

## Ancient Sources for Acts

### Chapter 2

**Acts 2:1**

Tobit 2:1

<sup>1</sup>And when Esarhaddon was King, I was come home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me, and my son Tobias, in the feast of Pentecost, which is the holy Feast of the Weeks, there was a good dinner prepared me, and I laid me down to dine.

2 Maccabees 12:31-32

<sup>31</sup>They simply thanked them and enjoined them to continue well-disposed to their race in future. Then they marched up to Jerusalem, as the feast of weeks was close at hand. <sup>32</sup>After the feast called Pentecost they hurried against Gorgias.

m. Menahot 10:3

A. How did they do it?

**1** B. Agents of the court go forth on the eve of [the afternoon before] the festival [Passover]

**2** C. And they make it into sheaves while it is still attached to the ground, so that it will be easy to reap

**3** D. And all the villagers nearby gather together there [on the night after the first day of Passover],

So that it will be easy to reap

**I** E. Once it gets dark [on the night of the sixteenth of Nisan], he says to them, "Has the sun set?"

F. They say, "Yes."

G. "Has the sun set?"

H. They say, "Yes."

**II** I. "[With] this sickle?"

J. They say, "Yes."

K. "[With] this sickle?"

L. They say, "Yes."

III M. “[With] this basket?”

N. They say, “Yes.”

O. “[With] this basket?”

P. They say, “Yes.”

IV Q. On the Sabbath, he says to them, “[Shall I reap on] this Sabbath?”

R. They say, “Yes.”

S. “[Shall I reap on] this Sabbath?”

T. They say, “Yes.”

V U. “Shall I reap?”

V. They say, “Reap.”

W. “Shall I reap?”

X. They say, “Reap.”

Z. three times for each and every matter

AA. All of this [pomp] for what purpose?

BB. Because of the Boethusians, for they maintain, “The reaping of the [barley for] the *omer* is not [done] at the conclusion of the festival.”

b. Men 65a

From the eight of the same until the close of the Festival [of Passover], during which time the date for the Feast of Weeks was re-established, fasting is forbidden. For the Boerthusians held that the Feast of Weeks must always be on the day after the Sabbath.

Jubilees 6:17-19

<sup>17</sup>Should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this <sup>18</sup>month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah – twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah’s death, and from the day of Noah’s death his sons did away with it until the days of Abraham, and <sup>19</sup>they eat blood. But Abraham observed it and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.

Jubilees 14:20

<sup>20</sup>The fire devoured them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself

Jubilees 1:1

<sup>1</sup>And it came to pass in the year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month on the sixteenth day of the month that God spake to Moses, saying: "Come up to me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment."

1QS 1:8-2:25

He shall admit into the Covenant of Grace all those who have freely devoted themselves to the observance of God's precepts that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may lice perfectly before Him in accordance with all that has been revealed concerning their appointed times, and that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance.

All those who freely devote themselves to His truth shall bring all their knowledge, powers, and possessions into the Community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of God's precepts and order their powers according to His ways of perfection and all their possessions according to His righteous counsel. They shall not depart from any command of God concerning their times; they shall be neither to the right nor the left of any of His true precepts. All those who embrace the Community Rule shall enter into the Covenant before God to obey all His commandments so that they may not abandon Him during the dominion of Belial because of fear or terror or affliction.

On entering the Covenant, the Priests and Levites shall bless the God of salvation and all His faithfulness, and all those entering the Covenant shall say after them, 'Amen, Amen!'

Then the Priests shall recite the favors of God manifested in His mighty deeds and shall declare all His merciful grace to Israel, and the Levites shall recite the iniquities of the children of Israel, all their guilty rebellions and sins during the dominion of Belial. And After them, all those entering the Covenant shall confess and say: 'We have strayed! We have [disobeyed!] We and our fathers before us have sinned and acted wickedly in walking [counter to the precepts] of truth and righteousness. [ And God has] judged us and our fathers also; **II** but he has bestowed His bountiful mercy on us from everlasting to everlasting.' And the Priests shall bless all the men of the lot of God who walk perfectly in all His ways, saying: 'May He bless you with all good and preserve you from all evil! May He lighten your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge! May He raise His merciful face towards you for everlasting bliss!'

And the Levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Belial saying: 'Be cursed because of all you guilty wickedness! May He deliver you up for torture at the hands of the vengeful Avengers! May He visit you with destruction by the hand of all the Wreakers of Revenge! Be

cursed without mercy because of (4Q256) the darkness of your deeds! Be damned in the shadowy place of everlasting fire! May God not heed you when you call on Him, nor pardon you by blotting out your sin! May he raise His angry face towards you for vengeance! May there be no “Peace” for you in the mouth of those who hold fast to the Fathers! And after the blessing and the cursing, all those entering the Covenant shall say, ‘Amen, Amen!’

And the Priests and Levites shall continue, saying: ‘Cursed be the man who enters this Covenant while walking among the idols of his heart, who sets up before himself his stumbling block of sin so that he may backslide! Hearing the words of this Covenant, he blesses himself in his heart and says, “Peace be with me, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart” (Deut. Xxix, 18-19), whereas his spirit, parched (for lack of truth) and watered (with lies), shall be destroyed without pardon. God’s wrath and His zeal are for His precepts shall consume him in everlasting destruction. All the curses of the Covenant shall cling to him and God will set him apart for evil. He shall be cut off from the midst of all the sons of light, and because he has turned aside from God on account of his idols and his stumbling-block of sin, his lot shall be among those who are cursed forever.’ And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall answer and say, ‘Amen, Amen!’

Thus shall they do, year by year, for as long as the dominion of Belial endures. The Priests shall enter first, tanked on after another according to the perfection of their spirit; then the Levites; and thirdly, all the people one after another in their Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, that every Israelite may know his place in the Community of God according to the everlasting design. No man shall move down from his place nor move up from his allotted position. For according to the holy design, they shall all of them be in a Community of truth and virtuous humility, of loving-kindness and good intent one towards the other, and (they shall all of them be) sons of the everlasting company.

## **2:2–4**

### 2 Samuel 22:16

<sup>16</sup>And the channels of the sea were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at the rebuke of the Lord, at the blast of the breath (πνοῆς) of his anger.

### Job 37:10

<sup>10</sup>And from the breath (πνοῆς) of the Mighty One he will send frost; and he guides the water in whatever way he pleases.

### Ezekiel 13:13

<sup>13</sup>Therefore thus saith the Lord; I will even cause to burst forth a sweeping blast with fury and there shall be a flooding rain in my wrath (πνοῆς); and in *my* fury I will bring on great stones for complete destruction.

### 2 Esdras 13:10

But I saw only how he sent out of mouth as it were a fiery stream and out of his lips a flaming breath, and out of his tongue he shot forth a storm of sparks.

1 Chronicles 25:1

<sup>1</sup>David and the chiefs of the service also set apart for the service certain of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy (ἀποφθέγγομαι) with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals. The list of those who did the work and of their duties was:

Psalm 59:7 (58:8)

7 There they are, bellowing (ἀποφθέγγομαι) with their mouths, and snarling with their lips—for “Who,” they think, “will hear us?”

Ezekiel 13:9

<sup>9</sup>My hand will be against the prophets who see delusive visions and who give lying divinations (ἀποφθέγγομαι); they shall not be in the council of my people, nor be enrolled in the register of the house of Israel, nor shall they enter the land of Israel; and you shall know that I am the Lord GOD.

Ezekiel 13:19

You have profaned me among my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, putting to death persons who should not die and keeping alive persons who should not live, by your lies (ἀποφθέγγομαι) to my people, who listen to lies.

Micah 5:[11] 12

and I will cut off sorceries from your hand, and you shall have no more soothsayers (ἀποφθέγγομαι).

**2:5-8**

b. Erub 53b

The Galileans who were not exact in their language. For instance? A certain Galilean once went about enquiring, “who has *amar*?” “Foolish Galilean,” they said to him, “do you mean an ‘ass’ for riding, ‘wine’ to drink, ‘wool’ for clothing or a ‘lamb’ for killing?”

**2:9–13**

Chrysostom, *Homily on Acts 4*

And Plato, that talked a deal of nonsense in his day, is silent now, while this man utters his voice everywhere; not among his own countrymen alone, but also among Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and in India, and in every part of the earth, and to the extremities of the world. Where not is Greece with her big pretensions? Where the name of Athens? Where the ravings of the philosophers? He of Galilee, he of Bethsaida, he the uncouth rustic, has overcome them all.

Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews 7:4*

For upon whom else have the universal nations believed, but upon the Christ who is already come? For whom have the nations believed—Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and they who inhabit Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and they who dwell in Pontus, and Asia, and Pamphylia, travellers in Egypt, and inhabitants of the region of Africa which is beyond Cyrene, Romans and sojourners, yes, and in Jerusalem Jews.

*Augustine, Against the Epistle of Manichæus Called Fundamental*

Chapter 9.10—When the Holy Spirit Was Sent.

Perhaps you will say to me, When, then, did the Paraclete promised by the Lord come? As regards this, had I nothing else to believe on the subject, I should rather look for the Paraclete as still to come, than allow that He came in Manichæus. But seeing that the advent of the Holy Spirit is narrated with perfect clearness in the Acts of the Apostles, where is the necessity of my so gratuitously running the risk of believing heretics? For in the Acts it is written as follows: “The former treatise have we made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, in the day in which He chose the apostles by the Holy Spirit, and commanded them to preach the gospel. By those to whom He showed Himself alive after His passion by many proofs in the daytime, He was seen forty days, teaching concerning the kingdom of God. And how He conversed with them, and commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of me. For John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall begin to be baptized with the Holy Spirit, whom also ye shall receive after not many days, that is, at Pentecost. When they had come, they asked him, saying, Lord, wilt Thou at this time manifest Thyself? And when will be the kingdom of Israel? And He said unto them, No one can know the time which the Father hath put in His own power. But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.”

Behold you have here the Lord reminding His disciples of the promise of the Father, which they had heard from His mouth, of the coming of the Holy Spirit. Let us now see when He was sent; for shortly after we read as follows: “And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. And when the sound was heard, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed, and marveled, saying one to another, Are not all these which speak Galilæans? and how heard we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Armenia, and in Cappadocia, in Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the regions of Africa about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews, natives, Cretes, and Arabians, they heard them speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt on account of what had happened, saying, What meaneth this? But others, mocking, said, These men are full of new wine.” You see when the Holy Spirit came. What more do you wish? If the Scriptures are credible, should not I believe most readily in these Acts, which have the strongest testimony in their support, and which have had the advantage of

becoming generally known, and of being handed down and of being publicly taught along with the gospel itself, which contains the promise of the Holy Spirit, which also we believe? On reading, then, these Acts of the Apostles, which stand, as regards authority, on a level with the gospel, I find that not only was the Holy Spirit promised to these true apostles, but that He was also sent so manifestly, that no room was left for errors on this subject.

Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans 4*

They immediately turned their eyes towards the Apostles. “And how” (it follows) “hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene:” mark how they run from east to west: i.e. Mark how the enumeration, “Parthians, and Medes,” etc., goes from east to west. This comment having been transposed to the end of v. 12, was misunderstood: and E. has instead of it, “Do you see how it was, that, as if they had wings, they sped their way through the whole world?” “and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And, they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this? Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine.” O the excessive folly! O the excessive malignity! Why it was not even the season for that; for it was Pentecost. For this was what made it worse: that when those were confessing—men that were Jews, that were Romans, that were proselytes, yea perhaps that had crucified Him—yet these, after so great signs, say, “They are full of new wine!” And Plato, that talked a deal of nonsense in his day, is silent now, while this man utters his voice everywhere; not among his own countrymen alone, but also among Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and in India, and in every part of the earth, and to the extremities of the world. Where now is Greece, with her big pretensions? Where the name of Athens? Where the ravings of the philosophers? He of Galilee, he of Bethsaida, he, the uncouth rustic, has overcome them all. Are you not ashamed—confess it—at the very name of the country of him who has defeated you? But if you hear his own name too, and learn that he was called Cephas, much more will you hide your faces. This, this has undone you quite; because you esteem this a reproach, and account glibness of tongue a praise, and want of glibness a disgrace. You have not followed the road you ought to have chosen, but leaving the royal road, so easy, so smooth, you have trodden one rough, and steep, and laborious. And therefore you have not attained unto the kingdom of heaven.

Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach 44:21

<sup>21</sup>Therefore the Lord assured him by an oath

that the nations would be blessed through his posterity;

that he would multiply him like the dust of the earth,

and exalt his posterity like the stars

and cause them to inherit from sea to sea

and from the River to the ends of the earth.

Tobit 13:16

<sup>16</sup>For Jerusalem will be built with sapphires and emeralds,  
her walls with precious stones,  
and her towers and battlements with pure gold.

2 Esdras 13:39-47

<sup>39</sup>And whereas thou didst see that he summoned and gathered to himself another multitude which was peaceable;

<sup>40</sup>Those are the ten tribes, which were carried away captive out of their own land in the days of Josiah the king, which (tribes) Salmanasar the king of Assyria led away captive, he carried them across the River, and thus they were transported into another land.

<sup>41</sup>But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt,

<sup>42</sup>There at least to keep their statutes, which they had not kept in their own land.

<sup>43</sup>And they entered by the narrow passages of the river Euphrates.

<sup>44</sup>For the Most High then wrought wonders for them, and stayed the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over.

<sup>45</sup>And through that country there was a great way to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth.

<sup>46</sup>There they have dwelt until the last time; and now when they are about to come again,

<sup>47</sup>The Most High will again stay the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over: therefore thou didst see the multitude gathered together in peace.

1 Enoch 90:33

And those <sup>33</sup>sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to <sup>34</sup>His house.

Baruch 4:36-37 (See 1:6–8)

Baruch 5:5–9 (See 1:6–8)

Philo, On Rewards and Punishment 28.164 (See 1:6–8)

b. Ber. 12b

Was it not long ago said: *Therefore behold the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say: As the Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, As the Lord liveth that brought up and that led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country and from all the countries whither I had driven them?*

b. Pesab 88a

R. Johanan said: The reunion of the Exiles is as important as the day when heaven and earth were created, for it is said, *And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint themselves on head, and shall go up out of the land; for great shall be the day of Jezreel*; and it is written *And there was evening and there was morning, one day*.

Esth. Rab 1:8

A. “[there you shall offer yourselves for sale to you enemies as male and female slaves], but no man will buy you. [these are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the people of Israel (Dt. 28:69/29:1)]:”

B. Why is there none to buy?

C. Rab said, “Because you did not acquire the words of the covenant [‘These are the words of the covenant’]; none among you purchased the words of the five books of the Torah, and the letters of the word for buy has the numerical value of five.”

D. Said R. Samuel b. Nahman, “Because I made the rounds of all the nations of the world, and none among them would buy the words of the Torah as you do [‘These are the words of the covenant’].”

E. Said R. Simeon b. Yohai, “You can acquire rights of ownership to members of the nations of the world, as it says, ‘Moreover of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them may you buy’ (Lev. 25:45),

F. “but they cannot acquire rights of ownership to you. Why not? Because you acquired ‘these the words of the covenant.’ And the nations? They did not acquire ‘these the words of the covenant’ [‘These are the words of the covenant’].”

G. Said R. Jonathan, “Because you have patrons, and what are they? ‘These are the words of the covenant.’

H. “You are crown property. If a man buys a slave from crown property, is not his life forfeit?

I. “So said Ahasuerus to his wife, ‘Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman’ (Est. 8:7).”

J. On this matter said R. Judah b. R. Simon, “This was the penalty for having laid hands on the crown property.”

Virgil, Aeneid 1.278-279

Then Romulus, proud in the tawny hide of the she-wolf, his nurse, shall take up the line, and found the walls of mars and call the people Romans after his own name, For these I set neither bounds nor periods of empire; dominion without end have I bestowed.

Pliny, *Natural History* 7.2

We have already stated, that there are certain tribes of the Scythians, and, indeed, many other nations, which feed upon human flesh. This fact itself might, perhaps, appear incredible, did we not recollect, that in the very centre of the earth, in Italy and Sicily, nations formerly existed with these monstrous propensities, the Cyclopes, and the Læstrygones, for example; and that, very recently, on the other side of the Alps, it was the custom to offer human sacrifices, after the manner of those nations; and the difference is but small between sacrificing human beings and eating them... [So begins a lengthy chapter on the barbaric nature of various nations]

*Res gestae divi Augusti* 26–32

**26.** I extended the borders of all the provinces of the Roman people which neighbored nations not subject to our rule. I restored peace to the provinces of Gaul and Spain, likewise Germany, which includes the ocean from Cadiz to the mouth of the river Elbe. I brought peace to the Alps from the region which is near the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan, with no unjust war waged against any nation. I sailed my ships on the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east region up to the borders of the Cimbri, where no Roman had gone before that time by land or sea, and the Cimbri and the Charydes and the Semnones and the other Germans of the same territory sought by envoys the friendship of me and of the Roman people. By my order and auspices two armies were led at about the same time into Ethiopia and into that part of Arabia which is called Happy, and the troops of each nation of enemies were slaughtered in battle and many towns captured. They penetrated into Ethiopia all the way to the town Nabata, which is near to Meroe; and into Arabia all the way to the border of the Sabaei, advancing to the town Mariba.

**27.** I added Egypt to the rule of the Roman people. When Artaxes, king of Greater Armenia, was killed, though I could have made it a province, I preferred, by the example of our elders, to hand over that kingdom to Tigranes, son of king Artavasdes, and grandson of King Tigranes, through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son. And the same nation, after revolting and rebelling, and subdued through my son Gaius, I handed over to be ruled by King Ariobarzanes son of Artabazus, King of the Medes, and after his death, to his son Artavasdes; and when he was killed, I sent Tigranes, who came from the royal clan of the Armenians, into that rule. I recovered all the provinces which lie across the Adriatic to the east and Cyrene, with kings now possessing them in large part, and Sicily and Sardina, which had been occupied earlier in the slave war.

**28.** I founded colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, each Spain, Greece, Asia, Syria, Narbonian Gaul, and Pisidia, and furthermore had twenty-eight colonies founded in Italy under my authority, which were very populous and crowded while I lived.

**29.** I recovered from Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia the many military standards lost through other leaders, after defeating the enemies. I compelled the Parthians to return to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and as suppliants to seek the friendship of the Roman people. Furthermore I placed those standards in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

**30.** As for the tribes of the Pannonians, before my principate no army of the Roman people had entered their land. When they were conquered through Tiberius Nero, who was then my step-son and emissary, I subjected them to the rule of the Roman people and extended the borders of Illyricum to the shores of the river Danube. On the near side of it the army of the Dacians was conquered and overcome under my auspices, and then my army, led across the Danube, forced the tribes of the Dacians to bear the rule of the Roman people.

**31.** Emissaries from the Indian kings were often sent to me, which had not been seen before that time by any Roman leader. The Bastarnae, the Scythians, and the Sarmatians, who are on this side of the river Don and the kings further away, and the kings of the Albanians, of the Iberians, and of the Medes, sought our friendship through emissaries.

**32.** To me were sent supplications by kings: of the Parthians, Tiridates and later Phrates son of king Phrates, of the Medes, Artavasdes, of the Adiabeni, Artaxares, of the Britons, Dumnobellaunus and Tincommius, of the Sugambri, Maelo, of the Marcomanian Suebi (...) (-)rus. King Phrates of the Parthians, son of Orodes, sent all his sons and grandsons into Italy to me, though defeated in no war, but seeking our friendship through the pledges of his children. And in my principate many other peoples experienced the faith of the Roman people, of whom nothing had previously existed of embassies or interchange of friendship with the Roman people.

**33.** The nations of the Parthians and Medes received from me the first kings of those nations which they sought by emissaries: the Parthians, Vonones son of king Phrates, grandson of king Orodes, the Medes, Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Aiobarzanes.

Quintilian, *Inst.* 5.13.53–59

53. As to order, there is no part of a cause in which it will give us less trouble; for, if we are the prosecutors, we have first to support our own allegations, and then to refute what is brought against them; if we are defendants, we have to commence with refutation. 54. But from what we advance against any objection there arise other objections, and sometimes to a great extent; as the hands of gladiators, which are called the second, become the third, if the first was intended to provoke the assault of the adversary, and the fourth, if the challenge be repeated, so as to make it necessary to stand on guard twice and to attack twice; and this process may lead still further. 55. Refutation includes also that simple kind of proof of which I have given an example above, proceeding from the feelings and consisting in mere affirmation, such as that of Scaurus, of which I have already spoken; and I know not whether such sort of proof may not even be used more frequently when a denial is made. But the chief object of each party must be to see where the main point lies, for it too frequently happens in a cause that many points are disputed, while judgment is to be passed on few. 56. In these particulars consists the art of proving and refuting, but it requires to be supported and embellished by the powers of the speaker, for however well adapted our arguments may be to establish our case, they will nevertheless be weak unless they are urged with extraordinary vigor by him who uses them. 57. Those commonplace observations, accordingly, concerning witnesses, written evidence, arguments, and other matters of the kind, produce great impression on the minds of the judges, as well as those peculiarly arising from the cause, in which we praise or blame any action, show that it is just or unjust, or

make it appear greater or less, worse or better, than it really is. Of these, some are useful in the comparison of one argument with another, others in the comparison of several, others in influencing the decision of a whole cause. 58. Some, too, serve to prepare the mind of the judge, others to confirm it in the opinions which he has already formed; and such preparation or confirmation has reference sometimes to particular heads and may be offered as may be suitable for each. 59. I wonder, therefore, that it should have been disputed, and with no small acrimony, between two leaders of opposite sects as it were, whether arguments from moral considerations should accompany each particular head, as Theodorus would have it, or whether the judge should be informed before his feelings are excited, as Apollodorus directs, as if no middle course could be pursued and as if nothing could be ordered to suit the interests of the cause. But it is men who do not speak in the forum themselves that give these directions, and the systems of rules which they have composed at leisure and at ease are disturbed by the necessary confusion of battle.

Josephus, *Antiquities* 2.5.2. §64

He therefore said, that in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already, and ripe for gathering; and that he squeezed them into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine (γλεῦκος), he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance.

Job 32:18–19

<sup>18</sup>for I am full of words, for the spirit of my belly destroys me. <sup>19</sup>And my belly is as a skin of sweet wine (γλεῦκος), bound up *and* ready to burst; or as a brazier's laboring bellows.

**2:14–16**

Cicero, *Philippic* 2.104

But how many days did you spend disgracefully carousing in that villa! From eight o'clock in the morning there was drinking, gambling, vomiting. I pity the very guilding.

Thucydides, *Hist* 1.22

What particular persons have spoken when they were about to enter into the war or when they were in it were hard for me to remember exactly, whether they were speeches which I have heard myself or have received at the second hand. But as any man seemed to me that knew what was nearest to the sum of the truth of all that had been uttered to speak most agreeably to the matter still in hand, so I have made it spoken here. But of the acts themselves done in the war, I thought not fit to write all that I heard from all authors nor such as I myself did but think to be true, but only those whereat I was myself present and those of which with all diligence I had made particular inquiry. And yet even of those things it was hard to know the certainty, because such as were present at every action spake not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the parts or as they could remember.

To hear this history rehearsed, for that there be inserted in it no fables, shall be perhaps not delightful. But he that desires to look into the truth of things done and which (according to

the condition of humanity) may be done again, or at least their like, he shall find enough herein to make him think it profitable. And it is compiled rather for an everlasting possession than to be rehearsed for a prize.

Lucian, *Hist* 58

When it comes in your way to introduce a speech, the first requirement is that it should suit the character both of the speaker and of the occasion; the second is (once more) lucidity; but in these cases you have the counsel's right of showing your eloquence.

Heraclitus, *Fragments* 22b

Those who seek for gold dig up much earth and find a little.

Heraclitus, *Fragments* 101a

The eyes are more exact witness than ears.

Dio Chrysostom 12:71

But the most difficult thing of all is that the sculptor must keep the very same image in his mind continuously until he finishes his work, which often takes many years. Indeed, the popular saying that the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears is perhaps true, yet they are much harder to convince and demand much greater clearness; for while the eye agrees exactly with what it sees, it is not impossible to excite and cheat the ear by filling it with representations under the spell of metre and sound.

Philo, *Confusion* 57

On this account Moses says that the “reward of peace” was given to the very warlike reason, which is called Phinehas; because, having received a zeal for virtue, and having taken up war against vice, he cut up the whole of generation; and in the second place, to all those who are willing, after a careful examination and investigation, using their eyes in preference to their ears as a trustworthy witness, to believe that the human race is full of infidelity, depending solely on opinion.

Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 6.5

Of course, however, the living voice and the intimacy of a common life will help you more than the written word. You must go to the scene of action, first, because men put more faith in their eyes than in their ears, and second, because the way is long if one follows precepts, but short and helpful, if one follows patterns. Cleanthes could not have been the express image of Zeno, if he had merely heard his lectures; he shared in his life, saw into his hidden purposes, and watched him to see whether he lived according to his own rules.

Papias in Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.* 3.39.15

This also the presbyter said: Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by

Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark.

## 2:17–21

Baruch 5:5-9 (See Acts 1:6–8)

## 2:22–24

Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.3.3 §§63–64

(63) Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ; (64) and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross,<sup>b</sup> those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day,<sup>c</sup> as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

*b. Sanh. 43a*

On the eve of the Passover Yeshu was hanged. For forty days before the execution took place, a herald went forth and cried, 'He is going forth to be stoned because he has practiced sorcery and enticed Israel to apostasy. Anyone who can say anything in his favor, let him come forward and plead on his behalf.' But since nothing was brought forward in his favor he was hanged on the eve of the Passover!

## 2:25–32

Josephus, *Antiquities* 13.8.4 §249

(249) But Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was also the first of the Jews that, relying on this wealth, maintained foreign troops. There was also a league of friendship and mutual assistance made between them; upon which Hyrcanus admitted him into the city, and furnished him with whatsoever his army wanted in great plenty, and with great generosity,

Josephus, *Wars* 1.2.5 §61

(61) And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simeon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulcher of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three

thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

Josephus, *Antiquities* 16.7.1 §179–82

(179) As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own kingdom: and as he had before heard that Hyrcanus, who had been king before him, had opened David's sepulcher, and taken out of it three thousand talents of silver, and that there was a much greater number left behind, and indeed enough to suffice all his wants, he had a great while an intention to make the attempt; (180) and at this time he opened that sepulcher by night, and went into it, and endeavored that it should not be at all known in the city, but took only his most faithful friends with him. (181) As for any money, he found none, as Hyrcanus had done, but that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there; all which he took away. However, he had a great desire to make a more diligent search, and to go farther in, even as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon; (182) where two of his guards were slain, by a flame that burst out upon those that went in, as the report was. So he was terribly affrighted, and went out, and built a propitiatory monument of that fright he had been in; and this of white stone, at the mouth of the sepulcher, and that at a great expense also.

4Q174 (Florilegium)

**I** ... [I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them that they may dwell there and be troubled no more by their] enemies. No son of iniquity [shall afflict them again] as formerly, from the day that [I set judges] over my people Israel (2 Sam. vii, 10).

This is the House which [He will build for them in the] last days, as it is written in the book of Moses, *In the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord, the Lord shall reign forever and ever* (Exod. XV, 17–18). This is the House into which [the unclean shall] never [enter, nor the uncircumcised,] nor the Ammonite, nor the Moabite, nor the half-breed, nor the foreigner, nor the stranger, ever; for there shall My Holy Ones be. [Its glory shall endure] forever; it shall appear above it perpetually. And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the Sanctuary of Israel because of its sin. He has commanded that a Sanctuary of men be built for Himself, that there they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law.

And concerning His words to David, *And I [will give] you [rest] from all your enemies* (2 Sam. vii, 11), this means that He will give them rest from all the children of Belial who cause them to stumble so that they may be destroyed [by their errors,] just as they came with a [devilish] plan to cause the [sons] of light to stumble and to devise against them a wicked plot, that [they might become subject] to Belial in their [wicked] straying.

*The Lord declares to you that He will build you a House* (2 Sam. vii, 11c). *I will raise up your seed after you* (2 Sam. vii, 12). *I will establish the throne of his kingdom [forever]* (2 Sam. vii, 12). *[I will be] his father and he shall be my son* (2 Sam. vii, 14). He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the end] of time. As it is written, *I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen* (Amos ix, 11). That is to say, the fallen *tent of David* is he who shall arise to save Israel.

Explanation of *How blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked* (Ps. I, 1). Interpreted, this saying [concerns] those who turn aside from the way [of the people] as it is written in the book of Isaiah the Prophet concerning the last days, *It came to pass that [the Lord turned aside, as with a mighty hand, from walking in the way of] this people* (Isa. viii, 11). There are those of whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the Prophet, *The Levites [strayed far from me, following] their idols* (Ezek. xlv, 10). There are the sons of Zadok who [seek their own] counsel and follow [their own inclination] apart from the council of the Community.

[*Why*] *do the nations [rage] and the peoples meditate [vanity? Why do the kings of the earth] rise up, [and the] princes take counsel together against the Lord and against [His Messiah]?* (Ps. ii, 1). Interpreted, this saying concerns [the kings of the nations] who shall [rage against] the elect of Israel in the last days. **II** This shall be the time of the trial to co[m]e concerning the house of J[ud]ah so as to perfect ... Belial, and a remnant of the people shall be left according to the lot [assigned to them], and they shall practice the whole Law .. Moses. This is the time of which it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet: *But the wicked shall do wickedly and shall not understand, but the righteous shall purify themselves and make themselves white* (Dan. xii, 10). The people who know God shall be strong. They are the masters who understand...

#### 11QPs 27.2-11

[2] And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate, [3] and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. [4] And the Lord gave him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote 3,600 psalms; [5] and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt perpetual offering [6] every day, for all the days of the year, 364; [7] and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New [8] Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs. [9] And all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs [10] for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050[11] All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.

#### Josephus, *Antiquities* 6.8.2 §166

(166) So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away. But the Divine Power departed from Saul, and removed to David, who upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy; but as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him; for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, That if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such a one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to take care that such a person might stand over him, and play upon the harp, and recite hymns to him.

#### *Epistles of Barnabas* 12:10

Behold again it is Jesus, not a son of man, but the Son of God, and He was revealed in the flesh in a figure. Since then men will say that Christ is the son of David, David himself prophesieth being afraid and understanding the error of sinners; *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on My right hand until I set thine enemies for a footstool under Thy feet.*

b. Sotah 48b

Who are the former prophets? R. Huna said: They are David, Samuel and Solomon.

4Q171

Col. I

13-19 [ ... ] ... 20 [Ps 37:6 ... He will make your justice come out like the dawn and your rights like mi]dday. [Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor who are ready to do] the will of [God ... } the arrogant ones choose [... who l]ove slovenliness and misdirect [...] wickedness at the hands of E[phra]im. [Ps. 37:7 Be Si]lent before [YHWH and] wait for him, do not be annoyed with one who has success, with someone [who hatch]es plots. Its [interpretation] concerns the Man of Lies who misdirected many with deceptive words, for they have chosen worthless things and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge. This is why

Col. II

they will die by the sword, by hunger and by plague. *Ps 37:8-9* Curb anger and control temper and do not get irritated – it only leads to evil. For those doing evil will be cut off. Its interpretation concerns all who converted to the law, who do not refuse to convert from their wickedness, for all those who resist to convert from their sin will be cut off. *Ps. 37:9* But they who hope in YHWH will possess the land. Its interpretation: they are the congregation of his chosen ones who carry out his will. *Ps.37:10* I will state at his place and he will no longer be there. Its interpretation concerns all the wickedness at the end of the forty years, for they will be completed and upon the earth no [wic]ked person will be found. *Ps. 37:11* Ad the poor shall possess the land and enjoy the peace in plenty. Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor who will tough out the period of distress and will be rescued from all the snare of Belial. Afterwards, all who shall po[sse]ss the land will enjoy and grow fat with everything enjoy[able to] the flesh. *Ps. 37:12-13* The wicked plots against the just person, grinding [his teeth] aga[inst him;] YHWH laughs at him because he sees that his day is coming. Its interpretation alludes to the ruthless ones of the covenant who are in the House of Judah, who plot to destroy those who observe the law, who are in the Community Council. But God will not surrender them into their hands. *Ps. 37:14-15* The evildoers unsheathe the sword and string their bows to bring down the port and the humble, to slaughter those on the correct path. Their swords shall pierce their own hearts and their bows shall break. Its interpretation concerns the wicked of Ephraim and Manaseeh who will attempt to lay hands on the Priest and the members of his council in the period of testing which will come upon them. However, God will save them from their hands and after they will be delivered into the hands of ruthless nations for judgment. *Ps. 37:16* Better is the little for the just man than the wealth of many wicked. [Its interpretation concerns all] who observe the law, who does not [...] ... for evil things. *Ps. 37:17-18* For the arms [of the wicked will be broken, but YH[WH supports the just ...] [his] will [...] [ *Ps. 37:19* They shall] n[ot] be ashamed in [the evil time. Its interpretation concerns ...]

(Martinez, Florentino G. and Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.)

4QpHab (See entire work)

**2:33–36**

Testament of Job 33:3

My throne is in the upper world, and its splendor and majesty come from the right hand of the Father.

1 Maccabees 14:41

<sup>41</sup>And the Jews and their priests decided that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until a trustworthy prophet should arise.

Testament of Levi 8:3

<sup>3</sup>And they severally carried (these things) and put (them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed forever.

Testament of Levi 18:1–3

<sup>1</sup>And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.

<sup>2</sup>Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.

And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;

And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days.

<sup>3</sup>And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.

Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day,

And he shall be magnified in the world.

Testament of Levi 18:8

<sup>8</sup>For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth forevermore;

And there shall none succeed him for all generations forever.

Testament of Levi 18:12

<sup>12</sup>And Beliar shall be bound by him, and he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.

Targum of Psalms 110

1. Composed by David, a psalm. The Lord said in his decree to make me lord of all Israel, but he said to me, “Wait still for Saul of the tribe of Benjamin to die, for one reign must not encroach on another; [5] and afterwards I will make your enemies a prop for your feet.” Another Targum: The Lord spoke by his decree to give me the dominion in exchange for sitting in study of Torah. “Wait at my right hand until I make your enemies a prop for your feet.” Another Targum: The Lord said in his decree to appoint me ruler over Israel, but the Lord said to me, “Wait for Saul of the tribe of Benjamin to pass away from the world; and afterwards you will inherit the kingship, and I will make your enemies a prop for your feet.”
2. The Lord will send from Zion the rod of your strength, and you will rule in the midst of your enemies.
3. Your people are those of the house of Israel who devote themselves to the Torah; you will be helped in the day of your making battle with them; in the glories of holiness the mercies of God will hasten to you like the descent of dew; your offspring dwell securely.
4. The Lord has sworn [6] and will not turn aside, that you are appointed leader in the age to come, because of the merit that you were a righteous king.
5. The presence of the Lord is at your right hand; he struck down kings on the day of his anger.
6. He was appointed judge over the Gentiles; the earth is full of the bodies of the slain wicked; he smote the heads of kings on the earth, very many.
7. He will receive instruction from the mouth of the prophet on the way; because of this, he will lift up his head.

*Psalm of Solomon 17:36*

<sup>36</sup> And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,

For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.

Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.3.3 §63 (See Above)

Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.9.1 §200

When, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the Sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned.

Josephus, *Wars* 6.5.4 §312

But now, what did most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, “about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth.”

*Shemoneh Esreh* 14

Return in mercy to Jerusalem thy city, and dwell in it as thou hast promised. Rebuild it soon in our day as an eternal structure, and quickly set up in it the throne of David. Blessed art thou, O LORD, who rebuildeth Jerusalem.

Baruch 4:36–37 (See 1:6–8)

Baruch 5:5–9 (See 1:6–8)

Philo, *Rewards*. 28.164 (See 1:6–8)

*2 Esdras* 13:39–47 (See 1:6–8)

*Psalms of Solomon* 17:25, 33 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 53:6 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 90:28–29 (See 1:6–8)

*2 Esdras* 7:26 (See 1:6–8)

*2 Esdras* 13:36 (See 1:6–8)

*Psalms of Solomon* 17:1–4 (See 1:6–8)

*Psalms of Solomon* 17:38 (See 1:6–8)

*War Scroll* (1QM) 19 (See 1:6–8)

*Shemoneh Esreh* 11 (See 1:6–8)

*Pss. Sol.* 17:23–41 (See 1:6–8)

*War Scroll* (1QM) 15–19 (See 1:6–8)

*2 Esdras* 13:33–38 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 52:4–9 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 45:3 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 55:4 (See 1:6–8)

*1 Enoch* 61:8–10 (See 1:6–8)

1 Enoch 69:26–29

26 And there was great joy amongst them, And they blessed and glorified and extolled because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man, and he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth, and those who have led the world astray.

28 With chains shall they be bound, and in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned, and all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible; for that Son of Man has appeared, and has seated himself on the throne of his glory, and all evil shall pass away before his face, and the word of that Son of Man shall go forth and be strong before the Lord of Spirits. This is the third Parable of Enoch.

Psalms of Solomon 17:28 (See 1:6–8)

Psalms of Solomon 17:31 (See 1:6–8)

Psalms of Solomon 17:48 (See 1:6–8)

2 Esdras 12:32–33 (See 1:6–8)

2 Baruch 40:1 (See 1:6–8)

Philo, Rewards. 16.91–97 (See 1:6–8)

2 Baruch 39:7–40:2 (See 1:6–8)

2 Baruch 70:2–6 (See 1:6–8)

1 Enoch 62:1–3 (See 1:6–8)

2 Esdras 12:32–33 (See 1:6–8)

2 Esdras 13:27–28, 35–38 (See 1:6–8)

Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 49:11 (See 1:6–8)

1QM 11:5–10 (See 1:6–8)

11Q13

Frs. 1–4

II... And concerning that which He said, *In [this] year of Jubilee [each of you shall return to his property (Lev. xxv, 13); and likewise, And this is the manner of release:] every creditor shall release that which he has lent [to his neighbor. He shall not exact it of his neighbor and his brother], for God's release [has been proclaimed] (Deut. xv, 2). [And it will be proclaimed at] the end of days concerning the captives as [He said, To proclaim liberty to the captives (Isa. lxi, 1). Its interpretation is that He] will assign them to the Sons of Heaven and to the inheritance of Melchizedek; f[or He will cast] their [lot] amid the po[rtions of Melchize]dek, who will return them there and will proclaim to them liberty, forgiving them [the wrong-doings] of all their iniquities.*

And this thing will [occur] in the first week of the Jubilee that follows the nine Jubilees. And the Day of Atonement is the e[nd of the] tenth [Ju]bilee, when all the Sons of [Light] and the men of the lot of Mel[chi]zedek will be atoned for. [And] a statue concerns them [to prov]ide them with their rewards. For this is the moment of the Year of Grace for Melchizedek. [And h]e will, by his strength judge the holy ones of God, executing judgment as it is written concerning him in the Song of David, who said, *ELOHIM has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment (Psalms lxxxii, 1).* And it was concerning him that he said, *(Let the assembly of the peoples) return to the height above them; EL (god) will judge the peoples (Psalms vii, 7–8).* As for that which he s[aid, *How long will you] judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? Selah (Psalms lxxxii, 2), its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot [who] rebelled by turning away from the precepts of God to ... And Melchizedek will avenge the Vengeance of the judgments of God ... and he will drag [them fr]om the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irit]s of] his [lot]. And all the ‘gods [of Justice]’ will come to his aid [to] attend to the de[struction] of Belial. And *the height* is ... all the sons of God ... this ... This is the day of [Peace/Salvation] concerning which [God] spoke [through Isa]iah the prophet, who said, [*How] beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who brings good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion: Your ELOHIM [reigns] (Isa. lii, 7).* Its interpretation; *the mountains* are the prophets ... and *the messenger* is the Anointed One of the spirit, concerning whom Dan[iel] said, [*Until an anointed one, a prince (Dan. ix, 25)] ... [ And he who brings] good [news], who proclaims [salvation]: it is concerning him that it is written ... [to comfort all who mourn, to grant to those who mourn in Zion] (Isa lxi, 2–3). To comfort [those who mourn: its interpretation], to make them understand all the ages of t[ime] ... in truth ... will turn away from Belial ... by the judgment[s] of God, as it is written concerning him, [who says to Zion]; your ELOHIM reigns. Zion is ... , those who uphold the Covenant, who turn from walking [in]the way of the people. And your ELOHIM is [Melchizedek, who will save them from] the hand of Belial. As for that He said, *Then you shall send abroad the trump[et in] all the land (Lev. Xxv, 9).*...**

#### Testament of Levi 2:11

<sup>11</sup>And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, [Saving every race of men.]

#### Testament of Levi 18:1–14

<sup>1</sup>And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.

<sup>2</sup>Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.

And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;

And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days.

<sup>3</sup>And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.

Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day,

And he shall be magnified in the world.

<sup>4</sup>He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,

And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,

And there shall be peace in all the earth.

<sup>5</sup>The heavens shall exult in his days,

And the earth shall be glad,

And the †clouds shall rejoice;

[And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]

And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.

<sup>6</sup>The heavens shall be opened,

And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,

With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

<sup>7</sup>And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,

And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].

<sup>8</sup>For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth forevermore;

And there shall none succeed him for all generations forever.

<sup>9</sup>And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,

And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:

In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,

And the lawless shall cease to do evil.

[And the just shall rest in him.]

<sup>10</sup>And he shall open the gates of paradise,

And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.

<sup>11</sup>And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,

And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.

<sup>12</sup>And Beliar shall be bound by him,

And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.

<sup>13</sup>And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,

And be well pleased in His beloved ones forever.

<sup>14</sup>Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,

And I will be glad,

And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

Testament of Dan 5:10

<sup>10</sup>And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord; And he shall make war against Beliar. And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies;

4Q175

The Lord spoke to Moses saying:

*You have heard the words which this people have spoken to you, all thy have said is right. O that their heart were always like this, to fear me and to keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them and their children forever! (Deut v, 28–9). I will raise up for them a Prophet like you from among their brethren. I will put my words into his mouth and he shall tell them all that I command him. And I will require a reckoning of whoever will not listen to the words which the Prophet shall speak in my Name (Deut. xviii, 18–19).*

He took up his discourse and said:

*Oracle of Balaam son of Beor. Oracle of the man whose eye is penetrating. Oracle of him who has heard the words of God, who knows the wisdom of the Most High and sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls and his eyes are opened. I see him but not now. I behold him but not near. A star shall come out of Jacob and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; he shall crush the temples of Moab and destroy all the children of Sheth (Num. xxiv, 17–17).*

And of Levi he said:

*Give Thy Tummim to Levi, and Thy Urim to Thy pious one whom Thou didst test at Massah, and with whom Thou didst quarrel at the waters of Merivah; who said to his father and mother, 'I know you not', and who did not acknowledge his brother, or know his sons. For they observed Thy word and kept Thy*

*Covenant. They shall send up incense towards Thy nostrils and place a burnt-offering upon Thine altar. Bless his power, O Lord, and delight in the work of his hands. Smite the lions of his adversaries and let his enemies rise no more (Deut. xxxiii, 8–11).*

When Joshua had finished offering praise and thanksgiving, he said:

*Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! May he lay its foundation on his first-born, and set its gate upon his youngest son (Josh. vi, 26).* Behold, an accursed man, a man of Belial, has risen to become a fowler's net to his people, and a cause of destruction to all his neighbors. And [his brother] arose [and ruled in li]es, both being instruments of violence. They have rebuilt [this city and have set up for it] a wall and towers to make of it a stronghold of ungodliness in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and in Judah ... They have committed an abomination in the land, and a great blasphemy among the children [of Jacob. They have shed blood] like water upon the ramparts of the daughter of Zion and within the precincts of Jerusalem.

*Sib. Or. 5.346–50*

And one shall come again from heaven, a man

Preeminent, whose hands on fruitful tree

By far the noblest of the Hebrews stretched,

Who at one time did make the sun stand still

When he spoke with fair word and holy lips,

*1 Enoch 46:1–6*

<sup>1</sup>And there I saw One who had a head of days,

And His head was white like wool,

And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,

And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

<sup>2</sup>And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? <sup>3</sup>And he answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,

With whom dwelleth righteousness,

And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness forever.

<sup>4</sup>And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen  
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,  
[And the strong from their thrones]  
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,  
And break the teeth of the sinners.  
<sup>5</sup>[And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]  
Because they do not extol and praise Him,  
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.  
<sup>6</sup>And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,  
And shall fill them with shame.  
And darkness shall be their dwelling,  
And worms shall be their bed,  
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,  
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

1 Enoch 62:3–12

<sup>3</sup>And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,  
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,  
And they shall see and recognize  
How he sits on the throne of his glory,  
And righteousness is judged before him,  
And no lying word is spoken before him.  
<sup>4</sup>Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,  
[And she has pain in bringing forth]  
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,  
And she has pain in bringing forth.

<sup>5</sup>And one portion of them shall look on the other,

And they shall be terrified,

And they shall be downcast of countenance,

And pain shall seize them,

When they see that Son of Man

Sitting on the throne of his glory.

<sup>6</sup>And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

<sup>7</sup>For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,

And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,

And revealed him to the elect.

<sup>8</sup>And the Congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown.

And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

<sup>9</sup>And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth

Shall fall down before him on their faces,

And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,

And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

<sup>10</sup>Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them

That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,

And their faces shall be filled with shame,

And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

<sup>11</sup>And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment,

To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect

<sup>12</sup>And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect:

They shall rejoice over them,

Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,

And His sword is drunk with their blood.

1 Enoch 69:26–29

<sup>26</sup>And there was great joy amongst them,

And they blessed and glorified and extolled

Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

<sup>27</sup>And he sat on the throne of his glory,

And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son of Man,

And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,

And those who have led the world astray.

<sup>28</sup>With chains shall they be bound,

And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,

And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

<sup>29</sup>And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;

For that Son of Man has appeared,

And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,

And all evil shall pass away before his face,

And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth

And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

This is the third Parable of Enoch.

2 Esdras 13:26, 32–38

<sup>26</sup>this is he whom the Most High has been keeping for many ages, who will himself deliver his creation; and he will direct those who are left. ... <sup>32</sup>And when these things come to pass and the signs occur which I showed you before, then my Son will be revealed, whom you saw as a man coming up from the sea. <sup>33</sup>And when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own land and the warfare that they have against one another; <sup>34</sup>and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together, as you saw, desiring to come and conquer him. <sup>35</sup>But he shall stand on the top of Mount Zion. <sup>36</sup>And Zion will come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built, as you saw the mountain carved out without hands. <sup>37</sup>And he, my Son, will reprove the assembled nations for their ungodliness (this was symbolized by the storm), <sup>38</sup>and will reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and

the torments with which they are to be tortured (which were symbolized by the flames), and will destroy them without effort by the law (which was symbolized by the fire).

Sib. Or. 2.241–44

Alas for all who shall dwell on the waves!

Alas for women who shall see that day!

For a dark mist shall hide the boundless world,

East, west, and south, and north. And then shall flow

Apoc. Pet. 6

<sup>6</sup>And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord towards the East, on whom we were not able to look.

1 Enoch 46:3–4 (See Above)

1 Enoch 48:6, 10

<sup>6</sup>And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,

Before the creation of the world and forevermore.

<sup>10</sup>And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,

And before them they shall fall and not rise again:

And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:

For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.

The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

1 Enoch 62:5 (See Above)

1 Enoch 69:27, 29 (See Above)

Odes Sol. 36:3

The Spirit brought me forth before the Lord's face, and because I was the Son of Man, I was named the Light, the Son of God;

1 En. 105:2;

<sup>2</sup>For I and My Son will be united with them forever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

2 Esdras 7:28–29

<sup>28</sup>For my son the Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him, and those who remain shall rejoice four hundred years. <sup>29</sup>And after these years my son the Messiah shall die, and all who draw human breath.

2 Esdras 13:32, 52:

<sup>32</sup>And when these things come to pass and the signs occur which I showed you before, then my Son will be revealed, whom you saw as a man coming up from the sea.

<sup>52</sup>He said to me, “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.

2 Esdras 14:9

<sup>9</sup>for you shall be taken up from among men, and henceforth you shall live with my Son and with those who are like you, until the times are ended.

Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach 48:10–11

<sup>10</sup>you who are ready at the appointed time, it is written,  
to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury,  
to turn the heart of the father to the son,  
and to restore the tribes of Jacob. <sup>11</sup>Blessed are those who saw you,  
and those who have been adorned in love;  
for we also shall surely live.

m. Ed. 8:7

A. Said R. Joshua, “I have a tradition from Rabban Yohanan b. Zakkai, who heard it from his master, and his master from his master, as a law revealed to Moses at Sinai,

B. “That Elijah is not going to come to declare unclean or to declare clean, to put out or to draw near,

C. “but only to put out those who have been brought near by force, and to draw near those who have been put out by force.”

D. The family of the house of Seriphah was in Transjordan and Ben Zion put it out by force.

E. And there was another family there, which Ben Zion drew near by force.

F. It is [families of] this sort that Elijah will come to declare unclean and to declare clean, to put out and to draw near.

G. R. Judah says, “To draw near but not to put out.”

H. R. Simeon says, “To smooth out disputes.”

I. And sages say, “Not to put out or do draw near but to make peace in the world,

J. “as it is said, “*Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet . . . and he will return the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers* (Ma. 4:23–24).”

Justin, Dial. Tryph. 8

Chapter VIII.—Justin by His Colloquy is Kindled with Love to Christ.

When he had spoken these and many other things, which there is no time for mentioning at present, he went away, bidding me attend to them; and I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable. Thus, and for this reason, I am a philosopher. Moreover, I would wish that all, making a resolution similar to my own, do not keep themselves away from the words of the Savior. For they possess a terrible power in themselves, and are sufficient to inspire those who turn aside from the path of rectitude with awe; while the sweetest rest is afforded those who make a diligent practice of them. If, then, you have any concern for yourself, and if you are eagerly looking for salvation, and if you believe in God, you may—since you are not indifferent to the matter.—become acquainted with the Christ of God, and, after being initiated, live a happy life.” When I had said this, my beloved friends those who were with Trypho laughed; but he, smiling, says, “I approve of your other remarks, and admire the eagerness with which you study divine things; but it were better for you still to abide in the philosophy of Plato, or of some other man, cultivating endurance, self-control, and moderation, rather than be deceived by false words, and follow the opinions of men of no reputation. For if you remain in that mode of philosophy, and live blamelessly, a hope of a better destiny were left to you; but when you have forsaken God, and reposed confidence in man, what safety still awaits you? If, then, you are willing to listen to me (for I have already considered you a friend), first be circumcised, then observe what ordinances have been enacted with respect to the Sabbath, and the feasts, and the new moons of God; and, in a word, do all things which have been written in the law: and then perhaps you shall obtain mercy from God. But Christ—if He has indeed been born, and exists anywhere—is unknown, and does not even know Himself, and has no power until Elias come to anoint Him, and make Him manifest to all. And you, having accepted a groundless report, invent a Christ for yourselves, and for his sake are inconsiderately perishing.

1QS 9:11–12

As for the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, it shall not be merged with that of the men of falsehood who have not purified their life by separating themselves from iniquity and walking in the way of perfection. They shall depart from none of the

counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their hearts, but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

4Q175 5–8

I will raise up for them a Prophet like you from among their brethren. I will put my words into his mouth and he shall tell them all that I command him. And I will require a reckoning of whoever will not listen to the words which the Prophet shall speak in my Name (Deut. xviii, 18–19).

**2:37–41**

Josephus, *Life* 110

I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that “I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive him what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter.”

1 Maccabees 10:63

<sup>63</sup>The king also seated him at his side; and he said to his officers, “Go forth with him into the middle of the city and proclaim that no one is to bring charges against him about any matter, and let no one annoy him for any reason.”

Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.4.42

Nevertheless, my comrades, I am not the man to ask you to violate any one of the pledges to which you have sworn, but I ask you rather to show this virtue also, in addition to your other virtues,—that you are true to your oaths and are god-fearing men.” When he had said this and more to the same effect, and had told them that there was no need of their being disturbed, but that they had only to live under the laws that had previously been in force, he dismissed the Assembly.

Polybius 21.14.4

He added many arguments besides, urging the Romans “Not to tempt fortune too far, as they were but men; nor to extend their empire indefinitely, but rather to keep it within limits, if possible those of Europe,—for even then they would have an enormous and unprecedented dominion, such as no nation before them had attained;—but if they were determined at all hazards to grasp parts of Asia also, let them say definitely what parts those were, for the king would go to the utmost stretch of his power to meet their wishes.”

Polybius 3.111.11

His words were received with approving shouts, which he acknowledged with gratitude for their zeal; and having dismissed the assembly, he at once formed a camp on the same bank of the river as that on which was the larger camp of the Romans.

m. Yoma 3.3

A. A person does not enter the courtyard for the service, even if he is clean, unless he immerses.

B. Five acts of immersion, and ten acts of sanctification of the hands and feet does the high priest carry out on that day.

C. And all of them are in the sanctuary at the *Parvah* chamber, except for this one alone.

**2:42–47**

1QS 5.2

They shall separate from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of the men of the Community who hold fast to the Covenant.

CD 14:13

They shall place the earnings of at least two days out of every month into the hands of the Guardian and the Judges.

Josephus, *Wars* 2.8.3 §§122–23

These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order,—insomuch, that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions: and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.

Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.1.5 §20

It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other man, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs which will not suffer anything to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way.

Philo, *Apology* 11.10–11

Accordingly, each of these men, who differ so widely in their respective employments, when they have received their wages give them up to one person who is appointed as the universal steward and general manager; and he, when he has received the money, immediately goes and purchases what is necessary and furnishes them with food in abundance, and all other

things of which the life of mankind stands in need. And those who live together and eat at the same table are day after day contented with the same things, being lovers of frugality and moderation, and averse to all sumptuousness and extravagance as a disease of both mind and body.

Josephus, *Wars* 5.5.3 §202

Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen.

