

# Messianology in the Biblical Pseudepigrapha

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## *Introduction*

The dream – or expectant hope – in many Old Testament<sup>1</sup> books is that the future contains the fulfillment of God’s promises to Abraham, Moses (and Aaron, his brother), and David especially.<sup>2</sup> Central to the dream, especially in the post-exilic documents, is a figure called the Messiah. *Mashiah* (מָשִׁיחַ) is used in the Old Testament on the one hand as an adjective to denote that something (the altar, Exodus 29:36; the Tabernacle and its vessels; cf. Exodus 40:9–15) or someone (Saul, David, even Cyrus; cf. 1 Samuel 10:1, 16:13, 26:11; 2 Samuel 19:21; Isaiah 45:1) is anointed, and on the other hand as a surrogate primarily for the high priest (e. g., Leviticus 4:3, 16) or Davidic king (e. g., Lamentations 4:20).<sup>3</sup> It is imperative not to read subsequent developed ideas back into these books, and to distinguish between a belief in a millennium and messianism, and also between the belief in some eschatological figure (like the Son of Man) and the belief in an eschatological person designated *the Messiah*. While messianism may predate the exile,<sup>4</sup> *Mashiah* is used in the

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<sup>1</sup> I use the terms ‘Old Testament’ and ‘intertestamental’ because of convenience and custom. By them I intend no Christian bias. They denote respectively the ‘Hebrew Scriptures’ and the historical period from approximately 165 B. C. E. (Daniel, the latest book in the Old Testament) to 50 C. E. (Paul’s earliest letters). See my caveats in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (SNTS Monograph Series 54; Cambridge: CUP, 1985; reprinted by Trinity Press International in 1998).

<sup>2</sup> These covenantal promises are rehearsed respectively in Sirach 44:19–23; 45:7, 13–15; and 47:11, “The Lord ... exalted his (David’s) horn for ever”.

<sup>3</sup> “Messiah” in the Old Testament may also refer to the Patriarchs (Psalms 105:15, 1 Chronicles 16:22) or to the nation Israel (Psalms 89:39 [38], 52 [51]). For a more complete list of the Old Testament passages, see B. Otzen, “Messias,” in *Gads Dansk Bibel Lexikon*, vol. 2, cols. 198–201, and F. Hesse, “(מָשִׁחַ) and (מָשִׁיחַ) in the Old Testament,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Friedrich, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1974) vol. 9, pp. 496–509.

<sup>4</sup> Some scholars argue that messianism does not predate the exile. L.S. Zeitlin claimed that “there is no indication anywhere in the Bible [the Old Testament] of the coming of a personal messiah, natural or supernatural” (vol. 2, p. 397), see his “The Origin of the

intertestamental period for the first time clearly as a noun to denote an anointed eschatological person.<sup>5</sup>

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Idea of the Messiah," in *Solomon Zeitlin's Studies in the Early History of Judaism*, 2 vols. (New York: KTAV, 1974). Zeitlin also contended that "Messianic expectations arose only after the destruction of the Second Temple" (vol. 2, p. xxxvii). This inaccurate contention results from his polemic against historians of 'the Second Commonwealth' and the pejorative attitude to the Jewish apocalypses; the latter he inherited from Josephus. E. Rivkin argues that the "emergence of the Messianic idea as viable and vital was not evolutionary and developmental. It was mutational ... It emerged spontaneously as a solution to a series of problems that Judaism had to face in the Graeco-Roman world, problems for which there were no direct solutions in the Pentateuch." Rivkin correctly warns against the assumption that the messianic idea followed "as an immanent necessity from" the Old Testament, but he minimizes the early traditions that flowed eventually into the concept of a future Messiah, and fails to perceive that messianism when it emerges in extant documents is already significantly developed. Cf. his important "The Meaning of Messiah in Jewish Thought," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 26 (1970/71) 383–406. S. Mowinckel, who defined messianism strictly, argued that all genuine messianic passages in the Old Testament are post-exilic. See his *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism*, trans. G.W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon, 1955). Other scholars claim that messianism is pre-exilic. F. Hesse recognizes the difficulty in reconstructing a history of the messianic movement in Israel, but favors the possibility that messianism originates "in the South in the pre-exilic period, Royal Psalms and in the message of the prophet Isaiah" (*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 9 [1974], esp. pp. 505, 509). J. Klausner defines messianism rather broadly (p. 9) and so can talk about messianic ideas in the period of pre-exilic prophets. "In the rest of the prophetic books there is an ideal human Messiah (Hosea, First Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, and Second Zechariah)." See Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, trans. W.F. Stinespring (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956) p. 241; italics his. G. von Rad argued for some messianic prophecies before the exile and attributed the revolutionary thought to Isaiah, who broke with the traditions "in an almost revolutionary way. He does not, as had hitherto been the case, attach what he has to say to a contemporary and present anointed one seated on the throne of David, but to one who is to come in the future, who is to spring from 'the root of Jesse.'" *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, 1962–1965) vol. 2, p. 170. While it is difficult to discern the position of W. Eichrodt, it appears that he favors a pre-exilic date for the appearance of messianism. See Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961–67) esp. see vol. 1, p. 479. Eichrodt seems to see messianism, which he confusingly tends to use synonymously with eschatological hope, as visible in the days of Jeroboam II and the Judah oracles, Gen. 49:8–12. The latter possibility is affirmed as the "*wohl älteste M. erwartung*" by M. Weise. ("Messias ... im AT und im älteren Judentum," in *RGG*<sup>3</sup>, vol. 4 [1960] cols. 902–904). E. Jenni and P. Grelot also argue for a messianic interpretation of some Old Testament passages; see their "Messiah, Jewish," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3 (1962) pp. 360–65; and Grelot, "Messiah," in *Sacramentum Mundi*, vol. 4 (1969) pp. 14–16. J. Joocz claims that "the Messianic hope is older than the fall of the Davidic dynasty." That contention is extreme and improbable. (Joocz, "Messiah," in *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, vol. 4 [1975] pp. 198–209, esp. see p. 201). – A good report of research on the dating of messianism, with the Wellhausen school's (and Mowinckel's) contention that it is post-exilic contrasted to the conclusions of Gunkel and Gressmann, see J. Nelis, "Messiaserwartung," in *Bibel-Lexikon* 1968<sup>2</sup> cols. 1139–48.

References to an eschatological Messiah are surprisingly absent in the Apocrypha<sup>6</sup> and understandably missing in Philo and Josephus;<sup>7</sup> but they are present in the Dead Sea Scrolls<sup>8</sup> and Targumim.<sup>9</sup> Extensive research has been published upon the messianisms in these collections; indeed most of these publications are well known, easily available, and recent.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A. S. van der Woude argues that the “*absolute Gebrauch*” of the noun Messiah is employed “*mit Sicherheit erst im 1. Jh. der christl. Ära.*” (See his “Messias,” *Biblich-historisches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 2 [1964] cols. 1197–204, cf. esp. cols. 1197–98). Hence, D.H. Wallace can state “that the word Messiah does not appear at all in the Old Testament (the AV of Dan. 9:25 is incorrect; it ought to read ‘an anointed one’) ... .” (p. 349), see his “Messiah,” in *Baker’s Dictionary of Theology* (1960) pp. 349–51. Likewise, U. Kellermann has written that, “*Der Titel ‘Messias’ (=der Gesalbte) begegnet zur Bezeichnung einer Herrschergestalt aus dem Davidshaus, die die Herrschaft des Gottesvolks endgültig aufrichtet oder das endzeitliche Heil bringt, im Alten Testament überhaupt nicht*” [emphasis his], see his “Messias und Gesetz,” in *Biblische Studien* 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971) p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Thus, J. Klausner can state that the term Messiah, “to designate the expected redeemer, does not occur either in the Holy Scriptures [Old Testament] or in the books of the Apocrypha.” [italics his] (Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, p. 8). I would think that the eschatological speeches by Eleazar, the seven sons, and Razis in 2 Maccabees would lead one to expect some reference to a Messiah – at least at the time when this book was written. None occurs.

<sup>7</sup> In Alexandria Philo was distant from messianic hopes and more caught up in relationships between Jewish and Greek ideas. Josephus, because of his desire to win Roman support and appreciation for the Judaism that survived the destruction of the nation in 70 C.E., portrayed the messianic figures as deluded eccentrics. Vespasian himself was the redeemer who would provide security and fulfill the divine oracle (*War* 6.313b). See M. de Jonge’s comments in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 9 (1974) pp. 520–21.

<sup>8</sup> Numerous and significant studies have been published; note in particular the following: A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* (*Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 3; Assen: van Gorcum, 1957); M. de Jonge, “The Use of the Word ‘Anointed’ in the Time of Jesus,” *Novum Testamentum* 8 (1966) 132–48; R. E. Brown, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s),” in *The Scrolls and Christianity: Historical and Theological Significance*, ed. M. Black (*Theological Collections* 11; London: SPCK, 1969) pp. 37–44; F. F. Bruce, “Preparation for the Messiah,” *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1974) pp. 66–81. See the articles in the present book and the selected and annotated bibliography. Also, see the introduction in the present book.

<sup>9</sup> See S. H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation: The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum* (*Monographs of the Hebrew Union College* 2; New York: Hebrew Union College, 1974).

<sup>10</sup> In addition to the previous cited publications, significant works specifically devoted to the concept of ‘The Messiah’ in the intertestamental period, listed in chronological order, are: D. Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei* (Florence: Monnier, 1874); J. Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (London: Longmans, Green, 1877); W. Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1903<sup>3</sup>); T. Walker, *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923 [see esp. “The Character of the Messiah,” pp. 121–81]); G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1927–1930 [see esp. “Messianic Expectations,” vol. 2, pp. 323–

Another collection of Jewish writings from the intertestamental period contains significant references to the Messiah; but these are not as well known, and no survey that represents the full collection has been published. Since English, German, French, Spanish, and other modern translations of these documents, the so-called Pseudepigrapha, are now available,<sup>11</sup> it seems prudent to gather together these messianic passages for a brief examination. This survey should help pave the way for more intensive research.

Present research on Second Temple Judaism – or better, Early Judaism – is distinguished from earlier publications, notably before 1950 (when the ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the truth in some previous publications began to make an impact),<sup>12</sup> by three primary factors. These are the vast increase in primary sources, the heightened understanding of Early Judaism, and the development of a refined methodology.

### I. Increase in Sources

Today more than ever, the scholar of Early Judaism (c. 250 B. C. E. to 200 C. E.) is both plagued and pleased by a veritable treasury of sources: the rabbinic material that is early; the New Testament, especially those passages that are pre-Christian and Jewish in thought and tone; the Dead Sea Scrolls; the Apocrypha; the Hermetica; and the well-known Jewish authors Philo and Josephus. Especially is this increase evident in the new collections of the Pseudepigrapha.<sup>13</sup> These books were written by Jews and Jewish Christians, and were sometimes redacted by later Christians. They were composed, for the most part, during the period 250 B. C. E. to 200 C. E. This is the period that separates the Old Testament, ending with the book of Daniel in 165 B. C. E., from the New Testament, beginning with the First Letter of Paul to the Thesalonians in 50 C. E. The Pseudepigrapha usually bear the names of Old Testament heroes and carry such titles as the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and the *Abode of the Rechabites* (or *History of the Rechabites*). Most of these writings were part of the group of documents from which the Old Testament, and then the New

76]); R. Meyer, "Messias ... im nachbiblischen Judentum," in *RGG*<sup>3</sup>, vol. 4 (1960), cols. 904–906; G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, trans. M. A. Meyer and H. Halkin (New York: Schocken, 1971); M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "Messianic Ideas in Later Judaism," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 9 (1974) pp. 509–27; for additional publications see J. H. Charlesworth, "Messianism," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 7; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1976) pp. 57–61.

<sup>11</sup> See the volumes edited by J. H. Charlesworth, H. F. D. Sparks, M. Philonenko, A. Díez Macho, et al., P. Sacchi, W. G. Kümmel and H. Lichtenberger.

<sup>12</sup> For further comments see my "A History of Pseudepigrapha Research: The Re-emerging Importance of the Pseudepigrapha," in *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979) 54–88.

<sup>13</sup> *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Doubleday) contains 65 documents.

Testament, were eventually collected and canonized. However, they were placed neither into the Hebrew “Old Testament” nor into the larger collection of the Greek “Old Testament”, called the Septuagint.

It is misrepresentative to state that the documents are falsely attributed to Abraham, Elijah, Job, or Solomon. They were written under the inspiration of these figures and there seems to be little question that many of these authors thought that they were speaking as – or represented – Abraham, Elijah, Job, or Solomon. The principle of solidarity in the Semitic world linked the son with the father and hence with his forefathers. The Jew living in the period of Early Judaism believed that he was indeed part of Abraham, other patriarchs, and great biblical persons.

One of the major thoughts contained in the Pseudepigrapha – as well as in the Dead Sea Scrolls – is the claim that God is about to bring an end to all normal history, bringing in the promised day, and inaugurating the end of time. The perception of the present is, therefore, often very pessimistic; God is no longer seen primarily as working through history as He did in the past to redeem His people. His acts of salvation tend to be transferred into the past or into the future. He is not active in the present. Thus, the seer frequently takes the reader into the future, or into the heavens, to perceive the events of the future or the order of the universe.

The Pseudepigrapha have been published in English as a collection only once before; that was under the editorship of R.H. Charles in 1913.<sup>14</sup> Although he collected 17 writings under the heading of Pseudepigrapha, it is recognized today that only 15 of these are to be considered part of the Pseudepigrapha. The *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983 and 1985) contains 65 documents. The increase is astronomical, from 15 to 65. In the past, it was difficult to talk about the concept of the Messiah in 15 documents; how much more difficult is it now briefly to represent the thoughts of 65.

## II. Intertestamental Judaism

Today we are working with a concept of Early Judaism which is appreciably different from that used by scholars during the first half of this century. Thanks to the pioneering and fruitful research published by scholars in

<sup>14</sup> R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913). The Pseudepigrapha was published in German in 1900 by E. Kautzsch (*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols. Tübingen: Mohr) and in an expanded form in 1928 by P. Riessler (*Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel*. Heidelberg: Kerle, repr. 1966). Today the German edition is available under the title *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. The first edition of this corpus was by Fabricius in Latin and a French edition was published by Mingé. Today, translations are readily available in convenient volumes in languages other than English and German: Italian, French, Dutch, Hebrew, Greek, and Spanish.

many countries, it is now widely recognized (at least in scholarly circles) that Early Judaism was not isolated from the 'pagan' world but deeply influenced by it.<sup>15</sup>

We should no longer talk about an orthodox<sup>16</sup> center to Judaism, but rather acknowledge that Judaism for centuries prior to the burning of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. was a richly variegated phenomenon. In the best recent research, Diaspora Judaism is not contrasted with Palestinian Judaism. Hellenistic Judaism<sup>17</sup> – that is, the Judaism in the ancient world from circa 323 B. C. E. to 200 C. E. – is now perceived as being marvelously varied and impressively creative. We now recognize that mystical motifs are present in Early Judaism and that these ideas, thanks to the work of E. R. Goodenough and G. Scholem, must be acknowledged as contributing to the Jews' self-understanding and search for meaning during the period of Early Judaism.<sup>18</sup> The method espoused by G. F. Moore,<sup>19</sup> which takes the rabbinic writings as the key witness for Early Judaism, can no longer be followed. Moore, as E. P. Sanders states,<sup>20</sup> impressively understood and perceived the religion that became "normative" after the destruction of Jerusalem, Rabbinic Judaism; but he did not claim to have written a theology of Early Judaism – or even first century – Judaism.

Thanks to the research by J. Neusner,<sup>21</sup> we recognize that the rabbinic writings must be utilized as we try to re-understand pre-70 Judaism, but that Juda-

<sup>15</sup> See Charlesworth, "Greek, Persian, Roman, Syrian, and Egyptian Influences in Early Jewish Theology," in *Hellenica et Judaica [Nikiprowetzky Festschrift]*, ed. A. Caquot, et al. (Leuven-Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986) pp. 219–43.

<sup>16</sup> For a lively discussion see N. J. McEleney, "Orthodoxy in Judaism of the First Christian Century," *JSJ* 4 (1973) 19–42; D. E. Aune, "Orthodoxy in First Century Judaism? A Response to N. J. McEleney," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 1–10; L. L. Grabbe, "Orthodoxy in First Century Judaism: What are the Issues?," *JSJ* 8 (1977) 149–53; and N. J. McEleney, "Orthodoxy in Judaism of the First Christian Century: Replies to David E. Aune and Lester L. Grabbe," *JSJ* 9 (1978) 83–88. While these articles may tend to generate more heat than light, they clearly focus upon a major issue. McEleney sees three elements in 'Jewish Orthodoxy' in the first century: "belief in the God of Israel, in Israel's status as the chosen people, and acceptance in some way of the Mosaic Law" (*JSJ* 9 [1978] 87). But, Grabbe correctly warns that "common elements are not the same as orthodoxy" (*JSJ* 8 [1977] 150). Pre-rabbinic writings do not define Judaism as a system with three unifying ideas; moreover, the extant documents from the first century differ from one another as to the importance, interpretation, and use of these (and other) ideas.

<sup>17</sup> Hellenistic Judaism should be used to denote a chronological aspect of Judaism – Judaism in the Hellenistic period – and not as a term to distinguish non-Palestinian from Palestinian Judaism.

<sup>18</sup> See Charlesworth, "Jewish Astrology in the Talmud, Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Early Palestinian Synagogues," *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977) 183–200.

<sup>19</sup> G. F. Moore, *Judaism*.

<sup>20</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

<sup>21</sup> J. Neusner is the most prolific writer today; his books are easy to locate. A popular concise book is his *First-Century Judaism in Crisis: Yohanan ben Zakkai and the Renaissance of Torah* (Nashville, New York: Abingdon, 1975). Also see Neusner, "The Forma-

ism did not flow unilaterally and without development from the first century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. We must very carefully use rabbinic sources as we have used the New Testament,<sup>22</sup> sifting and weighing the data in the endeavor to perceive the earliest strata of a document.<sup>23</sup> Our key question is, if a tradition is attributed to a pre-70 Rabbi, how likely is it that it derives from him, and what possible alterations should be attributed to scribes and Rabbis that are separated from him by centuries.<sup>24</sup>

All of this means that the Pseudepigrapha is a major source for understanding Early Judaism.<sup>25</sup> The Jewish writings in the collection can no longer be discarded as documents from a fringe group of heterodox Jews. They must be recognized as containing many important ideas, concepts, expressions, and dreams that permeated the fabric of Hellenistic Judaism.

### III. Methodology

It is obvious, therefore, that we should not start with a review of previous publications; we should start with the original sources themselves. What do the pseudepigrapha say about the Messiah? Is this the question we should begin with? No; the pseudepigrapha may not be concerned about a messiah or the Messiah, or they may be only partly concerned about messianic ideas. To look for messianic passages, to remove them, and to focus solely upon them would be to create false texts and seriously misrepresent the Pseudepigrapha. So we must look at the full collection, now no less than 65 documents, and ask what is the essence of each of these documents, and in what ways, if any, do the authors attend to messianic thoughts.

The net must be cast over the entire corpus of the Pseudepigrapha. It must also be constructed carefully so that it will collect all desired passages. In order to accomplish the latter goal, we shall seek out only the messianic passages that mention the terms "the Messiah", "the Anointed One", and "the Christ" (the Greek translation of the Semitic term). The procedure assuredly risks missing some passages that are authentically messianic; but more importantly it initiates a fresh start that is not cluttered by unexamined presuppositions

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tion of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jamnia) from A. D. 70 to 100," *ANRW* II 19, 2 (Berlin-New York, 1978) pp. 3–42, and Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London: Doubleday, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> See H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, trans. M. Bockmuehl, with a Foreword by Neusner (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

<sup>23</sup> See L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) vol. 1, pp. 14–17.

<sup>24</sup> See the contributions in *Hillel and Jesus*, ed. by Charlesworth and L. L. Johns (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> See C. A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992) pp. 20–47.

regarding the manifold meanings of such uncertain messianic titles as the Son of Man, the Man, the Righteous One, the Shepherd, the Lamb, the One-to-Come, the Lord, the Bridegroom, the Servant, and the Prophet.<sup>26</sup> To be sure some passages do define the Messiah as “the Prophet”, but such an equation does not allow us to begin collecting passages about “the Prophet” and impose upon them messianic overtones. The fallacies in this older method are relatively obvious; different authors do not define terms the same way, and it is unwise to impose definitions upon ambiguous passages. This principle is true both for different books and for different passages in one book, since many pseudepigrapha are composed by different authors sometimes separated by over two centuries.

We are usually uncertain that a noun is a title, since the original languages of the documents – notably Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek – did not clarify when a term should be capitalized in English and in our conceptions, and no morphological or grammatical clue helps us to separate non-titular from titular usages. Some of the Pseudepigrapha are preserved solely or primarily in Syriac, which has no clear means to denote the definite article. We may be guilty of eisegesis and read “a son of man” incorrectly as “the Son of Man” and “a lord” as “the Lord.” To avoid all these errors, it is best to begin by looking generally at all of the books in the Pseudepigrapha and by observing the use of the terms “the Messiah”, “the Anointed One”, and “the Christ”.<sup>27</sup> In order to be descriptive and not to impose a false metaphysical

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<sup>26</sup> My main hesitancy in following most of the previous publications, such as those by R.H. Charles, is that messianic titles are confused with non-messianic titles or terms. That is, for example, statements about the “Son of Man” are interpreted as if the author had written “Messiah” or its derivatives. Many passages in the Pseudepigrapha do portray a messianic “Son of Man” but we must observe the terms used. The author may be rejecting a concept of the “Messiah” in favor of other concepts articulated by the use of different titles. It is refreshing to observe that S.H. Levey begins his important book with the attempt to distinguish between “messianism” and “eschatology” and to discriminate between *Mashiah* (Messiah) as simply “an anointed one” and as “the Messiah” (*The Messiah*, esp. see pp. xix–xxi. For example, compare the Fragmentary Targum with Onkelos and see especially Pseudo-Jonathan to Numbers 24:17–24.

<sup>27</sup> M. de Jonge likewise argues that scholars should define their terms; he uses the word “anointed” (Messiah) only “where the sources use the corresponding word in their own language. Similarly the use of the term “messianic expectation should be restricted to the expectation of a redeemer who is actually called Messiah.” See his “The Use of the Word ‘Anointed’ in the Time of Jesus,” *Novum Testamentum* 8 (1966) 132–48. Morton Smith has warned against the cavalier use of the term “Messiah,” which does not necessarily have eschatological connotations. See his “What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959) 66–72. He correctly argues “that there were both messiahs without ends of the world and ends of the world without messiahs ...” (p. 185). See Smith’s “Messiahs: Robbers, Jurists, Prophets, and Magicians,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 44 (1977) 185–95. A discussion of the various ways messianism is defined is discussed in J. Coppens, *L’espérance messianique: Ses origines et son développement* (ALBO ser. 4, fasc. 9: Bruges-Paris:



system upon the data, passages will be discussed in their supposed chronological order and not according to a grid of categories like “the pre-existent Messiah”, “the Suffering Messiah”, “the Human Messiah”, or the “Superhuman Messiah.”<sup>28</sup>

#### IV. Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha

As we turn our attention to the Pseudepigrapha, we must acknowledge difficulty in trying to discover how the authors of these writings perceived the issue before us. When biblical scholars work on the canonical writings, there are reliable texts, abundant translations, and numerous concordances and commentaries. These tools are essential for accurate and fruitful research. Unfortunately, the case is appreciably different with the Pseudepigrapha. The critical texts are only now beginning to take trustworthy shape, and, while translations are readily available, there are still no concordances to the Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Slavic pseudepigrapha, and critical commentaries are only now beginning to be arranged.<sup>29</sup> The only way to proceed, therefore, is to read through each document carefully with the hope that all sections that should be lifted out for careful study have been found. Although the method is laborious and time consuming, it is the one I have been forced to follow.

Only five documents in the Pseudepigrapha contain Jewish comments about “the Messiah,” “the Anointed One,” or “the Christ”. The best known passages are found in the *Psalms of Solomon*, which were written around the middle of the first century B. C. E.<sup>30</sup> In this document *χριστός* or *ܡܫܝܗ* appears in 17:32[36] (*καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστός κυρίου· wmlkhwn mšyh' mry'* [Syriac]), in the title to Psalm 18 (*Ψαλμός τῷ Σαλωμών· ἔτι τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου*; no superscription in Syriac), in 18:5 (*εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*, Syriac is lost), and in 18:7 (*ὑπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου*, Syriac is lost). In the 17th Psalm of Solomon, in verses 21–33, we find a description of the Messiah who will be a descendent of David and who will purge Jerusalem of her enemies not by means of a sword or through military conquest but “with the word of his mouth”.<sup>31</sup> These verses are as follows:

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Desclée de Brouwer, 1963). The need to clarify terms, the difficulty in discovering the origin of the concept of the Messiah, and the possibility of foreign influence upon the Jewish concept surface in the discussion between Professors Colpe, Schubert, and Stauffer. See O. Baumhauer, ed., *Messiaserwartungen um das Jahr 1: Eine Diskussion mit Carsten Colpe, Kurt Schubert, Ethelbert Stauffer* (Zur Diskussion gestellt 4; Kevelaer: Betzon and Bercker, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> In his *Jesus and Jewish Teaching*, Walker employs the last two categories.

<sup>29</sup> The commentary series is directed by L. Stuckenbruck.

<sup>30</sup> See Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 195–97.

<sup>31</sup> A similar thought is found in Targum Jonathan to Isaiah 11:4 (“and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked.” RSV): “He shall smite the guilty of the land with the word of his mouth, and

See, Lord, and raise up for them their king,  
 the son of David, to rule over your servant Israel  
 in the time known to you, O God.  
 Undergird him with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers,  
 to purge Jerusalem from gentiles  
 who trample her to destruction;  
 in wisdom and in righteousness to drive out  
 the sinners from the inheritance;  
 to smash the arrogance of sinners  
 like a potter's jar;  
 To shatter all their substance with an iron rod;  
 to destroy the unlawful nations with the word of his mouth;  
 At his warning the nations will flee from his presence;  
 and he will condemn sinners by the thoughts of their hearts.  
 He will gather a holy people  
 whom he will lead in righteousness;  
 and he will judge the tribes of the people  
 that have been made holy by the Lord their God. ...  
 There will be no unrighteousness among them in his days,  
 for all shall be holy,  
 and their king shall be the Lord Messiah.<sup>32</sup>  
 (For) he will not rely on horse and rider and bow,  
 nor will he collect gold and silver for war.  
 Nor will he build up hope in a multitude for a day of war.<sup>33</sup>

This psalm is deeply influenced by earlier traditions, especially Isaiah (11:1-10,49,60)<sup>34</sup> and the Royal Psalms (esp. 2 and 72). In contrast to the following Psalm, discussed below, the seventeenth is very close to the "Old Testament" concepts and images of the Messiah.<sup>35</sup>

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with the speech of his lips he shall slay Armilus the wicked." Translated by Levey, *The Messiah*, p. 49. Significantly, in contrast to the Targumim to the Pentateuch, Targum Jonathan to First Isaiah depicts the Messiah "as a symbol of peace and harmony in the world, as a righteous judge, as the champion of social justice" (Levey, *The Messiah*, p. 102).

<sup>32</sup> Klausner emends *christos kurios* to *christos kuriou* and translates it "the anointed of the Lord". Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 321.

<sup>33</sup> Spacing mine; the translation by R. B. Wright is taken from *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, pp. 667-68.

<sup>34</sup> See M. A. Chevallier, *L'Esprit et le messie dans le bas-judaïsme et le Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958) pp. 10-17; P. Grelot, *La venue du messie*, pp. 19-50. M. Delcor, who is rightly surprised that the Messiah in Psalm of Solomon 17 ("n'apparaît pas comme un roi guerrier"), sees the messianism of Psalm 17 in the development of messianism occupying "une place intermédiaire entre les conceptions de l'Ancien Testament et celles, tardives, d'un Messie Supraterrestre". See Delcor, "Psaumes de Salomon," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 48 (1973), cols. 214-45, see esp. col. 245. Hengel notices the influence of Isaiah 11 upon Psalm 17; he also states that "Den Gewaltherrschern nach der Art der Hasmonäer und des Herodes wird hier ein Messias des Geistes und des Wortes gegenübergestellt." Hengel, *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit* (Calwer Hefte 118; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1971) p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> See M. de Jonge, *Novum Testamentum* 8 (1966) 134-35.

Two comments will help us place this idea in the history of Judaism. This passage in the *Psalms of Solomon* has been taken usually to mean that the author is thinking about a militant Messiah.<sup>36</sup> But, he does not portray a political, revolutionary, and militant Messiah. His picture is considerably less militant than the one found in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.<sup>37</sup> In this Targum to Genesis 49:11, we read the following account:

How noble is the king, Messiah, who is going to rise from the house of Judah. He has girded his loins and come down, setting in order the order of battle with his enemies and killing kings with their rulers (and there is not a king or a ruler who shall stand before him), reddening the mountains with the blood of their slain. With his garments dipped in blood, he is like one who treads grapes in the press.<sup>38</sup>

The Messiah in the *Psalms of Solomon* is, of course, not portrayed as a bloody warrior. As Klausner stated, there are no intimations of wars and bloodshed,<sup>39</sup> the contrast with the war envisioned in the *War Scroll* is impressive.<sup>40</sup>

The second observation, that I hope helps us understand the concept of the Messiah in the *Psalms of Solomon*, is the recognition that God is clearly the actor. Here also, this Psalm is close to the Old Testament emphasis that God is King. In fact, the next verse beyond the one quoted above makes it clear that the Lord God Himself is the King and the Lord of "the Messiah." The end of this psalm (17:45-46) clarifies that the Messiah is God's agent:

May God dispatch his mercy to Israel;  
may he deliver us from the pollution of profane enemies;

<sup>36</sup> Note M. de Jonge's judicious comments about *Christos* in the *Psalms of Solomon*: "It would be out of place to speak here – as is often done – of a national, political, earthly Messiah." M. de Jonge in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 9 (1974) p. 514. Klausner stated that "here there is indeed a political and national side to the Messianic kingdom; but the spiritual side is emphasized more" (*Messianic Idea*, p. 324. [Italics his]). One should note and emphasize Klausner's stress on "the spiritual side" of this messianic passage.

<sup>37</sup> Compare the similar ideas in the Fragmentary Targum to the Pentateuch, translated by Levey, *The Messiah*, p. 11. The Messiah is often seen as militant in the Targumim, see e.g. Targumim Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan (much expanded) to Numbers 24:17-24. Messianism among the Targumim is most prominent in Pseudo-Jonathan; although it does not present a consistent messianism. This Targum looks for the vindication of Israel with the annihilation of her enemies through "a blood-bath, performed by the Messiah, who as the aggressive war-lord of the future, will himself be covered with the blood of the slain foe" (Levey, *The Messiah*, p. 31).

<sup>38</sup> J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969) p. 278. Levey translates the last portion as follows: The King Messiah "reddens the mountains with the blood, like those of him who presses the grapes" (Levey, *The Messiah*, p. 9). Levey perceptively draws attention to the biblical allusions in Isaiah 63:1-6 and in Revelation 19:11-16.

<sup>39</sup> Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 323.

<sup>40</sup> See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. B. and C. Rabin (Oxford: OUP, 1962), and J. Duhaime in the Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project vol. 2 (1995) pp. 80-203.

The Lord Himself is our king forevermore.<sup>41</sup>

The emphasis on God as the one who will accomplish the messianic goals is in line with the major thrust in the *Psalms of Solomon*.

In the next psalm, the eighteenth, the author mentions that God will bring back (ἀνάξει) his Messiah. The verse is extant only in Greek and may be translated as follows:

May God cleanse Israel in the day of mercy and blessing,  
In the day of election when he brings back His Messiah (or  
Anointed).<sup>42</sup>

The passage does not seem to indicate belief in a pre-existing Messiah (contrast 2 *Baruch* 30). It seems to refer back to the memory that the Davidic kings were anointed ones (that is messiahs), and forward to the dream that God will bring back a king like David, who will embody all the aspirations and hopes that Israel had for David and his descendants. The passage is unfortunately terse; but the possessive pronoun clearly subordinates and links the Messiah with God; he is the Lord's Messiah (χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ).

Important concepts of the Messiah are found in 2 *Baruch*,<sup>43</sup> which was written sometime around 100 C. E.<sup>44</sup> "The Messiah" (*mšyh'* [Syriac]) appears in 29:3, 30:1, 39:7, 40:1, 70:9, and 72:2; these passages are presented in three sections.<sup>45</sup> The first comprises chapters 29 and 30. In chapter 29:3, we find the following prophecy: "And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed."<sup>46</sup> With the advent of the Messiah, Behemoth and Leviathan, the two great mythical monsters that were created on the fifth day of creation, become food for all who are left upon the earth. Then, there will be abundant food and drink for all. Each morning fragrant winds will come from the Lord; in the evening there will be "the dew of health" and at all required moments there

<sup>41</sup> Translation by R. B. Wright in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2.

<sup>42</sup> J. Schüpphaus sees two themes in the *Psalms of Solomon*: the declaration of God's righteousness and of God's help in distress. See Schüpphaus, *Die Psalmen Salomos* (ALGHJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

<sup>43</sup> Klausner, who emphasized the striking parallels between 2 *Baruch* and the early parts of the Talmudim and Midrashim, suggested that "there is no Pseudepigraphical book in which are found so many detailed Messianic expectations as in the Syriac Book of *Baruch* ..." (*Messianic Idea*, p. 331).

<sup>44</sup> See Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 83–86.

<sup>45</sup> P. Bogaert observes that the messianic reign is described three times. "Ces descriptions se complètent mutuellement; toutes les trois se présentent comme des préludes aux derniers temps." (*Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2 vols. [SC 144, 145; Paris: Cerf, 1969] vol. 1, p. 416).

<sup>46</sup> Translation is by R. H. Charles in his *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 497. See also A. F. J. Klijn in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, p. 630: "And it will happen that when all that which should come to pass in these parts has been accomplished, the Anointed One will begin to be revealed."

will be manna from heaven. Following these statements, we have an intriguing idea in 30:1–2:

And it shall come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He shall return in glory.

Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again.<sup>47</sup>

While the Messiah, as M. de Jonge states,<sup>48</sup> seems to be given a passive role, the effect of his coming is spectacular. The righteous are resurrected and rejoice; and the wicked “behold all these things” and then “waste away the more.” It is obvious that only the righteous shall be resurrected; the wicked will continue to decay in their graves. The resurrection here pertains only to the soul (*mnyn’ dnpšt’ dzdyq’* [Syriac]); so the soul of the wicked apparently decays along with the body that may have long since passed away; “But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more” (30:4).<sup>49</sup> Bogaert correctly points out that the time of the Messiah is limited; it is followed by the return of the Messiah to glory and the resurrection.<sup>50</sup>

The second section of 2 *Baruch* that concerns itself with the idea of the Messiah is found in chapters 39 through 42. In these chapters we have a description of the capture of the last leader, his conviction by the Messiah, and then his death at the hands of the Messiah. The Messiah then protects “the rest of my people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen” (40:2).<sup>51</sup> The principate of the Messiah will stand until the world of corruption comes to an end (40:3). Apparently, the author thought of a period subsequent to the principate of the Messiah. What is significant about chapters 39 through 42 is that the Messiah is given an active part. He will convict the last leader of the enemies of God’s people, put him to death, and protect “the rest of My people.”

The third section of 2 *Baruch* that concerns the Messiah is found in chapters 72 through 74. This is the longest and most developed of the messianic passages in 2 *Baruch*.<sup>52</sup> In contrast to the first, but as in the second section, the Messiah takes an active part. In chapter 72, it is said that the Messiah shall summon all the nations. He shall spare those who have not oppressed or known Israel; but he shall slay those who have ruled over her. The Messiah’s kingdom may be por-

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 498; cf. PssSol 18, quoted earlier: “When He [God] brings back His Messiah.”

<sup>48</sup> M. de Jonge, in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 9 (1974) p. 515.

<sup>49</sup> Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, p. 498. Regarding 2 *Baruch*, there is, of course, the exegetical possibility that the wicked “waste away” in the sense of being even further removed from God.

<sup>50</sup> Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, vol. 1, p. 416. U.B. Müller argues that the messianic statement in 2 *Baruch* 29 and 30 were added by a Christian. *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (SNT 6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972) pp. 142–45.

<sup>51</sup> Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 518.

<sup>52</sup> 2 Bar 70:9 was thought to be a possible interpolation by Charles (ibid., p. 518). But see Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, vol. 2, pp. 125–26.

trayed as limited, as in the earlier sections,<sup>53</sup> or eternal, as seems evident. Note 73:1-74:4:

And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low  
 everything that is in the world,  
 And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne  
 of His kingdom,  
 That joy shall then be revealed,  
 And rest shall appear.

And then healing shall descend in dew,  
 And disease shall withdraw,  
 And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,  
 And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

And no one shall again die untimely,  
 Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

And judgements, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges,  
 And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred,  
 And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation  
 when they are removed.

For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils,  
 And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.

And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men,  
 And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit  
 themselves to a little child.

And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,  
 Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow  
 weary;  
 Nor those that build be toilworn;  
 For the works shall of themselves speedily advance  
 Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.  
 For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible,  
 And the beginning of that which is not corruptible.  
 Therefore those things which were predicted shall belong to it:  
 Therefore it is far away from evils, and near  
 to those things which die not.  
 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> So Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, vol.1, p. 417-18. Bogaert (p. 417) claims "Ils ne sont que le prélude au 'monde à venir': Car ce temps marquera la fin de la corruption et le début de l'incorruptibilité (LXXIV, 2)."

<sup>54</sup> Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 518.

In these verses, 73:1–74:4, we find a classic description of the apocalyptic age; the age that the author of *2 Baruch* thought and felt was soon to dawn with the coming of the Messiah. In the third as in the second messianic section of *2 Baruch*, the Messiah is portrayed as a warrior who slays Israel's enemies (72:1–6). Unlike the passages in *1 Enoch* 37–71 and the *Assumption of Moses* 10, God (or a messianic figure) does not slay the Gentiles (or nations) because they are not Jews, but only because they have “ruled over” Israel (*kwl 'ylyn dyn d'slt'w 'lykwn* 72:6 [Syriac]). It is significant to observe the means by which the Messiah shall accomplish this end: “But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword (*lhrb*).” (72:6)<sup>55</sup>

The *Apocalypse of Ezra*, or better *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, a Jewish apocalypse that is contemporaneous with *2 Baruch* (although a decade or so earlier),<sup>56</sup> is similar to *2 Baruch* in many ways. It also contains an insight into the brilliant and profound Jewish concepts of the Messiah.<sup>57</sup> As in *2 Baruch*, so in *4 Ezra* there are three messianic sections. The first and by far the most important is contained in 140 long verses in chapter 7. The apocalypticist who wrote *4 Ezra* bifurcates time into “this world” and “the world to come” (7:50, 8:1 *hoc saeculum fecit altissimus propter multos, futurum autem propter paucos*). He also sees the future of this world as trifurcated into separate periods. The first period (7:28–29) is inaugurated by the appearance of the Messiah:

For my son the Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him, and those who remain shall rejoice four hundred years. And after these years my son the Messiah shall die, and all who draw human breath.<sup>58</sup>

In these verses, we find two extremely important and rare ideas. First, found only here in the Pseudepigrapha, is the idea that the Messiah shall come and die (*Et erit post annos hos et morietur filius meus Christus et omnes qui spiramentum habent hominis. – wnhw' mn btr hlyn šny' nmwt bry mšyḥ'. wklhwn 'ylyn d'yt bhwn nšmt' dbr nš'* [Syriac]).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 518.

<sup>56</sup> See Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 111–16.

<sup>57</sup> Klausner called *4 Ezra* “the profoundest and most exalted in its lofty spirituality of all the books of the ‘Pseudepigrapha’.” Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 349, cf. p. 365). The opposite is affirmed by Sanders, who claims “that IV Ezra is not a particularly good representative of Judaism”; and that the author did not maintain the “traditional efficacy” of the covenant. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, p. 427, cf. 409–18.

<sup>58</sup> *4 Ezra* 7:28–29 according to B. M. Metzger in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1. All quotations from *4 Ezra* are from his translation.

<sup>59</sup> The Jewish concept of a Messiah who dies is found, outside of *4 Ezra*, only in early medieval and later documents, such as the *Pesikta Rabbati*, and almost always is couched in terms of two Messiahs: the Messiah son of Ephraim (or Joseph) who dies and the Messiah son of David (sometimes anonymous) who may suffer but is victorious. For discussions on the Messiah who dies, see Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 2, pp. 370–71; Mo-winckel, *He that Cometh*, pp. 325–33 (and esp. the bibliography); and the impressive and long note in H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, prolegomenon by J. C. Greenfield (New York: KTAV, 1973 [first printed in 1928]) pp. 144–47. Levey (*The Mes-*

The passage is rightly conceived as being Jewish. There is no efficacious nature to the death of the Messiah, and after his death two things will occur which most certainly have not happened according to the Christian perspective: All human beings will die and the world shall return back again to the primeval silence. There are, of course, Christian additions in this chapter; but, these can be identified by comparing the Latin with the Syriac and Armenian; for example, in 7:28, "my son Jesus" (*filius meus Jesus*) was originally "my son the Messiah" (*bry mšyḥ*). Jewish and Christian scholars correctly have concluded that 4 Ezra 7:28-29 was composed by a Jew.<sup>60</sup>

With the Messiah's death, the first of the stages comes to an end; significantly, therefore, the messianic age is not the eschaton.<sup>61</sup> The second stage (7:30), following rapidly upon the Messiah's death, is a "seven days" return to the primeval silence.<sup>62</sup>

After these seven days, the third period receives the emphasis of the seer, for he discusses the second stage in only verse 30, but stage three in verses 31 through 44. The third period is "the day of judgment" (7:38) which "will last for about a week of years," which is seven years (7:43). In it, the dead of both the righteous and the unrighteous will be resurrected, and the Most High will sit "upon the seat of judgment" and dispense judgment upon all. The unrighteous will be assigned to the "pit of torment" and "the furnace of hell." These unrighteous ones have, ever since their death, wandered "about in torments, even grieving and sad, in seven ways" (7:80). The righteous shall be ushered into "the place of rest" and "the paradise of delight." Since their death, the righteous have seen the glorious state that has been prepared for them (see 7:88-99).

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siah, pp. 16, 142) draws attention to the only passage in the Targumim that discusses "Messiah son of Ephraim," namely Pseudo-Jonathan to Exodus 40:9-11. Although he should have pointed out that the Targum does not mention the Messiah's death, Levey perceptively argues (as had Klausner, "Messias ben Joseph, und der Kampf mit Gog und Magog," in *Die messianischen Vorstellungen*, pp. 86-103 and others [see Odeberg, 3 *Enoch*, pp. 144-45]) that this concept "was probably built up as a psychological reaction to the death of Bar Kokhba; he will be a conquering hero who will actually lead in the final battle, and will be slain and mourned" (p. 16). Earlier, Mowinckel had claimed that the concept of a suffering and dying (unfortunately he confuses these terms) Messiah in Judaism is a reaction against Christianity, "a biblical counterblast to the Christian faith in the Jesus (who had died) as the Messiah" (p. 330). While both Levey and Mowinckel are partly correct, medieval Jewish thought must not be confused with the messianic ideas in 4 Ezra 7:28-29, which link the death of the Messiah neither with suffering nor atonement, but with the logical eschatological schema, the close of the messianic age, which concludes "this world" and is the prelude to "the world to come" (7:50, 8:11).

<sup>60</sup> See the discussions by Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, pp. 349-65; Mowinckel, *He that Cometh*, pp. 325-37; and Müller, *Messias*, pp. 86-89.

<sup>61</sup> G. F. Moore argued persuasively that after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. apocalyptic revived and an "important feature of this revived apocalyptic is that the Messianic Age is not final ..." (*Judaism*, vol. 2, p. 338, cf. p. 333).

<sup>62</sup> See the excellent comments by Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, pp. 355-56.



After the third period, this world and this age come to an end, as the author states in two passages. The first is in 7:50: "For this reason the Most High has created not one world but two" (*Propter hoc non fecit altissimus unum saeculum sed duo*); the second is in 7:113–14: "But the day of judgment will be the end of this age and the beginning of the immortal age to come, in which corruption has passed away, sinful indulgence has come to an end, unbelief has been cut off, and righteousness has increased and truth has appeared." The new world and the immortal age is characterized, in particular, by both a blessed state of existence and by an extremely few number of people. Repeatedly the seer emphasizes that "only very few of the innumerable multitude" (7:140) will enjoy the world to come. In 7:138 he specifies that "not one ten-thousandth of mankind could have life."

It seems to me that the tone of these verses is not only pessimistic but also exhortatory, urging the reader to be among the righteous. The parenetic tone continues into chapter eight, which begins with the following statement: "Many have been created, but few will be saved" (8:3), and continues with Ezra's petition to God, followed by another prayer and petition for those who need God's mercy, especially and perhaps only those who are within Israel, God's inheritance, God's people, and Ezra's nationality (cf. 8:15–17).

The second messianic section of 4 *Ezra*, 11:37–12:34, contains the seer's description of "a creature like a lion" (11:37), who comes out of the forest roaring and speaking in a man's voice. The words and actions of the lion arouse the supposition that he is the Messiah. This suspicion is confirmed by a rare identification and clear explanation in 12:31–34:

And as for the lion that you saw rousing up out of the forest and roaring and speaking to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness, and as for all his words that you have heard, this is the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David, and will come and speak to them; he will denounce them for their ungodliness and for their wickedness, and will cast up before them their contemptuous dealings. For first he will set them living before his judgment seat, and when he has reproved them, then he will destroy them. But he will deliver in mercy the remnant of my people, those who have been saved throughout my borders, and he will make them joyful until the end comes, the day of judgment, of which I spoke to you at the beginning.

In this section, we are told that the Messiah will come at "the end of days", and that he will be a descendant of David. On the one hand, he will judge, denounce, reprove, and destroy the ungodly, on the other hand he will deliver "the remnant of my people" and "make them joyful until the end comes." It is obvious, therefore, that he is both a warrior and a judge<sup>63</sup> and that after the

<sup>63</sup> M. E. Stone overstates the evidence, obviously in reaction to earlier scholarly publications, when he claims that the legal language "is not to be taken to indicate that judgment is the prime characteristic of that figure (the Messiah). The foremost features

day of judgment there is something yet to be, which was earlier described as the new age and the new world.

The third messianic section of *4 Ezra*, 13:3-14:9, does not employ the word "Messiah" or its cognates, but the identification is unmistakable. The title "my son" employed throughout this section (13:32, 37, 52; 14:9) was already identified as "the Messiah" in the first section of *4 Ezra's* messianism (cf. 7:28-29); and, moreover, *4 Ezra*, as M. E. Stone<sup>64</sup> and others<sup>65</sup> have shown, is a literary unity. This section is the sixth vision that Ezra perceives and it concerns the appearance of a man from the sea (*hominem, qui ascenderat de mari*). The messianic "a man" is "he whom the Most High has been keeping for many ages" (13:26), and is certainly identified with the Son. The equation is clear in 13:32, "then my Son will be revealed, whom you saw as a man coming up from the sea." The understanding of "a man" in the interpretation corresponds to the perception of the Messiah in chapters 11 and 12. The time of the appearance of this messianic figure is unknown: "Just as no one can explore or know what is in the depths of the sea, so no one on earth can see my Son or those who are with him, except in the time of his day" (13:52).

The functions of the messianic figure are described in a way reminiscent of the 17th *Psalms of Solomon*, discussed earlier, although the description is more pictorial and colorful. "That Man" confronts a multitude who begin a war against him, but the messianic figure "neither lifted his hand nor held a spear or any weapon of war; but ... he sent forth from his mouth as it were a stream of fire (*sicut fluctum ignis*), and from his lips a flaming breath (*spiritum flammæ*), and from his tongue he shot forth a storm of sparks (*scintillas tempestatis*). All these were mingled together, the stream of fire and the flaming breath and the great storm, and fell on the onrushing multitude which was

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are still military, the overthrowing of the great Roman Empire ... ." (p. 302). See Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Studies in the History of Religions 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968) pp. 295-312.

<sup>64</sup> Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra*, Harvard Ph. D., 1965, see esp. pp. 11-17. Stone was the first scholar to perceive and argue persuasively that *4 Ezra's* visions are interpreted in light of concepts and images contained neither in *4 Ezra* itself nor in its visions, and that this anomalous and heterogeneous characteristic is not caused by interpolation but by the author's "own interpretation to a previously existent allegory" (*ibid.*, p. 306, cf. also pp. 303, 309).

<sup>65</sup> Of the more recent works see W. Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheißung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (FRLANT 97; Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969) and E. Breech, who claims that *4 Ezra* "is distinguished by the literary skill which its author has employed in constructing his work with a sense of unity and inner dynamic coherence which did not fail to impress even the fragmenter Box." Breech, "These Fragments I have Shored Against my Ruins: The Form and Function of *4 Ezra*," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1973) 267-74, esp. p. 270. Sanders sees *4 Ezra* 3-13 as a unity; chapter 14 constitutes "a 'saving' appendix to make IV Ezra more palatable in Jewish circles." Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, p. 418.

prepared to fight, and burned them all up, so that suddenly nothing was seen of the innumerable multitude but only the dust of ashes and the smell of smoke" (13:9–11). It would be wise to be cautious and not to label without qualification this messianic figure as militant, since his means of conquering the enemies of Israel is not by human militant means. The author, obviously, is influenced here by Isaiah 11:4.

The fourth document in the Pseudepigrapha that contains a Jewish reference to "the Messiah", "the Anointed One", or "the Christ" is found in *1 Enoch*, one of the most important Jewish apocalypses, which contains writings (or books) from circa 250 B. C. E. to conceivably the end of the first century C. E. The second of five sections in this book, the *Similitudes of Enoch* (37–71), contains numerous references to messianic figures called "the Son of Man," "The Righteous One", and "the Elect One." In this section, that is extant only in Ethiopic (and neither in Greek nor in the Aramaic fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls),<sup>66</sup> there are two passages that contain the word which can be translated "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," or "the Christ."

According to R. H. Charles' translation,<sup>67</sup> the first passage (48:10) reads: "For they [the kings of the earth and the mighty landowners] have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed." The second (52:4) is: "And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'<sup>68</sup>" The references are strikingly terse and opaque, especially so in light of the rich pictorial descriptions of "the Son of Man," "the Righteous One," and "the Elect One" found also in *1 Enoch* 37–71. In an apocalyptic work so full of details regarding the future and the numerous heavens, the references to and the descriptions of "the Messiah," or its derivatives, are impressively brief. The "Messiah" does not inaugurate a messianic kingdom. Surprisingly, the author has attributed to him no functions. There is no interest in or association with a descent from David. In *1 Enoch* 37–71, in contrast to *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*, "The Messiah" (which Charles translated as the "Anointed One") is apparently portrayed as the terrestrial and human messianic king who shall perfectly embody all the dreams attributed to the kings of Israel's past.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). For research on *1 Enoch* see Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 98–103. Also, see M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), and S. Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ V.6; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1984), and E. Isaac in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 219.

<sup>69</sup> The messianism of *1 Enoch* 37–71, therefore, is not in line with Christianity's celestial concepts but integral to the earlier compositions in *1 Enoch*, notable the terrestrial promise to the righteous and elect; "But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, And they shall inherit the earth." (*1 Enoch* 5:7a–7b, translation by Charles, *ibid.*,

The date of this section of 1 Enoch has been a topic of heated controversy during this century. J. T. Milik rejects the idea that these passages are earlier than the origins of Christianity and dates them to the third century C. E.<sup>70</sup> His arguments have not persuaded most critical scholars, and the prevailing opinion of specialists<sup>71</sup> seems to be that neither Milik's late nor Charles' early date ("to the years 94–79" B. C. E.)<sup>72</sup> is likely for the Similitudes of Enoch. The messianic passages therein seem to be Jewish and contemporaneous with the origins of Christianity.<sup>73</sup>

It is apparent that 1 Enoch 37–71 antedates the Palestinian Jesus Movement since the concept of the Messiah in 48:10 and 52:4 appears in a rather cavalier fashion. These verses contain neither Jewish polemic against Christian Christology nor peculiarly Christian expressions and ideas. Moreover, the constant strain to denigrate the rich landowners indicates a time when Jews, like those behind 1 Enoch, have lost their farmlands. The date for such a sociological crisis is with the beginning of the reign of King Herod (37–20 B. C. E.). The

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vol. 2, p. 190). It is distressing to find that most publications on the messianisms of 1 Enoch are vitiated by the failure to perceive the heterogeneous nature of the "five books" within 1 Enoch, and the tendency to equate "the Messiah" with other possible messianic titles. The identification of the "Son of Man" with the Messiah in 1 Enoch 37–71 now seems relatively certain [and this is a major change from the earlier version of this article which appeared in ANRW]. Kellermann rightly claims that the "Menschensohn ist keine messianische Gestalt. Diese Figur gehört, traditionsgeschichtlich gesehen, in den Bereich der altorientalischen Mythologie und stellt keine genuin israelitische Hoffnung dar." He wisely continues, however, to argue that "the Son of Man" in 1 Enoch 48 and 52 is painted "in messianischen Farben", but that the "Menschensohn ist im Henochbuch noch nicht der Messias, trägt aber messianische Züge." (*Messias und Gesetz*, pp. 119f. [emphasis his]). J. C. VanderKam, M. Black, and I also develop the observations and reasons why the author of 1 Enoch 37–71 thought the Messiah was also the Son of Man. See the articles in *The Messiah* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).

<sup>70</sup> Milik concludes that "it is around the year A. D. 270 or shortly afterwards that I would place the composition of the Book of Parables" (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 96).

<sup>71</sup> During the 1977 and 1978 SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar meetings in Tübingen and Paris, all the specialists present found difficulty with Milik's methods and conclusions. Ephraim Isaac, who prepared the new translation of 1 Enoch, and Frank Andersen, who contributed the new translation of 2 Enoch, reported that Milik had not done justice to the texts and the complex issues involved in studying 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch. These discussions are summarized in my seminar report: Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, pp. 102–19. It is significant that M. de Jonge, who is known for his arguments that the *Testaments XII Patriarchs* are essentially Christian and not Jewish in character, states of 1 Enoch 37–71 that "it is inconceivable that a Christian redactor or interpolator could have omitted all references to the incarnation or the passion of Jesus" (*Novum Testamentum* 8 [1966] 142).

<sup>72</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) p. 67. In 1913, Charles wrote either 94 to 79 "or 70–64" B. C. E. (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 171).

<sup>73</sup> J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone have developed this position in "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977) 51–65. M. Knibb argues that Milik's dating of the Similitudes is unlikely. He dates them to the latter part of the first century. See Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979) 345–59.

extreme importance of the Jewish messianic ideas found in *1 Enoch* 37–71 is placarded by the fact that some scholars judge these Jewish chapters – or book – to be a “Christian” composition.

The fifth and final document in the Pseudepigrapha that contains the concept of the Messiah is a late composition entitled *3 Enoch*. The Messiah is mentioned in 45:5 and 48:10 (A), which belong to the section of *3 Enoch* that comprises the main body of the document (chapters 3–48A), dated by Hugo Odeberg to the latter half of the third century C. E.<sup>74</sup> P. Alexander cautions that *3 Enoch* derives from a “school tradition” that contains data from the time of the Maccabees to about the sixth century C. E.<sup>75</sup> Although this document is Jewish, it is appreciably later than those mentioned above; the late date of some of the traditions must be allowed.

Verse 45:5 reads as follows:<sup>76</sup>

And I saw:

the Messiah the son of Joseph and his generation, and all that they will do to the gentiles.

And I saw:

the Messiah the son of David and his generation, and all the battles and wars, and all that they will do to Israel whether for good or bad.

And I saw:

all the battles and wars which Gog and Magog will fight with Israel in the days of the Messiah, and all that the Holy One, blessed be he, will do to them in the time to come.

What is noteworthy in this verse is the mention of a Messiah, the son of Joseph, and another Messiah, the son of David. Despite the arguments of some critics,<sup>77</sup> two separate individuals seem to be described. In the Dead Sea Scrolls – as is obvious by the other chapters in the present book – we also find the idea of two Messiahs, a Messiah of Aaron and a Messiah of Israel.<sup>78</sup> Elsewhere in the Pseudepigrapha, the concept of two messianic figures, one of the priest Levi, and the other from the lineage of the king Judah, is preserved in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, p. 41.

<sup>75</sup> P. Alexander, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 225–29.

<sup>76</sup> Translated by P. Alexander in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1.

<sup>77</sup> See the discussion of the unacceptable opinions by Schöttgen and Wünsche in Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, p. 145.

<sup>78</sup> Note CD 19.10–11, 20.1, 14.19, 1 QS 9.10–11. A good English discussion is found in H. Ringgren, “The Messiah,” in *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, trans. E. T. Sander, ed. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad) pp. 167–82; and in R. E. Brown, “J. Starcky’s Theory of Qumran Messianic Development,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966) 51–57. Also see the publications in the present volume.

<sup>79</sup> Note TSimeon 7:1–2 and TJudah 21:1–3; the term “the Messiah,” “the Anointed One,” or “the Christ” is not found in either of these passages. M. de Jonge thinks TSimeon 7:1–2 is from a Christian redaction and TJudah 21:1–3 is not messianic. See his *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975) pp. 223–25, 219–20. It is conceivable that these passages in the *Testaments XII Patriarchs*

The second noteworthy feature about *3 Enoch* 45:5 is that Rabbi Ishmael is describing what he sees will happen at the end of all time. He describes a war between the Messiahs of Israel and God and Magog. This war results in a stalemate and God himself must enter and win the battle for Israel.<sup>80</sup> If this is an accurate interpretation, then there is a striking similarity between 45:5 and one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *War Scroll*, which describes six major battles between “the Sons of Light” and “the Sons of Darkness” which end in a deadlock. The seventh and final battle is one in which God fights on the side of “the Sons of Light.”

The second passage in *3 Enoch* that contains a reference to the Messiah, 48A:10, describes the celebrations with the Messiah after Israel is saved “from among the nations of the world.”

... and the Messiah shall appear to them and bring them up to Jerusalem with great joy. Moreover, the kingdom of Israel, gathered from the four quarters of the world, shall eat with the Messiah, and the gentiles shall eat with them, as it is written,

The Lord bares his holy arm  
in the sight of all the nations,  
and all the ends of the earth shall see  
the salvation of our God.

and it also says,

The Lord alone is his guide,  
with him is no alien god;

and it says,

The Lord will be King of the whole world.<sup>81</sup>

In this passage, we seem to obtain confirmation of the idea that the author of *3 Enoch* believes (like the author of the *War Scroll* but far less clearly and definitively) that only God himself will be able to win the final war for Israel. It is impressive to observe that the source of his idea is none other than the Old Testament itself, namely Isaiah 52:10, Deuteronomy 32:12, and Zechariah 14:9.

In the Pseudepigrapha—notably in the *Psalms of Solomon*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Ezra*, *1 Enoch*, and *3 Enoch*—we have a record of Jewish speculations regarding the Messiah from approximately the first century B.C.E. through the third century C.E. (and later). It is difficult and perhaps unwise to try to synthesize the various ideas described above. Yet, all the passages look to the future for the

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originally (before the Christian additions) referred not to two Messiahs but to the exaltation of two tribes because of their role in the future. “Christ,” as a noun, does not appear in the *Testaments*, but it is used as an adjective (literally a descriptive genitive) in *TR* Reuben 6:8 in which the phrase “the anointed High Priest” (ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ) refers to Levi, who shall give ordinances for judgment and be in charge of sacrifices for all Israel until the consummation of the times (ὑπὲρ παντὸς Ἰσραήλ, μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων).

<sup>80</sup> Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, p. 147.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander’s translation in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, p. 302.

coming of the Messiah, and the Messiah (when given functions) is often perceived as one who will accomplish freedom and peace for Israel by conquering her enemies. It is impressive how often the Messiah appears in early Jewish literature and no function is assigned to him. It is imperative also to note the numerous passages in which the Endtime is achieved in a non-military supernatural fashion.

### *Christian Compositions in the OTP*

We now turn to four documents in the Pseudepigrapha that are *Christian compositions* containing “the Messiah”, or its translation. The first is a collection of hymns that now bears the name the *Odes of Solomon*. The author probably lived near the end of the first century C.E. and apparently was influenced both by the ideas, symbols, and terminology found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and by the symbolism and concepts that eventually were incorporated into and made part of the Gospel According to John.<sup>82</sup>

“Messiah” (*mšyḥ*’ [Syriac]) is found in the *Odes* in seven passages (9:3, 17:17, 24:1, 29:6, 39:11, 41:3, 41:15). Ode 41 contains an exhortation to rejoice because of the advent of the Messiah; this note of rejoicing and joy permeates the whole collection of hymns and is perhaps the major reason for the writing of these *Odes*. Ode 41:3-7 presents the following ideas:

We live in the Lord by his grace,  
And life we receive by his Messiah.

For a great day has shined upon us,  
And wonderful is he who has given to us of his glory.

Let us, therefore, all of us agree in the name of the Lord,  
And let us honor him in his goodness.

And let our faces shine in his light,  
And let our hearts meditate on his love,  
By night and by day.  
Let us exult with the exultation of the Lord.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> See Charlesworth, *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1991); Charlesworth, “Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *Revue Biblique* 77 (1970) 522–49; Charlesworth with A. Culpepper, “The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 35 (1973) 298–322; Charlesworth, “The Odes of Solomon,” in *Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976) pp. 637–38. For other recent publications on the Odes of Solomon see the bibliographies in my *The Odes of Solomon and The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, and especially my *Critical Reflections on the Odes of Solomon* (JSPS 22; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

<sup>83</sup> All translations are mine.

The end of this same Ode (41:15) concludes with the idea that the Messiah is pre-existent:

The Messiah in truth is one,  
And he was known before the foundations of the world,  
That he might give life to persons forever by the truth of his name.

Two of the passages in which the term "Messiah" is found apparently refer to episodes in the life of Jesus of Nazareth. Ode 24:1-2 seems to refer to the baptism of Jesus (Mt 3:13-17, Mk 1:9-11, Lk 3:21-22, Jn 1:24-32; cf. T12P, TLev 18:7, TJud 24:2-3):

The dove fluttered over the head of our Lord Messiah,  
Because he was her head.

And she sang over him,  
And her voice was heard.

The tradition that Jesus walked upon the water (Mt 14:22-33, Mk 6:45-52, Jn 6:15-21) apparently lies behind Ode 39:9-12:

The Lord has bridged them (rivers) by his Word,  
And he walked and crossed them on foot.

And his footsteps stand firm upon the waters, and were not destroyed;  
But they are like a beam of wood that is constructed on truth.

On this side and on that the waves were lifted up,  
But the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm.

And they are neither blotted out,  
Nor destroyed.

It is worthwhile to note that the traditions about the baptism of Jesus and his walking on the water are preserved both in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Gospel According to John.

Both the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah* contain passages in which "the Anointed One" is mentioned. These apocalypses are difficult to categorize; they may be Jewish or Christian.<sup>84</sup> They are extremely difficult to date.<sup>85</sup> In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the most significant passage runs from 10:24 through 12:32. At the end of time, the Messiah will perform two interrelated functions: "On that day will the Anointed have compassion with His Own ... and send his angels from the Heaven ..." (11:4-6).<sup>86</sup> Follow-

<sup>84</sup> D. Frankfurter thinks that the ApEl is totally Christian, but his reasons are far from persuasive. See his *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

<sup>85</sup> See the comments in Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 220-23, then 95-98.

<sup>86</sup> Translation by H. P. Houghton, "The Coptic Apocalypse," *Aegyptus* 39 (1959) 63. See the translation by O. S. Wintermute in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, p. 515.



ing the actions of 64,000 angels and especially of Gabriel and Uriel, there is a general description of the last day. Particularly interesting for our purposes are the concluding laments by those who have followed the Antichrist, the Son of Lawlessness:<sup>87</sup>

What hast thou done to us, Son of Lawlessness while thou saidest: "I am the Anointed" although thou art the Son of Lawlessness? Thou hast not power to save thyself (much less) that thou wilt save us. Thou performest no sign (miracle) before us until thou hast separated us from the Anointed One, that one who has created us.<sup>88</sup> (12:21-32)

The term "the Messiah" or "the Anointed One" is found in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* in two sections. The first contains two passages that are similar to verses quoted above from the *Odes of Solomon*, namely Ode 24 (which seems to refer to Jesus' baptism) and Ode 39 (which reflects the tradition of Jesus' walking on the water). This first section of the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, 13:15–15:14, contains the following ideas:

When the Anointed comes, he [shall] come as in the form of a dove, while the garland of doves surrounds [encircles] him, while he goes upon the clouds of Heaven, and while the sign of the Cross moves along before Him, while the whole World will see it like the shining Sun, from the region of Sun-rise even to the region of Sun-set ... He [the Son of Offense] shall go away with them from Heaven, he shall go upon the Sea and ... the rivers, as upon the dry [places], he will let the lame go [cause the lame to walk], he will cause the deaf to hear, he will cause the dumb to speak, he will make the blind to see, the lepers he will cleanse and the sick he shall heal ...<sup>89</sup>

The first description apparently refers to the baptism of Jesus, although one readily acknowledges that the reference is only oblique. The second is attributed to the Son of Offense; but it is clear that he is acting in imitation of the Anointed One. What seems significant, and it is unfortunate that the text at this point is untranslatable, is the reference to the Son of Offense [walking upon or crossing over] "the rivers". This is a rather unique statement and, as far as I can recall, is paralleled only in the 39th *Ode of Solomon*, quoted above.

The second section in which the Anointed One is found in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* concludes the apocalypse itself and seems to be under the influence of the Revelation to John (the Apocalypse). The end of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* is found in 25:8–19:

<sup>87</sup> For an overview of the Antichrist in early literature see G. W. Lorein, *Het thema van de Antichrist in de intertestamentaire periode*, Ph. D. dissertation at Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1997.

<sup>88</sup> *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 12:21–32; translation by Houghton (*ibid.*, p. 65) with altered punctuation and capitalization. This passage is found neither in the edition of ApZeph published in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* nor in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*.

<sup>89</sup> *Apocalypse of Elijah* 13:18-15:6; translated by Houghton (*ibid.*) pp. 196–98.

On that Day there cometh out of Heaven the Saviour the King, together with all the Holy Ones and He burns the Earth and bringeth to an end upon it the Thousand Years when the Sinful ruled upon the Earth. He will create a New Heaven and a New Earth. No Devil is among them. He will be King with the Holy Saints the while he goeth up and goeth down, while they are together with the Angels for all Time, the while they are with the Anointed for a Thousand Years.<sup>90</sup>

The reference to the last day, the Holy Ones or the Saints, the thousand years' reign of the Messiah, a new heaven and a new earth, and the general apocalyptic tone is familiar because of the final book in the canonical New Testament. It is obvious that this section is Christian (at least in its present form).

The term "Christ" appears in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, a Christian composition extremely difficult to date,<sup>91</sup> in the prologue and in chapter 12. In this chapter, Christ asks Sedrach (λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ Χριστός) why he is crying. Sedrach answers that he wishes to know how long must one repent who has lived eighty, ninety, or a hundred years in sin. Christ, who is also called "Lord" (λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος) in this chapter, is apparently now called God: "God said to him (λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός), 'If he returns after living one hundred or eighty years and repents for three years and bears the fruit of righteousness and death should reach him (καὶ φθάσῃ ὁ θάνατος), then I will not remember his sins.'<sup>92</sup> The term "Christ" does not reappear in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, but in chapter 15, there is a reference to the Anti-Christ; "And the Lord said to Sedrach, 'Do you not know, Sedrach, that after changing his mind the robber was saved in one instant? Do you not know that even my apostle and evangelist was saved in an instant? (...but sinners are not saved) because their hearts are like decayed stone; they are those who walk along impious paths and who perish with the Anti-Christ' (καὶ ἀπολόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ)".

These four Christian compositions – the *Odes of Solomon*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* – are the only Christian works in the Pseudepigrapha that mention "the Messiah" or its translation. We now turn our attention to two other compositions – the *Vision of Isaiah* and the *Testament of Adam* – which contain lengthy Christian additions to earlier Jewish traditions or documents.

The *Vision of Isaiah* consists of chapters 6–11 of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, a document consisting of three smaller works: the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, the *Testament of Hezekiah*, and the *Vision of Isaiah*. Only the first of these is Jewish, dating from around the second century B.C.E. The other two are

<sup>90</sup> Translation by Houghton (*ibid.*) p. 210.

<sup>91</sup> See the comments in Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 178–82, and S. Agourides in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1.

<sup>92</sup> All translations of the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* are by S. Agourides. In chapter 12 Death is apparently hypostatized as he is clearly in the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Revelation of John*.

Christian deriving probably from the latter part of the second century C. E.<sup>93</sup> In the *Vision of Isaiah*, there are numerous references to Jesus Christ as “the Beloved”; but, of course, our concern is only with the titles “the Messiah”, “the Anointed One”, and “the Christ.” Since we have limited our attention to these titles, it will not be possible to discuss the interesting portion of chapter 11, namely verses 2–32 which contain references to the virgin birth, the miraculous birth, the descent, the ascent, and the exultation of Jesus to the right hand of God. The “Messiah” or “Christ” appears frequently in the *Vision of Isaiah*. Two passages are significant enough to be singled out for discussion.

The first is found in chapter 9, and especially in verses 12–18 which contain an angelic message to Isaiah:

And he said to me, “Crowns and thrones of glory have they not yet received, (but) first the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see him descend; that is to say, in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ, will descend into the world.” Nevertheless, they see the thrones and know to whom they shall belong and to whom the crowns shall belong after he has descended and become like you in appearance, and they will think that he is flesh and a man. And the god of that world will stretch forth his hand against the Son, and they will lay hands on him and crucify him on a tree, without knowing who he is. So his descent, as thou wilt see, is hidden from the heavens so that it remains unperceived who he is. And when he has made spoil of the angel of death, he will arise on the third day and will remain in that world 545 days; and then many of the righteous will ascend with him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascends and they ascend with him. Then indeed will they receive [their garments and] thrones and crowns when he shall have ascended into the seventh heaven.<sup>94</sup>

The form of this passage is carefully conceived. A chiastic structure frames the Christian Christological ideas. The first part of the chiasm is the reference to crowns (1) and thrones (2) that the righteous will receive (3) [A]; at the close of the passage it is said that the righteous receive (3) thrones (2) and crowns (1) [A’]. The second part is the statement that the Beloved, who is the Lord “who will be called Christ” descends [B], which is paralleled by the statement before A’ that the Lord Christ ascends [B’]. Hence we have the chiastic structure A, B, B’, A’. The focus then is upon the centered Christological statements about the life and success of “the Son” in the world below. Besides the possibly Marcionite influence in the phrase *et princeps mundi illius*, gnostic influence seems to be behind the concept that “the Son” will remain on the earth for 545 days.

<sup>93</sup> See Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, pp. 125–30.

<sup>94</sup> Translation by J. Flemming, H. Duensing, and D. Hill published in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols. ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (London: Lutterworth, 1963–1965), vol. 2, p. 657. See also the translation by M. A. Knibb in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2.

The phrase is not preserved in Latin but only Ethiopic; if it is original, as Charles claimed,<sup>95</sup> it is similar to the idea that Christ was with his disciples for eighteen months after his resurrection, an idea attributed to the gnostics by Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.*, I. 3. 2; I. 30. 14).<sup>96</sup> These comments demonstrate that for a full understanding of the Christological sections in the Christian parts of the Pseudepigrapha it is necessary to include for detailed comparison the Christian and gnostic literature of the first few centuries of this era.<sup>97</sup> Hopefully, the present study will encourage this research.

The second section in the *Vision of Isaiah* that calls for special attention is found in 30:7–15. In these verses is a reputed injunction from the Father to “the Lord Christ Jesus.”<sup>98</sup> It is very similar to that of the preceding section and perhaps only the opening warrants full quotation:

And I heard the words of the Most High, the Father of my Lord, as he spoke to my Lord Christ who shall be called Jesus; “Go and descend through all the heavens; descend to the firmament and to that world, even to the angel in the realm of the dead; but to Hell thou shalt not go. And thou shalt become like to the form of all who are in the five heavens; and with carefulness thou shalt resemble the form of the angels of the firmament and the angels also who are in the realm of the dead. And none of the angels of this world will know that thou, along with me, art the Lord of the seven heavens and of their angels.”<sup>99</sup>

In this passage, the Father orders the Son to descend into the world. This idea is strikingly similar to the Johannine concept that God is he who sends, and the Son is he who was sent and who descends into the world. It is also appreciably distinct from the pre-Pauline Christological idea found in Philippians 2:6–11 that the Christ of his own will chose to empty himself taking the form of a servant and being born in the likeness of humans.

We turn now to the *Testament of Adam*, which like the *Ascension of Isaiah* is composite, containing an early Jewish portion and a lengthy Christian addition. It is extremely difficult to date the Jewish or the Christian sections. It seems, however, that sometime in the third century is a reasonably good guess for the final form.<sup>100</sup> Appended to the Jewish section is a prophecy put in the mouth of

<sup>95</sup> *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: Black, 1900) p. 63.

<sup>96</sup> I am indebted to Charles for drawing my attention to the passage in Irenaeus. The *Pistis Sophia* is built upon a similar idea, claiming to preserve Christ’s post-resurrection (gnostic) discourses to his followers.

<sup>97</sup> Also see K. Berger, “Zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheitstitel,” *New Testament Studies* 17 (1977) 391–425; and Id., “Die königlichen Messiasstraditionen des Neuen Testaments,” *New Testament Studies* 20 (1973) 1–44.

<sup>98</sup> These words are missing in the Latin, but seemed to be original, as Charles states (*Ascension of Isaiah*, p. 69).

<sup>99</sup> *Ascension of Isaiah* 10:7–11; translated by Flemming, Duensing, and Hill, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 659.

<sup>100</sup> See S. E. Robinson’s insights in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, p. 990. He wisely cautions that the three divisions of the work have different dates; the final redaction, by a Christian, occurred most likely in the third century C. E.

Adam who is instructing his son Seth. In recensions one and three, the term "Messiah" is replaced by the term "God". In recension two, we find what seems to be the earliest reading and one which contains some interesting ideas:

I have heard, my son Seth, that the Messiah (is) coming from heaven and (will be) born of a virgin, working miracles and performing signs and great deeds, walking on the waves of the sea as upon boards of wood, rebuking the winds and (they are) silenced, beckoning to the waves and (they are) stilled; also opening (the eyes of) the blind and cleansing the lepers, and causing the deaf to hear. And the mute speak. And (he shall) cast out evil spirits, and drive out demons, and restore the dead to life, and raise the buried from the midst of their graves.

Concerning this the Messiah spoke to me in paradise when I picked the fruit in which death (was) hiding. And he said to me: "Adam, do not fear. You wanted to be a god; I (will) make you (one). However, not right now, but after a period of many years. I am delivering up your body to the maggot and to the worm to eat, and your bones to the worm."<sup>101</sup>

This section is, of course, clearly Christian and contains some ideas we have already seen before in the Pseudepigrapha. What seems to deserve special attention is the idea that the Messiah was with Adam in paradise before the fall (cf. 2 Bar 30).

Other documents in the Pseudepigrapha contain long Christian sections in which Jesus of Nazareth is portrayed as "the Lord," "the Incarnate Life," "the Son of God," and "Word of God," as in the *Abode of the Rechabites*,<sup>102</sup> and in which he is called "The Expected One," "The Savior," or other messianic titles as in the *Ladder of Jacob*. Our research has been focused, however, only upon the messianic sections in which the technical terms, "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," and "the Christ" are found. The problem is extreme when we look at the Christian sections in the Pseudepigrapha because almost all of the Christological titles are aligned with the one claimed to be Jesus Christ. Behind other titles attributed to him there is the possible cognition of the one called "Christ".

It would be unwise to attempt a synthesis of these messianic passages in the long Christian sections of the Pseudepigrapha. Two things alone seem representative: first, there is the shared claim that the Messiah has already come; second, there is a tendency to highlight certain aspects that are traditionally linked with the life of Jesus of Nazareth in the canonical gospels such as the virgin birth, the baptism, the walking on the water, the crucifixion, and the resurrection.

<sup>101</sup> The translation is by S. E. Robinson in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1.

<sup>102</sup> The term "Christ" does not appear in the Syriac version; it is found in the Greek only at 19:3, "blessed one of Christ."

## Conclusion

We have seen that the technical terms, "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," and "the Christ," appear in the Pseudepigrapha both in Jewish and Christian books or sections. Some of these ideas are clearly developed and important. We must be cautious, however, and recognize that most of the documents in the Pseudepigrapha do not contain these technical terms.

The terms "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," and "the Christ," do not appear in the following pseudepigrapha: *Ahiqar*, the *Letter of Aristeas*, *3 Maccabees*, *4 Maccabees*, *2 Enoch*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Treatise of Shem*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, the *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*, the *Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms*, the *Prayer of Jacob*, *Pseudo-Phocylides*, *Pseudo-Philo*, the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Apocalypse of Ezekiel*, *Eldad and Modad*, the *Questions of Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, and the *Testament of Solomon*. Because they have been transmitted by Christian copyists, some of these documents, for example, the *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*, contain Christian interpolations in which the name "Messiah" or "Christ" appears. Other pseudepigrapha like *Jubilees*, the *Testament of Moses*, the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*,<sup>103</sup> and the *Sibylline Oracles* contain important messianic passages but the term, "the Messiah," or its derivatives is not employed.

The abundance of the messianic passages and the important quotations cited above in which the terms "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," and "the Christ" appear should not be exaggerated. There are, as we have emphasized, numerous pseudepigrapha that do not contain a messianic section and at least five of these are surprisingly silent, containing passages in which one would expect to find a mention of the Messiah. One would expect a mention of the Messiah both in *Joseph and Asenath*, especially in the long prayer for repentance by Asenath contained in chapters 7–13, and also in chapters 46 and 64 of *2 Enoch*. Rather striking is the absence of messianic speculation in three documents roughly contemporaneous with the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth. It is surprising that there is no messianism in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, the Greek recension of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, although there is a minor Christian interpolation in 42:2–5 of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. It is also impressive that there are no references to the Messiah in the *Lives of the Prophets* except in the prefaces added in manuscript D.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> See B.-A. Schemer, *The Messianic Idea of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, [Tel-Aviv]: University of Tel-Aviv, 1970 [in Hebrew]; and V. Tsakonas, "The Teaching Concerning the Messiah in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *Timetikos: Tomos V. M. Vellas* (Athens, 1969) pp. 687–93 [in Greek].

<sup>104</sup> See the significant discussion by D. R. A. Hare in his contribution on the *Lives of the Prophets* in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. The absence of "the Messiah" and cognates is even more astounding if the *Lives of the Prophets* is not a Jewish but a Christian work, as D. Satran concludes. See Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Pales-*

Most significant is the absence of messianic speculation in the lengthy re-writing of biblical history called *Pseudo-Philo*, which is extant primarily under the title, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. In a two-volumed work on *Pseudo-Philo*, C. Perrot stated that “the role of a future Messiah in relationship with eschatological events is here ignored. The messianic age is entirely passed over in silence.”<sup>105</sup> Earlier M.R. James, who published a significant introduction to and translation of *Pseudo-Philo*, wrote that “I am myself unable to find any anticipation of a Messiah in our text. It is always God, and no subordinate agency, that is to ‘visit the world’ and put all things right.”<sup>106</sup> This absence is all the more striking because of the presence of an interesting portrayal of David in *Pseudo-Philo*.

Earlier, when examining the *Psalms of Solomon*, we observed that the functions of the Messiah were subordinate to God who is then proclaimed the Lord of the Messiah. Many passages in the Pseudepigrapha attribute the actions not to an intermediary or a messenger from God but to God himself. Other passages seem to reject the messianic idea which is linked with David in favor of a redeemer or eschatological figure who will be like Moses.<sup>107</sup>

The extant data are complex and frequently ambiguous. We should also reflect on how much early Jewish and early Christian literature is lost forever. Many Jews during the time of Hillel and Jesus looked to the future, sometimes conceived as very imminent, for the advent of a redeemer occasionally conceived as the Messiah. Other Jews looked to the future for God himself to act. Even other Jews, such as the Sadducees and some Zealots, did not relegate their hopes and dreams to a future day.

The sixty-five documents conveniently arranged under the category *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* have been examined for their use of the technical terms “the Messiah,” “the Anointed One,” and “the Christ.” Five Jewish writings (*Psalms of Solomon*, 2 *Baruch*, 4 *Ezra*, 1 *Enoch*, and 3 *Enoch*), four Chris-

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tine: *Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets* (SVTP 11; Leiden: Brill, 1995). For an early Jewish provenance A. M. Schwemer, *Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden Vitae Prophetarum* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 49 und 50; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), I 1995, II 1996).

<sup>105</sup> *Pseudo-Philon, Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 2 vols., ed. D. J. Harrington, trans. J. Cazeaux, intro. C. Perrot and P.-M. Bogaert (Sources Chrétiennes 229, 230; Paris: Cerf, 1976) vol. 2, p. 58.

<sup>106</sup> M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, prolegomenon by L. H. Feldman (New York: KTAV, 1971 [first published in 1917]) p. 41. The term *Christus* occurs only in 51:6, and 59:1–4 and in each of these (especially in 59) the meaning is “the anointed one”; but the one so designated is either Saul or David.

<sup>107</sup> For example, the Samaritans looked for the coming of an eschatological figure called Taheb, who is usually portrayed as Moses. The fifth chapter of the fourth-century *Memar Marqah* contains the Samaritan legends of the death, ascension, assumption, and glorification of Moses. See J. MacDonald, ed., *Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah*, 2 vols. (BZAW 84 [sic]; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1963). Of course, see the important contribution in the present volume by F. Dexinger.

tian documents (*Odes of Solomon*, *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, *Apocalypse of Elijah*, and *Apocalypse of Sedrach*), and two lengthy Christian expansions or editorial re-workings of earlier Jewish traditions or documents (*Vision of Isaiah* and *Testament of Adam*) have been isolated as worthy of special study. Most of the pseudepigrapha, therefore, either do not contain messianic ideas, or employ titles other than "the Messiah" and its derivatives. Yet, although the messianic passages are surprisingly few, they are extremely valuable, as Klausner stated in 1949, "the Messianic expectations in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are precious jewels in the crown of Judaism ... ." <sup>108</sup>

The brevity and breadth of this chapter forced me to bypass detailed analysis of intriguing passages and to generalize complex issues. <sup>109</sup> Some passages in the Pseudepigrapha that contain the terms, "the Messiah," "the Anointed One," and "the Christ," have not been included. These have been omitted intentionally, because they are usually meager, amounting to only the presence of one of these terms; and because they contain no additional information beyond that presented above. I did not deem it useful to discuss a passage that contained only an ambiguous word with little or no clear content.

This paper seeks to draw attention to passages in the Pseudepigrapha, now defined inclusively, that contain the concept of the Messiah (the Anointed One, the Christ). These passages should now be given a significant place in our attempt to understand the messianism of the Jews and Jewish Christians during the Roman period. Along with the references to the Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, found in the present volume, the messianic passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha are the main sources for helping us assess how and in what ways, if at all, Jews thought about the future actions by God, and how the future Messiah might or should be perceived. Most importantly, they help us comprehend documents that contain the concept of the Messiah that antedate 135 C. E. and the defeat of Bar Kokhba whom Akiba probably hailed as "the Messiah."

<sup>108</sup> Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 386.

<sup>109</sup> I had hoped to include some discussion about the place of the Torah in the messianic age, the apparent freedom or license of some concepts of the Messiah, and the frequent crisis with traditions evidenced in the phenomena of messianic movements. For significant discussions along these lines see the following publications: W. D. Davies, *Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come* (JBLMS 7; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952); K. Stendahl, "Messianic License," in *Biblical Realism Confronts the Nation*, ed. P. Peachey (Lebanon, Penn.: Herald Press, 1963) pp. 139–52; G. Scholem, "Die Krise der Tradition im jüdischen Messianismus," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 37 (1968 (1970) 9–44; G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676*, trans. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (Princeton: Princeton University, 1973 [Hebrew appeared in 1957]); W. D. Davies, "From Schweitzer to Scholem: Reflections on Sabbatai Svi," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976) 529–58.