

AN ENOCHIC CITATION IN *BARNABAS* 4.3 AND
THE *ORACLES OF HYSTASPES*

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The ancient 'Enochic library'—works attributed to the seventh antediluvian forefather—must have been a magnificently profuse collection of literature. Judging from the number of alleged citations and allusions to 'books' or 'apocalypses' of Enoch, a multitude of such compositions apparently circulated in learned circles among Jewish and later Christian (and even Muslim) groups during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine eras. Surviving assessments of the size of the Enochic corpus range from the implicit 'three' or 'four' books of *Jubilees*¹ to the inherently plausible 'thirty scrolls' of al-Ṭabarī² up to the assuredly fantastic '360' of Slavonic *Enoch*.³ Yet despite these testimonies to Enoch's loquacity, only two indubitably Enochic books have been recovered to date—those conventionally designated Ethiopic (1) and Slavonic (2) *Enoch*.⁴

Following the discovery and publication of these works by Western scholars (in 1821 and 1880 respectively),⁵ some applied themselves to

1. These discussions focus upon the number of separate Enochic compositions presupposed by *Jub.* 4.17-24. See R.H. Charles, 'The Book of Jubilees', in R.H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, pp. 18-19; P. Grelot, 'Hénoch et ses écritures', *RB* 82 (1975), pp. 481-88; J.C. VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources', *SBLSP* (1978), I, pp. 229-51; *idem*, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), pp. 179-80.

2. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rasul wa-l-mulūk* (cf. *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari* [ed. M.J. De Goeje; repr. Leiden: Brill, 1964], I, p. 173 l. 3, 174 ll. 6, 8-9).

3. *2 En.* 10.7 (short version). A variant tradition records this number as '366'.

4. The so-called '3 Enoch' is a modern misnomer.

5. Regarding *1 Enoch*, the first modern European translation is R. Laurence, *The Book of Enoch the Prophet: An Apocryphal Production... Now First Translated from*

the task of correlating the numerous citations of Enochic books found in ancient and medieval literature with the contents of the newly available texts. While some success was achieved, it must be stated that on the whole the results were disappointing. Many of the alleged citations simply did not correspond to anything contained in either Enochic work. As one scholar observed, 'the present text [of Enoch] varies considerably from that which was current in the first two or three centuries of our era...'⁶ In light of the testimony of our textual witnesses, and the continuing recovery of ancient literary manuscripts, it might be more accurate to say that the texts of *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch* represent only a portion of the Enochic literature that once circulated throughout the Near East, and we might opine that much of the 'Enochic agrapha', as we might term the numerous alleged quotations, once possessed contextual moorings within the lost corpus of the Enochic library.

The present study will devote itself to the elucidation of one of these alleged Enochic citations—one that is found within the fourth chapter of the early Christian tract known as the *Epistle of Barnabas*. *Barnabas* is a virulently anti-Judaic diatribe that nevertheless provides some valuable testimony regarding the evaluation and interpretation of scripture among certain circles in the early church during the first decades of the second century CE. While *Barnabas* largely confines itself to the exegesis of select biblical passages, in certain eschatological discussions it also quotes Enoch as 'scripture', although it identifies this author only once by name, at *Barn.* 4.3.⁷ For the purposes of evaluation and discussion, let us examine this Enochic citation within its narrative context. The English rendering of Kirsopp Lake reads:

1. We ought, then, to enquire earnestly into the things which now are, and to seek out those which are able to save us. Let us then utterly flee from all the works of lawlessness, lest the works of lawlessness overcome us, and let us hate the error of this present time, that we may be loved in that which is to come.
2. Let us give no freedom to our souls to have power to walk

an Ethiopic MS in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1821). For the publication history of *2 Enoch*, consult the introductory remarks of W.R. Morfill and R.H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896); A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952).

6. H.J. Lawlor, 'Early Citations from the Book of Enoch', *Journal of Philology* 25 (1897), p. 164.

7. *Barn.* 16.5 (= *1 En.* 89.56); *Barn.* 16.6 (= *1 En.* 91.13). Both of these quotations are cited as 'scripture'.

with sinners and wicked men, lest we be made like to them. 3. *The final stumbling block is at hand of which it was written, as Enoch says, For to this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance.* 4. And the Prophet also says thus: 'Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth and there shall rise up after them a little king, who shall subdue three of the kings under one.' 5. Daniel says likewise concerning the same: 'And I beheld the fourth Beast, wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and that ten horns sprang from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that it subdued under one three of the great horns.' 6. You ought then to understand (*Barn.* 4.1-6a).⁸

This short passage features three alleged citations, all of which are problematic. The last, attributed to Daniel, would appear to reflect the contents of Dan. 7.7-8, but most commentators admit that it is at best a very liberal rendition of those biblical verses. The middle one, attributed to 'the prophet', has also been connected with the book of Daniel, since it seems to repeat the oneirocritical message of Dan. 7.24. However, if this is the case, it is somewhat strange that Barnabas does not introduce that citation with the name of 'Daniel', as it does the following one. As some have observed, the present wording of the text of Barnabas gives the misleading impression that 4.4 stems from a different source than does 4.5, which is expressly Danielic.⁹ Be that as it may, let us first

8. Δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἐνεστάτων ἐπιπολὺ ἐραυνῶντας ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα ἡμᾶς σώζειν. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας, μήποτε καταλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας· καὶ μισήσωμεν τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαπηθῶμεν. μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἕξουσίαν μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς. τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἤγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνώχ λέγει. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἦξη. λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Βασιλείαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὀπισθεν μικρὸς βασιλεὺς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγει Δανιήλ. Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπότερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρασ παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπεινώσεν ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων. συνίναί οὖν ὀφείλετε. Text and translation cited from K. Lake (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers* (LCL; repr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), I, pp. 348-51.

9. *Épître de Barnabé: introduction, traduction et notes* (ed. P. Prigent and R.A. Kraft; SC, 172; Paris: Cerf, 1971), p. 95.

examine the alleged Enochic quotation in 4.3 before attempting to resolve the problem of 4.4.

The first difficulty is to determine which portion of v. 3 relates the alleged Enochic citation. Is it 4.3a ('The final stumbling block is at hand...'), 4.3b ('For to this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance'), or both? If we compare the structure of the wording of v. 3 with the structure of the other eighty-six direct citations from sources found in *Barnabas*, we discover that the actual citation always follows the named authority. This of course follows the general pattern of proof-texting practiced in Jewish and early Christian literature.¹⁰ Assuming that the author has not violated the pattern, the Enochic citation should be found after the incipit 'as Enoch says'. Yet this formal consideration has not impressed the editors of what is probably the most authoritative edition of *Barnabas*, that published in the *Sources chrétiennes* series. They suggest that 4.3a represents the Enochic quote (despite their own admission that it has no textual correspondent in any work), and that 4.3b represents an idiosyncratic 'commentary' by the author of *Barnabas* which was perhaps inspired by the general thrust of certain Enochic passages, as opposed to a precise verbatim citation.¹¹ While this author has profound respect for the judgment of these editors, he is going to operate under the assumption that 4.3b reproduces, in one form or another, the purported Enochic citation.

The next problem is more difficult. Does 4.3b reproduce, correspond to, or even remotely echo textual material found in our extant Enochic works? K. Lake suggested certain passages from the 'Animal Apocalypse' of *I Enoch*; namely, *I En.* 89.61-64; 90.17.¹² These same passages have been faithfully echoed in subsequent scholarly discussions of this verse. However, upon examination, one quickly discovers that there is little if any correlation between these passages and the alleged Enochic citation of 4.3b,¹³ aside from the rather obvious shared context

10. See, for example, J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament', in *idem, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (repr. n.p.: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 7-16.

11. Prigent and Kraft, *Épître*, pp. 93-94.

12. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 348.

13. These Enochic passages refer to the recording of the misdeeds of the angelic shepherds granted dominion over humankind during the Second Temple period. I discern no specific connections with the language of *Barn.* 4.3.

of a concern with events expected to transpire at the eschaton. If this indeed is the basis of this oft-cited correlation, one could easily compile equally suitable eschatological portions from the remainder of *I Enoch*, but such a procedure hardly advances the discussion. Surely *Barnabas* has a specific citation or cluster of citations in mind, and presumably its readers did as well.

H.J. Lawlor opined almost a century ago that *Barn.* 4.3 was not even a 'free quotation' of anything in *I Enoch*,¹⁴ but his assessment is actually too harsh. As a matter of fact, there is one passage in *I Enoch* that does feature the motif of what we might term 'time-compression'—the acceleration of time as the eschaton draws near. J.T. Milik¹⁵ has pointed to *I En.* 80.2 as a possible correlate for *Barn.* 4.3: 'But in the days of the sinners the years will become shorter, and their seed will be late on their land and on their fields, and all things on the earth will change, and will not appear at their proper time.'¹⁶ This proposed correlation with a passage of our present texts of *Enoch* is probably the best advanced of this type to date, but it is not without its problems. The alleged Enochic citation of 4.3 also refers to a 'beloved' who is hastening to claim 'his inheritance', motifs which are absent from the text of *I Enoch* as we know it. From whence then do these other features stem? Does *Barnabas* use a book of Enoch that we no longer have? Or is it mistaken in its attribution of this quote to Enoch? When 4.4 cites 'the prophet also says', is it shifting to a different literary source? Is it Danielic? Or is 'Enoch' being quoted here as well?

A possibility that must be considered is that *Barnabas* is mistaken in its attribution of this quotation to Enoch, and that it in fact stems from a formally non-Enochic source. A very illuminating study of this interpretive option has lately been published by M. Kister.¹⁷ Kister has conclusively demonstrated that an unattributed and heretofore unattested prophetic text quoted in *Barn.* 12.1 stems from a recently published Qumran apocryphon designated '4Q Second Ezekiel'.¹⁸ Kister also

suggests that another portion of this same 'Second Ezekiel' recounts a message that is very similar to the Enochic citation of 4.3b. While the published portion of this part of 'Second Ezekiel' still requires some restoration, enough survives to provide some support for his suggestion. Therein we read: 'and the days will quickly hasten until humanity says, Are not the days hastening so that the children of Israel will inherit? And the Lord said to me, I will not refuse you, Ezekiel: Behold, I will cut short the days and the years...'¹⁹ Compare again the language of 4.3b: 'as Enoch says, For to this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance'. Here we observe an important correlation with two components of the alleged Enochic quote of 4.3b: the phenomenon of 'time-compression', and its purpose, eschatological inheritance.

While Kister's correlation is admittedly attractive, there nevertheless remain certain problems with his proposed identification, chief among which are the Enochic ascription and the thematic complex of motifs linking *Barn.* 4.3 and 4.4. I would like to propose for consideration a complementary reading of the *Barnabas* pericope that draws upon traditions not normally cited in the interpretation of this passage and that may shed some light on the linkage of ideas found therein. It appears that *Barn.* 4.3-4 exhibits several points of correspondence with the contents of and traditions about the so-called *Oracles of Hystaspes*, a Parthian apocalypse akin to the *Sibylline Oracles*. This work survives only in translated Greek and Latin fragments quoted by various Christian apologetes, the most copious of which appear in the seventh book of the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius.²⁰ There are four points of

Vision in Second Ezekiel (4Q385 4)', *RevQ* 14 (1990), pp. 331-48.

19. See Strugnell and Dimant, '4Q Second Ezekiel', p. 51 ll. 2-5; Kister, 'Barnabas 12.1, 4.3', p. 67 n. 14; M. Kister and E. Qimron, 'Observations on 4QSecond Ezekiel (4Q385 2-3)', *RevQ* 15 (1992), p. 598: ויתבהלו הימים מהר עד: אשד יאמרו האדם הלא במהרים הימים למען יירש בני ישראל ויאמר יהוה אלי לא אטן]ב פניך. הווקאל ה[ני] עורר את הימים ואת השני]ם...

20. Fundamental for the study of the *Oracles* are the following works: H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1929); F. Cumont, 'La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux', *RHR* 103 (1931), pp. 29-96, esp. 64-96; J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (Paris: Société d'éditions 'Les belles lettres', 1938), I, pp. 215-22, II, pp. 359-76; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965), pp. 199-207; J.R. Hinnells, 'The Zoroastrian Doctrine of Salvation in the Roman World', in E.J. Sharpe and J.R. Hinnells (eds.), *Man and his Salvation: Studies in*

14. Lawlor, 'Early Citations', p. 172.

15. J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 73-74.

16. Translation cited from M.A. Knibb, 'I Enoch', in H.F.D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 269.

17. M. Kister, 'Barnabas 12.1, 4.3 and 4Q Second Ezekiel', *RB* 97 (1990), p. 63-67.

18. For the published text of 4Q Second Ezekiel, see J. Strugnell and D. Dimant, '4Q Second Ezekiel', *RevQ* 13 (1988), pp. 45-58, esp. 50-51; *idem*, 'The Merkabah

potential correspondence to which attention should be directed: (1) the motif of time-compression; (2) the motif of the eschatological 'ten rulers' or 'ten kingdoms'; (3) the motif of 'the beloved'; and (4) the Enochic ascription. Each of these motifs requires brief development.

(1) The motif of time-compression. As previously stated, the phrase 'time-compression' is used to describe a perception that time accelerates its passage as the eschaton approaches. In other words, years, months, and days are progressively shortened, with the result that the natural processes of organic growth and ageing are no longer synchronous with the accustomed advance of the seasons. Examples of passages featuring this motif have already been quoted from *Barnabas*, *1 Enoch*, and 'Second Ezekiel'; these could easily be supplemented by further examples from both Jewish and Christian texts.²¹

Interestingly, the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, insofar as we can reliably reconstruct this work, also contains a passage that features eschatological time-compression. Therein we read: 'then [i.e., after various woes] the year will be shortened, the month diminished, the day compressed to a brief moment...'²² Given this parallel, some have wished to argue that the motif of time-compression has been borrowed by Jewish apocalyp- tists from Iranian eschatological traditions,²³ but this need not necessarily be the case. Study and reflection upon the 'historical' traditions contained in the Tanakh can lead one to conclude that from the period of Adam to the present age life-spans have progressively diminished, and

Memory of S.G.F. Brandon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 125-48; H.G. Kippenberg, 'Die Geschichte der mittelpersischen apokalyptischen Traditionen', *Studia Iranica* 7 (1978), pp. 49-80, esp. 70-75; D. Flusser, 'Hystaspes and John of Patmos', in S. Shaked (ed.), *Irano-Judaica: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture throughout the Ages* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 12-75; M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden: Brill, 1975-), III, pp. 371-83.

21. *l. Sota* 14.10; *b. Sota* 47b; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 20.1; 54.1; 83.1; *4 Ezra* 4.26 (cf. v. 33); 6.21; *Mk* 13.20; *Mt* 24.22.

22. *Tunc annus breuiabitur et mensis minuetur et dies in angustum coartabitur* (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.16.10). Text cited from Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, p. 368; translation cited from B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality* (New York: Paulist, 1979), pp. 60-61. Note Cumont, 'La fin du monde', p. 78 n. 1.

23. See D. Winston, 'The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and Qumran: A Review of the Evidence', *HR* 5 (1966), p. 191. A Babylonian pedigree is suggested by W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 3rd edn, 1926), p. 246.

will continue to diminish, until the End. A shortening of life-span could be interpreted to reflect an acceleration in time's motion and thus the maturity process. Hence the phenomenon of premature ageing is a common feature in texts that contain this motif, as in *Jubilees* where as the eschaton approaches 'the heads of children will be white with grey hair, and a child three weeks old will look like a man who is a hundred...'²⁴

Does this passage of the *Oracles* shed any light on *Barnabas*? All that we can observe at this stage is that the *Oracles* and *Barnabas* share the motif of time-compression, hardly grounds for concluding interdependence.

(2) The eschatological 'ten rulers' or 'ten kingdoms'. *Barn.* 4.4 states: 'And the prophet also says thus: Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth and there shall rise up after them a little king, who shall subdue three of the kings under one' (Lake). Here we confront a motif that enjoys wide popularity in apocalyptic literature. The final years before the eschaton are periodized in accordance with a predetermined number of secular governments or rulers. These governments as a rule become progressively worse as the eschaton nears, and the military actions associated with these rulers form part of the series of 'woes' that precede the direct intervention of the deity. Their enumeration as 'ten' also assumes importance in apocalyptic tradition, presumably due to the impact of the vision of the fourth beast with the ten horns 'who are kings', as described in Daniel 7, but perhaps ultimately based on an early form of the later tradition concerning the governments of 'ten universal kings'.²⁵

At first glance, *Barn.* 4.4 would seem to be Danielic. But when one compares the wording of 4.4 with the extant text(s) of Daniel, one discovers significant differences between the text of *Barnabas* and the biblical versions.²⁶ It is certainly not a verbatim citation, but general

24. *Jub* 23.25. Translation cited from R.H. Charles and C. Rabin, 'Jubilees', in *Apocryphal Old Testament*, p. 76. See also *Orig. World* (NHC II.5), p. 121 ll. 25-27.

25. See *PRE* 11; *Targ. Sheni* 1.1 for examples of this latter motif. Note that the seventh-century *Sefer Zerubbabel* also features the 'ten eschatological rulers' in addition to the figure of Armilus. Cf. Y. Even-Shemuel, *Midrashey ge'ullah* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Bialik, 1953), pp. 79-80.

26. LXX: καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα τῆς βασιλείας, δέκα βασιλεῖς στήσονται, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος βασιλεὺς μετὰ τούτους στήσεται, καὶ αὐτὸς διοίσει κακοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει. Theodotion: καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ, δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται, καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεται ἕτερος, ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει.

similarities in content can be observed. Dan. 7.8 reports that while Daniel observed the fourth beast with its ten horns 'another *small* horn sprouted among them and uprooted *three* of the former horns...', and 7.24 interprets this same event as '*ten kings* shall arise, but *another* shall arise after them, distinct from the former, and he will subdue *three* of (the former) kings'. Here the same progression of action is featured that we find in *Barnabas*: ten kings/kingdoms among whom an eleventh appears, and who subjugates three of the original ten. Yet perhaps most tellingly, despite this obvious similarity, the author of *Barnabas* does not identify this quotation as a citation from Daniel, but rather ascribes the quotation to an unnamed 'prophet'. As others have noted, the way that *Barnabas* specifically attributes 4.5 to Daniel permits the supposition that 4.4 actually stems from elsewhere,²⁷ and one could add, perhaps even from the same Enochic source quoted in 4.3.

Interestingly, a tradition associated with the *Oracles of Hystaspes* also apparently attests an eschatological 'ten ruler' scheme among the roster of natural 'woes' in that work.²⁸ This passage states:

civic quarrels will continually spread abroad and there will be no end of deadly wars until ten kings will emerge simultaneously. They will divide the world to destroy and not to govern it. They will greatly expand their armies and devastate the farmlands...then a mighty enemy from the far North will suddenly rise up against them. When he has destroyed the three who control Asia he will be taken into alliance with the others and will be made their chief.²⁹

27. See n. 9 *supra*.

28. Not everyone agrees that Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.16.1-3 stems from the *Oracles*. For example, Bidez and Cumont do not include this material within their collection of the fragments of Hystaspes. However, D. Flusser ('Hystaspes and John of Patmos') has argued compellingly that 7.16.1-3 does in fact derive from the *Oracles*, and Flusser's perspective will be adopted in the present paper.

29. ...*tum discordiae ciuiles in perpetuum serentur nec ulla requies bellis exitibus erit, donec reges decem pariter existant, qui orbem terrae non ad regendum, sed ad consumendum partiantur. Hi exercitibus in immensum auctis et agrorum cultibus destitutis...tum repente aduersus eos hostis potentissimus ab extremis finibus plagae septentrionalis orientur, qui tribus ex eo numero deletis qui tunc Asiam obtinebunt, adsumetur in societatem a ceteris ac princeps omnium constituetur* (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.16.1-3). Text cited from L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti, *Opera omnia*... (CSEL XIX; ed. S. Brandt; Prague: F. Tempsky, 1890), I, p. 635; translation cited from McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, pp. 59-60. The motif of the 'enemy from the north' need not be biblically derived. Cumont thinks that it stems from the *Oracles*; see 'La fin du monde', p. 75 n. 2. The *Jāmāsp-nāmag* (§ 95ff.) also features

The same eschatological pattern manifests here that we have seen previously in Daniel and in *Barnabas*.

Among all the texts we have examined so far, it is surely intriguing to note that it is only within two—the *Oracles* and *Barnabas*—that the motifs of time-compression and the ten eschatological rulers are contextually intertwined. Are there further hints pointing to a closer connection between *Barnabas* and the *Oracles* than has heretofore been recognized?

(3) The 'beloved'. The expression 'his beloved' (ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ) represents an intriguing crux. Naturally, this is a christological epithet (it always possesses this sense in *Barnabas*), but, unlike most others, it occurs in a rather limited repertoire of early Christian texts, viz., *Barnabas*, the *Odes of Solomon*, and the Christian portions of the *Ascension of Isaiah*.³⁰ The latter two texts are normally associated with a Syrian or Palestinian provenance, and are indeed often mined by scholars seeking nuggets of information about the conceptual world of so-called 'Jewish Christianity'.³¹ However, whence stems the epithet 'his beloved' in our alleged Enochic citation? Was it already present in 'Second Ezekiel' (assuming that Kister has correctly identified this source), perhaps modifying בני ישראל? Was it added by a Christian adaptor (*Barnabas*?) to replace the reference to the בני ישראל, as Kister has suggested?³² Or is there another possible explanation?

Given the emerging connection that seems to exist between the *Oracles* and *Barnabas*, it would seem logical to search for any evidence that might point to the use of a title like 'the beloved' within the Parthian apocalypse. Interestingly, such evidence does in fact exist, but it has been seldom noticed. According to the summation of the chapter headings contained in Mani's *Book of Mysteries* that is supplied by the tenth-century Muslim encyclopaedist Ibn al-Nadīm, the second chapter

three rulers who are destroyed by an adversary from the north. See É. Benveniste, 'Une apocalypse pehlevie: le *Zāmāsp-Nāmak*', *RHR* 106 (1932), p. 375. It seems possible that Elchasai's prediction about 'war raging among the impious angels (read: kings?) of the north' (*apud* Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 9.16.4) presumes a similar textual basis.

30. *Barn.* 3.6; 4.8; *Odes Sol.* 3.5, 7; 7.1; 8.21; 38.11; *Asc. Isa.* 1.4, 5, 7, 13; 3.13, 17, 18, 28; 4.3, 6, 9, 18, 21; 5.15; 7.17, 23; 8.18, 26; 9.12. See R.H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: A. & C. Black, 1900), pp. 3-4.

31. The employment of this epithet is instructive for those seeking to identify the provenance of *Barnabas*.

32. Kister, 'Barnabas 12.1, 4.3', pp. 66-67.

(*bāb*) of this Manichaean text was devoted to 'the testimony of Vištaspa (i.e., Hystaspes) about the Beloved (*al-ḥabīb*).'³³ This information raises at least two intriguing questions. Is 'the testimony of Vištaspa' that is interpreted by Mani the same work that Western writers know as the *Oracles of Hystaspes*? To whom does the epithet 'the Beloved' refer?

First, it can be demonstrated that Mani knew and utilized the conceptual framework and even the terminology of the *Oracles of Hystaspes*. The important manuscript discoveries of the present century have provided us with a sizeable sampling of authentic Manichaean apocalyptic texts,³⁴ and these texts display numerous points of correspondence with the traditions found in our surviving fragmentary *Oracles*.³⁵ As an example of such dependence, one might call attention to the 'Great Fire' (*'dwr wzrg*) which, according to Mani, will consume the created order at the eschaton. This feature looks very much like the world conflagration

33. See G. Flügel, *Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (reprinted, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969), p. 72 l. 12; A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2nd edn, 1969), p. 115. Against most interpretations, Arabic 'ly here should be translated 'concerning, about' and not 'against' ('gegen', 'wider', 'contre', etc.). Cf. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 72 ll. 14-15; 'testimony of Jesus about himself in Judaea'; p. 73 l. 1: 'Adam about Jesus'. See especially Flügel, *Mani*, p. 360 n.

34. The most important extant Manichaean apocalyptic texts survive in Coptic and Middle Persian. See *Manichäische handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I: Manichäische Homilien* (ed. H.J. Polotsky; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934), pp. 7-42; D.N. MacKenzie, 'Mani's Säburhagān', *BSOAS* 42 (1979), pp. 500-34; 43 (1980), pp. 288-310. An excellent introduction to Manichaean apocalypticism is G.G. Stroumsa, 'Aspects de l'eschatologie manichéenne', *RHR* 198 (1981), pp. 163-81.

35. G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965), p. 67; *idem*, 'Manichaeism and its Iranian Background', in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 3(2): The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (ed. E. Yarshater; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 981-82; M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981), p. 42; L. Koenen, 'Manichaean Apocalypticism at the Crossroads of Iranian, Egyptian, Jewish and Christian Thought', in *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale (Rende-Amantea 3-7 settembre 1984)* (ed. L. Cirillo and A. Roselli; Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986), pp. 297-314. It is certainly clear that Mani was acquainted with King Vištaspa (i.e., Hystaspes) and certain traditions surrounding him. Note M 291a 1.9: *wy'jšt' sp š'h*; T ii D 58 1.3: *š'h wyšt' sp*. Both of these texts are provided by W.B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS* 11 (1943-46), p. 73; see also *idem*, 'Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus', *ZDMG* 90 (1936), pp. 4-5.

reportedly found in the *Oracles of Hystaspes*.³⁶

Therefore it would seem that Mani knew and used the *Oracles*. However, as al-Nadīm's testimony suggests and common sense dictates, the form and/or content of the *Oracles* used by Mani in third-century Mesopotamia was superior to the disconnected fragments that have been haphazardly preserved for us in Christian literature. It seems certain that within the text of the *Oracles* used by Mani there was reference made to an actor designated 'the Beloved'—either explicitly in the *Oracles* themselves, or implicitly; that is to say, a species of *derash* that interpreted a certain entity (e.g., the Great King) as being equivalent to a revered 'Beloved'.

But who is 'the Beloved'? As previously mentioned, the expression 'the Beloved' functions as a favorite christological epithet in literature that stems from certain Jewish Christian circles. Thanks to the important information recovered from the recently published *Cologne Mani Codex*, we now know that Mani is rooted in the same soil.³⁷ Hence it should not surprise us when we observe that both Mani and the later Manichaean community frequently use this identical epithet—'the beloved'—to refer to the same entity—Jesus.³⁸

Obviously a Parthian apocalypse authored in the pre-Christian era among Zoroastrian circles would feature no blatant christological concepts or language.³⁹ If the expression 'the Beloved' was indigenous

36. See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1.20 (*apud* Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, p. 361); M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 80-83; ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (*apud* Flügel, *Mani*, p. 58 ll. 1-10, 235-37); al-Shahrastānī, *Kutāb al-milal wa-al-nihāl* (ed. M.S. Kilani; repr. Beirut: Dar el-Marefah, n.d.), I, p. 248 ll. 1-4.

37. L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Kritische Edition* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988). There are some discernible connections linking Mani's Mesopotamian heritage and Palestinian traditions; see J.C. Reeves, 'The Elchasaite Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in Light of Second Temple Jewish Sectarian Sources', *JJS* 42 (1991), pp. 68-91.

38. The divine entity termed 'Jesus the Luminous' (*Yišō' ziwā*) is also called 'the Beloved (*ḥbyb*)' = Al-Nadīm's *al-ḥabīb*; cf. Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum* [ed. A. Scher; Paris: Carolus Poussielgue, 1912], II, p. 317 l. 20; *Acta Archelai* 12.7-11: ὅτε δὲ εἶδεν ὁ πατήρ ὁ ζῶν θλιβομένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι... ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἡγαπῆμένον εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς... and 'Jesus the Friend' (*Yišō' aryaman*). See F.C. Andreas and W.B. Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II', *SPAW* (1933), p. 325 ll. 9-10.

39. Most scholars date the *Oracles* around 100 BCE, and some would place it considerably earlier.

to the *Oracles*, it must necessarily refer to someone or something else, perhaps Aryaman, an Iranian *yazad* whose name signifies 'Friend' and who functions as a divine healer.⁴⁰ However, if it is true, as has been recently and brilliantly argued, that the *Oracles* underwent a series of revisions and adaptations by both Jewish and Christian groups,⁴¹ it is then highly likely that this epithet was reinterpreted or even inserted into the *Oracles* by one of these latter groups. Presumably it was such a 'revised' version of the *Oracles* that Mani used, since we are informed that he devoted a portion of his interpretive energies to the elucidation of the *Oracles*' witness to 'the Beloved'.

Barnabas quotes a text, allegedly Enochic, that features the advent of 'the Beloved' at the eschaton. Either the original or a revised version of the *Oracles of Hystaspes* apparently incorporated the same figure. The textual complex displayed in *Barn.* 4.3-4 features time-compression and the tribulations associated with ten rulers. As we have seen, the *Oracles of Hystaspes* also include these same motifs within the same temporal context. Can these correspondences be coincidental?

(4) The Enochic ascription. This is perhaps the most interesting problem. If Kister is correct, and *Barn.* 4.3b is in fact 'Ezekielian', why does *Barnabas* expressly identify it as a quotation from Enoch? Several possibilities suggest themselves. Perhaps *Barnabas* was simply mistaken; analogous slips in source citation are not unheard of.⁴² Perhaps what we know today fragmentarily as 'Second Ezekiel' was in its original context a portion of a larger work ascribed to Enoch—say, a broad vision of Jewish history stretching from creation to the eschaton that incorporated within it a selection of the future oracles or pronouncements of named prophets. Perhaps the autograph of *Barnabas* originally said 'Ezekiel', but for one reason or another a later copyist altered this name to 'Enoch', and all subsequent versions have followed this archetype without question. Finally, an intriguing possibility is that either *Barnabas* or its source has effected an esoteric identification or assimilation between the figures of Enoch and Ezekiel—both, after all, view the *kavod hashem*; both exhort their contemporaries to refrain from evil and pursue righteousness; and both utter prophecies focused upon eschatological

40. M. Boyce, 'The Manichaean Middle Persian Writings', in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 3(2)*, pp. 1198-99.

41. Flusser, 'Hystaspes and John of Patmos', *passim*. Note also Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 6-9, 45-46.

42. Cf., e.g., Mk 1.2-3.

events.⁴³ Conceivably, when viewed in this way, Ezekiel could be labelled a type of latter-day Enoch.

This sort of interpretive assimilation should not be dismissed out of hand. Remaining within the bounds of Jewish tradition, one thinks of similar identifications proffered, like those of Phineas and Elijah,⁴⁴ or of Shem and Melchisedek.⁴⁵ If we expand those boundaries to incorporate figures from alien national or religious traditions, we are bound to notice that cross-cultural assimilation or identification of prominent culture-heroes is extremely popular in Hellenistic and even later historiography. The production of the so-called 'universal histories' stimulates this process. When different national or religious figures of like antiquity are depicted similarly in their native traditions, the tendency is to equate the two. For example, the Samaritan antiquarian Pseudo-Eupolemus states 'the Greeks say that Atlas discovered astrology, but Atlas is the same (person) as Enoch'.⁴⁶ Now, while it is conceivable that someone may have argued, on the basis of the parallels cited above, that the figures of Enoch and Ezekiel are similar, it seems inconceivable (apart from some early 'true prophet' cyclical pattern)⁴⁷ that anyone familiar with biblical

43. For medieval Jewish exercises of this sort, see G. Scholem, 'Gilgul: The Transmigration of Souls', in *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (New York: Schocken, 1991), pp. 212-15.

44. Pseudo-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 48.1; *Targ. Ps.-J.* Num. 25.12; *PRE* 8 and 47. Additional references are supplied by L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1913-38), VI, pp. 316-17. See also R. Hayward, 'Phineas—the Same is Elijah: The Origins of a Rabbinic Tradition', *JJS* 29 (1978), pp. 22-34.

45. *Gen. R.* 26.3; *b. Ned.* 32b; *Targ. Yer. I* and *Targ. Ps.-J.* Gen. 14.18, along with traditional commentaries *ad loc.*; *PRE* 27. Additional references in Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, pp. 225-26.

46. Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.9: 'Ἐλληνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἀτλαντα εὐρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ. Text cited from Eusebius, *Die Praeparatio Evangelica* (ed. K. Mraz; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954), I, p. 504 ll. 7-8. With specific regard to Irano-Judaic assimilations, see G. Widengren, 'Quelques rapports entre juifs et iraniens à l'époque des Parthes', in *Volume du Congrès: Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup, 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957), pp. 220-21. For a possible early Christian assimilation of Seth and Zoroaster, see W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 378-82.

47. From the Manichaean perspective, Enoch and Zoroaster are in fact the same figure, since each is a human manifestation of the same heavenly entity, the 'Apostle of Light'. See H.-C. Puech, *Le manichéisme: son fondateur—sa doctrine* (Paris:

material would suggest that Enoch and Ezekiel were one and the same. This interpretation can be safely dismissed given the present state of our knowledge.

I would like to suggest, based on the course of this paper's argument, that an assimilation (at some point in the exegetical process) of two culture-heroes has in fact transpired; namely, between Enoch and Zoroaster. I suggest this despite my realization that nowhere in the extant literary traditions is such an identification explicitly given.⁴⁸ The reasons for offering this correlation are based by and large upon the popular Hellenistic image of the Persian prophet, facets of which do not cohere with authentic Iranian traditions.⁴⁹ First, one of Zoroaster's primary accomplishments (according to Western interpreters) was his discovery and development of astrology.⁵⁰ Certain Jewish circles

Civilisations du Sud, 1949), pp. 61-62 and esp. p. 144 n. 241; Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, pp. 20-24; J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), p. 4 n. 3, pp. 47-48 n. 132.

48. Zoroaster was identified with Nimrod (Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 9.3-6; Syriac *Cave of Treasures*; perhaps *Gen. R.* 38.13), Balaam (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.60), Ezekiel (!) (Alexander Polyhistor *apud* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15), and Baruch (Syriac *Book of the Bee*). See Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, I, pp. 41-49; Winston, 'Iranian Component', pp. 213-16; R.J.H. Gottheil, 'References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature', in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* (New York: Macmillan, 1894), pp. 24-51; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 369-78. Theodore bar Konai reports a tradition that Zoroaster was originally a Samaritan priest named Azazel; see his *Liber Scholiorum*, II, p. 295 ll. 21-23. We draw closer to Enoch in the tradition recounted by the *Chronicles of Yerahmeel* (35.4; cf. M. Gaster, *The Chronicles of Yerahmeel* [repr. New York: Ktav, 1971], p. 78) that Abraham instructed Zoroaster in astrological mysteries. Compare Artapanus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.18.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.167-68. Note especially Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.8 and J.A. Fitzmyer's plausible restoration of IQapGen 19.25 (*The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 2nd rev. edn, 1971], p. 118), both of which underscore Enoch's role in Abraham's educational mission.

49. See Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 16.15-20; Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 14-25. An exemplary discussion of Hellenistic interpretations of Zoroaster is provided by R. Beck, 'Thus Spake Not Zarathustra: Zoroastrian Pseudepigrapha of the Greco-Roman World', in Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, III, pp. 491-565. See also A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 141-49.

50. Passages remarking Zoroaster's association with astrology are conveniently gathered in Appendix V of A.V.W. Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran*

attributed the same discovery to Enoch.⁵¹ Secondly, Zoroaster participated in tours of the supernal and nether worlds; Enoch of course shares these ascension experiences.⁵² Thirdly, there are persistent traditions that Zoroaster was temporarily or periodically sequestered from mortal company.⁵³ One might compare the similarly mysterious occultation of Enoch related in *Gen. 5.24* and its dependent traditions.⁵⁴

(repr. New York: AMS Press, 1965), pp. 226-59. Note also Beck, 'Zoroastrian Pseudepigrapha', pp. 522-28.

51. Regarding Enoch's association with astrology, see the end of n. 48 *supra* and B.Z. Wacholder, 'Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham', *HUCA* 34 (1963), pp. 96-97. Note also Theodore bar Konai, *Liber Scholiorum*, II, p. 286 ll. 5-6: 'The Chaldaean (heresy) preceded the other heresies in origin, for Bardaisan says that Enoch was the name of its originator'. *kldywt'* refers to 'astrology'.

52. For such traditions relating to Zoroaster, which are often implied in the Avesta, see especially *Dēnkard* 7.3.51-62, 8.14.2-9; *Zātspram* 21.2ff., 22.1-13; A. Hultgård, 'Forms and Origins of Iranian Apocalypticism', in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm, Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), pp. 400-405. See also the following note. The Coptic *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII.1) recounts a heavenly tour undertaken by the title character. According to this work's colophon, *Zostrianos* is Zoroaster. Parallels between *Zostrianos* and Enochic literature have been identified by M. Scopello, 'The Apocalypse of *Zostrianos* (Nag Hammadi VIII.1) and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch', *VC* 34 (1980), pp. 376-85. Note too that the Zoroastrian pseudepigraphon *Peri phuseōs* borrows the narrative setting of Plato's famous 'myth of Er' (*Republic* 614b-621d), substituting the name 'Zoroaster' for that of 'Er' (cf. Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 15-16). With regard to Enoch, see *1 En.* 1.2; 14.8-19.3, 21-36, 71; *2 En.* 3-12 (short version); *Jub.* 4.21; *Cologne Mani Codex* 58.6-60.12. Neither of these lists purports to be an exhaustive listing of the sources.

53. *Vičirkart i Dēnik* 16-17: 'Avec l'aide de Vahuman et la force de la justice et de la vérité, il alla dans la meilleure existence pour rester dix ans parmi les *yazdat* et les Amahraspand en s'entretenant avec Ohrmazd le Créateur omniscient. Mais au bout de dix ans le juste Zoroastre le Spitamide, entouré d'éclat et de *xvarrah* de la prophétie, descendit du monde spirituel dans ce monde matériel le jour de Hordat du mois de Fravartin.' Translation cited from M. Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevi* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1967), p. 131. See also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.97; Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* 36.40-41; Arnobius, *Adv. gentes* 1.52; Porphyry, *De Antro Nymph.* 6; al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (cf. *Kitāb al-Fihrist* [ed. G. Flügel], Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1871-72), I, p. 345; and the references cited by Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 149 n. 3. Compare *Jub.* 4.23-25 and the sources cited in the following note.

54. *1 En.* 12.1-2; 87.3-4; 106.7; *2 En.* 11.36-38, 13.77-78; 18.1-3 (all short version); *Jub.* 4.23; *Targ. Ps.-J.* *Gen.* 5.24; *Sefer Hayashar* (*apud* A. Jellinek, *Bei*

According to Iranian tradition, a crucial step in the progress of the Zoroastrian religion was taken when Zoroaster succeeded in winning over King Vištaspā to his cause.⁵⁵ Following his conversion, Vištaspā becomes a fervent champion of the new teachings. Some traditions go further and consider Vištaspā a trusted disciple to whom Zoroaster continued to impart subsequent revelations and oracles.⁵⁶ It seems possible then that a work thought to derive from Vištaspā and his circle, such as the *Oracles*, could have been considered authentically Zoroastrian. If the 'child' who interprets the dream of Hystaspes is Zoroaster, as is sometimes argued,⁵⁷ we behold a direct connection of the resultant

ha-Midrash [Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrman, 2nd edn, 1938], IV, pp. 129-32).

55. Presumably not the same figure as the father of Darius I (Herodotus 1.209-10). On Vištaspā, see Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 10-13; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 56-79; Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, I, pp. 215-17.

56. 'Vištaspā galt nicht nur als vorbildlicher Gläubiger und Beschirmer der Religion, sondern als Empfänger und Mittler von Glaubensoffenbarungen' (Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, p. 12). Iranian tradition reports that Vištaspā himself was transported to heaven in order to demonstrate the verity of Zoroaster's proclamations; cf. *Dēnkard* 7.4.84-86; Pahlavi *Rivāyat* 47.27-32 (both *apud* Molé, *Zoroastre*, pp. 59, 121); Hultgård, 'Forms and Origins', pp. 401-402. Presumably he could thus speak authoritatively about supernal matters. Moreover, there is one curious context in early Christian tradition (which is in turn dependent upon Iranian traditions) wherein Vištaspā is included among an inner circle of Zoroaster's disciples to whom esoteric oracles are revealed of 'messianic' significance. For example, Theodore bar Konai preserves a so-called 'Prophecy of Zaradusht' that treats of the future appearance of the 'star over Bethlehem' and its significance, and Vištaspā is one of the privileged hearers of this 'oracle' (*Liber Scholiorum* [ed. Scher], II, pp. 74ff.). For a full discussion, see especially Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 378-82.

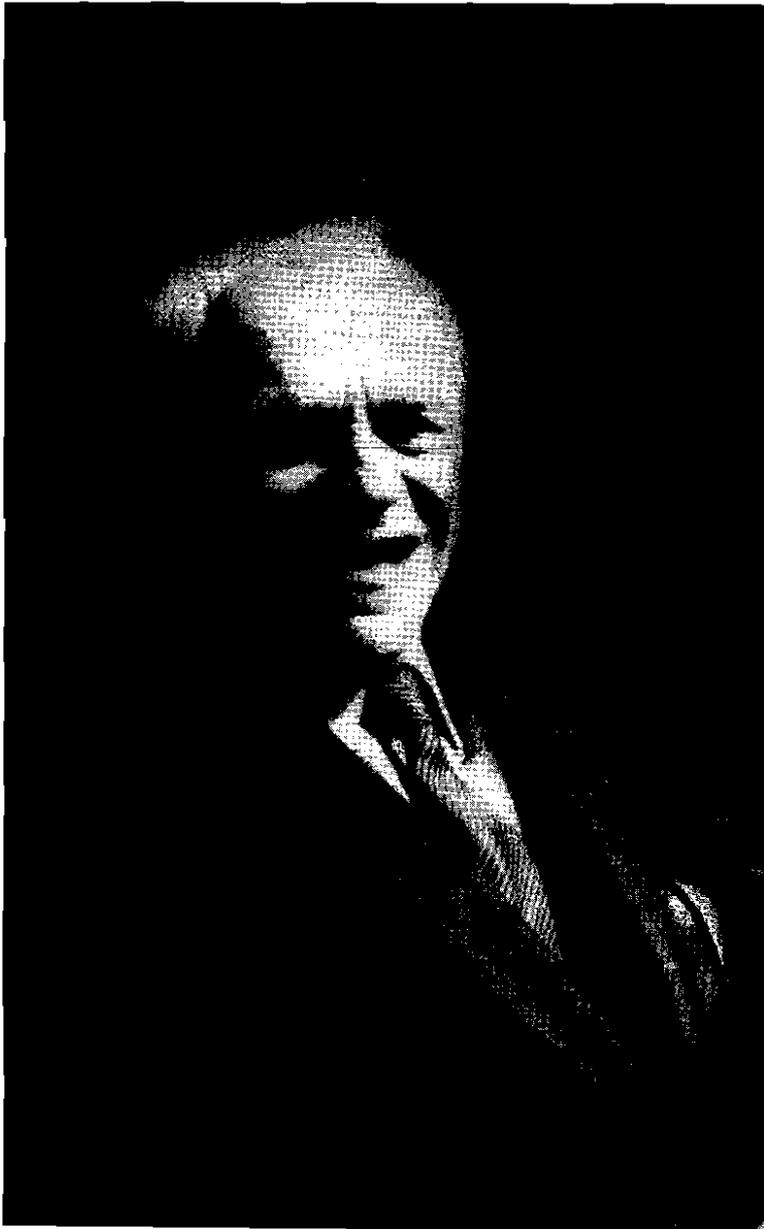
57. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.15.9: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus... admirabile somnium sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri ad memoriam posteris tradidit: sublatum iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est quam illa Troiana gens conderetur.* 'Hystaspes also, a very ancient king of the Medes... handed on to posterity a wonderful dream concerning the meaning of a boy who uttered prophecies. Long before the Trojan race was founded he announced that the Roman Empire and name would be taken from the world.' Text cited from Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, p. 366; translation from McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality*, p. 59. For the proper understanding of this enigmatic passage, see especially Windisch, *Orakel des Hystaspes*, pp. 45-59. The chronological setting implied for Hystaspes would seem to be dependent upon the traditions attributed to Hermodorus and Xanthos by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* prologue 2; cf. also Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 46. For the identification of the *vaticinans puer* as Zoroaster, see Benveniste, 'Une apocalypse pehlevie', *RHR* 106

Oracles to the prophetic gifts of the Persian sage.

If the *Oracles of Hystaspes* were thought to be dependent in some sense upon Zoroaster, and if Zoroaster and Enoch were identified by some ancient assimilationist, then it seems plausible to refer to the *Oracles* as if they were an Enochic work. This is how Barnabas or its source may have reasoned, if in fact one or the other were dependent upon the *Oracles of Hystaspes* for their content or thematic structure.

The course of the present investigation has gradually advanced the possibility that there may be a relationship between *Barn.* 4.3-4 and the *Oracles of Hystaspes*. While much of what has been said is highly speculative and reconstructive, the complexity of the interpretive task does not lend itself to simple solutions, and hence these musings are offered as a contribution to the elucidation of this enigmatic portion of *Barnabas*.

(1932), pp. 378-79; Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, p. 367; Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, III, p. 378. Hultgård ('Forms and Origins', p. 401) suggests Jāmāspa, the successor of Zoroaster. Flusser ('Hystaspes and John', p. 16) suggests that the child is in fact Hystaspes. Windisch labels this episode simply a *topos* of ancient divinatory scenes, and directs attention to other stories wherein children display mantic gifts.



Pursuing the Text

**Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder
on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday**

**edited by
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