהוילאך וניקוס לואתאך

"Little 'Enoš... Be not afraid... of the Evil Ones of this world (and) of the Water Floods. They will be taken away above thy head... I will bring thee splendour and light which will be thy helpers and stand by thee."

suffered he any pain; no demons got power over him nor were able to injure him... until the time of the generation of 'Ænoš who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world. And what did the generation of 'Ænoš do? They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in heaps like unto mountains and hills making idols out of them throughout all the world... 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 attend the Holy One, blessed be He... What power was in them that they were able to bring them down... (answer:) 'Uzšā, 'Azzā and 'Azzi'el... taught them sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them. In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One... saying... 'Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men?' As it is written (Ps. 85): 'mā 'ænōš ki ḥizk'ænnu' (what is man, 'Enoš, that thou art mindful of him?). *Mā 'Ādām is not written here, but mā 'ænōš, for he (i.e. 'Ænoš) is the head of the idol worshippers.*"

(Cf. *Lam. R. Proēm* 24, dependent on 3 *En.*, *Gen. R.* 5⁵, 10⁸, 12⁵, 23⁹.)

1 Thus originally, acc. to Lidzbarski, *GR.* p. 250, ll. 29-31.

GR. XI. 264³¹ (266²³-267³ Pet.):

אמרין בניסיא דאלמא דהאלין גובריא תלתא
באלמא הינון ולאו גובריא הינון הינעלא זיא
ונהורא הו דמותה מהאויא באלמא האזין לואת
ענוס ווטא דקאייס בלהודא באלמא האזין.
ואמארלבה מאנדא דהייא אתא עגאלאלך על ראזיא
סאיניא דאלמא האזין

The Evil Ones of the world shall say:
"These Three Men are in the world, and
(but) they are not men but splendour and
light: it shows its image in this world by
(with) the little 'Enoš' who stands alone in
this world. And *Mandā dHayye* said to
him: Come, I will reveal to thee concerning
the hideous secrets of this world."

GR. XI. Pet. 270⁶⁻¹⁶:

הא הוית ענוס ווטא גליתילאך
על ראזא דבניסיא דאלמא האזין דהוית
ודיהלית מינאין דואתה ועתאזאתה
מינאין גליתילאך על ראזא דעסומיא וארקא
גליתילאך על ראזא דכולא עבאד ומאבאד
דעתבה באלמא אפרסיסתאך עלאזאין
עהאבילאך זיא ונהורא דניהויה לואתאך
בלבושא האנאתה קאדמאיה
דעהאבלכון מן בית הייא האסתא עלאך
דילאך עתנאטאר דביסיא עלה מיתכאדסיא
דנינסיבונה ולא מאטיא בעדאיהון דנינסיבונה
הא אטפילאך זיא על זיא ואטפילאך
נהורא על נהורא דניהויה לואתאך בדמותא
דגובריא עלין תרין אהאך דמן לואתאך
נפאך לבית הייא אזאל

"Lo, thou hast seen, little 'Enoš, (that) I
revealed to thee concerning the secret of the
Evil Ones of this world whom thou didst see
and feared them, before whom thou didst
tremble and shake. I revealed to thee concern-
ing the secret of heavens and earth, I
revealed to thee concerning the secret of
every doing and work (that [are]) in the
world, I instructed thee concerning them.
I gave thee splendour and light, that it should
be with thee on that first garment that they
gave thee (you) from the House of Life, now
kept with thee (treasured in thy possession),
on (for) which the Evil Ones are fighting that

In 3 *En.* 'Enoš is on the
side of the 'planets', *against*
the right faith.

At the same time the
features in Mand. belong-
ing to 'Enoš in his char-
acter of "Urmensch-Er-
löser-Licht-Gesandte", to
speak with Reitzenstein,
are in 3 *Enoch* found in
Enoch-Metatron:

(1) Just as the little
'Enoš stands alone in this
world against the domi-
nance of the Evil Ones
(Planets) so Enoch-Meta-
tron the youth is the one
and only righteous as a-
gainst the rest of mankind
who pay obeisance to the
idols (i.e. the powers of the
lower world) and have
ousted the Divine Light,
the (Ziuha) Še'kinā, from
the world.

(2) When GR. 30¹¹
(29¹⁷) makes 'Enoš-'Uthra
ascend on high after his
appearance in this world,
3 *En.* again lets Enoch be
taken up on high away
from the idol-worshippers,
the followers of 'Enoš.

(3) Enoch is the *only*
righteous one in his gen-
eration.

(4) The revelation of
secrets of the world is ac-
cording to 3 *En.* made by
the Holy One to Enoch-
Metatron.

(5) 3 *En.* 12^{1, 2}. The
garment of Light from the
House of Life (the Heḫāl
of the Holy One) is given
to Metatron.

they may take it and they will not succeed in taking it. Lo, I added for thee light unto light that it may be with thee in the image of these two men, thy brethren, who went away from thee and entered the House of Life."

The eleventh book of *GR.* is introduced thus:

האזין הו ראוז וסידרא דאנוש רבא בר שיתיל
רבא בר אדאס רבא בר עותריא רורבאניא
דַּעֲקָרָא:

"*This is the secret and the book of the Great 'Anoš, the son of the Great Šipil, the son of the Great 'Ađam, the son of the Mighty 'Uḫras of Glory*" (*GR.* 251¹² [249¹⁰]).

The first section of the twelfth book of *GR.* calls 'Enoš, *inter alia*: בר שזבאתא דכולה דְּכֹלֵהּ הַבְּרִית הַזֶּה הַיְּהוּדִי הַמְּאִדִּי *the son of the leaves (scil. of writings) of all knowledge* (or: γυνώσις). (*GR.* 268¹¹, 270¹⁰ [272³, 24, 273¹].)

Cf. the beginning of the ninth book of *GR.*:

האזין הו ראוז וסידרא דַּקָּרָקְלֵתָהּ
דְּסֻבָּא כּוּכְבֵּיָא דְּגַלְיֵלּוֹן וְאַפְרִיִּסְלוֹן מְאִדְיָא
דְּהֵיִיא בְּרָקָא תִּיבִיל וְעֵהָאֲבֵלוֹן לְהִיבִיל
וְסִיתִיל וְאֲנוֹשׁ וְהִיבִיל וְסִיתִיל וְאֲנוֹשׁ עֵהָאֲבֵלוֹן
לְרֵהֲמִיָּא שׁוּמְאִיהוֹן

"*This is the secret and the book of the overthrow of the seven planets which (secret and book) Mandā dHayye revealed and taught on the earth Tebel; and he gave them to Hibil, Šipil and 'Anoš and Hibil, Šipil and 'Anoš gave them to those who love their name*" (*GR.* 223¹⁷ [222¹⁰]). The book contains polemics against the false religions which are said to have emanated from the seven planets. For Enoš (together with Hibil and Šipil) as (1) the prototype for the Faithful; (2) the leader, guide of the Spirits of the Faithful; (3) the Messenger, the Word, sent by the Life to wake up, teach and guide the believers, it is not necessary to give references. *Vide*, however, first and eleventh sections of fifteenth book of *GR.*, further *GR.* 286¹⁹, 52³, 30², 48⁶. The spirits have to give account for their life before 'Anoš-'Uḫra: *GR.* 405³³ (377⁶). 'Enoš, as messenger, wins followers,

(6) 3 *En.* 8². "In that hour the Holy One added in me...splendour unto splendour (speaking of Metatron)."

One may here recall the Jewish tradition of a book of Adam, transmitted to (or recovered by) Enoch and after him to Noah (starting from the Pseudepigraphical writings, esp. elaborated in *T^e fillaḥ 'Ađam hā-Rišōn* [*OM.* ii. 401, *S. Rasiel*, beg.]) as a possible parallel to the book given to Hibil, Šipil and Anoš. Cf. also Metatron as "the Knower and Revealer of Secrets", 3 *En.* 48 c⁷, 9.

Cf. above and 3 *En.* 48 d¹⁰ with note.

3 *Enoch* looks upon the functions of 'Enoš quite differently. So far from seeing in him the leader of the Faithful he is really the instigator of the false religions. The party of 'Enoš is denounced as that of idol-worshippers, who make use of the sun, moon, planets and constellations (i.e. the 'Seven' and 'Twelve').

adherents, appears as it were as the head of the 'ligta' (party, circle of believers):

GR. xv. I. 296¹ (299¹²) the Great Life says to 'Enoš:

אזל לבוט ליגתא מן תיבי
כוי ליגתא דלגאטנין אנין

"Go, collect a party from Tebel, like the party that we have collected."

Cf. in this connection also GR. II. I. 44³ (46²⁰⁻²⁴ Pet.):

אנא שליהא קאדמאיהא אמארהא
ומאפרישנא לכולהון בניא דאדאס דהון
ידהאון ומיתאדליא בדארהא האנאתה
ולא תישמון לשותא דמאלאכיא דהוסראנא
דסאטין ומאסטין מן בנאת אנאשא
ומראהבילון בדאהבא וכאספא וארגבא

ומינונא וקיניאנא ונילמיה דזיפא דמאויאתא...

"I, the First Messenger, (I) speak and teach all the children of 'Adam who were, who are and who shall be born in that generation: Do not listen to the words (*šubā*: speech) of the angels of defection who deviate and cause (some, many) of the children of men to err and cause them to covet gold and silver, money, possession and property and images of fraud and simulacres."

GR. xiv. 294¹⁴ (298⁸ f. Pet.):

כול נישמאתא דאודא בדמאואתא לקודאמאן
לאבאלקא ובואתאן לאבאשרא ולאמא דתיניאנא
לאניהוונה

"The spirits that have worshipped (or sworn fealty to) idols (images), none of them shall ascend to our presence, they are not worthy (to be) with us and they will not behold the world of the Second One."

Acc. to 3 *En.* the 'party' that 'Enoš 'collects' is that of idol-worshippers. In *Life of Enoch* Enoch is represented as collecting a party of believers in God, among the then inhabitants of the world.

3 *En.* 5⁷⁻⁹: the idol-worshippers bring silver, gold, precious stones and pearls, and make of them images (idols) in the whole world.

So the generation of 'Enoš of 3 *En.* 5 are no worthy to dwell with the Šekina.

(d) Some further illustrations of the similarity of expressions and ideas in *Mand.* and 3 *En.* may be given. Space will not allow giving both text and translation in full; for the translation of the passages references must be made to Lidzbarski's *ML.*, *GR.* and *Mf.*, which in any case must be consulted for a more thorough testing of the present pages.

GR. II. I. 31²⁴ (31⁴⁻⁹ Pet.):

מארר דכולהון מאלכיא
 בחאילא ראמא ובמימרא כאברא
 אמאר והון מאלכיא דנהורא מן
 זיוא דאכיא ומן נהורא רבא
 דלאבאטייל פרון ועתקאייאס מאלכיא
 דתושביהתא דסאכא ומיניאנא
 ובוטלאנא ליתלון כולהון בתושביהתא
 מלין וקאימין ומשאבין
 למאלכא ראמא דנהורא...

"The Lord of all Kings spoke with great force and mighty word...and (= then) came forth (were born) angels of light;...and...angels of praise...without end, or reckoning, imperishable; all full of praise, and (they are) standing praising the lofty King of Light (cf. GR. 34²⁵)."

167 worlds of light: GR. 199³⁴.

360 worlds of light: GR. 286³⁶.

ML. 266^{7, 8}.

GR. V. I. 151⁸ (134¹⁹⁻²²):

אתא עהאויאך דמותא
 דמאנא ומאנא דמותא ראבתא
 כאסיתא דכסעיא מן כולהון עותריא
 בתלתמא וסיתין והאמשא אלמייא
 והילבוניא כאסייא רורביא דנהורא

"Come I will show thee the image of Mānā, and Mānā and his great hidden image that is hidden from all 'Uḡras in 365 *hidden, mighty worlds and eggs of light*."

"10,000 times 1000 worlds of light":
 GR. 152²³ (136¹¹).

רובאן אלפייא אלמייא דנהורא

GR. V. I. 152²²⁻²⁶:

"(He) created for me a world...in that world he created for me 10,000 times 1000 worlds of light and created for me 360 mighty, intrinsic Jordans. In each world alone he created for me 360,000 'Uḡras, in each Šeḳina alone he created for me 360,000 Šeḳinas."

GR. V. 5. 199³⁴ (199¹⁸):

"The great, beloved, original Sam-Ziua, the man, whose Šeḳina is resting (dwelling) above the 167 mighty, superior worlds of light. Each single world is 1000 times 1000 para-

3 *En.* 40⁴. "After that the Holy One opens his mouth and speaks one word and creates others (*scil.* angels) in their stead...and each one stands before His throne uttering the 'Holy'"; 37⁸: "out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created: and he stands in the singing company of the ministering angels".

Cf. 3 *En.* 24¹⁷ (18,000 worlds); 48 A¹ (955 heavens = the hidden abodes of the Godhead).

Cf. 3 *En.* 22 B C, 35¹.

sangs, and 10,000 times 10,000 Šekinas are dwelling in it; in each single Šekina 1000 times 1000 'Upras are dwelling, and each single 'Upra inhabits a Šekina."

Cf. *Mf.* pp. 8, 9 and Lidzbarski's note 5 *ib.* on the number 12,000.

The number 360 is most frequent especially in *ML.*: besides 360 worlds of light already referred to we meet with 360,000 'Upras (*ML.* 237⁵), 360 myriads of thousands Glorious Ones (*Ziye: GR.* 162²⁰), 360 fountains of splendour, light and glory (*ML.* 236⁵, 265¹), 360 or 360,000 Jordans (*GR.* 152^{14, 24}, 147³, *ML.* 265⁷), 360 Watchers (*Natre: ML.* 273⁸), 360 secrets in the world (*ML.* 22^{2, 3}), 360 balances erected before the Aged 'Abapur (*ML.* 92^{1, 2}).

The Lord of Greatness created on his right 444 Šekinas and on his left 366 Šekinas, *GR.* 144¹⁶.

144,000 myriads of 'Upras, *ML.* 18², 71⁴; of years, *ML.* 70¹.

180,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 144¹⁸.

550,000, 444,000 and 660,000 'Upras went from different parts to Mandā dHayye, *GR.* 361¹¹ (cf. Lidzbarski's note 2 on *ML.* 18).

60,000 myriads of years, *GR.* 156³⁹.

800,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 289^{31, 33}.

880,000 myriads of 'Upras, *ML.* 70⁵.

900,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 290²².

GR. VI. 212⁴ (212²¹ Pet.):

כּוּי שְׁאֵלִימְלָה כִּלְיָה לְדִינְאֵנוּכְת
 וּמִן פְּאֲגֵרָה נְפִאֲק אֲסֻקְיָא לְבִאֲבָא
 דְּבִית הִיּוּא וְאֲמַאֲר דִּינְאֵנוּכְת פְּתוּלִיָּא
 בְּאֲבָא דְּבִית הִיּוּא הַאֲיּוּאֲךְ פְּתוּלָה בְּאֲבָא
 דְּבִית הִיּוּא וְדִאֲלוּלָה בְּר גּוּדָא רַבָּא
 דְּשֵׁרְרִיא נְפִאֲוִן אֲלֻבְשׁוּיָא עֲנֻטְלָא דְּזִיּוּא
 וְכִאֲסִיּוּא טֵאֲרֻטְבוּנָא רַבָּא דְּנֵהוּרָא
 וְאִיתוּלָה כְּלִיָּא מִן רוּאֻז גּוּפְנָא תֵּרֵאֲנֵלָה
 בְּרִישָׁה וְקֵאֲס דִּינְאֵנוּכְת בִּיתֵרָא דֵּהִיּוּא
 וּבִאֲתֵרָא דְּכוּלָה זִיּוּא וּבִאֲתֵרָא דְּכוּלָה נֵהוּרָא
 וְקֵאֲס בְּסִיגִיא הַאֲיֵלָא שְׂאֲבָא לֵהִיּוּא רּוּרְבִיא
 וְלִיאֲקִיר וְתֵרִין בִּינִיאֲנָא דְּכוּאֲתָהּ וְאֲמַאֲר
 דִּינְאֵנוּכְת בֵּהֲזוּז מֵאֲסִיקְתָּא דֵּאֲנָא סְלֵאֲקִיבָה
 נִיֶּסְקוֹן וְנִיתוֹן בְּגֵאוּהַ כּוּלֵהוֹן נֵאֲזוּרֵאֲיִיא
 כְּשִׁטִּיא מֵהֵאֲיֵמְנִיא וּבִאֲסִימִיא

In 3 *En.* 22 c, 12,000 and its multiples are prominent.

For the large part played by numbers in 3 *En.*, *vide* Index on numbers and notes on passages in question.

In 3 *En.* the number 365 is conspicuous; together with 1000 times 10,000 *et sim.* (from *Dan.*), 360,000 occurs in 3 *En.* 22 B¹.

18,000: 3 *En.* 24¹².

66,000: 3 *En.* 33³.

800,000: 3 *En.* 33³.

“(Dinanukt went out to this world, voiced the call of Life, taught disciples 60 years, 60 months and 60 days.) When the measure of Dinanukt was completed for him and he left his body, they brought him to the *door of the House of Life*. And Dinanukt spake: Open for me the door of the House of Life. Then they opened for him the door of Life and lifted up for him the Bar Gođa (= *Pargod*, Veil) of Security. They rose, *clad him in a garment of splendour*, brought him a garland of the vine Rūz and put it on his head. And Dinanukt stood in the abode of Life, in the abode that is all *splendour* and in the abode that is all *light*. And he stood in great strength, praised the Mighty Life and (*him whose*) *epithet (title) is honoured and exalted like himself*. And Dinanukt spake: With this ascension (*masseqta*) with which I have ascended, all truthful, faithful and goodly Naşoreans shall ascend and attain.”

GR. I. 25⁷ (23¹³):

לא תישאבהויהא לשאמיש דהו ארונאי שומה קודשא
שומה עילעיל שומה תוס עתלה שומיה כאסיי
ולאמיתגאלליא באלמא

Cf. GR. II. I. 43¹ (45¹⁰).

El-Siddai, 179³².

Hidden Names, GR. 152¹⁷, 159².

Azazel, Azaziel, Taqfel and Margazel the Great, GR. 173²¹.

GR. v. 3. 185¹⁸ (189²³):

האניך נישמאתה דאניא למאניא דפאהארר דעוכמא
נאסיב ולמאניא דנהאשא דטופשא ושותא מאסיק

“Those spirits resemble earthen vessels that (take on blackness) become black....”

A most striking parallel to 1 *En.* may be included here, as relevant also to the subject of 3 *En.* 5 treated at some length above.

GR. III. 121¹¹ (110² Pet.):

רוחא ושיביאהיא אזאל
סליק לטור כארימלא סליק והאסיב על
ראזיא דרהאמתה יאתביא ומיתהאשביא
מאתוליא ונאסביא מן ראזיון דכולהון
ומן ראזא דרוהא נאסביא...ואמריא

3 *En.* 1², 10², 16¹, 48c^{4, 8}
(door of the Seventh Hall).

3 *En.* 25¹, 45⁶ (*Pargod*),
10¹: cf. notes *ad loc.*

3 *En.* 12¹, 18²².

3 *En.* 18¹⁸, 22B^{6, 7}, 28²,
48c⁷.

3 *En.* 42 and 48B¹ note and the reading: “The Holy One has seventy names that are explicit and the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable.”

3 *En.* 48D¹ no. 6: Margeziel, as one of the names of Metatron. For Azazel and Azaziel, cf. below p. 168, n. 1.

3 *En.* 47⁶. The colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of the wickedness of their doings.

1 *En.* 6¹⁻⁶: “And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. 2. And the angels, the children of

GR. III. 122¹ (110¹⁴ Pet.):

לְאֵנְדַר בְּרֵאשִׁיטָא דְּעוֹתֵי אֲמֵתָאן
 וְלֵאנִיגְלִיטָא מִיִּמְרָאן וְלֵאנִיגְלִיטָא
 לְעוֹמֵי אֲמֵתָאן וְנוֹא עַל כּוֹל דְּהֵאֲשִׁיבֵינָן
 בְּלֵאמֵרָאן

"*Ruha* and the seven (planets) went (and) ascended to the mount of Karmel, they ascended and meditated on secrets of love. The hideous ones are sitting and planning and they take (forth) of the secrets of all of them, and of the secret of *Ruha* they take (forth)... and they say... nobody shall know the secret of our oath and we will not reveal our word and we will not reveal our oath or anything of all that we have planned in our world." Cf. GR. 132⁴ (118⁸).

the heaven, saw, and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children...'. 4. And they all... said, 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to...'. 6. And they were in all two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of mount Hermon". 1 *En.* 8⁶: "...revealed the eternal secrets".

The conclusions that may be drawn from the adduced parallels between Mandaitic literature (shortened: Mand.) and 3 *En.* may be summed up as follows:

(1) Mand. and 3 *En.* are rooted in a specific world of ideas and expressions common to them both. That common world is one of characteristic *mystical* ideas and aspirations.

(2) Although both Mand. and 3 *En.* move in and are influenced by the larger world of syncretistic thoughts, 3 *En.* in its mystical elements (and these are, after all, the constitutive elements of 3 *En.*) is more closely bound up with Mand. than with any other mystical religious formation outside Judaism. ✓

(3) The question whether there is anywhere a direct dependence of 3 *En.* upon Mand. or *vice versa* must be answered in the negative. ✓

(4) An immediate relation between the circles behind Mand. and 3 *En.* respectively can, however, be traced, viz. in the rejection by the latter of one of the fundamental tenets of the former. This rejection must have occurred some time between 1 *En.* and 3 *En.*, since it entailed the dropping by the 3 *En.* circle of certain terms and conceptions playing a prominent part in 1 *En.* (on this *vide* above, p. 47 and below, p. 146) as a consequence of their having been associated with the rejected doctrine.

(5) The doctrine thus rejected is the 'Ænoš-mysticism (*vide* above). This is done very strongly; not merely in the form of a contradiction, but in the form of a contrast: 'Ænoš is the very instigator of fraud and idolatry in this world, the cause of the destruction of mankind. —

(6) The general mystical thought-world as well as the central idea of that mysticism was, however, already deeply ingrained in the

3 *En.* circle. Hence some of the fundamental features of 'Ænoš are in 3 *En.* attaching to Enoch-Metatron. It may seem as if there had then been only an opposition between names, or perhaps, that there were here two opposing mystical systems: the 'Ænoš-mysticism versus the Enoch-mysticism.

This would, however, not correspond to the actual position of Mand. and 3 *En.* What is rejected by 3 *En.* is, after all, not merely the name 'Ænoš, but even the Primordial-Man ideas. It may be urged that, in 3 *En.*, the real centre of the mysticism from which it has sprung, has been obscured, or at least been left to be tacitly understood or felt. It can be said, that one does not grasp what the whole description of the elevation of Enoch-Metatron or that of the angelical spheres is about, until he has read them against the background of Mand. Then the whole mystery will reveal itself: Man as the bearer of the Divine Spark within himself, his being here in this world of lowly state, a mere 'youth' and 'child' by the side of the Great Powers and Principalities of the Celestial World, and yet, in his highest aspirations, by force of his being such a bearer of the Divine, reaching above all powers to the Presence of the Divine Glory. With this the soteriological mystery: the Man, the One, who as the Essence of all Human Spirits, and the First, the Beginning of all human life, in Himself brings about Man's attainment of his Spiritual Home; the connection of this with the Wisdom-mystery, the man-celestial being possessing the Secrets and Mysteries and revealing them. In a very simple way one of the Mand. counterparts to the elevation of Enoch-Metatron gives, none the less, the very interpretation of the meaning of that elevation, viz. the finishing passage of the book of Dinanukt given above (p. 76), with its ending words: "With this ascension with which I have ascended, all truthful, faithful and goodly Našoreans shall ascend and attain."

(7) In the later cabbalistic literature, as is shown below (pp. 121-125), the central idea of the Enoch-Metatron conception in its mystical signification is brought out quite distinctly. It may be surmised that it cannot have suddenly emerged then from nothing and nowhere, but must have been known all the time.

(8) The vantage-point from which the rejection of the 'Enoš-mysticism, which must have been quite as much, if not more, a rejection of the specific circles by which it was most emphasized (i.e. probably the earlier Mandæans), was, no doubt, the consciousness within the 3 *En.* circle of standing firmly rooted in the Jewish faith, on the Torā and breathing the air of the Rabbinic teachings.

(9) The said rejection, lastly, presupposes a time of origin for the Enoch-Metatron fragments of 3 *En.*, when the opposition between the Enoch-mysticism and the ^{AE}noš-mysticism could have been actual, since the rejection was made in Palestinian circles (witness *Lam. R.* and *Gen. R.* referred to above, p. 70, presupposing 3 *En.* 4, 5 as Palestinian) and the 'Enoš-mysticism had finished playing any more important rôle there already at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. This is the *terminus ante quem* of the origin of the Enoch-Metatron ideas of 3 *En.* Hence it follows, further, that the Metatron ideas (and fragments) belonging to the time before the inclusion of these ideas (and fragments) in the Enoch-literature, should in all probability be assigned to some time in the 1st century A.D. Such early fragments are contained in 3 *En.* 9-13.

§ 8. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN 3 ENOCH

WITH regard to the conceptions of Metatron, his position and functions as presented by 3 *Enoch*, it is first to be remembered that this book in its present shape—with the exception of chh. 48 BCD—purports to be a revelation or communication of secrets by Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence", to the Tannaitic teacher, R. Išma'el bæn ^{AE}liša. This is in chh. 5-40 conveyed merely through the regular inceptive sentence of each chapter: "R. Išma'el said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me". In chh. 41-48 A the relation between R. Išma'el and Metatron takes the form of explorer of the celestial regions and their splendours and guide and informer concerning their secrets. Similarly chh. 3 and 4 represent R. Išma'el as asking and Metatron as answering.

The framework of the book thus represents Metatron as the angel who has access to the Divine Presence, the 'Face' of the Godhead (and in this sense the appellation "*Sar ha-pPānim*" or "Prince of the Presence" is understood here), hence possesses knowledge of the Divine secrets and decrees. In this capacity he is used by God as the guide (41-48 A) and instructor of R. Išma'el. This general view is corroborated by the introductory chh. 1 and 2. According to these Metatron, defined as the Prince of the Presence and the "Servant (*Æbæd*) of the Holy One", is sent by the Most High to conduct R. Išma'el into the Seventh *Hekāl* (Hall or Palace), to the *Mærkābāh* and the camps of *Šēkina*, and to protect him from the fury of the other angels of this the highest region of the heavens. He is consequently contemplated as essentially an angel-prince of the Seventh

Hall, the inmost and holiest part of the Celestial World, the centre and true abode of the Divine Manifestation (the "Holy of Holies" as it is later, appropriately, called).

Apart from the framework and introduction the book, relatively to Metatron, falls naturally into two divisions, one having the character or 'history' of Metatron for its central theme, the other having scarcely any connection with the conceptions of Metatron at all. The former division comprises chh. 3-16 and 48 (B) C (D), the latter the rest of the book, chh. 17-48 A.

(1) Chh. 3-16 and (2) ch. 48 C (BD) contain two expositions of the same theme, the latter in a shorter, the former in a fuller form, otherwise in the main exhibiting identical traits.

Metatron is the translated Enoch. The characteristic feature of both of these two expositions is, that they identify the high angel-prince Metatron with Enoch, the son of Yāreḏ, who was translated to the heavens in accordance with the ancient tradition basing upon Gen. 5²⁴. This identification being the aim, the chapters in question are worked out as a history of Enoch's transformation into an angel and of his further promotion into a superior angel-prince, called by the name Metatron, and not only by this name but by others of a distinguishing character.

Metatron, being Enoch, is called Na'ar, i.e. Youth. Metatron is Enoch (*Targum P.* to Gen. 5²⁴). Proof of this is, that Metatron is still called the 'Youth', נַעַר, in the high heavens (4¹⁰): for he is young in comparison with the other angel-princes, existing from the 'Beginning'.

Enoch removed from earth qua Perfect Righteous or qua Witness. The occasion of Enoch's translation to heaven was the removal of the Šēkinā from on earth on account of the sins of contemporary humanity, Enoch being removed together with the Šēkinā in his character of only perfect saint of his time: so chh. 5, 6³, 48 C¹. In another vein it is stated, that the reason or object of Enoch's translation was the function prescribed for him of being a witness—in the world to come—to the sinfulness of his generation and the justice of the Holy One in eventually destroying the men of that generation through the Deluge: so chh. 4, 48 C². Thus Enoch is defined as *Scribe-Witness* in agreement with Book of Jubilees 4²¹ seqq. and *Targ. P.* to Gen. 5²⁴.

But the characterization of the translated Enoch is not restricted to describing him as a celestial Scribe-Witness. The various honours and offices conferred upon him are in chh. 7 seqq. set forth in

successive stages, progressing towards a climax (in chh. 12 and 48 c⁷, 8). Thus he is made:

The attendant of God's Throne, the Throne of Glory, 7, 48 c⁴.

The Prince and steward set over the treasuries of heaven—containing the celestial and cosmic forces or agencies and the Divine Secrets—hence *endowed with knowledge of all the mysteries of Creation, of Past, Present and Future*, chh. 8, 10^{5, 6}, 11, 48 c^{3, 4, 7}.

The angelic ruler over and Judge of all the hosts of angels and angel-princes. Before being appointed to this high office he had to be transformed from earthly-human into celestial-angelic nature: his body was changed from flesh into fire (11, 48 c⁶), was given wings (9³), numerous eyes (9⁴), cosmic size (9², 48 c⁵) and was clothed with light and splendour (9⁵), 'garments of Glory' (12^{1, 2}, 48 c⁷).

In particular he was assigned *rulership over the 70* (sometimes 72) *Princes of Kingdoms*, the representatives in heaven of the nations on earth and the rulers of the destinies of their respective nations, chh. 10³, 14^{1, 2}, 16^{1, 2}.

As ruler and judge over the angelic hosts and the princes of kingdoms, he is also *the representative and vice-regent of the Holy One, the intermediary between the Most High and the angelic world*, 10^{4, 5}, 48 c^{8, 9}. To fill this position he is given the authority as well as the insignia of his dignity by the Holy One Himself. The Holy One makes him sit *on a Throne* similar to His own, gives him a Curtain similar to the Curtain spread over the Throne of Glory, 10¹, 48 c⁵. The Throne of the man-angel is placed at the door of the Seventh Hall (the innermost of the Divine *Hekāloḥ* or Palaces), 10², 48 c⁸. After this the heavenly herald is sent out into the heavens to announce him as "Metatron, the 'Æbæd' (Servant) of the Holy One", His representative and vice-regent, 10³.

The rulership over the angels and princes (4⁸, 10³, 14, 16¹², 48 c^{4, 8}) has a wider import acc. to 48 c than acc. to chh. 3 seqq. According to the latter it implies a *celestial* rule only, a dominion over the heavenly kingdoms of angels. According to the former, on the other hand, *Metatron* as ruler over the princes of kingdoms *also wields governing power*—through them—*over the nations, kingdoms and rulers on earth*; in this respect Metatron occupies the office and fulfils the functions of the 'Prince of the World', ch. 48 c⁹.

A peculiarity of ch. 48 c is also the tradition—closely connected with the last-named Prince of the World conception—which represents Metatron as *executor of the Divine decrees on earth*, especially

with regard to the different nations and their rulers, ch. 48 c¹⁰. Cf. Hebrew *Rev. Moses*, referred to in note *ad loc.*

Further in ch. 48 c—in contrast to chh. 3 seqq.—to Metatron is assigned the function of *supervising and attending the angels* and כְּלִים of the *Mærkābā*: the *Ḥayyōḇ*, 'Ofannim, *K'erubim*, *S'erafim*, *Ḥašmallim*, etc., vs. 4, contrast ch. 7. Thus Metatron here combines the functions in chh. 19–22, 25–26 distributed among the different princes of the respective classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

After having been installed as ruler over the angels, Metatron was given a new distinctive name: “*the Lesser YHḤH*” (or “*the little YHḤH*”, (רַ הַקָּטָן), “after the name of his Master”, chh. 12⁵, 48 c⁷, D¹ no. 102, cf. no. 14. Ex. 23²¹ is referred to: “for my name is in him”; Metatron is hereby indirectly identified with the angel of YHḤH of Ex. 23^{20–23}. Cf. the passage in *Sanh.* 38 b, referred to below. Acc. to 48 (7 in the K-version) Metatron corresponds to the Divine Name אֲדֹנָי (with ו), the numerical value of which is 71.

The name, “the Lesser YHḤH”, is in chh. 12 and 48 c⁷ used as indicative of Metatron's character of representative, *vicarius*, of the Godhead; it expresses a sublimation of his vice-regency into a second manifestation of the Deity in the name YHḤH. The special features that accompany and symbolize Metatron's elevation into a lesser manifestation of the “Divine Name” are, besides his being enthroned, the *conferment upon him of (part of) the Divine Glory*, הַדָּר, הַדָּר, הַדָּר, כְּבוֹד, “honour, majesty and splendour” (ch. 48 c⁷), “a garment of glory, robe of honour”, but especially a “crown of kingship” (10^{1–4}) on which the mystical ‘letters’, representing cosmic and celestial agencies, are engraved—after the pattern of the Crown of the Holy One, the כִּתְרֵי נִירָא—and lastly *knowledge of all the secrets of Creation and of ‘Torā’*, otherwise in possession of the Most High alone, chh. 13, 48 c⁷, D⁵.

Note. The expression “*Lesser Yahwe*”, “*Little Yahwe*” evidently reflects Gnostic ideas. It is highly significant that the very term “*The Little YAO*” occurs in *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, pp. 6 seq., ed. Mead, p. 10, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7 seq.). Cf. below, pp. 189 seqq.

Being named like his Master, Metatron is also said to have *seventy names* “corresponding to the seventy nations of the world”, ch. 3. This expression on one side connotes his rulership over the 70 princes of kingdoms, but it is evidently also intended as symbolical of Metatron's character of representative or manifestation of the Deity: the 70 names of Metatron are “taken from the names of the Holy One” (ch. 48 c⁹, D^{1, 5}), they are a reflection of the Divine 70

(or 72) Names, the שמות המפורשות, 48 B, D⁵. (Cf. ch. 29: the 70 princes of kingdoms also have 70 names each.)

Ch. 48 D¹, although asserting, in accordance with chh. 3, 48 C⁹, that Metatron has 70 names, gives an enumeration of his names, which in fact contains not less than 105. See note *ad locum*.

The special characteristic names or appellations of Metatron, recorded in chh. 3-16, 48 C are: (1) *the Lesser YHWH*, already mentioned; (2) *Na'ar*, i.e. Youth or Child, already referred to; (3) *Elect One*, ch. 6³; (4) *One, Unique*, 48 C¹, cf. D⁹ interpreted from Enoch being the one and only righteous in his generation, selected as the Holy One's tribute for all his labour with the antediluvian world; (5) *'Ābbād*, Servant, chh. 10³, 48 D¹ no. 17, cf. 1⁴; (6) *The Prince of the Presence*, שר הפנים or "the angel and prince of the Presence" (48 C¹, cf. D⁶ and throughout the framework of the book: ch. 1⁴ and the inceptive sentences of each of chh. 3, 5-48 A, etc.); (7) *The Knower of Secrets*, Yōdē^a Rāzīm, ch. 48 C⁸. Cf. further ch. 48 D⁶.

Lastly mention must be made of a possible vestige of the conception of *Metatron as a primordial being* occurring in ch. 48 C¹: "I made him (Metatron) strong (or Mighty) in the time of the first Adam". One might read in this statement an allusion to Metatron as connected with or being the Primordial Man, the 'Ādām Qādmōn. In favour of this interpretation is the peculiarity that although the identity of Metatron with Enoch is maintained throughout the rest of the chapter, this first statement is referred to Metatron only, Enoch being brought into view only with vs. 2. It is possible, and probable, that this was the earlier sense in which the *ibbartū* or *iddartū* was referred to Metatron.

The reason why an earlier Primordial Man function of Metatron has been obliterated was probably, as has already been discussed above (pp. 77, 78), the opposition from the 3 En. circle against the 'Ānoš-mysticism.

The additional pieces, ch. 48 C^{11, 12}, D, give some further details of the conception of Metatron which are not contained in the rest of the book.

(1) Ch. 48 C¹². Metatron is the *teacher of the souls of those who died in their childhood*, a tradition preserved also in TB. 'Āboḏā Zārā, 3 b. For the differences between the two versions see note *ad locum*. In both passages Is. 28⁹ is used as scriptural support.

(2) Ch. 48 D, besides the treatise on Metatron's names and an enumeration of them—which might be regarded as a mere development or elaboration of the features contained already in the main

Enoch-Metatron pieces—represents *Metatron* as having in his capacity of Prince of Wisdom and steward of the treasures (of Wisdom, etc.) committed the 'secret' to *Moses*—against the protests of the angels. From *Moses* onwards 'the secrets' (i.e. the secret lore, the mysteries of *Torā*, in the first instance the mystical letters and the Names) were transmitted orally from man to man down to *R. Abbahu* and *R. Zeera* (two noted Palestinian Amoras, flourishing end of second century), who in turn committed them to the 'men of faith', an expression which not improbably signifies the circle of mystics or initiates to which the writer belonged.

Thus *Metatron* is represented as the intermediary through whom the secret doctrine was brought down to man. And as such he defends the rights of men to obtain these secrets against the angels in general who do not desire that the terrestrials should know the 'mysteries'.

All the features of the *Metatron*-conception thus far mentioned tend towards assigning to *Metatron* a unique position in the heavenly hierarchy. And such is, indeed, the exclusive import of the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c¹⁻¹⁰. In the larger section, however, we meet with some passages of a distinctly opposite tendency: they emphasize *Metatron's* character of an angel-prince among other angel-princes, occupying though he does a high position in the angelic hierarchy yet not the highest one; and above all do they deny that *Metatron* was in any way to be regarded as a part of the Deity, a second manifestation of the Godhead.

This tendency is definitely expressed first in 10³; in the proclamation of *Metatron's* rulership over all the princes of kingdoms and all other 'children of heaven' a qualification is added, excluding from his jurisdiction "the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called *YHWH* by the name of their King".

From a comparison with *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 22, it may be shown that there was a distinct tradition as to the existence of a certain group of angel-princes who were higher even than the 'Prince of the Presence' (here not identical with *Metatron*); the 'eight great princes' are mentioned also in *Mass. Heḳāloḥ*, iv. They were apparently conceived of as angels of the Throne ("standing before the Throne of Glory"). Acc. to *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi* they were also the guardians of the Seventh Hall, hence evidently regarded as the sole angelic inhabitants of this innermost recess of the manifested Deity. Linking with the early representation of *Metatron* as "seated at the door of the Seventh Hall" (chh. 48 c⁸, 10², cf. 16¹) the interpolators here at work were able to picture *Metatron* as the judge and ruler over

all the angelic hosts *outside* the Seventh Hall, but with no authority over the angels of the Seventh Hall or of the Throne, which latter angels could easily—on that basis—be regarded as higher than Metatron. By this means the possibility of Metatron being claimed as a lesser Deity was, in the interpolator's intention, guarded against.

It should be noticed, that the tradition used by the interpolator for the purpose of lessening Metatron's importance, originally in no wise had this import. On the contrary, as appears from the *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, it was bound up with the assigning of a position to Metatron that was even higher than in 3 *Enoch*: the leader of the said 'eight great princes', 'ANAFIEL, here occupies the position and fills the office which in 3 *Enoch* as a whole are accorded to Metatron, the name Metatron being reserved for the second Divine manifestation.

Although this reference to a group of angel-princes in rank above Metatron, which is found in ch. 10³, clearly excludes the unique and supreme position of Metatron and the universality of his rulership over the heavenly household, as emphasized especially in chh. 7-15 (Metatron an angel-prince of the *Throne*, ch. 7; called the Lesser $\Upsilon\eta\upsilon\eta$, 12⁵, etc.), it does not formally contradict the rest of the chapter. The locating of Metatron's throne to the door of the Seventh Hall makes it possible to conceive of angel-princes who, having their abode within the Seventh Hall, nearer the Throne, would naturally be regarded as above Metatron's jurisdiction. The idea of "eight great Princes in the Seventh Hall" may be of Gnostic origin. The Seventh Hall really seems to play the part (in such connections as the present) of the $\text{'}\text{O}\gamma\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ of Gnostic systems. Metatron, seated in the Seventh Hall, facing all the lower angelic world, somewhat recalls the picture given by Epiphanius in *Adv. Hæres.* 31, 4 of the Demiurg in the $\text{'}\text{O}\gamma\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: ... $\text{'}\text{P}\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha$ καὶ $\text{'}\text{D}\eta\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ καλοῦσι— $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\text{'}\text{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ἐν τῇ $\text{'}\text{O}\gamma\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$, καὶ ἑπτὰ οὐρανὸς μετ' αὐτὸν πεποιηκότας (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 17, note 2). The $\text{'}\text{O}\gamma\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, as the 'region of the eighth', was by the speculations easily changed into the 'region of the eight'. This is, however, a mere conjecture.

The second instance of a tradition bent on lessening Metatron's importance is ch. 16. This chapter, which indeed purports to be a continuation of the 'history of Enoch-Metatron' in so far as it gives account of a supposed celestial incident in the court of Metatron at the time of the apostate $\text{'}\text{E}\lambda\iota\acute{\sigma}\alpha$ b. $\text{'}\text{A}\text{b}\text{u}\text{y}\acute{\alpha}$, is preserved in another version in *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

The aim of this chapter is apparently to convey, that although Metatron may for a certain period have occupied the unique

position in the Divine Presence which the traditions embodied in chh. 3-15 and 48 c ascribe to him, yet this position is now no longer his. He has at a certain, definite point of time been deprived of his privilege of being seated on a throne and is now 'standing on his feet', i.e. on an equal footing with the other angel-princes. The tendency is here clearly to counteract the influence or consequences of the Metatron-traditions which went towards recognizing in Metatron a vice-regent in heaven, an intermediary ruler over the angelic hosts, an idea which to the writer's mind came dangerously near the recognizing of two Supreme Powers. In endeavouring to neutralize the 'extravagance' of the Metatron-traditions, he does not attack them as it were from without, but while seemingly accepting the fact of Metatron's vice-kingship in heaven as asserted by them, he maintains that Metatron's elevation was only temporary. He is also anxious to make clear that Metatron's kingship is merely a derived one, conferred upon him 'by His King'; he twice repeats the phrase: "by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He". Hence, when this Kingship of Metatron gives occasion to misapprehension on the part of mortals ('*Aher*) as to the Unity of the Godhead, it can be and is at once taken from him, and he is moreover punished, the punishment being executed on God's command by an angel who is above Metatron, viz. none other than the famous '^ANAFIEL, the leader—acc. to *Hek. R.* conferred with *Mass. Hek.*—of the 'eight great Princes'.

This attack on Metatron as an *enthroned* vice-regent of the Most High has, it would seem, *emanated from early opponents to the Metatron-speculations of the mystics*, probably at a time when the name and function of Metatron had entered to a certain degree even *into popular belief* and could no longer be flatly negated. The original content of this attack was evidently the dethronization of Metatron; this has then been amplified, and hence it is that there are at least two versions preserved: one contained in *Hag.* 15 a, the other in the chapter now under discussion. For the differences between the two versions see note on ch. 16 beg. In this chapter it is remoulded to harmonize—as far as possible—with the ideas which prevail in the Enoch-Metatron pieces. Thus, apart from what has been pointed out above, the reference to '^Anafiel as the executor of the punishment on Metatron seems to have been made with conscious allusion to ch. 6¹.

The angel who acc. to ch. 6¹ was first sent to fetch Enoch from on earth, in order that he might be translated into Metatron, was well suited to be the superior angel who carried out Metatron's degradation. And it was thereby emphasized that just as '^Anafiel had been

superior to Enoch at the time of his elevation he was also superior to Metatron at least from his degradation onwards. Hence Metatron, not being even the highest of the angels, could not be contemplated as occupying a position of a higher than angelic character.

In view of the subtle way in which the writer of ch. 16 veils his opposition against the excessive and dangerous developments (as he regards them) of the Metatron-conception by the use of terms and notions recognized by or congenial to the Metatron-tradition, it is not impossible to assume that the qualifying expression ch. 10^{3b}, referred to above, is an insertion made by the same hand who is responsible for ch. 16. There seems in fact to be a natural connection between 10^{3b} and 16, in so far as the former contains the logical presupposition for the statements of the latter, esp. in vs. 5. When it is said, ch. 16⁵, that 'A nafiel YHWH was commissioned by the Most High to punish Metatron, it implies that this angel at least was higher than Metatron and had his abode nearer the Divine Presence, i.e. not all the angel-princes were subject to Metatron; this is exactly what is maintained by 10^{3b}. Moreover, it is probable, as was shown above, that 10^{3b} is linked with an early tradition of seven or eight high angel-princes of the Throne, of the Presence or of the Seventh Hall, the chief of which was just 'A nafiel. Thus ch. 10^{3b} is in absolute agreement with ch. 16, contains identical ideas, reveals the same tendency as and forms the necessary preparation for ch. 16.

The tradition as to the high position of 'A nafiel was, as has already been pointed out, known to and accepted by the Metatron-tradition, ch. 6¹. But the idea of this tradition was evidently that Metatron at his elevation was exalted above all the high angel-princes, or even, as stated above, that the conception of 'A nafiel as the highest of the Princes of the Seventh Hall belongs to a stage when Metatron was already sublimated into a Second Divine Manifestation. Contrast also ch. 18¹⁸ of our book and *Hek. R.* xv. 5 ('A nafiel not always regarded as the highest of the angel-princes).

The strongest evidence in favour of regarding chh. 10^{3b} and 16 as *later additions* made with the definite object of neutralizing the extravagances of the speculations on Metatron (as has been throughout assumed in the foregoing) is the fact, that *none of the qualifications set to Metatron's absolute supremacy* (as compared with that of the Most High) in the Celestial Court by chh. 10^{3b} and 16 *appears in the parallel Enoch-Metatron piece*, ch. 48 c¹⁻¹⁰, although this represents, on the whole, the same tradition as chh. 3-16.

(3) Chh. 17-48 A *in relation to the conceptions of Metatron*. Turning

from the sections devoted to the Enoch-Metatron conceptions as subject-matter, to the remaining parts of the present book, it is to be noticed that in chh. 17-40, apart from the stereotyped inceptive sentences of each chapter—the so-called framework to which reference has already been made—there is not a single mention of the name 'Metatron'. None of the three angelological systems (chh. 17; 18; 19-22, 25-28) accords any place to Metatron. Likewise in the sections treating of the Judgement and the *Q^eđuššā* respectively as well as in the chapters dealing with Celestial Topography—apart from chh. 41-48 A—no rôle or function is assigned to Metatron.

On the other hand some of the various functions which in the Enoch-Metatron sections are associated with Metatron are actually found in the angelological sections and the other parts, but they are there connected with different angelic bearers or Divine or angelic agencies.

Thus, for instance, the duties commonly associated with the *heavenly Scribe* (Witness, Knower of Secrets) are according to ch. 18 discharged by the two angel-princes *Sof^eriel M^eḥayyæ* and *Sof^eriel Mēmīḫ*, who are the highest angelic figures in this hierarchical system. A similar office is in the greater angelological system, chh. 19, etc., that occupied by *Rad^ueriel* (ch. 27) on the one hand and by the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* on the other (ch. 28). *Rad^ueriel*, the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* together form the top of the angelological hierarchy of A 3. The smaller function of the so-called 'scribes' in ch. 27² does not come into account here. Cf. further the 'scribes' referred to in ch. 33².

The function of *Defender* or *Advocate* is assigned to various angelic agencies. Ch. 18: *Zakzakiel*, *Šoqeđ Ḥozi*, *Sof^eriel M^eḥayyæ*. Chh. 19 seqq.: *S^erāfim* (26¹²). Chh. 30 seqq.: the Prince of the world (30), the Divine Attribute of Mercy (31), the angels of Mercy (33), etc.

The office of *Celestial Judge*, whether in general or over the angels only, is in all the rest of the book occupied by the Holy One Himself—although He may be represented as assisted by or taking counsel with certain of the highest angels, e.g. the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* (28), the angelic *Bēḫ Dīn*, etc.

The 'Prince of the World' is explicitly mentioned once in the section on the Judgement, and again in the *Q^eđuššā* section. Being the leader of the princes of kingdoms—as Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces—he pleads the cause of the world before the heavenly tribunal (ch. 30). He has authority over the heavenly bodies, bidding them to be silent and quiet at the time of the *Q^eđuššā* (ch. 38). In

neither of these cases is he identified with Metatron, although the similarity with Metatron as he is represented in ch. 48 c⁹ is apparent: he is there the leader of the princes of kingdoms through whom he wields governing power over the nations and acts as ruler of the affairs of the world.

Whereas Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces is represented as the attendant of the Throne of Glory and the Prince Supervisor of the *Mærkābā*-angels, these functions are in the other parts of 3 *Enoch* distributed among different angelic beings. According to the larger angelological system (A 3) each of the classes of *Mærkābā*-angels has its own prince: Ḥayyiel, Rikbiel, Kerubiel, Serāfiel, etc.

In chh. 41-48 A Metatron is, as has already been mentioned, the guide of R. Išma'el through the celestial regions. The fact that Metatron is in these chapters pictured as being able to point out and instruct R. Išma'el about the Cosmic Letters on the Throne of Glory and the recordings of past and future events on the Curtain (*Pargoḏ*) of the Divine Presence, indicates that he is here thought of as possessing knowledge of the highest Divine Secrets and as having access to the Divine Presence. A possible indication that he was understood also to have immediate authority over the planets and constellations is perhaps to be seen in the incident narrated in ch. 46^{2b}. (There is, however, in the same chapter mentioned a special leader of the 'stars': Rahatiel, vs. 3; cf. chh. 14⁴, 17⁶.) Lastly when Metatron, in ch. 44⁹, is represented as bidding R. Išma'el take and read the 'books' (i.e. the records of the doings of the wicked), this is perhaps a hint of Metatron's function of Scribe or 'Keeper of the Books'.

As a whole the section comprising chh. 41-48 A is, from the point of view of the conceptions of Metatron, more closely connected with the Enoch-Metatron pieces and the framework than are the other parts of the book.

It is important to note, that the only function of Metatron that is not in chh. 17-48 A transferred to other angelic bearers is that of *enthroned* representative of the Holy One, which points to this function as constitutive for Metatron.

In order to obtain an understanding of the mystical speculations connected with Metatron and of the origin and stages of development of these speculations it will be necessary to examine the conceptions of Metatron and Enoch-Metatron met with in other writings both earlier and later. Of the greatest importance here is, as a matter of course, the specifically mystical literature. But it will be well also to sketch briefly the fragments of Metatron-traditions

preserved in the earlier 'Rabbinic' literature: Talmud, Miḏraś and Targum.

Whereas the representations of Metatron in the mystical writings have received very little attention from scholars—in spite of the fact that these writings are the real home of the Metatron ideas—the comparatively few Talmud, Miḏraś or Targum passages referring to this angelic figure are well known, yet differently interpreted.

§ 9. THE REFERENCES TO METATRON FOUND IN TALMUD, MIḌRAŠ AND TARGUM

(a) In the Talmud.

TB. Sanh. 38 b (in a controversy between Rab 'Iḏi and a heretic, 'min'). Metatron is identified with the angel of YHWH mentioned in Ex. 23²⁰ seqq. and is said to bear the Divine Name, YHWH.¹ Bearing the Divine Name, Metatron is meant by the 'YHWH' in God's command to Moses acc. to Ex. 24¹: "Come up unto YHWH". The passage in the following, however, reveals the tendency of lessening as far as possible the importance of these 'facts' concerning Metatron. The idea that Metatron should be worshipped is refuted.² Even the view assigning to Metatron the function of intermediary between the Holy One and Israel is rejected: although acc. to Ex. 23²¹ the angel of YHWH (here = Metatron) was invested with the power of refusing forgiveness of sins—"he will not pardon your transgressions"—yet this power assigned to him by the Holy One never became actual, for, says R. 'Iḏi, "we did not accept him as intermediary leader, פרווונקא".³ On the contrary, Moses prayed to the Most High that He Himself would lead them (basing upon Ex. 33¹⁵: "If Thy Presence go not with us, carry us not up hence").

TB. Hag. 15 a. Metatron is the heavenly Scribe "who was permitted to be seated while writing down the merits of Israel". This dictum in itself shows the same tendency as *TB. Sanh.* 38 b of trying to lessen Metatron's importance. It seeks to explain Metatron's character of *enthroned* angel-prince as occasioned merely by his duties as Celestial

1 Basing on Ex. 23²¹ "for my name is in him" as in 3 *En.* 12⁵, 48 C⁷, D¹ no. 102.

2 The argument is: When it is said, Ex. 23²¹ אֵל תִּמְרָן בּוֹ, this is to be understood as if it were written אֵל תִּמְרָנִי בּוֹ, i.e. "do not exchange me for him".

3 The [Persian] word *parvanqa* is the equivalent of *s^eliḥā*. In Mandaitic it is used in the sense of 'SAVIOUR, liberator, DELIVERER'. Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* p. 418, n. 1. Occurs frequently, especially in *Qolasta* and *Ginzā Left* (in the latter mostly as the guide of the spirit leaving earthly life).

Scribe.¹ Starting from this assumption the *Gemara* goes further and tries to divest Metatron altogether of the distinction of being enthroned, making use of an earlier attack on Metatron's authority: 'Æliša' b. 'Abuyā, having ascended to heaven, when beholding Metatron, was led to the belief, that this angel-prince was a second Divine Power (שְׁמַח'וֹ ב' רִשְׁיוֹת הַן). For being the cause of this misconception on the side of 'Æliša', Metatron was subsequently punished with 60 lashes of fire (for he ought to 'have stood up' to prevent the false appearance). Cf. ch. 16 of our book.

TB. 'Ab. Zār. 3 b. Metatron shares with the Holy One the function of instructing the (school-) children, תִּינוּקוֹת שֶׁל בֵּית רַבִּי, i.e. those prematurely dead. As scriptural support is used Is. 28⁹: "Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand tradition? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts". Cf. ch. 48 c¹² of the present book.

The Holy One, blessed be He, occupies Himself with this work in the fourth quarter of the day; during the rest of the day, when the Holy One is sitting in judgement, etc., Metatron takes His place as instructor, scil. in *Torā*, written and oral.

The mystical traditions presupposed by the aforementioned Talmud passages, especially *TB. Sanh.* 38 b and '*Ab. Zār.* 3 b, suggest a somewhat later stage of development than that of 3 *Enoch*. What shows a later time for the material used by the Talmud passages or for the traditions indirectly referred to is the trait assigned to Metatron of intermediary between the Holy One and Moses or between the Holy One and Israel, and connected with this, of Celestial Advocate of Israel. Metatron is here beginning to take over the specific functions of Mikael, the Prince of Israel. On the whole the traditions at the back of the Talmud passages are most akin to those of the *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections. They are also actually paralleled in the additional chh. 15 B and 48 D of our book, which belong to the stage of *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections.

(Cf. *Pisqon*, etc. in *TB. Sanh.*, '*En Ja'qob*, 39 b.)

(b) Midrašic references.

As the more important among the Midrašic references the following may be noted:

Acc. to *Sifre* it was Metatron who showed Moses the Holy Land.

¹ That this is a secondary explanation is evident from the fact that the function of Scribe was never as such associated with the distinction of being enthroned. Cf. 3 *En.* 33². The version preserved in 3 *En.* 16 retains for Metatron the original trait of enthroned vice-regent.

With the exception of the reference to Moses the ideas and mode of expression of the *Sifre*-passage (on Deut. 32⁴⁹, par. *Ha'azinu*, 59c) are paralleled in the section 41-48 A of 3 *Enoch*. In both cases Metatron is represented as pointing out the wonders of heaven or future events or (as in the *Sifre*) the Holy Land, 'with his fingers'. The expression used in *Sifre*¹ is almost literally the same as in 3 *En.* chh. 41-48 A, esp. 44⁴, 45², 46².

Lamentations R., Intr. 24: When the Holy One, after having removed His Šekinā from the temple on account of Israel's sins (cf. chh. 48 c¹, 5¹⁰⁻¹³)—thereby making way for the destruction of the temple—was weeping for the sake of Šekinā having no longer any abode on earth, and over the calamity that had befallen its former abode—the temple—then Metatron came, "fell on his face and said before Him: 'Lord of the Universe! I will weep, but Thou shalt not weep'. He answered him: 'If thou dost not let me weep, I will at once enter the place which thou hast not permission (רשות) to enter, and will weep (there)'"'. The place that Metatron has not permission to enter is, acc. to the same passage, indicated by the words of Jer. 13¹⁷: "But if ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep *in secret places* (במסתרים)", i.e. the word *Mistārim* in this scripture passage is taken to refer to a definite celestial region.

Metatron is here firstly presented as the angel of the Divine Presence who does not, however, partake of the Divine existence beyond the manifestation of the Deity (on the Throne).²

¹ The dictum occurring in *Sifre* is attributed to R. 'Ašlī' aezær (ben Hyrkanos) beg. of second century A.D., as usual followed by a controversial dictum attributed to R. J'hošu^a. The right reading of the passage is evidently as follows:

באצבעו היה מטטרון מראה למשה (והראהו) את כל ארץ ישראל

Cf. the British Museum ms. *Add.* 16406, fol. 375 d, occurring in exactly identical form in the parallel, *Yalqut*, Pentateuch no. 949 (*ad locum*): *b'æšb'e' šæl Mošæ hāyā Meṭatron mar'æ l'-Mošæ*, etc. The usual reading of the printed edd. of *Sifre* has a somewhat strained construction, which leads Friedmann in his edition to omit the word *mar'æ*, regarding it as an explanatory gloss of 'metatron'. Friedmann hence takes 'metatron' as an appellative: "With his finger He was a metatron to Moses", and points to the parallel passage in *P'esiqṭa Zut.* iii: "The finger of the Holy One was the metatron of Moses", etc. A similar reading of the *Sifre*-passage, using 'metatron' as a sort of appellative, is recorded in Nachmanides' comm. on 3 Exod. x. 12¹² and in *Kaṭfor yā-Feraḥ*, ch. 10 (Metatron = one who shows the way). This variant which is attested only in late sources is probably evolved out of a substitution of the unusual 'metator' for the well-known 'metatron', in *Gen. R.* 5⁴ (see below). Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 154, also interprets the *Sifre*-passage thus: "*Nach J(osua?) war Gottes Finger der Metator, Grenzabstecker, der Moses das ganze Land zeigte und ihm angab, wie weit das Gebiet der einzelnen Stämme geht*". (In the text Bacher reads 'metatron', hence takes this to be = metator.)

² This conception of a special place of the Godhead called, after Jer. 13¹⁷, *Mistārim*, is mentioned in the well-known passage *TB. Hag.* 5 b: "*māqōm yaš lō l'EQB'H uMistārim š'mō*". Cf. *Gen. R.* 82¹³. The secret place to which no ange

Further, the words uttered to the Most High by Metatron: "I will weep, but Thou shalt not weep" "depict Metatron, not alone as pleader for Israel, but as taking upon himself the sorrow for Israel's sins".¹ He is the *Seneḡor* (συνήγορος), Advocate, but also מצטרם בצערתם, as in later cabbalistic writings, cf. YR. i. 54 A (from 'Asceræḡ Ma'omāroḡ).

Tanhumā, Ḥā'æḡhannān 6. When Moses is informed that the time has come that he must die, he asks successively the mountains, the rivers, the sea, etc. and various powers of heaven and earth to intercede for him with the Holy One that he may be allowed to live. But they all refuse. He also entreats Metatron² to intercede for him. Metatron answers: "It were of no avail. For I have heard the words behind the Curtain (*Pargod*): 'Thy prayer will not be answered'".

In the same paraša we find Metatron again referred to in connection with Moses' death. When the Most High is sorrowing after the decease of Moses and asks: "Who will henceforth intercede for Israel when they sin?" Metatron falls on his face before Him, saying: "Lord of the Universe! In his life Moses was thine; after his death he is also thine".

A parallel to the latter passage is found in a ms. of *Midraš Mišle* on Proverbs 14³⁴. Cf. *JE*. x. 231, *Harv. Th. R.* xv. p. 83, n. 65. In the printed editions Mikael takes the place of Metatron.

In *Num. R.* xii. 15 Metatron is represented as officiating in the Celestial Sanctuary, and this Sanctuary as being especially connected with his name, as 'the Tabernacle of Metatron'.

"At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, commanded Israel to erect the Tabernacle His words implied a command also to the ministering angels that they should erect a Tabernacle on high (*Rāmax l'-mal'akē ha-ššārēḡ šæyya'asu 'af hem miškān*). This is the Tabernacle of the Youth (*miškan ha-nNa'ar*) whose name is Metatron, and in it he offers the spirits of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile."

It is here to be noticed, that Metatron is explicitly called *Na'ar*, nor any being, not even Metatron, is admitted, is in the mystical literature usually identified with the '955 heavens' (cf. ch. 48 A¹) and then signifies *the inscrutable abode of the Godhead, which is beyond or above every manifestation* of Him, even as seated on the Throne of Glory or Throne of Judgement. (This is later developed into the conception of the 'olām hā-'ašilūḡ, cf. *Mass. Aḡ.*, ch. v.) Metatron, as the Prince of the Presence, or the vice-regent of the Holy One, or even as the second *Manifestation* of the Deity, is naturally represented as excluded from the 'Mistarim'. When regarded as an aspect of the Divinity Metatron is represented as being able to ascend through 900 of the 955 heavens, but not higher.

1 Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 69.

2 Metatron is here called "the Prince of the Presence".

Youth (3 *En.* chh. 3, 4, etc.), that the Tabernacle of the *Na'ar* is referred to as something well known, and that Metatron is represented as having in his charge, under his authority and care, the spirits of the righteous. As a whole this passage represents a later phase in the development of the Metatron-conception. The Tabernacle of Metatron is referred to in the additional ch. 15 B¹ of 3 *Enoch*.

Gen. R. v. 2. According to one reading Metatron is here used as an appellative. With reference to the Divine Word (or Voice) saying, *Gen.* 1⁹: "let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place!" it is said: "There are some who interpret (explain) in accordance with (the view of) Bæn 'Azzai and Bæn Zomā: the Voice of the Holy One was made into a Metatron over the waters, in accordance with *Ps.* 29³: 'The voice of the Lord is upon the waters' ". The passage is by the commentators *ad locum* interpreted as meaning: "The Voice of the Lord went before the waters, conducting or directing them to the Okeanos (the place of the lower waters)".

There are many variant readings of the 'metatron' in this passage, as may be seen from the critical apparatus of Theodor's edition of *Genesis Rabba*. Besides *mitatron* there are the מטטור and מיטטור, of old being recognized as the Latin 'metator' and the basis for the interpretation of 'metatron' as 'forerunner', 'leader', 'one who shows the way' (evidently also the basis for the interpretation by the commentators *ad loc.*). Other readings are מסטירין (*Brit. Mus. MS. Add.* 16506, fol. 6 d) or מסטורין (*Vatican MS. acc. to Theodor*), i.e. 'a secret', 'a mystery' (cf. *Gen. R.* i, *Ex. R.* xviii, *Lev. R.* xxxii, *Num. R.* xx); מטרון, a form sometimes met with as an equivalent for or 'name' of Metatron; מטרטין, etc.

The existence of so many variants shows that the original word must have been unknown to the copyists, i.e. its meaning not understood by them. Thus they tried to substitute, each of them, another similar-looking word. Now the most unusual word among the various readings here is evidently מטטור, which also gives the best sense. Hence it may safely be assumed that 'METATOR' was the original word.

The substitution of Metatron for Metator is easily accounted for by the similarity of the characters of both words on one hand, and the speculations of the cabbalists on Metatron's functions at the Creation on the other. But this substitution has since, from the time of Nachmanides and Eleazar of Worms onwards, been used as the starting-point for various interpretations of Metatron from Metator (i.e. when the meaning of the Latin word had again been brought

into light). See Nachmanides, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Ex. 12¹².

(c) References in the Palestinian Targum.

To Deut. 34⁶. Four angels, called 'Masters of Wisdom', took care of Moses' soul at his death: *Miṭaṭron*, 'Uriel, Yofiel and Y^efippyah.¹ This idea is met with in the legends on Moses' death and also in the traditions of his angelic teachers at the time when he received the *Torā* and its secrets. The Targum passage in all probability is dependent on this literature which, as has already been shown, belongs to the period of *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections. 'Masters of Wisdom', 'Princes of Wisdom' and 'Princes of the *Torā*' are interchangeable terms. Metatron at this stage has taken over the functions of 'Prince of Wisdom, Prince of *Torā*' originally attributed to Y^efifyāh, Gaḷiṣur and Zaḡn^ezaḡiel and the latter are represented as companions or servants of Metatron or as names of Metatron. Cf. *Hek. R.* xxx, *Ma'yan Hoḳmā*, *Miḏraš P^eṭiraḅ Mošæ*, *Deut. R.* xi and 3 *Enoch*, the additional ch. 48 D¹⁻².

To Gen. 5²⁴. Metatron is the translated Enoch who was taken up to heaven on account of his having led a perfect life, serving the Holy One 'in truth'. He is called the Great Scribe.

This is evidently dependent upon the Enoch-Metatron traditions, possibly directly upon 3 *Enoch*, since it combines, as does the Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-15, the functions of Scribe-Witness and only perfect Saint with reference to the translated Enoch. (3 *En.* chh. 4, 6, 48 c².)

Summary of the features of the Metatron-conception as presented by Talmud, Miḏraš and the Palestinian Targum:

Metatron is called by the name of his Master (YHWH), his name is that of his Master, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b.

„ is the angel of YHWH acc. to Ex. 23²¹, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b.

„ is (or has been) 'seated' in heaven, i.e. on a *Throne*, in contrast to the other angels who are all standing but in striking similarity (the utterance of 'Aḡer!) with the Most High seated on the Throne of Glory, *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

„ is the *Great Scribe* in heaven: Targum Y to Gen. 5²⁴, the *Recorder of the merits of Israel*, *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

„ is the *heavenly Advocate*, Defender, the Pleader for Israel, *TB. Hag.* 15 a, *Lam. R. Intr.* 24; *atones for Israel*, *Num. R.* xii. 15.

¹ אתגלי (הקב"ה) עלוי (= על משה) במימריה ועמיה חבורן דמלאכי שריתא מיכאל וגבריאל אצעון דרגשא דדהבא מקבעא ביורכין וסנדלכון ובורלין מתקנא כבסתרקוי מלת וסוכנין דארגוןן ואוציטילין חורין מטטרין ויופיאל ואוריאל ויפפיה רגני חקמתא.

- Metatron is *Master of Wisdom*, has knowledge of the Divine decrees (symbolized by the 'hearing behind the *Pargod*') : *Midr. Tanḥumā*, par. *Uā'əphannān* 6; is initiated in the Divine Secrets, the Mysteries of the *Torā*, Targum *Y* to Deut. 34⁶.
- „ is the *heavenly High Priest* officiating in the Celestial Sanctuary which is referred to as "the *Tabernacle of the Na'ar, Metatron*", *Num. R.* xii. 15.
- „ *has in his charge the spirits of the righteous*, *Num. R. ib.*
- „ is the *translated Enoch*, taken up to heaven on account of his perfection of deeds, his serving the Holy One 'in truth', Targum *Y* to Gen. 5²⁴.
- „ was *associated with Moses* during his lifetime, at and after his death, as the *representative of the Most High* or as *His messenger* :
 (1) as the angel who in God's stead was to lead Israel in the desert, acc. to one tradition, however, not accepted by Moses, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b;
 (2) asked by Moses just before his death to intercede for him with the Holy One, *Tanḥuma*, par. *Uā'əphannān* 6;
 (3) shows Moses the land of Israel, *Sifre*, par. *Ha'azinu*;
 (4) takes care of Moses' soul, Targum *Y* to Deut. 34⁶, *Tanḥuma*, par. *Uā'əphannān* 6.
- „ is the *angel of the Divine Presence*, yet not admitted into the exclusive abode of the Deity, the *Mistārim*, i.e. does not partake of the *unmanifested Deity*, *Lam. R. Intr.* 24.
- „ the instructor in heaven of the children who died before having the opportunity of being instructed in the *Torā* or having their instruction completed, *TB. 'Ab. Zār.* 3 b. (This implies that he takes charge of the spirits, cf. above.)

§ 10. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN RELATED MYSTICAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

A. IN 1 AP. IŠM., THE HEKALOḶ WORKS AND 1 AND 2 LEG. MARTYRS.

THE earliest among related mystical writings coming under consideration here is the apocalyptic fragment preserved in *Siddur 'Amrām Gā'on*, 3 b, 12 b-13 a; *BH.* vi. 19-30, v. 167-169, *Yihus ha-ššaddiqim* by *Gærson bæn 'Ašer Scarmela*, Mantua 1561.¹ This fragment may for the sake of convenience be referred to as 1 *Ap. Išm.* (i.e. the first Apocalypse of R. Išma'el).

At the end of 1 *Ap. Išm.* Metatron is represented as the head of all the heavenly household who are engaged in the incantation of the

¹ Cf. M. Bittenwieser on 'Apocalyptic Literature, Neo-Hebraic', in *JE.* and Gaster in *RAS.'s Journal*, 1893, pp. 609 seqq.

Q^eđuššā. He is possibly also thought of as in some way or other being connected with the coming salvation and the Messianic Kingdom.

R. Išma'el, it is narrated, after having beheld all the sufferings stored up for Israel, is shown also the coming salvation and consolation which are symbolized by David with a crown on his head, taking his seat on a throne prepared for him "in the Great Temple in Rāqīa'" with all the kings of the house of David in front of him and all the kings of Israel behind him. Being seated on his throne David begins uttering songs and hymns of praise. At the moment when David utters the *שירות ותשבחות* then also Metatron "and all his heavenly household" open their mouths and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy", and the Ḥayyop respond, "Blessed be the Glory of YHWH from His place", i.e. the simple form of the *Q^eđuššā* attested also in 3 *Enoch*.

The name 'Metatron' does not occur elsewhere in 1 *Ap. Išm.* The angelic being from whom R. Išma'el receives the disclosures as to future events is called the "Prince of the Presence". He is addressed by R. Išma'el as "the Glory of Splendours" (cf. the epithet given to Metatron in chh. 13, 15, 16 *et al.*, "the Glory of all heavens"). In the second part of 1 *Ap. Išm.* the angel is named *Hadarniel* and carries the same names and functions. It is possible, but by no means certain, that this angel is understood as identical with the 'Metatron' mentioned at the end of the fragment.

1 *Ap. Išm.* is very closely related to 3 *En.* chh. 41-48 and evidently belongs to the same stage as our book. The only difference is that Metatron here seems to be in the process of being dissociated from the "Prince of the Presence" as he is in the *Hek. R.*

There is also a hint of his being regarded as the celestial *שליח* *ציבור* as in later writings. (Cf. *Sođe Rāzā* in YR. i. 58 b below, p. 120.)

In *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 26₈, towards the end of a doxology to the Holy One, we find the following, somewhat obscure, passage:

אין לא בעליונים ולא בתחתונים לא בראשונים
 ולא באחרנים שיכול לידע את מעשיך ולחקור
 את כל נפלאותיך כמה שאין יכול לדמותם אלה
 בית א ב ב ג ג ד ד ה ה ו ו ז ז ח ח מטטרון שנקרא
 שמו על שמנת שמות מרגזיאל שמו. גיורתיאל
 שמו. גיורתיאל שמו. איזיהיאל שמו. יהואל שמו.
 מיזאל שמו. סגנסניאל שמו. מתוך אחבה
 שאוהבין אותו במרום והיו קורין אותו
 במחנות קדושים מטטרון עבד ייי ארך אפים ורב
 חסד.

As 'Metatron' here stands in the context, it would most naturally be taken as a Divine Name, on analogy with the *Zohariel* YH^uḤ^h 'Elohe Israel of foregoing chapters in the *Hekāloṣ Rabbāḥi*, and this so much the more easily, as the letters preceding the 'Metatron' in the first instance are the letters of the Divine Name. But against assuming 'Metatron' here to be intended as a Divine Name there is the epithet given to him in the second place: 'Ābēd YH^uḤ^h, the Servant of YH^uḤ^h. This, which moreover is a traditional and well-established epithet of Metatron as a separate angelic being, cannot very well be considered part of a Divine Name.

Two possible solutions of the problem presented by the text of this passage in its present form may be suggested:

(a) The word אַלֵּא (except) may have been dropped by a copyist before the אֵלֵּא, the characters of both words being similar. This emendation would give the meaning: "No one... is able to know Thy works or to search Thy wonderful doings... *except*... Metatron who is called by eight names, etc."

(b) Another possibility is that the 'Ābēd YH^uḤ^h after "Metatron" in the second instance is a later insertion, especially in view of the immediately following Divine Attributes, "Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness" (Ex. 34⁶), which, it would seem, could hardly have been attached to a "Servant of YH^uḤ^h", not even to Metatron as a separate angelic being.

One may venture to assume that the solution (a) is the more plausible one. In favour of interpreting Metatron here as the name of a high angelic being, not as a Divine Name, is the parallel in wording of the second part of the passage with ch. 12 of our book: "By reason of the love with which the Holy One loved me more than all the children of heaven, etc.", cf. here: "By reason of the love with which they love him on high they call him in the camps of the holy ones: Metatron, the Servant of YH^uḤ^h, the Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness".¹

It is noticeable that the conception of Metatron in *Hek. R.* is markedly sublimated as compared with 3 *Enoch*. He possesses the Divine Names, 'Ālāf and Bēḥ, and the Divine Letters, אַא, בּב, etc. The

¹ The words "Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness" possibly refer merely to the 'YH^uḤ^h', not to 'Metatron'. Cf. however how in 1 *En.* 40⁹, MIKĀEL is called "the merciful and long-suffering". Also the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Budge, *Misc. Copt. T.* pp. 547, 1067): "When all those who were suffering punishments [in hell] saw [Michael and all the hosts of the angels] they wept and they said unto him, 'Have mercy upon us, O Archangel of the Covenant, thou compassionate one, who dost pray for mankind at all times.'"

מטט is here already regarded as the central part of the name 'Metatron' מַטַּטְרוֹן and as one of the symbols of the fact that he has 'the Divine Name' within him (in accordance with Ex. 23²¹).¹

Metatron is further, in this passage, represented as alone of all celestials possessing knowledge of all God's works and His wonders, especially the 'Secrets of Creation'—in perfect agreement with 3 En. 11 and 48 c⁷.

He is said to have several names. Of these are important, firstly *Saḡn^esaḡiel*, the occurrence of which here shows clearly how firmly this name was associated with that of Metatron in different sources, and secondly *Y^ehoel*. The mention of *Y^ehoel* (which is the equivalent to the variant forms 'Yael', 'Yaol', 'Yoel', 'Yahoel' occurring in other writings) as an essential name of Metatron corroborates the identity between 'Metatron' and *Yael* of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* emphasized by G. H. Box in his edition of this work.² The peculiar endowment shared by both Yael and Metatron is the *possession of the Divine Ineffable Name*, and, bound up with this, the function or position of God's "vice-regent, second only to God himself".³

Metatron in relation to "the Prince of the Presence" acc. to the Heḡāloḡ Rabbāḡi. Metatron and "the Prince of the Presence" are viewed as two essentially distinct angelic figures. Moreover, whereas Metatron is contemplated as a being of extraordinarily high position, the Prince of the Presence, having been severed from Metatron, is in process of degradation.

The Prince of the Presence, named as *Suryā* or *Suriel*, is the angel-prince who gives R. Iṣma⁴el disclosures as to the reasons for the Divine decree concerning the ten martyrs-to-be and informs him of the retribution reserved for the future (*Hek. R.* 6). This part of the *Heḡāloḡ Rabbāḡi* is very closely related to 1 *Leg. Martyrs*.

The name "Suryā, the Prince of the Presence" further occurs in a context describing the various constituent parts of the *Mærkābā*. As a sort of highest figure of the *Mærkābā* apart from the Throne of Glory is mentioned: "Suryā, the Prince of the Presence, the Servant

1 Metatron as being inherent in the Divine Name 'Ālæf is the notion that forms the starting-point for the whole exposition of the Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c¹ seqq. When pronouncing the Divine Name 'Ālæf (see the enumeration of the Divine Names in 48 B) the mystic was to concentrate his mind on 'Metatron' or rather on the *inter-relations between the Holy One and Metatron*, which inter-relations were summed up in the words "'ibbartiy, l^eqahtiy, p^eqaatiy". The same is suggested by the presentation of 'Ālæf as a name of Metatron here.

2 G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (TED.), p. xxv.

3 G. H. Box, *op. cit.*, *ib.* If Metatron were to be regarded here as itself a Divine Name, this would have to be considered as an anticipation of the later explicit identification of Metatron with the Š^ekinā.

of *Ṭuṭr^okiel* ἸΗΥΗ". When compared with ch. 22 on 'Aⁿafiel and ch. 26 on Metatron, this passage (ch. 13¹) confirms the general impression given by *Hek. R.* that 'the Prince of the Presence' is only a secondary angel-prince, surpassed not only by Metatron, but by 'Aⁿafiel and the seven (or fifteen) angel-princes under him. The "Servant of *Ṭuṭr^okiel* ἸΗΥΗ" is equivalent to the "Servant of Metatron as a representative of the Godhead". Metatron, on the other hand, is the "Servant of ἸΗΥΗ", κατ' ἐξοχήν. Between Metatron and the Prince of the Presence is 'Aⁿafiel', who is called simply 'Servant'.

Also in ch. 14⁴ the subservience of the Prince of the Presence to *Ṭuṭrusiel* is emphasized. Acc. to this passage, the man who wishes to immerse himself in the mystical *Mærkābā*-state is to call upon (conjure) the Prince of the Presence, by the power of the names of *Ṭuṭrusii* ἸΗΥΗ, according to the usual form of the magical invocations: a subordinate angel can be conjured by reciting the name or names of an angel in authority above him.

In ch. 17 again there are preserved some features of the earlier conception of the Prince of the Presence as being associated with Metatron (here suggested by the name *Ṭuṭrusii* ἸΗΥΗ) and having several names.

In ch. 22, the Prince of the Presence is expressly declared to be subordinate to 'Aⁿafiel'. To the Prince of the Presence, it is said here, only the angels outside the "presence of the Throne" prostrate themselves, but before 'Aⁿafiel "all on high and below fall upon their faces, paying him homage". Cf. above, p. 86 f. 'Aⁿafiel here fills the function of a delegate.

Acc. to *Hek. R.* 6₁, 'the Angel of the Presence' is represented as the attendant of the Throne, the *Mærkābā*-angels and the by-work of the *Mærkābā*. This is the function assigned to Metatron in 3 *En.* 48 c⁴, but whereas in 3 *En.* 48 c⁴ Metatron is the Attendant-Supervisor of the *Mærkābā*-angels, the 'Angel of the Presence' acc. to *Hek. R.* 6₁ is the Attendant-Servant. (Cf. however *Hek. R.* 2₃.)

Thus, in *Hekāloṣ Rabbāḥi*, there are mentioned THREE celestial beings who fulfil the functions and occupy the positions that in 3 Enoch are combined and attached to Metatron. The three celestial beings are:

(1) *The Angel or Prince of the Presence* who is the guide, protector and informant of the *Mærkābā*-seer, the attendant of the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, etc.

(2) 'Aⁿafiel who is the Prince of the Princes and also to some extent the Prince of the World, primarily from the cosmic aspect.

(3) *Metatron* who is the bearer of the Divine Name(s), the sole angelic being in possession of the last secrets of the Godhead, the representative of the Godhead whose manifestation on the Throne is referred to by names that allude to the name 'Metatron': *Ṭuṭrusiel*, *Ṭuṭr^ekiel*, 'Anṭuros. This third celestial figure of the *Heḳāloḅ Rabbāḅi* is on a higher stage of sublimation, it would seem, than is Metatron in 3 *Enoch*. He is perhaps here at the beginning of the process in which he will eventually be identified with the *Š^eḳinā*.

Massæḳæḅ Heḳāloḅ. In *Mass. Hek.* there is no mention of Metatron, nor indeed of any individual named angel-prince with the exception of the four princes appointed over the four camps of song-uttering angels: Mikael, Gabriel, 'Uriel and Rafael, ch. vi. 1. Cf. 3 *En.* 18^a, 37¹, 1 *En.* 40¹⁻³. As the *Massæḳæḅ Heḳāloḅ* presents a developed *Mærkābā*-picture on the basis of that of *Heḳāloḅ Rabbāḅi* this absence of any reference to individual angel-princes—with the said exception—is simply an accident, due to the character of the subject-matter of this writing.

The Legend of the Ten Martyrs. There seem to have been several works describing the mystical experiences of R. Iṣma'el, and hence closely related to 3 *Enoch*. One of these is the aforementioned 1 *Ap. Iṣm.* Another work of the same kind seems to have treated of R. Iṣma'el's last experiences during his earthly life. This work is now lost, but it has been used and embodied in the various quite late collections of popular legends of the Ten Martyrs who were put to death in the Hadrianic persecution, R. Iṣma'el being one of the supposed ten martyrs (הרוגי מלכות). The two versions coming into consideration here may, for our present purpose, be referred to as 1 *Leg. Martyrs* (found in *BH.* v. 167-169) and 2 *Leg. Martyrs* (*BH.* vi. 19-36).¹

1 *Leg. Martyrs*, cf. *Hek. R.* 4 and 5. The Prince of the Presence, named as *Suriel* and *Saḡn^esāḡiel*, is here also the guide and informer of R. Iṣma'el. 'Suriel' is regarded as the characteristic name of the 'Prince of the Presence' in agreement with *Hek. R.* and *TB. Berāḳoḅ*, 51 a, which latter probably also belongs to one of the above-named works on R. Iṣma'el. The Prince of the Presence is essentially the guide of the *Mærkābā*-seer.

2 *Leg. Martyrs*. This version seems to be dependent upon the conceptions of 3 *Enoch*, especially in its later additional parts. Metatron is here expressly identified with 'the Prince of the Presence'. The following features may be recorded:

¹ The 2 *Leg. Martyrs* as preserved in MSS. hitherto known also includes the 1 *Ap. Iṣm.*

Metatron is the 'Āḇāḏ, the Servant of the Holy One (3 *En.* 10³, 48 c¹, d¹ no. 17).

Metatron hears the Divine decree "from behind the Pargoḏ" in the form of a loud utterance by the *Baḥ Qol*.

The conception of Metatron as having a sanctuary and altar of his own on high is here beginning to emerge. R. Iṣma'el beholds the Celestial Altar and asks Metatron about it. "The spirits of the righteous we offer upon it before the Holy One", is the answer, at which R. Iṣma'el exclaims: "Now I have learnt a thing the like of which I never heard before". Since the Celestial Altar was an old idea, the exclamation can only refer to the relation of Metatron and his subservient angels to the celestial altar and sanctuary. Cf. 3 *En.* 15 B¹.

Metatron is made the exponent of the central thesis of the mystical doctrine: everything below has its corresponding counterpart above, as it is formulated here: כל מה שיש למטה יש למעלה.

Metatron is associated with Gabriel, Gabriel being his assistant and representative.

Metatron seems here to be connected with R. Iṣma'el in a more intimate manner than in 3 *Enoch* or in related works purporting to be the revelations committed to R. Iṣma'el by Metatron. Metatron, acc. to 2 *Leg. Martyrs*, was present at the birth of R. Iṣma'el, and the Holy One is said to praise R. Iṣma'el before Metatron every day with the words: "I have a Servant ('Āḇāḏ) on earth as thou art my 'Āḇāḏ on high. His splendour corresponds to thy splendour and his appearance corresponds to thy appearance". This may be an expression of the cabbalistic speculations which make R. Iṣma'el one among the human carriers, embodiments, of the celestial essence (the Divine Spark) represented by Metatron, which human carriers are usually enumerated as (the spirit of) the first 'Āḏām, Enoch, the three Patriarchs, Joseph and R. Iṣma'el (cf. below, pp. 122, 123).

B. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN THE HEKĀLOḶ ZOTĒRĀḶ AND IN THE ŠI'UR QOMĀ.

The conceptions of Metatron met with in the works discussed in the preceding section show a development from the standpoint of 3 *Enoch* towards a sublimation of Metatron and a concentration of the highest functions around this name with a consequent tendency of dissociating the less important ones from him and transferring them to angelic figures such as 'the Prince of the Presence' and 'Anafiel', etc. This stage might perhaps, after the main sources, be called the *HekāloḶ*-stage.

Between this stage and the subsequent more subtle speculations on the Metatron ideas are to be placed the representations of the *Ši'ur Qomā* and the *Heḳāloḥ Zoṭ'erāḇi*.

(a) *Ši'ur Qomā*, or *Sefær ha-qQomā*.

The *Ši'ur Qomā* as preserved in MSS. and in *S. Raziel* consists of several fragments which for critical purposes must be indicated here. As preserved in *S. Raziel* (ed. Warsaw, 1913) they are:

(i) Fol. 30 b: a doxology, beginning “*Bārūk 'attā YHWH 'Elohēnū u'Elōhē 'abōḇēnū*, etc.”

(ii) *Ib.*: the shortest and, probably, earliest of the *Ši'ur*-expositions, represented as a ‘testimony’ by Metatron to R. Iśma'el as to the measures (*š'urim*) of the manifestation of the Throne.

(iii) *Ib.*: the piece “*'ām'rū: kōl ha-yyōdē' rāz zæ mubṭāh lō*, etc.”

(iv) Fol. 30 b c: a new doxology to the Most High as *King*.

(v) Fol. 30 c: a glorification to the Holy One beginning “*lāk YHWH ha-gG'dullā u'e-ha-gG'būrā*”. This fragment is missing in some of the MSS., e.g. *Bodl. OPP.* 467.

(vi) Fol. 30 d, 31 a: a longer version of the *Ši'ur*-exposition, probably, as (ii), belonging to the earliest strata of the *Ši'ur Qomā*. R. Iśma'el is here represented as beholding with his own eyes the manifestation of “the King of Kings” and, while beholding the Divine manifestation on the Throne, being told by Metatron the measures and names of the various parts of the Throne-manifestation.

(vii) Fol. 31 a: a supplement to the preceding, purporting to be given by a disciple of R. Iśma'el, R. Nāpān, on the authority of R. Iśma'el.

(viii) and (ix) *Ib.*: pronouncements by R. 'Aqīḇa to R. Iśma'el and by RR. 'Aqīḇa and Iśma'el in unison of the great value and importance of the secret embodied in the *Ši'ur Qomā*.

(x) Supplementary, additional expositions of the Throne-*Mær-kābā*-picture, fol. 31 a b.

(xi) Fol. 31 b middle to 31 c: continuation of the preceding, but grouped round the conceptions of Metatron.

(xii) Hymns and doxologies of various kinds.

Summary of the conceptions of Metatron in the Ši'ur Qomā.

α. In (ii) and (vi).

1. Metatron is the Prince who *reveals the secrets* to R. Iśma'el and R. 'Aqīḇa (ii) and (vi).

2. The Angel, The *Prince of the Presence* (vi) and the *Great Prince*, שר א רבא (ii).

3. The Witness ('Ed), the *Great Prince of Testimony: Sārā Rabbā di-Sāh^ođūpā*, the Testifier of the Divine Majesty and Kingship.

4. He has several other names beside Metatron; some of these are formations by analogy from 'Metatron', quasi on nominal stems of the type 'fi'lōn' or 'fo'al'ōn', among them the Ru^oh Pisqoniḅ, Pisqōn, 'Iṭmōn, Siḡrōn of TB. Sanh. 44 b.

β. In (x) and (xi).

5. Metatron is the 'Prince of the Likeness of 'Āđām', i.e. the 'Āđām Qađmon, the *Archetypal man in the Divine Image* (the Godhead being named אדם).

6. The *Celestial Choirmaster* (cf. Ja Joel in Ap. Abr. chh. 10, 12), at the head of all the heavenly beings who chant the Q^ođuššā.

7. Is seated on a throne beneath the Throne of Glory.

8. Is called the *Great Prince over all the Princes* and over all the ministering angels (xi).

9. Is the *Celestial High Priest of the Heavenly Tabernacle*, called after him Miškan ha-Na^oar (the Tabernacle of the Youth = Metatron).

10. Recites the *Divine Name* in its universal aspect (in 70 tongues), hence is

11. The *Prince of the World* and the Representative of 'the King of the World'.

12. As (a) heavenly Choirmaster, (b) celestial High Priest and also as (c) Prince of the World Metatron is called *Youth*, נער, which here equals *Servant-Representative* of the King of Kings of Kings (mælæḅ malḅe hamm^elāḅim).

13. He is connected with Moses in accordance with the later traditional identification of the Angel in Ex. 23²⁰⁻²² with Metatron.

14. Metatron represents the 'first letter, 'Ālæf' through which heaven and earth were created, i.e. the fundamental creative essence (the '1') (xi).

(b) Heḅāloḅ Zoṭ^erāḅi.

The Heḅāloḅ Zoṭ^erāḅi seems never to have been printed. The earliest MS. source the present writer has been able to find is the Bodleian MS. MICH. 9, foll. 66 a-70 b (copied A.D. 1042), following immediately on the Heḅāloḅ Rabbāḅi and preceding fragments of the Ši'ur Qomā (xi) and (xii).

The Heḅāloḅ Zoṭ^erāḅi (abbreviated Hek. Zoṭ.) contains several

fragments, mostly attributed to R. Iṣma'el. Metatron here figures quite prominently.

Fol. 68 b, 69 a. R. Iṣma'el narrates how his teacher R. Neḥonyā bæn ha-qQānā for the first time brought him into touch with the "secret of the Torā" and with the experience of the *Mærkābā*-state. R. Neḥonyā used the power of the 'Great Seal' which contains the name of "*Metatron YHUH the God of Israel, and which is the same, Metatron YHUH, the God of heaven and earth, the God of the sea and the dry land*". This expression seemingly implies that Metatron here is a Divine Name, but probably this is not the case; the right interpretation will rather be, that Metatron who of old is said to *carry the Divine name YHUH* has with this name also acquired that of 'ʿ^ʿlohim' and the epithets mostly associated with it: ('^ʿlōhē) *Israel*, 'ʿ^ʿlōhē *šamayim* ūā-ʿ^ʿaræš, etc. The use of the specific epithets here may furthermore indicate that Metatron is the representative of the Holy One both in relation to Israel and in relation to the cosmos: *Prince of the World*.

Fol. 69 b. Metatron is clearly conceived of as an angelic or celestial being. The *Talmide Hākām* (i.e. the initiated among them) when watching and praying on nights are to recite the name of and invoke Š^ʿqađ Ḥozi (cf. ch. 18²⁰ of our book); at the same time it is said that Š^ʿqađ Ḥozi in reality is merely one of the *various names of Metatron* who besides Š^ʿqađ Ḥozi is called *Margaziel*, 'Uzzyāh, *Gannunyāh*, *Sasn^ʿgaryāh*, *Suryāh*, *Zarzarziel*, *Pisqōn*, 'Iṭmōn, *Siḡrōn*, *Sangadyāh*, *Z^ʿhaḡtaryāh*, *Z^ʿhōbd^ʿyāh*, *Z^ʿboḡdiel*. Some of these names are those always associated with Metatron, others are in other contexts given as Divine Names and some are names of 'the Prince of the Presence' (Suryā, *Margaziel*, *Z^ʿhaḡtaryāh*, acc. to *Heḡāloḡ Rabbāḡi*, xvii. 1, 4, 5). The passage shows close affinity with the conceptions prevalent in the *Heḡāloḡ Rabbāḡi*.

Fol. 70 a. With the Divine manifestation, indicated by the name Z^ʿboḡdiel, is associated "*Margaziel, that is Metatron in whom are the letters of the Divine Name; and because of the love with which they love him on high the Princes of the Host on high* (cf. ch. 17 of our book: the Princes of the Host = the seven archangels) *call him Ziḡ-y^ʿhi-el* (= the Divine Glory; cf. *Hek. R.* xxvi. 8), *the Servant—'Ēbæd—of YHUH, the God of Israel—blessed be He, YHUH the Lord God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness*" (Ex. 34⁶). The latter part of the passage is an almost literal parallel to *Hek. R.* xxvi. 8 b, *vide* above.

Fol. 70 b. The Holy One joins fellowship with man, even with a

proselyte, provided he be clean from idolatry, bloodshed and ע"ג . "And sometimes I make Metatron, My Servant (*'Æbæd*), join fellowship with him, and with the disciple in the Torā (I cause him to join fellowship) frequently." This passage is important. It shows Metatron as the *vicarius* of the Deity even as regards *the Divine Presence with man*, the Divine Immanence. The Divine Immanence is a pronounced idea in *Hek. R.*, where it is said, e.g. ch. xxvi. 4: "Thou, O God, dwellest in the heart of man".

Fol. 67 b. Metatron is specially connected with the Divine Name $\text{אֱלֹהִים אִשְׁרָאֵל}$. He *occupies a Throne of Glory*. The 'thrones' of Dan. 7⁹ are explained as referring to the Divine Throne and the throne of Metatron.

Whereas in *Hek. R.* some of the Metatron functions, i.e. the less important ones, are transferred to the Prince of the Presence and to ^Anafiel, in *Hek. Zoṭ.* the angel-prince who is said to share the lesser functions of Metatron is *Sandalfon*.¹ In particular the cosmic aspect of Metatron is here carried by Sandalfon ($\sigma\nu\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$): he is the *'Alfā* or simplest creative agency; cf. above on *Ši'ur Qomā*, point 14.

C. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN THE WRITINGS ASSOCIATING METATRON PARTICULARLY WITH MOSES.

The next stage in the development of the Metatron speculations is indicated by the appearance of a strong emphasis on the relation between Metatron and Moses. This relation between Metatron and Moses, which apart from *TB. Sanh.* 38 b and *Miḏraš* passages is merely hinted at in the later additional part of *Ši'ur Qomā* (point 13 above), is nowhere found in the literature hitherto under consideration. Likewise, in 3 *Enoch*, it does not occur in the main part of the book, but only in the later, additional, pieces, e.g. 48 D, 15 B. With the appearance of the speculations on Metatron's particular relation to Moses, this idea or nexus of ideas has never subsided, but can be attested all through the history of mystical and cabbalistic literature up to the present-day *H'asid* writings.

The works dealing with the subject in question are firstly the various versions of what may be called *Ascensions of Moses* and *Revelations of Moses*.

1. *Ascension of Moses: G'ḏullaḅ Mošæ* or *Miḏraš K'eḅappu'ah ba-'ase ha-yya'ar*, ed. Salonica, 1727; see also Wertheimer, *Bātē Miḏrāšōḅ*, iv; Gaster, *RAS.'s Journal*, 1893, pp. 572 seqq. Here

¹ Perhaps to be connected with the current conception of two Divine Sons. On this *vide* H. Leisegang, *Der Bruder des Erlösers* (in ΑΠΕΛΘΟΣ , i. pp. 24-33).

Metatron announces himself to Moses as "Enoch, the son of Jared". He is the guide of Moses during his ascent through the heavens, and instructs Moses about the wonders of the various *reḳi'im*. When proceeding from the seventh heaven to visit Paradise and Gehenna, Moses is given over into the charge of Gabriel who here, as in *2 Leg. Martyrs*, is represented as the assistant of Metatron: he can be entrusted with works or duties of Metatron which are, as it were, of a less exacting or responsible nature.

2. *Revelation of Moses*. There are two recensions: one where Moses himself is introduced as the speaker, the other where he is spoken of in the third person.¹

Of the former recensions only fragments are preserved, and these in a very corrupt textual condition. Metatron is the judge of all the troops of angels on high. Further he is the executor of the Divine decrees. He is associated with Mikael, Gabriel and Yefifyāh, the Prince of the Torā.

The latter recension, in a context giving the narrative preserved also in the additional chapter, 3 *En.* 48 D⁴, states that the Torā was given to Moses after his having forgotten it, by the two princes, Yefifyāh and Metatron. Yefifyāh is the instructor of Moses in the 'exoteric' Torā, Metatron again is the revealer of the esoteric doctrines embodied in it: "the Secrets of the Torā", "the Names hidden in it" as the expression runs (the 'Names' are the Divine Names which constitute the essential secret of the Torā).

3. A fragment of another *Ascension of Moses* is found in the additional ch. 15 B of our book. Here Metatron is the *Intermediary* between the Holy One and Moses and the Supreme *Advocate* of Moses and Israel. *Metatron commits to Moses* "the letters of the oath through which a breaking of the covenant is made impossible". The letters in question are *the mystical, cosmic, 'essential' letters* which constitute the elements of the Divine Names, of the Torā, of the Abstract Qualities sustaining the world, and of the whole visible and invisible universe. (The 'oath' here seems to denote a sort of magical formula, almost an amulet, which would safeguard Moses against any transgression of the Torā, against "bringing guiltiness upon himself".)

Secondly, to this stage should be assigned the so-called *Sword of Moses*, *Harbā d' Mošæ*.²

In the *Sword of Moses* we meet with most of the angelic and

¹ The former recension is found in *Šiyyuni*, Pārāšā Uā'æphannān, in *YR.* ii. 66 b, and in the so-called 'Haggādāḅ Š'ema' 'Israel'. The latter in *YR.* ii. 67 b, *Šiyyuni*, same paraša, 'Aræ L'ebānon, 46 b, and in an Aramaic version in *Zohar*, ii. 58 a.

² Ed. by M. Gaster, London, 1896.

Divine names found in the *Heḳāloḅ Rabbāḅī and Zoṭ^erāḅī*. Page ii: “*Yofiel Mitatron* who is called . . . the Glory on high”. (Yofiel is the third name of Metatron, 3 *En.* 48 D¹.) Page iv: Metatron is one of the high angelic or celestial beings who help man in his quest for the highest. In the same context are found the names: Miqṭaṭron, Y^ehoel, ^Anafiel.

As the other writings belonging to this stage, the *Sword of Moses* reflects the traditions of 3 *Enoch*, and is probably partly dependent on this book. Thus Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, the Youth, *Na^aar*, Servant (^Æb^æd), before the King of the World. *He is the mightiest of all the heavenly household; He is ever standing ministering before the King of the World* and THE Š^eKINĀ IS WITH HIM IN EVERY PLACE.

Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, it is further stated, comes down to earth and reveals the secrets of above and below to the initiate who invokes him. The attempt to meet the Prince of the Presence is preceded by ascetic practices, fasts, ablutions, etc.

Metatron has fourteen names and a number of *Kinnuyim* for each of these fourteen names. The fourteen names in question are first of all the much-repeated (1) *Rū^aḥ Piṣqōnīḅ*, (2) *’Iṭmōn*, (3) *Piṣqōn*, (4) *Siḡrōn*, which are found in *TB. Sanh.* 44 a; further (5) *MŠY*, (6) *MIQON*, (7) *’Aṣtam*, (8) *Saqṭam*, (9) *Y^ehōiēl*, (10) *Yofiel*, (11) *Sasniel Yāh*, (12) *Qangiel Yāh*, (13) *Z^eḅōḏiel* and (14) *S^eneḡron*.

In terms reminding of 3 *En.* 13 and 41 it is asserted: “By these fourteen all secrets and mysteries and all signs and seals were made, and also the foundations of heaven and earth; four of them are written on the heads of the *Ḥayyoḅ*, four of them on each of the four sides of the Throne, four of them on the four crowns upon the heads of the *’Ofannim*, and two of them are graven on the Crown of the Supreme King, the High and Lifted up”.

Thus Metatron is, in the *Sword of Moses*, emphasized as the Knower, Guardian and Revealer of the Secrets, as the Prince of the World with cosmic power, as the Prince of the Presence, the Prince of the Throne and of the *M^erkābā*-angels and, lastly, as the bearer of the Š^ekinā.

D. METATRON IN ALPHABET OF R. ^AQĪBĀ, REVELATIONS OF R. SIMEON BEN YOḤAI, 2 AP. IŠM., ETC.

In the *Alphabet of R. ^Aqībā*, rec. *A*, there is no consistent or uniform representation of Metatron, as would be expected also, seeing that this work is merely a collection of scattered fragments from different sources and times.

Letter 'Ālæf. Metatron is the elevated Enoch, the son of Yāreḏ. He is the Prince or head of the *Mærkābā*-angels, and, by implication, of all the angelic beings; his function of principal Witness and Testifier is alluded to.

Letter Kaf. Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, the 'Ēbḥæḏ, and brings the congregation of Israel before the Holy One.

Letter Šāḏe. "Because Moses humbled himself and said: 'I am of uncircumcised lips' (Ex. 6¹²) he was worthy of becoming a messenger between the Divine Majesty (*G^eḥurā*) and Israel, as it is written (Deut. 5⁵): 'I (Moses) stood between the Lord and you', whereas not even Metatron is able to stand between the Divine Majesty and men of flesh and blood." Metatron, although evidently known as an angel of exceptional position, is here explicitly declared not to be a mediator between man and God, not even a messenger. This is of course in glaring contrast to the representations of the preceding writings.

The impression given by *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, so far as the conceptions of Metatron are concerned, is that this compilation as a whole is not interested in the specifically mystical implications or import of the Metatron figure, but is familiar with the general expressions and terms of the mystical literature, and uses the conceptions current there for its own purpose, which is of a more homiletical and haggadic character. Already from a comparison of the passages just quoted the impossibility is apparent of regarding the Enoch-Metatron piece, 3 *En.* 48 c, as originating from *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba* or even as having from the beginning formed part of it. Cf. note on 3 *En.* 48 b beg., c beg.

Revelations of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai (*Pæræq R. Šim' on bæn Yoḥai*, vide "Sources and Literature", 3 b). Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, has knowledge of the Divine decrees and the reasons behind them and reveals them to the seer. This is further elaborated in *T^efillaḥ R. Šim' on bæn Yoḥai*.

Similarly in 2 *Ap. Išm.* (*'Aggāḏaḥ R. Išma'el*, see "Sources and Literature", 3 b) Metatron, as the Prince of the Presence, is the informer of R. Išma'el as to future events: the coming Messianic salvation will be prepared by the wars between the Islamitic and Roman powers. These two apocalypses, which must date from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, are remodellings upon the pattern of the earlier apocalypses, especially 1 *Ap. Išm.*

Angelological fragment. In *Bodl. MS. OPP. 649*, fol. 102 a, col. b, there appear a few quotations from 'Massækæp Hekālōp' which how-

ever have nothing to do with the *Massākēḇ Hekāloḇ* known to us. The fragment enumerates various high angel-princes as performers of different parts of the heavenly liturgy, or as singing the various songs with different intents. The quotations are interesting in so far as they show the angelic names in the earlier literature regarded as names of Metatron here being conferred on separate angel-princes forming the companions or associates of Metatron.

Metatron is here the *chief of the angel-princes* who utter the *Šema'*. With him are " 'Immiel, Yōfiel, 'Af' appiel, Sōḏyāh, Surṭaq, 'Arael, Pišqōn, 'Iṭmōn, Siḡrōn, Paṣṭam and Paṣpassim".

The fragment reflects the conceptions of 3 *En.* 15 B as regards the chanting of the Celestial *Šema'* and Metatron's function as Supervisor of the performance of the Celestial Songs. This is also closely connected with the Moses-Metatron traditions.

In the various versions of *Midraš Peṭiraḇ Mošē* Metatron, called *Zaḡnēzaḡiel* (cf. 3 *En.* 48 D¹ no. 105,² and note, 18¹¹ note) and the 'Prince of the World', is the teacher of Moses during his lifetime and, accompanied by Mikael and Gabriel, takes care of Moses' spirit (*nēšāmā*) at his death. Cf. *P. Targum* to Deut. 34⁶, *Deut. R.* xi. These writings of course build upon the earlier Moses-Metatron literature referred to under C above.

Acc. to *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (ed. Gaster), 54⁸, Metatron is able, on God's commission, to throw down the Egyptian wizards Joḥanai and Mamre from heaven whither they had been able to ascend through their knowledge of witchcraft, whereas Mikael and Gabriel were unable to do anything against them. Here Metatron is clearly conceived of as mightier than the old archangels and princes, Mikael and Gabriel.

In the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, ed. by J. A. Montgomery, no. 25 (CBS. 16,009, p. 207), the following passage occurs: "Blessed art thou, YHWH, on account of the name of... *Yofi'el* thy name, *Yeḥi'el* they call thee, *Šasangi'el* YHWH and so... names... [Ar]masa Miṭaṭron Yah" [... בריך אתה יהוה על דיבריה שום בשום. יופי'ל תיך שמה... יפיאל שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה... שמהת.]

[Ar]masa Miṭaṭron Yah" [... בריך אתה יהוה על דיבריה שום בשום. יופי'ל תיך שמה... יפיאל שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה... שמהת.] Apart from the comparison that prompts itself between the names here associated with Metatron and ch. 48 D^{1,2} of our book (*Targ. Y* to Deut. 37²) the importance of the inscription cited consists in its apparent *identification of Metatron with Hermes* (Armasa); *vide* the interesting and convincing interpretation by Professor Montgomery, *op. cit.* pp. 99 and 208.

It may be noted, by the way, that the name שסנגיאל here is only another of the many different forms (and corruptions) of *Saḡn'sāgiel* (1 *En.* 18¹¹, 48 D^{1,2}, and notes *ad loc.*).

As will have been seen there are, after the Hekāloḡ-stage, very few new developments of the Metatron ideas (at least so far as can be seen from the writings preserved): in fact only the speculations on Metatron's connection with Moses, the revelations given to him, and with the Celestial Š^ema' are actual additions. This barrenness in new ideas continues for a considerable time. The mystical writings contain reiterated references to Metatron, but these simply reflect the earlier traditions.

The speculations on Metatron however received a new impetus with the rise of the cabbala (in its narrower sense). Now the earlier conceptions (esp. of 3 *Enoch*) were taken up and given a deep significance. In many cases it would seem that representations in the cabbalistic literature go back to very early (Gnostic) ideas, perhaps preserved in earlier writings now lost; in other cases again the late (mediaeval) origin is apparent. To illustrate the cabbalistic use of the Metatron figure it may be apposite here to give a short methodical survey of characteristic references found in this kind of literature.

§ 11. SURVEY OF THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN LATER MYSTICAL LITERATURE

A. Metatron the enthroned vice-regent of the Holy One.

The technical term is 'mišnæ la-mMælək': *Tiqqune Zohar*, 77 b.

He is enthroned. "Because of the great love of His Master Metatron has authority to be seated on a Throne like the Throne of Glory": Šēmoḡ šæl Mēṭātron, MICH. 256, fol. 29 a; *Midraš Ruḡ*, 85 b.

Liqqūṭim Næḡmādīm, 26 a, declares expressly:

מטטרון כסאו ששה גלגלים ופרוחות עומדים תחת כסאו והוא מולך
על כל מתחת יד המלך

"The Holy One made him the ruler over his celestial and terrestrial household": 'Qabbālā' in *Add.* 27142, fol. 149. He is endowed with all the 'Middoḡ' of the Holy One: *ib.*

"Little less than God" (i.e., probably, Ps. 8^b refers to him: "Thou hast made him a little lower than ^Ælohim"): *Yalquṭ Ḥādās, Mal'ākīm*, 51 (no. 29).

He represents the Godhead to the 'outside' celestial and terrestrial world: *Pardes Rimmonim* (ed. Cracow, 1591), fol. 93 d.

The epithets 'Na'ar' and 'Z^eqān Bēḡō' are especially used to

denote Metatron as the vice-regent: *Zohar*, i. 149 b, i. 181 b, iii. 190 b. Cf. below, pp. 117 seq.

As *δεύτερος θρόνος* Metatron is surrounded by the 70 (72) Princes; cf. below (*Ma'aræḳæḅ hā-'^{AE}lohuḅ*, 118 b). In the same capacity he is the Attendant of the Throne of Glory: "In the end of time Metatron will make the Throne of Glory complete as a Throne of Judgement. Now it is carried only by three *Hayyoḅ*, but then it will rest on all the *four Hayyoḅ*, the Divine Kingdom will be complete", says *Šēmoḅ šæl Mētāṭron*, MICH. 256, 30 a.

B. Metatron God's representative and ruler in the *celestial* world.

(a) Over *all* the angels, and through all the celestial regions.

"He is the chieftain of all angels and princes" is a commonplace expression: *Zohar*, i. 149 a b, 223 b; *Yalq. Hād.*, *Mal'ākim*, 59, 72; *Midrāš Ruḅ*, 85 b.

An important idea is here: "Metatron gives maintenance to all the angels": *Zohar*, i. 229 a b, *YR.* i. 56 a, 60 a, ii. 40 b. This spiritual maintenance is allegorically expressed by the terms *מטר* (rain) and *מן* (manna). "All the angels receive their spiritual maintenance, yea, their very existence, from Metatron (*כולם שואבים ממנו*). He is to the angelic world what the heart is to the body." *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gate xvi, ed. Cracow, 1591, fol. 92 b.

"Metatron admonishes the angels to bathe and purify themselves in the *N^ehar di-Nur* every third day": *Šēmoḅ šæl Mētāṭron*, 40 b.

Metatron has access to the 955 heavens, the inscrutable abode of the Godhead: *YRL. Met.* no. 33. Acc. to other traditions, however, only 900 of these are accessible to Metatron, the remaining being reserved for the Deity alone.

(b) Special classes of angels under Metatron's authority.

(1) In particular the 70 (72) princes of kingdoms. These are called the *נערים* (Youths, Servants). They stand in the same relation to the *Na'ar* (Youth, Metatron) as the *Na'ar* to the Holy One: *Tiq-qūnim*, 112 a. They are the angelic rulers over the world, hence figure prominently especially in contexts stressing Metatron's function of Prince of the World: *Zohar*, i. 149 a b. Cf. below. But they also represent the different aspects of the Divine Manifestation and its activities, and in this connection they are identified with the 70 (72) Divine Names: *Ma'aræḳæḅ hā-'^{AE}lohuḅ*, 118 b (*comm.*). These aspects are united in Metatron, the ruler of the 70 (72) angels and possessor of the 70 (72) names, which are called Divine Powers (*כחות אלהיות*): *ib.* 119 a b. Cf. *M^eḡallæ 'Amuqoḅ*, i. 46 b.

Metatron is appointed:

(2) Over the "12 angels of God": *Zohar*, i. 149 a b.

(3) Over the *Mærkābā*-angels: *Zohar*, i. 21 a, 22 a, 223 b, iii. 227 a.

(4) Over Mikāel and Gābriel: *Yalq. Ḥād.*, *Mal.* no. 27.

(5) Over the "four Presences": *Zohar*, iii. 227 a, and over the four camps of Š^ekinā: *YR.* i. 21 a.

(6) Over the angels of judgement: *YR.* i. 52 a (*Ṭub hā-'Āraeš*).

(7) Over the angels of the world of *Yeširā*: *Mass.* 'Aš. viii.

(c) Metatron is the guardian of the inmost region of the Š^ekinā, the Holy of Holies, against the *Q^elifop*: 'Ašārā Ma'amārōḇ, 122 b.

(d) Metatron is the guardian of the celestial treasures and the Halls. He is especially appointed over the 'secrets'.

"Metatron is set over the Halls and all their splendours": *Zohar*, iii. 171 b.

"All the keys are committed to him": *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 55 b, 181 b, 223 b, iii. 171 b. The possession of the keys is symbolical of Metatron's possession of all the Divine secrets.

Metatron commits the secrets to man (*Zohar*, i. 37 b) and to the spirits in heaven (*Zohar*, iii. 171 b).

The 'Secrets' include the 'Mysteries of the Torā' and hence Metatron is called the 'Prince of the Torā'. He gave the (terrestrial) Torā to Moses, was Moses' teacher: *Šiyuni* on Ex. 3²; *YR.* ii. 10 b; *S. Yeširā*, RABAD'S Introduction (ed. Warsaw, fol. 9 a).

Metatron teaches the Torā and its mysteries in heaven, and is the president of the heavenly Academy, **בִּי מַתִּיבְתָא**: *Zohar*, iii. 197 b; *YR.* i. 31 b; *Sefær ha-qQomā*, OPP. 658, fol. 102 b. He "propounds H^alakop in the heavenly Academy": *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zZohar*, ṭiqqūn no. 56.

He is the Prince not only of the Torā but also of the whole classical Talmudic, Midrašic and Cabbalistic Literature: *Add.* 15299, fol. 49 b, i.e. from him emanates, in the last instance, all knowledge of the mysteries of the Universe.

(e) Metatron is the guardian of the spirits and souls in heaven, both before and after their earthly life.

He is "appointed to give life to those who are to dwell in the dust (i.e. the spirits who are about to enter the life on earth)": *Zohar*, i. 181 b. He "assigns a 'star' for the newborn to enlighten his *n^ešāmā* (spirit) during his life on earth": *Ṭub hā-'Āraeš*, yr. i. 46 a.

After death he "conducts the spirits and souls back to their places":

Zohar, i. 181 b. He introduces the *n^ešāmā* (spirit) on high, saying to it: 'Enter, Enter!': *Zohar Hādāš*, 26 a.

Metatron is the chieftain of the angels GABRIEL (for the righteous, or for Israel) and SAMMĀEL (for the wicked or those outside Israel), who fetch the spirits from on earth by authority of Metatron, their leader: *Tūb hā-'Āraš*, yr. i. 54 a. He is actually called "the Angel of Death": *YR*. i. 57 a.

(Metatron has here taken over functions of old associated with the name of MIKĀEL.)

C. Metatron God's representative ruler over the world (Prince of the World); celestial judge of the world; executor of the Divine decrees; the representative of the Holy One to the individual; the protector, intercessor, intermediary and advocate.

1. In his capacity of ruler of the world Metatron is usually associated with the 70 (72) princes of kingdoms, representing the different nations of the world.

"Metatron, the Prince of the World, is the ruler over the princes of the nations. Metatron, not the Holy One, is the ruler of the nations, but Israel has the Holy One himself for its ruler": *Yalq. Hādāš, Mal'ākim*, 57.

"Metatron is the *m^emunnae* over all the nations, and he understands their language": *Hæsaed l^e-'Ābrāhām, 'Āyin Mišpāt*, Nahar, no. 25.

He gives maintenance to the world through the 70 (72) princes: *Zohar*, i. 229 a b.

He is the **כלל** of the World (the comprehensive unity): *Zohar*, i. 45 a b.

"All the ten *S^efiroḥ* clothe themselves in Metatron in order to work through him in the world. The *Malkuḥ* (the tenth *S^efira*, representing the Unity of the Universe) rests in Metatron": *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gate xvi. ch. 4.

2. "Metatron is the judge of the world": *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 113 d; *Ra'ya Meḥemnā*, par. Pinḥās (*Zohar*, iii. 219 b seqq.).

As judge he is the "head of the Celestial Bēḥ Dīn", "for he gives judgements and decisions in respect of all": *Zohar*, iii. 186 a (judgement is taken in the wide sense of general government as well as forensic judgement).

He unites in himself the two attributes of Justice and Mercy: he is the head of the two groups of angels, the angels of Justice under 'AZZA and the angels of Mercy under 'UZZIEL: *Ma'aræḳæḥ hā-'Elohuḥ* fol. 117 b (*comm.*).

“Metatron is called ‘*sar ha-pPānim*’ for he has two *pānim* (faces): Justice and Mercy”: *YR.* i. 57 a.

He is of course the judge also of man after his death and functions at the Last Judgement: *Šēmoḥ šael Mēṭāṭron*, MICH. 256, fol. 30 a.

He is the guardian of the strict fulfilment of the statutes of the *Torā*, “he has been entrusted with the 613 keys” (613 the number of the statutes of the Law): *Zohar*; i. 223 b.

Note. Outside the ‘Celestial Bēp Din’, i.e. when not contemplated in his function of judge, Metatron is always associated with the attribute of Mercy, cf. below.

3. Metatron is the representative of the Holy One to individual men.

“It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses and to the prophets, for *עילת העילות* did not show Himself to any man”: *Ma^araēkaēp hā-^ʔlohuḥ*, *YR.* i. 21 a.

“When the Holy One chose a prophet and destined him to partake of the *Šekinā*, it was Metatron who bestowed upon the prophet of the light of *Šekinā*”: *Šēmoḥ šael Mēṭāṭron*, fol. 29 a. “When the *Dibbur* (the Divine Word) came to the prophet it was Metatron who spoke to him through the *Baḥ Qol*”: *ib.*

Metatron receives man’s prayers, see below.

4. Metatron protects man against evil: against *פגע רע* and the *Q^elifōḥ*: *YR.* i. 60 b.

Metatron is the ‘Shield of man’; if only he remembers Metatron, when in danger, one will be delivered and rescued: *Šēmoḥ šael Mēṭāṭron*, foll. 29 a, 30 a.

5. Metatron is the Intercessor, Intermediary and Advocate.

He is called *s^eNEGRON* (from *συνήγορος*) to denote him as an Advocate: *YR.* i. 60 b.

He is the *S^enēgor* for Israel; and when Satan tries to accuse Israel on high, Metatron makes him confused so that he is unable to bring forth his accusation: *Šēmoḥ šael Mēṭāṭron*, fol. 33 b. He records the merits of Israel and seals the records: *ib.* fol. 29 a.

“When the wrath of the Holy One is kindled against His children, then Metatron prays for them and transforms the *Middaḥ ha-dDin* into *Middaḥ ha-Raḥ^amim* (causes the Divine decrees to be determined by the attribute of Mercy instead of by the attribute of Justice)”: *ib.* fol. 40 b.

Metatron is appointed to receive man’s prayers: *Yalq. Ḥādāš*, *Mal^a’ākim*, 9; *Šēmoḥ šael Mēṭāṭron*, foll. 33 b, 34 a.

“The way of the prayer is from man’s heart to the *Hašmal*, from the *Hašmal* to Metatron, by Metatron it is brought behind the *Pargoð* before the Throne of Glory”: *M^egallæ* ‘*A*muqoḥ, ’Ofan 196.

In this aspect Metatron is frequently associated with SANDALFON and ^AKAPRIEL: *YR.* i. 59 b, 60 a, *M^eg.* ‘*A*m. ii. 66 b.

“^AKAPRIEL receives the Morning Prayer (the שחרית), Metatron the Afternoon Prayer (the מנחה) and SANDALFON the Evening Prayer (the ערבית)”: *M^egallæ* ‘*A*muqoḥ, i. 28 b.

“Metatron is called *siğron* when shutting the doors through which the prayers are admitted into the celestial abodes, *piḥon* when opening them”: *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, ṭiqqūn no. 56.

Like SANDALFON, Metatron binds crowns for His Master of man’s prayers: *Zohar*, i. 37 b; *M^eg.* ‘*A*m. ii. 66 b (cf. *TB. Ḥ^agigā*, 13 b).

Acc. to some, men should pray *not* to עילת העילות (the unmanifested Deity) but to Metatron, for Metatron is appointed over this world: *Add.* 27142, fol. 109 a b.¹

“Israel prays to the Holy One *and* to Metatron”, states *S. Hešæq*, *MICH.* 256, fol. 33 b (*comm.*).

D. Metatron receives special names and appellations indicating his high position. He is called by the Divine Names, *YHWH*, ^ELOHIM, ŠADDAY, etc.; is called *Na‘ar* and ‘*Ullēmā* (Youth, Child), *Zāqēn*, *Z^eqān Bēḥō* or *Sābā d^e-Bēḥā* (Steward, the Eldest Servant of His house); the Prince of the World; the Prince of the Presence; is identified with the ‘Angel of *YHWH*’, with ^EHOEL, etc., and has ‘numerous names’.

1. The expression “whose name is like the name of His Master”—with reference to Metatron—seems to have been associated with the conception of Metatron from its very origin. Metatron was called the ‘Lesser *YHWH*’ to denote him as vice-regent and ‘second Throne’. When Metatron was identified with the angel of *YHWH* and with ^EHOEL, or as a cause of this, the appellation in question found its scriptural support in *Ex.* 23²¹: “for my name is in him”.

And, very much later, even a series of *gematrical* supports were invented, of which the most well known is that which points to the equal numerical value of מטטרון and שדי. (The theory propounded lately by Moore in *Harv. Theol. Rev. loc. cit. infra*, viz. that the expression was derived from the original identity of Mikāel

¹ They are reported as arguing: איך נמצא בדעתך להתמלל לעלת העלות יתע' ואחר שיש שר מורשה על עניני העולם אליו נתפלל.

and Metatron, Metatron being merely an appellative used of Mikāel, is inadmissible, since the expression is not used with regard to Mikāel, whereas it is inseparably bound up with the name of Metatron. The connection between Υ^{HOEL} of *Ap. Abr.* and Metatron on this point, contended by Box—cf. below—is, on the other hand, confirmed by earlier as well as later mystical literature.)

(a) Metatron is very frequently called יהוה קטן, the Lesser $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$: *Ma'arākāḇ hā-'^{AE}lohuḇ*, 119 b (“for he possesses the Divine Letters, which are Divine Powers, כחות אלהיות by which he performs everything”). This is said to be Metatron’s real name.

Uidduy Yāfæ, 134 a, ‘*Qabbala*’ in *Add.* 27142, fol. 109 a b.

(b) He is also called simply $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ and also '^{AE}lohim, Šadday, etc.

“In his rulership over the world he bears the Divine Name *Šadday*, but when ascending on high, he bears the name of his Master, $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ ”: *Zohar*, i. 149 a b.

“He is called *Yāh* and *Šadday*”: *S. Hešæq*, *Add.* 27120, foll. 4 b, 5 b.

“Metatron is called $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ and '^{AE}LOHIM, '^{AEHYÆ} '^{ASÆR} '^{AEHYÆ}, '^{ADONĀY} and has many other names”: *Ma'arākāḇ hā-'^{AE}lohuḇ*, foll. 118 b, 119 b.

“The 72 Divine Names are also names of Metatron”: *ib.* 118 b.

2. The appellation *Na'ar* occurs almost as frequently as the name Metatron itself. Cf. *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 223 b, ii. 66 b, 94 b, iii. 171 b; *Zohar Hādāš*, 69 b. In later cabbalistical literature it is exactly synonymous with Metatron; hence it does not, as a rule, denote any special function or office of Metatron. Various functions of Metatron are, in various contexts, linked with the epithet of *Na'ar*.

“He is called *Na'ar* because he performs the service of a ‘na'ar’ ($\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$) before the Šekinā”: *Pardes Rimmonim*, 161 b.

“He is called *Na'ar*, for he is the Prince of the World who said נער היתי וגם זקנתי (‘I have been a *na'ar*—youth—and now I am old’, Ps. 37²⁵)”: *Zohar*, i. 181 b (contested by the Tosaphists; cf. note on 3 *En.* 3).

The Aramaic equivalent is '*ullēmā*: *Zohar*, i. 223 b (used especially to denote Metatron as the manifestation of the Šekinā).

The quotation from Ps. 37²⁵ is made the basis for the connection of the appellation *Na'ar* with that of *Zāqēn*. The *Zāqēn* is most often used in the sense of Steward, the Eldest Servant of his house, alluding to Gen. 24²: “Metatron rules over all that the Holy One has”.

“Metatron... is the *zēqān bēḇō* (the eldest of his house) acc. to the

word 'I have been a *na'ar* and now I am a *zāqēn*', viz. the one 'who rules over all that He has', for all colours are seen in him": *Zohar*, i. 181 b. Cf. *Yalq. Ḥādāš, Mal'ākīm*, 98; *YR.* i. 60 a.

The appellation 'Ābēd also occurs frequently. This is connected with the *zēqān bēḥō*. As Eliezer, the *zēqān bēḥō* of Abraham, was the servant ('*ābēd*), so Metatron, the *zēqān bēḥō* of the Holy One, is called '*ābēd*. He is also identified with the '*ābēd YHWH* of Isaiah. *YRL.* Met. 2; *Yalq. Ḥādāš, Mal'ākīm*, 39 = 59; *YR.* i. 59 b, 60 a b.

3. Metatron is frequently termed 'the Prince of the World' which naturally denotes his rulership over the terrestrial world (see above under C), but sometimes is interpreted differently. *Ḥæsēd lē-'Abrāhām*, *Mišpaṭ* 25; '*Ēmēq ha-mMælāk*, yr. i. 57 b; *Ma'arēkēḥ hā-'^{AE}lohuḥ*, 89 b.

"Metatron is the Prince of the world of *Yēširā*": *Meḡ. 'Am.* 'Ōfan 118; '*Asārā Ma'amārōḥ*, yr. i. 54 a; *YR.* i. 60 a ('^Akapriel the Prince of *Beri'ā*, Metatron the Prince of *Yēširā*, and Sandalfon the Prince of '*Asiyā*).

"Metatron is the Prince over the rulers of *Yēširā*": *Meḡ. 'Am.* i. 66 a.

"Metatron is the Prince of the World, for he is appointed over the performance of the Songs on earth to collect them and bring them before the Holy One": *Ḥæsēd lē-'Abrāhām, 'Ayin* בל.

Prince of the World, "for he functioned at the Creation" (*Ma'ar. hā-'El.* 89 b and frequ.; cf. *TB. Hullin*, 60 a), or was the cosmical protogonon or the '*Ādām Qādmōn* (*Ḥæsēd lē-'Abrāhām*, *Mišpaṭ* 25).

4. As in earlier literature Metatron is called the 'Prince of the Presence', שר הפנים. This is usually taken in the sense of "the Prince who has access to the Divine Presence or who represents the Divine Presence to man". Playing upon the word *pānim* (face) a cabbalistic passage explains the epithet as follows: "He is called the Prince of the *Pānim* for he has two *Pānim*, Judgement and Mercy" (*YR.* i. 57 a, cf. above p. 115).

The Aramaic equivalent is ממונא דאנפין which shows that the פנים was understood as 'face(s)': *Midraš Ruḥ*, 85 b. But even in Aramaic contexts the form שר הפנים is the usual: *Zohar Ḥādāš*, 26 a *et al.*

"My presence shall go with them (Ex. 33¹⁴) refers to Metatron": *Baḥya, Comm. on the Pentateuch*, Ex. 23²¹. The Prince of the Presence represents the Divine Presence.

There is no 'class of angels of the presence' mentioned in cabbalistic literature (cf. *Book of Jubilees*, 2², 18, 15²⁷, 31¹⁴). But the function

of 'Prince of the Presence' is sometimes distributed among the three angels ^AKĀPRIEL, Metatron and SANDALFON: *M^eḡ*. *'Am.* i. 10 c.

"Metatron is the Prince of the Presence on the side of טוב (Good) and SAMMĀEL the Prince of the Presence on the side of רע (Evil)": *YR.* i. 58 a.

5. Metatron is identified with the "angel of YHWH". It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses in the burning bush: *M^eḡ*. *'Am.* 'Ōfan 277; cf. *Šiyyuni* on Ex. 3².

The "angel of YHWH" of Num. 22²² seqq. (who appeared unto Balaam) refers to Metatron: *Zohar*, iii. 186 a.

The "Redeeming Angel" of Gen. 48¹⁶ is Metatron: *Zohar*, i. 232 a. *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, 112 a.

Naturally Metatron is identified with the angel of the Lord in Ex. 23²⁰⁻²². In this connection he is also usually identified with Y^EHOEL. "Metatron is called Y^EHOEL, and he was meant by the YHWH in Ex. 24¹, 'Come up unto YHWH' עלה אל יהוה, for the letters of אל יהוה are those of יהוהאל (Y^EHOEL)": *Add.* 15299, fol. 45 b. Cf. *Beriḥ M^enuḥā*, 4 c d and *YR.* ii. 64 b.

6. Metatron has numerous names. He has 70 names: *Šiyyuni* on Gen. 11⁵, *YR.* i. 60 b. He is bearer of the 70 (72) Divine Names: *Ma'arækäḇ hā-'^{AE}lohūḇ*, 118 b.

He has 60 myriads of names, each name signifying a specific function of his: *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, ṭiqqūn 56.

Šemoḥ šæl Mētātron, MICH. 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, enumerates and comments upon 77 names of Metatron. These are found also in *S. Hešæq*.

E. Metatron is the translated Enoch. The influence of the Hebrew Book of Enoch on this point is very marked. From *Zohar* onwards the conceptions of the elevation of Enoch into Metatron are made the basis for highly mystical speculations on the pilgrimage of the souls, the descent of the spirit to the terrestrial world and its ascent again to its celestial home. Cf. below under H.

The Enoch-Metatron ideas are connected with Gen. 5²⁴, "he was not for God took him", and Enoch's elevation into Metatron-*Na'ar* is based on Proverbs 22⁶ לנער לנער, which is interpreted "Enoch was made into the *Na'ar*, i.e. Metatron": *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 223 b; *Miḏraš Ruḇ*, 85 b. In *Zohar*, i. 223 b, the dependence upon 3 Enoch is indicated by a reference to "those (well-known) *Bārāiḇās*".

The sequence 'Enoch Metatron' or, sometimes, 'Metatron Enoch' is very frequent. Cf. e.g. *Zohar* iii. 189 a b; *M^eḡ*. *'Am.* i. 46 d, 47 b.

Metatron retains the functions of Scribe, Witness, Testifier associated with him on the ground of his identity with Enoch. Scribe: *Tiqqūnē ha-zohar*, *tiqqūn* 56. Witness, Testifier (of men's deeds): *YR.* i. 57 a, 58 a.

F. Metatron is connected with the Divine Service in heaven. He has a Tabernacle of his own. Mikāel's function of Celestial High Priest is sometimes transferred to Metatron. He is further represented as the *Šeliḥ Šibbur*, the Celestial Choirmaster and the supervisor of the performance of the celestial 'Songs'.

"There are two celestial Tabernacles. One is concealed in the highest and is to be revealed only in connection with the manifestation of the world to come. The other is the Tabernacle that was existent ideally before the Creation, but was not established until the moment when the Tabernacle on earth was completed. This tabernacle is the 'tabernacle of Metatron *Na'ar*'. In the Tabernacle of Metatron Mikāel is the High Priest": *Zohar*, ii. 143 a, 159 a.

Zohar, ii. 159 a, explicitly denies that Metatron performs the service of High Priest in the Tabernacle of Metatron. The passage instead intimates that Metatron represents the Deity in the second Tabernacle. It quotes, however, a tradition acc. to which the Holy One showed Moses the celestial Tabernacle and Metatron performing the service in it.

Metatron has two immediately subordinate angels, viz. 'UZZIEL and 'AZZA. Of these 'UZZIEL is the celestial High Priest: *YH., Mal.*

"Metatron *צהצחיה* is the High Priest in heaven": *Šemoḥ šal Metatron*, *MICH.* 256, fol. 29 a.

"Metatron is the priest officiating at the Celestial Altar": *Zohar Hādāš, Miḏraš ha-nNē'ālām*, 25 d.

"Metatron is the *Šeliḥ Šibbur* on high": *YR.* i. 58 b.

"Metatron is the *Hazzān* on high": *YR. ib.*

"Metatron is appointed over all the 'Songs' that are sung on earth to collect them and bring them before the Divine Presence": *Hæsed le-'Abrahām, 'Ayin Kol.*

"Metatron utters the 'Blessed' *בשכמלץ*": *YR.* i. 60 b.

G. Metatron has cosmical significance. He is the Cosmical Protogonon, the first of God's Creation. He is the creative power in the Divine Word, the first emanation, etc. He is the '*Ādām Qādmōn*'.

"Metatron was the beginning of God's Creation": *Yalq. Hādāš, Mal'ākīm*, 59.

"ברא שית means *ברא שית*, 'He created six', viz. the six letters

of the word Metatron"; "Metatron is the first of God's creation": *Tiqqūnim*, 116 b.

This is also expressed thus: "Metatron is the first letter, the 'ĀLĀF": *S. Raziel*, 27 b.

Metatron carries the whole world: *Šēm. šæl Met.* foll. 33 b, 40 b.

Metatron is the creative power in the Divine Word (*y^{ehi}'or*, etc.): *Liqquṭim Nəhmādīm*, 25 b.

He is the *Yēsōd 'Ōlām* (the pillar of the world): cf. below.

The beginning of God's creation was Metatron who was the prototype of Man made by the Holy One in His image: *Ma'arākēp hā-'^{elohu}ḥ* (*Hayyāt*), 169 b.

The same is said in *YR.* i. 23 a, but is here connected with the idea of Metatron as the Spiritual Essence in the Righteous (cf. below). "God created man in his own image" (Gen. 1²⁷) means: "God created man in the image of Metatron". So long as he is worthy he carries the image of Metatron (within himself), but when not worthy the image of Metatron is exchanged by the image of Sammāel: "In the image of '^{elohim} (read: in the image of Sammāel) created he him".

H. Metatron is the Š^ekinā or the Presence of Š^ekinā in the world and in man. He is the First Spirit-Man, who at the same time is the vehicle of the Deity, and is present in the Righteous, and, in the last instance, in all men. He is the eternal, Spiritual-Divine Essence in man. In his identity with Enoch he symbolizes the pilgrimage of the spirit from its home in the Presence of the Deity through the different spheres of the Universe down to the terrestrial world and back again to its source. Here lies the real centre of gravity of the cabbalistic speculations on Metatron.

1. We often find the expression "Š^ekinā, that is Metatron", when an examination of the contexts shows that what is really meant is that the Š^ekinā is contained in Metatron, or manifested by Metatron. Metatron is the λόγος of Š^ekinā, to speak in Neo-Platonic terms. He is the connecting link between the Š^ekinā and the individual angels and spirits, and hence is represented as having his higher and lower spheres of existence or activity. This is expressed by the statement, that there are 'two Metatrons'. The one is 'Metatron the Great', the other 'Metatron the Created'. The former is the Š^ekinā or 'the body of Š^ekinā', the other the angel-prince and celestial ruler. The former is distinguished from the latter by the insertion of the letter Yod: *מיטרון* (*Pardes Rimmonim*, 93 d), to signify him as the bearer of the Š^ekinā (represented by the letter Yoḏ, the *N^equddā P^ešūtā*)—this distinction is however not observed.

“To the Great Metatron refers the *Ši‘ur Qomā* for he is the *’Ādām ‘Ālyōn*, i.e. the self-expression of the Deity in the First Spirit-Man”: *YR. i. 21 a*. Another tradition has: “The *Ši‘ur Qomā* refers to the *Created Metatron = ’Ādām hā’Ālyōn*”: *YR. i. 59 b (H‘akām hā Rāzīm)*.

It was this Metatron who showed himself to Moses and the prophets for the *עילת העילות* did not show Himself to any man: *M^{eg}. ’Am. ’Ofan 277, YR. i. 21 a, 57 b*.

“He is the Glory of the Holy One”: *YR. i. 58 b*.

“Man was created in the image of Metatron”: *Yalq. Hād., Mal’akim,*

47.

“Šekinā is hidden in Metatron”: *Pardes Rimmonim, xvi. 4*.

“Šekinā is clothed in Metatron”: *YR. i. 59 a*.

“The ten descents of the Šekinā were in Metatron”: *YR. i. 58 a*.

“Šekinā rests in Metatron” or “on the hands of Metatron”: *Šemoṣ šel Mēṭāṭron, ŠAḤŠAḤYAH, fol. 29 a*.

“Metatron is the body of Šekinā.” At the same time he is the manifestation of the First or Highest Spirit, the First Spirit-Man. This Spirit is the “celestial *baḥ zuḡ* of the Righteous”, i.e. is present in all the righteous, as the vehicle of the Deity in them: *Zohar, ii. 94 b*.

“Metatron was the first emanation of the Holy Spirit, he was the first Spirit (*N^ešāmā*). From Metatron emanated all the individual Spirits and all the angels”: *Liqquṭim Nəḥmādīm, Add. 17807, fol. 25 b*.

In another metaphor: “Metatron is the *Na‘ar* or *’Ullēmā* (son of) the *’Immā* (here = Šekinā)”: *Zohar, i. 223 b*.

2. (a) Metatron as the First Spirit from which all individual spirits have emanated is present in all the individual spirits and in all men as long as they keep in vital contact with their Divine-Spiritual source. The technical term for Man in vital connection with his Divine-Spiritual source is *Šaddiq*, Righteous.

Metatron hence is represented as present in all the righteous: in Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Elijah, Iśma‘el b. *’ĀEliša‘*. He was the Spirit (*N^ešāmā*) of the first Adam, but left him when he sinned: *YR. i. 52 a (’Asārā Ma’amārōḇ), Həsəəd l-’Abrahām, Mišpaṭ 25; YR. i. 57 a (’Ēmaḡ ha-m.Məlēkē)*. Metatron was in Joseph: *M^{eg}. ’Am. i. 66 b, 45 a; ’Asārā Ma’amārōḇ, 122 b*. He was in Noah: *M^{eg}. ’Am. i. 5 b*. The outstanding saints, ‘prophets’, ‘righteous’ were the Avatars of Metatron.

(b) Metatron as the Spiritual essence in man is expressed by the terms of “the *madrēgā* of Metatron”, “*ויהרא עלאה*” (the Celestial Light, the Divine Spark), “the middle column = *’Ammūdā d^e ’ĀE mṣā-*

‘*īpā*’, the “Spirit of the First Adam,” etc.¹ (Cf. how in *Pistis Sophia* both the *Great Yao* and the *Little Yao* carry the epithets “he of the middle”, “the good, he of the middle”, “the great captain (ἡγούμενος) of the middle” (ed. Horner, pp. 6, 97, 187, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8, 126, 241,² ed. Mead, pp. 10, 163, 300 f.).)

Metatron represents the pilgrimage of the spirit, its descent and ascent. Metatron’s identity with Enoch symbolizes the descent of the spirit into earthly life, into the existence as a terrestrial man, and the ascent of the terrestrial man into a celestial being. It will not be out of the way to compare here *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, p. 180, ed. Schmidt, p. 232): “*īaw, īaw, īaw: This is its interpretation: iota, the Universe came out, alpha, they will turn them, ō, will become the completion of all the completions.*”³ Cf. also below (c) and the equation the Divine in *κόσμος* = the spiritual in man (*vide* Reitzenstein, *Mand. B. des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 5, and *Iran. Erlös. Myst.* passim.).

The ‘*Ammūdā d^e-’²⁶mšā’īpā*’ represents both good and evil; the direction downwards (the descent of the spirit) represents evil, the direction upwards represents good: *M^eg̃*. ‘*A*m. ii. 59 b.

Metatron is the ladder in Jacob’s vision, on which ladder the angels were descending and ascending: *M^eg̃*. ‘*A*m. i. 45 a; *ib.* ‘*Ōfan* 196. He is the *Ṣaddīq*, the Righteous, as the Pillar of the world, the Foundation of the Universe, acc. to Proverbs 10²⁵: *Add.* 27142, fol. 109, *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 11 d. In this *Ṣaddīq* the ‘*Ammūdā d^e-’²⁶mšā-’īpā*’ is connected with the *Šekinā*: *Ṭiqqūnim*, 119 b, i.e. he represents the ascent of the spirit to its home, the Presence of the *Šekinā*.

“The expression ‘Enoch-Metatron’ symbolizes the unification of Terrestrial and Celestial Man”: *Zohar*, iii. 189 a b.

Proverbs 22⁶, “*h^anōk lā-nNá’ār ‘āl pī dārko*” is interpreted: “Enoch was made into the *Ná’ar* Metatron by the Holy One who took him from on earth and made him a ruler on high for ever”. He is the exponent in heaven of man’s pilgrimage. He is both ‘old and

1 Thus Metatron as the Primal Man (*πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος*, וְיָמִין וְיָמִין) is *eo ipso* the spiritual being, revealed in different righteous men through the ages. For this idea, cf. Clem. *Hom.* 3²⁰, *Recogn.* i. 52, ii. 22 (the prophet who goes through the world in various forms). The carriers of the prophet are: Adam, *Enoch*, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses (*Hom.* 17⁴, cf. 18¹⁸, 2⁵²) and are called the *seven columns or pillars* (Bousset, *HG.* pp. 172 ff.). Cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* 36³, 53² on the Ebionites and Elxaites (pointed out by Bousset), and the Mandaitic conception of the ‘one-born’, ‘unique’ or ‘beloved Son’ as present in all the Messengers (*vide esp. GR.* iv). Cf. also the following note.

2 *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Mead, p. 10): “So the power of the *little Yao*, who is in the midst, and the soul of the prophet *Elias*, they were bound into the body of John the Baptist”; cf. *ib.* preceding and sequel and *The Second Book of Jeū*” (ed. Schmidt) p. 320.

3 F. C. Burkitt renders: “I—Everything has gone forth. A—They will return therewith. O—There will be the End of all ends.” (*JThS.* xxvi (1925), p. 391.)

young' (acc. to Ps. 37²⁵): he is a living record of the spirit's journey from its earliest beginnings to its last phases: *Miđraš Ruḡ*, 85 b.

(c) The spirit's descent and ascent are also brought into connection with the mystical language of Ezek. 1¹⁴. The descent is the 'running' (רצוּן), the ascent is the 'returning' (שׁוּב). The very turning-point (from the descent into the ascent) is assigned to the life on this earth, symbolized by the earthly life of Enoch. Metatron as descending is called NURIEL. The turning-point from the descent into the ascent is an occurrence in the will (רְעוּיָא) of the earthly man, the turning of man's will from the evil inclination to the good inclination (from the *yēš'ær hā-rā'* to the *yēš'ær hā-ḥḥōḇ*). This is metaphorically expressed by the statement, that there is one Enoch 'from the side of evil' (the son of Cain, Gen. 4¹⁷) and one Enoch 'from the side of good' (the descendant of ^{AE}noš, Gen. 5⁶⁻²⁴). The turning from evil into good starts the process through which man regains his *N^ešāmā*, his spiritual nature, and ascends from one celestial grade (*dargā*) to the other, until he reaches the highest spiritual grade, that of the *'Ādām hā-Ālyōn*, the First Man of Pure Spirit, Metatron, who is next to the Deity. This process is considered to be symbolized by the translation of Enoch "whose flesh (terrestrial nature) was transformed into fire (spiritual nature)": *Tiqqūnim*, 116 b. Cf. Joh. 3¹³: οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The triad *Nuriel-Enoch-Metatron* thus brought in connection with the time-process (pre-existence, present life, future), and with the *Πρωτάνθρωπος* ideas may be considered in the light of the Parsistic and Gnostic (Mandaïtic) ideas of the threefold original man, who is also pure man, the original righteous man (in Mandaïtic taken over as *Hibil*, *Šipil* and 'Enoš) acc. to Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 242-244 (cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 205, 206). The cabbalistic representations are, in fact, much clearer in their conception of the First Spirit-Man and his parabolical journey than the various Gnostic representations dwelt upon by Bousset and Reitzenstein.

Metatron is the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil" (Gen. 2⁹): *Kanfē Yōnā*, yr. i. 59 b.

Metatron is called 'Good and Evil'; "from the appearance of his loins even upward" (Ezek. 1²⁷) he is good, and "downward" (*ib.*) he is evil: *M^eḡ*. *'Am.* ii. 59 b.

Metatron represents the side of Good and Pure: *YR.* i. 58 a.

Such seemingly contradictory statements are intelligible when they are understood as allusions to Metatron as symbolical of the spirit's

parabolaical course: the direction downwards being termed evil, the direction upwards good.

(d) As in other connections (see above), Metatron also as symbolical of the spirit's pilgrimage or of the Spiritual Essence of the Righteous, is associated with *Sandalfon*, a sort of copy of Metatron. Thus it is sometimes stated that SANDALFON is the translated Elijah: YR. i. 57 a. "Two earthly men were made into angels: Enoch who became Metatron and Elijah who became SANDALFON": *M^{eg}*. 'Am. i. 27 d, 66 a b, ii. 3 d; 'Ēmæq ha-mMælæĕ, 176 d (cf. above, p. 106, note 1).

It is sometimes hinted that the highest goal of the spirit or its greatest victory can only be attained or won through the realization of the 'turning' *during earthly life*. The angels proper do not attain the height of the Righteous, they are lower than Metatron, because they have not penetrated into "the darkest recesses of the Universe, those which are furthest from the Divine Abode", viz. this earthly life. "When Moses was shown Metatron-Enoch, he desired to go down on earth, i.e. to enter earthly life, in order to be able to rise to the height of Metatron-Enoch": *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 166 a.

§ 12. ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'METATRON'

THE actual significance or derivation of the *word* Metatron seems to have been forgotten quite soon after Metatron as a distinct celestial figure had clearly emerged. Hence we find, from the middle of the ninth century onwards—and up to the present time—a great many different attempts made at the explanation of the word. The various explanations or derivations may be classified as follows:

- (1) Metatron derived from נטר (or מטרא).
- (2) Metatron derived from the Latin *metator*.
- (3) Metatron derived from Mipra.
- (4) Metatron derived from μεταύρανος; metatorion; μέτρον; mediator; mater; מטרוניתא; שדי.
- (5) Metatron derived from μετά and θρόνος.

(1) Metatron derived from נטר.

Metatron already at an early time was explained from נטר in the sense of 'guard', 'protect', etc., either directly from this root or by the medium of מטרא, מטרת.

The earliest instance of this derivation is found in the so-called *Šimmušā Rabbā*. This instance seems never to have been pointed out before.

“In the sixth Hall is Enoch who was clothed with splendour of light. . . and made into Metatron who. . . represents the guardianship of all the souls that ascend from on earth: *מטרת לכל נפשתיא דסלקין לרום רקיעא מארעא*.” The *Šimmušā Rabbā* thus uses the word *מטרת* to explain the form Metatron. (The *Šimmušā Rabbā*, in its present form, dates from about the middle of the ninth century.¹)

Baḥya, *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Pesaro, 1507, fol. 98 b c), commenting on Ex. 33²⁰ also gives *נטר* as a possible derivation of Metatron. He explicitly connects Metatron, as derived from *נטר*, with the Targumic rendering *מטרת* for the Hebrew *משמרת* of Gen. 26⁵.

Isa. Horowitz, *Šēnē Luḥoḥ ha-bBeriḥ*, Amsterdam, 1649, fol. 230 c: Metatron is the same as *שומר* (guardian), pointing to the Targumic rendering of *משמרת* by *מטרתא*.

Musaf hā-‘Āruk (‘*Aruk*-edition, Amsterdam, 1655, fol. 102 d) gives the same explanation.

Similarly, in the Cracow edition of the *Alphabet of R. ‘Aqiba* (1579) in the Enoch-Metatron fragment inserted at the end of letter ‘ALĀEF, there is an explanatory gloss (bracketed) after the word Metatron, which reads as follows: *מטטרון [ר"ל שומר תרנום של משמרת מטרת ועל כן נקרא שמו מטטרון]*.

This gloss also translates Metatron by *Šōmēr* (guardian) with reference to the Targum rendering of *mišmæraḥ* as *maṭraḥ* (from *מטרתא*, *מטרא*).

A. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, ii (1852), pp. 4 seqq. considers the derivation from *נטר* as a possible etymology of Metatron.

The original feature in Jellinek’s explanation is his linking up of Metatron as a *nāṭēr* (guardian) with the passage on the ‘Angel’ in Ex. 32²⁰⁻²² (*למטרך* into *לשמרך*), which already in *TB. Sanh.* 38 b is used with reference to Metatron. (Alternative explanation: *μέτρον*, see below.)

M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, sub voce* gives Metatron as *מַטְטְרוֹן* (*מִטְ*) from *נטר*.

‘Maṭṭatron’ (which would be related to *maṭṭārā*: service, post, watch, guard) means ‘Chief of the Service’ (chief of the angels who are called Servants). The etymological progenitor of *מטטרון* was, acc. to Jastrow, a form *מטרטרון*.

(2) Metatron derived from or connected etymologically with the Latin *metator*.

In mediaeval *cabbalistic* writings the interpretation of Metatron from 'metator' is first met with. It should be noted, however, that in the writings in question this is never the exclusive interpretation of the name: it is put by the side of various other more or less abstruse 'etymologies'.

Eleazar of Worms (died 1237), *Hilkoḥ Miṭaṭron* (in the British Museum MS. *Add.* 27199, fol. 114 a):

"Know that he is called Metatron because he is a מְטִיטוֹר, which is interpreted 'leader', as it is said: The Holy One, blessed be He, was made a *meṭaṭor* for the waters (*Gen. R.* v. 4), . . . for He is the Guide of the World (the Prince of the World). And he says רִוֵן (i.e. 'utter praise' to the Holy One) every day."

Metatron thus is explained from מְטִיטוֹר + רִוֵן. This passage is important, since it shows the starting-point for the association of Metatron with *meṭaṭor*: it was evidently the *Midraš* dictum of the Holy One as the 'metator' for the primaeval waters (of the Story of Creation). It also shows that this association was made on the basis of the conception of Metatron as the 'Prince of the World' who in this capacity was concerned with the works of Creation (cf. *TB. Yeḥ.* 16 b).

In the cabbalistic speculations the dictum "the Holy One was a *meṭaṭor*" is changed into "the Holy One was Metatron", i.e. the Most High in his cosmical activity was represented by Metatron.

From these cabbalistic speculations the later reading Metatron for *meṭaṭor* in *Gen. R.* v. 4 has, most probably, originated.

(In other contexts R. Eleazar of Worms connects Metatron with 'meter', 'metron', 'miṭra', etc. *Bodl. MS. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 b, 21 a.)

Yalquṭ Re'ubeni (ed. Warsaw, 1901, ii. fol. 56 b) quotes from *Tiqqūnim*: *Metator* is one of several names given to Metatron as indicative of his various functions. The *meṭaṭor* is here connected with מְטַרָא ('rain', in the cabbalistic symbolical language = the bestowal of spiritual gifts, emanating from the celestial regions, upon the terrestrials) and made to signify: he who conveys spiritual *parnāsā* (maintenance).

Nachmanides, *Commentary on the Torah*, on Ex. 12¹², first quoted in *Šiyyuni* (ed. Cremona, 1560, fol. 39 a), says that Metatron =

'one who shows the way' and is equivalent to *metator*. He substitutes 'Metatron' for 'metator' in quoting *Y^elamm^edēnū* to Num. 22³⁶ and Deut. 2³¹.

Nachmanides shows dependence upon cabbalistic speculations in representing Metatron-*metator* as the שליח from the Holy One לְכָל הַמַּעֲשִׂים הַנְּעִשִׂים בָּאָרֶץ. Metatron as *metator* hence means, to Nachmanides, the representative of the Most High in his works on earth.

Substituting 'The Holy One' for 'Metatron' and using 'Metatron' as a sort of appellative, Nachmanides evolves the strange reading of *Sifre* on Deut. 32⁴⁰, referred to above (p. 92, note 1).

Elias Levita, *Tišbi*, connects Metatron (*sub voce*) with *Metator*, the meaning of which he had "learnt from his pupil (Cardinal Egidius de Viterbo) to be 'messenger'".

David de Pomis (fl. ab. 1550), *Şæmah Dāūid* (ed. Venice, 1587, fol. 116 b), derives Metatron from *metator*, "a Greek (Latin) word signifying *custos*".

Buxtorf in his Dictionary places Metatron and *Metator sub eadem voce*. The same does Dalman in his *Handwörterbuch*² p. 232.

Danz, *Shechina cum piis cohabitans* (1723), after giving a comprehensive summary of the different derivations of the word Metatron, decides in favour of the etymology from *metator*, in Greek *μιτάτωρ*.¹

Danz, from quotations of numerous sources, proves conclusively that the Hebrew מִיטָטוֹר is identical with the Latin *metator* in the sense of 'praecursor, praeparator, antegestor'. The Greek *Μιτάτωρ* is found in the *Gloss. Basilic.* lvii. 12 (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. p. 919: ὁ ἀποστελλόμενος ἄγγελος πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας), and also in Suidas' dictionary, vol. ii, interpreted as ὁ προαποστελλόμενος ἄγγελος πρὸς(ς) τοῦ ἄρχοντος.

The main contention of Danz on the basis of his identification of the words *metator* and *Metatron* is that this celestial entity was by the name Metatron indicated as none other than the Šekinā. This accords with the cabbalistic basis for the association of Metatron and the Holy One as *metator*.

Danz also refers to the cabbalistic distinction between the two quasi manifestations of Metatron, one lesser, regarded as a created angel, the other, higher one, identical with the Šekinā or called the body of Šekinā, and maintains: "hic ipse Angelus Metator primus et supremus idem prorsus sit cum Shechina, ab officio quod sustinet, cognomen hoc accipiente".

1 In Meuschen, *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et Antiquitatibus Illustratum*.

Whereas in the earlier instances of the association of Metatron with *metator* hitherto referred to, this association was made to convey the *exclusive position of Metatron* as the representative of the Most High or even as identical with the Šekinā, *later followers of this interpretation* seize upon it as a means of maintaining the *comparative unimportance of Metatron*, at least in the earlier phases of the conception. Hence we find that those who adhere to the 'metator-interpretation', in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly do this for dogmatic reasons.

This new development sets in with Cassel.¹

Cassel contends that the form 'Metatron' was substituted for the original 'metator' simply to make up the numerical value 314 required to make the angelic name in question 'by *gematria*' equal to the Divine Name ŠADDAY (this rests on the late interpretation of the words "My Name is in him" with reference to Metatron. The sequence of ideas is exactly the reverse: the angelic figure Metatron was called YHWH or the Lesser YHWH, and the cited words were applied to him: 3 *En.* 12⁵, 48 C⁷, D¹ no. 102. Then later the accidental numerical quality of מַטְטְרוֹן and שְׂרַי was played upon. So by Raši and in cabbalistic writings; cf. above, pp. 116, 117, 119).

"Es soll", says Cassel, "durch seinen Inhalt allem selbstschöpferischen, selbständigen ausweichen, eben weil es (metatron-metator) Diener bedeutet der Gott nur vorangeht und dessen Befehle erfüllt".

The same derivation (in the same general sense) is maintained by M. Sachs in *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Altertumsforschung*, 1852, i. 108 n. and 194; Lewi Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II. ii. 298, 345 (1847-57); Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie des Judenthums*, ii. 781; J. Fürst, *Glossarium Græco-Hebræum*, 1890, p. 138 a; and S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin, 1898-9, ii, *sub voce*, also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 154.

S. Krauss, *op. cit.* i. 92, derives Metatron from *metatorium* (μητατώριον). In a note, pp. 250-252, he combines the two interpretations, regarding *metatorium* as a formation from *metator*: "Metatorium, der von Metatron abgesteckte Platz".

Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898, accepts the derivation from *metator*, but propounds an original theory as to the origin of the name and the angelic conception. *Metator* is also Friedländer a 'Grenzabstecker'; the origin of the conception is to

¹ Article 'Juden' in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften*, 1818 seqq. II. xxvii. pp. 40, 41, note 82.

be found in Gnosticism from where it was brought into the circle of the Rabbinic scholars who occupied themselves with the study of the *Mærkātā* (pp. 102 seqq.).

The Talmudic teachers—under the mighty influence of the Gnosis—were forced into accepting a second, from the highest one distinguished Deity. Thus, says Friedländer, the Gnostic Metatron came into the Talmudic literature, and to him were assigned besides a world-creative function also the office of guiding the Israelitish people and mediating between them and God. (Cf. below, p. 144.)

The Gnostic figure which in Jewish circles emerged into Metatron was, acc. to Friedländer, the Divine Dynamis *Horos*, which again emanated from the *λόγος* of the Jewish Alexandrinian School.

The parallels adduced by Friedländer to show Metatron's origin from Horos are, however, insufficient for the purpose.

J. D. Eisenstein (*OM.* ii. 285 a) also accepts the derivation from *Metator*: מטטרון : מלאך ושר הפנים ברקיע הוא מלשון יונית ורומית *Metator* שהוראתו מורה דרך ומרומו בפסוק הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך לשמרך בדרך (שמות כ"ג ב)..... והוא בדרך השאלה שנדרמה הקב"ה למלך אשר ישמש אתו שליחו ובא כחו (אמבאסאדאר).

L. Blau, article 'Metatron', in *J.E.* viii. 519, says "the derivation from the Latin *metator* (= guide) is doubtless correct" and adduces as further evidence a passage from "the Hebrew Book of Enoch" which, however, will be seen to be a mistranslation of a misprint in the text of *Alphabet of R.* ⁴*qība*, from which it is taken.

"The Hebrew Book of Enoch, in which, however, reference to Metatron is constantly implied, says: 'He is the most excellent of all the heavenly host and the guide (metatron) to all the treasures of my (God)'. " Thus Blau.

The misprint (*BH.* ii. 117) originating in the Cracow printed edition of *A. R.* 'Aq. (1579), leaving out the words מוציא אותם after 'Metatron', is caused by the insertion in that edition of a bracketed gloss, explaining Metatron from נטר (*vide* above). But even in this corrupted state the text cannot be translated as Blau translates.

The passage is in reality vss. 9 and 10 of ch. 48 D of our book, which does not in any way use Metatron as an appellative, in the sense of 'guide'.

G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology," *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xv, after examining the occurrences of Meta-

tron in Rabbinic and giving a survey of different interpretations of the name Metatron (in which the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Danz, *op. cit.*), decides with emphasis in favour of *metator*.

The sense in which the author takes Metatron to be identical with or originating from *metator* will be best seen from a quotation of summarizing points in the article:

“(1) Metator (Metatron) is originally an appellative borrowed and first used in its proper, almost technical sense, an officer who goes in advance of an army, etc. . . . Israel’s metator in the desert was God himself or an angel assigned. . . by him to this task. This office was most naturally filled by Michael, the champion of the Jews.

“(2) In two passages in the Babylonian Talmud Metatron is the proper name of an angel whose office in heaven indicates a peculiar relation to Israel; the same office. . . (is) assigned in different sources, now to Michael, now to Metatron.

“(3) In the revived apocalyptic and cabbalistic literature of the Gaonic period and after, the translated Enoch becomes Metatron. . . . Theosophic speculation seizes upon this angelic mythology, and elevates Metatron to a still higher eminence. . . .”

The author is especially opposed to Metatron being held as an Intermediary or Mediator. The derivation from *metator* to him indicates the extremely modest beginnings of Metatron (or of the ‘Metatron mythology’). In this he is in line with Cassel and Hamburger. The author does not adduce any further evidence beside that of earlier vindicators of this derivation.

Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ³1923, iii. 649, follows Moore in identifying Metatron with *Metator* against his own earlier acceptance of the probability of derivation from *μετάθροπος*.

(3) Metatron derived from or connected with Mīpra.

The earliest writer known to have attempted identifying Metatron with Mīpra is H. E. Schmieder in his *Programma, Nova Interpretatio . . . Gal.* 3^{19, 20}, pp. 41–8, *Excursus de Mitatrone* (1826).¹

Pointing out parallel features in the conceptions of Metatron and Mīpra Schmieder puts forward the hypothesis that the Persian ideas, esp. with regard to Mīpra, were first introduced into Jewish circles among the Essenes who then cultivated and developed them further. The central function in which Schmieder holds Mīpra and Metatron to be congruent is that of mediator.

¹ Pointed out by Hengstenberg, in *Christologie*, iii, and Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, etc. pp. 74, 124, 194. See also Mövers, *Phön.* i. 390.

Nork (Felix Adolph Korn), *Brahminen und Rabbinen*, 1836, pp. 99, 100, trying to connect the Jewish archangels and angels over elemental forces with the Persian 'Amshaspands' (i.e. Ameša Spentas) and 'Izeds' (i.e. Yazatas), also identifies Metatron with Miṭra.

The total picture that Nork evolves of Metatron corresponds to the representation of this angelic or celestial figure as given by the *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, or, generally speaking, to the conceptions prevalent in cabbalistic works from the fourteenth century onwards. Nork-Korn does not really attempt to account for the *origin* of Metatron from the Persian Miṭra. His knowledge of Metatron seems to have been based on Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*.

Wiesner, in *Ben Chananja*, 1862, p. 384; 1866, pp. 600-625. This is the most important and most elaborate among the endeavours to derive Metatron from Miṭra. Wiesner, not—as is usual—Kohut, should indeed be mentioned as the pioneer champion of the Metatron-Miṭra theory.

For the conceptions of Miṭra Wiesner bases upon Rhode, *Sage der Perser*, Spiegel, *Avesta*, Windischmann, *Mithra* and on the Zend Avesta, in particular *Mihir Yašt*. For the conceptions of Metatron he goes back to the earliest references known at that time, viz. those contained in the Babylonian Talmud. These references he considers critically. Wiesner lays stress on the following parallels:

(1) *Miṭra*: Guardian of the World, the Mediator for the earth (Mittler der Erde), the Prince of the World (*Mihir Yašt*, 103).

Metatron: Prince of the World, Mediator. Wiesner here rightly points out that *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, clearly involves the existence at that time of a view maintaining Metatron's mediatorship.

(2) *Miṭra*: Miṭra's glory is compared with that of Ahura Mazda, e.g. in *Mihir Yašt*, 1: "Ahura Mazda spake . . . 'Verily, when I created Miṭra, . . . I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda'" (Darmesteter's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*).

Metatron: bearer of the Divine Name (*TB. Sanh.* 38 b).

(3) *Miṭra*: Miṭra is the careful witness of all thoughts, words and deeds and hence representative of Truth, Justice and Faith, "der Hort des Gesetzes und sein Rächer" (Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 53).

Metatron: Scribe-Witness and representative of the Godhead towards the world, implied by *TB. Haḡ.* 15 a.

(4) and (5) *Miṭra* connected with death and immortality; increases the water and is the instigator of the dry land.

Metatron has to do with the fate of men in and after death; is

connected with the primaeval waters acc. to the variant reading of *Gen. R.* 5.

(6) and (7) *Miṣra* was identified with the Demiurg which latter is represented as a 'Youth'; *Metatron* also called the 'Youth' (*Na'ar*).

Miṣra is, according to some sources, "born of woman", and "ein König göttlichen Geschlechtes". *Metatron*, being Enoch, is also "born of woman".

(8) *Miṣra* a celestial priest (*Mihir Yašt*, 89). Wiesner remarks upon the curious fact that—acc. to him—the Talmudists ascribed this office not to *Metatron*, but to Mikael. We now know that *Metatron* in mystical sources was represented as having a Tabernacle of his own (2 *Leg. Martyrs*; 3 *En.* 15 B).

The parallels adduced by Wiesner are striking. They are, of course, not sufficient to show that the conceptions of *Metatron* have actually evolved or developed out of those of *Miṣra*. Wiesner's theories were supported by Zipser in several articles in the contemporary periodical.

M. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts*, 1880, i. 127, regards *Metatron* as identical with the *Miṣra* of *Miṣraism*, the ideas of which may have influenced the Rabbinic teachers of the time of 'Eliśā' bæn 'Abuyā (*TB. Hag.* 15 a; cf. 3 *En.* 16).

A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Anhängigkeit vom Parsismus*.¹ All the features in the *Miṣra* and *Metatron* conceptions, which are of real import for the study of a possible *Miṣraic* origin of the mysticism which finds its centre in the figure of *Metatron*, and which are found in the article by Kohut, are already pointed out by Wiesner. The points on which Kohut goes beyond Wiesner are, on the other hand, rather uncertain and vague as well as insufficiently founded.

A refutation of the article of Kohut, hence, is by no means *eo ipso* a refutation of the hypothesis of *Metatron* as being derived from *Miṣra* or influenced by the conceptions of the latter. A further investigation of the possible connections between *Miṣra* and *Metatron* might with more reason be connected with the name of Wiesner (and his contemporary Zipser) than with that of Kohut.

K. Kohler, *JE.* viii. 500, and *Jewish Theology*, ed. New York, 1918, p. 185. K. Kohler is also an adherent of the *Metatron-Miṣra* theory

¹ In *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band iv. no. 3, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 36-42. Kohut does not acknowledge his indebtedness to Wiesner.

especially from the point of view of Metatron's connection with the *Mærkābā*-speculations.

"There can scarcely be any doubt as to the Mīpraic origin" of the *Mærkābā*-rites in general. Metatron, like Mīpra, acc. to Kohler, is the Divine charioteer. The Mīpra speculations entered Jewish circles through Mīpraism.

It must be remarked here that Metatron does not figure as the charioteer of the *Mærkābā*. The only trait pointing in this direction would be Metatron's function of guide of the *Mærkābā*-seer. But this is not constitutive for Metatron. Other high angels have the same function (MIKĀEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL, etc.).

(4) Metatron derived from μεταύραννος, μέτρον, μήτηρ, etc.

1. The derivation from the Greek μεταύραννος, in the sense of "next to the ruler, i.e. God", is advocated by Frankel, Levy and Weber.¹ It is held probable also by Max Grünbaum.²

2. S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter*, etc. i. 92, identifies Metatron, without any qualifications, with μητατώριον = *metatorium*, i.e. palace.

In vol. ii Krauss interprets Metatron as metator. In the appendix of notes in vol. i. pp. 250-252, he represents *Metatron* as *metator*, but *metatorium* as developed from *metator* and meaning, in the first instance, "der von Metatron abgesteckte Platz", but then used as a name for this angel analogously with the use of מקום (Place) as a metaphor for the Godhead.

Grünwald says, in *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, iv. 127-8, that Metatron signifies 'palace, place, abode' and is parallel with the Divine Name מְקוֹם. It is an intended symbol of the relation between Makrokosmos and Mikrokosmos.

3. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, ii (1852), 4 seqq. gives μέτρον (measure, rule) as an alternative explanation of Metatron, on the assumption that Metatron was identical with Horos.

One of the secondary names given to Metatron, viz. the מִטְרוֹן, might perhaps be regarded as supporting this derivation. But that this 'name' is merely a formation on the basis of מטטרון is more probable: the מִטְרוֹן is in the enumerations of the names of Metatron

¹ Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 113. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, etc. iii. p. 87. F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1897. Cf. below.

² Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, etc., ed. Perles, Berlin, 1901, p. 74.

accompanied by other variants of a similar appearance, such as מוטרון, מיגון, מיקון, etc.

4. The connection of the word Metatron with מטרה (rain) is a comparatively late cabbalistic device and was perhaps never intended as an actual derivation: YR. i. 56 b, *Bodl. MS. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 b, 21 a. (Cf. above, p. 127.)

Possibly the above-mentioned passage in YR. was known to Danz, since he declares (*op. cit.*) that Ruben Hoschke contended that Metatron is called *metator* because he is appointed over the rain. Danz comments upon this interpretation: on this assumption Metatron would equal *Imbrifer, Imbricator, ὀμβροφόρος*.

5. Metatron was explained as derived from 'mediator' by Heinrich Gebhard, in *Programma*.¹

Hengstenberg, in *Christologie*, iv. 324, regards this derivation as the most probable next to that from *metator*. Against it speaks, in Hengstenberg's view, only the fact that the word *mediator* does not occur in Jewish literature.

6. The derivation from *mater*—μῆτηρ—*matrona*—מטרוניתא is of late origin and dependent upon the cabbalistic speculations on Metatron's connection with or identity with the Šekinā as *matroniḥa*. It is given by Baḥya (as applying to Metatron in his higher aspect, i.e. as the counterpart of Šekinā).²

Levi ben Gešon, on Prov. 1⁸, defining Metatron as 'active intelligence' שכל פועל, states that the word Metatron is derived from the Latin word for 'mother' (i.e. *mater*). This passage was pointed out already in *Pugeo Fidei*, 1651, p. 392 b.

7. Max Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 74 and 124, points out the Arabic equivalents of 'Metatron': مططرون (as the name of an angel in the theology of the Druses) and ميظطرون (from Mas'udi, ii. 391). He cites Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xii. 100, 128, 189.

It is a strange coincidence, that the two Arabic forms evidently correspond to the two variants of Metatron, viz. מטטרון and מיטטרון. The dependence on these is obvious.

8. Metatron > שרי. (Cf. Raši on Exod. 23²¹, note on ch. 12⁵ and 48 D¹, p. 174 bottom.) On the basis of the equal numerical value (314) of מטטרון and שרי Bartoloccius³ explains the origin of

1 Pointed out by Schoettgen in *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, p. 739.

2 Comm. on the Pentateuch, on Ex. 23²¹.

3 In *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, i. 234. 235.

the word Metatron as follows: the angel mentioned in Ex. 23²⁰ is *Mikāel*, the custodian of Israel (cf. George Foot Moore above, p. 131); the Divine Name inherent in *Mikāel* is שר׳ (God Almighty), since God, operating all the miracles of the guidance of Israel through the desert “per ministrum suum principem Michaelen”, must needs communicate His omnipotence to *Mikāel* “quantum necesse fuerat ad populi Israelitici commodum”. “Unde Michael quasi שר׳ hoc est Omnipotens, erat dicendus. Sed *Cabalistae* ne Dei nomina Angelis proprie attribuere viderentur, pro שר׳ substituerunt מטטרון Mattatron quod per גמטריא numerum conficit 314 ac שר׳. Mattatron igitur volunt esse Angelum ductorem populi, et directorem Mosis... Ex his igitur patet quod *Mattatron* est nomen fictitium Cabalisticum ad hoc tantum excogitatum, ut ex eo numerus 314 elici possit.” Metatron is thus, acc. to Bartoloccius, simply a cabbalistic *gematrical* device, having no lexicographic derivation. No wonder that he exclaims: “In hoc apparet, quam sublimis sit ista Cabalistica scientia... ex qua quilibet ex quolibet fieri potest”.

(5) Metatron derived from μετά and θρόνος.

J. H. Maius, in *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae* (1698), p. 72, is the first writer known to have suggested the two Greek words μετά and θρόνος as conjointly furnishing a possible derivation of Metatron.

Maius suggests that Metatron indicates the σύνθρονος of the Most High, the co-occupant of God's throne.

J. Fr. von Meyer, *Blätter für höhere Wahrheit*, vol. iv (1823), also interprets Metatron as “der Mithroner Gottes” (ὁ μέτοχος τοῦ θρόνου) who is seated at the right hand of God.

Meyer thinks that the Jewish conception of Metatron forms an exact counterpart of the Christian conception of the Son of God, hence points to Rev. 3²¹ as a parallel.

Ad. Franck, *La Kabbale*, supports the same derivation. He points to the cabbalistic representation of Metatron as the president in the world of *Yᵉsirā* (Franck is probably thinking of the passage in the *Massēkēᵑ ᵑšiluᵑ* containing this representation), and next under the world *Bᵉri'ā* with the Throne (Metatron = next to the Throne?) (ed. Jellinek, p. 43, n. 2).

The same view is supported by Grätz,¹ Luzzato,² Steinschneider³ and Bischoff.⁴

1 *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, p. 44.

2 *Kerem Chemed*, iv. p. 179.

3 *Die fremdsprachlichen Elemente im Neuhebräischen*, Prague, 1845.

4 *Die Kabbalah*², Leipzig, 1917, p. 37 (“Nach-Throner, Gottes Stellvertreter”).

Salomon Munk¹ and Moise Schwab² interpret Metatron as *μετὰ θρόνου*, "placed at the side of the Throne".

F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,³ considers the derivations *μετά-θρονος* and *μεταθύραννος* equally admissible. The sense would, acc. to him, in both cases be "der nächste nach dem Herrscher".

Cf. also Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anf. d. Christentums*, vol. ii. p. 341 and vol. iii. p. 649. (*Vide* above, p. 131.)

W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (2nd ed. 1911), pp. 196-204, on the irrefutable claim that "the name (Metatron) must originally have given some indication regarding the functions of this personality" maintain that the derivation from *Metathronos*, or perhaps *Metatyrannos*, is the correct one, a derivation which accords with the functions of Metatron. (These are set forth at length.)

It is to be noticed, that the derivations from the Greek words under consideration are represented somewhat differently by the different vindicators of the etymology, viz.

as *μετὰ θρόνου*: J. H. Maius, S. Munk, M. Schwab;

as *μετὰ θρόνον* or *μεταθρόνιος*: Luzzatto;

as *μετάθρονος*: J. F. von Meyer, Franck, Weber, Bischoff, Box and Oesterley.

The derivation is applied in two different senses, viz.

(1) as equivalent to *σύνθρονος*, co-occupant of the Divine Throne: J. H. Maius, J. F. v. Meyer, Ed. Meyer.

(2) as signifying the celestial being next to the Divine Throne, occupying the next rank to the Divine Ruler, the representative of the Most High: Franck (?), Schwab, Weber, Bischoff, Box and Oesterley.

Of these different modes of interpretation that regarding Metatron as equivalent to *σύνθρονος* can be easily dismissed. *There is not a single instance in any known Jewish source of Metatron being represented as the co-occupant of the Divine Throne.*

On the other hand, the interpretation of Metatron as denoting a celestial being who was next after the King of the World, the representative of the Most High, is that which of all interpretations proffered best accords with the essential character assigned to Metatron in the earliest representations of him, above all in our book.

¹ *Palestine, in l'Univers* (1835 seqq.).

² *Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie*, etc., Paris, 1897, p. 170 *sub voce*.

³ Ed. by Delitzsch and Schnedermann under this title, Leipsic, 1897 (as the 2nd ed. of Weber's work previously edited with a different title).

Of the two derivations conveying the sense "next in rank to the Divine Ruler" (Box-Oesterley), viz. *μεταθύραννος* and *μετά+θρόνος*, the present writer gives preference to the latter, on the ground that *the idea of the 'throne' plays a central part in the conception of Metatron.*

Hence it may be suggested that the exact interpretation of the word Metatron is:

The celestial being *who occupies the throne next to the Throne of Glory* (the Divine Throne), or

the Throne next to the Throne of Glory (using the early terminology acc. to which 'throne' = 'occupant of a throne'; see below, p. 142), or *lesser Throne* (= lesser *ΥΗΥΗ*; cf. ch. 12).

As regards the derivation of 'Metatron' from *μετά+θρόνος* this need not be contemplated as a new formation in the strict sense of the word. It would simply, from the beginning, have been a shortened form of an expression defining the character or position of the celestial being in question. This expression might have been: "he whose throne is (the most glorious) next to *the Throne* (i.e. the Throne of Glory)" or "the throne greatest next to *the Throne*", in Greek: *οὗ (ὁ) θρόνος μέγιστος μετὰ [τὸν] θρόνον, ὁ θρόνος ὁ μέγιστος μετὰ [τὸν] θρόνον*, or similarly. In all such expressions the words *μετὰ θρόνον* would form the last and essential part of the definition, and might, when the conception had become established in this form, be shortened into *(ὁ) μετὰ θρόνον*. The last would, in a hebraized form, most naturally be *מטטרון*.

This explanation of the name accords perfectly with the character that seems to be essential and original in the earliest representations of Metatron, as far as they can be traced:

(1) The representations of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* decidedly picture Metatron as the angel who, as God's representative, is seated upon a throne of his own. This throne is, moreover, explicitly stated to be "a reflection of the Throne of Glory", a lesser copy of the Throne of Glory (ch. 10¹).

On this throne Metatron is seated as the Holy One is seated on His Throne, only that Metatron's throne is placed, to denote its secondary rank, "at the door of the seventh Hall" (chh. 10², 48 c⁵, 8). Metatron's enthronement and his investment with all the splendours forming part of the enthronement, or being corollaries to it, constitute the central picture in the Enoch-Metatron fragments (chh. 10-15, 48 c⁵⁻⁹).

(2) 3 *Enoch* further actually associates the name Metatron with the *enthronement* of this celestial being, hence implicitly connects the word Metatron with the word 'throne'.

It is highly significant that, acc. to the large Enoch-Metatron piece (chh. 3-15), Enoch, in the course of his elevation and transformation into a high angel-prince, is not officially pronounced in the heavens as *Metatron* until immediately on his having been enthroned by the Most High: ch. 10³.

The expressions in the smaller Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c⁵, are, in fact, more or less equivalents of the Greek expressions suggested above.

(3) Also in the Talmud the significance of 'Metatron' as the angel seated on a throne as his Master is easily attested.

It is evident that in the passage in *TB. Hag.* 15 a the essential distinction of Metatron, which caused such a disturbance to 'Aḥer' and which the Talmudists are anxious to explain in a 'rational' manner, is his being 'seated' (= as the Holy One himself), whereas the other angelic beings are standing. This distinction is, moreover, such a well-established feature in the Metatron-conception that the Talmudists are unable flatly to deny it. Metatron, they say, was seated (one might add: *as his name suggests*) by permission from the Holy One, but the reason why he was allowed to be seated was simply his function of 'scribe of righteousness' (cf. above, on 'the conceptions of Metatron in Talmud, Miḏraš and Targum', pp. 90 *seq.*).

(4) This interpretation of the name of Metatron gives the key to an understanding of the other features of the Metatron-conception. Thus, as the angel enthroned on a throne next to that of His Master, Metatron will naturally be identified with any angel-prince that before had been regarded as the angel nearest to the Godhead or as the representative of the Most High—or will take over the functions assigned to that angel. On this basis the following functions or identifications of Metatron are easily explained, viz.:

(a) the identifications with the *Angel of YHWH*, who bears the Ineffable Name (after Ex. 23²⁰⁻²²), with YAOEL or YEHOEL (*Apocalypse of Abraham*, chh. 10, 12, etc.; cf. Jael (name of God) and Joel (archangel) in *Vita Ad. & Ev.* 29⁴, 33², *Ap. Moses*, 43⁵, and "the Lesser YHWH").

(b) with the *angel of the Presence* (*Book of Jubilees*, 1^{27, 29}, אַלְהֵי הַפָּנִים, the Angel of the Face, cf. 2^{2, 18}, 15²⁷, 31¹⁴; 1 *En.* 40), in fact only another designation of the bearer of the Ineffable Name.

(c) many functions of MIKĀEL, the highest of the angels in the earlier angelology, are transferred to Metatron (cf. above).

(d) Metatron identified with the *Prince of the World*, God's vice-regent over the world, etc.

(e) with the *Na'ar*, the 'Ābĕāḏ, the Principal Servant of the Most High, the Chief of the Service, etc.

(f) with *Enoch* who in the "Enoch Literature" tended to occupy the most exalted position in the Presence of the Godhead. (In fact, *this derivation seems to give the only reasonable explanation why the figure of Metatron was at all introduced into the Enoch Literature.*) See 2 *En.* 21³, 22^{4, 6, 10}, cf. 1 *En.* 70.

(5) The objections raised against the derivation from *μετά* and *θρόνος* will be seen to be invalid as applied to the derivation suggested here.

The two foremost objections: (a) that the Rabbis or mystics who introduced the celestial figure in question would not have invented a new word, 'μετάθρονος', but would, if the word was at all of Greek origin, have chosen the *σύνθρονος*, and (b) the impossibility of conceiving the formation of a new Greek word by the 'Rabbis', do not apply here: (a) Metatron is *not* = *σύνθρονος*, and (b) Metatron is acc. to the present assumption not derived from a new formation of the type of *μετάθρονος*.

The only objection applying here is this: the Greek *θ* of *θρόνον* would not have been transcribed ט, but ת (the word would have been ממתרון not מטטרון).

The answer to this objection is:

(a) since *μετά* must be transcribed מט with ט the law of assimilation would naturally tend to transform a ת immediately following into a ט.

(b) it is a false supposition that the Greek *θ* is always transcribed, in Hebrew and Aramaic, ת. On the contrary there are numerous instances of Hebrew-Aramaic words borrowed from the Greek, in which *θ* has been transcribed ט. Krauss in *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* gives several such words. To the instances adduced by him the following may be added:

אטונם = *θύννος* (*T.B. Hull.* 25 a, 66 b).

אנטיניא = *ἀντινά* (*Tj. Kil.* ix. 32 a; *Tj. Mo'ed Qaṭ.* iii. 82 a).

אנטיפארס = *ἀντίπαρος* (*Tj. Meḡ.* iii. 74 a; *Ber.* v. 9 a; *Eccl. R.* to *Eccl.* 3^b *Lev. R.* 12).

אסטניס = *ἀσθενής* (*M. Yomā* iii. 5).

סונטמא = *σύνθημα* (*Lev. R.* 12).

ספטין = *σπαθίον* (*Tos. Kelim B. Meḡ.* v. 6).

- קנטרופום = *κυνάνθρωπος* (*Tj. Giŧt.* vii. 48 c).
 מיטברא = *θησαυρός* (*Targ. Qoh.* 2⁸).
 מליקא = *θύλακος* (*TB. Giŧt.* 28 a; *TB. B. Meš.* 20 b).
 מייאטרון = *θέατρον* (*Cant. R.* beg.).
 מברימי = *θεωρητής* (*Pes. R. Friedm.*, 201).
 מרית = *θρίσσα* (*TB. Meš.* 6 a; *Sifre Deut.* 354; *Num. R.* 13;
M. 'Ab. Zār. ii. 6).
 פיטם = *πίθος* (*M. Roš ha šŠānā*, iii. 7).
 מרים = *θυρεός* (*Tos. 'Eruḇ.* viii).
 אמימום = *ἄθμος* (*Gen. R.* 48).
 אבטיים = *Εὐθύνοος* (*M. Yomā*, iii. 11; *Midd.* i. 5).
 מז = *ζῆθι* (*Tj. Ber.* vi. 10 d).
 נפט = *νάφθα* (*M. Šab.* ii. 2). (Cf. K. Albrecht, *Neuhebr. Gramm.*
 pp. 10, 81-83.)

Several others could be given. If in one case or other the derivation from a Greek word may seem uncertain, the cumulative effect of the instances is quite sufficient to prove beyond doubt that the Greek *θ* was easily transcribed ט especially in words containing ט, ק, פ, ר etc.

(6) Lastly the theory must be refuted that the formation 'Metatron' has in any way been due to a design to make its gematrical value equal to the Divine Name *Šaddai* (Rashi and others), and—as would be the consequence of this theory—that Metatron as 'bearing the Divine Name' was called *the little YHUH*. It is quite the reverse. The speculations on the angel bearing the Divine Name are quite early (*Ja'ael* etc., *vide* note on 12⁵). The expression 'the little Iao' occurs in *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, p. 6, cf. below, pp. 188 seq.). Metatron, 'the little Throne', was from the beginning evidently called 'the little YHUH (*Yāhō*)', or, perhaps better, the little YHUH was called Metatron. To a Jewish ear 'the little Throne' sounded better than 'the little YHUH'. (Cf. below, p. 145.) Later it was discovered that the numerical value of Metatron was equal with that of the Divine Name *Šaddai*.

Next to that from *μετά + θρόνον* the derivation from *Mipra* would seem to be the most plausible. The derivation from *metator*, on the other hand, is probably caused merely by a confusion at later times between 'Metatron' and the word 'metator', the exact meaning of which might easily have been forgotten. Thus 'metator' was no doubt the original reading in *Gen. R.* 54. Perhaps first in cabbalistic circles (cf. above on the derivation from *metator*)—speculating upon Metatron's function at the Creation—the 'metator' was interpreted to mean Metatron (as the representative of the Holy One) and on the basis of this interpretation of the passage the variant reading of the *Sifre* passage (and the *Y'ammē dēnū* readings adduced by Nachmanides)

was evolved. Subsequently, when the meaning of 'metator' was again known (cf. Elias Levita, *Tišbi*), this was also used to interpret the supposed equivalent 'Metatron'. It will be unnecessary to state that the other derivations, i.e. from *mater*, μέτρον, etc., need not be considered.

§ 13. ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPTION 'METATRON'

IN the preceding we have been mainly concerned with the origin of the word Metatron, and have come to the conclusion that it signifies 'the Throne next to the (Divine) Throne' or, which would be the same, 'the second Throne'. In dealing with this we have only in passing touched upon the origin of the conception underlying that word.

The rise of the *conception* of Metatron cannot be explained from any single idea, but must be considered as a resultant phenomenon of the meeting and coalescence of different ideas. The various elements co-operating towards the formation of the conception are the following:

(1) The conception of angelic beings called θρόνοι, evidenced especially (a) in *Test. Levi* 3⁸: ἐν δὲ τῷ (οὐρανῷ τῷ) μετ' αὐτόν εἰσι θρόνοι, ἐξουσίαι, (b) in NT. Col. 1¹⁶:... εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, (c) in 2 *En.* 20¹:... the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, *thrones* and many one-eyed ones... The θρόνοι are, no doubt, *angels possessing thrones*, whence metonymically called 'thrones'.¹

(2) The idea of 70 (or 72) celestial rulers, representing the 70 (or 72) earthly dominions, kingdoms, or nations; these were naturally also considered as enthroned. Acc. to one (the earlier?) view these, as representing Gentile Kingdoms, were evil agencies (trace of this even in 3 *En.* 1⁴).² Under the influence of the Jewish fundamental doctrine

1 In the sense of celestial beings 'possessing thrones' the θρόνοι of Col. 1¹⁶ are interpreted by E. Haupt, in A. W. Meyer's *Kr.-Ex. Komm.* *ib. d. N.T.*, *ad locum*, and by M. Dibelius, in H. Lietzmann's *Handb. z. N.T.* 3, 2, *ad loc.* a.o.

It may not be out of the way to point to the representations of Rev. 4^{2,4} "ἰδοὺ, θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ... καὶ κυκλίθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους εἶδον τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους καθήμενους, *ib.* 11¹⁸ καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν (cf. Mt. 19²⁸, Lk. 22³⁰).

The θρόνοι as a class of angels remain in Christian angelological systems: Origen, *Opp.* 1733, pp. 66, 70, Ephrem Syrus, *Opp. Syr.* i. p. 270, Pseudo-Dionysios, on the celestial Hierarchy, Thomas ab Aquino, *Summa Theol.* i. 108.

2 On the various representations of the 70 (or 72) princes of kingdoms, *vide* notes on 17⁸, 18^{2,3}, 30².

of God's Absolute Sovereignty over Heavens and Earth, the celestial rulers of necessity became the satraps, viceroys under 'the King of the Kings of Kings', appointed as rulers by Him; in this capacity they may fail, or be faithless (a remnant of their character of independent evil agencies) and subsequently be punished.¹ In connection with the early idea of the Divine Council they were as the representatives of the terrestrial kingdoms also thought of as forming the Divine *Bēḥ Dīn*. The ideas of *θρόνοι*, 'thrones', and of 70 enthroned vice-regents of the Most High must have been assimilated at quite an early time. They can be traced, even after the development referred to below (3) has taken place, in *Mass. Hek. ii*: *שבעים כסאות של מלכות יש לו* ... להקב"ה מעין כסאי מלכויות שבעולם כנגד שבעים אומות שבעולם ... *וכלם אינו אלא משלו* "the Holy One, blessed be He, has 70 thrones of kingship in analogy with the thrones of kingships in the world corresponding to the 70 nations in the world. . . and they are all derived from Him (lit. are all from that which is his)". The idea of 70 thrones here is evidently a remnant of the conception of 70 enthroned rulers, called 'thrones'.²

(3) Whatever may have been the first origin of the conception of 70 (72) angelic rulers of the nations and 70 (72) councillors of the Most High this conception was, in various modifications, widely spread in the different syncretistic systems and circles, as Bousset has pointed out.³ Hence the speculations on this theme were inspired not only by the ideas which had been introduced into Jewish religious thought several centuries before, but also by current syncretistic ideas. Probably under the weight of the Gnostic representations of world-creating and world-dominating *ἀρχοντες*, and in opposition to what was felt as dualistic notions, the 70 (72) enthroned vice-regents were still more emphatically put under the absolute rulership of the One God; in order to mark their complete subservience under the Most High, they were deprived of their 'thrones'. The underlying idea being: "there is only one real ruler in heaven", the consequence was: "there is only One Throne, or only One possessor of thrones in heaven, viz. the Throne of Glory and He who is seated on

1 Cf. the 70 shepherds, *1 En. 89¹¹ seqq.*

2 *Zohar*, i. 173 b, says: *דהא שבעין הוו דאינון משתכחי תדיר בהרי שכינתא ושבעין קתדראי סחרניה דשכינתא* In that late work there is, thus, also a remnant of the idea of 'thrones' as independent beings and of their identification with the 70 rulers forming the Council of the Holy One. The writer of *Mass. Hek. ii*, and probably also the writer of the *Zohar* passage referred to, did evidently not think of the 'thrones' or 'seats' as angelic beings, but took them literally.

3 *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 358-361.

it". But at this point of development, the conception of a second throne was already so firmly established as not to be obliterated; this second throne was Metatron. To understand how Metatron could survive the extinction of the (other) *θρόνοι*, it is necessary to recall the existence of other deeply ingrained ideas, viz.

(4) The one *ἄρχων*, the leader of the world-ruling *ἄρχοντες*, in relation to the Highest God viewed as the second or small *ἄρχων*; in general all those Gnostic representations picturing a second, lower, lesser Divinity, or Divine emanation differently expressed in different systems.¹ It should be understood that the idea in question is not to be derived from any particular system, nor figure in that particular system. Thus M. Friedländer,² who had a correct intuition in bringing the figure of Metatron under the light of Gnostic ideas, was wrong in deriving him from Horos. Metatron is by no means a Gnostic figure; the most that can be said is that Gnostic ideas have influenced the conception.

(5) The most important element or complex of elements which gave life and endurance to the conception in question was the notion of the 'angel of *ΥΗΥΗ*, who bears the Divine Name' and the 'angel of the Face, the Divine Presence', called Yael, Yehoel, Yoel, the highest of the angels, the Divine Name representing the Godhead. Extensive speculations must have centred round this possessor of the Divine Name. For this it may suffice to point to the Pseudepigrapha, to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, etc. (cf. above, p. 139 and note on 12⁵) and also to Philo, who calls the angel bearing the Divine Name: 'ἄρχάγγελος καὶ πρεσβύτατος λόγος', 'λόγος θεῖος',³ also *ἀρχή, ὄνομα θεοῦ* (the 'Divine Name') *κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ ὄρων, θεοῦ εἰκῶν*,⁴ etc. From this conception of an angel, partaking of the Divine Glory (being the Angel of the Presence) and called by the Divine Name *יהוה* there arose the appellation "the Little *ΥΗΥΗ*". It is highly improbable that this appellation was at any time accepted by the Rabbis. To Rabbinism the whole idea must have presented itself as the worst of all possible heresies, that accepting "two powers". Even the combination itself: "Little + *ΥΗΥΗ*", whatever interpretations were applied to it, must have

1 In Mandaitic the expressions and ideas connected with the relation between the [נוכרתיי] היי and the תיניאניי היי [Second Life], and also, by the way, between תיניאניי היי and תליתאניי היי [Third Life] proffer many close similarities with the representations of Metatron (cf. above, pp. 64 seqq.).

2 *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, pp. 102-105. (Cf. above, p. 130.)

3 Friedländer, *op. cit.* p. 107, notes 150, 151, quoting Philo's *Quis rerum divin. haeres.* i. 501, *De Migrat. Abrah.* i. 463.

4 Philo, *De confusione linguarum*, 146, 147 (ii. 257).

been an abomination to a Rabbinic mind. The origin of this appellation must be sought with some sect or mystic circle outside the Rabbinic fold, probably one open to and willing to assimilate current Gnostic-syncretistic ideas. Sects and circles of many different shades have certainly existed within Judaism,¹ and many of these have borrowed freely from each other and from every other source congenial to them; and have also been under the influence of current religious ideas. It is further to be supposed that some of the circles devoted to mystical subjects (and experiences) were not inimical to the Rabbinic teachings, just as it is impossible to deny that some of the recognized Tannaitic teachers found it worth their while to devote themselves to the mysteries of the *Mærkábā* and *Creation*. In the circles, where the conception of the High Celestial being, called "the Little $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ " was at home, this name, or at least the frequent use of it, under the strong influence of the Rabbinic teachings, may have been felt as a profanation, and, instead, Metatron, as implying the same, was used. Just as the Throne of Glory referred to the Holy One, so the "Little Throne", "the Second Throne", "the reflex of the Throne of Glory", i.e. Metatron, referred to; became a metonym for the Little $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$. Through this assimilation Metatron became the centre of powerful mystical speculations, perhaps even a popular figure, and was able to penetrate into the Rabbinic literature.

(6) An element that must be taken into consideration is lastly the figure of the Elect One and the Son of man, of the 'Parables' of I Enoch ,

¹ On this *vide* esp. Friedländer, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65 seqq.; Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 18-26; Schechter, *Doc. Jew. Sect.* I. xxv, xxvi, xxviii; Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 83-86, 100 *et al.*, and cf. Reitzenstein, *Mand. B. d. Herrn d. Grösse*, pp. 37, 38; Lidzbarski, *JM.* xxii, xxiii. This does not imply that Judaism itself at any time became a 'syncretistic phenomenon'. Even the Jewish mystical circles of which that behind 3 Enoch was one, are not to be designated as syncretistic: for this their fidelity towards and strong emphasizing of the Jewish faith, the OT. and even the general teachings of the schools are too marked. But on the other hand, it is impossible to deny that these circles, as well as the leading Rabbinic teachers, were influenced by syncretistic ideas, even if this influence was felt largely in a negative way (as *incitamenta* for repudiating or refuting certain ideas). At the same time it must be kept in mind that there were several syncretistic formations more or less closely connected with Judaism. (Cf. G. Kittel, *Die Probl. d. paläst. Jud.* p. 72, n. 1.) Cf. Leo Baeck, *Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik in Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion*, p. 98: "Alles das (*scil.* the ecstatic and speculative mysticism) erscheint auf dem Boden des Judentums zunächst als ein Fremdes, und es ist in der Tat nur auf die, mannigfach bezeugte, Berührung und Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gnostizismus, mit dieser Mischung griechischer und orientalischer Religionen und Mythologien, wie sie damals die Umwelt Palästinas beherrschte, zurückzuführen. Die kosmischen Gedanken und Vorstellungen, die von daher an das jüdische Denken herantraten, verlangten ihre Antwort, die Widerlegung oder die Zustimmung, und aus diesem Erfordernis ist diese mystische Richtung im Judentum, so sehr die Voraussetzungen zu ihr in ihm selbst gegeben waren, hervorgekommen."

who at least to the circle behind 3 *Enoch* was, apparently, conceived of as one being. To understand the connection between that figure and Metatron two different facts must be kept in view: viz. (1) that Metatron is invested with most of the attributes that in 1 *Enoch* characterize the Elect One and the Son of man; to perceive this it is sufficient to read side by side 1 *En.* 46 and 3 *En.* 48 c⁹, 1 *En.* 61^{8, 9} (45⁸) and 3 *En.* 10^{4, 5}, 48 c⁸; (2) that Metatron, however, lacks all Messianic character; further, is never represented as seated on the Throne of Glory, God's Throne; lastly, although identified with a human being, Enoch is not connected with the "one that looked like a man" of Dan. 7¹³ (1 *En.* 46¹). In view of the close dependence of 3 *En.* upon 1 *En.*, and, moreover, of the traits given to Metatron in 3 *En.* upon those given to the Elect One, Son of man, in 1 *En.*, the avoidance of any reference to the features mentioned under (2) above must be considered intentional and interpreted as originating from a refutation of the views implied therein, and, more especially, of the similar views, beliefs and manners of expression current among contemporary religious sects or communities. (Christian: Messiah and his throneship, the use of the term 'Son of man'; Mandaean: the speculations on 'Enoš, the man and the Celestial Being, the 'Upra, *et sim.*) In contrast to such views the Metatron-conception emphasizes that the angel or celestial figure in question is seated on 'a second Throne', a throne of his own¹ which is a lower throne, a reflection of the Throne of Glory. At the same time the only counterpart to the designation 'Son of man' in 3 *En.* is the derogatory "Born of woman, a putrefying drop" laid in the mouth of the angels (ch. 6²). (Cf. the use of 'Enoš' as the "head of the idol-worshippers", *ib.* 5.) It is characteristic that Enoch-Metatron in the same context is called "an elect one among the (inhabitants of the) world", ch. 6³, and that he is implicitly, and in later sources explicitly, the 'Ādām Qadmon.

(7) The Wisdom naturally would be connected with the Metatron-figure; all that the Wisdom speculation implies is so well known as not to need any demonstration here. It will suffice to point out that in 3 *Enoch* Wisdom and Torā are identical. The personified Wisdom, the hypostasis, *created* in the beginning (Prov. 8²²) has been identified with Metatron; the Wisdom as the 'secrets of the Torā' (*vide* below, pp. 171, 172) *possessed* in the beginning (Prov. *ib.*) was then made a 'possession' of Metatron.

¹ A correction in the MS. T (Abbadianus 35) and in the so-called 'second group' of MSS. of 1 *Enoch* read 'his throne' instead of 'my throne' in 1 *En.* 51³. What deductions bearing on the present question may be rightly made from this is difficult to decide.

§ 14. THE ANGELOLOGY OF 3 ENOCH

THE various traditions concerning names, classes, order of ranks, number, functions and nature of the angels, that are embodied in 3 *Enoch*, may be arranged under the following divisions:

(1) Those contained in the part of the book, which is entirely devoted to the exposition of the hierarchy of angels and to the descriptions of the different angel-princes and classes of angels, i.e. the 'angelological section', chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶. Within this angelological section again are to be distinguished at least three independent systems of angelology:

(a) ch. 17, in the following referred to as A 2;

(b) ch. 18, in the following referred to as A 3;

(c) chh. 19-22, 25, 26, supplemented by chh. 27, 28¹⁻⁶, referred to as A 1.

(2) Those contained in the remaining parts of the book:

(a) in the chapters dealing with the Judgement, the performance of the *Qeđuššā*, the fate of souls and spirits, etc., chh. 28⁷⁻⁴⁷;

(b) in the Metatron-pieces, chh. 3-16, 48 B-D 1, 2; further in 23 and 24;

(c) in the fragments, chh. 15 B, 22 B and C.

A. The angelology of A 1 (chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶).

A 1, the largest and most elaborate of the angelological systems of 3 *Enoch*, does not contain a systematic treatment of *all* the hosts of angels. It deals only with the highest classes and angel-princes, namely those functioning by the Divine Chariot (the *Mærkābā*) with the Throne of the Godhead. It is evident, however, that the said chapters are only the latter part of a more comprehensive angelological treatise (cf. beg. of ch. 19 and note). As to the contents of the former (lost) part of this treatise it is useless to proffer conjectures. Cf. notes on chh. 17⁸ and 19¹. That the section knew of other angelic orders besides the *Mærkābā*-angels and angels of the Throne is apparent from e.g. ch. 19⁶.

The order of classification is one proceeding from the lower to the higher classes, treating first of the five angel-princes appointed over the five angelic classes by the *Mærkābā* (i.e. the Divine Chariot, derived from Ezek. 1 and 10), and then of the five angels in the immediate proximity of and functioning by the Throne, the supreme

part of the *Mærkābā*, being the seat of the manifested Godhead. Thus the order is the following:

(1) The Wheels (Hebrew: *Galgallim*) of the *Mærkābā* under the prince Rikbiel (from *ræķēb* = chariots). The name *Galgallim* is derived from Ezek. 10^{2, 6, 13}. The *Galgallim* play the part of the 'Wheels' of Ezek. 1 and 10, i.e. they carry the *Mærkābā*. They are at the bottom of the *Mærkābā*-structure: "the feet of the *Ḥayyoḥ* are resting upon them" (19⁵). The word *Galgallim* is used instead of the originally equivalent *'Ofannim* (in Ezek. 1 and 10 more commonly employed than *Galgallim*), apparently because the *'Ofannim* are already definitely associated with another, higher order of *Mærkābā*-angels (the *'Ofannim* of ch. 25). The *Galgallim* of ch. 19 are only just emerging as a specific class of angels; in vss. 2 and 3 they are depicted more in the form of 'wheels' in the strict sense of the word than as angels. See further note on ch. 19.

The *Galgallim* are eight in number, "two in each direction" (19³). The expression "two in each direction" is no doubt deduced from Ezek. 1¹⁶ ("as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel") and 10¹⁰, thus making one pair of 'wheels' for each of the four *Ḥayyoḥ*.

The function of the prince of the *Galgallim*, Rikbiel, is not defined—in contrast to the case of the princes of the four subsequent classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

The *Galgallim*, besides carrying the *Mærkābā*, share with the higher *Mærkābā*-angels in the performance of the Celestial Song (vs. 7).

(2) *The prince Ḥayyiel and the four Ḥayyoḥ*, chh. 20, 21. The four *Ḥayyoḥ* (derived from Ezek. 1⁵ seqq.) are next above the *Galgallim*. They have four faces, four wings (cf. Ezek. 1^{6, 23}), and crowns on their heads. The only function of these angels mentioned in the chapters in question is the utterance of the responses of the *Q'ēduššā*, in the right and timely performance of which they are prompted by *Ḥayyiel*, the prince appointed over them.

(3) Above the *Ḥayyoḥ* are the *K'erubim with their prince K'erubiel*, ch. 22. The high position assigned to K'erubiel is marked by an extravagant description of his glorious and awe-inspiring appearance. The conception of the *K'erubim*, as it appears here, is mainly derived from Ezek. 10. They are four in number (vs. 15), in accordance with Ezek. 10^{15, 21, 22}. They utter song and praise (vss. 12, 13, 15). But they also appear as God's messengers ("do the will of their Creator", vs. 16). The description in ch. 22 preserves traces of the old idea of the *K'erubim* as the vehicles of the Š'ekinā: this is implied by the

expression "the chariots of the K^eruḅim" (vs. 11). Similarly "the Š^ekinā is resting upon them", "the splendour of Š^ekinā is on their face" (vss. 7, 13). To them is applied the OT. expression "who dwelleth on the K^eruḅim", referring to the Most High (vss. 12, 16, cf. 1 Sam. 4⁴, 2 Sam. 6², 2 Kings 19¹⁵, Is. 37¹⁶, Ps. 80², 99¹, 1 Chron. 13⁶, Ezek. 9³); "above their lofty heads abides continually the glory of the high King" (vs. 12). Cf. Ezek. 11²², 10¹⁹.

The conception of the K^eruḅim drawing (or being) the chariots on which the Most High rides through the heavens—in accordance with 2 Sam. 22¹¹, Ps. 18¹⁰—viz. when leaving the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, is not attested in ch. 22, but it is perhaps to be discovered in ch. 23¹⁷.

The "K^eruḅim of the flaming sword" (Gen. 3²⁴) are perhaps remembered in the explicit reference to the sword of K^eruḅiel in vs. 6.

K^ERUBIEL, the prince of the K^eruḅim, acc. to vss. 11, 12 and 16, has charge of the chariots of the K^eruḅim and exercises the function of supervision and attendance on the K^eruḅim.

(4) The prince 'OFFANNIEL, appointed over the 'Ofannim, is next above the K^eruḅim and K^ERUBIEL, ch. 25. Of the 'Ofannim (derived from the theophany of Ezek. 1^{15, 16, 19-21, 313, 106 et passim}) the details given are scanty (vss. 5-7). Not even the number of these angels is defined, although it is probably to be understood as four: the exposition of the section supports the picture of a *Mærkābā m^erubba' aḅ*—to use the technical term frequent in later cabbalistic works. The only function explicitly assigned to them is the "praising their Creator" (vs. 5).

To the chieftain of the 'Ofannim, 'OFFANNIEL, more space is given. Besides ascribing to him the inherent function of attending and supervising the 'Ofannim, the description shows traces of a conception of 'OFFANNIEL as especially connected with the course of or sphere of the moon (vs. 2, cf. note *ad loc.*). Elsewhere in the book (chh. 14¹⁰, 17⁵) 'OFFANNIEL is explicitly stated to be the prince set over "the globe (wheel, 'ofan) of the moon", and this might have been the earlier character in which this angel-prince was conceived.

(5) Above the 'Ofannim and 'OFFANNIEL are the *S^erāfim* under the prince *S^erāfiel*. They may here be called the highest class of *Mærkābā*-angels proper. They, in common with the four other classes, share in the performance of the Celestial Songs, especially the *Q^eḏuššā*. But they seem further to have had the special function of transmitting documents or petitions to the Most High. To them Satan—as chief

of the Accusers—together with the two “princes of kingdoms” representing respectively the two chief Gentile Empires, Persia and Rome, hand over the documents of accusation against Israel, “that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He” (vs. 12, cf. note *ad loc.* on the quoted sentence). At the same time it is stated, that the *Serāfim* take sides with Israel, in so far as “they burn the writing tablets of Satan in the fiery river”—they are counted among the angels pleading the cause of Israel (cf. the “angels of Mercy”, ch. 33¹).

The number of the *Serāfim* is given as four (vs. 9) in correspondence with that of the *Hayyōḥ*, the *Kerubim* and the pairs of *Galgallim*. The description of the prince of the *Serāfim*, *S^ERĀFIEL*, is extravagant, but the details do not materially differ from those of most descriptions of high angel-princes: the radiance and splendour of his appearance—*Kāboḏ*—the innumerable eyes, etc. One statement, however, is somewhat surprising, in giving a ‘name’ to the “crown on his head”: it is called “the Prince of Peace” (vs. 8, Is. 9⁵). This is only paralleled by the passage in the R. Iṣma‘el version of the *Ši‘ur Qomā*, according to which the crown on the head of the manifested Godhead bears the name of ‘Israel’ (*Bodl. OPP.* 467, fol. 60 b). It is possible that the interceding or pleading function of the *Serāfim* at the Judgement may have been thought of in the application of this name which naturally is meant to refer to the character of *S^ERĀFIEL* as the prince of the *Serāfim*. The function assigned to *S^ERĀFIEL* is conform to that of the princes of the other classes of *Mærkābā*-angels; he has charge of the *Serāfim* and teaches them song, praise and the right performance of the *Q^eḏuššā*.

With the *Serāfim-S^ERĀFIEL*, as has been pointed out above, the highest order of the ‘*Mærkābā*-angels’ proper is reached, and the remaining part of the section turns to describing the angel-princes above them, who, by way of distinction, may be called the ‘*Throne*-angels’ or ‘*Throne*-princes’. Together with the transition from the *Mærkābā*-angels to the *Throne*-princes there occurs a change in the representation of the *Throne* itself, a change already marked in the closing verse of ch. 26: the *Throne* which in the foregoing part is always referred to as the ‘*Throne of Glory*’ is henceforth seen in the two aspects of ‘*Throne of Glory*’ and ‘*Throne of Judgement*’, the latter of these aspects being apparently represented as the higher. The expression ‘*Throne of Glory*’ probably refers to the presidency of the Most High over the angels and angel-princes, the ‘*Throne of Judgement*’ is associated with His rulership or government of the

Universe and His judicature over the inhabitants of the world. Here, as elsewhere, the 'Judgement' (*Dīn*) is to be understood in a wide sense, including forensic and executive judgement as well as government in general.

Consequently, the angel-princes of the Throne are represented as functioning primarily at the Judgement, or in the 'Council of the Holy One'.

(6) RAḌŪERIEL, ch. 27. RAḌŪERIEL is above the Sērāfim and is appointed "over the *treasuries of the books*" and especially over the 'Case (*d'husqōm*)' containing the "Book of Records". The "Book of Records" is opened and read at the sitting of the Celestial Court (*Bēḥ Dīn š'el-ma^alā*), presided over by the Most High. The 'Book' is essentially a 'book of Judgement', and is supplemented by other 'books' of similar character (vs. 2), all conceived of as containing the 'records' of men's deeds.

(For the general ideas of "Books of Records," etc., *vide* Charles's exhaustive note on 1 *En.* 47³ and Box's note on 4 *Ez.* 6^{20.1})

The seals of the *d'husqōm* are broken by RAḌŪERIEL and the books taken out and delivered by him to the Most High.

In passing, reference is at this point of the description made to the angels called 'Scribes' (vs. 2) who read the books before the Celestial *Bēḥ Dīn*. It is noteworthy that the Scribes who elsewhere (chh. 18²³⁻²⁵, 33², *TB. Haḡ.* 15 a—Metatron as scribe—*et freq.*) are assigned a very high position in the heavenly hierarchy, in the present angelological system play quite an unimportant part; they are not even given a definite place in the scheme. They are, in fact, represented less as Scribes proper than as *Readers*. The essential function of the Scribe(s), the recording merits, demerits and Divine decrees, is here in all probability understood as adhering to RAḌŪERIEL, as he, not the so-called Scribes, has control of the 'Books'.

RAḌŪERIEL, as is pointed out in the note on vs. 1, is probably identical with VRETIL of 2 *En.* 22^{11, 12}, "one of the archangels who was more wise than the other archangels and wrote down all the doings of the Lord", to whom the Lord said, "Bring forth the books from my store-places, etc."

VRETIL, besides being the keeper of the books, is explicitly stated to be the Scribe ("wrote down. . .").

Although primarily functioning at the Judgement, RAḌŪERIEL is also concerned with the *Q'ḏuššā* (vs. 3). But, in common with the

1 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1912, pp. 91, 92 n. G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 74.

'Irin and Qaddišin of ch. 28, he does not himself take part in chanting the *Q'đuššā*. In this connection a remarkable statement is made (vs. 3): "out of every word that goeth forth from his mouth an angel is created and he stands . . . and utters a song", at the time of the performance of the *Q'đuššā*. (Cf. ch. 40⁴, *TB. Ḥaḡ. 13 a, Gen. R. 78₁, Lam. R. 3₂₁*.) Thus the essentially Divine power of creating song-uttering angels by a word of speech (a *dibbur*) is here transferred to RAḌŪERIEL. *Vide* further note on vs. 3.

If the representation is original, it shows that this angel was assigned an exceptionally high position in relation to on one side the Godhead, on the other side the other angels.

It is possible that the central feature of the conception of RAḌŪERIEL was that of *Scribe and Recording Angel* (cf. Ezek. 9²¹, Dan. 12¹, *Pirqē 'Āboḡ*, iii. 16, *Tanḡumā*, ed. Buber, p. 17, *Y. Targum* on Ex. 24¹, *Asc. Isaiaē*, ix. 21). The conception shows affinities with non-Israelitish conceptions, e.g. of *Nabu*¹ and *Thot*.

(7) Above RAḌŪERIEL are the highest princes mentioned in the present angelological section, the Watchers and Holy Ones, named with the Aramaic terms of Dan. 4^{10, 14} 'Irin and Qaddišin, in singular 'Ir and Qaddiš (ch. 28). They are four in number, two 'Irin and two Qaddišin (vs. 5), and each of them is equal to all the rest of the angels and princes together (vs. 1).

These angels form the Council of the Almighty. "He doeth nothing in His world without first taking counsel with the 'Irin and Qaddišin" (vs. 4).

Their activity is, however, not limited to that of giving counsel to the Most High, but they also exercise definite power over the inhabitants of the world and the empires and kingdoms on earth. It is they who give effect to the decrees of the Most High "over the kingdoms of men": "they abase to the ground those that are proud and they exalt to the height those that are humble" (vs. 6), an evident allusion to Dan. 4^{14 (17)}. Note that the same power is ascribed to the 70 princes under Metatron in ch. 48 c⁹.

According to vs. 8 the 'Irin and Qaddišin are the 'court-officers' who "raise, argue and close every case that comes before the Holy One. . . when He is seated on the Throne of Judgement". This verse, however, is not to be included in A 1 (see note on vss. 7-10). It forms part of a representation of the 'Irin and Qaddišin as a larger number of high angel-princes (vs. 9), identifying them in chh. 29 and 30 with

1 Cf. the representation of *Nabu* in Gunkel, *Archiv Wiss.* i. 294-300

The angelological system of chh. 19–22, 25–28⁶.

HQB''H (Š ^e kinā)		
'Ir	Throne of	'Ir
Qaddiš	Judgement and	Qaddiš
	Throne of	
	Glory	
	RADU _ḡ ERIEL (Scribes)	

M	Treasuries of the books (etc.)		M
æ		o	æ
r		S ^e rafiel—four S ^e rāfim	r
k	. o o	(Satan, Sammael and Dubbiel accusers)	k
ā		o	ā
ḥ		'Offanniel—(four) 'Ofannim	ḥ
ā	. o o		ā
		o	
	. o o	K ^e ruḇiel—four K ^e ruḇim	. o o
		o	
	. o o	Ḥayyiel—four Ḥayyoḡ	. o o
		o	

o o Galgalliel—eight Galgallim o o
 encompassed by the four winds, and Ra^{'am} ḡ^e-Ra^{'aš}.

Four rivers beneath them.

Clouds.

Hosts of angels: šallišim, pārāšim, gibborim, š^ebā'im,
 g^eḏuḏim, m^emunnim, sārim, ḥaylim, m^ešār^epim,
 mal'ākim d^egālim.

Song-uttering companies.

the 72 princes of kingdoms. A 1 is probably to be regarded as ending with vs. 6.

The conception of the *four* 'Irin and Qaddišin no doubt belongs to the same range of ideas as that of the "Four Presences" of 1 *En.* 40-41², although the four Presences are, *ib. ch.* 40², said to be "different from those that sleep not" (i.e. the Watchers, 'Irin).¹ The Four Presences are, like the 'Irin and Qaddišin, set over the activities and affairs of the terrestrials (1 *En.* 40⁶, 7) and they are connected with the Judgement (1 *En.* 40⁹, 41^{1, 2}).²

It is noteworthy that the 'Irin and Qaddišin are the only angel-princes of the present section who are explicitly stated to wield executive power over men, and only the three highest grades of angels, the *Serāfim* (ch. 26¹²), RAḌUERIEL (as Keeper of the Book of Records) and the 'Irin and Qaddišin are stated to be in any way connected with the affairs of men. That is to say, that the highest aspect of the angelic (and Divine) activities is that of the rulership and judgement of man. The same idea is revealed in the tendency to represent the Throne in its highest aspect as the Throne of Judgement (*vide* above).

B. The angelology of A 2 (ch. 17).

Note. The systems of angelic hierarchy of A 2 and A 3 are altogether different from that of A 1. Not one single specified angel, order of angels nor angel-prince is, as regards function and name, common to A 2 and A 3 on one side and A 1 on the other.

One angelic name, 'OFFANNIEL, occurs both in A 3 and A 1, but the very fact that this name in the two systems is used to denote two different angelic figures is conclusive proof of the disparity between these systems. To A 2 and A 3 are common the conception of angel-princes set over the different heavens (17¹⁻³, 18^{1, 2}).

That A 1 is not a sequel to A 3 is evident from a comparison of the end of ch. 18 with the opening sentence of ch. 19 (cf. note on ch. 19¹). But stronger evidence is to be seen in the fact that ch. 18 (A 3) represents a complete system in relation to A 1: the highest angel-princes, those of the Throne, the Judgement, and further the Recording Angels, are all contained in the final part of the exposition of ch. 18, just as they are the subject of the last chapters of A 1 (chh. 27, 28) though in a different form and with different names.

¹ No doubt the 'Watchers' of the Pseudepigrapha were in the original Hebrew (-Aramaic) texts termed עיריין. Cf. in Schechter's *Fragm. Zadok.* p. 2, l. 18: עיריין השמים.

² Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1912, p. 77, notes on 1 *En.* 40^{2, 4}.

That A 2 cannot be regarded as an introduction to A 1 is scarcely less evident. Apart from the occurrence in both of the angelic name 'OFFANNIEL in different connotations, the order in which the ranks of the angelic hierarchy are presented is in A 2 regressive, in A 1 again progressive.

The last verse of ch. 17, however, describing the 72 princes of kingdoms in *Rāqi*^a (the second heaven) might possibly be a fragment of the missing former part of A 1, the latter part of which is preserved in chh. 19 seqq.

It begins with the phrase למעלה מהם ("above them"), the characteristic opening expression of the different chapters of A 1 in introducing a new, i.e. higher, order of angels or angel-princes. This verse also seems to be more akin, in phraseology, to A 1 than to A 2, e.g. in dwelling on the splendours and adornments of the angel-princes.

If 17⁸ be regarded as a fragment of the missing part of A 1 it would also indicate the general structure of this missing part, viz. as a description of the various angelic inhabitants of the six lower heavens, 17⁸ belonging to the section treating of the second heaven, the *Rāqi*^a. The part preserved in chh. 19 seqq. of course treats of the angelic residents of the ^a*rāboḥ* (the *Mærkābā*-angels and the Throne-angels).

The framework in which the angelological system of A 2 is put is that of the seven heavens only. It begins by referring to "the seven princes, great, glorious, revered, etc." These seven princes are the seven archangels, and are mentioned as something already well known. They are in the chapter enumerated by name; they are further allocated each to one of the seven heavens, as the *m^emunnae* (i.e. appointed one, president) over that heaven and as "the prince of the host" of angels who occupy it.

In this representation two different elements are to be distinguished, viz.:

(1) The notion of the *seven archangels* (as to how far this was originally connected with the conception of seven heavens, see note on ch. 17⁸).¹

(2) The conception of angelic hosts distributed among the seven heavens and of princes appointed over them.

¹ Cf. A. Dieterich-O. Weinreich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*³, pp. 10, l. 15 f., 12, l. 27. K. Dieterich, *Hellenistische Volksreligion und byzantinisch-neu-griechischer Volksglaube* (in *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ*, 1925, pp. 3, 4): "In der gnostischen Lehre... blieben nur die sieben Archonten und die sieben Planetensphären übrig, die dann unter jüdischem Einfluss sich in die sieben Erzengel und die sieben Himmel verwandelten".

There is in A 2 yet a third element, viz.:

(3) The idea of angelic moving forces of the four classes of heavenly bodies: sun, moon, planets and constellations; and of (four) chieftain princes controlling or directing these angelic forces.

This third element is brought into harmony with the heptouranic plan of the system on the basis of the Rabbinic tradition assigning all the heavenly bodies to one heaven, in this case the second, the *Rāqīa'*.⁴ On the other hand the sidereal significance, which may originally have attached to the conception of the seven archangels or the princes of the seven heavens, is hereby concentrated to the rulers of the heavenly bodies located in the second heaven exclusively.

In the conception of seven archangels A 2 shows continuity with the ideas prevalent in the Pseudepigrapha; but also for the notions of different angelic hosts distributed in the seven different heavens, of angelic rulers of the heavenly bodies, and for the locating of these angelic rulers and the heavenly bodies in their charge in a specific heaven, there are precedents in the apocalyptic or pseudepigraphic literature.¹

As regards the names of the seven archangels, of the seven heavens and of the four princes appointed over the angelic forces of the heavenly bodies, it is to be noticed:

The names of the seven princes of the seven heavens are presented in different order and readings both in the two enumerations in the chapter (vss. 1 and 3) and in the two extant sources (8 and 7). In this very variance as to names A 2 agrees with the other representations as far as they are preserved of these seven archangels. Yet, in spite of the incongruity between the various enumerations of the names of the seven archangels there is sufficient similarity in the form of the names to show affinity, interdependence or common origin.

There are first the two outstanding names of venerable ages: MIKĀEL and GABRIEL (Dan. 10, 12, 8, 9). They are here represented as the two highest of the archangels, and occur in most of the enumerations, from the early one of 1 *En.* 20^{5, 7} (in a portion belonging acc. to Charles to a pre-Maccabaeian period) down to that of *Sode Rāzā* (thirteenth century) quoted in *YR.* i. 6 a. The other names also seem to date back to the time of the earlier portions of 1 *Enoch*.

The other names are found in the portions of 1 *Enoch* dealing with the superior angels referred to collectively as the "Watchers" or

¹ Cf. 1 *En.* 20, *Test. Levi*, 3, 2 *En.* 3-20, 3 *Bar.* 11, *Test. Solomon* Fuller references are given in the notes on the chapter.

“The Watchers and Holy Ones” and, in 1 *Enoch*, usually contemplated as Fallen High Angels. These superior angels (whether they were originally conceived of as angels of the “Throne”, or as Princes of the nations of the world or as ἄρχοντες) were evidently given individual names at a time when one of their main activities was thought to have to do with sidereal and elemental forces. Thus BARADĪEL = the angel of Hail, BARAQIEL = angel of the Lightning, ŠAḤAQIEL = the angel of the sky, ŠAPAQIEL = angel of the Stillness, the Appeasing of the thunder and storm, etc. The names were kept even though—as here—the character of the angel-princes to which they were applied had changed.

The absence of the names 'URIEL and RAFAEL here is remarkable. On this peculiarity see note on the chapter.

As regards the names of the heavens and their order A 2 in the main agrees with the traditions on which *TB. Hag.* 12 b (the most important Rabbinic reference) is based. For the first (i.e. lowest) heaven A 2 gives, besides *Uilon*, the Hebrew variant *Šamayim* (cf. *Deut. R.* 2₂₃).

As regards the angelic occupants of the different heavens A 2 differs from *TB. Hag.* 12 b but agrees with the earlier Pseudepigrapha. (*Vide note ad loc.*) The angels subservient to the princes of the heavens are represented as numerous. Each “Prince of the Host” has a suite of ministering angels consisting of 496,000 myriads.

This number, besides giving an impression of the vast number of angels who do the bidding of the seven archangels, is symbolical of the conception assigning to the large multitude of angels the duty of proclaiming, expressing, the Kingship of the Most High throughout all the heavens. “They take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven.” The numerical value of the Hebrew word for ‘Kingdom,’ מַלְכוּת, is 496. The number 496 is therefore usually mentioned in connection with the ministering angels as uttering the *Q'đuššā*. Cf. chh. 35¹, 40³.

The names of the angel-princes appointed over the four classes of heavenly bodies stand in direct relation to the functions ascribed to them and are in the chapter interpreted accordingly. GALGALLIEL is the prince of the globe (*galgal*) of the sun, 'OFANNIEL the prince of the globe ('*ofan*) of the moon (cf. 41¹, אֹפֶן הַלְּבָנָה, against גִּלְגַּל הַחֲמָה), RAHAṬIEL is the prince who makes the constellations ‘to run’ (*rāhaṭ*) and KOḶĀBIEL or KOḶBIEL is the prince appointed over the planets (*koḵābim*).

These four are mentioned with the same names and functions in ch. 14⁴, among the 'rulers' of the world. RAHAṬIEL recurs also in ch. 46³. KOKĪBIEL is met with in such early writings as 1 *En.* chh. 67, 69², 8³ (*Fragments of the Book of Noah*, Charles). The term *Rah'aton* occurs in *TB. Ber.* 32 in connection with angelic rulers over the stars and planets.

The angels who accompany GALGALLIEL, 'OFANNIEL and RAHAṬIEL and who move the sun, moon and constellations are in number 96, 88 and 72 respectively, whereas KOKĪBIEL has a suite of 365,000 myriads of ministering angels.

The discrepancy between the large number of angels assigned to the last-named prince and the limited number of "great and honoured angels" represented as assisting the three higher princes of heavenly bodies was probably the cause of the addition to this chapter (17) of the fragment contained in vs. 8, dealing with the 72 princes of kingdoms. The redactor who joined together the different pieces of the angelological section (chh. 17-28, 29) was led to believe that the 72 princes of kingdoms mentioned in this fragment formed the real counterpart of the 72 angels who acc. to vs. 6 accompany the constellations and that these princes were hence rulers over the 365,000 myriads of angels referred to in vs. 7. To this effect he interpreted the opening words of the fragment: "over them", "above them". He was further moved to this conclusion by his familiarity with certain traditions which connected the 72 princes of kingdoms very closely with the rulership over the planets and constellations or over the heavenly bodies in general. For the improbability of this fragment having originally formed part of A 2 cf. note on ch. 17⁸. It belonged, presumably, to A 1.

C. The angelology of A 3 (ch. 18).

A 3 is like A 2 a complete scheme of angelic hierarchy. It has, however, a much wider scope than A 2. Whereas the framework in which the different angelic hosts and their chieftain angel-princes are ordered is in A 2 merely that of the seven heavens, A 3 stretches its vision of the celestial structure up to the Throne of Glory, the seat of the *Š'ēḳinā*. To the angels and princes of the seven heavens A 3 attaches least importance. Instead it centres its interest and focusses its attention to an increasing extent as the exposition goes on upon the angel-princes occupying the positions near the Throne.

The system under consideration may thus be conveniently divided

up into the following parts, proceeding from the lowest to the highest ranks or angel-princes.

(1) The angels of each of the seven heavens; over the angels of each heaven is appointed an angel-prince, *sar*. (This accords with A 2.)

The angels of the heavens are not defined as to functions or divisions. Neither are the princes of the heavens named by individual names as in A 2. The Princes are 'crowned', i.e. the crown is the symbol constituting the degree of *sar*, prince, ruler over angels appointed to his charge.

(2) The 72 princes of kingdoms, the celestial representatives of the earthly kingdoms, empires or nations.

The seventh heaven is pictured as divided in two parts, one lower or external, and a higher, central. The outer common part is the abode of the angels of the seventh heaven and their prince; the 72 princes of kingdoms are located on the confines between the outer and the inner regions, evidently in order to indicate their character of intermediaries between the earthly kingdoms and the "King of Kings of Kings." They have crowns of kingship (to denote their rulership over the earthly empires) in distinction from the other angel-princes who have "crowns of glory".

(3) The guardians of the seven *Hekāloḥ*, Halls, located one within the other in the seventh heaven, forming its Holy part. The inner regions are pictured as arranged in seven *Hekāloḥ*, the one within—and higher, holier than—the other. The idea of guardians, door-watchers, of the Halls is here just emerging. Contrast the developed form of this idea met with in *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, esp. chh. 15-23, also in *Massāḥāḥ Hekāloḥ*, chh. 4 and 5.

(4) The high angel-princes of the seventh Hall, the place of the Throne of Glory and the *Šekinā*. These angel-princes are ordered according as they are conceived of as representing different aspects of the Divine manifestation in the seventh Hall in relation to the angelic and terrestrial worlds.

The seventh Hall represents a similar division as the seventh heaven. The centre of the seventh Hall is also the centre of the Divine manifestation, the *Šekinā*, the Throne of Glory. We have here, so to speak, the Holy of Holies (as the seventh Hall is indeed named when in later literature the *Hekāloḥ* are designated each by its special name, as e.g. in *Pardes Rimmonim*, Ša'ar Hekāloḥ). Here begins the essential theme of the exposition.

(a) The angel-princes of the celestial performance of the *Q^ođuššā*, viz.:

the four great princes set over the four camps of Š^ekinā,
 Tag^aʿaš,
 Baraṭṭiel, and
 Hāmon.

The four camps of Š^ekinā represent the multitudes of song-uttering angels ordered in four great divisions, rows or 'armies', one on each side of the Š^ekinā. The princes appointed over the camps of Š^ekinā are usually named as the four princes on the "four sides of the Lord of Spirits", i.e. MIKĀEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL (NURIEL or FANUEL) and RAFAEL. The conception in its germ goes back at least as far as 1 En. 40^{1-3, 9}. ("On the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences. . . and I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.")

TAG^aʿAŠ who stands at the head of all the song-uttering angels is symbolical of the Unity. The significance of this name is in later mystical literature essentially that of 'head', 'origin', 'fountain'.¹

תַּגְאֵשׁ is in cabbalistic writings considered as a combined *t^emurā*, viz. אב"ג combined with אב"ב and usually connected with another similar combination, viz. אב"ג = *t^emuras* אב"ג and אב"ב. These combinations are regularly applied to the letters of the Divine Names. (References in note on ch. 18⁵.)

BARAṬṬIEL and HĀMON both express the momentous significance of the heavenly *Q^ođuššā*, the commotion pervading all the angelic hosts at the time when the Thrice Holy is about to be sung. (Cf. ch. 38.)

(b) The angel-princes of the heavenly treasures (probably), representing the corresponding functions traditionally ascribed to Metatron Na^aʿar, "the eldest Servant of His house", viz.:

ṬUṬR^eSIEL, 'AṬRUĠIEL, NA^aARIRIEL and SASNIĠIEL.

Ṭuṭr^esiel is one of the names of Metatron in 48 D I, no. 83. It is almost certain that this name is an allusion to that of Metatron. The same is probably the case with 'AṬRUĠIEL. NA^aARIRIEL at once suggests the name or epithet 'Na^aʿar' or 'Youth' given to Metatron;

¹ Cf. *B^eriḅ M^enuḥā*, ed. Amsterdam, 1648, e.g. foll. 3 a and 5 a. The name Tag^aʿaš, in contrast with the other angelic names of the section, is followed by epithets in Aramaic (שרא רבא ויקירא) instead of in Hebrew. Cf. in ספר אליהו (ed. Bottenwieser) beginning in Aramaic: שרא רבא וישראל. The Aramaic here suggests that the name Tag^aʿaš emanates from some Aramaic source. In Mandaitic תאגא is the term for 'crown'. Cf. the Jewish תגין.

SASNIĠIEL or S^EGANS^EGÆL or ZAGN^EZAGIEL is one of the main synonyms for METATRON. It would thus seem that these four angels represent certain functions connected with the name of Metatron, namely the functions indicated by the names Zaġn^ezāġiel (from נגן) and Na'ar, i.e. the stewardship over the celestial treasures, 'g^enāzīm'. Cf. the cabbalistic play on the word Na'ar: as Na'ar (young) Metatron is also Zāqēn (old) for he is the 'Z^eqān Bēḫō', the eldest of His house, i.e. steward, alluding to Gen. 24².

(c) The angel-princes representing the Divine Strength, Might and Power, viz.:

ZAZRIEL, G^EBURĀḫPIEL and 'A^RĀFIEL.

On these names cf. notes on ch. 18, vss. 12-14 respectively.

(d) The angel-princes of the Torā, viz.:

'AŠRUYLŪ (the general instruction in the Torā) and

GALLIṢUR (the revelation of the esoteric doctrine embodied in the Torā).

In conformity with the principle כל מה שיש למטה יש למעלה (everything below has its counterpart above) there is in the celestial or angelic world a teaching of, instruction in the Torā in a heavenly college. The president of this heavenly college is 'Ašruylū. Galliṣur on the other hand reveals the "secrets of the Torā", the later term used in the technical sense (cf. *TB. Hag.* 13 a) of esoteric doctrine, the essence of the Torā. To a knowledge of "the secrets of Torā" only a privileged few would be admitted. And as possessor of these 'secrets' GALLIṢUR ranks above 'AŠRUYLŪ. This gradation in the knowledge of the Torā and the 'secrets' among the angels is in fact always assumed. Cf. this chapter, vs. 22.

(e) ZAKZĀKIEL, representative of God's care for Israel, and 'ANAFIEL, representing the Divine Majesty pervading the 'A^Rabōḥ (but perhaps originally conceived of as the representative of the world at large, "the Prince of the World").

ZAKZĀKIEL, in accordance with his name—an allusion to זכיה, זכיות— "is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory" (cf. *TB. Hag.* 15 a on Metatron). This function connotes a sort of championship for Israel. The emphasis is here not so much on the Scribe-function (which really belongs to the two Soferiel, vss. 23, 24) nor on the function of Advocate in general (this office rests with Z^EHANPURYU, vs. 21), but the central aspect of the present conception of Zakzākiel is most probably that of Israel's representative.

The function and character of ^ANAFIEL are described thus: "... (he) keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls... and the bough of his honour and his majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows, stretches over) all the chambers of ^Arābōḥ Rāqī^a on high even as... the Glory of the Maker of the World covers the heavens and the earth is full of his praise."

^Anafiel is thus conceived of as a supervisor of all the splendours of the seventh heaven, and especially over the seven Halls. His being compared with the Most High in this relation probably signifies that he is a representative of the Godhead to the whole angelic world under him, and perhaps also, as in *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, implicitly regarded as the Prince of the World. The explanation of the name of ^ANAFIEL as given in vs. 18 of the present chapter recurs in practically identical form in *Hek. R. 22₄*.

(f) The highest angel-princes in A 3 as in A 1 are those of the Judgement, those serving by the "throne of Judgement". They are here:

SOḶER 'AŠIEL—ŠOQEḌ ḤOZI—Z^FHANPURYU,
'AZBUḠĀ,
SOF^FRIEL YHḤ MĒMĪṖ—SOF^FRIEL YHḤ MĒḤAYYÆ.

The first-named triad represent respectively the Accusing-Executing, the Impartially Deciding and the Defending-Mitigating aspects of the Judgement. Or, in the language of ch. 31, the Attributes of Justice, Truth and Mercy.

SOḶER 'AŠIEL represents the rigid claims of the Attribute of Justice as well in the actual judgement (trial and verdict) as in the execution of the judgement. He enters before the Š^ekinā as prosecutor, basing upon the records of men's deeds preserved in the 'books' kept by the two Sof^eriel. As the executor of the judgement, i.e. of punishment, he is appointed over the Fiery River which is the symbol of the execution of punishment. In his zeal "he stirs up the fire of the river". The Fiery River is also the means of purification and punishment of the angels. The angel-princes who wish to enter before the Š^ekinā must pass through the Fiery River (i.e. be purified in it). SOḶER 'AŠIEL, keeping the "seals of the fiery river", also controls the admission of angel-princes into the Presence of the Š^ekinā.

ŠOQEḌ ḤOZI keeps the balance. He weighs the deeds of men in a balance in the Presence of the Holy One.. He is in the middle between the Prosecution and the Defence, the counterpart of the Attribute of

Truth in ch. 31. His function corresponds to that referred to in 1 *En.* 41¹, 61⁸.¹

Cf. the Mandaitic 'Abāḥur, who keeps the balance and weighs the deeds of men: תַּאֲקִיר עֹבְדֵי אֱוִיָּה וְאֲנִיָּה (Lidzbarski, *Mand. Lit.* p. 278).

Z^EHANPURYU (Z^EHAFṬARYI) is the Advocate in Judgement and the Mitigator of the Punishment, functions symbolized by the expression "he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place" (vs. 21).

'AZBUḠĀ is the prince appointed for those who in the Judgement have been passed as 'Righteous': *Ṣaddiqim* and *H'side 'Olām*. He will clothe them "with the garments of life" in which they are to live eternally.

These "garments of life" are in our book to be considered as symbolizing both "the spiritual bodies which are awaiting them" and as "reflections of the glory of Š^ekinā", the outward visibility of the new bodies, constituted of light-substance, *ziy ha-kKāboḏ* (celestial nature). Cf. 1 *En.* 62¹⁶; 2 *Esd.* 2⁴⁵; 2 *En.* 22⁸⁻¹⁰; *Asc. Isa.* 7²²; 8^{14, 25}; 9^{9, 17} etc. 11⁴⁰.²

אֲזַבּוּגָא is probably originally only the name of a method of *t^emurā*.

SOF^ERIEL H' M^EMĪḶ and SOF^ERIEL H' M^EḤAYYÆ are the highest angel-princes in the present angelological system. They fill the functions assigned to the Scribe or Scribes and the Recording Angel. They keep the books of life and the books of death.

On the ideas connected with the terms 'books of life' and 'books of death' cf. notes on chh. 18²⁴, 27², 28⁷, 30 (32¹, 44⁹).³

D. The angelology of chh. 28⁷-48 A.

(a) The section on the Judgement naturally refers to the angels connected with the Divine *Bēḥ Dīn*; as in A 1 and A 3 the angels of the "Throne of Judgement" occupy the highest position. In the different fragments contained in chh. 28⁷-33 we thus meet with the following representations, viz.:

1. The 72 *princes of kingdoms*, headed by the *Prince of the World*, represent the world and its various nations before the Most High, when seated in Judgement (ch. 30). They are identical, according to the Redactor, with the 'Irin and *Qaddišin*, the court officers of the Divine Judge (28⁸). They also actually form the Celestial *Bēḥ Dīn* (29, 30).

1 Charles, 1 *Enoch*, p. 79 n. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 19.

2 Box, Intr. to *Ascension of Isaiah (TED.)*, p. xxiv.

3 See also Charles, 1 *Enoch*, p. 91 (note on ch. 47³).

2. At the judgement of the individual the Holy One is surrounded by three classes of angels: the *angels of Mercy*, the *angels of Peace* and the *angels of Destruction*,¹ representing the Counsels for the Defence, the Impartial Decision and the Execution of Punishment respectively: 33^{1, 2}. Cf. ch. 31: Attributes of Mercy, Truth and Justice.

3. The *Mærkābā*-angels are mentioned: surrounding the Throne are the *Serāfim* and the *'Ōfannim*, whereas the Holy *Ḥayyōḥ* carry the Throne from below. The *Kerubim* and the *Galgallim* are not mentioned. The reference to the *Ḥayyōḥ* contains a feature not met with in A 1: 33³.

4. There are two *Scribes* functioning at the Judgement: ch. 33².

(b) The section centring round the conception of the celestial *Q^oduššā*, comprising approximately chh. 34-40, is primarily concerned with the idea of the innumerable hosts of ministering angels as uttering the *Q^oduššā*.

1. The ministering angels are divided as regards their duties into three classes: some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, but their main duty is the chanting of the *Q^oduššā*.

This multitude of ministering angels, especially in their character of performers of the *Q^oduššā*, are as viewed from their centre, the Throne, the seat of the *Š^okinā*, called the "camp of *Š^okinā*" (*maḥ^{ane} Š^okinā*). From this centre they are also pictured as facing the Throne in four immense ever-widening *šuroḥ*, armies, rows, at the head of each of which there is an angel-prince, called *sar ha-Ḥayil* (prince of the army, 35³).

These four armies are also called "the four camps of *Š^okinā*" (*'arba' maḥ^{ane} Š^okinā*). Cf. in A 3 (ch. 18⁴).

They are also conceived of as further divided, there being in all 506 thousand myriads of 'camps', each camp containing 496 thousand angels. These numbers are to symbolize that the ministering angels, proclaiming the Sovereignty of the Most High in chanting the *Q^oduššā*, realize the "Kingdom of Heaven" on high. 496 is the numerical value of מלכות, Kingdom, 506 that of the plural מלכויות, Kingdoms: all the celestial kingdoms are in reality one whole, the Kingdom of Heaven, whose sovereign is the מלך מלכי המלכים, the King of Kings of Kings. (Ch. 35⁶; cf. in A 2, ch. 17².)

The nature and appearance of the angels are described in ch. 35²,

¹ In 3 *Enoch* for "angels of destruction" the term is as in Rabbinic: מלאכי חבלה. Cf. in Schechter, *Fragm. of a Zadokite work*, p. 2: מלאכי חבל; in Halévy, *T'ezāza Sanbat*, p. 58: מלאכי חבלה.

after the pattern of Dan. 10⁶ (bodily form, immense size, numerous eyes, etc.). They are *changeable*, however, into different forms, even into "flames, sparks, firebrands, males and females" (35⁶; cf. *Gen. R.* 21₁₃). According to the view of the present section these various forms represent a sort of chaos, preceding the daily repeated establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven: with the establishment of the Kingdom among them, their "taking upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven", they *eo ipso* emerge in their "former shape" which is their real existence.

Before chanting the *Q^eđuššā* the angels go down into and *purify themselves* in the fire of the 'N^ehar di-Nur'. From the 'N^ehar di-Nur' they receive the *fiery substance* constituting their bodies; from the fiery river they are formed through the 'Word' of the Holy One.¹

When the angels utter the *Q^eđuššā* in the right order and manner, they are rewarded by crowns. The uttering of the *Q^eđuššā* in its right order of course symbolizes—and realizes—their *conforming themselves to the Law* of the Kingdom, their establishing themselves into one, harmonious whole. On the other hand, when they do not utter the *Q^eđuššā* in "the right order" they are consumed by a fire "from the little finger of the Holy One", i.e. they are *deprived of their individual existence* in bodily form (ch. 40³). From ch. 47 it appears that the fire from the Most High was conceived of as the counterpart on the side of destruction to the *Dibbur* that once created them. The bodily substance itself, that was used as their materia, returns to the non-differentiation of the N^ehar di-Nur; but "their spirit and their soul return to their Creator, and they are all standing behind the *Š^ekinā*" (ch. 47²).

In the place of the punished and destroyed angels there are created "new ones" by "one word" of the Holy One (ch. 40⁴).

2. Other angelic classes and angel-princes mentioned in the *Q^eđuššā* section are:

(a) "Servants of His Throne, the attendants of His Glory": (*m^ešār^epē kis'ō, m^ešamm^e š[unn]ē k^ebōdō*) ch. 40¹.

(b) "The Prince of the World", represented as having authority and command over the heavenly bodies: ch. 38³.

(c) The *Mærkābā*-angels are included in an enumeration of angelic classes: ch. 39².

(c) In the chh. 41-48 A there is no important reference to angelic

¹ Cf. *TB. Haḡ.* 14 a, *Gen. R.* 78₁, *Lam. R.* 32₁. In these passages the idea is represented (incorrectly) as two different views contradicting each other: the angels created from the fire of the N^ehar di-Nur *versus* the angels created from the *Dibbur* (Word) of the Holy One.

conceptions (apart from ch. 47 already referred to) except perhaps the mention of MIKĀEL as the Prince of Israel, as weeping together with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob over the downfall of Israel, and saying to the Holy One: "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?" (Cf. Metatron in *Lam. R.* Intr. 24.)

E. The angelology of the Enoch-Metatron pieces, chh. 3-16, 48 B C D^{1, 2}, and in chh. 23 and 24.

(a) In the two Enoch-Metatron pieces there are also vestiges of a rich angelology, although not so systematic as in the sections A 1, A 2 and A 3.

1. The large multitude of 'common' angels are referred to mostly as "the Ministering angels" (*mal'ake ha-ššārēḅ*), divided into 'camps' or 'companies' or 'parties' (ch. 5²). The expression '*mal'ake ha-ššārēḅ*' seems further, as in the Midraš and Talmud, to be used as a general term, comprising even high, individual angel-princes: the three 'Watchers,' AZZA, UZZA and AZZĀEL are in ch. 4⁶ introduced as "three of the ministering angels".

Terms such as 'angels', 'servants' (*mēšārēpim*), 'mighty ones' (*gibborim*), 'troops of hosts' (*kittōḅ ṣēḅā'ōḅ*), 'armies of *'Arāboḅ*', 'the children of heaven' (*bēnē mērōnīm*), 'the heavenly household' (*pamilyā šel mā'olā*) are hence to be regarded more or less as mere synonyms for 'ministering angels', not necessarily signifying distinct angelic classes.

2. There occur, however, references to definite angelic classes, of a higher order than the angels in general. These angelic classes are usually enumerated together, seldom mentioned singly, and among them are usually included the '*Mærkābā*-angels'. These angels are contemplated as occupants of the highest heaven.

Ch. 6²: in the *šēmē mārōm* are located the Holy *Ḥayyōḅ*, the '*Ōfannim*, the *Serāfim*, the *Kerubim*, the *Galgallim* of the *Mærkābā* (i.e. all the five angelic classes of the *Mærkābā* acc. to A 1) and the "ministers of the consuming fire" (*mēšārēḅē 'ēs 'ōkēlā*).

Ch. 7¹ enumerates: the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the *Šin'anim*, the *Kerubim*, the '*Ōfannim*, the ministers of fire and the *Ḥašmallim*. Similarly in ch. 48 c⁴.

To these names of angelic classes must be added the "*'Ēlim*, '*Ær'ellim* and *Ṭafsārim*" of ch. 14¹, who there seem to be accorded a kind of top-position in the angelic hierarchy. The '*Ær'ellim* and *Ṭafsārim* occur in the similar enumeration, ch. 39², together with four classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

Such enumerations as the last-named must have been the material from which the names of the "ten classes of angels" were evolved. These ten classes played an important rôle later. The enumerations in Maimonides' *Yād Hāzāqā* (*Yēsode Torā*) and *Massækæþ 'Ašiluþ* are often referred to.

The 'Ær'ællim are of course derived from Isa. 33⁷ and the *Ṭafsārim* from Nah. 3¹⁷ (cf. Jer. 51²⁷).¹

3. Angel-princes of a more individual character than the preceding are firstly:

"*The 72 princes of kingdoms.*" These are represented as before the elevation of Metatron surrounding the Throne of Glory, but with the assigning of Metatron as the representative ruler over all the angels, they were made the special *attendants of the Throne of Metatron*, the highest of his subjects: chh. 10, 14¹, 16^{1, 2}, 48 c⁹. Ch. 14 names SAMMĀEL as greatest among the princes of kingdoms, but subject to Metatron's authority.

Ch. 10³ refers to "*eight great princes called YHWH by the name of their King*" who are exempt from the jurisdiction of Metatron: a sort of highest princes of the Throne. The passage is, however, probably additional. See above on "The conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch*" (pp. 84 seqq.).

'ANAFIEL was, acc. to ch. 6¹, sent to fetch Enoch from earth before his elevation into Metatron. Cf. also ch. 16⁵. On 'ANAFIEL see above on the conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* and in *Heḳāloþ Rabbāþi* (pp. 86 seqq., 100).

Ch. 4⁶ seqq. names 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ, 'AZZĀEL as high angel-princes opposing the elevation of Enoch-Metatron. They are here not regarded as Fallen Angels as in ch. 5, but probably as princes having access to the Divine Presence, perhaps functioning as guardians of the Secrets.

Ch. 14 mentions angels of the seven heavens (A 2 and A 3) and further:

The *Manhiḡe 'Olām* (the leaders, rulers of the world). These are divided into two main classes: the angels of the elementary forces and the angels appointed over the four classes of heavenly bodies. The *Manhiḡe 'Olām* carry individual names.

1 On the use of *Ṭafsārim* to denote a class of angels cf. Zunz, *Lit. Gesch. d. Synag. Poesie*, pp. 633, 634. "'Ær'ællim" occur in *TB*. e.g. *Keþ. 104a*: ארואלים ומצוקים אהוו בארון הקדש נצחו ארואלים את המצוקים ונשבה ארון הקדש "The 'Ær'ællim and the Righteous tried to take possession of the Holy Ark. The 'Ær'ællim won and the Ark disappeared from the earth."

4. Fallen Angels and Demons are mentioned in ch. 5.

(a) The Fallen Angels are 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZIEL who correspond to the Fallen Watchers of 1 *Enoch*. As in 1 *En.* (chh. 8, 9⁶, 10⁷) they are represented as "teaching men sorceries", i.e. giving them access to the hidden powers and forces of the physical universe, also called "the planetary world". Cf. note on ch. 5⁹; also in *Mid. Pet.* 'Aharon (Gaster, *Chronicles of Yerahmeel*, p. 170).¹

¹ The figures of 'Azzā, 'Uzzā and 'Azzi'el or 'Uzzi'el are no innovations of 3 *Enoch*. Their origin is probably to be seen in the adoption of certain names of Aramaic and other divinities that were objects of popular cults, such as 'Uzzā and 'Aziz (cf. *ML*, p. 278), as names of Fallen Angels or Demoniical Powers, leading men astray into idolatry and sorceries (acc. to the known rule: names of gods of an adversary or lower religion changed into names of demons). These were then brought in connection with (1) the Fallen Watchers, the conception of which centred around Gen. 6: (2) the name 'azazel of Lev. 16.

Already in 1 *En.* 6⁷ Asael is mentioned as one of the leaders of the Fallen Watchers, and also confused with Azazel who in 1 *En.* 8¹, 9³, 10³, 8, 13¹, 54⁵, 55⁴ is represented as one of or the chief leader of the Fallen Watchers. In 1 *En.* 69² there is an evidence of the use of several names of a similar character: *Azazel* by the side of *Azazel* (the Greek version has 'Ασεάλ, 6⁷, 'Αζαήλ, 8¹, 9⁶, 10⁴, 8, 13¹).

The references in our book, chh. 4 and 5, bear out the fact, that at this time there was an uncertainty whether 'Azzā, 'Uzzā and 'Azzi'el ('Azzā'el) were to be considered as high celestial beings or as demoniical powers. This is to be explained from their subsequent connection with the Watchers in general, instead of with the Fallen Watchers (and perhaps also from the Rabbinic influence adverse to any ideas bearing the semblance of dualism?).

On the representations of the Fallen Watchers, *vide* Charles, *Jub.* note on ch. 4¹⁵, Charles, 1 *En.*², Introd. pp. cv and 14, and Leo Jung, *Fallen Angels*, etc. Cf. also note on chh. 4⁶, 5⁹. (The present writer cannot, from an examination of the various references of the speculations in question, agree with Leo Jung, *op. cit.* p. 183 n. 145, "that there must have been a story of two angels (i.e. that fell), the number of which was increased in later lore". It turns out to be the reverse: only the latest sources have the "two angels" (*vide* note on ch. 5⁹, 10¹⁰), these probably due to the "right and left side" systematization.)

It is noteworthy that these names have found their way into:

(1) The *Testament of Solomon* (ed. McCown), ch. 7⁷: 'Αζαήλ (variants: 'Αζαζήλ, 'Αζαζήλ) as the name of an ἀρχάγγελος; sec. C, ch. 10⁸⁰: 'Ασιελ who ἐνεργεί εἰς τὸ φανερωθῆναι τὰ κλεπτόμενα καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας καὶ θησαυροὺς τινάς. Notice also the incantation referred to by McCown, *op. cit.* note on ch. 7⁶, mentioning the "ἀρχάγγελος" ἀζαζήλ.

(2) *Sib. Or.* ii. 217, 18.

(3) *Mandaic Literature*, in the following forms: 'Az rabba, 'Aziz rabba (*ML*, 22⁵) 'Azazel, 'Azazel (*GR*, 144²⁶, 173²¹, the occurrence of the last two forms is an evidence of their transmission from Jewish speculations). According to *GR*, iv, 144²⁶ (129¹, 2) *Azazel* is the head of the 444 škinās on the right of the Lord of Greatness:

ריש ארבימא וארבין וארביא שכניאתא בנרנבא עותרא שומה דהו איוועיב שומה

(Cf. here the cabalistic representation 'Azzā and 'Uzziel as the heads of the angels of justice, on the right side, and mercy on the left side, respectively: *Ma^araekæb hæ^wlohup* 117 b. *comm.*) *GR*, 173²¹ (167⁹) enumerates among the 16 guardians or keepers of the fettered 'Ur': 'Azazel, 'Azazel, *Taqfel* and *Margazel*:

ומאראקעביב, ומארוזוייב, ומארוועיב, ומארגזעל, ומארגזעל.

(4) The *Gnostic Books of Jeu*, where the elements ωζα, αζα, etc. of the mystical names of the 'Watchers (φύλακες) are probably derived from 'azza, 'uzza

(b) The demons desire to get power over and injure man who was, however, as long as the Šekinā resided among the terrestrials, or "in the Garden of Eden", protected from the influence of the demons (*mazziqin*) by the light-substance radiating from the Šekinā (*ziḡ ha-š Šekinā*). Cf. *TB. Ber.* 17 a; *Num. R.* 12³.

(c) Chh. 23 and 24, though not concerned with the angelology, contain some references to angelic beings or classes of angels. Firstly, both chapters speak of the *Kerubim* as the *special vehicles of the Šekinā* (the winds of the *Kerubim*, ch. 23¹; the chariots of the *Kerubim*, ch. 24¹).

Secondly, in ch. 24, vss. 15–23, are as vehicles of the Divine Manifestation in turn enumerated four classes of *Mærkābā*-angels, concluding with the highest and essential vehicle, the Throne:

vs. 15, the Chariots of the *Hayyōb*.

vs. 16, the Chariots of the *Galgallim*.

vs. 17, the Chariots of the Swift *Kerub*.

vs. 18, the Chariots of the *’Ofannim*.

vss. 19–23, the Chariots of the Throne.

Ch. 23¹⁶ identifies SĀTĀN with the *Ruḥ S’ārā*.

F. The angelology of the additional pieces, chh. 22 B C and ch. 15 B.

Chh. 22 B and C in giving a picture of the Throne and the *Mærkābā* present a rich angelology.

1. The larger multitude of common angels consists of two main species:

(a) The "angels of the Glory", *mal’akē ha-kKābōd*, who are "standing over against the Throne of Glory" and are 660,000 myriads in number.

et sim. Especially may be noticed 1 *Book of Jeū*, ch. 16 (Jeū, 11): "The Three Watchers: οὐωωζει· νο^ασα· ιαε" (ed. Schmidt, *Kopt. Gnost. Schr.* p. 273). Cf. also *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 10²¹, ed. Horner, p. 8): "ζαμα, ζαμα, ωζζα, παχαμα, ωζαϊ."

(5) In the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* edited by J. A. Montgomery where the following forms occur: מלכאל (no. 19, p. 195), עמאל, עמאל (no. 7, p. 146), Dr Myhrman's text has: "in the name of *Gābri'el* and *Mikā'el* and *Rēfi'el* and in the name of 'Asa'el 'Asi'el the angel and 'Ermes (אירמיס) the great Lord". The names in question had become the property of the syncretistic magic and angelology.

(6) Attention may also be called to the ἀζαζαισθαυλιχ' connected with the constellation of the Capricorn (written αργογερ) in Wessely, *Neue Griechisch Zauberpapyri*, line 886 (p. 49).

(b) The 'Servants', *m^ešār^ešim*, "performing His will", 12,000 myriads in number (ch. 22 B⁴, 6, 7).

2. The angels of dread and fear, called *שְׁלִישֵׁי יְרֵאָה* and *וְרֵיזֵי אַמָּה*, i.e. guardian angels who inspire dread and fear, ch. 22 B².

3. *מַלְכִים* and *שְׂרִים*, Kings and Princes. These terms evidently allude to the 'princes of kingdoms', the Rulers in heaven. These seem to be placed in rank under

4. the classes of angels which include the *Mærkābā*-angels, here enumerated as follows: the *Kerubim*, *'Öfannim*, *Hayyoš*, *'Irin*, *Qaddišin*, *G^eduđim*, *Serāfim*. As in A 1 the *Serāfim* are regarded as the highest of the *Mærkābā*-angels, and they even, as in the *Hekāloš Rabbāpi*, are removed to a lofty position by the Throne at some distance from the other classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

Ch. 15 B refers to the *Hayyoš*, the *Kerubim*, and the *'Ælohim* as superior angelic orders; further the 'Princes' under Metatron's authority and the "innumerable companies of the hosts". But the special feature of this chapter is the conception of the angelic *Advocates* (*S^eneğorin*)—1800 in number—who form the suite of the Chief Advocate, Metatron (ch. 15 B²).

§ 15. THE QUASI-PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE 'ARABOP, THE MÆRKĀBĀH AND THE KISSE HA-KKĀBOD

THE *Mærkābā*-picture, thus far contemplated in one of its constituent parts, viz. the angels of the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, is supplemented, in various chapters of our book, by expositions of the different quasi-physical elements and surroundings of the *Mærkābā*. This part of the picture could perhaps be called the 'by-work of the *Mærkābāh*'.¹

The Throne itself, the *Kisse ha-kKābod*, is not made the subject of detailed descriptions in the main part of the book. The only part which is dealt with at some length is

1. The 'Letters' (*'Öpiyyōš*), "graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory" (ch. 41⁴) or written on the *Kæšær* (Crown) or on the 'Heart'. The *Kæšær* represents the highest part of the Divine Manifestation on the Throne, the Heart its centre.

1 The word *מרכבה* is used in two senses, viz. (a) the wider sense when it comprises Throne, Chariot, respective angels and the by-work, and (b) the narrower sense, implying the Divine Chariot and the angels forming it. (a) is here referred to as *Mærkābāh*, (b) as *Mærkābā*.

These 'letters' are the first essences, elements, from or by which the whole of the manifested world was created, not only earth, planets, constellations, the seven heavens and their contents, but the Throne of Glory itself and the *Mærkābā* (ch. 41²), i.e. God's own manifestation of Himself (chh. 13, 41).

The 'letters' have the 'numbers' inherent in them. The א thus stands both for 'ĀLÆF' and for '1', ב for 'BĒḶ' and '2'. They are, from one point of view, actually a sort of spiritual atoms.

The 'Ōḥiyyōḥ combined make up the so-called *Divine Names* or שמות המפורשות. These are contemplated as the second step in the creative emanation, or as secondary creative agencies. (Whereas the word 'create' or 'creation' is always used, what is really intended is 'emanation'.) Chh. 39¹, 48 D⁵, 8, B¹ (K); 42, 48 C⁹, 15 B⁴, 5.

The Names, *Šēmoḥ*, may be divided into three groups, viz.:

(a) Combinations of the *same* spiritual atoms, as אא, בב, דדה, ווו, etc. (48 B¹, cf. *Ši'ur Qomā*).

(b) Combinations of different 'Ōḥiyyōḥ into pre-rational elements, as סאם, רגוט, קטק, זכב, etc. (48 B¹).¹

(c) Combinations of different 'Ōḥiyyōḥ into rational elements, corresponding to Hebrew words. To this stage belong in the first instance the 'attributes' or 'abstract qualities' such as Wisdom (consisting of the spiritual atoms represented by the letters of the Hebrew word for Wisdom: חכמה), Understanding, Knowledge, Love, Mercy, Prudence, Righteousness, etc., "by which the whole world is sustained" (chh. 41³, 8) and in the second instance all the various forms of the Universe. The whole world was created in Hebrew.

The number of principal *Šēmoḥ* is 70 and the number of 'Ōḥiyyōḥ is 22, making in all 92 first elements or cosmical principles, ch. 48 D⁵.

Among these the 'ĀLÆF, or no. 1, is accorded a special significance as the starting-point for the whole process of emanation. On the connection between the 'ĀLÆF and Metatron, *vide* above on the conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* (ch. 48 C¹).

It should be added that in the various *Šēmoḥ* the first letter is thought to represent the dominant atom. Hence in בינה (Understanding) the BĒḶ is regarded as the dominant element, which is

¹ Naturally these combinations were also derived from the principal Divine Letters by means of different systems of *l'mūrā*. The printer (editor) of the *ed. princ.* of *A. R. Aq* in the passage corresponding to 3 *En.* 48 B¹, says, when omitting the names in print: "here are written 22 names acc. to the alphabet אלהם, and 22 names acc. to the alphabet שאתבש, and 22 names acc. to the alphabet תשרק". He is no doubt simplifying and systematizing the actual text of the ms. Still some of the names may easily be read acc. to the said method.

often expressed as follows: "Understanding (*Binā*) was created by *BĒḆ*". In consequence, a combination of *ŠēmōḆ* may be expressed by the first letters of each, after the *Notariqon* system: *בשכמל* is a *Šēm Mēforāš* in which the power of the *Bārūk*-response of the *Qēduššā* is concentrated (ch. 48 B¹).

All possible *’ŌḥiyyōḆ* and *ŠēmōḆ* are represented as contained in the *Torā*. "The letters of the *Torā*" is the technical term for the cosmical letters (ch. 44⁹, 48 D⁷, 13^{1, 2}, 15 B⁵, 18²⁵, 41¹⁻⁴).

2. The Throne is veiled off from the outer parts of the *Mærkābā* by the *Pargoḏ* or Curtain (also: *PāroḵæḆ* and *Pærcæš*, orig. = carpet). The *Pargoḏ* (in Mandaitic *bar goḏā*; Gnostic *καταπέτασμα*) on which are continually to be seen, as a living picture, the drama of "all generations, their doings and their thoughts" in past, present and future times, and behind which are the last secrets of the Godhead, is symbolical especially of the "reasons of the Divine decrees". It forms the division between the angels in possession of the innermost secrets of the Godhead and the angels who do not possess the highest secrets (chh. 10¹, 45^{1, 6} and 18^{16, 22} notes). Cf. how acc. to *Sifrā* on *Lev.* 1¹ "even the Holy *ḤayyōḆ*, who carry the Throne of Glory, do not see the Glory" (*’āf ḥāyyōḆ ḥā-qḡōḏæš ḥā-nnōš’ōḆ ’æḆ kissē ḥā-kkābōḏ ’ēnān rō ’ōḆ ’æḆ ḥā-kkābōḏ*).

3. Under the Throne are the treasuries and store-houses, containing the Abstract Qualities or the Sustaining Forces of the Universe (chh. 8¹, 10⁶) as well as the treasuries of spiritual Maintenance (*Parnāsā*) of the World; further, the treasuries of *elemental forces* ("fire, hail, snow, lightning, clouds, winds," ch. 37). In these are also contained the *Chariots*, the vehicles for the *Šēkinā*'s appearance at different parts of the Universe, or its "traversing the 18,000 worlds" (chh. 24, 37¹). To the treasuries are also reckoned the *Gūf*, i.e. the "chamber of creation of the righteous" and the receptacles of the *Books of Records*, the *Books of Life and Death* (chh. 43³, 27²).

The most important of the contents of the treasuries are the 'secrets', the 'Celestial *Torā*': *Ginzē Sēḫārīm*. Acc. to the Enoch-Metatron pieces, Metatron is appointed over all the treasuries and store-houses on high, but especially the treasuries of the secrets (chh. 10^{5, 6}, 48 C³, 48 D¹⁰).

4. The *Mærkābā*-angels (ch. 34), the camps of *Šēkinā* and the treasuries (ch. 37) are surrounded by concentric walls of clouds, fire, etc., between which are "pillars of brimstone, flaming wheels, winds, voices, thunders, sparks, ice and hail".

5. A special place in the *Mærkābā*-picture is accorded the fiery river (*N^ehar di-Nur*), which fulfils the various functions: creation of angels, purification and punishment of angels and spirits of men (chh. 33⁵, 28¹⁰, 36, 47). The conception of the *N^ehar di-Nur* is amplified into those of "the four heads of the fiery river", "four fiery rivers" and "seven fiery rivers" (chh. 18¹⁹, 33^{4, 5}, 19⁴).

In connection with the ideas of the counterbalance of contraries, which plays an important rôle in our book, the river or rivers of fire are supplemented by rivers of hail, ice and water (chh. 22 B^{3, 4}, C²; cf. ch. 42^{1, 7}).

6. The Garden of Eden is mentioned in chh. 5^{1, 5}, 23¹⁸, 48 D⁸, but does not fit in very well with the use of the *Mærkābā*-picture.

Interesting is the reference, ch. 23¹⁸, to the spices or fragrances of the Garden of Eden prepared for the righteous. On the idea of the fragrances of the celestial regions, supportable only for those of celestial nature but a deterrent for demons and the unworthy, *vide* Boeklen, *Die Verwandtschaft*, etc., p. 65, and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, etc., pp. 301, 302. Notice the Gnostic parallels given by the latter, *op. cit. ib.*

In the additional fragments, chh. 15 B, 22 B, 22 C, there are to be noticed some further developments in the picture of the by-work of the *Mærkābā* and of the 'Arabo Rāqi^a'.

7. The *Ḥašmal* which in the angelology of the book is used to denote a specific class of angels, the *Ḥašmallim*, and otherwise is taken as a sort of celestial matter (ch. 36², cf. chh. 26⁴, 35⁶, 48 B¹, D⁸) *au niveau* with 'fire', 'hail', 'ælgābiš', etc., is here, in the expression "the habitations of the *Ḥašmal*", beginning to receive a definite mystical significance as connoting the inner part of the *Mærkābā*¹ (ch. 15 B²).

Another feature is the Tabernacle and Altar on high (ch. 15 B¹), referred to above on the conceptions of Metatron.

Thirdly we are told of "windows above the heads of the *Keruḥim*", symbolical of the admission or granting ('letting through') of the prayers: ch. 15 B².

A fourth detail is that of a Court (*Ḥāšēr*) before the Throne, representing the part inside which no angel, not even the *Serāfim*, can enter: ch. 22 B¹.

1 Cf. *TB. Ḥag.* 13 a, b; *Hek. R.* 13¹; *Soḏ ha-Ḥašmal*, in 'Arze L^ebānon, foll. 40 a, 41 a: the *Ḥašmal* denotes the *Ḥayyoḥ* and also designates a special place in the 'Holy of Holies' (i.e. the seventh *Hekāl*). It also represents the rhythmical effulgence of spiritual Light (*Hāšā* and *Mallel*), it is the Deity as 'Ur-Sonne': *S. Miḥraš Talpiyyoḥ*, 167 d (cf. *Bō Yin Rā*).

This *Hāṣēr* is surrounded by rivers of fire, and rivers of hail and over these rivers are placed 'bridges' on which the angels and princes approach the Entrance (*Mābōy*) to the Divine Court, as in the *Heḳāloḅ Rabbāḅī*, ch. 131.

The highest heaven, ⁴*Arāboḅ*, contains the seven *Heḳāloḅ* (Halls, Palaces), arranged concentrically "one within the other" (ch. 1¹). In the innermost of these, the seventh Hall, are the Throne of Glory and the Highest parts of the *Mærkābā* (chh. 1^{1, 2, 6}, 16¹, 18^{3, 4, 18}, 22 B⁴, 37¹, 38¹, 48 C^{4, 8}, 10²). The entrance to each of the seven Halls is guarded by angels (cf. above on the Angelology of A 3, p. 159, and ch. 1^{2, 3} (QAFṢIEL)). The Halls and the guardian angels are here not yet subject to abstruse speculations as in the *Heḳāloḅ Rabbāḅī* and later.

Ch. 24¹⁷ in a Midraš-like passage speaks of the 18,000 worlds. *Vide note ad loc.* and confer above, p. 74; similarly ch. 48 A¹ mentions 955 heavens. The import is somewhat different. *Vide note ad loc.*, and cf. the Gnostic *Habrasax* and the 365 heavens, Hippol. ⁷Ελεγχος, vii. 26. (955 is the numerical value of םימשה 'the heavens'; ם = 600; ⁷Αβρασαξ is by gematria 365.)

§ 16. THE CONCEPTIONS OF SPIRIT AND SOUL. FATE OF THE SPIRIT AFTER DEATH

THE trichotomy of the non-physical part of man in *n^ešāmā*, *rū^aḥ* and *nāfāš*, as met with in developed mystical literature, seems at the time of our book not yet to be conceived of. The surviving part of man is, throughout the book, referred to by the term *n^ešāmā* exclusively, chh. 28¹⁰, 43^{2, 3}, 44^{1, 2, 6, 7}, 48³. This term *n^ešāmā* will best be rendered 'spirit'.¹ An examination of the various passages treating of the human *n^ešāmā* reveals the following ideas, viz.:

(1) The *n^ešāmā* or spirit is indestructible and eternal, ch. 43.

¹ Where *n^ešāmā* and *rū^aḥ* occur together, the former denotes something higher than the latter, just as, where a distinction between 'spirit' and 'soul' is made, 'spirit' most often denotes the higher of the two. In cabbala *n^ešāmā* often recalls the Neo-Platonic *Νοῦς*, which Dean Inge translates 'Spirit' (*vide* W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, ii. 37 seqq.).

Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., p. 32, says of the three terms for 'soul' used in Bible and Talmud: 'רוח bezeichnet den Geist ausserhalb seiner Verbindung mit dem Leibe, נפש den in diesem wirkenden und durch Thätigkeit sich offenbarenden Geist, שכל Seele, Seelenwesen, Seelenperson den Geist in seiner Verbindung mit dem Leibe, wie er in ihm zum Vorschein tritt, ein ihn gebunden ist und mit ihm ein Ganzes bildet.' The present writer is not convinced that this distinction is justified in respect to the Talmudic dicta. The term most often used in the earlier Haggadic dicta is *n^ešāmā*, and this quite as well of the 'spirit' after its separation from the terrestrial body as when 'in diesem wirkend'. More correct is the remark by Abelson, *Immanence*, pp. 43, 44: "In Talmudic literature there is...no clear-cut distinction between these terms; but noteworthy is the preferential use of Neshamah to signify the soul in its truly spiritual sense".

(2) The spirit, even when not united to a body, has a bodily form. This bodily form is evidently pictured as similar to the form of the manifested (or physical) body save in so far as it is winged.

This bodily form must not be confused with the "pre-existent form or type of body" preserved in the Chamber of Creation (ch. 43³), with which the spirit is invested when about to go down into life earthly. Cf. below.

(3) The *n^ešāmā* is, in all probability, conceived of as pre-existent. This seems to be presupposed by the expression used in ch. 43¹⁻³, speaking of "the spirits that have been created and have returned" and "the spirits that have not yet been created" as two distinct classes. Cf. notes on ch. 43.

It must, however, be admitted, that the representations of ch. 43 do not *absolutely* compel the interpretation, that actual (so-called 'real') pre-existence is meant here. The possibility always remains, that the expressions cited above refer only to an 'ideal' pre-existence. When Metatron according to ch. 43 promises R. Išma'el to show him "the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created" this need not necessarily imply the real pre-existence of these spirits; one might compare how acc. to ch. 45 Metatron is able to show R. Išma'el all future events and all coming generations, "their works and their doings". The greatest probability is, however, that an actual pre-existence is meant to be conveyed. The strongest evidence for this is the use of the Scripture expression "the souls I *have made*" to denote "the spirits of the righteous not yet created".

(4) On the supposition that the pre-existence of the spirit is taught in our book, it also follows that the spirit's "being created" means its entering its manifested existence, i.e. its being invested with a body (or perhaps rather with the image or model of the manifested body which determines the growth and appearance of the actual physical body¹). This Creation takes place in the Chamber of Creation, called 'Body' (*Gūf*). (Cf. note on ch. 43³: for the term *Gūf*, cf. *TB. Yeb.* 62 a, 'Ab. Zar. 5 a; *Niddā*, 13 b.)

(5) Further, on the same supposition, it follows that the character of the spirit is determined by the way in which it fulfils the tasks set for it in its manifested existence. The *n^ešāmā* in its pre-existent state is pure or 'righteous'.² Through life earthly the spirit may become defiled or wholly corrupted (ch. 44^{5, 6}).

1 Cf. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 165; Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., p. 16.

2 Cf. 4 *Macc.* 18³³; *TB. Šab.* 32 b; *Bābā Bāprā*, 16 a; *Ber.* 60 b (prayer), *Niddā*, 30 b; *Ecl. R.* 127. Vide note on ch. 43²; Box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, note on 7³² (p. 120); and R. Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., pp. 12, 13.

(6) The pre-existent spirits have their abode in the presence of the Throne of Glory.¹

Fate of the spirit after death:

(1) Immediately after death the spirit of man is judged and, according to its life on earth, it is registered among one of the three classes of (a) righteous, (b) intermediate, and (c) wicked.²

(2) The righteous forthwith return to their original abode in the presence of ('above') the Throne of Glory, ch. 43. In other contexts it is stated, that the righteous in the time to come (= after the second judgement?) will inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, ch. 23^{18,3}

(3) The intermediate, בנניים or בנניים, are brought to Še'ōl in order to go through a process of purification. When purified and wholly cleansed from the defilement caused by their sin they are, most probably, regarded as sharing the lot of the righteous, ch. 44^{3, 5}.

(4) The wicked are conducted to Gēhinnom to be punished in fire.

(5) The intermediate, no doubt, form the large majority.

The term *rū^{ah}* does not occur in 3 *Enoch* with reference to human beings. The term *næfæš* again occurs only once, viz. in ch. 16². It probably refers to the psychical processes, the 'mind', comprising the emotional affects. *Næfæš* generally denotes the vital force of the body. Possibly, however, the writer of ch. 16 is not conscious of any distinction between *næfæš* and *n^ešāmā* or *rū^{ah}*.

Ch. 47.

A position by itself is taken up by ch. 47. This chapter pictures the nature of the angels somewhat in analogy with that of human beings. The underlying idea seems to be that angels and men are essentially

1 By implication, since here is the abode of the spirits who have returned, *scil.* to their original abode. This agrees with *TB. Hag.* 12 b (and *Gen. R.* i. 26), but disagrees with *TB. 'Aboḏā Zārā*, 5 a (*et al.*, *vide* above) in so far as the latter gives the abode of the unborn souls as the *Guf*.

2 Righteous = undefiled, 'white'; intermediate = contaminated, 'grey'; wicked = wholly corrupt, 'black'. Cf. *TB. Roš ha-š-Šānā*, 16 b, 17 a, *Sab.* 33 b, 152 a; *Ab. R. Nap.* xli; *Tos. Sanh.* xiii. 3. On the conceptions of pre-existent spirits and their abode in Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic, *vide* Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 231 seqq., Box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 26, 33, 37, 120; Billerbeck, in Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. x. N. Test.* ii. 133 seqq. For Mandaic parallels, cf. above, p. 76.

3 Similarly in *TB. Šab.* 152 ab: 'nišmōpān səl šaddīqim gⁿūzōp tāhāp kisse hā-kKābōd' (under the Throne of Glory) but in *TB. Bab. Meš.* 114 b, *Bab. Baḥ.* 84 a, *Ber.* 12 b, the abode of the righteous is the Garden of Eden. *Vide* also Templer, *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre*, etc., pp. 18 seqq.; Wohlberg, *op. cit.* pp. 30, 31. There is not sufficient evidence in 3 *En.* for the view that the life of the righteous in the '*Araboš*' is a passing, preparatory, life in waiting for the time of the resurrection.

Strange is the way in which the analogy between angels and men is worked out with regard to the manifested existence. The angels are said to have a destructible part (47²), evidently corresponding to the physical body of human beings; and just as the manifested (physical) life of man is that in which his specific duties are to be discharged and during which he can fail and become corrupted, so also the angels carry out their duties (symbolized by the performance of the *Q^eduššā*) while in manifested existence, and may likewise fail in that state. Just as the spirits of the righteous return to their Creator after earthly life, so the spirits and souls of the angels are said to return to their Creator after the destruction of their perishable part in the *N^ehar di Nur* (fiery river); moreover, the parallelism implies that

חַיִּינִיתָא . . . מִן נְיִשְׁמִיתָא. " 'Aḅapūr . . . weighs and unites the soul with the spirit' . . . " tut den Geist mit der Seele zusammen" (Lidzbarski).

As an example of passages, where there seems to be no idea of a dichotomy of the non-physical part of man, one may refer to *GL. III xvii 536/537 (97/98)*; being a dialogue between the spirit and the body, in similar terms, *mutatis mutandis*, as the dialogue between the spirit and the soul in *GL. III xxxviii 566 (117)*. There are also frequent passages pointing to the idea of the spirit's possible corruption through its own doings during its life in 'the world of illusion': e.g. *GL. III xxi 544 (102/103)*: "The Judge (after death) examines the Spirit on its sins and aberrations: 'what works have you done, O Spirit, in the world of illusion, where you have had your abode?' 'You are my witness, O Judge, that I have done no evil deed upon my own account. . . .'"

To illustrate the workings of this idea of 'soul and spirit' in different circles, it may be allowable to point to the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* (edited, translated and commented upon by E. A. W. Budge in his *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pp. clxii-clxxxiii, 534-574, 1043-1084). In his summary of that book (*op. cit.* pp. clxii seqq.) Budge says: "The portions of [the 'Apocalypse of Paul'] that remain to us prove that it was full of ancient Egyptian beliefs and views about the spirit, and soul, and 'angel', of a man. . . . The first section begins with the description of the fate of a sinful soul on leaving the body. This soul was attended on earth by its angel and admonished by its spirit, which reported daily to God the sins which it committed. When its body died, its spirit reviled it for its wickedness, and its angel afflicted it, and then its spirit summoned it into the presence of the Judge of Truth, who is here Christ. . . . Then the soul was taken before God, and its angel and its spirit addressed God." The passages run: "Its spirit came forth from it, saying, 'O thou wretched soul, thou didst not give me rest during my little time which I passed in sojourning with thee. Or, O thou wretched soul, didst thou endure. . . or did thy heart turn? The breath of the breath of life of God was in thee. Let us [go] to the presence of the Judge of Truth. I will never forgive thee; and I have made myself a stranger unto thee this day, and do thou do likewise [to me]'. Thus the spirit of the soul abuseth it (i.e. the soul), and its angel afflicteth it" (pp. 556, 1043). "And they took away the soul to enable it to pay worship unto the God who created it in His own image and likeness. . . . And the spirit of the soul said, 'I am the spirit, the breath of life which sojourned with it (ⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉ ⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲉⲗⲁⲱⲟⲛ ⲉ ⲣⲟⲥ)', judge it according to its judgements" (pp. 558, 1045). Also here, as in the Mandaitic passages cited above, the soul is the subject of sin, whereas the Spirit is incorruptible, a Divine spark living within the soul and separating from it when it is corrupt. The terms used for 'spirit' and 'soul' are the Greek πνεῦμα [ⲛⲓⲁⲛ (ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲉⲙⲁ)] and ψυχή [ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲉ] respectively. In other passages of the Apocalypse the soul alone (or the soul and its angel (ἄγγελος)) is spoken of, without any reference to the spirit. Cf. also W. Scott, *Hermetica*, ii. p. 265 (*Corp. Herm.* x. 16).

the spirits and souls of the angels are pre-existent (cf. note on ch. 47²). The spirits of the angels have bodily form as the spirits of men (ch. 47⁴).

Ch. 47 is evidently later than the rest of the section within which it appears. It quite clearly builds upon ch. 40, which latter speaks of the punishment of the angels by way of destruction, but knows nothing of any continued life for the punished angels. It also presupposes chh. 43 and 44 on which it is modelled, although inadvertently introducing the expression 'spirits and souls' instead of 'spirits'.

The underlying idea, already referred to, of ch. 47, viz. the identification in essence of the nature of men and angels, is, of course, old. This idea has been traced to Jewish-Alexandrian speculation: after taking over from Hellenistic thought the Platonic-Pythagorean conception of the pre-existence of the soul, the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophers arrived at the identification: *ἄγγελος* = *δαίμων* = *ψυχή*.¹

The identity in kind of human spirit and angelic nature is the necessary presupposition for the identity of Enoch and Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces of our book. Also other representations of the transformation of a human being into an angel or celestial being imply the same notion (Elijah = Sandalfon, etc.). In the symbolical language of the earlier mystical literature the 'garment of glory' or 'garment of light' represents the higher celestial, angelic-spiritual nature. The garment of glory in these writings is attributed as well to angels as to the righteous spirits ascending into heaven. The difference between men and angels in such connections is only one of degree of perfection.

The originality of ch. 47 consists in its maintaining a manifested existence, in a perishable body, for the angels, similar to the earthly life of men.

In this connection it must be pointed out, that the conception of the pre-existence of the human spirit as met with in ch. 43 does not seem to be characteristic of the whole of 3 *Enoch*. Thus in the longer Enoch-Metatron piece Enoch-Metatron is called a *Youth* because he is a child in years compared with the angel-princes. It really would seem as if the conception of pre-existence belongs only to chh. 43 and 47 or, probably, to the section 41-48 A.

Acc. to Billerbeck² the doctrine of pre-existence was first intro-

¹ Vide Billerbeck in Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N. Test.* ii. 340, who quotes Schlatter, *Das neuaufgefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach*, pp. 180-186, and points to the 'Alexandrian-Gnostic (?) Apocryphon Prayer of Joseph', acc. to which the Patriarch Jacob is an archangel (angelic name: Israel) who has entered earthly life from his pre-existent state.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 341 seqq.

duced in Rabbinical literature in the middle of the third century A.D. and its first representatives in Palestine were R. Šemu'el bār Nāḥmān (about A.D. 260), R. 'Assi (about A.D. 300), R. Leḡi (about A.D. 300) and R. Yiṣḥāq (about A.D. 300).¹

On the assumption that Billerbeck has rightly fixed the time of entrance of the ideas of pre-existence into Rabbinical circles, the presence in our book of the conception of pre-existent spirits would seem to indicate the terminus post quem of the collection of chh. 3-48 A as the middle of the third century A.D. It is, of course, possible, that the idea of pre-existence was known to Jewish mystical circles earlier than this. That Josephus² gives it as one of the tenets of the Essenes is well known. It is maintained by prominent scholars³ that it can be traced even in the Pseudepigrapha. Nevertheless it is significant that ch. 43 seems to introduce the idea as something new, and that it is not present in the rest of the book (chh. 3-40). From this might be concluded at least that the collection (redaction) of the main part of 3 *Enoch* (chh. 3-48 A) was made at about the time when the idea of pre-existence was just being introduced into the mystical circles in question. (Cf. above, p. 38.)

§ 17. THE DIVINE JUDGEMENT

THE Divine Judgement dealt with in chh. 28⁷-33² is a Judgement enacted daily, at an appointed time of the day. The Judgement is concerned

- (1) with the whole world;
- (2) with all the nations of the earth;
- (3) with the individual;
- (4) with the angelic world.

The Judgement, *Din*, involves regular Court proceedings in the

1 On account of dicta attributed to those teachers in *Midrās Tanḥumā*, 26 a, 89 a, *TB. Yeḇ.* 62 a, *Lev. R.* 4, etc. "In Babylonia one identified—at least in later times—the pre-existent human souls with the Iranian Fravašis." So in *TB. Sab.* 145 b, speaking of the *mazzāl* (Aramaic st. d. *mazzālā*) of the proselytes as present at the law-giving at the mount of Sinai. Acc. to Billerbeck 'mazzāl' (=constellation, fate) here equals 'genius fravashi'.

Cf. R. Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc. "ein weiterer wichtiger, und unumstösslich feststehender Satz der Talmudischen Lehre (ist) ersichtlich. Die Seele ist präexistierend, ihre Präexistenz ist eine reale, individuelle, nicht etwa eine nur ideale als blosser Gedanke der Gottheit". Wohlberg, of course, bases on the completed Talmud (as it lies before us), and, on that basis with reserve for the expression 'die Talmudische Lehre', his thesis may be considered as well-founded. He quite rightly acknowledges the incongruity of the Talmudic dicta of different origin (*op. cit.* p. 9).

2 *Bellum Judaicum*, ii. 8. 11.

3 E.g. Box, in *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 26, note on 4 *Ez.* 4¹².

Celestial Assize for each case, Divine decision, decrees with regard to the world, the nations and the individual, and, lastly, the execution of these decrees, as punishments or otherwise.

When acting as Judge the Holy One is presiding in the Great *Bēḥ Din* on high: he is assisted by the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* (ch. 28^{8, 9}) who stand before him "as court officers before the judge". Acc. to ch. 28⁹ these 'Irin and *Qaddišin* "argue, pass the sentence, make the requests, close the cases, establish the sentences below on earth". In the judgement of the nations of the world the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* (chh. 29, 30) are viewed as Princes of Kingdoms', and are headed by the *Prince of the World* "who pleads in favour of the totality of the nations".

Acc. to another picture, now with reference to the Judgement of the individual, the Holy One has by him the three hypostasized Attributes, JUSTICE, MERCY, and TRUTH. The MERCY supports man by sending him a staff of its own splendour, on which to support himself when standing before the Divine Judge (ch. 31^{1, 2}).¹ The same idea is expressed in the form of "Angels of JUSTICE, MERCY, and PEACE" surrounding the Most High, when seated on the Judgement Throne (ch. 33).

The proceedings in the Divine Court and the final decrees are based upon the recordings contained in the *Books of Judgement*, chh. 18²⁴, 27^{1, 2}, 28⁷, 30², 32¹, 44⁹.

These books are called "the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead" (chh. 18²⁴, 28⁷), the "Book of Records" and the "Books of Judgement" (ch. 27^{1, 2}), the "Book in which are recorded all the doings of the world" (ch. 30²), the "Book of fire and flame" (ch. 32¹), and the "Books of Records" (44⁹).

The *Books of Judgement* contain (a) the records of men's deeds, good and evil, and also of various events in the whole Universe; (b) the Divine decisions and decrees. The books are in the keeping of the *Scribes* (chh. 27, 33²).

The executors of the Divine decisions are in general matters the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* (ch. 28⁹), who represent the Divine rulership over or government of the world, as do the 'Princes of Kingdoms' (ch. 48 c⁹) with which they are identified (chh. 29, 30). They also sanctify

¹ Cf. the *Vision of Abu Yazid* (d. 874, R. A. Nicholson, *An Early Arabic Version*, etc., p. 707, ll. 4 seqq., 413). The angel of the Footstool gives Abu Yazid, ascended to the seventh heaven, a pillar of light:

حتى اذا انا بملك الكرسي استقبلني ومعه عمود من نور فسلم علي ثم قال
خذ العمود فأخذته

"until I was met by the angel of the Footstool (*Kursi*) who had with him a pillar of light. He saluted me; then he said, 'take the pillar'. So I took it...".

the body and spirit of the man who has undergone judgement. But the execution of the special decrees which involve 'punishment' either on the world at large (ch. 32) or on the individual (chh. 31², 33¹) is reserved for a special class of angels existing for this purpose, viz. the 'ANGELS OF DESTRUCTION' (*māl'^akē ḥābbālā*). When executing the punishments on the world the angels of destruction are given the 'Sword of God' to be used by them as an instrument of punishment and vengeance (ch. 32¹, 2).

The 'Angels of Destruction' correspond to the 'Angels of Punishment' of 1 *En.* 53³, 56¹, 62¹¹, 63¹; 2 *En.* 10³ (42¹); *Ap. Petri*, 6, 8; *Test. Abrah.* 12, 13 (ed. G. H. Box, pp. 19 seqq.). See note on ch. 31².

On the details in the representation of the daily Judgement see the notes on chh. 28⁷-33².

The execution of the judgement on the intermediate (the large majority, called *bēnōn[iyyim]*) and the perfectly wicked, having been judged immediately after death, is described in ch. 44 (in dealing with the fate of souls and spirits). Also here the angelic executors are the angels of destruction, of which only two are mentioned, viz. the chiefs appointed over the *bēnōn[iyyim]* and the wicked respectively; it is noteworthy that the chief 'angel of destruction' set over the *bēnōn[iyyim]* has the function of supporting, helping, purifying them, hence also called by the significant name SIMKIEL (from סמך). The Divine attitude towards the *bēnōn[iyyim]* is that of Support, Help, Mercy, Encouragement.¹ In contrast hereto, the angel of destruction appointed to deal with the wicked is called ZA'AFIEL (the Wrath of God, זעף). The wicked are to be cast out from the Divine Presence without Mercy, to be punished in Gehenna.

Also upon the *angels* punishment is executed, chh. 40³, 47.

When the song-uttering angels fail to perform the *Q'ēduššā* in the right time and order they are consumed by fire. Acc. to ch. 47 this destruction by fire refers to their 'bodies', i.e. to their existence as individual members in the song-uttering companies. The bodies of the song-uttering angels who have failed in the discharge of their duties are sent back into the fiery river from which they were once created and in the fiery river the multitudes of angels thus punished form a congeries of fiery substances: "mountains of burning coal" as the expression is in ch. 47², using the simile traditional since 1 *En.* 21³ ("like great mountains and burning with fire").

¹ Similarly in *Seḏār Gan 'Eden* an angel is introduced whose duty it is to save those of 'middle merit' or 'the unstable' from the angels of destruction; that angel is called עזריאל, from עזר (help): (של מלאכי חבלה): הוא בא ואורחו בהם ומציל אותם מידם. Among the unstable are reckoned the proselytes who אינם מתקיימים כראוי ביראת ה'.

§ 18. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CELESTIAL SONGS, ESPECIALLY THE Q^EĀDUŠŠĀ

AN entire section of the present book is devoted to the description of the performance of the celestial songs and hymns of praise. The section, comprising chh. 35–40, enlarges on the hosts of angels engaged in the chanting of the Song, their number, arrangement, preparation, purification before intoning, the attitude or rôles played by the other parts of the Celestial community, etc.

Apart from this section the performance of the celestial songs is mentioned in various connections, especially in the sections dealing with angelology.

A. The character of the songs.

Different terms occur partly denoting various kinds of songs, partly being merely synonyms. Thus, in ch 1¹¹, there are mentioned: Song (*Širā*) Trisagion (*Q^eāduššā*), Chant (*N^eimā*); *ib.* vs. 12: Psalm (*T^ehillā*), Song of Praise (*Šəbāḥ*), Song of Rejoicing (*Rinnā*), Thanksgiving (*Tōdā*), Exultation (*Zimrā*), Glorification (*Pā'ēr*), Hymn (*Na'ayā*) and Eulogy (*'Oz*). This is, however, in the introductory chapters which are later than the main part of the book. In the angelological section A 11 we find, e.g. ch. 20², reference made to Praise, Glory and Rejoicing (*T^ehillā*, *Šəbāḥ*, *R^enānā*). Nowhere is there any parallel to the extravagant indulgence in enumerations of synonyms for 'song' and 'praise' met with in the *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 24.

The songs consist of Scripture verses, chh. 19⁷, 46⁴, 2⁴, 45⁶.

Ch. 19⁷. The Galgallim, K^eruḅim, Ḥayyop, S^erāfim are represented as singing, in the form of a mutual exhortation, the fifth verse of Ps. 68: "Extol Him that rideth in 'Araḅop, by His name Yāh, and rejoice before Him".

Ch. 46⁴. The song uttered by the planets (or heavenly bodies in general) is Ps. 8⁴: "When I consider Thy heavens, etc."

Ch. 2⁴. On the occasion of R. Iṣma'el's admission to enter and behold the *Mərkābā*, the angels exclaim: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!" (Ps. 144¹⁵).

Ch. 45⁶. "O YHWH, how manifold are thy works! The King's word hath power and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing" (Ps. 104²⁴; Eccl. 8⁴).

3 *Enoch* dwells exclusively upon the *celestial* hymns, songs and praises, omitting all references to the terrestrial *Q^eđuššā* or other songs, chanted by men on earth, e.g. by the congregation of Israel.

The whole conception of celestial songs is of course framed by analogy to the songs on earth, but there is no hint of an interdependence between terrestrial and celestial songs. This is in marked contrast to the ideas of e.g. *TB. Haḡ.* 12 b (“the ministering angels say the song by night but are silent during the day for the sake of the glory of Israel”: the preference is accorded the chanting performed by the congregation of Israel) or of the *Heḡāloḡ Rabbāḡi*, where acc. to ch. 9_{2, 3} superimportance is assigned to the Trisagion performed by Israel (“When Israel says the Holy, Holy, Holy, the Most High has no pleasure in all the glories of the heavens with their song-uttering companies, but his attention and his joy are fixed upon the congregation of Israel alone”). In 3 *Enoch*, on the contrary, as the central event in the heavens—and in the whole universe—is contemplated the performance of the Song by the companies of angels (chh. 35^{5, 6}, 36, 38). In this respect 3 *Enoch* accords perfectly with the earlier Enoch literature, especially 2 *Enoch*.

The song *κατ' ἑξοχῆν* is, however, the *Q^eđuššā*. The *Q^eđuššā* as recorded in 3 *Enoch* is of the simplest form known, viz. the Thrice Holy (Isa. 6³), “Holy, Holy, Holy, is *YHWH Š^{BA}'OP*: the whole earth is full of his glory” and the response “Blessed”.

The response “Blessed” is referred to in two different forms, viz.

(a) “Blessed be the Glory of *YHWH* from His place” and

(b) “Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever”.

(a) is attested in chh. 1¹², 20²; (b) in chh. 39² and 48 B¹ (*K*), B².

The *Yimloḡ* (“*YHWH* shall reign for ever, etc.”) is not mentioned in the present book.

In exhibiting this simple form of the *Q^eđuššā* 3 *Enoch* accords with 1 *En.* ch. 39^{12, 13} which also gives the *Q^eđuššā* in the form of the Thrice Holy and the response “Blessed”:

“Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits”. The “Blessed” is two-fold: “Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever”. On the change in the Trisagion here see Charles, 1 *Enoch*, note on ch. 39¹² (p. 76), and Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 145, note on 39¹².

In 2 *Enoch* only the Thrice Holy is preserved, ch. 21¹ (*A*); cf. *Rev.* 4⁸.

This simple form of the *Q^eđuššā* is strong evidence of the early

time of the Q^eĎuššā-section of 3 *Enoch*. It is to be noted, by the way, that the term 'Q^eĎuššā', in the main part of the whole book, is as yet unknown as denoting the Trisagion and the response. It appears only in the later introductory ch. 1¹¹. Uncertain is 26⁸, בכל מיני שבה וקרושה.¹

B. The performers of the Q^eĎuššā.

(1) Angels specially appointed for the sole purpose of chanting the Q^eĎuššā. These may be called "the song-uttering angels".

The song-uttering angels are called simply 'ministering angels' or 'camps of angels', 'camp(s) of Šekinā.' *Vide* above on Angelology, D. There are 506 thousand myriads of camps, each camp counting 496,000 angels (chh. 35¹, 40³; cf. 17²). The numbers 496 and 506 are symbolical of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Vide* above on Angelology, *ib*.

The camps are arranged in four *šuroḅ* (chh. 35³, 36²), at the head of each there being a "Prince of the Army". These four *šuroḅ* are also called "the four camps of Šekinā" (chh. 18⁴, 37¹). Acc. to ch. 18⁵ TAG'AS is the leader of all the song-uttering angels, in rank above the four princes.

(2) Besides these hosts of angels whose special duty is the performance of the Q^eĎuššā, the Song is chanted also by the *Mærkābā*-angels, the great Princes, the heavenly bodies and by the *Mærkābā*-seer (chh. 20², 22¹², 22 B⁸, 25⁵, 26⁸, 27³, 46⁴, 45⁶).

C. The time appointed for the celestial Q^eĎuššā.

There is a time fixed every day for the performance of the Q^eĎuššā. The relation of this appointed time to the quarters of the day or night on earth is not defined in 3 *Enoch*. (Cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b: "The angels recite the Song only once a day, some say 'only once a week', etc.")

Contrast *Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. 10: "I (Yaoel) . . . teach those who carry Him (i.e. the *Ḥayyōḅ*) the song of the seventh hour of the night of man".²

¹ For the Jewish Liturgy and the forms of the Q^eĎuššā therein contained, see Oesterley and Box, *Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism*, p. 177; *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1911; *J.E.* article 'Kedusha'; *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 1921, pp. 43, 49; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*², pp. 61-67. In 3 *Enoch* the recital of the Q^eĎuššā is never referred to as קרושה לוטר but always as לוטר קרושה. In Ga'onic literature the expression mostly is לאמר קרושה or שומרים קרושה.

² Ed. by Box, 1919 (TED.), p. 47. Prof. Box, in note 7 *ib.*, points to the parallel in *TB. 'bōdā Zārā*, 3 b: "God sits (at night) and listens to the song of the *Ḥayyōḅ*" and *TB. Hag.* 12 b, referred to above, p. 184. Cf. also *Test. of Abr.*, ed. Box, p. 37.

The time of the performance of the *Q^eđuššā* is, acc. to our book, the central event of the heavenly 'day'. For the 'Time appointed' see chh. 18⁷, 19⁶, 27³, 35⁵, 36¹, 38¹, 39¹.

D. The arrangement of the *Q^eđuššā* and its performance.

The "Blessed" is considered a response to the Thrice Holy. Hence there are some of the song-uttering angels who have for exclusive object the chanting of the "Holy, Holy, Holy, etc." whereas others are entirely devoted to responding with the "Blessed": chh. 24², 35⁴. The Thrice Holy is performed in three parts, viz. (1) "Holy"; (2) "Holy, Holy"; and (3) "Holy, Holy, Holy, is יְהוָה שֶׁבָא'וֹפ, the whole earth is full of His Glory", ch. 40². (Cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b: "three different companies of angels say the Song every day; one says 'Holy', one 'Holy, Holy' and one 'Holy, Holy, Holy is H'Š'ēbā'op'" i.e. in the manner of the chanting in Jewish congregations, *vide* note on 40².)

E. The import of the *Q^eđuššā*.

The significance of the celestial *Q^eđuššā* is indicated by the stress laid on its performance at the right time and in the right order, in perfect unity and consonance, and its explicit and implicit connection with the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is the symbol of, and, at the same time, the actual realization of the Kingdom of Heaven in the celestial spheres.

The angels and the four princes at the head of them are rewarded with crowns when they chant the *Q^eđuššā* at the right time but punished by extinction if they do not, chh. 40¹⁻³, 47. The chanting of the *Q^eđuššā* כְּתִיקוֹנוֹ brings about the unity and harmony which in itself actualizes the existence of the song-uttering companies, ch. 35^{5, 6}. The *Q^eđuššā* is the means of the realization of God's sovereignty among the angelic hosts, their conforming to the law of the Kingdom; hence the singing of the *Q^eđuššā* by the angels is termed "taking upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven", ch. 35⁶.

The realization in the *Q^eđuššā* of the Kingdom of Heaven among the angelic orders is implicitly indicated by the numbers 496 and 506, used in ch. 35¹ with reference to the companies of song-uttering angels; 496 and 506 are the numerical equivalents of *Mal'kuṣ* (Kingdom) and *Mal'kuyyop* (Kingdoms) respectively. All the celestial kingdoms are made one whole, the Kingdom of Heaven, whose sovereign is the King of Kings of Kings.

The realization of the Kingdom of Heaven among the angels extends its effects to the physical aspects of the heavens and to the outer realms of the Universe.

“At the time when the ministering angels utter the ‘Holy’ all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets tremble, the gates of the Halls are shaken, the foundations of the Universe are moved, all the orders of *Rāqīa*⁴, the constellations and the planets, are dismayed, and the globe of the sun and the moon haste away, etc.”, ch. 38¹.

This trembling of the planetary regions of the heavens is their expression of acquiescence in the Divine sovereignty, and hence considered as their ‘Song’ (a sort of spherical harmony), to judge from the quotation in this connection (ch. 38³) of the Scripture passage Job 38⁷: “When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy”.

The *Q^edūššā* is naturally addressed to “the Holy One, blessed be He”. Ch. 48 B² presents a picture of the angels singing the Trisagion and the “Blessed” before the self-existent Divine Names, when these go forth from the Throne of Glory. In ch. 39, on the other hand, the Names are said to go forth from the Throne of Glory at the time of the angelic performance of the *Q^edūššā* as a sort of response from the side of the Divine manifestation to the angels’ acknowledgement of His sovereignty. A quotation from “the Book of Enoch” by Moses de Leon represents the Names as themselves chanting the “Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever”.¹

The *notarigons* of the Trisagion and the “Blessed” (i.e. קק"ק and בשכמל'י) are in ch. 48 B¹ given as Divine Names. This is quite natural from the conception of the Divine Letters and Names obtaining there. See above on “The quasi-physical aspects of the *Mærkābā*, etc.”

In later literature there are frequent speculations on the Divine Names קק"ק and בשכמל'י. See e.g. Šiyyuni, Par. *Ha'azinu*, S. *Midraš Talpiyyoḥ*, 78 a.

In the additional ch. 15 B³ the *Š^ema'* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord) is introduced as a Celestial Song. This reflects a later time than the rest of the book, where the *Š^ema'* is never referred or alluded to. See above on “the origin and date of composition of 3 *Enoch*”, end. And cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b, where the קדוש and the שמע are co-ordinated. (*Vide* Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesd.*² p. 63 seq.; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, ii. pp. 78 seqq., 129.)

1 The quotation is reproduced by Jellinek in *Beth ha Midrasch*, ii. p. xxxi.

APPENDIX I

Attempt at a reconstruction of the earliest fragments of the Enoch-Metatron pieces

IT has been hinted above (pp. 42, 79 and 83) that some fragments of a writing or writings on Metatron, representing a stage before the inclusion of the Metatron ideas in the Enoch Literature and the identification of Metatron with Enoch, may be traced in the Enoch-Metatron pieces. Some conjectures concerning the actual passages where such fragments occur may be proffered here.

Almost certain is it that these fragments contained a representation of Metatron as a primordial being. It is suggestive that this idea has been obscured by Metatron's identification with Enoch (cf. p. 78). Hence the functions which in the original traditions were represented as belonging to Metatron (or conferred upon him) from the beginning, are, by the Enoch-Metatron traditions, represented as being conferred upon Enoch, successively, on the occasion of his elevation into a high, celestial being.

Now it may be noticed that chh. 9²-13, if taken out of their context, and relieved of obvious additions, could easily be interpreted as referring to Metatron alone (not to Enoch) as a Celestial being, existing at or before the Creation. Considered by themselves, these chapters contain remarkably prominent references to the cosmical functions and attributes of Metatron. He is coextensive with the whole world (an established feature of the Primordial Man idea), ch. 9; he carries the cosmical letters, ch. 13. It is noticeable, further, that ch. 11 dates the revealing of all secrets to Metatron by the use of the word *mē'āz*, which, considered by itself, is most naturally translated 'from the beginning' (not 'henceforth', as the redactor of the Enoch-Metatron piece evidently understands it). It need not be said that chh. 10 (the definition of Metatron) and 12 (the promulgation of the little $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$) fall in naturally with the same representation. From the mutual relation of chh. 10 and 12 it would appear that the word Metatron is a metonym for the real name of the Being in question, viz. the little $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$. It may hence be surmised that the main part of chh. 9-13 represents a fragment of an original writing on Metatron—the little $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$.

In 48 c the foisting on to an original tradition on Metatron of the idea of the elevation of Enoch is apparent (cf. above, p. 83). Original Metatron-fragments may perhaps be detected also in 48 c³, 5, 7-9.

These fragments would thus represent the earliest and most important parts of 1 *Enoch*, from a time not later than the first century A.D. (cf. above, p. 79).

APPENDIX II

The Gnostic references to the 'little-Yao', the possessor of the Divine Name,¹ and the 'Youth'

ON pp. 82, 123 and 141 reference has been made to the occurrence of the expression 'the little Yao' in *Pistis Sophia*. It will be apposite to reproduce here in full the passage where this expression occurs. We

¹ 'The little Yao' corresponds exactly to 'the little YHH '. For the probability of $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ having been pronounced $\Upsilon\text{Ā}\text{H}\text{Ī}\text{H}$, vide A. Lukyn Williams, *YĀHĪH* (*J.Th.S.* xxviii, 1927, pp. 276-283), F. C. Burkitt, *Yahweh or Yahoh* etc. (*id.* pp. 407-409).

follow Horner's literal translation¹ (Jesus speaks of his first descent from the highest, inmost, celestial realm, the 'first mystery', to the earth):

"... It happened therefore, having come unto the midst of the Rulers of the Æons, I looked down unto the World of the mankind by the command of the First Mystery, I found Elisabet the mother of Iohannes, the baptist, before that that (woman) yet conceived him, I sowed a power into her, this which I received from the little Iao, the good, he who (is) in the middle, that he should prevail to preach in front of us, and prepare my road and baptise in water for forgiving sin. That power therefore, that (is) that which becometh in the body of Iohannes, and also in the Place of the soul of the Rulers, destined to receive it, I found the sound of Helias [i.e. Elijah] the prophet in the Æons of the Sphere, and I took him in, and I took his soul also, I brought it to the Virgin of the Light and she gave it to her Receivers, they brought it unto the Sphere of the Rulers and they cast it into the womb of Elisabet. But the power of the little Iao, he of the middle, and the soul of Helias the prophet, they (are) those which are bound in the body of Iohannes the baptist."

Behind this obscure passage one may easily recognize the idea of the little Yao as a spiritual essence present in the prophet of his age, or in the outstanding saint. The same idea is attested of Metatron in Jewish mystical writings (cf. above, pp. 102 and 123); of the original Man-Saviour-Messenger, also called the 'one-born', the 'unique', the 'beloved Son', in Mandaic Literature, and of the Primal Man—the Spirit of Adam in the Pseudo-Clementine writings and in the systems of the Ebionites and Elxaites (cf. above, p. 123, note 1).

Although the received text of the cited passage seems to speak of 'the power of the little Yao' and 'the soul of Helias' as two different spiritual entities incarnated in John the Baptist, there should scarcely be any doubt that the passage in reality bases upon a tradition, according to which the celestial being possessing the Divine Name and called the 'little' to denote him as an emanation from the inscrutable Deity, is present in, and is the power of, the prophets of the different ages, last present in the prophet Elijah, and then maintained to have again appeared in John the Baptist. The epithet 'little' evidently is meant to denote this being as the lesser manifestation of, the second to, the Deity (the First Mystery).

There are some other instances of the speculations of this figure which show the existence of ideas closely related to the conceptions of the little ΥΗΥΗ-Metatron, the possessor of the Divine Name. These are found in the representations of 'Yao' and 'Yeu'.

1. Yao-Yeu is the Primal Man, the First or 'Great' Man.

Thus says the *Second Book of Yeu* according to the German translation by Schmidt (*Pistis Sophia* etc. p. 318):

"Wiederum (πάλω) werdet ihr in ihr Inneres (referring to the Inmost Recesses or Mysteries) bis zu der Ordnung (τάξις) der Vorhänge (καταπέτασματα), die vor den grossen König des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός) gezogen sind, hineinwandern. Sie werden euch ihr grosses Mysterium (μυστήριον), ihr Siegel (σφραγίς) und den grossen Namen des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός) geben und sich zurückziehen, bis ihr hineinsetzt und sie durchwandert, und

1 Pp. 6, 7, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8; ed. Mead, pp. 9, 10.

bis ihr zu dem grossen Menschen gelangt, d.h. zu dem König dieses ganzen Lichtschatzes' (-θησαυρός), dessen Name 'Jeu' ist. . . (p. 319). . . Dann wird sich Jeû, der Vater des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός), über euch freuen etc."

2. Yao-Yeû, the First Man, has authority over those who execute judgement and punishment on the spirit of man.

Pistis Sophia, III, ch. 111 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 184, 185; ed. Mead, p. 238; ed. Horner, p. 143):

"... Whenever therefore it should happen, whenever should be completed the time of the punishment of that soul in the judgments of the Rulers of the Middle, is wont the counterfeit spirit (ἀντίμιμον πνεῦμα), it is wont to bring the soul up from all the Places of the Rulers of the Middle, it is wont to take her up before the light of the sun according to the commandment of the first man *Ieou*: and it is wont to take her (close) to the judge. . ."

3. Besides supreme judge Yeu, the first man, is called Messenger, Legate, of the First Commandment, and the overseer of the Light.

In *Pistis Sophia*, III, chh. 126 and 130, in contexts treating of the fate of souls and the places of punishment, the following passages occur:

III, ch. 126 (ed. Schmidt, p. 208; ed. Horner, p. 161):

"These Rulers (ἄρχοντες) therefore of these twelve chambers being within the Dragon of the Darkness. . . there being a door to every chamber. . . And there is an Angel of the Height being vigilant unto each of the doors of the chambers. These who *Ieou* the first man, the overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of the Light, the Legate (πρεσβευτής) of the First precept, he is he who put them being vigilant unto the dragon that he should not be disorderly with all the Rulers of his chambers which are in him."

III, ch. 130 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 215, 216; ed. Mead, pp. 275, 276; ed. Horner, p. 167):

"And whenever the Ruler should cast out the souls, are wont the *Angels of Ieou, the first man*, these who are vigilant unto the chambers of that Place, he is wont to hasten immediately and to carry off that soul until he bringeth her (close) to *Ieou, the first man*, the Legate of the First precept. And is wont *Ieou, the first man*, he is wont to see the souls and to prove them. . . But if should prove them *Ieou*, and find them having completed their cycle. . . and is wont to have mercy on them *Ieou*."

In this connection one may recall that, according to 3 *Enoch* 15 B², Metatron is the head of the defending angels, and, that in *Hek. R.* 26₈, Metatron is called 'Long-suffering and abundant in Goodness'. Further *Ieou*, as the Overseer of Light and the Ruler of the Rulers, corresponds to Metatron as the Ruler over all the celestial treasures and over the 70 princes (= ἄρχοντες).

4. The references to Yeu-Yao as the leader or ruler over ἄρχοντες are frequent. Just as Metatron in some Jewish mystical contexts is called 'The Great (one)', so the ἄρχοντες, in this connection, speak of Yao, their leader, as the 'great Yao'. The 'great Yao', hence, is not the unmanifested Deity, but identical, in fact, with the 'little Yao'.

1 This does not refer to the Ineffable Deity, who, whoever in other contexts is represented as the Makranthropos, cf. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, p. 360.

Pistis Sophia, II, ch. 86 (ed. Schmidt, p. 126; ed. Mead, p. 163; ed. Horner, p. 97): "And the Virgin of the Light with the great Captain of the Middle, this who were wont the Rulers of the Æons to call, The great Iao, according to the name of a great Ruler who (is) in their Place".

5. A somewhat different nomenclature is used in some passages, speaking of the 'little Sabaoth', put in relation either to the 'great Sabaoth', or to the 'great Yao'. Also here we have to do with the conception of a second Divine manifestation, a possessor of the Divine Essence. This conception is clearly to be distinguished from the ideas connected with the names Sabaoth, Sabaoth Adamas etc. The term 'the little Sabaoth' is evidently evolved on analogy with the 'little Yao'. *Vide* especially *Pistis Sophia*, II, ch. 63 (ed. Schmidt, p. 82; ed. Mead, pp. 103, 104; ed. Horner, p. 63) and *Pistis Sophia*, IV (v), ch. 140 (ed. Schmidt, p. 241; ed. Mead, pp. 302, 303; ed. Horner, p. 187).¹

It has been recounted above that the (little) Yao-Yeu was represented as the Second Manifestation, also as the Primal or Great Man and the Overseer. It now remains to point out some further epithets of the Second Manifestation.

The *Unknown Early Gnostic Work (Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk)*, edited by Schmidt (*Pistis Sophia* etc. pp. 335 seqq.) runs, according to Schmidt's translation:

Ch. 2. "Der zweite Ort (τόπος) ist entstanden, welcher Demiurg (δημιουργός) und Vater und Logos (λόγος) and Quelle (πηγή) und Verstand (νοῦς) und Mensch und Ewiger (αἰδιός) und Unendlicher (ἀπέραντος) genannt werden wird. Dieser ist die Säule (cf. Metatron as 'ammūdā d^a-æmšā'ipā, above, pp. 122, 123), dieser ist der Aufseher". *Ibidem*, p. 338, this 'Overseer' is also called 'the Youth'. Thus we have here a similar use of the epithet 'Youth' as in the Jewish mystical works (the Youth Metatron) and in Mandæan sources (*Rābya Ṭalya* etc., above, p. 68, 69).

6. Lastly attention must be called to the fact that in *Pistis Sophia* we meet with the same salvation-mystery that we have traced as underlying the representations of Enoch-Metatron, although here not expressed in terms quite as closely resembling 3 *Enoch* as are those met with in the Mandæan Literature. It may be allowed to quote an elucidating passage, viz. *Pistis Sophia*, II, ch. 96 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 146 seq.; ed. Horner, pp. 114 seqq.):

1 The original import of these celestial figures cannot be obscured by the *systematizations*, by which they have been accorded definite positions in various regions of the Universe. Such a system is the following, proceeding from the Inmost or Highest to the lowest regions: (1) the ineffable Deity—Makranthropos, (2) the First Mystery—Logos with the Apatores, Hypertripneumatoi, Protripneumatoi, Tripneumatoi etc., (3) Celestial Beings called 'the 24 mysteries', (4) the Treasury of the Light or the Land of the Light with 12 Saviours and 9 Watchers, (5) the Place of those of the Right under Yeû, Melchisedek, Sabaoth the Great and Good, (6) the Place of the Middle under the Great Yao, the Little Yao, the little Sabaoth and the Virgin of the Light, (7) the Place of the Left, (8) the 12 Æons, (9) the Sphere of Heimarmene, (10) the Terrestrial world; cf. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, pp. 360-363.

“Now therefore also, Amen I (Jesus) say to you, Every man who will receive that mystery of the Ineffable and is complete or fulfilleth (it) in all its types with all its figures, is a man being in the World, but he excelleth all Angels and he will excel more than they all, he is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Archangels, and he will excel more than they all. He is a man being upon the world, but he excelleth all the Tyrants, and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Lords, and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Gods... all the luminaries... all the pure (lights)... all the Triple powers... all the Forefathers... all the Invisibles... the great Forefather Invisible... all those of the Middle... the emanations of the Treasury of the Light... the Confusion... the whole Place of the Treasury and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he will become King with me in my kingdom. He is a man being upon the World, but he becometh King in the Light. He is a man being upon the world, but not one (out) of the World is he, and Amen I say to you, That man is I and I am that man...”¹.

7. The above is enough to show that the central ideas and figures of the mysticism represented in 3 *Enoch* and known to the circle behind it has penetrated into the *Pistis Sophia* and related writings.² This confirms the general conclusions arrived at in the Introduction as to the age and dispersion of the ideas in question. It is noticeable, however, that the name ‘Metatron’ never occurs in non-Jewish sources, although the conception is clearly attested. This fact renders more weight to the hypothesis put forward above, that the name Metatron actually originated in Jewish circles and should be regarded as a pure Jewish invention, viz. a metonym for the term the ‘little $\Upsilon\eta\mu\eta$ ’.

8. An explicit allusion to an Enoch Literature, containing speculations on the Divine Name Yao-Yeu (or the possessor of the name (little) Yao-Yeu) is actually found in *Pistis Sophia*. Thus we read in *Pistis Sophia*, IV ch. 134 (ed. Horner, p. 178, ed. Schmidt, p. 228, ed. Mead, p. 292; cf. II, ch. 99, ed. Schmidt, p. 158, ed. Horner, p. 123):

“Now, therefore, for the sake of sinners have I rent myself asunder and am come into the world, that I may save them. For even for the righteous, who have never done any evil and have not sinned at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the *Books of Yeu, which I have made Enoch write in Paradise*, discoursing with him out of the tree of the Gnosis and out of the tree of the Life. And I made him deposit them in the rock Ararad, and set the ruler Kalapatauröth, who is over Skemmut, on whose head is the foot of Yeu, and who surroundeth all æons and Fates—I set up that ruler as watcher over the *Books of Yeu* on account of the flood,³ and in order that none of the rulers may be envious of them and destroy them...”⁴

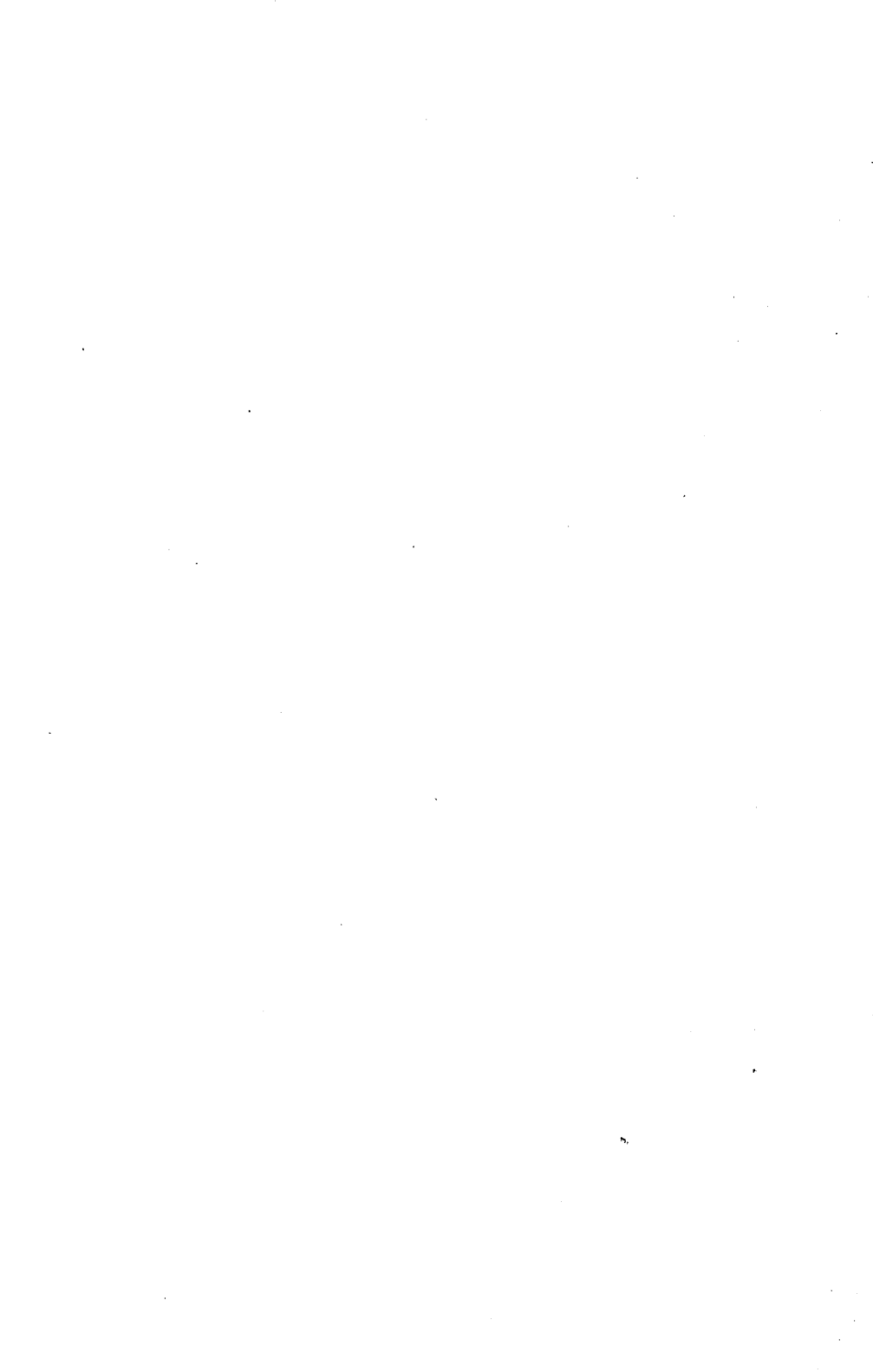
1 Cf. 3 *En.* 4^{7, 8}, 6³, 10³⁻⁶.

2 Cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I, 4-8, 30. 5 seqq.

3 Cf. 2 *En.* rec. B, ch. 33⁸⁻¹² “And give them the books of thy (Enoch) handwriting... as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers... shall not be destroyed till the end of time, and have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch... and ordered that it perish not in the deluge”.

4 Cf. 3 *En.* 6², 48 D⁷⁻⁹.

PART II
TRANSLATION WITH NOTES



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. 243 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. (8) The *Seraphim*, *Kerubim* and *Ophannim*. Cf. chh. xxvi, xxii and xxv. 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 *Qëdushsha*, 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 *Qëdushsha*).

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 fire² asked ^{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 (נעימה). Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a, נעימות (= chanting). the Holy *Chayyoth*... answered. The Holy *Chayyoth* utter the *Qëdushsha* 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 upon ⁴the 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, xlvi C 9 (cf. notes *ad loca*). In the last-mentioned passage, ch. xlvi 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. xlvi C 9, xlvi 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, xlvi 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. xlvi 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. xlvi 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. xlvi 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. xlvi 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?’

world⁴ 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 hour⁷ 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, servants⁴ 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 'Ophanim, 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 'Ophanim, 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 *Yorede 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 '*Ophan-nim*, 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 '*Ophan-nim* 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*, '*Ophan-nim*, *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 *Ex. 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 all ⁵kinds 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 forth ⁶ 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 kingdoms ⁹ 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: "*Gallisur* 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.

9

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 ^{6 5}. (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 (*Widdiy 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 בי 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 *YAH*). 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. xlviii 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 I *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 'Ör 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 treasuries 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 (= Yomiel?, 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 Asilot*, ch. v (Jellinek, *Ginze Chokmath 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 forth⁷ from 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: יתרו כמאחרים לו יכולת יהיה 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-emanation 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' ('*ra'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 *Qašiel*), 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 יהוה', 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 הַכֶּמֶה.

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, 'Ashruylui' 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 אָנָפִיֵל 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: 'Zephatharyi' 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 שִׁיר (= 'gird') and גָּב (= '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 RIKBIEI H', the great and revered prince³ who is standing by the Merkaba.

(2) And why is he called RIKBIEI? 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. RIKBIEI is derived from 'Rekeb' (= 'chariot' = 'Merkaba'), CHAYYIEL is made to correspond to 'Chayyoth', KERUBIEL to 'Kerubim', 'OPHANNIEL to 'Ophanim', SERAPHIEL to 'Seraphim'.

The name RIKBIEI 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: "RIKBIEI 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 RIKBIEI 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 horse-men (*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, *KRBIEL*, 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 *RIKBIEL* (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 darkness³ 36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers⁴ of lightnings and the clouds of compassion⁵ 42 myriads of parasangs; ⁶ 7 between the clouds of compassion⁸ and the Merkaba 84 myriads of parasangs; between the Merkaba and the Kerubim 148^{8a} myriads of parasangs⁷; 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 of¹⁰ 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^onullā* 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 ⁶H' 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. Raziel*, 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 corresponding 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'
add: 'in each direction' 9-9 E om. 7-7 DE om. 8 DE

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 'neshama' 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.* xi, "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 εὐπρεΐτης (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 תִּקְוָה' ("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 ΥHWH), 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, *Chibbu' 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 jüd.-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 Kônên*.

A parallel to the present chapter is ch. xxxvii. For parallels in other writings reference can be made to *Midrash Kônên*, *BH.* ii. 33, *Seder Rabba di Bereshit Rabba* (in Werthheimer's *Batte Midrashot*) and *Helak Merkaba*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 126 a.

In *Midrash Kônên*, *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 *Shechagim* (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-'Edut* 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 emendated. *AE* both omit 'fire'
times' *E*: 'fall upon their faces'

4-4 emendated. *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 treasuries of the crowns which are under the Throne of Glory and hence also over the other treasuries 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, xlvii).

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 I *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*ŞUR* '*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* '*Okela* 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* *ŞUR* '*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 '*ŞUR*: 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 '*Şur*' is interpreted from the root '*ŞUR*': 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 '*Arabothis 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, wicket (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 (תן) 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! ¹⁵How 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 debacles: 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 יוהוה 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 ("uthërabbe yath kiyyura wëyath bësisëh uthëqaddesh yatheh më'ul Yehošur" mëšumshanakh rabba dë-Sanhedrin dë 'ammeh dë'al yëdoy 'äthida' ar' a de-Israel le-'ithpëlaga umëšhicha bar Ephraim denafiq minneh dë'al yëdoy 'äthidin beth Israel lëmënašha le-Gog ulësi'atheh bëšof 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 *Neḥemyah 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 Buttenwieser (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 Messiah 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. xlv. 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. xlv. 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 'Ophannim 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); 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. *xlvi* (A). Ch. *xlvi* (A) is an apocalyptic eschatological fragment, closely connected with that contained in ch. *xliv*. 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. *xliv*. 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. Proëm*. 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. *xliv*. 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 *haššāmaim* (= '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 connected 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 *now*) 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, xiii. 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-ḥ* (*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 כּ 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, SHADDAY, '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

AEFGH: K:

One, blessed {righteous}, S'Ph, SHN, ŠeBa'oTh {Lord of Hosts},
 be He, 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 גְּדֻלַת יְמִינָךְ תַּתִּיר צְרוּרָה: וְנוּי: (אֲבָנִי יְתִיץ קִרְעֵי שָׁמַן

(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}, *BĹNLĶ 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

AEF ¹ GH: (I) Aleph ¹ I made him	K:	(I) "I seized him, and I
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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 E F G H :

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 נחנ' 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. xlviiii 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^ešeh’ (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^eḥišliāḥ (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:*

¹*YeHOEL YaH, ²YeHOEL, ³YOPHIEL and ⁴Yophphiel, and ⁵APHPHIEL and ⁶MaRGeZIEL, ⁷GIPpUYEL, ⁸Pa'aZIEL, ⁹A'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'eman* [= 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. Raziel*, 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 *Tītrasyah* 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, 'DME, 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

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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

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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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PART III

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES

ספר חנוך לר' ישמעאל כ"ג

פרק א'

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים ((בראשית
 ח' כד)) . אמר ר' ישמעאל. כשעליתי למרום להסתכל ¹ בצפיותי ^א
 במרכבה-¹ הייתי ² נכנס בשש³ ההיכלות⁴ חדר בתוך חדר . וכיון ^ב
 שהגעתי לפתח⁵ היכל שביעי (עו) מדתי⁶ בתפלה לפני הקב"ה ונשאתי
 את עיני כלפי⁷ מעלה ואמרתי . רש"ע בבקשה מלפניך שתיגרום לי ^ג
 בשעה זו⁸ זכות אהרון בן עמרם אוהב שלום ורודף שלום שקבל כתר
 כהונה מלפני כבודך בהר סיני שלא ישלום⁹ בי קפצייאל¹⁰ אשר
 ומלאכים¹¹ שעמו¹² ואל ישליכוני¹³ מן השמים . מיד זימן לי הקב"ה ^ד
 מטטרון עברו מלאך שר הפנים . ופרח בכנפיו ויצא לקראתי¹⁵
 בשמחה רבה להצילני מידם . ותפשני בידו לעיניהם ואמר לי ^ה
 בשלום¹⁷ ¹⁸ לפני ¹⁹ [מלך] רם ונשא להסתכל בדמות²⁰ המרכבה .

ס"א כ"א

¹⁻¹ בצפיית המרכבה ע. *ita leg.* ² והייתי ד ³ בששה דע וכן להקרא
⁴ היכלות ע ⁵ בפתח ⁶ [leg.] עמדתי : ⁷ אפי ע ⁸ הזאת דע
⁹ ישלמו דע ¹⁰ קפצייאל דע ¹¹ ומלאבי ע ¹² [זעמן] ע ¹³ ישלום ע
¹⁴ לי ב דע ¹⁵ כנגדי דע ¹⁶ בואך דע ¹⁷ לשלום ע ¹⁸ דע ∞ שנרצית *
¹⁹ דע ∞ מלך. ואולי להקרא כמו כן ²⁰ בראות ע

ספר חנוך—כ"ג : על דבר שמות האחרים של ספר הזה או של קצוותיו עיין מה
 שכתוב במבוא הקדמאה.
 א'. פרק"א' ו' ב' לי' אלא ב ארע.

* כל אלו חנו' [כ"ג 32 31 24 18] לשוניט של יראת המקום הם ר"ל שלא ראוי שיבא ר'
 ישמעאל לפני הקב"ה לראותו ח"ו בראיה ממש ולא שנקרא מהקב"ה בני ולא אהובי אלא
 אהובי ונו' 'שמעו אל' ר"ל שהדברים 'אהובי' וחביבי' לא היו אמורים על ר' ישמעאל אלא
 על השרים האלה.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS IN THE HEBREW TEXT
AND THE CRITICAL NOTES

ב לי	denotes	“omitted by,” “not found in.”
∞	=	“inserts,” “insert.”
לה, להק	=	“ <i>ita legendum</i> ,” “ <i>legendum</i> ,” “read.”
del.	=	“ <i>delendum</i> .”
ditt.	=	“dittography.”
frit. leg.	=	“ <i>fortasse legendum</i> .”
ins.	=	“ <i>inserendum</i> .”
leg. or l.	=	“ <i>legendum</i> .”
om.	=	“ <i>omittendum</i> .”

Brackets (), words or letters enclosed *occur* in the text (א), but should be omitted.

„ [], words or letters enclosed *do not occur* in the text, but should be inserted.

e.g. 1² ע(ו)מרתִי א : א has עומרתִי, read : עמרתִי

23³ [רוח] : insert רוח, omitted by א

„ (()), these brackets enclose references to Scripture passages quoted in the text. The references are, of course, not given in the original.

Concerning MSS and sources represented by א, ב, ג, ד, ע, ז, ח, פ, כ, א, ב, ג, ל, *vide* Introduction, pp. 17, 18.

פרק ב'

אמר ר' ישמעאל.. באותה שעה היו נשרי¹ המרכבה ואופני² שלהבה³ ושרפי⁴ אש אוכלה⁽³⁾ שואלים⁴ למטטרון והם⁵ אומרים לו.. נער מפני מה הנחת ילוד אשה שיבא ויסתכל במרכבה⁴ מאיזה³ עם⁽⁶⁾ מאיזה שבט הוא. מה מיבו של זה.. משיב⁷ מטטרון ואומר להם. מעם ישראל⁸ שבחר הקב"ה⁸ להיות לו לעם [ול] לשון⁹ משבט לוי הוא⁽¹⁰⁾ [שמרים] תרומה¹¹ לשמו. מזרע אהרן הוא שבחר הקב"ה^(ה) להיות לו משרת שקשר לו ה[קב"ה] בעצמו כתר כהונה בניני.. מיד פתחו ואמרו. בוודאי ראוי⁽¹²⁾ [זה] להסתכל במרכבה. ו' ואמרו¹³ אשרי העם שככה לו: ((תהלים קמד' טו'))

ב'

1 נערי ע 2 להבה דע⁽³⁾ ד באים. ע באין ו. 4-4 ל' ב ע 5 ל' ב ד
 (6) ע הוא 7 משיבם ע 8-8 מוכתר מהקב"ה: ע 9 משבעים
 לשונות ד. אולי לחקרא: זללשון⁽¹⁰⁾ ד מרים. להק' כמו כן או 'שמרים'.
 11 מרומ ע⁽¹²⁾ דע: 'זה' ita leg. 13 דכתיב דע

פרק ג'

אמר ר' ישמעאל.. באותה² שעה² שאלתי את³ מטטרון³ מלאך⁴ שר הפנים אמרתי לו-¹ מה שמך.. אמר לי⁵ שבעים³ שמות יש לי⁵ כנגד שבעים לשונות⁶ שבעולם⁷ וכולם על-⁸ שמו של⁹ מטטרון מלאך הפנים⁹ אבל מלכי¹⁰ קרא¹¹ אותי נער:

ג'

1-1 כשעליתי למרכבה שאלתי למטטרון לכתוב לי כל מה שכתוב על מלאך שר הפנים אמרתי לו: ג 2 ל' ב גל 3 ל ב 4 ל' ב ב 5-5 יש לי שבעים שמות בגדל 6 אומות בל. אמות ג 7 אשר יש בעולם ג 8-8 וכעין בג 9-9 מלך מלכי המלכים דע. מלכי וקוני ב. מלכי הקב"ה יתעלה זכרו ג 9-10 מלכים [=] (מלך מלכי ה[מלכים] ל 11 קורא בע

ג'

הכא תחילת הספר על פי בגל' זה הפרק גם בציווני דף י"ד ש' א' ובילקוט ראובני א' כה' ב' [מפרקי היכולות]

ו באותה שעה נכנסתי להיכל שביעי²¹ והדריכני²² למחנ'²³ שכניה
 ו והציגני לפני הקב"ה²⁴ להסתכל במרכבה. וכיון²⁵ שראוני שרי
 המרכבה ושרפי להבה נתנו עיניהם בי. מיד²⁶ נרתעתי ונודעזעתי²⁶ -
 ונפלתי מעומד²⁷ ונרדמתי מפני זוהר דמות²⁸ עיניהם וזיו מראה פניהם
 ח עד שגער בהם הקב"ה ואמר להם. משרתי²⁹ שרפי²⁹ כרובי²⁹ ואופני²⁹
 כמו עיניכם מפני³⁰ ישמעאל³¹ בני³² אהובי³³ וחביבי³⁴ וכבודי שלא
 ירתעו ושלא³⁵ יודעזעו.

ט מיד בא מטטרון שר הפנים והחזיר⁽³⁶⁾ נשמתי והציגני על רגלי. .
 י ועדיין לא היה בי³⁷ כח לומר שירה לפני כסא כבודי³⁸ של מלך
 הכבוד אדיר⁽³⁹⁾ כל המלכים וזהר⁴⁰ ⁽³⁹⁾ כל הרוזנים עד שכלתה שעה. .
 יא לאחר⁴¹ שעה פתח לי [הקב"ה] שערי שכניה⁴² ⁴³ - שערי שלום
 שערי חכמה⁴³ שערי כח שערי גבורה שערי דיבור שערי שירה שערי
 יב קדושה שערי נעימה. והאיר את עיני ואת לבי באומרי⁴⁴ תהלה
 ושבח ורנה ותודה וזמרה פאר ונאוה ותהלה⁴⁵ עז⁴⁶ וכשפתחתי את⁴⁷
 פי ושבחתי שירה לפני הקב"ה⁴⁸ חיות הקדש מתחת כסא ⁽⁴⁹⁾ הכבוד
 ולמעלה מן הכסא עונים אחר⁵⁰ ואומרים קדוש⁵¹ וברוך כבוד ה'
 ממקומו :

21 הרביעי ע 22 והדריכני ד 23 למראה דע 24 כסא הכבוד דעא 25 וכ- דע
 26-26 כודעזעתי ונרתעתי דע 27 ממעמדי דע כן נקרא אתמ' או 'מעומדי' 28 ראות ע
 [עיין 20] 29 משרתי שרפיי כרוביי ואופני ד 30 מלפני דע 31 ושמעו אל עא
 32 לי' בדעא 33 אהבי דעא 34 חביבי ע 35 ולא דע 36 [36] דע לי 37 לי ע
 38 הכבוד ע 39 [39] דע על 40 להקרא 'רוזן' לדעתו של יעל' [בע"ז] 41 ולאחר ד
 42 [בינה ע'0] 43-43 שערי חכמה שערי שלום דע 44 באמרי ד להקרא. באמרה ע
 45 והילול דע להקרא כמו כן או: 'תהלת' 46 עז דע 47 לי' ב דע 48 כסא דע
 49 "דע לי של מלך 50 אחרי ד להק'. אחרי ע 51 קדוש קדוש קדוש דע

מהעולם⁴⁵ [ושלא]⁴⁶ יאמרו אם הללו דור המבול חטאו בהמה ועוף
 מה חטאו שספו עמהם⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷. לפיכך העלני⁴⁸ הקב"ה⁴⁹ בחייהם⁵⁰
 לעיניהם לשמי⁵¹ מרום⁵² להיות⁵³ עד עליהם⁵³ לעולם הבא וזיווגי⁵⁴
 הקב"ה⁽⁵⁵⁾ לשר ו[ל]נגיד בין מלאכי⁵⁶ השרת..⁵⁸ באותה שעה⁽⁵⁷⁾ באו
 ג' מלאכים⁵⁸⁻⁵⁹ ממלאכי השרת עוזה ועוזה ועזאל⁵⁹ והיו מסטינים⁶⁰
 עלי⁽⁶¹⁾ בשמי⁶² מרום⁶³ (64) ואמרו לפני הקב"ה. (65) לא יפה אמרו
 (66) ראשונים⁶⁷ לפניך⁶⁸ לא תברא⁶⁹ אדם עוד⁷⁰ (4) משיב⁽⁷¹⁾ הקב"ה
 ואומר להם אני עשיתי⁷² ואני אשא⁷²⁻⁷³ אני אסבול ואמלט⁷³
 (ישעיה מו"ד).. וכיון שראו אותי⁽⁷⁴⁾ אמרו לפני רבש"ע⁽⁷⁵⁾ מה
 טיבו של זה שעולה⁷⁶ (77) למרום מרומים⁷⁸. לא מבני בניהם של
 הללו⁷⁹ שאבדו⁸⁰ בימי⁸¹ המבול הוא⁸².⁸⁵⁻⁸⁴ ברקיע⁸⁴⁻⁸⁵.

45 ל' ב ע 46-46 יאמרו אם הללו בני דור המבול חטאו, בהמה חיה ועופות שספו
 עליהם ד'. מה חטאו שספו עליהם ע. לא ב ב 47-47 ובה'ג כל הכהמה והחיות והעופות
 שבעולם מה חטאו ואותן אשר נאספו עמהם אשר איבדן הקב"ה מן העולם ג'. מה חטאו ל
 48 העלוני ע 49 ל' ב ד 50 ל' ב בנ. מן העולם ל 51 בשמי ע. ל' ב ב 52 ל' ב
 ב 53-53 עליהם עד נאמן ג. 54 ונחוני ב. cum leg. גל: זנתנני. וזווגני דע
 (55) דלע במרום. ג ית 56 מלכי ג (57) בגל כשהעלני הקב"ה לשמי
 מרום. 58-58 ל' ב ד 59-59 מלאכי עז"ה ועז"אל ב. ממלאכי עוזה ועז"אל ג.
 עוזה עוזה ועזאל ד. ממלכתי עוזה ועזאל ל. מלאכי עוזה ועזאל ע 60 ל' ב ע
 (61) ג הם שם 62 משמי ע 63 מרומים דע 64 ד ממלאכי השרת. ל
 (65) בגדלע רבש"ע. (66) ג לך ה. בל לפניך 67 הראשונים ע 68 ל' ב
 ב בגל 69 יברא את ה- ג 70 ל' ב בגל 71 ב לחם 72-72 ל' ב בגל
 73-73 ואני אסבול ואשא לבדי ג (74) ג חנוך בן ירד. (75) ד ברוך הוא
 76 שעלה בגדלע (77) ג אליני 78 ל' ב בג 79-79 לא מבניהם הללו דע.
 וכי אינו מבני בניהם של אילו ב. וכי לא מבני בניהם של אלו הוא ג. 80 שנאכדו
 [ב]געד 81 במי בגד 82 ל' ב בגדע (83) ג של זה 84 ברקיע ב
 85-85 ל' ב דלע

פרק ד'

אמר ר' ישמעאל. ¹ אמרתי לוי ² למטטרון-¹ מפני מה ⁴ אתה קורא? ³ [ז: נקרא] בשם-⁴ קוניך בע" שמות ואתה גדול ⁵ מכל השרים וגבוה ⁶ מכל המלאכים. ⁷ וחביב ⁸ מכל המשרתים ונכבד מכל הצבאים ⁹ ¹²⁻¹⁰ ורם ¹⁰ מכל האדירים ¹¹⁻¹² במלוכה ובגדולה ובכבוד ¹³.

ומפני מה קורין ¹⁴ אותך ¹⁵ בשמי מרומים ¹⁶ ¹⁷ נער .. ¹⁹⁻¹⁸ משיב ¹⁸ ואמר לי-¹⁹. מפני (מה) ²⁰ ²¹⁻²⁰ שאף הוא-²¹ חנוך בן ירד .. שבשחמאו ²² ²³ דור המבול ²⁴ וסרחו במעשיהם-²⁴ ואמרו ²⁵ לאל סור ²⁶ ממנו ורעת דרכיך ²⁷ לא הפצנו ²⁸ ((איוב כא' יד')) נטלני ²⁹ הקב"ה מבניהם ³⁰ להיות עד ³¹ עליהם בשמי מרום-³¹ ³²⁻³¹ לכל באי העולם-³² כרי שלא ³³ [יאמרו] רחמן ³⁴ אכזרי ³⁵ ³⁶ [הוא] .. מה חטאו כל אותן האוכלוסין ³⁷ נשיהם ³⁸ בניהם ובנותיהם ³⁹ * סוסייהם ⁴⁰ פרדיהם * מקניהם וקניינם ⁴⁷ וכל עופת ⁴¹ ⁴⁰⁻⁴² שהיו בעולם-⁴² שאברן ⁴³ הקב"ה ⁴⁴ עמהם במי המבול-⁴⁴

ד'

1-1 שאלתי לשר הפנים מטטרון ב ² לי ב גדלע ³ נקרא ד להקרא. לי ב ע'. נקראת גל ⁴⁻⁴ שמך כשם ב ⁵ גודל ב ⁶ וגדול ג ⁷ המלכים ד ⁸ ג אמה. ⁹ הצבאות גד. צבאות בל ¹⁰ ורב דע. ויקר ג ¹¹ החיילות ג ¹²⁻¹² ויקר מכל החיילים ופקיד על הפקידים ב. ויקר מכל חיילים ל ¹³ ג וביקר ובתפארת ¹⁴ קוראין ב ¹⁵ לך בגל ¹⁶ מרום בגל ¹⁷ ג בשם ¹⁸ השיב דע לי ב ג ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ אמר לי בל ²⁰ cum del. גרע ²¹⁻²¹ להקראת כמו בגדלע :שאני' ²² כשחמאו דל. וכשחמאו ב. כשחמא ע ²³ בגד ²⁴⁻²⁴ לי ב לע ²⁵ ואמר ע ²⁶ סורו ב ²⁷ דרכיו ב. דרכך ג ²⁸ הפצו ב ²⁹ (ו)אז העלני בגל. הצילני ע ³⁰ מביניהם ד. מפניהם ע. להקרא 'מפניהם' ³¹⁻³¹ לי ב ב אליהם בשמי מרום ל ³²⁻³² לי ב ל ³³ בגדע ³⁴ יאמרו. להקרא. ל ³⁵ יאמרו באי עולם. ³⁴ ג הוא רק ³⁵ אכזר לע ³⁶ בד ³⁷ הוא. להק'. ג חלילה כי ³⁷ בל ³⁸ ואם הם חמאו. ג כלם. ואף הם חמאו. ³⁸ לא ב בגל ³⁹ ב ⁴⁰⁻⁴⁰ מה חמאו ו- ⁴¹ עופות דע ⁴²⁻⁴² וכל בהמות שבעולם ב. שבעולם ע ⁴³ שאובדן ד. אבדן ב ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ לי ב' ב. עמהם בימי דור המבול דע

מהלך מסוף העולם ועד סופו על אחת (27) 28- ששים וחמשת-28 אלפים
 29- בגלגל חמה-29 שבל³⁰ המשתמש³¹ בזיו (אותו)³² השכינה³³ אין
 זבובין ויתושין (34) שורין³⁵ בו³⁶ ואינו³⁷ חולה ואינו³⁸ מצטער³⁹ (40) ואין
 כל⁴¹ מזיקין שולטין⁴² עליו⁴³ ואין⁴⁴ יכולין להזיק אותו-44-45 ולא
 עוד אלא (46) מלאכים אין⁴⁷ שולטין⁴⁸ בו⁴⁹.. כשהקב"ה⁵⁰ 50-51 יוצא⁵¹ ו
 ונכנס⁵¹ מגן לעדן⁵² ומערדן לגן⁵² ומן הגן⁵³ לרקיע⁵⁴ ומרקיע לגן
 עדן⁵⁵ והכל⁵⁶ מסתכין בזיו דמות⁵⁷ שכינתו⁵⁸ ואין⁵⁹ נזוקין.. עד ו'
 שבאו⁶⁰ בני⁶¹ דורו של אנוש⁶⁶-שהיה⁶² ראש כל⁶³ עובדי ע"ז שבעולם
 היו⁶⁴.. ומה היו⁶⁵-בני דורו עושין-65-66-73- (67) היו הולכין⁶⁸ מסוף ו'
 העולם ועד סופו-73 ומביאים⁶⁹ כל אחד ואחד⁷⁰⁻⁷¹ כסף וזהב
 ואבנים טובות⁷² ומרגליות⁷⁷-בהרים⁷⁴ הרים⁷⁵ וגבעות⁷⁶ גבעות⁷⁵⁻⁷⁷
 ועושין⁷⁸ אותן⁷⁹ ע"ז⁸⁰ 80-83 בארבע רוחות העולם⁸¹ והיו מעמידין

(27) ג 80 מן 28-28 שם"ה בג להקר' 29-29 ובגלגל דע. אשר בגלגל החמה ג
 30 וכל מי ג 31 המסתכל דע. שהשתמש ג 32 אותה דע. לי' ב בגל del. 33 שכינה ב
 (34) ג 80 וצערות 35 שרויים בגל 36 עליו גל 37 ולא היה ג 38 גם לא היה ג.
 לי' ב דע 39 לי' ב דע. בא בצער ב (40) ג 80 בשום צער בעולם 41 שום
 א' מן ה-ג 42 לי' ב בג. מזיקין ד 43 לי' ב בגע. אותו ד 44-44 יכולין להזיקו ב.
 יכולין להזיק ג 45-45 לי' ב ד. (46) ב 80 אפילו. ג 80 אף ה- 47 אינם ג'ד
 48 יכולין לשלוט ב 49 בהם ד 50 והקב"ה דע. וכשהקב"ה בג להק' 51-51 היה
 הולך ושט דע 52-52 ובין גן לעדן ב 53 נן ברע 54-54 יוצא מן העדן
 לגן ומן הגן לרקיע ג. יוצא בין עדן לגן ומן גן לרקיע ל 55 לי' ב ב. העליון ג
 56 היו כלם בג 57 לי' ב בגד 58 השכינה ג 59 ואינו גע 60 שבא בל. אשר באו ג
 61 לי' ב בגל 62 שהוא בל אשר היה ה- ג 63 לכל בל. לכל ה- ג 64 לי' ב בגל
 del. 65-65 עושין דורו של אנוש גל 66-66 לי' ב דע 67 ג 80 ש-י. ד 80-
 68 מהלכין ב 69 והיו מביאים ג 70 מהם ד 71-71 לי' ב ל 72 טובים ג
 73-73 הלכו בכל העולם ל 74 נהריו ע 75 לי' ב ב 76 ובגבעות ב 77-77 הנמצאים
 בהרים ובגבעות ג. לי' ב ל 78 והיו עושין בג 79 אותו דע. מהם ג. לי' ב בל
 80 ע"א ב (=עבודת אלילים) 81 לי' ב צ * 82-82 לי' ב ב. אשר כל ע"ז היה גדולה ג

פרק ד'

ק' 86-עוד משיב-86 הקב'ה (87) ואמר להם⁸⁸. מה טיבכם⁸⁹ 93-שאתם נכנסים⁹⁰ לדברי. שאני⁹¹ חפצתי בזה⁹² 93- יותר מכולכם להיות⁹⁴ שר ט' ונגיד-94 עליכם *בשמי מרומים⁹⁵ *.. מיד עמדו כולם ויצאו לקראתי וישתחוו⁹⁶ לפני ואמרו (97) אשריך ואשרי הורריך⁹⁸ (99) שרצה בך¹⁰⁰ קוניך¹⁰¹ .. ומתוך שאני קטן⁽¹⁰²⁾ 103- ונער בניהם בימים ובחדשים ובשנים¹⁰³ ל'פיכך¹⁰⁴ היו¹⁰⁵ קורין¹⁰⁶ אותי נער:

86-86 והישיב ב. והשיב להם ג. משיב ל (87) ג' עוד 88 ל' ב ב 89 טבכם ב 90 נכמתם ג 91 איני ב. ואני גל 92 בו בגל 93-93 נכנסים לדבר כאשר חפצתי ע 94-94 לשר ולנגיד בעל 95 מרום בגדע 96 והשתחוו גלע. והשתחוה ב. ל' ב ד (97) בגדלע ל' ל. 98 לירד ב. הורך ע (99) ג' ויולדתיך 100 בו ל. בחם ע 101 קונך גרע (102) ב' ביניהם בשנים. גל' ביניהם. דע' בתוכם 103-103 ונער בתוכם בשנים בל. ונער אנכי בשנים ג 104 לכך ג 105 ל' ב בדלע 106 קוראין בד ל * * ל' ב ל

o o o

פרק ה'

ה' אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרוני¹ שר הפנים¹ (2) .. מיום³ שטררו הקב"ה לאדם הראשון מגן⁴ עדן היתה שכינה שורה⁵ על כרוב תחת עין החיים .. ומלאכי השרת⁶ היו מתקבצין⁷ ובאין ויורדין כתות כתות⁸ מן השמים¹⁶ וחבורות חבורות מן⁹ הרקיע⁹ 10. (ומחנות מחנות * מן השמים¹¹ *) 12- לעשות רצונו¹² (13) בכל העולם¹⁴ ג' כלו¹⁵ 16- .. ואדם הראשון ודורו¹⁷ (18) יושבין על פתח¹⁹ גן²⁰ עדן²⁰ ד' להסתכל בדמות תוארו²¹ של²² זיו השכינה²³ .. לפי²⁴ שזויה²⁵ היה²⁶

ה'

1-1 לא ב ל (2) ג' כן 3 ביום בגל 4 מן הגן ג 5 שרויה דלע 6 שרת ב 7 מקבצין דע. נכנסים ב. טכנסים גל 8 וכתות ע 9 לא ב בגל 10 ? השמים ד 11 הרקיע בג 12-12 לשוט ד (13) ג' יתעלה ברוך הוא 14 עולם ב 15 לא ב ב 16-16 לשוט בכל העולם כלו ע 17 וזוה לע (18) ג' היו 19 פתחו של בגל 20 לא ב ע 21 לא ב ב. תואר ג. תאר ל 22 ל' ב ג 23 שכינה בל 24 כי אז ג 25 זיו השכינה גר. שזיו השכינה ע ז. שזיו שכינה בל 26 ל' ב בל * * ל' ב ל

בני 128 אדם (129) שעובדין ע"ז 133- והשוו 130 אותך (131) לע"ז 132- 133 .
 137- ועבשיו אתה 134 בארץ 135- וע"ז בארץ . מה מיבך בין דרי 136 הארץ י"ג
 עובדי ע"ז 135- 137 . מיד 138 סילק ה[ק]ב"ה שכניתו 139 (140) מן הארץ י"ג
 מביניהם 141 . באותה שעה באו מלאכי השרת וגידודי 142 הצבאות י"ד
 וחילי ערבות אלף 143 מחנות 144 וריבי 145 צבאות ונטלו הצוצרות 146
 ותפשו 147- בידם את השופרות- 147 והקיפו את השכינה בשירים
 ובשירות (148) ועלה 149 לשמי (150) מרום שנאמר 151 עלה אלוהים
 בתרועה 152- יי בקול שופר- 152 ((תלים מז' ו'))

128 הבני ג (129) ג אשר בארץ 130 ושהשוו דל (131) ג כביכול כמו
 132 הע"ז ממש ג. כע"ז דל 133-133 שהשוו בע"ז ע 134 שאתה ג 135-135 מיבך
 כיורדי ארץ ועובדי ע"ז אליה ג 136 דיירי דע 137-137 לי' ב ב 138 לי' ב ע
 139 שכניה דע (140) ג מהין. ל מהם 141 לי' ב בגל 142 וגדודי דל. עם גדודי
 צבאות ג. מגדודי צבאות ע 143 ואלף דע 144 לי' ב'ע 145 ורכוא ג 146 את ה[ה]צוצרות
 גדלע 147-147 שופרות בידם ב. את השופרות בידם גל (148) ג ובזמירות
 ובתושבתות 149 לי' ב בגרלע 150 ג שמי 151 כמשה' ג 152-152 לי' ב גל

פרק ו'

אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרין מלאך¹ שר הפנים . כשבקש² ה[ק]ב"ה³ ל[ה]עלות⁴ אותי⁵ למרום⁶ בתחלה⁷ שיגור⁸ (9) ענפאל¹⁰ יי
 השר ונטלני מביניהם לעיניהם¹¹ והרכני¹² בכבוד¹³ גדול על¹⁴ רכב
 אש ו[ב]סוסין¹⁵ אש משרתי¹⁶ כבוד והעלני עם¹⁷ (18) השכינה לשמי¹⁹

1 לי' ב בגלצ 2 כאשר ביקש אותי ג 3 לי' ב בע 4 להעלות דלע. להעליני ב
 5 לי' ב ב 6 במרום גע 7 לי' ב ג בתחלת ב 8 שגר לעצ (9) ג אלי
 בתחלה את. דעצ ללי. ל את 10 לי' ב גרעצ 11 לעיני כולם ג 12 והרכיבני
 בגרלצ 13 על כרוב בגלצ 14 וכ- בלצ ב ג 15 וסוסי בדעלצ. ובסוסי ג. *ita leg.*
 16 ומשרת בדעצ. ומשרתי ל. ובמשבחי ג 17 ער ע (18) ג כבוד 19 בשמי גצ.

משמי ל

פרק ה'

אותן בכל רוח ורוח שבעולם ע"ז-82-83 כשיעור אלף פרסה 84. .
 ס' מורידין 85 חמה ולבנה כוכבים ומזלות 88- ומעמידים 86 לפניהם 87
 מימינם ומשמאלם- 88 לשמש בהן 89 כדרך שמשמשין 90 להקב"ה 91
 95-שנן[אמר] 92. וכל 93 צבא השמים עומדים עליו 94 מימינו ומשמאלו-
 ט' (מלכים א' כב' ימ') .. 100-והיאך היה בהן כח 97-שהיו 96 מורידין אותן- 97- (98)
 אלא 99- 100- עוזה 101 ועוזה 102 ועזיאל 103 היו מלמדים להם 104- 107- כשפים
 שהיו מורידין אותם [מ]משתמשים 105 בהם 106- 107- שאלמלא כן לא היו
 יכולין (108) להורידן. באותה שעה קשרו 109 מלאכי השרת קטיגור 110
 לפני ה[ק]ב"ה ואמרו 111 לפניו. רבש"ע 113- מה לך אצל בני אדם
 שנאמר 112- 113- מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וכו' ((תהלים ה' ה)) מה אדם לא
 נאמר כאן 114 אלא 115 מה 116 אנוש שהוא 117 (118) ראש (119) לע"ז 120 (121) ..
 י' מפני מה הנחת את שמי השמים 122- 125- העליונים מלון כבוד שמך 123
 וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום 124 ערבות 125- 126- ובאות ולנות (!) 126- עם 127

83-88 בעולם דע 84 פרסאות בע 85 והיו מורידין ומשתהוים לפני ב. והיו
 מורידין ה- גלצ 86 למעמד ע. והעמידם ג 87 לפני הע"ז ג 88-88 ל"י ב צ
 89 להם בלצ. אליהם ג 90 שמשמשים ב. שהיו משמשין דלע. ולחק' כמו כן.
 שהם משמשים ג 91 לפני הקב"ה בלע. לפני הקב"ה יתעלה ג 92 כמשה' ג
 93 כל דע 94 לפניו ב 95-95 ל"י ב צ 96 שהי' ד' 1. שהיה ד' 97-97 להורידן
 כן ב. להורידן ל (98) דע ומשתמשין בהם 99 ל"י ב ע 100-100 והיאך באמת
 היה הכח בידם להורידם. הוא זה כי ג 101 ל"י ב' גר 102 ל"י ב לע
 103 ועזאל גלע 104 אותם גל 105 ומשתמשים ד לחק' 106 ל"י ב ע
 107-107 ל"י ב ג. מעשה כשפים ל (108) להם 109 קראו דע 110 קשר א'
 וקטרנו ג 111 ואמר ב 112 ל"י ב גרע. דכתיב ל 113-113 ל"י ב ב 114 ל"י
 ב בגדלע 115 כי אם ג 116 ל"י ב ג 117 שאנוש בל. ל"י ב ג (118) ג
 על כי אנוש היה ה- (119) ב היה. ג והראשון 120 לעובדי עבוד' זרה ג
 (121) ב ואמר. ג 122 שמים בע 123 שלך דע 124 שברום ד 125-125 ערבות
 רקיצ מלאים כבודך שבנבורים ורמים וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום ערבות רקיע ב. העליונים
 המלאים מהור כבודך שלך והם נבוהים ורמים ונשאים והכסא הוא רם ונשא אשר
 במרום רקיע ערבות ג. עליונים מלאים כבודך שנבורים ורמים וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום
 ערבות רקיע ל leg. 126-126 ובאת ולנת cum דל. ובאת והלכת בג 127 אצל דע

פרק ז' ¹

² אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך ³ שר הפנים ²..
 כשלקחני ⁴ (5) ⁶ מן בני ⁶ דור ⁷ המבול ⁸ העלני הקב"ה ⁸ (מן בני דור
 המבול העלני. *ditt.*) בכנפי רוח שכינה ⁹ לרקיע העליון ¹⁰ (11) והכניסני ¹²
 לתוך ¹³ פלטרין ¹⁴ גדולים ¹⁵ שברום ערבות הרקיע ¹⁵ ששם ¹⁶ ¹⁷ כסא
 הכבוד של שכינה ¹⁷ ומרכבה ¹⁸ גדודים ¹⁹ של זעם ²⁰ וחילים ²¹ של
 זעף ²² ושנאנים ²³ של אש וכרובים של לפיד ²⁴ ואופנים של גחל ²⁵
 ומשרתים של להב וחשמלים ²⁶ של בזק ושרפים של ברק והעמידני ²⁷
 לשמש בכל יום ויום ²⁸ את ²⁹ כסא הכבוד ³⁰ :

ז'

¹ פרק הזה נמצא ב ב בסוף פרק יא' ואיחו פרק י"ד הכא. ²⁻² ל' ב ב. אר' ישמעאל.
 אלי מטטרון ל ³ ל' ב ג ⁴ כשלקחני ד (5) בגל ⁵ הקב"ה ⁶⁻⁶ מפני ד. מבין
 בגל ⁷ ל' ב ב ⁸⁻⁸ in *ditt.* א העלני בגל ⁹ השכינה ג ¹⁰ עליון ב
 (11) ב ¹² והעלני ¹² והכניס אותי אז ג. וכניסוני ¹³ אל תוך ג. בתוך ע ¹⁴ פלטרין ע.
 פלטרין ב. *ita leg.* הפלטרין ג ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ אשר בשמי מרום שהוא ברום רקיע ערבות ג
¹⁶ במקום אשר שם ג ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ כבוד השכינה ב. כבוד השכינה יתעל' ג. כבוד שכינה ל
¹⁸ ומרכבות בגל ¹⁹ נבורים בל. גדולות ג. נידודי ע ²⁰ אש ע ²¹ וחילות ג
²² זעה ב ²³ ושטנים ג ²⁴ לפידים ג ²⁵ גחלים בגל ²⁶ וחשמל ב ²⁷ והעמידוני ע.
 והעמידם ל ²⁸ ל' ב ב ²⁹ לפני בג. לפני הקב"ה לפני ל ³⁰ כבוד ב

פרק ח'

אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁰ שר הפנים ⁰.. קודם ^א
 שיעמידני ¹ לשמש את ² כסא הכבוד פתח לי הקב"ה שלש מאות
 אלפים שערי ³ בינה, ושלוש(ה) מאות אלפים שערי ערמה, ושלוש(ה)

ח'

⁰⁻⁰ ל' ב ל ¹ שהעמידני בדע. שהעמיד אותי ג ² לפני ג ³⁻³ הללו שמות
 השערים וסדרם לפי בגדלער: ב: חכמה. בינה. ערמה. חיים. חן וחסד. אהבה.
 תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חמא ג: חסד. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה
 וחיל. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. יראת חמא. ענוה. ד: חכמה. בינה.
 ערמה. חיים. שלום. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. כה. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה.

3 מרום. וכיון שהגעתי (20) לשמי 21 מרום 22 והיו 23 * חיות הקורש ואופנים 24 ושרפים וכרובים וגלגלי המרכבה 25 ומשרתי אש אוכלה * (26) מריחין 27 את 28 ריח 29 בריחות 30 שלש מאוה וששים וחמשת אלפים רבבות פרסאות ואומרים 31 מה ריח 32 ילוד אשה (33) ומה 34 טעם טיפת 35 לבן שהיא 35 עולה למרום 36 ויתוש 37 בין 38 חוצבי 39 שלהבת 40. משיב הקב"ה (41) ואומר להם. משרתי צבא[י] 42 כרובי 44- ואופני ושרפי 43- 44 אל ירע 45 בעיניכם הדבר הזה- 45 שכל 46 בני אדם 47 (48) כפרו 49 בי 50 ובמלכותי הגדולה (51) והלכו ועבדו 52 ע"ז וסלקתי 53 שכ[י]נתי 54 מביניהם 55 והעלית[י]ה 56 למרום 57 וזה שנמלתי מביניהם 58 בח[י]ר 59 שבעולם 60 וזה שקול כנגד כולם בתמונה 61 ובצדקה ובכשרון מעשה 62 וזה שנמלתי 63 שכרי בעולמי 64 מתחת 65 כל 66 השמים- 67.

(20) ג 10 לשם. צ 10 שמה 21 בשמי ג. ל' ב צ 22 ל' ב צ 23 היו בגלצ 24 ל' ב בצ 25 מרכבה ב (26) ג 10 אש 27 המריחין עד 1. והריחו בגל. הריחו צ 28 ל' ב צ 29 רוחי בע 30 מרחוק בג. ברחוק דע. *frt. leg.* למעלה מרחוק ל. ל' ב צ 31 ואמרו בגלע 32 רוח ע. ל' ב ב. ריח טיפת ל (33) ג 10 זה. ב 10 בינינו. צ 10 פה 34 ל' ב ב 35-35 זרע לובן אשר הוא ג. לבן שהוא ל 36 בשמי מרום בגלעצ. לשמי מרום ד 37 וישמש גדלע. וישתמש ב 38 בכן ג. בי ל 39 ובחצובי ג. וחצובי ל 40 שלהבות גר 1 (41) ג 10 יתעלה 42 צבאי: בגדלעצ: לחקר 43 ל' ב צ 44-44 ושרפיי גלגליי ואופניי ג 45-45 לכבכם בדבר הזה בגעצ. לכם בדבר זה ד. לכם הדבר הזה ל 46 כי כל ג 47 ל' ב צ (48) ג 10 אשר בעולם 49 ל' ב ב. כפרוני ל 50 ל' ב ל. ככודי ב (51) ב 10 בראתיו 52 אחרי ה- ג 53 ולכן סילקתי ג. וסלקו ע 54 שכניה עצ 55 מהם ב 56 והעלתי בדע. והעליתיה ג. לחקר' ל' ב צ. והעלית' ל 57 ל' ב צ 58 ביניהם ד 2 59 מובחר דע. לחקר': 'בְּחַר' 60 שבכולם הוא דע 61 לחקר' כמו דע: כאמונה 62-62 ל' ב בגצ 63 האדם הוא אשר נמלתי ל- ג 64 מעולמי ג. מכל עלמי צ. עמלי ר 65 תחת ברעצ 66 ל' ב ע 67-67 וזה נמלתי מעולמי תחת כל השמים ל

*- * חיות וכרובים ושרפים וגלגלים ומשרתי אש מעלה ל

כשיעור¹¹ ארכו ורחבו ש"ע¹².. והעלה¹³ לי¹⁴ ע"ב כנפים לוי⁽¹⁵⁾ מצד ג'
 אחר¹⁶ ולוי⁽¹⁵⁾ מצד אחר¹⁷ וכל כנף וכנף¹⁸ כמלא¹⁹ עולם²⁰.. וקבע ד'
 בי²¹⁻²² ג' מאות וששים וחמשה אלפים²¹-עינים וכל²² עין⁽²³⁾ כמאור
 הגדול.. ולא הניח של²⁴-ממין של²⁴ זיו ושל²⁵ זהר²⁶ תאר²⁷ ויופי³⁰⁻³⁰ [של] ה'
 (שבח²⁸) אורות²⁹ שבעולם³⁰-שלא³¹ קבע בי :

11 שיעור בל. עם שיעור ג' 12 של עולם בדל 13 והעלו ע 14 אלי ג'
 (15) דע 16 כנפים 16 הימין ג'. זה ל 17 השמאל ג'. אחר ד'. זה ל
 18 לוי ב ד 19 הוא כמלא ג' 20 כל העולם כולו ג' 21-21 ת"ק אלפים ושם
 בל. חמשה אלפים ושלושה מאות וששים ג' 22 אשר כל ג' (23) בדלע 16 ועין.
 ג' ועין הוא 24-24 דבר ב. שום דבר ג'. דבר זוהר ל 25 לוי ב בגדלע 26 לוי ב דע
 27 לוי ב בגל 28 של ב. לוי ב גדע 29 ואורות דע 30-30 אשר הם ככול
 אורות העולם ג'. וצחצוח שבאורו העולם ל 31 אם לא ב. אשר לא היה ג'

פרק י'

א"ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁽¹⁾ שר הפנים.. כל זאת עשה^{2א} פ'
 לי³ [הק]ב"ה⁽⁴⁾. כסא מעין⁽⁵⁾ כסא הכבוד ופרש⁶ עלי פריש⁷ 10-של
 זיו ושל זהר ותאר⁽⁸⁾ ויופי וחן⁹ וחסד מעין פריש¹⁰-של כסא הכבוד
 12-שבל^{11א} מיני⁽¹¹⁾ מאורות¹²-שבעולם קבועים בו.. ושמו על פתח⁽¹³⁾ ג'
 היכל שביעי והושיבני עליו.. והכרוז¹⁴ יוצא¹⁵ עלי¹⁶ בכל רקיע ורקיע ג'
 (17) לאמר¹⁸ (19) מטטרון עברי²⁰ שמתיו לשר⁽²¹⁾ ולנגיד על כל
 שרי מלכותי²² ועל כל בני מרומים הוין משמנה שרים²⁴-גדולים²³

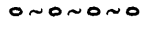
(1) דע 16 מלאך (2) ג' אחר. 2א עושה ב 3 לוי ב בג (4) דע 16 עשה לי. ג' אלי
 (5) ג' דונמ' 6 ופרשת ב. ופרם גל 7 פרשת ב. פרם גל (8) דע 16 כבוד
 9 לוי ב דע 10-10 לוי ב בגל (11) בע 16 זיו. דל 16 זיו ו- 11א והיא יביעה
 של ל 12-12 אשר כל זיו ותוהר מכל אורות ג' (13) ג' של 14 והנה הכרוז ג'
 15 יוצא יוצא ד. יוצא ע. עלה ג' 16 לוי ב גע (17) ג' עלי 18 ואומרים
 בלשון ג'. ואמר ל (19) ג' הזה 20 לוי ב ג (21) ב 16 וצד 22 המלאכים ל
 23 לוי ב ע 24-24 ניכבדין הגדולים ב. הנכבדים הגדולים גל

מאות אלפים שערי חיים וג' מאות אלפים שערי חן וחסד וג' מאות אלפים שערי אהבה. וג' מאות אלפים שערי תורה וג' מאות אלפים שערי ענוה וג' מאות אלפים שערי פרנסה וג' מאות אלפים שערי רחמים וג' מאות אלפים שערי יראת שמים³;

ב באותה⁴ שעה הוסיף לי ה[ק]ב"ה חכמה על חכמה בינה על בינה⁵ ערמה על ערמה⁵ דעת על דעת רחמים על רחמים⁶ תורה על תורה אהבה על אהבה⁷ חסד על חסד⁷ חמדה על חמדה ענוה על ענוה גבורה על גבורה כח על כח חיל על חיל זוהר על זוהר⁸ יופי על יופי תאר על תאר⁹ ונכבדתי¹⁰ ונתפארתי¹¹ בכל¹² מדות¹³ 14- טובות ומשובחות 14- הללו¹⁵ יותר 18- מבני 16 מרומים 17- 18-;

רחמים. ענוה. יראת שמים. ל; חכמה. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חטא. ע; חכמה. בינה. ערמה. חיים. שלום. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. כח. חן וחסד. אהבה. אהבה (חמדה; ע¹). ענוה. יראת חטא. ר; חכמה. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חטא.

4 ומאותה ב. ומאותו ג. 5-5 לי ב ב 6 ב חן וחסד על חסד. 7-7 לי ב ב 8 ג וזיו על זיו. 9 ג וזוד על כל חוד וחדר על כל הדר וכבוד על כל כבוד ונתפארת על כל תפארת. 10 ונתכבדתי דע 11 ונתפארתי ב 12 ג אלו ה- ל ה. 13 ב הללו ה- 14-14 לי ב ל 15 לי ב בג. 16 מן כל בני בגדע 17 מרום בג 18-18 מכל אדם ל



פרק ט'

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון¹ שר הפנים. אחר² כל מדות³ הללו⁴ הניח⁵ ה[ק]ב"ה⁶ עלי את ידו⁶ וברכני⁸ אלף וג' מאות⁷ וחמשת אלפים⁸ ברכות. ורוממתי⁹ והגבהתי¹⁰

ט 1 ג מלאך. 2 ג אלו 3 המדות גבע 4 לי ב ע. הנוכרים ג 5 ב לי 6-6 ידר עלי בדע. את ידו על (י) (ראשי) גל 7 דע ושישים 8-8 ת'ק אלפים וש'ם בל. עם ת'ק אלפים ושלושה מאות ושישים ג להק 9 והתרוממתי בל ואז. 10 ונתגבהתי ג

האדם ⁽¹⁵⁾ במסתר אני רואה וקודם שיעשה אדם דבר ¹⁶ אני רואה ¹⁷ ..
 ואין דבר ¹⁶ במרום ובעומק עולם נעלם ממני ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ :

⁽¹⁵⁾ ב ¹⁶ אני יודע וקודם שיחשוב ¹⁶ ל' ב ב ¹⁷ יודע ב ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ וקודם
 אשר האדם חושב דבר מה במחשבתו אני יודע אותו ואין במרום ממעל וכן בעומק
 מתחת נעלם ממני ג. קודם שיחשוב במרום ובעומק עולם נעלם ממני ד. קודם שיחשוב
 אדם אני יודע וקודם שיעשה דבר במסתר אני רואה. ואין במרום ובעומק נעלם ממני ל
 קודם שחשך במרום ובעומק עולם נעלם ממני ע ⁽¹⁹⁾ ב ¹⁶ לכד מיוצר בראשית.

פרק י"ב

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון ⁽¹⁾ שר הפנים.. מתוך אהבה א'
 שאהב ² אותי ³ ה[ק]ב"ה ⁽⁴⁾ יותר ⁵ מכל בני מרומים ⁶ יעשה ⁷ לי ⁸
 לבוש ⁹ ¹⁰ של גיאה ¹⁰⁻¹³ -שכל מיני ⁽¹¹⁾ מאורות ¹² בו ¹³ והלבשני ¹⁴ [בו]..
²⁰ ועשה לי מעיל של כבוד שכל ¹⁵ מיני תאר ¹⁶ גזיו ¹⁷ זוהר ⁽¹⁸⁾ הדר ב'
 קבועים ⁽¹⁹⁾ בו ²⁰⁻²¹ .. ועשה לי כתר מלכות שקבועים בו ארבעים ג'
 ותשע אבני ²² תאר כאור ²³ גלגל החמה.. שזיוו ²⁴ הולך ²⁹ בארבע ד'
 רוחות ²⁵ ²⁶ ערבות רקיע ²⁶ ובשבעה ²⁷ רקיעים וארבעה ^(ה) ²⁸ רוחות
 העולם ²⁹⁻³⁰ וקשרו ⁽³¹⁾ על ראשי.. וקראני ³² ה' ³³ הקמן בפני כל ה'
 פמליא שלו ³⁴ שבמרום ³⁵ שנאמר ³⁶ ((שמות כג' כ"א)) כי שמי בקרבו :

י"ב

⁽¹⁾ דע ¹⁶ מלאך ² שאהביני ב ³ ל' ב בג ⁽⁴⁾ ג ¹⁶ ית' ⁵ אותי ג
⁶ מרים בגל ⁷ עשה בגדלע ⁸ ל' ב ב ⁹ מלבוש ב ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ נאזה
 בגל להק' ⁽¹¹⁾ ב ¹⁶ תואר זיו והדר ¹² ומראות ב. קבועים ע ¹³⁻¹³ אשר בו כל
 מיני אורות קבועים ג. *leg. sim.* ¹⁴ העמיפני דע. ובו הלבישני ג ¹⁵ אשר בו כל ג
¹⁶ ל' ב ג ¹⁷ זיו גל ⁽¹⁸⁾ בג ¹⁶ וחוד ו- ⁽¹⁹⁾ ג ¹⁶ והעמני ²⁰⁻²⁰ ל' ב בע
⁽²¹⁾ ב ¹⁶ בזה העמני. ל ¹⁶ והעמני ²² ל' ב ב ²³ המאירים כמו אור ג. כאור ע
²⁴ שזיו ב. ואת זיום ג. וזיון ל ²⁵ ל' ב ע ²⁶⁻²⁶ העולם של הרקיע ערבות ג
²⁷ וכמו כן בכל ה- ג ²⁸ ובארבע גלע ²⁹⁻²⁹ מסוף העולם ועד סופו ובשבעה
 רקיעים ובארבע רוחות העולם ⁽³⁰⁾ ג ¹⁶ שלחם ⁽³¹⁾ ג ¹⁶ אותה הכתר ³² וקראו
 ל' ב. וקראו לי שם ג. וקרא לי ל ³³ י' ב ד ³⁴ ל' ב בגל ³⁵ של מעלה בגל
³⁶ וזה שאמר הכתוב ג

ד הנכבדים-²⁴ והנוראים²⁵ שנקראים²⁶ בשם ה' מלכם-²⁷ .. וכל²⁸ מלאך ומלאך²⁹- וכל שר ושר-²⁹ שיש לו דבר לדבר לפני³⁰ ילך לפניו וידבר³¹ ה' אליו.. וכל דבר ודבר³² שהוא מדבר בשמי⁽³³⁾ עליכם³⁴ ⁽³⁵⁾ תמזרון³⁶ ותפעלון מפני ששר החכמה ושר הבינה משרתים³⁷ לו³⁸ ⁽³⁹⁾ ללמרו חכמת⁴⁰ העליונים⁴¹ ותחתונים וחכמת העולם⁴² הזה-⁴⁴ וחכמת העולם⁴³ הבא-⁴⁴ .. וגם אני מניתיו על כל גנוי היכ(ו)לני⁴⁵ ערבות ועל כל אוצרות חיים⁴⁶ שיש לי⁴⁷ ⁽⁴⁸⁾ בשמי מרוננו-⁴⁹ :

²⁵ והנראים ב לי' ב ב. הנקראים ג ²⁷⁻²⁷ לי' בשמו של מלכם דל. ה' בשמו של עולם ע. יה יה אה אה בשמו של מלכם ב. יהוה כשמו של מלכום יתעלה ג ²⁸ והנה כל ג ²⁹⁻²⁹ לי' ב דע ³⁰ לי' ב בל. הוא ג ³¹ לדבר ב ³² לי' ב ב ⁽³³⁾ ג ³⁴ אלכם ב ⁽³⁵⁾ ג ³⁶ אשר ³⁷ תשמחן בגל ³⁸ מסרתיהם ג. מסרתיו בל ³⁹ ג ⁴⁰ כדי ⁴¹ עליונים בגדעל ⁴² עולם ב ⁴³ עולם גר ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ והע"ה ל. ושר (וסוד ע"ה) ע"ה ב ע ⁴⁵ = היכל. היכלי בל ⁴⁶ החיים ג. לי' ב ל ⁴⁷ לי' ב ע ⁽⁴⁸⁾ ב בעולמי ⁴⁹⁻⁴⁹ במרום ל

פרק י"א

ה' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים.. גלה^{1א} לי ה[ק]ב"ה מאז² כל סתרי תורה וכל רזי חכמה ⁽³⁾ [וכל עמקי תורה] תמימה⁴ ⁵- וכל מחשכות לבבות של בריות וכל רזי עולם⁵ וכל רזי⁶ בראשית גלויין⁷ לפני כדרך שגלויין⁸ לפני יוצר בראשית⁹.. וצפיתי מאוד¹⁰ להסתכל ברזי עמוקה¹¹ ובסוד¹² מופלא¹³. ¹⁸- הקודם¹⁴ ליחשוב

י"א

1 לי' ב בגל ^{1א} גלה ב ² מעין ב. מעיין ל. את מעיין של ג ⁽³⁾ ב ⁴ וכל עמקי תורה [לחק'] ג; וכל רזי הבינה וכל עמקי סוד התורה ד; וכל עמוקי. ע ⁵: וכל עמקי [ע⁰: תורה] ⁴ לי' ב גל ⁵⁻⁵ לי' ב בגל. ⁶ סתרי דע. סדרי בג. עמקי סדרי ל ⁷ גלה ע. גלויים ע ⁸ שנליים ע. אשר הם גלויים ג. ⁹ מעשה בראשית ג. ¹⁰ מאז דע. לי' ב בגל ¹¹ עמוקות ג. עמיקה ל ¹² ובסודים ג. ¹³ מופלאים ג. מופלאה ע ¹⁴ קודם ברע. *frit. leg.* שקודם

פרק י"ד

יט

אראילים ושרי אלים טפסרים-8 (9-ושרי אראלים-9) שגדולים מכל
מלאכי¹⁰ השרת המשמשים לפני כסא הכבוד¹³-זעים¹¹ ונרתעים¹²
ממני¹⁴-כשרואים אותי¹⁴-13.. ואפילו סמאל⁽¹⁵⁾ שר⁽¹⁶⁾ המסטינים¹³
שהוא גדול מכל שרי¹⁷ מלכיות¹⁸ שבמרום¹⁹ ירא ונודעזעזע²⁰ ממני²¹..
אפילו מלאך²² האיש²³ ומלאך²⁴ הברד²⁵ ומלאך²⁴ הרוח²⁶ ומלאך²⁷
הברק²⁷ ומלאך הזעם²⁸-ומלאך הרעם²⁸ ומלאך השלג²⁹ ומלאך
המטר³⁰ ומלאך היום³¹ ומלאך הלילה³²³⁵-ומלאך החמה³³ ומלאך
הלבנה³⁴-³⁵ ומלאך הכוכבים³⁶ ומלאך³⁷ המזלות³⁸⁶⁸-שמנהיגים³⁹
את⁽⁴⁰⁾ העולם מתחת⁴¹ ידיהם זעים⁴²⁴³-ונרתעים ונבהלים מלפני
כשרואין אותי⁴³..⁶⁰-ואלה שמותם⁽⁴⁴⁾ שמנהיגים⁴⁵ את העולם. גבריאל⁷
מלאך האש. ברדיאל⁷ מלאך הברד. רוחיאל⁽⁴⁶⁾ שהוא ממונה על
הרוח ברקיאל⁽⁴⁷⁾ ממונה על הברקים. זעמיאל⁴⁸⁽⁴⁹⁾ ממונה על הזעם.
זיקיאל⁵⁰ שהוא ממונה על הזיקים. זיעיאל⁵¹ שממונה על הזועות
ועפיאל⁵² הממונה על הזעף רעמיאל שממונה⁵² על הרעמים רעשיאל
שממונה⁵² על הרעש שלגיאל שממונה⁵² על השלגים⁵³. מטריאל
שממונה⁵² על המטר. שמשיאל שממונה⁵² על היום ליליאל⁵⁴

9-9 לוי ב בל 10 מלכי ב 11 זייעין ד 12 ומתערדין ב 13-13 לוי ב ל
14-14 לוי ב ע ⁽¹⁵⁾ דע ט הרשע ⁽¹⁶⁾ בדל ט כל. ע ט לכל 17 לוי ב דע
18 המלכות ב 19 לוי ב ב. שבמרומים ל 20 ומזדעזע ברע. והזדעזע ל
21 לוי ב דע 22 מלאכי בל 23 אש ב 24 ומלאכי בל 25 ברד בל
26 רוח ב 27-27 לוי ב בל 28-28 ומלאך הזועה ומלאך רעש ומלאך ברד ב. מלאך
הזעף מלאך הרעש ד. ומלאכי הרעש והרעם ל 29 שלג ב 30 מטר ב 31 יום ב
32 לילה ב 33 חמה ב 34 לבנה ב 35-35 לוי ב ע 36 כוכבים ב 37 ו-לע
38 מזלות ב 39 שמנהיג ע ⁽⁴⁰⁾ ע ט כל 41 מתוך דע 42 זייעין דע
43-43 ממני ב ⁽⁴⁴⁾ דע ט של שרים 45 המנהיגים ע ⁽⁴⁶⁾ ע ט מלאך
⁽⁴⁷⁾ ד ט שהוא. ע ט מלאך שהוא 48 ועמיאל ד ⁽⁴⁹⁾ דע ט שהוא 50 זיקיאל ע
51 זיעיאל ד. זועיאל ע 52 שהוא מטונה דע 53 השלג ע 54 לילאל ד 2

פרק י'ג

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים²-הדר
 ב' במרום כל².. מתוך אהבה³ (ה'רבה¹) וחמלה גדולה שאהבני⁴
 וחבבני⁵ ה[ק]ב"ה⁶ 7-יותר מכל בני מרומים⁷ כתב באצבעו בעט
 שלהבת⁸ על כתר שבראשי אות[י]ות⁹ ⁽¹⁰⁾ שנבראו בהם¹¹-הרים
 וגבעות. אותיות שנבראו בהם¹¹ כוכבים ומולות⁽¹²⁾ ברקים רוחות¹³
 ורעמים וקולות¹⁴ שלג וברד סופה וסערה. אותיות שנבראו בהם
 ב' כל¹⁵ 16-צרכי עולם על¹⁷-16 סדרי¹⁸ בראשית כלם¹⁹.. וכל אות ואות
 מפריחות²⁰ פעם²¹ בפעם²² 25-כמראה ברקים פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ כמראה
 לפידים פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ כמראה להבות²⁶ אש פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ 25-
 27-כמראה צאת²⁷ השמש⁽²⁸⁾ ולבנה וכוכבים²⁹ :

י'ג

1 ל' ב ב 2-2 ל' ב בדלע³ רבה בדלע להק' ⁴ שאהב אותי ב ⁵ וחבני ב.
 ל' ב ל ⁶ ל' ב ב 7-7 ל' ב ל ⁽⁸⁾ ב וקדושה ⁹ אותיות בדע ז.
⁽¹⁰⁾ בל ש שנבראו בהם שמים וארץ ואותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות ואותיות. ד. ש
 שנבראו בהן שמים וארץ ואותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות. ע ש שנבראו בהן שמים
 וארץ. אותיות שנבראו בהן ימים ונהרות אותיות. 11-11 ל' ב בל ⁽¹²⁾ ב ש
 וחמה ולבנה ¹³ רוח דע ¹⁴ ל' ב בל ¹⁵ ל' ב בע 16-16 ל' ב ל
¹⁷ וכל בדע ¹⁸ סדר ב. סתרי ע ¹⁹ כלם ל' ב בדע ²⁰ מפריחות בע.
 מפריכות ד. פורחות ל ²¹ פנים בדע ²² בפנים בדע ²³ פנים ב ²⁴ בפנים ב
 25-25 ל' ב דע ²⁶ ל' ב ל 27-27 כצאת ל ⁽²⁸⁾ ל ש נגבורתו ²⁹ בכוכבים ע

פרק י'ד

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁰ מלאך¹ שר הפנים⁰..
 א' כשקשר לי ה[ק]ב"ה כתר זה בראשי זעו ממני² ⁽³⁾ כל שרי מלכ[י]ות⁴
 שבמרום⁵ 6-ערבות רקיע וכל היילי⁷ רקיע ורקיע⁶ ואפילו⁸-שרי

י'ד

0-0 ל' ב ל 1 ל' ב ב 2 מני ב. ל' ב ל ⁽³⁾ ב ש כל היילות ו- ⁴ מלכיות בדע.
 החיילי ל ⁵ שברום ד. שבמרום ממני ל. ברום ע ⁶ ל' ב ל ⁷ ל' ב ב
 8- שרי אלים ושרי אראלים ושרי טפסרים בל. leg. שרי אלים ושרי טפסרים דע

ומשמארי ³¹-בוערת לפיד-³¹ וסביבות[י] ³²-מפרחות (ו)רוח סערה-³²
³⁷-וסופה וקול רעם ³³ ברעש ³⁴ מלפני ³⁵ ומאחורי ³⁶ ³⁷.

³¹⁻³¹ בערי לפידי אש ד' ¹. בערו לפידי אש ד' ². בוערים לפידיים בג' לחק'. בוערי לפיד ל'.
 בוער לפיד אש ע' ³²⁻³² נפרחות רוח סערה ב'. רוח סערה ג'. נפרחת רוח סערה ד'.
 נפוחות רוח ל'. מפורחות רוח סערה ע'. נפרחים רוח סערה צ' ³³ רעש בגדלע
 לחק' ³⁴ גדול ג' ³⁵ לפני ב' ³⁶ ומאחורי ד'ב'. ומלאחורי והברזו יוצ' כנזר
 למעלה ג'. מלאחורי ע' ³⁷⁻³⁷ ל'י ב' צ'. הכא תם ג'

פרק ט"ז B [בו ל. ל' ב א]

¹-אמר רבי ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ש'ה ושר על כל השרים ועומד לפני מי א'
 שניתעלה ¹-על כל אלהים והוא נכנס תחת כסא כבוד ויש לו משכן גדול של ² אור
 למעלה. והוא מביא אש הרישות ³ ונותן ⁴-באזניהם של חיות הקודש-⁴ כדי שלא ישמעו
 קול הדיבור ⁵-היוצא מפי הגבורה-⁵. וכשעלה משה למרום ונתענה ⁶ קכ"א תעני[ות] ער ³
 שנפתחו ⁷ לו מעונות החשמל וראה ⁸-ליבו בליבו של אריה-⁸. וראה כיתי ביתות ⁹
 צבאות ¹⁰-סביבותיו. וביקשו-¹⁰ לשרפו. ובקש משה רחמ[ים] ¹¹ תחלה ¹² על ישראל
 ואחרי כך ¹³ על עצמו. ופתח היושב על המרכבה את החלונות אשר על ראשי הכרובים
 ויצאו תרתת' ¹⁴ מאות סניגורין ¹⁵-ושר הפנים מטטרון-¹⁵ עמהן ¹⁶-לנגד משה. וקבלו
 התפילות של ישראל ונתנו אותן לכתר בראשו של הקב"ה. ואמר-¹⁶ שמע ישראל יו"י ג'
 אלהינו יו"י אחד ¹⁷ וצלה ושמחה ¹⁸-פניהם על-¹⁸ השכינה ואמרו למטטרון שר הפנים. מי
 הם אילו ולמי נותנים כל היקר והכבוד הזה. ונענו ¹⁹ גאון בית ישראל. ואמרו ²⁰-שמע
 ישראל יו"י אלהינו יו"י אחד. למי גיתן יותר יקר וגדולה אלא לך יו"י הגדולה והגבורה. אל
 מלך חי וקיים ²⁰. באותה שעה נענה אכתריאל יה' יהוד צבאו[ת] ואמר למטטרון ש"ה. ⁷
 כל מה ²¹ שמבקש מלפני אל תחזירנה ריקם. ושמע ²² תפילותו ²³ ועשה רצונו ²⁴ בין

ט"ז B

¹⁻¹ מטטרון הוא שר על כל השרים ועומד לפני מי שנתעלה ל' ² על ל' ³ חרישית ל'
⁴⁻⁴ באזני החיות ל' ⁵⁻⁵ ל' ב' ל' ⁶ והתענה ל' ⁷ שפתחו ל' ⁸⁻⁸ שְׁלֶגֶן כְּלָב האריה ל'.
 ז. לובן וגו' ? ⁹ ל' ב' ל' ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ ל' ב' ל' ¹¹ לחק' כמו ל': רחמים. ¹² ל' ב' ל'
 (13) ל' ¹⁴ בקש רחמי' ¹⁴ אלה וח' ל' ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ על ישראל. ומטטרון שר הפנים (עמם) ל'
¹⁶⁻¹⁶ וקבלו תפלתו ונתנו אותו בראש הקב"ה. ל' ¹⁷ צהלו ל' ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ פנים של ל'
¹⁹ וענו ל' ²⁰⁻²⁰ יי' חי וקיים ל' ²¹ ל' ב' ל' ²² שמע ל' ²³ תפילותיו ל'
²⁴ צרכיו ל'

שממונה⁵² על הלילה. גלגליאל⁵⁵ שממונה⁵² על גלגל חמה.
 אופ(י)ניאל⁵⁶ שממונה⁵² על אופנוי⁵⁷ הלבנה. ככביאל⁵⁸ שממונה⁵² על
 הכוכבים רהמיאל⁵⁹ שממונה⁵² על המזלות-60-68.. 61- וכלם נופלים
 על פניהם כשרואים אותי-61 ואינם⁶² יכולים להסתכל בי מפני⁶³
 הוד והדר⁶⁴ ויופי⁶⁵ תאר נגה-65 אור כתר⁶⁶ כבוד שעל
 ראשי⁶⁷ :

55 גלגליאל ד 56 אופניאל דע 57 אופן ד 58 כוכביאל דע 59 רחמיאל ד
 60-60 לי' ב ב 61-61 וכשרואין אותי נפלים על פניהם ב 62 ואין ב 63 בפני ב
 64 ב דע זיו וזהר 65-65 לי' ב ל 66 לי' ב דע 67 עיי' בפרק ז 68-68 לי' ב ל
 0 0 0

פרק ט"ו

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר¹ לי מטמרון מלאך² שר הפנים⁵ הדר
 מרום³ כל⁴⁻⁵.. כיון שלקחני ה[ק]ב"ה בשמשות⁶ לשמש את⁷ כסא
 הכבוד⁸ ואת גלגלי-⁸ המרכבה⁹ ואת כל-⁹ צרכי¹⁰ שכינה¹¹ מיד¹²
 נהפך¹³ לי¹⁴ בשרי לשלהבה¹⁵ וגידי לאש¹⁶ להט¹⁷ ועצמותי לגחלי¹⁸
 רתמים ואור¹⁹ עפעפי לזוהר²⁰ ברקים²¹ וגלגלי עיני ללפיד²² אש
 ושערות²³ ראשי²⁴ ללהט וללהבה-²⁴ וכל²⁵ אברי לכנפי²⁶ אש
 בוערות²⁷ וגוף קומתי לאש²⁸ יוקדת.. ומימיני³⁰ חוצבי להבות²⁹ אש-³⁰

ט"ז

1 סח צ 2 לי' ב בנ 3 במרום ג 4 לי' ב ב 5-5 לי' ב צ 6 לי' ב בגל.
 בשמחות ד 7 תחת צ 8-8 וגלגלי צ 9-9 וכל צ 10 מערכי ג 11 בכלל
 12 לי' ב צ 13 נעשה צ 14 את ב. לי' ב ל 15 לשלהבת אש בדל. אל שלהבת
 אש ג. שלהב' אש צ 16 אל אש ג 17 לוחטות ב. לוחט גרל. לי' ב ע 18 אל
 גחלי ג 19 לי' ב בגל. לחק' ז' 20 לזיקי ב. אל ג. זוהר צ. לי' ב ל 21 רקיע ע
 22 [ל] לפידי בדעל. אל לפידי ג 23 ושער בגלע 24-24 להטי להבה בל. אל
 להטי להבה ג 25 ו- ג 26 אל כנפי ג 27 בערת ב. בוערת לע 28 אל
 29 להבי צ 30-30 חצובי אש להבות ב

מלכיות עומדים עלי מימיני¹³ ומשמאלי מרשות ה[ק]ב"ה. וכיון שבא נ
 אחר¹⁴ להסתכל בצפיית המרכבה¹⁵ ונתן עיניו בי והוא¹⁶ מתיירא¹⁷
 ומזדעזע מלפני ונפשו⁽¹⁸⁾ מבוהלת לצאת ממנו מפני פחדי ואימתי
 ומוראי כשרואה¹⁹ אותי²⁰ יושב על כסא כמלך ומלאכי השרת (היו)²¹
 עומדים עלי כעבדים²² וכל שרי מלכיות²³ קושרים²⁴ כתרם סובבים
 אצלי²⁵.. באותה שעה פתח את פיו⁽²⁶⁾ ואמר. וודאי²⁷ שתי רשויות⁽²⁸⁾ ג
 בשמים.. מיד יצאה²⁹ בת³⁰ קול³¹-מן השמים-³¹ מלפני³² השכינה ד
 ואומרת³³. שובו בנים שובכים חוץ מאחר (ד"א)^{33א}.. באותה שעה בא ס
 ענייל³⁴ השר הנכבד נהדר נחמד³⁵ נפלא נורא נערץ משליחות³⁶ של
 ה[ק]ב"ה³⁷ והכני³⁸ ⁽³⁹⁾ ששים פולסאות⁽⁴⁰⁾ של אור והעמידני⁴¹ על רגלי:

13 מלמעלה בימיני ב 14 אלישע בן אבויה הוא אחר ד. אלשע בן אבויה והוא עמד
 אחר י"י ב 15 מרכבה ד 16 ל"י ב ד. והיה ב 17 ירא ב (18) ב היתה
 19 ל"י ב ד². שראני ד¹. שראה ב 20 אותי שאני ב. שאני ד 21 ל"י ב בדל
 22 ל"י ב ב 23 המלכיות ד 24 קשורים ד 25 אוהי ב (26) ב אתו אלשע
 27 בחדאי ד (28) ד הן. ב יש 29 יצתה ד 30 ל"י ב ד 31-31 ל"י ב בד
 32 לפני ב 33 ואמרה ד. ואמח ב 33א ל"י ב בדל. gloss. 34 ב בד: ל ענפיאל יי
 35 מופלא ד 36 בשליחותו ד. בשל יחתו ב 37 מקום דל 38 והביא עמו ב
 (39) ב וחיללות (40) ב וחיללות 41 והעמידני ב. ב ל אחרי פרק הזה חוסף
 נו של פרק ט"ח C [למן]

פרק י"ז

א"ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים הדר
 מרום כל. שבעה שרים הגדולים¹ נאים² נוראים נפלאים נכבדים³
 שהם ממונים בו⁴ רקיעים. ואלו הן³ 4-מיכאל. גבריאל. שתקיאל.
 שחקיאל. בכריאל. בדריאל. פחריאל⁴.. וכלם שרי צבא רקיע הם. ג
 ועם כל אחד⁽⁵⁾ ארבע מאות ותשעים וששה אלפים רבבות⁶ מלאכי
 השרת. מיכאל שר⁷ הגדול ממונה על רקיע שביעי של⁸ עליוי

י"ז

1 הם גדולים ד 2 ל"י ב ד 3 הם ד 4-4 מיכאל וגבריאל שתקיאל וברדיאל
 ושחקיאל וברקיאל וסדריאל ד (5) ד ו אחד 6 ורבבות ד 7 השר ד 8 ל"י ב ד

ס' מרובי' ובין [מעטין²⁵].. מיד אמר מטטרון ש"ה²⁶ למשה. בן עמרם. אל תירא²⁷ 28-כ"י
 כבר רצך אלהים-²⁸ ותבע²⁹ רצונך³⁰ בגאות ובגבורה כי קרן עוד פניך מסוף העולם
 ועד סופו. ואמר לו משה שמא באשם אני. ואמר לו³¹ מטטרון⁽³²⁾ קבל³³ אותיות
 שבועה שאין בה³⁴ הפר ברית.⁽³⁵⁾

25 כן ב ל. לחקר עם ל. ל"י ב ב 26 ל"י ב ל 27 תתירא ל 28-28 ל"י
 ב ל 29 תבע ל 30 צדכך ל 31 ל"י ב ל⁽³²⁾ ל שר הפ' למשה.
 33 קביל ל 34 בול⁽³⁵⁾ ב add: זה אינו מלשון הברייתא (ומס ש"ס לאסרי כך
 יסנו גס ב ל) ונקרא שמו מיטטרון על שנעשה מ"י פרון (ל: מטטרון) מראה (ל ס מה)
 שהקב"ה הפין למלאכים (ל: במלאכי) כהוא (ל: כי הוא) *שר הפנים * (** ל"י
 ב ל) ולפנים (ל: לפנים). והוא מטטרון רב ומורה דעת את הילדים בני טובים * וכשהן
 קטנים בני ט' * (** ל"י ב ל). זהו מטטרון * מיטרון לט' שהן * (** ל: מי טרון
 לשון שאין) בני אסנת משגח'ת הנזכרים במסכת נדרים. ולמה הימשל את מטטרון על
 (ל ס כל) בני מעלה אלא (ל"י ב ל) לפי כשראה שחמאו דוד אנוש (ל: המבול) יבנה
 בית הוץ ממקומן ושם היתה תפלתו ולימודו. ולא היה חולך בניהם (ל: בין העולם)
 * אלא חולך בדרך ישרה לדעת את האלהים שנאמר * (** ל"י ב ל) ויתהלך חנוך את
 האלהים. וסלקו הקב"ה בקול [שופר] ובתרועה (ל: תרועה) שנאמר עלה אלהים
 בתרועה. עם השכינה. יו"י בקול שופר. להודיע כי הצדיקים לפנים ממלאכים (מלאכי
 השרת) שנאמר בעת יאמר ליעקב ולישראל מה פעל אל. (ל ס וכנ יסד הקלידי. אלה
 יהו מבפצי.) (אחרי כך ב ל: הלכות המלאכים וב ב אית הכא פרק ט"ז כמו ב א.)

פרק ט"ז

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון¹ מלאך² שר הפנים הדר
 מרום כל³ 1-2.. בתחלה הייתי יושב על כסא (ה) גדול⁴ בפתח⁵ היכל
 שביעי ודנתי את כל בני מרומים⁶ פמליא של מרום⁶ מרשות ה[ק]ב"ה.
 וחלקתי גדולה ומלכות⁽⁷⁾ רבות⁸ ושלטון⁹ הדרר ושבת ועמרה¹⁰ וכתר
⁽¹¹⁾ כבוד לכל¹² שרי מלכויות כשאני יושב בישיבה של מעלה ושרי

ט"ז

1-1 ל"י ב ל 2 ל"י ב ב 3 ל"י ב ב 4 גדול בד ז. אשר גדול ל 5 על
 פתח בל 6-6 ל"י ב בר (7) בד ס ו- 8 ורבנות ב 9 ושולמן ד. ושכרה
 והוד ו- ב 10 ועמרת ד (11) בד ס ו 12 וכל ל

נכבדים שהן מורידין³⁸ את הכוכבים מעיר לעיר וממדינה למדינה ברקיע השמים. ולמעלה מהם יש ע"ב שרי מלכות במרום כנגד ע"ב כ' לשונות שבעולם. וכולם קשורים כתרי מלכות ולבושים בגדי³⁹ מלכות ועטופים בגדי מלכות. וכולם רכובים בסוסי מלכות ותופסים בידם שרביטי מלכות. וכל אחד ואחד⁴⁰ כשהוא מהלך ברקיע רצין לפניו⁴¹ בכבוד גדול וביקר רב ושמי⁴² מלכות⁴³ כדרך שמהלכין⁴⁴ בארץ⁴⁵ במרכבה⁴⁶ ופרשים וחילות רבות⁴⁶ ובכבוד⁴⁷ ובגדולה שבה ותהלה ותפארת:

38 מריצין ד 39 עדיי ד (40) ד 40 מהם 41 לפני ד 2 42 שמי ד 7
 (43) ד 40 וכל אחד ואחד מהם כשהוא מהלך ברקיע רצין לפני חילות רבות 44 לי
 ב ד 45 הארץ 46-46 לי ב ד 47 בכבוד ד
 0 0 0

פרק י"ח

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים הדר מרום כל. (1) מלאכי רקיע ראשון כשהם רואין את שר שלהם יורדין⁴⁸ מעל סוס שלהם ונופלין על פניהם. ושר רקיע ראשון² (כשהוא)^[כשהוא] (רואין)^[רואין] את שר רקיע שני (יורדין)³ מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ב' כשרואה⁵ את שר רקיע שלישי מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ג' כשרואה את שר רקיע ד' מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ד' כשרואה את שר רקיע ה' מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ששי מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.

י"ח

(1) ד 40 כל 2-2 כשהם רואין א. להק' עם ד. כמו למעלה 3 לי ב ד 4 שעל ד
 בכל מקום 5 כשהוא רואה aut כשהן רואין ד. בכל מקום 6-6 ושר רקיע
 חמישי מפני שר ששי ושר רקיע ששי מפני שר רקיע שביעי ד

שבערבות. גבריאל שר הצבא ממונה על רקיע ששי שבמבון.
 9-שתקיאל. שר הצבא ממונה על רקיע חמישי שיש במעון-9.
 שחקיאל¹⁰ שר הצבא ממונה על רקיע רביעי שבונוול. בדריאל¹¹
 שר הצבא ממונה על רקיע שלישי שבשחקים. ברכיאל¹² שר הצבא
 ממונה על רקיע שני¹³-שבמרום רקיע-¹³. פזריאל¹⁴ שר הצבא ממונה
 ד על רקיע⁽¹⁵⁾ שבבילון שבשמים. למטה מהם גלגליאל¹⁶ השר הממונה
 על גלגל החמה. ועמו צ"ו מלאכים רבים ונכבדים שהם מורידין¹⁷
 ה את גלגל החמה¹⁸ ברקיע⁽¹⁹⁾.. [מטה] מהן אופניאל⁽²⁰⁾ השר²¹- שהוא
 ממונה-²¹ על גלגל הלבנה. ועמו שמונים²² ושמנה⁽²³⁾ מלאכים שהם
 מורידין²⁴ את גלגל הלבנה ג' מאות וחמישים וארבע[ת] אלפים
 פרסאות²⁵ בכל לילה ולילה²⁶- כל זמן-²⁶ שהלבנה עומדת במזרח
 בתקופתה²⁷. ואימתי יושבת במזרח בתקופתה. הוי אומר. ביז בכל
 ו חדש וחדש-²⁸. למטה מהם רהטיאל²⁹ השר שהוא ממונה על המזלות
 ועמו ע"ב מלאכים גדולים ונכבדים. ולמה נקרא שמו רהטיאל²⁹.
 מפני שהוא מרהיט⁽³⁰⁾ המזלות בגלגלים³¹ ובמסילותם³² ג' מאות
 ושלישים ותשעה אלפים פרסאות בכל לילה⁽³³⁾ מן המזרח למערב
 ומן המערב למזרח מפני שאהל אחד עשה לכלם³⁴ ה[ק]ב"ה לחמה
 וללבנה³⁵ ולמזלות וכוכבים-³⁶ שהן מהלכין⁽³⁷⁾ בלילה מן המערב
 למזרח.. למטה מהן כוכביאל³⁶ השר שהוא ממונה על הכוכבים כולן.
 ועמו ג' מאות וששים וחמשה אלפים רבבות מלאכי השרת גדולים

9-9 ל"ב ד 2 10 שתקיאל ד 2 11 בדריאל ד 12 בקיאל ד 13-13 שברקיע ד
 14 סדריאל ד (15) ד ט ראשון 16 גלגליאל ד 17 מרוצים ד 1. מריצין ד 2
 18 לבנה ד 1. החמה ד 2 (19) ד ט ש"ה אלפים פרסאות בכל יום. להק'
 (20) ד ט למטה. להקרא כמו כן 21-21 הממונה ד 22 ששים ד (23) ד ט מלכים
 24 מריצים ד 25 ל"ב ד 26-26 ל"ב ד 27 בתקופה ד 28-28 ל"ב ד. אולי שחוספה
 מגליון פ 29 רהטיאל ד (30) ד ט את 31 בגלגליהם ד להק' 32 ובמסילותיהם ד
 (33) ד ט ולילה. 34 למה ד 35 ולבנה ד 36-36 כוכבים ומזלות ד (37) ד ט בו

שהוא מרעיש את כל בני מרומים הגיע¹⁴ זמן לומר קדוש¹⁵ שנא[מר]
 ((ישעיה ל"ג ג')) מקול המון נדרו עמים מרוממותיך נפוצו¹⁶ גוים. מעביר
 כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. והמון השר הגדול כשרואה כ'
 את⁽¹⁷⁾ מטַרְסִיאל¹⁸ השר הגדול¹⁹ מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל
 על פניו.. ומַטַרְסִיאל²⁰ ה' השר הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את אַמְרוֹגִיאל²¹ כ'
 השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 ואַמְרוֹגִיאל²¹ השר הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את נַעֲרִירִיאל²² ה' השר הגדול¹⁹..
 מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. ונַעֲרִירִיאל²² ה' השר כ'
 הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את סַסְנִיגִיאל⁽²³⁾ השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וסַסְנִיגִיאל⁽²⁴⁾ כשרואה את זֹרִיאל²⁵ כ'
 ה' השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 וזֹרִיאל²⁵ ה' השר כשרואה את גְבוּרְתִיאל²⁶ ה' השר היה מעביר כתר כ'
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וגְבוּרְתִיאל²⁶ ה' השר כשרואה את ה'
 עַרְפִּיאל²⁶ השר היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 ועַרְפִּיאל²⁷ ה' השר כשרואה את אֲשֶׁרוּיִל²⁸ השר היה מעביר כתר כ'
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. ואֲשֶׁרוּיִל²⁹ ה' השר³⁰ השר³¹—ראש כל טו'
 פרק בני מרומים—³¹ כשרואה את גְלִיצוֹר³² ה' השר³²—המגלה כל רזי
 התורה—³² היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וגְלִיצוֹר³²
 ה' השר כשרואה את זְכוּכִיאל³³ ה' השר³⁴—שהוא ממונה—³⁴ לכתוב
 זכיותן³⁵ של ישראל שעושיין³⁶ על כסא הכבוד היה מעביר כתר כבוד
 מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וזְכוּכִיאל³⁷ ה' השר הגדול³⁸ כשרואה את כ'

¹⁴ בשעת הגעת ד. לה ק' ¹⁵ שלוש קדושה ד ¹⁶ נפצו ד ⁽¹⁷⁾ ד השר

¹⁸ מטַרְסִיאל י"י ד ¹⁹ ל"ג ב ד ²⁰ ומַטַרְסִיאל ד ²¹ אַמְרוֹגִיאל י"י ד

⁽²²⁾ ד ה' ד ⁽²³⁾ ד ל"ג י"י ⁽²⁴⁾ ד ה' השר ²⁵ ל"ג ב ד ²⁶ עַרְפִּיאל י"י ד

²⁷ ועַרְפִּיאל ד ²⁸ אֲשֶׁרוּיִל י"י ד ²⁹ ואֲשֶׁרוּיִל י"י ד ³⁰ ל"ג ב ד

³¹⁻³¹ על בני פרק מרומים ד ³²⁻³² מגלה רז כתר תורה כתר קדושה כתר מלכות ד

³³ ל"ג ב ד ³⁴⁻³⁴ הממונה ד ³⁵ זכיותיהן ד ³⁶ ל"ג ב ד ³⁷ ל"ג ב ד

³⁸ ל"ג ב ד

ושר רקיע ששי כשרואה את שר רקיע שביעי מעביר כתר כבוד
 ג' מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו-⁶.. ושר רקיע שביעי כשרואה את ע'ב
 שרי מלכיות מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..⁷
 ג' וע'ב שרי מלכיות⁸-כשהם רואים-⁸ את שומרי פתח היכל ראשון
 שבערבות רקיע העליון היו מעבירין כתר מלכות מעל ראשן
 ונופלים על פניהם.⁹ וְשומרי פתח היכל ראשון כשרואין את
 שומרי פתח היכל ב' מעבירין כתר כבוד מעל ראשן ונופלים
 על פניהם. וְשומרי פתח היכל ב' כשרואין את שומרי פתח היכל
 ג' מעבירין כתר כבוד מעל ראשן ונופלים על פניהם. וְשומרי
 פתח היכל ג' כשרואין את שומרי פתח היכל ד' מעבירין כתר
 כבוד מעל ראש(י)ן ונופלים על פניהם. וְשומרי פתח היכל ד'
 כשרואין את שומרי פתח היכל ה' מעבירין כתר כבוד מעל ראש(י)ן
 ונופלין על פניהם. וְשומרי פתח היכל ה' כשרואין את שומרי
 פתח היכל ששי מעבירין כתר כבוד מעל ראש(י)ן ונופלים על פניהם.
 וְשומרי פתח היכל ששי כשרואין את שומרי פתח היכל שביעי
 ד' מעבירין כתר כבוד מעל ראש(י)ן ונופלים על פניהם-⁹.. וְשומרי פתח
 היכל שביעי כשרואין את ד' שרים גדולים הנכבדים הממונים על
 ארבע מחנות שכינה מעבדין כתר¹⁰ כבוד מעל ראש(י)ן¹¹ ונופלים
 ס' על פניהם.. וד' שרים הגדולים כשרואין את תגעץ שרא רבא ויקירא
 בשירה תהלה בראש כל בני עליונים מעבירין כתר¹⁰ כבוד מעל
 י' ראש(י)ן¹¹ ונופלין על פניהם.. ותגעץ שרא רבא ויקירא כשרואה את
 ברמטיאל¹² השר הגדול של שלש אצבעות ברום ערבות רקיע העליון
 י' מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וברמטיאל¹² שר¹³
 הגדול כשרואה את המון שר¹³ הגדול והגורא הנכבד והנחמד והנערץ

ד' סדר היכלות ⁸⁻⁸ כשהן רואין ד' ⁹⁻⁹ וְשומרי פתח היכל ראשון מפני

שומרי פתח היכל שני וְשומרי פתח היכל שני מפני שלישי וְשומרי פתח היכל שלישי

מפני רביעי וְגו' ד' ¹⁰ כתרין ד' ¹¹ ראשם ד' ¹² עמטיאל ד' ¹³ השר ד'

בנהר דינור ודועכו ב(מ)מקומו⁶³ .. וכשהוא⁶⁴ רואה את אזבונה⁶⁵ ה'⁶⁶ כ"ב
 השר הגדול הנכבד⁶⁷ והנורא הנכבד והנעדר⁶⁸ הנפלא והנשגב
 הנחמד והנערץ בתוך שרים הגדולים המכירים ברו⁶⁹ כסא הכבוד
 מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו
 אזבונה⁷⁰. מפני שהוא ^[אזר] (אזור)⁷¹ בגדי חיים ועוטף מעיל חיים לעתיד לבא
 לצדיקים⁷² ולחסידי עולם כדי שיה[ו] חיים בהם חיי עולם .. וכשרואה⁷³ כ"ג
 את שני שרים הגדולים רבים ונכבדים העומד[ים] למעלה הימנו מעביר
 כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ואלה ⁷⁴-שמותם המלאכים
 השרים⁷⁴. סופריאל ה' ממית⁷⁵ השר הגדול נכבד⁷⁵ נהדר נקי ישיש
 עז⁷⁶ שופריאל ה' מחיה השר הגדול נכבד נהדר נקי ישיש ועוז⁷⁶ ..
 ולמה נקרא שמו ספריאל ה' ממית. מפני שהוא ממונה על ספרי כ"ד
 מתים שכל⁷⁷ מי שהגיע יום מותו הוא כותבו על⁷⁸ ספרי מתים. ולמה
 נקרא שמו שופריאל ה' מחיה. מפני שהוא ממונה על ספרי חיים
 שכל מי שרוצה ⁽⁸⁰⁾ ה[ק]ב"ה בחיים⁸¹ הוא כתבו בספרי חיים מרשות
 המקום. ושמה תאמר הואיל ה[ו]ה[ק]ב"ה⁸² יושב על כסא אף הם יושבין
 וכותבין. ת"ל וכל צבא השמים עומדים עליו ((דברי ב' י"ח י"ח)). צבא
 השמים ⁽⁸³⁾ מלמד שאפילו שרים הגדולים שאין כיוצא בהן לשמי⁸⁴
 מרום אין עושין ⁽⁸⁵⁾ צרכי השכינה אלא כשהן עומדים. וכצד⁸⁶ כותבים
 והן⁸⁷ עומדים .. אלא זה עומד על גלגלי סופה וזה עומד על גלגלי כ"ה
 סערה⁸⁸. זה לבוש אצלולת⁸⁹ של מל(א)כים⁹⁰ וזה לבוש אצלולת⁸⁹ של

63 ממקומו ד. אולי במחשבתו תילים קי"ח י"ב
 64 וזהפטרי"י י"י השר כשהוא ד
 65 אזבונה ד' 2 66 ל"ב ד' 67 הניבור ד' 68 הנהדר ד' 69 ברזי ד' 70 כ"ד ד'
 71 אזור ד' 1 לחק. אור ד' 2 72 לצדיקי ד' 73 ואזבונה"י י"י השר כשהוא רואה ד'
 74-74 שמות שני השרים ד' 75-75 שר גדול ונכבד ד' 76-76 ל"ב ד' 77 וכל ד' 2
 78 עד ד' ⁽⁷⁹⁾ ד' 79 וסופריאל י"י מחיה ⁽⁸⁰⁾ ד' 80 בו 81 לחחיותו ד'
 82 ותקב"ה ד' ⁽⁸³⁾ ד' 83 לא נאמר אלא וכל 84 בשמי ד' ⁽⁸⁵⁾ ד' 85 אר
 86 וכיצד ד' 87 כשהן ד' 88 סופה ד' 89 אצלולת ד' 90 מלכים ד' לחק'

ענפ[א]ל ה' השר³⁹ - שהוא שומר מפתחי היכלי ערבות רקיע היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו³⁹. ולמה נקרא שמו ענפ[א]ל. מפני שענף הודו והדרו וכתרו וזיוו וזוהרו⁽⁴⁰⁾ את כל הדרי⁴¹ ערבות רקיע עליון כיוצר עולם. מה יוצר עולם כְּתוּב בו ((חבקוק ג')) כסה שמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ אף⁴² - ענפ[א]ל ה' - השר⁴² את מכה הודו והדרו את כל הדרי ערבות עליון.. וכשהוא⁴³ רואה את⁴⁴ - סוֹתֵר אֲשֵׁי־אֵל⁴⁴ - ה' השר הגדול והנורא והנכבד ה[יה] מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו סוֹתֵר (ו) אֲשֵׁי־אֵל⁴⁵. מפני שהוא ממונה בפנים⁴⁶ על ד' ראשי נהר דינור כלפי כסא הכבוד וכל שר ושר שהוא יוצא ונכנס לפני השכינה אינו יוצא ונכנס אלא ברשותו. מפני שחותמות⁴⁷ - ד' נהרי⁴⁷ - דינור מסור[ו]ת⁴⁸ בידו. ולא עוד אלא שרום גובהו⁴⁹ - שבע' אלף⁴⁹ - רבבות פרסאות והוא סוֹתֵר אש⁵⁰ של נהר דינור ויוצא ונכנס לפני השכינה לפרש⁽⁵¹⁾. של⁵² כל כ' באי העולם כע[נ]י[ן] ש[נ]אמר[ו] דינא יתיב וספרין פתיחו.. וסוֹתֵר אֲשֵׁי־אֵל⁽⁵³⁾ כשרואה⁵⁴ - שוֹקֵד חוּזִי ה' - השר הגדול הגבור והנורא והנכבד ה[יה] מעביר כתר [כבוד]⁽⁵⁵⁾ מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו⁵⁶ - שוֹקֵד חוּזִי⁵⁶. מפני שהוא שוקל⁵⁷ - כל זכיות⁵⁷ - בכף מוזנים⁵⁸ לפני כ"ח ה[ק]ב"ה.. וכשרואה⁵⁹ את זהנפוריין⁶⁰ ה' השר הגדול הגבור והנורא⁶¹ הנכבד⁶¹ הנהדר הנערץ בכל פמליא שלמעלה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו זהנפוריין⁶² מפני שהוא זועף

39-39 היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו וענפ[א]ל השר הוא הממונה לשמור
 פתחי היכלי ערבות רקיע ד (40) ד ∞ מכסה P.L. 41 הדרי ד 42-42 ענפ[א]ל ד
 43 וענפ[א]ל השר כשהוא ד 44-44 בלא נקודים ד 45 אש[י]א"ל ד 46 ל"י ב ד
 47-47 נהר ד 48 מסורות ד 49-49 שבעים אלפים ד 50 אש[י] ד. אש ד 2
 51 ד ∞ בכתובים ד 52 על ד (53) ד ∞ יי השר 54-54 שקדהווי יי ד
 55 ד ∞ כבוד. להק' 56-56 כך ד 57-57 ל"י ב ד 58 מאזנים ד 59 ושקדהווי
 השר כשהוא רואה ד 60 זהפטריין ד 61 ל"י ב ד 62 כך ד

ונשגב נקי ונחמד שליט גאה ורם ישיש עז⁵ שאין כמוהו⁶ בכל השרים כלם. רכביאל ה' (השם)⁷ הגדול⁸ והנורא שמו שהוא עומד אצל המרכבה. ולמה נקרא שמו רכביאל. [מפני] שהוא ממונה על גלגלי ב' המרכבה והם⁹ מסורים¹⁰ בידו. וכמה גלגלים הם. ח'. ב'ב' לכל רוח ג' ורוח. וסביבותיהם ד' רוחות מקיפות להם. ואלו שמותיהן¹¹: רוח סופה. רוח סערה. ורוח עזה. ורוח רעש. ומתחתיהם מושכין ד' ויוצאין ד' נהרי אש נהר אש¹² לכל צד וצד¹³. וביניהן מוקפין¹⁴ ד' עננים ואלו הן. ענני אש. ענני לפיד. ענני גהל. ענני גפרית. שתלים¹⁵ ועומדים כנגד גלגלותם¹⁶. (ואלו)¹⁷ ורגלי החיות נתונים ס' על גבי גלגלים ורעש ברעש¹⁸ בין גלגל לגלגל. ורעם ברעם¹⁹ בין גלגל לגלגל. וכשיגיע²⁰ ומן לומר שירה רועשים המון גלגלים. רעדים המון ו עננים. רועשים כל שלישים. רוגשים כל פרשם. נרתעים רועשים²¹ כל גבורים. מזדעזעים [כל]²² הצבאים. [מתפחדים] כל הגרודים. נחפזים כל הממונים. מתבהלים כל השרים וחיללים. [מתמוגגים]²³ כל המשרתים. מתחוללים [כל]²⁴ המלאכם ודגלים. וקול²⁵ ישמיע²⁶ גלגל לגלגל ו כרוב לכרוב חיה לחיה אופן לאופן שרף לשרף סולו לרכב [בערבות]²⁷ ביה שמו ועלוזו לפניו: (תהלים ס"ח ה'))

5 ועז ד' 6 כיוצא בו ד' 7 השר ד' להק' 8 ד' ט' חנבור 9 וגלגלי המרכבה ד'
10 מסורין ד' 11 הן הרוחות ד' 12 אחד ד' 13 ל"י ב' ד' 14 ד' ט' ועומדין
15 שתולים ד' 16 גלגליהם ד' להק' 17 ל"י ב' ד' 18 גרעש ד' 19 גרעם ד' 20 וכשמגיע ד'
21 ל"י ב' ד' 22 ד' ט' כל 23 ד' ט' מתפחדים 24 ד' ט' ואילים 25 מתמוגגים ד'
26 ד' ט' כל 27 בקול ד' 28 ישמיעו ד' 1. ישמימו ד' 29 ד' MT בערבות

o o o

פרק כ'

א'ר ישמעאל: אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. (1) למעלה א'
מהן יש שר אחד גדול ותקיף הייליאל ה' שמו. שר אדיר ונורא שר

ב'

(1) ד' ט' חמ"ב (= הדר מרומם כל)

(כ"ה) מל(א)כים⁹⁰. זה עטוף⁹¹ מעיל של⁹² גאווה. וזה עטוף⁹¹ מעיל של⁹² גאווה. זה קשור קשר⁹³ של מלכות. וזה קשור קשר⁹³ של מלכות. זה גופו⁽⁹⁴⁾ מלא עינים וזה גופו⁽⁹⁴⁾ מלא עינים. זה מראהו כמראה ברקים וזה מראהו כמראה ברקים. זה עיניו כשמש בגבורתו וזה עיניו כשמש בגבורתו⁽⁹⁵⁾ זה (גבוהו)^[גבוהו]⁹⁶ כרום שבעה רקיעים וזה (גבוהו)^[גבוהו]⁹⁶ כרום שבעה רקיעים זה כנפיו כימות השנה⁹⁷ וזה כנפיו כימות השנה⁹⁷. זה כנפיו כמרחבי רקיע וזה כנפיו כמרחבי רקיע. זה שפתיו כשערי מזרח וזה שפתיו כשערי מזרח. זה לשונו כרום גלי הים וזה לשונו כרום גלי הים. זה יוצא מפיו שלהבת וזה יוצא מפיו ברקים וזה יוצא מפיו ברקים. זה מויעתו האש דולק⁹⁸ וזה מויעתו האש דולק⁹⁸. זה מלשונו בוער לפיד⁽⁹⁹⁾ וזה מלשונו בוער לפיד⁽⁹⁹⁾. זה על ראשו אבן ספיר וזה על ראשו אבן ספר. זה על כתפיו¹⁰⁰ גלגל כרום קל וזה על כתפיו¹⁰⁰ גלגל כרום קל. זה בידו מגלה¹⁰¹ של גחל וזה בידו מגלה¹⁰¹ של גחל. זה בידו עט של¹⁰² שלהבת וזה בידו עט של¹⁰² שלהבת. אורך¹⁰³ המגילה ג' אלפים¹⁰⁴ רבבות פרסאות ושעורו¹⁰⁵ של עֵט ג' אלפים רבבות¹⁰⁶ פרסאות. שיעור כל אות ואות שהן כותבים ג' מאות וששים וחמש[ה] פרסאות:

91 עטוף ד	92 ל"ב ד	93 כתרי ד	1. כתר ד	2	(94) ד	95 כולו	(95) ד	96 כ	97 שנת ד	98 דולקת ד
(99) ד	99 אש	100 כתיפיו ד	101 מגילה ד	102 ל"ב ד	103 שיעור ד	104 אלפי ד	2	105 שיעור ד	106 ל"ב ד	

פרק י"ט

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון מלאך שר הפנים.. (2) למעלה 3-מאלה ג' מלאכים-3 השרים הגדולים הללו יש שר אחד אלוף ונכבד אדיר ונהדר הדור ונערץ גבור חזק⁴ וגדול ומגודל תקיף ומפואר נפלא

י"ט

1 ב ד בפרק אחד עם י"ח (2) ד 96 המ"ב 3-3 מהן משני ד 4 וחנק ד

כְּרוּבִיאֵל ה' ⁽⁵⁾ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁר ⁶ גְבוּר מְלֵא כַח גְבוּרוֹת שֶׁר גְּאוּה ⁷ וְגִיאָה ⁸
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ עֵמו. ⁽⁹⁾ שֶׁר צִדִּיק וְעֵמו צִדְקָה. שֶׁר קְדוֹשׁ וְעֵמו קְדוּשָׁה ¹⁰. שֶׁר מִפּוֹאֵר
בְּאַלְפֵי צְבָאוֹת. שֶׁר מִסְתַּלְסֵל בְּרִיבֵי ¹¹ חַיִּילוֹת. מִקְצָפוֹ ¹² תִּרְעַשׂ תִּבְלֵ ב'
וּמִרְגּוֹ זוֹעֲפִין ¹³ מַחְנוֹת וּמֵאֵימָתוֹ ¹⁴ יִחֹלוּ ¹⁵ יִסּוּדוֹת וּמִגְעָרָתוֹ יִרְעֹשׁ
עֲרֻבוֹת. קוֹמָתוֹ מְלֵאָה גַחְלִים. רוּם קוֹמָתוֹ כְּרוּם שִׁבְעָה רִקִּיעִים. ו'
וְרוּחַב קוֹמָתוֹ כְּרוּחַב ז' רִקִּיעִים. וְעוֹבֵי ¹⁶ קוֹמָתוֹ כְּעוֹבֵי ¹⁷ שִׁבְעָה
רִקִּיעִים. ¹⁸ מִפְתַּח פִּי- ¹⁸ כְּלִפִּיד ¹⁹ אִשׁ. וְלִשְׁנוֹ ²⁰ -אוֹכֶלֶת אִשׁ- ²⁰
וְעַפְעָפוֹ כְּזוֹהַר בִּרְקָ וְעֵינָיו כְּזִיקֵי ²¹ זוֹהַר ²². וּמֵרָאָה פָּנָיו כְּאִשׁ יוֹקֶדֶת.
וְכֹתֵר קְדוּשָׁה עַל רֵאשׁוֹ שֵׁשׁ מִפּוֹרֶשׁ ²³ חֶקֶק בּוֹ. שִׁמְמָנוֹ ²⁴ בְּרִקִּים
יוֹצֵאִים. וְקִשֶׁת שְׁבִינָה בֵּין כַּתְּפָיו. ³⁰ -וְחָרְבוֹ עַל מִתְּנִיּוֹ וְחִצֵּי ²⁵ כְּבִרְקָ ²⁶
עַל חֲגוּרָיו. וְתָרִים אִשׁ אוֹכֶלָה ²⁷ עַל צוּאֲרוֹ ²⁸ וְגַחְלֵי רִתְמִים עַל ²⁹
סְבִיבוֹתָיו ³⁰. וְזִיזֵי שְׁבִינָה עַל פָּנָיו וְקִרְנֵי הַהוֹד עַל אוֹפְנָיו וְצִנִּיף מְלוּכָה ז'
עַל הַדְּקָדוֹ. וְגוֹפוֹ ⁽³¹⁾ מְלֵא עֵינַיִם וְגוֹבָה קוֹמָתוֹ כְּלוֹ כְּנָפִים. מִימִינוֹ ³²
לְהַבָּה מִתְּלַהֵב ³² וּמִשְׁמָאלוֹ לְהַטְּ תִּלְהַט וְגַחְלִים בּוֹעֲרִים מְגוֹפוֹ ³³
וּלְפִידִים יוֹצֵאִים מִמֶּנּוּ ³⁴. וּבְרִקִּים מְבַרְקִים ³⁵ מִפָּנָיו. וְעֵמו תְּמִיד רַעַם
בְּרַעַם וְאֶצְלוֹ תְּמִיד רַעַם בְּרַעַם. ³⁶ -שְׁרֵי ב'- ³⁶ מִרְכַּבָּה בְּמִקְוֹמוֹ ³⁷.
וְלִמָּה נִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ כְּרוּבִיאֵל ³⁸ -ה' הַשֶּׁר- ³⁸. מִפָּנָיו ³⁹ שֶׁהוּא מְמוֹנָה עַל
מִרְכַּב' ⁴⁰ כְּרוּבִים ⁴¹ -וְכְרוּבֵי גְבוּרָה מְסוּרִים בִּידוֹ וְכֹתֵרֵי- ⁴² רֵאשֶׁם הוּא
מִפּוֹאֵר וְעִמְרַת קִדְקָדָם הוּא מִצְחָצָח. ⁴⁴ -שִׁבְחָ ⁽⁴³⁾ [תֹּארֶם] הוּא מְעוֹרֵר ⁴⁴ -

(5) ב' הֶשֶׁר 6 לֵי ב' ב' 7 גְּאוּה ד' ז' 8 לֵי ב' ב' ד': זְאוּה (9) ב' גְּאוּה

10-10 ועֵמו שֶׁר צִדִּיק וְצִדְקָה וְעֵמו שֶׁר קְדוֹשׁ וְקְדוּשָׁה וְעֵמו ב' 11 כְּרוּבֵי ד' 12 כִּי:

מִקְצָפוֹ 13 יִרְעֵדוּ ב' 14 וּמֵאֵימָתוֹ ב' 15 יִחִילוּ ד'. הוֹלְחָלוּ ב' 16 וְעוֹבֵי ב'

17 כְּעוֹבֵינֵי שֶׁל ב' 18-18 מִפּוֹ ב'. מִפְתַּח פִּי דוֹלֵק ד' 19 כְּלִפִּידֵי ב' 20-20 אִשׁ אוֹכֶלָה ב'

21 כְּזִיקֵי ב' 22 לֵי ב' ב' 23 הַמִּפּוֹרֶשׁ ב' 24 וּמִמֶּנּוּ ד' 25 וְחִצּוֹ ד' 26 כְּבִרְקָ ד'

27 אֶכְלָה ד' 28 צוּרָיו ד' 29 לֵי ב' ד' 30-30 וְחָרְבוֹ כְּבִרְקָ וְעַל מִתְּנִיּוֹ הִצִּים כְּבִרְקָ

וְעַל חֲגוּרָיו וְתָרִי אִשׁ אֶכְלָה וְעַל צוּאֲרוֹ גַחְלֵי רִתְמִים וְעַל סְבִיבוֹ ב' (31) ד' כְּלוֹ

32 תִּלְהַט ד'. תִּלְהַט ב' 33 מִמֶּנּוּ ב'. מִמֶּנּוּ ד' 34 מְגוֹפוֹ ב' 35 מִבְּהִיקֵי ב' ב'

36-36 וְשְׁנֵי שְׁרֵי ב' ד' 37 כְּקִמְתוֹ ב' 38-38 לֵי ב' ד' 39 לֵי ב' ב' 40 מִרְכַּבּוֹת ב'

41 חַיִּוֹת ב' 42-42 וְגְבוּרָה וְכֹתֵר ב' (43) ד' כְּ תֹאֲרֶם 44-44 לֵי ב' ב'

(2) [אלוף] וגבור שר גדול ונורא שר שכל בני עליונים³ מזרעושים
 (ו) מלפניו⁴. שר שהוא יכול לבלע⁵ את העולם כולם⁶ בבת אחת ..
 ב' ולמה נקרא שמו הייליאל ה' 7⁷ 8⁸ שמו השר⁸ מפני שהוא ממונה על (9)
 החיות בפולסאות של אור והוא מפאר אותם בתיתם תהלה שבח
 רננה¹⁰ והוא ממחר אותם שיאמר [ו] קרוש. וברוך¹² כבוד ה' ממקומו.

(2) ד' אלוף (בצע בכ"ז) 3 מרומים ד' 4 מלפניו ד' להקרא כמו כן 5 לבלוע ד'
 6 כולו ד' 7 ל"י ב' ד' 8-8 ל"י ב' ד' om. (9) ד' חיות הקודש והוא מכה את
 10 ורננה ד' 11 לומר אחרי ד' להק': שיאמרו או: לומר 12 ברוך ד'

o o o

פרק כ"א

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. (1) ארבעה חיות
 כנגד ד' רוחות. כל חיה וחיה כמלא עולם כולו. וכל אחד ואחד יש
 ב' לו ארבע[ה] פנים² וכל פנים ופנים² כפני מזרח .. וכל אחד ואחד יש
 ג' לו ארבע כנפים וכל כנף וכנף ככסוי של עולם .. וכל אחד ואחד יש לו
 ד' של פנים בתוך פנים וכל אחד ואחד יש לו כנפים בתוך כנפים. שיעורם
 4- אחד ואחד⁴ קשורים בראשו⁵ ב' אלפים כתרים וכל כתר וכתר
 כקשת⁶ בענן וזיוו כזיו גלגל (7) [חמה] וניצוצים היוצאים מכל⁴ [אחד]
 וא[חד]⁴ כזיו כוכב הנוגה במזרח:

כ"א

(1) ד' חמ"ב (= הדר מרום כל) 2-2 ל"י ב' ד' 3-3 מאתים וארבעה ושמונה ד'
 4-4 אחת ואחת ד' 5 בראשה ד' 6 כמראה הקשת ד' (7) ד' חמה. להק'

o o o

פרק כ"ב

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים (2) .. למעלה
 מהן³ יש שר אחד (ו) אדיר⁴ ומופלא אמיץ ומשובח בכל מיני שבח

כ"ב

1 ל"י ב' ב' (2) ב' ד' הדר מרום כל 3 מן החיות ד' 4 אדיר דב

[למר']

א' חצר יש לפני כסא הכבוד שאין שרף ומלאך יכול ליכנס לשם. והוא ל'ו אלפים רבא פרסאות דכתיב ((ישע'ו ב')) שרפים עומדים ממעל ל'ו.

[ב]

אמר רבי ישמעל. אמר לי מטטרון ש'ה: היאך א' עומדים למעלה המלאכים. אמר לי: כגשר שהוא מונח על הנהר ועברים עליו כל העולם כך מונח גשר מראש המבוי עד סופו. ונ' מלאכי השרת סובבים אותו ואומר' ב' שירה לפני יוי אלהי ישראל. ועמדים לפניו זריזי אמה שלישי יראה. אלק' אלפים וריכי רבבאות נועמים שבת וקילום לפני יוי אלהי ישראל:

ג' כמניין ל'ו יש גשרים שם. ושם כ'ד רבוא גלגלי אש. ד' ומלאכי השרת י'ב אלפים רבוא. וי'ב אלפי' נהרי ברד. וי'ב אלפים אוצרות שלג. [ובו' היכלות מרכבות של אש ושלהביות לאין מספר. וקץ. וחקר].

כמה גשרים הם גשרי אש כמה גשרי ברד כמה נהרי ג' ברד כמה אוצרות שלג הם כמה גלגלי אש. כמה מלאכי ד' שרת. י'ב אלפים רבוא. ו' למעלה. ו' למטה. י'ב אלפים נהרי ברד. ו' למעלה. ו' למטה. י'ב אלפים אוצרות שלג. ו' למעלה ו' למטה. כ'ד ריבא גלגלי אש י'ב למעלה. י'ב למטה. וסובבים לגשרים לנהרי אש לנהרי ברד (ואוצרות שלג) וכמה מלאכי שרת מבוי ומבוי לכל ברייה וברייה העומדים בתוכה כנגד שבילי רקיע שמים. מה עושה יוי אלהי ישראל מלך הכבוד. מכסה ס' פניו אל גדול ונורא ניבד בגבורה. בערבות תר'ס ו' אלפים רבוא מלאכי הכבוד עומדים נגד כסא הכבוד

(הכא סוף ל למר)

והצובי אש שלהבות ומלך הכבוד מכסה פניו אם לא כן היה ערבות רקיע מתבקע בכבדה מפני הדר זיו יופי תואר חמדת זוהר צ'הרי שבה מראה ברוך הוא. כמה משרתים ו' עושי רצונו. כמה מלכים. כמה שרים בערבות מחמדו. נוראים ברוזני עליון נשואי פנים. הדורי שירה מזכירי אהבה. נבהלים מזוהר שכינה. באשים עניהם מאור יופי זיו מלכם והשחירו פנים ותשש כוחם. טתנהרים נהרי שמחה. נחלי ששון. נהרי גילה. ס' נחלי רינה. נהרי אהבה נחלי ריעות [נ'א זיעות] משתפים ויוצים מלפני כסא הכבוד ומתנבדו והולכין בשערי נתיבות ערבות רקיע מקול צערות וניגון חיותיו ומקול רינות תופי אופניו ומקול זמרת צלצלי כרוביו ומתגבר ויוצא ברעש בק'ק' יוי צבאות מכה"כ.

פרק כ"ב C [בלאו למר. על ב ונוס' מן לאו ו למר]

אמר רבי ישמעאל. (1) אמר לי 2-2 מטטרון ש'ה. כמה שיעור 2-2 בין גשר לגשר. י'ב א' זיבות פרסאות 3-3 בעלייתן י'ב ריבוא פרסאות וכירידתן י'ב 3-3. (4) בין נהרי אימה ב'

כ"ב C

(1) לאומר ∞ כמה בין גשר לגשר 2-2 ז' ב לאומר 3-3 ז' ב למר. בעלייתן י'ב רבוא פרסאות כירידתן לאו (4) למר ∞ ושם נהרי אימה. לאו ∞ י'ב רבוא פרסאות

ותפארת גאונים^{44א} הוא ממחר⁴⁵ ורבות⁴⁶ ⁽⁴⁷⁾ גדול⁴⁸ יקדם הוא מגדיל
 ושיר תהלתם הוא משורר ועוז⁴⁹ תפארתם הוא משנן רוזוהר כבודם
 הוא מזרח⁵⁰ ופאר⁵¹ - חן חסדם⁵¹ משפיר⁵² וחמדת נגהם הוא⁵³ מרקם
 וחמלת יופיים הוא מיפה וקושט⁵⁴ הדרם הוא מהדר וסדר שבחם
 יג הוא מסלסל להבין מושב ליושב הכרובים. והכרובים עומדים אצל
 (ה) חיות⁵⁵ הקדש וכנפיהם כרום ראשיהם. ושכינה⁵⁶ על גביהם וזוהר
 כבוד⁵⁷ על פניהם ושיר ותהלה⁵⁸ - בתוך פיהם⁵⁹ וידיהם תחת
 כנפיהם⁶⁰ - ורגליהם מכוסים בכנפיהם⁶⁰ וקרני הדר⁶¹ על ראשיהם.
 וזיו שכינה על אפיהם⁶² ושכינה⁶³ על גביהם. ואבני ספיר סביבותיהם
 יד ועמודי אש על רביעיהם⁶⁴ ועמודי לפיד בצדדיהם⁶⁵. ספיר א' מזה ⁽⁶⁶⁾
 טו תחת ספיריהם⁶⁷ גחלי אש⁶⁸ רתמים. כרוב אחד מזה וכרוב אחד מזה
 וכנפי כרובים ⁽⁶⁹⁾ זה את זה מוקפים⁷⁰ על קדקדם⁷¹ בכבוד פרושים⁷²
 לשורר בהם שיר לשוכן שחקים ולהעריץ בהם פאר למלך מלאכים⁷³.
 טז וכרוביאל ה' ה[ה]שר שהוא ממונה עליהם ⁽⁷⁴⁾ מסדר אותם בסדרים
 נאים ויפים ונע[י]מ[י]ם⁷⁵ ומסלסל אותם⁷⁶ בכל מיני סלסול יקר וכבוד
 וממהר אותם בכבוד ועוז לפעול רצון⁷⁷ קונם⁷⁸ בכל רגע⁷⁹ ורגע כי על
 רום ראשיהם תמיד⁸⁰ כבוד⁸¹ - רב למלך⁸¹ - יושב הכרובים:

44א	נאונם בר	45	מהדר ד	46	וריבות ב	⁽⁴⁷⁾	בר	∞	שפרם הוא מרבה ז.
48	וגודל ד להק' וניל ב	49	ועוזו ב	50	מזריח בר	51-51	חן וחסדם הוא ד.	חסדם	
הוא ב	52 משפר ב	53	לי' ב ד	54	וקישות ב	55	חיות ד להק'	56	והשכינה ב
57	הכבוד ב	58	תהלה ד	59-59	בפיהם ד	60-60	לי' ב ב	61	הוד ב
62	פניהם ב	63	ושכינת אל בר	64	רביעיהם ב	65	בצידיהם בר	⁽⁶⁶⁾	בר ∞
וספיר אחד מזה	67	הספיר ב.	ספירים ד	68	לי' ב בר	⁽⁶⁹⁾	ב ∞	מקיפין	
70	לי' ב ב.	מקיפין ד	71	קדקדו ב	72	ופרסים אותם ב	73	מלאכי	
המלכים ב.	מלכי המלכים ד	⁽⁷⁴⁾	ב ∞	הוא ז.	75	ונעימים בר	76	אותו ב	
77	לי' ב ב	78	יוצרם ב	79	עת ב	80	לי' ב ב	81-81	מלך רם ד.

מלך רם ונשא ב

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים. (כמה רוחות א'²)
 מנשבות תחת³ כנפי הכרובים. מנשב(ו)ת⁴ רוח מרחפת⁵ שנאמר
 ((בראשית א'ב)) ורוח אלהים מרחפת⁶ על פני המים⁶. מנשבת⁷ ב'
 (רוח) עזה שנאמר ((שמות י"ד כא)) וילך⁹ ה' את הים ברוח קדים
 עזה¹⁰ כל הלילה¹⁰. מנשבת⁷ (רוח) הקדים¹¹ שנאמר ((שמות ג'
 י' יג)) ורוח הקדים¹² נשא את הארבה. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ שלים¹⁵ - ד'
 שנאמר ((במדבר י"א לא)) ורוח נסע¹⁶ מאת ה' ויגו שלים. מנשבת¹³ ה'
 רוח¹⁴ קנאה שנאמר ((במדבר ה' י"ד)) ועבר עליו רוח קנאה.
 מנשב(ו)ת¹⁷ רוח¹⁴ רעש שנאמר ((מלכים א' י"ט י"א)) ואחר הרוח¹⁸ ו'
 הרעש¹⁹ לא ברעש ה'²⁰. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ ה' שנאמר ((יחזקאל י'
 ל"א א')) ויציאני ברוח ה' ויניחני²¹. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ רעה²² שנאמר ((יחזקאל י'
)) שמואל א' מ"ז כ"ג)) וסרה מעליו²³ רוח רעה²⁴. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ ט'
 חכמה²⁵ ורוח בינה ורוח דעת ורוח יראת ה'²⁵ שנאמר ((ישעי' י"א
 ב')) ונחה עליו (רוח) ה'³¹ רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח
 דעת ויראת ה'. מנשבת רוח גשם²⁷. שנאמר ((משלי כ"ה כ"ג))
 רוח צפון תחולל גשם. מנשבת רוח ברקים שנאמר ((ירמיהו י' י"ג י"ג

כמה שיעור בין גשר לגשר. אמר לי. רבי ישמעאל. ישרות והסידות בלבבך לידעת כמה
 שיעור יש בשמים. אמר לו. כשעליתי בהיכל א' אדיר הייתי. בהיכל ב' פוחד הייתי.
 בהיכל שלישי ישר הייתי. בהיכל ד' תמים הייתי. בהיכל ה' הגעתי קדושה לפני מלך
 מל(א) כי המל(א) כים הקב"ה בהיכל ו' אמרתי קדושה לפני מי שאמר והיה עולם ויצר וציוה
 לכל הבריות שלא ישחיתוני מלאכי שרת. בהיכל ז' עמדתי בכל כוחי ונרתעתני וגו'

o o o

1 ל' ב ב (2) ב ט אגיד לך. ד ט ה'מכ [= הדר מרום כל] 3 מתחת ב 4 מנשבת
 דע להק' 5 המרח' ד 6-6 ל' ב בדע 7 ל' ב ב: ו- (8) בדע ט רוח. להק'
 9 ויולך דע 10-10 ל' ב דע 11 קדים עב 12 קדים ב 13 ל' ב ב 14 ורוח ב
 15-15 רוחו של יום ע 16 ל' ב ב 17 ל' ב ב. מנשבת דע 18 רוח ד 19 רעש
 בדע 20-20 ל' ב ב 21 ל' ב ב. וגו ד 22-22 ל' ב ע 23-23 וביעתינו ב
 ((שמואל א' מ"ז י"ד)) 24 הרעה דע 25-25 רוח עצה וגבורה ורוח דעת ויראת
 יו"ב. ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראה ע (26) בדע ט רוח להק' 27 גשמים דע

לנהרי יראה כ"ב רבוא פרסאות בין נהרי ברד לנהרי חשוך⁵ ל'ז ריבא פרסאות. בין חדרי⁶ ברקים לענני ניהומין⁷ מ'ב ריבוא פרסאות. (8)¹⁰- בין ענני ניהומין למרכבה פ'ד ריבוא פרסאות. בין מרכבה לכרובים קמ'ה⁹ ריבוא פרסאות-¹⁰. בין כרובים לאופנים כ'ד ריבוא פרסאות¹¹. בין אופנים לחדרי חדרים כ'ד ריבוא. (12)¹² בין חדרי חדרים לחיות הקודש אלפים¹³ פרסאות¹⁴ בין כנף לכנף י'ב ריבוא¹⁵- ורוחבן כמו כן-¹⁵. ג' וכן¹⁶ בין חיות הקודש לכסא הכבוד¹⁷- כמו כן-¹⁷ ריבוא פרסאות. ומרגל¹⁸ כסא הכבוד עד מקום¹⁹- שהוא יושב-¹⁹ מ' אלפים ריבוא פרסאות²⁰ 21- ושמו מתקדש ד' שם-²¹ . וכיפי²² חקשת נתונות²³ על ערבות²⁴ גבוהות אלף אלפים ורייבי²⁵ רבבות מידה כנגד מידת²⁶ עירין וקדישין⁽²⁷⁾ דכתיב ((בראשית מ' י'ג)) את קשתי נתתי בענן. אתן בענן²⁸- אין כתיב כאן-²⁸ אלא נתתי כבר. עבים המקיפים (ה) כסא²⁹ הכבוד. כ' כשעביו עברו מלאכי ברד גחלי³⁰ אש. וירד³¹ אש³² של קול מאצל³³ (ה)חיות הקודש³⁴ ומפני הבל הקול³⁵- רצוא לעבור במקום אחר-³⁵ ויראים³⁶ שמא יאמר ללכת לכך ו' ושוב³⁷ שלא יזיק⁽³⁸⁾ מצד האחר³⁹ לכך⁴⁰ ((יהזקאל א' י'ד)) רצוא ושוב. וזאתם כיפי חקשת⁴¹ יפים וצחים מלובן⁴² השמש בתקופת תמוז והם מלובנים מאש להב והם גדולים ויפים. ולמעלה⁽⁴³⁾ גלגלי האופנים נתונים על כיפי חקשת גבוהים אלף אלפים ורייבי⁴⁴ רבבות מידה⁴⁵- כנגד מידת-⁴⁵ שרפים וגדודים. (46)⁴⁶

5 ל'אר; חושך. ל'מר; שלג 6 סדרי ל'מר 7 ניהומ' ל'מר. הומח ל'או (8) ל'מר ענני ניהומ'. שמנחמין את הכבוד. [פי'] 9 קפ'ה ל'מר 10-10 ל'י ב ל'או 11 רבבות ל'אומר (12) ל'או פרסאות. ל'מר פרסאות. ובאותן חדרים הוד וחדר. זהו [יחוק' א' מ'ז] ומעשה האופנים ומעשיהם 13 מ' אלפים רבוא ל'אומר 14 רבבות ל'אר 15-15 ורחבן כמו כן ל'אר. וכן ארכו וכן רחבו ל'מר 16 ל'י ב ל'אומר om. 17-17 ל'י ל'או. ל'י אלפים ל'מר 18 מרגל ל'אומר 19-19 שיושב עליו ל'מר 20 הכא נשלם פרק כ"ב C על פי ל'מר 21-21 ושמו הגדול מתקדש שם ל'או 22 כיפי ל'או 23 נתונים ל'או 24 הערבות ל'או 25 ריבוא ל'או 26 ל'י ב ל'או (27) ל'או זהו שיסד הפייט כיפי חקשת עם כנף תנים 28-28 לא נאמ' ל'או 29 כסא ל'או 30 וגחלי ל'או 31 ויורד ל'או 32 האש ל'או 33 אצל ל'או 34 ל'י ב ל'או om. 35-35 רצין לעבר אחר ל'או 36 ויראין ל'או 37 ל'או; ישוב. לחקר' כמו למעלה (38) ל'או להם 39 אחר ל'או 40 ל'י ב ל'או 41 קשת ל'או 42 כלובן ל'או (43) ל'או מהם. לחק' 44 ורבוא ל'או 45-45 ל'י ב ל'או (46) ל'או אחרי כך; דמות האופנים אש לבנה וצחה מאוד דכתיב [יחזקאל א' מ'ז] ומראה האופנים ומעשיהם כעין תרשיש. אי שמשים אבן תרשיש במין זכין כשמש בימות החמה. אין כאבן שהיא צחה ולבנה וגו' ב; אמר רבי ישמעאל. שאלתי לרבי עקיבה.

ומדינות חוזרות ונופלות בגן⁶⁰ ומגן חוזרות⁶¹ ונופלות⁶² בערן⁶³.
 שנאמר ((בראשית ג' ח'))⁽⁶⁴⁾ התהלך בגן לרוח היום. ובתוך הגן⁶⁶
 ערן ערבות⁶⁷ ונושבות⁶⁸ מצד זה לצד זה. ומתבשמות⁶⁹ מבושמי⁷⁰
 גן⁽⁷¹⁾ (ו) ממרחקי[נ] ⁷² ערן) ⁷³ שנפרדות⁷⁴ ומתמלאות ברוח⁷⁵ בושם טהור
 ומבי[אות]⁷⁶ ריח⁸⁰ מרחקי גן⁷⁷ ערן⁷⁸ ובוסמני⁽⁷⁹⁾ ערן לפני צדיקים
 וחסידים יורשי⁸⁰ גן ערן⁸¹ ועץ החיים לעתיד לבא שנאמר ((שיר
 השירים ד' ט')) עורי צפון ובואי תימן הפיחי גני יזלו בשמיו יבא דודי לגנו
 ויאכל פרי מגדיו:

61 ל' ב בדע 62 נופלת ד. נופלות ע. ל' ב ב 63 לערן בדע (64) ב וישמע
 את קול י' אלהים 65 מתהלך בדע MT 66 גן בדע 67 מתערבת ד. מתערבות ע
 68 נושבת ד 69 ומתבשמים ע. ומתבסמות ד 70 מבסמני בד. מבוסמני ד.
 מבשמי ע (71) ע ערן 72 וממרחקו ב. וממרחקות ד 73 ל' ב ב 74 עד
 שנותרות ב. עד שנפרדות דע 75 רום ב. מרוח ד. מריח ע 76 ומביאות בדע ז.
 77 ל' ב ע 78 ל' ב דע (79) דע גן 80-80 ל' ב ב 81-81 ערן גן ב

פרק כ"ד

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים הדר ב[מ]רום²
 כל³.. (4) כמה מרכבות יש (5) לה[ק]ב'ה. 6-יש לו⁶ מרכבות כרובים⁷ א'
 שנאמר ((תהלים י"ח י"א. שמואל ב' כ"ב י"א)) וירכב על כרוב ויעף..
 6-יש לו⁶ מרכבות רוח שנאמר ((שם)) וידא על כנפי רוח.. 6-יש לו⁶ ב'
 מרכבות עב קל שנאמר ((ישעיה י"א א')) הנה ה' רוכב על עב קל..
 יש⁸ לו מרכבות עננים שנאמר ((שמות י"ט ט')) הנה (9) בא אליך בעב ד'
 הענן.. 10-15-יש לו¹⁰ מרכבות מזבח שנאמר ((עמוס ט' א')) ראיתי ה' ס'
 נצב על המזבח.. יש לו מרכבות רבותים שנאמר ((תהלים ס"ח י"ח)) ו'
 רכב אלהים רבותים¹¹ אלפי⁽¹²⁾.. 14-יש לו מרכבות האוהל שנאמר ז'
 (דברים ל"א ט') וירא ה' באוהל [ב]עמוד¹³ ענן-14-15.. 16-יש לו¹⁶ ק'

כ"ד

1 ל' ב ב 2 מרום בדע להק' 3 ל' ב ב (4) ב אגיד לך (5) ד לו 6-6 ל' ב ב
 7 כרוב דע 8 ויש ב (9) בדע אנכי 10-10 ו- ב 11 ל' ב ד
 (12) דע ענן 13 בעמוד ד. ל' ב ע 14-14 ל' ב ע 15-15 ל' ב ב 16-16 ל' ב ב

י"ג ג'א מ"ז)) ברקים למטר עושה²⁸ רוח מאוצרותיו ..³⁰ מנשבת רוח משבר סלעים שנאמר (מלכים א' י"ט י"א)) ה' עובר ברוח²⁹ גדולה י"ג וחוק³⁰⁻³¹ .. מנשבת רוח³² משיבת ים³² שנאמר (בראשית ה' א') י"ד ויעבר אלהים³³ רוח על הארץ וישוכו³⁴ המים ..³⁷ מנשבת רוח חמה³⁵ [ודאגה שנאמר] ((איוב א' י"ט)) והנה רוח גדולה באה מעבר המדבר ויגע ט"ו בד' פנות הבית ויפול על³⁶ [הנערים] -³⁷ .. מנשבת³⁸ רוח סערה שנאמר ט"ז ((תהלים קמ"ח ח')) רוח סערה עושה דברו .. והשטן עומד בין הרוחות³⁹ - הללו שאין רוח [סערה] אלא⁴⁰ השטן וכל הרוחות³⁹ - הללו אין [נ]ן⁴¹ מנשב[ו]ת⁴² אלא תחת⁴³ כנפי הכרובים שנאמר (תהלים י"ח י"א)) וירכב י"ז על כרוב ויעוף וידא על כנפי⁴⁴ רוח .. ולהיכן⁴⁵ הן⁴⁶ הולכות⁴⁷ - כל אלו⁴⁷ הרוחות⁴⁸ -⁴⁹ מלמד שיצאים⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ מתחת הכרובים ונפלות על גלגל חמה⁵⁰ שנאמר ((קהלת א' ו'))⁵¹ -⁵² הולך הרוח ועל סביבותיו שב הרוח⁵² .. ומגלגל חמה חוזרות⁵³ ונופל[ו]ת⁵⁴ -⁵⁷ בנהרות⁵⁵ ובימים בהרים ובגבעות שנאמר ((עמוס ד' י"ג)) כי הנה יוצר הרים ובורא י"ח רוח ..⁵⁶ ומהרים וגבעות חוזרות ונפלות בימים ובנהרות ומימים ונהרות חוזרות ונפלות⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ בעיירות⁵⁸ ובמדינות⁵⁹ -⁶⁰ ומעירות

28 עשה מוצא דע²⁹ ורוח ד³⁰⁻³⁰ ל"י ב ע³¹⁻³¹ ל"י ב ב³²⁻³² נשונות ב.
 משיבת מים ע³³ י"י ב³⁴ ויובו ב³⁵ דע³⁶ ודאגה שנאמר. לחק' (36) דע³⁷
 הנערים לחק' 37-37 ל"י ב ב³⁸ ו- ב³⁹⁻³⁹ ל"י ב בע⁴⁰ הסערה אלא ד.
 לחק' כמו למעלה. א: שאין רוח אל השטן⁴¹ אינן בד⁴² מנשבות ד
⁴³ מתחת ב⁴⁴ ל"י ב ע⁴⁵ ועד ב⁴⁶ ל"י ב בע⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ ל"י ב ד
 (48) בדע⁴⁹⁻⁴⁹ ל"י ב בדע⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ מתחת כנפי הכרובים ויוצאות
 מתחת כנפי הכרובים ומתגלגלות ונפלות לתוך גלגל החמה ב. שמתחת כנפי הכרובים
 יוצאות ונפלות בגלגל חמה ד. שמתחת יוצאות ונפלות בגלגל חמה ע⁵¹ ב⁵²
 וחולך אל דרום וסובב אל צפון. דע⁵²⁻⁵² ל"י ב ב⁵³ ויובו ב⁵⁴ נופלות ב⁵⁵ בכ"י: בנן מגן err
⁵⁶⁻⁵⁶ ומימים ונהרות חוזרת ביישוב ומיישוב חוזרת ונפלות ד. ומימים ונהרות חוזרים
 ביישוב ומיישוב חוזרות ע⁵⁷⁻⁵⁷ ל"י ב ב⁵⁸ לשדות ב⁵⁹ ולמדינות ב
⁶⁰⁻⁶⁰ ומשם גופלת לגן דע. ולערות וחזרות ונפלות לגן ב

פרק כ"ד

מא

על גביו ⁽⁴⁷⁾ שנאמר ((יהוקאל מ'ח ל'ה)) ⁽⁴⁸⁾ סביב ⁴⁹ י'ח אלף. ומנין שהוא סוקר בכל אלו ⁵⁰ ואלו בכל יום ויום- ⁵⁰ שנאמר ((תהלים י"ד ב')) ⁽⁵¹⁾ משמים השקיף ⁵² על בני אדם ⁵⁴ לראות ה'יש משכיל דורש את האלהים ⁵³⁻⁵⁴ .. ⁵⁵ יש לו מרכבות אופנים שנאמר ((יהוקאל י' י"ב)) י"ט והאופנים מלא' סביב- ⁵⁵ .. יש לו מרכבות כסא קדשו ⁵⁶ שנא' ((תהלים י"ט מ"ז ט')) אלהים ישב על כסא קדשו .. יש לו מרכבות כס ⁵⁷ יה שנאמר כ' ((שמות י"ז ט"ז)) כי יד על כס י"ה .. ⁵⁸ יש לו מרכבות כסא משפט כ"ז שנאמר ((ישעיה ה' ט"ז)) ויגבה ה' צבאות במשפט- ⁵⁸ .. יש לו מרכבות כ"ז כסא הכבוד ⁵⁹ שנאמר [ר] ((ירמיה י"ז י"ב)) כסא הכבוד ⁵⁹ ⁽⁶⁰⁾ מראשון ⁶¹ מקום מקדשנו- ⁶¹ .. יש לו מרכבות כסא רם ונשא ⁶² שנאמר כ"ג ((ישעיה ו' א')) ואראה ⁶³ את ה' יושב על כסא רם ונשא.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ ב ט"ג רגל השני ⁽⁴⁸⁾ ב ט"ו סביב ⁴⁹ סוכב על ע ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ בכל יום דע. ל' ב ב ⁽⁵¹⁾ בדע ט"ו אלהים ⁵² היקיף ב ⁵³ אלהים דע ⁵⁴⁻⁵⁴ ל' ב ב ⁵⁵⁻⁵⁵ ל' ב ב ⁵⁶ קודש ב. כבודו ע ⁵⁷ כסא ב ⁵⁸⁻⁵⁸ ל' ב דע ⁵⁹ כבוד דע ⁽⁶⁰⁾ בדע ט"ו מרום לחק' ⁶¹⁻⁶¹ ל' ב ב ⁶² ל' ב ב ⁶³ וארא ב

o o o

פרק כ"ה

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. למעלה מהן א' יש שר אחד ⁽¹⁾ גדול ונורא גבור ונסגב ² אלוף ונערץ ישש ³ ועז ⁴ ⁽⁵⁾ אפפניאל ה' שמו .. שיש לו ששה עשר פנים ד' פנים לכל צד וצד ב' ⁶ [ו]ק' כנפים לכל צד וצד- ⁶ .. ויש לו ⁷ ח' אלפים וד' מאות וסו' עינים כענין- ⁷ ימות השנה. ב' אלפים וק"ץ וא' ⁸ ⁽⁹⁾ שש ¹⁰ עשרה לכל צד וצד ⁽¹¹⁾ וב' אלפים וק"ץ וא' וי' לכל צד וצד- ¹¹ .. ואותם ¹² ב' עינים ב'

כ"ה

⁽¹⁾ ע ט"ו שר ² ונכבד דע ³ ישיש דע ⁴ ועז ע ⁽⁵⁾ ע ט"ו- ⁶⁻⁶ ל' ב ד ⁷⁻⁷ שמונת אלפים ושבע מאות וששים ותשע עינים כמנין ששת דע ⁸ ואחד ע ⁽⁹⁾ ד ט"ו שני אלפים ומאה ותשעים ואחת ¹⁰ ושש ער ¹¹⁻¹¹ ל' ב דע *ditt.*

¹² ואותה ד

מרכבות אוהל מועד שנאמ[ר] (ויקרא א' א') וידבר ה' אלהים-17
 ט' איליו [מ]אוהל¹⁸ מועד¹⁹ .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות כפורת שנאמ' (במדבר
 י' ז' פ'ט) וישמע את הקול²¹ מדבר אליו²² מעל הכפורת-23 .. 20-יש
 רו-20 מרכבות אבן ספיר שנאמר (שמות כ"ד י') ותחת רגליו כמעשה
 י"ח לבנ(ו)ת הספיר .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות נשרים שנאמר (שמות י"ט ד')
 ואשא אתכם על כנפי נשרים. 24-אינם נשרים אלא שפורחות
 י"ג כנשרים-24 .. 25-יש לו מרכבות תרועה שנאמר (תהלים מ"ו ו')
 י"ג עלה אלהים בתרועה-25 .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות ערבות שנאמר
 י"ד (תהלים ס"ח ה') סולו לרוכב בערבות²⁶ ²⁷ .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות
 ט"ו עבים שנאמר (תהלים ק"ד ג') השם²⁸ עבים רכובו-28 .. 20-יש לו-20
 מרכבות (היות)²⁹ שנאמר (יחזקאל א' י"ד) (והחיים)³⁰ רצוא ושוב
 32-רצים ברשות ושו(ו)בים³¹ ברשות שהשכינה על רום ראשיהם-32 ..
 ט"ז 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות גלגלים³³ שנא' (יחזקאל י' ב') ויאמר 34-אל
 י"ז בינת הגלגל-34 .. 37-יש לו מרכבות כרוב קל שנאמר (ישעיה י"ט א'
 עם תהלים י"ח י') רוכב³⁵ על כרוב³⁶ קל-37. ובשעה שהוא רוכב על כרוב
 קל³⁸ ומניח על[יו] רגל אחד-38 ועדיין לא הניח רגלו³⁹ 40-שניה [על]
 גביו סיקר י"ח אלף (אלפים) עולמים בסקירה אחת-40 ומבין⁴¹ ורוא[ה]⁴²
 בכולם⁴³ ויודע⁴⁴ בכל אלו ואלו-44 עד שהניח⁴⁵ 46-רגליו ברגלו ב'-46

17-18 ל"י ב ב 18 מאוהל בדע (19) ד ט לאמר 20-20 ו- ב 21 יוי ב
 22 ל"י ב ב 23-23 וגו' ד 24-24 ל"י ב בדע. ? gloss. 25-25 ל"י ב ב
 26 ערבות ב (27) ע ט ביה שמו 28-28 רכובו עבים ב 29 היות בדע להק'
 30 והחיות בדע להק' 31 ושבים דע 32-32 ל"י ב ב 33 גלגל ע
 34-34 בא אל כינות לגלגל בד. אל פנת לגלגל ע 35 רכב ע 36 עב ד 37-37 ל"י
 38-38 ומניח על גביו רגל[ו] אחד בדע 39 עליו רגל ב 40-40 שנייה סוקר י"ח
 אלפים עולמים במקרה ד. שבייה סוקר שמונת עשר אלפים עולמות במקרא ע. השני אז
 סוקר י"ח אלפים עולמות בסקירה אחת ב 41 למיבן ב 42 ורואה דע. וראה ב
 43 באוכלוסין דע 44-44 מה בכולן ב 45 שמניח בד 46-46 רגלו שנייה דע

פרק כ"ז

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. למעלה ⁽⁴¹⁾ [מהן] ⁴
יש שר אחד מופלא אדיר רב ² יקר וגבור ועריץ ואלוף ונגיד ³ וסופר
מהיר ³ הדור ונכבד ונחמד .. וכולו מלא זיו ⁽⁴²⁾ מלא שבח ונוגה וכולו ³
מלא זוהר וכולו מלא אור וכולו מלא יופי ⁵ וכולו מלא [חמדה]
וכולו מלא רבות .. וכולו ⁵ דמותו כמלאכים וגופו כנשרים .. זיו[ן] ⁶
כברקים תארו כלפידים ויפיו כבז(י)קים ⁷ והורו כנחלים ⁸ הררו כחשמלים ⁷
נוגהו כאור נוגה מראהו ⁹ כמאור הגדול גבהו כז' רקיעים ואור עפעפיו
כאור שבעתים .. ואבן ספיר על ראשו כמלא עולם כזיו עצם השמים ¹⁰
לטהר .. וגופו מלא ענים ככוכבי השמים שאין להם חקר ואין להם ¹⁰
מספר ¹⁰ וכל עין ועין ככוכב הנוגה. ויש מהם כמאור הקטן ויש מהן
כמאור הגדול. מקרסוליו ועד רכובת[ן] ¹¹ ככוכבי ברק ¹² ומרכבותיו ¹³
ועד ירכותיו ככוכב ¹⁴ הנוגה ומירכותיו ¹⁵ ועד מתניו כמאור הלבנה ¹⁶
וממתניו ועד צוארו ¹⁷ כאור ¹⁸ החמה. ומצוארו ועד קדקד ראשו כאור
לא נעדר .. וכתר שעל ראשו כזיו כסא הכבוד. שיעור של כתר מהלך ¹⁰
תק"ב שנים ואין מיני זיו ואין מיני זוהר ואין מיני נוגה ואין מיני מאור
בעולם שאין קבועין באותו כתר ¹⁹ .. ואותו השר שרפֿיאל ה' שמו ¹⁰
²⁰ וכתר שבראשו שר שלום שמו. ולמה נקרא שמו שרפֿיאל ה'
(שמו) ²⁰ מפני שהוא ממונה על השרפים ²¹ ושרפי הקדש ²¹ ושרפי
להבה מסורין בידו והוא עומד עליהם לילה ויום ומלמד להם שירה
תהלה פאר ועזו וגאווה לפאר מלכם ²² בכל מיני שבח וקדושה .. וכמ(ו)ה ¹⁰
הם שרפים. ארבע כנגד ד' ²³ רוחות של עולם. וכמה כנפים ²⁴ יש

כ"ז

(41) ד' מהן ז. 2 ל' ב ע 3-3 ל' ב דע (42) דע וכולו 5-5 חמדה
גדולה דע 6 זיוו דע ז. 7 כבזקים ע 8 נחלים ד 9 מראיתו דע 10 ל' ב ע
11 ארכובותיו דע ז. *frit.* רכוביו 12 הברק ע 13 ומארכובותיו דע ז. *frit.* ומרכוביו
14 ככוכבי ע 15 ומיריכותיו ד 16 לבנה ע 17 צואריו ע 18 כמאור דע
19 הכתר דע 20-20 ל' ב דע 21-21 ל' ב דע 22 למלכם דע 23 ל' ב ע
24-24 להם דע

שבפניו בכל אחד ואחד ברקים מבריקות ומכל א' וא' 13 לפידים
 בוערות. ואין בריה יכולה לעמוד-14 להסתכל בהם שכל המסתכל
 7 בהם מיד נשרף.. ורום קומתו מהלך ב' אלפים וה' מאות שנה שאין
 כל בית^[בבית] יכול¹⁵ לראות ואין כל פה יכול לדבר כח גבורות עיניו¹⁷ אלא
 ס' מ"מ [= מלך מלכי המלכים] הקב"ה בלבד¹⁸.. ולמה נקרא⁽¹⁹⁾ [שמו]
 אפפניאל. מפני שהוא ממונה על האופנים והאופנים²⁰ מסורים בידו
 21- והוא ממונה לשמש את האופנים-²¹ והוא עומד עליהם²² בכל יום
 ויום ומשמש ומפאר²³ אותם²⁴- ומסלסל ומסדר-²⁴ את מקצתם²⁵
 ומגהיץ²⁶ את דוכנם ומעדן את²⁷ דירתם ומשוה²⁸ את פינתם ומדשן
 את מושבן. והוא משכים ומעריב עליהם²⁹- ליל ויומם-²⁹ לרבות את
 תפארתם ולהגדיל את נאותם ולעשותם מהירים בשבח קוניהם..
 ו' והאופנ' כולם מלא⁽²⁰⁾ ענים³⁰- וכולם מלאים נוגה-³¹ ושבעים ושנים³²
 אבני ספיר³⁷- קבועים על לבושי⁽³¹⁾ם³³ מימין כל א' וא' וע'ב אבני ספיר
 קבועים על לבושם³⁴- ומשמאלם³⁵ כל א' וא'.. וד' אבני ספיר³⁶⁻³⁷
 קבועים על כתרו³⁸ של כל א' וא'. שזיוו³⁹ הולך בד' רוחות ערבות
 כגלגל⁴⁰ חמה שזיוו הולך בד' רוחות העולם. ⁴³- (ולמה נקרא שמו
 ברק^(ו)ת⁴¹. מפני שזיוו דומה למראה ברק⁴².)- ⁴³ מפיקות^[ומקיפות] ⁴⁴ להם סוכות זיו
 סוכת⁴⁵ זוהר סוכת⁴⁵ אור ספיר ספיר⁴⁶ וברקת מפני⁴⁷- מראית דמות
 (ו) עיניהם ודמות (ל) פניהם-⁴⁷:

13 ל"י ב ד 14 ל"י ב דע 15 עין ד. עין בריה ע 16 יכולה ע ז. 17 עוזו דע
 18 בלבדו ע (19) דע 19 שמו 20 והם דע 21-21 ל"י ב דע 22 ל"י ב דע
 23 ומפחד ומעדן ע 24-24 ומסדר ומסלסל דע 25 מרוצתם דע. להק': מקצתם
 26 ומקהיל ע 27 ל"י ב ד 28 ומרוה דע 29-29 לילה ויום דע. —. 30 מלאים דע
 31-31 מלאים כנפים. עינים כנגד כנפים. כנפים כנגד עינים. ומביניהם מבהיקים זיו
 זוהר כאור נוגה. דע 32 ושתים ע 33 לבושם דע להק' 34-34 ל"י ב ד[ע]
 35 משמאל ד 36 ברקת ד ? ז. 37-37 ל"י ב ע 38 כתר ע 39 וזיוו ד. וזיו ע
 40 נלגל ע 41 ברקת ד. צדקאל ע 42 צדק ע 43-43 gloss. 44 ומקיפין דע
 45 סוכות דע 46 ל"י ב דע 47-47 מראית דמות עיניהם דע

ומביא דלוסקום⁶ 7-של כתבים וספר⁸ זכרונות בתוכו לפני ה[ק]ב"ה⁹
 9-והוא מפר בחותמות של דלוסקום-7-9¹² והוא פותח ונותן¹⁰ את
 הספרים ונותן אותם לפני¹¹ ה[ק]ב"ה¹² וה[ק]ב"ה נוטל(ו)ן¹³ מידו ונותן
 אותם לפניו לפני¹⁴ הסופרים¹⁵ לקרא לפני (הב"ה)¹⁵ הגדול שברום
 ערבות רקיע. בפני פמליא של מעלה. ולמה נקרא שמו רדודיאל¹⁶
 מפני שכל דיבור ודיבור שיצא¹⁷ מפיו נברא¹⁷ ממנו מלאך⁽¹⁸⁾ ועומד
 בשירות של מלאכי השרת ואומר¹⁹ שירה²⁰ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה²⁰⁻²¹ בזמן
 שהגיע²¹ זמן לומר קדש²²:

6 דלוסקים ד. דלוסקות ע 7-7 ל"י ב ע 8 שספר ד 9-9 ל"י ב ד 10 ונוטל ע
 11 ליד ע 12-12 ל"י ב ד 13 = נוטלן דע 14 ולפני ד. ליד ע 15-15 לקרות
 בב"ד דע. להקרא ב"ד' (בית דין) במקום הב"ה' 16 רדיואל ע 17-17 ל"י ב דע
 (18) ד ∞ אחד 19 ואומרים ע 20-20 לפניו ע 21-21 בשעת הגיע דע להק'
 כמו כן או: בשעת הגעת 22 קדוש ד

פרק כ"ח

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. למעלה מכל א'
 אלו יש ארבעה שרים הגדולים² עירין וקדישין שמן רמים ונכבדים
 גוראים ונחמדים מופלאים³ ואדירים גדולים מכל בני עליונים.
 ואין כמותם בכל שרי העליונים ואין כערכם בכל המשרתים כולם.
 שכל אחד ואחד שקול נגד⁴ כולם. ומחיצתן כנגד כסא הכבוד
 6-ועמידתן ב"ה⁵. שזוהר מחיצתן מעין זוהר כסא הכבוד⁶ וזו
 דמותם כעין⁷ זיו השכינה. והן פאורין⁸ מפאר גבורה⁹ ומשבחין
 משבח¹⁰ השכינה. ולא עוד אלא¹¹ שאין ה[ק]ב"ה¹¹ עושה דבר¹² ד

כ"ח

(1) דע ∞ סדר עירין 2 גדולים ד 3 גפלאים ע 4 כנגד ע 5 בית
 הדין. כנגד הקב"ה ד. 6-6 ל"י ב ע 7 מעין דע 8 מפארין ע 9 השכינה ע
 10 בשבח ע 11-11 שהקב"ה ע 12 דברו ע

לכל אחד מהם-²⁴. שש-²⁵ שש לכל אחד ואחד-²⁵ כנגד ששת ימי בראשית. וכמה פנים-²⁶ יש לכל אחד מהם-²⁶ י"ז פנים. ארבע-²⁷ ארבע לכל אחד ואחד-²⁷ ..²⁸ ושיעורן של שרפין ורום כל אחד ואחד כנגד שבעה רקיעים-²⁸.²⁹ שיעורו של-²⁹ כנף וכנף כמלא י"א רקיע. שיעורן של פנים כל אחד-³⁰ כפני-³¹ מזרח .. ומאירין (ל)כל-³² אחד ואחד-³³ מאור ככסא-³³ הכבוד שאפי' היות הקדש ואופני הוד וכרובי הדר אין יכולין להסתכל בו שכל המסתכל בו עיניו כהות מזוי ג גדול שעליו .. ולמה נקרא שמן שרפים. מפני שהם שורפים פנקסאות של שמן. בכל יום ויום השמן יושב עם סמאל שרו-³⁴ של רומי. ועם דוביאל שרו-³⁵ של פרס. וכתבו-³⁶ עוונותיהם של ישראל על פנקסאות³⁷ ונותנין אותם לשרפים להכנס אותם לפני ה[ק]ב"ה לאבד את-³⁸ ישראל מן העולם. והשרפים יודעים ברזי-³⁹ ה[ק]ב"ה⁴⁰ (41) שאינו רוצה] שתיפול אומה זו ישראלית⁴². מה עושין שרפים. בכל יום ויום נומלים אותם⁴³ מיד השמן ושורפים אותם באש יוקדת שכנגד כסא הכבוד⁴⁴ רם ונשא כדי שלא-⁴⁵ יכנים אותם-⁴⁵ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה בשעה שהוא-⁴⁶ יושב על כסא דין-⁴⁶ ודן את-⁴⁷ כל העולם כלו באמת⁴⁸ :

25-28 לי' ב ד. להם ע 26-26 להם דע 27-27 לכל רוח דע 28-28 לי' ב ע
 29-29 שיעורן של כנפים כל דע 30 פנים ופנים דע 31 בפני פנים ע 32 כל דע
 33-33 כזיו כסא דע. *frt. l.* מאור כזיו כסא 34 הרשע שר דע 35 שר ע
 36 וכותב דע 37 פנקסאו ע 38 לי' ב ע 39 בראה ע 40 הקדוש ד (41) ע 41 אינו רוצה. ד 42 שאינו רוצה. להק' 42 של הקב"ה ד. של הקב"ה ישראל ע 43 לי' ב ד
 44 לי' ב דע 45-45 יכנסו דע 46-46 על הדין דע 47 לי' ב ע 48 כאתח ע

פרק כ"ז

א' אד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך ה' שר הפנים .. למעלה מן השרפים יש שר אחד מעלה² מכל השרים. מופלא מכל המשרתים ב' רדודיריאל³ ה' שמו שהוא ממונה⁴ על גנוי הספרים⁵ .. והוא מוציא

ובדרו אנכה⁴² - תנוד חותא מן תחותיה⁴³ וצפריין⁴⁴ מן ענפוהי⁴² .. ולמה י' נקרא שמן עירין וקרישין. ⁴⁵ על שם שמקדישין⁴⁵ את הגוף ואת⁴⁶ הנשמה בפלסאות⁴⁷ של אש⁴⁷ - ביום הג' של דין שנאמ' ((הושע ו' ב)) יחינו מיומים וביום⁴⁸ הג' יקימנו ונחיה לפניו :

42-42 ל' ב ע 43 תחתיה MT וס'א תחותיה 44 וצפריא MT 45-45 שהן מקדשין ע
46 ל' ב ע 47-47 שלא ע 48 ביום MT

פרק כ"ט

אד' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. שבעים שמות י' יש לכל אחד ואחד מהם כנגד ע' לשונות¹ - שיש בעולם¹. וכולם על שמו של ה[ק]ב"ה. וכל שם ושם כתוב בעט² - ברזל של² - שלהבת על כתר נורא שעל ראשו של מלך רם ונשא .. ומכל א' וא' זיקוקין ב' וברקים יוצאים ממנו⁽³⁾ [וכל] א' וא' קרני זוהר מוקפין הימנו. מכל א' וא' אורות מבהיקות⁴ הימנו ומכל א' וא' סוכות ואהלות⁵ נוגה⁶ מקיפין הימנו. שאפילו השרפים⁸ וחיות⁹ שהן גדולות¹⁰ מכל בני עליונים¹¹ אינם יכולים להסתכל בהן¹² :

כ"ט
1-1 ל' ב ע 2-2 ל' ב ע ⁽³⁾ ע 100 זמן כל 4 מבדיקות ע 5 ואהלות ע
6 בינה ע 7 מוקפים ע 8 שרפים ע 9 ותחיות ע 10 גדולים ע
11 העליונים ע 12 ל' ב ע

פרק ל' ⁽¹⁾

אד' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. כל זמן שב"ה² ה' הגדול יושב³ ברום (ב) ערבות⁴ רקיע⁵ - אין פתחון פה לכל שבועולם חוץ מאותן⁵ השרים הגדולים שהן נקראים ה' בשמו של הקב"ה .. וכמה הן השרים. ע"ב שרי מלכיות שבועולם חוץ משר העולם שהוא ב'

ל'
⁽¹⁾ ע 100 סדר דין 2 ב"ד ע 3 יושבין ע 4 ערבות ע 5-5 ל' ב ע

בעולמו עד שנמלך עליהם תחלה, ואח"כ עושה דבר ⁽¹³⁾ שנאמ'
 ס' ((דניאל ד' י"ד)) בגזירת עירין פתגמא ומאמר ¹⁴ קדישין שאלתא .. עירין
 שנים וקדישין שנים, וכיצד הן עומדים ¹⁵ לפני הב"ה. ⁽¹⁶⁾ מלמד
 שעיר א' ¹⁷ עומד ¹⁸ מזה ועיר א' עומד מזה וקדיש(א) א' עומד מזה. ¹⁸
 ו' וקדיש א' עומד מזה .. ולעולם הן מגביהין ⁽¹⁹⁾ [שפלים] והן משפילין גאים
 ו' עדי ארץ והן מגביהין שפלים עד מרום .. ובכל יום ויום כשה[ק]ב"ה
 יושב על כסא הדין ²⁰ ודן את ⁽²¹⁾ העולם כולו וספרי חיים וספרי מתים
 פתוחים לפניו. כל בני עליונים עומדים לפניו באימה ²² וביראה ²³
 ובפחד ²⁴ וברעדה ²⁵. באותה שעה ה[ק]ב"ה יושב ⁽²⁶⁾ על כסא ²⁷ הדין
 בדין ²⁷. לבושו לבן כמו שלג ושער ראשו כמו צמר נקי ומעולה ²⁸
 כ' כולו כאור נגה וכולו מלא צדקה כשריון .. והן עירין וקדישין עומדין
 לפניו כשומרין לפני השופט ²⁹ והן נושאין ונותנין בכל דבר ודבר
 וגומרים את הדבר שבא ³⁰ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה בדין כע"ש ³¹ ((דניאל ד' י"ד))
 ט' בגזירת עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין שאלתא .. מהן פוסקין ³² [את]
 הדברים ³² - ומהן גוזרין את ³³ הגזירות בב"ד הגדול שבערבות. מהן
 שואלין את השאלות מלפני ⁽³⁴⁾ [הגבורה] מהן גומרין את הדברים
 כנגד מעלה ³⁵. מהן ³⁶ - גומרין ויורדין ³⁶ - ומקיימין ³⁷ את הגזירות ³⁸
 בארץ מתחת ⁽³⁹⁾ [כע"ש] ((דניאל ד' י')) ואלו ⁴⁰ עיר וקדיש מן שמיא
 נחית קרא בחייל וכן אמר. גודו אילנא וקציצו ענפוהי אתרו ⁽⁴¹⁾ [עפית]

⁽¹³⁾ דע ע בעולמו ¹⁴ ובמאמר ד ¹⁵ אומרים ע ⁽¹⁶⁾ ? נשלם ד בספר הזה
¹⁷ אחר ע ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ לפני קב"ה מזה ע ⁽¹⁹⁾ ע שפלים ²⁰ דין ע ⁽²¹⁾ ע כל
²² ל' ב ע ²³ ביראה ע ²⁴ בפחד ע ²⁵ ורעדה ע ⁽²⁶⁾ ע כדיין
²⁷⁻²⁷ הפנים ע ²⁸ ומעילו ע להק' ²⁹ השופטים ע ³⁰ שבא ע ³¹ כענין
 שנאמר ע ³²⁻³² הדברים ע. ב א בצע בין 'פוסקין' ל 'הדברים' ³³ ל' ב ע
⁽³⁴⁾ ע הגבורה (בצע בכ"י) ³⁵ למעלה ע ³⁶⁻³⁶ ל' ב ע ³⁷ מקיימין ע
³⁸ הנזרות ע להק' ⁽³⁹⁾ ע כענין שנאמר (בצע בכ"י) ⁴⁰ ואילון ע ⁽⁴¹⁾ ע
 עפיה (בצע בכ"י)

פרק ל"ג

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. בשעה א' שהקב"ה יושב על כסא הדין¹ מלאכי רחמים עומדים מימינו² ומלאכי שלום עומדים משמאלו ומלאכי חבלה עומדין לקראתו.. סופר א' ב' למעלה³ הימנו וכרוב⁴ א' למעלה הימנו.. ושרפי כבוד סובבים ב'⁵ להם כלפידים סביבותיהם-⁶ כסא הכבוד. וענני אש וענני לפיד מוקפים להם מימין ומשמאל וחיות הקודש נושאות כסא הכבוד מתחתיהם. כל א' וא'⁶ בשלש אצבעות (וכל א' וא' בשלשה אצבעות) שיעור גובהן של אצבעותיהן כל א'⁶ ת'ת אלפים ות'ש מאות [ו]ס"ז אלפים פרסאות.. ומתחת רגלי החיות מושבות ויוצאות ז' נהרות אש ד' וכל נהר ונהר רוחבו⁸ שס'ה אלפים פרסאות⁹ ועומקו רמ'ח אלפים רבבי פרסאות⁹. אורכו אין חקר ואין מספר.. וכל א' וא' חוזר¹⁰ ס' כמין כיפה בד' רוחות ערבות רקיע ונופל וכלא¹¹ למעון וממעון לזבול ומזבול לשחקים ומשחקים לרקיע ומרקיע לשמים ומשמים על ראש רשעים¹² שבניהנם. שנא' ((ירמיה כ"ז י"ט)) הנה סערת ה' חמה יצאה וסער מתחולל על ראש רשעים יחול:

ל"ג

1 דין אמת ע 2 לימינו ע 3 למטה ע 4 וסופר ע 5-5 בארבע רוחות כסא בחומות של ברקים ואופנים סובבים להם כלפידים סביבות ע. *prob. l.* 6-6 לי' ב ע 7 וששת ע 8 ארכו ע 9-9 לי' ב ע 10 ע"ס בהן 11 וכלה ע 12 רשע ע

פרק ל"ד

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. [לפני] פרסי¹ א' רגלי החיות מוקפים ז' ענני גחל. לפני ענני גחל מוקפים שבע(ה) חומות של להב. [לפני] 2-2 ז' חומות של להב-² מוקפים ז' חומות של לפיד. 3-3 מוקפים ז' חומות-³ אבני אלגביש. ולפני אבני אלגביש

ל"ד

1 פרסות ע. ל. ? פרס' 2-2 ולפניהם ע 3-3 ולפניהם שבע ע. ל. לפני ז' חומות של לפיד מוקפים ז' חומות של

מדבר בשבחו של עולם לפני הקב"ה בכל יום ויום⁶ בשעת פתיחת ספר⁷ שכל מעשה עולם כתובים בו כע"ש⁸ ((דניאל ז' י')) דינא יתיב וספרין פתיחו :

6 ל"י ב ע 7 הספר ע 8 כעכין שנאמ' ע

פרק ל"א

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים ..¹ בשעה שת[ק]ב"ה¹ יושב על כסא הדין עומד צדק מימינו² וחסד משמאלו³ ב' (וב)אמת⁴ כנגד פניו .. ובשעה שבא אדם⁵ ללפניו לדין⁶ יוצא מזיו⁷ החסד כלפי פניו כמקל⁸ ועומד לנגדו. מיד נופל אדם על פניו. מתיראין ומזדעזעין כל מלאכי חבלה הימנו⁹ כע"ש ((ישעיה ט"ז ה')) והוכן בחסד כסאו וישב¹⁰ עליו באמת :

ל"א

1-1 כשהקב"ה ע 2 בימינו ע 3 בשמאלו ע 4 ואמת ע 5 רשע ע [!]
6-6 לדון לפניו ע 7 מדין ע 8 ל"י ב ע 9 מימינו ע 10 ויושב ע

פרק ל"ב

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. כשפותח¹ הקב"ה את הספר חציו אש וחציו שלהבת יוצאין מלפניו בכל רגע ורגע לעשות² דין ברשעים² בחרבו³ משתלחת מנרתקה שזווה מבהיק כברק והולך מסוף העולם עד סופו. ⁴ שנאמר ((ישעיה ט"ז כ')) כי באש ה' נשפט .. וכל באי עולם מתיראין ומזדעזעין מלפניו כשרואין את חרבו משתננת כברק מסוף העולם ועד סופו⁴ וניצוצין וזקוקין⁵ יוצאין המינה כשיעור כוכבי רקיע כע"ש⁶ ((דברים ל"ב מ"א))
7-7 אם שנותי⁷ ברק חרבי.

ל"ב

1 כשפותחין לפני ע 2-2 בהן דין רשעים ע 3 וחרבו ע 4-4 ל"י ב ע
5 ל"י ב ע 6 שנא' ע 7-7 ל"י ב ע

סער גדול ביניהם שנאמר (ירמיה כ"ג י"ט) הנה סערת ה' חמה ויצאת¹² וסער מתחולל .. באותה שעה¹³⁻¹⁴ אלף אלפים [מהם נעשים] ו' זיקין¹³. [אלף אלפים] מהן נעשים לפידים. ¹⁴אלף אלפים מ"נ [= מהם נעשים] ¹⁴לוחשים ¹⁵א"א מ"נ [= אלף אלפים מהם נעשים] ¹⁵להבים. א"א מ"נ זכרים. ¹⁶א"א מ"נ ¹⁶נקבות ¹⁶א"א מ"נ ¹⁶⁻¹⁷רוחות. א"א מ"נ ¹⁷אש ¹⁷דולקות ¹⁸. ¹⁶א"א מ"נ ¹⁶שלהבת. ¹⁶א"א מ"נ ¹⁶זקוקין ¹⁹ ¹⁶א"א מ"נ ¹⁶⁻²⁰חשמלים של-²⁰ אור ¹⁶עד שמקבלים עליהם²¹ עול מלכות שמים²² רם ונשא, יוצר²³ (כולם) באימה²³ ביראה ברדת ובויעה ברעם ובחלחלה בפחד וברעדה וא"כ מחזירין אותם²⁴ (למדתן) ראשונה²⁵ ליהיות יראת מלכם לפניהם בכל²⁶ שעה ושעה כדי שיכוננו את²⁷ לבם לומר ²⁸(קדוש) בכל שעה. שנאמר (ישעיה ו' ג) וקרא זה אל זה ואמר:

¹² יוצאה ע. יצאה MT ¹³⁻¹⁴ ל"י ב ע ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ אומרין אמן ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ א"א ע ^{16-16, 16} א"אמן ע או ע א"אמן [= אומרין אמן] ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ ל"י ב ע ¹⁷ אשות ? אשות ¹⁸ דולק ע ¹⁹ ע זוקקין ²⁰⁻²⁰ חשמלי ע ²¹ ל"י ב ע ²² ל"י ב ע ²³⁻²³ כולם ע בצע בכ"י לפני 'באימה' [בימה] ²⁴ למידתן ע (בצע בכ"י אחרי 'אותם' לחקר' כמו למעלה) ²⁵ הראשונה ע. אולי לחקר' ²⁶ וכל ע ²⁷ ל"י ב ע ²⁸ ע ש שירה. לחקר' כמו כן או 'קדוש'. בצע בכ"י

פרק ל"ז

א"ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. בשעה א' שמלאכי השרת מבקשים לומר שירה עולה נהר דינור ב[כ]מה¹ אלף אלפים וריבי רבבות כח וגבורת² אש ומושך ועובר תחת³ כסא הכבוד בין מחנה⁴ מלאכי השרת וגדודי ערבות .. וכל מלאכי השרת יורדין ב' תחלה לנהר דינור וטובלים את עצמן באש⁵ ומטבילין את לשונם

¹ בכמה ע. ז. וגבורות ע ² מתחת ע ³ מחנות ע ⁴ ע ש של נהר דינור

מוקפים⁴ אבני ברד. ולפני אבני ברד מוקפים אבני כנפי סופה. ולפני אבני כנפי סופה מוקפים⁴ סביבי שלהבת⁵ ולפני סביבי שלהבת⁵ מוקפים⁶ עליות סערה. ולפני עליות סערה מוקפים⁷ האש והמים⁷. .. ולפני⁸ האש והמים⁸ מוקפים⁹ אומרי קדוש ולפני¹⁰ אומרי קדוש מוקפים¹⁰ אומרי⁹ ברוך (ומ)לפני¹⁰ אומרי ברוך מוקפים¹⁰ ערפלי טוהר¹¹ ולפני ערפלי טוהר¹¹ מוקפים גחלי רתמים¹² ולפני גחלי רתמים¹² מוקפים אלף מתנות אש ורבבי צבאות שלהבת¹³. ובין מחנה למחנה ובין צבא לצבא ערפל מוקף מביניהם¹⁴ כדי שלא ישרפו באש:

4-4 ל' בע 5 שלהבות ע 6 ל' בע 7-7 חומות אש ומים ע 8-8 אותם ע 9 אומרים ע 10-10 ולפניהם ע 11-11 ל' בע 12-12 ולפניהם ע 13 להבה ע 14 ביניהם ע

אללה

פרק ל"ה⁽¹⁾

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. תקו² אלפים רבבות מחנות יש לו³ להקב"ה ברום ערבות רקיע. וכל מחנה ומחנה תצו אלפים מלאכים.. וכל מלאך ומלאך רום קומתו כים הגדול. ומראה דמותם⁴ כמראה הבזק⁵ ועיניהם כלפידים אש וזרועותיהן ומרגלותיהן⁶ כעין נחושת קלל⁷ ושאגת קול דבריהם כקול המון.. וכלם עומדים לפני כסא הכבוד בין ארבע שורות⁷ ושירי החיל עומדים בראש כל שורה ושורה.. ויש מהם אומרים קדוש. ויש מהם אומרים ברוך. ויש מהם רצין בשליחות. ויש מהם עומדים בשמוש⁸. כע"ש ((דינאל ז' י')) אלף אלפים⁹ משוני¹⁰ [= ישמשונה] ורבוא רבבין¹¹ קדמוהי יקומו דיןא יתיב וספרין פתיחו.. ובשעה שהגיע זמן לומר קדוש בתחלה רוח סערה יוצא מלפני הקב"ה ונופלת במחנה שכינה ויהי

ל'ה

(1) ע סדר מחנות 2 ארבע מאות ותשעים וששת ע 3 ל' בע 4 דמותו ע 5 ברק ע 6 [= ומרגלותיהן]. ומרגלותיהן ע 7-7 ל' בע 8 בשמשות ע 9 cum [כתיב]. אלפין ע cum [קרי] 10 לחק כמו ע: ישמשוניה 11 cum [קרי]. רבוז ע [כתיב: רבון]

רעמת קולו¹⁶ נעימתן ורעש רוממותם וזיקוקים וברקים¹⁷ שיוצאים מפניהם. שנא' (תהלים ע"ז י"ט) קול רעמך בגלגל⁽¹⁸⁾ [האירו ברקים תבל רגזה ותרעש הארץ]. עד שקורא להם שר העולם ואמר להם. שתקו במקומכם ואל תתיראו שמלאכי השרת שאומרים¹⁹ שירה לפני הקב"ה שנאמר (איוב ל"ח ז') ברון²⁰ יחד כוכבי (ברק)^[בקר]²¹ ויריעו כל בני אלהים:

¹⁶ קולם ע. להק' "קול" או "קולות" ¹⁷ ל"י ב ע ⁽¹⁸⁾ ע ∞ האירו וגו' ¹⁹ אומרים ע ²⁰ ברו ע MT ²¹ בוקר ע בקר MT להק'

פרק ל"ט

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. כשמלאכי השרת אומרים קדוש כל שמות המפרשות¹ החקוקות² בעט שלהבת על כסא הכבוד מפרחות³ כנשרים ב"ו כנפים ומקיפות וסובבות את ה[ק]ב"ה בר' רוחות מקום כבוד⁴ שכינתו. ומלאכי הצבא ומשרתי⁵ להבה ואופני גבורה וכרובי שכינה וחיות הקודש ושרפים ואראלים ומפסר⁶ ⁵ וגרודי להב⁶ וגרודי אוכלי⁷ ומערכות לפיד וצבאות להב⁸ ושירי קדושים קשורי⁹ כתרים לבושי מלכות עמו¹⁰ כבוד אפודי¹¹ תפארת¹² אזורי¹³ אדרת חגורי¹⁴ גאות נופלים על¹⁵ [פניהם] ג' פעמים¹⁵. ואומר¹⁶. ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד:

ל"ט

¹ המפורשות ע ² חקוקות ע ³ מפריחות ע ⁴ ל"י ב ע ⁵ [= ומפסרים]. ומפסרי ע ⁶⁻⁶ ל"י ב ע ⁷ אוכלה ע. להק': 'אש אוכלה' ⁸ להט ע ⁹ ושירי ע ¹⁰ [= עטויי]. עושפי ע ¹¹ אדיר ע ¹² ותפארת ע ¹³ אזורי ע ¹⁴ חוגרי ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ פניהם ע. אולי להק': 'פניהם ג' פעמים' ¹⁶ = ואומרים ע

פרק מ'

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. בשעה שמלאכי השרת אומרים קדוש כתקנו¹ לפני הקב"ה יוצאים משרתי כסאו² משמשני כבודו²

מ'

¹ כתיקונו ע ²⁻² [משמשני' רמו ב 'ישמשונה' דניאל ז' י'] משמשני כבודו ע

פרק ל"ז

ופיהם⁶ ז' פעמים⁽⁷⁾ ואח"כ עולים ולובשין לבוש⁸ - מחקי סמל ועוטפין טפל⁹⁻⁸ חשמל ועומדים בד' שורות כנגד כסא הכבוד בכל רקיע ורקיע:

⁶ ואת פיהם ע' (7) ע' בנהר דיגור ⁸⁻⁸ מחזיקי סמל ועוטפי טפל ע' [om. OM 290b] ⁹ = טפלי



פרק ל"ז

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. בז' היכלות עומדים ד' מרכבות שכינה ולפני כל א' וא' עומדים ד' מחנות שכינה. ב' בין¹ מחנה למחנה מושך ועובר נהר של אש .. ובין נהר לנהר מקיפין² ערפלי טוהר ובין כל⁽³⁾ עומדים שתולים⁴ עמודי גפרית ובין עמוד לעמוד מקיפין ועומדין גלגלי שלהבת ובין גלגל לגלגל מקיפין⁵ שביבי לפיד. ובין שביב לשביב מקיפין אוצרי ברקים. אחורי⁶ אוצרי ברקים מקיפין⁷ כנפי⁸ - סופה. אחורי כנפי סופה מקיפין⁸ גנוי סערה⁸ - אחורי גנוי סערה מקיפין⁸ רוחות קולות רעמים זיקים⁹ - זיקים זועות וזעות⁹:

ל"ז

¹ ובין ע' ² מוקפים ע' ⁽³⁾ ע' אחד ואחד ל. ⁴ לי' ב ע' ⁵ מרכבין ע' ⁶ אחרי ע' ⁷ לי' ב ע' ⁸⁻⁸ לי' ב ע' ⁹⁻⁹ אחר זיקים מקיפין וזעות ע'



פרק ל"ח

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון .. בשעה שמלאכי השרת אומרים קדוש כל עמודי רקיעים ואדניהם¹ מתרופפין² ושערי³ - היכלי ערבות³ - רקיע מתרחשים⁴ ויסורי תבל ושחקים מזדעזעות⁵ וסדרי⁶ מעון וחדרי⁷ מכון מתחוללין וכל סדרי⁸ רקיע ומזלות⁹ וכוכבים נבהלים וגלגלי¹⁰ חמה ולבנה¹¹ נתפזים ונסים^[ממסלותם] (ממכלותם)¹² ורצים ב' י"ב אלף¹⁴ פרסאות ומבקשים¹⁵ להשליך עצמן מן השמים .. מפני

ל"ח

¹ ואדניה ע' ² מרופפים ע' ³⁻³ היכלות וערבות ע' ⁴ מתרעשים ע' ⁵ מזדעזעין ע' *frt. l.* ⁶ וחדרי ע' ⁷ והיכלי ע' ⁸ סתרי ע' ⁹ מזלות ע' ¹⁰ ונגל ע' ¹¹ ונגל לבנה ע' ¹² ממסילתם ע' *s. ut l.* ⁽¹³⁾ ע' לאחוריהם ¹⁴ אלפים ע' ¹⁵ ומבקשות ע'

חקוקות¹¹ בעט שלהבת על כסא הכבוד וזיקוקין¹² יוצאים מהן ומכסים את¹³-כולם דר-י¹³ ערבות¹⁴.

¹¹ חקוקים ע ¹² זיקוקין וברקים ע ¹³⁻¹³ כל חדרי ע *frt. l.* ¹⁴ הערבות ע

פרק מ"ב

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁽¹⁾ .. בא ואיראך איפה מים² א תלויים ברום (רמ"ם)³. ואפה אש דולקת⁴ בתוך ברד⁵ וואיפה ברקים מבריקים בתוך הרי שלג⁶ ואיפה רעמים מרעישים⁷ במרומי⁸ עליון. ואיפה להבה תלה[ט]⁹ בתוך האש יוקדת. ואיפה¹⁰-קולות משמיעים¹⁰-ברעש¹¹ וברעש .. והלכתי אצלו¹² ותפשני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והראי^(י)ני¹³ את כולן. וראיתי מים תלויים ברום ערבות רקיע בשם יה אהיה אשר אהיה ((שמות ג' יד))¹⁴-ופרותיהם יורדים משמים¹⁴-ומרוים פני תבל שנאמ' ((תהלים ק"ד י"ג)) מפרי מעשיך תשבוע הארץ .. וראיתי אש ושלג^ג ואבני¹⁵-ברד שהם¹⁵-מתלקחת¹⁶ אלו בתוך אלו. ואינם ניזוקות¹⁷ בשם אש אוכלה שנא' ((דברים ד' כ"ד)) כי ה' אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא¹⁸ .. וראיתי ברקים שהם מבריקים בתוך¹⁹-הרי שלג¹⁹-ד ואינם ניזוקין בשם יה⁽²⁰⁾ צור עולמים שנאמר ((ישעיה כ"ז ד')) כי ביה ה' צור עולמים .. וראיתי רעמים וקולות²¹-שהם מרעישים²¹-בתוך ה' להבי אש ואינם ניזוקין בשם²²-אל שדי רבה שנאמר ((בראשית י"ז א')) אני אל שדי .. וראיתי להט' להבה שהם לוהטים ולוהבים בתוך

מ"ב

⁽¹⁾ ע ֶסֶס מ'שה [= מלאך שר הפנים] ² ל' ב ע ³ חמים ע *? l.* רקיע ⁴ לוחטת ע

⁵ אבני אלגביש ע ⁶⁻⁶ ל' ב ע ⁷ מרעימים ע. אולי להקרא כמו כן ⁸ בתוך

מרומי ע ⁹ הלהט ע. להק' או 'תלויה' ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ קול משמיע ע ¹¹ ברעם ע. להק'ר

כמו כן ¹² ל' ב ע ¹³ והראני ע ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ מהם יורדין גשמים ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ ל' ב ע

¹⁶ מלקחות ע. להק' 'מתלקחות'. רמו ב 'אש מתלקחת בתוך הברד' ((שמות ט' כ"ד.

עיין גם יחזקאל א' ד')) ¹⁷ ניזוקין ע ¹⁸ וגו' ע ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ להבי אש ע

⁽²⁰⁾ ע ֶסֶס יהו"ה ²¹⁻²¹ שמרעישים ע ²²⁻²² ל' ב ע

ב' בשמחה רבה מתחת כסא הכבוד .. וכל א' וא' ביניהם³ אלף אלפים וריבי רבבות כתרים של כוכבים מעין מראה זיו כוכב נוגה וקושרים אותן למלאכי השרת ולשרים הגדולים. אותם שאומרים קדוש ג' כתרים. א' ⁽⁴⁾ [על שם] שאומר⁵ קדוש. וא' על שם שאומר⁵ קדוש קדוש ג' וא' על שם שאומר⁵ ק"ק ה' צבאות .. ובזמן שאין אומרים קדוש כתקנו⁶ אש אוכלה⁷ יוצאת מלפני אצבע⁸ קטנה של הקב"ה. נופלת⁹ בתוך מערכותיהם ומתחלק(ו)ת¹⁰ לד' מאות צ'ו אלפים רבבות חלק¹¹ כנגד ד' מחנות מלאכי השרת ואוכלת אותם בבת אחת. שנאמר ד' ((תהלים צ"ז ג')) אש לפניו תלך ותלהט סביב צריו .. וא"כ¹² פותח הקב"ה את פיו ודובר דבר א' ובורא אחרים¹³ תחתיהם כמותן חדשים. ועומדים כל א' וא' בשירה לפני כסא כבודו ואומרים קדוש שנאמר ((איכה ג' כג')) חדשים לבקרים רבה אמונתך :

³ בידיהם ע. ל. ⁽⁴⁾ ע"ע על שם ⁵ = שאומרים ע ⁶ כתיקונו ע ⁷ אוכלת ע ⁸ אצבעו ע ⁹ ונופלת ע. ¹⁰ ומתחלקת ע ¹¹ חלקים ע ¹² ואח"כ ע ¹³ לי' ב ע

פרק מ"א

ב' א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁽¹⁾ .. בא וראה² אותיות שנבראו בהם שמים וארץ. אותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות. ³ אותיות שנבראו בהם הרים וגבעות. אותיות שנבראו בהם עצים ועשבים³ - אותיות שנבראו בהם כוכבים ומזלות ³ אותיות שנבראו בהם³ אופן הלבנה וגלגל החמה וכסיל וכימה וכל מיני מאורות רקיע ⁽⁴⁾ .. אותיות שנבראו בהם כסא הכבוד וגלגל המרכבה. אותיות שנבראו בהם צרכי עולמים⁵ .. אותיות שנבראו בהם חכמה ובינה ודעת⁶ והשכל ד' ענוה וישרות שבן⁷ מתקיימים ⁽⁸⁾ העולם כולו .. והלכתי אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והראני⁹ גי⁹ ¹⁰ את אופן¹⁰ האותיות כולם שהן

מ"א

⁽¹⁾ ע"ע מ'שה ² ואראך ע ³⁻³ לי' ב ע ⁽⁴⁾ ע"ע אותיות ש"ב [= שנבראו בהם] מלאכי השרת אותיות שנבראו בהם שרפים וחיות ⁵ עולם ע ⁶ דעה ע ⁷ שבהן ע ⁽⁸⁾ ע"ע כל ⁹ והראני ע ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ אותם ע. ל. ? אות

הן יורדות⁵ ונשמתן של רשעים היכן הן יורדות⁶.. ואמר לי⁷ ב
 הנשמות⁸ (של רשעים)^{8א} יורדות לשאול על ידי ב' מלאכי חבלה שהן⁹
 זעפיאל וסמכיאל.. סמכיאל¹⁰ הוא שממונה¹⁰ על נשמתן של בינונים ב'
 כדי לסומכן ולטהרן מחטא ברוב רחמיו (שר)^{10א} מקום. זעפיאל¹¹ הוא
 ממונה¹¹ על נשמתן של רשעים¹² כדי להורידן מלפני¹³ הקב"ה מזיו¹⁴
 השכינה¹⁵ לשחיך לדון באש לגיהנם¹⁵ במקלות של גחלים.. והלכתי ד'
 אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני¹⁶ והראי¹⁷ני את כולם¹⁸ באצבעות ידיו..
 וראיתי דמות¹⁹ פניהם כמראה²⁰ בני²¹ אדם. וגופן כנשרים. ולא ס'
 עוד אלא שזיו²² דמות בינונים (דומות)²³ [כירקון]²⁴ מפני מעשיהם
 שיש בהן רופי עד שיטהרו מעונם באש.. וזיו דמות נשמתן של רשעים ו'
 (דומים)²⁵ כשולי הקדרה²⁶ מפני רוע²⁷ מעשיהם²⁸.. וראיתי נשמתן ז'
 של אבות העולם אברהם יצחק ויעקב ושאר הצדיקים²⁹ שמעמידים³⁰
 אותם מקבריהם ועולים לרקיע ומתפללין לפני ה[ק]ן"בה ואומר בתפלה
 רש"ע³¹. עד מתי אתה יושב על כסא כאבל. שהוא³² בימי אבלו
 וימינד לאחוריד ואין³³ אתה גואל את בניך ומגלה³⁴ מלכותך בעולם.
 ואין³⁵ אתה חומל³⁶ על בניך³⁷ שמשועבדים אצל³⁷ אומות העולם.
 [ו]על³⁸ ימינד שהיא לאחור³⁹ שבה נמיתה⁴⁰ שמים וארץ ושמי השמים.
 אי אתה חומל.. באותה שעה משיב הקב"ה לכל א' וא'⁴¹ ואומר. ס'
 מפני שהרשעים⁴² הללו חטאו⁴³ כך וכך⁴⁴ ופשעו⁴⁵ כך וכך לפני⁴⁶.

5 עומדין ע 6-6 לי' ב ע 7 לי' ב ע 8 נשמתן ע 9 ואלו הן ע
 10-10 שהוא ע 10א של ע ל 11-11 שהוא ע 12 בינונים ע 13 לפני ע
 14 מדין ע 15-15 לשאול לדון באש בגיהנם ע ל 16 לי' ב ע 17 והראני ע
 18 כל ע 19 ע 20 מראה ע 21 כבני ע 22 ע 23 דומין ע
 24 כירקות ע 25 לי' ב ע 26 קדירה ע 27 רוב ע 28 ע 29 הרעים ע
 29 צדיקים ע 30 כשמעמידין ע 31 רשב"ה ע [?] רבש"ע ע 32 ע 33 שמשמשים ע
 33 ואי ע 34 ע 35 את ע 36 ואי [= ואין] ע 37 מרחם ע 37-37 שמשמשים ע
 כעבדים בין ע 38 ועל ע 39 לאחוריד ע 40 ע 41 ע 42 מהם בלבד ע
 42 רשעים ע 43 שחטאו לפני ע 44 ע 45 כשעו לפני כך וכך ע 46 ופשעו לפני ע
 46 לי' ב ע

אש יוקדת ואינם ניזוקין בשם-²² יד על כס יה שֵׁנֶאֱמַר ((שמות יז מ"ז))
 ויאמר²³ כי יד על כס יה.. וראיתי נהרי אש בתוך נהרי מים⁽²⁴⁾
 ואינם ניזוקין בשם עושה שלום⁽²⁵⁾ -²⁶ שֵׁנֶאֱמַר ((איוב כ"ה ב')) עושה
 שלום במרומים-²⁶ שהוא עושה השלום²⁷ בין אש למים²⁸ ובין ברד
 לאש-²⁸ ובין רוח לענן בין²⁹ [זועות] (זועים)³⁰ לזיקים:

²³ ל"ב ע ⁽²⁴⁾ ע ונהרי מים בתוך נהרי אש ⁽²⁵⁾ ע במרומוי ²⁶⁻²⁶ ל"ב ע.
 להק' "במרומוי" [MT cum] במקום "במרומים" ²⁷ שלום ע ²⁸⁻²⁸ ל"ב ע ²⁹ ובין ע
³⁰ זעם ע

○ ○ ○

פרק מ"ג

א' ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁽¹⁾.. בא ואראך איכנ² נשמתן של
 צדיקים שנבראו וחזרו ונשמתן של צדיקים שעדיין לא נבראו.. והעלני
 אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני³ אצל כסא הכבוד⁴ אצל מקום השכינה
 וגלה לי את כסא הכבוד⁴ והראי^(י)ני⁵ אותם הנשמות שנבראו וחזרו⁽⁶⁾
 שהן מפריחות⁷ למעלה מכסא הכבוד לפני הקב"ה.. וא"כ⁸ הלכתי
 ודרשתי את הפסוק הזה ומצאתי כע"ש⁹ ((ישעיה נז מ"ז)) כי רוח⁽¹⁰⁾
 מלפני יעטוף ונשמות אני עשיתי. ⁽¹¹⁾ אלו הנשמות¹² -¹³ שנבראו
 בגוף הבריות של צדיקים וחזרו לפני הקב"ה. ונשמות אני עשיתי
 אלו הנשמות-¹³ של צדיקים שעדיין לא נבראו בגוף:

מ"ג

⁽¹⁾ ע משה [= מלאך שר הפנים] ² ל"ב ע ³ וחוליכני ע ⁴⁻⁴ ל"ב ע
⁵ והראני ע ⁽⁶⁾ ע להם ⁷ מפורחות ע ⁸ ואח"כ ע ⁹ בענין ע ⁽¹⁰⁾ ע ה'
⁽¹¹⁾ *inserendum*: 'כי רוח מלפני יעטוף' [אלו הנשמות 'שנבראו וגו'] ¹² נשמות ע
¹³⁻¹³ ל"ב ע

○—○—○

פרק מ"ד

א' ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁽¹⁾.. בא² ואראך נשמתן של רשעים
 ונשמות של בינונים-³ היכן⁴ הן עומדין. ונשמתן של בינונים היכן⁴

מ"ד

⁽¹⁾ ע משה [= מלאך שר הפנים] ² בוא ע ³⁻³ ל"ב ע ⁴ היאך ע

וסירוניהן¹¹ ד"ד⁹ ופקודותיהם^{11א} ד"ד⁹ ושופמיהם ד"ד⁹ ושומריהם
 ד"ד⁹ ומלמדיהם ד"ד⁹ ומעמידיהם ד"ד וראש כולהם ד"ד-¹²
 וראשי ישיבותיהם ד"ד וקציניהם ד"ד⁹ ונשיאיהם ד"ד⁹ ומליציהם
 ד"ד-¹³ ואלופיהם ד"ד-¹³ ואדיריהם ד"ד-¹³ וזקניהם ד"ד ומנהיגיהם..
 וראיתי אדם ודורו¹⁴ ומעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴ (15) ונח¹⁶ ודורו^ג
 מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁶ ודור המבול¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴.
 ושם ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴. נמרוד ודור הפלגה-¹⁷ (ודורו)
 מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁷. אברהם ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴.
 יצחק ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴. ישמעאל ודורו מעשיהם
 ומחשבותיהם-¹⁸. יעקב ודורו¹⁴ ומעשיהם] ומחשבותיהם]-¹⁴. יוסף
 ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-¹⁴ שבטים ודור(ו)¹⁹ ומעשיהם
 ומחשבותיהם-²⁰. עמרם ודורו²⁰ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-²⁰. משה
 ודורו²⁰ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם-²⁰. אהרון⁽²¹⁾ ומרים⁽²²⁾ מעשיהם^ד
 ומפעלותיהן-²³ נשיאים וזקנים מעשיהם ופעולותיהם. יהושע ודורו
 מעשיהם ומפעלותיהם]-²⁴. שופטים ודורן מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן-²⁴. עלי
 ודורו מעשיהם ופעולותיהם-²³. פנחס^[מעשיהם] ומפעל[ותיו]-²⁵
 אלקנה²³ ודורו מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן-²³ שמואל²³ ודורו מעשיהם
 ומפעל-²³ (26) מלכי יהודה²³ ודורן מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן. מלכי
 ישראל²³ ודורן מעשיהם ומפעל-²³. מלכי אומות העולם²³ מעשיהם
 ומפעל-²³ (27) נשיאי ישראל²³ מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן-²³. נשיאי

11 וסורקיהם ע ז. 11א ופקדיהם ע ז. 12-12 ועוזריהם וחסידיהם ונגידיהם והוריהם
 והכמיהם וראשי מדרשים ע 13-13 לי' ב ע 14-14 ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם (15) ע
 מתושלח ודורו ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם 16-16 לי' ב ע 17-17 לי' ב ע 18-18 לי' ב ע
 19 ודורן ע 20-20 ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם ע (21) ע ודורו מחשבותיהם ומעשיהם
 (22) ע ודורה 23-23 וגו' ע 24-24 לי' ב ע 25-25 לי' ב ע (26) ע שאל
 וגו' דוד וגו' שלמה וגו' (27) ע רזוני ישראל וגו' אלופי ישראל וגו' אלופי אומות
 העולם וגו' עשירי ישראל וגו' עשירי אומות העולם וגו' חכמי ישראל וגו'

היאך⁴⁷ אני יכול⁽⁴⁸⁾ להושיע את ימיני הגדולה⁽⁴⁹⁾ במפלת⁵⁰ על ידם..
 ב' באותה שעה קורא אותי⁵¹⁻⁵¹ ממטרון ואמר לי⁵¹ עבדי. טול אתה⁵²
 את הספרים וקרא את מעשיהם הר(ו)עים. מיד נוטל אני את הספרים
 וקורא את מעשיהם ונמצא^{52a} ל'ז כריתות לכל רשע ורשע⁵³ כ'ב ל'ז
 כריתות שעבר כל רשע ורשע כ'ז וכן כל רשע ורשע⁵³ על כל
 אותיות שבתורה⁵⁴. שנאמר ((הניאל ט' יא)) וכל ישראל עברו את
 תורתך. על תורתך לא נאמר אלא את⁵⁵ תורתך. שעברו⁵⁶ מא'
 ' ועד ת'⁵⁶ על מ'⁵⁷ כריתות בכל אות ואות.. מיד בוכה⁵⁸ אברהם⁽⁵⁹⁾
 יצחק⁽⁵⁹⁾ יעקב⁽⁵⁹⁾ [ואח"כ אומר להם הקב"ה. אברהם אוהבי.
 יצחק בחירי ויעקב] בכורי. עכשיו היאך⁶⁰ אני⁶¹ יכול להושיען מבין
 אומות העולם. ומיד⁽⁶²⁾ מיכאל שרן של ישראל צווח ובוכה בקול
 גדול ואומר⁶³ ((תהלים יא')) למה ה' תעמוד ברחוק.

47 והיאך ע (48) ע להושיע את בני מבין האומות ולגלות מלכותי בעולם לעיני הגוים
 (49) ע נופלת 50 ומפלת ע 51-51 ואומר לי ממטרון ע 52 לי' ב ע 52a = ונמצאין
 53-53 ועוד שעברו ע. לחקר' כמו כן 54 של תורה ע 55 לי' ב ע 56-56 מאלף
 ועד תי"ת [ז = תיו] 57 שלשים ושש ע 58 בכה ע (59) ע בפני עצמו
 60 לי' ב ע 61 איני ע (62) ע בא 63 כמה שנאמר ע

x ~ x — x ~ x

פרק מ"ה

א' א' ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי ממטרון.. בא ואראך פרגוד של מקום שה'¹
 פרוש[ה]² לפני ה[ק]ב"ה. שכל דורי דורות שבעולם³ וכל מעשיהם⁴
 ב' בין שעשו ובין שעושים עד סוף כל הדורות חקוקים בו.. והלכתי
 והראני [ב]אצבעות⁵ ידיו (ו)כאב⁶ שמורה⁷ לבנו. דוד ודוד⁸
 וראשיהם ד"ד⁹ ורעהי¹⁰ ד"ד ושומריהם. ד"ד ונוגשיהם ד"ד

מ"ה

1 שהיא ע 2 פרוסה ע 3 העולם ע 4 מעשי דורות העולם ע 5 באצבעות ע
 6 כאב ע לחק' 7 שחורה ע 8-8 לבנו אותיות של תורה וראיתי דוד ודוד ורונייהם
 דוד ודוד ע 9 לי' ב ע 10 = ורועיהם ע

מצוה (לו) 55 [ידע דבר] 56 רע ((קהלת ח' ד' וז')) 57 ואומר (תהלים ק"ד) מה רבו מעשיך ה' 58:

55. לא ע MT 56. ע MT ידע דבר 57. ע ונוג' 58. ע ואומר מה גדלו מעשיך ה'

פרק מ"ו

אד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. ריוחן¹ של כוכבים² שעומדים ב
ברקיע בכל² לילה ולילה בזעמו³ של מקום. והיכן הם הולכים והיכן
הם עומדים. הלכתי אצלו ותפשני בידו⁴ והראני את כולן באצבעות
ידיו. והם עומדים⁵ בניצוצות⁶ שלהבת סביבות⁷ מרכבותו⁸ של
מקום. מה עשה מטטרון. 9 באותה שעה הכה כפו אל כפו והפריד¹⁰
את כולן ממקומם. מיד פרחו 11 בכנפי שלהבת ועלו¹² ונסו¹³ בד'
רוחות כסא המרכבה. והיגיד 14 15 שמו של כל א' וא' 15 שנאמר
(תהלים קמ"ד) מונה מספר לכוכבים 16 כולם בשם 16 יקרא.
מלמד שהניח הקב"ה 17 שם לכל א' וא' 17. וכלם נכנסים 18 במנין
רהט"אל המלאך לרקיע¹⁹ השמים לשמש את העולם ויוצאים במינין²⁰
להלם את הקב"ה בשירות²¹ ובתשבחות כע"ש (תהלים י"ט ב')
השמים מספרים כבוד אל 22. לעתיד לבא חוזר²³ הקב"ה 24 ובוראם
חדשים 24 שנאמר (איכה ג' כ"ג) חדשים לבקרים 25. והן 26 פותחין
את פיהם ואומרים שירה. ומה השירה 27 שהם 28 אומרים. 29 (תהלים
ח' ד') כי אראה שמיך 30:

מ"ז

ע 0 בא ואראך 1 רוחן 2-2 שעטוקים ברקיע וכל 3 באמו ע [באומר OM] :?
באימתו 4 לי בע 5 לי בע 6 בניצוציע 7 לי בע 8 מרכבותיו ע 9 ע משה
10 והפריח ע 11 ע ממקומן 12 ונלו ע 13 וכסו ע 14 ע לי 15-15 כל
אחת ואחת את שמותם ואת כנפיהם ע 16-16 לכולם שמות ע MT 17-17 לכל
כוכב וכוכב שם ע 18 ע על ידי 19 ברקיע ע 20 במנין ע 21 בשירים ע
22 ע ומעשה ידיו מגיד הרקיע 23 לי בע 24-24 ועוזרן ע 25 ע רבה אמונתך
26 אין ע 27 שירה ע 28 לי בע 29 ע שנאמר 30 ע ונוג'

אומות העולם²³ מעשיהם ומפעל²³ ראשי ישיבות ישראל²³ מעשיהם
 ומפעל²³ ראשי א"ה²³ (ודורן) מעשיהן ומפעל²³ רוזני ישראל
 (ודורן) מעשיהן ומפעל²³ אלופי ישראל (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן.
 אלופי א"ה (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²⁸ אנשי²⁹ השם בישראל²⁹
²³ (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²³ דיני ישראל²³ (ודורן) מעשיהם
 ופעולותיהן²³ דיני או"ה²³ (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²³ מלמד
 תינוקות בישראל³¹ (ודורן) מע' ומפעל²³ מלמדי תינוקות באו"ה³²
³³ (ודורן) מעש' ומפעל³³ מליצי ישראל³³ (ודורן) מעשיהן
 ומפעלותיהן³³ מליצי או"ה³⁴ (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעל³³ וכל³⁵ נביאי
 ישראל³³ (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן³³ וכל³⁵ נביאי או"ה³⁶ (ודורן)
 מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן³³ וכל קרב ומלחמות³⁷ שעושין אומות
 (ישראל)³⁸ בעם ישראל³⁹ בימי מלכותם וראיתי משיח בן יוסף ודורו
⁴⁰ ומעשיהם ומפעלותיהן⁴⁰ שעושין עם או"ה. וראיתי משיח בן דוד
 ודורו וכל⁴² קרבות ומלחמות ומעשיהם⁴² ומפעלותיהם שעושים⁴³
 עם ישראל בין לטובה בין לרעה. וראיתי כל קרבות ומלחמות שגוג
 ומגוג עושים⁴⁴ עם ישראל⁴⁴ לימות המשיח. וכל מה שהקב"ה
 עושה עמהם לעתיד לבא.. ושאר⁴⁵ כל⁴⁶ פרנסי הדור וכל מעשה
 הדור בין שבישראל בין שבאו"ה. בין שנעשו⁴⁷ בין⁴⁸ שעתידין
 להעשות לעתיד⁴⁸ עד דורי דורות עד סוף⁴⁹ חקוקים (ש)בפרגוד⁵⁰
 של מקום. ואני ראיתי בעיני את כולן⁵¹ [ולכסות שראיה]⁵¹ פתחתי
 פי ואמרתי בשבחו של מקום: כאשר⁵² דבר מלך⁵³ שלטון⁵⁴ שומר

28-28 ל' ב ע [הרי ב' (27)] 29-29 שם ישראל ע (30) ע אנשי שם אומות העולם וגו'
 31 ישראל ע 32 של אומות העולם ע 33-33 וגו' ע 34 אומות ע 35 ל' ב ע
 36 אומות ע 37 ומלחמת ע ז 38 להקר': העולם' 39-39 שאומות העולם עושים
 עם ישראל ע 40-40 וכל מעשיהם ע 41 שם ע 42-42 קרב ומלחמת מעשיהם ע
 43 שהן עושיין ע 44-44 ל' ב ע 45 ושם ע 46 ל' ב ע 47 שעשו ע 48-48 שעושיין
 לעתיד לבא ע (49) ע כלם 50 על פרגוד ע 51-51 ולבסוף שראיתי ע
 52 כאשר ע [MT =] 53 המלך ע (54) ע וגו'

מיני זיו מאורות מבהיקות⁴ ממנ' ⁵ שבה נבראו תתקנה רקיעים.
 שאפ' ^{5a} שרפים ואופנים אינם ^[רשאים] (ראשים) ^{5b} (6) בה עד שיגיע⁷ יום הישועה⁸
 (8a) לבא .. והלכתי אצלו ותפסני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והראני [אותה] ב
 בכל⁹ מיני שבח רנה ותהלה שאין פה יכול לומר שבחה ואין עין
 יכולה להסתכל בה. מפני רוב¹⁰ רבותה ותושבחת(א)¹¹ ויקרה¹²
 וכבודה ותפארתה .. ¹³ ולא עוד-¹³ אלא שכל נשמתן של צדיקים ב
 שהם זוכים ורואים בשמחתה של ירושלם הן עומדות אצלה ומקלסות
 לפניה ומבקשות רחמים מלפניה ואומרות¹⁴ ג' פעמים בכל יום. עורי
 עורי לבשי עוז זרוע [ה']¹⁵ ((ישעיה כ"א ט')) וכע"ש¹⁶ [שם סג י"ב]
 מוליך לימין משה זרועות¹⁷ תפארתו .. באותה שעה היתה בוכה ב
 ימינו של מקום [ומושכות]¹⁸ ויוצאות ה' נהרות של דמעות מחמשה
 אצבעותיה. ונפל[ות]¹⁹ לתוך הים²⁰ הגדול ומרעישו[תן] [את]²¹ העולם
 כולו²² בע"ש ((ישעיה כ"ד י"ט)) רועה²³ התרועעה הארץ²⁴. פור התפוררה
 ארץ²⁶ מוט התמוטטה [ארץ]²⁵ [26-25] נוע תנוע ארץ כשכור והתנודדה
 כמלונה. (27) ה' פעמים כנגד ה' אצבעותיה של ימינו הגדולה ..
 וכשרואה הקב"ה שאין צדיק בדור ואין חסיד בארץ ואין צדקה ב
 בידי אדם ואין איש כמשה ואין מפגיע כשמואל שיבקש²⁸ רחמים
 מלפני המקום על התשועה ²⁹ ועל הגאולה ועל מלכותו שתגלה
 בעולם כולו ועל ימינו הגדולה-²⁹ שיחזיר אותה לפני³⁰ לעשות בה
 תשועה גדולה³¹ לישראל .. מיד וזכר הקב"ה צדקתו³² וזכותו ורחמי-³²
 וחסדיו³³ של עצמו. ומושיע לעצמו את זרועו הגדולה ותסמוך לו (34)

⁴ מובהקות ע = ⁵ ממנה ע = ^{5a} שאפאילו = ^{5b} רשאים. *cum prob. l.* ע: רשאים
 (6) ע להסתכל ⁷ הגעת ⁸ תשועה ע (8a) ע לעתיד ⁹ וכל ע ¹⁰ לי' ב ע
¹¹ תושבחתה ע להק' ¹² ויקרא ע ¹³⁻¹³ לי' ב ע ¹⁴ ואומרין ע ¹⁵ (בצע
 בכ"י) להק' כמו למעלה ¹⁶ וכענין ע ¹⁷ זרוע ע להק' ¹⁸ (בצע בכ"י) ע: ומושכות
¹⁹ ונפלות ע ²⁰ ים ע ²¹ (בצע בכ"י) ²² לי' ב ע ²³ רוע ע להק': רעה
²⁴ ארץ ע להק' 'הארץ' ²⁵ (בצע בכ"י) ²⁶⁻²⁶ לי' ב ע (27) ע הרי ²⁸ שבקש ע
²⁹⁻²⁹ לי' ב ע ³⁰ לפניו ע ³¹ לי' ב ע ³²⁻³² לי' ב ע ³³ וחסדו ורחמיו ע (34) ע כל

פרק מ"ז

א' א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. בא ואראך נשמתן¹ של מלאכים¹ ורוחן של⁽²⁾ [משרתים] שגופן נשרפים באש³ של מקום⁴ שהיא יוצאה⁴ מאצבעו קטנה והם נעשים גחלים של אש בתוך נהר⁵ דינור ורוחן ונשמתן היו עומדים אחורי השכינה. כל זמן שמלאכי השרת אומר' שירה שלא בזמנו⁶ ושלא כראוי⁽⁷⁾ כהוגן (הרוחן)⁸ נשרפים ונלהטים⁹ באש של קוניהם ובלהב של בוראיהם במקומות¹⁰ רוח¹¹ סערה ומנשבת¹² עליהם ומושבת¹³ אותם לנהר דינור ונעשים שם¹⁴ הרים הרים¹⁴ של גחלים¹⁵. ורוחן ונשמתן חוזרות¹⁶ לבראם ועומדות¹⁷ כלם אחרי¹⁸ קוניהם. והלכתי⁽¹⁹⁾ [אצלו] ותפשני בידו והראי⁽²⁰⁾ את כולם נשמתן של מלאכים ורוחם של משרתים שהם עומדות אחורי²¹ השכינה²² על^[כנפי] (כדי)²² סערה וחומות של אש מקופות²³ להם. באותה שעה פתח לי מטטרון שערי חומות של אש שהן עומדות בתוכן אחורי²⁴ השכינה. מיד²⁵ נשאתי את עיני וראיתי אותן שכל²⁶ א' וא' דמותן כמלאכים²⁷ וכנפיהם כעוף מעשה שלהבת מפעלות אש יוקדות²⁸. באותה שעה פתחתי את פי בשבחו של מקום ואמרתי²⁹ גדולים מעשיך ה'²⁹ (תהלים צ"ב ו' עם קיא ב'):

מ"ז

1-1 ל' ב ע⁽²⁾ ע משרתים. להק' 3 מאשו ע 4-4 שהן יוצאין ע 5 ל' ב ע 6 בזמנה ע⁽⁷⁾ ע וכול 8 ל' ב ע ז: הרי הן. גופיהן 9 ולוחטין ע 10 במקומן ע 11 ורוח ע 12 מנשבת ע 13 ומשלכת ע 14-14 הרי הרים ע 15 גחלת ע 16 חוזרת ע 17 ועומדין ע 18 אחר ע 19 ע אצלו 20 והראני ע 21 אחרי ע 22-22 להק' "על כנפי". מיד עברה ע 23 מקיפות ע 24 אחרי ע 25 ומיד ע 26 של כל ע 27 של מלאכים ע 28 יוקדת ע 29-29 גדולים מעשי ה' וגו' ע (תהלים צ"ב ו').

פרק מ"ח A

א' א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. בא ואראך¹ את² ימינו של מקום שהיא נשלחת לאחור^(2a). מפני חורבן³ בית הקדש³ שכל

מ"ח A

1 וראה ע 2 יד ע^(2a) בצע בכ"ז 3-3 בהמ"ק ע

הגוים⁷³ וראו כל אפסי ארץ את ישועות⁷⁴ אלהינו. ואומר⁷⁵ ((דברים ל"ב י"ב)) ה' בדרך ינחנו ואין עמו אל נכר⁽⁷⁶⁾ ((זכריו י"ד מ')) והיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ.

⁷³ כל העמים ע. 'כל הגוים' לחק' ⁷⁴ לחק' 'ישועת' MT ⁷⁵ ל"י ב ע ⁽⁷⁶⁾ ע ונאמר

פרק מ"ח B

[א וזחעפ]:

[כ]:

אלו שבעים ושתיים שמות כתובים על לבו של הקב"ה. צין. צדק. צחיאל. צור. צבי. צדיק. סעף. סחן. צבאות. שדי. אלהים. יהוה. צח. דגול. ואדום. סססאא. איוא. איא. אהו. הב. יה. הו. ווו. צצין. פפף. נן. הה. חי. חי. רוכב ערבות. יה. הה. וה. ממם. ננן. הוו. יה. יהה. חפץ. הצין. אי. וא. צעא. זא. אעא. קקק. קשר. בו. זך. גינור. גינוריא. יא. יוד. אלף. האן. פאף. ראו. י"ו. י"ו. בבב. דדד. טטט. ככך. כלל. סיס. אתתא. בשכמלו. נשתלם בעד מלך העולם. ברח. לבא. בנלך. ואעי. ¹

⁽¹⁾ אלו שמותיו של ה' הקב"ה שהם יוצאים בכמה כתרים של אש. ⁽²⁾ בכמה כתרים של איהבת³ בכמה כתרים של חשמל. ⁽³⁾ בכמה כתרים של ברק⁵ מלפני כסא הכבוד⁶ ועמהם אלף מאות⁸ גבורה נוהגים אותן כמלך⁽⁹⁾ בכבוד¹⁰ ובעמוד¹¹ אש וענן¹² ועמודי¹³ להבה

¹ [הכא סוף פרק הזה לפי כ ולאחר' הזאת פרק מ"ח C]

מ"ח B

⁽¹⁾ וזחפ ע' שמות יש לו לחקב"ה בפירושו ושאר שלא בפירושו אין להם חקר ואין להם מספר. ואלו הם [כאן היו כתובים כ"ב שמות ע"ד א"ב של אלבם וכ"ב שמות ע"ד א"ב של את בש. וכ"ב שמות ע"ד תש רק'. זח ו: ולא רצינו להדפיס' שמא ח"ו אינם כתובים כראוי או שמא ח"ו ישתמש בהם אדם שאינו הגון ונמצא מחריב כל העולם. וזה היה ח"ו מעט התועלת ורבה הנזקים ⁽²⁾ בכמה כתרים של צדק ³ להבה זח ⁽⁴⁾ זח בכמה כתרים של בוק ⁵ בוק [זח] ע ⁶⁻⁶ ל"י ב ע ⁽⁷⁾ ע מחנות שכינה וריבי. זח מחנות של שכינה ורבי רכבות ⁸ צבאות זחע ⁽⁹⁾ זח ברעד ברנת באימה וזיעת בהדר בהוד ויראה בפתח בגודל ¹⁰ וכבוד ו ¹¹ ובעמודי ¹² ל"י ב זחע ¹³ ובעמודי ע

צדקתו כע"ש ((ישעיה לכו' מ"ז)) וירא כי אין איש. כמשה שה' 35
 מבקש רחמים כמה פעמים במדבר על ישראל וביט(ו)ל 36 את הגזירה 37
 מעליהם 38. וישתומם 39 כי 40 אין מפגיע. כשמואל שפגע בה[ק]ב[ה] וקרא
 אליו 41. ועונה 42 לו ועשה לו הקב"ה רצונו אפילו 43 שלא כראוי.
 ו' כע"ש ((שמואל א' י"ב י"ז)) הלא קציר חטים היום אקרא אל יי' . ולא
 עוד אלא שנזדווג לו 44-44 למשה בכל מקום 44-44 שנאמר ((תהלים צ"ט ו')) משה
 ואהרן בכהניו (45) 46-ועוד אמ[ר] [ה]כתוב 46- ((ירמיהו מ"ז א')) אם יעמוד
 מ' משה ושמואל לפני ((ובישעיהו ס"ג ה')) ותושע לי זרועי . אמר 47
 הקב"ה באותה שעה. עד מתי 48 אצפה לבני אדם 49 לעשות (בצדקתם) 50
 תשועה (ל) 51. אני בשבילי ובשביל 52-זכותי וצדקתי 52- אושיע את
 זרועי ואציל בה 53 [את]. בני מבין (ה)אומות 54 העולם. שנאמר ((ישעיה מ"ח
 ס' י"א)) ולמעני 55 אעשה. כי איך יחל 56 . באותה שעה מגלה הקב"ה
 את 57 זרועו הגדולה ומראה להם 58 לאומות העולם, שאורכה כאורכה (ה) 59
 של עולם (60) ורחבה כרוחב[ו] 61 של עולם ותאר זיוה 62- כזיו אוה 62-
 "השמש בגבור' 63 בתקופ(ו)ת 64 תמוז . מיד ישראל נגאלים 65- מבין
 אומות העולם 65- ונראה להם משיח 66- שיעלה אותם 66- לירושלם
 בשמחה רבה 67. ולא עוד אלא אוכלין 68- ושותין שמנצהין 68- מלכות
 69- משיח בית דוד בד' 69- רוחות העולם. ואין אומות העולם יכולין 70
 עמהם. (71) שנאמר ((ישעיה נ"ב י')) השף ה' 72- את זרוע(ו) 72- קרשו לעיני

35 = שהיה ע 36 ובטל ע 37 הנורות ע 38 מעל ישראל ע 39 לי' ב ע
 40 וכי ע 41 לי' ב ע 42 וענה ע 43 שאפילו ע 44-44 למשה ע (45) ע 46 ושמואל
 בקוראי שמו וגו' 46-46 ואומר ע 47 אומר ע 48 אימתי ע 49 לי' ב ע
 50 בצדקתו ע 51 לזרועי ע 52-52 צדקתי וזכותי ע 53 את ע 54 אומות ע
 להקר' כמו כן 55 למעני ע. להקר' "למעני למעני" MT 56 איחל ע 57 בעולם ע
 58 לה ע 59 כארכו ע להק' (60) ע 60 מסוף העולם ועד סופו 61 כרחבו ע להק'
 62-62 כזוהר ע 63 בנבורתו ע 64 בתקופת ע להק' 65-65 מביניהם ע 66-66 שיעל
 אותן ע 67 לי' ב ע 68-68 לי' ב ע 69-69 ישראל עם משיח מארבע ע
 70 אוכלין ע (71) ע 72-72 זרוע ע ז: את זרוע MT

[כ]

(1) ושל מטה . ומסרתי לו חכמה ובינה יותר מכל המלאכים וקראתי שמו יה קטן ששמו בנימטריא ע"א. וסדרתי לו כל מעשה בראשית ועשיתי לו גבורה יותר מכל מלאכי השרת. שלום רב לאוהבי. [סוף]

למ

(2) פקדתיו על כל אצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי כל א' (7) וא' מסרתי בידו . ועשיתיו משרת לכסא כבודי לכלכל ולסדר חיות הקדש לקשר כתרים להלבישם הוד והדר. להכין להם מושב בשבתו על כסאו לרבות כבודו במרום .

[[א(זחפ)]]

ותרועה¹³ 14- לשמי מרום¹⁴. שנאמר. עלה אלהים בתרועה י"י בקול שופר ((תהלים מז ו')) . ולקחתיו¹⁵. לחנוך בן ירד מביניהם¹⁶ והעליתיו בקול שופר ותרועה¹⁶ 14- לשמי מרום¹⁴ להיות לי לעד עם¹⁷ (18) חיות שבמרכבה לע"ה . פקדתיו על כל גזנים ואוצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי (ש)כל¹⁹ א' וא' משרתים²⁰ בידו . 21- וישר על כל השרים²¹ עשיתיו²² משרת לכסא²³ (24a) הכבוד [ושמתיו על] היכלי²³ ערבות לפתוח לי²⁴ דלתותיהן וכסא^{24a} הכבוד לסלסל ולסדר חיות הקדש²⁵ קשרים בראשם²⁵ ואופני הדר לכתור להם עזו וכבוד. וכרובי הוד להלבשם⁽²⁶⁾... [הדר] ובויקי²⁷ זוהר להזהירם²⁸ זיו זוהר שרפי להבה לעטופם²⁹ גאוה וחשמלי

13 ובתרועה ז 14-14 למרום זח 15 לקחתיו ח

16 ובתרועה זח 17 עד חפ (18) זחפסד

19 כל ח 20 מסרתי חן 21-21 ושמתיו

שר על כל השרים זח 22 ועשיתיו זח

23-23 כבוד היכלי זח 24 לו זח 24a-24a om.

addit. 25-25 לקשר בראשם כתרים זח

ולחקר כמו כן (26) בצע בכ"י זח ס

'הדר' לחק' 27 וויקי זח 28 להזכירם זח

29 להתעטפם ח. להתעטפ' ז

שעורו של כסא. ע' אלף פרסא' של אש

ומסרתי לו שבעי' מלאכים כנגד ע' שמות

הסובבים את הכסא והפקדתי לו כל פמליא

של מעלה ומסרתי לו חכמה ובינה יותר

ממלאכי השרת וקראתי שמו י"וד ה"א

וא"ו ה"א הקטן וסדרתי לו כל מדרי בראשית

ועשיתי לו גדולה יותר מכל פמליא שלי 000

2 לראש הדברים האלו אית בל"מ: בא"ב

דר' עקיבה מסר למטטרון הוא חנוך בן

ירד כל גזנים. פקדתיו וגו'

[[א(זחפע)]]

3 וּבְבִרְקִי¹⁴ אֹר וּבִמְרֵאָה חֲשַׁמֶּל . וְנוֹתְנִים לָהֶם כְּבוֹד וְעֹנִים¹⁵ וְקִרְאִים לְפָנֵיהֶם קִקְק' ⁽¹⁶⁾ וְגוֹלְלִין¹⁷ אוֹתָן בְּכָל רִקִיעַ ⁽¹⁸⁾ כְּבִנֵי מַלְאָכִים¹⁹ אֲדִירִים וְנִכְבָּדִים וְכִשְׁמַחֲזִירִין אוֹתָן (בְּכָל²⁰) אֵל מְקוֹמָם²¹ כְּסֵא הַכְּבוֹד²² כָּל הַיּוֹת²³ שֶׁבְּמִרְכָּבָה פוֹתְחִין אֶת פִּיהֶם בְּשִׁבְחַת כְּבוֹד²⁴ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל הַקֶּב"ה ⁽²⁵⁾ בְּשִׁבְמַלְ"וֹ ⁽²⁶⁾

¹⁴ נותנין כבדקים ע. וברק ואורם כבדירקי אור זה ¹⁵ ועזו זחע ⁽¹⁶⁾ זח ע שנאמר וקרא זה אל זה ואמר ק'ק' ¹⁷ גוללים ע. וממלאין ח ⁽¹⁸⁾ זחע ע ורקיע שבמרום ¹⁹ מלכים זח להקר' ²⁰ corr. ל'י ב זחע ²¹ מקום זחע ²² כבוד ז חזיות ע ²⁴ כבוד זח ⁽²⁵⁾ ז ע ואומרים ⁽²⁶⁾ ע ע ואותם שמות של הקב"ה שלא בפירושו אין להם הקד ומספר ואלו הם אדירידו"ן ק'ק' כתבתי במקום אחר. כפתבי"ב הוא י"ה שם הגדול במקום אחר כתובין. [אלף אלפין וגו']

o o o

פרק מ'ח C

[כ:]¹

[[א(זחפע)]]:

אלף ⁽¹⁾ אמר² הקב"ה ⁴ איברתיו³ ב' לקחתיו פקדתיו⁴ למטטרון עבד⁵ שהוא א' ⁶ מכל בני מרומים כולן איברתיו⁸ בדרו של אדם הראשון. וכיון ⁹ שנסתכלתי באנשי-⁹ דור המבול שהן מקולקלין¹⁰ ובא' ¹¹ סילקתי שכינתי מביניהם והעליתיה¹² בקול שופר

(ה) אחותיו ולקחתיו ופקדתיו. זהו חנוך בן ירד ששמו מטטרון . (3) ונטלתיו מבני אדם . ועשיתי לו כסא כנגד כסאי. וכמה שיעורו של אותו כסא. שבעים אלף (ט) פרסאות של אש . מסרתי לו שבעים מלאכים כנגד אומות והפקדתי לו כל פמליא של מעלה

C מ'ח

¹ אחר גומח' כ בפרק מח B (שמותיו של הקב"ה).

ודא איתי מה שנמצא במערכת האלהות דה קמ' עד קי"ט: אמר בתגרת בהנוך. הפך בשרו לפידי אש ואמר בו אחותיו לקחתיו מבני אדם אידרתיו פקדתיו זה חנוך בן ירד ששמו כשם רבו. לקחתיו מבני אדם ועשיתי לו כסא ככסאי. וכמה

⁽¹⁾ ע ע אלפון ² ל'י ב ע ³ אי"ב ע ⁴⁻⁴ איברתיו "לקחתיו" פקדתיו זח ⁵ עבדי זחע ⁶ א' א' זח. אחד מיוחד ע ⁷ ל'י ב ע. סוף ע בבית המדרש ⁸ איברתיו זח* (במערכת האלהות: אידרתיו) ⁹⁻⁹ שהסתכלתי בכני זח ¹⁰ מקלקלים זח ¹¹ להק' (ו) באתי. אבל זח: ובאים ¹² ועליתי זח

* זח מהכי בכל מקום כ"ד זחפלמ יפרס פ לבדו

[א(זחפמ)]

וסוד הודעתיו ביושר⁵⁹.. קבעתי כסאו בפתח היכלי⁶⁰ שיש⁶¹ לעשות ק
 דין בכל⁶² פמליא⁶³ של (ב) מרום⁶³ וכל שר ושר העמדתי לנגדו ליטול
 ממנו⁶⁴ רשות [לעשות]⁶⁵ לו רצונו⁶⁶.. ע' שמות נמלת' משמותי⁶⁷ ט
 וקראתי' בהן לרבות לו כבוד⁶⁸ ע' שרים נתתי⁶⁹ [בידו]⁷⁰ להפקד⁷¹
 להם בכל לשון⁷² פקודי דברי⁷²

[א(זחפ)]

[למ]

ט ולהשפיל גאים עדי ארץ ולהגביה שפלים עד מרום⁷⁴..
 ולהכות מלכים⁷⁴.. ולהכניע רוזנים⁷⁴.. ולהקים מלכים
 ורוזנים⁷⁴.. והוא מהשנא עדנייא זומנייא מהעד⁷⁶ מלכין
 ומהקם מלכין יהב חכמת[א]⁷⁶ לידעי לחכימ[ין]⁷⁶ ומנדע[א]⁷⁶ לידעי
 בינה. והפקדתיו לגלות רוים ולהורות דין משפט⁷⁴..⁷⁷
 כן יהיה דברי אשר יצא מפי. לא ישוב אלי רקם כי אם

ו להשפיל גאים עדי ארץ [בדברו גאים עדי
 ארץ ולהגביה] ⁷³ בשיח שפתיו [שפלים] ⁷⁸ עד מרום ⁷⁹ להכות
 [מלכים] ⁸⁰ בדברתו ⁸¹ להסיר מלכים ממסלותם ⁸². להקים רוזנים
 על ממשלתם. שנאמר (דניאל ב' כ"א) והוא מהשנא עדניא זומניא.
⁸³ ליתן חכמה לכל ⁸⁴ חכמי העולם ⁸⁴ ובינה [ומנדעא] ⁸⁵
 לנבזיני ⁸⁶ מדע שנאמר (דניאל שם) ⁸⁷ ומנדעא ל' (ו) דעי ⁸⁸ בינה. לגלות
 להם רוזי דברי להורות להם גזרת

59 כאשר זח זחלמ מבהוין ⁶⁰ זחלמ זחלמ ל. ? : לשבת עליו ו-
 62 וכל ז. ל' ב ח 63-63 שלי זלמ. שלי שבמרום ח 64 ל' ב ז ⁶⁵ (בצע) ∞
 לעשות זחלמ ⁶⁶ הכא תהלת פרקחדש על פי למ ⁶⁷ משמי למ ⁶⁸ למ ∞ ויקר
 69 נתתי ז ⁷⁰ (בצע) בידו זח ⁷¹ ליפקוד זח. לפקוד למ ⁷²⁻⁷² ל' ב למ
 73-73 cum ∞ למ ⁷⁴ בכי ∞ *omiss. sign.* ⁷⁵ ins. שנאמר ⁷⁶ l. 'מהעדה'. 'חכמתא'.
 'לחכימין. 'זמנדעא'. ⁷⁷ זחלמ שנאמר ⁷⁸ זחלמ שפלים. ולהק' כמו כן ⁷⁹⁻⁷⁹ למרום זח
 80 (בצע) מלכים זח ⁸¹ באמרתו זח. ואחרי זאת ∞ : 'להכניע רוזנים וודים בדברות'
 82 ממלכותם ז ⁸³ זח ∞ מהעדה מלכין ומתקם מלכין [MT] ⁸⁴⁻⁸⁴ מלכי עולם זח
 85 ומדע זח ⁸⁶ למכיני זח ⁸⁷ זח ∞ יהב חכמתא לחכימין ⁸⁸ לידעי זח

[[א(זחפ)]]

(ס) ורום קומתו בתוך כל רמי הקמות
 ע' אלפים פרסאות. והרביתי
 (ו) כבודו כהוד כבודי. וזוהר עיניו
 (ז) כזיו כסא הכבוד. לבושו הוד
 והדר

עליונים וברזי תחתונים. רוממתי [ו] ^כ
 [כלם. רום]
 33- על (כל- 33, תרום) 34 קומתו 35- בכל
 ר(ו) מי [הקומות]- 35 ע' 36 אלפים
 פרסאות. גדלתי 37- כסא [ו] מה(ו) דר
 כסאי- 37 והרכבתי ^[והרביתי] 38 כבודו מהוד
 [כבודי] 39. הפכתי בשרו 40- ^[לאש]
 וללפידו

ואלפים) אש- 40 וכל עצמות גופו
 לגחלי אש (ובמראות) ^[ושמתי מראה] 41 עיניו 42
 כמראה הבזק 43 ואור עפעפיו כאור 44
 לא נעדר. הבהקתי פניו כמו 45 זיו
 השמש [וזוהר] 46 עיניו כזיו כסא
 הכבוד 47. שמתי לבושו "48" הוד
 והדר. וכסות מעילו פאר וגאווה "49".

[[א(זחפלי)]]

כליל 49^a כתר מלכות 50 של 51 תק על תק פרסאות 52 ונתתי עליו 53- מהדרי
 ומהודי- 53 ומזיו כבודי ש(מ) על 54 כסא הכבוד. קר [א] תיו 55 56- ה'
 הקטו(ן)- 56 שר הפנים, ויודע רזים וכל "57" (רו וזי) גליתי לו כאב 58 וכל סוד

30 להתעזרם זח 31 בשבבתי ח 32-32 כסאי בכבוד ויקר לראות כבודי במרום עווי זח
 "32^a) זח 33 מסרתי לו חכמה ובינה להסתכל 33-33 עליכם זח ז. ? על כלם 34 רום זח
 35-35 (בצע) בתוך כל רמי הקומות זח 36 שבעת זח 37-37 כסאו מהוד כסאי זח
 38 והרבתי ח 39 (בצע) כבודי זח להק' 40-40 ללפירי אש זח 41 ושמתי זח
 42 מראיו זח 43 בזק ח 44 באור פ 45 באור ז. באור ח 46 [בצע] זוהר זח
 47 כבוד ז "48" זח 3 כבוד "49" זח 3 ועוון 49^a ז. ? וכלילו 50 מלכותו למ
 51 לי ב למ 52 פרסה ח 53-53 מהודי ומהדרי זח למ 54 שעל זח למ 55 קראתי
 ז. וקראתי למ 56-56 בשמי ירד הקטן זח. בשמי יי הקטן למ "57" זח 3 רו וזו
 58 באתך זח. כאחוב למ

(ישעיהו ב'ח ט') ואת מי יורה דעה ואת מי יבין שמועות¹¹⁴. גמולֵי מחלב עתיקים¹¹⁵ משדים:

114 שמועה זחלמ MT 115 עתיקי זחלמ MT

o - o - o - o - o

וּשְׁבַעִים שְׁמוֹת יֵשׁ ע' שְׁמוֹת יֵשׁ לוֹ לַמַּטְרוֹן שֶׁנִּטְלַח הַ[ק]ב"ה פ' א
 לַמַּטְרוֹן יֵנַעַר נְאֻמֵּי... מִשְׁמוֹ וְחָנִּיחַ לוֹ . וְאֵלוֹ הֵן: 1- יְהוּאֵל יְה' .
 2- יְהוּאֵל . 3- יוֹפִיאֵל . 4- וּיּוֹפִיאֵל . 5- וְאַפְפִּיאֵל . 6- וּמְרַגְזִיאֵל .
 7- גִּיפּוּיאֵל . 8- פַּעֲזִיאֵל . 9- עַעְה . 10- פְּרִיאֵל . 11- טַטְרִיאֵל .
 12- טַבְכִּיאֵל . 13- אֹו . 14- יְהוּה . 15- דְּה . 16- וְהִיָּה . 17- עַבְד . 18- דְּבוּרִיאֵל .
 19- עַפְעַפִּיאֵל . 20- סַפְפִּיאֵל . 21- פַּצְפַּצִּיאֵל . 22- סַנִּיגוּרִי .
 23- מַטְטְרוֹן . 24- סוּגְדִין . 25- אַדְרִיגוֹן³ . 26- אַסוּם . 27- סַקְפִּם .
 28- סַקְטִם . 29- מִיטְטוֹן . 30- מוּטְטְרוֹן^{3a} . 31- רוּסְפִים . 32-
 33- קִינּוֹת . 34- חַטְמִיָּה . 35- רַגְזִיָּה . 36- פַּצְפִּיָּה . 37- אַבְצַכְנִיָּה .
 38- מוֹרְגִ[יָּה] . 39- בְּרַדְ[יָּה] . מַכְרַכְךְ . 40- מַצְפַּרְד . 41- חִשְׁגִ[יָּה] .
 42- חִשְׁבִּ[יָּה] . 43- חִשְׁבִּ[יָּה] . מַטְרַטְט⁴ . 44- בְּצִירִים . 45- מִיטְטוֹן . 46- מִיטְטוֹן . 47-
 48- צַפְצִיָּה . 49- זֶרַח . 50- זֶרַחִיָּה . 51- אַבְא . 52- בִּיָּה . 53- הַבְּהִיָּה . 54- פֶּלַט . 55- פֶּלְמִיָּה . 56-
 57- חַס . 58- חַסִּיָּה . 59- טַפְטַפִּיָּה . 60- תַּמְתַּמִּיָּה . 61- צַהֲצִיָּה . 62- עַרְעוּרִיָּה . 63- עַלְעִלִּיָּה . 64-
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1-1 שְׁמוֹתָיו שֶׁל מַטְטְרוֹן לֹא הִיָּה נִדְפְסוּן בַּ זַחַפּ חוּץ מִן סַנְסַנְגִּיאֵל

3 אֹו אַזְרִיגוֹן 3a אֹו מִיטְטְרוֹן 4 אֹו מְנַרְטַט 5 אֹו סַבִּיבְדִּיָּה

* The text of למ continues on next page.

[ל"מ]

[[א(זחפ)]]

עשה את אשר הפצתי. אעשה
 לא נאמ' אלא עשה מלמד שכל
 דבר ודבר וכל שיח ושיח שיצא
 מפי הגבורה עומד מטטרון שר
 הפנים ועושה הוא בעצמו ומקיים
 גזרותיו של הקב"ה יי
 דין משפטי. שנאמר ((ישעיה נה יי
 יא)). כן יהיה דברי אשר יצא
 מפי. לא ישוב אלי רימם כי אם
 עשה [וגו'] *⁽⁸⁹⁾ אעשה לא נאמר
 כאן⁹⁰ [אלא] כי אם עשה. מלמד
 שכל דבר ודבר וכל שיח ושיח
 שיוצא מלפני⁹¹ הקב"ה עומד
 מטטרון ויעשהו⁹² ומקיים גזרתו
 של הקב"ה.

[[א(זחפ)]]

י f⁽⁹³⁾ [הצליח את] אש[ר] [שלחתיו ((שם))]. אצליח⁹⁴ לא נאמר אלא
 והצליח מלמד שכל גזירה וגזירה שיוצאה⁹⁵ מלפני⁹⁶ הקב"ה על אדם
 וכיוון שעשה תשובה אין משלחין אותה⁹⁷ ⁹⁸—אלא על אדם רשע⁹⁸—
 אחר שנאמר ((משלי י"א ה')) צדיק מצרה נחלין ויבא רשע תחתיו.

[[א(זחפ)ל"מ]]⁽⁹⁹⁾

י b¹⁰⁰—ולא עוד אלא שכל¹⁰¹—¹⁰⁰ יום ויום ישב מטטרון ג' שעות¹⁰²—בשמי
 מרום¹⁰²—וכונס¹⁰³ כל אותם⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ עוברין שמתו במעי אמן. ויונקי¹⁰⁵
 שדים שמתו על שדי אמן. ותינוקות¹⁰⁶ של בית רבן שמתו על
 חמשי¹⁰⁷ חומשי תורה. ומביא¹⁰⁸ אותן תחת כסא הכבוד ומושיבן
 כתות כתות וחבורות תבורות ואגודות אגודות סביבות פנים¹⁰⁹ ומלמדם
 תורה וחכמות¹¹⁰ ואגודות¹¹¹ ושמועות¹¹² ומסיים להם תורתם¹¹³ שנאמר

י c⁽⁸⁹⁾ זח ׀ את אשר הפצתי וגו' ⁹⁰ ל" ב זח ⁹¹ מפי זח ⁹² ועושהו מעצמו זח ז.
 י d⁽⁹³⁾ זח ׀ והצליח את ז. ⁹⁴ ומצליח זח ⁹⁵ שיוצא זח ⁹⁶ מפי זח ⁹⁷ אותו זח
 י e⁹⁸⁻⁹⁸ לפורענות לו אלא משלחין אותו לאדם זח ⁹⁹ פרק חדש ב ל"מ ¹⁰⁰⁻¹⁰⁰ בכל ל"מ
 י f¹⁰¹ שבכל זח ¹⁰²⁻¹⁰² ל" ב ל"מ ¹⁰³ וכותב ל"מ ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ זח ׀ הנשמות של. ל"מ ׀
 י g¹⁰⁵ השמות של ¹⁰⁵ ושל יונקי זח ל"מ ¹⁰⁶ ושל תינוקות זח ¹⁰⁷ ל" ב זח ¹⁰⁸ ואביא ח
 י h¹⁰⁹ פניו זח ל"מ ז. ? ¹¹⁰ וחכמה זח ל"מ ¹¹¹ ואגדה זח ¹¹² ושמועה זח ¹¹³ ספר
 י i¹¹³ תורה זח. ספר תורתו ל"מ * הכי סוף מה C ממש ומה שאחריו אינו אלא הוספות

[למ']

במתנה כולם

ותוספות. וכלם נתנו²⁷ לו למשה במרום²⁸
בסיני ..

כבראשונה. שנ[אמר]

אלו ע' שמות מעין שם המפורש²⁹
שבמרכבה שחקוקים²⁹ על כסא כבודו³⁰.
שנטל הקב"ה משמו המפורש והניחם על
שמו של מטטרון. ע'³¹ שמות שלו שקורין
בהם^{33a}-ממ"ה ב"ה³² [מלאכי השרת]^{33a}-
בשמי מרום. וכ"ב אותיות³⁴ שבטבע[ת]³⁵
- סוף ללמ. -

(דברים י' ד') ויתנם

י' אלי. ואחר כך

נתקיימה לו. שנ'

(מלאכי ג' כ"ב) זכרו

תורת משה עבדי וגו'.

- סוף ללמ. -

אצבעו [נתחמנ] שבו⁽³⁶⁾ פיתק³⁷ שרי מלכיות שבמרום³⁸ [במלכות
בממשלה]³⁸ [ב]רבות ובגדולה. [ו]שבו³⁹ מתחתמין פיתק⁴⁰ מלאך
המות ופיתקי של כל אומה ולשון⁴¹ .. [אמר]⁴² מטטרון מש"ה מלאך¹
שר התורה ומלאך שר החכמה ומלאך שר התבונה⁽⁴³⁾ ומלאך שר
המלאכים⁴⁴ ומלאך שר הרזונים⁴⁵ ומלאך שר הכבוד⁴⁵ ומלאך שר
⁴⁶ הרמים והשרים⁴⁶ והגבוהים רבים ונכבדים שבשמים ובארץ. ה'¹
אלהי ישראל הוא ער [לי]⁽⁴⁷⁾ בדבר הזה⁴⁸ כשגליתי⁴⁹ רו זה למשה
רגזו⁵⁰ עלי כל חיילי מרום שבכל רקיע ורקיע. אמרו לי. מפני מה¹⁰
[אתה] מגלה רו זה לבן⁵¹ אדם ילוד אשה ובעל⁵² זנב⁵³ ובעל⁵⁴ טומאה
⁽⁵⁵⁾ ובעל⁵⁶ טיפה סרוחה⁵⁷. רו שנבראו [בו] שמים וארץ ים ויבשה

27 נאמרו זח 28 לי' ב זח 29 שחקוקה זח 30 הכבוד זח 31 לי' ב זח

32 הקב"ה זח 33 (בצע בכ"י) cum supra ut l. זח: ומלאכי השרת 33a-33a ז. מלאכי

השרת את ממ"ה ב"ה 34 חותמות זח 35 שטבע זח ז. שבטבעת 36 זח ∞

(נתחמנ) כל סדרי רקיע ערבות וכו מתחתמים 37 פתקי של זח 38 (בצע בכ"י)

cum l. supra ut זח 39 וכו זח 40 פתקי של זח 41 ומלכות זח 42 (בצע בכ"י)

אמר זח 43 זח ∞ מלאך שר הכבוד ומלאך שר ההיכל 44 המלכים זח 45-45 לי

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48 זה זח 49 שכשגליתי זח 50 רעשו זח 51 לבני זח 52 ובעלי זח 53 מום זח

54 ובעלי זח 55 זח ∞ בעלי דם זיבה 56 ובעלי זח 57-57 טיפות סרוחות זח

[א(זחפ)]

ההיה⁷⁹ . וה⁸⁰ . והיה⁸¹ . זכיכיה⁸² . טוטריסיה⁸³ . סוריה⁸⁴ . זה⁸⁵ . פנירחיה⁸⁶ . ועזיעה⁸⁷ .
 גל רזיא⁸⁸ . ממליכיה⁸⁹ . עטמא⁹⁰ . עמק⁹¹ . קמיה⁹² . מכפריה⁹³ . פרישיה⁹⁴ . שפם⁹⁵ .
 גביר⁹⁶ . גבוריה⁹⁷ . גור⁹⁸ . גוריה⁹⁹ . זיו¹⁰⁰ . אוכבר¹⁰¹ . יהוה קמן על שם רבו כי שמי
 בקרבו [שמות כ"ג כ"א] רביביאל¹⁰³ . טומיאל¹⁰⁴ -¹ סגנסכיאל¹⁰⁵ שר חכמה⁷ .
 ולמה נקרא שמו סגנסכיאל⁸ . מפני שכל⁹ (חכמה מסורין) -⁹ בידו . ב
 וכולם נפתחו ביו¹⁰ למשה בסיני¹¹ עד שלמדו¹² במ' יום כשהוא¹³ .
 עומד [בהר]¹⁴ . תורה¹⁵ בע' פנים של ע' לשון¹⁶ . הלכות בע' פנים
 של ע' לשון .¹⁷ שמועות בע' פנים של ע' לשון . הגדות בע' פנים של ע'
 לשון . תוספות בע' פנים של ע' לשון¹⁷ . וכיוון¹⁸ שכלו עליו⁷
 לסוף¹⁸ מ' יום שכחם¹⁹ כולם בשעה אחת עד שקרא²⁰ הקב"ה

[למ]

[א(זחפ)]

לשון . כתובים בע' ליפפ"יה²¹ שרה של תורה²¹ ונתנו²² לו
 פנים של ע' לשון . למשה במתנה שנאמר (דברים יד) ויתנם
 7 וכיון שכלו עליו מ' יום ה' אלי . ואחרי כך נתקיימה לו . ומניין
 נשתכחו לו כולן בשעה שנתקיימה לו²³ שנאמר (מלאכי ג' כ"ב)
 אחת קטנה . קרא זכרו תורת משה עברי .²⁴ תורת משה²⁵
 הקב"ה ליפפ"יה שר אלו תורה נביאים כתובים . חקים . אלו
 של תורה ונתן לו (ה) הלכות²⁶ ושמועות . משפטים . אלו הגדות

⁶ סגנזגאל זח ⁷ החכמה זח ⁸ סגנזגאל זח ⁹⁻⁹ גנזי החכמה כולן מסורין ז .
 החכמ' כולן מסורין ח ¹⁰ לי' ב זח ¹¹ מסיני זח ¹² זח לו ¹³ כשהיה זח
¹⁴ זח בהר ¹⁵ התורה זח ¹⁶ זח נביאים וכתובים הלכות ואגדות שמועות
 תוספות וכולם בשבעים פנים של שבעים לשון . נביאים בע' פנים של ע' לשון כתובים
 בע' פנים של ע' לשון ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ שמועות ותוספות בע' לשון של ע' פנים זח ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ שעלו
 לו סוף זח ¹⁹ נשתכחו לו זח ²⁰ זח לו ²¹⁻²¹ שר של התורה זח ²² ונתן זח
²³ בידו זח ²⁴ זח אשר צויתי אותו בחורב אל כל ישראל חקים ומשפטים
²⁵ לי' ב זח ²⁶ הלכות זח

הרים וגבעות. נהרות ומעיינות. גיהנם. אש וברד. ג'ע ועין החיים. ונוצרו בו אדם וחיה⁵⁸ ובהמות⁵⁹ וחיות⁶⁰ השדה ועוף השמים ודגי הים⁶¹ ולויתן ורמשים ושקצים שרצי^{61א} הים רמשי מדברות. ותורה⁶² וחכמה ודיעה⁶³ ומחשבה ובינת⁶⁴ עליונים ויראת שמים. ומפני מה אדני⁶⁵ מגלה לבשר ודם⁶⁶ הממקום רשות ועוד נמלת רשות. שמות המפורשות מלפני⁶⁶ יוצאות בברקי אש⁶⁷ ובהשמלי^ט להבה. ולא נתקרה⁶⁸ דעתם⁶⁹ עד⁷⁰ שנוף בהם⁷⁰ ה[ק]ב"ה והוציאן [בנויפה]⁷¹ מלפני⁷². [ו]אומר⁷³ להם. אני רציתי ואני חשקתי ואני פקדתי ואני מסרתי למטטרון עבד⁷⁴ בלבד. שהוא אחד⁷⁵ מבני ' מרומים⁷⁵ .. ומטטרון⁷⁶ מוציא אותם⁷⁶ מבית גנוים שלו⁷⁷ ומסר אותם⁷⁸ למשה ומשה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים וזקנים לנביאים ונביאים לאנשי כנסת הגדולה ואנשי כנסת הגדולה לעזרה⁷⁹ ועזרה הסופר להלל הזקן. והלל הזקן לר' אבהו ור' אבהו לר' זירה⁸⁰ ור' זירה⁸¹ לאנשי אמונות⁸² ואנשי אמונות⁸³ להרהר⁸⁵ ולהתרפות בן⁸⁷ בכך חולה^{87א} המרגשת⁸⁷ בעולם. שנאמר ((שמות ט"ו כ"ז)). ויאמר. אם שמוע תשמע לקול⁸⁸ ה' אלהיך ו[ה]ישר⁸⁹ בעיניו תעשה והאזנת למצותיו ושמרת כל חקיו. כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים לא אשים עליך. כי אני י"י רופאך. (תם וגשלם שבה לאל בורא עולם-⁹⁰).

58 לי' ב זח 59 ובהמה זח 60 וחית זח 61 ובהמות זח להק' 61א שרפי ז
 62 תורה זח 63 דעת זח 64 בית זח 65 אתה זח ז. ? 66-66 זח; 'אמרתי להם. מפכי שנתן לי רשות הקב"ה ועוד נמלתי רשות מכסא רם ונשא שכל שמות המפורשות'
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PART IV
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(EXCLUDING 15B, 22BC)

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† = noun

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אזר* 18²² אזורי 39²

אחד 5⁶ 6⁸ 7² 19¹ 20¹ 21¹ 22¹ 25¹

26^{9,10} 25^{6,7} כל אחד ואחד 40⁴ 26¹

24¹⁷ אחת 44⁸ 40⁴ 33^{3,4,5} 29^{1,2} 28¹

אחר אחרים 40⁴

אימה 28⁷ 35² אימתי 16² אימתו 22²

אין 5⁴ 11³ 18²¹ 19¹ 23¹⁶ 25^{3,4} 26^{6,7,11}

אינו 28^{1,4} 30¹ 33⁴ 40³ 44⁷ 5⁴

אינם 18¹⁹ 26¹² 14⁵ 24¹¹ 29² 48¹

איש 48⁵ אנשי השם 45⁴

אכזרי 4³

גבורה (הקב"ה) $39^2 28^3, 9$
 גבורה $22^{11} 8^2$ גבורת 36^1 גבורות 22^1
 גבורתו $48^9 18^{25}$ 25^4
 גבעה גבעות $41^1 23^{17, 18} 13^1 5^6$
 גדוד $39^2 36^1$ גדודי $19^6 7^1$ 5^{14}
 גדול $48^4, 5, 9 44^8 6^3$ גדולה $48^4 44^{10} 4^1$
 גדולה $17^8 16^1 4^1$
 גהיץ* (הפעיל) מנהיץ 25^5
 גוג 45^5
 גוף $28^{10} 15^1$ גופו $26^{3, 6} 22^{8, 9} 18^{25}$ גופן
 $47^1 44^5$
 גוף הבריות 43^3
 גזר* גזרין 28^9
 גזרהז $28^9 48^6$ גזרות 28^9
 גחלז $26^4 22^{3, 9}$ גחלים $34^1 19^4 18^{25} 7^1$
 $34^2 22^{6, 14} 15^1$ גחלי $47^{1, 2} 44^3$
 גי הגום $44^3 33^5$
 גל גלי 18^{25}
 גלגל $17^4 12^3 5^4$ גלגל החמה $19^5 18^{25}$
 גלגל הלבנה $41^1 38^1 25^7 23^{17}$
 $41^2 37^2 18^{25} 15^1$ גלגלי $38^1 17^5$
 גלגליהם 19^4 גלגלותם 17^6
 גלגלים (מלאכים) $19^{3, 5, 6}$ גלגלי המרכבה
 $19^2 15^1 6^2$
 גלה* גלוין $11^6 43^2 11^1$
 (נפעל) תגלה 48^5
 (פיעל) מנלה $48^9 44^7 18^{16}$
 גמר* גומרים $28^{8, 9}$
 גן $5^1 23^{18}$
 גנזז גנזי $37^2 27^1 10^6$
 געהז גערתו 22^2
 גפרית 19^4

ד

דבר* דובר 40^4
 (פיעל) ידבר 10^4 לדבר $25^4 10^4$ לדברי
 $30^2 10^5$ מדבר 4^8
 דברז 28^8 דברים $28^{4, 8} 11^3 10^{4, 5} 6^3$
 דבריהם 35^2
 דבר (של הקב"ה) 40^4
 דגל דגלים 19^6
 דוכן דוכנם 25^5
 דופי 44^5
 דור* דרי $41^4 5^{12}$
 דורז $45^{3, 4, 5} 5^{6, 7}$ דורו $45^{2, 3} 7 4^{3, 4, 6}$
 דורן 45^1 דורות 45^1 דורי 45^1
 דיבור 27^3
 דין* דנתי $28^7 26^{12}$ דן $44^3 16^1$ לדון 26^{12}
 $33^1 32^1 31^{1, 2} 28^{2, 8, 10}$ דיןז
 דייני 45^4

בזקז $26^4 35^2 7^1$
 בחיר $44^{10} 6^3$ בחירי 44^{10}
 כמל* (פיעל) כמל 48^6
 כין* (הפעיל) מבין 24^{17}
 כינה $41^3 10^5 8^{4, 2}$
 כינונים $44^{1, 3, 5}$
 בית בית דין $30^1 28^9 27^2$ בית הקדש 48^1
 בכה* 44^{10} בכה 44^{10} בכה (היא) 48^4
 ככור ככורי 44^{10}
 בלע* לבלע 20^1
 בן בני אדם $10^3 8^2 48^8 5^{10}$ בני מרומים 10^3
 בני עליונים $18^{7, 16} 16^1 13^1 12^1$
 $20^1 18^5$ בנו $45^2 29^2 28^{1, 7}$ בני
 44^7 בניך 48^8
 בער* בוער 18^{25} בערים 22^9 בערות
 $25^3 15^{1, 2}$
 בקש* (פיעל) בקש 61 יבקש 48^5 מבקש
 48^6 מבקשים $38^1 36^1$ מבקשות 48^3
 ברא* תברא 4^6 בורא 40^4 בוראם 46^4
 47^2 בוראיהם 47^2 (נפעל) נברא 27^3
 נבראו $48^1 43^{1-3} 41^{1-3} 13^1$
 (בראשית): ימי בראשית $26^9 13^1 11^1$
 ברדז $42^{1, 3, 7} 34^1 14^{24} 13^1$
 ברזל 29^1
 בריאה ברייה $25^{3, 4}$ בריאות 11^1
 ברך ברוך $39^2 35^4 34^2 20^2$
 ברכני 9^1
 ברכה ברכות 9^1
 ברק* (הפעיל) מברקין 22^9 מבריקין
 $42^{1, 4}$ מבריקות 25^3
 ברקז $32^{1, 2} 26^6 25^7 22^{4, 6} 14^{3, 4} 7^1$
 ברקים $26^4 25^3 22^{5, 9} 18^{25} 15^1 13^{1, 2}$
 $42^{1, 4} 38^2 37^2 29^2$

ג

ברקתז 25^7
 בשם* (התפעל) מתבשמות 23^{18}
 בשם 23^{18} בושמי 23^{18} בוסמני 23^{18}
 בשר בשרי (שלי) 15^1
 בת בת קול 16^4 בבת אחת $20^1 40^3$
 בנותיהם 4^4

ג

גאה 28^6 גאים $22^1 19^1$
 גאון $26^8 22^1 18^{25} 12^1$ גאותם 25^5
 גאולה 48^5
 גאון גאונם 22^{12}
 גאל* גואל 44^7 (נפעל) גנאליים 48^{10}
 גבה* (הפעיל) הגבהתי 9^2 מוגביהין 28^6
 גבהז 22^8 גבהו $20^4 18^{19, 23}$ גבתן 33^3
 גבוה $26^1 25^1 22^1 20^1 19^1 18^{20, 21}$
 גכור גכורים 19^6

זועה זועות 42⁷ 37²
 זיו 26^{2-7,11} 25⁷ 22^{7,13} 21⁴ 12² 9⁵ 5³
 12⁴ 48^{1,9} 44^{3,5,6} 40² 31² 28²
 32¹ (שלה) זיוה 26⁴ 25⁷ 21⁴ 18¹⁸
 48⁹
 זיעה זיעתו 18²⁵ 35²
 (זיקתא) זיקין 42⁷ 37² 35¹
 זיקוק זיקוקין 41⁴ 38² 35² 32² 29²
 זיקוקי 22⁴
 זכא* זוכים 48³
 זכות זכויות 48⁶ זכותו 48⁶ זכותי (שלי)
 18²¹ זכויותן 48⁸ 18¹⁷
 זכר* זוכר 48⁶
 זכר* זכרים 35⁶
 זכרון זכרונות 27²
 זמן* זמנן 47² 35⁵ 27³ 19⁶ 18⁷ 17⁵
 זמן ש- 27³ זמן ש- 47² 30¹ 17⁵
 40³
 זעם* זעמן 46¹ 14^{3,4} 7¹
 זעף* זעפה 22² זעפין 18²¹
 זעף* 7¹
 זקן זקנים 45² זקניהם 45⁴
 זרוע זרועי 48⁸ זרועו 48^{6,9} זרועותיהן 35²
 זרח* (הפעיל) מזריח 22¹²
 ח
 חבב* (פיעל) חבבני 13¹
 חבורה חבורות 5²
 חביב 4¹
 חבלה מלאכי חבלה 44² 33¹ 31²
 חגור חגוריו 22⁶
 חגור* חגוריו 39²
 חדר חדרי 38¹ 18¹⁸
 חדש חדשים 46⁴ 40⁴
 חודש 17⁵ חדשים 4¹⁰
 חול* יהולו 22² (תתפעל) מתחוללים 19⁶
 38¹
 חומה חומות 47^{3,4} 34¹
 חותם חותמות 27² 18¹⁹
 חזק* 19¹
 חזר* חזרו 46⁴ 33⁵ חזור 43^{2,3}
 47² 23^{17,18}
 (הפעיל) יחזיר 48⁵ מחזירין 35⁶
 חטא* 44³
 חטא* חטאו 44⁸ 43⁴
 חי חיים 28⁷ 18²⁴
 חיף 21¹ 20² 19⁵ 6² חיות 21¹ 19⁶
 חיף* 34¹ 33^{3,4} 29² 26¹¹ 22¹³
 חילף 17⁸ חילות 19⁶ 7¹ חילין 35³ 8²
 14¹ 5¹⁴ 22¹

דירה דירתם 25⁵
 דלוסקום 27²
 דלק* דולק 35² דולקת 42¹ דולקות 35²
 דמח* דומח 44⁵ דומים 44⁶ דומות 44⁵
 דמות* 44^{5,6} 25⁷ 5³ דמותו 26³ דמותם
 47⁴ 35² 28²
 דמעה דמעות 48⁴
 דעך* דועכו 18²¹
 דעת 41³ 8²
 דרך* (הפעיל) הדרכני 6¹
 דרש* דרשתי 43³
 דשן* (פיעל) מדרשן 25⁵
 ה
 הגן* הגון, מהגן 47²
 הדר* הדרו 26¹ 19¹
 (נפעל) נהדר 19¹ 18^{21,23} 16⁵
 (פיעל) מהדר 22¹²
 הוד 26⁴ 18¹⁸ הודו 26¹¹ 22⁷ 14⁵
 הורה הוריד, הורך 4⁹
 היה* היתה 48⁴ 5¹ הייתי 16¹ היו 4^{4,6}
 17⁵ 16² 5¹ ויהי 47¹ 16² 5¹
 להיות 35⁶ 4^{3,5,8}
 היבל 18^{3,4} 16¹ 10^{2,6} היבלות 37¹ היכלי
 38¹ 18¹⁸
 חלק* הלכתי 46² 45² 44⁴ 43³ 42² 41⁴
 32¹ 25⁷ הלכו 6³ הולך 48² 47³
 10⁴ הולכין 46¹ 5⁶ הולכות 23¹⁷ ילך 10⁴
 (פיעל) מהלך 17^{6,8} 5⁴
 (מתפעל) מתהלכין 17⁸
 חמוץ 35² 19⁶
 הפך* (נפעל) נהפך 15¹
 הר הרים 47² 41¹ 23^{17,18} 13¹ 5⁶
 42^{1,4}
 ו
 ודי 16³
 וילון 17³
 ז
 זכוב זכובין 5⁴
 זבול 33⁵ 17³
 זנה זנווני 4⁵
 זחב 5⁶
 זוג* (נתפעל) נזדווג 48⁷
 זוהר 26^{2,7} 25⁷ 22^{4,12,13} 15¹ 12² 9⁵ 8²
 28² זוהרין 18¹⁸
 זוע* זעו 14¹ זעים (תתפעל) נזרעו 14²
 31² 20¹ 19⁶ מזרעוים 16² מזרעוים
 32² מזרעויות 38¹

- 26^{8,12} 25⁵ 24¹⁷ 18^{24,25} 14^{2,4} 7 יום
 25² 18²⁵ ימות 48^{1,3} 30² 28^{7,10}
 26⁹ 4¹⁰ ימי 45⁵
 יומם 25⁵
 26⁴ יופי 26² 14⁵ 10¹ 9⁵ 8²
 יופיים 22¹²
 יותר מן 13¹ 12¹ 8² 4⁸
 25^{3,4} יכול 48² 44^{8,10} 25⁴ 20¹
 48²
 יכולין 48¹⁰ 29² 22¹¹ 14⁵ 5^{4,9}
 ילד * ילוד אשה 6²
 41⁴ 23¹⁸ ימים 48⁴ 35² 18²⁵
 ימין ימיני (שלי) 44⁸ ימינך 44⁷ ימינו
 48^{1,4,5}
 16¹ 15² (שלי) מימיני 33³ 25⁶
 מימינו 33¹ 31¹ 22⁹
 5⁸ מימינים
 38¹ יסודי יסודות 22²
 יסוף * (הפעיל) הוסוף 8¹
 יפה * (פיעל) מיפה 22¹²
 יפה 22¹⁶ 4⁶ יפים
 10³ יצא * 27³ יצאה 16³ יצאו 9⁹ יוצא
 47¹ יוצאת 35⁵ 31² 18^{19,25}
 38² 32¹ 29² 21⁴ 19⁴ יוצאין 40³
 46³ יוצאות 48⁴ צאת השמש
 13² לצאת 16²
 (הפעיל) מוציא 27²
 11¹ יצר * יוצר עולם 18¹⁸ יוצר בראשית
 35⁶ יוצר כלם
 47⁴ 42^{2,6} 26¹² 22⁴ 15¹ יקדת * יקד *
 26¹ יקיר
 18^{5,6} יקירא
 48² יקרם יקרה (שלה) 22¹⁶ 17⁸
 22¹²
 14² ירא *
 20¹ 19¹ 18^{7,18,20,21} 16⁵ נורא (נפעל)
 28¹ 17¹ 10³ נוראים 29¹ 25¹
 16² (התפעל) תתיראן 38³ מתירא
 32² 31² מתיראין
 35⁶ 8¹ יראת 35⁶ 28³ יראת *
 42² 36² 28⁹ 18¹ 5² יודין * יודות
 44^{1,2}
 5⁸ (הפעיל) להורידן 44³ מורידין
 17^{4,5,7}
 45² ירה * (הפעיל) מורה
 48^{3,10} ירושלם
 26⁶ ירך * ירכותיו
 44⁶ ירק ירקות
 23¹⁸ ירש * ירשי
 44⁶ 29¹ 28¹ 26^{6,9} 20¹ 19¹ יש לי
 25² 24¹⁻²³ 21² 10⁴ יש לו 3²
- 18²² חיי עולם 23¹⁸ 18^{21,24} 10⁶ 8¹ 5¹ חים
 10⁵ חכמת 41³ 10⁵ 8² חכמה
 5⁴ חולה * חולה 5⁴
 חללה 35⁶
 חלק * (פיעל) חלקתי 16¹ (התפעל)
 מתחלקות 40³
 חלק * (נפעל) נחמד 19¹ 18^{7,22} 16⁵
 חמדה * חמדת 22¹² 26² 8²
 חמת * 26⁶ 23¹⁷ 21⁴ 17^{4,6} 14^{3,4} 12³ 5⁸
 41¹
 חמל * חומל 44⁷
 חמלה 13¹ חמלת 22¹²
 חן 22¹² 10¹ 8¹
 חסד * 22¹² חסדם 31^{1,2} 10¹ 8^{1,2} חסדיו
 48⁶
 חסיד 48⁵ חסידים 23¹⁸ חסידיו 18²²
 חפז * (נפעל) נחפזים 38¹ 19⁶
 חפץ * חפצתי 4⁸
 חץ חצים 22¹⁶
 חצב * חוצבי 15² 6²
 חצוצרת (הצוצדה) חצוצרות 5¹⁴
 חקק * חקוק 22⁵ חקוקים 45^{1,6} חקוקות
 41⁴ 39¹
 חקף * 33⁴ 26⁶
 חרב * חרבו 32^{1,2} 22⁶
 חרבן 48¹
 חשמל 36² 7¹
 חשמלים 35² 26⁴
- ט
 טבל * טובלים 36² (הפעיל) מטבילין 36²
 טהור 23¹⁸
 טהר * (פיעל) לטהרן 44³
 טוב טובים 5⁶ טובות 8²
 טוהר 37² 34² 26⁵
 טיב טיבך 4⁷ 5¹² טיבו
 טעם 6²
 טפה * טפת 6²
 טפף * 36²
 טפסר * טפסרים 39² 14¹
 טרד * טרו (טרד אותו) 5¹
- י
 25⁵ 22¹¹ 19² 18^{19,25} ידו 48⁵ ידי 26¹² יד
 48² 47³ 46² 45² 43² 42² 41⁴ 26⁸
 ידם 14³ ידיהם 44⁴ ידיו 17⁸ 5¹⁴
 40¹² 22¹⁸
 ידע * יודע 24¹⁷ יודעים 26¹²
 יהודה 45⁴

כפר* כפרו 6³
 כרוב 18²⁵ 19⁶ 22¹⁵ 24¹⁷ 33² כרובים
 22¹¹ כרובי 23^{1,16,17} 22^{12,13,15,16}
 39² 26¹¹
 כרוו 10³
 כרתף כריתות 44⁹
 כשף כשפים 5⁹
 כשרוף 6³
 כת כתות 5²
 כתבו 18²⁴ כתבו 26¹² לכתוב
 כתב* 13¹ כתבו 18²⁴ כתבין 18^{15,24}
 18¹⁷ כתבו 18²⁴ כתובין 18^{15,24}
 כתובים 48⁷ 29¹ 30²
 כתבן כתבין 27²
 כתף כתפיו 22⁵ 18²⁵
 כתף 12³ 12³ 14^{1,5} 18¹⁻²³ 21⁴ 22⁵
 כתרים 16² 21⁴ 29¹ 26^{7,8} 40²
 כתרי 17⁸ 22¹¹ כתרו (שלו) 18¹⁸
 25⁷

ל

לב לכם 35⁶
 לבב לבבות 11¹
 לבוש לבושה 25⁶ לבוש 28⁷
 לבן 28⁷
 לבנה לבנה 17^{5,6} 17^{5,6} 13^{2,3,4} 5⁸
 לבש לבוש 18²⁵ לבושים 17⁸
 לובשים 39² לובשים 36²
 הלבוש הלבוש 12²
 להב* (התפעל) מתלהב 22⁹
 להבף להבים 7¹ 35²
 להבה 15¹ 22⁹ 26⁸ 39² 34¹ 42^{1,6}
 47²
 להבות להבות 15² 13²
 להט* 15¹
 (פיעל) תלהט 22⁹ 42^{1,6}
 (נלחטים) 47²
 להטף להטי 15¹ 22⁹ 42⁶
 לובן 6²
 ליל 25⁵
 לילה 14^{3,4} 17^{5,6} 26⁸ 46¹
 ליון* לנות (לנת) 5¹¹
 ליוץ* (הפעיל) מליוץ 45⁴ מליוץ 45²
 למד (פיעל) ללמדו 10⁶ מלמד 26⁸ מלמד
 ש- 18²⁴ 23¹⁷ 28⁵ 46² מלמדיו 5⁹
 מלמדי 45² מלמדיהם 45²
 לפיד 15² 15² 18²⁵ 19⁴ 22^{4,13} 33¹ 34¹
 39² 37² 32⁹ לפידים 13² 22⁹ 25³ 26⁴
 35² 15¹ לפידי 35² 33³
 לקח* 15¹ 7¹
 (התפעל) מתלקחות 42³

ישוב 16^{1,2} 18²⁴ 22¹² 26¹² 28⁷ ישוב*
 30¹ 33¹ 44⁷ יושבת 17⁵ יושבין 5³
 (הפעיל) הושיבני 10²
 ישועה 48¹
 ישיבה 16¹ ישיבות 45⁴ ישיבותיהם 45²
 19¹ 18²³ 25¹ ישיש
 ישע* (הפעיל) אושיע 48⁸ להושיע 44⁸
 להושיע 44¹⁰ מושיע 48⁶
 45^{4,6} 48^{6,9} 44¹⁰ 26¹² 18¹⁷ ישראל
 26¹² ישראלי ישראלית
 41³ ישראלת
 יתוש 6³ יתושין 5⁴

כ

כבר* (נפעל) נכבדתי 8² נכבד 4¹ 16⁵
 נכבדים 26¹ 19¹ 18^{7,18,20,21,22,23}
 18^{4,23} 17^{1,4,6} 10³ 28¹
 כבוד 16¹ 14⁶ 6¹ 5¹¹ 4¹ 18^{1,2,4-23} 17⁸
 כבודו 28² 22^{13,15,16} 20² 40¹
 כבודה 48² כבודם 22¹²
 כהה* כהות 26¹¹
 כוכב 21⁴ 26⁶ 40² כוכבים 13^{1,2,3,4} 5¹⁰
 כוכבי 41¹ 40² 38¹ 17^{6,7} 32² 26⁶
 כון* (הפעיל) יכינו 35⁶ להכין 22¹²
 כה 22¹ 8² 5⁹ 36¹ 25⁴
 כימה 41¹
 כך כך וכך 44⁸ ואחרי כך 28⁴ 35² 36²
 44¹⁰ 43³ 40⁴
 כל כלכם כלם (בכמה מקומות)
 כלא* 33⁵?
 כקוה 19³ 23¹ 24¹ 26⁹ 30² 48⁶
 כנס* (נפעל) נכנסם 18¹⁹ נכנסים 5⁵ 4⁸
 46³
 (הפעיל) הכניסני 7¹ יכניס 26¹²
 להכניס 26¹²
 כנף 9³ 9³ 12² 26¹⁰ כנפים 22⁸ 21^{2,3}
 22^{15,16} 15¹ 7¹ כנפי 39¹ 26⁹ 25²
 כנפיו 47³ 46² 37² 34¹ 23^{1,16}
 22¹³ כנפיהם 48² 42² 41⁴ 18²⁵
 47⁴
 כסא 7 8¹ 10¹ 14 15¹ 18^{17,19} 18²²
 24²² 26^{7,11} 28² 33³ 35³ 36^{1,2}
 39¹ 40^{1,4} 41^{2,4} 43²
 כסה* (פיעל) מכסה 18¹⁸ מכסין 41⁴
 (פועל) מכוסים 22¹³
 כסוף 21²
 כסילף 41¹
 כסף 5⁶
 כה 18²¹ כפו 46²
 כפה 33⁵

39² 35⁶ 18¹⁵ 17⁸ 16¹ 14¹ 12³ מלכות 48¹⁰
 מלכויות 30² 18^{2,3} 17⁸ 16¹² 14²
 44⁷ 38¹ מלכותך 10³ 6³ מלכותי
 מלכות, 48⁵
 מנה* (פיעל) מניתיו 10⁶
 18^{17,19,24} 17³⁻⁷ 14⁴ ממונה (פועל)
 44³ 27¹ 26⁸ 25⁵ 22^{11,16} 20² 19²
 ממונים 19⁶ 18⁴ 17¹
 מנין 46³ 25²
 מסקה מסילותם 17⁶ (עו: 38¹)
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 מסר* מסרים 26⁸ 25⁵ 22¹¹ 19² מסרות
 18¹⁹
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 22¹⁰ 18²¹ במקומכם 38³ במקומם
 46²
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 48^{1,4,5}
 מקלף 31² מקלות 44³
 מקנה מקניהם 4⁴
 מקצה מקציהם 25⁵
 מראה 44⁵ 40² 35² 25⁷ 22⁴ 13² מראה
 26⁴ 18²⁵ מראתו 18²⁵ 13²
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 מראית 25⁷?
 מרגלית מרגליות 5⁶ מרגליותיהם 35²
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 מרחק מרחקי 23¹⁸
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 37¹ 24¹⁻²³ מרכבות 46²
 46²

לשון לשוני 36² לשונם 22⁴ 18²⁵ לשונות
 29¹ 17⁸ 3²

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 מאור 41¹ 12¹ 10¹ מאורות 26^{4,6,7} 9⁴
 48¹
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 מלא* 25⁶ מלאים 28⁷ 26^{2,6} 22^{1,8} 18²⁵
 22⁸ מלאה
 (התפעל) מתמלאות 23¹⁸
 מלאף כמלא 21¹ 9³
 מלאך ומלאכים ומלאכי (בכמה מקומות)
 18¹ 17¹ 16¹ 15¹ 14¹ 9¹ 7¹ 6¹ 3^{1,2}
 14³ 10³ 4^{1,5} וכו' 21¹ 20¹ 19¹
 47¹⁻⁴ 44² 35² 27³ 26³ 19⁶ 17⁴
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 25⁴ 22¹⁵

*נשא נשאתי 47⁴ נושאין 28⁸ נושאות
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 (נפעל) נשא 5¹¹ 26¹² 29¹ 35²
 *נשב נושבות 23¹⁸
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 נשיא נשיאים 45³ נשיאי 45⁴ נשיאיהם
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 נתן* 16² בתיהם 20² נותן 27² נותנין
 26¹² 28⁸ נתונים 19³
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 סבב* סובבים 16² 33³ סובבות 39¹
 סביב סביבות 33³ 34¹ 46² סביבותי 15²
 סביבותיו 22⁶ סביבותיהם 19³ 22¹³
 33³
 *סדר (פיעל) מסדר 22¹⁶ 25⁵
 סדרף 22¹² סדרי בראשית 13¹ סדרי
 מעון 38¹ סדרי רקיע 38¹ סדריהם
 22¹⁶
 סוד I I²
 סוכה סוכת סוכות 25⁷ 29²
 סוס סוסי 6¹ 17⁸ 18¹ סוסייהם 4⁴
 סוף* ספן 4⁴
 סוף 45^{1,6} 5⁴ מסוף העולם ועד סופו
 32^{1,2}
 סופה 37² 34¹ 19³ 18²⁵ 15² 13¹
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 *סמן (תפעיל) מסמינים 14² 4⁶
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 (תתלפלל) מסתלל 22¹
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 *נגע (תפעיל) הגיע 187²⁴ 27³ 35⁵
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 *נגש נוגשיהם 45²
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 *נוס נסו 46² נסים 38¹
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 *נקף (תפעיל) הקיפו 5¹⁴ מקיפין 25⁷
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 28^{5,7,8} 35³ 36² 37^{1,2} 40⁴ 44¹
 46^{1,2} 47¹ עומדות 47¹ 48³ 47^{2,3,4}
 (הפעיל) העמידני 7¹ 16⁵ מעמידין 5⁸
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 25⁷ 29¹ 30^{1,2} 32^{1,2} 41³ 44^{7,10}
 45^{1,4,5,6} 46³ 48^{4,5,8,9,10} עולם הזה
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רוח³ direction, III רוח³ 37² 35² 23^{1,16,17} 19³
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ריח* (הפעיל) מריחין 6²
ריח¹ ריחי (שלי) ריחי 6² ריחות 6²
רכב* רוכב רוכב 17⁸ 24¹⁷
רכב¹ רכב¹ 6¹
רכובה רכובתו, רכובותיו 26⁶
רנה¹ רנה¹ 48²
רננה 20²
רע הרעים 44⁹
רעד* רעדים 19⁶
רעה¹ רעה רעה 35⁶ 22⁹
רעה² רעה רעה 45²
רעם¹ רעם רעם 19⁶ 15² 14^{3,4}
רעם² רעם רעם 42^{1,5} 37² 13¹
רעמה¹ רעמת רעמת 38²
רעע* אל ירע בעיניכם 6³
רעש* תרעש רעש 19⁶ רעשים 19⁶
רעש¹ (הפעיל) מרעיש מרעישים 42^{1,5}
רעש² מרעישות 48⁴
רעש³ רעש רעש 42¹ 38² 22⁹ 19^{3,6} 15²
רפה* מתרופפין 38¹
רצה* רוצה רוצה 26¹² 18²⁴ 4⁹
רצון¹ רצונו רצונו 48⁶ 5² 22¹⁶
רקיע 46^{1,3} 38¹ 33⁵ 17²
רקיעים 48¹ 26^{4,10} 17¹ 12⁴

קצין קציניהם 45²
קצה¹ קצפו קצפו 22²
קרא* I 48⁶ קרא (Imp.) 44⁹ לקרא
קרא² 27² קורא 38⁴ קורין 44⁹ קראני
קרא³ 12⁵
קרא⁴ (נפעל) נקרא 17⁶ 18^{18,19,20,21,22,24}
קרא⁵ 27³ 26^{8,11} 25^{5,7} 22¹¹ 20² 19²
קרא⁶ נקראין 30¹ 10³ 28¹⁰
קרא* II לקראתו 33¹
קרב¹ קרבו 45⁵
קרן¹ קרני קרני 29² 22^{7,13}
קיסל קיסלו 26⁶
קשמ¹ קשמ¹ 22¹²
קשר* קשרו קשרו 5¹⁰ קשרו (קשר אותו) 12⁴
קשורים 40² 16² קשור 18²⁵ קשורים
קשורי 39² קשורי 21⁴ 17⁸
קשר¹ קשר¹ 18²⁵
קשת¹ קשת¹ 22⁵ 21⁴

ר

ראה* ראיתי 47⁴ 45^{3,6} 44^{3,7} 42²⁻⁷
ראה (Imp.) 41¹ לראות 25⁴ רואה
ראים 48⁵ 24¹⁷ 18^{1,2,6-23} 16² 11²
ראוי 47² 48³ 32² 18^{1,3,4,5} 14^{1,3}
ראש 48⁶
ראש¹ נראה 48¹⁰
ראש² (הפעיל) הראני 46² 45² 44⁴ 42² 41⁴
ראש³ 45¹ 44¹ 43¹ 42¹ וזאראן 48² 47³
ראש⁴ מראה 48¹ 47¹
ראש⁵ ראשי 18¹⁹ 45² 35³ 33⁵ 18^{5,16} 5⁶
ראש⁶ (שלי) ראשי 14¹⁵ 13¹ 12⁴ 45^{2,4}
ראשו 28⁷ 26^{5,8} 18^{1,2} 6^{23,25} 15¹
ראשם 22^{1,3-16} 22¹¹ ראשיהם 29¹
ראשם 45² 24¹⁵
ראשים *vide*: רשא
ראשון ראשונים 35² ראשונה 4⁶
רב 13¹ רבא 18^{5,6} 26¹ 22¹⁶ 17⁸
רב* (פיעל) לרבות 17⁸ רבים 18²³ רבות 17⁸
רבונו ש"ע 25⁵ 47⁷ 5¹⁰
רבות¹ רבות¹ 44⁷ 47⁷ 5¹⁰ 16¹ 22¹² 26² רבותה (שלה) 48²
רבע¹ רבעהם 22¹³
רגז¹ רגזו רגזו 22²
רגז² רגז רגז 24¹⁷ 34¹ 33⁴ 19⁵ רגלו 24¹⁷
רגלי 22¹³ רגליהם 16⁵
רגע¹ רגע¹ 32¹ 22¹⁶
רגש* רוגשים 19⁶
רהט* (הפעיל) מרהיט 17⁶
רוב¹ רוב¹ 48² 44³
רוה* (הפעיל) (או פיעל) מרוים 42²

שכר־שכרי (שלי) 6³
 של *freq.* שלו 12⁵ ונוֹ" שלחם 18¹
 שלג־ 42^{1,3,4} 28⁷ 14^{3,4} 13¹
 שלהבת 6² 13¹ 15¹ 18²⁵ 32¹ 34^{1,2} 35²
 (N) שלהבה 47⁴ 46² 41⁴ 39¹ 37²
 37² 15¹
 שלום 42⁷ 33¹ 26⁸
 שלח* (נפעל) נשלחת 48¹
 (התפעל) משתלחת 32¹
 שליחות 35⁴ 16⁵
 שלט* שולטין 5⁴
 שלטון שלטן 5⁴
 שליט 19¹
 שלישי שלישים 19⁶
 שלך* (הפעיל) להשליך 38¹
 שם־ 10³ 31¹ 46² 22⁵ שם מפורש 22⁵
 שמות מפורשות 39¹ בשם 42²⁻⁷
 שמות 3² 29¹ שמי (שלי) 10⁵
 שמו 17⁶ 3² 18^{18,19,20,22,42} 19^{1,2}
 20^{1,2} 22¹¹ 25^{5,7} 26⁸ 27^{1,3} 30¹ 46²
 שמאל משמאל 25⁶ 33³ 15² 16¹
 משמאלו 22⁹ 31¹ 5⁸ משמאלם
 נשׁוֹשׁ 35⁴
 שמחה 48¹⁰ 40¹ שמחתה 48³
 שמים *passim* 38¹ שמי־ 4¹ *passim* שמי
 השמים 5¹¹ 5¹¹ שמי מרום 18²⁴
 שמים (= רקיע הראשון) 33⁵ 17³
 שמוע (הפעיל) ישמיע 19⁶ משמיעים 42¹
 שמוֹר* שוכרי־ פתח 18^{3,4} שומריהם 45²
 שמוֹשׁ* (פיעל) לשמוֹשׁ 5⁸ 7¹ 8¹ 15¹ 25⁵
 14¹ המשמשים 46³ משמש
 משמשני 40¹
 (התפעל) משתמש 5^{4,9}
 נשׁוֹשׁ־ 48⁹ 18²⁵ 13²
 נשׁוֹשׁ־שמי 17⁸
 שמשות 15⁷
 שנאנים 7¹
 שנה־ 26⁷ 4¹⁰ שנים 25^{2,4,25} 18²⁵
 שנוֹן* משנוֹן 22¹² משתננת 32²
 שעבד* משועבדים 44²
 שעֶה־ 31^{1,2} 28⁷ 26¹² 24¹⁷ 16⁵ 4⁵ 3¹
 48^{4,8,9} 47⁴ 46² 44^{8,9} 35^{5,6} 33¹
 שעת 30² 18⁷
 שֶׁעַר 15¹ שערות 28⁷
 שער שְׁעָרִי 47⁴ 38¹ 18²⁵ 8¹
 שפח־ שפתי 18²⁵
 שפל שפלים 28⁶
 (הפעיל) משפילים 28⁶
 שפר* מְשַׁפֵּר 22¹²
 שקל שוקל 18²¹ שְׁקוּל 28¹ 6³

רקם* (פיעל) מרקם 22¹²
 רשא* רשים, ראשים 48¹
 רשות 24¹⁵ 18²⁴ 16¹ 16³
 ברשותו 18¹⁹
 רשע־ 44^{1,2,3,6,8} 33⁵ 32¹ רשעים 44⁹
 רתם־ 34² 22^{6,14} 15¹ רתמים 34²
 רתע* נרתעים 19⁶ 14^{1,3}
 רתת־ 35⁶

ש

שאגה שאגת 35²
 שאול־ 44²
 שאל* 3¹ שואלין 28⁹
 שאלח־ שאלות 28⁹
 שאר־ 45⁶ 44⁷
 שבה* (פועל) משובח 22¹ משובחין 28³
 משובחות 8²
 שבח־ 28³ 26² 25⁵ 22^{1,12} 20² 17⁸ 16¹
 48² שבחו 47⁴ 45⁶ 30² שבחה 48²
 שבחם 22¹²
 שבמ־ שבטים 45³
 שביב־ שביבי 37²
 (שבט) אור שבעתים 26⁴
 שנוֹב* (נפעל) נשׁוֹב 25¹ 19¹ 18²²
 שגר* (פיעל) שגר 6¹
 שוב* שבים 24¹⁵
 (הפעיל) משיב 44⁸ 6³ 4^{2,6,8}
 שוה* (פיעל) השו 25⁵
 (הפעיל) השוו 5¹¹
 שופט 28⁸ שופטים 45⁴ שופטיהם 45²
 שולים 44⁶
 שופר שופרות 5¹⁴
 שורה 35³ שורות 36² 35³
 שחה* (התפעל) ישתחוו 4⁹
 שחין 44³
 שחקים 38¹ 33⁵ 22¹⁵ 17³
 שמוֹן 26¹² 23¹⁶
 שמוֹר* שומרין 45² 28⁸ שומריהן
 שים* ושמוֹ 10² שמתיו 10³
 שיעור 26¹⁰ 18²⁵ שיעורו 33³ 26⁷ 9² 5⁷
 שיעורים 26¹⁰ 21³
 שיר* (פעלל) לשורר 22¹² משורר 22¹²
 שיר־ 5⁴ שירים 22^{12,13}
 שירח־ 40⁴ 38³ 36¹ 27³ 26⁸ 19⁶ 18⁵
 46³ 27³ 5⁴ שירות 47² 46⁴
 שכינה 24¹⁵ 22^{5,7,13} 18^{4,19,24} 16⁴ 15¹
 47^{1,3,4} 44³ 43² 39² 36² 35⁵ 28^{2,3}
 שכינתו 39¹
 שכל* (הפעיל) הַשְׁכִּיל 41³
 (שכם*) משכים 25⁵
 שכן שוכן 22¹⁵

ת
 תבל 42² 38¹ 22²
 תהלה 48² 26⁸ 22¹³ 20² 18⁵ 17⁸
 תואר 48⁹ 14⁵ 12^{2,3} 10¹ 9⁵ 8²
 תורה 44⁹ 18¹⁶ 11¹ 8^{1,2}
 תחלה 35⁵ 16¹ 36² 35⁵ 28⁴ 6¹
 תחתון התחתונים 10⁵
 תינוק תינוקות 45⁴
 תלה* pt. pass. תלויים 42^{1,2}
 ת"ל [= תלמוד לומר] 18²⁴
 תמוז 48⁹
 תמונה 6³
 תמים תורה המימה 48⁹
 תפארת 39² 22¹² 17⁸
 תפארתם 25⁵ 22¹²
 תפלה 44⁷
 תפשי* תפשני 47³ 46² 44⁴ 43² 42² 41⁴
 תפשו 48² תפשו 5¹⁴ תופמים 17⁸
 תקון כתקנו 40^{1,3}
 תקופת תקופת 17⁵ 48⁹
 תקיף 20¹ 19¹
 תשבחה תשבחות 48² 46³
 תשועה 48^{5,8}

שרביט שרביטי 17⁸
 שר 18¹⁻²³ 17³⁻⁷ 16⁵ 10^{3,4,6} 6¹ 4^{5,8}
 שר 27¹ 26^{1,3,12} 25¹ 22^{1,11,16} 20¹ 19¹
 שרים שרי 14¹ 10³ 4¹ 44^{2,10} 38³
 שר 27¹ 22¹⁰ 19^{1,6} 18^{2,3,4,5,22-24} 17¹
 שר 35³ 30^{1,2} 28¹
 שרא שרא רבא ויקרא 18^{5,6}
 שרה* שורה, שרויה 5¹ שרוין, שרוין
 שרוין 5⁴
 שרה* שורפים 28⁷
 שרה* שורפים 26¹²
 שרה* (נפעל) 34² ישרפי 25³ גשרפים
 שרה* (מלאך) 47^{1,2}
 שרה* (פיעל) משרתים 27¹ 26^{8,9,10,12} שרפים 19⁶
 שרת מלאכי השרת 40¹ 39¹ 6^{1,2,3} 47^{1,3} 28¹
 שרת מלאכי השרת 16² 14¹ 5^{2,10,14} 4^{5,6}
 שרת* 40¹⁻³ 39¹ 38^{1,3} 36^{1,2} 27³ 17^{2,7}
 שתה* שותין 47²
 שתה* שתלים 48¹⁰
 שתה* שתקו 37² 19⁴
 שתק* שתקו 38³

(b) LIST OF PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, VERB FORMS, VERBS WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES, AND FOREIGN WORDS

II שמך 3¹ מיבך 5¹² ימינך 44⁷ מלכותך
 III שמנו 3² וזהרו 18¹⁸ זכותו 48⁶ גבורתו
 20⁴ 26⁴ מראהו 48⁹ 18²⁵
 17⁵ תקופתה 5⁴ וינה *et freq.*
 II מיבכם 4⁸ מקומכם 38³
 III מקצתם (ן) 25⁵ מהיצתן 28² מושבם
 48⁸ מדתן 23¹⁸ פינתן 25⁵ צדקתן 48⁸
 I משרתיי, צבאי, כרוביי אופניי שרפיי 6³
 עפעפיי 15¹ עצמותיי 15¹
 III סדיו 48⁶ גורוין 22⁶ מתניו 22⁶
 18²⁵ עפעפיי 26⁴ 22⁴ שפתיו 18²⁵
 III ישיבותיהם 45⁵ עיניהם 4⁵
 ורועותיהן 35² מחשבותיהן 45³
 מערכותיהם (ן) 40³ מרגלותיהן 35²
 פקודותיהן 45² פרותיהן 42²
 (שלו 18⁵ שלהם 12⁵ etc.)

PRONOUNS

(1) Pers. indep.

I אני 48⁸ 45⁶ 44⁸⁻¹⁰ 16¹ 11² 10⁶
 II אתה 44^{7,9} 5¹¹ 4¹
 III הוא 18^{1,7,19,20,21} 17^{1,8} 16² 14⁴
 היא 30² 20¹ 19^{1,2}
 II אתם 48¹ 47¹ 44⁷ 6²
 III הם 46¹ 26⁹ 19^{2,4} 18^{1,24} 17^{1,2}
 (תן probably miscopied for הם)
 הן 28^{3,5} 17¹ m.
 תן 23¹⁷ f.

(2) Pers. poss.

I מלכי 3² צדקתי 48⁸ זכותי 48⁸ ראשי
et freq. 14⁵

פעם בפעם 13² כמה פעמים 48⁶
תמיד 22^{9,16}

Adverbs of place

איכן 43¹
איפה 42¹
היכן 46¹ 44¹
כאן 5¹⁰
כנגד מעלה 28⁹
לאחוד 48¹
להיכן 23¹⁷
לכל צד וצד 19⁴
למעלה 18²¹
מזה—מזה 28⁵ 22^{14,15}
[מנין 24¹⁷]
מצד אחד—מצד אחד 9³ מצד זה לצד זה
23¹⁸
מתחת 28⁹
שם 7¹

Other adverbs

אי 44⁷
אל 6³ אף 18²⁴ אפילו 14^{1,2} 26¹¹
בלבד 25⁴
בכמה 36¹
היאך 44^{8,10} 5⁹
וודאי 16³
כיצד 28⁵ 18²⁴
כך וכך 44⁸
כמה 48⁶ 30² 26⁹ 24¹ 23¹ 19³
לא *passim* לא עוד אלא 44⁵ 28⁴ 18¹⁹
48^{3,7,10}
למה 20² 19² 18^{18,19,20,21,22,24} 17⁶
28¹⁰ 27³ 26^{8,12} 25^{5,7} 22¹¹
לפיכך 4^{5,10}
מפני מה 5¹¹ 4¹
עוד (further =) 48⁷
שמה (perhaps =) 18²⁴

PREPOSITIONS

אחור אחורי 47^{1,3,4} 37² מאחורי מלאחורי
44⁷ לאחורי 15²
אחר 47² אחרי 9¹
אל אליו 48⁶ 10⁴
אצל אצל 44⁷ 22¹³ 19¹ 5¹⁰
48² 46² 44⁴ 43² 42² 41⁴ 22⁹
אצלָהּ 48³
בְּ, בַּ, בְּהֵן *passim*
בפני 27² 12⁵
בפתח 16¹

(3) Reflex.

של עצמו 48⁶ לעצמו 48⁶ את עצמן 36²
38¹

(4) Rel.

שֵׁי מִי שֵׁי- 18²⁴ freq.

(5) Interrog.

מה 4⁴ 3² 26¹² 46⁴ [איזה 2²]

(6) Demonstr.

זה 4⁷ 6³ 18²⁵ הדבר הזה 6³ הפסוק הזה
43³ עולם הזה 10⁵ כתר זה 14¹
זה את זה 22¹⁵ (rec.)
זו אומה זו ישראלית 26¹²
זאת כל זאת 10¹
הללו 44⁸ 23¹⁶ 19¹ 9¹ 8² 4^{4,7}
אלה 19¹ 18²² 14⁴
אלו 43³ 42³ 28¹ 24¹⁷ 23¹⁷ 19^{3,4} 17¹
כל אלו ואלו 24¹⁷

Demonstr. את

אותו השך 26⁸ זיו אותו השכינה 5⁴ באותו
כתר 26⁷ באותה שעה 28⁷ 16⁵ 4⁵ 3¹
35⁶
אותן האוכלוסין 4⁴ אותם ב' עינים 25³
אותם ש' 40² אותם (אותן) הגשמות
43² אותן השרים 30¹

ADVERBS

Adv. of time

אחרי (ר) כך 44¹⁰ 43³ 40⁴ 36² 35² 28⁴
(always abbreviated א"כ, א"כ)
אימתי 17⁵
בבת אחת 40³ 20¹
בכל יום ויום 30² 28⁷ 26¹² 25⁵ 24¹⁷ 7
בכל רגע ורגע 32¹
בכל שעה ושעה 35⁶
בעותה שעה 35⁶ 28⁷ 16⁵ 4⁵ 3¹
בפנים 18¹⁹
בתחלה 35⁵
[כבר 15⁴ B]
ליל ויומם 26⁸ 25⁵ לילה ויום
לעתיד לבא 46⁴ 45⁵ 23¹⁸ 18²²
מאז 11¹
מיד 47⁴ 46² 44^{9,10} 3¹ 25³ 16³ 15¹ 5¹³ 4⁹
עד מתי 48⁸
עריין לא 43^{1,3} 24¹⁷
עוד 28⁴ 18¹⁹ לא עוד אלא 4⁸
[לא עוד 4⁸ 44⁵ 48^{3,7,10}]
עכשיו 44¹⁰ 5¹²

מתחתיהם 40¹ 33⁴ 23¹⁷ 14³ 6³ 33³ 19⁴
 סביבותיהם 22⁶ סביבותיו 46² 33³ 19³
 עד 44⁷ מתי 28⁶ עדי 28⁶ 26⁶ 5⁴
 על 24¹⁷ 5⁴ עליו 16¹ 9¹ 4⁶ עליהם 24¹⁷ 5⁴
 10⁵ עליכם 35² 25⁵ 22¹⁶ 4³
 על גבי 19⁵ על גביו 24¹⁷ על גביהם 22¹³
 על ידי 44⁷
 על פניו 22⁷ על פניהם 22¹³
 על פתח 10² 5³
 על רוב 24¹⁵ 22¹⁶
 עם 22¹ 17⁴⁻⁷ עמו 26¹² 17² 5¹¹
 תוך *vide* בתוך, לתוך, מתוך
 תחת 40⁴ 36¹ 23^{1,16} 22^{13,14} 5¹

CONJUNCTIONS

(1) Comparison

מה...אף 18¹⁸
 כדרך ש- 17⁸ 11¹ 5⁸
 כענין ש- 32² 31² 30² 21² 18⁹ כע"ש

(2) Contrast

אלא 28⁴ 25⁴ 24¹¹ 23¹⁶ 18^{19,24,25} 5⁹
 אבל 3³

(3) Condition

אם 4⁴
 אלמלא כן 5⁹

(4) Interrog.

[אי 44⁷]

(5) Final

כדי ש- 35⁶ 18²²
 כדי שלא 34² 26¹² 4³

(6) Consecutive

[לפיכך 4^{5,10}]

(7) Explanat.

ש 23¹⁶
 לפי ש- 5⁴

(8) Concess.

אפילו 48⁶

(9) Causal

ש- 40² 38³ 4^{3,8}
 מפני ש- 22¹¹ 20² 18^{18-21,24} 17⁶ 10⁵ 4²
 27³ 26^{8,12} 25^{5,7}
 מתוך ש- 4¹⁰

ברום 42^{1,2} 35¹ 27² 18⁶ 7¹
 בשביל 48⁸ 48⁸
 בתוך 40³ 27² 23¹⁸ 22¹³ 21³ 18²²
 בתוכו 47⁴ 42^{1,3-7}
 בין 4¹⁰ ביניהם 35³ 23¹⁶ 19⁵ 5¹² 4⁵
 ביניהן 35⁵ 10⁴
 בין...ל 37^{1,2} 36¹ 19⁵
 מבין 48^{8,10} 44¹⁰ 41³
 61^{5,13}
 הימנו 32² הימנה 33² 31² 29² 18²³
 חוץ מן 30^{1,2} 16⁴ 10³
 כ כמותו 40⁴ 28¹ 19¹ כמותם 18²⁴
 כיוצא בהן 31² 18¹⁹
 כלפי 31² 18¹⁹
 כמין 33⁵
 כמלא 26^{5,10} 21¹ 9³
 כמראה 13²
 כנגד 26^{9,10,12} 21¹ 19⁴ 17⁸ 6³ 3² 28^{1,2}
 48⁴ 40³ 36² 31¹ 28^{1,2}
 כעין 35²
 כערבם 28¹
 כרום 22^{3,13} 18²⁵
 כשיעור 32² 9²
 ל, ליה, לו, להן *passim*
 לאחוריה 44⁷
 למטה מן 17⁴⁻⁷
 למעלה מן 25¹ 22¹ 20¹ 19¹ 18²³ 17⁸
 43² 33¹ 28¹ 27¹ 26¹
 לנגדו 31²
 לעיניהם 6¹ 4⁵
 לפני 27² 26¹² 23¹⁸ 18^{19,20} 14¹ 4^{6,9} 30²
 לפני 11¹ לפני 40⁴ 37¹ 34¹ 30²
 לפני 31² 28⁷ 27² 17⁸ 4⁷ לפני 4⁶
 לפני 35⁶ 5⁸ לפני 48³
 מלפני 48⁵ 40³ 35⁵ 28⁹ 16⁴ מלפני 32^{1,2} 20¹
 מלפני 16² 15² 14³
 מלפניה 48³
 לקראתי 33¹ לקראתו 4⁹
 לתוך 48⁴ 7¹
 מן 16² ממנו 14^{1,2} ממני 17⁶ 16⁴ 5² 5²
 20¹ 17⁴⁻⁸ מהן, מהם, 29² 27³ 25^{5,9}
 מבין *vide* בין
 מאחורי, מלאחור 15²
 מלפני *vide* ? לפני
 מעין 40² 28² 10¹
 מעל 48⁶ מעליהם 18¹
 מפני 48^{1,2} 44^{5,6} 38² 16² 14⁵ מפניו
 38² מפניהם 22⁹
 מתוך 13¹ 12¹

freq. Partic.
 באין 3² קורין 4^{6,10} שורה, שורין 5^{1,4}
 שרויה, שרוין 5^{1,4} גלויין 11⁶

Nif'al

Perf. Nif.
 נכבדתי 8² נבראו 13¹ נעשו 45⁶ 43^{2,3}

Imperf. Nif.
 תגלה 48⁵ יתהרו 44⁵

Infin. Nif.
 להעשות 45⁶

freq. Partic. Nif.
 כיווקין 5⁵

Pi'el

Perf. Pi'el
 סלקתי 6³ חלקתי 16¹

Imperf. Pi'el
 ידבר 10⁴ יבקש 48⁵ אצפה 48⁸

Infin. Pi'el
 לדברוי 4⁸ לשמש 5⁸ 7¹ 8¹ לדבר 10⁴
 25⁴ ללמדו 10⁵ לפרש 18¹⁹ לפאר
 26⁸ לאבד 26¹² לפתחן 44³

Polel (Pa'el)

לשורר 22¹⁵

Pu'al, Polal

רוקמתי 9² משובחות 8² משובח 22¹
 משבחין 28³ מעלה 27¹ מכוסים
freq. ממונה 22¹³

**Hithpa'el, Nithpa'el,
 Hithpolel, etc.**

Perf.
 נתפארתי 8² התרוממתי, נתרוממתי 9²
 [נתגבהתי 9²] נדוונג 48⁷

Imperf.
 תתיראו 38³ וישתחוו 4⁹

Infin.
 להסתכל 5³ 11² 14⁵ 16² 25³ 26¹¹ 27³

Pt.
 מצמעער 5⁴

על שם ש- 28¹⁰
 הואילו 18²⁴

(10) Temporal

מיום ש- 5¹
 כל זמן ש 17⁵ 30¹ 47²
 בזמן ש 27³ 40³
 בשעה ש 24¹⁷ 26¹² 31^{1,2} 33¹ 35⁵ 36¹
 בשעת 40¹ 38¹ 18⁷ 30²
 קש 4³ 6¹ 7¹ 14¹ 16¹ 17⁸ 18¹ 19⁶
 28⁷ 32^{1,2} 48⁵
 כיון ש 4⁷ 6² 15¹ 16²
 עד ש 5⁶ 24¹⁷ 28⁴ 35⁶ 44⁵ 48¹
 קודם ש 7 11²
 לבסוף ש 45⁶

(11) Copulat. etc.

בין—בין 45^{1,6}
 אף 4² 18²⁴
 גם 10⁶

Infl. of Verbs

Qal

שאלתי 3¹ אמרתי 3¹ 4¹ 45⁶ הפצתי 4⁸
 נטלתי 6³ צפיתי 11² דכתי 16¹
 הלכתי 41^{1,7} 43³ דרשתי 43³ מצאתי 43³
 באות, לגות 5¹¹ נמית 44⁷ יצאה 43³
 חזרו 43^{2,3} עמדו 4⁹ יצאו 4⁹ 16³
 כפרו הלכו עבדו 6³ חטאו 4³ סרחו
 כתבו 26¹² ספו 4⁴ באו 4⁶ עשו 4³
 עלו ונסו 45¹ 46²

Imperf.

תפול 26¹² תברא 4⁶ תסמוך 48⁶ יאמרו
 4^{3,4}
 תפעלון 10⁵ תנמרון 10⁵ תשמרון [בגל]
 10⁵ ויהי 35⁵

Imperat.

טול 44⁹ קרא 44⁹ בא וראה 41¹ שתקו
 38³ הוי אומר 17⁵

Infinitive

להיות 35⁶ 4³ לעשות 45⁸ 5² לצאת 16²
 לאמר 10³
 לומר 18⁷ et *freq.* לכתוב 18¹⁷ לבלע 20¹
 לבא 18²² e.a.
 לפעול 22¹⁶ לעמוד 25³ לראות 25⁴
 לסומכן 44³ בתיתם 20²

Imperf.

48¹ 47¹ 45¹ 44¹ 43¹ 42¹ וּרְאָךְ

Infin.

לְמוֹכֵן 44³ לְעִשׂוֹתָם 25⁵
 לְלַמְדוֹ 10⁵ לְמַהֲרֵן 44³
 לְהוֹרִידוֹן 44³ לְהוֹשִׁיעַן 44¹⁰

Partic.

רֹעֵב 18²² כּוֹתֵבוֹ 18²⁴ בּוֹרֵאם 46⁴

Accus. particle אַת

אוֹתִי 3² 4^{7,10} 14^{1,3,5} 16²
 אוֹתָן 5⁹ אוֹתָם 5⁹ 20²

Examples of Foreign words (*vide*
Dalman, *Wörtl.*, *sub vocibus*)

5¹⁰ κατήγορος = קטיוגור
 used in the (πραιτώριον) פּלַטוּרִין pl.
 7¹ (παλάτιον) פּלַטִּין: sense of
 18²¹ 16¹ 12⁵ (familia) פּמִלִּיא
 28¹⁰ 20² 16⁵ פּלַסְאוֹת [(πάλας)]
 (פּנַקְסִיאוֹת) פּנַקְסָאָת (πίναξ) 26¹²
 27² (γλωσσόκομος) דְלוֹסְקוֹם
 32¹ (ναρθήκιον) נֶרְתַק
 45¹ פּרִנְדוֹ
 18²⁵ (στολή) אַצְטִלִּית
 (μαργαρίτις, μαργέλ- מֶרְגִּלִּיּוֹת
 35² 5⁶ λιον) מֶרְגִּלִּי
 17³ (velum, βήλον) וִילוֹן

Hif'il

Perf. Hif.

הִנְחַת 5¹¹ הִגַּעְתִּי 6² הִשּׁוּ 5¹¹ הִנְבַּהְתִּי
 (intr.) 9²

Imperf. Hif.

יִכְנִים 26¹² יִגַּע 19⁶ 48¹ יִכְיִנוּ 35⁶ יִחַזֵּר
 48⁵ אוֹשִׁיעַ 48⁸ אַצִּיל 48⁸ יַעֲלֶה
 48¹⁰

Infin. Hif.

לְהוֹיֵק 5⁴ לְהוֹרִידוֹן 5⁹ 44³ לְהַעֲלוֹת 6¹
 (הִגַּעַת 18⁷)
 לְהַעֲרִיץ 22¹⁵ לְהַכְנִים 26¹² לְהַשְׁלִיךְ 38¹

Hof'al

מוֹפְלֵא 11² 22¹ 26¹ 27¹ מוֹפְלֵאִים 28¹

Pilpel, Hithpalpel

מִסְתַּלְמֵל 22^{12,16} 25⁵ מִסְתַּלְמֵל 22¹¹ מִצַּחֲצָה

Verbs with Obj. Suffixes

Perf.

נִמְלַנִּי 4³ 6¹ לִקְחֵנִי 7¹ 15¹ קָרָאֵנִי 12⁵
 אֶחֱבֵנִי 13¹ תַּפְשֵׁנִי 41⁴ מִרְדּוֹ 5¹ שָׂמוּ 10²
 קִשְׂרוֹ 12⁴ שָׂמְתִיו 10³
 בָּרַכְנִי 9¹ חִבַּבְנִי 13¹ מִנִּיתִיו 10⁶ אֶבְדֵן 4⁴
 חֲעַלְנִי 4⁴ 6¹ 7¹ תְּדַרְיִכְנִי 6¹
 חוֹשִׁבְנִי 10² הִלְכְּשֵׁנִי 12¹ חֲכַנִּי 16⁵
 חֲעַמְדֵנִי 7¹ 16⁵ הִרְאֵנִי 41⁴ e.a.
 6³ הֶעֱלִיתִיהּ

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
 'Anram 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*) 18¹⁶
 'Aniyel 16⁵
 'Araphiel 18^{14,16}
 '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
 sidereal 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
 'Aphphiel (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
 'Azrael 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

Brooding Wind 23¹
 burn *v.* 15² 15 B² 18²⁵ 25³ 26¹² 34²
 40³ qu. 47^{1,2}
 burning 15¹ 22^{3,9,14} 22 C⁴ 25³ 26¹² 34^{1,2}
 35⁶ 42^{1,6} 44³ 47^{2,4}
 call *v.* 3² 4^{1,10} 10³ 12⁵ 17⁶ 18^{18,19,20,21,24}
 19² 20² 22¹¹ 25^{5,7} 26^{8,12} 27³ 28¹⁰
 30¹ 38³ 44⁹ 48 A⁶ 48 C^{7,9} D²
 camps of angels, *see* 'Angels, camps of
 camps of fire, *see* *ib.*
 camps of *Shekina*, *see* *ib.*
 captains of fear (angels) 22 B²
 carbuncle stone 25⁷
 case, Case of Writings 27²; case in
 judgement 28^{8,9}
 cast down *v.* 44³; cast forth 22⁹
 cattle 4⁴ 48 D⁸
 Celestial Court 16¹; *see also* 'Beth
 Din'
 Celestial heights 42¹
 Celestial Princes 28¹
 chamber, chambers 18¹⁸ (of 'Araboth'),
 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)
 change *v.* 15¹ 35⁶ 48 C⁹
 chant 1¹¹ 38²
 character 2²
 charge, charges 5¹⁰ 19² 22¹¹ 25⁵ 26⁸
 Chariot, the Divine, *see* 'Merkaba'
 chariot 6¹ 17⁸, 22¹¹ (of the *Kerubim*),
 22 B⁴ (of fire), 24¹⁻²³ (of the Holy
 One), 37¹ (of *Shekina*)
Chashmal, chashmals, Chashmallim:
 (1) angels, *see* 'Angels, Chashmallim'
 (2) celestial matter 15 B² 26⁴, 36⁶
 (*chashmals* of light), 36² 48 B¹
 48 D⁸
Chasid, Chasidim 18²² 48 A⁵
Chayyah 19⁷ 21¹; *see* 'Angels, Chay-
 yoth'
Chayyiel, prince of the *Chayyoth* 20^{1,2}
Chayylim (a class of angels) 19⁸
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