

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANGELOLOGY OF 1 ENOCH ON JUDAISM
IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD**

by

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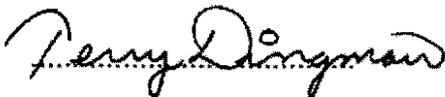
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Abstract

Angelology emerged under the domination of Jewish groups. Reconstructing a brief history for Jewish groups of the Second Temple Period is necessary to ascertain which Jewish group may be aligned with the angelology of 1 Enoch. Moreover, angelology developed within this natural historical context. An exploration of the tradition of angelology includes angelic origins, their functions in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, possible mythical associations, and speculation about why angels surfaced within Israelite religion. Examining the background, structure, and contents of 1 Enoch will ensconce the Enochic writings, within the Second Temple Period. Various theories exist concerning the origins, genre, and characteristics of the apocalyptic. Although there is no agreement about these issues, I propose that 1 Enoch exhibits an apocalyptic perspective. While the notion of angels possibly appeared early in Semitic literature, a proliferation of angelology developed by the time of the writing of the books of 1 Enoch. It is judicious to examine which group possibly produced the Enochic corpus and possible reasons for an increase in angelic speculation within these writings.

It is my conviction that 1 Enoch 6 was dependent upon Genesis 6:1-4, which served as a midrash of this earlier mythical tradition. I aspire to validate that both Genesis 6:1-4 and the Book of Watchers exhibits priestly concerns that are in sync with the Pentateuch. Priestly interests evident in the Enochic tradition may suggest the writer was a priest, who sought to address contentious issues involving the Jerusalem priesthood of his time. I believe this research is necessary to establish that Enoch's angelology influenced late Second Temple Jewish society. This is evidenced within subsequent Jewish literatures, which display Enochic angelic concepts, and reflects the belief system of a segment of Jewish society during that time. I am appreciative of the University of South Africa, the examining committee, and professor Spangenberg for their guidance.

Title of thesis:

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANGELOLOGY OF 1 ENOCH ON JUDAISM IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Key terms:

Angelology traditions and origins; Enochic angelology; Second Temple Judaism; Apocalyptic; Mythology; Watchers; Books of 1 Enoch; Enochic authorship; Jewish groups; Jewish Priests.

Terry W Dingman

Abbreviations

Ab	Aboth
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
Ac	Acts
Ag Ap	Against Apion
Ant	The Antiquities of the Jews
Ap	Contra Apionem
Bar	Baruch
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era (=B.C.)
BDB	The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon
bSot	Babylonian Talmud, Sotah
bSukk	Babylonian Talmud, Sukka
BTYoma	Babylonian Talmud, Yoma
CD	The Damascus Document
C.E.	Common Era (=A.D.)
Chr	Chronicles
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
Dial Trypho	Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho
Dio	Cassius Dio
Dn	Daniel
Dt	Deuteronomy
Ec	Ecclesiastes
EMML 2080	Second oldest extant manuscript of 1 Enoch
En	Enoch
1 En	1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch
2 En	2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch
Esd	Esdras
Ex	Exodus

Ezk	Ezekiel
Ezr	Ezra
Ge'ez	Ethiopic form of 1 Enoch
Gn	Genesis
HE	Historia Ecclesiastica (Eusebius)
Hg	Haggai
Hist	Historical sketches (Strabo)
Hs	Hosea
Is	Isaiah
Jdg	Judges
Jl	Joel
Jos	Josephus
Jr	Jeremiah
Jub	Jubilees
Kebran 9	Second oldest extant manuscript of 1 Enoch
Ket	Ketuboth
Ki	Kings
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
LegGaj	Legatio ad Gajum (Philo)
Lev R	Leviticus Rabbah
Lk	Luke
1 Macc	First Book of Maccabees
2 Macc	Second Book of Maccabees
Mk	Mark
MI	Malachi
Mt	Matthew
Neh	Nehemiah
Nm	Numbers
NSE	New Standard Encyclopedia
Pes	Pesharim
Pr	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms
PssSol	Psalms of Solomon

Qid	Qiddusin
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
1QDM=1Q22	The Words of Moses
1QFlor	Florilegium
1QH	The Thanksgiving Hymns (Hodayot)
1QpHab	Commentary of Habakkuk
1QM	The War Scroll ,The War Rule, or The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness
1QS	Manuel of Discipline, Rule of the Community, or the Two Way Treatise
1QSa	Messianic Rule
1QSb	Collection of benedictions
Sm	Samuel
4QCryptic (4Q186)	(Horoscope)
4Q213	Manuscript of 4QAramaic Levi
4QEn	Enoch
4QEnastr	Oldest extant fragment of 1Enoch (The Astronomical Book)
4QFlor	Florilegium
4QpNah	Commentary on Nahum
4QShir	The Canticles of the Instructor
4QShirShabb	The Angelic Liturgy
4QTeharot, 4QBer	The Blessing and Curse Ritual
4QTLevi	The Testament of Levi
Sib Or	Sibyline Oracles
Sir	Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach
Tanasee 9	Second oldest extant manuscript of 1 Enoch
TDNT	Kittel G and Friedrich G 1976. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Bromiley G (ed) Grand Rapids: Eerdmans
Tob	Tobit
War	The War of the Jews
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
Yad	Yadayim
Zch	Zechariah

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CHAPTER ONE

Statement of Research Problem, Outline, and Rationale for Thesis

1.1 *Statement of Research Problem*

My central concern is to show that the various writings of 1 Enoch, and more specifically the angelology of the Book of Watchers, influenced late Second Temple Period Jewish thought. Other scholarly research has dealt with issues surrounding the content, purpose, and literary traditions of 1 Enoch. However, scholars have made few attempts explicitly to suggest that 1 Enoch's angelology may have strategically influenced Second Temple Judaism. The question naturally arises as to how we can discover whether the angelology of 1 Enoch had an effect on Judaism of this era? This can be determined by examining other post-Enochic Jewish literatures to see whether there was an awareness of Enochic angelology. If other Jewish literatures comment about angels, in much the same way as 1 Enoch, then suggesting that an Enochic understanding of angelology may have been reflected within Jewish society at that time is plausible.

I will argue that the angelology of 1 Enoch had a profound effect throughout the Qumran community since much of the Qumran literatures reflect an acute awareness of angels. This was not only a result of an established tradition regarding supernatural agents within Israelite religion, but was probably also due to the popularity of the Enochic writings and a well-established legacy surrounding the character of Enoch. If the Enochic corpus was popular during the later Second Temple Period, then it would be logical to assume that other Jewish literature, especially those with an apocalyptic focus, would reflect Enochic concepts. Moreover, if other Jewish writings, after Ethiopic Enoch, reflect Enochic angelology, then these literatures may have been dependent upon 1 Enoch for their understanding of angelology. This would also mean that the angelology presented by 1 Enoch would have been well understood by the late Second Temple Jewish religious community, though the Enochic composers probably utilized an allegorical paradigm to formulate their message.

1.1.1 *Introduction*

In this chapter, I will provide a brief overview of the various chapters of this thesis. Setting out a rationale or methodology for the thesis contents is also necessary. I will primarily be concerned with providing a context for a discussion of the overall influence of 1 Enoch's angelology on Second Temple Judaism. To achieve this objective, I feel that several concerns surrounding the Enochic corpus must be adequately discussed. For example, where did the tradition of angels first surface within Israelite religion? What were some possible purposes that angelology served in relation to Second Temple Judaism? How do we properly categorize 1 Enoch? What are the characteristics of this literature? What role does the figure of Enoch play within the Enochic corpus? How does this mythical heritage relate to the biblical tradition surrounding the character of Enoch? Is there any correspondence between the legacy of the fall of the Watchers in 1 Enoch's Book of Watchers and Genesis 6:1-4? These are some of the questions that I will explore. My purpose is to provide a venue for a further elaboration of how post-Enochic literatures utilized Enochic angelology.

1.1.2 *Outline and Rationale for Thesis Research*

I begin with a brief discussion of the daunting challenges that face research involving both the biblical and extra-biblical literatures. Several difficulties surround attempts to reconstruct an adequate history of Israelite religion during the Second Temple Period. Many problems surface when attempting to obtain information that is widely acceptable by modern scholarship. Most of the complications revolve around the issue of establishing authentic information for this period. Sources are sparse and scholars do not universally accept some extant materials as reliable. For example, the writings of Josephus are important for the history of the Jews from 400 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. At the same time, these accounts often have gaps, reflect biases, are contradictory, display a self-serving agenda, and are exaggerated or possibly fabricated. To complicate matters further, much of the historical detail provided by Josephus cannot be confirmed from any other source. Consequently, we cannot always rely upon Josephus as a basis for reconstructing Second Temple Jewish history.

Another problem involves some data found in the Hebrew Bible. Much of the Old Testament possibly dates to the Persian period, either in original or edited form. Yet, there is no scholarly consensus for which writings to accept as reliable. Job is an example of a work that may be valuable for shedding light upon the early Second Temple Period. Some scholars accept a pre-exilic date for Job. Others assign Job to the post-exilic era. Moreover, some scholars have suggested that a one dimensional religious agenda govern some biblical accounts. Also, there are unresolved questions concerning the redaction history of pertinent biblical works. These concerns have caused scholars to allow only portions of what could otherwise represent valuable biblical knowledge for the Second Temple Period. A primary example involves the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah. Most scholars only accept parts of these works as authentic. Thus, some scholars have taken issue with attempts to piece together a Jewish history by using mostly the Ezra-Nehemiah corpus. These and other issues have led some scholars to conclude that the reliability and paucity of sources is the weightiest problem for a reconstruction of Jewish history in the Second Temple Period (Grabbe 1991b: 99,103).

Despite many obstacles surrounding Jewish history during the early Second Temple Period, scholarship generally accepts some extant source materials as genuine. For instance, the biblical writings of Haggai are generally free of major editing. Zechariah is a composite work and went through a number of editing stages. Both Haggai and Zechariah are considered reasonably reliable by many modern scholars. Also, there are numerous authentic datums from archeology, numismatics, inscriptions, papyri, and secular historians. Due to the scarce nature of the reliable materials for the early history of the Jews, utilizing Ezra and Nehemiah fully will be necessary, despite the general perception that these writings have been overworked, as for reconstructing a Jewish history.

1.2 An Overview of the Second Temple Period

To understand the influence of 1 Enoch's angelology on Judaism, the context in which this phenomenon occurred must be established. The angelology of 1 Enoch did not take place in a vacuum. Angelology surfaced within Judaism under the domination of Jewish groups. One or more Jewish group was responsible for composing the books of 1 Enoch. Reconstructing an ordinary history for Jewish groups of the Second Temple Period is important to ascertain which Jewish groups' belief system possibly corresponds to the angelology purveyed by 1 Enoch. Moreover, the supernatural phenomenon of angelology developed within this natural historical framework.

The Second Temple Period can be divided into four major epochs covering a period from 539 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. Each period is characterized by the Jews being subjugated to foreign powers. I will examine the various stages of Jewish religion under foreign domination. Many other factors came into play regarding Jewish interests of this time. One issue involved whether Jews were allowed to ply their religious convictions under foreign rule. Another matter concerned whether all Jews held a religious world view throughout the Second Temple Period. A further concern for this thesis is whether there was evidence for the office of scribes in the early Second Temple Period. More important, were scribes connected in any way with the priesthood? Many scholars believe that Jewish society was mostly illiterate. Scribes would have been considered as experts in Jewish law. They would also be capable of writing about issues of importance to religious Jews. Further, if scribes were connected in any way to the priesthood, this could mean that a priest possibly wrote about pressing matters of Jewish law. The goal would be to provide religious Jews with a proper perspective of issues that affected them.

Considerable ongoing debate has surrounded the question of to what degree Hellenistic thought influenced the Jews? Some scholars have suggested that under Grecian rule, Jews were permitted to practice their religion unabated since the Greeks advocated polytheism. Most, but not all modern scholars, believe that the impact of Hellenism was widespread and profound on the Jews. Others have downplayed its effects. Without a doubt, Hellenistic elements infiltrated Jewish life in areas of commerce, trade, and economics. The translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek also suggests that Greek thought influenced some aspects of Jewish religious life.

It will be necessary to look at possible causes for the Maccabean revolt 168-143 B.C.E. What were the objectives of this uprising? Who were the leading proponents? What effect did this have on the way that Jews were governed? Was the Maccabean Revolt a reaction to the infiltration of Hellenistic elements on Jewish religion? How did the Jews fare under the independent rule of the Hasmoneans? Who were the Hasmoneans and what were their aims for the Jews under their control? Finally, what caused the Jews to lose their independence?

Under Roman rule, several questions need to be examined. Did the Jews have any control over their religious life? Were most Jews favorable to Roman subjugation? Scholars have suggested a number of factors which caused the Jewish war with the Romans. Some of these elements include a high burden of taxes, an increase in revolutionary groups, enforced census, and oppression by a number of Roman rulers. Nevertheless, modern scholars do not universally concede that all Jews were agreeable to the causes of the war with the Romans.

One of the most pressing questions that the Jewish religious authorities were expected to answer was why the Jews went into exile. Ezra and Nehemiah were very concerned with this issue. They attempted to impart to Jews the understanding that they had not been faithful in keeping God's laws. The question of what caused the exile may have provided a venue for angelic speculation, as evidenced by some later Second Temple literatures, especially 1 Enoch. Another concern of this thesis is to determine where the notion of angels surfaced within Jewish religion and the purpose that angelology served for Second Temple Jews? This leads to the question of to what degree Jewish beliefs were affected by pagan mythological sources. The investigation of these and other pertinent queries that arise within the context of a discussion of a natural history of Second Temple Jews will be addressed more fully in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

1.3 Jewish Parties and Groups and Their Beliefs

Upon completion of a survey of an ordinary history of the Jews in the Second Temple Period, I will briefly survey the Jewish groups of this era. Who represented the major Jewish groups and where did they originate? Was there one prominent Jewish group during this time? What were some of the ideals that they cherished? How did the minor Jewish groupings come into play? What were some of their convictions and causes that spurred them on? Who were their leaders and what role did they play in Jewish history? As part of this natural history, I will explore what the various Jewish groups believed concerning matters such as God, demons, the afterlife, a resurrection, and most importantly supernatural messengers. Did any of the various Jewish groups that surfaced throughout the Second Temple Period believe in angels, a resurrection, or an afterlife? If so, where did these beliefs derive or did Jews always believe in these concepts?

1.4 *The Books of 1 Enoch*

In the fourth chapter, I begin to look at the writings of 1 Enoch. The purpose of the various chapters of this thesis that involve 1 Enoch is to set out a context for a discussion about how the angelology of the Enochic writings influenced Second Temple Judaism. The most germane section of 1 Enoch for this thesis is the Book of Watchers (1 En 1-36). This section of 1 Enoch, is especially pivotal for this thesis because it involves the myth of the Watchers. However, the entire Enochic corpus is important for many reasons. Problems with source materials do not significantly improve in the later Second Temple Period. An extreme shortage of reliable information is particularly evident in the Hellenistic phase of Jewish history. The writings of 1 Enoch represent a major work for this period. Since 1 Enoch represents a composite work, establishing categories and dates for the various sections are necessary. A brief overview of the content in each section of 1 Enoch is helpful since they are in some way tied to the theme of fallen angels.

The Book of Watchers also portrays a composite structure (Charles 1912b: 1). The story of the fall of the Watchers described in 1 Enoch 6 has close literary ties with Genesis 6:1-4. A number of issues relate to my overall purpose in this thesis. These include the possible origins, dates, structure, social and religious setting, redaction and tradition histories, content, manuscript traditions, and authorship for the various sections of the Enochic corpus. Since I am of the opinion that parts of 1 Enoch were composed by a priest, exploring issues within 1 Enoch that I believe are related to the Jerusalem priesthood will be essential.

1.5 *Apocalyptic Literature and 1 Enoch*

Many modern scholars agree that there is an apocalyptic genre. These proponents have argued that apocalyptic texts emerged sometime around the late third or early second centuries B.C.E. Others have maintained that apocalyptic literatures do not represent a separate genre distinction. Instead, they argue that these writings purvey a *Weltanschauung* or an apocalyptic world view (Collins 1998d: xiv). A discussion of the nature of the apocalyptic is important since most modern scholars consider the writings of 1 Enoch to fall into the classifications of either an apocalyptic genre or world view.

1.5.1 *Apocalyptic Origins*

It is difficult to decide which issue has aroused the most controversy among modern scholars, the questions of definition or origins for the apocalyptic. I will examine several theories, which scholarship has presented, for possible derivations of the apocalyptic. Many have suggested that the antecedents for the apocalyptic can be found in the prophetic writings of the Hebrew scriptures. Others argue that apocalyptic roots derive from Near Eastern myths. A minority looks to wisdom traditions for apocalyptic connections. While most modern scholars have dismissed Persian religion as a source for apocalyptic beginnings, some have insisted in maintaining this tie. In recent times scholarship has begun to take a sociological approach to uncover apocalyptic sources. Nevertheless, some scholars have suggested that since the apocalyptic represent a highly complex genre, we can no longer assume that this literature has only one origin, but several different sources melded together over time (Tigchelaar 1996: 9).

1.5.2 *Characteristics of Apocalyptic Literature*

The term apocalyptic has largely been enigmatic to modern scholarship. Many agree that eschatology plays a prominent role in these writings. Others downplay the significance of eschatology. Despite the fluidity within the macro-genre of apocalyptic, certain elements recur. I will examine what scholars have suggested as the main attributes for the apocalyptic. Most theories have essentially fallen short since scholars do not agree on one definition that adequately describes all of the characteristics that encompass this literature.

1.5.3 *Problems With Modern Classifications for Jewish Literature*

I will briefly discuss some problems with modern classifications of Jewish literatures. Scholarly categorizations for Jewish writings have resulted in terminological confusion. For example the term "pseudepigrapha" is inconsistent and ambiguous (Charlesworth 1983c: xxv-xxvii). Not all scholars have agreed that 1 Enoch ought to be included under the designation of apocalyptic, either in the sense of genre, or simply manifesting an apocalyptic world view. Some insist on identifying this work as Old Testament pseudepigrapha.

1.5.4 *1 Enoch's Relationship to the Apocalyptic*

In the final section of chapter five, I will discuss 1 Enoch's relationship to the apocalyptic. Most scholars concede that 1 Enoch fits the mold of apocalyptic literature. Yet, scholars have not reached an agreement concerning the identification of all apocalyptic attributes that are evinced in the Enochic corpus. The purpose of the discussion about the highly problematic nature of the apocalyptic is to demonstrate that there is no consensus among modern scholars about whether 1 Enoch can be classified under the strict designation of an apocalyptic genre. I do not side with that faction of scholarship that claims that 1 Enoch should be strictly delegated under an apocalyptic genre distinction. However, there can be little doubt that the various strands of 1 Enoch aptly fit the general category of exhibiting an apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* or "world view." It is beyond the scope of this thesis to solve the riddle of whether 1 Enoch fits an apocalyptic genre distinction. For the purposes of this study, concluding that the writings of 1 Enoch adequately manifest an apocalyptic perspective is sufficient. This apocalyptic viewpoint provided the context for what I believe was a priestly writer of the Book of Watchers. By embellishing an established tradition of supernatural messengers, I feel that this Enochic redactor was able to address expedient concerns, which he felt existed within the Jerusalem priesthood, at the time of his writing.

My intention is not to push the apocalyptic dimension aside or reduce the apocalyptic to a mere allegory. At the same time, despite some disagreement among modern scholarship, I believe Hellenistic influence was both prominent and influential in the later Second Temple Period. The allegorical methodology of interpretation was also widely circulated at the time of the writing of the Enochic corpus. Of course this does not mean that allegory was the only accepted model of interpretation of this epoch since the Dead Sea Scrolls mostly attest to a pesher interpretive methodology. I only wish to establish that it would not have been out of line for the Enochic writers to expect readers to comprehend their accounts, if they wrote allegorically.

1.6 *The Book of Watchers: Context and Authorship*

After discussing the various issues surrounding the Enochic corpus as a whole, I will narrow my focus to 1 Enoch 6, the Book of Watchers. The Book of Watchers is important for this thesis since the myth of the Watchers occurs within this section. 1 Enoch was composed as an apocalyptic account in the Hellenistic phase of the Second Temple Period. As mentioned, I will argue that Ethiopic Enoch was also written as an allegorical commentary by a priest at this time. The ultimate significance of 1 Enoch will be adduced in the final chapter of this thesis when I examine selected post-Enochic Jewish literatures.

1.6.1 *The Social and Religious Setting of 1 Enoch*

The setting of 1 Enoch is portentous for this thesis. Many scholars have suggested that the influence of Hellenism upon Second Temple Jews was profound. Did this mean that all Jews were willing to adopt Hellenistic elements? How did these Greek forces affect elements of Jewish religion? What role did allegory play in the interpretation of Jewish scriptures? How did the writers of 1 Enoch reflect these Hellenistic influences and what were the overall implications for Judaism? If a priest wrote the Book of Watchers, as an allegorical account, several items must be established regarding the role of the priesthood and the temple during the Hellenistic era. Were most Jews willing to accept priestly teachings as authoritative despite the many abuses that had taken place within the priesthood? This point must not be overlooked. Even if it can be established that a priest composed the Book of Watchers in the context of angelology to teach a spiritual lesson, this would be inconsequential if most Jews were alienated from the priesthood and the temple by this time.

The writing of Ben Sira is also significant for this thesis because it reflects upon the state of the priesthood, during the Hellenistic phase of the Second Temple Period. The author elaborates upon some expedient issues facing the Jews. He also provides insight into the attitude of many religious Jews toward the priesthood. How does the writer of Ben Sira comment about the priesthood at this time? What were some problems that he brought to light and how do they relate to the concerns expressed by 1 Enoch, and in particular the Book of Watchers? Does Ben Sira depict this period of Jewish history as a time of crisis?

1.6.2 *Priestly Concerns in 1 Enoch*

In the final section of chapter six, I will set out to discover how 1 Enoch reflects upon the temple and priesthood. How is the focus of 1 Enoch similar or different from that of Ben Sira? Does the Book of Watchers display concern for the temple and priesthood? What role do the angels play in the Book of Watchers? Which issues does 1 Enoch consider as important and how do they relate to the writer's purposes in his use of angelology? Some discussion about the Old Testament books, which do not refer specifically to angelology, will be necessary since I argue that 1 Enoch contains priestly elements within an eschatological perspective that is also evidenced in some other Jewish literatures. For example, the Hebrew Scriptures refer to priestly aspects in rudimentary form and probably serve as a major antecedent for the priestly elements that occur in 1 Enoch.

1.7 *The Tradition of Angelology Within Israelite Religion*

As previously stated, my objective is to establish a context for discussing the significance of Enochic angelology and to discover its possible influence on Second Temple Judaism. Before proceeding to a discussion of angels as it pertains to the myth of the fallen Watchers in Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6, I must discuss the tradition of angelology within Israelite religion. I do not suggest that modern scholars accept all the writings of the Hebrew Scriptures as legitimate sources for the Second Temple Period. My sole concern is to discover how the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint comment about supernatural agents and what terminology it uses to represent them. Thus, chapter seven serves as a general overview of angelology.

The angelology purveyed throughout the Old Testament is obscure and it is often unclear who the supernatural agent represents. I feel it is essential to show how the Old Testament reflects upon supernatural messengers to accentuate how the Enochic writings manifest a definite shift in angelology. For example, in all instances of angelology in the early stages of Israelite religion, angels are nameless. By the time of the writing of the books of 1 Enoch, angels are readily apparent and appear regularly with names. This variation of angelology, which is obvious in the Book of Watchers, is mostly because Israelite religious history changed over the centuries. Consequently, it would make sense to suggest that ideas about angelology also underwent a process of transformation.

Since the various biblical sources do not come from the same historical period, we would naturally expect a difference in their presentation of angelology. Thus, it is important to discuss some sections of the Old Testament as for dating, source traditions, and literary analysis. My purpose for doing this is to set out a chronological record of when the pertinent portions of the Hebrew Bible that mention angels were composed. This will also show the process of angelic thought within Judaism. The shift or strengthening of angelology that is evident within 1 Enoch resulted in a much more clearer perspective of angelology. Perhaps, angelology was developed within Judaism to replace the Holy Spirit or direct revelation, as found in the earlier biblical records, to the point that these supernatural agents were now considered as the sole revelators of Yahweh's will. Be that as it may, I believe that the profuse angelic speculation, which developed at the later stages of the Second Temple Period, allowed the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers covertly to address immediate issues of concern.

1.7.1 *Possible Origins of Angels*

In this section, I will more fully examine a number of questions that have previously been raised concerning angelology of the Second Temple Period. Was the belief in angels a part of Israelite religion from earliest times? If not, where did the notion of angels originate? What purpose did angelology possibly serve in the context of Israelite religion? My ambition is not to ensconce the existence of angels or to suggest that the Enochic corpus provides indisputable proof for their actuality. Furthermore, I do not take a dogmatic approach toward angelology in an attempt to provide warrants for their existence. I am solely interested in a historical viewpoint that merely reflects upon angelology within Judaism of the Second Temple Period. I am especially interested in what can be discerned about angels from the Book of Watchers. Whether a belief in angels originated during the Second Temple Period or existed among the Jews from earliest times, is not an expedient concern. My primary focus is to establish that the writer of the Book of Watchers utilized angels to influence Second Temple Judaism. My position is that the angelology of 1 Enoch served a function of symbolically referring to the Jerusalem priesthood, along with others within Jewish society. I am of the opinion that the priestly writer's overall aim was to utilize angelology to explicate the many misfortunes of the Jewish people.

1.7.2 *Mythology*

Some modern scholars have postulated that there is a connection between the mythological pagan traditions of the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible. These proponents argue that angels are fictitious and Jews borrowed a belief in these supernatural beings from earlier pagan traditions. I will briefly examine some evidence for this position to decide if it is tenable to argue that the Hebrew concept of angelology derived from these sources. If this view can be established, then we would have to concede that the conceptual imagery of angels originated early within Israelite religion, though they possibly adopted this concept. Another explanation for the origins of angels suggests that these supernatural beings derived from Zoroastrianism or other pagan traditions. Many scholars have argued that the Israelites adopted various myth traditions. Consequently, this influenced angelology within the Hebrew Bible. Even if there was considerable pagan influence regarding the formulation of Jewish perspectives about angels, the concept of angelic messengers is established within several biblical writings. Moreover, I am not interested in proving that the tradition of angelology within Israelite religion derived from pagan sources. I only wish to validate that there was a definite process of transformation or evolution regarding angelology that achieved full-blown proportions by the time of the writing of the Enochic corpus.

1.7.3 *Angelology as an Explanation for Jewish Misfortunes*

Some recent scholars have suggested that angelic speculation resulted from difficulties that Jews faced during the Exile. How were the Jews to explain their misfortunes without making Yahweh culpable? Did angelology provide the means to explicate Jewish woes and offer hope for the future? In the final part of this chapter, I will briefly discuss the question of the need for angels within the framework of Israelite religion. Were angels merely an invention, which arose during the late Second Temple Period, or did the early Israelites retain at least a concept of angels from earlier traditions? While angels were obscure in the early history of Israelite religion, the notion of angels may have been extant. Whether the Israelites borrowed this conceptual imagery from other pagan religions, cannot be fully determined.

1.7.4 מַלְאָךְ *Represents Yahweh's Hypostasis*

Most modern scholars agree that around the time of the Exile there was a conceptual development regarding angelology. Some have suggested that certain instances of the Hebrew word מַלְאָךְ in the Hebrew Bible referred to Yahweh's hypostasis. I will briefly investigate the possibility that this proliferation of angelology was a conscious attempt to make Yahweh's previously obscure hypostasis more defined?

1.8 *The Tradition of the Watchers in Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6.*

In this chapter, I will explore angelology in the context of the myth of the Watchers from Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6. How did the writer of 1 Enoch use angelic speculation in the story of the Watchers? What were some salient issues of concern to Jews of the period? I am of the conviction that the myth of the Watchers, which involved the biblical patriarch Enoch, was widely known. It will be necessary to determine possible antecedents for the tradition of this mythical story and for the character of Enoch from comparable myth traditions. The rationale for focusing on the mythical story of the Watchers involves my belief that the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers borrowed from this myth tradition to comment on issues of abuse within the Jerusalem priesthood of his time. I believe that the mythical account of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 6 served as an embellishment of the earlier and more obscure myth tradition of Genesis 6.

Despite the paucity of source materials for the Second Temple Period, I have attempted to determine a setting within the various chapters of this thesis for discussing a more fully developed angelology, which occurs in 1 Enoch. I suggest there is a direct correlation between an enhanced notion of angels within 1 Enoch 6, and evolved Judaism of the later Second Temple Period. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative reflects an obscure angelology in an early phase of Israelite religion. Conversely, by the time of the writing of the Book of Watchers, angelology had gone through a process of development and was more prominent within Second Temple Judaism. After looking at a translation of Genesis 6:1-4, I will discuss this passage in relation to its possible genre distinctions.

1.8.1 *Literary Criticism*

An important aspect for a discussion of Genesis 6:1-4 is literary criticism. Many scholars consider the Genesis passage as fragmentary, enigmatic, and possibly an excerpt from a fuller account. Some scholars have speculated that this anecdote represents a conflation of one or more fragments, which the final redactor spiced together. In any event, in its finished form, this brief excerpt in Genesis is atypical of other narratives in the Hebrew Bible.

1.8.2 *Myth and its Relation to Genesis 6:1-4*

Several myth traditions may be associated with Genesis 6:1-4. These include Eridu Genesis, the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Atrahasis Epic, and Greek folklore. I will examine the outlined mythical accounts to decide possible connections with Genesis 6:1-4. The purpose of this discussion is to develop an understanding of Genesis 6:1-4 as a mythological text.

1.8.3 *Was the Author of Genesis Dependent Upon Enochic Traditions?*

Does 1 Enoch show dependence upon the Genesis account or did Genesis rely upon the Ethiopic Enoch? Both Milik (1976: 31) and Black (1985: 124-125) argued that the Genesis 6:1-4 was dependent upon Ethiopic Enoch. However, I believe there are cogent reasons for the position that 1 Enoch was not dependent upon Genesis 6:1-4. Rather, I suggest that 1 Enoch served as an embellishment or midrash of the biblical pericope.

1.8.4 *Further Matters for Discussion*

Several other matters are germane to a discussion of Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6. What were some possible antecedents for Enochic origins? What role does the figure of Enoch play in Genesis 5? Can we determine the setting of the Book of Watchers? I will also discuss the literary structure of 1 Enoch 6-11 and 12-16, which directly relates to the myth of the Watchers.

1.8.5 *Major Issues of Concern to the Writer(s) of the Books of 1 Enoch*

In this section, I will discuss issues that involve the Jerusalem priesthood. These include exogamy, the calendar, and theodicy. I will then look at the matter of faithful and unfaithful priests. My aim is to discover what the Book of Watchers considers as appropriate and inappropriate teachings concerning the priesthood, through the writer's use of angelology.

To reiterate, I will argue that a priest composed the Book of Watchers and utilized an enhanced angelology, within an allegorical paradigm. The Enochic writer's goal was to address expedient concerns of the Jews, which related to the Jerusalem priesthood, during the Hellenistic phase of the Second Temple Period. Many elements that the priestly wished to elaborate on can be found within the mythical story of the Watchers. I will show that the writer of the Book of Watchers indicated that the unfaithful priesthood was disqualified from further priestly service, in the eyes of God, though they officially continued to carry out their duties. The Enochic author also suggested that unfaithful priests were under righteous and eternal judgment. Yet, those who remained faithful could expect to participate in a righteous and eternal kingdom. In the final part of chapter eight, a summary of the myth of the Watchers will be provided.

1.9 The Influence of 1 Enoch's Angelology on Second Temple Judaism

To provide a contribution to this research topic, it is essential to speculate about the overall role that 1 Enoch served. It is also imperative to discover the degree of influence that the Enochic corpus, and in particular the angelology of the Book of Watchers, had upon Second Temple Judaism. This task necessitates a survey of Jewish interpretive tradition as attested in 1 Enoch and within the larger framework of how other Jewish literatures viewed 1 Enoch. The question arises as to whether the Enochic corpus embodied writings that collective Judaism viewed as authoritative or reflected patterns of thought from the Hebrew Bible? How do the writers of 1 Enoch show an awareness of established biblical traditions? I feel it is important to show that Enochic writers were aware of an earlier biblical tradition to exemplify the position that 1 Enoch 6 was dependent upon Genesis 6.

If other Jewish literatures exhibit an angelology reminiscent of 1 Enoch, then it would follow that Enochic concepts were reflected within Jewish society, at the time of the writing of the older sections of 1 Enoch. Furthermore, the concerns expressed by the priestly Enochic writer(s) through an elaborate angelology in a context of apocalyptic allegory should also be considered as influential for Second Temple Judaism. I believe that the issue of how post-Enochic literatures reflect a dependence upon 1 Enoch is critical. If subsequent Jewish literatures were dependent upon the Enochic writings, then Enochic angelology probably affected Second Temple Judaism. At this point, I will set out to discover how other Jewish writings reflect Enoch concepts, especially as they pertain to angelology.

CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of the Second Temple Period

2.1 *Introduction*

Many scholars have attempted to produce a history of Judaism during the Second Temple Period, from a variety of perspectives, resulting in a number of theories which involve a certain amount of conjecture. A major reason for the speculative nature of these postulations involves the paucity of reliable source material for this era. Some sources are not only considered unreliable but also reveal a biased viewpoint.¹ Despite these and other difficulties, reconstructing a Second Temple Period history is necessary. Much of the pertinent literature derives from this interval. In addition, this research is tied to the religious history of Israel. I am of the opinion that to understand religious aspects of Israelite history such as angelology, the framework in which this phenomenon occurred must first be set out. Therefore, in this chapter I will attempt to establish an ordinary history of Second Temple Judaism.

The Second Temple Period can be divided into the following sub-periods (cf Gaebelien (1976).

- A. Persian Rule, 539-331 B.C.E.
- B. Grecian Rule, 331-143 B.C.E.
- C. Hasmonean Rule, 142-63 B.C.E.
- D. Roman Rule, 63 B.C.E.-70 C.E.

This thesis will examine the evolution of various Jewish groups, along with their religious outlooks. Was there one predominant group within Judaism during this epoch? Did all Jews hold a religious world view? To what degree were Jews affected by the foreign powers they were subjected to? Were Jews allowed to practice their religion under the various rulers? These are some of the questions that I will examine. Situating the books of 1 Enoch historically is also important since I hold the conviction that the angelology exhibited within these writings influenced Second Temple Judaism.

¹ For example, the writings of Josephus sometimes represent a biased perspective.

2.2 Persian Rule, 539-331 B.C.E.

Any study of emerging Judaism must be acutely aware of the fragile and provisional nature of our knowledge of this segment of Jewish history. The principle biblical source, Ezra-Nehemiah, covers only the first and last quarters of the initial two centuries of the Persian period. Moreover, this biblical material is largely governed by one-dimensional religious interests of the writers of those texts (Blenkinsopp 1991: 22). For much of the twentieth century, there has been a general scholarly consensus, apart from the Nehemiah memoir, about the authenticity of the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr 4-7; 7-10; Neh 8). At the same time, many unsolved questions concerning redactions of this information continue to be debated. The main point of contention appears to be the time of Ezra's mission (Grabbe 1991a: 98). Those who accept the Aramaic documents as genuine find evidence of significant redactions within them (Blenkinsopp 1988: 119-23, 126-27). An evaluation of the scholarly opinion surrounding Persian literature caused Grabbe (1991b: 99,103) to assign the problem of sources as the weightiest problem when dealing with this period. Previously, Grabbe suggested that the order of Ezra and Nehemiah was the foremost scholarly concern. He concluded that the picture was indeed a negative one when it came to the reliability of source material for the Persian Period.

Constructing a completely accurate understanding of the post-exilic Jewish community is simply not possible based solely upon literary source materials (Hoglund 1992: 54). Nevertheless, this is precisely how most scholars have attempted to reconstruct Jewish life under the Persians. Yet, if scholarship does not accept literary works such as the Aramaic documents and the Ezra Memorial as genuine, we are left with very little material to reconstruct the life of the Jewish people under Persian domination. I acknowledge a definite problem with much of the source material for the Persian era of Jewish history. However, there are some sources for which there is a consensus, even if this data is of a one-sided and self-serving nature. For example, some modern scholars accept the originality of the Nehemiah memorial (Grabbe 1991b: 103).

The interpretation of Isaiah 56-66 is difficult and controversial, yet it yields interesting perspectives about the early Persian period. Although little of it can be aligned with specific historical events and there are many difficulties with its interpretation, Isaiah 56-66 may prove useful in matters concerning cult, society, and ideology (Grabbe 1991b: 47). This section of Isaiah indicates that the return has taken place and that the temple may have been rebuilt (Is 60:7,13; 62:9). However, some modern scholars have debated these elements (Wrybray 1987: 229-230). In Isaiah 55-66, early post-exilic life is depicted as difficult. The returning Jews found it hard to maintain a living, mostly due to frequent crop failures (Is 60:17; 62:8-9). Further matters of concern included political instability (Is 60:10, 18), ruins, and devastation (Is 61:4). There was also a continuing burden of disgrace and shame caused by the exile (Is 61:7; 62:4).

Some Jews may have held a universalist view regarding worship and salvation previously unknown in pre-exilic times (Is 56:3-7). This new perspective suggested that non-Israelites could achieve salvation and God's blessings, if they were compliant with God's laws. Several passages in Isaiah 56-66 may suggest divisions within the Jewish religious community. Some scholars have even argued that there were isolated attacks on the priesthood and the temple (Grabbe 1991b: 48). A few excerpts from Isaiah 56-66 portray an eschatological view of salvation. For instance, Yahweh is portrayed as an everlasting light for Zion, which has no further need of the sun and the moon (Is 60:19-20). Isaiah 65:17-25 depicts a new heaven and new earth with the animals living together in peace. These verses may represent a later addition, since they are not characteristic of Trito-Isaiah's proclamation elsewhere in Isaiah 56-66 (Westermann 1984: 298-299).

If Meyer's dating of the books of Haggai and Zechariah to before the completion of the Second Temple (c 515 B.C.E.) is accurate, these writings would also serve as valuable sources (Meyers & Meyers 1987: 47). The dates in Zechariah clearly establish Haggai and Zechariah as contemporaneous and dating to the early Persian period (Soggin 1989: 386,391). Therefore, Haggai and parts of Zechariah provide important information for this period.

Zechariah consists of the words of two different prophets or prophetic groups set out in separate sections. These works are referred to under the designations of Zechariah and Deutero-Zechariah. Some scholars are of the opinion that another section can be identified within the writings of Zechariah. They designate this segment under the title Trito-Zechariah. Only Zechariah 1-8 can be connected with the ministry of this prophet, since Zechariah 9-14 dates to a later period.

Much of the Old Testament, in either original or edited form, possibly dates to the Persian period. At the same time, there is no scholarly agreement about which Old Testament books to include in the Persian era. One example includes the book of Job, which some scholars have used to depict this period (Grabbe 1991b: 29). However, Soggin (1989: 453-55) pointed out several concerns with this view and suggested a post-exilic date for this book. Others argue that a major portion of the poetic section of Job is pre-exilic, though the present form of the book may be later (Pope 1973: 32-40). Other Old Testament books possibly dating to the Persian period encounter similar difficulties. Some scholars accept that the "priestly source" dates to the Persian period, in either its editing or final form. Other scholars do not accept this premise (Whybray 1987: 108-111). The prophetic books include only small blocks of controversial information concerning the issues of editing and dating. Thus, it may not be useful to rely too heavily upon these questionable Old Testament books for formulating a historical perspective of the Persian period (Grabbe 1991b: 30).

Original data from the Persian period can also be found in Persian inscriptions, papyri, coins, and archeology.² In the final analysis, the decision of what sources to accept as authentic is both subjective and controversial. Yet, I must endeavor to construct a history of the Jews for the Persian era with the material at my disposal. At the same time, I realize that some scholars may disagree, in whole, or in part, with the reliability of some of these sources (Grabbe 1991b: 30, 105).

² It is beyond the scope of this thesis to treat all of the theories concerning the sources for the Persian period. By the same token, we cannot simply take the authenticity of information such as Ezra 1-7 for granted.

The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar died in 562. He was succeeded by a number of weaker kings. Amel-marduk (2 Ki 25:27) reigned from 562-560 B.C.E. He was displaced by Nergal-sharusur around 560-556 B.C.E. Another king named Labashi-marduk was deposed in a palace revolt by Nabonidus, who ascended to the throne. Nabonidus was very unpopular. Cyrus the Persian delivered the Babylonians from their hated ruler in 539 B.C.E. He was extremely tolerant of all religions. Some scholars express uncertainty about Cyrus' religious affiliation. Cyrus' own inscriptions portray him as a devotee of Marduk (Gowan 1976: 28-29). Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-5 contains the decree of Cyrus which allowed the Jewish exiles to return. The Ezra 1:1-4 passage reads,

In the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, to fulfill the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah, the Lord moved the heart of Cyrus king of Persia to make a proclamation throughout the realm and to put it in writing: This is what Cyrus king of Persia says: "The Lord God of heaven has given me all the kingdoms of the earth and he has appointed me to build a temple for him at Jerusalem in Judah. Any one of his people among you—may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem in Judah and build the temple of the Lord, the God of Israel, the God who is in Jerusalem. And the people of any place where survivors may now be living are to provide him with silver and gold, with goods and livestock and with freewill offerings for the temple of God in Jerusalem?" (NIV).³

Scholars disagree about the reliability of this decree. Nevertheless, some warrant exists for accepting it as genuine, even if it had been revised.⁴ Persian policy sought to avoid unnecessary friction. It also aspired to present the Persian monarchy as liberators from Babylonian oppression (Soggin 1989: 379). Cyrus's decree is confirmed in the 'Cyrus Cylinder.' If one accepts Cyrus's decree as authentic, then some Jews returned to rebuild the temple at the beginning of his reign.

³ The biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah are primary sources for the restoration. As mentioned, these writings may have some literary and historical difficulties. Ezra and Nehemiah contain documents of various dates and authorship. These works are in the Hebrew language, except Ezra 1:12-26 and 4:8-6:18, which are Aramaic. Ezra 1:1-4 represents an oral decree. Ezra 6:3-5 was an official transcript for Persian archives. Supplementary information is provided in the prophetic books, Haggai, and Zechariah 1-9.

⁴ See Grabbe (1991b: 34-36) for a treatment of the various arguments for reliability.

I think that Soggin (1989: 380) was correct to suggest that it would be unreasonable to assume the Jews returned to Jerusalem *en masse*. At best, only a minority of the Jews who were devoutly religious would have come back. According to Jeremiah 28-29, most Jews had established strong economic positions in Babylon. Therefore, it is unlikely that many Jews would have given up their secure position for an uncertain one. Many Jews in Palestine probably considered themselves as connected, in some manner, to the continuation of their nation after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.E. (Grabbe 1991b: 142-43). Several characteristics distinguished pre-exilic and post-exilic Judaism. One mitigating factor in the post-exilic era was that the lack of a Jewish king. The monarchy had played an important role in the religious, economic, and civil lives of pre-exilic Israelites. Charlesworth (1998: 5) questioned whether most Jews yearned for a future Messiah. He studied a number of early Jewish texts spanning the years from 250 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. Charlesworth concluded that most Jews probably did not hold a Messianic expectation. Some considered those who returned from Babylon to rebuild the temple as the true remnant of Israel. For all Jews, the question of who was responsible for the exile remained to be answered by the new Jewish leaders.

Some scholars have suggested evidence for scribes during the Second Temple Period. Unfortunately, most of the information for this belief derives from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. For the most part, I agree with Grabbe (1991b: 105), who stated, "*we should cease to write the history of Judah in the first part of the Persian period by lightly paraphrasing the book of Ezra.*" Ten bullae from the province of Yehud, originating from the seal of a scribe, have been preserved with other bullae and two seals. These bullae and seals have been dated by paleography to the sixth century B.C.E. Thus, this material provides evidence apart from Ezra and Nehemiah for the employment of scribes in the Persian province of Yehud during the Persian era (Avigad 1976: 8). The relevant bullae contain the following inscription:

לירמאי *Belonging to Jeremai*

הספר *the scribe*⁵

⁵ The text and translation is from Avigad.

In summary, modern scholars widely acknowledge that most sources possibly dating to the Persian period have problems. Many books are composite and draw from several undetermined sources with varying degrees of trustworthiness (Grabbe 1991b: 30). There are also considerable gaps of time between these accounts. Much of the scholarly discussions involves the issues of the date, authorship, purpose, and authenticity of Ezra and Nehemiah and their relationship to Chronicles. The early Hebrew canon treated Ezra and Nehemiah as a composite work. Separation into two books did not take place until later (Hoglund 1992: 37; Childs 1979: 626). This scholarly reflection has resulted in a bewildering variety of methods for approaching the questions surrounding Ezra and Nehemiah. It has also produced an equally perplexing array of solutions (Hoglund 1992: 37).

Very little is known about the historical, political, and social history of the Jews in the Persian period (Schams 1998: 44). Nonetheless, modern research has increasingly displayed that the early post-exilic period was productive for the history of Judaism. Most Jews assimilated into an agrarian economic structure, which was essential for a continual flow of tribute to the imperial centers. This system had many implications for the restructuring of the post-exilic Jewish community. For example, there was considerable opposition to the returnees from Jews who settled on arable lands in or near Jerusalem following the destruction of the kingdom, (Bright 1980: 366; Petersen 1984: 29). Most previous studies about scribes have been largely based upon Ezra-Nehemiah (Schams 1998: 46), possibly because these writings contain considerable information about a character named Ezra, under the title סופר, "secretary for Jewish affairs or scribe." Material about the status and function of scribes is scant, aside from Ezra-Nehemiah. Nevertheless, I have shown that some extra-biblical evidence which compares with references to scribes in the Ezra-Nehemiah exists for this office..

Despite sundry problems restructuring Jewish society after the exile, the foundations for future Jewish religion were laid during the Persian period. A process was initiated that put into place a universally binding canon of scriptures. The rebuilding of the temple afforded Jews a center for religious life. The temple also symbolized eschatological expectations which transcended current circumstances. In the post-exilic period, theological diversity developed. This variance of theological perspectives was evident within the literature of this period. The splintering of official Yahweh religion into rival factions was a consequence of the collapse of cultic institutions in 587 B.C.E. The influence of these groups eventually infiltrated Jewish society (Albertz 1994: 437-439).

2.3 Grecian Rule, 331-143 B.C.E.

The Persians showed a remarkable degree of tolerance toward their subjects. Nevertheless, several factors led to unrest within the Persian Empire. One element involved the Persian obsession with conquering Greece. Frequent costly and futile campaigns led to an increasingly heavy tax burden toward the end of the fifth century B.C.E. A second component involved internal corruption within the Persian administration. While there may have been other considerations, these two items played a large part in the decline of Persian influence and control (Gowan 1976: 59,60). Numerous revolts also took place throughout the Persian Empire between 424-331 B.C.E. One major uprising involving the Jews took place in 410 B.C.E. in Egypt. At this time, the Egyptians destroyed the Jewish temple at Elephantine.

According to Nehemiah 12:11,22,23, Jonathan was the head of the priestly family (Levites) in Jerusalem during the reign of Darius the Persian.⁶ The letters from Elephantine confirm that a man named Jonathan was a high priest in Jerusalem around 407 B.C.E. (Grabbe 1991b: 141). The Jews eventually received permission from Darius II to rebuild the temple. Darius II was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes II (404-358 B.C.E.). He brought unrest in Palestine by occupying and defiling the temple in Jerusalem. Artaxerxes II also imposed heavy tribute and persecution. His failure to subdue Egypt in 351 B.C.E. resulted in a revolt in Palestine. Under the reign of Darius III 333 B.C.E., Alexander the Great defeated the Persians at Issus, Cilicia. Darius III attempted to consolidate his armies without success. He was eventually killed in 330 B.C.E. Official Grecian rule began in 331 B.C.E. under Alexander the Great (Gaebelein 1976: 179-80). A delegation of Jews welcomed Alexander on the coast of Palestine. They renounced Darius and gladly accepted Alexander as lord over them. The Jews then took Alexander to the temple, where he offered sacrifices to God, according to the high priest's directions. Alexander was shown a declaration from Daniel that a Greek was to destroy the Persian empire (Dn 8:5-7,20-21; Jos Ant 11.8.4.5).

⁶ The book of Nehemiah breaks off around 430 B.C.E. Only a few fragments exist from after this time, unless we date Ezra to 398 B.C.E. In such a scenario, the final sixty years of Persian rule remain a mystery. Assigning a date of 458 B.C.E. to Ezra means that half of the Persian period would then be unknown (Grabbe 1991b: 141). Grabbe does not appear to recognize Ezra-Nehemiah as a composite not appearing separately in the Hebrew Bible until the fifteenth century.

According to Josephus, Alexander accepted that he was the leader about whom Daniel prophesied.⁷ From this point, Alexander treated the Jews magnificently. He declared that the Jews in Palestine, Babylonia, and Media would be allowed to live according to their ancestral laws. Alexander also exempted the Jewish people from tribute every sabbatical year. As a result of Alexander's positive actions toward the Jews, many of them were prepared to accompany him in his campaigns (Gaebelein 1976: 180).

Josephus is one of the most valuable yet frustrating sources for Jewish history from about 400 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. Much of what we know about persons and events from this period derives from this Jewish historian and is not available from any other source. Josephus's works contain gaps, biases, are sometimes of poor quality, and cannot be confirmed. His information is also occasionally based upon legend or is fictitious (Grabbe 1991b: 4,5,174). Moreover, his writings are often contradictory and exaggerated. For instance, Josephus's account of the Jews greeting Alexander was probably an exaggeration since most Jews would have been unlikely to accept Alexander as their overlord without some resistance (Gowan 1976: 68).⁸

The Alexander story of Josephus is borne out by rabbinic traditions. However, this does not necessarily make Josephus's information accurate since the older writer may have influenced rabbinic opinion.⁹ Even if these accounts have been touched up or fictionalized, they attest to a positive relationship between the Jews and Greeks early in the Hellenistic period (Gafni 1984: 4). With the above considerations in mind, I conclude that Josephus may not have always provided a reliable accounting of Jewish history for the Greek period.

⁷ Most modern scholars agree that the book of Daniel was written in the second century B.C.E. If so, then the account of Josephus, Ant 11.8.5, must be considered as a fabrication.

⁸ Other scholars question the historicity of Josephus's account. For example, Attridge (1984: 212) considered this material legendary and based upon unknown sources.

⁹ Lev. R 13,5; B.T.Yoma 69a

Alexander acceded to the wishes of the Jewish high priest by granting the Jews permission to observe their laws (Jos Ant 11.8.4.5). This permission may have shown that Judaism was regarded as a *religio licita* during the Greek period (Gafni 1984: 4). The Latin term *religio* refers to religion, in the truest sense of the word. It is interpreted as being bound or holding fast to certain precepts. *Licita*, another Latin word, is translated as things that are lawful (Lewis 1991: 1063,1557). Taken together, the Latin phrase *religio licita* suggests a true expression of religion involving proper knowledge, love, and fear. This attitude leads to an appropriate response of veneration toward God (Muller 1985: 261). If there is any degree of truth in Josephus's account, Gafni would be correct in assuming that Jews enjoyed tolerance under Alexander's rule. This tolerance would be delineated as Jews being allowed a true practice of their religion, as defined by their traditions. .

Alexander's conquests caused radical social and cultural alterations for Jews in Judea and the diaspora initiated by the introduction of Greek culture in a phenomenon known as Hellenism. The impact of Hellenism was widespread and profound, greatly influencing the literary activity of the Jews (Gafni 1984: 1,4). Before discussing the impact of Hellenism on Judaism, I must set out a historical chronology of events and discuss the sources for the Grecian period. The Hellenistic period in Palestine can be subdivided as follows (cf Gafni 1984: 3):

- A) 332-301 B.C.E., the conquests of Alexander and the wars of the Diadochi.
- B) 301-200 B.C.E., Ptolemaic (Egyptian) rule over Palestine.
- C) 200-167 B.C.E., Seleucid (Syrian) rule over Palestine to the Hasmonean revolt.

Alexander died without an heir in 323 B.C.E. An attempt was made to hold the empire together under the names of Alexander IV and Philip III, with regents who were to rule on their behalf. The kingdom was divided into satrapies. During a span of about forty years, Alexander's empire was divided and redivided. By 280 B.C.E., Ptolemies ruled Egypt, Palestine, and Phoenicia. The Seleucids ruled Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia. For the resulting two centuries, the Ptolemies and Seleucids were the two main powers that affected the Jews (Gowan 1976: 78).

Modern scholars generally acknowledge an extreme shortage of reliable sources for much of the Hellenistic period. One exception may be portions of 1 Enoch (Stone 1980: 27-35). There are also a number of papyri from the archive discovered at Darb el-Gerza in Fayum (ancient Philadelphia). These writings, known as “the Zenon Papyri,” were named after a man called Zenon, who was the finance minister of Ptolemy II in the middle of the third century B.C.E. The archive contains documents from Egypt and Palestine. They describe trade, economics, administration, culture, and historical events in Palestine during this time (Tcherikover 1933: 115-130). The Zenon Papyri show that certain Hellenistic elements had begun to infiltrate parts of Judea (Gafni 1984: 6).

The Letter of Aristeas purports to uncover how the Pentateuch was translated into Greek. According to this account, Ptolemy II sought important copies of literature deriving from non-Greeks for his library in Alexandria. Aristeas presented the book of Jewish law to Demetrius, the secretary of Ptolemy II. Demetrius recommended these writings be translated into Greek. The Letter of Aristeas alleges to explain how this translation took place. It suggests that many Jews heralded its successful completion in a public ceremony. Most scholars agree this letter was probably a fake. Thus, it does not give an accurate account of the true origins of the Greek Pentateuch. This letter was probably intended as Jewish propaganda to verify the Septuagint version (Grabbe 1991b: 179).

Ethiopic Enoch (1 Enoch) is an important source for this thesis. Recently published finds from Qumran date parts of this book to the early Greek period.¹⁰ The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72-82) probably dates from the first part of the Grecian period (Grabbe 1991b: 180). The Book of Watchers (chs 1-36) has a complicated history. The 1 Enoch 6-11 section focuses upon two angelic leaders, Semihazah and Asael. The Asael strand is probably a later tradition (Grabbe 1991b: 180). If Grabbe’s assessment is correct, 1 Enoch would represent the thinking of Judaism in one area of Palestine by the end of the Ptolemaic period. Other sources possibly dating to the Grecian period include Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), Ben Sira, Tobit, 3 Maccabees, Judith, Daniel, and Hecateus of Abdera.¹¹

¹⁰ A more extensive treatment of 1 Enoch will take place in chapter four of this thesis.

¹¹ For a consideration of problems with these sources see Grabbe (1991b: 171-189).

Ecclesiastes is commonly referred to by its Hebrew name קהלת, "teacher." This Hebrew term is traditionally translated as "preacher." In a more precise sense, it refers to a speaker in an assembly. It derives from the Hebrew niph'al verb קהל, "summon or assemble" (Holladay 1988: 314,315). Ecclesiastes cannot be dated precisely. Most scholars place it in the third century B.C.E. because of the lateness of its Hebrew (Grabbe 1991b: 175). Authorship of Ecclesiastes has traditionally been ascribed to Solomon based upon the opening sentence that reads, "*the words of the teacher son of David king in Jerusalem.*" Recent scholarship has abandoned the idea that Solomon was the composer of Ecclesiastes. Several scholars have suggested this work reflects Hellenistic influence (cf Gordis 1968a: 5). The main importance of Qohelet is to describe the development of religious thought and ideology in Judea during this period. The writing seems compatible with the Hellenistic period. Yet, a direct influence from Greek philosophy or literature cannot necessarily be assumed (Whybray 1987: 5-13). There is one reference to a מַלְאָךְ in Ecclesiastes 5:5. The Masoretic Text interprets this as "*the temple messenger.*" The phrase "messenger of God" was used for temple emissaries who collected unpaid pledges as God's representatives (Gordis 1968a: 249). This phrase also applied to priests and prophets (Hg 1:13; MI 3:1).

During the time of the Ptolemies 301-198 B.C.E., Judea was treated as a sacerdotal province. Jews were under the leadership of the high priest, who possibly held some administrative responsibilities (Gaebelein 1976: 182). Intermittent warfare between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids marked the period. Gowan (1976: 82) argued that these ongoing conflicts had almost no influence on the Palestinian Jews. I am of the opinion that Gowan's assessment is doubtful, since these struggles appear to have enormously impacted Jews in Palestine. Hecateus of Abdera, a writer of the Ptolemaic period, provided an account of the Jewish nation.¹² He confirmed that the nominal head of the Jewish nation was the high priest. Priests had administrative and civil duties. They also owned land, which was contrary to the Pentateuch. Most Jews believed that the priest acted as a messenger of God's commands. Thus, the Jews generally showed reverence to the high priest.

¹² Questions regarding the sources for this account and whether they relate to Josephus have been put forward without definite resolutions (Grabbe 1991b: 173).

One event which took place during the Ptolemaic period was significant for Palestinian Jews. In 203 B.C.E., Ptolemy V acceded to the throne at an early age. Antiochus III viewed this as an opportunity to secure Coele-Syria from Egypt. He soundly defeated Ptolemy V at the battle of Paneion in 200 B.C.E. This victory resulted in Coele-Syria being securely placed into Seleucid control (Grabbe 1991b: 213). The Jews sided with Antiochus the Great in his struggle against Ptolemy V (Jos Ant 12.3.133-134). Josephus's account purports to be a copy of the letter that Antiochus sent to his governor. In this correspondence, Antiochus III is said to have granted freedom of worship to the Jews. He allowed them to complete the temple, released Jewish prisoners, and extended an exemption from taxes. With the qualification of some corruption possibly having taken place within the text, most modern scholars accept this letter as genuine (Schams 1998: 88,89). Both Goodblatt (1994: 15-16) and Grabbe (1991b: 246-47) confirmed that this letter agrees with Antiochus III's practice of honoring people who supported him. Antiochus granted his supporters freedom to live according to native customs and traditional institutions.

From 198 B.C.E. until Roman rule in 63 C.E., the Jews would remain under the Seleucid dynasty. From 198-143 B.C.E., the Jews had a brief period of peace while the Seleucids were involved in matters in the west. Antiochus III was succeeded by his second son Seleucus IV Philopator in 187 B.C.E. Seleucus IV failed in an attempt to rob the temple (2 Macc 3:7; Dn 11:20). He was assassinated by Heliodorus in 175 B.C.E. At this time, Antiochus III's son, Antiochus IV, was released by the Romans who had been holding him hostage. Antiochus IV ousted Heliodorus and made himself king. He sought to unify his kingdom with an aggressive Hellenization program. Antiochus IV also encouraged people to worship him as the "*Theos Epiphanes*," "the manifest god" in the form of the pagan deity Zeus Olympias (Gaebelein 1976: 183). Grabbe (1991b: 250) disagreed with Gaebelein's assessment, arguing that Antiochus IV was not a zealous Hellenizer nor did he identify himself with the god Zeus Olympias. Grabbe argued that the pagan effigy worshiped in Jerusalem at this time was a Syrian god. He further argued that the persecution of the Jews had no religious basis and must be judged instead as a political measure.

In 174 B.C.E., a dispute arose between the pro-Ptolemaic high priest Onias III and his Seleucid brother Jason. Jason secured the high priest's position by offering a larger payment to Antiochus IV (1 Macc 1:10-15; 2 Macc 4:7-17). However, Jason's friend Menelaus agreed to give Antiochus even more money so Antiochus conceded. This appointment created a major uproar since Menelaus was not a legitimate Aaronic descendent (2 Macc 4:7-23). Menelaus eventually plundered the temple (2 Macc 4:32). Antiochus IV also desecrated and pillaged the Jewish temple (1 Macc 1:20-29; 2 Macc 5:18-22). These events precipitated a Jewish revolt. The principal source for this history of the priesthood is Maccabees. There was a paucity of reliable source material prior to the middle of the second century B.C.E. After 150 B.C.E., there was a sudden influx of data. Scholars were faced with the problem of deciding how to take this wealth of information and make the best historical sense of it. This additional knowledge also complicated matters. It differed substantially in many important areas from what was previously known (Grabbe 1991b: 269). Therefore, despite this sudden in-flow of new material, there may not have been more reliable sources after 150 B.C.E.

A variety of causative factors have been proposed for the Maccabean revolt in 168-143 B.C.E. Modern scholars commonly assume that religious persecution was at the root of this Jewish uprising (Gafni 1984: 9). Some have suggested that Menelaus's becoming high priest in Jerusalem was directly responsible for the resulting conflict. However, Antiochus IV was an exponent of Hellenistic polytheism. Thus, he would be expected to be tolerant of Greco-Roman culture (Tcherikover 1966: 186-189). With the retreat of Antiochus IV from Egypt in 168, this tension resulted in open rebellion. Antiochus crushed this insurgence, erected a foreign altar in the Jerusalem temple, and outlawed Jewish religion. Tcherikover viewed these actions as the cause of the revolt of Mattathias and the Hasmoneans. Circumstances surrounding the Maccabean Revolt included Antiochus IV being handed a Roman ultimatum to leave Egypt in 168 B.C.E. Antiochus was wary of the Romans' power and quickly retreated to Palestine. He determined to make Palestine a buffer state between himself and the Romans by instituting cultic Hellenization. Jews were forbidden to keep ancestral laws, observe the Sabbath, customary festivals and traditional sacrifices, or circumcise children. Jewish authorities were forced to destroy copies of the Torah, and idolatrous altars were set up (Gaebelein 1976: 184).

According to 2 Maccabees 6:18, Jews were ordered to offer unclean sacrifices and eat the flesh of swine. The temple at Jerusalem also became a place of worship for the Olympian god Zeus. Sacrifices were also dedicated to Antiochus (1 Macc 1:41-64; 2 Macc 6-11). If the account of Maccabees is correct, the aggressive program of Antiochus IV would have created sufficient reasons for the Jews to react violently, since the core of traditional Judaism was being attacked.

Mattathias initially led the Hasmonean uprising (1 Macc 2:19-27). In 166 B.C.E., he refused to offer a heathen sacrifice. Another Jew agreed to do this instead. Mattathias killed him, tore down the altar, and fled to the mountains with his five sons. Mattathias called on Jews who were zealous for the law to follow him (1 Macc 2:15-27). These events marked the beginning of the Maccabean revolt. The Hasidim, a religious group within Judaism, joined the struggle against Hellenization. Mattathias died in 166 and his son Judas Maccabeus took over (1 Macc 2:42-70). Maccabeus eventually regained control of the entire country. After occupying Jerusalem, he restored the temple, destroyed the altar of Zeus, and rededicated a new altar. Exactly three years after its desecration, proper sacrifices were again taking place in the temple (1 Macc 4:36-59; 2 Macc 10:1-8). At the beginning of the revolt, the primary objective was to obtain religious freedom to follow Jewish laws and restore traditional worship in Jerusalem. Although the Maccabean revolt began as a religious crusade, it quickly turned into a war for an independent Jewish state. The Maccabean vision was eventually successful and independence was secured from Seleucid control (Grabbe 1991b: 273).

Before proceeding to the period of Hasmonean rule, I must comment about the possible influence and effects of Hellenization upon the Jews. The question of Hellenization has been extensively debated within scholarship. Part of the problem regarding Hellenization is that scholars have concentrated on the Jews as if they were in isolation (Grabbe 1991b: 147). While Jewish reactions were complex and diverse, Jews were not the only peoples to react against Greek influences (Grabbe 1991b: 163). I acknowledge Grabbe's insight, but concede that it is not possible in this confined study to solve the scholarly debate concerning Hellenization. Therefore, this research must necessarily be confined to how Hellenization affected the Jews.

Under the Ptolemies and Seleucids, the Jews of Palestine did not segregate themselves from the wider Hellenistic world. Jews were as much a part of this Hellenistic environment as other peoples. To disprove this, one would have to establish that the Jews resisted Hellenistic elements. Modern scholars have provided no evidence of the Jews balking in their payment of taxes to Greek officials. Furthermore, Jews were involved in international trade, which was transacted in the Greek language. Greek education also affected Jewish society. Hellenistic influence on Jewish literature is well-documented. Despite the Maccabean resistance, Greek dominance continued, even after the Jews gained their independence (Hengel 1974: 103-6).¹³

In criticism of Hengel, Feldman (1986: 85,95,105) argued that after the Maccabean revolt Hellenization was hardly a significant issue with most Jews. He further argued that Hengel did not take into account that many Jews were profoundly religious. Feldman maintained that Hellenization could not have been a dominant issue with religious Jews since few if any were apostates. Feldman's hypothesis does not establish any consistent Jewish resistance to Hellenization (Grabbe 1991b: 152). Yet I think that Feldman's assessment may, in part, be tenable. Jews probably refrained from objecting to Hellenization, for the most part, because it usually did not conflict with their traditional beliefs. Moreover, if an attitude of religious tolerance existed during most of the period of Grecian rule before Antiochus IV, it would explain the absence of extended periods of Jewish resistance to Hellenization. At the same time, evidence for Jewish opposition to Hellenistic elements would certainly be found in the Maccabean uprising. This Jewish revolt sought mainly to eliminate Hellenistic elements that infringed upon religious freedoms. Even if not all Jews were religious during this period, many Jews were no doubt vigorously aligned to their religious heritage.

¹³ Hengel (1980: 51) acknowledged that his assumptions were based upon sporadic information about Palestinian Jews prior to 175 B.C.E.

Tcherikover wrote about the aims of the Hellenizers, stating that to be a part of a Hellenistic state without compromising long-standing beliefs was not possible for Judean Jews. Tcherikover argued that Judaism and Hellenism were opposing forces and were based upon contrary principles. He concluded that a Hellenistic state could not be founded on the Jerusalem theocracy, as for political aspects. However, Tcherikover conceded that Hellenism profoundly affected the Jews of Palestine culturally, including their literature, language, civil law, and other societal aspects (Tcherikover 1966: 264-65). It seems Tcherikover was essentially saying that religious Jews of Palestine were not willing to allow Hellenism to change long-standing components of their religion without resistance. I generally agree with Tcherikover's assessment. Outside political elements, it is entirely feasible that most Jews willingly participated in many facets of Hellenization. Furthermore, assimilating many Hellenistic cultural items would have been necessary for conducting trade and business relations. Nevertheless, I find it difficult to imagine many Jews willingly departing from deeply held traditions when it came to religious practices and belief systems.

2.4 Hasmonean Rule, 142-63 B.C.E.

The term "Hasmonean" generally refers to the high priestly house, from the time of Simon until the Roman intervention in 63 B.C.E. During this interval, the Israelites enjoyed independent rule. Simon was the second oldest son of Mattathias and succeeded his younger brother Jonathan. Mattathias was a member of the house of Hasmon. The word Maccabeus possibly represented a nickname for Judas (Gowan 1976: 113). However, it appears that this term may have been used as a surname for Judas the son of Mattathias (cf 1 Macc 2:4,66; 3:1; Jos Ant 12.6.1 266). The origin of the term is uncertain. It may derive from כָּבַד, "to be extinguished or quenched" (Holladay 1988: 150). Used in this sense, Judas was possibly viewed as the "extinguisher" of Hellenism. It is more likely that the word "Maccabeus" is a translation of the Hebrew word מַכָּבֵד, "a hammer" (Holladay 1988: 211). Some scholars believe that Judas's head may have been shaped like a mallet. Thus, Judas Maccabeus may be rendered into English as "Judas the Hammer," in reference to his physical attributes. The family name Maccabee possibly derived from the great-great grandfather of Judas Hashman, hence the designation "Hasmoneans" (Jos Ant 12.6.1 265). At any rate, this name was extended to Judas and his family.

Simon was the last of the brothers of the Hasmonean family. He was the third to become a leader of the Hasmonean movement. When Simon became the ruling high priest, Syria was divided into two basic factions. One side acknowledged Demetrius II as king. The other group recognized the authority of Antiochus VI. Simon sided with Demetrius, who in return for Jewish recognition granted Jews full immunity from taxation. This was viewed as a declaration of Judea's political independence. According to 1 Maccabees 13:33-42, Jews were allowed to create their own documents and treaties. In any event, the reign of Simon marked the official realization of the Hasmonean family's dream. The Israelites had become an independent nation (Gaebelein 1976: 186).

The principal source for the history of the Hasmonean family from the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt until the end of the reign of Simon 134 B.C.E. is 1 Maccabees.¹⁴ It is highly unlikely 1 Maccabees was written after 63 B.C.E. because it displays a favorable attitude toward the Romans. Pompey also desecrated the Jerusalem temple in that year (Attridge 1984: 171). Most of 1 Maccabees possibly dates to the late second century B.C.E. However, a number of scholars place 1 Maccabees 14-16 after 70 C.E. Evans (1995: 16) argued that the history of 1 Maccabees is mostly trustworthy, though at times it is at a variance with 2 Maccabees. He concluded that when the two accounts conflict, it is not obvious which version is preferred. 1 Maccabees was probably an apology for the Hasmonean dynasty, since this writing is sometimes favorable to the Hasmoneans. This work may have fallen into disfavor among the strictest observers of Judaism a few years after Israel regained its independence (Evans 1995: 16). The 1 Maccabees account is mostly recorded in a straightforward and unbiased fashion. It was initially composed in Hebrew and the Semitic style of the original is transparent in the Greek translation (Attridge 1984: 171,172). Interestingly, Zeitlin (1962-63: 277-97) thought that the book, which Yosippon referred to as Sopher Bet Hasmanaim, "The Book of the House of the Hasmoneans," is the Hebrew original of 1 Maccabees.¹⁵

¹⁴ Most scholars date 1 Maccabees to the late second century B.C.E., although some date it slightly later.

¹⁵ In the Middle Ages, a Hebrew translation based upon the Jewish War, Jewish Antiquities, and Against Apion appeared under the name Yosippon (or Josippon). Yosippon or Josippon is the Hebraising form of the Greek name Josephus. Many Rabbis of the Middle Ages believed this was the work of Josephus. One manuscript of Yosippon claims it was written in 953 C.E. However, the book probably dated to the late third or fourth centuries and was edited in the intervening centuries (Evans 1995: 95).

The writer of 1 Maccabees established the authenticity of the Hasmonean rulers on religious grounds. He also recognized the political legitimacy of the major powers in the second century (Attridge 1984: 173). This is shown by a number of documents in which various Seleucid monarchs confirmed Jonathan or Simon as high priests. These include Alexander Balas to Jonathan, 10:18-20, Demetrius I to Jonathan, 10:25-45, Demetrius II to Jonathan, 11:30-37, Demetrius II to Simon, 13:31-40, and Antiochus VII to Simon, 15:2-9. Jews also dated their official documents from the first year of Simon's reign (Grabbe 1991b: 298). Simon's reign was a time of peace and the Jewish people had no one to fear (1 Macc 14:4-5).

A number of achievements were attained during Simon's rule. Perhaps the most notable was the capture of the Akra in 142 B.C.E., and the expulsion of the Syrians from this location. As a result of this conquest, the last symbol of Seleucid domination was removed from Judea (1 Macc 13:49-52). Ptolemy murdered Simon and two of his sons in 135 B.C.E. John Hyrcanus, Simon's second son, escaped and took over the reigns of Hasmonean power. Many aims of the Maccabean revolt were attained before Simon's rule. These objectives included the restoration of temple worship, freedom to practice Jewish religion, and the placing of the powers of government into the hands of the Hasmonean family. By the time of Simon's reign, favorable circumstances and the weakness of the Syrian empire were conducive for the removal of Seleucid influence (Schuerer 1973: 189).

John Hyrcanus succeeded his father as high priest. He ruled from 135 to 104 B.C.E. In the first year of Hyrcanus's reign, Antiochus VII invaded Judea. He besieged Jerusalem for more than a year. Hyrcanus requested a truce of seven days for the Feast of Tabernacles. Antiochus complied and sent gifts to be offered in the Temple. Hyrcanus sent a delegation to Antiochus and they reached a settlement. Antiochus required that the Jews hand over arms, pay tribute for Joppa and other towns they had conquered, provide hostages, and pay additional monies (Schuerer 1973: 203-04). Hyrcanus was also ordered to demolish the defensive walls surrounding Jerusalem (Jos Ant 13.8.2-3 236-48). Thus, it appeared that Israel had again lost its independence.

In 129 B.C.E., Antiochus died and Demetrius gained control of Syria again. However, internal struggles prevented him from bothering Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus renewed his alliance with Rome, and in return, Rome confirmed Judea's independence. Rome also warned Syrian rulers about interfering with Hyrcanus's territories. Josephus reported that a decree of the senate was occasioned by a deputation sent by "the nation of the Jews and the High Priest Hyrcanus." This declaration stated that King Antiochus must return everything that he confiscated from the Jews, and that the garrison at Joppa had to be removed (Jos Ant 14.10.22 248-50).

A textual corruption probably exists regarding the name Antiochus VII Sidetes. Schuerer (1973: 205) argued that the statements of Josephus fit only Antiochus VII, who was the son of Demetrius, rather than Antiochus. He also said Josephus did not suggest that a definite decision regarding this decree was made. However, Hyrcanus again achieved Jewish independence. He felt comfortable enough to extend his borders and conquer new territories, probably due to his renewed allegiance with Rome and the weakened state of Syrian control. Numismatic sources attribute coins to Hyrcanus under the following inscription: יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים. The meaning of the penultimate Hebrew word has been disputed by earlier scholars. Schuerer (1973: 211) said that scholars now widely render this Hebrew term into English as "congregation," suggesting either the entire Jewish community or the Jewish senate. In any event, the inscription would then read, "*John the High Priest and the Congregation of the Jews.*" Most, if not all, modern scholars attribute Yehohanan coins to Hyrcanus II 63-40 B.C.E. rather than to Hyrcanus I (Kanael 1950-51: 171-72).

After a thirty-one-year rule, Hyrcanus died in 104 B.C.E. Hyrcanus wanted his wife to head the civil government and his eldest son Aristobulus I to be the high priest. Aristobulus disagreed with his late father's wishes and succeeded in becoming the next ruler. His reign only lasted from 104-103 B.C.E. (Gaebelein 1976: 187). Nevertheless, while the rule of Aristobulus was brief, this did not mean it was uneventful.

Several factors can be noted about Aristobulus: (1) He was the first Hasmonean ruler to take the title of king. (2) He captured the area of Iturea, required inhabitants to be circumcised and to adopt Jewish customs. (3) His title φιλελλήν may suggest that he contributed to building projects. Josephus used the Greek phrase χρημόπισός μιν φιλελλήν in reference to Aristobulus I (Ant 13.11.3 318). From the context of this phrase, Schuerer (1973: 217) suggested that Aristobulus I probably called himself φιλελλήν rather than “he acted as someone friendly toward the Greeks.” Whether this would suggest that Aristobulus I was involved in building projects cannot be fully determined. However, there is no conclusive evidence to support the notion that Aristobulus I was a builder (Grabbe 1991b: 302). Aristobulus is often depicted as having a cruel nature. Yet, statements by Josephus backed up by Strabo portray Aristobulus as having a “kindly nature” and as “wholly given to modesty” (Grabbe 1991b: 302). In trying to explain this discrepancy, Schuerer (1973: 218) argued that Aristobulus was a Sadducee. He said that the slight on his character probably derived from the Pharisees, his political opponents. At any rate, Aristobulus’s brief yet somewhat eventful reign culminated in 103 B.C.E., after only one year.

The next in the order of succession of Hasmonean rulers was Alexander Janneus, the eldest son of Aristobulus I (Jos Ant 13.12.1 320-3). He ruled from 103-76 B.C.E. and was continuously involved in foreign and internal wars. The conquests of Alexander Janneus were so successful that the size of his kingdom was equal to that of David and Solomon (Gaebelein 1976: 187). Unrest at home offset the successes of Janneus. He also engaged in behavior unlawful for a high priest. Janneus was allied with the Sadducees and failed to observe ordinances considered divine in origin by the Pharisees. Janneus poured the water of libation over his feet rather than on the altar, as prescribed by Pharisaic ritual (Jos Ant 13.13.5 372-3). The Jewish people were enraged and threw lemons at him. Alexander reacted by killing approximately six thousand Jews.¹⁶

¹⁶ See also bSukk 48b; cf. b Yom 26b, where it is recorded that a Sadducee once poured the customary libation water not on the altar but on his feet. The people pelted him with lemons because of this. While the name of Alexander Janneus is not specifically mentioned, this may very well have been an allusion to him.

Many conservative Jews had defected from Hasmonean leadership and acquired the name "Pharisees" (Gowan 1976: 115).¹⁷ They opposed Alexander Janneus because he was in the position, as a Sadducee and leader of the country, to determine religious policies. On his deathbed, Janneus may have reversed his position in favor of the Pharisees. If Janneus did have a change of heart, it was too late, because he had already divided Jewish forces. Some Jews opposed his policies and allied themselves with Demetrius III. Others preferred to be subject to a Hasmonean in a free Jewish state rather than be part of an empire that included a descendant of the Selucids. Josephus described Janneus's conflicts with Demetrius. He said that cruelty toward political opponents led to the subduing of rebellion until the end of his reign (Jos Ant 13.14.1-2 377-9). Janneus is recognizable in the Nahum Commentary from Qumran (Allegro 1964: 37-42).¹⁸

Before leaving Alexander Janneus, I must point out that Grabbe (1991b: 304) rightly argued that there are discrepancies within Josephus's accounts of *The Antiquities of the Jews* and *The War of the Jews*. *The Antiquities of the Jews* suggested that Janneus made peace with the Pharisees who opposed him. However, *The War of the Jews* is silent about this incident and does not mention the Pharisees during Janneus's reign. Grabbe concluded that the alleged deathbed confession of Janneus was probably an invention of Josephus. However, Grabbe conceded that the Pharisees were part of the opposition to Alexander Janneus's rule. Alexander Janneus elected his wife Alexandra Salome as his successor. She selected Janneus's eldest son Hyrcannus II as high priest. Even if Janneus's deathbed account is unreliable, the one thing that stands out in both accounts of Josephus is the extent to which the Pharisees dominated his reign (Grabbe 1991b: 304).¹⁹

¹⁷ The complex origins of the Jewish religious groups will be dealt with later in this thesis. For the purposes of this Second Temple Period overview, it is sufficient to state that by the time of John Hyrcanus there were distinct religious groups. They included the Pharisees and Sadducees who played a major role in the politics and religion of Judea.

¹⁸ (See 4QpNah 1.6-7). This view is shared by a number of historians, although Schuerer argues that the theory advanced by scholars concerning the identification of the Wicked Priest with Janneus has been seriously weakened by archaeological findings.

¹⁹ bSot 22b states that he said to her, "Fear neither the Pharisees, nor those who are not Pharisees (Sadducees), but beware of the hypocrites who behave like Zimri, but seek Pinhas's reward."

Grabbe (1991b: 304) maintained that *The Antiquities of the Jews* suggested that Alexandra restored Pharisaic regulations which Hyrcanus I had abolished. *The War of the Jews* is silent about this issue. Attridge (1984: 226) agreed in principle with Grabbe's assessment, to the extent that he believed Josephus gave greater prominence to the Pharisees in *The Antiquities of the Jews*. Attridge argued that in a parallel passage (Jos War 2: 119-66), the Pharisees are recognized by Josephus as the "premier" school. Attridge further argued that many editorial comments by Josephus reflect the theological positions of the Pharisees. Yet *The Antiquities of the Jews* cannot be viewed as a consistent pro-Pharisaic document, since disparaging remarks are also made about the Pharisees in the account of Herod's reign (Jos Ant 17.2.41). I am of the conviction that it is best to assume some truth in the tradition of Alexander Janneus conveying to his wife information favorable to the Pharisees. The fact that Alexandra placed herself on the Pharisees's side throughout her reign confirms this. She also restored all Pharisaic ordinances abrogated since Hyrcanus I. During Alexandra's reign, the Pharisees were the *de facto* rulers of the land, though Alexandra ruled in name. Aside from Alexandra's dominance by the Pharisees, she was a good administrator (Jos Ant 13.16.2. 408-9). Nevertheless, Grabbe (1991b: 305) argued that Josephus gave a somewhat negative assessment of Alexandra.

While Hyrcanus II had been appointed high priest at the beginning of Alexandra's rule, his younger brother Aristobulus was more dynamic. He proclaimed himself king when his mother took ill. By the time Alexandra died in 67 B.C.E., Aristobulus had amassed a large army. Aristobulus probably sided with the Sadducees (Gaebelein 1976: 188). His reign was one of peace both at home and abroad. The situation changed when Hyrcanus II became king and high priest. Aristobulus immediately challenged his brother's authority by declaring war on him. Aristobulus's forces clashed with those of Hyrcanus at Jericho. Aristobulus was eventually victorious, but the two brothers arrived at a truce. Aristobulus agreed to lay aside enmity for his brother if Hyrcanus agreed he should be king without impeding public affairs. They confirmed these terms by swearing an oath in the temple (Jos Ant 14.1.2. 4-7).

The situation was far from resolved. Antipater, the father of future King Herod, involved himself in the circumstances. He attempted to bring Hyrcanus back to power by claiming Aristobulus's kingship was unlawful, and that Hyrcanus was the rightful ruler.²⁰ Hyrcanus, with the support of Aretas III of Petra, defeated Aristobulus. Meanwhile, the Romans under Pompey were engaged in a campaign in Asia Minor when word came of the dispute between the two brothers. Pompey ordered Aretas to withdraw or be considered as an enemy of Rome. The Romans eventually defeated Aretas. Emissaries from Hyrcanus were then sent to Pompey. They insisted that Aristobulus had seized power unlawfully. Others from Aristobulus suggested Hyrcanus was incompetent to rule. Pompey delayed his decision until after the Nabatean campaign. Aristobulus was upset and decided not to fight for Pompey. Consequently, the Roman leader pursued and defeated Aristobulus. Pompey entered Jerusalem and killed twelve thousand Jews (Jos Ant 14.2.19-14.4.71).

With the seizing of Jerusalem by Pompey, the period of Jewish independence ended. Pompey was shrewd enough not to make significant changes to the region. He made Hyrcanus high priest because the majority of the people and the Pharisees favored him, but withheld the title of king. Hyrcanus II was merely a vassal for the Roman powers. It was obvious to the Jews at this time that resistance against a dominant Roman force would be futile (Schuerer 1973: 241). If Schuerer's assessment is correct, then the spirit that had initiated the Hasmonean uprising had dissipated.

2.5 Roman Rule, 63 B.C.E.-70 C.E.

Following Pompey's conquests, the Romans allowed Judea to maintain its own identity and rule (Jones 1971: 256-59). Judea had essentially the same boundaries as under Persian control. By the beginning of Roman rule, it was the seat of continual rebellion (Gowan 1976: 115). Josephus's writings were the main sources for the period of the reign of Herod the Great. However, there is a scholarly consensus that Josephus was dependent upon Nicolaus of Damascus for the details provided within his accounts (Grabbe 1991c: 321).²¹ Nicolaus was the secretary of Herod the Great and had access to Herod's archives, which contained information about Jewish history. (Grabbe 1991b: 228).

²⁰ Josephus (Ant 13.16.2.408) confirmed Hyrcanus as legitimate successor to Alexandra.

²¹ Though there is agreement that Josephus was largely dependent upon Nicolaus, there is a diversity of opinion concerning how Josephus used this material (Grabbe 1991c: 314-316).

Antipater, an Idumean, was at odds with Aristobulus but was a friend of Hyrcanus. As mentioned, Herod was Antipater's son and later became the king of the Jews (Jos War 1.6.2. 123; Jos Ant. 14.1.3.8,9). Some scholars argue that Hyrcanus was a mere figurehead and that Antipater was the authority behind Hyrcanus's office (cf Gaebelein 1976: 189). Other scholars maintain that Josephus presented a contradictory picture of Hyrcanus. They suggest that Josephus sometimes portrayed Hyrcanus as the one in charge but other times depicted him as a figurehead. Several passages from Josephus both agree and disagree with these conclusions (Grabbe 1991c: 323- 324). Thus, it cannot be fully determined whether Hyrcanus's rule was titular or actually authoritative.

Regardless of the state of Hyrcanus's rule, when Julius Caesar defeated Pompey in 48 B.C.E., Antipater was appointed the procurator of Judea. Hyrcanus was given the title of Ethnarch of the Jews (Gaebelein 1976: 189). Under Gabbiness, who was the proconsul in Syria, Hyrcanus was stripped of his political status and was only left with the care of the temple (Schuerer 1973: 268). Gabbiness divided Judea into five districts under separate aristocratic councils. These divisions have widely been interpreted as an attempt to bring a potentially rebellious Judean district under control (Grabbe 1991c: 321). Josephus's accounts do not confirm this. Grabbe (1991c: 322) claimed Josephus commended Gabbiness for actions taken during his term of governorship. This assumption may be a misinterpretation, since Josephus suggested that Gabbiness's gracious behavior applied to his management of the wars he was involved in, and not necessarily to his overall administrative tenure. It is noteworthy to point out that Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia both describe the actions of Pompey and Gabbiness but add nothing new (Jos Ant 14.6.4. 104).

While he was acting as procurator of Judea, Antipater appointed his one son Phasael governor of Jerusalem and his other son Herod governor of Galilee. After Julius Caesar's death in 44 B.C.E., Cassius Longinus became governor of Syria and was succeeded by several others. For the purposes of this overview, it is only possible to deal with the main characters of the period of Roman control. Herod was an Idumean who was betrothed to Mariame the granddaughter of Hyrcanus II. This betrothal strengthened Herod's position for becoming the regent over the Jews. In 42 B.C.E., Antony defeated Cassias and asked Hyrcanus II who the most qualified successors to him were. Hyrcanus chose Herod and Phasael, whereupon Antony appointed them tetrarches of Judea.

In 40 B.C.E., the Parthians came to Syria and joined Antigonus in an attempt to remove Hyrcanus. Phasaël and Hyrcanus met with the Parthian king to work out a peace agreement, but the king put them in chains. Antigonus was instituted as king. He mutilated Hyrcanus to prevent his restoration to the priesthood. Meanwhile, Herod went to Rome, where he was declared king of Judea. In either 40 or 39 B.C.E., Herod returned to Palestine. He was aided by Antony in capturing Galilee and, finally, Jerusalem in 37 B.C.E. Herod requested that the Roman officials behead Antigonus (Gabelin 1976: 187-188). When Antony received Antigonus as a captive at Rome, he planned to keep him in prison. However, when he learned that the Jews were expressing hatred toward Herod and goodwill for Antigonus, he resolved to behead him. Josephus quoted from the lost history of Strabo (FgrH 91 F 18) in (9-10) to substantiate his own record. He maintained that Strabo said that Antony was the first Roman to behead a king. Strabo was also alleged to have said that Antigonus was executed because of the Jews' intense hatred for Herod. According to Strabo, the Roman leader believed that causing a dishonorable death to Aristobulus would diminish his value to the Jews and make Herod's kingship more acceptable to them. This death marked the official end of the Hasmonean dynasty (Jos Ant 14.16.4 487-491; 15:1.2 5-10).

Herod reigned as a client king of Rome from 37-4 B.C.E. Client kingdoms were useful to the Romans because they served as buffer zones to areas not under direct Roman control. They could also be called upon to render military aid when required. Herod began his reign with a diminished state of Judea. After the battle of Actium, he was in control of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. By the end of his reign, he controlled a region stretching from southern Lebanon to Negev, and from the Mediterranean to Transjordan. The population was made up of Jews, Samaritans, Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs (Grabbe 1991c: 324-325). Herod's reign can be subdivided into three distinct periods. The first period, from 37-25 B.C.E., was when Herod consolidated his authority. During this initial interval, he had to contend with Jewish opposition. The Pharisees disliked Herod because he was a half-Jew and a friend of the Romans. A second group of resistance to Herod included those loyal to Aristobulus. Other Jews objected to Herod being appointed a high priest. The fourth enemy was Cleopatra. Herod used the utmost severity to quell his opposition, but he also won many over with favors and honors (Schuerer 1973: 296-298).

Some Jews viewed their subjection to foreign domination as a divine punishment that they ought to bear willingly (Jos Ant 15.1. 2 5-7; 19.9.4 175). The first four or five years of Herod's reign were involved in dealing with various struggles. Nevertheless, this situation eventually resulted in a period of prosperity (Schuerer 1973: 300). This era of well-being was achieved largely by Herod's sensitivity to both Roman and Jewish demands. By 25 B.C.E., Herod began the second phase of his reign, marked by success and highlighted by magnificent building projects. He rebuilt Samaria and renamed it Sebaste in honor of Augustus. Herod constructed the new city of Caesarea and fortified Jerusalem. He built fortresses for himself at Herodium, Massada, and Machaerus (Gowan 1976: 127).

Herod was half Jewish. However, there is no documentation to suggest he sought to follow the Jewish faith. Herod departed from traditional Jewish laws. He also corrupted these commandments by incorporating pagan religious practices. Herod neglected religious observances used to lead the Jewish multitude to piety. Most Jews viewed Herod's endeavors as great wickedness leading to a dissolution of their greatly venerated customs.

Despite Herod's lack of regard for Jewish traditions, he made a grand gesture toward the Jews by rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. This work began in the eighteenth year of his reign as an everlasting memorial to the God of the Jews. Herod made a speech to the Jews to get their support. He acknowledged he was governor of the Jews by the will of God and that his time of peace had brought him great riches. He expressed his wish to erect the temple in a thankful and pious attitude toward the God of the Jews. The Jews that Herod was addressing were afraid he would tear down the existing temple and would not be able to follow through with his incredible plans. After he provided reassurance that he would get all the materials and workers ready before demolishing the old temple, the people were more receptive (Jos Ant 15.11.1-7 380-424). Herod took great care while building the temple to make sure nothing was done to offend the Jews (Gowan 1976: 127). Priests were trained to do all the construction work so that the holiness of the site was not violated. The people were filled with joy and expressed their thanks to God and Herod (Jos Ant 15.11.6 421).

Priests built the temple in a year and six months. A feast was then held to celebrate its rebuilding. Schuerer (1973: 308) was probably correct in claiming that only the Temple proper was completed at that time and provisionally consecrated. Work on the rest of the building continued until 62-4 B.C.E. This is confirmed by a statement made in John 2:20 that it had taken forty-six years to build the temple.

Turmoil marked the final nine years of Herod's reign (13-4 B.C.E.). Herod had a total of ten wives, as permitted by Jewish law (Jos Ant 17.1.2 14). This led to domestic infighting. During this time of strife, Herod also had to contend with external enemies and even with imperial disfavor (Jos Ant 16.9. 1-2 271-285). Although Herod's death has widely been placed just before the Passover, in 4 B.C.E., all scholars have not accepted this date (Grabbe 1991c: 328). Theories about alternative dates for Herod's death are based upon a different system of numbering the years.²² The following evidence is provided for Herod's death in 4 B.C.E. Just before Herod's death there was an eclipse of the moon (Jos Ant 17.6.5 167). This event probably suggests 4 B.C.E., since it is widely accepted that an eclipse was visible in Jerusalem in this year (Schuerer 1973: 327). Herod died just before the Passover (Jos War 2.1.3 10; Jos Ant 17.9.3 213). He ruled thirty-seven years after being declared king and thirty-four years over Jerusalem (Jos War 1.33.8 665; Jos Ant 17.8.1 191). Whatever the date of Herod's death, he died in Jericho and was buried in Herodium. He was unmourned by his family and hated by the entire Jewish nation (Jos Ant 17.8.1.3 191-199).

Herod sought Jewish favor during his reign. He accomplished this to some degree by reducing taxes, befriending the Pharisees, and building a new temple. Herod also exhibited frequent cruel acts, developed pagan customs at the expense of Jewish traditions, and led a scandalous personal life. If Herod's accomplishments are measured by his building endeavors, the adjective "great" may serve him well. Yet not all viewed him as a man of personal distinction. Schuerer (1973: 329) was probably correct in suggesting that Josephus used the hapax legomenon ὁ μέγας, "the great," in a customary way, allowing Herod to be differentiated from lesser descendants of the same name without conferring distinction upon him for his accomplishments (Jos Ant 18.5.4 130).

²² Schuerer (1973: 326-328) provides a survey of alternative dates of Herod's death.

After Herod's death, the Romans decided to make Judea into a province (Rhoads 1976: 27). The Jews sent an embassy to speak to Caesar about the great atrocities during Herod's rule. The Jews requested to be made subject to Roman governors. When Caesar had heard both sides, he gave half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus. The other half he divided between Philip and Antipas. Philip was given Perea and Galilee (Jos War 2.6.2 84,89; 2.6.3 93-95). He was probably the most prosperous of Herod's sons. Philip's success was due to his personality, administrative qualities, and his Gentile subjects. Unlike the Jews, the Gentiles accepted him on his own merits, rather than judging him by his father's past. There was very little discord, internal disorder, or violence during Philip's reign (Smallwood 1976: 181). Philip the tetrarch was the first Jewish ruler to have images of the emperor on coins (Madden 1972: 100-102). Since no trouble resulted from his action, this fact probably indicated a small Jewish minority in his realm (Hoehner 1972: 55).

Herod Antipas was completely loyal to Rome during his reign (Hoehner 1972: 8). Because of his devotion, he was confirmed as king of his provincial territories (Jos Ant 15.6.7 94-95; Strabo 16.2 146). Antipas avoided human images on his coins (Madden 1972: 100-102). This fact probably showed there was a predominant Jewish population in his territory (Hoehner 1972: 55). Antipas was no less capable of a ruler than Philip (Smallwood 1976: 183). The people of Galilee and Perea complained about the tax burden under Antipas, but there was no record of resentment toward him (Hoehner 1972: 79). In the time of Herod's regime, he was confronted with numerous rebellions. Herod was committed to complete Hellenization. He attempted to appease the Jews while maintaining order with a strong hand. Herod's successor Archelaus was faced with frequent revolts. Among the insurrectionists were outlaws or robbers, some of whom made frequent attacks on Roman soldiers (Jos Ant 17.10.9 286-294). The Jews had frequently complained of high taxes under Herod the Great. Archelaus continued this policy and it may have been part of what Josephus referred to as Archelaus's unbearable tyranny (Jos Ant 17.11.2 308,342).

Modern scholars often suggest that the Galileans were prone to revolutionary movements. The Galileans have also been portrayed as fanatics and as always causing riots (Hoehner 1972: 56). This perception may have resulted from their courage and patriotism (Jos War 3.3.2 41-42).²³ However, these notions about the Galileans may be unfounded. There is no clear evidence that Galilee was more susceptible to disturbance than other parts of Judea (Grabbe 1996: 57). Moreover, though the Jews usually complained about high taxes when they came under a new ruler, there had never been a rebellion reportedly caused by excessive taxes (Hoehner 1972: 75). Yet, it seems plausible to assume that after Herod's death continuing high taxes may have been a precipitating factor in the growing feelings of anger, resentment, and unrest among many Jews under Roman provincial status.

A census was ordered within the Roman provinces, to be arranged by the Syrian governor. This census was not an entirely new experience for the Jews, since Herod the Great probably conducted censuses.²⁴ An atmosphere of tension precipitated by Roman annexation probably existed among Jews (Grant 1973: 89). This census would have served as a reminder to the Jews that they would be paying taxes directly to the Romans. Furthermore, the Jews no doubt felt that taxes would increase again. Many Jews probably protested against this census, but the majority would have accepted it, after the intervention of the high priest (Grabbe 1996: 58). In any event, guerrilla warfare broke out at this point. Judas, a Gaulanite from a city named Gamala, became the leader of the Jewish resistance (Jos Ant 18.1.1 4-10). It is uncertain whether this was the same Judas, the son of Hezekiah, who caused trouble in Galilee after the death of Herod the Great ten years earlier (Grant 1973: 89). If this man was the same Judas, then Grant may have been right to assume a continuous resistance movement among the Jews. In addition to the building hostility toward foreign domination, other mitigating factors also contributed to an outbreak of a war against Roman rule.²⁵

²³ In the war of 66-70 the Galileans displayed courage (Jos War 3.1-8, 64-69, 289-306). Both Vespasian and Titus also later acknowledged their patriotism (Jos War 3.7,320, 471-484).

²⁴ This census was mistakenly dated in Luke 2:1-3 (Grabbe 1996: 58).

²⁵ Most scholars agree that the war with Rome had a variety of causes (Grabbe 1991c: 446).

At this point, the historical record of Josephus may be problematic (Grant 1973: 90). Josephus appeared to convey a definite aversion toward violent men. He also attempted to present the Jews, in the beginning years of the provincial system, as reasonably behaved. Consequently, information provided by Josephus tends to be somewhat misleading and questionable. Josephus provided no details concerning the revolt that took place shortly after Judea became a Roman province. This uprising must have been either short-lived or fought by small bands using guerrilla tactics (Grabbe 1991c: 423).

The writer of Acts 5:37 suggested that Judas the Galilean led a band of people in revolt (not caused by the census) during the days of the census. The Acts account also indicated that Judas was killed and that the people were scattered. Some scholars have suggested that there is a problem with the reliability of the Acts record (Grabbe 1991c: 377-378). I believe that Grabbe may have misinterpreted Gamaliel's statement in Acts as indicating that the movement ended. Gamaliel only stated that all his followers were scattered. He did not indicate whether this dispersement was permanent. Also, it is possible that activity continued with other small isolated groups not directly associated with Judas's leadership. In any event, in 6 C.E., the followers of Judas the Galilean represented an unspecified "Fourth Philosophy." The other three were the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes (Jos Ant 18.1.4 16-17, 1.5 18-22, 1.6 23-24).²⁶

Two Jewish groups have possibly been linked with Judas. The first was the "Zealots," known for their zealousness and rebellion. The Zealots have often been associated with the so-called Fourth Philosophy, but this association has not been substantiated. A second group, the "Sicarius," were portrayed as dagger-men or professional assassins (Jos War 7.1 358-362). Possibly, both the titles the Zealots and the Sicarius were vague terms used to generally designate extremists. While Judas and his followers may have identified themselves under these terms, the movement has recently been labelled as plain "Israel" (Grant 1973: 90).

²⁶ The identification of the Zealots with the "Fourth Philosophy" cannot be confirmed.

The next twenty years after the revolt are almost a complete blank (Grabbe 1991c: 423). In his book *The War of the Jews*, Josephus skips to the governorship of Pontius Pilate in 26-36 C.E. However, he did provide a complete list of governors for these two decades. If Jewish tensions continued to exist, at least in isolated pockets, these feelings were exacerbated during Pilate's tenure. Josephus listed Pilate's predecessors as Coponius (6-9 C.E.), Marcus Ambivulus (9-12 C.E.), Annius Rufus (12-15 C.E.), and Valerius Gratus (15-26 C.E.) (Jos Ant 18.2.2 32-35). Almost immediately upon his arrival in Palestine, Pilate incited the Jews (Hoehner 1972: 173).

Philo was a contemporary of Pilate. He described Pilate as greedy, inflexible, cruel, and oppressive (Philo LegGaj 301-302). Pilate's first act of provocation against the Jews was the introduction of Roman standards in Jerusalem. He sought to abolish Jewish laws and to introduce images of Caesar, which Jewish law forbid. When the Jews petitioned Pilate to remove them, he threatened them with violence if they did not acquiesce (Jos Ant 18.3.1 55-59). Pilate also robbed the sacred treasury of the Jewish temple to build an aqueduct (Jos War 2.9.4 175-177; Jos Ant 18.3.2 60-62). A mob of angry Jews met Pilate in Jerusalem. Pilate ordered his soldiers to beat the Jews and many were killed (Jos War 2.9.4 177).²⁷ A final conflict involving the Jews resulted in Pilate's dismissal. In 36 C.E., a Samaritan false prophet promised to show a group of Jews where a number of sacred vessels were buried on Mount Gerizim. Jews who believed him gathered at the foot of the mountain bearing arms. Pilate met them with a heavily armed detachment. Some Jews were killed, while others were imprisoned and later executed. The Jews complained to the prefect of Syria who was in charge of Judea. Pilate was ordered to report to Tiberius in Rome (Jos Ant 18.4 1-3 85-88). He made a hasty return to Rome because he dared not contradict these orders (Jos Ant 18.4.2 89).

The prefect of Syria sent Marcellus to take temporary charge of Judea. The rule of the procurators was interrupted by Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great. He was given the tetrarchy vacated by Philip's death. Agrippa accused Antipas of several offences. Caligula believed him and banished Antipas to Gaul. The short reign of Agrippa confirmed Roman anxieties about the loyalty of Jewish subjects (Radin 1973: 283).

²⁷ Eus HE 2.6 6-7 quotes Josephus verbatim, except for the length of the aqueduct.

Agrippa subdued the Jews for a time by completely adopting Jewish customs. The Pharisaic tradition of his reign is preserved in the Talmud. It portrays Agrippa as a pious and scrupulously observant Jew. Agrippa was aware that his Idumean origin made him only half Jewish (Ket 17a; Pes 88b). Radin concluded that despite the successes brought about by Agrippa's favorable methods, there was little progress in the subjugation of Palestine. Isolated incidents of riots and friction between the Romans and the Jews continued.

The behavior of the following procurators did nothing to pacify the anti-Roman feelings that had simmered over the years. Antonius Felix (52-60 C.E.) is mentioned in Acts 24. Despotism marked his rulership and personal life (Gowan 1976: 137). Felix did not turn out to be one of the best choices for governor of Judea (Smallwood 1976: 269). Nevertheless, he achieved some success against the now widespread brigandage (Grabbe 1991c: 441). Grabbe said that it was during Felix's reign that the terrorists known as the Sicarii arose in full force. A number of prophets also arose at this time. They instigated revolutionary movements and gained steady followings.

The next governor was Porcius Festus (58/59-62 C.E.). Any efforts that he made to pacify unrest in Palestine had no lasting effect (Smallwood 1976: 271). Festus died in office and was succeeded by Lucceius Albinus (62-64 C.E.). He rapidly undid any of the advances of Festus. Albinus is often characterized as a villain. He stole, plundered, accepted bribes to release criminals, and placed unrealistic tax burdens on his subjects (Grabbe 1991c: 443,446). Nonetheless, Josephus portrayed him as a man who took care in all his endeavors that the country might be kept in peace. Albinus achieved peace by destroying many of the Sicarii (Jos Ant 20.10.2 204). The last governor, Gessius Florus (64-66 C.E.), was in office when the war with Rome began. He was responsible for filling Judea with an abundance of miseries. Florus was so wicked that Albinus looked favorable to the Jews in comparison. Florus became a partner with robbers and was the final cause of instigating the Jews to take up arms against Rome (Jos Ant 20.11.1 252-257).

Before proceeding to the war between the Romans and the Jews, I must say a few words about the reign of Nero (54-68 C.E.). Nero has been so vilified in traditions about him that giving a proper assessment of his rule may prove difficult (Grabbe 1991c: 444). In any event, Josephus recorded that the country worsened under Nero's control. The entire region of Palestine was filled with brigands and impostors, and the Sicarii also became numerous. Plundering villages and setting them on fire, they killed many people. These brigands were attempting to force a war with Rome (Jos Ant 20.8.9-10 182-187). The picture drawn of Judea in those days by Josephus presented a condition nothing short of complete anarchy (Radin 1973: 286). Even if Josephus's depiction is accepted to its fullest extent, the causes of the impending war were far deeper. The chaotic conditions were symptomatic of a situation that had been brewing for quite some time, which finally impacted the Jewish people.

Josephus viewed the War of 66-70 C.E. as the greatest of all recorded wars (Jos War 1.1). Judea did not take a sudden plunge into war. Rather, there had been a continuous and accelerating drift into total war with Rome. Grabbe (1991c: 446) was probably correct in his identification of several mitigating factors that eventually precipitated this war. For example, there was a longstanding tradition of Israelite independence as a monarchy indelibly etched in the minds of the Jews. The Jewish people widely believed they were God's chosen nation. Jews were also fully aware that they had suffered many atrocities and injustices under Roman dominance. Social and economic factors no doubt played an important role in the causes of the revolt. Political and religious extremists, as well as agitators, sought economic reforms and decreased taxes. The religious leaders did not support the war because they did not believe Roman rule was a serious threat to Jewish religion. The Jewish high priests were also responsible for leading a peace-party (Smallwood 1976: 293). Moreover, the Jews were not the only nation that fought with great zeal against the ongoing Roman attempts to completely subjugate them (Radin 1973: 287).

Pinpointing a specific moment when the war began is difficult (Grabbe 1991c: 446). Some scholars have identified Eleazar b. Annanias's decision to cancel daily sacrifices for the Roman emperor as the event that instigated the war (Jos War 2.17.2-3 409-416). Suspension of sacrifice for the emperor may have been construed as an open declaration of war against the Romans (Schuerer 1973: 486). It was probably during this revolt that the Jewish group called the Zealots emerged. The term Zealot may have referred to Jews with outstanding devotion to God. Josephus utilized this term for a particular group distinct from the parties of the so-called Fourth Philosophy. This group was active in Jerusalem before and during the siege (Jos War 4.3.3-9 135-161). The precise history of the Zealots is uncertain. However, this Jewish faction was possibly formed around 68 C.E., from a coalition of resistance groups in Jerusalem (Grabbe 1996: 62). The Zealots fully trusted that the God of their ancestors would bless their faith by delivering them from their enemies (Jos Ant 18.1.6 23).

The Zealots may have expected the intervention of angels. It was thought that in the final battle with the *Kittim*, whom most scholars identify as the Romans, angels would fight alongside men (Brandon 1967: 51; cf Yadin 1962: 230,231,237,260,316). The earliest version of the War Scroll dates to the Maccabean period. The War Scroll presents a picture of cooperation between Yahweh, his angels, and an army of pious believers during a final holy eschatological war. Despite the War Scroll's Essene origin, Hengel (1997: 281) viewed the fundamental focus of this writing as completely "Zealot." I think that Hengel's assessment may be a bit extreme. At the same time, there can be little doubt that this document would have served as a positive support for the causes of the Zealots.

The war lasted longer, due to the incompetence of the Roman counter measures and because of the Roman civil war (Smallwood 1976: 293). One of the real puzzles about the Jewish war with the Romans is that the Jews spent years fighting among themselves rather than with the Romans (Grabbe 1996: 63). Yet, as I have pointed out, despite varying degrees of dissatisfaction with Roman rule, not all Jews were agreed about pursuing a war with the Romans. In fact some opposed it outright! Perhaps some Jews feared future reprisals for resistance from the Romans. At any rate, the Jewish population was divided by their philosophical outlooks. Therefore, the behavior Grabbe puzzled about may be just what one might expect from the Jews at this time.

Though the Zealot movement was clearly extant during the late Second Temple Period, details are not adequately documented in surviving sources to make many definitive claims about them. This group's philosophy may have had a close affinity with that of the Essenes, at least in terms of general doctrinal beliefs. It seems reasonable to conclude that since the Essenes believed in angels, the Zealots probably did as well. I believe that Grabbe was correct in his assessment that the Jews who believed in going to war held that God would not let Jerusalem fall because his temple was there. Some Jews may have also held an expectation that a new order was on the horizon (Jos War 6.5.2 283-286).

The war of 66-70 C.E. is described in detail by Josephus in *The War of the Jews*. Problems with Josephus's account of the war are obvious. At times it is biased, and there is no comparable parallel account (Grabbe 1991c: 447). The lower portion of Jerusalem was controlled by the "war party," led by Eleazer. The peace party and a detachment of Roman soldiers commanded the upper section of Jerusalem. In the bitter conflict that followed, the Roman soldiers were forced to withdraw from the upper city (Jos War 16. 1-5 345-404). Rebels then captured Antonia and massacred a Roman garrison (Jos War 2.17 430). Shortly afterwards, Agrippa's calvary agreed to surrender, after withdrawing a portion of their palace defences. The Jews proceeded to slaughter Agrippa's men as they surrendered. Other limited victories followed the rebels' successes in Jerusalem.

The destruction of Roman units instigated Roman reprisals against the Jews (Smallwood 1976: 295). In late September 66 C.E., Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, began military excursions against the revolt. Attempts to negotiate with the Jews were met with reprisal. The Romans laid siege, and the Jewish defenders were forced to retreat into the inner city and the temple. Josephus suggested that if Gallus had continued the siege, the war would have ended with his victory over the city (Jos War 19.1.4 527-531).²⁸ For whatever reason, Gallus broke off the siege and retreated toward Caesarea. The Jews met Gallus's forces in the pass at Beth-horon and partly defeated them.

²⁸ At this point, Josephus may have been relying upon Roman historians.

In preparations for inevitable war with the Romans, the Jews faced several difficulties. Many sections of Judea contained people who were not Jewish. Some of these citizens favored the Romans, or at least had antiwar sentiment. When the report of Gallus's defeat and the degree of Jewish resistance reached Rome, Nero realized the gravity of the situation. He immediately discharged Vespasian against Galilee. Meanwhile, the Jews who defeated Gallus attempted to take Ascalon but met with disaster. The Jews in Galilee were busy fighting among themselves (Grabbe 1991c: 451,454). Josephus was a member of the Jewish nobility. He claimed that he was given the position of commander of the Galilean sector. The major cities were fortified at this time. Galilee was the first area to encounter the Romans, and the region fell quickly. Josephus managed to gain the acceptance of Vespasian and spent the rest of the war aiding the Romans. After several temporary postponements, Vespasian began his push toward Jerusalem. He quickly secured some northern areas of the city. Vespasian was recalled to Rome, but Titus was sent to complete this task.

Factional fighting took place in Jerusalem even as Titus marched on the city in 70 C.E. (Grabbe 1991c: 459). The Jewish forces temporarily joined forces against the Romans. The temple was destroyed in August of 70 C.E. Jerusalem was completely subdued shortly thereafter. Grabbe (1991c: 460) argued that Josephus was false in conveying that the Roman commander Titus tried to stop the fire destroying the temple because it was burnt without orders from him (Jos War 5.6.1 254-260). Such actions would have run contrary to normal Roman military behavior (Smallwood 1976: 325). According to the fourth century Christian writer, Sulpicius Severus, Titus viewed the temple as a symbol of rebellion and gave orders to have it reduced to ruins (Chron 2.30, 6-7; cf Dio 66, 2,6).

The Roman historian Cassius Dio, wrote about the siege of Jerusalem. He had little sympathy for the Jews and considered their institutions repelling. However, his account was simpler and more favorable to the Jews than what Josephus presented about the war (Radin 1973: 300). Dio included several details that Josephus omitted. He recorded that some Roman soldiers defected to the Jews during the siege, Titus received a wound, and that the Romans had awe toward the temple, even in flames (Dio 66, 5). Dio also wrote about the pride that the Jews displayed. Dio stated, "*All believed it was not destruction, but victory, safety, happiness, to die with their temple*" (Dio 66, 6).

2.6 Summary

This completes a brief historical overview of the Second Temple Period, utilizing the most reliable source material available. Admittedly, any attempt at a reconstruction of an ordinary Jewish history of the Second Temple Period will entail a degree of speculation due to the shortage of reliable information for this period. Nevertheless, I think that the furnished overview of the natural history is sufficiently adequate to set out a framework for further discussing aspects of Israelite religious history such as angelology.

Very little is known for certain about the Persian Period, largely due to the uncertain nature of the scant sources. Also, the source material widely accepted by modern scholarship has many gaps. While only a minority of the Jews were devoutly religious, most Jews probably considered themselves as involved with the continuation of their nation after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.E. It is unlikely that many Jews returned to Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile, since most had established ties in Babylon. One of the most pressing questions to be addressed by the Jewish religious leaders was why the Jews had been exiled. Despite the paucity of information, there is reason to believe that scribes existed at this time within Judaism. The priests and scribes sought to give the Jews an understanding that they were exiled for failing to understand God's laws properly.

Under Grecian rule, Jews received permission to rebuild the temple under Darius II. However, his successor Artaxerxes II defiled the temple and persecuted the Jews in other ways. This brought about a situation of unrest and eventual revolt in Palestine, largely because Jews felt their religious beliefs were being impinged. If the historical accounting of Josephus is accurate, Jews were allowed to practice their religious traditions under the Grecian ruler Alexander. Yet, this did not fully alleviate tensions, since Jewish beliefs were profoundly challenged by Alexander's institution of Hellenism. This Greek influence was responsible for radical social and cultural alterations for Jews. During the reign of the Ptolemies, Judea was under the leadership of the high priest. Despite some priestly indiscretions, most Jews accorded the priesthood respect because they believed the priests represented God. This period was marked by ongoing struggles between Ptolemaic and Selucid factions which impacted the lives of Jews in Palestine. Toward the end of Ptolemaic control, Jews were given freedom in matters of religion by Antiochus III and were able to complete the temple.

A number of causative factors have been proposed for the Maccabean Revolt of 168-143 B.C.E. Religious persecution appears to be one of the primary reasons. The institution of an illegitimate high priest under Antiochus IV was another precipitating factor. This uprising may have also resulted in part from a building opposition toward Hellenism by many Jewish factions. Even if there was opposition to Hellenistic elements, most Jews would have been familiar with and accepted aspects of Greek culture not posing a threat to their religious convictions. Therefore, I believe it would make sense to conclude that the Jewish priesthood utilized widespread allegory to comment on pertinent issues at this time. The events that triggered a revolution were the outlawing of Jewish religion and the erection of a pagan altar in the Jerusalem temple. Jews were also ordered to offer unclean sacrifices and to eat the flesh of swine, which was contrary to their religion. This revolt began as an attempt to gain religious freedom. It quickly escalated into a battle for an independent Jewish state. Although not all Jews were religious in the Grecian era, the Maccabean Revolt aptly demonstrated that devout Jews were unwilling to give up their deeply held religious traditions.

In the Hasmonean era, Israelites gained independent rule under the high priestly house of Simon. Jews were exempted from taxation in return for a recognition of Demetrius II as king. A number of aims of the Maccabean revolt were realized prior to Simon's reign. These objectives included the restoration of the temple, freedom of religion, and the attaining of some government powers. The Jews again lost their independence when the Roman leader Pompey seized control of Jerusalem. It was obvious to most Jews at this time that resistance to Roman powers was futile.

Following Pompey's conquest, Judea was allowed to maintain its identity and limited rule. Yet there was continual rebellion in Judea in the beginning stages of Roman control. Herod was instituted as a client king of Rome from 37-4 B.C.E. In the initial period of Herod's reign, he had to contend with Jewish opposition. Although Herod showed little regard for Jewish traditions, he sought to gain favor with the Jews by rebuilding the temple and offering other concessions. He was partly successful in winning the support of the Jews, but the latter part of his reign was characterized by turmoil. After Herod's death, Judea was made into a province. This period of Roman rule saw frequent isolated rebellion, including attacks on Roman soldiers. One reason for discord was the high tax burden imposed upon the Jews.

Generally speaking, there was an increasing feeling of anger, resentment, and unrest among many Jews under Roman provincial status, resulting in a high degree of Jewish hostility toward Roman domination. It is probable that by this time many Jews felt they had been unduly punished by means of continued foreign subjugation. Guerrilla warfare broke out under the leadership of Judas, the son of Hezekiah. Extremist groups also emerged at this time. Two of these factions, the Sicarii and the Zealots, may have been connected with Judas. Jewish tensions were exacerbated by cruel, inflexible, and oppressive Roman governors. They included Pilate, Antonius, Felix, Porcius Festus, Gessius Florus, and Laccenius Albinus. By the time of Nero's reign, Jewish feelings of resentment toward the Romans reached a state of anarchy. At this point, extremist groups attempted to force a war with Rome.

Several mitigating factors may have been responsible for the Jewish war against the Romans. Jews probably thought they had suffered for too long under foreign dominance. High taxation, oppressive tactics, and a recollection of the tradition of Israelite independence were some of the other possible elements. Not all Jews were in favor of pursuing a war with Rome. For example, religious leaders opposed the war because they did not see Roman rule as a threat to Jewish religion. In any event, the Jews finally succumbed to the Roman powers in 70 C.E., when Jerusalem was captured by Titus and the temple was destroyed. Along with the demise of the Jerusalem temple, many of the eschatological hopes and aspirations of the religious Jews also vanquished.

I will now attempt to determine the background of the various Jewish groups of the Second Temple Period. The term "groups" rather than "sects" is preferred, since the word sects may leave the impression of a normative strand within Judaism of this era. I will be concerned in this section to examine the possible influence and belief systems of the various Jewish philosophies which emerged. I will also seek to establish whether any of these groups retained a concept of angels, demons, or the afterlife. These examinations will provide a context for future discussions about the influence of the angelology of 1 Enoch upon Second Temple Judaism.

CHAPTER THREE

Jewish Parties and Groups and Their Beliefs

3.1 Introduction

The various chapters of this thesis can be viewed as concentric circles. Chapter two set out an ordinary history of Jewish life in the Second Temple Period. This chapter is the first of a number of inner circles in which I will narrow the locus to individuals living in Palestine during this time. While discussing these people, it will be necessary to outline the views that different Jewish groups held concerning God, angels, demons, and the afterlife. Jewish society in Palestine consisted of several majority and minority factions. Each group exerted varying degrees of leverage within the sociological matrix of the Jewish community. It will be essential to briefly comment about the possible origins, doctrines, and influence of these Jewish groups. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will further confine the focus of this research. This will allow for a discussion of how the writer(s) of 1 Enoch utilized angelology to address expedient issues for the Jewish people.

The Jews who returned to their homeland experienced a general feeling of national cohesion and identity. Jews had a central government and a cultic establishment for their worship. At the same time, several elements in the post-exilic period were possibly conducive to the creation of Jewish groups. For example, after the exile the authority of the temple and priests were weakened. Moreover, there was no monarch to enforce religious conformity and many Jews resided outside their homeland. These factors would have provided a venue for dissension and the creation of various Jewish parties (Blenkinsopp 1991: 24). Despite the Jews' nationalistic sentiment and resolve to rebuild their nation, a variety of post-exilic biblical texts display tensions within this Jewish community. This tension led to the formation of a number of groups. Some were outrightly opposed, while others had similarities, and differed only somewhat ideologically (Grabbe 1991b: 104). Three of the major conflicting philosophies involved the temple and the issue of proper worship. These contrary Jewish outlooks vied for control within the early post-exilic Jewish community. This conflict resulted in the formation of three prominent Jewish groupings: the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

Schuerer (1973: 1) felt that the origins of the Jewish religious parties resided in the conflicts of the Maccabean period. He suggested that a trend toward legal conservatism acted as a unifying force within Jewry to defeat the pro-Greek faction. This trend contributed to the defence of Israel's patrimony. Schuerer also claimed that this may have helped create a highly influential class called scribes. I will challenge Schuerer's view by providing evidence that at least the major Jewish groups were formed shortly after the return from exile rather than during the Maccabean period. I am of the opinion that scribes existed in the pre-exilic monarchical period since there were scribes in Solomon's time. I have also alluded to limited evidence for scribes in the Persian period, as attested in ten bullae from the province of Yehud.

The originally composite work of Ezra-Nehemiah is the main source for the post-exilic period. These writings contain a considerable amount of information about a man called Ezra under the title of סופר "scribe" (Schams 1998: 44). The debate over the authenticity of this letter is well-documented. Although the consensus view of modern scholars accepts the basic elements of Ezra-Nehemiah, one cannot ignore the distinctively Jewish bias throughout (Schams 1998: 51). Information within this account is selective concerning political and social aspects of the Jews in Judea during the early post-exilic period. Part of this record also derives from an edited perspective (Hoglund 1992: 40,48). Schams (1998: 50) rightly argued that Grabbe's assessment that the history of the Achaemenid period had to be determined without using Ezra-Nehemiah to describe these realities amounts to a circular argument. She further argued that the scarcity of evidence outside these sources does not allow for much certainty about the period.

It is not possible to completely treat the issues surrounding Ezra-Nehemiah's significance. For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to reiterate that there is some sixth century B.C.E. evidence for the existence of the office of scribes outside the corpus of Ezra-Nehemiah. Moreover, throughout Israelite history, scribes and priests were not viewed as two independent groups. Rather, priests were also considered as scribes, as was the case with Ezra (Ezr 7:12; Neh 12:1). I will now briefly sketch some details presented in Ezra-Nehemiah regarding this priestly/scrival office.

3.2 *Jewish Parties and Groups*

3.2.1 *Priests and Scribes*

Ezra 7:1-5 presents Ezra as a priest and scribe of the Mosaic law. The author traces Ezra's lineage back to Aaron to establish his priestly connection. Ezra is further described as כִּכְסָפָר מֵהִיר, "skilled or well versed" in the law. Hebrew biblical writings generally stress knowledge rather than dexterity (Ullendorff 1956: 195). In the Ahikar legend, the main character Ahikar was the high official of the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.E.). He was also designated as a סִפְרָ מֵהִיר. Like Ezra, Ahikar was known for his knowledge and wisdom. Describing Ezra as skilled, in the sense that he was knowledgeable and wise in matters concerning the Jewish law, seems best. Ezra not only studied the law but was also committed to teaching it to Israel (Ezr 7:6,10,14; cf Schams 1998: 51).

Any theory about Ezra's status, position, and function depends upon how one views what is claimed to be a copy of Artaxerxes's commissioning letter (Ezr 7:12-25). Yet, it may be possible to assume with some certainty that Ezra was an official scribe in the Persian period without accepting Artaxerxes's letter at face value. Schams (1998: 54) claimed it was highly unlikely that the tradition of Ezra does not preserve at least some historical truth about a Jewish official being sent to Jerusalem by a Persian king in the early post-exilic period. She said there was no reason to believe that this official could not have been a scribe, since scribes as officials are attested to in both biblical and extra-biblical literatures. As mentioned, Ezra was also referred to as a priest, suggesting that the position of scribe and priest were combined.

Jews enjoyed considerable autonomy and freedom in matters of religion for much of the Second Temple Period. While not all Jews were religious, much of the activity for those who were centred around the temple. The most obvious and important faction within Judaism, throughout the period, was the priesthood (Stone 1984: 22). In particular, the high priest was chiefly responsible for temple rituals. He also acted as the political representative for the nation and was usually responsible for collecting taxes. What began under the Persians continued during the Hellenistic and Roman empires. Judea functioned as a temple community under the religious direction of the priest/scribe, but subordinate to the direct control of the imperial government (Horsley & Hanson 1985: 10).

Undoubtedly, there was sectarianism in the Persian and pre-exilic periods. However, this cannot be confirmed from the extant sources (Grabbe 1991b: 111). What had emerged by the early Hellenistic period was the impression that the Jews were a nation ruled by priests. The many changes in Jewish leadership which occurred in the later Second Temple Period were all linked to the priesthood in one way or another (Stone 1984: 22).

3.2.2 The Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes: An Overview

Two major groups that emerged were connected to the temple. In the temple there were no doubt many disputes between these two factions, which may have been rooted in a major distinction between them. The Pharisees enjoyed the support of the masses. They stressed the importance of oral traditions not recorded in the law of Moses (Marcus 1984: 24). The Sadducees, who predominantly influenced the priestly oligarchy, insisted that only what was written down was valid. Rivkin (1971: 3,4) differed from Marcus in that he viewed the Pharisees as a scholarly class dedicated to a two-fold law, the written and the unwritten. Rivkin further argued that the Pharisees carried this understanding of the law to victory over the Sadducees and made it an operative in society.

Neusner (1971: 3) rightly argued that evaluations of the Pharisees, such as the ones presented by Marcus, Rivkin, and a myriad of others, are merely historical descriptive statements. Thus, they do not take into consideration the viewpoints of the later rabbis. Neusner (1971: 5) found few points of substantial congruence between the rabbinic traditions about pre-70 Pharisees and the endless theories that historians have constructed. Neusner may be correct in his assessment, but he admitted that his interest was only to examine the traditions about the pre-70 Pharisees from a rabbinical perspective. The concern of this thesis involves the examination of the history of these groups based upon various other traditions written about them as well. Nevertheless, Neusner (1971: 5) raised an important point for our consideration. He said that relevant contemporary Jewish sources say nothing about the Pharisees. Some examples include the Qumran writings, Philo, and the so-called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha literatures. This is also true for many contemporary writings of non-Jews, including Tacitus and Pliny.

Some historical reconstructions have held that the Pharisees separated themselves from the Essenes. However, I believe this is doubtful since there is no record in tannaitic literature that dialogues between these two groups ever took place. If the Pharisees separated themselves from the Essenes, there would be a record of controversies between them, since we find a rabbinic tradition of dialogues and disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Yad. 4.6,7; Zeitlin 1973: 98). The term *Perushim* "Pharisee," in the sense of representing a particular group within Judaism, is not found in the entire corpus of tannaitic literature. Moreover, we do not find the expressions, "the sayings of the Pharisees" or "the Pharisees said," within these Jewish writings. Yet, we frequently find other similar expressions: אין דבין תורה מדברי סופרים, "the sayings of the Soferim," or חכמים אומרים, "the sages said," in tannaitic literature. Thus, *Perushim* could not have been the name of a group who followed a certain philosophy. *Perushim* was probably a nickname given to them by their adversaries the Sadducees or Zadokites (Zeitlin 1973: 99).

3.2.3 *Origins and Doctrines of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes*

3.2.3.1 *Pharisees*

A remarkable aspect of Pharisaism is that little is known about it (Finkelstein 1972b: 187). Many scholars believe the Pharisees became an organized group at the time of Jonathan the high priest in the early Hasmonean period. This conviction is mainly a result of Josephus first mentioning the Pharisees in this context (Jos Ant 13.5 9; Finkelstein 1972a: 175).²⁹ Moore (1955: 59) argued that no record exists for the origin or antecedents of the Pharisees. He agreed with Finkelstein that it is commonly assumed that the Pharisees were successors of the Hasidim. I am of the opinion that the Pharisees could not have originated at the time of Jonathan, since referring to the group connected with the high priesthood as Sadducees would not have been proper at that time. The Hasmoneans could not claim descent from Zadok because the Zadokite high priesthood ended during the wars with the Syrians. Furthermore, if the Pharisees were organized as a group by the fourth century B.C.E., referring to their opponents as Sadducees would be natural, since they defended the prerogatives of the House of Zadok by this time (Finkelstein 1972a: 182).

²⁹ Josephus recorded "at that time" in reference to the period of Jonathan to show there were three Jewish groups that existed. However, he did not indicate these groups originated at that particular time.

Amid the many theories proposed, I believe that Zeitlin's seems most tenable for Pharisaic origins and the rise to prominence of the Sadducees. The books of Haggai and Zechariah indicate that two men headed the return of the exiles to Judea. Joshua was a descendant of the Zadok priestly family. Zerubbabel was of the Davidic line and was the grandson of King Jehoiachin. Haggai and Zechariah suggest that a clash took place between these two men. The Zadokites fought to organize the new community on a religious basis. The followers of Zerubbabel suggested that Judean society should centre around civil authority. Those who sided with Joshua were victorious. However, the view that a scion of David should head the new community rather than a high priest of the Zadokite family was adopted because it had many adherents.

The followers of Zerubbabel were called *Perushim*, "Pharisees" (Zeitlin 1973: 105,06). This nickname originated from the *Zadukim*, "Sadducees." The Sadducees used the term *Perushim* to denote a group of "separatists" who opposed them. The *Zadukim* intended this nickname as a term of reproach and contempt. This view is corroborated by Finkelstein (1972b: 187). The term נבדלים "separatist" was originally applied to the pagans. The *Zadukim* adopted this term for the *Perushim* because they believed this Jewish faction wanted to separate the people of Judea from God.

The name "Pharisee" occurs for the first time in the writings of Josephus, in association with Jonathan the Hasmonean (Jos Ant 13.5.9 171-173). After the Hasmoneans achieved victory over the Syrians, they also succeeded in removing the high priest of the Zadokite family from power. The Pharisees, who supported the Hasmoneans, then gained control (Zeitlin 1973: 109). As mentioned, the argument that the Pharisees originated at the time of Jonathan is based upon Josephus first mentioning both the Sadducees and Pharisees during the period of Jonathan. However, Josephus only recorded that these groups existed rather than that they originated at this time. I am of the opinion that Zeitlin was probably correct to assume the Pharisees came into being shortly after the restoration. The reason that Ezra and Nehemiah did not mention the *Perushim* by name was probably because the authors ignored those who did not follow the doctrines laid down by the Jewish leaders who had returned from the exile (Zeitlin 1973: 344-45).

A small minority of five hundred thousand or so Jews residing in Palestine belonged to major groups. The Pharisees comprised more than six thousand members. They valued themselves highly because of their exact skill and knowledge regarding the law of their Fathers. This Jewish faction also believed God favored them. They were a cunning group with a capacity to oppose kings, engage in open fighting, and otherwise involve themselves in mischief.

3.2.3.2 Sadducees

Although the Sadducees became more visible during the time of struggle between Zerubbabel and Joshua, the origin of the name Sadducees is as obscure as that of the term Pharisees. It evidently derived from the proper name Zadok, from the Old Testament. In 1 Kings 2:34-36, Solomon replaced Abiathar with Zadok and elected him chief priest. The “sons of Zadok” represented the descendants of the older priesthood of Jerusalem before the exile. Thus, they were to be the only priests of the new temple (Ezk 40:46; 43:19; 44:10-16; 48:11; cf 2 Ki 23:8-9; Dt 18:6-8). Although the Chronicler recorded that not all priests of the Second Temple Period traced their lineage to Zadok, the descendants of Zadok far exceeded the others (1 Chr 24:1-6).

The name Zadokite (Sadducee) may have initially been intended for partisans of the priestly aristocracy. Over time, it was extended to all who shared the principles current in those circles (Moore 1955: 68). The Sadducees were found only in the upper classes. They represented a priestly aristocratic group that was relatively small in number. The Sadducees had little or no following among the masses, who were mostly on the side of the Pharisees (Jos Ant 13.10.6 298; 18.1.4 17). The Sadducees did not believe that souls attained to immortality nor did they observe anything but the written law. Sadducees considered it a virtue to enter into disputations. They were often forced to go along with Pharisaic doctrines because the multitude would not otherwise bear with them. This group rejected everything except the written law of the Pentateuch as scripture. However, this may have only meant that they did not accept legal or doctrinal positions from anywhere else in the Jewish scriptures (Jos Ant 18.1.4 16-18). At any rate, the major contention between these two rival groups was the fundamental issue of the obligation toward traditional rules and observances that were instituted by the Pharisees. The Sadducees took issue with these Pharisaic directives because they felt there was no direct Pentateuchal precedent or authority for them (Moore 1955: 66).

3.2.3.3 *Essenes*

The third group mentioned by Josephus was the Essenes, who numbered more than four thousand. This Jewish group believed that things are best ascribed to God. They also taught immortality of the soul and strove toward rewards for righteousness. The Essenes did not offer sacrifices in the temple but did so on their own. They were addicted to husbandry and virtue, shared all things, refrained from marriage, had no servants, lived by themselves, and ministered to each another (Jos Ant 18.1.5 18-22). The communal Essenes did not differ in philosophy from other Essenes who had not retreated from society. The Essenes probably drew upon the disenchanting from the two majority groups of the time, the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Neusner 1970: 23).

The name "Essenes" may denote "pious ones." If true, they may have originated from the devout Hasidaeans (Simon 1980: 49-50). This group probably represented strict Jews who remained loyal to Jewish traditions in spite of enforced Hellenization in the early second century B.C.E. The Essenes were predominantly a priestly group. They opposed attempts by Hasmonean rulers to usurp the priestly office without priestly descent. By the end of the second century B.C.E., a number of Essenes had separated themselves from not only the temple but from mainstream Jewish society as well (Rhoads 1976: 43). The Essenes possibly withdrew from society because they regarded the temple authorities and their worship as illegitimate and the masses of Jews as impure (Jos War 2.8.8 143). This group probably did not consider the Pharisees as strict enough in their application of the Torah (Simon 1980: 49-50). The Essenes may have considered themselves as the little remnant community or "the true Israel" foretold by the prophets (Dupont-Sommer 1961: 42).

3.2.3.4 *Sicarii/Zealots*

A possible fourth system of Jewish philosophy was lead by Judas the Galilean. These men agreed with most of the notions of the Pharisees but had an inviolable attachment to liberty. This group maintained that God was to be their only Ruler and Lord. They did not revere any kind of death nor did they heed the deaths of their relations or friends. No amount of fear could cause them to call any man Lord. Their resolve was well known to many, and they had an extreme determination to withstand great pain and suffering for their cause (Jos Ant 18.1.6 23-25).

The “Fourth Philosophy” was identified with a Jewish group known by the name *Sicarii* (Grabbe 1996: 59). There is probably good reason to translate their name as “Assassins,” since they would attack officials with a concealed dagger and quickly slip back into the crowd (Grabbe 1991c: 501). The *Sicarii* attacked primarily Jews whom they viewed as Roman collaborators. This group also played a prominent role in the events leading up to the revolt with the Romans. They destabilized Roman rule and brought a considerable amount of chaos. As a result, public officials were unable to carry out their duties for fear of their lives. After the conflict with Rome broke out, the *Sicarii* played a negligible role. They disappeared altogether when Jerusalem fell. The *Sicarii* should not be confused with the Zealots who represented another distinct group (Grabbe 1996d: 59).³⁰

It is usually claimed that the Zealots originated in 6 C.E. when a Galilean named Judas exhorted his countrymen to revolt against Rome. The major reason for this revolt was the imposition of a census and an ensuing demand for tribute by Quirinius. These men founded a so-called Fourth Philosophy whose major tenant appears to be their unwillingness to acknowledge anyone but Yahweh as Lord (Jos War 2.8.1 118; Jos Ant 18.1.4 4-10). I find it peculiar that Josephus does not use the term “Zealot” to describe this particular movement. Not until his account reaches the year 66 C.E., does he use this term to designate the followers of Menahem (Jos War 2.17.9 446).³¹ The word Zealot occurs throughout *The Wars of the Jews*. This term is not used for a specific group of resistance fighters. Rather, it refers to unspecified revolutionaries who were frequently engaged in infighting with other Jewish dissidents in Jerusalem. Prior to the Jewish war with the Romans, Josephus regularly used the pejorative terms “brigands” or “bandits” to describe rebels against Rome and God (Jos War 5.9.1 378). They are further characterized as deceptive, polluters of Jerusalem, sowers of misery and folly, and the like (Jos Ant 18.1.6 25; 20.8.5 160,165, 167-168; Jos War 2.13.6 264-265). This negative appraisal can probably be attributed to the biased perspective of Josephus, since he was interested in representing a Roman viewpoint (Ap 1. 50).

³⁰ For more information on the Zealots see page 46 of this thesis.

³¹ The term Zealot to designate a specific Jewish group, in the sense of other known Jewish groups such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, or Essenes, does not appear in *The Antiquities of the Jews*. This silence about the Zealots is not only curious but arouses suspicion.

In order to accept that the Zealots represented a distinct Jewish group from 6 C.E. onward, I believe that the absence of this term in the writings of Josephus prior to 66 C.E. must first be explained. It is difficult to conceive of a motive for Josephus deliberately concealing the origins of the Zealots before 66 C.E. only to start using this term to designate one specific revolutionary faction from 66-70 C.E. While Josephus's rationale for debasing this resistance movement is understandable, it is hard to imagine why he would suppress the use of such a term prior to 66 C.E. if he intended this nomenclature as a designation for a fourth Jewish group. Thus, I believe that for Josephus the term Zealot appears to be as scurrilous a designation as "brigand" or "bandit."

3.2.3.5 Samaritans

Josephus mentioned another group, the Samaritans, who were archenemies of the Judeans. Sanballat was the leader of the Samaritans, and they sought to prevent the building of the House of Yahweh. The Samaritans, in Jewish polemic of antiquity, are often portrayed as pagans. In their own writings they considered themselves as Israelites who remained faithful to the tradition of Moses by acknowledging only the Pentateuch as scripture (Grabbe 1991c: 503).³² Nehemiah 2:10; 4:1-3, and 6:1-14 mention Sanballat, but do not associate him with the Samaritans, since the writers of Nehemiah probably ignored all who were opposed to their views (Zeitlin 1973: 109). Nevertheless, Josephus identified Sanballat with the Samaritans (Jos Ant 2.4.3 84).

As with the Pharisees and Sadducees, the origins of the Samaritans are vague. The Samaritans may have originated from a group of people who left a territory called Cuthah, which was a part of Persia. They brought their own gods into Samaria and worshipped them. This displeased Yahweh, who sent them a plague. The Samaritans sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria to request that the Assyrians release Israelite priests whom had been taken captive. A delegation of Jewish priests was dispatched by the Assyrians to teach the Samaritans Yahweh's laws. The Samaritans worshipped Yahweh in a proper manner and the plague was removed. This group was referred to as "Cutheans" in the Hebrew dialect but as "Samaritans" in the Greek (Jos Ant 9.14.3 288-290; 10.9.7 184-185).

³² In rabbinic literature, Samaritans are recognized as observing the Torah (b Qid 76a).

The Cutheans or Samaritans developed the practice of identifying themselves with prosperous Jews. They called themselves kinsmen, as if they originated from Joseph. However, when the Jews had fallen into a low position or were under oppression from ruling authorities, the Samaritans insisted they were not connected with the Jews. Rather, they insisted that their origin was from a foreign country. The Samaritans also abandoned any connection with the Jewish nation and their customs when it was inconvenient for them. Moreover, they resorted to a practice of pagan worship, giving Antiochus the title of a god (Jos Ant 9.14.3 290-291; 11.8.6 340-341; 12.5.5 257-264). The Samaritans even resorted to harassing the Jews while Onias was high priest (Jos Ant 12.4.1 155-156). Although they had a temple on Mount Gerizim, they polluted the temple in Jerusalem. Samaritans were also considered as enemies of the Jews because they inflicted much harm upon them and because of their pretense (Jos Ant 11.5.9 114; 11.8.7 346; 18.2.2 30). They also entered into frequent disputes with the Jews about where the proper temple was located. The Jews claimed the law of Moses made it clear that the true temple was to be built in Jerusalem. The Samaritans insisted that the temple was to be located on Mount Gerizim (Jos Ant 13.3.4 74-75).

English versions of the Hebrew Bible make only one reference to the Samaritans in 2 Kings 17:24-33. They are depicted as a national group which settled in various towns in the northern part of Israel (Samaria), under the direction of the king of Assyria. The account of 2 Kings suggests that these were foreign people who originated from Cuthah, Babylon, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. The Samaritans had their own gods and high places when they first settled. However, they quickly resorted to strict Yahweh worship after Yahweh sent lions to kill some of them. The Cutheans sometimes worshipped Yahweh but also served other gods, according to their pagan customs. Many scholars have attempted to reconstruct Samaritan origins from the premise that a conflict existed between the Jews and Samaritans from the onset of the return from the Exile, based upon 2 Kings 17:29 as a starting point (Coggins 1975: 2).

Even before the beginnings of critical biblical scholarship, it was assumed that the picture of the Samaritans portrayed in 2 Kings 17 was accurate. Generally speaking, it is only in extremely conservative circles that this view is still espoused (Coggins 1975: 3). Modern critical scholarship has increasingly denied that these texts have anything to do with the Samaritans. Instead, scholars date their beginnings to the building of the sanctuary at Gerizim in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period. I suggest that a more probable date is the second century B.C.E., in association with the destruction of the temple on Gerizim by John Hyrcanus, or even the Christian period. In discussing the wording of 2 Kings 17, Albertz (1994: 524-525) argued that the term “Samaritans”(2 Ki 17:29) does not refer to a Samaritan group, but denotes the earlier Israelite population deported to Assyria.

Reconstructing an accurate history of the Samaritans is not possible, since records about them are scanty, unreliable, and sometimes contradictory. The allegedly syncretistic nature of Samaritanism and the idea of their breaking away from mainstream Judaism at a definite point of time underlie much of the recent discussions concerning their origins. Despite the problems with the historical records of Josephus, he is the primary source for our knowledge of the events leading up to the Jewish war. Modern scholarship has often doubted the account of Josephus concerning Samaritan origins. Nevertheless, I feel that his conclusions cannot simply be dismissed. The existence of a temple on Gerizim at the beginning of the second century is confirmed by 2 Maccabees 6:2. However, this does not constitute conclusive evidence for a later rather than earlier date for Samaritan origins.

3.2.3.6 *Influence of the Jewish Groups*

The estimated population of Palestine at this time was approximately five hundred thousand (Jeremias 1969: 205). This figure corresponds to Josephus’s estimate. If the calculations of Jeremias and Josephus are accurate, the vast majority of Palestinian Jews of this period had no affiliation with any of the major groups. Smith (1956: 74-79) argued that *The Antiquities of the Jews* was unduly apologetic toward that Pharisees. This may have led Josephus to exaggerate the influence of the Pharisees and their numbers. Moreover, being a member of a particular Jewish group may have been a secondary or part-time pursuit (Rhoads 1976: 33).

Neusner (1971: 6,7) sought to understand the complex Pharisaic traditions prior to 70 C.E. He suggested that no Hebrew or Aramaic Pharisaic documents were finally redacted before 70 C.E. Neusner argued that the existence of so few credible pre-70 traditions about the Pharisees suggests two things. First, the majority of sayings and tales concerning this Jewish group derive from post-70 rabbinical sources. Second, post-70 teachers did not invent these stories but reported what they heard. Judaism was considered a philosophy in the ancient world, as opposed to a religion in the modern sense. This Jewish philosophical system was admired by some who viewed Judaism as "the cult of wisdom" (Smith 1956: 67-81). Those who disliked this philosophy considered it atheism. Neusner accepted Smith's assessment and suggested that Pharisaism was considered a group within the "philosophy" of Judaism. Neusner also argued that Pharisaism was not a profession but an avocation (Neusner 1973: 8). By considering Pharisaism as a casual or occasional diversion or hobby, Neusner appears to agree with Rhoads's assessment that being a part of a Jewish group was a secondary pursuit. If being a part of a major group within the philosophy of Israel involved only part-time participation, surely the same would hold true for the lesser groupings within Judaism.

3.3 Beliefs and Belief Systems

3.3.1 Beliefs About God

An interesting, yet somewhat complicated theory concerning Palestinian groups and their beliefs about Yahweh was provided by Smith (1987: 105,106). He argued that for most of the pre-exilic period of Israelite religion, the majority of the Israelites worshipped Yahweh, along with other gods. Smith referred to this broad homogenous group as "the syncretistic party." Around the ninth century B.C.E., another group appeared that worshipped Yahweh exclusively. Smith called this group the "Yahweh alone party." Since the main corpuses of literature (prophetic, deuteronomic, priestly etc.) show so little knowledge of each other, it is assumed that the Yahweh alone party consisted of various minority groups. I do not agree with Smith's hypothesis because there is no evidence to support the notion that either of the factions which Smith referred to formed majority groups at this time. Furthermore, there is no proof to substantiate that any subsequent Jewish group derived from these supposed parties.

In early Israel, though the cult of Yahweh was the most prominent, Israelite religion included the worship of lesser gods such as El, Asherah, and Baal. Yet, passages such as Exodus 23:23-24, 34:11-16 and Judges 3:1-7 show that Israel's ethic was originally to remain separate from other peoples. Israelites were to refrain from the worship of any other god because Yahweh was intended to be the sole deity of Israel. Nevertheless, monotheism was not characteristic of nascent Israelite religion. During the monarchical period, even the official Israelite religion had traces of polytheism. Regardless of the role that the monarchy played in the development of monotheism, the Israelite kings have been perceived as being largely hostile toward a "pure" Yahwistic cult. The monarchy fostered the assimilation of some features from various pagan deities into the official Yahwistic religion of Israel. Though Israel tolerated and worshipped pagan deities, Yahweh was considered as the most powerful deity in the cosmos (cf Ex 15:11). Within Israelite religion, a process of differentiation which rejected many previously accepted features of pagan deities eventually took place. These aspects were now viewed as not properly fitting into the vortex of true Yahwistic worship. Israel's monolatry was responsible for a shift toward strict monotheism during the Exile (587-539). At this time, the Israelites explicitly denied the power of all other deities (Smith 1990: 19,20,23,24,25).

One Hebrew expression to depict God is **אֱלֹהֵי יָמִין**. This Hebrew phrase is traditionally rendered into English as "Ancient of Days" (Dn 7:9; 13:22). The basic meaning of the Semitic root is "to be advanced." This phrase can be rendered as "advanced in days," implying that the deity was far advanced in years. In the Ugaritic texts, El has some characteristics in common with the imagery of the "Ancient of Days." El is presented as the oldest of the gods and is given the epithet "father of the years." The Greek god Zeus has also been depicted as the "author of days and years." (Dictionary of Deities and Demons 1999= DDD 1999: 44-45). Two basic traits of Yahweh are inferred by the title "Ancient of Days." The first is the concept of his eternal existence (Ps 9:8; 29:10; 90:2). This idea is expressed in the epithets "everlasting father" (Is 9:5) and "eternal king" (Jr 10:10). The notion of Yahweh as an old man may have hints in the Hebrew Bible. For example, Job 36:26 suggests that the number of Yahweh's years are past finding out. It is clear from the throne vision in Daniel 7 that the Ancient of Days is Yahweh. In the Similitudes of 1 Enoch, God is depicted as "Head/Sum of Days" (1 En 46:1,2; 47:3; 55:1; 60:2; 71:10-14). These passages suggest that the image of God as an old man was popular in Hellenistic times.

The gods of the ancient Near East communicated with one another by means of messengers. These various gods did not have the characteristic of omniscience. They were also incapable of transporting themselves from one place to another. The pagan gods had some knowledge unavailable to humankind (cf 2 Sm 14:20). For the most part, they derived information in much the same way as mortals. These gods often deployed a single messenger whom they viewed as a high official. However, there are instances where a large number of messenger gods are employed in the service of higher-ranking gods. Some gods resided at the upper echelon of the pantheon. They appeared to have abilities unparalleled among the other gods. Messenger deities were also sometimes used to bridge the gap between the underworld and the upper echelons where the more privileged and important gods resided (DDD 1999: 46). Yahweh is the official name accorded to the God of Israel, both in the northern kingdom and Judah. Although Yahweh was worshipped from earliest times, he did not become the “National God” of Israelite religion until the beginning of the monarchic era.

3.3.2 Beliefs About Angels and Demons

3.3.2.1 Angels

Translating the Hebrew term מַלְאָכִים with the English word “angel” obscures what was thought to be the state of affairs in the divine realm, in ancient Israelite civilization. Angels are used to describe all of God’s supernatural attendants. Yet, מַלְאָכִים, in its original sense, only applied to supernatural agents who were dispatched as messengers. It is doubtful that in the early history of Israelite religion either cherubim or seraphim would have been regarded as emissaries of Yahweh. These creatures were frightful in appearance. This made them unlikely candidates to serve as envoys of God to humans. The Hebrew Bible confirms this view. It does not record a single instance of a cherubim or seraphim acting as God’s agents to humankind. The Greek word ἄγγελος originally referred to a “messenger.” In later Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament texts, both the Hebrew term מַלְאָכִים and the Greek word ἄγγελος became the generic nomenclature for any of God’s supernatural assistants, whether they operated in the capacity of a messenger or not.

In later usage, the English word angel did not signify the earlier sense of a messenger. Rather, it denoted any supernatural being under God's authority. Many sections of the Hebrew Bible do not describe divine messengers. This fact is evident in pre-exilic prophetic literature where prophets receive messages directly from God. In instances where God spoke directly to humanity, there was no need for a supernatural messenger (DDD 1999: 47). In the Hebrew Bible, there appears to be a tension between the earlier concept of God speaking with humankind and God having to send supernatural couriers to convey his wishes.

God's messengers are typically depicted as individuals who work alone in biblical narratives. An obvious example of this is the "angel of Yahweh." In isolated instances, God may dispatch more than one messenger. This is the case with Abraham in Genesis 18 and Lot in Genesis 19. In addition, more than one messenger may appear where Yahweh's agents enter hostile territory or are given the task of confronting (Gn 19:1-22; Ps 78:49). In Genesis 32:2-3, God's supernatural agents are described as a "camp." These agents sometimes function in the capacity of blessing and praising God (Ps 103:20; 148:2). Elsewhere, they use a ladder to travel between the heavenly and earthly realms (Gn 28:12). God's messengers can also protect a human who is trusting in God (Ps 91:11-12). God's messengers also carry out their tasks quickly and with precision (Ps 104:4).

In ancient Near Eastern religion, the envoys of the gods operated as escorts to individuals who were under the protection of the god who deployed them. A similar motif occurs in the Hebrew Bible, where a divine agent accompanies humans to protect them in the accomplishment of tasks which God assigned (Gn 24:7,40; Ex 14:9; 23:20-23; 32:34; 33:2). Supernatural messengers also provide for the physical needs of the sojourner (1 Ki 19:5-6). In later biblical texts, the protection afforded by the divine messenger is displayed as an extension of this earlier messenger task (Dn 3:28; 6:23). In later Judaism and Christian contexts, messenger activity is transformed by a highly charged eschatological context that receives more frequent attention. For example, God's messenger is sent in advance to prepare the way for some individual event (Ml 3:1).

Divine agents not only provided messages to individuals from God, but also explained bewildering messages or answered questions from humans (1 Ki 13:8; Zch 1:9; 1:14; 2:2; 4:1-6; 5:5-11; 6:4-5). God's messengers were also responsible for informing God of human responses to the message for which they were employed. The task of the emissary in ancient Near Eastern religion was not only to deliver a message to the recipient but also to explain the message of the particular god who sent it (DDD 1999: 48). God's supernatural messengers could also deliver punishment to those who rebelled against God's message (Gn 32:25-29; Hs 12:4; Ps 78:49).

Messengers are often provided with provisions from human agents who are acting as their hosts, as for example in Genesis 18. However, some biblical and extra-biblical texts suggest that it is only perceived that God's supernatural agents eat or drink (Gn 18:8; Jdg 13:16; Tob 12:9). It is not appropriate for a messenger of God to decline an offer of hospitality from the recipient of God's message. However, the messenger's refusal may be tolerated because they are accustomed to consuming sustenance of higher quality (Ps 78:25; Wis 16:20; 4 Ezr 1:19). Divine messengers appeared to be endowed with the authority of their sender and were to be fully obeyed (Ex 23:20-22). At the same time, this authority did not mean that God's messengers held equal status with their sender. God's messengers could not always be trusted (Job 4:18). Occasionally, God purposely sent misleading messengers (1 Ki 13:18; 22:19-23; 2 Ki 19:7).

God's agents are sometimes indistinguishable from humans (Gn 19:1-22; 32:25-31; Jdg 13:3-23; Dn 8:15; Tob 5:8,16). In some biblical passages, it is unclear whether God's agent is human or supernatural, since מַלְאָכִים is used to identify both, and no further details are provided to establish which of the two is intended (Jdg 2:1-5; 5:23; Ml 3:1; Ec 5:5). In texts that are sufficiently preserved, there is never a question of who is speaking, whether it be the messenger of God or the one sending the message (DDD 1999: 49). However, in cases that involve "the messenger of Yahweh," there is a lack of differentiation. This poses the question of whether the entity is a messenger of God or Yahweh Himself. Overlooking the Hebrew word מַלְאָכִים, parallel messenger stories in ancient Near Eastern literature pertain to the gods themselves rather than their messengers (DDD 1999: 49).

3.3.2.2 *Angel of Yahweh*

The English word angel inserted for the Hebrew term מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה, in the phrase מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה, is literally rendered into English as “messenger.” The juxtaposition of the noun “messenger” with a divine name, in a genitive construction outlining a relationship of subordination, occurs in the ancient Near East. Most of the appearances of the “messenger of Yahweh” in the Hebrew Bible are not easily explained by consulting near Eastern parallels (DDD 1999: 53). Messenger deities in the ancient Near East usually have names. The “messenger of Yahweh” in the Old Testament is never given a name. Therefore, it is impossible to determine if Yahweh preferred to send a particular supernatural being on missions, as other ancient Near Eastern deities did.

In early Old Testament narratives, Yahweh appears to humans like other ancient Near Eastern deities. However, in later accounts there is a preference for Yahweh to send a messenger in His place. The phrase “messenger of Yahweh” is not uniform in its reference in the Hebrew Bible. It can sometimes indicate a human messenger such a prophet or priest (Hg 1:13; Ml 2:7). Other times it is possibly used as a personal name such as “Malachi,” meaning “my messenger” (Ml 1:1). Elsewhere, though the phrase denotes a supernatural agent, it is obscure. This raises the question of whether Yahweh always deployed one unique supernatural agent under the specific title “messenger of Yahweh” or if any number of supernatural beings can act on Yahweh’s behalf. Although the evidence from extra-biblical Jewish literatures is not conclusive, the title “angel of Yahweh” is used as a designation applicable to any number of angelic beings (DDD 1999: 54).

One theory to explain the different occurrences of a “messenger or angel of Yahweh” is to interpret it as a theophany or an appearance of Yahweh. Other postulations include the idea that the personality of the emissary is merged with the sender. In other words, the messenger represents Yahweh’s hypostasis. The notion that the identity of the sender could be integrated with the envoy is unattested in ancient Near Eastern literature. Moreover, any harbinger who failed to identify himself in ancient Near Eastern lore undermined his entire message. Those who posit that the identity of the “messenger of Yahweh” is to be equated with a theophany or Yahweh’s hypostasis neglect the proper significance of the expression in the grammatical sense. This Hebrew phrase indicates a personage who is subordinate to Yahweh.

Some scholars have argued that the identity of the “messenger of Yahweh” is best resolved by viewing it as an interpolation. This position suggests that the word “messenger” was inserted into the text, where originally it simply had Yahweh speaking (DDD 1999: 58). I believe that this theory may make sense, since some passages, such as Exodus 4:24, strongly suggest an interpolation. Also, the behaviour of the messenger, in passages where the identity of the messenger is disputed, is precisely that of a deity rather than a messenger subordinate to the deity (DDD 1999: 58). Scholars who hold this position further argue that the word “messenger” was inserted for contexts where there was some theological discomfort with having Yahweh appear in visible form in an adversarial role.

In many biblical passages, there is insufficient information to determine whether the messenger of Yahweh represented an envoy or an interpolation. With literatures composed after the Old Testament, most of the functions typical in the earlier messenger traditions continue by the insertion of the English term “angel.” However, the role of the supernatural agent appears less significant than the marvellous nature of the being who is conveying God’s message. Thus, there is no difficulty in distinguishing God’s angelic messenger from humanity. These later angelic beings are categorized in a hierarchy that is barely discernable in the Old Testament. The reluctance of the Hebrew Bible to provide names for various divine messengers is abandoned in post-biblical literature, which regularly provides personal names for the angels of God (DDD 1999: 49:50).

From the third century B.C.E., there was a definite increase in angelic appearances. Angels’ attributes are outlined more extensively and their functions diverge more often. Some scholars have attributed this development of angelology largely to the prominence of the apocalyptic literatures (DDD1999: 51). Yet, this was also a time of a proliferation and integration of new ideas and of an assimilation of pagan aspects caused by Hellenistic influences. In Jewish apocalyptic writings and early Christian literatures, the angelic messenger of the Lord is commonplace. Angels frequently resemble humans (Dn 8:15; 10:18) and sometimes have a brilliant appearance (Dn 10:5-6). 1 Enoch refers to an eschatological community of humans transformed into angels (1 En 39:4-5; 71:11; 104:6; cf 4 Ezr 7:85,95). Though angels can soar into the air, they are rarely represented with wings (1 En 61:1). Elsewhere in 1 Enoch, angels are said to be witnesses to events on earth. They also write down the deeds of men in heavenly books (1 En 89:62-64).

In the Hebrew Bible, only the names of the angels Gabriel and Michael are mentioned (Dn 8:16; 9:21; 10:13,21; 12:1). The Enochic corpus and Jubilees contain numerous names of angels (cf 1 En 6:7,8; 9:1; 10:11; 20:1-7; 40:8-10). Some categories of angels are connected with the heavenly court. A number of these angels guard the throne of God. The notion of the angels representing the nations also appears (Jub 15:31-32; 1 En 89:59; 90:22,25; Dn 10:20-21; 12:1). In the late Second Temple Period, angels appear as self-evident beings (DDD 1999: 50).

3.3.2.3 *Demons*

The notion of God and His supernatural agents being opposed by the Devil and his demonic forces has a long tradition of development in the mythical lore of cultures that possibly influenced the biblical heritage. In early folklore, numerous stories attesting to the idea of conflicts among the gods are thought to contribute to the concept of the Devil and his adversarial forces. The original meaning of the term “demon,” from the time of Homer onward, was “divinity,” denoting either an individual god or goddess. Demons were depicted as grotesque spirits of calamity, disease, and death, who were at the service of the greater gods (ABD: 235).

Many scholars believe that during the Babylonian Exile Israel was profoundly influenced by the cosmological dualism of Persian Zoroastrianism. This school of thought held that two opposition camps of spiritual entities existed. They were headed by God and the Devil. Also, there was an army of lesser supernatural agents, righteous angels, and wicked angels (demons) assisting in a cosmic battle being waged in the universe. At the root of this ongoing conflict was an attempt to secure the loyalty of humanity (DDD 1999: 245). The present era was viewed as a time of spiritual warfare. However, it was thought that at the end of the age there would be a final battle. This conflict would result in the final demise of the Devil and his demons, followed by a new age of righteousness. The value of this dualistic eschatology for post-exilic Judaism was that it provided a fitting explanation for the sufferings of the exile. It was the Devil and his consorts, rather than Yahweh, who were responsible for the plight of God’s people. Moreover, the disasters that befell the Israelites could be seen as trials of their faith and as an attempt by opposing forces to turn Israel away from their God.

The motif of oppositional forces of good and evil as two great Spirits of light and darkness was developed in post-exilic and intertestamental literatures. The theology of God creating two divine Spirits of good and evil is obvious in the Qumran writings (1QS 3:25; cf Is 45:7). In all versions of the Combat Myths and Zoroastrian doctrine, the forces of light eventually win out over the forces of darkness (DDD 1999: 246). The story of the heavenly angels descending to mate with the mortal women in 1 Enoch, the Book of Watchers, was one popular mythical attempt to explain the origin of evil in the world. The sexual mating between supernatural beings and mortal women resulted in giants being born. While the giants were drowned during the flood, their spirits continued as supernatural demonic forces. I will now briefly look at what the Jewish groups of the late Second Temple Period believed about angels.

3.4 Jewish Groups' Beliefs About Angels in the Late Second Temple Period

3.4.1 Pharisees

Josephus is silent about Pharisaic convictions concerning angels. A Pharisaic belief in immortality, spirits, and angels is evident in Acts 23:8. The Pharisees accepted a rather developed hierarchy of angels, including the personalization of such beings. They also designated these celestial beings into two opposing kingdoms. Angelic figures such as Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and other supernatural beings frequently occur in later Pharisaic documents. They also appear in a few early biblical accounts (Finkelstein 1962: 160).

3.4.2 Sadducees

Acts 23:8 also records that the Sadducees denied the doctrine of a resurrection, spirits, and angels. While this source is late, Finkelstein (1962: 179) argued that the information in Acts cannot be impugned since no Greek writer would have invented a controversy between the Pharisees and Sadducees. Josephus and rabbinic sources do not mention any controversy between the Pharisees and Sadducees regarding angels. Nevertheless, this silence cannot undermine the authenticity of the Acts account (Finkelstein 1962: 180). I believe that Finkelstein was probably correct in assessing that the Sadducees could not have denied outright the doctrine of angels. This assumption would be obvious from the fact that the scriptures they accept mention the "angel of the Lord."

Another theory suggested that the Sadducees interpreted angelophanies in a rationalistic way as personified national forces (Hastings 1923: 97). This view would necessarily assume the Sadducees were profoundly influenced by and dependent upon pagan mythology for developing their position on angelology. In my opinion, a more plausible explanation is that the Sadducees initially accepted the earlier tradition of angelology as a necessary expression of God's overall will for humankind. At a later time, they no longer considered this concept as necessary. Thus, the writer of Acts was probably suggesting that the Sadducees only rejected the embellished doctrine of angelology as found in later Pharisaic thought.

3.4.3 Samaritans

A tradition about the Samaritans not believing in angels exists. This legacy may have been based upon testimonies derived from the old priestly party (Fossum 1985: 192). Macdonald (1964: 136) argued that no ancient Near Eastern religion was more replete with references to angels and their place in the affairs of the world than the Samaritans. The Memar Marqah contains the "sayings of the Marqah." This work is also referred to as the *Seper Peli'ata*, "Book of Wonders," and dates roughly to the second, third, or fourth centuries. Outside the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan Targum, it is the most important of the Samaritan writings. It comprises six books written in Hebrew and Aramaic (Evans 1995: 174). Although this source is late and cannot be offered as conclusive proof, it suggests that the Samaritans may have held the conviction that angels were created in the beginning (Memar Marqah IV.7; VI.1). However, from polemics contained in Samaritan literature, we find that they were against the notion that God had assistance from anyone, including angels, in creating the world (Fossum 1985: 194).

3.4.4 Essenes

The sectarian writings of Qumran are replete with references to angels. This suggests that the Essenes believed in the doctrine of angels. Modern scholars widely hold that this group's theology originated from a distinct dualistic mind set. This mode of thinking was based upon a perception that good and evil were separated and in conflict in both the earthly and heavenly realms (Stone 1980: 68; cf 1QM 13:11). Thus, the Essenes viewed the angelic realm as a dichotomy where an angel of light guided the righteous and an angel of wickedness controlled the unrighteous.

The Qumran sectarian works mention the “angel of darkness” (1QS 3:20-21) and an “angel of truth” (1QS 3:24). They also depict angels of destruction (1QS 4:12; CD 2:6), “angels of hostility” (CD 16:5), “holy angels” (1QSa 2:8-9; 1QH 1:11; CD 15:17), and “holy ones” (1QS 11:8). Other references to supernatural beings in the sectarian writings include “sons of heaven” (1QS 11:8; 1QH 3:22), “host of the saints” (1QH 3:22; 10:35), “heavenly host” (1QH 3:35), and “angels of Thy presence” (1QH 6:13; 1QSB 4: 25-26). Several passages from the War Scroll suggest the idea that God is the ruler over angels and all spirits (1QM 13:9-13). 1QM 12:1-5 indicates that the elect sectarians will be with angels in heaven and will be named and numbered like them.

Elsewhere, in the Collection of Blessings, the priests are promised that they will be “in the company of God” and the angels “for everlasting time and for all ages forever” (1QSB 4:24-26). The Damascus Document also states that all who cling to God’s commandments are destined for “eternal life” (CD 3:20) and the righteous “will live for a thousand generations” (CD 7:6). Another Qumran writing, 4QSirSabb, is devoted to angelic worship. The first fragment concerns the blessings given by seven chief angels upon the godly in both heaven and earth (4QSirSabb 1:21-22). The concentration of terms for angels by the Qumran community suggests that the Essenes were concerned overall with angelology. (Beall 1988: 89). The Essenes carefully guarded a secret list of angel’s names (Jos War 2.8.7 142). The Qumran scrolls portray an organized system of angelology. There was an expectation that the “Prince of Light” and other supernatural beings would fight alongside the Essenes during a final battle on the “last day.” These aspects were probably peculiar to the Qumran community, since no other major Jewish group such as the Pharisees showed an interest in these concerns (Roth 1972: 962).

The book of 1 Enoch is a composite of possibly five different books. One Enochic fragment discovered at Qumran, which is the generally acknowledged site of the Essene group, is known as The Book of Watchers. This work is important because it contains a tradition about angels and Nephilim that parallels Genesis 6:1-4. The Book of Watchers was completed by the second half of the third century B.C.E. (Black 1985: 7 & Milik 1976: 31).

In the final analysis, aspects concerning the doctrine of angels do not seem consistent among the various groups within Judaism. Essene thought differed from the Pharisees in one important area that relates to angelology. The Essenes believed men were predestined to be placed with either the angelic forces of light or darkness. Conversely, the Pharisees held that humanity was given free will to choose between opposing forces operating in the universe (Stone 1980: 68).

3.5 Jewish Groups' Convictions About the Afterlife

At this point, I would like to briefly comment about the various Jewish groups' convictions about the afterlife. Some have suggested that an early Jewish conceptualization about the postmortem state derived from pagan sources. Others have maintained that a belief in immortality and a resurrection originated at a much earlier stage within Israelite religion (Russell 1964: 385). Harrison (1969: 394) appears to take a middle position. He suggested that while elements that marked ancient Near Eastern religions are reflected in the Hebrew Bible, this did not necessarily mean that Jewish religious thought concerning the afterlife was developed or derived from surrounding pagan nations.

Many modern scholars have argued that significant embellishments about the afterlife took place after the exile. Nevertheless, several scholars have attempted to establish the origins of these beliefs in the pre-exilic era. Many theories have focussed upon the notion that aspects of the afterlife were common within the surrounding pagan nations during the early history of Israelite religion. Some scholars have postulated that though a full-blown belief in the afterlife appears predominantly in post-exilic biblical texts, a conviction about the postmortem life was adopted by the folk religion of pre-exilic Israel. The possibility of a rudimentary post-death concept being present within pre-exilic Israelite religion is enhanced by the fact that the thought of all human beings residing in a gloomy post-mortem underworld, known as Sheol, is interspersed throughout the Hebrew Bible. While this view of Sheol was not part of Hebrew thought until a late stage, Day (1996: 236) concluded that the ancient Israelites were familiar with aspects of the afterlife. Some scholars believe that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which Josephus ascribed to the Essenes, is not clearly attested in their sectarian literature. Even if this belief is true, this conviction is widely circulated in other Qumran documents, especially Jubilees and Enoch (Beall 1988: 107; cf Jos W 2.8.11).

The notion of a resurrection does not appear in the Old Testament, except in texts where the precise meaning is obscure. For example, Job expressed the assurance that after his flesh was destroyed by death he would see God (Job 19:25-27). While this passage expresses Job's hope of being present during the last judgment, he realized that his vindication must take place in his present world. Job also asserted, in the face of adversity from his advisors, that God would act on his behalf before he died. However, if exoneration did not come to Job while in his fleshly existence, he was confident that Yahweh could justify him when he no longer had fleshly body. Job 14:10-12 dismissed the possibility of an individual resurrection. However, this passage probably held to primitive Israelite afterlife beliefs, which suggested that departed souls continued a minimal existence apart from God in Sheol (Martin-Achard 1960: 170-171).

The idea of a resurrection was attested in pre-exilic Israel as early as Hosea's time in the eighth century, but was barely discernable. Resurrection was understood in the context of the fate of Israel rather than with the final condition of individual human beings. The origin of a resurrection belief is veiled but most likely derived from the Canaanites. A conviction of a substantial and meaningful existence after death is a late development in the history of Israelite religion. Pre-exilic texts used the language of death and resurrection as a metaphor to depict Israel's restoration and return from Exile (ABD: 681,685). The idea was that though the Israelites were dead in their captive state they would be resurrected from their Babylonian graves (Ezekiel 37). Eventually, Jews began to assert that death did not nullify God's covenantal relationship with individuals.

The Isaianic apocalypse (Is 24-27) may be the earliest passage that envisions an actual resurrection of the righteous. This writing suggests that the righteous shades previously detained in Sheol would arise, but the wicked would remain there (Is 25:6-8; 26:14-19). The first clear indication from any Jewish text of a belief in an individual resurrection of the dead, along with further rewards and punishments, occurs in Daniel 12:2: "*And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and everlasting contempt.*" This resurrection belief in Daniel was offered for the comfort and assurance of the Hasidim "faithful ones." Daniel was composed during a time of crisis exacerbated by the attitude of Antiochus Epiphanes, who imposed Hellenistic elements affecting their religious traditions upon the Jews.

The significance of this development of thought about the afterlife, as it related to the problem of theodicy, was to have profound and lasting effects on the eschatology of the Israelites (West 1981: 484). During the post-exilic period, with the emergence of an apocalyptic world view, eschatological expectations of a divine judgment became entrenched in Jewish thought. This perspective envisioned the punishment of the wicked and the bringing of justice to the righteously oppressed. It was further imagined that this universal judgment would affect all nations of the earth (Ps 9:1-20; 82:8; Albertz 1994: 521). Apocalyptic Jewish thought envisaged an individual judgment, where the righteous will be remembered, but the names of the wicked are removed from the "Book of Life" (Ps 69:29; MI 3:16). The Jews hoped this judgment of Yahweh would alleviate their present unfavorable conditions by bringing justice and deliverance (Ps 9:16-17; 10:16-18; 75:8-11; 69:37; 82:2-7).

According to this apocalyptic mode of thought, Yahweh would deliver the poor and oppressed from unjust social conditions. He would also become a citadel for his people again (Ps 9:10). This hope of an individual resurrection was incorporated into this liberation theology (Is 25:8). Jews believed that not only would the present suffering be removed but also death's power, which kept the righteous from God's presence. This developed afterlife conviction encompassed the spiritual will of an oppressed people to resist and maintain a positive eschatological perspective, both corporately and individually (Albertz 1994: 575).

The concept of an individual resurrection is well attested with some major Jewish groups during the later Second Temple Period. Primary sources for a knowledge of the Sadducees and the Pharisees at this time include Josephus and the New Testament. The issue of a resurrection was debated between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The Sadducees did not believe in immortality of the soul or a resurrection. Pharisees held the conviction that the soul had an immortal force. They also felt that the souls of both the righteous and unrighteous were imprisoned under the earth with an ability to live again (Jos Ant 18.1.2.14; Ac 23:6-8). The Pharisaic position became prominent only after the Jewish War with Rome.

I acknowledge that the New Testament does not represent conclusive proof for a position on the Sadducees or Pharisees. Nevertheless, even if the New Testament accounts are biased, they comment about the state of life in the late Second Temple Period. They also confirm the statements of Josephus about the Pharisees and Sadducees (Jos War, 2.8.14 165; Mt 22:23; Mk 12:18; Lk 20:27; Ac 4:12; 23:8). The Sadducees may have rejected the notion of the resurrection of the body, but possibly believed in the existence of Sheol (Mk 12:18-27; Ac 23:8; Day 1996: 240). Josephus portrayed the Pharisees as extremely virtuous and persuasive. He also related that this Jewish group lived by the dictates of their reason, believed in fate, immortality of the soul, rewards, and punishments in the afterlife (Jos Ant 17.2.4 41-42; 18.1.2 11-15). The doctrine of a resurrection is mainly associated with the Pharisees, but Josephus claimed that this conviction was also connected with the Essenes (Jos War 2.8.11 151-158). The Essenes believed that the body was mortal while the soul was immortal. This Jewish group considered the body to be a prison for the soul. At death, the soul was released to the heavens (Jos War 2.8.11 154; Jos Ant 18.1.5 18). Philo affirmed the Essene belief in the immortality of the soul (Hypothetica 11.1-18; Quod Omnis Probus Sit Liber 12-13). The idea of a resurrection is also prominent in a number of extra-biblical literatures (2 Mac 7:9, 11, 14, 23; 12:43-44; 14:46; Pss Sol 3:16; 1En 51:1; 61:5; 4 Ezr 7:32; SibOr 4:182).

3.6 *Summary*

The doctrines of a resurrection and immortality are clearly attested in the late Second Temple Period. It is possible that these doctrines regarding the afterlife originated within Jewish religion only during the third or second century B.C.E. Yet, a rudimentary conceptualization of afterlife aspects may have existed at an early stage of Israelite religion. This view was possibly appropriated from Canaanite or Persian pagan sources.³³ The doctrine of immortality of the soul may have also derived from the Egyptians, who held a widespread belief in immortality. An eloquent testimony to Yahweh's intervention for the Israelites over the forces of destruction occurs in early passages of the Hebrew Bible. Nonetheless, we do not find explicit texts that attest to Yahweh's final victory over death nor to a resurrection from Sheol. Instead, these primal texts display the future nation of Israel as dwelling in their land and communing with their God for as long as possible.

³³ If the Israelites borrowed the idea of "Sheol" from their pagan neighbours, this probably occurred before the Hebrew's entrance into Palestine (Martin-Achard 1960: 37).

A number of rare Old Testament passages implicitly suggest that Yahweh will eventually put an end to death and that the shades in Sheol will live again. For example, while Hosea 6:1-3 is concerned with the resurrection, this is in the sense of national rather than individual restoration. These texts allowed Israelite believers to first of all hope for, then to boldly assert the possibility of an afterlife (Martin-Achard 1960: 73, 74). Gradually, under manifold circumstances, this obscure afterlife notion grew more distinct. It culminated in a full-blown resurrection belief in both the corporate and individual sense (Martin-Achard 1960: 50).

This evolved understanding of resurrection and judgment is replete within many apocalyptic writings and governs 1 Enoch's perspectives (ABD: 685). For example, 1 Enoch 22 suggests that the souls or spirits of the righteous are recompensed immediately after death. The Enochic writers also envisioned a resurrection for the righteous dead (1 En 22:13). Elsewhere, in 1 Enoch 24-25, Enoch is shown the "tree of life" that the righteous will be given. These pious individuals are depicted as living a long life in the new Jerusalem on earth. They are also free from any torment or suffering (1 En 25:4-6). Conversely, the wicked suffer eternal punishment while in the presence of the righteous at the valley of Hinnom (1 En 26-27). 1 Enoch 22-27 anticipates a resurrection where some righteous and wicked dead participate in the curses and blessings that result from a great and final judgment. There is also a reference to the "bones" of the righteous in 1 Enoch 25:6. This passage may suggest a resurrection into some kind of bodily form. In 1 Enoch 92-95, there is a repeated pronouncement of "the coming day of judgment."

1 Enoch 102:4-104:8 comprises a disputation about post-mortem rewards and punishments. The author promised that the righteous souls detained in Sheol will "come to life." At this time, they will receive the rewards missed in their fleshly existence. The wicked are depicted as descending into flaming torture in Sheol (1 En 103:5-8). Finally, Enoch pointed out the complaints of the righteous who felt there had not been sufficient judgment of evil during their earthly sojourn (1 En 103:9-15). He also indicates that their cries have been heard by angels who continue to plead their case before God. Since their names are written in the "Book of Life," judgment will come and the righteous will ascend to heaven to dwell in the presence of angels (1 En 104:1-6).

The book of Daniel gives a brief accounting of a future judgment that rectifies the injustices inflicted on the righteous (Dn 12:1-3). At this time, Michael, Israel's angelic defender, will surface. He will deliver those who are written in a book containing a list of the righteous Jews. The resurrection that is set out in Daniel 12:2 is not universal, since only some of the dead will awake. The author of Daniel probably envisioned that the righteous who were put to death under Antiochan persecution will be raised at this time to be vindicated. Those who went along with the edicts of Antiochus will be resurrected to suffer the divine chastisement that they failed to receive in their earthly existence (ABD: 685). Thus, the resurrection portrayed in Daniel is a consequence of the martyrdom of the Hasidim, who suffered for upholding their faith against Hellenistic influences. This fact is evidenced by a declaration by one of the martyrs: *"My bodily parts I received from God, for his laws I offer them, and from Him I hope to receive them again"* (2 Macc 7:2).

A belief in a resurrection, judgment, and rewards or punishments also occur in Isaiah 65-66. These passages of Isaiah describe the long life of the righteous in the New Jerusalem and the eternal punishment of the wicked (Is 65:17-25; 66:14,24). Jubilees 23:31 suggests that the righteous who died during evil times will rest in the earth and their spirits will have much joy. Jubilees does not explicitly mention a bodily resurrection. However, this resurrection may be alluded to in a depiction of the righteous viewing the suffering of the wicked in the valley of Hinnom (Jub 23:30-31).

The Old Testament texts clearly indicate that any certainty of a resurrection depended upon God alone. In addition, the ultimate lot of every individual was to be worked out within the context of earthly existence. Any concept of a future resurrection was at best obscure in early biblical passages. This resurrection perspective envisioned corporate Israel rather than an individual perspective. An Old Testament faith in the return to life of the departed ultimately rested with Yahweh's revelation. Although the Israelites had suffered through much oppression and persecution, Yahweh had shown Himself as a powerful, righteous, and just God. This enabled faithful Jews of the later Second Temple Period to boldly assert that Yahweh would vindicate them from their present undesirable circumstances and ultimately deliver them from death, their most pernicious enemy.

Several Jewish groups came into prominence during the Second Temple Period. The office of the priest/scribe was the most significant. It was directly involved in matters of Jewish religion that involved the temple. This Jewish group was knowledgeable about religious matters. Therefore, they were responsible for conveying a proper understanding of the law to Israel. The priestly/scribal group continued to be ultimately important throughout the Second Temple Period, since Judea functioned as a "temple community" under their direction. Two other majority groups were associated with the temple. The Pharisees were dedicated to both the written and unwritten law. The Sadducees insisted that only what was written down was valid. Pharisaic doctrine eventually supplanted the Sadducee's viewpoint because the Pharisaic group received widespread support.

The origins of the Pharisees and Sadducees are difficult to decide. Many modern scholars have suggested that the Pharisees became an official Jewish group at the time of Jonathan the high priest in the Hasmonean period. Nevertheless, it is more probable that they originated at the time of Zerubbabel, during the initial stages of the return from the exile. The Sadducees probably originated at the time when Solomon instituted Zadok as high priest (1 Ki 2:34-36). The name Zadokite originally was associated with the priestly aristocracy, but was extended to others who shared their viewpoint. A third group, the Essenes, also deemed temple worship to be important. However, they probably felt that the temple at Jerusalem had been corrupted and thus offered sacrifices on their own. There appears to have been two contingents of the Essenes. Some remained within mainstream Jewish society. Others Essenes retreated to communal life. Both of these factions upheld the same philosophies. The Essene group may have derived from the Hasidaeans, who were loyal to Jewish traditions and against the forces of Hellenism. It is also possible that the Essenes drew upon the disenchanting among the Pharisees and Sadducees.

Josephus mentioned a possible fourth majority Jewish group, which mostly agreed with Pharisaic doctrines but highly valued liberty. Some scholars associate this group with the Sicarii/Zealots. Others argue that the Sicarii and the Zealots represent two distinct Jewish groups. Josephus did not mention the term "Zealot" to describe a particular movement until 66 C.E. when he associated it with the followers of Menaheim. The word Zealot appears throughout *The Wars of the Jews* to refer to unspecified revolutionaries. If Josephus intended the term Zealot to designate a fourth Jewish group, it is difficult to imagine why he suppressed this terminology.

The Samaritans represent another possible Jewish group. They acknowledged only the Pentateuch as scripture and located their temple at Mount Gerizim. Scholarship is divided about the origins of this group. Older theories suggest that the Samaritans were foreigners who came from the territories of Cuthah, Babylon, Avva, Hamath, and Sephorvaim in Persia. Recent theories maintain that the Samaritans originated in the second century B.C.E. in connection with the temple at Mount Gerizim, during the time of John Hyrcanus. Current theories also suggest that the term “Samaritans” in 2 Kings 17:29 refers to a group of Israelites originally deported to Assyria, who settled in Samaria after their return.

The majority of Palestinian Jews probably did not belong to a mainstream Jewish group. Being part of a Jewish group may have been a part-time pursuit. The origins of a monotheistic belief within Israelite religion have been vigorously debated. Recent scholarship has maintained that Israelite religion was polytheistic in its pre-exilic phase. In the monarchical period, the official religion still had traces of polytheism. Propagation of sole Yahweh worship took place, at the earliest, during Elijah’s tenure in the ninth century B.C.E. More likely, this phenomenon did not come about until the eighth century B.C.E. in the time of Hosea and was the concern of the “Yahweh Alone” movement. Strict monotheism did not take place until the post-exilic period (Albertz 1994:61).

The insertion of the English word angel obscured what was thought to have taken place in ancient Israelite civilization. In the original sense, the Hebrew term מַלְאָכִים strictly denoted a supernatural agent who was dispatched as a messenger. The later insertion of the English word “angel” represented supernatural beings, regardless of whether they were emissaries. A correlation appears to exist between the envoys of the gods in ancient Near Eastern religions and messengers portrayed in some earlier passages of the Hebrew Bible. In later biblical passages, messenger activity takes on a highly charged eschatological context. Supernatural agents serve a variety of tasks in both the ancient Near Eastern and biblical traditions. For example, they explicate messages from the gods, answer questions, assess human responses, deliver punishments, or bestow favor. These supernatural beings also appear to be conferred with the authority of the one who sent them.

In many cases in the Hebrew Bible, God's supernatural envoys are indistinguishable from humans, since the Hebrew word מלאך is used to designate both. Also, there is some question of whether the agent is a specific messenger, God, or His hypostasis when employing the Hebrew phrase מלאך יהוה. In ancient Near Eastern traditions have parallels with the Hebrew Bible where the gods act as their own messengers. However, these parallels cannot be used as conclusive evidence for instances in the Hebrew Bible since the grammatical construction suggests a being subordinate to Yahweh. I am of the opinion that it may be best to resolve this issue by viewing the Hebrew term מלאך as a later insertion when originally the text only had Yahweh speaking.

Subsequent messenger traditions continue through the use of the English word angel. In this later legacy, there is generally no difficulty in distinguishing God's messengers from humanity. In the extra-biblical traditions, angelic beings frequently appear in a hierarchy and with proper names. From the third century B.C.E. onward, there is also a proliferation of angelic appearances. This phenomenon has been attributed to the emergence of the apocalyptic literature. The Book of Watchers employs an extensive angelology, which I believe was depicted in an allegorical sense, to address issues of the writer's day. The idea of the Devil and his supernatural cohorts opposing Yahweh had a long tradition. It probably arose from mythical stories depicting conflicts among the gods. Israelite religion may have also been influenced by the dualistic thought of Zoroastrianism. In any event, by envisioning an ongoing cosmic battle between the forces of Yahweh and those of the Devil, the Jews were able to explain their misfortunes without directly making Yahweh responsible.

By the end of the Second Temple Period, there was a definite belief in angels and the afterlife among the Pharisees, Samaritans, and Essenes. Although the Sadducees are said to have rejected a doctrine of angels, spirits, and the afterlife, they probably only repudiated the embellishment of those doctrines widespread at that time. An angelic conviction possibly extended to some of the minority groups within Judaism. Undoubtedly, there were some inconsistencies regarding angelology among the various Jewish groupings of the Second Temple Period. At any rate, I will now narrow the focus of this dissertation to an examination of scholarly reflections surrounding the books of Ethiopic Enoch. The Enochic corpus is important to this thesis because I believe the angelology of 1 Enoch influenced Jews in the later Second Temple Period.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Books of 1 Enoch

4.1 *Introduction*

The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of this thesis are directly related to the Enochic writings. In these sections, I will further confine my focus by exploring various issues that surround the Enochic corpus. Matters of importance in this chapter entail a deliberation about the origin, structure, content, and manuscript tradition of 1 Enoch. In the fifth chapter, I will develop ideas concerning 1 Enoch's relation to apocalyptic literature. Chapter six pertains to 1 Enoch's significance, dating, and authorship. Other issues involving 1 Enoch include the social and religious setting and the influence of Hellenistic ideals. There will also be a limited discussion about the relationship of the Enochic writings to certain other Second Temple literatures. This thesis is interested in how the myth of the Watchers was used by the priestly writer to elaborate upon the state of the Jerusalem priesthood. Further concerns include genealogies, in association with Enoch's character and literary dependence, as they relate to the myth of the Watchers in Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6. These deliberations will provide a background for a further examination of 1 Enoch's historical value, literary character, and the integration of its various strands into a whole in chapter eight. I think it is essential to examine these relevant aspects surrounding 1 Enoch to establish a context for discussing in the final chapter how the angelology of 1 Enoch influenced Second Temple Judaism.

The domination of the Ptolemies and the Selucids had tremendous impact upon Jews living in Palestine. Several Jewish groups had emerged by this time. Each faction had its own leader. The minority and majority groupings had varying degrees of influence within the sociological matrix of Jewish society in Palestine. Despite a growing hostility and dissatisfaction toward the priesthood because of its many failings, priests held considerable sway at the time of the writing of some of the fragments of 1 Enoch. I will attempt to establish how some of the earlier sections of 1 Enoch directly relate to the priestly/scrival group in the Hellenistic phase of the Second Temple Period.

The Ethiopic Book of Enoch is also known as 1 Enoch. It is the earliest of three works attributed to Enoch, a descendant of Adam and Eve (Gn. 5:24). The New Testament book of Jude considered Enoch as a prophet and as the seventh progeny of Adam and Eve (Jude 14). When alluding to 1 Enoch, it is proper to refer to "books" since this work represents different periods and several independent writers (Isaac 1983: 7). Ethiopic Enoch consists of distinct sections with varied subject matter. 1 Enoch represents apocalyptic writings that exhibit great diversity. This Jewish literature is organized around the theme of revelations allegedly given to the patriarch Enoch. Pre-Christian fragments of the Enochic corpus reflect the historical events immediately preceding and subsequent to the Maccabean Revolt (Charles 1913: 2).

This thesis is mostly concerned with 1 Enoch 1-36, the Book of Watchers. This section of Ethiopic Enoch, along with the corresponding Greek and Aramaic texts, is important because parts of these chapters deal with the myth of the Watchers. Also, this writing is directly related to the issue of angelology. I am of the conviction that the Enochic writers used angels, in an allegorical sense, to address issues of concern for their time. The events that transpired within the history of the Jews before the writing of the books of 1 Enoch no doubt profoundly affected the Jewish mindset. The incidents of the early second century B.C.E. renewed the impetus for the prophetic or visionary inclination that followed. This trend developed into a full-blown apocalyptic eschatology (Hanson 1975a: 402-409). I will argue that the authors of 1 Enoch utilized an elaborate angelology to explicate Jewish misfortunes, resolve present enigmatic circumstances, and provide an eschatological hope.

4.2 Origin

Information about the prominence of 1 Enoch within Jewish communities is sparse. Thus, it is difficult to determine the work's precise origins. The location in which 1 Enoch, or any of its constituent parts, was originally composed is uncertain. Discovery of the Enochic fragments at Qumran raises the following question. Did the Qumran community compose these writings or were they written by others who simply placed the writings at this location?

The style of handwriting, in earlier fragments of 1 Enoch, manifests that they originated in the pre-Christian period (Eissfeldt 1976: 618-619; Milik 1976: 6,139-140, 164). The earliest portions of this consolidated work probably originated in a proto-Essene milieu. Later segments of 1 Enoch were composed in an environment quite unlike Qumran Essenism. The earliest parts of 1 Enoch were probably well-known to many Jewish groups, especially the Essenes (Isaac 1983: 8). Thus, 1 Enoch evidently originated in Judea and was in regular use prior to the Christian era.

The polemics of 1 Enoch may have definite links with Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, also known as Ben Sira, or simply Sirach. Portions of 1 Enoch serve as a witness to claims of the Levites to the priesthood against what the Levites considered the pretensions of the Zadokites. Parts of 1 Enoch attest to a contemporary priestly theology, possibly suggesting this work originated in priestly circles. The Enochic writer defended the faithful priesthood. His writings also contain a definite anti-priestly sentiment against what the author considered as unfaithful elements within the Jerusalem priesthood. This position contrasts with Ben Sira's strictly pro-Aaronic stance.

Several passages in Sirach treat specific issues found in 1 Enoch. Some parts of Sirach also show an awareness of ideals that have their roots in apocalyptically oriented groups such as the Essenes (Olyan 1987: 279-280). These matters include the calendar, otherworldly concerns, and visionary projections by the character of Enoch. Exogamy involving the priesthood and ordinary Jews, improper communication, the proper imparting of wisdom, eternal judgment, and an eschatological kingdom are other important issues. The Book of Watchers utilized an extensive angelology to present an interpretation of the myth of the Watchers that also occurs in Genesis 6:1-4. These items which are reflected by the books of Enoch were ultimately important to many Jewish groups of the Hellenistic period. These Jews viewed themselves as being in a crisis. Therefore, they sought relief from their paradoxical circumstances and looked for explanations for the evils that had come upon them.

4.3 Structure

Ethiopic Enoch is considered as a composite work of possibly five distinct books which Milik (1976: 4) referred to as an Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch. The Enochic corpus that derived from Qumran did not contain the Book of Parables. Milik (1976: 85) felt that 1 Enoch originally contained the Book of Giants, but that it was replaced by the Book of Parables. Christians possibly composed this work in the third century of the Common Era. Not all scholars agreed there was an original Enochic Pentateuch. Black (1985: 9) argued that a Jewish Christian redactor placed the various Enochic fragments together to form a Pentateuch as early as the second century of the Common Era. Nevertheless, the Book of Giants was replaced by the Book of Parables in the final form of Ethiopic Enoch. The result was an Enochic Pentateuch that can be divided into the following categories.

4.3.1 *The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36)*

Milik (1976: 31) argued for a dating of the original Aramaic Ethiopic Enoch to the sixth century. He also maintained that the Book of Watchers predated Genesis 6:1-4 and that Genesis was dependent upon 1 Enoch. In its final edited form, the Book of Watchers was possibly the product of a Jewish author. The Enochic writers incorporated the earlier Enochic source without significant changes. This work comprised 1 Enoch 6-19 and was probably called the Visions of Enoch (Milik 1976: 22-41). Few Enochic scholars would readily accept Milik's dating for the Aramaic Ethiopic Enoch (Isaac 1979: 315-316). Moreover, no other scholar has adopted Milik's position, which views 1 Enoch 6-19 as an original document earlier than the final redacted form of the Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch discovered at Qumran.

Before the Second World War, Enochic scholars mostly viewed the Book of Watchers as a collection of units that a final editor had arbitrarily arranged. A great change in Enochic studies took place after the war. At this time, scholars sought to understand the final form of books such as the Book of Watchers. They also attempted to discern various distinctions between the Enochic authors (Tigchelaar 1996: 154-155). Scholars have long recognized that the Ethiopic writings which comprise 1 Enoch, including the Book of Watchers, derive from Judaism of the final centuries B.C.E. (Charles 1913: 171-177).

4.3.2 *The Book of the Similitudes or the Parables (1 Enoch 37-71)*

Modern scholars have not reached a consensus about the exact date of this section of 1 Enoch (Knibb 1979: 345). Isaac (1983: 7) dates this section of 1 Enoch to 105-165 B.C.E. Milik (1976: 85) argued for a date of 270 C.E. Milik further argued that not only was there a pre-Christian Qumran Enochic Pentateuch but that this original work contained a longer version of the astrological writings. As mentioned, Milik suggested the Book of Giants was extant at Qumran. He felt that by the year 400 C.E. the Similitudes, in a new Enochic Pentateuch, had replaced this earlier Enochic writing.

The absence of any quotation from the Parables among Christian writers of the first to fourth centuries may suggest it was a later rather than an earlier Christian work (Milik 1976: 91). A primary reason for Milik's late dating for the Similitudes was based upon a single reference to "winged angels" (1 En 61:1). The fifteenth century manuscript that Milik used as a base text casts serious doubts on his hypothesis, since it has no reference to angels flying "with wings." While Milik was correct to adduce that 1 Enoch 61:1 was late, he failed to recognize that this verse was possibly a late variant (Isaac 1983: 7).

At first glance, Milik's thesis appears plausible, since only four of the five constituent parts of Ethiopic Enoch were discovered at Qumran. It is also true that no fragments from the Similitudes have been recovered. Nevertheless, Milik's theory has been subjected to much scholarly criticism and has no hard evidence to support it. Furthermore, the members of the SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar at Tubingen in 1977 and later in Paris in 1978 were unanimous in their rejection of Milik's position (Knibb 1979: 345-59; Mearns 1979: 360-369). In commenting about the seminar's findings, Isaac (1983: 7) argued that the consensus was that the Similitudes represented a Jewish rather than a Christian work. Knibb (1979: 345) also felt the Similitudes comprised a Jewish work and suggested a date before 70 C.E. for this Enochic writing. At any rate, most scholars currently consider the Parables as a Jewish writing from either the last half of the first century B.C.E. or the first three quarters of the first century C.E. (Nickelsburg ABD: 1992).

The absence of fragments of the Parables from Qumran may suggest this section of 1 Enoch was composed after the Qumran site was abandoned in 68 C.E. The Son of Man passages fit into the context of the end of the first century C.E. The most significant parallels can be found in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra 3-14 (Isaac 1979: 321). Thus, it cannot be conclusively established whether 1 Enoch contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century C.E. Perhaps the real issue is whether these Jewish parables were a pre-Christian or post-Christian Jewish reaction to Christianity (Charlesworth 1979: 323). I think this point is important because if the Parables are pre-Christian they may be a source for understanding the New Testament. If they were post-Christian or a Jewish reaction to Christianity, the Parables would signify a development independent of the Gospel accounts.

4.3.3 *The Book of Astronomical Writings or Heavenly Luminaries (1 Enoch 72-82)*

Isaac (1983: 8) dates this book to 110 B.C.E. Milik assigned this writing to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.E. Milik's dating is inconclusive. It is dependent upon his own unsubstantiated judgment, since he did not publish photographs of the manuscript which he had in his possession (Stone 1978: 484). Some have suggested that the astronomical portions of Ethiopic Enoch attest to the influence of Babylonian astrology (Russell 1964: 19; Hengel 1974: 238). This perception influences the position that this section of 1 Enoch originated in the early Babylonian period (Neugebauer 1985: 387). In particular, Hengel (1974: 238) speaks of "the Essene astrological book." Interestingly, an example of a horoscope has been found at Qumran (see 4QCryptic or 4Q186).

Modern scholars believe that astrological concerns and the earliest individual horoscopes originated in Babylon in the late fifth century B.C.E. and developed side by side with astronomy (Hengel 1974: 236; Russell 1964: 19). However, Davidson (1992: 84) raised a cogent point concerning the distinction between astrological and astronomical interests. He pointed out that "astronomy" deals with movements of the heavenly bodies and their relationship to the calendar. Conversely, "astrology" is concerned with predicting the future from a study of the heavenly bodies. The earliest known individual horoscopes involve astrological matters. Nevertheless, the interests of 1 Enoch 72-82 are astronomical and calendrical rather than astrological (Davidson 1992: 85).

The Astronomical book does not condone astrological beliefs, especially concerning human destinies being influenced by the movements of the heavenly bodies (Neugebauer 1985: 395). Not only do the zodiacal signs not exist in Enoch's astronomy, the writer of 1 Enoch 8:3 indicated that astrological practices derived from the sins of the fallen Watchers. The Astronomical Writings show that astronomy followed fixed laws and that their study cannot result in predictions of the future, as is attempted by Babylonian astrology (VanderKam 1984: 145-149). Therefore, dating this section of 1 Enoch to the Babylonian period may be misguided, since astrological concerns are not present in the Astronomical Book. Furthermore, they are condemned elsewhere in the Enochic fragments.³⁴

4.3.4 *The Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83-90)*

(Nickelsburg 1 Enoch in ABD) dates this section of 1 Enoch to 161 B.C.E. This date corresponds to Isaac's possible dates of 165-161 B.C.E. (Isaac: 1983: 7). No fragments of 1 Enoch 83-84 have been recovered from Qumran (Milik 1976: 6,41). However, various fragments of the account of the second dream vision occur in four manuscripts, 4QEn c-f-3. Since this thesis is concerned with angelology in the Second Temple Period, it is noteworthy to point out that the only mention of angels in the Book of Dream Visions is 1 En. 84: 4. This text reads, "*The angels of your heavens are now committing sin (upon the earth), and your wrath shall rest upon the flesh of the people until (the arrival of) the great day of judgment.*" This theme is familiar to the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book (Davidson 1992: 97).

4.3.5 *The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91-108)*³⁵

Two manuscripts, 4QEn-c and 4QEn-g, have been recovered from Qumran and include material from the Epistle of Enoch. Paleographic analysis has determined that 4QEn-g is the older of the two manuscripts. 4QEn-g dates from the middle of the first century B.C.E. (Milik 1976: 48,178). Nevertheless, dating this Epistle precisely is virtually impossible (VanderKam 1984: 145-49; Black 1985: 292-293). A major difficulty for specifically dating this entire section is that it represents a conglomerate of differing traditions (Black 1985: 21).

³⁴ Nickelsburg (1984: 173) considered the Book of Heavenly Luminaries as older than the Book of Watchers. This later Enochic tradition equated astrological practices with sin.

³⁵ Chapter 105 is regarded as an independent fragment (Isaac 1983: 7).

4.4 *Contents of 1 Enoch*

This thesis is predominantly concerned with the Book of Watchers (1 En 1-36). Some passages of 1 Enoch outside the Book of Watchers are concerned with angels. Thus, providing a brief overview of the content of the other sections of 1 Enoch may be helpful. I will return to the Book of Watchers in more detail later in this thesis, to discuss how the Book of Watchers relates to reprobate angels. A limited discussion about how other segments of 1 Enoch comment about angels will be offered at that point. The Book of Watchers represents a composite structure (Charles 1912: 1). As mentioned, the rebellion of the Watchers (angels) described in the Book of Watchers has close literary ties to Genesis 6:1-4. The correlation between Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6 directly relates to the thesis topic concerning the influence of 1 Enoch's angelology on Second Temple Judaism.

4.4.1 *The Book of Watchers*

1 Enoch 1-5 contains introductory material. It describes Enoch and various visions that angels imparted to him. This section of 1 Enoch also portrays eschatological matters, which include a final judgment, rewards of humankind, and possibly angels.³⁶ 1 Enoch 2-5 is concerned with God's works and order within His creation. The underlying motif of this beginning section appears to be that some wicked beings have abandoned God's natural order. Consequently, they will be judged for their rebellion. These early chapters serve as a fitting introduction to the whole collection of writings found in Ethiopic Enoch. Despite the complex nature of Ethiopic Enoch, the disruptions of God's established order and its eventual restitution are repeated themes throughout these writings (Davidson 1992: 32). 1 Enoch 6-11 is concerned with the insurrection and fall of angels. This angelic insurgence was responsible for the introduction of sin, which caused upheaval to the established order of God. In the Book of Watchers, angelic transgression is described as the "sons of God" coming to earth to have intercourse with the "daughters of men." This created a race of Nephilim and evil spirits. As a result, bloodshed, oppression, and anarchy took place upon the earth. A corollary effect was that the secrets of the universe previously known to the angelic beings were transposed to humans. These mysteries included the knowledge of metallurgy, sorcery, astrology, and ornamentation.

³⁶ Black (1985: 108) considered judgement as universal, involving both humanity and angels. Conversely, Charles (1912: 7) argued that this judgement referred only to humans.

As a result of the wicked deeds described in 1 Enoch, the world was to experience a deluge and only Noah would be saved. The character of Enoch is not mentioned in 1 Enoch 6-11. However, 1 Enoch 12-16 reintroduces him. Angels take Enoch into the heavenly realms, where he is informed of the fate of the disobedient angels. Enoch is told that he has been sent to intercede for the reprobate angels. Nevertheless, Enoch ends up foretelling their demise. This section provides the setting for Enoch's journeys depicted in 1 Enoch 17-36. During his excursions, Enoch receives two visions concerning the punishment of the fallen angels. He travels to the place where God's throne and the Tree of Life reside. He relates that the righteous will be vindicated, but the wicked will be judged and punished.

4.4.2 The Similitudes or Parables

The Similitudes or Parables is the longest section in Ethiopic Enoch. It is concerned with the future judgment of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous. The Parables also deal with the Messiah, Son of Man, Righteous One, and the Elect One. The new heaven and earth, heavenly secrets, measuring the garden of Eden, resurrection, and final judgment are other themes. The Son of Man is portrayed as the judge of both men and angels. Archangels are described as carrying out judgment. They also mete out rewards to those whom the Son of Man deems as worthy.³⁷ 1 Enoch 64-65 discusses the previous wicked acts of the fallen angels. Eternal condemnation is predicted for these angels. In contrast, the lot of the righteous ones will be preserved for eternity. 1 Enoch 67 sets out God's promise to Noah and his seed. This chapter returns to the topic of eternal punishment for the wicked angels. 1 Enoch 69 includes the names of the fallen angels and their transgressions. The Similitudes ends with a description of Enoch's earthly translation into the heavens and a vision of his human ancestors. Enoch claimed to be in the heaven of heavens. While in this realm, he encountered the Antecedent of Time, accompanied by multitudes upon multitudes of holy angels (1 En 71).

³⁷ Modern scholars have frequently discussed the use of 1 Enoch's "Son of Man" for possible Christian connotations and it may be important for Jesus research (Evans 1995: 23). The Similitudes possibly influenced some late New Testament writers, especially the author of Revelation. If the Similitudes were composed in the second century C.E, it would be difficult to make a case that 1 Enoch's terminology had any bearing upon earlier Christian usage. However, the author of the Similitudes may have adopted this phrase from traditional Christian coinage.

4.4.3 *The Astronomical Writings or the Heavenly Luminaries*

This segment of 1 Enoch is concerned with astronomical and calendrical matters. It involves movements of the heavenly bodies in relationship to the calendar. The Astronomical Writings are opposed to astrological concerns, which involve a study of the heavenly bodies to determine the future. There may be two versions of the astronomical and calendrical information presented in this section of Ethiopic Enoch. The first occurs in 1 Enoch 72:2-76:14. The second begins in 1 Enoch 77:1 and ends in 79:1. Some geographical information is presented in 1 Enoch 37. An angel assists Enoch in understanding astronomical and geographical matters. 1 Enoch 80 describes how the various heavenly luminaries will be altered from their ordered course as a judgment against those who remain in their sinfulness in the last days. At this time, some humans resort to a worship of the heavenly bodies. These changes in the established order result in plagues upon the earth. 1 Enoch 81-82 outlines the plight of the righteous and unrighteous, as mediated through angels. The solar calendar is considered accurate in 1 Enoch 82. It comprises three hundred and sixty-four days and four seasons of ninety days. The Qumran community and Jubilees also confirmed the solar calendar.

4.4.4 *The Dream Visions*

This fragment of 1 Enoch consists of two dream visions that Enoch related to his son Methuselah (1En 83:1; 85:1-2). The first revelation predicts the Deluge (1 En 83-84). This is followed by a prayer of Enoch, who praises God. Enoch also petitions God for judgment of the wicked and blessing for the righteous.³⁸ Portions of four manuscripts of 4QEn-c-f3, which provide an account of the second vision, have been uncovered at Qumran (Milik 1976: 6,41). These writings outline the course of world history from Adam until the introduction of the eschatological age. Animals are used to depict humans, the Messiah, and angels. The deluge is also depicted in zoological fashion in 1 Enoch 89. The Dream Visions continue the motif of other sections of 1 Enoch where wicked humanity and angels are judged.

³⁸ No fragments corresponding to any parts of 1 Enoch 83-84 have been uncovered at Qumran. The only mention of angels in this portion of 1 Enoch occurs in 84:4, which speaks of reprobate angels. This theme is familiar from the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Writings. A few scholars have proposed an eschatological meaning for 1 Enoch 89. However, I am of the opinion that this chapter appears to be a simple recounting of the flood tradition.

The *Dream Visions* covers a span of time from the flood until the Exodus. It then sets out the period from the return of the exiles to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. 1 Enoch 90 outlines the interval from the Maccabean revolt to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. The *Book of Dream Visions* ends with judgment for all the unfaithful within God's creation. It also outlines blessedness for the righteous.

4.4.5 *The Epistle of Enoch*

This work purports to be a letter from Enoch to his children. As pointed out, Black (1985: 21) suggested that the *Epistle of Enoch* consisted of several literary units from various dates and redactors over a lengthy period. Nevertheless, these strands have been set out in a unified whole. Substantial portions of the Greek version of this *Epistle* are extant in the Chester Beatty Papyrus (Black 1985: 6). Several textual discrepancies exist in the Ethiopic, Greek, and Aramaic manuscripts. The first portion of the *Epistle* was possibly more fully emerged in the original fragment than in the Ethiopic manuscripts. There is also more harmony from 1 Enoch 94 onwards (Milik 1976: 48).

In this *Epistle*, Enoch summoned his son Methuselah to gather the rest of his family together. Enoch's purpose was to impart a farewell exhortation. During his discourse, Enoch contrasted the lot of the unrighteous with that of the righteous. Enoch intended this writing to benefit all of the offspring upon the earth at that time, as well as all future generations. 1 Enoch 91:11-17 divided future time into ten weeks. After the completion of the ten weeks, there will be a period of many weeks without number for eternity. 1 Enoch 93:3-10 allocated the future into seven weeks. After these seven weeks, an apostate generation arises for a time. They are eventually overcome by the elect ones of the righteous who gain victory.³⁹ The primary focus of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is the inevitable victory of righteousness over unrighteousness. Enoch exhorted his family to choose virtue over wickedness in 1 Enoch 94.

³⁹ Both VanderKam (1984: 145-149) and Black (1985: 292-293) felt that the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, which now appears within the *Epistle of Enoch*, can be dated fairly conclusively to the Maccabean resistance, just before the decrees of Antiochus IV in 167 B.C.E.

The latter part of 1 Enoch 94-100 makes a series of pronouncements of woe to the unrighteous. These forecasts of sorrow and judgment are extended to the fallen angels. The intervening chapters continue to admonish toward righteousness. These passages portray the terror and great judgment that await the unrighteous. The destiny of the unrighteous is contrasted with that of the righteous, who will receive comfort and blessing.

1 Enoch 106-107 describes the birth of Noah, the son of Lamech. He is described as a strange son who is unlike any human being. In 1 Enoch 106:5, Lamech suggested that Noah's appearance was like the children of the angels. Noah praised God as an infant. He was sent so that a remnant from humanity would survive the coming deluge (1 En 106: 15-18). 1 Enoch 108 is presented as a separate writing that Enoch composed for his son Methuselah (1 En 108:1). This section of 1 Enoch predicts the punishment of the unrighteous and the reward of the righteous.⁴⁰ Both Milik (1976: 206-207) and Black (1985: 318) argued that 1 Enoch 106-108, which begins and ends with Enoch conveying revelatory information to his son Methuselah, belongs to the Epistle of Enoch. This conclusion would be true even if some of the content may differ from the rest of the Epistle.

4.5 Manuscript Tradition and Translations

The books of Ethiopic Enoch are often called the "Enochic Pentateuch." As mentioned, Milik (1976: 4) argued for an Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch at Qumran which contained the Book of Giants. He further argued that the Similitudes or the Book of the Parables replaced the Book of Giants by the year 400 C.E. (Milik 1976: 85). I have also mentioned that several scholars have refuted the original Enochic Pentateuch hypothesis (cf Black 1985: 9). What is known for certain is that only four books of 1 Enoch were discovered at Qumran. It has not been established whether the Book of Giants at one time existed. If this work was extant at Qumran, at some point it may have been removed and eventually replaced by the Similitudes or Book of the Parables. The insertion of the Similitudes established a later tradition of an Enochic Pentateuch.

⁴⁰ 1 Enoch 108 is missing from the Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Qumran fragments. Both Charles (1912: 269) and Black (1985: 323) have suggested that 1 Enoch 108 is a later independent addition.

It has long been recognized that the Ethiopic writings of 1 Enoch are translations from Semitic originals (Charles 1902: 171-177). Scholars generally agree that Ethiopic Enoch is a translation of the Greek Vorlage, which derived from either a Hebrew or Aramaic Grundschrift. A few scholars have suggested that Ethiopic Enoch was composed in Hebrew with smaller portions in Aramaic. It is also possible that 1 Enoch originated in Aramaic and partially in Hebrew, like the biblical book of Daniel. Black (1985: 185-186) felt it was almost certain that the original and predominant Semitic language was Aramaic, with relatively small portions existing in the Hebrew. Other scholars have also maintained that Ethiopic Enoch predominantly derived from the Aramaic (Ullendorff 1968: 61-65). The Ethiopic text mostly agrees with the Greek, but sometimes supports the Aramaic Vorlage (Knibb 1978: 38-47). 1 Enoch survived in complete form only in the Ethiopic Version. Moreover, Ethiopic Enoch represents the most comprehensive text. More than forty manuscripts of Ethiopic are extant. Fragments of 1 Enoch are also found in Aramaic, Greek, and Latin. Five of the most significant Ethiopic manuscripts include (cf Isaac 1983: 6):

- A) Kebran 9/II (Hammerschmidt-Tanasee 9/II); fifteenth century.
- B) Princeton Ethiopic 3 eighteenth or nineteenth century.
- C) EMML 2080; fifteenth (possibly fourteenth) century⁴¹
- D) Abbadianus 55; possibly fifteenth century
- E) British Museum Orient 485; first half of the sixteenth century

Greek fragments occur mainly in the following:

- A) Codex Panopolitanus (eighth century or possibly later), made up of 1 Enoch 1:1-32:6.
- B) Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (c. 800), containing 1 Enoch 6:1-10; 14; 15:8-16:1.
- C) Chester Beatty papyrus of 1 Enoch 97:6-104; 106ff.
- D) Vatican Greek MS 1809, comprising 1 Enoch 89:42-49.

⁴¹ Two other important manuscripts from the seventh century (EMML 4437 and EMML 4750) are part of this same collection.

Other Aramaic sections of 1 Enoch were discovered at Qumran, but are extremely fragmentary. Various manuscripts correspond to about one third of the Ethiopic text in Greek (Davidson 1992: 19). Extant copies of quotations and allusions also appear in Coptic, Syriac, and Latin.⁴² Charlesworth (1979: 315) pointed out that there is a potential for confusion in the use of the name "1 Enoch" to signify all the extant versions. He suggested that the title 1 Enoch strictly be used when referring to Ethiopic Enoch and Aramaic Enoch. I believe that Charlesworth's logic makes good sense since there are many variations between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions. Perhaps it would be even more helpful to cite the particular source when consulting either the Aramaic or Greek versions. While the Ethiopic texts generally agree with the Greek, the evidence obviously supports the Aramaic Vorlage (Knibb 1978: 38-46). It is possible that the Ethiopic passages provide the base for the Ethiopic texts, but this cannot be fully determined. In any event, there is a consensus that the Greek texts are based upon the Semitic Grundschrifts. Of the manuscripts discovered at Qumran, the oldest is 4QEnastr, a fragment of the Astronomical Book (Milik 1976: 273). The next oldest existing manuscripts of 1 Enoch are Tanasee 9-Kebran 9 and EMMML 2080.

4.6 Concluding Comments

The portion of 1 Enoch that is of primary importance to this thesis is the Book of Watchers. 1 Enoch 1-36 directly relates to the tradition of reprobate angels as depicted in Genesis 6:1-4. In a limited sense, uncovering information from the other books of 1 Enoch concerning the heritage of fallen angels may also be necessary. This thesis will now investigate apocalyptic speculations as they pertain to the books of 1 Enoch. The subsequent chapters of this research will briefly examine the possible significance, dating, and authorship of the books of 1 Enoch. I am of the conviction that it is also necessary to provide a survey of the biblical tradition of angelology within Israelite religion. The completion of these tasks will set the stage for examining Enochic angelology to ultimately discover its influence upon Judaism of the Second Temple Period.

⁴² A Latin fragment containing 1 Enoch 106:1-18 also occurs in an eighteenth century manuscript.

CHAPTER FIVE

Apocalyptic Literature and 1 Enoch

5.1 Introduction

A discussion of the issues surrounding Jewish apocalyptic literatures is essential to this thesis for several reasons. Some recent scholars have identified characteristics within 1 Enoch considered to be apocalyptically oriented. Thus, it is necessary to attempt to uncover the antecedents for this apocalyptic mode of thinking. Speculating about how the earliest forms of apocalyptic thought were integrated into what modern scholars have identified as Jewish apocalyptic writings is important. It will also be imperative to make a distinction between an “apocalyptic genre” and what scholars are now referring to as a *Weltanschauung* or “apocalyptic world view.” All modern scholars do not agree that there is an apocalyptic genre. However, most if not all scholars concede that an apocalyptic world view is prevalent within a number of Jewish writings, including 1 Enoch.

A corollary concern in a discussion of the apocalyptic involves the character of so-called apocalyptic literatures. This concern has been a contentious issue within modern scholarship. Nevertheless, scholars have identified several features that must be present before they consider a text as apocalyptic. My discussion will encompass an identification and evaluation of distinctive features of apocalyptic texts, especially within 1 Enoch. Another issue has to do with the classification of various Jewish literatures. I believe that this matter is worthy of a brief deliberation to determine whether the writings of 1 Enoch have been properly designated. If modern scholarship is correct in classifying Ethiopic Enoch as apocalyptic, then it is essential to discover how the writers of these texts intended them to function within their immediate and future contexts. I am of the opinion that the writings of 1 Enoch and, more specifically, the Book of Watchers utilized an apocalyptic perspective to formulate their message. Finally, this research will investigate the issue of whether any of the Jewish groups of the Second Temple Period manifested an apocalyptic outlook. A proper analysis of these factors will set the backdrop for a further examination about how the Enochic writers used angelology in an allegorical manner to address expedient issues of their day.

5.2 Distinctive Features of Apocalyptic Literature

Two prominent aspects are generally thought to characterize apocalyptic writings. The eschatological mode of thought anticipates an immanent end for humanity. However, it does not depend upon human action to bring this end about. A second major speculative feature encompasses the revelation of various heavenly secrets. Several apocalyptic writings were discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Jewish apocalyptic literatures were written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek during the Second Temple Period (Stone 1984: 384).

Disagreements have been consistently evident within scholarship, concerning not only the definition but also the characteristics of what some have perceived as an apocalyptic literary genre. For the most part, these problems have been intractable and paradoxical. The genre itself and its relationship to other literary types has not been clearly understood. Part of the problem may be that scholars have sought to specify aspects of the apocalyptic based upon New Testament thought (Stone 1984: 392). Many scholars have attempted to arrive at a workable definition for apocalyptic literature. Koch (1972: 28-33) included several features in his apocalyptic delineation. These include an acute expectation of the fulfilment of divine promises, a cosmic catastrophe, and a relationship between the end time and preceding world history. Angelology and demonology, a savior figure with royal qualities, and a future glorified state are other essential characteristics. All these attributes have a bearing upon eschatology.

Problems have arisen from scholarly definitions of so-called apocalyptic literatures. Some works which are considered as part of an apocalyptic genre contain aspects not included in scholarly definitions such as the one Koch offered. Other writings not formally recognized as apocalyptic hold traits common to apocalypticism. The perceived apocalyptic literary genre is essentially an artificial creation. This may account for inconsistencies of definition. Many scholars have argued that the apocalyptic should be considered as an exclusively eschatological pattern of thought. However, few have elaborated about what other minor modes of thinking are possibly involved within these writings. Thus, it appears that a number of scholars are jointly responsible for not adequately defining all of the attributes that comprise this literature.

As mentioned, most attempts to define the apocalyptic have been couched in the presupposition that eschatology provides the basis for this literature. Proponents of this view have suggested that apocalyptic texts display an attitude of pessimism toward present circumstances, viewing divine intervention as necessary to alleviate suffering. These texts also purvey a doctrine of two ages and an urgent expectation of a new order.

One scholarly position suggests that the term apocalyptic only denoted the form in which the eschatological content occurred (Fitzmeyer 1992: 43). Fitzmeyer argued that elements of pagan mythology and motifs influenced Jewish apocalyptic literature. He said that apocalyptic literature often alludes to contemporary historical events which were described in an eschatological manner. Moreover, Fitzmeyer thought that the apocalyptic did not appear in its fullest sense in the Qumran writings but that this literature had traces of an eschatological conviction. For Fitzmeyer, an eschatological focus did not represent the apocalyptic in the truest sense. Rather, it provided a venue for the Qumran community to think apocalyptically by means of a highly symbolic and visionary but predictive terminology. He also viewed apocalyptic literature as representing a kind of "crisis literature" which arose during times of Israel's struggles with occupying powers. Fitzmeyer concluded that these literatures were concerned with assuring readers that God was in control. Apocalyptic writers also felt that God would usher in a new era of peace and prosperity despite present historical circumstances.

Another scholar referred to the Qumran community as a "*Heilsgemeinschaft*" (Cross 1961: 78). Cross explained this term as defining "a community that sought salvation." The Qumran group has generally been called "an apocalyptic community." However, some have objected to the use of this term to describe the Qumranites. Rowland (1985: 26) differed from modern views. He maintained that eschatology was not the most distinctive feature of apocalyptic texts. Rowland felt that the assumption of eschatology as playing a dominant role in the apocalyptic had been overplayed. He concluded that eschatology should not be a focal point in a discussion of this literature since some apocalyptic texts show little or no interest in eschatological concerns.

The disclosure of divine secrets was the truest motif for the Jewish apocalyptic according to Bornkamm (1976: 815). He argued there was an underlying but explicit realization that God was remote and that the cosmos was full of unsolved puzzles. Bornkamm said there was a sense in which we could not answer these enigmas without a prophetic word transmitted via a human instrument. He concluded that mystery was an integral part of the apocalyptic genre. Rowland agreed with Bornkamm that not enough attention has been given to the possibility that direct revelation and disclosure of divine mysteries provided a unifying link for the identification of the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic motif. He suggested that by viewing the Jewish apocalyptic works as a revelation of divine mysteries rather than as being based upon eschatological considerations, these writings are brought more in line with rabbinical thought (Rowland 1985: 271). While Bornkamm and Rowland identified what they felt were prominent features of apocalyptic literatures, their identification did not necessarily mean that these concerns represented a key to unlock this perceived genre distinction. In my opinion, suggesting that these interests are similar to some rabbinic perspectives on the literatures under discussion is different from saying that Jewish authorities recognize an apocalyptic genre distinction based upon Bornkamm and Rowland's characterizations.

To illustrate his position, Rowland suggested that the biblical apocalypses of Daniel and Revelation support his view of the apocalyptic. At the same time, Rowland (1985: 12) admitted that even a cursory reading of these two writings revealed significant differences. For example, the eschatology of Revelation is more developed than that of Daniel. Also, Daniel does not explicitly mention a Messianic figure. Yet, the Messiah is prominent in the eschatology of Revelation. While symbolism is mentioned in Daniel, this aspect is much more prominent in Revelation. The distinction between vision and interpretation, which is a regular feature in Daniel, does not occur in Revelation. In only one place in Revelation do we find a particular vision being interpreted by an angel. Rowland attributed these and other significant variations to the fact that the legends in Daniel are about Jews in Babylon. Thus, one would not expect to find many parallels in Revelation. I disagree with Rowland because other extra-biblical apocalypses display significant differences from Daniel while still focusing on the Babylonian period.

For Rowland (1985: 13,14), the unifying feature connecting Daniel to Revelation and other apocalyptic literatures was the belief that humanity was able to know about divine mysteries through revelation. This divine knowledge enabled them to view their historical circumstances in a hopeful light. It appears that Rowland did not view the term apocalyptic as necessarily suggesting anything about this literature. The thesis of Bornkamm, which is adopted by Rowland, represents a departure from the popular notion that eschatology was the predominant or unifying feature of apocalyptic writings. Rowland (1985: 17) considered only certain Jewish writings as true apocalypses. In his estimation, these literatures were clearly distinguished from other Jewish and Christian literatures of the period because they contained disclosures by heavenly envoys to humankind.

In further discussions, Rowland (1985: 386-387) argued that some Christian writings display an apocalyptic perspective in common with other Jewish apocalypses. Rowland further argued that the book of Revelation fits the model of typical apocalyptic writing in both form and content. He also claimed that while the author of Revelation (21:7,18-19) considered this book as prophetic, according to its contents it was clearly apocalyptic (Rowland 1985: 351-352). In Revelation 1:1 the writing is presented as Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "an apocalypse of Jesus Christ." The unifying feature between Revelation and other Jewish apocalypses has been primarily based upon a perception that both include eschatological elements.

As noted, Rowland accepts that apocalyptic literature contains eschatological concerns. At the same time, he did not see this as the most prominent aspect which tied this literature together. He suggested that Christian and Jewish apocalyptic literatures were in harmony in their expectation of an imminent kingdom. However, in my opinion, there are distinct differences about the character of this kingdom. Rowland correctly pointed out one major distinction. Within the book of Revelation, the Christian eschatological perspective involves an expectation of Christ's return and the setting up of an eternal kingdom. Conversely, the Jews did not recognize the future kingdom within the context of Christ representing its head.

The consolidating factor for Revelation and other Jewish apocalypses is an emphasis upon the revelation of unknown information by a seer (Rowland 1985: 356). In Revelation, disclosures are given to Jesus Christ by God. It was Christ rather than a seer who imparted this information to John. Rowland argued that some early Christian literatures manifest outlooks similar to other Jewish apocalyptic accounts. In my estimation, this cannot be strictly true. Rowland appears to be only talking about Revelation, since he does not name other analogous Christian literatures. Moreover, even if Rowland's thesis about what joins Revelation to Jewish apocalypses is accepted, it must be conceded that the character of those declarations is entirely different. The disclosures of Revelation are focused upon Christ. Jewish apocalypses do not acknowledge Christ. In Jewish apocalypses the seer is the one who reveals. In Revelation announcements are imparted by Christ.

In recent times, there has been a tendency to suggest that Jesus may have been influenced by eschatological teachings of the later Second Temple Period. The confined nature of this thesis does not allow for a full exploration of this issue. Nevertheless, there is a lack of distinctive features widely accepted as representing the apocalyptic in the New Testament. Most important, the context of the sayings of Jesus suggests that the kingdom age had begun. Jewish apocalypses stressed the new kingdom was imminent but had not yet arrived (Rowland 1985: 358).

It is interesting that Rowland included the Shepherd of Hermes as a writing that exhibits the persistence of an apocalyptic motif. He acknowledged that this work is practically devoid of any eschatological material, to such an extent that most scholars exclude it from the apocalyptic writings. As I have pointed out, this exclusion does not present a problem for Rowland because he did not consider eschatology as an important apocalyptic aspect. By Rowland's own admission, this writing is devoid of any otherworldly vision. Moreover, Rowland conceded that though Hermes frequently encountered angelic beings, they did not accompany him in a heavenly ascension, as in other apocalyptic accounts. In my opinion, it is most curious that what Rowland identified as the primary element of the canonical and extra-canonical apocalypses, the disclosure of heavenly mysteries by a seer, is not a concern of this writing. Hermes's major objective was to teach a proper Christian response in the face of persecution.

The theory that the Shepherd of Hermes marks a change in the character of the apocalyptic, which, as Rowland (1985: 388-391) suggested was anticipated by Revelation, lacks conclusive evidence. I think that it is difficult to see how Rowland maintains any connection between the Shepherd of Hermes, Revelation, or any other apocalyptic works. To include the Shepherd of Hermes with other apocalyptic writings appears to be a contradiction of Rowland's own definition. This contradiction would be true even if he considered the Shepherd of Hermes as only an example of Christian literature which shows how certain elements of the apocalyptic persisted in the Christian period. My evaluation of Rowland is supported by the fact that the Shepherd of Hermes is not widely accepted as apocalyptic literature by most scholars who suggest that an apocalyptic genre exists.

To resolve scholarly conflicts, Stone (1984: 394) argued that the term "apocalyptic" was not intended as a magical key for understanding aspects of this literary genre. He maintained that a scholarly illusion exists that by defining the apocalyptic we have necessarily said something about this literature. This illusion has led to terminological confusion. Rather, Stone said that the apocalyptic should be viewed as a pattern of thought primarily eschatological in nature which typified some apocalypses but also belonged to other literary genres.

I believe that Stone raised some valid points regarding the apocalyptic literary genre. Perhaps it is not possible to define the so-called apocalyptic genre in the strictest sense, since scholars have been largely unsuccessful in doing so. Scholars do not unanimously agree on one definition that adequately describes all attributes of this perceived form of literature. If an apocalyptic form exists, why do many characteristics that scholars suggest for this genre apply to other literary forms presumably from the same period? I think that Stone may be correct in suggesting that too much is assumed about literature from a mere genre distinction. By the same token, it cannot be denied that apocalyptic literatures contain a number of characteristics which have been identified as displaying an apocalyptic perspective.

Some biblical and extra-biblical writings from Qumran reveal that the Qumran community and the primitive church believed the last age had arrived or was imminent. Several scholars have identified that the Qumran group believed they were the final generation. Both the early Christians and the Qumranites felt that history had reached a crisis situation. They also believed that the powers of darkness and light were positioned to engage in a final struggle. This conflict would result in the ushering in of a new age where God would be in control. This perspective is especially evidenced by the Qumran group, since they interpreted their scriptures eschatologically (Cross 1995: 156,157).

The tendency among modern scholars has been to focus more on eschatological matters within apocalyptic literatures and significantly less on other aspects. VanderKam (1998: 196) correctly assessed that in apocalyptic writings the future was not always a foremost concern for the seer. By the same token, even when disclosures about subjects not eschatological appear in apocalyptic literatures, they are quite often, but not always, associated with eschatological matters. To a certain extent, these writers utilized an apocalyptic outlook to register their protests against aspects of Hellenism that threatened their faith during the time of Antiochus Epiphanies. Apocalyptic authors also sought to encourage readers to remain steadfast and persevere until the new kingdom of God arrived (Russell 1978: 10).

5.3 Theories About the Origin of Apocalyptic Literature

It is difficult to determine whether the questions of definition or of origin of the apocalyptic have aroused the most scholarly controversy, but the two issues are intimately connected. Scholarship has sought the essence of the apocalyptic from its origin (Tigheelaar 1996: 9). Some have suggested that the apocalyptic perspective was influenced by pagan perspectives such as Iranian mythology. Most theories of the apocalyptic have been unsuccessful because they have looked outside the apocalyptic texts when there is insufficient information to conclusively set out the nature of Jewish religious thought for this time (Rowland 1985: 214). Rowland argued that scholars should look within apocalyptic texts to ascertain their origins, setting, and development. In any event, it may be incorrect to assume that any firm conclusions have resulted from recent studies about apocalyptic origins (Rowland 1985: 245).

I am of the opinion that Tigchelaar (1996: 9) was right to suggest that much confusion about the roots of the apocalyptic has resulted from the wrong question being asked. Scholarship has widely assumed that the term "apocalyptic" can be used as a comprehensive expression. Yet, no clear distinction has been drawn between an apocalyptic genre and a theological world view. Moreover, little consideration has been given to the background or purpose of the authors of the apocalyptic literatures. A common assumption within scholarship is that there is only one origin for the apocalyptic when investigation ought to be focused instead on diversified origins. Apocalyptic literatures are highly complex in nature. It would be logical to assume that apocalyptic writings consist of various forms melded together into one literary unit to serve the author's purposes.

I believe it is best to postulate that scholarship cannot simply trace one or two of the various forms back to prophecy or wisdom, for example, and conclude that the apocalyptic originated solely in one of these motifs. To further complicate matters, scholars have mistakenly regarded prophecy and wisdom literatures as distinct literary genres when neither wisdom nor prophecy is anything like a genre. Instead, prophecy and wisdom represent mere designations for collections of books which comprise a wide array of literary forms. Perhaps, Tigchelaar (1996:10-11) was correct to conclude that a proper understanding about apocalyptic matters can only be obtained by attempting to explain why the various apocalyptic features from different origins were finally melded together. Be that as it may, I must determine what scholarship has proposed for apocalyptic antecedents.

5.3.1 *Prophetic Origins*

Many scholars have suggested that antecedents for the apocalyptic derived from biblical writings and foremostly from prophecies (Collins 1979: 29-30). Fitzmeyer (1992: 42) argued that apocalyptic literature is a peculiarly Jewish form of communication that emerged from post-exilic prophetic writings. He further argued that when prophecy served its purpose, the apocalyptic emerged. Scholars who accept that the apocalyptic derived from prophecy have proposed various reasons for this transfer. One prominent theory suggests there was an increased expectation that eschatological hopes would be immediately fulfilled within the ongoing process of history. A sense of eschatological urgency may have resulted from the political climate in post-exilic Judea. This perspective was responsible for a perception that historical circumstances had reached a crisis.

In a search to find messianic ideas in Jewish apocalyptic texts, VanderKam (1998: 196) believed that the Hebrew Bible supplied the foundations for later Jewish apocalyptic thought. He maintained that it was obvious that the authors of the apocalypses drew upon earlier scriptural material. VanderKam also suggested that to a certain degree apocalyptic writings imitated biblical forms. He claimed that important sources for the later Jewish apocalypses could be found within the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible. Some examples include 1 Kings 22; Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 40-48; Amos 7-9; Zechariah 1-8; and Daniel 7-12. VanderKam argued that if one adopts Collin's definition of what constitutes an apocalyptic writing, one would have to assume that there were no Jewish apocalyptic writings before the Hellenistic period. He also suggested that to accept passages such as Isaiah 24-27 and Zechariah 1-8 as apocalypses or at least proto-apocalypses, one would have to accept that a different definition than Collin's must be used (VanderKam 1998: 197).

In my view, VanderKam's assessment cannot be strictly true since Collins also considered the apocalyptic roots as deriving from the Hebrew prophets, especially pertaining to the eschatological predictions of the coming of the "day of the Lord." Collins also regarded this imagery as deeply entrenched in the combat myths of the ancient Near East, as evidenced by Akkadian and Ugaritic texts. While Collins argued that the Hebrew Bible reflects this mythological tradition, I think that he was correct in assuming that all western apocalypticism cannot be traced to a single source (Collins 1998: xv). Nevertheless, Collins argued that a shift from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology eventually took place.

Recent evidence strongly suggests that most Jewish apocalypses have focused upon the antediluvian seer Enoch (VanderKam 1998: 198-199). VanderKam viewed parts of the Book of Watchers (chs 1, 10-11, 14-15 and 17-36) as having apocalyptic characteristics because they contained eschatological topics. He also pointed out that most Jewish apocalyptic passages do not include a Messiah figure. Rather, those texts emphasize the actions of God as executed through his angels. A number of other scholars have gone on record as suggesting that the Hebrew Bible was the true source for later apocalyptic ideals. At the same time, several scholars have recognized that apocalyptic characteristics can also be found in various foreign sources.

Frost (1952: 86) also felt that the apocalyptic derived from a development of prophecy. He suggested that prophecy shifted its eschatological interest from the outworking of Jewish history. This eschatological focus eventually resulted in an impassioned expectation that the end time had arrived. Frost thought that at this point the apocalyptic, in the truest sense, supplanted previous prophetic expectations. Many other scholars have concluded that the “taproot” of the apocalyptic lies in the prophetic roots of the Hebrew Bible. For these proponents, the apocalyptic was essentially a home-grown Jewish product. Others who view apocalyptic origins as resulting from prophetic elements within the Hebrew Bible also allow for a certain degree of foreign influence.

5.3.2 *Near Eastern Mythical Motifs*

Another perspective views the deepest roots of the apocalyptic as deriving from the literature of the ancient Near East sometime in the third millennium. The first scholar who attempted to trace the roots of apocalyptic literature to these ancient texts was Hermann Gunkel. He suggested that the combat myth entered Israelite literature in the monarchic period rather than in the patriarchal era or the Babylonian Exile, as suggested by earlier scholars. Clifford (1998: 4) argued that these ancient literatures are closely related to the Hebrew Bible and were composed in the same poetic tradition. He suggested that of all the genres occurring within these literatures the combat myth was the most significant. Several recurring themes within the literatures of the ancient Near East are reminiscent of those in the Second Temple apocalyptic literatures. These motifs include a divine assembly under God facing a major crisis, interactions with heavenly beings, secret knowledge conveyed to a seer, an exploration of the nature of evil, and an emphasis upon a new order.

The so-called combat myth is a major aspect of Near Eastern lore that probably had the greatest impact upon the later apocalyptic tradition (Collins: 1998: xv). Evidence of the combat myth occurs in early strands of biblical poetry. One example occurs in Exodus 15, which depicts Yahweh’s victory over the sea. The vocabulary and poetic syntax of the Ugaritic texts resemble poetry in the Hebrew Bible (Ex 15; Jdg 5; Dt 33; Ps 114). Hebrew poetry often depicted Yahweh in the language used to describe pagan gods such as Baal.

Yahweh's acts are sometimes comparable to the concepts and terminology of combat myths. For instance, Yahweh is depicted as a storm god who used the weapons of wind, rain, and lightning to defeat His enemies (Ps 18:8-20,29; 77:12-21). Psalms 93, 96, and 114 contain praise of Yahweh for His ancient victories. Some Psalms comprise communal laments for when enemies threaten Israel. In a number of these Psalms, the liturgist recalls instances of original combats where Yahweh was victorious over Israel's foes (cf Ps 74,77,89). Some post-exilic texts see the combat victory as no longer in effect. They petition Yahweh for a victory similar to His ancient ones (cf Is 51:9-11). Clifford (1998: 33-34) saw traces of the combat myth's influence in Daniel 7 and Revelation 4, through the use of terminology and imagery that is reminiscent of the ancient Near East.

5.3.3 *Wisdom Origins*

Some modern scholars have suggested definite lines of connection between apocalyptic literature and the wisdom movement. For example, Von Rad (1962: 303-308) argued that the roots of the apocalyptic could be found in wisdom circles alone. He not only viewed the wisdom tradition as ultimately important, but he totally excluded any prophetic connection with the apocalyptic. Von Rad operated from the premise that there was a definite incongruity between an apocalyptic view of history and that of the prophets. For Von Rad, the sapiential tradition offered a more convincing background for the apocalyptic literature. He viewed seers such as Daniel, Enoch, and Ezra as wise men of wisdom. One major objection to Von Rad's theory for the roots of the apocalyptic involved the lack of eschatological perspectives in wisdom traditions.

Most scholars do not agree with Von Rad's hypothesis regarding apocalyptic origins, even if they agree that wisdom played an important role in this genre or worldview. For instance, Knibb (1982: 155-80) argued that the Jewish apocalypses were a continuation of Old Testament prophecies. He also felt that apocalyptic eschatology was an extension of a future prophetic aspiration rather than emerging from wisdom roots. Many scholars have defended either prophecy or wisdom as the major antecedent of the apocalyptic. In my view, Von Rad's theory is helpful for accentuating problems with approaches to the apocalyptic origins which ignore the possibility of more than one antecedent.

Another type of wisdom possibly exerted a strong influence on apocalyptic thought. Modern scholars have referred to this category of wisdom under the designation "mantic wisdom." This category of wisdom literature involves the aspect of divination rather than a courtly-pedagogical wisdom component. One objection against mantic wisdom exerting a major affect upon the antecedents of apocalyptic thought involves the negative manner in which the Hebrew Bible depicts divination (VanderKam 1986: 167). Moreover, the kinds of predictions that mantic practitioners made appear to have little to do with the eschatological aspects which various apocalyptic seers outlined. Yet, it appears that there have always been acceptable types of divination in Israel. Examples can be found in the *Urim and Thummim* and the ephod. Biblical objections to divination concerned the pagan milieu that Israel's neighbors were involved in and its effects on Israel (VanderKam 1986: 168).

VanderKam (1986: 168-169) thought there were similarities between mantic wisdom elements and prophecy, in the truest sense of the word. He rightly pointed out that a distinction must be made when discussing prophetic antecedents for the apocalyptic. Scholars who have suggested that prophecy represented the basis for apocalyptic roots refer to only a few well-known prophets from the Hebrew Bible in their use of the term prophecy. VanderKam claimed that when one narrowed the focus of prophecy in this manner, mantic elements which have similarities with the prophetic movement in Israel are easily missed. Conversely, by viewing prophecy as a widespread phenomenon within Israel, similarities between mantic wisdom and prophecy become readily apparent.

A number of correspondences between the two viewpoints under discussion were noted by VanderKam. Both were possible because the deity or deities chose to reveal themselves. Prophecy and mantic wisdom dealt with determining the future. They were concerned with deciphering codes or esoteric meanings. Prophets and diviners often resorted to dreams or visions to depict their revelations. Both sides attempted to address contemporary issues of concern by their messages. At times, prophets in the Hebrew Bible were known to divine while diviners prophesied. This fact may suggest a certain degree of overlap in their roles (VanderKam 1986: 169-173).

VanderKam's hypothesis attempts to meld together the components of wisdom and prophecy which many modern scholars have suggested as major antecedents for the apocalyptic. I believe that VanderKam (1986: 174) may have been correct in proposing some congruency between mantic wisdom and prophecy, if prophecy is used to represent a broader phenomenon within Israelite religion. Yet, I am of the opinion that VanderKam's position is confined to prophecy, even though he used prophecy in this broader sense. VanderKam made little or no allowance for what other scholars have identified as antecedents for the apocalyptic. Furthermore, he said nothing about priestly elements within the Hebrew Bible as a possible precursor to predictive elements found in apocalyptic literatures. VanderKam's redefinition of prophecy to combine mantic wisdom elements and prophecy amounts to an attempt to discover a single antecedent for apocalyptic thought. In my view, a number of other sources possibly influenced this literature. In addition, he does not broach the issue of legitimate or illegitimate inquiry within Israelite religion, as it pertains to mantic elements. Pagan mantic wisdom practitioners inquired of pagan gods. This was forbidden by Israelite law (Dt 18:10-14). By the same token, if inquiry was made to Yahweh by a qualified practitioner, mantic elements may have had a degree of legality.

In recent times, other scholars have made the affirmation that the apocalyptic may have its roots not strictly in the wisdom movement, as Von Rad defined it, but more specifically in mantic wisdom. However, an important distinction contrast with VanderKam's position, which finds congruency between mantic wisdom and prophecy and other approaches that allow for mantic wisdom as a possible antecedent for the apocalyptic. These strategies recognize that sources other than the prophetic movement, in either VanderKam's or the conventional sense of prophecy, may have also contributed to an apocalyptic world view (Mastin 1998: 162). To further illustrate that there was a definite element of legitimacy attached to divination, I will briefly examine the book of Daniel. The only aspect of divination to which the author of Daniel refers is the interpretation of omens. Daniel was given the responsibility of overseeing the activities of the wise men of Babylon. These sages were involved in mantic arts such as interpreting dreams by means of divination (Dn 2:48; 4:6-9). This practice of augury did not appear to compromise Daniel's religious convictions.

In the biblical account of Daniel, mantic specialists were unable through consultation with pagan deities to acquire the necessary information to interpret the king's dream. At the same time, king Belshazzar recognized that Daniel's deity was able to reveal this mystery to him (Dn 2:19). Daniel functioned in much the same manner as the Babylonian seers. Yet, his method of mantic practice contrasted with that of his counterparts. Information adduced from Yahweh or His supernatural representatives was completely accurate. Conversely, knowledge adduced by pagan mantic practitioners was inaccurate. There is another further possible connection between mantic wisdom and the book of Daniel. Imagery used to portray various beasts in Daniel 7 and 8 may be traceable to Mesopotamian mantic wisdom traditions (Porter 1983: 15).

Some scholars have suggested that mantic wisdom elements are of no help in determining the origins of the apocalyptic. Reid (1989: 14) argued that when attempts are made to define mantic wisdom as a hybrid of both prophecy and wisdom, the term "mantic" becomes meaningless, since it is never sufficiently defined. Reid's objection can be quickly dismissed, since Mastin (1998: 163) provided an adequate definition of mantic wisdom. Diviners in Mesopotamia composed texts which are extant. According to Mastin, mantic wisdom is what is contained in these texts, together with an understanding of the principles lying behind the practice of divination implicit within them.

Little is known about mantic wisdom in Israel and Judah. Nevertheless, both Mesopotamian and Palestinian mantic practitioners believed it was possible to receive esoteric knowledge from supernatural sources by means of divination. Mantic wisdom continued into the Hellenistic age. The writings of 1 Enoch may have been greatly influenced by it (Mastin 1998: 163). Not all scholars suggest that mantic activity is related solely to wisdom literature. Reid (1989: 22) argued that mantic activity should not be confined to wisdom, prophetic, or priestly activity alone. Mastin (1998: 165) suggested both similarities and distinct differences between Daniel's mantic arts and those of his pagan counterparts. At the same time, he concluded that there were no direct connections between Daniel's interpretations and those found in eastern omen literatures.

Several parallels between the presuppositions of Daniel and Mesopotamian mantic wisdom have been noted. To reiterate, both traditions show that deities sometimes communicate with men through dreams. Similarities between prophecy and mantic lore have also been suggested (VanderKam 1986: 168-176). Daniel's account attests to a familiarity with the activity of mantic artists. It also displays an awareness of appropriate and inappropriate mantic practices. Daniel acquired legitimate information from his other worldly source. Pagan mantic specialists were not able to discern necessary information from their deities. Stating that the biblical author accepted legitimate mantic elements, such as inquiry from Yahweh, is different from saying that the writer of Daniel accepted the validity of non-Israelite mantic practice and thought, as Mastin (1998: 167) suggested. Yet, appropriate mantic aspects appeared to influence Daniel. If mantic wisdom aspects were officially accepted to any degree in Israel and Judah, wisdom or knowledge must have derived from the proper source. This knowledge must also be completely factual (Dt 18: 10-14). I believe that Daniel's account shows that unabridged accuracy is not attainable when the source is spurious. Moreover, the author may have been familiar with pagan mantic arts, but this does not mean that the writer of Daniel advocated the complete assimilation of those pagan elements.

5.3.4 Apocalyptic Origins in One of the Major Jewish Groups Prior to 70 C.E.

The origins of the Jewish apocalyptic or certain expressions of this mode of thinking, as found in parts of I Enoch, date to the third century B.C.E. (Russell 1964: 20-27,284). Several scholars have attempted to establish the derivations of the Jewish apocalyptic in one of the major Jewish sects prior to 70 C.E. Russell suggested there were strong indications that the source of the Jewish apocalyptic was associated with the Hasidim. He also maintained that both the Pharisees and Essenes could trace their beginnings back to the Hasidim. In my opinion, Russell's hypothesis about the origins of Jewish apocalyptic expression being associated with the Hasidim, which he connected with Pharisaic and Essene roots, can be immediately dismissed. I have previously pointed out the possibility that the Essenes may have originated from the pious Hasidaeans. Nevertheless, I have also argued that the origins of the Pharisees probably date to the time of Joshua and Zerubbabel rather than to the time of the Hasidim.

Our knowledge of the Essenes is limited to information presented in the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts. Some of this literature suggests a definite affinity with the beliefs of this Qumran sect and the knowledge presented by apocalyptic writers. Many scholars have also argued that the Qumran fragments of the Book of Watchers, to some degree, reflect the beliefs of the Qumranites. It is debatable whether an awareness of the apocalyptic in the strict sense of a distinct genre, as understood by modern scholarship, exists within the Dead Sea Scrolls. Yet, many of these fragments do contain a definite expression of an apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* (Collins 1998: xvi). Some scholars have argued that the Essenes were not only the bearers of the apocalyptic tradition within Judaism but also produced this literature (Cross 1995: 198–199). This position can be challenged by the fact that many other scholars have shown that apocalyptic ideas can be found in rudimentary form in earlier writings. I am of the conviction that, while the Qumran writings attest to the evolution of apocalyptic ideals, this apocalyptic perspective did not originate within this community or even at this time period. My viewpoint can be adequately substantiated from the number of scholars who have identified apocalyptic origins from much earlier source materials.

5.3.5 Apocalypticism: Product of Philosophers, Poets, and Mystery Religions

An interesting minority position for the origins of the apocalyptic perspective is presented by Cancik (1998: 84–120). He provided a synthesis of Greco-Roman literatures that relate to the ideas of apocalypticism and eschatology.⁴³ Cancik viewed time and history as myth. He said that within this mythical context the writings of philosophers, poets, and mystery religions evidence apocalyptic ideals. Cancik (1998: 84) argued that the forms and genres of various Greek and Roman writings reveal esoteric and otherworldly details unavailable through normal human experiences. Cancik's thesis about antecedents of the apocalyptic has not gained widespread approval. Yet, I believe there may be something to be gained from his excellent assessment of Greco-Roman materials.

⁴³ The phrase "Greco-Roman literatures" pertains to both Greece and Rome. These writings exhibit eschatological and apocalyptic ideals similar to those in certain Jewish works.

Cancik has shown similarities between many Greco-Roman traditions and what is envisioned within the later Judeo-Christian literatures manifesting an apocalyptic perspective. It can at least be said that there is a concern for revelation of mystery by means of visionary journeys, eschatology, and apocalyptic perspectives sufficiently displayed within this tradition. In my opinion, it is doubtful that Cancik's theory for origins of the apocalyptic is tenable. Nonetheless, he did show that Greco-Roman traditions left their mark on the perspectives of writers of later Judeo-Christian apocalypses.

5.3.6 Persian Apocalypticism

In an attempt to explain the origins of Western apocalypticism, Hultgard (1998: 39) provided an exposition of Persian apocalypticism. He thought there were striking similarities between the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic world view and Iranian religious traditions. Some scholars have dismissed Persian religion as a source for the apocalyptic mostly because of problems with dating. The Pahlevi literature that encompasses much of the Persian apocalyptic writings is much later than Jewish and Christian apocalypses. Nevertheless, Hultgard argued for the antiquity of Persian apocalypticism. He maintained that the main elements of this Persian tradition were in place during the Achaemenid period. Many ideas that occur in later Judeo-Christian apocalyptic literature can be discovered within Iran and Zoroastrian religious worldviews. These include the concepts of renewal of the world, the struggle of God and His Messiah against evil, and the personification of Satan and his demons.

The origins of Persian apocalypticism are not readily apparent (Hultgard 1998: 39-40). Older Persian sources, such as the Avesta, contain only intermittent interest in eschatological matters or other concerns evident within Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literatures. It is not until the medieval era that concepts of cosmogony and eschatology are adequately portrayed. Many of these later eschatological ideas are in the context of the individual rather than as a world view within a framework of national historical circumstances. Similarities between Iranian religious concepts and Jewish and Christian apocalyptic ideas, especially regarding eschatology, have provided the impetus for an ongoing scholarly debate. The point of contention involves the issue of whether Iranian ideas provided the source for Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literatures. Many scholars now view Persian influence as inadequate for explaining the origins of the apocalyptic. Nevertheless, a few scholars continue to argue for a Persian source for the apocalyptic (Cook 1995: 4).

5.4 Theories About the Genre of Apocalyptic Literature

5.4.1 *Sitz im Leben*

The quest for the *Sitz im Leben* or social setting in various forms, and genres of literatures has been an essential part of form-critical investigation since the pioneering work of Gunkel (Koch 1969: 21,26-38). Scholarship widely assumes that there is a comparable *Sitz im Leben* within the books called apocalypses. When scholarship has attempted to specify the *Sitz im Leben*, it has produced a wide array of opinions. The apocalypse is a *Gattung* whose *Sitz im Leben* is not fully known (Koch 1972: 21). Nevertheless, I set out to discover what scholars have proposed about apocalyptic literature, since most do not agree with Koch's assessment.

The problem of the relationship between genres and their settings is not peculiar to apocalypses. Scholarship may not have the necessary information to establish the setting of the text as form criticism seeks to understand it. Genres are not always generated by institutional settings and are of different sorts. Moreover, more than one setting may be operative in the shaping of a particular text. Knierim (1973: 441) objected to what he perceived as a false dilemma that many form critical studies have created. After a genre has painstakingly been identified on morphological grounds, these studies continue to look for a *Sitz im Leben* at any cost. This results in many postulations, creations, and even fabrications, when there is often no evidence to substantiate them. I agree with Knierim (1973: 448, 464, 465), who suggested that while a determination of the setting may be important seeking a methodology that recognizes the complexity of the issues is necessary. Other scholars have also felt that the term "apocalypse" and its derivatives were largely responsible for the confused interpretations that resulted (Vorster 1986: 166).

I have raised the issue of *Sitz im Leben* not to use it as a criterion for the purpose of classification or to describe apocalyptic literature. I acknowledge that the socioeconomic and political circumstances of people produced the expectations which are reflected in apocalyptic writings. My understanding of the phrase *Sitz im Leben* is that it refers to a particular social setting rather than a specific time frame. Scholars have assigned the origin of the various apocalyptic literatures to one or another of the major Jewish groups, a process which involves different social settings. It is at this level that scholarly disagreement appears to be most visible (Koch 1972: 21).

5.4.2 *Apocalypse as a Genre*

The Greek word ἀποκάλυψις denotes an uncovering or unveiling (apo, from, kalupto, to hide, cover). Modern scholars have commonly translated the word apocalypse and its derivatives such as apocalyptic into English as a “disclosure” or “revelation.” Many scholars accept that some post-exilic texts share the following common features: a *supernatural mediator* such as an angel or Jesus Christ conveys a revelation to a *human recipient* (a seer or dreamer) concerning future salvation that comes from the *supernatural realm* (transcendent). Vorster (1986: 166,167) argued that there are few “genuine” apocalypses in the sense that scholarship has defined. However, he correctly pointed out numerous texts where the dominating feature was an eschatological perspective. Vorster concluded that the apocalyptic as the name of a literary form or genre, even if it were conceded as authentic, would be rare and relatively unimportant. It would also be a mistake to read apocalyptic texts to decide details about heaven, hell, angels, Satan, or otherworldly features, since these texts were not written for such a purpose. Rather, their main function was to persuade, encourage, and exhort the present generation to persevere despite unfavorable conditions. Vorster did not view apocalyptic texts as a textual type, in the sense that they represented a separate or independent genre (Vorster 1999: 184,185).

The hypothesis of Vorster would suggest that future readers were not to understand apocalyptic texts based upon an apocalyptic genre distinction. Instead, these texts would be intended to relate to a crisis that existed for both the writer and reader. This view would necessarily assume that all the readers of the writer’s present time were well informed about past and present circumstances and considered themselves as presently in a crisis. Eschatological texts appealed to Jews who believed that the old order would be restored with a return to pre-exilic customs. These texts would apply either to a marginal group of Jews who linked old traditions with a new kingdom of Yahweh or to visionaries who longed for a Messianic kingdom. Apocalyptic literatures are strictly narrative texts. As such, it is essential for their narrative properties to be taken into account, since by their very nature they form part of the code for such texts (Vorster 1986: 169,178).

Vorster did not show any awareness of ancient literary devices commonly used in prose sections of ancient texts. Some examples include repetition, synecdoche, merism, hyperbole, and anthropomorphism. According to Vorster (1986: 173), apocalyptic texts were symbolic, with every visionary sign serving a referential function. These literatures were presented within a conceptual framework that the writer and his audience shared. He concluded that apocalyptic works were understood as belonging to the world of fantasy. While Vorster claimed that eschatological texts were not to be comprehended in the form or genre of apocalyptic, he did suggest that they be viewed instead as "myth genre." I must raise several questions at this point. Did Vorster presume to know what was in the mind of the writer or reader of apocalyptic texts? Was the writer fully aware of matters conveyed in his writings? Is it possible that the writer intended eschatological aspects as an actual future representation? Finally, if Vorster is correct and apocalyptic texts represent the genre of myth, then it would be necessary to determine the meaning of the term "myth."

Soggin (1989: 50) set out to establish definitions that distinguish among the various literary narrative genres. He argued that the genres of myth, legend, fable, and fairy tale could be found, to some degree, in the Hebrew Bible. Soggin claimed that myth is a narrative literary genre that appears in most religions. He also said that myth was independent of any historical, geographical, or chronological context. By means of myth, humanity participated actively in prevailing cult activities. In Soggin's view, myth was transcendent of and prior to history. Yet, Soggin believed that to say that myth belongs to the world of fantasy or fable in the modern sense of these words would be wrong. For Soggin (1989: 51), myth belonged to the world of the cult and provided the basis for liturgical action. However, he said that deciding whether religious experience was the basis for myth was difficult. Soggin pointed out that myth as originally understood may have intended to convey some relevant historical facts, possibly serving to effectively retain the memory of actual religious cult experiences. Soggin conceded that Jewish writers, especially those who penned accepted biblical literature, were mostly successful in eliminating mythical views of the universe from their texts. Moreover, he agreed that God revealed Himself through mankind's historical circumstances rather than in mythical narratives as in all other religions. Soggin argued that the notion of a transcendent God intervening in world history could be viewed as mythical. Nevertheless, this notion did not present a problem since the necessity of religious expression originates from the viewpoint of a transcendent deity, God's intervention, the origin of the universe, and its eschatological culmination.

In the view of Soggin (1989: 52), even a superficial reading of the biblical literatures displayed aspects of myth. He suggested that typically these elements were only linguistic and did not extend to the content. Soggin concluded that Israel must have had a remarkably developed mythology. The Hebrew Bible often, if not always, followed a deliberate pattern of demythologizing. Often, the mythical content was reduced to minimum, even if the chief elements that characterize the myth legend had retained lasting effects within cult practices. To illustrate his thesis Soggin (1989: 53) alluded to Psalm 48:3-4, which reads, *"In its loftiness it is a joy of all the earth. As the utmost heights of Zaphon is mount Zion, greatly in the city of our God is the mountain of His holiness. God is in her citadels; He has showed Himself as a fortress."* Zaphon, located in the extreme north of Syria, was known as the mythical mountain of the gods. The mythical folklore of Zaphon was at least partly responsible for an embellishment of the customary depiction of Zion. I am of the opinion that the origins and details about Zion are not mythical since the date for the tradition of Zion representing Yahweh's sanctuary is known.

Negative connotations are usually attached to the term legend because of the way that modern language has interpreted it. Legend is frequently portrayed as the equivalent to a fantastic and mythical story. Yet, in the history of religion the use of the word legend is positive. It is viewed as a record of fact that could have taken place in a historical sense. Legend has its roots in historical experiences of actual people, but has not been considered by most to be in the category of proper tradition. As for fable, it is not a historical literary genre, but its narrative elements could contain valid historical components if dealing with historical people. Fable is a narrative literary genre dealing mostly with animals or plants. It is intended to convey a final moral and usually occurred in fictitious contexts (Soggin 1989: 54,56,57). The Enlightenment and the ensuing focus on rationalism were responsible for negating any historical worthiness of myth, legend, and fable. These modern approaches operated from the principle that only historically accurate material verifiable in a historical-critical setting should be accepted. Thus, little historically accurate information remained, since verification cannot always be determined (Soggin 1989: 57,58).

Comparing these accounts with more reliable materials is always best. The problem, as Soggin viewed it, was that credible sources to make a proper comparison and to establish the authentic historical details in either myth, fable, or legend rarely exist. In assessing the hypothesis of Soggin, I suggest that some of his points make good sense. Conveying accurate historical detail may be possible for myth, fable, and legend, especially in view of the way that these terms were originally intended to be understood. This would be especially true if the writers of biblical texts set out to demythologize these terms, as Soggin suggested. The Book of Watchers is widely accepted by modern scholars as a mythological account that grew in influence. I agree with Collins (1997b: 20) who felt that 1 Enoch 1-36 represents an allegorical account influenced by Hellenistic culture. It is also my opinion that corruption within the priesthood also affected the perspectives of the writers of the Book of Watchers concerning angelology.

I think that Soggin's reference to myth as genre is not accurate, since myth refers rather to a belief. Classifying a story as "mythological" has to do with its contents. The way in which the characters are presented and the content of the account make it either mythological or simply a "myth." Furthermore, since other ancient people also believed that their gods acted in history, this phenomenon was not unique to Israel. The Old Testament contains much material that reflects ancient mythological ideas common in the ancient Near East. Examples can be found throughout the Psalms and Job. Myths have often been associated with fictitious primitive tales. Nevertheless, myth as it relates to the Old Testament contains religious truths that underlie these stories.

Though myths do not contain an accurate reconstruction of past historical realities, they are historically true in the sense that elements contained in mythical stories were compatible with the prevailing world view. Myths are also closely linked to reliable historical details. They represent an accurate reflection of timeless realities embedded within societies. In other words, the religious truths of the myth stories are contained within actual historical circumstances of real people (Van Dyk: 1992:101, 102).

Several scholars have suggested that the apocalypse emerged as a major literary genre around the third century B.C.E. and influenced both Judaism and Christianity. The Enochic corpus is viewed as a tradition that developed around the late third and early second centuries B.C.E. (Collins 1997b: 18). Authors of apocalyptic writings composed their accounts to create the impression that an influential figure from the past received revelation by supernatural means and wrote it down. A plausible reason for this practice was that the teaching within a certain writing was associated with an ancient seer (Stone 1984: 383). Rowland (1985: 2,14) agreed to use the word apocalyptic in the same sense as it occurs in modern usage to describe a literary genre. He also suggested that the apocalyptic should not be viewed as primarily encapsulating a particular literary type with distinctive subject matter, though some common elements occur. Moreover, he did not assume that "apocalyptic" or "eschatology" were the most appropriate terms to describe the state of Jewish beliefs. Rowland claimed that these expressions should only be used to generally refer to the future hope of Judaism or Christianity.

If apocalyptic literature came into prominence during the later Second Temple Period, as most scholars have suggested, then a cogent explanation for the lack of attention to such literature under the "apocalyptic" designation by Jewish authorities is required. The Mishnah has a paucity of information about so-called apocalyptic concerns which are identified as prominent by non-Jewish scholars. In an attempt to explain this phenomenon, Rowland (1985: 271) argued that the Mishnah was not intended as an all encompassing guide to a rabbinic theology. To discover possible connections between rabbinic thought and the apocalyptic genre, Rowland (1985: 348-349) posed the question of whether scholarship could legitimately consider rabbinic mysticism as a continuation of the apocalyptic. He pointed out that there were substantial differences in both form and content between the apocalypses and early rabbinic mystical texts. Rowland argued for a correlation based upon rabbinic expositions of Genesis 1 and Ezekiel 1. He maintained that both the apocalyptic and rabbinic expositors suggested that these texts enabled man to gain new insight into the mysteries of God as they pertain to the cosmos. However, Rowland finally admitted that very little could be assumed from this association, since the apocalyptic has been enforced upon Jewish mysticism.

In his book on apocalypticism, Collins (1998: xiv) indicated that his focus was to consider apocalypses as representative of an inclusive *Weltanschauung* "worldview" rather than a specific literary genre distinction. According to Collins (1998: xv), the unfolding of this apocalyptic perspective in ancient Judaism occurred in three basic stages beginning with the Babylonian exile. A major development in this apocalyptic world view took place in the Hellenistic period. During this time, an acceptance of a belief in aspects concerning the afterlife developed. In the final phase of the Roman period, attempts were made to synthesize the various traditions. This apocalyptic outlook sought answers to expedient concerns that came to a head during the Jewish war.

Though an apocalyptic outlook may have been prevalent within Jewish literature, Jewish authorities do not recognize this apocalyptic aspect, especially in the sense of it representing a distinct literary genre. This point should not be overlooked since Jewish critics should be capable of identifying the character of their own literature. It is uncertain whether this apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* extended to all Jewish groups of the period, but it probably included at least the major groupings. An apocalyptic worldview looked directly toward God for immediate answers to what seemed like unbearable conditions. A major part of this outlook would include looking for revelation about the hidden heavenly world by means of visions.

For over a century the word "apocalyptic" has been used to characterize a set of attributes common to the Apocalypse or the Revelation of John and other Jewish or Christian literatures. From 1970-1979, critical scholarship accentuated the shortcomings of the former treatment of the apocalyptic and set out new proposals. Despite progress in scholarly attempts to identify characteristics of the apocalyptic, many of the previous uncertainties regarding the use of this term remained. The trend in current scholarship is to treat the term "apocalyptic" as a mode of thought rather than as a literary genre. Nevertheless, there is no scholarly consensus for this position. Moreover, the nature and character of the apocalyptic continue to be a source of ongoing conflict, since many scholars continue to insist that an apocalyptic literary genre exists.

The preceding survey concerning the identification of the apocalyptic as a literary genre has revealed the following principles. A simple listing of apocalyptic themes, most often from later apocalyptic works, has not settled the issue of whether the apocalyptic represent a distinct genre. The apocalyptic perspective evolved over the centuries and only became full-blown during the Hellenistic period of Jewish history. Literatures with a rudimentary apocalyptic outlook were considerably different from apocalyptic writings of the late Second Temple Period. I agree with Millar (1976: 9), who concluded that scholarship needs to take a closer look at prosody, literary form, and specific stages of transformation of apocalypses to fully understand this mode of thought. Despite scholarly disagreement regarding the origins of the apocalyptic, we cannot expect to see the same apocalyptic traits as are found in later apocalypses exhibited in earlier wisdom, prophetic, or other literary works.

5.5 The Sociology of Apocalyptic Communities

In recent times, scholarship has begun to look within Israelite society to explain the origins of the apocalyptic. Most previous attempts to find apocalyptic origins have been based upon approaches that have not sufficiently considered sociological aspects of Jewish society. This has resulted in a failure to appreciate the true sources or social setting for this literature (Cook 1995: 5). Prior efforts to solve the issue of apocalyptic origins have revolved around the theory of there being a situation of crisis, distress, or persecution during the Hellenistic period. Although there may be a measure of truth in these conjectures, for the most part, they have lacked sociological precision. This lack has been partially recognized by several scholars who developed similar ideas based upon sociological perspectives. For example, Cross (1961: 55,68, 147) proposed that the Qumran community represented an "apocalyptic community." This idea became widespread and other scholars such as Hengel (1974: 175, 218) asserted that the Qumranites were both the bearers and developers of the earlier Jewish apocalyptic tradition. 1 Enoch originated in circles interested in a cultivation of an apocalyptic eschatology. This apocalyptic perspective provided the sociological matrix for the development of ideas including angelology in the Book of Watchers (Hanson 1975a: 402-409).

The apocalyptic viewpoint which came into prominence during the late Second Temple Period may have resulted from the continued influence of foreign societies. These included the Greeks, Persians, or even the Phoenicians (Stone 1978: 483). Parsons (1963: 80,106,107) suggested that at crucial periods of Israelite history the desire for a radical change in the established order came to the fore. An obvious and early example of this recurring phenomenon can be aptly displayed from the events of 597 and 587 B.C.E., which represented a crisis for Second Temple Judaism (Hanson 1975a: 211-212). The exile, foreign domination, and other catastrophes of the Second Temple Period were no doubt contributing factors to sociological elements that emerged in later Israelite cultures and influenced apocalyptic thought.

It is not surprising, given the ongoing degree of hardship within Jewish history, that eschatological expectations would have been heightened by 70 C.E. The sociological matrix of Judaism possibly consisted of two main camps early in the Second Temple Period. The first was represented by the prophetic elements who predicted change to the established order. This school of thought would have attracted the oppressed, alienated, and destitute segments of Jewish society. Opposing this mentality were various other groups, including priests who were dedicated to the preservation of the status quo. This conflict led to a split in philosophy within Jewish society. The disadvantaged sought a way out of their unbearable circumstances while advantaged segments of Jewish society wanted to maintain their privileged status. When the transformation sought by the underprivileged was delayed, seeking consolation by entertaining otherworldly aspirations would have seemed logical (Weber 1963: 46,65-67,106).

The notion that the apocalyptic emerged because of deprivation of disenfranchised elements in the lower echelons of Jewish society continues to be common. I have pointed out that scholarship's quest for the *Sitz im Leben* within apocalypses has been largely unresolved. Nevertheless, I believe it makes sense to look beyond the deprivation theory to the social context of texts for the origins of the apocalyptic. Before doing so, I would like to make some comments concerning Weber's assessment of the sociological matrix of Second Temple Jewish society.

Some classes of Jewish society were no doubt more advantaged than others. This reality does not mean that all Jews would not have sought a return to their traditional way of life. The exile probably aroused a sentiment of looking toward otherworldly means for deliverance from foreign subjugation. However, it is doubtful that this hope would have been confined to the alienated segments of Jewish society. In a very real sense, all Jews were estranged from the former life they enjoyed in their homeland. It is also unlikely that all priests would have been dedicated to the status quo. Furthermore, not all priests would have agreed about what caused the exile. Some priests probably believed that exogamy was largely responsible for the captivity and did not participate in this practice. Ostensibly, other priests would not have agreed with this premise since they were currently married to foreign women.

The theory of a major split between the prophetic and priestly elements within the sociological framework of Jewish society has no hard evidence to support it. Weber also makes no allowance for eschatological elements originating within the priesthood rather than strictly from prophetic circles. Finally, I disagree that all "advantaged" priests were sold out to the adoption of foreign culture simply to maintain their power. In my opinion, it would make better sense to suggest that the ruling priesthood would have envisioned a situation of freedom from foreign control while maintaining their elite status.

Hanson (1975a: 220) argued that the crisis in the post-exilic community cannot be fully understood apart from the history of ongoing priestly conflicts. He further argued that the Jewish group that carried apocalyptic eschatological ideals into the intervening centuries was the disenfranchised priests. This priestly segment was denied participation in the temple cult in Jerusalem as a result of inter-community struggles that began in the sixth century B.C.E. (Hanson 1975a: 259). Hanson did not allow for the possibility that the alienated priesthood may have been aligned to some degree with some prophetic elements within Jewish society. Here I would like to examine the thesis of Cook in more detail. His sociological work accentuates the fact that deprivation theorists have not accounted for groups at the upper levels of Israelite society, such as the priesthood, as possibly being responsible for apocalyptic origins.

The writings of Ezekiel 38-39 may represent the earliest examples of a biblical apocalypse. These passages have many of the characteristics identified by Cook as belonging to the macro-genre of an apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* found in later apocalyptic writings. Furthermore, I am of the opinion that Ezekiel may have been the originator of the eschatological outlook widespread in later nonbiblical apocalyptic writings. Cook (1995: 97) argued that the school which transmitted and interpreted Ezekiel was located sociologically among the priestly levels of society. In Ezekiel 1:3, Ezekiel is identified as a [Zadokite] priest not a prophet (cf Wilson 1980: 282). This writing also reflects priestly concerns throughout (cf Ezk 4:14; 18:6; 20:12; 36:25; 43:7-9). Ezekiel evidences that it derived from the priesthood by use of priestly language, theology, cultic terminology, and links to the holiness code of Leviticus. Most modern scholars quickly dismiss Ezekiel 38-39 as an apocalyptic source, mostly because they think that Ezekiel could not have had an apocalyptic world view at this early stage (Cook 1995: 109). In my opinion, the major reason for this viewpoint is that modern scholars have either dismissed or overlooked sociological concerns. This lapse is understandable given the general view that apocalyptic writers came from mainstream majority groups which considered themselves as deprived and in a crisis situation.

I believe that modern scholarship has made little or no allowance for the possibility that influential groups do not have to be in the majority. The priesthood represented a minority Jewish group with considerable influence within Israelite society. Priests also had the time and the ability to write about issues of utmost concern to the well-being of the Israelite nation. The beginning apocalyptic traditions revealed in Ezekiel continued in Zechariah (Cook 1995: 133). Some modern scholars have been willing to concede that Zechariah's visions may have been a precursor to a full blown ensuing apocalyptic perspective. Cook went a step further and suggested that Zechariah represented a major source for understanding millennialism among the Zadokite priesthood after Ezekiel's time. In any event, Zechariah displays many apocalyptic characteristics. For example, Messianism is prominent in Zechariah 1-8. Zechariah 6:1-5 also suggests that supernatural agents are poised to intervene in the course of human affairs.

Wilson (1980: 289) argued that Zechariah was a post-exilic temple prophet aligned with the temple cult. However, this assumption is not strictly accurate, since Zechariah is identified as a priest and leader of the priestly household of Iddo (Zch 1:1; Ezr 5:1; 6:14; Neh 12:4,16). Zechariah was also involved with the temple (Mason 1977: 28). Many other aspects within Zechariah strongly suggest this writing was a product of the priesthood. These elements include a concern for cultic purity, Zion theology, priestly motifs, a formalistic style, and the prominence of Jerusalem. Evidence from Zechariah does not corroborate the view that proto-apocalyptic texts originated from prophetic circles, as many have suggested. Instead, this work displays that a millennial worldview existed among the priesthood during the days of restoration. Moreover, this evidence supports the thesis that Zechariah, as a beginning apocalyptic literature, was probably produced by the priestly group. The book of Joel also suggests a continuation of millennialism within the Zadokite priesthood long after the completion of the temple in 515 B.C.E. (Cook 1995: 153,167). This assessment is based upon priestly language, concerns within this writing, and its dependence on motifs found in Ezekiel 38-39. This message is embellished within an eschatological apocalyptic perspective.

At this point, I would like to raise the question of whether "apocalyptic communities" existed in Yehud. Prior to 70 C.E., there was no recognized "orthodoxy" nor was there one specific party whose belief system comprised the norm within Judaism. Though the major Jewish groupings of the Second Temple Period wielded a certain degree of influence, they represented only a small portion of the Jewish population (Russell 1964: 21-22). By the same token, the sociological matrix of these early communities was no doubt confronted with Hellenistic ideas which shaped their religious outlook. Moreover, it can be concluded from the existence of literatures classified as "apocalyptic" by modern scholars that there were societies cherishing certain eschatological ideals. Some scholars have suggested that the apocalyptic mode of thought should be regarded as a "fringe" movement that did not reflect the orthodox Judaism of the period. However, this view erroneously assumes that there was one major grouping "authoritative" within Judaism. Even if the premise that the apocalyptic movement represented an alien element on the periphery of Judaism is accepted, one must also concede that apocalyptic thought became an integral part of Jewish tradition and represented one important aspect of Jewish hopes and aspirations.

Though our knowledge of the Essenes is limited, there appear to be some interesting correspondences between the writings of the Qumran community and other apocalyptic works. These include a messianic hope, a belief in angelology and demonology, future judgment, punishment of the wicked, reward for the righteous, and eschatological ideals. Other Jewish groups such as the Zealots shared some common apocalyptic convictions, including messianic and eschatological ideals.

A connection between the apocalyptic writings and the Pharisaic group has been the subject of a largely unresolved debate. Some scholars have contended that the apocalyptic and Pharisaic traditions are not opposed. For example, Charles (1913: 7-15) made a distinction between what he termed "apocalyptic Pharisaism," which represents a prophetic element, and "legalistic Pharisaism." Nevertheless, the Pharisees' focus was on oral tradition and interpretation of the Torah. This locus differed from the method of the apocalyptic. The writings of rabbinic Judaism, though admittedly later, reflect the state of a much earlier stage of Pharisaism. Rabbinic writings also show little interest in eschatological speculations. However, it cannot be conclusively stated that there was a total absence of apocalyptic ideals within Pharisaism. Within variegated Judaism of the Second Temple Period, the lines of distinction separating the Jewish groups were no doubt less pronounced than they were within Jewish parties that continued their existence after 70 C.E.

In summary, the apocalyptic mind set permeated the sociological fabric of Second Temple Judaism. While apocalyptic ideals were evidently more pronounced in the Essene grouping, they were not confined to any particular party within Judaism. The apocalyptic mode of thinking was probably common throughout minority parties and among other Jews with no allegiance to any religious persuasion. Jews shared in common many misfortunes and travails. Therefore, they were probably united by their common heritage and purpose. Jews also hoped for deliverance from the evil powers that continued to encompass them. I conclude that the existence of literature categorized as apocalyptic by modern scholars suggests apocalyptic communities probably existed in Yehud, which esteemed eschatological ideals.

5.6 *1 Enoch: Apocalyptic?*

5.6.1 *Problems With Modern Classifications of Jewish Literatures*

Not all scholars agree 1 Enoch should be included under the designation of apocalyptic. Some have suggested that 1 Enoch should be categorized as Old Testament "pseudepigrapha" (Evans 1995: 20, 21). The term pseudepigrapha is vague. If the actual meaning of this word is taken into consideration, it would designate writings circulated pseudonymously. Some scholars have chosen this categorization for 1 Enoch because they believe this work was falsely attributed to a famous religious figure from the past known by the name Enoch. The apocrypha comprises a group of Jewish documents dating from the first century B.C.E. These books were probably not excluded from recognized Jewish writings until the Christian church adopted the Greek Canon of the Old Testament. Some pseudepigrapha possibly date to the same time as the apocrypha but only gained acceptance within certain Jewish groups. Rost (1976: 30-31) claimed that the word pseudepigrapha was a misnomer. He felt that some Jewish extracanonical literatures included works that were not covered by this term, but had the same characteristics as other pseudepigrapha.

The term pseudepigrapha denotes an artificial designation which modern scholars have given to a number of mostly early Jewish writings. Some of these works have been grouped together or associated in some way with other literatures, though most of these writings were not connected. The line that defines the categorization of the various Jewish literatures is unclear (Evans 1995: 22). The difficulty with manufactured definitions for Jewish writings became apparent when Charlesworth (1983: xxv-xxvii) and a team of scholars wrestled for a decade with the definition of the category known as "pseudepigrapha." Although they agreed this term was ambiguous and inconsistent, they decided to retain it because of long term familiarity and usage. Writings of the Old Testament pseudepigrapha are numerous and diverse. These writings can be further be divided according to their categories. Some scholars have suggested that several literary genres are represented within this collection, including the apocalyptic writings (Evans 1995: 21). Nevertheless, there is no scholarly consensus for this position.

Both Evans and Charlesworth have exemplified the ambiguity that exists within classifications of Jewish literature by modern scholarship. To further illustrate the problem with categorizations of Jewish writings, McNamara (1983: 49-51) argued that the term “apocalyptic” was a sophisticated word coined by modern scholars to designate many late Jewish and Christian works. The word apocalyptic was applied to many Jewish works because it was perceived they had much in common with the New Testament book known by the name “Apocalypse” or “Revelation.” Later scholars suggested that the terms apocalyptic or apocalypse were to be taken as a literary form.

Artificial categorizations for Jewish literatures are not only ambiguous, but often confusing. This can be illustrated by the fact that the word apocalyptic has often been used in a broad sense as an eschatological referent relating to the end time (McNamara 1983: 17,49). Yet, there is no scholarly consensus about which books are to be accepted under the designation of apocalyptic. The accepted rabbinical title for Jewish literatures commonly categorized as “apocrypha” or “pseudepigrapha” by modern scholarship is “Outside Books.” All ancient Jewish writings not found in the canon of sacred scripture, including 1 Enoch, are incorporated under the title “Outside Books” (Torrey 1953: 37). Scholarship’s insistence upon using artificial classifications for Jewish writings has presented difficulties. Moreover, the terms apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are canon-related and therefore post factum and irrelevant (Nickelsburg 1981a: 6). The designation pseudepigrapha focuses on one aspect of a widely varied group of texts. It ignores the pseudonymity of some so-called apocrypha and apocalyptic literatures. Some examples include Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon, and 1 Enoch.

5.6.2 1 Enoch’s Relationship to the Apocalyptic

The publication of the Qumran manuscripts of 1 Enoch has established that the Book of Watchers (1-36) and The Book of the Luminaries (72-82) date to the third century B.C.E. The content and character of these portions of 1 Enoch are predominantly eschatological (Stone 1984: 391). These Enochic writings are considered as among the oldest of the Qumran fragments (Milik 1976: 104,273).

An extensive motif analysis of various works which are generally accepted as belonging to the genre apocalypse was conducted by Collins (1979: 9). His morphological investigation led to the following definition: "Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient. It reveals a transcendent reality that is both temporal, as far as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial in the sense that it involves another supernatural world. While Collin's definition did not give adequate attention to wisdom elements, 1 Enoch (1-36) generally fits Collin's proposed pattern of genre. Many features outlined by Collins are interspersed throughout the Book of Watchers (Davidson 1992: 65). By the same token, it also appears that Collin's definition falls short of encompassing all the aspects that comprise this section of Ethiopic Enoch. For instance, Collins did not describe the nature of the revelation given by the otherworldly source to the human recipient. The Book of Watchers suggests that the human recipient was Enoch. By the author's own admission, (1 En 1.2) these experiences were visionary. That the events described did not actually take place is an important point. Though Enoch is viewed as a mythical and allegorical account with little or no historical veracity, Enoch purports to have ascended into the realm of God. This assertion would go against the claim of John 3:13 that no man has ever ascended into heaven, the abode of God. This may also be the understanding that the writer of Proverbs 30:4 wished to relate.

Collins considered the apocalyptic origins to be couched in two basic types. The first focused upon the "historical" rise and fall of nations and the expectation of the end of world history. The second category is "cosmic" or "mythical" and is concerned with eschatology as it relates to the individual and the fate of his soul after death. According to Collins, 1 Enoch would correspond to this second type because many of these concerns are prominent within the Enochic corpus, especially the Book of Watchers. Since 1 Enoch was composed during the Hellenistic phase, it may have been impacted by Hellenistic thinking. Thus, the Book of Watchers possibly comprises an allegorical account written to influence the mode of thought of religious Jews of the period. The Book of Watchers, as a literary unit, typified the genre apocalypse (Collins 1979: 15,22). However, as I have pointed out, there has been a considerable range of opinions regarding the characteristics of this genre among scholars who agree that it is an allowable form.

The position of scholars who have almost exclusively defined the apocalyptic in terms of an eschatological outlook is illustrated by Hanson (1975b: 30). He attempted to differentiate between prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology. Hanson felt that prophetic eschatology involved an anticipation of God's intervention in human affairs during the course of a historical process. He contrasted this anticipation with apocalyptic eschatology that envisioned divine deliverance which superseded the usual course of history and was independent of human instrumentality (Hanson 1975a: 11,12). Hanson's theory did not account for the fact that the apocalyptic, especially as it relates to 1 Enoch, involves significant features other than eschatology. For example, a disclosure of heavenly mysteries plays an important role in the Book of Watchers. The Enochic writings also comprise many other aspects that scholars deem equally significant for the identification of the apocalyptic.

The Qumran group was alienated from the Jerusalem temple but considered legitimate cultic worship as important. They viewed the Torah as fundamental to proper worship. Despite these considerations, 1 Enoch was not overly concerned with the Mosaic laws (Hultgard 1998: 158). The Book of Watchers contains a proliferation of angelology which includes distinctive features of supernatural agents. These elements do not occur to the same extent in Daniel or for that matter in Revelation. Most scholars date Daniel between 169 B.C.E. and 165 B.C.E. (Rowland 1985: 13).

Obvious remnants of ancient myth are recognizable in biblical accounts and in the Book of Watchers. Genesis 6:1-4 contains fragments of myth that originally conveyed historical facts. This information had to do with the origin of a generation of giants, heroes, and the offspring resulting from the sexual union between divine beings and mortal women (Soggin 1989: 53). 1 Enoch 1-36 has a considerable interest in the order and functioning of the cosmos (Stone 1976: 441-443). Traditions surrounding Enoch began early and reached their fullness within the apocalyptic literatures. Enoch was portrayed as a man who was involved in a direct relationship with God. Consequently, he was entrusted with God's eschatological plans. Recently, scholars have been more willing to approach the Enochic traditions from a historical perspective (VanderKam 1984: 11).

Modern scholars have argued that Jewish traditions surrounding Enoch resemble an account by a Babylonian priest named Berossus around 280 B.C.E. Berossus wrote a report of his people's myths and a genealogy of the patriarchs in Genesis (5:21-24). Definite points of comparison can be found between Enoch and King Evedoranchos, the seventh predeluvian king of Babylon.⁴⁴ Similarities between these figures have led some to suggest an agreement between Enoch and the Enmeduranki tradition (VanderKam 1984: 116). The Sumerian King List, a schematic chronology of the predeluvian kings, which exists in copies dating from approximately 1500 B.C.E. to 165 B.C.E., is widely recognized as the source of Genesis 5.

The tradition viewing the Babylonian king Evedoranchos as a prototype of Enoch occurred before the discovery of the cuneiform texts. The prevailing lore surrounding Enmeduranki was that he was taken up into the company of Shamash and Ramman, where he was shown the secrets of heaven and earth. Since the discovery of the cuneiform texts, the parallel between the series of ten in Berossus' account and Genesis chapter five is no longer tenable. Most scholars no longer accept that the account of this Babylonian king was essential for formulating the perspective of Enoch in Genesis 5. At the same time, there is an underlying mythical theme occurring within Israel's neighbors where a certain person close to God is taken up to God or the gods (Westermann 1984: 358).

The Book of Watchers was the first Jewish account outside the Hebrew Bible to depict a heavenly ascent. This section of 1 Enoch set the tone for the entire body of later apocalyptic literature. In 1 Enoch 1-36, God welcomed Enoch into His presence without requiring any purification or change in his physical being. Later apocalyptic accounts required the visionary to undergo a physical transformation as a requirement for being in God's company (Himmelfarb 1993: 29). 1 Enoch has received extensive attention in recent times. There is little doubt that 1 Enoch 1-36 is composite in form. These Enochic strands cannot be separated with any precision. A discussion of the dates and prominence of the components of the Book of Watchers may not be profitable for arriving at any certainty about these matters (Collins 1982: 94,95).

⁴⁴ The seventh predeluvian king Evedoranchos is also known by the name Enmeduranki.

The earliest fragment of the Book of Watchers (4QEna) comprises 1 Enoch 1:1-6-12:4-6. The entire Book of Watchers is extant in a fragmentary manuscript that dates to the first century C.E. Several scholars have recognized that 1 Enoch (6-11) is a conflation of two separate traditions about the fall of angels. Within these strands, Semihazah and Asael are respectively identified as the leaders of the fallen angels (Nickelsburg 1977: 383). Few attempts have been made in studies of apocalyptic literature to define Enochic traditions in 1 Enoch 6. There has also been limited deliberation about how these traditions were modified before reaching their final form. The Book of Watchers appears to be presupposed in the book of Jubilees, which dates to the second century B.C.E. (VanderKam 1978: 7,235).⁴⁵ The Qumran manuscripts establish that from the first half of the second century B.C.E. onward, the Book of Watchers had the same form as the Greek and Ethiopic versions (Milik 1976: 25). 1 Enoch is also alluded to in Sirach 44:6; 1 QapGen 2:2; and Hebrews 11:5-6. The Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees display a clear affinity with the Enochic literature (Stone 1984: 395).⁴⁶ The Book of Watchers is classified as an apocalypse primarily because of its depiction of an otherworldly journey and its concern with eschatology (Collins 1979: 23).

An almost universal element within many Jewish apocalypses is revelation by means of visions from an otherworldly source (Davidson 1992: 65). This element is of course a prominent feature of 1 Enoch (1 En 13.8; 14.8). Jews of the Second Temple Period were no doubt faced with numerous conflicts and challenges to their religious outlook from the pressures of Hellenism. In some cases, these frictions may have extended to all Jews. By the same token, these Hellenistic ideals would have been especially troublesome to specific religious Jewish groups such as the Qumran community. The influence of Hellenism on aspects of Jewish religion probably was partly responsible for the Qumran group's retreat from society.

⁴⁵ Examples of an awareness of Enochic traditions in the Book of Jubilees include Jubilees 4:16-23, which refers to Enoch's stay with the angels (1 En 17-36). Jubilees 4:22 alludes to the story of the Watchers (1 En 6-16). Possible parallels and antecedents between Enoch and Taaotos, the Phoenician culture bringer, have been suggested (VanderKam 1984: 182).

⁴⁶ A possible connection between Enoch and pagan mythology may indicate that Jubilees was not totally dependent upon 1 Enoch. Nevertheless, Jubilees probably considered 1 Enoch as authoritative to some degree.

To a large extent, most religious Jews would have felt that present critical circumstances were beyond their immediate control. Therefore, many Jews sought alleviation of their perplexing concerns by means of the supernatural. These conditions probably played a major role in the makeup of the apocalyptic worldview reflected in many Second Temple literatures. The writers of the Book of Watchers appear to be facing a cultural crisis which involved aspects of appropriate religious thought and practice.

5.7 Conclusion

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to resolve the scholarly debate surrounding the use of the terms "apocalypse" or "apocalyptic." Most theories concerning the origins of the apocalyptic have involved a discussion about antecedents within Israelite religion. These speculations have generally focused on the immediate post-exilic period. A few scholars are willing to include some books of the Hebrew Bible as shedding light on the exilic and post-exilic periods. Nevertheless, this inclusion has not aided the cause of conclusively outlining Jewish religious thought, since our knowledge of Jewish history in this period is scanty. Rowland (1985: 113) conceded this point by suggesting that it would only be appropriate to provide a survey of the various approaches to the question of possible origins for the apocalyptic genre. Scholarship has widely acknowledged that the blossoming of apocalyptic thought took place in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. I disagree with theories that suggest the apocalyptic ideals originated at this time. Rather, it is my conviction that the rudimentary form of apocalyptic thinking derived from a much earlier period.

One prominent theory finds antecedents for the apocalyptic in Old Testament prophecy. Others maintain that the apocalyptic represented an extension of prophecies. Most scholars do not accept Von Rad's assessment that origins of the apocalyptic derive strictly from a wisdom source. At the same time, many agree that wisdom motifs played a role in apocalyptic texts. For example, some scholars have argued that the roots of the apocalyptic derived from mantic wisdom proponents which are evidenced in Mesopotamian literatures.

VanderKam (1984c: 190) thought that divination provided the thought-world for the eschatological revelations that occur within Jewish apocalypses, including 1 Enoch. Many scholars do not see significant links between the apocalypses and ancient Near Eastern omen literature. Some connect apocalyptic origins with Akkadian prophecies. I think that there may be more of an interrelatedness between wisdom, prophecy, and priestly elements pertaining to mantic arts than has been conceded. I also disagree with Mastin who suggests that the writer of Daniel accepted the legitimacy of divination, unless he means divination in an allowable biblical sense. This conclusion would suggest that the object of inquiry was Yahweh rather than pagan deities. At the same time, I believe Mastin (1998: 169) was correct to conclude that many other factors influenced the writers of Jewish apocalypses. I conclude that mantic wisdom may have made an important contribution to later Jewish apocalyptic thought. For instance, mantic wisdom may have influenced the book of Daniel. Yet I feel it would be incorrect to conclude that the apocalyptic derived solely from mantic wisdom or any other single source. In the final analysis, I agree with Mastin (1998: 169) who thought it would be incorrect to overemphasize the role that mantic elements played in apocalyptic literature.

The theory of the apocalyptic originating within a major Jewish group prior to 70 C.E. is highly unlikely. This assumption is based upon the premise that the Pharisees and Essenes can trace their roots back to the Hasidim. While this tracing may be possible for the Essenes, Pharisaic origins probably date to the time of Joshua and Zerubbabel. Collins may be right to suggest that the roots of the apocalyptic may, in part, hearken back to mythological traditions of the ancient Near East, especially in the combat myths. If there is a flaw in Collins' thinking about possible origins of the apocalyptic, it is that he did not give sufficient consideration to wisdom aspects. In Collins' defense, he did caution against attempting to trace the beginnings of Western apocalypticism to a single source (Collins: 1998: xv). This concern was rightly echoed by Tigchelaar (1996: 10). It is my conviction that many cultures in close proximity to the Israelites no doubt contributed one or more elements to the development of apocalyptic thought, since Jewish apocalypses are not a unique phenomenon in the ancient Near East or even in the Hellenistic world.

Modern scholars have outlined a number of similarities between Israelite and non-Israelite traditions. Nonetheless, there is no conclusive evidence to support the notion that Israelites adopted this pagan legacy in any wholesale manner (Tigheelaar 1996: 11). The possibility of Persian apocalypticism being the source for Western apocalypticism should be dismissed, since Persian writings are obviously later than Judeo-Christian apocalypses. I am also of the opinion that any number of influences from a variety of sources could have shaped the apocalyptic. Furthermore, there is no single source which can be proposed with absolute certainty as being the sole origin of the apocalyptic, whether we considered the apocalyptic as a literary genre or as only a prominent world view (cf Morris 1972: 33).

Sociological approaches look promising and are beginning to provide new insight into the origins of the apocalyptic. Some sociologists have identified ongoing crisis situations within Judaism throughout the Second Temple Period. These difficult circumstances were largely responsible for precipitating a full-blown eschatological expectation during the Hellenistic era. The problem with most sociological approaches, in my view, is that scholarship has not gone beyond deprivation theories in a search for apocalyptic roots. There has also been little or no recognition of the possibility of the apocalyptic originating within the influential, elite, and minority segments of Jewish society, including the disenfranchised priesthood.

It is my conviction that the most sensible theory regarding major influences on the apocalyptic was proposed by Cook. His theory exemplified that scholarship has sought apocalyptic origins without due consideration for sociological elements within Israelite society. Cook adequately displayed apocalyptic characteristics within Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Joel. More significantly, Cook has shown evidence of recurring priestly concerns within these writings. Another factor not conceded by scholarship is the possibility of scribal influence within the priesthood. Passages in Ezekiel show evidence of systematic literary activity among the priesthood. I also believe it is fallacious to assume that the temple cult did not purvey an eschatological apocalyptic outlook. To my mind, the most promising thesis for apocalyptic antecedents involves looking within the Jewish priesthood. I feel there is substantial evidence within biblical writings such as Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Joel to support the position that a major source for the apocalyptic lies in priestly rather than prophetic or wisdom circles.

Wide-ranging debate concerning the nature of the apocalyptic has taken place in the past decade. These deliberations have resulted in scholarly opinion being divided about the origin and essence of apocalyptic texts. Some view the so-called apocalyptic form or genre as an artificial creation. Others suggest that even if an apocalyptic genre exists, it is a strict designation of a form and says nothing innately about the content of this literature. A majority would perhaps suggest that the term apocalyptic implies certain characteristics. Still others have suggested that the apocalyptic was rare in its truest form and merely provided the venue for an eschatological focus. Despite considerable disagreement about the prominent features of this literature, its form, and possible origins, the perception of an apocalyptic genre coming into prominence during the later Second Temple Period persists. Presently, no scholarly consensus exists concerning whether the apocalyptic represent a distinct literary genre or simply a *Weltanschauung* or worldview. I am of the conviction that the apocalyptic should not be viewed as a literary genre. Moreover, I side with scholars who think the apocalyptic should be viewed as a prominent worldview, recognizing that many common elements exist within these writings (cf Rowland 1985: 2,14; Collins 1998: xiv).

Scholarly studies involving apocalyptic literatures commonly designate various Jewish texts as apocalypses based upon some modern conception of genre. While useful for the purposes of categorization and analysis, these designations amount to scholarly exercises. None of the Jewish works currently identified as apocalypses were originally classified under this designation. The Book of Revelation was the first writing to describe itself as an apocalypse. It was not until the end of the second century that Christian authorities who anticipated modern attempts for classification of this literature first used the term "apocalypse" in reference to a select group of Jewish writings. This artificial creation of an apocalyptic genre has been responsible for confusion within scholarship (VanderKam & Adler 1996: 8-9). Some have applied the apocalyptic designation to a group of Jewish and later Christian writings because of their perceived affinity with the New Testament book of Revelation. Yet there is no consensus about which books are to be included under this manufactured designation or whether such a designation even exists.

As mentioned, Jewish scholars and authorities do not recognize the artificial categorization proposed for Jewish literatures by modern critical scholarship. At the same time, it could be argued that the Jewish designation "Outside Books," which includes all ancient writings outside the canon of sacred scripture, is also artificial.⁴⁷ Despite obvious incongruity, a persistent notion within modern scholarship is that an apocalyptic genre exists (Collins 1979: 3-4). Further, it is widely held that the Book of Watchers, as a literary unit, typifies the genre apocalypse (Collins 1979: 15,23). I agree with the assessment of VanderKam and Adler. They suggested that the word "apocalyptic" has mostly been used to designate a perceived literary form which is essentially an artificial creation. At the same time, I hold the conviction that an apocalyptic worldview is prominent in 1 Enoch. I also think that scholarship should not view the apocalyptic in exclusively eschatological terms, though this perspective is certainly predominant in many apocalyptic writings.

There has been a growing awareness within recent scholarship about the inadequacy of traditional ways of defining attributes of the apocalyptic literatures (Martinez 1998: 163). Even if an apocalyptic genre exists, there is presently no agreement about which characteristics encapsulate this literary form. This lack of agreement is exemplified by the fact that before the end of the second century citations from the so-called Jewish apocalypses do not recognize anything distinctive concerning this literature (VanderKam & Adler 1996: 9). At the same time, scholars have rightly identified that some Jewish Outside Books which modern scholars call apocalyptic have specific characteristics not found in other literatures. Nevertheless, despite scholarship's abiding fascination with the apocalyptic, the character of this literature continues to be largely enigmatic.

⁴⁷ My intent is not to debate or elaborate on the issue of the time or extent of the canon of scripture. I merely point out that Jewish literatures have been categorized by modern critical scholarship and Jewish authorities respectively. I suggest that there are problems with artificial categorizations regardless of their origin.

Despite a general fluidity in the macro-genre of apocalyptic, certain basic elements recur within apocalyptically oriented writings. Some examples include a millennial world view, eschatology, an expectation of world destruction, and a demise of the enemies of the righteous. There is also an anticipation of direct intervention by otherworldly forces such as God, his agents, or a savior figure. Other common features include ethical dualism, numerology, pseudonymity, and cosmic renewal, which realizes past expectations and anticipates a radical change in present circumstances (Cook 1995: 27). Various scholars have identified many other characteristics within apocalyptic literatures.

Broadly defined, the apocalyptic encompassed an eschatological perspective. This view was based upon the conviction that God had revealed the conclusion of an ongoing struggle between good and evil in the cosmos. An apocalyptic viewpoint also epitomized the feeling that the state of world affairs had reached an ultimate crisis situation. Jews of this epoch would have had a sense that current circumstances could not be resolved without God's intervention. Consequently, many Jews probably expected that their God would not only solve their present unbearable circumstances but would usher in a new age of peace and prosperity. In this sense of a general definition for apocalyptic literatures, I believe Martinez (1998: 162) was correct in viewing the Qumran community as an "apocalyptic community." This is evidenced by the fact that this mode of thought is interspersed throughout many Qumran manuscripts, especially the so-called "sectarian" writings.

Attempts to delimit apocalyptic writings beyond a general definition have resulted in inconsistencies and scholarly disagreement. To further complicate matters, some characteristics used to depict apocalyptic literatures occurs in writings no scholar would consider categorizing as apocalyptic. At the same time, many compositions which modern scholarship has widely recognized as apocalyptic lack elements thought to be part of the apocalyptic makeup. Although Collins (1979: 13) identified two major types of apocalyptic literatures that have gained wide acceptance, a measure of incongruence concerning Collin's categorizations still exists (Martinez 1998: 163). To illustrate, VanderKam (1998: 196) pointed out that some apocalyptic literatures have, while others lack, an otherworldly journey with a seer who receives revelations from a supernatural source.

Considerable uncertainty, unrest, and tension existed just prior to the 70 C.E. as religious Jews of the late Second Temple Period tried to make sense of their present circumstances. This unstable state of affairs provided fertile ground for an apocalyptic hope of immediate deliverance from increasingly undesirable conditions. This apocalyptic outlook was proliferated in the Hellenistic and Roman phases of the Second Temple Period, as a response to these pressing challenges. This situation quickly escalated into a crisis. Apocalyptic works probably intended to exhort and console (Hellholm 1986: 27). It became increasingly evident that a confrontation with the Romans was inevitable. Thus, the perception that the only means for deliverance must come from divine sources grew. This view is reflected in the ensuing apocalyptic literatures, which included the Book of Watchers.

Despite an incongruity about the characteristics of apocalyptic literatures, the Book of Watchers contains many elements identified by a number of scholars. 1 Enoch 1-36 is concerned with eschatology, otherworldly concerns, and the notion that God or some other supernatural beings such as angels were in ultimate control of Jewish fortunes. Other prominent apocalyptic ideals include a perception that Jews were facing a crisis, an imminent expectation of a new age, and a disclosure of revelation by an otherworldly being to a seer. The idea of individual members of humankind taking part in a resurrection, judgment, rewards, and punishments is also displayed in several apocalyptic literatures (cf Dn 12:2; 1 En 90:31-36).

It has not been my intention to try and solve the riddle concerning the exact nature and character of the apocalyptic writings. In the final analysis, perhaps it would be best to view apocalyptic literature as representing a worldview largely indebted to ancient Near Eastern myths and the Hebrew priesthood. For the purpose of this survey, I believe the writer of the Book of Watchers utilized a prolific angelology within the context of allegory to forecast his message, by means of a broadly defined apocalyptic perspective.

CHAPTER SIX

The Book of Watchers: Context and Authorship

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with issues related to the apocalyptic perspective. To reiterate, several scholars thought that 1 Enoch relates to an apocalyptic genre that emerged in the third century B.C.E. (cf Russell 1964: 20-27, 284; Stone 1984: 383). I argued that the writings of 1 Enoch probably did not warrant a specific genre distinction but did exhibit an apocalyptic world view. I also stated that apocalyptic antecedents derived from a variety of sources prior to the Hellenistic period. In my opinion, priestly elements, as contained in the Hebrew Bible, represent a major antecedent for the full-blown eschatological aspects of later Jewish apocalyptic literatures.

In this chapter, I will narrow the focus of this thesis to 1 Enoch, the Book of Watchers. Several issues surround this writing. For example, what were some prevailing concerns of this composition? Is there sufficient warrant for concluding that a priest may have written the Book of Watchers? To what extent were other Second Temple Jewish literatures aware of Enochic concerns? What were the implications of Hellenism for Judaism and the Book of Watchers? Further issues have to do with the state of the Jerusalem priesthood of the late Second Temple Period. What was the social status of the priesthood within Jewish society? Did Jews in this later era look favorably upon the priesthood? Were most priests loyal to their avocation? If the writer of the Book of Watchers was a priest, did he see himself as remaining faithful to the dictates of his calling? A final concern involves the setting and purpose of the Book of Watchers.

The book of Ben Sira commented upon the state of affairs in the Hellenistic phase of the Second Temple Period. I will not only look at his comments about various issues but also at how these interests compare with those of the Book of Watchers. It is important to establish a sense of how the Book of Watchers has been viewed. This will set out a proper context for ensuing discussions in the next chapter, which involves the tradition of the Watchers and the Nephilim.

6.2 *Dating and Authorship of 1 Enoch: Brief Comments*

There is general scholarly agreement that the Qumran community was established around the middle of the second century B.C.E. (Milik 1959: 49-51; Cross 1961: 57-61; Allegro 1964: 94-95; Charlesworth 1980: 213-33).⁴⁸ Ever since the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, there has been an ongoing debate about the dating of the various manuscripts (Bruce 1964: 37). Some scholars have raised the question of whether the Enochic material from Qumran was written by the Qumran sect, asking whether others composed the fragments of 1 Enoch and deposited them at this location. Davidson (1992: 19) argued it was unlikely the Enochic writings were a product of the Qumran writers. Even if Davidson is correct, scholarly opinion and paleography date the various Enochic fragments to the period of the Qumran settlement. Modern scholarship generally concedes that Ethiopic Enoch is a composite work. Thus, we must necessarily speak of "dates" rather than a "date" for these writings. There is no scholarly consensus for the specific dating of the various fragments of 1 Enoch. The Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book are dated in the third century B.C.E., the same century in which the book of Ecclesiastes was written. Ecclesiastes was included in the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, but the writings of 1 Enoch were not. We can only speculate about the reasons why 1 Enoch was excluded.

Most scholars have suggested that Israel lived in a culture where oral tradition played an important role. Some oral traditions may not have been written down until a much later time. The Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book represent the oldest extant extra-biblical Jewish literatures. It is possible that the sources of the Book of Watchers may be older than the writing down of its present form (Stone 1978: 484). Nevertheless, recent scholarship generally agrees that the Enochic corpus represents a tradition that evolved in the late third or early second centuries B.C.E., before the Maccabean revolt (Collins 1997b: 18,20).

⁴⁸ We encounter problems reconstructing Jewish history after 70 C.E. since Josephus's narrative ceases after that time. Consequently, we must piece together Jewish history from scattered sources. The Qumran community, which possibly involved the Essenes, may have been wiped out during the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 66-70 C.E. (Grabbe 1991c: 585, 587). This did not mean the Essenes ceased to exist because involvement in a Jewish religious group may have been a part-time pursuit. Thus, some Essenes were probably a part of the mainstream Jewish society.

Some Qumran manuscripts, including Jubilees, the Testament of Naphtali, and the Genesis Apocryphon give Enoch credit for writing an account of the flood. These writings suggest that Enoch directed others to pass his account down to future generations. Some Church Fathers also felt that Enoch was an actual historical prophet and possibly wrote parts of 1 Enoch. Most modern scholars have argued that these assumptions are inconclusive. Who was responsible for composing the various sections of the Enochic corpus? Before we can attempt to decide the authorship of 1 Enoch, it is necessary to look at the social and religious setting at the time of Enoch's composition. My concern is not so much with the authorship of the various sections of 1 Enoch as with speculating about who possibly wrote the Book of Watchers.

6.3 The Social and Religious Setting of 1 Enoch

6.3.1 The Implications of Hellenism for Judaism and 1 Enoch

I have pointed out that the conquests of Alexander the Great were responsible for significant changes. Many scholars have suggested that the impact of Hellenism was widespread and profound. Most of these alterations involved literature, language, civil law, and economic aspects. Religious Jews under Alexandrian rule were able to continue most aspects of their traditional worship since the Greeks welcomed polytheism. Therefore, Jews would have been willing to go along with most Hellenistic elements, unless they compromised the practice of traditional religion. Most modern scholars have suggested that 1 Enoch was composed during the period of Greek influence. Perhaps one of the greatest examples of the far reaching effect of Greek culture was the translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek before 200 B.C.E. This fact showed that Greek had been widely adopted as a vernacular language by most if not all Jews, who had either forgotten or set aside the Hebrew and Aramaic dialect.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ By this time, Jews began to use allegory to interpret their scriptures. Allegorization essentially sought the underlying meaning of texts. The literal was considered as a kind of code, which needed to be deciphered. It was widely held that the true meaning could be discovered at the allegorical level, while the literal was regarded as mostly superficial and insignificant.

Greek philosophers were embarrassed by the unethical conduct of their mythical gods. Allegory provided a methodology of interpretation that allowed the Greeks to revere mythical stories but dismiss absurd or immoral elements. Jews in Alexandria and Egypt were influenced by this Greek philosophy. They adopted allegory in order to accept Greek philosophy and their own scriptures at the same time. The Jews were also concerned with anthropomorphisms and immoralities in their sacred writings. Allegorization provided a means of defending Jewish scriptures against the Greeks. Philo of Alexandria was a significant figure in the development of an allegorical methodology. He sought to defend the sacred Jewish writings against both the Greeks and the Jews, utilizing allegory to achieve this goal. By the same token, Philo also allowed for a literal interpretation if a passage did not indicate it should be taken allegorically. Aristobulus was a Jew who lived around 160 B.C.E. He felt that Greek philosophy borrowed from the Jewish scriptures. Aristobulus believed that the Jewish writings could only be interpreted by allegory (Zuck 1984: 30).

The Qumran community incorporated a type of interpretation similar to allegory. This methodology was referred to as "peshet interpretation." For example, a passage from the commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab 2:17) is interpreted in the following manner: "Lebanon" stands for the Communal Council and "wild beasts" for simple-minded Jews who carry out the law." Evidence of Jewish allegorization can be found in the Letter of Aristeas. Composed in Greek, it dates somewhere between 130-70 B.C.E. and its author is unknown (Evans 1995: 30-31). The letter claims to originate from Aristeas, who was an officer of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.E.), and is cited by Josephus (Jos Ant 12.2.1 14-16). The Letter of Aristeas 6: 40-41 reads, *(40) For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud" represent to the initiated the symbol of memory. (41) The act of chewing the cud is nothing else than the reminiscence of life and existence.* These passages suggest that the literal acts of certain animals had symbolic meaning for Jews. The Septuagint is a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. This Greek version purports to originate at the time of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.E.), according to the Letter of Aristeas. I have previously mentioned that the authenticity of this letter has been questioned. Nevertheless, Josephus recounted this tradition (Jos Ant 12.2.1 11-12.2.1 15). Philo also accepted the story regarding this translation as authentic (Philo, *Life of Moses* 2.7). This view was adopted by the early Fathers and the Christian church (cf Evans 1995: 73).

Regardless of the tradition surrounding the Septuagint, this Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible made deliberate attempts to remove anthropomorphisms of God. For example, the Hebrew of Exodus 15:3, "*Yahweh is a man of war,*" is rendered in the Septuagint as "*The Lord crushing wars.*" In Exodus 32:14, "*And the Lord repented of the evil,*" is replaced in the Septuagint with "*And the Lord was moved with compassion.*" The Hebrew of Numbers 12:8, "*The form of the Lord,*" is translated in the Greek as "*And the Lord was moved with compassion.*"⁵⁰ The main development of apocalyptic thought took place within Judaism during the Hellenistic phase of the Jewish Diaspora (Collins 1998: xv). Jews were influenced by an allegorical model of interpretation derived from the Greek philosophers, as evidenced in many Jewish writings of the time. Most scholars agree that some portions of 1 Enoch were composed during the Hellenistic period. Therefore, it is possible that these sections reflect an allegorical perspective prominent at this time.

6.3.2 *The Temple, Priesthood, Scribes, and Levites in the Jewish Diaspora*

Modern scholars generally acknowledge that priests had little political power after the Roman conquest. Nevertheless, most religious Jews demonstrated a continued loyalty to the Jewish laws and the temple. Services, offerings, and sacrifices which took place in the temple were regarded as sacred. Moreover, the priesthood was respected by most Jews (Sanders 1992: 47,48,53). For example, Josephus recorded that Jews in Mesopotamia made dedicatory offerings to the temple in addition to their regular payment of the temple tax (Jos Ant 18.9.1 312). The Essenes considered the priesthood as illegitimate in its present form and had withdrawn from it. At the same time, they were in favor of authentic temple homage. Scholars have offered several reasons for the Essenes' objections to temple worship as conducted by the priesthood at Jerusalem. One possible reason why the Essenes as well as some other Jews refused to participate in temple worship may have stemmed from the priests representing the laws and temple rituals allegorically rather than literally. If true, this would mean that Hellenism had infiltrated aspects of Jewish ritualistic worship.

⁵⁰ Translations of the Hebrew are taken from the King James Version.

Although most Jewish literatures were favorable to the temple, much criticism was directed toward the priesthood. One Jewish writer opposed the Jewish temple and looked forward to the day when all temples would be rejected. The author of the Sibylline Oracles viewed all temples as *“useless foundations of dumb stones . . . defiled with blood of animate creatures”* (SibOr 4.24-30). Perhaps a major reason for the widespread acceptance of the temple was that Jews believed God was present in the temple without being confined to it. This same idea is expressed by the author of 2 Maccabees 14:34-35: *“Then the priests lifted up their hands to heaven, and besought him that was ever a defender of their nation saying; Thou, O Lord of all things who hast need of nothing, wast pleased that the temple of thine habitation should be among us.”* Josephus also acknowledged God’s special connection to the temple in his quotation from Titus: *“any deity that once watched over this place had ceased to regard it before the Roman destruction”* (Jos War 6.2.4 127).

Priests and Levites were responsible for serving in the temple and the Mosaic law required religious Jews to support them. According to Numbers 18:20, the descendants of Aaron, which represented the priesthood, received no inheritance. God promised to provide for them through sacrifices and offerings (Nm 18:8-13). The Levites also did not receive any land but were compensated with tithes (Nu 18:21; Dt 18:1-5).⁵¹ Another source of concern was the sacrificial system. Some scholars have suggested that the priesthood was accountable for the impoverishment of the populace by requiring them to routinely sacrifice. Evidence for such abuses is minimal and inconclusive. During the period when Jewish Palestine was governed by the high priest, from the fifth century B.C.E. to the reign of Herod, biblical laws concerning the temple and support of the priests and Levites were upheld by most Jews with little if any objections. Herod and his successors mostly supported the temple and its officials because they considered this to be conducive to maintaining a stable environment. The high priest was partly responsible for any unrest or disruption to the peace of the kingdom by Jewish dissidents (Sanders 1992: 79-80).

⁵¹ Modern scholars have suggested that the temple and the priesthood were corrupt toward the end of the Second Temple Period. One area of suspected abuse included dishonesty by the priesthood in the buying and selling of animals for sacrifice.

When priests and Levites were not attending to temple matters they resided mostly in Jerusalem. However, apparently some priests and Levites lived with the general populace in the various towns of Judea (Neh 11:20). According to Nehemiah 11:3, some priests and Levites, together with other temple servants, owned property. A total of 1,192 Jews were connected with the priesthood. There were also 284 Levites and 172 gatekeepers who assisted the priests in temple service (Neh 11: 10-15,19).⁵² The duties of the priests and Levites would have likely involved one week in every twenty-four plus pilgrimage festivals (Sanders 1992:170). Thus, these temple officials would be able to be involved in secondary pursuits for much of the time. It is possible that they may have been teachers or assumed some kind of leadership role within their communities.

Nehemiah 8:7-9 suggests that the Levites assisted the priests in teaching the people a proper understanding of the law. Levites also acted as judges in matters pertaining to the law (cf 1 Chr 23:2-5; 2 Chr 17:7-9; 19:8-11). A chief priest may have been appointed to oversee the Levites (2 Chr 19:11). Most of the information about priests acting as scribes in the Second Temple Period derives from Ezra and Nehemiah. Other nonliterary evidence for the existence of this office has been previously noted.⁵³ Levites were not included under the designation "scribe." They accompanied the priests, who may also have been considered scribes (Neh 8:9). The title of "scribe" encompassed a number of activities, including copying texts, drawing up legal documents, and acting as experts in religious law. The office of the priesthood was exemplified by Ezra, who came from Babylon. Ezra was well versed in the Law of Moses. He devoted himself to the study and observance of the law and taught these precepts to the Israelites (Ezr 7:6,10).

⁵² In this passage, Gatekeepers are distinguished from Levites as a distinct class of temple servants. However, 1 Chronicles 23:5 suggests that 4,000 Levites acted in the capacity of gatekeepers.

⁵³ See page 16 of this thesis. Some modern scholars have objected to the exclusive use of Ezra and Nehemiah as a source for reconstructing Jewish history in the Second Temple Period. Nevertheless, most modern scholars accept the reliability of some of this material. In the absence of other sources it is necessary to refer to these writings.

Ezra specifically focused on pointing out practices contrary to a proper understanding of the Law of Moses. For example, he indicated that the people of Israel, including the priests and Levites, had not kept themselves separate from the detestable practices of the surrounding nations. Israelites had married foreign women and the priests, along with other Jewish officials, had led the way in this unfaithfulness. Ezra devoted himself to the unfavorable task of displaying these and other sins to the Israelites (Ezr 9-10). The Levites assisted Ezra in this mission (Neh 8:9-12). Although Ezra's message was unpopular, most Jews acknowledged his pronouncements. Many Jews agreed to deal with their sinfulness, by eradicating past sinful behavior (Ezr 10:13,14,16,17). They separated themselves from all foreigners. Jews also confessed their sins and those of their fathers (Neh 9:2,3). Only Jonathan, the son of Asahel, and Jahzeiah, the son of Tikvah, supported by Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite, opposed these actions (Ezr 10:15).

The activity of the priests, Levites, and scribes, as evidenced in the early post-exilic period, continued into the first century and became more pronounced (Sanders 1992: 171). There was also an increase in corruption among these accepted Jewish authorities. The author of Malachi recorded that the priests were guilty of showing contempt for the name of Yahweh by offering defiled sacrifices on the altar (Ml 1:6-14). As a result, Yahweh cursed the priesthood (Ml 2:1-4). The priests and Levites were responsible for imparting false teachings to the Israelites, causing them to stumble (Ml 2:7-8). Jewish officials were also guilty of showing partiality in matters of the law. Therefore, Yahweh allowed unfaithful priests, Levites, and scribes to be despised by all people (Ml 2:9). According to Deuteronomy 17:8-13, the priests, who were also Levites, were to render decisions in difficult cases from the law courts. The Israelites were instructed to do everything the priests taught because the priesthood was expected to administer Yahweh's righteous judgments. The priests were required to show integrity because they represented Yahweh's holy name (Dt 18:5). They were also considered to be appointed by the command of God, and even the king was subject to the priests' teachings (Jos Ant 4.2.4 24). Moses had consigned the law to the priests and all the elders of Israel (Dt 31:1). However, Josephus included the priests but not the elders as responsible for the Book of the Law of Moses (Jos Ant 4.8.44 304).

Josephus maintained that the Jewish system of law was superior to that of other nations. The Jewish judicial order envisioned Yahweh as governor of the universe and priests as administrators of divine justice. The priesthood were not chosen for their standing or abundance of riches. Rather, they were appointed because their prudence and righteous conduct exceeded that of all others. Josephus regarded the Jewish priesthood as a sacred trust. Viewed in this light, the priesthood represented the Israelite nation's rulers, judges, and administrators of Yahweh's righteousness (Jos Ap 2.22 184-187; 2.23 188). At times, Jewish people opposed the priesthood, as in the case of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. However, they did not desire to change their system of priestly subjugation since they had received it from their forefathers (Jos Ant 14.3.2 41).⁵⁴ Thus, while there was a generally favorable attitude toward these Jewish officials in pre-exilic and early exilic times, an attitude of dissatisfaction developed among many Jews. A major reason for this disenchantment involved the increasing oppression of many priests in the later Second Temple Period. This despotism was especially true as the priesthood moved further away from divinely instituted ideals. Though Jews generally accepted the idea of subjugation to the priesthood, this acceptance did not mean some Jews were not intermittently dissatisfied with priestly directives.

Some scholars have suggested that by Josephus's time the Pharisees had taken over the scribal, judicial, and teaching roles from the priests. Others argue that priests maintained their earlier roles but shared some responsibilities. There is no conclusive evidence to support this position. Even if the priests did relinquish some or all of their roles to the Pharisees, there is no way to determine when this took place. During the time of Hellenistic dominance from the third and second centuries B.C.E., Jewish society continued under the authority of the priests, Levites, and scribes as instituted after the return from Babylonian captivity (Safrai & Stern 1976: 561). Thus, we can assume that priests had authority when the Book of Watchers was written.

⁵⁴ Josephus claimed to be a priest by descent. He was acquainted with prophecies in the sacred writings and was an expert in the law. He argued that a true priest would have been aware, as he was, that God had ordained the Romans to win the war against the Jews. Josephus' account is biased since he was defending his position of siding with the Romans as the will of God, which was explained to him by visions from God (Jos War 3.8 351-352).

6.3.3 *The Social Status of Priests Within Jewish Society*

6.3.3.1 *Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira, or The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirah*

This Jewish writing is commonly referred to as Ben Sira or Sirach. Ecclesiasticus; “the church book” is a name given to this work in the Latin tradition. Sirach is accepted by the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Russian Churches. The original fragment was composed in Hebrew by Joshua ben Sira (ca. 180 B.C.E). Around 132 B.C.E. Sirach was translated into Greek by his grandson. This writing may have been intended as two volumes (chs 1-23 and 24-51) with each section starting with an encomium (Evans 1995: 13). The discovery of a large portion of the original Hebrew texts has exposed a number of textual problems which have put Sirach in a questionable light. For example, there are clear traces of Essene redaction that introduce substantial conceptual modifications not extant in the original (Boccaccini 1991: 77).

Despite some evidence of tampering, Ben Sira is important for our purposes. The writer probably belonged to the priestly class. He commented about the state of the priesthood during the Hellenistic period. This writing reflects that tensions existed within Jewish society from its contact with Hellenistic culture and an erosion within the priesthood. Most significantly, the book displays several of the ideas that appear in other Second Temple writings of the Hellenistic period, especially the Book of Watchers. These include the method for obtaining knowledge, the value of the law within Jewish society, the origin of evil, the freedom of human will, God’s mercy, justice, and salvation (Boccaccini 1991: 78).

Sirah portrayed a critical period of Jewish history in which conflicts over several unresolved issues had been increasing. Was the eventual salvation of Israel solely dependent upon divine intervention? When could the Jews expect fulfilment of the promises that Yahweh had covenanted to them? Who was responsible for the continued evils, such as the Exile, that befell them? How was it possible to maintain the veracity of the Jewish scriptures and not offend the Hellenistic authorities? To complicate matters, the priesthood, who was supposed to represent Yahweh, was in an obvious state of disarray. The priests had compromised their position of exemplifying the interests of Yahweh and were in many respects self-serving. How could religious Jews look to the corrupted priesthood to solve these and many other perplexing concerns?

To make matters even more enigmatic, Jews were facing increasing tensions from the forces to which they were unwillingly under subjugation. With this context clearly in view, I will look at how Ben Sira comments about the priesthood and other related issues. I will then examine how the Book of Watchers displays, in an allegorical sense, some of the pertinent issues of this time. Ben Sira was written prior to the persecution of Antiochus IV and essentially described Jerusalem in a state of social transformation. The writer of Sirach fully esteemed his social standing as well as his religious position as priest. Ben Sira was aware that society was beset with problems which arose from the social divisions between the rich and poor. He admonished pious Jews to look to Yahweh alone, as opposed to the priesthood, for their ultimate salvation. In chapter thirteen he wrote:

The rich man has done wrong, and yet he threateneth withal; the poor is wronged and he must intreat also (v 3). If thou be for his profit, he will use thee: but if thou have nothing he will forsake thee (v 4). If thou have need of thee, he will deceive thee. . . (v 6). If thou be invited by a mighty man, withdraw thyself. . . (v 9). Love the Lord all thy life, and call upon him for thy salvation (v 14). . . . and what peace between the rich and the poor? (v 17). As the wild ass is the lion's prey, so the rich eat up the poor (v 19). As the proud hate humility: so doth the rich abhor the poor. (v 20)⁵⁵

The writer of Sirach probably felt that he represented one example of a priest rightly related to Yahweh. Apparently, Ben Sira did not necessarily equate riches with evil. He may have attempted to justify his social standing and to legitimize priests having wealth in the following statement: "*Riches are good unto him that hath no sin and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly*" (v24). Though Ben Sira was rich, he was careful to dissociate himself from those who despised the poorer classes within Jewish society. His sympathy for the poor, the laborer, and the oppressed is expressed in Ben Sira 13:21-22: "*The bread of the needy is their life: he that defraudeth him is a man of blood (v 21). He that taketh away his neighbour's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a bloodshedder*" (v 22).

⁵⁵ Perhaps Ben Sira was attempting to get his Jewish audience to revert to their early roots rather than to depend upon a corrupted priesthood for both their immediate and eschatological deliverance.

Many abuses were evident within the priesthood during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Nevertheless, as earlier pointed out, most Jews believed the priesthood was ordained by Yahweh. This ongoing support for the Jerusalem priesthood is reflected in Ben Sira 7:29-31: "*Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence his priests (v29). Love him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not his ministers (v30).*" These passages are reminiscent of the Shema (Dt 6:4,5) and show the importance of honoring the priesthood. Honor is equated with fearing and loving Yahweh, perhaps the most important law of Judaism (Wright 1997: 193).³⁶ Sirah also admonished religious Jews of the Hellenistic period to uphold the priesthood, despite its obvious failures. To the writer of Sirah, the pious Jew fulfilled the law by offering proper sacrifices in a right attitude to the Lord, even in sickness. Though obviously corrupted, the priesthood within the Jerusalem temple was the correct means of doing so (Sir 35:3-12; 38:9-11). The temple at Zion was widely known as a place where wisdom dwelt and it was commended by Ben Sira (Sir 24:1,2, 10-13). The holy temple is recalled as a place destined for everlasting glory (Sir 49:11-13).

In summary, Ben Sira was probably a priest. He administered his activities during the Hellenistic period of Jewish history. Even if Ben Sira was not a priest, his writing reflects the legitimacy of the priesthood and the temple during this time. Sirah admonished Jews to continue to honor and make proper use of the priestly institutions which were ordained by God. Ben Sira also taught respect and concern for the poor as a proper attitude for temple worship.

6.3.3.2 *The Priesthood and the Issue of Foreign Marriages*

Tobiah was the founder of a family which had returned from the Babylonian exile and was included with several other families unable to prove their Israelite descent (Ezr 2:59-60; Neh 7:61-62; 1 Esd 5:37). The name Tobiah is connected with an Ammonite official who aided Sanballat in openly opposing, mocking, and intimidating Nehemiah as he attempted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 2:10,19; 4:3,7; 6:17-19). Tobiah was held in high esteem by Eliashib the priest. Eliashib provided Tobiah with a large room in the temple (Neh 13:4).

³⁶ Jesus's teaching (Mk 12:29,30) suggests that he considered the Shema as one of the most important Jewish laws.

Prior to their return from Babylonian exile, when the Israelites gathered to hear the reading of the Law of Moses, no Ammonite was permitted into the assembly of Yahweh. All people who were not of Israelite descent were also excluded (Neh 13:1-3). Tobias and Sanballat married directly into the family of the high priest (Neh 6:16-18; 13:28). During this time, the matter arose about whether marriages of Israelites to foreigners were permissible. At issue was the political and theological definition of Israelite society (Albertz 1994: 530). Some Jews considered this practice as unfaithfulness to Yahweh and the cause of the wickedness that had come upon Israel (Neh 13:23-28). For these adherents, marriage was a theological issue. They regarded marriage of members of the priesthood with foreigners as a defilement of the covenant between the priesthood and Yahweh.

Others Jews viewed marriages between Israelites and outsiders as a step toward a cementing of political alliances which ensured some measure of Israelite independence. This position was buttressed by the fact that marriages between priestly families and foreign converts of Yahweh had taken place in Samaria (Neh 13:28) and aided the cause of political stability. Josephus outlined the debate that resulted over the issue of foreign marriages. He suggested that this issue was the cause of great disturbance among the Jews of Jerusalem (Ant 11.8.1-3 304-312). The rise of the Tobiads, closely associated with the priestly upper class, was responsible for strong Jewish opposition, especially within the lower classes who objected to an alien atmosphere infiltrating Jerusalem (Safrai & Stern 1976: 562).⁵⁷

6.3.3.3 Further Priestly Abuses Prior to the Roman Era

Several other contentious issues which continued into the Roman era involved the office of the priesthood. The Psalms of Solomon is a collection of eighteen war songs that date to the middle of the first century C.E. Originally written in Hebrew, they are now only extant in the Greek. These Jewish writings portray the Pharisees as righteous and the Sadducees as sinners. The writer suggested that several sins were responsible for the impending conflict with the Romans.

⁵⁷ Some scholars have suggested that the house of Tobiah, which vied with the house of Onias for the priesthood in the third century B.C.E., descended from Tobiah (2 Macc 3:11).

The abuses outlined in the Psalms of Solomon probably involved the priesthood, since their context involves the temple. These offenses included adultery, plundering the sanctuary, approaching the altar of God in a ceremonially unclean state, and defiling the sacrifices with menstrual blood. These corrupt acts surpassed the sinfulness of the heathens. The writer of the Psalms of Solomon suggested that the atrocities of the priestly representatives resulted in Yahweh decreeing war against Jerusalem and surrounding lands (PssSol 8).

The Dead Sea Scrolls confirm some of these priestly sins. The Commentary on Habakkuk summed up the attitude toward the Jerusalem priesthood in the following statement: "*Priests of Jerusalem, heap up wealth and unjust gain from plunder of the people (1QpHab 9:4-5). The wicked priest did works of abominations and defiled the temple of God (1QpHab 12:7-9).* Elsewhere, this wicked priest is identified as "*the man of the lie*" or the "*preacher of the lie*" (1QpHab 2:1f, 10:9). The Damascus Document suggested that priests had intercourse with their wives during periods of uncleanness, committed incest, and stole (CD 4.17-5.12; 6.15-17). The priesthood of that time is also portrayed as "*a man of mockery*" who led Israel astray (CD 1:14). Finally, the Testament of Moses 6.1 accused the Hasmonean priest/kings of impious behavior in the Holy of Holies.

6.4 Priestly Concerns in Ben Sira Compared With 1 Enoch

Two sections of 1 Enoch, the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book, are roughly contemporaneous with Ben Sira. Wright (1997: 196) argued that Ben Sira was written as a response to contrary views concerning the priesthood and the Jerusalem temple. I will now set out to discover how the Book of Watchers reflects upon the priesthood and the temple. It is necessary to look at how this section of 1 Enoch comments upon other important issues in this Hellenistic phase of Jewish history. While Ben Sira contemplated priestly concerns, his focus differed from the Book of Watchers. Ben Sira composed his work at the beginning of the second century B.C.E., a crucial time in Jewish history when tensions over unresolved conflicts were created. This dissent involved the issues of God's covenant, promise and fulfilment, and salvation by means of direct intervention by God or His agents into the historical circumstances of the Jews (Boccaccini 1991: 78).

Ben Sira exhibited priestly interest for the law throughout his writing (Sir 1:26; 6:37; 21:11; 32:15,23,24; 33:2-3; 39:1-4). His main concern was for a proper understanding of the law as the basis for attaining wisdom. Ben Sira, a representative of the priesthood, considered himself a disciple of wisdom who exemplified a proper understanding of the law (Sir 38:24-27,33,34; 51:13-14,19, 22-26). He viewed the priesthood as responsible for maintaining a state of precise order in the world (Sir 38:34). Ben Sira admonished pious Jews to also seek wisdom from the priesthood by showing proper reverence for them (Sir 7:29). In doing so, they would show a true attitude of fear for the Lord and obtain valuable discernment. As mentioned, many abuses of priestly power had taken place by this time, and some Jews were no doubt critical of the Jerusalem priesthood. However, most religious Jews were probably willing to heed priestly teachings because the priesthood was part of an established tradition instituted by God and inherited from their forefathers.

Priestly concerns are revealed in the Book of Watchers in a manner different from Ben Sira. This section of 1 Enoch is primarily concerned with the law of God as it relates to a proper ordering of the cosmos. The writers of the Book of Watchers reflected on the disorder in the priesthood by depicting lawlessness in the angelic realm. Ben Sira viewed the improper exercising of human free will as responsible for the origin of sin and evil in the world, resulting in an "*eternal covenant*" with death (Sir 14:17). Conversely, the Book of Watchers, by using Stars as a metaphor for the fallen Watchers, considered them as perpetrators of a disruption in the cosmos and the originators of sin and evil upon the earth (1 En 18:14-15 cf 21:3-6; 80:1-7).

Ben Sira meticulously avoids any speculation concerning angelology and demonology. One possible reason for this is that Ben Sira excluded the idea of human nature being influenced by outside agents (Sir 21:27). The idea that angelic forces, as depicted in the Book of Watchers, were responsible for the corruption of the entire world may have been the result of radical demythologizing by Ben Sira (Boccaccini 1991: 105). However, I think that Ben Sira did not speculate about supernatural agents because he believed that evil resulted within human nature rather than from metaphysical forces.

Several scholars have pointed out that Ben Sira was concerned with presenting the priesthood in a favorable light. It is possible that Ben Sira, as a priest, was aware of the prevailing criticisms of the priesthood and offered an overt polemic against them (Wright 1997: 190-191). Can the same be said of the writers of 1 Enoch, who wrote in an allegorical fashion defending a proper priestly understanding of issues facing the Jews? Furthermore, were the writers of Ben Sira and the Book of Watchers both reasserting, in their own unique manner, a proper priestly understanding of the laws, as outlined by Ezra and Nehemiah? A positive view of the priesthood and ethical concerns are equally apparent in Ben Sira's account (Wright 1997: 192-193). I am of the conviction that ethical concerns presented within the Book of Watchers also reflect priestly interests, but in a more covert manner than in Ben Sira.

A proper attitude toward God and His laws (Dt 6:1,4) is reflected in Ben Sira 7:29-31. Ben Sira viewed a proper fear of God as necessary for attaining wisdom (Sir 1:14-20). A correct response to God's laws and a posture of fear toward God is also a prominent feature of the Book of Watchers. The Enochic authors suggested that wisdom and secret knowledge were given solely to God's elect (1 En 1:2,8,9; 5:7-9). The writers of the Book of Watchers depicted allegorically that the Stars or fallen Watchers failed to show a proper attitude toward God's laws (1 En 18:14-16). Ben Sira explicitly stated that God did not accept sacrifices from the unrighteous (Sir 35:1-12) but embraced offerings from the righteous (Sir 35:90).

With an allegorical understanding of the Book of Watchers in mind, I think the fallen Watchers may have represented those who offered sacrifices in an unethical manner, failing to honor God. For Ben Sira, an appropriate response to God resulted in finding favor with God, even on the day of one's death (Sir 1:13; 43:26). This idea also occurs in the Book of Watchers. Those who exhibit a proper attitude will be blessed and have God's light upon them, but all who fail in this regard will be destroyed (En 1:8-9; 5:4-8). Ben Sira suggested that the sacrifice of a just man is acceptable through keeping God's commandments (Sir 35:5-7). The Book of Watchers is concerned with an eradication of all injustice, iniquitous deeds, defilement, oppression, and sin as precursors to cultic worship and an acceptable sacrifice (En 10:20-22).

The authors of the Book of Watchers viewed those who offered unacceptable sacrifices as defiled and eschatologically in a state of perpetual chastisement (En 14:1,4-6; 21:1-10; 90:24-27). Ben Sira suggested that the Jew who fulfills the laws of God gives due respect by offering temple sacrifices in a state of righteous conduct (Sir 38:9-11). Ethical and priestly concerns are also ultimately important to the writers of the Book of Watchers. Concern for the temple can be found in 1 Enoch 90:28-29. These chapters describe a time when the old temple will be abandoned and replaced by a greater one containing all of God's sheep. In the time of the end, the "*eighth week*," "*A house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore*" (1 En 91:13). This statement corresponds to several passages from Jubilees concerning the temple: "*God will build his own sanctuary* (Jub 1:17, 27). *In the time to come the sanctuary of the Lord will be created on Mount Zion* (1:29). *God's people will build his sanctuary "unto all ages"*(25:21). Ben Sira showed priestly concern for the holy tabernacle, which was established in Zion and located in Jerusalem, where the priests received their power (Sir 24:1-12). The Book of Watchers also refers to the holy mountain (Zion) and the temple in Jerusalem, which he calls blessed and a place to marvel at (En 26:1-6).

In 1 Enoch 14, the Watchers are depicted as priests of the heavenly realm. The priestly role of the Watchers is implicit in the language of the Book of Watchers. Enoch was sent to intercede for the Watchers. However, God ostracized the angels because they should be mediating for man rather than having man arbitrate on their behalf (En 15:2). Intercession is part of the priestly duties. The defiling nature of the sexual activity between the angels and human women is outlined in 1 Enoch 15:1-7. The Watchers' involvement in unholy alliances is reminiscent of Ezra's concern with Jews marrying foreign women (Ezr 9-10). Marriage of ordinary Jews to foreign women was distressing for Ezra and Nehemiah. When such marriages involved the priesthood, they threatened the status of God's people and put the sanctity of the temple at risk. The sexual actions of the Watchers with mortal women constituted a state of impropriety. They also recall the many accusations against priests of the Second Temple Period (Himmelfarb 1993: 23; cf Pss Sol 2:11-13; 8:9-13; TLevi 4:14-29). The Testament of Levi 4:17 mentioned the priests being joined in unlawful union. This is likened to the evil state of Sodom and Gomorrah. Levi predicted that for a period of seventy weeks the priesthood would profane their sacred office with polluted sacrifices (TLevi 4:24).

The Book of Watchers does not present all the Watchers as bad. The natural inference is that not all earthly priests are evil. Just as some Watchers continue in faithful service in the heavenly temple, some priests do likewise in the earthly temple. The Watchers allude to Enoch as “*a scribe of righteousness*” with the task of pointing out the defilement of the fallen Watchers (1 En 12:3-6). God also referred to Enoch by the title of “*scribe of righteousness*” (1 En 15:1). The writer of Jubilees viewed Enoch as not only a scribe but also a priest (Jub 4:23,25). Ezra was probably a priest and scribe (Ezr 7:1-6; Neh 8:9). Scribes had the capacity to write in a largely illiterate society. Enoch is portrayed as a priest through the nature of his intercessory role with man, God, and the angels. The Book of Watchers is concerned with the purity of the angels (6-11 and 12-16). Priestly purity was a concern for religious Jews in the late Second Temple Period (Suter 1979: 118-119). Just as the illegitimate sexual mating of the Watchers resulted in expulsion from the heavenly temple, priests involved in impious unions were also to be banished from the Jerusalem temple (Suter 1979: 123-124). A concern for priestly purity may also suggest that the writer of the Book of Watchers was a priest. In such a case, he was probably convinced that Jerusalem priests were defiled and should be banned from temple service (Wright 1997: 198). I agree with Wright that the writer of the Book of Watchers was probably interested in portraying himself as a righteous priest. I also think that he had the scribal capabilities to properly address issues facing the Jews of his time and to explicate reasons for past evils through his depiction of Enoch.

The Book of Watchers does not explicitly mention the solar calendar. However, this system was considered as accurate by Jubilees, the Astronomical Book, the Qumran community, and is assumed by the Book of Watchers (VanderKam 1994: 39). 1 Enoch 1-36 lacks details of the calendar which occur in the Astronomical Book. A bitter dispute may have existed among Jewish religious authorities about whether to follow the lunar or solar calendars (Nickelsburg 1981b: 48). The Astronomical Book considered proponents of the solar calendar as righteous, but followers of the lunar calendar as sinners (1 En 82:4-7). 1 Enoch 80:1-2 suggests it is important to follow the proper calendar in relationship to feasts, pilgrimages, and temple activities. This information provides another reason for my conviction that 1 Enoch originated in priestly circles. Scientific speculations such as calendrical interests, which are prominent in 1 Enoch, are traditionally discussed within priestly circles (Stone 1978: 489).

6.5 *Conclusions*

This thesis has attempted to establish a context for discussing Enochic angelology. It appears obvious to me that a parallel regarding the issue of sexual misconduct between fallen angels and wicked priests exists in the Book of Watchers. Various Second Temple literatures, including the Book of Watchers, indicate many concerns about the Jerusalem priesthood toward the end of the Second Temple Period (Nickelsburg 1981a: 586). These writings probably suggest a growing tradition in many Jewish circles that the priesthood was defiled. I believe the Book of Watchers provides ample evidence for suggesting that a disenfranchised priest, who was predominantly concerned with priestly corruption, composed this account. This priestly writer probably held many grievances against the Jerusalem priesthood. I also think, considering the degree of Hellenistic influence by this time, that it is reasonable to assume that the priestly Enochic composer expressed his concerns allegorically. The Book of Watchers shows that the writer considered himself a faithful priest in the midst of many unfaithful priests. Therefore, this Enochic author no doubt felt qualified to address the priesthood's indiscretions, which he felt were largely responsible for the current plight of God's people. Allegory was an accepted paradigm of writing among the Greeks. The Book of Watchers should not be understood as literally depicting what actually took place in the angelic realm. Rather, we must look for the author's interpretive clues underlying the narrative story.

The assembly to which the various Enochic writings were addressed did not represent a single group or an organized social movement. These Jews probably represented part of a broad tendency within Jewish society to criticize the Jerusalem priesthood. Major issues of contention involved temple leadership, conduct of temple worship, the official calendar, and excessive Hellenization. Other concerns included accommodation of the Gentiles, oppression of the poor, and social ills. Our knowledge of this Jewish society is too scanty to give more than a glimpse of the ferment that produced this degree of anti-priestly sentiment. The Book of Watchers addressed issues of utmost importance to religious Jews of the Hellenistic era. An overriding concern within this writing concerned marriages between Jews, especially priests, to forbidden women. Many Jews would have shown a keen interest in what the Enochic writer said, especially if he was a priest, since most religious Jews still considered the priesthood a legitimate part of their Godly heritage. If the Jews were in crisis, as many modern scholars have contended, it would have been necessary to ascertain a priestly perspective for the major concerns facing them.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Tradition of Angelology Within Israelite Religion

7.1 Introduction

The remainder of this thesis will focus upon angelology within the context of Israelite religion and 1 Enoch. I will mostly be concerned with the Book of Watchers, since this section of Ethiopic Enoch involves the mythical story of the fallen Watchers. Consulting other parts of 1 Enoch to discover how they comment about angelology may also be necessary. Several questions need to be investigated. Where did the idea of angels originate? Was a belief in angels always a part of Jewish religion? Was there an established tradition concerning angels prior to the Second Temple Period? Why was the notion of angels introduced into Israelite religion? Did the philosophy of the nations surrounding Israel influence Jewish perspectives about angels? During the process of exploring issues relating to angelology, I will also analyze passages concerning angels within the Hebrew Scriptures. What Hebrew terms are used in reference to angels? Did the Israelites' understanding of angels change, within the framework of their religion, throughout the Second Temple Period? Do passages that involve angels in the Hebrew Bible depict supernatural or human agents? These are some of the issues I will consider in this chapter before approaching 1 Enoch 6 and Genesis 6:1-4. My overall goal is to determine how 1 Enoch's angelology influenced Second Temple Judaism. It is also necessary to discover how the various biblical and other traditions possibly contributed to a developed understanding of angels evident in Ethiopic Enoch.

Before exploring the topic of angelology, I will look at the background of Israelite religious history to discover the period of the biblical books. The religion of Israel changed over the centuries. In broad terms, Israelite religion began with polytheism, evolved into monolatry and eventually into monotheism. Therefore, ideas about angels would reflect a process of change during this period of development. It must be recognized that the distinct strands which modern scholars have identified in the Hebrew Bible can be linked to various origins. Since these sources do not come from the same historical time frames, we would expect a difference in their presentation of angelology. With these aspects in mind, I will provide information to determine the various traditions within the Pentateuch.

7.1.1 *Source Traditions Within the Pentateuch*

The following outline of the JEDP sources indicates the arrangements of the distinct strands that were used in composing the Pentateuch by the final redactor. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Yahwistic “J” and Elohistic “E” documents. The “J” material has been called Yahwistic because the author favored “Yahweh” as the divine name, while the editor of “E” preferred “Elohim.” My intention is not to settle the dispute between critical scholars about when these two traditions converge. It is also beyond the scope of this thesis to determine whether the “J” or “E” strands predominate in a particular passage. For example, most of the book of Numbers is possibly composed by either of these two traditions. Priests of the northern kingdom codified their legal heritage in what is known as the book of Deuteronomy. Modern scholars refer to this work as the “D” document or “Original Deuteronomy.” The “P” sources reflect priestly concerns. Although the “D” and “P” sections of the Pentateuch do not explicitly describe divine messengers, they may briefly allude to supernatural beings in both of these strands. I present the following information only to establish a general outline for the different strands within the Pentateuch.

7.1.2 *Literary Analysis of the Pentateuch*

Numbers in bold with brackets signify that the text is composed of two traditions. Sometime in the tenth century B.C.E., possibly during the reign of Solomon, some parts of the national saga were put into writing for the first time (Ellis 1976: 56-57). I will outline only the books of the Pentateuch and the JEDP sections that are important for a discussion of angelology.

7.1.2.1 *Genesis*

J 6:1-8; 16:1b-2,4-14; 18:1-33-19:1-28,30-38; 24:1-67-25:1-6; 25:18; 32:(2,3)-13a;
32:24-33:1-17; 48:(8-22).

E 22:1-10,12,13; 32:(1-3); 35:1-8; 37:5-11; 48:(8-22).

7.1.2.2 *Exodus*

J 3:7-8,16-20; 14:19-20.

E 3:1-6,9-15,21,22; 22:1-30; 23:1-32.

7.1.2.3 Numbers

J 22:(2-41).

E 22:(2-41).

P 7:1-89.

7.1.2.4 Deuteronomy

D 32:1-47

7.1.3 A Chronological Record of the Composition of the Old Testament Books

The chronological composition of the various Old Testament books was furnished by Rogerson (1999: 70-71). This summary may differ slightly from the one provided by Ellis for the tradition of the Pentateuch because Rogerson attempted to outline when the Pentateuch began to reach something like its final form. The synopsis of both Rogerson and Ellis will serve as a general guide for when the different writings of the Hebrew Bible were composed. This synopsis will also provide a context for a discussion of the tradition of angelology within Israelite religion.

7.1.3.1 Eighth Century B.C.E.

This period marked the onset of a collection of written material that became a part of the Old Testament. These writings include oracles of the prophets Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Isaiah. It also marked the first drafts of the story of Israel and Judah from Abraham to the time of Hezekiah and collections of laws, proverbs, and psalms. The "E" version of the national epic was composed sometime in this period. Following the destruction of the northern kingdom by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.E., the "E" document was melded with the "J" narrative. Around this time, the priests of the northern kingdom came to Jerusalem. They codified their legal traditions in what critical scholars call the "D" source (Ellis 1976: 57).

7.1.3.2 Seventh Century B.C.E.

In this era, the words of the prophets Jeremiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah were assembled. The first drafts of Deuteronomy were also gathered at this time. The overall story of Israel and Judah extended to the period of the Israelite king Josiah (640-609 B.C.E.).

7.1.3.3 Sixth Century B.C.E.

During this interval, the words of the prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah (Is 40-55), Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah (1-8), and Trito-Isaiah (Is 56-66) were amassed. Further editorial work on Deuteronomy and the story of Israel and Judah, from Abraham to the destruction of Jerusalem (587 B.C.E.), also took place at this time. Further psalms and lamentations were also composed in this epoch. The "P" sources represent the priestly documents. They were the last to be put into written form. The priestly material contains legal traditions of the Jerusalem priesthood. The priestly redactor combined his tradition with the already blended "JE" strands at this time. The "D" source was added to form a diatessaron of these four source traditions. Scholars commonly refer to this as the JEDP document (Ellis 1976: 56-58).

7.1.3.4 Fifth Century B.C.E.

During the fifth century B.C.E., the writings of the Pentateuch began to resemble their finished form. This was also the case with the writings from Joshua to 2 Kings, the prophetic books, and Proverbs. A number of new compositions included some Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, and possibly the books of Jonah and Ruth.

7.1.3.5 Fourth, Third, and Second Centuries B.C.E.

The Book of Chronicles represented one new writing from the fourth century B.C.E. Other compositions of this era possibly included Malachi, the later chapters of Zechariah (9-14), Song of Songs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. A significant work of the third century B.C.E. consisted of Isaiah 24-29. Daniel was composed in the second century B.C.E.

The notion that parts of the Old Testament were composed by combining originally separate accounts of the same incident has gained wide acceptance with critical scholars. An example of this assumption can be found in the flood narrative in Genesis 6:5-9:19. These two sources are made up of the "J" and "P" traditions. The "J" redactor's style was simple and direct. He typically used the name YHWH for God, while the writer of "P" avoided the name YHWH before Exodus 6:3. Interest in priestly matters, repetition, and chronology typifies the "P" source.

Old Testament writings emerged in a final form through an evolved process evidenced by several stages of redaction (Rogerson 1999: 29-30,44). Before discussing the tradition of angelology within Israelite religion, I must briefly comment on the different periods in which the Old Testament books were composed. My purpose is not to give a detailed account of these distinct time frames but to set out a context for discussing angelology. This issue is important because Israelite religion changed over the centuries. It is also necessary to mention something about the various books of the Hebrew Bible, since I will allude to them in the ensuing survey of angelology. The sundry biblical books, as well as the different periods of Israelite history, reflect differing ideas about angels. In later periods angelology was pronounced and embellished. Evidence for this can be found to some degree in Daniel and Zechariah 9-14, which were composed in the Hellenistic period.

7.2 The Pre-Monarchic Period (1280-1020 B.C.E.)

Much uncertainty characterizes Israelite history before 1000 B.C.E. A major difficulty involves the historical value of extant sources for this period. The ancestors of Israel are associated with a patriarchal family structure (Gn 12-50). Some scholars have posited that the Israelites of this time were largely nomadic. However, itinerant elements are barely discernable in early biblical texts (Albertz 1994: 23-29). While the ancestors of Israel raised sheep and goats as nomads in Palestine, they also engaged in sedentary agricultural pursuits.

During this period, Israel's political structure had not been significantly developed. An independent economy was incorporated into a social arrangement largely associated with a clan. The family was important for religious worship. The patriarch acted as a priest and was responsible for the spiritual welfare of his tribe (Gn 13:18; 35:7). These early family units generally worshiped the God of their forefathers or the God of Abraham (Gn 31:5; 5:29,42; 49:25; 50:17). Israelite village culture predominated, with a prevalence of pillared houses in cluster arrangements. Kinship ties and oral culture were also prominent features of this interval (Niditch 1997: 123-124). A growing conflict between the Philistines and Israelites possibly led to the institution of "kingship" under Saul around 1020 B.C.E. (Rogerson 1999: 40).

7.3 *The United Kingdom (1020-931 B.C.E.)*

The defeat of the Philistines by David marks this period. Jerusalem was declared the capital of the northern kingdom, while Samaria became prominent in the south. Village life, clan, and oral tradition remained essential elements of Israelite culture. A new urban tradition and centralized militaries began to emerge in the north and south. Other features included an increase in writing, aristocracies, and massive building projects, which were funded by tolls, taxes, and slave labor (Niditch 1997: 14,15,122-123). The transition from a pre-Monarchic to a Monarchic state was a time of profound changes within Israelite religion. The establishment of a united kingdom was responsible for extensive social alterations that threatened Yahweh religion in its beginning stages. The modifying of the sociological matrix of Israelite society deeply affected earlier religious understandings, to the point that Yahweh religion became almost indistinguishable, especially in the realm of the royal state cult. Not all segments of society were favorable to the official theology of the king, court officials, and temple priests (Albertz 1994: 104,113). Despite this move toward urbanization, most Jews continued to live in smaller villages. Jews made a living from agriculture, even after the monarchy was firmly established (Niditch 1997: 17).

When Solomon succeeded David, he built a temple in Jerusalem. Shortly after Solomon's death, Israel seceded from Judah (Rogerson 1999: 41). Sometime in the tenth century, probably during the reign of Solomon, the narrative portion of the national saga was put into writing for the first time. Solomon's kingdom was divided in 926 B.C.E. The northern tribes withdrew from the rule of Rehoboam, who was the successor of Solomon. At this point, the national saga arrived in the northern kingdom. It was put into written form in the eighth century. This version of the national saga became known as the "E" document (Ellis 1976: 57).

7.4 *The Divided Kingdom (931-587 B.C.E.)*

A split took place between the northern and southern kingdoms (Israel and Judah) in 922 B.C.E. Solomon's son Jeroboam became the first ruler of the new nation of Israel in 931 B.C.E. According to the writer of 1 Kings 12:26-33, Jeroboam was guilty of gross religious sin. He established a substitute form of worship that was in direct violation of the Mosaic laws.

During the period of Israel's nationhood, a total of nineteen kings reigned. Each ruler was involved in polytheistic religious practices, including the worship of Baal. Under the dynasty of Omri 855-841 B.C.E. (1 Ki 16:23-22:53; 2 Ki 1-8), Israel became a dominant force. Israel controlled Judah, Moab, and southern Syria. The prophetic ministries of Elijah and Elisha correspond to the time of Omri's reign. Other prophets in the northern kingdom during this period included Hosea and Amos. The prophet's role was to warn the kings and the general populace to turn from sinful practices. In 841 B.C.E., Jehu overthrew the dynasty of Omri, but he was destined to become the subject of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (Rogerson 1999: 41). The Assyrians marched on Israel in 724 B.C.E. The king of Israel at this time was Hoshea. He was taken captive by Shalmaneser V, the king of Assyria, who attacked Israel's capital city Samaria. While the Israelites resisted for some time, Samaria eventually fell into the hands of the Assyrians, bringing Israel's sovereignty to a close. Some Israelites were deported to Assyria shortly thereafter (2 Ki 17:1-6).

The southern kingdom (932-587 B.C.E.) had a period of peaceful alliance with Israel which coincided with the reign of Omri. Prior to this time, there was fighting between these two nations. Jehoshaphat (837-848 B.C.E.) removed the high places dedicated to the cultic activity of Baal. He also gave a directive to both the priests and Levites to teach the "Book of the Law" throughout Judah (1 Ki 22:43,46; 2 Chr 17:3-9; 20:3-33). Jehoshaphat also improved juridical procedures in the land. He called for divinely ordained regulations to be reinstated (2 Chr 19:4-11). Subsequent kings resorted to doing evil in God's sight (cf 2 Ki 8:16-29; 9:27-29; 11:1-16; 2 Chr 21; 22:10-23:15). Other good kings ruled from 835-731 B.C.E. (2 Ki 12-15; 2 Chr 16-27:9). In total, eight kings of Judah were considered good in God's sight. These included Jehoshaphat, Asa (1 Ki 15:8-24; 1 Chr 3:10; 2 Chr 14-16), Joash (2 Ki 12; 2 Chr 23:16-24:27), Amaziah (2 Ki 14:1-20; 2 Chr 25), Uzziah or Azariah (2 Ki 14:21-22; 15:1-7; 2 Chr 26), Jotham (2 Ki 15:32-38; 2 Chr 27), Hezekiah (2 Chr 29-32:1-23; 2 Ki 18-19), and finally Josiah (2 Ki 21:26; 23:1-25; 1 Chr 3:14; 2 Chr 34:1-13; 35:1-19). Toward the end of Judah's existence as a nation, the kings returned to their evil ways.

Isaiah and Micah were two classical prophets who circulated in Judah during the time of the divided kingdom. With the accession of Josiah, Judah entered its final stage. Babylon became a dominant force in the world near the end of Josiah's rule in 609 B.C.E. The career of another prophet named Jeremiah encompassed the period of the late seventh century to the time of the exile (Niditch 1997: 122). Jeremiah began his ministry in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (Jr 1:2) and continued in office until after Jerusalem's exile to Babylon in 586 B.C.E. This deportation officially marked the end of the southern kingdom of Judah (2 Ki 25:1-21; 2 Chr 36:17-20; Jr 39:1-10).

Most biblical writers assume the existence of beings superior to humankind in knowledge and power but subordinate to God. The English word "angel" does not correspond precisely to any Hebrew term. Some evidence exists for supernatural beings in the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew word מַלְאָכִים is most commonly used to denote supernatural creatures (ABD 1992: 248). English translations of the Hebrew Scriptures translate this Hebrew term as "messenger" (cf Ugaritic lak "to send") or "angel."⁵⁸

7.4.1 *Hosea*

In Hosea 12:1-14, we find an account of Jacob's struggle with a spiritual opponent who is depicted as a מַלְאָכִים, "an angel." In this story, Jacob is blessed by his assailant, suggesting that the supernatural entity was not a demon, since the notion of receiving a blessing from an evil spirit is inconceivable in a biblical context. The Hebrew expression פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים, "face to face" (cf Gn 32:30), is an ambiguous combination of two idioms, indicating either a cordial or hostile experience. This phrase is used only of divine/human encounters. Yet this fact does not necessarily suggest that Jacob's confrontation was with God. This narrative may suggest Jacob's encounter was with God, but it is also possible that he wrestled with a man or an angel who changed his form into a man. Jacob's grappling with God or His representative is depicted as adversarial, extremely perilous, and ferocious. It also suggests extraordinary intimacy and an auspicious disposition, with no indication that it was physical in nature (Sarna 1989: 228).

⁵⁸ All English translations from the Hebrew Bible are taken from the RSV.

Hosea suggested that Jacob wept and begged for favor from the angel he overcame. It may be possible that Hosea was aware of other traditions surrounding Jacob's encounter at Bethel, suggesting that Hosea was familiar with angelic folklore (Mays 1969: 163). Some suggest an ambiguity about the subjects and objects in Hosea 12:4. One solution is to make the angel the intended subject of "*he prevailed*." Another resolution is to combine מַלְאָךְ אֱלֹהִים. Instead of reading "*with angel*," אֱלֹהִים would be translated as "*God*." Thus, angel and God are taken as the subject of the verse. The problem with this interpretation is that the subject has to be singular, since all of the Hebrew verb forms in the passage are singular. Nonetheless, this solution may be plausible, if we take the subject to be "*angel (of) God*," or combine the terms "angel/God" to denote the angel and God as the same being. Thus, the angel would represent a manifestation of God's being.

Some scholars have argued there are connections between this passage and pagan mythological traditions. In some primitive tales, a man has a physical struggle with a pagan god. For example, Ginsberg (1961: 339-347) argued that Hosea 12:1-14 was based upon a reference to the cult of the angel El-beth-el. In his reconstruction of this passage, he interpreted verse five as "*he strove with an angel and triumphed; the other did weep and implore him*." Ginsberg suggested that it was at Beth-el that Jacob met an angel, so he there invoked him by name (Beth-el). He further argued that we can trace the tradition surrounding the angel El-beth-el to the Jacob tradition of Genesis. Ginsberg's theory is not tenable since the Jacob story of Hosea predates the Genesis tradition. The Genesis narrative also takes place in Penuel (Gn 32:31) rather than in Bethel, which is mentioned in Genesis 35:1. In Genesis 35:7 Jacob refers to אֱלֹהִים in connection with Bethel, but no reference is made to a מַלְאָךְ "angel." Moreover, the later traditions of the books of Kings do not mention the El-beth-el cult, though, by Ginsberg's own admission, they have numerous condemnations of golden calves. Finally, Ginsberg (1961: 344) maintained that the El-Beth-el cult was sanctioned by Yahweh. While not all Israelites were monotheistic and religious during this period, many were. Ginsberg's theory would also go against the Hebrew Bible, which forbids the worship of any God besides Yahweh. Furthermore, the notion of the surrounding nations having influenced the Israelites to participate in polytheistic worship before moving into monotheistic religion has yet to be substantiated.

In an attempt to reconcile the story of Jacob, Andersen (1980: 599) argued it would be haphazard to infer that because Hosea did not follow the details of Genesis he was unaware of this tradition or did not refer to it in some manner. However, not only was the Genesis narrative written after Hosea, this account used a different sequence of events than the Genesis story. Thus, it is probable that Hosea borrowed from other traditions. If Jacob overcame an angel, the angel appeared in human form. At any rate, Jacob's victory would have been short-lived, since both the Genesis and Hosea accounts viewed Jacob as the suppliant. The prophetic oracle of Hosea does not give a clue as to its setting or context. Initial composers of this book probably put together originally separate sayings in a way not obvious to modern readers. Later redactors possibly added additional information long after the time of this prophet (Rogerson 1999: 34).

7.4.2 Isaiah 1-39 (excluding Is 24-27)

Isaiah consists of at least four sections from different periods. Isaiah 1-39, minus Isaiah 24-27, originated in the pre-exilic period. Only two passages considered to be pre-exilic prophecy mention angels. One is the reference to the Jacob story in Hosea 12:4-6. The other is Isaiah's vision in Isaiah 6:1-6, where winged seraphim are prominent. Isaiah does not mention angels in this passage. In Isaiah 6:2-7, הַשֵּׁרָפִים, "*the seraphim*," are described as having six wings, four faces, and thunderous voices. Their role appears to be standing beside Yahweh's throne to offer continual praises. In the Hebrew Bible, the cherubim and seraphim are distinguished from other supernatural messengers.

7.5 The Exilic Period (587-539 B.C.E.)

The exile caused the demise of the monarchy and of the Jerusalem temple. This collapse presented a crisis situation for official Yahweh religion. The loss of these national institutions forced a break between religious traditions and the state religion, which was focused around the temple cult. At the same time, it provided an opportunity for the renewal of Israelite worship through the efforts of theologians or "Deuteronomists" who sought a new beginning through reforms. These factors were largely responsible for a realignment of official Yahweh religion and a reexamination of personal piety. They also presented an opportunity for priests, prophets, and other officials to focus on writings of the prophets of judgment and to reestablish a proper understanding of God's laws.

The purveyors of official Yahweh religion engaged in literary activity, resulting in an outburst of theology in the exilic era (Albertz 1994: 369-370). Information about historical or sociological aspects during the exile is sparse, since there are no direct sources apart from the period shortly after 587 (Jeremiah and Lamentations). 2 Chronicles 36:21 suggests that the Babylonians deported all of Israel. However, the deportations probably only affected a minority, mostly including the upper class. For the lower classes remaining in Judah, the exile represented Yahweh's judgment on the upper caste who had exploited them. Judah recovered to a certain degree from the devastation of the war and may have even had a limited self government under the control of the elders who were allowed to stay (Albertz 1994: 371-375).

The book of Ezekiel involves a considerable increase in speculation about the nature of angels and the heavenly realms. The reasons for this interest in angelology and otherworldly concerns cannot be fully determined. Nevertheless, the Jews probably sought a philosophical approach that enabled them to comprehend the destruction of many of their national institutions which were so important for their religious life. Otherworldly conjecture would provide a venue for explaining their misfortunes through the exploration of the supernatural realms of good and evil. Was Yahweh responsible for the collapse of the Israelite nation? Perhaps other diabolical supernatural beings sought the demise of the Jewish state. In any event, the problem of the destruction and reconstruction of Judah's national institutions made it necessary to embrace a pattern of thought that would provide confidence for the task of restructuring.

7.5.1 *Deutero-Isaiah 40-55*

Isaiah 44:26 employs מְלַאכֵי, "*his messengers*," in a prophetic sense. This Hebrew phrase shows that God fulfilled his predictions and carried out the words of his agents. The Hebrew Scriptures suggest gradations in the hierarchy of heavenly beings. If the term "seraphim" does not signify the highest of all of the heavenly orders, it at least indicates an order distinct from the rest (Keil & Delitsch 1969: 191-192).

7.5.2 Ezekiel

Ezekiel had a vision of the coming destruction of Jerusalem (Ezk 8-11). Ezekiel 8:2 states, *וַאֲרָאָה וְהִנֵּה דְמוּת כְּמוֹרֵאֵהָ אִשׁ*, “*Then I beheld, and lo a form that had the appearance of a man.*” The Revised Standard Version, New American Bible, and the New International Version insert “*man*” for the Masoretic Text’s “*fire*.” The figure in the passage cannot be Yahweh, since He appears in the vision of His glory (Ezk 4:9; 10:18; 11:22,23). Nevertheless, in Ezekiel 8:3, this agent is identified as a divine spirit. Visionary language is apparent in phrases such as, “*a form that had the appearance of,*” “*what appeared to be,*” “*appearance of brightness*” (Wevers 1969: 79). This depiction was derived from Ezekiel 1:26-28, where the prophet saw a figure like that of a man full of fire above the throne of God. While Ezekiel perceived this form as a human being, he could not have been a man since he was full of fire. The writer of Ezekiel recorded only what the prophet could describe in terms known to him. Ezekiel 8:28 suggests that this figure was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord. Though Block (1977: 105) argued that Ezekiel was describing the “glory of Yahweh,” it is possible that this figure was an angel of Yahweh’s presence, since Ezekiel said it only “appeared to be” the likeness of Yahweh’s glory.

Ezekiel 9:2 suggests that *שְׁשֵׁה אַנְשִׁים*, “*six men,*” were responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem by Yahweh’s command. In this verse and elsewhere in chapter nine, we also discover that Yahweh gave instructions to *וְאִישׁ אֶחָד בְּתוֹכֵכֶם לְבָשׁ בְּדוּמִים וְקַסֵּת הַסֵּפֶר*, “*and with them was a man clothed in linen, with a writing case at his side.*” This “man” refers to an angelic scribe. He is instructed to mark those to be spared from the coming destruction. The means of deliverance is the other angels, who appeared in visionary form as men to Ezekiel. The idea of an angel acting as a heavenly official and a representative of Yahweh is common in prophetic visions (Eichrodt 1970: 130 cf Zch 3:1-10; Ml 3:1). Ezekiel’s graphic portrayal of angelic destroyers provided assurance that the destruction by the Babylonians was under Yahweh’s direction and control. This devastation was carried out by Yahweh’s angelic agents. This same idea is presented in 2 Baruch 6-8, written after the Roman destruction of the Second Temple. 2 Baruch 6:1-3 suggests that God allowed the Babylonians to take His people captive because of their sins. However, 2 Baruch 1:7 indicates that God will eventually liberate His people from captivity. God also designated a special angel to watch over the souls of His chosen people until their deliverance takes place.

In Ezekiel 40-48, the prophet had another vision of the temple being rebuilt in Jerusalem. Ezekiel 40:3 reads, אִישׁ מִרְאֵהוּ כַּמְרֹאֶה נְחֹשֶׁת, "a man, whose appearance was like bronze." This entity who appeared to Ezekiel suggests a heavenly creature such as an angel of Yahweh. However, he may represent Yahweh since Ezekiel 44:2,4 refers to Him as such. Throughout Ezekiel, cherubim, seraphim, and other supernatural living creatures do not represent angels in the proper sense. They are described as winged creatures (ABD 1992: 251).

7.6 The Post-Exilic Period (538-400 B.C.E.)

This was one of the most productive periods in the history of Israelite religion. During this time, foundations were laid for the shaping of Jewish religion. A process of canonization was put into place and resulted in the creation of a universally binding holy scriptural corpus. The temple again became the center of religious life. It represented a symbol of Jewish hopes and aspirations. Eschatological expectations, which transcended the realm of political and human existence, also began to surface. The degree of theological reflection in this period is evident from the influx of diverse biblical texts. These writings had an enormous impact upon the Jewish religious community.

The splintering of official Yahweh religion into rival factions during the post-exilic period can largely be attributed to the collapse of the state and cultic institutions in 587 B.C.E. The Torah was put into written form in the fifth century B.C.E. It became the legal basis for the religious identity of the post-exilic Jewish community and future Yahweh religion. The exclusion of a kingship theology was probably the most significant consequence of this unfolding of a sacred tradition. Moreover, prophecy was now recognized only within the framework of this written law code. The emergence of the Chronic history represented a further development of this integrative notion. Another aspect of this epoch was the convergence of official religion with the expectation of priestly and family piety. Directly related to this, the poorer classes developed an eschatological expectation based upon a personal relationship with God. These aspirations of the poor were directed against the upper classes, who took advantage of their situation. The collections of the various psalms exhibit a concern for according equal rights to distinct classes of people within Jewish society (Alberty 1994: 437-448).

The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C.E. marked a turning point as for the policy of the ruling overlords. The programs of the Persians were no longer focused on suppression. Rather, they aimed at respecting and cultivating cultural and religious identity. This respect provided a framework for the further development of Israelite religion

7.6.1 *The Pentateuch*

The writings of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, as we have them today, have a long history of development. These books were not written by a single author and originated from oral traditions. I have pointed out earlier that the Pentateuch consists of a number of strands dating to different periods. The writing down of these traditions into the final Pentateuchal form took place sometime during the late fifth century B.C.E. The “D” and “P” strands of the Pentateuchal legacy do not explicitly describe angels.

7.6.1.1 *Genesis*

Genesis 6:1-4 is part of the “J” strand encompassing Genesis 6:1-8. This section is important to angelology and will be dealt with in a separate section later in this thesis. An ambiguity is sometimes created because the Hebrew Bible does not always distinguish between God and his messengers. The “E” tradition of Genesis 16:1b-2, 4-14 illustrates this point. The earliest description of an appearance of an angel is found in the story of Hagar and Ishmael in the Pentateuch. In Genesis 16:7,9,11-13, we find Hagar encountering a בַּלְאֵךְ יְרֵחָה, “*angel of the Lord*” Hagar referred to this messenger as שֵׁם יְרֵחָה הַדֹּבֵר אֵלֶיךָ אַתָּה אֵל רֹאֵי כִי, “*the name of the Lord who spoke to her, Thou art a God of seeing*” (Gn 16:13). The personal pronoun אַתָּה, “*you*,” was possibly used for emphasis. Thus, Hagar would be stressing that God addressed her. This phrase may also be interpreted as “*you (of) God*.” In this case, Hagar would have talked to an agent of God rather than to God Himself. Associated with the name of God, the Hebrew noun מַלְאָךְ may refer to a manifestation of the deity, but not necessarily a separate entity. If so, then perhaps an angel was interposed in human form, to avoid direct contact with Yahweh and mortals (Speiser 1964: 19). This passage displays uncertainty about whether the agent was human, supernatural (angel), or a manifestation of God.

Within the “J” tradition of Genesis 18:1-33-19:1-28,30-38, three visitors originally appeared to Abraham. Genesis 18:1 says, וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵלָיו, “*And the Lord appeared to him.*” Genesis 18:2 reads, וַיֵּרָא וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים, “*and behold three men.*” After communicating with these visitors, two of the men headed toward Sodom, but Abraham remained before Yahweh. Some scholars have suggested that “the men” referred to all three of Abraham’s companions. However, Genesis 18:22 states that Yahweh, in His human manifestation, did not go to Sodom with the other two men (Aalders 1981: 11). The Genesis 19:1 passage confirms that only שְׁנֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים, “*the two angels,*” arrived at Sodom. In Genesis 19:10,12,16, the two agents are referred to as הָאֲנָשִׁים, “*the men,*” but Genesis 19:15 returns to הַמַּלְאָכִים, “*the angels.*” The Samaritan Pentateuch inserted הַמַּלְאָכִים, “*the angels,*” instead of the Masoretic Text’s rendering הָאֲנָשִׁים, “*the men,*” for Genesis 19:12. These emissaries evidently did not display omniscience, which is attributed to Yahweh, since they knew nothing about Lot’s family (Hamilton 1995: 39). Thus, there is a degree of uncertainty about whether these were human or supernatural agents.

Most English translations of the Hebrew Bible insert the word “angel” for מַלְאָךְ. A certain degree of reservation occurs in some passages about whether this Hebrew term refers to a human, Yahweh, a manifestation of Yahweh’s presence, or an angel who took on human form. In the “E” pericope of Genesis 22:1-10,12,13, God appears to have spoken directly to Abraham and commanded the sacrifice of his son Isaac: וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו, “*after these things God tested Abraham and said to him*” (Gn 22:1). Later on in Genesis 22:11, a messenger of Yahweh addressed Abraham: וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם, “*but the angel of the Lord called to him from heaven.*” In this case, we can determine the messenger was a supernatural rather than a human agent of God. The likelihood that we may be talking about a distinct supernatural being also increases, since this messenger is distinguished from God. Phoenician mythology has a story about a god named El who sacrificed his son Jedoed to his father Oeranos. An attempt has been made to connect the mythical name of Jedoed with the Hebrew word יָדוּד as used in Genesis. However, this Hebrew term means “only” (Holladay 1988: 133). Even if the Phoenician word was identical to the Hebrew word, this would not be a basis for ascribing all of Genesis 22 to Phoenician mythology, since there are major differences between the accounts (Aalders 1981: 52).

In the Genesis 32:2-13a section, there is a shared redaction tradition between “J” and “E” in verses two and three. The remainder of this strand derives from “J.” In Genesis 32:3-7, מַלְאָכִים depicts human messengers sent by Jacob. In the “J” narrative comprising Genesis 32:24-33:1, Jacob grappled with אִישׁ, “a man,” who is not identified with an angel (Gn 32:24). However, the editor of Genesis 32:28 recorded that the man wrestling with Jacob stated, שָׂרִית עִם־אֱלֹהִים וְעִם־אָנָשִׁים, “for you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed.” Interpreting Genesis 32:24-27 as a confrontation depicting extraordinary intimacy between the combatants rather than as an adversarial confrontation seems best. During the pre-exilic period, all the messengers/angels of Yahweh remained anonymous. Any attempt to determine the identity of these divine entities was rebuffed (Sarna 1989: 228; cf Jdg 13:17-18). It is possible that the people living during the exilic period could have believed that the agents depicted in the biblical accounts of Jacob and Lot were supernatural beings that took on a human form. We cannot be conclusive about such a theory, but it makes sense that they would have been perceived as mortal. It is also possible that the agent in this narrative was an angel, since the earlier Hosea tradition understood him as such. Finally, if there is any uncertainty about whether Jacob or the angel prevailed in the Hosea account, the editor of Genesis suggests that Jacob was the subject. Thus, it seems reasonable that Jacob was also the intended subject in Hosea, especially if the redactor of this Genesis pericope was familiar with the tradition surrounding Hosea.

A final passage comes from the shared “J” and “E” traditions of Genesis 48:8-22. Genesis 48:15 reads, הַמַּלְאָךְ הַגָּאֵל אֹתִי מִכָּל־רָע, “the angel who has redeemed me from all evil.” In Genesis 48:16, מַלְאָךְ describes a heavenly messenger sent by God to deliver human agents from harm (Holladay 1988: 196). The parallelism in Genesis 48:15-16 may suggest that the “angel” represented an epithet of God. An “angel” as an epithet for God would be extremely unusual, unless one views angels as an extension of the divine personality. The distinction between God and messengers is commonly ambiguous in biblical texts (Sarna 1989: 328). If this verse is taken as a prayer by Joseph, then the possibility that the messenger was as an epithet for God would be greatly increased. No examples of a human prayerfully invoking an angel occur in the Hebrew Bible.

7.6.1.2 Exodus

Moses may have contacted an angel of God in the “E” strand of Exodus 3:1-6,9-15,21,22. Exodus 3:2 reads, וַיֵּרָא מִלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֵלָיו בְּלֶבֶת אֵשׁ מִתּוֹךְ הַסִּנֵּה, “*And the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.*” Within the context of the verse, this messenger of God could not have been human, since he was within the flaming bush. It would be more likely that he was a supernatural emissary. An angel has no role in this account, since the fire initially attracted the attention of Moses rather than the angel. Moreover, Yahweh always speaks directly to Moses elsewhere in the Pentateuch. An angel may be mentioned to avoid a gross anthropomorphism of localizing God in a bush. The idea of sacred space occurs here for the first time in the Hebrew Bible. It is solely through a theophany that a site receives sanctity, making it temporarily inaccessible to humans (Sarna 1995: 14). In the remainder of this account, Yahweh talks directly with Moses from the burning bush. The Hebrew verb קָרַב, “*approach*,” is often used as a technical term to describe an approach to the “Presence of Yahweh” in worship (Durham 1987: 31). Though the agent is not identified as Yahweh in verse two, this account probably represents a theophany, since there is an interchange between a symbol (fire), a representative (messenger), and God. Furthermore, in Exodus 3:6 the messenger in the bush identified Himself as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

In the “E” pericope of Exodus 23:1-32, God instructed the Israelites that He was sending a מִלְאָךְ to guide them into the promised land (Ex 23:20,23). The Israelites were told to obey God’s supernatural agent in all matters. The reason given for this command was שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבּוֹ, “*for my name is in him*” (Ex 23:21). While the angel of Yahweh in this account represented a manifestation of God’s power, this entity was independent of God. Classical Jewish commentators are divided on whether this usage of the Hebrew word מִלְאָךְ intended a heavenly or human messenger. Some have argued that this verse was simply expressing the divine providence of God as in Genesis 24:7 (Sarna 1995: 147,148). Others have maintained that this messenger referred to an extension of Yahweh’s presence (Durham 1987: 335). Yet the agent in this passage may also have been understood as depicting a supernatural envoy independent of Yahweh since he was sent by God.

7.6.1.3 Numbers

The מַלְאֲכַי יְהוָה, “*angel of the Lord*,” appeared in opposition to Balaam in the shared “J” and “E” traditions of Numbers 22:2-41. This representative of God was only visible to the donkey until God opened Balaam’s eyes. Thus, the agent of God in this narrative was supernatural rather than human. The angel in this passage possibly constituted a stage in the development of a theory of divine transcendence when it was no longer acceptable to think of God as speaking directly to man (Snaith 1947: 288-289).

7.6.2 The Former Prophets

Some parts of the two sections of Samuel and Kings were written before the exile. Other portions of Samuel and Kings were composed during the exile. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings were combined to form the so-called Deuteronomistic History. A combining of these works into their final form did not take place until the post-exilic period. The books of Chronicles were possibly put together in a final form toward the end of the Persian period. However, some scholars have suggested that Chronicles was written during the Hellenistic period. Trito-Isaiah (Is 24-27) originated in the Persian period.

7.6.2.1 Joshua

The lines of continuation between the Pentateuch and Joshua are clear. While Joshua is dependent upon the laws of Deuteronomy, it does not merely function as an extension of Deuteronomy. Critical scholars assume that the book of Joshua had a long history of literary development (Childs 1979: 233,241). In cases within Joshua where the agent of God is obviously supernatural, this element is not immediately recognized, as is evident in Joshua 5:13-15. Verse thirteen records that Joshua saw אִישׁ עֹמֵד לְנֹחַז וְחַרְבּוֹ שְׁלֹפָה בְיָמָיו, “*a man stood before him with his drawn sword in his hand.*” Joshua did not acknowledge this messenger as a supernatural agent but as a “man.” In Joshua 5:15, the angel portrayed himself as שַׂר־צְבָאֵי יְהוָה, “*commander of the Lord’s army.*”

Some scholars believe that in Joshua 5:15 and other passages dealing with the prehistory of Israel angels are not distinct entities from Yahweh. Rather, angels represent Yahweh's hypostasis or a manifestation of God's power (Soggin 1972: 78). Nevertheless, angels are often presented as separate from their Creator and are not to be worshiped. The commander or captain is not identified as the hypostasis of Yahweh in Joshua 5:14 and usually acts as a forerunner (Jdg 6:11-32; MI 3:3). This supernatural envoy of Yahweh represents the authority of his sender and not simply Yahweh's hypostasis (Boling: 1982: 198-199). While the Hebrew Bible refers to supernatural messengers of God, the same title מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, "*messenger of the Lord*," is sometimes applied to human agents of God (Hg 1:13; MI 2:7). When the messenger identified himself as "commander of Yahweh's army," Joshua prostrated himself in reverence. Several scholars have suggested that in the earliest versions of the biblical narratives God directly confronted humanity, but later scribes toned down this concept by substituting an angel (Roth 1972: 957).

7.6.2.2 Judges

The main body of this book comprises a collection of stories derived from different editors. This diversity is reflected in the final form of Judges. In their original context, various stories circulated as oral traditions independent of one another. At a later time, a redactor combined these accounts into a narrative body that included all of Israel. The exact shape of the pre-Deuteronomic phase remains a topic of debate. Many scholars have essentially abandoned the view that continuous literary strands extended throughout this work (Childs 1979: 256).

In the Gideon story of Judges, a מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, "*angel of the Lord*," is encountered. In Judges 6:11, the agent of Yahweh appeared to Gideon under an oak tree. Gideon referred to this messenger as אֱלֹהֵי, "*lord*." The agent cannot represent Yahweh since the remainder of the verse is a discourse about Yahweh. In Judges 6:14 we read, וַיִּפֶן אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר, "*and the Lord turned to him and said*." This verse suggests that Gideon discoursed directly with Yahweh rather than with a human or supernatural agent. Yet in Judges 6:22 we return to the theme of Gideon conversing with an "*angel of the Lord*" rather than with Yahweh.

According to Judges 13:1-25, a man named Manoah from the clan of the Danites had a childless wife. In Judges 13:6, a מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, “*angel of the Lord*,” appeared to Manoah’s wife to foretell Samson’s birth. She told her husband that a אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים, “*a man of God*,” came to her. This man of God had the appearance of a מַלְאֲךְ הָאֱלֹהִים, “*angel of God*.” The use of the definite article ה before אֱלֹהִים makes the entire phrase definite. Thus, the Hebrew reading “*a man of God*” is intended to signify “*the man of God*.” At first Manoah’s wife perceived this Godly emissary as a man. However, she later recognized that his appearance reflected God’s being, since he was described as נֹרָא, “*very terrible*.” It is evident from Judges 13:8-9 that this agent could not have represented God, since Manoah prayed to God to have the messenger stay, and the Lord heard Manoah’s prayer. It seems Manoah did not realize the messenger was an angel of the Lord because he offered to prepare a meal for him. The supernatural characteristics of this angelic being are abundantly displayed in Judges 13:20. In this verse, the angel ascended toward the heavens in the flame from the altar that Manoah had prepared for a sacrifice to God. Thus, these passages in Judges suggest that Yahweh is definitely distinguished from His messenger (Burney 1970: 348). Generally speaking, there are infrequent references to angels during the period of the Judges (Boling 1969: 61-62).

7.6.2.3 1 and 2 Kings

The two sections of Kings were originally one unit in the Hebrew. A division of the Hebrew text into two separate sections first appeared in a mid-fifteenth century manuscript under the influence of the Septuagint and Latin versions (Harrison 1969: 719). The present separation into two books is unfortunate. It dissociates the history of Ahaziah and inserts the Elijah cycle into 2 Kings in an arbitrary manner. Some scholars have suggested that the need to fit this work onto two scrolls required this separation (Childs 1979: 288).

In 1 Kings 19:5,7, an angel of God appeared to Elijah. This messenger imparted the word of God to Elijah. Yet in 1 Kings 19:13-15 Elijah had a direct conversation with God. In another account from 2 Kings 19:35, a מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, “*angel of the Lord*,” destroyed eighty-five thousand men from the army of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

7.6.3 Job

The book of Job uniquely combines prose and poetry. The title of this book derived from the Hebrew name of its principal character יֹב, “Job.” However, Job was placed in the third division of the Hebrew canon because of its anonymity of authorship (Harrison 1969: 1022). For a number of reasons, modern scholarship has given little significance to the Hebrew canon’s final division known as the “Writings” or “Hagiographa.” One major concern has to do with the perception that this third division has been used as a catch-all category providing little coherence. Moreover, critical scholars have determined it is more useful to study biblical material according to the divisions of their content. Thus, many of the major works included in the Writings have usually been categorized under titles such as psalmody, wisdom, or simply apocalyptic (Childs 1979: 501-503). Modern scholars have identified a number of problems in Job, including the issue of Job’s overall purpose (Childs 1979: 528). Information within the book of Job is uncertain. It is not possible to make either a direct or indirect connection with any events that scholars can identify in a historical or geographical context. No other book of the Hebrew Bible mentions the book of Job, except Ezekiel 14:14,20, which confirms the tradition of Job being considered an exemplary man.

Scholars are divided about the dating of Job. Some place Job in the late pre-exilic period. Others suggest a post-exilic date, at least for the main body of the book. Job 1:17 mentions כַּשְׂדִּיִּים, “Chaldeans,” in the context of the Job narrative. Scholars generally concede that references to the time of the Chaldeans suggest a considerably early historical period. This time frame may take us back to the second millennium or to the end of the first millennium B.C.E. In the Hebrew Bible, “Chaldeans” always denote the neo-Babylonian empire, which encompasses the period from the seventh century B.C.E. onward (Soggin 1989: 54). Job was probably written in the Persian period (538-333 B.C.E.). It is possible, but not conclusive that Job contains a pre-exilic tradition of the existence of angels as independent entities. Job 1:6 reads, וַיָּבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים לְהַתְּיָצֵב עַל־יְהוָה, “now the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord.” We encounter the phrase “sons of God” in Genesis 6:2. It literally means of the genus Elohim and denotes divine beings. In biblical Hebrew, this phrase refers to angels or divine beings who serve God in heaven (Gordis 1978: 14).

The sons of God also appear in Job 38:4-8 in the context of the beginning stages of creation. These supernatural beings originated from God before the material world existed (Keil & Delitsch 1968: 53). Job 1:6 reads, וַיָּבֹאוּ גַם־הַשָּׂטָן בְּתוֹכָם, “*and Satan also came among them.*” The name הַשָּׂטָן first occurs in Job 1:6,7. The noun הַשָּׂטָן is rendered into English as “adversary, opponent, or enemy.” It derives from the verb שָׂטַן, “to accuse or lead astray.” The definite article denotes a personal hostile being, disturber, accuser, or Satan (Jastrow 1996: 1554). Both the noun and verb forms of this Hebrew term can be used to depict either human or supernatural beings. For example, in 1 Chronicles 21:1 this Hebrew word appears without the definite article. It is obvious from the context the reference is to a supernatural being, with a proper name “Satan.” He was considered the national enemy of Israel. Satan incited David to take a census against Yahweh’s will (Fohrer 1972: 375).

Numbers 22:22 and 1 Samuel 29:4 use שָׂטָן in the sense of representing either a personal or national foe. In later biblical and post-biblical usage, שָׂטָן mostly depicts a supernatural opponent. Job 6:7 utilizes this term for one of the sons of God. The context of 1 Samuel 29:4 suggests that the adversary is human rather than supernatural. In Psalms 109:4,6, יִשְׂטֹנּוּנִי, “*they accuse me,*” and שָׂטָן, “*an accuser,*” refer to humans. Numbers 22:22 uses לַשָּׂטָן, “*as his adversary,*” in reference to a spiritual being who was only discernable to the donkey. The Hebrew term הַשָּׂטָן, “Satan,” also appears in Zechariah 3:1-2 to denote a supernatural entity. The angelic figure in Zechariah 3:1-2 probably does not represent the cosmic enemy of God (ABD 1992: 251). Yet these verses from Zechariah may intend to refer to the person of “Satan,” depicting a universal adversary of Yahweh. All four occurrences of שָׂטָן have the definite article, suggesting a personal entity. This being appears to be supernatural since he stood in opposition to the angel of Yahweh (Zch 3:1).

In Job 4:18, Eliphaz suggests that angels are not perfect because God charges them with error. The Hebrew text states, וַיַּמְלֵאכֵם יְשִׁים וְזָהָלָה, “*and his angels he charges with error.*” In Job 5:1, Eliphaz informs Job that he cannot turn to angels for help though they are considered as בְּקֹדְשֵׁי, “*of the holy ones.*” Eliphaz appealed to the fact that God does not trust in His holy agents in Job 15:15. The pertinent phrase reads, וּבְקֹדֶשׁ לֹא יִאֲמִין, “*God puts no trust in his holy ones.*” Finally, Elihu mentions angels in Job 33:23-24: יִשְׁעֵלֶיךָ מִלֵּאךְ מַלְאֲכֵי, “*if there be for him an angel a mediator.*” This Hebrew phrase may suggest that angels had an intercessory role with men.

7.6.4 *Psalms and Proverbs*

The Hebrew Psalter does not represent an isolated literary phenomenon. Pagan cultures of the Near East showed their religious attitudes in a variety of similar extant literatures. These writings comprised a particular literary form. Hebrews used this type of writing from the period of the Exodus to the time of the Second Temple and beyond to show religious devotion. (Harrison 1969: 976). Most scholars agree that the present form of the Psalter is made up of a collection of smaller units. Many of these divisions include superscriptions, which were written in different periods. Some psalms can be assigned to a very early period. Other psalms attest to a relatively late date. The title of the Psalter provides a broad definition for the contents of the book, which contains praises. The final form of the book of Proverbs consists of a collection of smaller literary units. A number of these sections also employ a separate superscription. The book of Proverbs remains the main source of biblical literature with a wisdom motif. The different segments of Proverbs also derived from various epochs of Israelite tradition. Proverbs 30-31 dates to post-exilic times, either the late Persian or Hellenistic periods. The entire collection of Proverbs was edited in the Hellenistic era. At any rate, scholars have recognized that both the collection and writing of these works was probably not completed until well into the post-exilic era.

Several references to supernatural messengers/angels occur in the Hagiographa, mostly scattered throughout the Psalms. Psalms 29:1 reads, הַבֹּזֵז לַיהוָה בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים הַבֹּזֵז לַיהוָה, "*ascribe to the Lord, O heavenly beings, ascribe to the Lord.*" In a similar fashion, the text of Psalms 103:20 states, בֵּרְכֵהוּ יְהוָה מַלְאֲכָיו גִּבּוֹרֵי, "*bless the Lord, O you his angels heavenly beings you mighty ones.*" Psalms 103:21,22 reads, בֵּרְכֵהוּ יְהוָה כָּל צְבָאוֹ מִשְׁרָתָיו עֹשֵׂי רָצוֹן, "*bless the Lord, all his hosts, his ministers that do his will*"; בֵּרְכֵהוּ יְהוָה כָּל מַעֲשָׂיו, "*bless the Lord, all his works.*" Psalms 91:11 suggests that some angels are designated to guard God's chosen ones from harm. It reads, מִלְאֲכָיו יִצְוֶה לְךָ לְשֹׁמֵר וּבְכָל דַּרְכֶיךָ, "*For he will give his angels charge of you to guard you in all your ways.*" In Psalms 148:2, independent entities from Yahweh are designated as heavenly beings, angels or hosts: הַלְלוּהוּ כָּל מַלְאֲכָיו הַלְלוּהוּ כָּל צְבָאוֹ, "*praise him all his angels praise him, all his host.*" In this passage, supernatural agents are called upon to praise the Lord together with other created beings.

The remainder of the Ketubim contains little if any reference to angelic beings. One possible exception is Proverbs 30:3,4, which some view as an allusion to angels. The writer of Proverbs 30:3 mentions קדושים, “*holy ones*,” in the context of not having sufficient knowledge about them. Proverbs 30:4 posits a series of rhetorical questions. One query asks who has ascended or descended from heaven. Burkett (1991: 130-134) suggested that this question is answered by John 3:13, which states, “*No man has ever gone to heaven except the one who came from heaven- the Son of Man.*” If Burkett’s assessment is correct, then Proverbs 30:4 may be an allusion to angels, since the context of John 3:13 involves humankind and not supernatural beings. The final redactor of Proverbs was probably asserting that it was facetious to think humanity could have ever ascended or descended from heaven, the spacial realm of God. However, he could not make the same conclusive determination about supernatural beings, since he admits to not having enough information about קדושים, “*holy ones.*”

The Hebrew expression בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, “*sons of God*,” denotes angels, or at least divine beings in a general sense (Gn 6:2; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Ps 29:1; 89:7; cf Roth 1972: 957). The Hebrew word קדושים, “*holy ones*,” depicts the sanctity of these supernatural agents (Ps 89:6,8; Job 5:1). Some Hebrew terms or phrases refer to the functions or characteristics of angels. The most common term is מַלְאָךְ, “*messenger/angel*.” Other Hebrew phrases that refer to angels include כָּל צְבָאוֹת מִשְׁרֹתַי, “*all his hosts, his ministers that do his will*” (Ps 103:21; 148:2,5). In Psalms 103:20, these beings are referred to as גִּבּוֹרֵי כֹחַ, “*O you his angels mighty ones.*” Angels are also viewed as עֲשֵׂי דְבָרָו, “*his ministers that do his will*,” in this verse. In some instances, the sense of the Hebrew term מַלְאָךְ is figurative but still depicts heavenly messengers (cf Ps. 104: 4).

7.6.5 The Latter Prophets: Haggai, Zechariah (1-8), Deutero-Zechariah (9-14), and Malachi.

Messengers/angels appear regularly in the Pentateuchal narratives and the historical books. In contrast, the prophetic books contain a paucity of information about angels. Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 were composed during the Persian period. Deutero-Zechariah 9-14 was written in either the late Persian or Hellenistic periods. Malachi originated in the Persian epoch, probably before the building of the second temple (220-515 B.C.E.).

7.6.5.1 Haggai

In Haggai 1:13, the מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, “messenger of the Lord,” spoke the Lord’s message to the people.⁵⁹ Many scholars have suggested that this verse is an interpolation. Merrill (1994: 31) argued that the assurance of God’s presence was a completely appropriate response to the following statement from Haggai 1:12, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיִּירָאוּ, “the people feared before the Lord.” Nevertheless, this verse shows that the tradition of sometimes applying מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, “messenger of the Lord,” to human agents of Yahweh continued to exist.

7.6.5.2 Zechariah (1-8)

Zechariah’s messages are largely in the context of angelic visions. In Zechariah, angels deliver prophecies directly from God (Roth 1972: 961). Angels also appear to have powers of initiative. Zechariah’s visions are explained by הַמַּלְאֲךְ הַדֹּבֵר, “the angel who talked” (to Zechariah), in Zechariah 1:9. Elsewhere in Zechariah, this being is also described as an angel (Zch 1:9-15; 2:1,3; 4:1; 5:5; 6:5). A second entity appears in verse ten as “the man among the myrtle trees.” Merrill (1994: 103) argued that a plain reading of the text suggests the man among the myrtle trees is the same as the “angel of Yahweh.” A possible third angelic being emerges in Zechariah 1:14. He is provided with the title of “the Lord of Hosts.”

The majority view among scholars is that only two beings appear in Zechariah. The “angel of the Lord” is identified with the being in the midst of the trees (Clark 1982: 214-215). “The Lord of Hosts” in Zechariah 1:14 cannot be the “angel of the Lord,” since they are involved in a conversation in verse twelve, an important point for the theology of angelology. Some scholars have argued that “the angel of the Lord” in the Hebrew Bible represents either Yahweh or a manifestation of His being. Yet it appears that Zechariah portrayed Yahweh and His angelic agents as entirely separate personages.

⁵⁹ Haggai’s title, מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה, “messenger of Yahweh,” occurs only in this prophetic book. His usual designation is חַגַּי הַנָּבִיא, “Haggai the Prophet” (cf Hg 1:1,3,12; 2:1,10).

In the exilic and post-exilic periods, angels were commonly employed as mediators. The arbitratative purpose of angels is especially apparent in literatures depicting visionary experiences. A mediatory role is sometimes placed upon the human messengers of God. For example, Haggai is called *מַלְאֲךְ יְהוָה*, “messenger of the Lord” in Haggai 1:13. The prophet Malachi retains the meaning of “messenger” in his name, probably to signify that he is a divine human agent of Yahweh. A developed angelology is an integral feature of apocalyptic literature. Within the Hebrew Bible, only Daniel displays aspects of this evolved angelology.

7.7 *The Hellenistic Period (333-63 B.C.E.)*

7.7.1 *Brief Comments*

The writings of Isaiah 24-27, Daniel, and Zechariah 9-14 date to the Hellenistic Period. A significant development of thought concerning supernatural beings marked this interval. One important feature included the dualistic notion of evil angels who were opposed to God. However, most of the convictions about angels in the Hellenistic period were an embellishment of older ideas. Many references to angelology occur within the genres of literature that originated in various settings. This increase in speculation about supernatural agents suggests a considerable tradition of angelic lore was known by the religious adherents of this time. Angelic conjecture was more pronounced within some apocalyptic literatures and the Qumran community, probably indicating that aspects of angelology differed among various Jewish groups in the Hellenistic period (ABD 1992: 251-252).

7.7.2 *Daniel*

The book of Daniel comprises two sections. The accounts of Daniel 1-6 were composed by the third century at the latest. Chapters 7-12 comes from the end of the Maccabean revolt (after 168 B.C.E.). Apart from what is narrated in this work, we know nothing about the life and career of the pseudepigraphal author Daniel. The context is the time of the Babylonian and Persian monarchies. Stone (1980: 40-41) suggested that both the figures of Enoch and Daniel may have origins going back to mythological antiquity and that there are striking parallels between them.

The traditions surrounding the characters of Enoch and Daniel reached their full development in the late Persian or early Hellenistic periods. In its final redactional form, modern scholars almost universally regard the entire book of Daniel as Hellenistic (Childs 1979: 613). Large sections of Daniel have been classified as apocalyptic. This apocalyptic outlook is probably responsible for the prominent role of angels which is manifested throughout this writing.

In Daniel 3:12, three Jewish men of God from Babylon named שַׁדְרַח מִישַׁךְ וְעֵבֶד נֹגוֹ, “*Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*,” were thrown into a fiery furnace by King Nebuchadnezzar. A fourth being accompanied them and was described as וַיֵּרָא דִּי רַב־עֵינַיָּא דְמָה לְבַר־אֱלֹהִין, “*and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of the gods*” (Dn 3:25). Nebuchadnezzar praised the God of the three men because He had sent His מַלְאָכָה, “*angel*,” to save them (Dn 3:28; 6:23). As in other accounts from the Hebrew Bible, the angels are sometimes called “men” (cf Dn 10:5; 12:7). The appearance of the supernatural beings in Daniel 10:5,6 is reminiscent of the form of the celestial entities in Ezekiel 1:9-10.

Daniel 12:5-7 records two other supernatural beings apart from a man in linen. Some scholars identify the man in linen as the archangel Michael (Goldingay 1989: 290). However, Michael’s name is not recorded in these passages, though he is mentioned elsewhere in Daniel. For example, Daniel 12:1 portrayed מִיכָאֵל, “*Michael*,” as the great prince who protected God’s people. In the Daniel passages, as in Ezekiel, the man dressed in linen, indicating an angelic being, is generally assumed to be Gabriel (Collins 1993: 373). Again, we cannot substantiate this assumption because Gabriel’s name does not appear. Moreover, we cannot necessarily assume this supernatural being, who appeared as a man, represented God or a manifestation of His being.

Daniel has strong affinities with extra-biblical apocalypses (Roth 1972: 962). Consequently, an angelic being either interprets or reveals Daniel’s visions in their entirety (cf Dn 8-12). While angels appear with proper names in the book of Daniel (Gabriel 8:16; 9:21; Michael 10:13; 12:1), they also have explicitly distinct personalities. Finally, the idea that an angelic agent of God is responsible for the welfare of certain nations becomes apparent for the first time during the Hellenistic period. In Daniel 12:1, Michael is called “*the great prince who has charge of your people*.” In this verse, the people of God represent the nation of Israel.

7.8 Conclusions About Supernatural Beings in the Hebrew Bible

To sum up, supernatural beings, who function as representatives of Yahweh, in what usually appears to be human form, are common in the earliest biblical narratives. In these accounts, we encounter the phenomenon of God or a messenger of God interacting with humanity. Often, it is difficult to decide whether this agent of God represents a human, angel, an angel that took on human form, a manifestation of God, or perhaps even God Himself. In most narrative accounts of the Hebrew Bible, the messenger of God first appears in human form. If a מַלְאָךְ, “messenger,” represented Yahweh or His hypostasis, it would be necessary to manifest himself as a mortal to avoid direct contact between Yahweh and humankind. By appearing as a man, the supernatural agent would also be able to relay his message without paralyzing humanity with fear.

In a number of instances within the Hebrew Bible the messenger of God appears to be a manifestation of God’s own presence or a theophany. Other times the messenger is obviously a human agent. There are also some situations where the messenger of God could not have been God or a human agent, leading to the obvious conclusion that the envoy of God must have been an angel or another supernatural being. It is possible that the English term angel has been inserted in some biblical narratives to avoid a gross anthropomorphism. However, this assumption does not explain every instance of where an angel appears in the Hebrew Bible. Some biblical narratives clearly distinguish God from His angelic messenger.

In rare instances, an angel may represent an epithet of God. A primary candidate would be Genesis 48:15-16, if this passage is taken as a prayer. There are no examples of prayers being offered by mortals to angels in the Hebrew Bible. Again, this example would be the exception rather than the rule. I agree with Sarna (1989: 383), who suggested that angels remain nameless in the pre-exilic period. By the same token, I think Sarna’s assumption that angels had no individuality or free will during this time cannot be conclusively substantiated. Information about angelic beings is sketchy and sparse in the pre-exilic period. Yet there may be some evidence that these supernatural beings existed in independent form.

Most scholars agree that the phrase sons of God denotes divine beings inferior to Yahweh (Van Seters 1992: 149). In Job 1:6, this expression is applied to independent supernatural entities who present themselves to Yahweh. Von Rad (1972: 114) described the sons of God not merely in a physical, genealogical, or mythical sense. Rather, he depicted them as a class of angelic beings belonging to the heavenly realm of Elohim. Some scholars have suggested that references to the Chaldeans date to the late first or early second millennium. If true, this would provide some evidence for the existence of independent supernatural messengers of God in the pre-exilic period.

Arriving at the conclusion that a multitude of supernatural beings were destined to serve Yahweh is possible from some biblical Hebrew expressions. For example Psalms 103:21 reads, כָּל־צְבָאוֹי מַשְׁרְתֵי מִשְׁדָּתַי, "*all his hosts, his ministers that do his will.*" Evidence for a hierarchy of supernatural entities also occurs in later biblical passages. The Psalms, sections of Isaiah, and Ezekiel speak of a separate class of heavenly beings distinguishable from angels. These supernatural entities include seraphim and cherubim. Some scholars have suggested there are associations between angel accounts in the Hebrew Bible and mythological folklore. I mostly reject this view because of inconsistencies and disparities between these two traditions. Other scholars have posited that since God's transcendence was perceived from a distance, developing the intermediary world of angels was necessary, serving the purpose of closing the gap between God and mortals (Fohrer 1972: 374). Snaith (1947: 288-289) went as far as to suggest that Numbers 22:22 signified a stage in the development of divine transcendence when it was no longer acceptable to think of Yahweh speaking directly to mortals. To my mind, there is no hard evidence to support these theories.

Roth (1972: 957) argued that in the early narrative accounts God spoke directly to humanity, but later scribes inserted the term "angel" to tone this notion down. I am of the conviction that this cannot be true for every occurrence of angels in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, in Genesis 18-19 three original visitors appeared to Abraham. Two of these messengers headed for Sodom. Lot's later conversations with the two envoys could not have represented a theophany since Yahweh had remained with Abraham. Moreover, in Judges 13:1-25, the angel and Yahweh are clearly distinct beings, since Manoah prayed to Yahweh to have the messenger stay.

The Hebrew term **שָׂטָן** first appears in biblical literature in Job 1:6-7. Most scholars have suggested that this word ought to be applied in a general sense to signify an “adversary” rather than a distinct supernatural being. These proponents maintain that “Satan,” as a proper name, came into being at a later stage of development concerning supernatural beings. Nevertheless, from the contexts of Numbers 22:22; 1 Samuel 29:4; Job 1:6,7; Chronicles 1:21; and Zechariah 3:1-2, this Hebrew term, especially with the definite article, may signify a proper name for a supernatural being who opposed Yahweh. Supernatural messengers are identified apart from Yahweh in some Psalms. These celestial agents are called upon to join other created entities in the offering of praise to Yahweh. The Hebrew phrase **בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים**, “sons of God,” denotes independent divine beings who served the purposes of Yahweh.⁶⁰

In prophetic portions of the Hebrew Bible, there is a definite increase in a speculation about angels. Reasons for this proliferation are uncertain. Perhaps Jews sought to explain their misfortunes without making Yahweh directly responsible. By developing a theory about good and evil supernatural entities, Jews could blame these beings for their fate, while providing hope for the task of restructuring. In the prophetic writings, we see the development of visionary experiences by seers aided by angelic beings. The tradition of perceiving supernatural messengers as men is continued in the prophetic sections of the Hebrew Scriptures.

7.9 Possible Origins of Angels

I have completed a survey of the appearances of various Hebrew terms and phrases that possibly denote supernatural beings in the Hebrew Bible. At this juncture, I will briefly examine various theories about the origins of angels. Scholars have offered several hypotheses to account for the presence of angels within Israelite religion.

⁶⁰ Some early scholars have suggested that the sons of God were human beings. Most modern scholars reject this theory. Jewish and Christian traditions support the belief that the sons of God were angels. Other possibilities include either divine beings distinct from Yahweh or real gods who were not equated with angels (Westermann 1984: 371-372).

7.9.1 *Mythology*

The English word angel corresponds precisely to no single Hebrew term. However, there is a rich tradition of supernatural agents within the Hebrew Bible. Some expressions used for heavenly beings were intended to denote divine status, special sanctity, and further describe their functions. In some biblical passages, it is unclear whether the Hebrew word or phrase that is employed refers to heavenly or human entities (ABD 1992: 248-249 cf Jdg 2:1; MI 3:1). In ancient Near Eastern cultures there was also no specific term reserved to distinguish different classes of gods from human envoys. This contrasts with the English term angel, which is meant to distinguish God from his agents. Gods of the ancient Near East were privy to information that was, for the most part, unavailable to humans. Yet, they learned information in much the same way that mortals did. Heathen gods communicated through envoys who acted as agents. Pagan messengers did not have the same characteristics attributed to Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible. For example, they were not omniscient and were not able to immediately project themselves from one realm to another.

According to mythical lore, many features of human messenger activity were not duplicated in the heavenly realms. Another interesting difference between the mythical and biblical traditions also relates to messenger activity. In ancient Near Eastern stories, the provision of an escort for guidance or protection was an intermittent activity and was considered a common courtesy. Conversely, in the Hebrew Bible, we find that God apportioned one angel or divine being to each nation, while reserving Israel as his own possession (Dt 32:8). The later biblical tradition of angelic protection (cf Dn 3:28; 6:23) may have represented an extension of the original messenger task, as derived from pagan mythology.

In the ancient Near East, the primary task of the emissary of the gods was to explicate the sender's intent rather than relay a verbatim message from the gods to mortals (DDD 1995: 81-85). This same idea can also be found in many passages from the Hebrew Bible (cf 1 Ki 13:18; Zch 1:14). Occasionally, angels entertain questions from humans or explain perplexing messages from God (Zch 1:9; 2:2; 4:1-6; 5:5-11; 6:4-5). This interpretive and mediative role occurs with Hermes, the divine Greek emissary. Pagan traditions about Hermes may account for biblical passages such as Job 33:23-24, where divine messengers act as representatives of God to humanity (DDD 1995: 86).

The concept of heavenly messengers possibly developed from the pagan religions of the ancient Near East. The folklore about angels which occur in the early biblical narratives may have also derived from well-known mythological stories (Crim 1962: 129,130). Pritchard (1969: 476-478) alluded to a letter received by Hori, an Egyptian royal official, from a scribe named Amen-em-Opet in the thirteenth century B.C.E. Hori responded in "A Satirical Egyptian Letter" in which he called himself a scribe and *mahir*. This Semitic term "*mahir*" usually means "swift, skillful, courier." Hori describes a *mahir* as fully equipped in writing skills, deeds of heroism, and a devotion to Hermopolis, the goddess of writing. Some scholars have suggested that in Hori's response *mahir* occurs as a Semitic loan word. It is inferred that the Hebrew term מַלְאָכִים, "messenger or angel," originated from this pagan source.

Several scholars believe that the story of Abraham receiving three angels unawares and being rewarded with the promise of a son (Gn 18: 1-18) is a Hebrew version of a well-known mythical tale of hospitality rewarded. Proponents of this theory have argued that the Abraham story has an exact parallel in the story of Hyrieus of Tanagra. According to this legend, Hyrieus entertained the pagan gods Jupiter, his brother (the god of the sea), and Mercury, who sojourned together. An old man named Hyrieus invited these deities to dine with him and they accepted. He sacrificed an ox and served them his best wine. Jupiter asked Hyrieus what he desired in life. Hyrieus replied that he wished for a son, though his wife was deceased. All the gods assented to this wish and provided a son for Hyrieus after ten months. Hyrieus named him "Urion" because he was not begotten in the usual manner (Fraser 1922: 297-298).

More authentic information may exist regarding the life of Ovid than for most other ancient writers. One of Ovid's accounts provides an autobiography (Trista, iv.10). Ovid was born in 43 B.C.E. in Sulmo, just east of Rome. He claimed to dedicate his work to the emperor Augustus, but in the *Fasti* itself Ovid's dedication is to Germanicus. Reasons for this disparity are uncertain. The poem is divided into three major sections that include historical, astronomical, and religious concerns. The *Fasti* amounts to a poetical treatise on the Roman calendar. Ovid does not mention his sources. Some scholars have speculated that Ovid was familiar with works of his contemporary Livy, the poet Ennius, and the annalist Quintus Fabius Pictor.

No conclusive evidence exists to support the theory of Ovid being familiar with the writings of Livy, Ennius, or Quintus Fabius Pictor. Ovid admitted his information derived only from "annals old." A distinct possibility exists that Ovid's work was borrowed, at least in part, from "Aitia" or "Causes" of Callimachus, an elegiac poem that set out myths and legends explaining Greek customs and rites (Fraser 1922: 22-24). Not only are Ovid's sources uncertain as to their date and origin, they may also be spurious. Admittedly, there are similarities between the account of *Fasti* and the biblical narrative about Abraham. Yet, there is no conclusive warrant to suggest that the tradition Ovid supposedly drew upon was older than the Genesis tradition of the story of Abraham.

Some scholars have recognized a familiar *Marchen* motif in Genesis 32:22-32. In this account, Jacob wrestled all night at the ford of Jabbok with a spiritual being identified as a "man" (Gn 32:25). A perceived pagan parallel occurs in the story of Menelaus and Proteus in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*. According to this legend, a traveler grappled with a "water spirit" before he was able to cross a river. The hero successfully warded off his adversary. He received the esoteric knowledge and magical powers of this fairy, ghost, or witch as payment for its release. Major differences exist between this pagan myth and the Genesis narrative. For instance, Jacob wrestled with what appeared to be a man rather than a fairy, ghost, or ogre (Butler 1942: 24-32). Second, he was not fighting for passage across the river Jabbok. Third, while he successfully fought off his adversary, Jacob did not receive any special knowledge or powers in exchange for the assailant's release. Rather, Jacob released him in exchange for his blessing. Fourth, there is no indication in the mythical account that the hero fought with a god. However, the supernatural agent in the Genesis narrative suggested that Jacob wrestled with both man and God. Therefore, I do not feel there is convincing proof to substantiate that this mythical tale borrowed from the Jacob tradition.

According to the *Iliad* of Homer, the gods do not eat bread or drink wine. The reason given for this abstinence is that the pagan gods do not have blood like mortal men. Book XIX 38 of Homer's *Iliad* suggests that the gods consume "ambrosia." By partaking of this substance, the gods are assured of their immortality (Butler 1942: 33). Homer's *Iliad* contradicts the claim of the mythical account of Ovid, which indicates that the gods ate human food.

The Mesopotamian myth of Adapa is extant in four fragments. The oldest of these manuscripts come from the El-Amarna archives and dates to the fourteenth century B.C.E. Some scholars have viewed the tale of Adapa as a parallel to the notion that angels and heavenly beings consume special foods (Crim: 1962: 130). This account portrays the motif of man squandering the opportunity for gaining immortality. The god Ea tricked Adapa into not partaking of the food and drink which would assure his immortality by telling him they were lethal (Pritchard 1969: 101-102). This pagan myth seems to suggest that attaining immortality is possible for mortals. Humans achieved this by partaking of food and drink that the gods, and perhaps other heavenly beings, consume.

The Canaanite mythological poems from Ras Shamra-Ugarit date to the fourteenth century, B.C.E. According to these writings, prominent members of the pantheon, such as El the supreme overlord, Baal the god of the rains, and Mot the genius of death communicate by means of heavenly messengers (Crim 1962: 129). Other mythical parallels with angelic accounts from the Hebrew Bible have been suggested. For instance, in Exodus 14 the angel of the Lord was concealed in a cloud, as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. A similar feat is ascribed to the Hittite god Hasamilie. The notion that angels can protect mortals in battle occurs in Homer's Iliad (III.381; V.776; XVIII.205). The phrase, sons of God, is a common term for members of the pantheon in Ugaritic texts (2:16,23,34; 51:2-3). A Canaanite magical plaque from Arslan Tash, dating from the eighth century B.C.E., also contains the sons of God phraseology.

The contrasting positions regarding angelology in the Second Temple Period were aptly summed up by Hastings (1923: 93-96). He stated, "Supernatural beings of the earlier books of the Hebrew Bible are either shriveled up descendants of Semitic superstition or subordinate personal beings fully representing God." Proponents of a mythological connection to the Hebrew Bible argue that angels are fictitious. They also suggest that the Jews adopted a belief in angels, Satan, and demons from earlier pagan traditions. If the folklore found in pagan accounts predates the oral tradition occurring in the final form of the Hebrew Bible, then the Jews possibly borrowed from pagan traditions. Conversely, if the oral biblical tradition regarding angels is prior to mythological accounts, then the reverse would be true. In other words, pagan mythology may have borrowed from the legacy of Hebrew oral traditions. In either scenario, we would have to admit that this heritage had been adapted, since there are inconsistencies and differences between them.

It cannot be conclusively stated that mythological folklore was responsible for Hebrew traditions about supernatural beings. At the same time, I cannot be certain that the Hebrew Scriptures were responsible for pagan mythological stories. No hard evidence exists to support this theory, such as an abundance of manuscript evidence that predates pagan legends. Nevertheless, we do have evidence of some pagan epics borrowing from other traditions.

A possible connection may exist between the Epic of Gilgamesh, in its Akkadian form, and its various Sumerian analogues (Pritchard 1969: 72). Pritchard argued that the Gilgamesh Epic utilized certain motifs featured in Sumerian poems, but developed a central theme with no Sumerian prototype. He further argued that the first eleven tablets of this Akkadian epic of Gilgamesh were an example of creative borrowing that resulted in an independent creation. In another instance, the Greco-Egyptian adjuration tradition used divine or angelic names from Jewish ancestry (Lesses 1996: 59). Adjuration is a belief that mortals possess the power to persuade gods or angels to fulfill their desires. In several instances, angelic names were taken specifically from Jewish mystical writings known as the hekhalot literature, dating from third to eighth century Palestine and Babylonia (Lesses 1996: 42). Lewy (1969: 259-65) also confirmed this connection between the hekhalot literature and Greco-Egyptian adjurations. Evidence for pagan mythology borrowing from other legacies, including Hebrew origins, does not necessarily mean that the earliest pagan stories derived from early Hebrew source traditions. However, I am of the opinion that the theory of pagan myths being the basis for early biblical narratives that explain the origins of angels requires more conclusive proof.

7.9.2 מַלְאָךְ *Represents Yahweh's Hypostasis*

Most scholars agree that around the time of the Exile and after the return there was a conceptual development concerning angelology. I have shown that in some instances מַלְאָךְ does not appear to be an allusion to Yahweh, but to another supernatural entity. A tension exists between earlier traditions of the Hebrew Bible where God speaks openly to mortals and later narratives where God prefers to send a supernatural subordinate who is imbued with God's power to address humankind (DDD 1995: 84). Some scholars have argued that an angel placed in the text for מַלְאָךְ, in cases where the agent did not refer to Yahweh, represented Yahweh's hypostasis.

Hastings (1923: 95) argued that while the phraseology of the post-exilic period made it appear as if there was a development in angelology, this was only a movement toward hypostatizing the Spirit of God. In other words, an attempt was made to make Yahweh's previously obscure hypostasis into a clearly defined, substantial, and distinct existence. To illustrate, Hastings suggested that in the older angelic tradition, Yahweh ruled the Israelites. The prophets were also inspired by Yahweh's spirit. This spirit of Yahweh, which represented His hypostasis, occasionally appeared to mankind in an opaque form. However, in the new dispensation, Yahweh's hypostasis was more fully developed. Hastings's theory is shared by some more recent scholars but is difficult to substantiate. It is true that in some passages in the early narratives of the Hebrew Bible, the מַלְאָכִים seems to be imbued with Yahweh's authority. Yet there is no conclusive evidence to show that any מַלְאָכִים ever represented Yahweh's hypostasis. I have shown that in several instances within the Hebrew Scriptures the messenger is distinct from Yahweh. Moreover, there may be some evidence for the existence of angels as a distinct class of created beings in the earliest oral traditions of the Israelites. This oral legacy eventually found its way into the Hebrew Bible. Therefore, to attribute an embellishment about angels which took place in the exilic and post-exilic period to a perceived notion of a deliberate elaboration about Yahweh's hypostasis may not be entirely accurate.

7.9.3 Possible Influence of Zoroastrianism and Other Pagan Traditions

Another explanation for the elaborate angelology which surfaced within Jewish religion of the later Second Temple Period is that it was a result of the Babylonian exile and the influence of Zoroastrianism. Proponents of this theory argue that in the Hebrew Bible angels perform the same functions as in pagan accounts of Zoroastrianism, reasoning that these myth stories affected the angelology of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Apocrypha. These pagan tales also influenced later Jewish, Christian, and Islamic thought. Consequently, later Judaism adapted these heathen traditions to their monotheistic belief system (Eliade 1986: 283). The Hebrew Bible assumes the existence of supernatural messengers from earliest times. Some have suggested that these supernatural beings represented the gods of the pagan nations. These foreign deities were reduced to secondary positions to fit the context of increasing monotheistic thought within Judaism (Hastings 1923: 94). Yet there does not appear to be any information from the Hebrew Scriptures to support such a notion, nor is there hard evidence to sustain the theory that the Jews borrowed from pagan belief systems, were influenced by them, or even speculated about pagan gods.

A considerable increase in speculation about angels and the heavenly realms took place from the sixth century B.C.E. onward. Many recent scholars have suggested this speculation was due to a proliferation of literature that displayed an “apocalyptic motif.” However, I have shown that this perceived genre distinction is modern, artificial, and not universally accepted. I have also pointed out problems with modern scholarly classifications of Jewish literature. At the same time, most modern scholars accept that an apocalyptic worldview surfaced at this time. Thus, we can possibly attribute an increase in speculation about angels to the emergence of this apocalyptic perspective.

7.9.A Angelology as an Explanation for Jewish Misfortunes

There is another possible explanation for a proliferation of angelic deliberation. This theory is based upon the assumption that the destruction of the national Jewish institutions, subsequent exile, and subjugation to foreign peoples presented major difficulties for the Jews. How were they to explain these disasters without making Yahweh directly responsible? Where would Jews find the resolve to begin the arduous task of reconstruction? These daunting challenges required a mode of thought that enabled Jews to comprehend their misfortunes, but give them the will and confidence for becoming involved in restoration. Angelic speculation provided a possible venue for these tasks (ABD 1992: 250). Amid an escalation of frictions between Jews and the authorities they were subjected to, it would be increasingly expedient to anticipate a deliverance from present undesirable circumstances. Angelic conjecture would also furnish a means for the Jew’s anticipated deliverance in both an immediate and eschatological sense.

7.9.5 Conclusions

Modern objections to a doctrine of angels stem from the problem of fitting angelic beings into a world that alleges to be explicable. When faced with information that cannot be readily explained by objective scientific investigation, the tendency is to either treat this material as mythical or to make it fit scientific criteria (Ferguson, Wright & Packer 1988: 21). Sometimes in the Hebrew Bible it is obvious that the messenger is a human agent. In other passages, the agent is supernatural or appears to be Yahweh Himself. Some have argued that Yahweh appeared in person in early Israelite history. These scholars suggest that the word “angel” was later inserted into texts to avoid anthropomorphisms and make a remote God approachable. However, I am of the opinion that modern scholarship has furnished no conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis.

Several scholars have also proposed that מַלְאָכִים occasionally represented Yahweh's hypostasis. Yet in some instances the messenger is supernatural but cannot represent Yahweh or His hypostasis, since the manifestation of God is obviously elsewhere. Envoys who delivered messages usually did not distinguish themselves from the one who sent them. In the Hebrew Bible, angels do not speak in the first person as if they were the entity sending the message. Their comments are always prefatory. These emissaries always identify that they are speaking the message of the sender. The only context in both biblical and ancient Near Eastern narratives where no distinction is made between the sender and envoy occurs in the special case of the "messenger of Yahweh." A lack of differentiation makes it difficult to decide whether a messenger of God is even intended, especially since the angel of Yahweh does not function in the same manner as other messengers in the Hebrew Bible. Finally, some features of divine messenger activity from ancient Near Eastern mythology are not duplicated in the later traditions of Israelite religion, probably since Jews had resorted to strict monotheism by that time (DDD 1995: 88).

Several scholars have posed the question of the need for angels. One answer may be that the glory and majesty of God are enhanced by the worship of myriads of supernatural beings. A second reason views angels as necessary for the overall sustenance of humanity. Another possible position sees angels as necessary to bridge the gap between the Creator and humankind and to convey divine revelation to them (Ferguson, Wright & Packer 1988: 21). In any event, starting with the Babylonian exile, the earlier conceptions of angels, whether the Jews adopted them from others or whether they were in fact extant at all, underwent profound changes. This development can be found in some books of the canonical scriptures, but was most pronounced in the extra-biblical writings, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. This embellished angelology probably resulted from an emergence of an apocalyptic world view during the Hellenistic phase of Jewish history. I acknowledge that the position of many modern scholars is that angels were an invention of the Jewish people during the late Second Temple Period. Nevertheless, angelology provided the opportunity for speculation about otherworldly concerns. It also allowed Jews to reconcile their misfortunes without making Yahweh the causative agent. Most importantly, angelic speculation provided the venue for anticipating both immediate and future deliverance.

A number of definite conceptual developments took place within Judaism during the Second Temple Period, especially concerning the belief systems of the Jewish people about angelology. People from the various historical periods outlined within the Hebrew Bible probably believed in angels. Jews living in different eras and under changing cultural circumstances possibly held a belief in angels because it made sense to them. Moreover, angelology would have afforded them a certain degree of hope and assurance that their often unfortunate situations were under the control of the supernatural realm. I am of the opinion that within the context of Israelite religion a conviction about the existence of angelic beings may not have always been a part of the Israelites' belief system. Angels, especially ones with names attached, were introduced into Jewish religion during the Persian period. These supernatural beings became most prominent during the Hellenistic and Roman intervals.

I will now set out to examine some salient features regarding angelology as pertaining to Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6. My position is that a priest wrote the Book of Watchers as an allegory. The context of this section of 1 Enoch was a proliferation of angelic speculation within the genre of myth. It is not my intention within this thesis to suggest that the angels depicted in 1 Enoch represented actual supernatural beings, though some elements of Jewish society may have held this conviction. In addressing the issues of his day, the writer of the Book of Watchers sought to explain the origins of the evil largely responsible for the Jews' calamities. He was also interested in outlining proper behavior for religious Jews so that they could avoid future catastrophes. The Enochic author also sought to encourage the perseverance of faithful Jews while they were awaiting supernatural deliverance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Tradition of the Watchers and Nephilim in Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6

8.1 *Introduction*

A number of difficulties surround the Genesis 6 and Enoch 6 accounts of the myth of the Watchers. Genesis 6:1-4 is one of the most obscure passages in the entire Pentateuch (Cassuto 1961: 291). The cursory treatment of the subject matter in Genesis 6:1-4 also makes it an arduous passage to translate and interpret. This task is even more demanding since some words in the Genesis excerpt are rare or unknown. Modern scholars have universally dismissed the account of the illicit sexual union of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of men” and the resulting Nephilim as myth. This raises an important consideration. Does relegating this section of Genesis to the realm of saga, legend, fable, or myth preclude the possibility of any rational interpretation of the text (Harrison 1969: 557)?

The issue of relating the theological dimensions of Genesis to the context of modern historical critical research is far from settled and has emerged as a major issue (Childs 1979: 145). We must be mindful that the theological dimensions of Genesis, and in particular the passage under discussion, are those of the original culture rather than those imposed upon the text by twenty-first century readers. The author of the Book of Watchers wrote in a polytheistic milieu. However, the lessons of this writing were intended for religious Jews with a monotheistic faith. The Enochic writer and his addressees were no doubt seeking answers for many perplexing concerns about the past as well as their unbearable present circumstances. The authors of both Genesis and the Book of Watchers illustrated specific teachings that could be practically applied at their immediate time. Despite obvious difficulties in dealing with these passages, the modern scholar is faced with the task of deriving practical applications for both the historical era and our present time.

A major problem with understanding the Genesis passage is that the setting, purpose, and authors of both Genesis 6:1-4 and Enoch 6 are not explicitly outlined. A tradition grew within certain Jewish and Christian circles that Moses was the author of the Torah. Many conservative Jewish and Christian scholars still view Moses as the Pentateuchal writer. This notion has been rebuffed by most modern historical critical scholarship, despite recent challenges to the documentary hypothesis. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to resolve the debate over the authorship of the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch reflects a number of traditions composed by several redactors over different periods. Therefore, while the issue of authorship of the various strands may be important, it must be conceded that the original writers cannot be determined with certainty. My concern is chiefly to discover the outworking of aspects of angelology in the Genesis 6 and Enoch 6 passages.

Several issues surround the myth of the Watchers and the Nephilim in Genesis 6:1-4. A translation in Hebrew and Greek will be provided to clarify the text. Another concern involves the possible genre distinctions for this passage and their implications. Are there other sagas, legends, fables, or myths that correspond to the story of the Watchers? I will also examine how others, including some rabbinical sages, have viewed this text. What role do the Nephilim or giants play in Genesis 6:1-4? How does the Septuagint contribute to an understanding of this account? What are some possible antecedents for the Enochic tradition? These are some aspects that I will pursue in a discussion of Genesis 6:1-4. Before offering a final interpretation of this passage, examining the Book of Watchers will also be essential, since the two texts are interrelated.

Considerable discussion has taken place recently regarding the possible setting, intent, and authorship of 1 Enoch. The lack of explicit details for much of the Book of Watchers has contributed to a diversity of opinion about specific settings. As pointed out in this thesis, some clues suggest that a priest penned the Book of Watchers as a veiled allegorical account. His purpose was probably to instruct and encourage faithful Jews to explain past misfortunes and forecast the future. What needs to be ultimately determined is how the author of the Book of Watchers utilized angelology to express his concerns.

To complicate matters, the polyvalent character of writings with an apocalyptic world view enables them to be applied to varying historical situations (Collins 1982: 98-99). Given the nature of apocalyptic literature, I will not be overly disturbed if the original settings of our texts cannot be fully determined. My primary goal is to discover how angelology functioned within the Book of Watchers concerning the writer's immediate objectives. I will also be concerned with how the Enochic author viewed himself, in the context of angelology, as qualified to comment on the various issues of his day.

Several issues were important to the writers of 1 Enoch. One major area of concern was exogamy, especially as it applied to the priesthood. Another matter related to the proper calendar, since this involved appropriate days for celebrating feasts and festivals. The authors of 1 Enoch were acutely interested in the proper conveyance of knowledge by the priesthood. Theodicy also played a prominent role in the minds of these writers. Part of the reconciliation of evil with good, in the context of God's sovereignty, involved a disqualification of perfidious priests. It also envisioned an abolishment of the priesthood, with eternal repercussions for the unfaithful representatives of God and those who followed their false leading.

I will examine these matters in the context of 1 Enoch, especially as they relate to the myth of the fallen Watchers. I will argue that the author of the Book of Watchers, in veiled form, addressed these concerns because they pertained to the fate of the Jerusalem priesthood. It is also possible that the priestly writer may have been disenfranchised from the Jerusalem priesthood of his time. At the same time, he probably felt incumbent upon himself to comment about the past and present misfortunes of the Jews. In doing so, the writer could ostracize the unfaithful priests of both the present and past and make them responsible for the current state of affairs within Judaism. The author used the mythical story of the Watchers in an allegorical way to extricate what took place within past Israelite history. He was also very much interested in exhorting his listeners for the future, despite the state of affairs at his time of writing. By the same token, he wanted to make sure the world was aware that the unfaithful priesthood, which was a major cause of the Israelite fortunes, would be held eternally accountable.

8.2 Genesis 6:1-4

In Genesis 6:1-4, difficulties emerge at the textual, philological, and syntactical levels. This passage is also fraught with theological problems and has been controversial for the last two millennia. The paradoxical nature of the present debate revolves around two schools of thought. On the one hand, modern scholars, who generally deny the miraculous, claim that this Genesis account depicts a liaison between supernatural and human beings. Though conservative scholars believe implicitly in the existence of angels and demons, they deny that this passage has any such import (Newman 1984: 13). Be that as it may, I will offer a translation of both the Hebrew and Greek texts of Genesis 6:1-4 before proceeding to a discussion of difficult terms. A comparison between the Hebrew and the Septuagint translations may also be helpful.

8.2.1 Translation of the Masoretic Text

- (1) ויהי כי החל האדם לרבו על פני האדמה וּבָנוּת ילדוּ להם:
(2) ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם כי טובת הנה ויקחו להם נשים מכל אשר בחזו:
(3) ויאמר יהוה לא ידון רוחי באדם לעלם בשגם הוא בשר והיו ימיו מאה ועשרים שנה:
(4) הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם וגם אחרי כן אשר יבאו בני האלהים אל בנות האדם וילדו להם המה הגברים אשר מעולם אנשי השם:⁶¹

(1) *When men began to multiply on the face of the ground and daughters were born to them.*
(2) *the sons of the God saw that the daughters of the men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose.* (3) *Then the Lord said, "My spirit shall not abide in man forever, for he is flesh, but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.* (4) *The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of the God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.*

⁶¹ Genesis 6:1-4 has no connection with Genesis 5 or any other preceding material. This text may furnish a prelude to the flood story and the "great wickedness" described in Genesis 6:5. The translation of the Hebrew text of Genesis 6:1-4 is taken from the RSV.

8.2.2 Translation of the Septuagint

(2) Καὶ ἐγένετο ἥνικά ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγεννήθησαν αὐτοῖς. (3) Ἰδόντες δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καλάί εἰσιν, (4) ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ θεὸς, οὐ μὴ κατάμεινῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνά, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας. (5) ἔσονται δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν, ἑκατὸν ἕικοσιν ἔτη. Οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἂν εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγεννώσαν αὐτοῖς. Ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν οἱ γίγαντες οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ὀνομάστοι.

*(2) And it came to pass when the men began to be numerous upon the earth, and daughters were born to them, (3) that the sons of God having seen the daughters of men that they were beautiful, took to themselves wives of all of whom they chose. (4) And the Lord God said, My Spirit shall certainly not remain among these men for ever, because they are flesh, but their days shall be an hundred and twenty years. (5) Now the giants were upon the earth in those days; and after that when the sons of God were wont to go in to the daughters of men, they bore children to them, those were the giants of old, the men of renown.*⁶²

8.2.3 Comments on Words and Phrases

8.2.3.1 Verse One (Septuagint verse two)

ἄνθρωποι	Literally, “the man” This term is often rendered into English as “humanity,” but the term is more suited to the generic “mankind.”
οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων	The Septuagint is also gender specific referring to mankind. The phrase “the daughters of men” or “daughters of the man” appears three times in both the Hebrew and Greek texts.

⁶² The Greek translation is from Brenton (1972: 6).

על־ פני האדמה
שָׁחַץ שָׁחַץ וְעַל

Literally, “upon the surface of the ground.” The Septuagint gives the sense of the passage “upon the surface of the earth” (the known world).

רַב
πολλοί

This Hebrew term expresses the idea of numerous, abundance, much, many, multiply (Holladay 1988: 330). The Greek corresponds to the meaning of the Hebrew (Mounce 1993: 435).

8.2.3.2 Verse Two (Septuagint verse three)

בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים

Literally, “sons of the gods,” usually translated “sons of God.” The question of the identity of the “בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים” has provoked many different answers from past and present interpreters. אֱלֹהִים is clearly distinguished from יְהוָה (vs 3). יְהוָה (YHWH), which represents the proper name for Israel’s God. In the Hebrew Bible, the vowels from the Hebrew term אֲדֹנָי, “my Lord,” are superimposed on the four consonants יְהוָה to prevent misuse of the proper name of Israel’s God. When the consonantal text has יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי, “my Lord YHWH,” it is pointed with the vowels for אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהִים, “my Lord God,” thus preventing one from saying “Lord Lord.” When an inseparable preposition or the Hebrew conjunction ו are prefixed to וְאֲדֹנָי, “and my Lord,” or וְיְהוָה, “and YHWH,” we take them as a reference to Israel’s God YHWH (Seow 1995: 61). It appears that the phrase “sons of the gods” favors a supernatural reference to lesser gods of the polytheistic world. The major stress is on “immortals” as opposed to “mortals.” In a number of biblical passages the definite form הָאֱלֹהִים refers not to YHWH, but rather to angels (Ps 8:6; 82:1,5; 97:7), and may be the intended meaning of Genesis 5:22, 24 (VanderKam 1995: 13). In this passage, and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, אֱלֹהִים is seldom used to refer to YHWH without including the Tetragrammaton יְהוָה. While the Old Testament sometimes refers to God’s people as “His sons” (cf Dt 14:1; Is 1:2; Hs 1:10), the normal meaning of “sons of the gods/God” is angels, or at least supernatural beings (Jub 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Job 1:6; Ps 29:1; 89:7; Dn 3:25).

Some interpreters identify “the sons of the gods/God” with the “sons of Seth,” as opposed to the “sons of Cain” (Murray 1957: 243-249). This view is unlikely, since nothing that precedes this expression in Genesis 6:2 would prepare the reader to adopt this understanding. Since אדם is generally used as a generic term for mankind (Gn 6:1), it is not plausible that the האלהים בני would be used to describe one section of humanity. This phrase does not appear in this chapter or elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as a collective term for either the Sethites or Canaanites. Other early Jewish writers suggest that angels are intended (cf En 6:2; 1QapGen, col. II). A minority view makes the “sons of the gods/God” an expression for kings involved in royal polygamy (Kidner 1967: 84). However, it is difficult to envision why such matters would be dealt with in such an obscure manner. Extant manuscripts of the Septuagint render האלהים בני as either υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ or ἄγγελοι του θεου. The variant ἄγγελοι “angels” is a minority reading among extant manuscripts but is supported by the Codex Alexandrinus (4th Century C.E.), Philo, and Josephus (the first century C.E). The latter rendering clearly moves this expression into the realm of supernatural beings, though ἄγγελος is sometimes employed for a human messenger (cf Gn 32:3, 6).⁶³

A number of factors appear to argue against the “sons of the gods/God” representing angels. In the Hebrew Bible the messengers of Yahweh are depicted as pure beings that represent Yahweh and fulfill His wishes. Yet, in the Genesis 6:1-4 episode, the character of the divine beings is not consonant with the nature of angels. Secondly, if the text in question intends specifically to angels, why does it not use terms that are usually applied to them? It is possible that the Hebrew literary tradition was a continuation of Canaanite literary tradition, which interpreted the expression “the sons of the gods” as a collective term for the gods.

⁶³ This variant is cited and discussed by Philo in *On the Giants* 6, which would mean that it predated the first century C.E.

The theology of the Israelites strictly recognized only one God. Concentrated in Yahweh or His designates were all the necessary qualities embodied in the various pagan deities. Thus, it is possible that the phrase “sons of the gods/God” was borrowed from the Canaanite heritage and adapted to fit the monotheistic beliefs of the Israelites by making it a designation for angels. As far as the “sons of the gods/God” not fitting the mold of angelic messengers elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, there is an Israelite concept of both good and evil angelic agents (Cassuto 1961: 292-295). It is plausible that the writer of Genesis 6:1-4 preferred the expression “sons of the gods/God” because it differed from the usual designations for messengers of Yahweh and thus could be used for either good or evil angels.

ויקחו להם נשים

Literally, “and they took for them women.” The Hebrew word נשים is the plural of נשה, denoting women (Holladay 1988: 248). It is universally translated as “wives.” The Septuagint’s γυναικας supports the meaning of either “woman” or “wife.” Rendering this Hebrew term as “women” best supports the overall meaning of the passage. Cassuto (1961: 294) argued that this Hebrew phrase is the usual expression for proper and honourable wedlock. Yet the insertion of the word “wives” for the Hebrew term נשים leaves the impression that the participants are engaging in legitimate activity. The notion of the בני־האלהים, who represents Yahweh’s supernatural agents, having sexual relations with human women is contrary to the cosmic order instituted by Yahweh and smacks of ultimate unlawful activity.

טבת הנה

From the adjective טוב, “pleasant, agreeable, good” (BDB: 103). Also includes the idea of “the best or beautiful” (Holladay: 1988: 122).

אשר בחרו

Literally, “which they chose” from בחר, “to choose” (BDB: 103). To “select, give preference, elect” (Holladay 1988: 37). The idea appears to be that the “sons of the gods/God” selected the best of the human women based upon attractiveness, which may have included physical beauty, pleasantness, or an agreeable nature regardless of status. The purpose for their selection was to engage in unlawful sexual activity.

8.2.3.3 Verse Three (Septuagint verse four)

לֹא יִדּוֹן

The verb יִדּוֹן presents an unsolved problem. Its form is unknown in Hebrew. Several suggestions have been made for its meaning. Symmachus and Targum Jonathan have “judge,” which is properly יָדַן. The Revised Standard and King James Versions render יִדּוֹן as “strive with” (Ec 6:10). The Revised Standard Version also uses “rule in”(Zch 3:7). The most plausible translation is probably “dwell or remain.” Admittedly, this is only a guess, but it seems to fit the sense of our passage under discussion.

רוּחִי

The noun רוּחִי is translated as “spirit, breath, or wind” (BDB 924). Most scholars render רוּחִי as “my spirit.” This interpretation is confirmed by the Septuagint’s τὸ πνεῦμα μου “the spirit of me.” Some suggest that רוּחִי should be tied into YHWH breath of life in Genesis 2:7. However, this verse uses the Hebrew term בְּשִׁנְיָה “blowing of YHWH’s breath” rather than רוּחִי (Holladay 1988: 248). This makes the connection less certain. Taken together the Hebrew phrase לֹא יִדּוֹן רוּחִי בְּאָדָם לְעֹלָם “not it will strive spirit of Me in man forever,” rejects the notion from pagan mythology that the progenies of the gods could achieve immortality. Whether the offspring of mankind resulted from natural means, or in the case of this Genesis account a product of the mating of the sons of the gods/God and mortal women, all of humanity shares the common heritage of death.

בְּשָׂרָם חַיָּה וְשָׂר

Literally “in also they are flesh” supported by the Septuagint’s σάρκα “flesh.” בְּשָׂרָה = n.m. “flesh” (BDB 142). A certain amount of obscurity has been noted in the Hebrew term בְּשָׂרָה. An analysis of the components would read בְּ as a preposition = in. The relative particle וְ is probably related to a late Northern dialect form (Snaith 1947:44–45). אֲלֵּ=adv. “also, moreover, yea” (BDB 168). This kind of construction that combines the preposition בְּ with the relative particle וְ and the adverbial particle אֲלֵּ is characteristic of late prose, especially in the book of Ecclesiastes (Van Seters 1992: 150).

והיו ימיו Literally, “so will be their days.”
מאה ועשרים שנה “One hundred and twenty year.” This could be the time of respite before the flood (cf 1 Pt 3:20; Kidner 1967: 83). It is also possible this phrase intended to reinforce that the union of the sons of the gods/God did not produce “demigods” with immortal characteristics (Van Seters 1992: 153). In any event, this phrase refers to the lifespan humans could now expect because of the unlawful actions of the supernatural agents with mortal women.

8.2.3.4 Verse Four (Septuagint verse five)

הגברים/הנפילים Literally, “the Nephilim.” The King James Version has “giants” derived from the Septuagint’s οἱ γίγαντες.⁶⁴ Numbers 13:33 uses the Hebrew word הנפילים to describe men of great size in support of the familiar translation. Though the etymology of the Hebrew word הנפילים is uncertain, Jewish tradition regarded them as fallen angels (root נפל, “to fall”) (BDB 658). However, Cassuto (1961: 298) relates the Nephilim to the “mighty ones” who fell by the sword and descended to the realm of the dead in Sheol, as depicted in the book of Ezekiel 32, mainly because the Hebrew verb נפל occurs several times (Ez 32:20,22,23,24,27). He argued that at a later period this word became the basis of the myth tradition about the angels who fell from heaven. Nevertheless, this position has not gained wide acceptance. I will say more about this matter when I discuss the Hebrew term גברים.

הגברים/הנפילים The temporal clause in this verse presumes that the sexual union and the resulting offspring have previously been mentioned as fact. It is curious after having a series of narrative consecutive imperfects in verses one and two to have the nonconsecutive imperfect, suggesting habitual action, used in the verbal clause of verse four, causing some to suggest that the most satisfactory solution, in grammatical terms, would be to regard the entire statement concerning the Nephilim as a later insertion (Van Seters 1992: 151).

⁶⁴ The Greek word “γίγαντες,” usually rendered into English as “giant,” indicates a warrior of large stature and strength (Liddell, Scott, & Drisler 1879: 292).

This verse does not appear to identify the Nephilim with the “heroes.” Rather, it suggests a juxtaposition of two distinct groups, the Nephilim and the heroes of renown. However, this approach seriously disrupts the flow of this narrative and would necessarily assume that in the original literary unit, verse four followed verses one and two, with verse three making up the conclusion. The context of Numbers 13:33 suggests that a race of people resembling the Nephilim/giants of old had survived.

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם
וְגַם אַחֲרָיוֹ

Literally, “in those days.” It may show that all the giants did not originate from the “sons of the gods/God” incident. If some Nephilim did arise from unholy unions, as suggested by the phrase “and also after,” others may have already existed upon the earth in those days.

כֵּן אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ

Literally, “then with they entered to.” This phrase has an idiomatic sense of “cohabited with” or “united with” in a sexual way. The idea of “entering to” refers in this connection only to the male who visits the woman’s quarters for sexual purposes (Speiser 1964: 44–45; cf Gn 30:16; 38:16).

וַיֵּלְדוּ לָהֶם

Literally, “to bear, bring forth, beget” (BDB 408): “to them.” The implication here is that offspring were produced as a result of the “sons of the gods/God” coming to the daughters of men to have sex.

הַגִּבּוֹרִים אֲשֶׁר

Literally, “mighty ones which.” “Men from the dim past of the name.”

מֵעוֹלָם אֲנָשֵׁי הַשָּׁמַיִם

The phrases “which mighty ones” and “men from the distant past of the name” together suggest a class of mighty giants existing in a time predating the text under discussion. This also indicates a possible tradition of other Nephilim begotten by supernatural means.

The Hebrew expression גִּבּוֹרִים נִפְּלִים, “mighty fallen ones,” occurs in Ezekiel 32:27. Although somewhat dated, Kraeling’s work (1947: 202f) suggested that traditions concerning primeval times were reflected within Ezekiel 26:19-20 and 32:26-27. He argued that the “fallen heroes of antiquity” were associated with the Nephilim in Genesis 6:1-4. While this is possible, Kraeling does not explain why the fallen heroes depicted in Ezekiel were not regarded as “giants” as in Genesis. Moreover, the context of the Ezekiel passages appears to refer to members of armies of more recent historical times and therefore does not appear to have any mythical connection.

This completes my discussion of important terms from Genesis 6:1-4. One major difference between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint involves an interpretation of the בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים. The Septuagint suggests that the sons of God are angels rather than sons of the mythical gods. This interpretation is also possible from the Hebrew, since the phrase is used elsewhere in both the Septuagint and the Hebrew as a reference to angels. Nevertheless, I think that an acceptable text for discussing other issues concerning the Genesis 6:1-4 pericope has been presented. At this point, I will briefly discuss the genre of this passage.

8.3 *Genre of Genesis 6:1-4*

The story of the sons of God and their consorting with human women to produce an offspring of giants has produced a divergence of opinion. Modern scholars have mostly denied any historical value to this incident. Instead, they view this passage as a borrowing from mythology. On the other hand, the rationale underlying conservative approaches is multifarious and at least partially a reaction to modern critical scholars’ positions. While the moderates’ view is older than that of their counterparts, they are not united in their interpretive stance of this passage (Newman 1984: 14). Some conservative scholars (Van Gemeren 1981: 320-48) have gone as far as to suggest that the supernatural mating taking place in Genesis 6:1-4 actually occurred. Other modern scholars such as Otzen (1980b: 58) have argued that the text under discussion is one of the most profusely mythological texts in the Old Testament. Otzen’s statement implicitly denotes that Genesis 6:1-4 is lacking historical value.

The relationship between history and genres considered fiction by modern scholars may be more intimate than often presupposed. Thucydides was an Athenian general and historian. He recorded a history of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta (431-404 B.C.E.). Thucydides emphasised accuracy and an impartial attitude in reporting events and drawing conclusions, marking a new approach to writing history (NSE 1974). He drew a clear line of distinction between his historical accounting and that of others who were less interested in encompassing the truth than with captivating their audience through unreliable mythology (Thucydides 1972: 47). This concern of Thucydides is also important to the study of Genesis 6:1-4. The terms history and fiction require some definition. The use of history infers a recording of the past that actually recovers a completely accurate encapsulation of events. In contrast, the terms "fiction" or "myth" do not merely have connotations of "fictitious" qualities. These words carry a sense of ordering or shaping elements into a comprehensible whole that relays a historical message on a different level for both present and future readers (Moye 1990: 577-588).

How is it possible to understand Genesis 6:1-4 in any historical sense in consideration of its genre? While a detailed study of these topics is beyond the scope of this study, I believe it useful to attempt an understanding of this text in the genre setting for which it was composed. This will also help to clarify our comprehension of a complex tradition that unfolds in this brief yet difficult passage. The question for our exploration is not whether Genesis 6:1-4 has any historical value. Rather, how did the writer utilize the genre of his text to shape the various elements into an inclusive historical message for his specific group of readers? To arrive at a lucid understanding of the genre of our passage, I will take only a cursory look at the genres associated with myth, since I have previously touched on these matters.

8.3.1 *Saga*

Modern critical scholarship generally acknowledges that Hermann Gunkel has influenced the study of the book of Genesis. A major portion of his commentary on Genesis involved a description of much of the material within this biblical book as saga (Childs 1979: 140). Gunkel (1917: 8) defined saga as, "An ancient form of poetic story dealing with persons and events of the distant past that was passed along orally in a circle of tradition."

Gunkel viewed the aetiological element as a prominent concern of sagas which sought to provide an explanation for the sources of various aspects of history. Gunkel's approach to Genesis opened up a new perspective on historicity. It also initiated a wide-ranging debate over the definition and role of sagas. A Saga is a story involving famous ancestors in a time of oral tradition prior to recorded history. It attempts to be history in that it seeks to explain ancestral roots and important phenomena in the natural world (Otzen 1980c: 6). Most critical scholars agree that Gerhard Von Rad was the most significant commentator on Genesis since Gunkel. It is noteworthy that Von Rad (1972: 37) appears to have abandoned the task of redefining saga. He stated, "One can now ask whether the designation "saga" is still appropriate for this (Genesis) material, which is so permeated through and through by faith." Von Rad argued that applying saga to the present form of the Old Testament traditions from a literary point of view was misleading. Conversely, Eissfeldt (1976: 38,41) suggested that the Genesis narratives are replete with tribal and national sagas but contain no sagas of heroes or leaders because the recollections of such figures prior to Moses are so faint that few names have been preserved. If saga exists as a form of genre, the Genesis narratives probably borrowed from these established oral traditions to reshape their historical message.

8.3.2 Legend

Legend is basically a tale of a hero or heroes which occurs in a known historical framework. In these accounts, the hero is presented in a favorable and biased way. Often, fantastic and unbelievable deeds are attributed to the main character of the legendary tale (Van Dyk 1987: 55-57). As pointed out, in the history of religion the term legend is often used positively. Legend has its roots in the experiences of actual people and is considered a record of historical fact that could have taken place. However, most modern scholars have not considered legend to be in the same classification as proper tradition (Soggin 1989: 54,57).

8.3.3 Fairytale and Fable

Fairytale is generally viewed as a fictitious tale with the appearance of being historically derived. It serves the primary purpose of providing readers with a good entertaining story (Otzen 1980c). Though there are traces of fairytale in the primeval histories of the Old Testament, they do not represent fully developed fairytale narratives but only fairytale motifs (Eissfeldt 1976: 37).

Fable is closely related to fairytale, except that it is a narrative literary genre that mostly uses plants and animals to convey a final moral. Both fairytale and fable usually occur in fictitious contexts. As mentioned, Soggin (1989: 56,57) argued that when fable dealt with historical people it might contain some valid historical components. I will revisit this matter in more depth when I discuss an understanding of Genesis 6:1-4 as a mythological text.

8.3.4 *Myth*

The book of Genesis can be divided into two major parts. The first section includes chapters one through eleven, while the second comprises chapters twelve to fifty. Modern critical scholarship universally acknowledges that the first division of the book of Genesis consists of predominantly mythical material (Moye 1990: 580). The interpretation of mythology involves several methodological problems. Mythical tales derive from oral traditions undergoing many editorial changes before reaching their final form. The transformations of myth stories such as Genesis 6:1-4 also reflect the agendas of the various redactors in ways we cannot fully determine. To complicate matters further, the original orally transmitted mythical tradition has typically been completely recast by the time it reaches its finished narrative form (Hendel 1987: 13).

Authentic myth traditions are not presented in their original form in the Old Testament. Genuine myths presuppose at least two gods who usually conflict with one another. However, Israelite tradition from earliest times allowed for only one God. What has come to us in the way of myths, or even allusions to myths, has clearly been derived from outside Israelite traditions and has been stripped of some or most of its mythical attributes (Eissfeldt 1976: 35). Thus, we must make a distinction between myth in unedited oral form and myth transformed by the ancient redactors which appears in a final edited shape. Scholarly opinion varies concerning the mythical narrative of Genesis 6:1-4. Von Rad (1972: 113) characterized this passage as a "cracked erratic boulder" because the narrative context was independent of earlier primeval history displayed in Genesis, with no special connection between Genesis 6:1-4 and what preceded it.

Childs (1960: 54,57) referred to the Genesis 6:1-4 episode as a foreign particle of pagan mythology that Israelite tradition had radically altered. He argued that even in the final stage, this mutilated and half-digested particle struggles against the role to which it has been assigned within the Hebrew tradition. It is commonly held that Genesis 6:1-4 is one of the most mythical portions of the Hebrew Bible. This view is based upon the perception that this passage stands apart from other narratives which have been adequately demythologized and better fit the context of Israelite religion.

At this point, providing an example of an obvious mythical thread remaining in the passage under discussion may be helpful. In mythologies of creation, it is common for the male partner to derive from the heavens, while the female comes from the mother earth. Hence, the "sons of god" who reside in the heavens, sexually uniting with the daughters of men from the earth, is a familiar mythical motif displayed in Genesis 6:1-4 (Oduyoye 1984: 23). Undoubtedly, this text can be regarded as originating from foreign mythology (Rogerson 1974: 30). At the same time, one would assume that the Israelite redactor was concerned with the illustration of a particular theological point. Thus, myth operates in this passage by attempting to explain some aspect of the origin, nature, or functioning of the world (Rogerson 1974: 175). A primary way which myth operates in Genesis 6:1-4 is to express the religious beliefs of the final redactor.

8.4 Comparable Myths

Many modern scholars have pointed out that Genesis 6:1-4 displays a familiarity with ancient Near Eastern myth traditions. Childs (1960: 57) argued that this narrative appears fragmentary and opaque because of the author's disapproval of several distasteful elements within this mythical story. One reasonable explanation for this passage suggests that the biblical author intended to provide an example of Yahweh's sovereignty over all His creation, including the supernatural (Marrs 1980: 220). At any rate, the final redactor obviously did not wish to completely discard a mythical context for his epic account.

A common approach to this passage is to analyse its relationship to similar ancient Near Eastern motifs. Another popular strategy is to examine the setting and function of this text within the mythical framework of Genesis 1-11 and compare them to the larger corpus of Jewish writings alluding to the myth of Genesis 6:1-4. This thesis is concerned with both tactics. However, I will briefly survey possible mythical associations with this passage. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative cannot be directly or conclusively linked to any other known myth story. Some ancient myths have a direct bearing on the wider mythical focus of Genesis 1-11 (Petersen 1979: 50). Moreover, the motif of rebellion in heaven by divine beings is well-attested to throughout the ancient Near East (Hanson 1977: 202-203). A strong correlation also exists between Genesis 6:1-4 and the 1 Enoch story of the fallen Watchers. I will suggest several similarities and contrasts between these two traditions when I present an interpretive summary of the myth of the Watchers.

Many factors linked to ancient Near Eastern mythology can be identified within Genesis 6:1-4 and establish the context of this pericope as myth story. This account takes place during primeval time, outside the sphere of actual historical time, and distinguishes no clear division between the heavens and the earth. It encompasses supernatural or godlike beings who function as the main characters and become intimately involved with humanity. The resulting offspring would necessarily present unique problems for the gods. This progeny would be considered demigods who partake in immortal coexistence with the gods, or at the very least, live inordinately long lives. Within the mythical world of the ancient Near East, such a scenario would be viewed as a potential threat to the viability of the ordered life of the extant gods. These pagan deities were inextricably shackled to human civilization, being dependent upon it for sustenance. Any situation that represented chaos or disruption to the natural order would make them vulnerable to disorder within their godly fraternity (Hanson 1977: 213,214). Most importantly, the mythical narrative of Genesis 6:1-4 has etiological motifs that attempt to explain the origin and significance of a specific phenomenon, "giants" on the earth. Therefore, this account participates as fully in the common mythological tradition of the ancient Near East as any other Old Testament passage (Brueggemann 1982: 70,71).

8.4.1 *The Myth of Eridu*

This fragmentary story contains subject matter that includes the creation of man, the institution of kingship, the founding of the first cities, and the great flood. The pagan god Enki and his city Eridu are prominent in this mythical tale. The primary source of this account is the lower third of an Old Babylonian clay tablet from Nippur with six columns of Sumerian text dating to around 1600 B.C.E. A story of beginnings, its structure somewhat prefigures the biblical Genesis (Jacobsen 1981: 513). The beginning of column III preserves a listing of kings who ruled in these early cities and the length of their reigns.⁶⁵ The rules of all the kings are of notable lengths, running from 10,800 to 64,800 years. This element brings up the first possible connection between the mythical framework of Genesis 1-11 and Eridu Genesis. The unusually long kingships listed in Eridu Genesis are similar to the exaggerated life spans in the biblical Genesis. Another point of possible congruency can be discovered in statements that occur in the Lagash Kinglist about the generations immediately following the flood: *"In those days a child spent a hundred years in bits of the wash [diapers]. After he had grown up, he spent a hundred years without being given any task. He was small, he was dull witted his mother watched over him, His straw-bedding was laid down in the cowpen."*

Here, the slow development of a child to manhood is similar to that of the biblical patriarchs of the early Genesis narratives in the Hebrew Bible. Since they had to attain a relatively high age before they begot children, their childhood development may also have been impeded (Jacobsen 1981: 520-521).⁶⁶ After a break in the lacuna in the Nippur text, the narrative resumes in column III, stating that the flood has been decided upon by the gods. This corresponds to Yahweh's decision to wipe out all humankind by means of the Deluge (Gn 7:4). An assurance that a flood will not recur can be found in both the Sumerian tale and in Genesis 8:20-22. A final similarity between Eridu Genesis and the biblical Genesis includes the tripartite divisions that list in order the creation of man, animals, and a register of leading figures.

⁶⁵ This listing can be confirmed from independent tradition and the Sumerian Kinglist.

⁶⁶ Several examples from Genesis 5 illustrate this point. Seth was 105 when he fathered Enoch (v 6); Jared was 162 when he begot Enoch (v 18); Methuselah was 187 when he had Lamech (v 25); Noah was past 500 years when he fathered Shem, Ham, and Japheth (v32).

Deciding whether these factors from the Eridu Genesis account are conclusive enough to connect it with Genesis 1-11 is difficult. The hypothesis of Jacobsen (1981: 529) suggests a degree of dependency of the biblical narratives on the Mesopotamian materials. If this premise is accepted, then it must be conceded that the biblical stories have been substantially altered in their finished form. Also, not all of the figures listed in the Genesis accounts bore children at greatly exaggerated ages, as has been indicated by Jacobsen. For example, Mahalalel was only sixty-five when he became the father of Jared, and Enoch was also sixty-five when he sired Methuselah (Gn 5:15,21). The Sumerian myth displayed a keen interest in lifespan numbers, suggesting that human actions were responsible for the flood. Yet there is no notion of a reduced lifespan because of humanity's actions against the gods as we find in Genesis 6:3. This is especially significant if the biblical Genesis was dependent upon the Sumerian myth.

8.4.2 *The Epic of Gilgamesh*

The Epic of Gilgamesh is the oldest of the Sumerian epics and dates to the second millennium B.C.E. The position of critical scholarship concerning the relationship between the flood accounts of Gilgamesh and Genesis has aptly been summed up by Von Rad (1962: 120). He suggested that while there was a material relationship between both legacies, no scholar has assumed a direct dependence of the biblical tradition upon the Babylonian heritage. Von Rad also argued that both the Gilgamesh and Genesis versions are independent arrangements of a still older tradition that probably originated from the Sumerian. A number of parallels between these two traditions have been adequately documented. The first eleven chapters of Genesis and Gilgamesh share a number of similar themes. These include divine justice, an ethical perspective, death, and a relationship between the human and the divine. More specifically, both Gilgamesh and Genesis seek to establish a theology of divine justice in the face of the mystery of death and in the context of a universal flood (Fisher 1970: 393). The flood account of the Gilgamesh Epic represents a dramatic climax of Gilgamesh's pursuit for immortality, a primary focus throughout the saga. Upon the death of his friend Enkidu, Gilgamesh begins to fear death and seeks an answer to his anguish. He sets out to find Utnapishtim, the only mortal, according to Babylonian legend, to achieve immortality.

This epic is similar to the Genesis material in one other respect. It suggests that the reason for the Deluge was the sin of man. One major difference can be discerned between the two traditions. Gilgamesh seeks to bind the gods to the ideal of justice, while in Genesis man is tightly bound by Yahweh's requirements. Although no explicit mention is made of the "sons of the gods/God," Gilgamesh, the hero and renowned king, is two thirds god and one third human. The semi-divine origin of Gilgamesh may not suggest that he was anything more than a mortal man (Clines 1979: 35). If Clines is correct and there is an association between the Epic of Gilgamesh and Genesis 6:1-4, this could be seen in the fact that the offspring of the "sons of the gods" in the Genesis narrative were also human rather than divine. While this epic does share some of the same motifs found in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, most of the parallels concern the flood motif. Thus, the Epic of Gilgamesh does little to aid the cause of better understanding the myth story in Genesis 6:1-4.

8.4.3 *The Atrahasis Epic*

The Babylonian Epic of Atrahasis was composed no later than 1700 B.C.E. It purports to be an ancient history of humankind depicting events following the flood. This Sumerian epic is extant in a very fragmentary state and can only be understood with the aid of other known flood accounts. The Atrahasis Epic displays the flood story in a way more in line with Genesis. It portrays the primeval world as it existed before the creation of man (Frymer-Kensky 1976: 148).

"When the gods worked like man" is the first line and ancient title of the composition. The epic suggests that the purpose of man's creation was to relieve the gods of their manual labour. However, the establishment of humanity caused new problems for the gods. As a result of the people multiplying, a continuous uproar became intense enough to disturb the gods' sleep. Though Tablet II is extremely incomplete, it is clear that the gods' attempt to quell this disturbance called for more drastic measures. A solution to the human problem is enacted by the gods deciding to send a flood. This plan is impeded by Enki. He directs Atrahasis to build an ark to escape the deluge. After the gods destroy the remainder of humanity, they regret their actions. Atrahasis offers a sacrifice accepted by the gods and new mortals are created.

The Epic of Atrahasis like Genesis 6:1, begins with the notion of humanity multiplying and filling the earth, yet bears little resemblance to the rest of the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative. Atrahasis is mostly viewed as a meditation on and amplification of a challenge directed toward Enlil by the pagan god Ea in the Epic of Gilgamesh. It also represents an attempt by Babylonian writers to establish a profound concept of the nature of the gods. This notion is clearly presented regarding Yahweh in the later Genesis narratives (Fisher 1970: 397). The Atrahasis Epic is unlike Genesis 6:1-4 in that it considers the increase of humankind as the sole reason for the disruption of the gods' serenity in the heavens. Conversely, the Genesis pericope suggests that the source of disorder and agitation to Yahweh resulted from the daughters of man arousing the lust of the sons of God.

In the Genesis narrative, Yahweh asserts that the mortality of humanity is a basic element of His creation. Death overcomes even the semi-divine offspring generated by the sexual union of Yahweh's heavenly cohorts and human women. This fact is seen in Yahweh's assertion that His spirit will not abide in humanity forever and that their time on earth will now be limited to 120 years. The "clamour of humankind" described in the Atrahasis Epic is characterized as humanity's chronic propensity toward doing evil (Kramer 1961:127). Unfortunately, there is no extant conclusion to this mythical story. However, the justice and mercy of Enlil are emphasized by the continual restraint of this god, despite the persistent evil of humans. If we accept Kramer's theory, we can bring this myth more in line with the motif of Yahweh's forbearance of humankind in the general context of Genesis 1-11. Yet this does little to tie this epic in with Genesis 6:1-4. The Genesis pericope does not suggest that Yahweh's actions resulted from the perpetual evil or clamor of humankind. Rather, they involved the sin of His heavenly agents which resulted from the enticing behavior of mortal women. The Genesis narrative does not show that either of these factions were previously or habitually involved in evil pursuits. It is interesting that Gaster (1969: 351) translated the uncertain Hebrew word יִט in Genesis 6:3 as "will not be duplicated" in reference to Yahweh's spirit. The implications of this translation emphasize the Hebrew notion of death as an integral part of humanity's essence. In this case, Genesis 6:1-4 would be more connected with the theme of rebuffing humankind's attempts to gain immortality. It would also emphasize that immortality distinguished humans from the gods. Nevertheless, this interpretation presents some difficulties. While it is possible that Genesis 6:1-4 is part of an originally larger narrative, there is no consensus for this position.

The final form of Genesis 6:1-4 provides no indication that the actions of the "sons of God" were evoked to gain equal status with Yahweh. Some scholars have noted similarities between the Genesis flood narrative and Mesopotamian myth traditions. Nevertheless, this similarity provides no conclusive proof that the biblical account was dependent upon them (Oden 1981: 27), especially since there are differences between the two stories. For example, in the Atrahasis Epic the mythical god Enki saves humanity by means of Atrahasis without the consent of other gods. In the Genesis narrative, Yahweh is the only God and requires the support of no other supernatural being in choosing Noah as the flood hero. The Atrahasis Epic also considered humans to be slaves to the gods. However, in the Genesis account Yahweh created humankind for fellowship.

It is possible that the multiplication of humanity, along with the clamor from humans, provided a rationale for sending the flood (Clines 1979: 40). Yet, this does not seem likely since Genesis does not consider overpopulation an issue. God commanded Noah and his sons to be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth after the flood (Gn 9:1). This directive was also given to Adam in Genesis 1:28. The fact that the theme of populating the earth is repeated in Genesis 9:7 suggests that Genesis consciously rejected the primary motifs of the Atrahasis Epic, including the notions that overpopulation of the earth and the ensuing bedlam were precipitating factors for the earth's destruction. In my view, the logical conclusion is that even if this myth appealed to the flood motif, it has little or no direct correlation to the Genesis 6:1-4 episode. However, there may be a point of connection between the 1200 years of Atrahasis and the 120 years in the Genesis 6:1-4.

8.4.4 *Greek Myths*

The myths traditionally considered to contribute to the makeup of Genesis 1-11 are mostly from the ancient Near East, especially Babylon. Scholars have also had to grapple with the problem of the many proposed parallels between Greek myth literature and the Bible (Gordon 1973: 10,12). The Mesopotamians, followed by the Hebrews, conceptualized the near destruction of humanity. Both Egyptian and Ugaritic mythology have variants of the near-extermination of the human race. These adaptations derive from earlier traditions of the ancient Near East concerning the Deluge (Gordon 1973: 185,186).

The widespread principle that the gods were immortal and omniscient is an obvious concern within many Mesopotamian and Greek mythologies. An example of this can be found in Genesis 3:22. In this verse, the gods discuss the issue of humanity gaining universal knowledge. These deities decide that humans must be kept from gaining equal immortal status with them. While this biblical evidence is far from conclusive, it serves as a possible bridge between Genesis 1-11 and Greek mythological traditions. The idea of the gods' omniscience and immortality also occurs in Homer (*Odyssey* 4: 379; *Iliad* 2: 485). Another possible point of connection involves the notion of a sacred mountain where God dwells. In Hebrew tradition, the well-known mountains of Yahweh included Sinai, Carmel, or Gerizim. In Greek folklore it was Mount Olympus. It is possible that there is a tie between Greek mythology and the earlier mythical traditions of the ancient Near East involving Genesis 1-11. Yet, this possibility does not establish any explicit connection between Greek folklore and Genesis 6:1-4.

One mythical motive for the Trojan War found in Greek mythology may have similarities to the Genesis 6:1-4 account (Hendel 1987: 18). In the fragment from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, the Greek god Zeus decides to evoke a war to "destroy the lives of the demigods" so the gods would not mate with mortals. This action ensured that a proper division remained between the gods and mortals. The theme of separation of gods and humanity is prominent in the Hesiodic myth concerning the story of Prometheus's sacrifice and the ensuing creation of Pandora. In a fragment of the *Cypria*, Zeus's decision to incite the Trojan War resulted from human overpopulation, as in the *Atrahasis Epic* (*Cypria* fr. 1; Allen (1912: 118).

The Greek myth tradition of the Trojan War possibly functioned in much the same manner as the Babylonian and Mesopotamian traditions of the Deluge. This Greek folklore represented the great destruction that divided the prior age from the present one (Hendel 1987: 18-20). In my opinion, the link between Mesopotamian and Greek folklore and the mythological tradition that occurs in Genesis 6:1-4 is far from decisive. At the same time, it is certain that the Genesis pericope contains no overt references to the immediate destruction of the demigods or their offspring, nor is there an ardent desire to separate Yahweh from humanity.

8.4.5 Understanding Genesis 6:1-4 as Mythological Text

Modern scholarship generally concedes that the story in Genesis 6:1-4 of the sons of God and the daughters of man was composed in the context of myth genre. Deciding precisely which of the various myth genres the final redactors of this text utilized is difficult, especially since the final editors may have incorporated more than one myth tradition. Moreover, the *Sitz im Leben* for this passage cannot be fully determined. The contrast between the biblical version of the flood and the various alternative mythical lore surrounding this story illustrates how the biblical narratives transformed universal folklore to suit the overall perspective of Genesis 1-11 (Moye 1990: 586). Before discussing a possible understanding of the Genesis 6:1-4 account, a number of factors must be brought to the fore. I am of the opinion that Soggin made a number of cogent observations in his investigation to elaborate a fuller understanding of the Genesis passage under discussion.

I believe that Soggin (1989:52) was correct to assume that even a superficial reading of the biblical literatures displays elements of myth. He was also accurate in stating that the Hebrew Bible used a deliberate pattern of demythologizing and that the mythical content was often reduced to a minimum. At the same time, it is readily apparent that in its finished form Genesis 6:1-4 is replete with mythological aspects, suggesting that this passage had not been sufficiently demythologized. This fact may account for much of the difficulty of its interpretation. Still, the root of the problem for a proper understanding of this text involves the deeper issue of historicity. Most modern scholars have difficulty in accepting that Genesis 6:1-4 depicts in any way an accurate recording of historical details. Recent approaches negate any historical worthiness for narrative biblical accounts considered as deriving from myth, no doubt due to the rationalistic emphasis that resulted from the Period of Enlightenment. As a result, following modern approaches only accepted as historically accurate material for which the historical critical setting could be determined. Since the setting for most biblical narrative texts could seldom be ascertained, little could be considered historically accurate.

Soggin (1989: 53) argued that Genesis 6:1-4 contained remnants of myth that originally conveyed historical facts. This information related to the origin of giants, heroes, and offspring resulting from the sexual activity between divine beings and human women. It is unlikely that Soggin would have agreed to accept the details of this passage as conveying actual historical facts. This raises the issue of whether it is possible to understand this text in any historical sense while continuing to uphold the principles of modern scholarship. The independent strands of the Hebrew Bible were woven "artistically" into a unified narrative viewed for centuries not only as a theological text but as an accurate historical recording of the past. The underlying mythical tales of the biblical narrative accounts were responsible for "real historical data" presented by the authors in the final form of the texts. Therefore, we should not be concerned so much with the accuracy of the facts that the narratives presented as with discovering how the underlying messages of the past mythical stories were melded into the larger interpretative structures of the Bible (Moye 1990: 579).

The relation of historical and individual experience to the macro interpretive paradigm of the Hebrew Bible was probably accomplished by incorporating myth into history. This incorporation was achieved by linking independent mythical narratives into a unified whole that presented itself as a narrative of history (Alter & Kermode 1987: 31). Damrosch (1987: 3) viewed the growth of Hebrew historiography as the product of two decisive steps. The first involved the full translation of myth into historicized prose. The second consolidated mythical perspectives with a historiography proper. In other words, the biblical narratives utilized these transformed myths by incorporating values, themes, and moral lessons implicit within the narrative. The interaction and transformation of various myth genres, often in the form of historical narratives, merged with priestly laws to produce the full form of the Pentateuch (Damrosch 1987: 3). It is plausible, then, to understand Genesis 6:1-4 as a conglomeration of one or more transformed myth genres incorporated into a unified whole in accordance with other Pentateuchal teachings. This passage is presented as a literal historical narrative which portrays historical facts but is only intended to convey an underlying message by means of assimilated and ostensible myth stories.

Despite the undisguised mythology of the final form of Genesis 6:1-4, this narrative assumed a definite role within the larger biblical history (Speiser 1964: 45; Childs 1960: 57). Since this passage used a mythical framework, the concern of how the final redactor's message fits the overall theological framework of the Pentateuch must be uncovered. One would assume that the semi-divine offspring which resulted from a union between the sons of God and the daughters of men presented a potential threat to the created order of the universe and to Yahweh's sovereign control. I think that the author of Genesis 6:1-4 utilized this mythological narrative to accentuate his message. The central theme of this passage was that despite the existence of the most unruly elements within creation, Yahweh had complete control over both the earthly and supernatural realms. Not only did the biblical writer reject the notion that Yahweh's sovereignty was in any way endangered, he also asserted that all of creation was dependent upon Yahweh for its continued existence.

Genesis 6:3 sets out boundaries for the evil that Yahweh was willing to endure. Yahweh can withdraw His "breath of life" from His created beings any time He chooses. Furthermore, Yahweh will stop contending with humanity at some point, as suggested by the mention of a 120-year lifespan. Genesis 6:3 is one of a series of episodes where humanity attempts to usurp Yahweh's authority and attests to His concern for the strict delimitation of evil in His universe. This motif can be amply illustrated from several episodes in Genesis 1-11. Yahweh set limits on his creation in Genesis 2:17 and Gn 3:14-19 (after humankind ate of the tree of knowledge of good and evil). In Genesis 3:22-24, Yahweh expelled humankind from Eden. Yahweh prevented humanity's return by placing supernatural beings *הַכְרַבִּיִּם*, "the cherubim" as a guard at its entrance. The flood account (Gn 7) and the tower of Babel story (Gn 11:7) serve as further examples to advance this point. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative fits the Pentateuchal motif of establishing Yahweh's sovereignty by having Him limit the free will of His creatures. This passage also emphasises the theologies of a divinely ordained separation of heaven and earth into two distinct realms and of the degeneration of the human race (Hanson 1977: 213-214). Thus, the myth of Genesis 6:1-4 shows concern for order in the universe by portraying in the strongest possible terms Yahweh's sovereign control over it. This passage also sends the strong theological message that all attempts to usurp Yahweh's authority within the cosmos will be rebuffed.

Besides the above-mentioned focuses, there may be another prominent theme in the mythical account of Genesis 6:1-4 and also throughout the Pentateuch. This includes the motif of Yahweh's creation, including supernatural beings, attempted to wrest control from Yahweh by achieving equally divine status. For example, in Genesis 3:4,5 Satan makes the claim that humans will achieve equal status with Yahweh if they eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. That humans partook of this forbidden tree displays their desire to become like Yahweh. Yahweh acknowledged this concern (Gn 3:22-24) by banishing humans from Eden to prevent them from attaining divine status. The story of the tower of Babel represents another example of humankind attempting to be like Yahweh. However, the notion of attaining Godlike status or striving to overthrow Yahweh's authority is flatly rejected, not only in Genesis 6:1-4 but elsewhere in the writings of the Pentateuch.

Rogerson (1974: 177) cautioned against viewing myth as solely connected with the cult of religion. On the other hand, Soggin (1989: 50,51) argued that mythical narratives appear in most religions and belong to the world of religious cults. Soggin was undecided about whether religious experience was the basis for myth. However, he conceded that myth enabled humanity to have an active participation in the prevailing cult activities. I have shown that myth served a useful role in Genesis 6:1-4 and elsewhere in the Pentateuch, which is largely a record of the laws of the religious cult of the Israelites. I agree with Soggin that myth functioned to some degree within the religious experiences of the Israelites. Undoubtedly, myth operated outside the realm of actual history which took place in real time and space. At the same time, mythical tales enabled historically religious Jews to recall spiritual truths somehow connected with their cult. Mythical stories affected not only their lives but those of future generations (Childs 1960: 19). Myths are depicted in the Hebrew Bible as independent and symbolically rich primeval narratives concerning archetypal figures. These stories represent universal aspects about the origin or nature of humanity and its relation to the sacred and divine (Moye 1990: 578). Myth also narrates a "sacred history," stabilizes and orders, giving meaning to what we would otherwise construe as chaos within humanity (Eliade 1959: 95).

Some scholars have suggested that Genesis 6:1-4 may have served an aetiological function, especially regarding the origin of the giants. For example, Von Rad (1972: 115) argued that one would expect a statement about the existence of illustrious giant heroes immediately after Genesis 6:2 rather than in Genesis 6:4. He further argued that in the earlier form of the narrative, the declaration undoubtedly occurred after verse two, since the giants obviously resulted from the marriage of the supernatural beings and mortal women. Von Rad concluded that the original purpose of this brief narrative was to account for the aetiological origin of the heroes of old resulting from these marriages. However, Von Rad conceded that no matter how clear the intention in the original narrative form was to explain the derivation of the giants, there is no indication of this purpose in the final form of the text.

One could argue that the final redactor was suggesting that the Nephilim already existed at the time of his writing, according to the finished form of the text. Moreover, no scholarly consensus exists that the verses in the Genesis narrative under discussion are out of normal sequence. Even if the original form of Genesis 6:1-4 included verse four immediately following verses one and two, there can be little doubt that this mythical story was cast in primeval times. This narrative also functioned aetiologically. It enabled the readers to comprehend the relationship between the human and divine realms in the immediate context of their world. This text can be viewed as mythical, since it deals with a class of primeval divine beings and supernatural heroes. It is aetiological because it attempts to account, albeit in an obtuse manner, for the origins of these beings. At the same time, the Genesis 6:1-4 passage has largely been enigmatic for modern scholarship, largely due to its abstruseness concerning the origins of the sons of God, the Nephilim, and the heroes of old. Despite these noted ambiguities in Genesis 6:1-4, the overall purpose of this pericope was to convey a timeless message from Yahweh for all generations. Discussing this Genesis narrative has been necessary because I am of the conviction that there is a correlation between Genesis 6:1-4 and the allegorical account of 1 Enoch the Book of Watchers, which I will now examine in more detail.

8.5 *The Relationship Between Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 1-36*

In recent times, scholarship has recognized some difficulties with traditional interpretations searching for ancient Near Eastern parallels to Genesis 6:1-4. Instead, modern scholars have increasingly turned to 1 Enoch 6-11 for the origins of Genesis 6:1-4. Some scholars are now insisting on a “rebellion in heaven” mythical pattern within both the Genesis and Enochic traditions (Petersen 1979: 52). In the Book of Watchers, the sons of God are depicted as dissenters from heaven and the sexual union with mortal women is viewed as their sin. Such an interpretation presents obvious problems. The sons of God are not represented as insurgents in Genesis 6:1-4. In addition, the sexual mating of the divine beings and human women is not explicitly condemned. Finally, the punishment that occurs within the primeval Genesis history entails all humanity rather than just the sons of God or the mortal women directly involved in the episode. These details have caused some scholars to suggest that the proposed connection with the “rebellion in heaven” myths is unconvincing and only conjecture (Hendel 1987: 16). Despite these outlined concerns, I do not believe we must completely abandon the idea of a connection between the two traditions.

Perhaps a cogent explanation that includes ties with 1 Enoch can be presented for the origin of the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative. Was this brief Genesis excerpt originally connected to the myth of the Deluge to preface the flood with an unmistakable ethical motive for the subsequent punitive actions of Yahweh outlined in Genesis 6:5-8 (Hendel 1987: 17)? If so, a number of possible connections with the Book of Watchers are possible. The actions of the sons of God and mortal women are not explicitly criticised in Genesis 6:1-4. Perhaps the final redactor did not deem it necessary to denounce these actions because he assumed that this behavior ostensibly contravened the intended creational order. In fact, the actions of the sons of god and human women were so implicitly evil that they were the final straw culminating in the necessary extermination of the human race. Therefore, the author of Genesis 6:1-4 juxtaposed his brief narrative with the flood account in order to exemplify the degree of corruption to which Yahweh’s created order had resorted: even His heavenly messengers had conspired with humankind to engage in unlawful activities.

One of the narrative devices that the ancient writers utilized was repetition. In the narrative account that follows Genesis 6:1-4, Yahweh obviously decided to destroy His created order because of willful evil on the part of His creation. The writer repeats several Hebrew terms or phrases in short sequence to illustrate this point. These include; רעות, “wickedness” (v 5); לבו רקרע כל־היום, “his heart was only evil continually” (v 5); ותשחת הארץ, “now the earth was corrupt” (11); חמס הארץ, “the earth [was filled with] violence” (v 11); ונשחתה, “she [the earth] was corrupt” (v12); השחית, “[all flesh] was corrupted”(v 12). This recapitulation serves the purpose of accentuating humanity’s depravity. If the Genesis 6:1-4 episode was purposely placed before the flood account, viewing the actions of the sons of the gods/God and mortal women as anything but the epitome of evil is difficult. It would also explain why Genesis 6:1-4 immediately precedes the flood passage and is not directly connected with its context. It would also illustrate why most of the ancient Near Eastern myths do not specifically parallel the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative, but are associated with the flood story. Yet what about the possible bridge between the Enochic and Genesis traditions? Was the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative contingent upon the Enochic traditions, or was the Enochic writer dependent upon Genesis?

Amidst the castigation of humankind for their evil deeds in the account of the flood, Noah stands in stark contrast. He is depicted as having favor in Yahweh’s eyes, being righteous and blameless (Gn 6:8-9). This depiction is reminiscent of the Enoch figure in the Book of Watchers (1 En 1:2). Noah is not included in the Genesis 6:1-4 episode, but if this excerpt is intended to be associated with the flood passage, this association establishes a similar tradition and one link with the Book of Watchers. Even if we do not associate the “sons of the gods/God directly with angels, we would have to concede that they are lesser divine beings making up part of Yahweh’s assembly (cf Hendel 1987: 16; Job 1:6; 2:1; Ps 29:1; 89:7). While modern scholars may be more willing to equate the Watchers of 1 Enoch with angels than in Genesis 6:1-4, in both traditions these beings comprise the heavenly attendants of Yahweh.

As pointed out, Milik (1976: 31) argued that the Book of Watchers predated Genesis 6:1-4, and therefore Genesis was dependent upon Ethiopic Enoch. Black (1985: 124-125) also accepted Milik's position. If Milik and Black are correct, then the author of Genesis 6:1-4 would have been familiar with the legacy of the sin of the Watchers. Thus, he did not find it necessary to comment on the union between the sons of the god/God with mortal women as evil, since this sinfulness would be understood in the Book of Watchers. This position also assumes close literary ties between the final redaction of Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6-11. Nevertheless, most scholars have not accepted Milik's early dating for Ethiopic Enoch (Isaac 1979: 315-316). For example, Davidson (1992: 39) argued that Genesis 6 provided the basis for the interpretive elaboration found in 1 Enoch 6-11. Davidson's statement assumes the priority of Genesis over Ethiopic Enoch, representing the general position of scholarship on this issue (Charles 1912: 14). Perhaps the strongest argument for Enoch's dependence upon Genesis can be made by comparing the Hebrew with the Greek of Genesis 6:2 and 1 Enoch 6:2. The Hebrew of Genesis 6:2 reads, בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֵת בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם, "sons of the God, the daughters of men," while the Septuagint (Gn 6:3) has υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, "sons of God, the daughters of men." However, the Greek of 1 Enoch 6:2 reads οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανόυ, "the angels, sons of heaven." In 1 Enoch 6:2 it appears that "God" has been replaced by "heaven." The Greek text of 1 Enoch reflects the reluctance of later Judaism to refer directly to God (cf 1 Macc 3:18; 4:10; 12:15). This interpretation would strongly favor the position that the Book of Watchers was a midrash on Genesis 6:1-4.

Further support for the view that the Book of Watchers was dependent upon Genesis 6:1-4 can be seen from the explicit mention of angels, especially in 1 Enoch 6. One would expect a later redactor to clarify an earlier source. Therefore, the phrase "angels, sons of heaven" was possibly intended to elucidate the expression "sons of the gods/God" in Genesis 6:2. Finally, Genesis 6:1-4 is much more succinct than the myth of the fallen angels in 1 Enoch 6-11. As a rule, midrashim on Old Testament passages are routinely longer than the texts on which they are based. Taking the position that 1 Enoch 6-11 was dependent upon the Genesis narrative makes sense, since it is by far the more elaborate of the two traditions (Davidson 1992: 40). Thus, I think that there are good reasons for assuming that 1 Enoch 6-11 is dependent upon Genesis 6:1-4.

8.5.1 *Antecedents of the Enochic Tradition*

The legendary figure of Enoch is depicted in Genesis 5:18-24. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, Enoch appears only in the historical records of 1 Chronicles 1:3, which list prominent characters from Adam to Abraham. In Sirach 44:16, Enoch is portrayed as pleasing God. He was translated from his earthly existence because of his example to all generations of repentance. Further details about Enoch are added in two commentaries on Genesis, Jubilees 4:16-25 and Genesis Apocryphon 2:19-26; 5:3. Two lengthy apocalyptic accounts are also ascribed to Enoch: 1 Enoch (available in full only in Ethiopic) and 2 Enoch (only in Slavonic). Enoch gained considerable status as a folk hero within Jewish and later Christian traditions.

Many scholars believe that the Enochic background which occurs in Genesis 5 is part of a larger tradition already existing at the time of the priestly writer (Gowan 1988: 80-81). A discussion of the Enochic legacy and other patriarchal stories that occur in Genesis 1-11 necessarily involves etiological aspects. The original process of transmission of mythical tales about biblical sages was oral tradition enhanced or otherwise modified by an undetermined number of narrators. Gradually, the various individual elements within these folk stories were unified during the time when they were finally reduced to writing (Van Seters 1992: 8-9). The purpose of the folklore was primarily an attempt to explain the origins, nature, and function of the universe as it related to religious beliefs and practices. At the same time, this lore was also intended to convey a theological message (Rogerson 1974: 174,175). The fear that these oral accounts might be eventually lost probably provoked the writing of these various mythical stories.

Myth has been used in many ways in Old Testament interpretation. Arriving at a single definition for "myth" is not possible, nor would it be desirable to fit all the relevant mythical material into such a confined mode. The entire literary character of the primeval history of Genesis, which records the stories of patriarchal figures, reveals how the independent mythical elements gradually coalesced into unity (Van Seters 1992: 9).

We discover within Enochic folklore, as portrayed in the primeval history of Genesis, certain underlying truths that emanate from God. These stories set forth the will and purposes of God, as well as the perpetual dependence of all segments of His creation upon God. However, this is truth in a theological rather than a proper historical manner. The mythical tale about Enoch developed into a written narrative tradition which enabled the authors to speak of a transcendent reality while expressing the aspirations, hopes, and faith of the Israelite people. Implicit within this conviction was the presupposition that the mythical narratives suggest a deeper meaning than the surface level (Rogerson 1974: 12,31,177). By means of Enochic folklore, the author of the Book of Watchers attempted to address and solve issues pressing upon the Israelite mindset. For example, why did the Israelites go into captivity, suffer continued oppression and subjugation under foreign powers, and have their temple previously destroyed?

With these considerations in mind, I must point out that the Hebrew Bible displays only a passing interest in Enoch. A major element concerning Enoch folktales finds that only Enoch and Elijah were said to have been "taken by God" without dying. Taken together, the Enoch and Elijah traditions (2 Ki 2:1-12) may intend to show that the Israelites believed that being bodily translated into God's presence without experiencing death was possible in extraordinary circumstances. While biblical traditions involving Enoch were well-known, it is unlikely that the significance and purpose of Enochic mythology would have been fully extrapolated, especially considering the brief allusion to Enoch in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers probably sought to address pressing concerns through an embellishment of Enochic folklore which had its antecedents in oral traditions, eventually finding a place in the primeval written history of Genesis.

8.5.2 The Character of Enoch in Genesis 5:18-24

Genealogical records, while not exactly narrative in form, provide a chronological sequence of mythical history. At the same time, genealogies are informed by the surrounding mythical narratives. Though biblical genealogies do not necessarily provide accurate information in any historical sense, they are presented in a framework appearing to portray human history. This reality does not mean that these records are not meant as historical in another sense.

Like the mythical tales that surround them, genealogical accounts form part of a broader theological theme for actual historical peoples (Moye 1990: 581-582). Regardless of terminology, whether myth, history, saga, legend, or fairytale, genealogical records, along with other primeval accounts within Genesis 1-11, serve as a witness to God's activity. Further, their theological message in some way reflects blessing, judgment, forgiveness, redemption, or promise for the community of faith (Childs 1979: 158). The genealogical record of Genesis 5 is connected with the myth of the Watchers, since it purports to contain a record of Enoch's lineage. Enoch has a prominent role in the Book of Watchers which may have been informed, at least in part, by Genesis 6:1-4. The genealogies of Genesis are historicizing in form and intent. They link the independent mythical narrative strands of the primeval history of Genesis 1-11 into a forward-looking continuum fundamental to the biblical accounts (Frei 1974: 1-16). Although this genealogy is artificial and mythical in character, it does contain a deliberate and calculated chronology necessary to the overall theology of primeval biblical history (Mullen 1997: 113).

No Old Testament myth corresponds exactly to ancient Near Eastern mythology (Childs 1979: 158). However, inspiration for the Genesis 5 genealogy may have derived from Mesopotamian accounts of creation. In the Mesopotamian king lists there are ten kings. Due to the similarities in Genesis 5 between the seventh king Emmeduranki and Enoch, VanderKam (1995: 9) concluded that the priestly writer of Genesis moved Enoch to the seventh position in the genealogical record of Genesis 5. This served the purpose of accentuating what Mesopotamian lists said about their seventh king. Some scholars do not accept that Enoch is a prototype of Emmeduranki, who is found in the Mesopotamia king records of Berossos. This line of thinking suggests that the discovery of the cuneiform texts shows that the perceived parallel between Berossos and Enoch in Genesis 5 is no longer tenable (Westermann 1984: 358). VanderKam (1995: 10) rejected this position because he felt that Westermann did not give enough attention to the obvious similarities between Emmeduranki and Enoch in Genesis 5. If 1 Enoch was composed after Genesis, then Genesis 5:18-24 represents the oldest surviving instance of Enochic tradition. Moreover, it is possible that Jews in Babylon learned of stories about Emmeduranki and imported them into the Enoch traditions in Genesis 5.

It is apparent that 1 Enoch 6:1-2 was taken from Genesis 6:1-2. In Genesis 5:22,24 we find the Hebrew phrase *וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ עִנֹּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים*, “Enoch walked with God.” Several biblical passages use Elohim with the definite article as a reference not to God but to angels (cf Ps 8:6; 82:1,6; 97:7; 138:1). Thus, the intended meaning in Genesis 5:22-24 may refer to Enoch walking with angels rather than with God (VanderKam 1995: 31).⁶⁷ Expositors of the Enochic tradition are consistent in interpreting Elohim with the definite article as a designation for angels. The author of the Book of Watchers probably understood the Hebrew phrase in Genesis 5:22 as a reference to angels. The genealogical record in Genesis 5 purports to be a record of Adam’s line. It is almost identical to Genesis 11:1-26, which outlines the genealogy of Shem. A comparison of these two lists reveals one difference, the inclusion of the phrase “*then he died*” after the list of names (Gn 5:31). What makes this Hebrew expression stand out is that the other patriarchs listed in Genesis 5 and elsewhere in biblical genealogical lists have a number of years ascribed to their lifetimes. This fact raises the question of how the author of Genesis 5:22,24 used the myth of Enoch to convey a theological message.

While Sailhamer (1992: 118-122) considered Enoch to be an actual historical patriarch, he probably captured the theological sense of the expression “*then he died*.” He argued that Enoch was one example of a biblical character who found life amidst the curse of death on humanity. The author showed through Enoch’s example that the pronouncement of death upon humankind was not necessarily final. It left the possibility for others to follow in Enoch’s footsteps, if they chose to “walk with the [faithful] angels.” Thus, the message and function of the genealogy of Genesis 5, embellished by the author of the Book of Watchers, was to present a theology of hope and life to all who were faithful, no matter how dire their circumstances. Conversely, if one disregarded the order and commands of God by casting his lot with the unfaithful angels (Watchers), only despair, judgment, punishment, and eventually death could be expected. I will say more about the character of Enoch from the perspective of the books of 1 Enoch within subsequent sections of this thesis.

⁶⁷ 1 Enoch 81:6-7 suggests that Enoch was returned to the earth after his initial removal to give a warning concerning the law before he was taken again. Genesis 5:22,24 probably refers to Enoch’s second permanent stay with the angels. The translation of the Hebrew text of Genesis 5:22,24 is taken from the RSV.

8.6 *The Historical Context of 1 Enoch 1-36 (The Book of Watchers)*

A shortage of information before the Christian era presents a major difficulty for the writing of a history of Judaism. Consequently, we lack a clear picture of how Judaism developed throughout this period. Although sources are more plentiful around the start of the second century B.C.E., this information is not necessarily more reliable than earlier materials. Nevertheless, the major political and cultural thrust during this time was the advance in Hellenistic thought. Because of the impact of Greek influence, the picture of Judaism that emerged differed substantially from preceding Jewish history (Stone 1978: 479). Since Hellenism was extensive in pre-Maccabean Judea, it must have had supporters and opponents within Jewish groups. One would assume a familiarity with aspects of Hellenistic thinking among most if not all Jews. For example, in the Hellenistic world, allegory would have been understood as a legitimate means of conveying information. Jews were no doubt familiar with this common paradigm because it was necessary for them to assimilate to some degree into the mode of thought of the people who ruled over them.

The early second century B.C.E. is the time of the writing of the oldest sections of the Book of Watchers (Milik 1976: 104). The events of this time resulted in a renewed interest in “prophetic” or “visionary” perspectives. This outlook eventually led to a full-blown development of “apocalyptic” thinking (Stone 1978: 482). 1 Enoch originated in circles interested in cultivating an apocalyptic *Weltanschauung*, providing the sociological matrix for the development of the ideas in the Book of Watchers (Hanson 1975a: 402-409). We must not underestimate the degree of influence that other foreign cultures in which the Jews had been subjugated played in the resurgence of apocalyptic thought. The Book of Watchers, 1 Enoch 72-82, together with the Qumran fragments of these chapters, provides the basis for characterizing Judaic thought in the third century B.C.E. Apocalyptic ideas involved an interest in the origins of evil, certain kinds of knowledge, speculation about angels and causes for the flood. There was also a curiosity about eschatological matters, although 1 Enoch 12-36 displays only an incidental interest in these concerns. Other items of deliberation involved geography, the underworld, astronomy, astrology, meteorology, and cosmology. There is little reason to assume these matters were of undue concern within earlier Judaism, since the Hebrew Bible lacks a sustained interest in such items (Stone 1978: 487).

It seems reasonable to conclude that the apocalyptic focus which developed by the time of the composition of 1 Enoch would be more prominent among certain Jewish groups by the third century B.C.E. The emerging apocalyptic and eschatological expectations were probably closely aligned with Jewish groups associated with priestly circles. Priests were well-educated and had both the expertise and time to write about such matters. Certain features within 1 Enoch, such as an intense interest in the calendar, reflect priestly concerns. Priestly elements are also evident in the Qumran sectarian writings that relate calendar interests to the calculation of priestly courses of the temple (Milik 1976: 274-278). The Book of Watchers, especially chapters 21-36, resembles Ezekiel 40-44, which is related to the priesthood. Interest in the heavenly realms and a concern for the temple (cf Ex 25:9-10; 1 Chr 28:19; Ezk 40:2; Zch 2:5-9) can be found in early Judaism. These aspects are also evident throughout 1 Enoch, overtly displayed due to the allegorical nature of these writings. The guided tour of heaven type revelation is evident in Ezekiel 1 and 1 Enoch 14.

The area of priestly connections between the Hebrew Bible and 1 Enoch is worthy of investigation, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to do so in detail. By the time of the writing of the earliest parts of the Book of Watchers, there was an interest in certain apocalyptic precepts. These apocalyptic ideals were to some degree related to priestly concerns in the Hebrew Bible. Some have adduced that the Book of Watchers contains veiled criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood concerning the issue of illicit marriages (Himmelfarb 1993: 9-29). The incompatibility of the sexual joining of angels and mortal women is taken up by 1 Enoch 15:4-12. Concern for the Watchers' purity appears in both sections of the Book of Watchers, suggesting that the mythical story ought to be examined in the context of family purity. Moreover, there may be a parallel between the separation of the angelic and human realms and the endogamy expected within priestly marriages. Suter emphasized sexual sin in the Semihazah material. He cited passages from the Testament of Levi and the Damascus Document to support the premise that the Book of Watchers was applicable to the Jerusalem priesthood (Suter 1979: 118-119, 122, 124-131). The sections of 1 Enoch 1-36 that manifest the closest associations with extra-biblical literatures displaying an apocalyptic *Weltanschauung* share little in common with what scholars have identified as constituting apocalyptic content (Stone 1978: 491). Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the author of the Book of Watchers was probably familiar with some other traditions outside the Hebrew Scriptures.

8.6.1 *A Comparison of the Literary Structures of 1 Enoch 1-36 and Genesis 6:1-4*

The designation “The Book of Watchers” originates from the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus. While Syncellus does not call 1 Enoch 1-36 “The Book of Watchers,” the heading ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγγρηγορῶν, “out of the first book of Enoch concerning the Watchers,” specifies the contents of the abstract. The Book of Watchers refers to Ethiopic Enoch 1-36, but in actuality only alludes to parts of these chapters (6:1-10:14; 15:8-16:1). Even a cursory reading of this section of 1 Enoch suggests it comprises various parts with differing subject matter. Since the beginning of the last century, scholars have attempted to define the various constituent parts of the Book of Watchers. They have also speculated about the historical and literary relations between these components (Tigchelaar 1996: 152).

Most modern scholars view Genesis 6:1-4 as strange, incomplete, and atypical of narratives in the Hebrew Bible in final redacted form (Hendel 1987: 14). This opinion has resulted in many scholars concluding this Genesis pericope is either an excerpt from a fuller account or a conflation of more than one narrative strand spliced together by a final redactor (Speiser 1964: 45).⁶⁸ Some have suggested that Genesis 6:3 does not serve as a suitable continuation of Genesis 6:1-2. The difficulty appears to be joining verse three with the preceding verse. Connecting the limitation of humankind’s lifespan with the offspring of the immortals and mortals appears logical. However, this connection presents a problem, since these offspring are not mentioned until verse four. A common solution has been to reverse the order of verses three and four. While Van Seters (1992: 150-151) presents a fairly convincing grammatical case for inverting the order of these verses, I reject this position for several reasons. First, the etiological conclusion would be worthless before the statement of punishment. Second, the difficulty does not revolve so much around the position of verses three and four as it does with their contents. Thus, I agree with Westermann (1984: 373) that keeping verse four at the end of the narrative may be appropriate.

⁶⁸ Some have suggested that Genesis 6:3 originally followed verse four. This view sees Genesis 6:4 as a natural continuation of verse two (cf Von Rad 1972: 115).

Though Van Seters (1992: 151) maintained that most scholars have viewed Genesis 6:1-4 as fragmentary, Petersen (1979: 48) argued that despite the brevity and extraordinary nature of the contents of this passage, it should be considered as a complete non-fragmentary narrative structure. The sequence of the verses makes sense within the context of Yahweh responding to a situation which He considered out of control. Petersen's thesis is appealing, if the final redactor intended not to demythologize this narrative to accentuate his message. The writer may have intentionally couched his message in the setting of undisguised mythology to serve a larger theological purpose. The author's overall objective corresponds with priestly interests of the Pentateuch. The writers of Genesis 1-11 utilized myth to further the cause of monotheism. They also elucidated the theological ideas of the final redactor, which in turn clarified the underlying mythology (Oduyoye 1984: 34).

8.6.2 *The Integration of 1 Enoch 6-11 and 12-16*

The story of the Watchers (chs 6-11) represents a complex, but self-contained literary unit, originally independent of the Enochic tradition. There are some reasons to suggest that 1 Enoch 6-11 was initially, in whole or in part, an autonomous literary unit (Newsom 1980: 312). One aspect that stands out is the total absence of any allusion to Enoch in chapters 6-11. Noah, the son of Lamech, is the lone figure mentioned in 1 Enoch 6-11, causing some scholars to speculate that this portion of the Book of Watchers was originally part of a lost Book of Noah. This conjecture is mostly based upon 1 Enoch 10:1-3, which may represent an interpolation, since these verses are awkward and appear to be foreign to the remainder of 1 Enoch 6-11. Thus, it is probably best to side with the majority of scholars who suggest that 1 Enoch 6-11 ought to be viewed as an independent literary work (cf Hanson 1977: 195-233; Nickelsburg 1977: 383-405).

Scholars have identified two primary strands within the 1 Enoch 6-11 section woven together to form one unit. The first literary segment is referred to as the Semihazah story, which depicts the sexual sin between the Watchers and mortal women. The giant offspring from these unions necessitated the intervention of archangels and resulted in a divine decree of punishment and judgment. A second major component is known as the Asael strand, where sin is equated with the teaching of forbidden knowledge to humanity.

In the Semihazah section, women are viewed as victims. The Asael narrative depicted women as collaborators in the sinful activities initiated by the Watchers. Newsom (1980: 313) identified a third strand that concerns the teaching of esoteric knowledge involving sorcery, astrology, and magic. Scholarship is divided about whether this material derived from an embellishment of the Asael tradition which was incorporated into the Semihazah narrative or if this constitutes an independent narrative. It is possible that the Asael information derived from an adaptation of the Greek Prometheus myth which was attributed to Semihazah and the Watchers when the Asael tradition was assimilated into the Semihazah narrative (Nickelsburg 1977: 399-400). However, it is curious why only the magical, medical, or astronomical teachings are ascribed to Semihazah, when the Prometheus myth comprises a wider array of knowledge. This knowledge would include woodworking, construction of houses, the rising and setting of stars, domestication of animals, medicines, and the interpretation of dreams (Newsom 1980: 314). In my opinion, it is difficult to see how these teachings were assimilated into either the Semihazah or Asael narratives, especially since the Asael strand views humanity as guilty collaborators while the Semihazah story does not.

Several differences within the various strands of 1 Enoch 6-11 provide ample reason to adduce that the material contained in this section did not originally form a literary unit. For example, in 1 Enoch 6:3-7, Semihazah is depicted as the leader of 200 angels consumed with lust for mortal women. At the same time, Asael is listed as the chief of only ten angels, and appears last on the list of dominant Watchers (1En 6:8). Yet in chapter eight Asael appears to be the leader solely responsible for teaching forbidden knowledge to humanity. Elsewhere, in 1 Enoch 10:7-8, Asael, but none of the other angels, is responsible for corruption of the entire earth, leaving the distinct impression that Asael is superior to all other supernatural agents. In the Semihazah strand, evil results from angels descending to earth to have sexual intercourse with mortal women (1 En 6:1-2). Their giant offspring caused devastation on the earth, God's declaration of judgment and punishment, along with a promise of future blessing upon the earth (Nickelsburg 1977: 384-389). Not only are all elements from the Semihazah strand conspicuously absent in the Asael fragment, but immorality in the Asael stratum comes strictly from imparting of forbidden knowledge.

In 1 Enoch 10:8, all sin is to be recorded against Asael. Neither the Semihazah nor the Asael narratives suggest that the angels' sins involved any attempt to challenge God's sovereignty. Rather, both accounts have the common thread of rebellion in the form of illegitimate behaviour that contravenes God's creational order. It is uncertain why the Semihazah, Asael, or any other strands, if they exist, were combined in the final form of 1 Enoch 6-11. Perhaps these stories were melded together to depict the final author's perception that the state of the world was in total disarray, largely as a result of priestly indiscretions.

Determining the status of 1 Enoch 12-16 has proved to be a daunting task for modern scholars. It is possible that the author of 1 Enoch 6-11 added chapters twelve to sixteen to present a different emphasis than 1 Enoch 6-11. Yet it cannot be ruled out that 1 Enoch 12-16 may be the work of an independent editor who later added to chapters six to eleven in an attempt to meld the two accounts together (Tigchelaar 1996: 157). Despite obvious differences between the two strands, I prefer the former option due to the many connections between 1 Enoch 6-11 and 12-16. The introduction of 1 Enoch 12-16 refers to the 6-11 section. 1 Enoch 12:1 states, "*Before these things [happened] Enoch was hidden . . .*" This verse may be an editorial addition to join 1 Enoch 6-11 and 12-16. Nevertheless, the information presented in 1 Enoch 12-16 indicates some knowledge about the sin and fall of the Watchers depicted in 1 Enoch 6-11. Therefore, the author of 1 Enoch 12-16 may have been in possession of some form of 1 Enoch 6-11 (Newsom 1980: 315). Another possibility suggests that the author was familiar with oral traditions about the Watcher myth and summarized his own version of this tale.

In my view, a third viable option exists. The author of 1 Enoch 12-16 may have intentionally embellished his earlier account with a different focus to accentuate the degree of havoc that the unfaithful priesthood had caused in the world. Tigchelaar (1996: 156) disagreed with Newsom who stated there was little doubt that the author of 1 Enoch 12-16 had some form of 6-11 before him while composing his account. VanderKam (1984: 129-130) also regarded 1 Enoch 12-16 as a later embellishment of 6-11. If Newsom and VanderKam are correct, the redactor of 1 Enoch 12-16, whether or not he was the same author of chapters six to eleven or not, must have been in possession of some form of 1 Enoch 6-11. In any event, the final result was two independent versions of the Watchers' story, each with a different focus.

It is noteworthy that any reference or allusion to Genesis 6:3 is missing in 1 Enoch 6-11, only showing up in Jubilees 5:6f. However, 1 Enoch 15-16 appears to contain an expanded midrash on Genesis 6:3. Thus, even if the author of 1 Enoch 12-16 was in possession of some part of 1 Enoch 6-11, he was not completely dependent upon it for his version of the myth of the Watchers. If the author of the Book of Watchers relied upon Genesis, then he may have, in whole or in part, embellished the story of the Watchers based upon his knowledge of Genesis 6: 1-4. At any rate, both 1 Enoch 12-16 and 1 Enoch 6-11 have a concern for the violation of God's created order (cf 1 En 12:4; 14:3-7; 15:3-8; 16:3-6). The idea of 1 Enoch 12-16 is that the Watchers' desire to have sex as the sons and daughters of men do was a gross violation of God's created order and could not be forgiven. 1 Enoch 13:5 suggests that because of their iniquities the Watchers would be eternally separated from heaven and could no longer speak on God's behalf.

If a priest wrote the Book of Watchers, as I have proposed, he may have felt that he could speak for God since he shunned the sinful activities of the priesthood. Moreover, he would have been interested in illustrating that the priesthood was no longer considered as legitimate because of their actions. Guilty priests would also suffer eternal judgment. If one author composed both Enochic strands, it is plausible that he wanted to clearly outline the priesthood's sin of unlawful marriages. In the second section, he may have also wished to point out that the unfaithful priesthood was responsible for conveying an improper and forbidden understanding about unlawful marriages to God's people. It is possible to view the Semihazah and Asael traditions as an attempt by a later redactor to blend these parallel accounts to portray a state of deterioration in the primeval world (Newsom 1980: 314). If so, then the writer probably intended to illustrate this upheaval by allegorical means, utilizing angelic beings engaged in forbidden sex with mortal women. These actions resulted in violence and eternal judgment (cf 1 En 12:4; 14:5; 15:3,7; 16:2). The ultimate horror of these sins was a violation of the created order (1 En 15:4-8). It is reasonable to assume that both Enochic strands were the product of distinct groups within Judaism. These Enochic writings were characterized by differing views of marriage, the calendar, and matters related to the temple cult. Undoubtedly, these concerns were responsible for splits within the Israelite community.

8.7 Major Issues of Concern for the Writers of 1 Enoch 1-36

8.7.1 Exogamy, the Priesthood, and Ordinary Jews

A few scholars have argued that the Book of Watchers contains veiled criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood, affecting the legitimacy of the temple cult over the primary issue of exogamy involving the priesthood (Himmelfarb 1993: 118-119). Most scholars have viewed the myth of the Watchers as a narrative that presents an aetiology of how sin entered the world. Nevertheless, Suter (1979: 119-124) argued that this account concerned the issue of purity within the priesthood and the family. In 1 Enoch 6-16, the Watchers are defiled through their sexual contact with mortal women (cf 1 En 15:4-12). This contact produced "giants" responsible for violence upon the earth. For Suter (1979: 124-131), the situation depicted in the Book of Watchers was analogous to circumstances within the Jerusalem priesthood. The reprobate priests, by means of unlawful exogamous marriages, also produced illegitimate offspring. Many Jews followed this priestly example, believing that despite obvious failures, the priesthood represented God on earth. To support the contention of a correlation between the myth of the Watchers and the Jerusalem priesthood, Suter (1979: 124-131) cited passages from the Testament of Levi 14:1-8 and 4QTL^{Levi}. Collins (1982: 97) agreed with Suter that these passages suggest this myth could have applied to the Jerusalem priesthood in the second century B.C.E. Suter's and Collins' appraisals may be justified, since the context of the Testament of Levi refers to an accusation by Enoch that applied to the sons of Levi, who were given the priesthood as a lasting ordinance (Ex 29:9). This reference presumably corresponds to Enoch's indictment against the Watchers.

Most scholars disagree with the hypothesis of an internal conflict being played out within the Jerusalem priesthood during the time of the composition of the Book of Watchers. For example, Davidson (1992: 48) rejected this position mainly because the source of the problems within the myth of the Watchers is removed from humanity, implying that the oppression experienced by the Enochic author came from outside his own circles rather than from within. In other words, the threat within the Book of Watchers, as depicted in the supernatural realm, concerns the entire human race rather than strictly the Jerusalem priesthood. Davidson felt that the myth of the Watchers pertained to a period of Jewish history that involved oppression and injustice. However, he maintained that it would be best to look to foreign influences who threatened the entire human race at the time for the cause of this upheaval (cf Nickelsburg 1977: 390-391).

The situation depicted in the Book of Watchers takes place in an otherworldly context. Yet it does not necessarily follow that problems within this account are outside the author's circle. The Enochic writer used allegory depicting what transpired in the heavenly realm to address a situation upon the earth. Two factors make it difficult to decide the historical setting of the Book of Watchers. First, the polyvalent character of apocalyptic material can be applied to different historical situations (Collins 1982: 98-99). Second, there is a lack of explicit details to establish the historical setting for all or part of the Book of Watchers. Modern scholars have offered several suggestions for the historical context of the myth of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 1-36. One possibility includes the wars of the Diadochi 323-302 B.C.E. (VanderKam 1984: 128). Another involves the struggle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies 217-198 B.C.E. (Nickelsburg 1977: 391).⁶⁹

Certain features within the Book of Watchers favor the position that this myth relates to an internal conflict within the priesthood. I am of the conviction that since the Book of Watchers is a Jewish document, dissension within the Jerusalem priesthood would have threatened most Israelites. This peril involved judgment and eternal punishment for all who decided to venture outside endogamous relationships. I have noted several parallels between the angels in the myth of the Watchers and the priesthood (Suter 1979: 130-132). For instance, both the angels and the priesthood had restrictions placed on marriage relating to the issue of exogamy. The angels were created as spiritual and eternal beings. Therefore, they were not designed to interbreed with temporal, flesh and blood mortals (1En 15:3-7). The priesthood, as representative of God, was expected to convey an understanding of endogamy to the religious Jews, who were expected to follow the priestly example. Moreover, both the angels and the priesthood bore the responsibility of being intercessors. Participation in unlawful sexual contact excluded the angels from their heavenly duties (1 En 14:1-6).

⁶⁹ Collins (1982: 98-99) sees Nickelsburg's position as tentative. Elsewhere, Nickelsburg (1984: 93) appears to have amended his early view. He suggested that while the Watchers represented disobedient priests of the heavenly temple in 1 Enoch 12-16, applying this myth to the earthly realm understands the author to have disagreements with the Jerusalem priesthood.

The issue of endogamy for the priesthood and the Israelites is clearly established and reasserted throughout the Pentateuch (cf Ex 22:19; 23:32; Lv 5:17; 15:31; 18:1f; 21:7-10,13; 22:9; Nm 15:30; 33:50-55; Dt 7:2-6; 18:9-12; 20:16-18; 29:25-27). This idea can also be found in Malachi 2:10-16. The matter is further highlighted by Ezra 9:1-2; 10:43f, which provides a list of unfaithful priests who entered unlawful exogamous marriages. The blatant disregard of the priesthood for endogamy, as commanded by God, resulted in the Jewish people being subjected to the sword, captivity, pillage, and other humiliations (Ezr 9:7,10,13). It caused impurity, not only within the priesthood, but in all Israelites who followed the priestly example (Ezr 9:11). This feculence clearly resulted from exogamous relationships (Ezr 9:12,14). Ezra 10 displays that the priesthood and other Israelites had been unfaithful in entering into forbidden marriages. If apocalyptic origins relate at least in part to the priesthood, as opposed to prophecy, then this would support the position that the myth of the Watchers may be intended to correlate with the issue of exogamy, especially if the Book of Watchers was written by a priest who considered himself as guiltless in this matter. It would also support the opinion of Suter (1979: 197) that concern for the purity of the Watchers (6-11 and 12-16) suggests the myth ought to be examined in light of established rules of endogamy, as they relate to the priesthood and to other religious Jews.

Other clues within the Book of Watchers may suggest that the crucial problem revolved around criticism, not simply about the priesthood, but actually originated within priestly groups. In 1 Enoch 6-16, the Watchers pervert their priestly roles by teaching forbidden knowledge. The illicit sexual contact with mortal women results in the Watchers' expulsion from heaven, which is depicted as a temple (1 En 12:4; 14:18-24; 15:3-4). Like the heavenly Watcher priests' expulsion from the heavenly temple, the priests in Jerusalem who participated in exogamous marriages were disqualified from further service in the earthly temple (Suter 1972: 123-124). It is possible that the writer of the Book of Watchers was forecasting that the priesthood would end in the immanent future. However, the end of the priesthood had not officially been declared at the time of the writing of the Book of Watcher and did not occur until the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by the Romans in 70 C. E. I believe the interest in priestly purity within the Book of Watchers suggests this writing originated in priestly circles. The priestly author probably considered himself faithful and was convinced that many of the remaining Jerusalem priests had violated laws of endogamy. Consequently, he no doubt felt these priests were defiled and disqualified from speaking for God.

8.7.2 *The Calendar*

The Hebrew Bible apparently shows little interest in calendrical matters, since details concerning the calendar are obscure and only briefly alluded to. Conversely, in Ethiopic Enoch, the Astronomical Book 72-82 is predominately concerned with the calendar, except for some geographical information in chapter seventy-seven and some moral interests in 1 Enoch 80.2-82.3. The book of Jubilees displays its dependence upon the Enochic corpus in several places (VanderKam 1995: 111). Jubilees defends the solar calendar of 364 days (Jub 6:20-38), corresponding to what the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch teaches in chapter seventy-two. The author of Jubilees also opposed the lunar calendar. The Astronomical Book juxtaposed data for the lunar calendar of 354 days (chs 73-74) without further comment. In Ethiopic Enoch, the angel Uriel revealed details of the solar and lunar calendars. The Astronomical Book and Jubilees point out that using both systems is not proper. Further, Jubilees makes it explicitly clear that only the solar calendar was considered as accurate: *“the one is the revealed calendar; the other causes people to err in calculating the year and to walk in the festivals of the gentiles.”* It appears that Jubilees was concerned with the possibility of making profane days into holy days by following an improper lunar calendar (Jub 6:36-37).

Very little is known about astronomical aspects of the First Temple Period. At the time of the writing of Astronomical Book, the official calendar of Judaism was apparently based upon lunar months (Davidson 1992: 87). The solar calendar, sanctioned by Jubilees and the Astronomical Book, was not consistent with astronomical reality (Stone 1987: 162). Nevertheless, the concerns of the redactor in 1 Enoch 72-82 are astronomical and calendrical, as opposed to astrological.⁷⁰ The author of the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch may be claiming validity for a 364-day solar calendar, but the lunar calendar is in some manner correlated with the solar year (Davidson 1992: 85). This Enochic writer suggested that a study of the heavenly bodies cannot result in an accurate prediction of the future as presupposed by astrology. At the same time, the composer of the Astronomical Book was also concerned with showing that astronomical bodies, like the remainder of God's creation, follow immutable laws (VanderKam 1984: 103).

⁷⁰ I have pointed out earlier that astronomy concerns movements of the heavenly bodies in relation to the calendar, while astrology involves predicting the future from a study of the heavenly luminaries (Davidson 1992: 84).

After a careful reading of 1 Enoch 72-82, I must reject the position of Charles (1912: 147), who argued that the Astronomical Book had no interest in the calendar other than a scientific one coloured by Jewish conceptions and beliefs. In 1 Enoch 72-79, rules concerning the order of the universe, as evidenced by the heavenly bodies, are explicated to Enoch the seer by the archangel Uriel. The author apparently had an underlying apologetic and polemical motivation for his writing. For him, the calendar directly related to issues of sin and righteousness. 1 Enoch 80:2-8 sufficiently displays what happens when sinners neglect the prescribed order of the universe by following the wrong calendar. Thus, it seems that the writer of the Astronomical Book was acutely interested in defending the solar calendar for religious reasons.

The Book of Watchers is not as explicitly enamoured with calendrical issues as 1 Enoch 72-82. Nonetheless, the Enochic author evidently accorded implicit attention to these matters. 1 Enoch 2-5:3 displays an avid interest in how the heavenly luminaries do not vacillate from their appointed order, presumably based upon an observance of the proper calendar. The Book of Watchers, in the midst of an explication of how an ordered universe is to function, abruptly switches to a vituperation against those who transgress against God's established order (1 En 5:4b-10). Interestingly, this harangue against the unfaithful occurs just before the account of the fall of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 6. The Astronomical Book does not adopt astrological beliefs in the sense that human destinies are influenced by the movement of heavenly bodies (Neugebauer 1985: 395). 1 Enoch 8:3f suggests that the tumult caused by the unfaithful Watchers was responsible for the introduction of astrological practices previously forbidden.

It is difficult to overstress the importance of the calendar in Ethiopic Enoch. The Enochic writers no doubt intended to display the theological message that certain factions within Israelite society were responsible for disrupting God's order. The Astronomical Book explicitly suggests that disorder resulted from the use of a faulty calendar. The same idea is assumed in the Book of Watchers (Stone 1987: 168). Improper use of the intended calendar was a major factor in the Israelites' misfortunes. It also affected the observation of proper feast days and other celebrations connected with Israelite religion. In the opinion of the writers of the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book, these dynamics would ultimately result in the eschatological judgment of the unfaithful.

8.7.3 *Theodicy*

The mythical story in the Book of Watchers about the rebellion of some Watchers was composed during a period of violence and bloodshed. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative does not specifically portray a time of disorder. However, I have pointed out a number of salient facts concerning the Genesis 6:1-4 pericope. To reiterate, Genesis 6:3 delimits the evil that Yahweh is prepared to endure within His created order. This passage also strongly indicates Yahweh's sovereign universal control. His breath of life can be withdrawn at any time from created beings. If the story of the Deluge in Genesis 6:5-8 was connected with the myth of the Watchers, then Genesis 6:1-4 may have served as a preface to the flood (Hendel 1987: 17). In such a case, Genesis 6:5-8 suggests that the boundaries of evil had been greatly surpassed, providing the ethical motivation for the punitive actions of Yahweh. It is reasonable to assume that the final redactor purposely juxtaposed the brief narrative of Genesis 6:1-4 with Genesis 6:5-8 to accentuate the degree of corruption in Yahweh's creation. Even Yahweh's heavenly agents had conspired with humanity to perpetuate this ignominy.

If the writer of the Book of Watchers was familiar with Genesis 6:1-4, then I logically assume that he associated his account with the tumultuous situation that existed prior to the flood. Moreover, he may have viewed this pre-flood situation as paralleling the circumstances facing the Jews in his own time (Nickelsburg 1977: 404). Even if the Enochic writer did not directly connect the myth of the Watchers to the mythical story of the flood, he was probably familiar with a tradition of viewing Genesis 6:1-4 as a prelude to the wickedness that existed prior to the Deluge. He would have also been aware that this evil was directly responsible for Yahweh's punishments, which were directed toward those who participated in corrupt activities. Therefore, the composer of the Book of Watchers no doubt believed that part of his purpose in using an elaborate angelology in an allegorical context was to reconcile the existence of evil during his time of writing with the goodness and sovereignty of Yahweh.

In the Book of Watchers, the sexual consorting of the Watchers with the “daughters of men” is portrayed as a deliberate act of rebellion against Yahweh. However, in Genesis 6:4, the intercourse of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of men” appears to have been presented in a morally neutral manner. In Genesis 6:3,5-6, man is clearly responsible for evil in the world. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative does not connect the angels or their offspring with wickedness, corruption, or violence. The Nephilim are also described in morally unbiased terms in Genesis. Conversely, the Book of Watchers indicates that the actions of the fallen angels and the giant offspring that resulted were viewed as the source of evil in the prediluvian world. Genesis 6:7 suggests that God intended to obliterate His creation because of the sins of humankind. On the other hand, 1 Enoch 7:1-6 suggests that God’s anger was caused by the malevolent actions of the Watchers and the Nephilim.

It appears that the writer of the Book of Watchers differed from the writer of Genesis 6:1-4 about the origins of evil in the cosmos. Yet the Enochic writer obviously deduced that the actions of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of men,” together with the resulting Nephilim, as portrayed in Genesis 6:1-4, was tantamount to a revolt against the creational order (Nickelsburg 1977: 404-405). Moreover, the priestly author no doubt felt that angelology provided the perfect venue to resolve this present evil. I believe that the writer of the Book of Watchers considered the myth of the Watchers in Genesis 6:1-4 as a suitable parallel to his prevailing circumstances. For the Enochic composer, this current evil situation was largely due to the nefarious deeds of the priesthood and their supporters. Nevertheless, the writer of the Book of Watchers, who probably considered himself a faithful priest, could offer hope to the oppressed. This hope was accomplished by emphasizing the continued gracious and sovereign activity of Yahweh. As in the Genesis 6:5-7 passage, Yahweh would be quick to judge those responsible for evil. At the same time, Yahweh would also deliver His faithful people and establish a righteous kingdom. A major part of the reconciliation of evil for the author of the Book of Watchers was to describe Yahweh’s disqualification of disloyal priests, who are portrayed as unfaithful Watchers. He also forecasted the priesthood’s future abolishment, which eventually took place with the final demise of the Jerusalem temple.

8.7.4 Faithful Priests and the Teaching of Wisdom

In 1 Enoch 12:3-5, the Watchers summon Enoch as he is communing with God. The Watchers refer to Enoch as a “scribe of righteousness.” They ask Enoch to go to the unfaithful Watchers who had abandoned their positions in heaven to defile themselves with mortal women. As a faithful messenger of God, Enoch is told to proclaim to the unfaithful Watchers that their actions will result in eternal condemnation. Elsewhere, God calls Enoch a “righteous man” and a “scribe of righteousness” (1 En 15:1). Enoch also functions in a priestly role of intercession between God and the fallen Watchers (1 En 15:2). Furthermore, Enoch retained access to the heavenly temple, which was the exclusive realm of the priesthood (Suter 1979: 11). The 1 Enoch 12:3-5 passage suggests that some faithful Watchers were still qualified to act as representatives of God. At the same time, many unfaithful Watchers had disqualified themselves from this priestly role. Thus, the writer of the Book of Watchers used the figure of Enoch in the context of angelology to indicate the continuation of faithful priests, including himself.

If the writer of the Book of Watchers used the myth of the Watchers to depict the priesthood of his time, then it must be conceded that this work exhibits an anti-priestly polemic. This negative assessment of the priesthood is consistent with other Second Temple literatures. For example, the situation depicted in Aramaic Levi is similar to 1 Enoch. Aramaic Levi dealt with matters against exogamous marriages. From the context of the fragmentary passage 4Q213, it appears that priestly exogamy was especially a problem. Moreover, there must have been a considerable degree of distress with the state of the priesthood during this period, as is evidenced in the fact that the writer of the Book of Watchers felt it was expedient to address priestly concerns at great lengths. These and other factors led Nickelsburg (1981b: 586) to conclude that the author of the Book of Watchers had a grievance against much of the Jerusalem priesthood. Nickelsburg also contended that for the Enochic writer much of the Jerusalem priesthood was not only defiled but also under irreversible and eternal judgment of God. At the same time, Ben Sira took a positive stance toward priests. He suggested that religious Jews should continue to support the priesthood, suggesting that not all Jerusalem priests were involved in illegitimate marriages. It would also mean that many ordinary Jews continued to hold the tradition of following the priests, despite their obvious shortcomings.

8.7.5 *Unfaithful Priests and Improper Conveyance of Knowledge*

A prominent theme in the Book of Watchers, especially chapters 6-11, concerns the aetiology of how evil entered the world. Another notable motif concerns the conveyance of inappropriate knowledge to humankind by the fallen Watchers.⁷¹ Two primary strands of 1 Enoch 6-11 involve angels being privy to a variety of heavenly matters that God did not intend to be conveyed to humankind (1 En 8:1-3; 9:6-7; 10:7-8). In the Asael tradition, the angel Asael was responsible for teaching forbidden information to humanity, including melting down metals to make weapons, bracelets, and decorations. He also relayed wisdom about antimony, ornamentation, beautifying of the eyelids, and alchemy. Amasras taught incantation and the cutting of roots. Armaros imparted knowledge about incantations. Baraqiyal provided insight into astrology. Kokarer'el contributed a understanding of signs. Tam'el conveyed information about the seeing of stars. Asder'el disclosed the course of the moon and the deception of man. The imparting of this forbidden wisdom resulted in many humans committing adultery or engaging in other sinful corruption (1 En 8:1-3; 10:8).

In 1 Enoch 16: 2-3, the writer suggests that the Watchers, formerly in heaven, were intended to intercede for men before God. The author of the Book of Watchers indicated that the unfaithful Watchers were also shown mysteries of heaven. There are some textual difficulties with this section of 1 Enoch. Unfortunately, there is no extant Aramaic evidence to shed light on the situation. The major issue involves what heavenly information was known to the unfaithful Watchers. The Ethiopic versions are consistent in stating that the Watchers were only shown rejected or worthless mysteries. Yet the imparting of those secrets was solely responsible for the multiplication of evil on the earth (1 En 16:3). If the Ethiopic tradition is correct, it is difficult to see why heavenly information of any sort would be of little value. Scholars have offered several explanations for the variation of what heavenly information was known to the Watchers and what they revealed to humanity. Perhaps Black (1985: 155) was correct in his emended translation of 1 Enoch 16:3 that reads, "*there was no secret that was not revealed to you (Watchers), and unspeakable secrets you know.*"

⁷¹ Many scholars have suggested that the idea of evil entering the world through a conveying of forbidden knowledge was fitted into the original Semihazah story (1 En 6-11 minus 7:1; 8:1-3; 9:6,8c; and 10:4-10) by means of several interpolations, additions, or glosses. (See Tigchelaar (1996: 168) for a fuller treatment of this position).

The point of the Asael tradition and 1 Enoch 16:1-3 is that the fallen Watchers had access to heavenly secrets not intended for mortals. Whether this knowledge was obtained by legitimate means or not, the Watchers wrongly revealed it to humanity due to the hardened condition of their hearts (1 En 16:3). Some degree of similarity can be adduced between the Asael narrative and the Semihazah strand concerning angelic sins. The notion of the fallen Watchers being privy to heavenly secrets is not explicitly mentioned. Nevertheless, assuming that they would have some knowledge of matters unknown to mortals would be logical. I would also suspect that the unfaithful Watchers introduced information which properly belonged to the heavenly realm to mortal women through intimate contact. The Asael tradition focuses upon improper revelation as the primary sin of the Watchers. The Semihazah strand is more concerned with the Watchers having sexual contact with earthly women (Nickelsburg 1977: 385). This contact constituted an improper mixing of the heavenly and earthly domains contrary to the intended order of the universe (1 En 15:3-7).

In the Watchers' myth, angels are depicted as culprits because they led humanity astray. As far as the function of the myth is concerned, there is a possible parallel between the Watchers and unfaithful priests, who had contracted unlawful marriages. While the unfaithful priests were responsible for instituting evil, all corrupted Jews had to be punished along with the perfidious priests. Due to their actions, the fallen Watchers lost their ability to return to the heavenly realm or commune with God (1 En 15:5). Moreover, the unfaithful priesthood forever lost the privilege of representing God (1 En 12: 4-5; VanderKam 1995: 43). The author of the Book of Watchers probably intended to impart that unfaithful priests were culpable for teaching Jews to depart from God's laws other than those involving unlawful marriages. Most scholars agree that the Asael tradition was added last and that this narrative deals with the improper conveyance of information. It is possible that the Enochic writer wished to reinterpret the myth in a metaphorical sense to depict religious infidelity through illicit revelation (Collins 1982: 102). However, I believe it is more plausible that the composer of the Book of Watchers specifically applied this myth in an allegorical sense to the sexual sins of the Jerusalem priesthood. These priestly transgressions were contrary to the order of the universe and the laws of Moses.

8.7.6 *The Fallen Watchers and the Unfaithful Priesthood*

Both the Asael and Semihazah traditions have allegorical potential, but unlike the biblical book of Daniel, the Book of Watchers has no identifiable allegorical referent (Collins 1982: 97). However, Suter (1979: 124-131) adduced that the Semihazah material deals with the sexual sins of the priesthood. Both the Asael and Semihazah strands, in combined form, reflect a crisis situation, since the story portrays violence and lawlessness (Collins 1982: 98). Although no hard evidence supports this specific predicament, it possibly concerned the impious actions of the unfaithful priesthood. The author of the Book of Watchers related the current dilemma to a mythical event in the past. One possible purpose was to place the imbroglio outside the realm of human control and into the hands of the supernatural figures. The Enochic author's objective was to relieve the anxiety of what would have seemed like unresolvable circumstances. This would have provided hope in both the immediate and eschatological senses. In other words, the allegorization of the present crisis, as depicted by the author of the Book of Watchers, provided an imagined resolution and detracted from the threatening nature of prevailing conditions (Collins 1982: 100).

The word "Watcher" is regularly used in the Book of Watchers as an expression for angels (1 En 1:5; 6:2; 10:7,9,15; 12:4; 13:10; 14:1,3; 15:2,9; 16:1,2). The Epistle of Enoch 91:15 specifically refers to angels who have sinned. However, 1 Enoch 12:2,3; 20:1 and Jubilees 4:15 suggest that not all Watchers had sinned or fallen. In 1 Enoch, the Book of Parables 39:12-13; 61:12; 71:7, angels are mentioned as heavenly beings who do not sleep but continually guard the throne of God. The word Watcher also occurs in Daniel 4:10,14,20.⁷² I believe that both the Asael and Semihazah strands used the Watchers to depict the priesthood in an allegorical sense. Hellenism was extensive in pre-Maccabean Judea, with supporters and opponents within the Jewish populace (Hengel 1974: 107-217). Allegory was a common means for conveying information in the Greek world. Thus, it seems reasonable that most Jews would have widely understood this methodology.

⁷² The Hebrew word *שׂר*, "messenger, agent," is generally used to denote someone faithful to those who send him (Jastrow 1996: 82). However, this Hebrew term is generally related to the Aramaic *שׂר*, "to be awake," and the Greek *γρηγορέιν*, "to watch over." See Davidson (1992: 38-39) for an extensive treatment of this issue.

As I have suggested, the author of the Book of Watchers probably used angelology to depict the unfaithful priesthood. By contracting exogamous marriages, the priesthood not only failed to keep the Mosaic laws, but contravened the established creational order. These perfidious priests also divorced their wives to marry foreign women. Other priestly sins included a neglecting of the teachings of Yahweh, offering defective sacrifices, abandoning the use of the proper calendar, and conveying improper knowledge. The corrupt understandings that seditious priests passed on resulted in both priests and their followers not being able to attain forgiveness. These priestly improprieties were responsible for wickedness infiltrating the fabric of society. This led to violence, disorder, and unlawful conduct among religious Jews (Hanson 1977: 198-199). The ultimate result was present and eternal judgment for the priesthood and all who participated in perpetuating these evils.

1 Enoch 1:3,5 envisions a coming judgment in which both human and angelic evildoers will tremble before God. At the same time, the Enochic author suggests that the righteous will be blessed (1 En 1:8). 1 Enoch 2-5 is concerned with how the works of God keep to their proper order. 1 Enoch 5:4 suggests that wicked beings have abandoned God's commands and can expect future judgment. Ten thousand "holy ones" accompany God in this judgment (1 En 1:9).⁷³ קדושים refers to angels here (1 En 1:9) and elsewhere in 1 Enoch (cf 1 En 12:2; 14:23; 81:5; 103:2; 106:19). The composer of the Book of Watchers also used the terminology "holy angels" (1 En 20:1-7; 21:5,9; 22:3; 24:6; 27:2; 32:6; 93:2) and "holy ones of heaven" (1 En 9:3). Thus, 1 Enoch 1:9 envisions a final judgment of God, who is accompanied by supernatural agents. The notion of an angelic entourage accompanying Yahweh for the punishment of the world occurs in the Old Testament. In Daniel 7:10, when the books are opened, Yahweh is attended by "a thousand thousands" and "ten thousand times ten thousand." Elsewhere, Zechariah 14:5 suggests that the "holy ones" will accompany Yahweh when He fights a final battle against the nations of the earth.

⁷³ קדושים "holy ones" is clearly visible in the restoration of 4QEnc 1.1.15 by Milik (1976: 184). The Hebrew term קדוש is used in the Old Testament to refer to God (2 Ki 19:22; Ps 71:22; Is 1:4; 5:19; 40:25; Jr 50:29; Ezk 39:7; Hs 11:9), while קדושים is used for angels (Job 5:1; 15:15; Ps 89:6,8; Dn 8:13; Zch 14:5).

In 1 Enoch 1:9 and Zechariah 14:5, the holy angels and Yahweh may be associated with military roles, since they execute judgment on all and destroy the wicked ones.⁷⁴ The Book of Watchers singles out the fallen Watchers as especially having cause to fear God's judgment (1 En 1:5). The angel Michael is dispatched to Semihazah and the other fallen Watchers to inform them that their offspring will be killed. The disobedient Watchers are subsequently bound for seventy generations until the final judgment. After being judged, the fallen Watchers and all who collaborated with them are imprisoned and tormented for eternity. The reason for the Watchers' eternal judgment is that they have done injustice by leading others astray (1 En 10:12-13). Enoch then informs the fallen Watchers that they can never expect any mercy or peace (1 En 12:6). Could the Enochic author's statements have been implicitly referring to religious Jews under the priesthood's care?

In my opinion, the writer of the Book of Watchers appears to have taken the Genesis episode of the sons of God and the daughters of men as the basis for the 1 Enoch 10:1-11:2 section. He recast this primeval Genesis history to fit his present context. In this earlier myth tradition, the sons of God, who the Enochic author probably equated with the unfaithful Watchers, were responsible for the evil situation of the Jewish people. The Genesis 6:1-4 narrative does not morally condemn the Watchers or the daughters of men and does not depict a time of judgment. Nevertheless, I have argued earlier that Genesis 6:1-4 possibly served as a prelude to the subsequent verses in Genesis 6:5-7 that together describes the state of evil in the world leading to the deluge. Thus, the Enochic author probably understood the Genesis account as depicting a time of great evil similar to his own time. Moreover, the writer of the Book of Watchers possibly recognized Genesis 6:5-7 as prefiguring a period of certain eternal judgment that would fall upon not only the disloyal priests but all who colluded with them. Since the writer of the Book of Watchers connected himself with the Enochic tradition, he no doubt considered himself a faithful priest. Unfaithful priests were no longer accepted as Yahweh's representatives because they were under eternal judgment and condemnation. Therefore, the righteous priestly writer of the Book of Watchers probably believed that he was to serve an intermediary role between the unfaithful priests and Yahweh.

⁷⁴ See Hanson (1975a: 126-128; 203-207; 315-316) for a further discussion of the divine warrior motif in the development of apocalyptic eschatology.

8.7.7 *The End of the Priesthood*

During the period when the Book of Watchers was composed, some religious Jews viewed the priesthood and the temple as munificently corrupt. The priesthood was responsible for many moral atrocities at this time, as previously outlined. The post-exilic prophet Malachi proclaimed that the priesthood had completely departed from their responsibilities of acting as Yahweh's representatives. For example, some priests showed contempt for the name of Yahweh by sacrificing defective animals in the temple (Ml 1:6-14). Many priests were involved in the practice of divorcing their wives and marrying foreign women, producing polluted offspring (Ml 2:10-16). The priesthood, as true messengers of Yahweh, were instituted to preserve Godly knowledge and instruction. Instead, they had spurned the righteous laws and teachings of Yahweh, causing many religious Jews to stumble into unrighteousness (Ml 3:7-8). In the eyes of Yahweh, as proclaimed through His prophetic spokesman Malachi, the deleterious acts of the priesthood had violated the covenant that Yahweh had instituted with the Levites (Ml 3:9). From the publication of the Qumran literature, we know that there was at least one major Jewish group, the Essenes, outrightly rejecting the Jerusalem priesthood (VanderKam 1994: 101-102).

Hostilities had been building toward the Jerusalem priesthood among many Palestinian Jews for several decades before the Maccabean Revolt (Wright 1997: 191). This caused some Jews to question the continued legitimacy of the priestly office. A few scholars have identified several criticisms of the priesthood in some fragments of 1 Enoch, especially the Book of Watchers.⁷⁵ However, all Jews probably did not see the Jerusalem priesthood as illegitimate, because most Jews accepted the priestly institution as representative of Yahweh's will. The writer of Sirah illustrated this point. Since Ben Sira cast the Jerusalem priesthood in a positive light, Wright (1997: 191) maintained that this writer may have been a priest. He probably attempted to defend the priesthood against the many criticisms directed toward it.

⁷⁵ See Wright (1997: 190) for a list of modern scholars who have identified criticisms of the Jerusalem priesthood in later Second Temple literatures.

Both Nickelsburg (1981b: 575-600) and Suter (1979: 115-135) have argued extensively that the Book of Watchers contains covert criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood. The primary matter of contention is illicit marriage which violated the creational order. 1 Enoch 6-16 shows a keen interest about the sexual mating between the Watchers and mortal women. Suter (1979:118-119) argued that the primary concern of the Book of Watchers was for family purity. By equating the Watchers with the Jerusalem priesthood, Suter concluded that the Book of Watchers originated in priestly circles. Suter further argued that the writer of 1 Enoch probably felt that most of the Jerusalem priests had violated the purity laws set out by Yahweh. Consequently, like the unfaithful Watchers, many priests were considered not only defiled but disqualified from further temple service. The possibility that a faithful priest wrote the Book of Watchers to criticise the priesthood has been buttressed by Stone (1978: 489). He suggested that 1 Enoch originated within learned groups. Priests were known for being educated and among the intellectual classes. They also had an abundance of time to pursue writing about various issues since their priestly duties only involved part-time participation. Stone also pointed out that many interests in the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book, such as the calendar and theodicy, would have been issues of concern for the priesthood.

Other earlier mentioned factors from internal evidence within the Book of Watchers strongly suggest the author's priestly interests. To reiterate, the Book of Watchers described Enoch as a "scribe of righteousness" (1 En 15:1). Enoch interceded for the fallen Watchers, and heaven is depicted as a temple with angels serving intermediary roles. Finally, Nickelsburg (1981b: 584-585) adduced an anti-priestly polemic in other Second Temple literatures, such as Aramaic Levi 82-106, which report similar difficulties with the priesthood as occur in the Book of Watchers. He concluded that the priesthood was a primary concern for many Jews at the time of the writing of the Book of Watchers and that the writer had many grievances with the Jerusalem priesthood. The priesthood would not come to an official end until 70 C.E. with the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by the Romans. However, the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers no doubt considered the Jerusalem priesthood as defiled and under the irrevocable judgment of God. In the opinion of the author of the Book of Watchers, Yahweh had already abolished the priesthood's official position of representing Him, though priests continued their functions in the Jerusalem temple.

8.7.8 *The Eternal Kingdom*

The Book of Watchers originated in circles interested in cultivating an apocalyptic eschatology. Apocalyptic thought provided the sociological matrix for the development of ideas within this writing (Hanson 1975a: 402-409). The priestly writer was keenly interested in the origins of evil. This Enochic author also utilized angelology to depict the faithful and unfaithful priesthood, to illustrate his grievances against the Jerusalem priesthood, and to forecast their abolishment. At the same time, the author of the Book of Watchers was acutely concerned with furnishing the faithful Jews with hope for both the present and the future.

The Book of Watchers cannot be confined to the period of the Maccabean Revolt. The circumstances outlined within this writing could apply to general conditions that apply to any juncture of history during the third century B.C.E. In my view, assuming that the Book of Watchers reflects a crisis situation involving lawlessness and violence is reasonable. However, no hard evidence supports the specificity of this crisis, especially given the polyvalent nature of apocalyptic writings (Collins 1982: 98). What can be decided is that the author purposely chose not to explicitly refer to the Maccabean Revolt or the Jerusalem priesthood. Instead, he chose to implicitly allude to the Jerusalem priesthood on a mythical plane via allegory in the context of angelic speculation. I also believe that the writer of the Book of Watchers sought to relate his current situation to some actual or mythical event in the past.

The Enochic writer's objective was to place his situation outside the realm of human control and into the hands of otherworldly beings. His main purpose for doing so was probably to relieve the anxiety of the present unresolvable circumstances. More importantly, the Enochic composer probably sought to furnish some hope for a resolution in both the immediate and eschatological sense. As mentioned, the unfaithful Watchers were eternally condemned by Yahweh for their rebellious actions. At the same time, the writer of the Book of Watchers suggested that a number of devout priests remained, together with other Jews who followed their righteous example. For this faithful elect, there was not only hope for the present, but a glorious anticipation for the future in a righteous and eternal kingdom under Yahweh's control.

1 Enoch 5:5-9 suggests that the righteous will not only enjoy forgiveness of sins, mercy, and peace, but they will also inherit the earth. The ideas of divine judgment and blessing are prominent in the theophanic discourse of 1 Enoch 1. The Book of Watchers begins by Enoch pronouncing words of blessing for the righteous elect and forecasting the removal of the ungodly (1 En 1:1). Elsewhere in 1 Enoch 1:8, the writer suggests that God will preserve the elect and show kindness to them. The intimation is that God, who revealed Himself by the giving of the law, will also judge in the future according to that same law. 1 Enoch 1:5 states that the Watchers, or the unfaithful priesthood, will quiver and be seized by great fear and trembling. While the righteous will be judged as well, God will grant peace to them (1 En 1:8). Some disagreement exists about whether the judgment depicted in these passages is universal, including both humanity and angelic beings. Charles (1912: 7) thought that the writer was referring only to humanity. However, this judgment probably involved both humans and heavenly beings, since the writer included the Watchers (Black 1985: 108). In any event, the judgment outlined by Enoch is eschatological because he suggests that it is "*for a generation remote*" rather than for "*this generation*" (1 En 1:2).

In 1 Enoch 10:16; 11:2, God proclaims future blessings for righteous humankind, eradication of sin in the kingdom, and a promise that a Deluge will never again occur upon the earth. Not only will the righteous escape, they will multiply and live in peace upon an earth filled with righteousness. The four archangels depicted in 1 Enoch 9:1 and 10:1,4,9,11 are sent to the fallen Watchers to forecast their judgment. They are portrayed in God's presence in the parable section of 1 Enoch 40:1-10.⁷⁶ These angels also serve as proof that not all of the Watchers rebelled and that some continued to do God's will in His presence. Although the Jerusalem priesthood was destined to end, priests who had proved themselves faithful could look forward to a future age of blessing. The new era is described in hyperbolic language reminiscent of the Garden of Eden (1 En 10:1-11:2).

⁷⁶ A different tradition that has seven archangels appears in 1 Enoch 20. It is difficult to decide whether the tradition of four was changed to seven at a later time or developed independently.

8.8 *Summary*

The tradition of the Watchers in Genesis 6 and 1 Enoch 6 presents many problems for interpretation. Most modern scholars have argued that these narratives derived from myth. The Septuagint version of Genesis 6:1-4 suggests that the sons of God were angels. This interpretation is possible from the Hebrew text. However, the Hebrew allows for the possibility that the sons of God may refer to mythical pagan gods. This mythical story sought to elucidate important phenomena that occurred in the primeval world and to clarify ancestral roots.

The writer of the Book of Watchers used the legendary figure of Enoch to elaborate on pertinent issues of his day. Some of these concerns were also contained within the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative in a rudimentary form. Therefore, I disagree with both Milik (1976: 31) and Black (1985: 124-125), who argued that Genesis 6:1-4 was dependent upon the Book of Watchers. Deciding which of the mythical traditions the writers of Genesis 6:1-4 and Enoch 6 utilized is difficult. I think that the final redactors of these texts incorporated more than one myth tradition. Moreover, while the Hebrew Bible may attempt to demythologize its stories, this was not the case in the Genesis 6:1-4 pericope. This factor is largely responsible for much of the difficulty with its interpretation. In the Hebrew Bible, the mythical figure of Enoch appears only in Genesis 5:18-24 and 1 Chronicles 1:3. Outside this biblical tradition, Enoch is mentioned by Ben Sira, Jubilees, and the Genesis Apocryphon. While no Old Testament myth corresponds exactly to ancient Near Eastern mythology, there may be a connection between Enochic lore and Mesopotamian mythology. Still, most modern scholars have argued that the Enochic background was a part of a larger, established mythical tradition.

Most scholars have viewed Genesis 6:1-4 as an isolated fragment atypical of other biblical narratives. The Genesis passage may have been an excerpt from a fuller account or a conflation of one or more narratives spliced together by a final editor. This possibility has caused some scholars to suggest that the original order of the verses was displaced. Nevertheless, I argue for the present sequence of verses because the etiological conclusion fits best after the statement of punishment. Perhaps the writer of Genesis 6:1-4 purposely couched his message in undisguised mythology to outline a theology in accordance with the remainder of the Pentateuch.

Modern scholarship generally acknowledges that the books of 1 Enoch represent a composite work. 1 Enoch 6-11 contains two primary strands that deal with the myth of the Watchers. We know them as the Semihazah and Asael traditions. Since there are major differences between these stories, it is possible that 1 Enoch 6-11 did not originally represent a unity. While each of these strands has a distinct focus, both relate to the myth of the Watchers. I am of the opinion that an independent redactor added 1 Enoch 6:12-16. The final editor may have attempted to meld the two legacies to provide a different focus than is found in 1 Enoch 6-11. I also think that the writer of 1 Enoch 6-12 sought to embellish his earlier account to provide a differing locus. Ultimately, doing this would best serve his purpose of accentuating the atrocities of the Jerusalem priesthood at this time.

Pinpointing a precise time for the writing of the Book of Watchers is difficult. Most scholars hold that this work was composed during the period of Hellenistic influence. The author of the Book of Watchers probably used an allegorical style of writing. Many modern scholars have suggested that the Book of Watchers displays an aetiology of how sin entered the world. Nevertheless, I agree with Suter that this section of 1 Enoch deals with the issue of purity within the priesthood. This view finds support in the Testament of Levi and the biblical book of Malachi. Internal clues implicit within the Book of Watchers also suggest that the writer was concerned with the Jerusalem priesthood. These elements are displayed in an allegorical manner in the context of a proliferation of angelology. The prominent issues included the calendar, theodicy, proper and improper conveyance of knowledge, and a concern for exogamy. Although these interests involved many Jews, the writer of the Book of Watchers was predominately concerned with the state of the priesthood of his time.

For the writer of 1 Enoch 1-36, the issue of exogamy within the priesthood was at the root of Jewish misfortunes. Exogamy was also the primary reason that the Jerusalem priesthood was destined to end. Their eternal judgment would result because they had taught many Jews to follow their example. By the same token, there was hope for all those who remained faithful by deciding not to become involved in the practices of the perfidious priests. These loyal few would be the recipients of an eternal kingdom.

Despite the many difficulties that modern scholars have identified with Genesis 6:1-4, this narrative has been considered as theologically important in primeval history. When we talk about the historiography of Genesis 6:1-4, it is important to note that this passage does not represent a historical account, in the sense that it depicts a review of events that took place in actual time and space. Rather, it displays in mythical terms a message that is covert and lies beneath the level of the literal. As mentioned, I believe that the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative has not been sufficiently demythologised in its final form. Consequently, this has been a precipitating factor for the enigmatic nature of the text. Nevertheless, some Jewish exegetes viewed this narrative as an account of how evil entered the world. This corruption originated through the actions of certain rebellious angels, who entered into illicit sexual unions with mortal women (cf Jub 5:11; 1 En 6-10, 86-88; 2 En 18; TReub 2:18-19; LAE Book II, XX 14-38). The Testament of Reuben suggests that the mortal women used their wiles to lure the angelic beings. These celestial entities changed their form into the shape of men and appeared to the daughters of men. It is interesting that Reuben's account suggests that the women who consorted with the Watchers were already married. If true, this would argue against the position that the Watchers entered into "legal marriages" with mortal women.

At this point, I would like to take a brief look at the account of the fall of the Watchers in the Second Book of Adam and Eve. The episode of the sons of God and the daughters of man, as presented in Genesis 6:1-4 and the Book of Watchers, are not the sole sources for this mythical story. This legendary account was handed down in oral form until it was finally written down. The Genesis narrative is the most familiar because it found a place in the Old Testament. The primeval story of Adam and Eve was prominent in the minds of ancient narrators. This is evidenced by the large number of extant versions that describe this folk tale. Sections of this mythical story are found in the Talmud and the Koran. This attests to its importance (Platt: 1926: 3-4).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The English translation provided by Dr. S. C. Malan is from the Ethiopic. An interpretation of the myth of the Watchers in the Second Book of Adam and Eve derived from an unknown Egyptian and the date is uncertain. The Life of Adam and Eve was probably composed in Hebrew in the first century B.C.E. or C.E. The Greek "Apocalypse of Moses" and a Latin "Life" were translated from the Hebrew original. These two later versions of the Life of Adam and Eve contain differing materials and are best understood as products of independent development (Evans 1995: 33).

Chapter twenty of the Second Book of Adam and Eve deals with the fall of the Watchers. This account reflects the later Christian position that equates the “sons of God” with the children of Seth and the “daughters of men” with the offspring of Cain. The motif of an increase in the wickedness of humanity defiling the whole earth is presented as the cause of God’s anger (v 10). Satan is depicted as inciting the sons of Cain to sundry lusts. He taught Genun, one of the sons of Lamech, to commit wickedness by increasing his understanding of various unknown arts. Genun taught these evil practices to the other children of Cain (vv 2-7).

Meanwhile, the children of Seth assembled on the holy mountain for one year to observe the proceedings. At the end of this period, the female offspring of Cain gathered at the foot of the mountain dressed in alluring apparel. While the children of Seth were on the holy mountain, they continued to pray and praise God, replacing other angels who had previously fallen. God called them “angels” because He rejoiced over them greatly (v 15). As the angels continued to observe the women of Cain, Satan incited these women to become more seductive. Finally, a hundred of the children of Seth said, *“Come let us go down to the children of Cain and enjoy ourselves with them”* (v 24) . . . *The daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth after the daughters of Cain, until they committed abomination with them”* (v 32). After this episode, the Watchers were not permitted to return to their position atop the holy mountain, showing their fallen state. This narrative clearly defines the Watcher’s sin as sexual defilement with mortal women, which caused them to lose their purity and incited God’s wrath (vv 34,35). At the end of the chapter, God told Enoch’s father Jared to tell the remainder of the children of Seth not to do as the others had done. Nevertheless, the remainder did not heed his message and descended the mountain to engage in sexual intercourse with the daughters of Cain (vv 35-38).

I have provided this account to show evidence of another Jewish account, derived from oral myth tradition, that clearly equates the actions of the sons of God with the origins of evil. This is not clearly evident in Genesis 6:1-4. Some scholars disagree with this position and have argued instead that 1 Enoch 6-11 is intended as a midrash on Genesis 6:1-4, viewing the sins of the Watchers as offences against the Noachide commandments. Rather than considering the Semihazah and Asael legends as having anything to do with the origins of evil, 1 Enoch 6-11 is considered to be a story of sin and punishment (Dimant 1978: 330).

Tigheelaar (1996: 171) agreed with Dimant, who considered the story of 1 Enoch 6-11 as primarily concerned with sin and punishment rather than the origins of evil. This position necessarily assumes Enochic dependence upon Genesis. Most scholars accept a date of the second half of the third century B.C.E. for the Book of Watchers. However, I have noted the possibility that this story originated in the sixth century B.C.E. (Milik 1976: 31). Modern authorities do not universally accept that Genesis was dependent upon Enoch. Accepting the position of Tigheelaar and Dimant would ignore the fact that Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6-11 represent only two Jewish adaptations of the myth of the Watchers. Other established Jewish traditions view this mythical tale as mostly concerned with the origins of evil. Also, both Tigheelaar and Dimant suggested that the Watchers' sins were related to the list of Noachide commandments. Yet it must be taken into account that the mythical tale, as presented in Genesis 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6-11, intended to convey an underlying message outside a depiction of literal history. Moreover, if the writer of the Book of Watchers intended the Watchers to represent the Jerusalem priesthood during the third century B.C.E., then these stories must propose a deeper layer of meaning than merely the Noachide commandments.

In my opinion, the author of the Book of Watchers depicted the unfaithful priesthood by means of the Watchers. The Enochic writer's primary purpose was to show that the priesthood had been involved in unlawful marriages. If Genesis 6:1-4 was dependent upon the Book of Watchers, then I would assume the writer was familiar with the intentions of the allegorical account of the Book of Watchers. On the other hand, if the Genesis tradition predated the Enochic writings, it is possible that the underlying message of Genesis also intended to address the issue of illicit marriages of the priesthood. These unlawful unions were contraindicated by the entire tenure of not only the Pentateuch but also the writings of Ezra. At the same time, the author of Genesis would have no doubt considered himself worthy to castigate the reprobate priesthood. Like the writer of the Book of Watchers, he may have viewed himself as an exemplary priest who had not been involved in such abominable practices.

If Genesis was dependent upon Enoch, this may explain why the author of Genesis 6:1-4 did not deem it necessary to state that the sons of Gods' actions were evil for several reasons. First, the Book of Watchers would have provided an established legacy of their deeds being wicked. Second, if the final redactor purposely placed this brief excerpt before the flood account (Gn 6:5-8), one cannot help but construe these acts as iniquitous, since the context preceding the Deluge was extreme wickedness upon the earth. Conversely, if Genesis predated the Book of Watchers, alternative interpretations such as an identification of the sons of God with members of nobility probably occurred only after Jewish and Christians demythologized this story.

Other variant positions continue to be defended by modern scholarship. A dominant interpretation holds that Genesis 6:1-4 and the allegorical account of the Book of Watchers are based upon a mythological theme well-known to ancient sources. I understand the Genesis narrative as a conglomeration of one or more transformed myths incorporated into a unified whole by the final redactor. Most scholars agree that the intent of Genesis 6:1-4 was to display a proliferation of sin upon the earth, which transcended the God ordained limits between the earthly and heavenly realms. This passage involves angels, or at least divine beings and mortals. The outlined sin comprises sexual licentiousness that overstepped divine standards for acceptable human behaviour (Gowan 1988: 82). Even if we take the position that the sons of God represented the children of Seth, the Book of Adam and Eve and the Book of Watchers also suggest that they were angels.

Finally, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the final author of Genesis purposely used myth, as the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers used allegory, to purvey an underlying theocentric message. Simply stated, this message was that a total disregard of Yahweh's laws of creational order, especially in the extreme example of the sons of God consorting with mortal women, could only lead to utter chaos and Yahweh's judgment. While Genesis 6:5-7 suggests that corruption and violence were widespread upon the earth, and that humanity's thoughts were continually evil, it does not explain how these dynamics came about. I believe that the Book of Watchers embellished the Genesis narrative by suggesting that the illicit sexual behaviour of the Watchers with mortal woman was responsible for the judgment of God (VanderKam 1995: 41).

The author of the Book of Watchers used an embellished angelology to depict, in an allegorical manner, what was taking place in his present situation. Allegory was probably utilized because this paradigm was familiar and firmly established in the Hellenistic world, even among the Jewish population. Moreover, allegory also enabled the writer of the Book of Watchers to meld together the various mythical traditions involving the Watchers, including the Genesis 6:1-4 narrative. The Jews at this time were no doubt seeking answers for the many disasters that had come upon them. By using angels as the principal characters, the Enochic author could present his own position on several issues expedient to his present situation.

A prominent idea within the Book of Watchers was that the fallen Watchers were largely responsible for both past and present calamities. According to the Enochic writer, the actions of the unfaithful Watchers presented no challenge to God's sovereignty. By the same token, both the Semihazah and Asael strands suggest that the illegitimate behaviour of the fallen Watchers was contrary to God's creational order. These activities were also responsible for the largely chaotic situation that existed at the Enochic author's time. Angelology afforded an apt explanation for the many perplexing circumstances that befell the Jews of the Second Temple Period without having to make Yahweh responsible.

According to the Enochic author's understanding, a cosmic battle was taking place in the universe. Diabolic forces were allowed to bring a certain degree of evil to God's people to test their faith and trust in God. At the same time, the myth of the Watchers also allowed the Enochic writer to offer hope for the Jews' immediate situation, in an eschatological sense, for all who remained faithful to God's laws. Within the Book of Watchers, the priestly writer presented his convictions that Yahweh was ultimately in control of Jewish history. While intervention could be expected at some point, Yahweh had an ultimate plan to eradicate all injustice, oppression, and unrighteousness at an undetermined future time.

In the mind of the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers, the atrocities committed by the disloyal priesthood violated Yahweh's creational order. The consequences of these rebellious actions were vast, far-reaching, and precipitous, infiltrating the very fabric of Jewish society. In addition, there were eternal consequences for all who followed the unrighteous priesthood's lead. The Enochic writer probably felt qualified to comment about the current situation, since he included himself with the righteous priesthood. Furthermore, if he saw a parallel between himself and Enochic lore, he may have thought that he had a commission from God to point out the sins of the perfidious priesthood and forecast their eternal judgment. Part of the responsibilities of this faithful priestly writer would be to impress upon the faithless priests that they were directly accountable for the current situation of chaos and violence upon the earth.

The primary infraction of the unrighteous priests was the contracting of unlawful marriages which produced illegitimate offspring. Other sinful activities included the relaying of improper information, including the false understanding that other Jews could also participate in such pernicious unions. Another matter related to the proper use of the calendar. While this concern is more pronounced in the Astronomical Book of Enoch, it is also important within the Book of Watchers. Ostensibly, the Enochic author felt that the priesthood had not followed the proper calendar. This resulted in religious Jews observing festivals on inappropriate days, turning these celebrations into a sacrilege. A further concern related to the manner in which sacrifices were offered in the Jerusalem temple. By the time of the post-exilic prophet Malachi, the priesthood had completely disregarded their role of acting as Yahweh's true representatives. Not only had they spurned God's laws in matters of exogamy, they were guilty of offering profane sacrifices upon the temple altar. Thus, the unfaithful priests violated the covenant instituted with the Levites and were no longer recognized by Yahweh. At least one majority group, the Essenes, outrightly rejected the Jerusalem priesthood because they had violated the principles set out by Yahweh. Other Palestinian Jews no doubt harbored hostilities toward the priesthood by the time of the writing of the Book of Watchers (Wright 1997: 191).

The issue of endogamy concerning the priesthood and other Israelites was clearly asserted in the Pentateuch. This was also a major issue with Ezra and Nehemiah after the return from the exile and may be linked to the matter of apocalyptic origins. If the apocalyptic roots can be traced to the priesthood, in whole or in part, this would support the position that the myth of the fallen Watchers in 1 Enoch may have intended to address the issue of exogamy, especially if the writer considered himself a faithful priest. It would also buttress the position of Suter (1979: 197) that this myth ought to be examined from established rules of endogamy and family purity, relating to the priesthood. Several parallels exist between the myth of the Watchers in 1 Enoch and the priesthood. Both the Watchers and the priesthood had restrictions placed upon them regarding marriage. Angels were not intended to have sex with mortal women. Priests were expected to practice endogamy and teach this understanding to others. Watchers and priests had the further responsibility of acting as intercessors between humankind and Yahweh. The priestly Enochic writer also portrayed heaven as a temple and Enoch as a righteous scribe/priest. In any event, the failure to follow their prescribed responsibilities resulted in the Watchers and unfaithful priests being disqualified from Yahweh's service.

The writer of the Book of Watchers wrote from an eschatological perspective. It is doubtful if he would have been fully aware that he was forecasting the official end of the priesthood. This did not take place until 70 C.E., when the Romans destroyed the Jerusalem temple. One of the primary focuses of the Enochic author was to explain the current violent situation and offer hope for both the present and future. The priestly writer was further concerned with reconciling the presence of evil with the continued goodness of Yahweh. In doing so, he drew upon the Genesis narrative about the fallen angels, which strictly delimits the degree of evil that Yahweh was prepared to allow in the universe. To the composer of the Book of Watchers, the priesthood had clearly overstepped the boundaries set out by Yahweh. Angelology functioned in the Book of Watchers to show that evil was attributed to otherworldly sources that did not include Yahweh. Moreover, the myth of the Watchers, in both Genesis and 1 Enoch, strongly suggests that Yahweh continued to be in complete sovereign control of His universe, despite the actions of His unfaithful creatures.

Major differences concerning the myth tradition about the sexual union of the angels and mortals occur between Genesis 6:1-4 and the Book of Watchers. For example, the Genesis narrative does not explicitly construe the sexual contact between the angels and the daughters of men as evil, while the Book of Watchers does. Furthermore, only the Book of Watchers suggests that the angels and their offspring were corrupt and violent. Finally, the book of Genesis shows that humanity was responsible for evil in the world. Conversely, the Book of Watchers depicts the giants as the root cause of wickedness upon the earth. Taking the position that the Book of Watchers comprised an extensive embellishment or midrash of Genesis 6:1-4 can perhaps best explain these differences. In such a case, the writer of the Book of Watchers must have felt that the actions of the angels were implicitly evil in Genesis. The Enochic author was possibly familiar with other traditions concerning this myth which viewed the actions of the angels with humans as ignominy. He probably imported those understandings into the Genesis pericope. Moreover, the Enochic composer must have felt that the myth tradition contained in Genesis 6:1-4 was similar to his own present situation. He possibly felt that an elaboration of angelology, with earlier myth traditions in mind, best served his purposes of depicting the unfaithful priesthood as responsible for the evils that had come upon the Jews.

Enochic lore also played a significant role in the Book of Watchers. The character of Enoch stands out as a stark contrast to the unfaithful Watchers. He is cast in the priestly role of being an intercessor between God and the unfaithful Watchers. This probably meant that the Enochic writer not only considered himself a faithful priest, but was fully qualified to continue to act as Yahweh's representative, though other priests had disqualified themselves. The Book of Watchers also suggests there were other faithful Watchers besides Enoch who continued to act in the service of Yahweh. This nuance may mean that the priestly writer acknowledged other faithful priests of his time had not been involved in illegitimate marriages. The fact that Ben Sira generally took a positive stance toward the priesthood may suggest that the writer also felt there were faithful priests. Both the writers of the Book of Watchers and Ben Sira apparently intended to impart the understanding that religious Jews ought to continue to support faithful priests.

Both the Asael and Semihazah traditions of the Book of Watchers have no identifiable allegorical referent. However, I agree with Suter (1979: 124-131) that the Semihazah strand portrayed the sexual sins of the priesthood. Moreover, Nickelsburg (1981b: 575-600) and Suter 1979 (115-135) agreed that the Book of Watchers contained covert criticisms of the Jerusalem priesthood. I believe that many Jerusalem priests had violated the purity laws set out by Yahweh at the time of the Book of Watchers' composition. In combined form, the Asael and Semihazah strands reflect a crisis involving lawlessness and violence. No hard evidence exists to support the specific nature of this dilemma. Nevertheless, it probably involved the deeds of the unfaithful priesthood, which the writer of the Book of Watchers related to the various myth traditions concerning the consorting of angels with mortal women. The term "Watcher" is used in the Book of Watchers to denote angels. The Epistle of Enoch also specifically referred to sinful angels. Though the unfaithful priests continued their priestly duties, the writer of the Book of Watchers implicitly suggested that he had grievances with them. The Enochic composer no doubt considered the unfaithful priesthood as disqualified, not only from his own perspective but also from Yahweh's.

The Book of Watchers is replete with references to a final judgment that probably involves both angels and humans. It also suggests that the faithful angels will accompany Yahweh in evoking His final verdict. These angels normally surround and guard Yahweh's heavenly throne. In Daniel and Zechariah, a biblical tradition of angelic beings attending Yahweh in the execution of judgment also exists. The Book of Watchers singled out the fallen Watchers as having cause to fear this final arbitration. Prior to this verdict, the fallen Watchers were imprisoned and tortured, along with others who consorted with them. These sinful angels were responsible for the evils that came to the Jews. Enoch tried to intercede on their behalf, but he was informed that the fallen Watchers could never expect to be forgiven. From my perspective, it makes good sense to equate the fallen Watchers with the disloyal priesthood. As mentioned, the unfaithful Watchers were eternally condemned. Though the Book of Watchers included the righteous in a final judgment, they would be the objects of blessing, kindness, peace, forgiveness, and mercy. The Enochic writer suggests that the final judgment of both the righteous and unrighteous will take place in a remote generation. Thus, it appears that the writer of the Book of Watchers was concerned with showing that not all of the Watchers had fallen.

It is my conclusion that the author of the Book of Watchers was a disgruntled priest. I also think that he was familiar with the mythical tale of the angels and giants from Genesis 6: 1-4 and other Jewish oral and written traditions. The Jerusalem priesthood is not explicitly mentioned in the Book of Watchers. Yet I believe that the writer employed allegory implicitly to refer to the priesthood on a mythical level. The priestly author sought to blend the various myth traditions to set out his many complaints against the Jerusalem priesthood through an embellished angelology. He was interested in forecasting the unfaithful priesthood's disqualification, abolishment, and eternal judgment.

Apocalyptic thought no doubt provided the venue for the writer of the Book of Watchers to express his views. Confining the Book of Watchers to a specific time is not possible because the apocalyptic perspective was prevalent throughout the third century B.C.E. The Enochic composer chose not to refer to the specific historical situation that existed at the time of his writing. He also wrote eschatologically to predict a time when oppression and injustice would vanish and only a righteous world would prevail. The priestly composer was concerned with reassuring the righteous for the future. He was also interested in providing hope for the faithful Jews of his present time. By utilizing an embellished angelology, the Enochic redactor could place the present enigmatic situation in otherworldly hands, offering a possible solution to a set of circumstances that virtually appeared to have no worldly solution.

CHAPTER NINE

The Influence of the Angelology of 1 Enoch on Judaism of the Second Temple Period

9.1 Introduction

This final chapter will attempt to establish a contribution to our knowledge and insight into the influence of 1 Enoch's angelology on Second Temple Judaism. An essential issue for this thesis concerns whether angels were a weighty topic within post-Enochic Jewish literatures. How do we know what ideals were significant within a culture? We can discover what a society believed by the literature of the period. The premise of this thesis is that Enochic angelic notions were reflected within Qumran and other Jewish literatures subsequent to 1 Enoch. If the writers of 1 Enoch wrote about angels and nothing else was ever said in later Jewish writings, then we could conclude that the angelology of 1 Enoch's had little or no effect on Second Temple Judaism. On the other hand, if post-Enochic literatures comment upon what 1 Enoch said regarding angelology, then there would be good reasons for suggesting that 1 Enoch's angelology influenced Judaism of this era. I believe that 1 Enoch had an impact throughout the Qumran community since Qumran literatures are suffused with angelology. The purpose of this thesis is to confirm that the angelology of 1 Enoch was popular because post-Enochic Jewish literatures reflect Enochic concepts. It is my conviction that there are sufficient warrants to indicate that late Second Temple Jewish society was to some degree a reflection of how the writers of 1 Enoch understood angels.

A corollary issue of equal importance involves the exploration of whether post-Enochic Jewish writings demonstrate any literary dependence upon the Enochic corpus. Establishing that post-Enochic Jewish literatures were reliant upon what Enochic authors said strengthens the position that 1 Enoch was significant in formulating what Jewish culture believed. The sources discussed in this final chapter belonged to distinctive Jewish groups, and in this way 1 Enoch influenced society since Jewish civilization consisted of different groups. In the ensuing discussion about the possible impact of 1 Enoch on Judaism, making the following distinction is necessary. It is my understanding that the books of 1 Enoch could not have affected the whole of Judaism throughout the Second Temple Period. However, speculating on Ethiopic Enoch's influence on Jewish civilization during the epoch which corresponds to the time of the composing of 1 Enoch until the end of the Second Temple Period is possible.

9.2 *The Angelology of 1 Enoch*

The intention of this thesis is not to prove that Second Temple Period Jews believed angels existed. Rather, I have set out to show an established tradition about supernatural agents. These messengers were introduced into Judaism for specific purposes and played important roles (Kuhn 1948: 217). I agree with Suter (1979: 115-135) and Nickelsburg (1981b: 575-600), who thought that Enochic authors borrowed from this tradition to explicate Jewish misfortunes largely attributed to the disloyal priesthood. For decades prior to the Maccabean Revolt, the integrity of the Jerusalem priesthood was questioned throughout Palestine (Wright 1997: 190). Critical voices of this time included the writers of the Book of Watchers (1 En 6-36), the Astronomical Book (1 En 72-82), and the Aramaic Levi Document. By utilizing this angelic heritage, the priestly writer of the Book of Watchers could covertly criticize the Jerusalem priesthood.

Jewish society generally did not view the Jerusalem priesthood in an unfavorable light, despite their many evils. Jews believed that God's recognition resided with Yahweh's agents serving in the Jerusalem Temple. Ben Sira's admonishment to fear the Lord and honor the priesthood may have resulted because the priesthood fell into disfavor with many. The writer of Ben Sira reminded Jews that because the priesthood was instituted by Yahweh, it must be honored. The Enochic corpus, by means of embellished angelology, also displayed faithful priests among the unfaithful. In 1 Enoch, an ontological dualism separating the supernatural from the earthly is evident (Nickelsburg 1991: 59). Yahweh's absolute distinction and transcendence are emphasized by various titles. Some examples include: Great One, Holy One, Great Holy One, Lord of God of the ages.

It is uncertain within 1 Enoch whether the original manuscripts used the term "angel." The Aramaic Qumran texts show that the ordinary title for heavenly creatures was holy ones, Watchers, or holy Watchers. In 1 Enoch, these supernatural agents share in God's separateness from humanity. In early Second Temple Judaism, the Jerusalem temple was designed to be a visual manifestation of the cosmos. The temple represented God's realm and consisted of a series of concentric circles. The inner most circle, or the holy of holies, was God's dwelling. The outer courts provided a buffer zone separating the profane earth from the most holy heavenly realm (Jaffee 1997: 171).

The priesthood were ordained as Yahweh's agents to ensure that the heavenly was kept distinct from the earthly. Like the Watchers of 1 Enoch, the priests shared in this ontological distinction between humanity and divinity. As Yahweh's representatives, both the Watchers and the earthly priests were intended to remain separated from the evil and impurity of the earthly realm. The Enochic authors depict a group of heavenly angels rebelling against this intended order and initiating a spread of evil and impurity on the earth. It was obligatory for the priesthood to not only be morally irreproachable, but to distinguish between the holy and the profane (cf Lv 10:10). By the time of the early Enochic writings, many within the priesthood failed to remain separate from the outside world. It is my conviction that the composer of the Book of Watchers included himself among those faithful priests who remained dedicated to the ontological order instituted by Yahweh.

The research goal of this thesis is to discover how the angelology of 1 Enoch influenced Second Temple Judaism. Before doing a survey of the post-Enochic literatures, several concerns must be raised. Did religious Jews of the period consider the Enochic corpus as revealed scripture, or at least as authoritative? This question is compelling but beyond the scope of my research. Nevertheless, some scholars have argued that all of the major parts of 1 Enoch should be considered repositories of Israel's sacred religious history. For example, Nickelsburg (1995: 333) suggested that the editors of 1 Enoch manifested their writings as revealed and authoritative scripture, basing this appraisal on the premise that the Enochic authors were familiar with the Hebrew Bible and employed certain material from these biblical texts.

Although 1 Enoch does not explicitly refer to the Torah, the Prophets, or the Writings, Nickelsburg (1995: 334) argued that the various authors utilized biblical texts, words, phrases, and motifs occurring in the Old Testament. Instead of appealing to the Hebrew Bible, the final editors of 1 Enoch claimed scriptural authority for their own writings. However, this thesis is not concerned with whether 1 Enoch can be considered as scripture. Even if the assessment of Nickelsburg is rejected, one can argue that the angelology of 1 Enoch was important enough to significantly impact the perspectives of some Jewish factions within late Second Temple Jewish society.

It is important to briefly explore the possibility of whether the Enochic writings reflect the Hebrew Scriptures. Modern scholars generally concede that by the start of the second century B.C.E., the Mosaic Torah was firmly entrenched within Jewish religion (Nickelsburg 1998: 123). Thus, it would be expected that, even though it does not explicitly refer to the Torah, Enochic literature would at least mirror this biblical literature. Against Milik (1976: 30-31), who argued for the priority of 1 Enoch 6-11 over Genesis 6:1-4, I have maintained that 1 Enoch was dependent upon the earlier Genesis tradition. Moreover, I also believe that the rudimentary priestly elements in the Pentateuch served as an antecedent for the priestly aspects within 1 Enoch, as manifested by an embellished angelology. A thorough examination of this concern is not possible within this survey. However, this argument is essential to buttress the position of Enochic dependence upon the Genesis tradition and to strengthen the view that the Enochic authors used this earlier heritage as a basis for their amplified angelology. Milik does little to prove his position besides merely assert the priority of 1 Enoch (cf Nickelsburg 1995: 335). If 1 Enoch 6-11 represented an independent tradition and Genesis 6:1-4 was dependent upon 1 Enoch, then 1 Enoch must have been considered scripture by Second Temple Judaism, since the final redactor of Genesis was dependent upon 1 Enoch. It would also be logical to assume that Enochic angelic concepts were influential on Jewish society of the time.

9.2.1 The Mosaic Torah Reflected in Enochic Wisdom

The content and received order of the Hebrew Bible and the fixed position of the Mosaic Torah is assumed by the writing of Joshua ben Sira (Sir 24:23). Baruch 4:1 also alludes to a book containing the everlasting commandments of God. Many of the Qumran texts assign Moses the role of lawgiver (cf 1QS 1:3, 5:8; CD 15:12, 16:1-2; MMT 91; 1QWords of Moses). Other Jewish literatures of the second century B.C.E. identify the Mosaic Torah as the major point of contention during the persecution of Antiochus IV. They also suggest the Torah was at the root of Jewish responses to the persecution that resulted (Dn 9:11; Bar 1:20; 2:2; 1 Macc 1:2; 2 Macc 6-7).

Within 1 Enoch, the Mosaic Torah does not appear to be of central importance. Only one explicit mention of the Sinaitic covenant appears in 1 Enoch 93:6. Yet, some implicit allusions within 1 Enoch are reminiscent of covenant language in the Pentateuch. For example, 1 Enoch 1:4 locates Yahweh's eschatological descent at Mount Sinai. The perversion of the "eternal covenant" is also mentioned (1 En 99:2). Outside these Enochic references, there is no other allusion to the Mosaic covenant or the Torah. However, the Enochic writers show some awareness of these elements. Much of the reason for 1 Enoch's lack of covenant language may be that 1 Enoch was concerned with ethical behavior but used the categorization of law and its interpretation within a paradigm of revealed wisdom (Nickelsburg 1998: 125).

The writings of 1 Enoch consider law as divine revelation (cf 1 En 37:1-2; 89:28; 90:6; 92:1; 98:9; 99:10; 104:12). In 1 Enoch 89:28, 90:6, metaphoric language equates the law with the opening of Israel's eyes. The issue of both proper and improper human conduct is also prominent (1 En 5:4; 91:4; 91:18-19, 92:3, 93:9; 94:1-4; 99:2,10; 104:9,13; 105:2; 108:13). Enochic redactors were interested in ethical behavior and judgment, but chose not to employ a Mosaic covenant language. Nonetheless, due to the significance of these aspects, the Enochic corpus would necessarily imply a body of laws entrenched within Judaism forming a basis for judgment (Nickelsburg 1998:125).

At the heart of the Enochic ethical system was a proper observance of the calendar. According to 1 Enoch 72:1, the solar calendar was considered permanent. Failure to observe the true calendar led to confusion about the seasons, rains, harvests, and movements of the heavenly bodies. Human sinners not following the proper calendar are punished in activities upon the earth. The Enochic authors also suggested that the chiefs of the stars will make errors in respect to the proper orders given to them (1 En 80:6). 1 Enoch 82:9-20 mentions by name those responsible for keeping proper balance in the universe. The leaders given the task of maintaining congruity are angelic, since their names are consistent with other angels in 1 Enoch (Neugebauer 1985: 413-414). Thus, the ethical system of 1 Enoch is concerned with proper conduct based upon proper order in both the earthly and heavenly realms.

9.2.2 Angelology and Enochic Ethics

The writings of 1 Enoch represent a literary unit composed by different authors over more than three centuries. Despite this diversity, the Enochic claim to contain revelation served an important function for displaying unity and influencing the common world-view of this time (Nickelsburg 1991: 51-52). Throughout the Enochic corpus, certain motifs, emphases, and interests are repeated. A common theme is the expectation of judgment on both angelic sin and human transgression. Why were the different redactors so acutely interested in angelic rebellions that had taken place in primordial times? Laying blame upon the angels for disrupting the universal established order recurs throughout 1 Enoch. In the Book of Watchers, the theme of angelic sin is more pronounced and is equated with confusion between the earthly realm of flesh and the heavenly sphere of spirit (1 En 15:1-7). Another angelic indiscretion includes the teaching of forbidden secrets by Asael's angels (1 En 10:7-8). Modern scholarship widely attests that the development of angelology corresponded to the writing of the books of 1 Enoch. Though obscure in its rudimentary form, angelology afforded the Enochic writers the opportunity for angelic proliferation and for formulating their concept of present reality. The author of 1 Enoch 12-16 probably intended to outline through his use of angelology some of the sexual violations of the Jerusalem priesthood.

Jewish society at the time of the writing of 1 Enoch would have recognized that the major angelic rebellions depicted in the Book of Watchers took place in primordial time. Thus, it would be logical to assume that the readers of 1 Enoch looked for deeper meanings in these familiar mythical stories, especially since juxtaposition of present and future is commonplace in 1 Enoch (Nickelsburg 1991:54). By recalling the established mythical stories about angelic rebellion, the editors of 1 Enoch established a definite connection with the past. I am of the opinion that the writers of 1 Enoch chose to recall a well-known tradition of angelic mythology to ensconce a cryptic message for the present that also involved the future. Through this angelology, the Enochic writers were able to set the locus of human activity in the heavenly realm in relation to the remainder of the cosmos.

According to Nickelsburg (1991: 53), the motif of impending divine judgment resulting from human sinfulness and angelic rebellion is so pronounced in 1 Enoch that scarcely a page does not relate to these themes in some manner. While this view may be an exaggeration, 1 Enoch does make an absolute distinction between divine beings and humanity. The heavenly entourage, which includes the Watchers, which are equated with angels, shares in God's separateness from humanity. Furthermore, in 1 Enoch 15:3-7, the sin of the Watchers clearly involves a violation of remaining distinct from humanity.

These ideas are reminiscent of the priesthood instituted by Yahweh, which was intended to remain separate from Jewish society. Like the Watchers in 1 Enoch, the priesthood had restrictions placed upon them. I have pointed out several biblical texts indicating that the priesthood had violated this sacred trust. For example, they divorced legitimate wives, entering unlawful sexual unions (Ezr 9-10; Ml 2:3-16), offered defective sacrifices (Ml 1:6-14), and accepted bribes. 1 Enoch 15:1-16:1 suggests that the sin of the Watchers consisted of a violation, by means of improper sexual conduct, of the ordained distinction between spirit and flesh. In much the same manner that the 1 Enoch 8 angelic revelations caused humanity to participate in sinful activity, the teachings of the priesthood were also responsible for leading some Jews into unlawful behaviors.

The writers of 1 Enoch probably viewed the rebellious actions of the Jerusalem priesthood, together with the iniquitous acts of Jews who followed their example, as responsible for the misfortunes and injustices resulting from Jewish subjugation to foreign powers. I also think that the writers of 1 Enoch covertly utilized the well-known primordial myth of the fall of the Watchers. Just as the Watchers of primeval folklore breached the ontological dualistic ethical system of maintaining a distinction between the earthly and supernatural realms, many within the Jerusalem priesthood had also breached this system. It was the duty of the priestly writer to explicate these matters, since he had remained faithful to his ordained office.

9.3 A Description of the Priestly Writer of the Book of Watchers

As noted, the books of 1 Enoch belong to different periods. Thus, diversity of authorship would be expected. Charles (1921: xv) had little doubt that the author of the earliest portions of the Enochic writings, excluding the Book of Heavenly Luminaries and the Similitudes, was a Jew who lived in northern Palestine.

Most of the scholarly focus upon 1 Enoch has revolved around the issue of its theological content. Matters concerning the precise location and significance of Enoch's heavenly ascent have received little attention (Nickelsburg 1981: 582). 1 Enoch 13:7-8 reads, "*And I went and sat down upon the waters of Dan- in Dan which is on the southwest of Hermon- and I read their (the fallen Watchers) memorial prayers until I feel asleep.*" This passage refers to the area of Dan in upper Galilee. When Enoch awoke, he went to the Watchers of heaven between Lebanon and Senir to reprimand them (1 En 13:9:10). The actual descent from heaven of the disobedient Watchers took place on Mount Hermon. This geographical area has a long history as a sacred territory. Biblical narratives about Micah the prophet (Judges 17-18) suggest that Dan was a prominent location for Israelite cultic activity in the pre-Monarchic period. Jeroboam I chose this site for one of his shrines (1 Ki 12:26-31).

In 1 Enoch 13:1-3, Enoch informed the fallen Watchers of their impending judgement for showing humanity deeds of shame, injustice, and other sinful activities. The Watchers asked Enoch to intercede on their behalf before Yahweh in heaven (1 En 13:4). After being commissioned by the fallen Watchers, Enoch proceeded to Dan to seek Yahweh's presence. In Judges 17-18, at this precise location, Enoch was escorted by angels into Yahweh's heavenly temple in a visionary manner. Josephus viewed the headwaters near Dan as sacred, since he gave them as the site of the temple of the golden calf (Jos War 4.1.1 664).

The descent of Semihazah and his angelic entourage took place on Mount Hermon, in the area near Dan (1 En 6:5-6). In Genesis 28, Jacob had his heavenly vision at Bethel, the location of the later companion shrine to the one at Dan. Jacob discovered the "gate of heaven," where angels descended and ascended between heaven and earth. In 1 Enoch 13:8, Enoch also raised his eyes to "the gates of the heavenly [temple]." If Mount Hermon is the point where the Watchers ascended to the heavenly sanctuary and descended to earth, then the geographical location of Dan would have had cultic significance to the writers of 1 Enoch (Nickelsburg 1981: 584).

The Enochic author was acutely interested in the sacred territory near Dan, as confirmed by its association with cultic and liturgical activities within the Book of Watchers. These and other factors outlined by Nickelsburg (1981: 584-586) suggest that the writer of the Book of Watchers may have been a priest from upper Galilee. Due to nature of 1 Enoch's depiction of the Watchers, he likely viewed the Jerusalem priesthood as not only defiled, but as under the eternal judgment of Yahweh. If the books of 1 Enoch derived from Palestine, they may have been circulated at this location. In such a case, the Enochic writings possibly influenced at least some Jewish groups in Palestine during the era of the Second Temple Period corresponding to their authorship, even though different Jewish groups possessing their own in-group literature existed in Palestine at this time.

Scholarship has generally viewed the myth of the Watchers as an aetiology of how sin entered the world by focusing on the realm of humanity but viewing the origin of sin as resulting from the fallen angels. In other words, angels have generally been assigned a secondary role (Davidson 1992: 42). Nevertheless, I agree with Suter (1979: 116-117) that angels appear to have a dominant role, not only in 1 Enoch 6, but throughout the remainder of the Enochic corpus. Furthermore, the parallels Suter has pointed out between the priesthood and the myth appear to be consistent. For example, the issue of tension between exogamy and endogamy is basic to 1 Enoch 6. Both the angels and the priesthood had restrictions placed upon them. The myth of the Watchers makes it clear the angels violated these constraints through sexual impropriety with humanity.

The indiscretions of the priesthood regarding unlawful sexual contact within 1 Enoch have been adequately documented in this thesis. Both the priesthood and the Watchers (1 En 15) had the responsibility to intercede for mankind. The focal point of Enoch 15 is the fallen Watchers rather than humanity. The Enochic writer makes it obvious that the Watchers are being castigated for their improprieties, mitigating against the generally accepted view that this myth relates more to humanity than angels. Nevertheless, the concern of 1 Enoch 15 and the remainder of 1 Enoch is with the Watchers' violation of the ontological dualistic ethical system ordained for the universe, rather than with merely providing a rationale for the origin of sin with humanity. Thus, it is reasonable to accept the view of Suter (1979: 131) that there are parallels between the use of angelology in 1 Enoch, especially in the myth of the Watchers, and the problem of inner purity within the Jerusalem priesthood. Concern for the purity of the Watchers in 1 Enoch would show that the propriety of the priesthood within Jewish society at this time was essential, since the Enochic author likely intended to equate the Watchers with priests.

If the priestly writer of the early portions of 1 Enoch was a Jew from northern Palestine, what qualified him to write a clandestine castigation against the Jerusalem priesthood of his time? Not all the Enochic Watchers are depicted as fallen Watchers (1 En 12: 1-4). During the period of Hellenistic reform, the notion of an ideal righteous priest centered around the figure of Levi and his descendants emerged (Hultgard 1980: 93). By focusing on the priesthood through a recollection of ancient angelic mythology, the priestly Enochic author included himself with the faithful Watchers. Furthermore, by equating himself with the figure of Enoch, the writer portrayed his righteousness in a manner far surpassing other members of the priestly caste at his time. Although Yahweh is surrounded by a myriad of angels in 1 Enoch 14:20-21, none of these beings are considered righteous enough to stand in the immediate presence of Yahweh. Enoch was the only one qualified to be in close proximity to Yahweh, though he was filled with fear and could not look at Yahweh's face (1 En 14:24-25). Since the author was probably disenfranchised from the malevolent priesthood of his time, he no doubt felt it was his duty to point out priestly indiscretions and forecast the eventual doom of the Jerusalem priesthood. The fact that he maintained the ontological dualistic ethic which the books of 1 Enoch purvey qualified him for this task. He was also faithful in not contravening the sexual ethic instituted for the priesthood, nor would he have offered defective sacrifices or accepted bribes.

In the Enochic author's mind, he had been meticulously careful to maintain his God ordained duties in complete propriety, unlike many of his counterparts. Another important factor in favor of a righteous priestly writer for portions of 1 Enoch is that most of the Jewish society was illiterate. The priesthood was not only literate but had time to write on various significant issues. Moreover, being a priest was probably a part-time pursuit. The Enochic writings reflect an intellectual tradition. Thus, their authors must have been well-educated. Deciding whether some authors of 1 Enoch formed a distinct alliance is impossible, but some may have been associated with traditionally intellectual groups (Stone 1978: 489).

By the time of the writing of the Book of Watchers, priestly circles in Judea were divided between priests who remained faithful to the Torah and others who ignored these teachings (Hultgard 1980: 93). I agree with Nickelsburg (1981: 582-588), who felt that the Book of Watchers contained some compelling evidence to support the theory of a righteous priestly background for the Enochic author. The necessarily confined structure of this research limits my ability to deal with these elements in their entirety. Nevertheless, the Enochic writings exhibit a cultic language. In the context of 1 Enoch 14, the temple had not been built. Yet the author described Yahweh's temple by using terminology reminiscent of Ezekiel 1-2. While the writer of Ezekiel concentrated on the visionary aspects of the Yahweh's throne, Enoch provided details for the structures of the heavenly temple, by recalling Ezekiel 40-48 (1 En 14:20-25). Thus, the form and content of the Book of Watchers may have been taken from the cultic sections of Ezekiel.

One important difference between Ezekiel's and 1 Enoch's description of the heavenly sanctuary stands out. In Ezekiel, God's presence is not fixed. He rides in a chariot to commission His prophet. Enoch viewed Yahweh's presence as established upon a heavenly throne. Yahweh also does not descend to earth, but Enoch ascends to Yahweh's sanctuary. Still, the Enochic author used cultic language to depict Yahweh's dwelling as a heavenly temple. Yahweh is attended by angels described as priests (1 En 14:23). The angels are continually in Yahweh's presence and, like the priesthood, serve Yahweh in His sanctuary. Some portions of 1 Enoch also parallel the final chapters of Ezra. For example, both Enoch and Ezra were called scribes (cf 1 En 12:3-4; 15:1; Ezr 7:6,11; Neh 8:1,4).

9.4 *The Angelology of 1 Enoch as Reflected in Other Jewish Literatures*

9.4.1 *Introduction*

In this section, I begin to look at the role of angels in post-Enochic writings. The Qumran manuscript discoveries suggest that 1 Enoch was popular in the Qumran community. The Enochic corpus was probably not cherished by all Jewish groups. Nevertheless, if 1 Enoch was widely known within Second Temple Judaism, as Segal (1992: 304) suggested, these writings probably exerted considerable influence upon religious Jews. I believe that Enochic ideas would have been common at this stage of the Second Temple Period, at least within apocalyptic groups. At any rate, the premise of this thesis is that if other Jewish literatures echo Enochic concepts, especially regarding angelology, then some parts of Jewish society must have reflected 1 Enoch.

9.4.2 *Daniel (and additions)*

9.4.2.1 *Introduction*

Several scholars have detected a definite contrast between the apocalyptic dream visions of Enoch and Daniel. This diversity has caused some to suggest that Daniel is not typically apocalyptic (Davies 1980: 33-53). Sacchi (1997: 26) limited the term "apocalyptic" to the Enochic Jewish party. He viewed Daniel as non-apocalyptic or even anti-apocalyptic because it did not belong to Enochic Judaism. I have overcome Sacchi's objection by pointing out the unlikelihood of the apocalyptic originating within any major Jewish group before 70 C.E. I have also argued that the apocalyptic should be viewed as a prominent world-view rather than as a specific genre distinction (Collins 1998: xiv; Rowland 1985: 2-14). Daniel 1-6 was composed by the third century. The visionary material of chapters 7-12 dates to the Maccabean revolt (after 168 B.C.E). Daniel purports to be the author of the book during the Babylonian and Persian monarchies. The figure of Daniel has no antecedent in any biblical writing. Greek translations of Daniel contain stories not found in the Hebrew Bible. Later literature ascribed to Daniel suggests that the biblical Daniel was part of a wider tradition ascribing pseudepigraphic authorship to Daniel (Stone 1980: 40). Jubilees recognizes Dan'il as Enoch's father-in-law, showing a mythical heritage surrounding Enoch and Daniel. Some scholars have suggested that Daniel was connected to a mythological Canaanite sage named Dan'l mentioned in Ugaritic epics and Ezekiel. However, the association between this mythical figure and the Daniel of the biblical and apocryphal literatures has not been substantiated.

Several parallels exist between Enoch and Daniel. Angels are portrayed as wise, with a knowledge of divine secrets and God's will which they disclose (Stone 1980: 41). An angel reveals to Daniel "all that is written in the truthful book" (Dn 10:21; 7:16). Enoch is informed by angels about the content of heavenly books (1 En 1:2, 12:1; 81:1-2; 93:2; 103:2). The writings of both Daniel and 1 Enoch share a common belief that human history is destined for an interval of unalterable corruption (Boccaccini 1998: 83).

9.4.2.2 Daniel and Enochic Angelology

A fundamental difference between Daniel and 1 Enoch is that Daniel opposes the Enochic doctrine of an etiology of evil which resulted in a degeneration of world history and is associated with fallen angels. Rather, Daniel views the cause of human corruption as rooted in the Jews' transgression against the Mosaic covenant. Still, the Enochic corpus shows an awareness of the moral system of law within the Pentateuch. Boccaccini (1998: 84) argued that Daniel never portrays the angelic world as rebellious, quoting Daniel 4:31:32 to support her contention. However, these verses only suggest that God is sovereign over the kingdoms of "men," while not mentioning the angelic realm. Daniel 4:35 also indicates that God does as He pleases with the powers of heaven (angels) and humankind. Neither of these forces are able to thwart His purposes. Thus, against Boccaccini, I argue that Daniel appears to be suggesting the distinct possibility of beings from either the angelic or human realms seeking to obfuscate God's purpose in the universe. Moreover, both Daniel and 1 Enoch display a similarity of perspective by maintaining that despite challenges from forces in the universe, God's order will be restored, even if it is disrupted for a period of human history.

Daniel portrays human punishment only in terms of the exilic and post-exilic periods. Pseudo-Daniel contains a prophecy similar to the Book of Dream Visions, about the entire course of human history from the flood to an eschatologically undetermined time (Boccaccini 1998: 86). There was a tendency within the extant pseudo-Daniel fragments to read Daniel in light of the Dream Visions (4Q243; 4Q244; 4Q245; cf Collins 1997a: 15-18). Biblical Daniel sets out only the possibility of rebellion in the supernatural realm. Pseudo-Daniel explicitly suggests that Israel was led into sin by evil angelic spirits. This suggestion puts the perspectives of 1 Enoch and Daniel in a common setting concerning an aetiology of evil and its manifestations for human history.

Watchers are mentioned in 1 Enoch (cf 1 En 1:5). This term also occurs in Daniel 4:10,14,20. The Hebrew word מַלְאָכִים is translated as “messenger” (Holladay 1988: 306). This nomenclature is generally considered as related to the Aramaic, which renders it as “to be awake.” In Greek manuscripts, this word is associated with the Greek verb γρηγορέιν, “to watch” (Black 1985: 10,14,20). In Daniel 7, the phrase “son of man” appears. The Ancient of Days gives the son of man the authority, glory, and sovereign power over all the peoples of the earth (Dn 7:13,14). Rowland (1985: 1-11) suggests that this figure is best understood as an angel. This idea is similar to 1 Enoch 70-71, where Enoch is transformed into the figure of the “son of man”(1 En 71:1). In another reference to angelic transformation, Enoch is transformed as he is carried into the heavens by whirlwinds (1 En 39:1-8).

Enoch’s change in appearance is reminiscent of Daniel 12:1-3, which suggests that the wise will shine as the stars of the heavens. This same idea is found in 1 Enoch 62:15, which indicates that the elect will shine as stars. In earlier sections of 1 Enoch, angels are also equated with stars (cf 1 En 21:3,6). Segal (1992: 305) argued that there is good reason to equate the stars in Daniel’s account with angels, since there is a biblical tradition of doing so (cf Job 38:7). Daniel 7:1 mentions the angel Michael. The archangel Michael also appears in 1 Enoch (cf 1 En 9:1). Thus, both Daniel and the Book of Parables reflect an earlier Enochic tradition. These later writings manifest an embellished angelology by equating angels with the stars, ascribing names for the angels, and describing the angelic transformation of a righteous figure (cf 1 En 20; 17:1-3).

The absence of the Similitudes or the Book of Parables (1 En 37-71) among other extant fragments of 1 Enoch does not necessarily indicate they were unknown at Qumran. However, this deficiency raises the issue of whether these later Enochic writings serve any purpose in establishing early Enochic origins for angelic concepts of Daniel. Scholarship generally concedes that the Book of Parables reflects Jewish rather than Christian perspectives (Knibb 1979: 345). Segal (1992: 306) argued that the angelology of the Book of the Parables was a fulfillment of earlier prophecies of Daniel. I have decided to use this later Enochic literature to show that, together with the writings of Daniel, they attest to a tradition of angelology established in older sections of 1 Enoch.

In 1 Enoch 1:9, the idea of Yahweh the judge appearing with ten million of the “holy ones” (angels) to execute judgment upon all appears. The notion of an angelic host accompanying Yahweh to administer a verdict upon the cosmos can be found in the eschatological court scene of Daniel 7. In this chapter, “a thousand thousands” and “ten thousand times ten thousand” serve Yahweh (Dn 7:10). A similar idea occurs in Zechariah 14:3-5, where Yahweh and an entourage of “holy ones” (angels) fight against the nations. A major difference within these accounts is that in both Zechariah and 1 Enoch, but not in Daniel, Yahweh is depicted as a warrior and his angelic host appears to have military rather than judicial functions (Hanson 1975a: 126-127). In the Enochic writings, angels regularly aid Enoch to understand what he is experiencing in his heavenly apparitions (cf 1 En 1:2). In some passages in Daniel, the angels also assist Daniel to comprehend his otherworldly visions. Some examples include Daniel 7:16-27; 8:15-26; 9:21,22; 10:7-21, where Gabriel interprets Daniel’s visions. Thus, Daniel attests to the Enochic notion of angels assisting seers in explicating what took place in the visionary sphere.

9.4.2.3 *Brief Summary*

Daniel reflects Enochic influence in its use of Enochic terminology, concepts, and ascribing names to angels. Angels are portrayed as having knowledge of divine secrets which they reveal. Both Daniel and Enoch view human history as destined for a period of corruption. While biblical Daniel opposes the notion of sin originating with rebellious angels, pseudo-Daniel agrees with 1 Enoch.

9.4.3 *Tobit*

9.4.3.1 *Introduction*

Tobit was originally composed in Aramaic or Hebrew by an unknown writer sometime in the second century B.C.E.. This writing was later translated into Greek (Evans 1995: 11-12). Fragments of one Hebrew and two Aramaic manuscripts of Tobit were discovered at Qumran. These fragments do not settle the debate concerning whether three extant Greek recensions were based upon a Hebrew or Aramaic original. This work may have initially been composed in Aramaic and later translated into Hebrew. In such a scenario, the Hebrew text would provide the basis for the Greek translations. The hypothesis of a Hebrew original retaining a few Aramaisms would offer an explanation for several peculiarities within the Greek translations as well as the word order (Rost 1976: 61).

9.4.3.2 *Enochic Angelology and Tobit*

Tobit's concern with angelology illustrates how a belief in earlier Enochic angelic notions flourished during the Second Temple Period. In the book itself, a group of seven angels heads the world of supernatural messengers. This select assembly are designated as archangels with access to the presence of the glory of the Lord (Tob 12:15). The archangel Uriel is in charge of the angelic host and guards the underworld. Raphael oversees the spirits of humans and presents the prayers of the saints before the Holy One. He is also portrayed as an angel of healing (Tob 3:17). Raquel is responsible for taking revenge upon the world of lights. Michael watches over God's chosen people, Israel. Sariel's duties are not clearly defined and Gabriel rules over paradise. These archangels are listed in 1 Enoch as holy angels who watch (1 En 20:1-7), and their functions are slightly different from what is outlined in Tobit. Suru'el is viewed as one of the holy angels of eternity and trembling. Raphael is of the spirits of man. Raguel is given the task of taking vengeance on the world and the luminaries. Michael is obedient in benevolence over the people and the nations. Saraqua'el is set over the spirits of humankind who sin in the spirit. Finally, Gabriel is responsible for overseeing the Garden of Eden, the serpents, and the cherubim (1 En 20:1-7).

In Tobit 5:20-21, the character Tobit expresses the belief that the role of God's angels was to accompany, prosper, and protect humanity. A corresponding idea occurs in 1 Enoch 10:1-4, where God sends his angel Azaz'el to instruct and preserve Lamech from the coming deluge. Tobit also shows a concern for propriety within marriage reminiscent of the angels' improper sexual exploits, as outlined in the myth of the fallen Watchers. In Tobit 6:15, the angel accompanying the young man admonished him: "*Dost thou not remember the precepts which thy father gave thee, that thou shouldest marry a wife of thy own kindred?*" The author of Tobit may have been influenced by the Hebrew Bible, especially the Pentateuch. A comparison between several passages in Tobit and the Old Testament attests to this (cf Tob 6:15 and Gn 42:38; 44:29,31; Tob 3:10; 6:15 and Gn 42:38; 44:29,31; Tob 3:10 and Lv 19:13; Tob 4:14 and Lv 19:13; Tob 8:16 and Gn 2:18). The angel of Tobit may have been recalling the laws of proper marriage which are a concern of the Pentateuch, Ezra, and Nehemiah (cf Dt 7:3; Ez 10:3; Neh 9:1-3). By the same token, if the Book of Watchers was concerned with purity within both the priesthood and ordinary Jews, then Tobit's account may intend to recollect 1 Enoch as well as the Old Testament.

Other possible associations with the angelology of 1 Enoch include a belief in an ultimately superior evil angel called the devil (Tob 6:17). Thus, it appears both Tobit and 1 Enoch subscribes to the idea of an angelic hierarchy. Tobit also portrays an angel able to bind other evil spirits (Tob 8:3). In 1 Enoch 10:1, God instructed Raphael, "*Bind Azaz'el's hand and foot and throw him into the darkness.*" Tobit's concern for eschatology is evident in a number of passages. In Tobit 13:9-11, the author suggests that Jerusalem will be scourged because of the iniquitous deeds of some Jews. He also suggests that God will have mercy on the righteous in an eschatological age. The author of Tobit suggests that Jonas the prophet predicted the Jews would be scattered and Jerusalem would be desolate for a time. He further indicated that God would bring them again from their captivity into the holy land. Tobit envisions a time when an eternal temple is rebuilt in Jerusalem, and "*the saints praise thee with all thy creatures; and all thine angels and thy elect praise thee forever*" (Tob 8:15; 14:4-6). These passages are similar to Enoch 47:1-7, where the holy ones (angels) dwell together in the heavens with other righteous beings.

The book of Tobit suggests that God utilized angels who appeared in a human form (cf Tob 5:16,21; 6:4,5,6,9,13,15,17). This same idea is found in the Old Testament and also occurs within the story of the fallen Watchers who changed from angelic into human form to have sexual relations with mortal women (1 En 6-7). Though a belief in angels is evident in Tobit, it is accompanied by the conviction that hostile demons intervene in and alter human affairs. A list of Watchers who had sexual relations with humans is provided in 1 Enoch 6. These fallen Watchers were also responsible for teaching humanity magical practices (1 En 7:1,2). In Tobit 6, mysterious powers are associated with peculiar medicines (involving fish liver, heart, and gall) for overcoming demonic forces. Therefore, the magical practices connected with evil in 1 Enoch appear not only beneficial but legitimate in Tobit (Rost 1976: 64). The notion of angels associated with magical arts may have been influenced by mythological literatures where angels often accompany pagan gods. These angels used magical concoctions to combat human ailments (Roth 1972: 962). Nevertheless, I suggest that the author of Tobit possibly adapted the earlier Enochic tradition of the angels teaching magic to humanity, even if this legacy derived from pagan sources, to suit his own editorial purposes.

9.4.3.3 *Summary*

The book of Tobit reflects a later tradition of angelology that also occurs in the earlier Enochic writings. Angels regularly appear with specific names, functions, and status (cf Tob 3:17; 12:15; 1 En 9:1; 10:4,11; 19:1; 20:2,7; 40:9). This embellishment of angels from the Enochic writings corresponds with other post-Enochic literatures (cf Dn 8:6; 10:13; 12:1; 1QM 9:26; 1QS 3:20). The Enochic corpus attests to the belief in distinct and diabolically superior supernatural beings who appear under specific names. Tobit suggested that the devil was the chief of these evil angelic entities. Elsewhere, this commander of the evil realm appears under other names. Some examples include "Mastema" (Jub 49:2) and "Belial" or "Beliar" (Jub 1:20; SibOr 3:63,73; 1QS 1:18, 23-24). The early fragments of 1 Enoch predate Tobit and other post-Enochic literatures. Therefore, the tradition of an evil angelic figure, as well as other aspects of angelology appearing in Tobit, may have derived from 1 Enoch. I have outlined several corresponding angelic convictions within the writings of Tobit and 1 Enoch.

9.4.4 *Jubilees*

9.4.4.1 *Introduction*

The writings of 1 Enoch appear to have been prominent and influential within the Book of Jubilees. Thirteen Hebrew fragments were discovered at Qumran, attesting to the authority given some of the Enochic corpus.⁷⁸ The only complete version of Jubilees is in Ethiopic, which has been meticulously preserved from the Hebrew (VanderKam 1989: ix). A few fragments of Greek, Latin, and Syriac of Jubilees were also extant at Qumran (Evans 1995: 31). The form and content of the vision described in Jubilees 4:19 correspond exactly to Enoch's in the Book of Dream Visions. Moreover, Jubilee's vision has no other parallel within older sections of the Enochic corpus, indicating that Jubilees was composed after the Maccabean crisis (Boccaccini 1998: 86). The Damascus document refers to Jubilees as an authoritative writing (CD 16:2-4), suggesting that Jubilees preceded the Qumran sectarian literature. The Book of Jubilees contains an extensive midrash of Genesis 1 through Exodus 12. The narrative itself purports to derive from secret revelation transmitted by the angels of God's presence to Moses at Mount Sinai.

⁷⁸ VanderKam (1989: vi) lists authors who support the Hebrew Grundschrift for Jubilees. He also points to the thirteen Hebrew texts from Qumran and paleographic dating for conclusive evidence.

9.4.4.2 *Angelology and Enochic Concepts in Jubilees*

The Book of Astronomical Writings or Heavenly Luminaries dates to around 110 B.C.E. and possibly as early as the end of the third century B.C.E. (Isaac 1983: 8; Milik 1971: 5,7). The Astronomical Writings are among the oldest portions of the Enochic corpus and predate the establishment of the Qumran community. Jubilees 4:17-19 alludes to the Book of Watchers, the Astronomical Book, and the Book of Dream visions, showing that Jubilees was later than the earliest sections of the Enochic corpus. The writer of 1 Enoch's Dream Visions describes his writing as "*the Book of the Itinerary of the Luminaries of Heaven: the position of each and every one, in respect to their ranks, in respect to their authorities, and in respect to their seasons; each according to their names and their place of origin and according to their months . . . and the nature of the years of the world unto eternity* (1 En 72:1). In commenting about this section, Charles (1921: xvii) suggested the author of Jubilees had written this Enochic passage.

Throughout the book of Jubilees, the solar calendar is presupposed. Events in biblical history and the establishment of religious festivals are dated according to this calendar. For the author of Jubilees, the solar calendar has a legal basis since it is rooted in the created order of the universe. The solar calendar is also a concern of the astronomical section of 1 Enoch to which Jubilees 4:17 explicitly refers. Both Jubilees 4:17 and 1 Enoch 72:1 maintain that the details of the solar calendar were revealed to Enoch by the angel Uriel. The origin of evil is a major concern in Enoch and Jubilees. Jubilees generally follows 1 Enoch concerning the fall of the Watchers, but may have also used another tradition of this mythical tale (Noll 1979: 310). Jubilees 5 and 7 interpolate traditions taken from 1 Enoch 6-16 to explain the causes and consequences of the flood. The author of Jubilees 7:20-33 suggests that the offspring resulting from the fallen angels and mortal women was the origin of evil spirits on the earth. These demonic spirits continued to seduce the children of Noah after the flood, causing them to commit the same sins that led to the destruction of the giants. References to judgment in 1 Enoch 10 are also expanded in Jubilees 5:10-16.

In Jubilees 23:16-21, the writer depicts a deep schism existing between Jews who have forsaken the covenant and Jews who have remained faithful. Nonetheless, the dissenters not only continue in their evil ways but are even guilty of defiling the holy of holies. This description fits the state of affairs during the time just prior to Antiochus's decree of 167 B.C.E. and the presence of the corrupt priest Menelaus. Nickelsburg (1981a: 77) argued for a *terminus post quem* of circa 175-100 B.C.E. for Jubilees, based on passages that reflect important issues of Hellenistic reform such as nudity, uncircumcision, and intermarriage (Jub 3:31; 15:33,34; 20:4; 22:20; 25:10; 30:1-5). Paleographic evidence from Qumran manuscripts of Jubilees suggests a date closer to 100 B.C.E. The *terminus ad quem* would correspond with the rise of the Hasmonean priesthood and the establishment of the Qumran community. If the writer of Jubilees intended to elaborate on 1 Enoch, his account may substantiate that the Enochic author sought to depict the evil priesthood by means of angelology. It is also possible Jubilees originated from the same priestly party responsible for portions of 1 Enoch, since Jubilees attaches much importance to Enoch as a writer (cf Jub 4:17f).

Enochic motifs play a major role in Jubilees. Most significantly, Jubilees shares the Enochic idea that evil in the universe resulted from the fallen Watchers (Jub 5:1,6; 7:21). 1 Enoch 15:9-16:1 also suggests that demons resulted from the illicit union of the Watchers and mortal women, as manifested in the giant offspring. Jubilees 13:13 attests to the Enochic belief in the influence of demons, since a demonic or "pestilential spirit" plagued Pharaoh. Jubilees depicts the Second Temple Period as a time when the Jews "*will forget all my laws and my commandments and all my judgments, and will go astray concerning new moons, Sabbaths, festivals, jubilees, and ordinances*" (Jub 1:14). These concerns in Jubilees are similar to those in 1 Enoch. Jubilees 4:16-25 provides a portrait of Enoch going beyond the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dream Visions, and the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch (VanderKam 1984: 180-183). Even if VanderKam (1984: 188) is correct in assuming that Enochic literatures freely incorporated pagan mythology, Jubilees is partly dependent upon Enochic sources and considers at least the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dream Visions, and the Astronomical Book as authoritative. Jubilees also explicitly uses 1 Enoch (cf Jub 4:16-25; 5:1-12; 7:21-22; 21:10).

9.4.4.3 Summary

From the Enochic tradition, Jubilees is aware that the fallen angels violated the order of the universe because they did not maintain the distinction between the heavenly and earthly spheres. The angels' taking of wives from humanity was the beginning of impurity upon the earth (Jub 7:21). Furthermore, Jubilees reflects 1 Enoch in suggesting that the offspring of the Watchers was the cause of continued contamination of the earth (Jub 7:24). Like 1 Enoch, Jubilees is ultimately concerned with keeping the boundaries between the holy supernatural and the profane earthly realms. I believe the concern for a distinction between evil and purity which characterizes 1 Enoch, and probably influenced Jubilees, may have been the impetus for the ethic of separation as necessary for salvation. This ethical concern is obvious in later Qumran sectarian writings, but is previously unattested in the history of Israelite religion. In any event, both the writers of 1 Enoch and Jubilees indicate that the actions of evil angels disrupted order in the universe, making it necessary to restore the boundary between the heavenly and earthly realms. Jubilees appears to differ from 1 Enoch in one area. Jubilees views the reestablishment of the cosmos as occurring after the flood (Jub 5:12). However, 1 Enoch does not see this restoration as taking place until an undetermined eschatological time. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that Enochic angelic concepts are sufficiently apparent within Jubilees to suggest that this later Jewish work derived its understanding of angelology, for the most part, from the earlier Enochic writings.

9.4.5 *Qumranic Fragments of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

9.4.5.1 Introduction

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs comprise biographies of Jacob's twelve sons. Scholarly opinion is divided about the origins of this literature. Some believe this work was authored as late as the first or second century C.E. by a Jew or possibly a Jewish Christian. Others have argued that the Testaments are pre-Christian and possibly of Essence origin. The original language of the present work is also debated (McNamara 1983: 99). Evans (1995: 28,29) argued for a date of somewhere between 109 and 106 B.C.E. for this body of literature. He further argued that a Pharisee who greatly admired John Hyrcanus composed these writings at the zenith of the Hasmonean dynasty. They may have originally been written in Greek, since they survived in this nomenclature.

Scholars have debated whether the Testaments encompass a Jewish work with Christian interpolations or represent a Christian work which utilized Jewish sources. Many scholars now agree that when the relatively few Christian additions are removed there is evidence of a coherent Jewish document. For example, Flusser (1989: 95) argued that the Testaments represent a Jewish work composed by a Jew who was closely associated with the Qumran sectarians but differed from them in some of his views. At any rate, fragments from only two of the Testaments have been discovered at Qumran. The Testament of Levi possibly originated in Aramaic. Hebrew was probably the original language of composition for the Testament of Naphtali (McNamara 1983: 103).

Within these accounts, the twelve sons of Jacob recount their life story. While on their deathbeds, they gave final instructions to their surviving children. The general pattern for the Testaments occurs in Genesis 49, where Jacob is about to die. He gathers his sons at his bedside to foretell the future. This motif can be also found in Deuteronomy 33, where Moses blesses the twelve tribes of Israel just before his death. In the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, each patriarch admonishes his descendants to avoid certain kinds of immorality and to practice righteousness behavior. They also reveal eschatological events pertaining to Jewish history (Dimier 1964: 21). Russell (1964: 128) suggested that the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs may have been influenced by the author of Jubilees who probably utilized traditions from it.

9.4.5.2 *The Testament of Naphtali*

The Testament of Naphtali is important because it was among the extant fragments from Qumran. Naphtali was the sixth son of Jacob and Bilhah, Rachel's handmaiden (Gn 29:8). The life and character of Naphtali are not given in the Hebrew Bible. He also does not appear to have influenced folklore. However, in the biblical tradition, he is mentioned by Jacob as he gathers his sons around his deathbed. It appears Naphtali found favor during Jacob's final poetic blessing, since Jacob referred to his son as "*a doe set free that bears beautiful fawns*" (Gn 49:21). The Testament of Naphtali purports that the patriarch's deathbed bequest took place at one hundred and thirty years of age.

9.4.5.2.1 *Enochic Angelology Reflected in Naphtali*

One possible link between the angelology of the Testament of Naphtali and 1 Enoch has to do with the origin of evil and a concern for order in the universe. The author admonishes his audience to *“hold fast to the will of God and to cast away the will of Beliar”* (TNaph: 1:23). The mention of the term Beliar in association with an evil being is similar to the Qumran community’s belief in an ultimately superior angel of hatred named Belial who was created for the pit (1QM13). The Testaments appear to suggest that angels have some freewill, while the Dead Sea Scrolls attest that some supernatural beings were created evil with no choice in the matter (1QS 3:15-17,25). Like the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch, the Testament of Naphtali appealed to God’s ordained order as a basis for orderly behavior: *“Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also not the law of God in disorderliness of your doings”* (TNaph: 1:24).

Despite the Testament of Naphtali’s admonishment of the faithful, some had forsaken God’s will. This resulted in the changing of the ordained order of the universe. Evidently, this Testament blames supernatural beings for leading humanity away from the established order. *“In like manner, the Watchers changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood”* (TNaph: 1:27). While some Watchers were included with the supernatural agents who resorted to evil, Naphtali ultimately blames Beliar for leading other angels into unrighteousness (TNaph: 1:26; 2:26-28).

Evidence for the composer of the Testament of Naphtali being influenced by the angelology of Enochic is attested by the writer’s own admissions. He shows a familiarity with the Enochic corpus in the following statement, *“for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of [Beliar]”* (TNaph 1:28). The author of this Testament also suggests that resorting to evil will result in dire consequences. He states, *“And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and there ye shall serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all”* (TNaph 1:29).

Another point of contact between the Testament of Naphtali and the Enochic writings is a belief in an undetermined era of eschatological restoration. Naphtali pointed out a period when the Jews were diminished because they forsook the laws governing the universe. However, the Lord would eventually mercifully gather His chosen people to bring them near again (TNaph 1:30-32). Thus, like 1 Enoch, this Testament envisions a time of eschatological restoration. A belief in not only the existence of angels but a hierarchy among the supernatural agents is evident within several of the Testaments. The Testament of Naphtali attests to this conviction; *“If ye work good my children, both men and angels shall bless you . . . and the devil shall flee from you . . . and the angels shall cleave to you”* (TNaph 2:26). *“But him that doeth not that which is good, both angels and men shall curse . . . and the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument, and every wild beast shall master him, and the Lord shall hate him”* (TNaph 2:28).

9.4.5.2.2 Summary

The Testament of Naphtali contains a perspective reminiscent of the Enochic corpus and attests to Enochic influence. Evidence is displayed in the author’s belief that certain of the Watchers had been swayed by the control of a superior supernatural being equated with the devil or Beliar. While it has similarities with the Qumran sectarian writings, the Testament of Naphtali appears to follow the Enochic perspective regarding angelology, emphasizing the aspect of freedom and responsibility within the supernatural realm. This consideration is unlike the sectarian perspective that strongly indicates the angels were created to be either evil or good, and are unable to choose either state of existence.

9.4.5.3 The Testament of Levi

9.4.5.3.1 Introduction

The Testament of Levi is mostly apocalyptic in nature. In this account, Levi, the third son of Jacob and Leah, gathered his sons on his deathbed. Levi recounted how, at the age of twenty, he fell asleep while feeding his flock. At that time, the heavens opened and an angel commanded him to enter the heavenly realm (TLevi 1:9-10). The visions that Levi experienced are similar to those of 1 Enoch. Both Enoch and Levi were able to stand in close proximity to God. They also represented God’s ministers and revealed mysteries to humankind (TLevi 1:13).

9.4.5.3.2 *Angelology in the Testament of Levi Compared to 1 Enoch*

The Testament of Levi also upholds a belief that archangels and other lesser angels bear messages of the Lord's presence (TLevi 1:19-24). While in God's company, Levi is given the priestly role of representing God and interceding for others. I have shown within this thesis that Enoch played a similar role in 1 Enoch. Levi also suggests that an archangel intercedes for Israel and all the righteous (TLevi 2:15). In 1 Enoch 20:5, Michael is named as the archangel who oversees the nations. Levi is taught God's laws involving the priesthood by an angel of the Lord. He is also instructed to avoid sexual immorality. Levi is told that because of sexual sin his priestly seed will pollute the holy place. He is admonished to take a wife without blemish and not from foreign nations (TLevi 3:35-39). The angel talking with Levi predicts the priesthood would fall into godlessness and lead Israel astray. Because of these evil actions by Levi's priestly seed, the Israelites would be scattered and the temple would be finally destroyed (TLevi 3:44-46).

9.4.5.3.3 *Summary*

The content of the Testament of Levi is comparable to the Enochic corpus. I have suggested that the writer of the Book of Watchers equated himself with Enoch, who represented a faithful priest, and that the priestly Enochic composer depicted the unfaithful priesthood as the underlying cause of Jewish misfortunes. This identification with Enoch is strengthened by the mention of Enoch as righteous in the context of the angel's description of the Levitical priesthood (TLevi 3:47, also buttressing the position that Enochic angelology influenced post-Enochic literature.

9.4.6 *Enochic Concepts in the Non-Qumranic Fragments of the Testaments*

9.4.6.1 *The Testament of Reuben*

9.4.6.1.1 *Introduction*

Some later Testaments not found at Qumran attest to Enochic influence in their angelology. The Testament of Reuben represents one example of the persistence of an Enochic undercurrent in non-Qumranic fragments of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Reuben was the firstborn son of Jacob and Leah. In this account, Reuben mourns over the sin that he committed with Bilhah (Gn 35:22). The intent of this writing seems to be an attempt to clear the name of Reuben.

9.4.6.1.2 Enochic Angelology in the Testament of Reuben

The Testament of Reuben displays the influence of 1 Enoch's angelology in the following manner. Revelations are given by an angel of God (TReu 1:41) and there is a belief in an ultimate supernatural evil being called Beliar (TReu 2:12,22). Recalling the Watchers myth in 1 Enoch, the writer is concerned with the sexual impropriety caused by the adornment and lures of womanhood: *"For thus they (women) allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as they continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men. And the woman lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even the heaven (TReu 2:18-19).*

9.4.6.2 The Testament of Dan

An important link between the Testaments and the Enochic writings is a belief in the supernatural origin of evil. These literatures suggest that Beliar and other evil angels instigated sinful human activity. The Testament of Dan explicitly suggests that the book of Enoch influenced his perspective. He indicates that Satan and other evil angels conspired against the priestly descendants of Levi, leading them into sin, including sexual impropriety (TDan 1:7: 2:5-6). Thus, the writer of this Testament probably believed that 1 Enoch portrayed the priesthood through his angelology.

9.4.6.3 The Testament of Benjamin

The Testament of Benjamin echoes Dan's sentiments that the angelology of the Enochic writings may intend to portray the unfaithful priesthood: *"And I believe there will be evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall be taken away from you. Nevertheless, the temple of God shall be in your portion (TBenj 2:4-5).* I believe this Testament is probably referring to the priestly caste, since the author is addressing those responsible for the temple. The writer of the Testament of Benjamin suggests that his ideas derived from the Enochic writings. Moreover, the context of this chapter concerns the temple. Thus, the author of the Testament of Benjamin may have understood that 1 Enoch's angelology described the priesthood.

9.4.6.4 Summary of Enochic Influence in the Non-Qumranic Testaments

Evidence supporting the notion that Enochic angelology affected the perspective of the non-Qumranic Testaments includes a belief in an angelic hierarchy. Angels are assigned roles and given names (cf TDan 1:7; 2:6; TGad 1:24; TJos 1:56,63; TIss 1:35; 2:15; 4:29). The Testaments appear to follow the Enochic writings by according free will to angels and humanity. The context is that of an ongoing conflict between Beliar, a superior and malicious angel, and Yahweh, with humanity representing the battleground (cf TJud 3:46; TIss 1:35; 2:15; TJos 1:56; TBenj 1:14,40-42; TReu 2:15-19). In 1 Enoch 8; 16:3, evil angels impart heavenly knowledge. Supernatural agents also serve in a revelatory function (TRaub 3:15; 5:3; TJud 15:5; TIss 2:1).

Some Testaments emphasize the superiority of the Levitical priesthood but also suggest some priests will fall away from their God ordained roles in favor of sinful earthly concerns. Many sins of the priesthood involve sexual impropriety. Evil actions of the priesthood culminate in their dissolution (cf TJud 4:1-4; TLev 3:24-29; 4:1-12; TSim 2:13). The writers of these Testaments indicate that their ideas derived from the Enochic writings. Therefore, the authors of the Testaments possibly believed that the angelology of 1 Enoch involved the priesthood. The fact that several Testaments trace the lineage of the priesthood back to Enoch strengthens this position (TSim 2:13; TDan 2:6; TBenj 2:4-5). These Testaments also consider the evil initiated in the supernatural realm as responsible for Jewish misfortunes, including the demise of the Second Temple priesthood.⁷⁹

9.4.7 Sirach

9.4.7.1 Introduction

The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach is the Greek title ascribed to Jesus the son of Sirach of Jerusalem (Sir 50:27). In the Latin tradition, this work is known as Ecclesiasticus and may be an expansion of Ecclesiastes, "the Preacher," a term which possibly refers to Solomon. This writing is also commonly called Jesus ben Sira, Sirach (the Gecized form of his names), or simply Sira. Jesus ben Eleazar ben Sira was a professional scribe or sage who composed this work under his own name in the first part of the second century B.C.E. (Nickelsburg 1981a: 55).

⁷⁹ Citations from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are taken from the translation, cited in the bibliography, of the Lost Books of the Bible by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A statement from the prologue indicates this book originated in Hebrew. Jesus ben Sira's grandson introduced and translated it into Greek. The introduction to Sirach suggests the grandson went to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year under "Euergetes the king," which refers to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (170-116 B.C.E.). Thus, the translation of Sirach probably took place after 132 B.C.E. Jesus ben Sirah was probably a Jew with priestly ties living in Jerusalem. In an anachronistic manner, the theological emphasis of Sirach reflects a Sadducean viewpoint, since most scholars do not consider it proper to speak of the origins of the Sadducees as a Jewish group prior to the Maccabean period (cf Rost 1976: 68). Nonetheless, this thesis has suggested that the Sadducees originated during the time of Zerubbabel.

Sirach is conspicuous for matters about which it shows no concern. This writing contains no hint of a doctrine of a resurrection of the dead, nor any explicit references to angels or rewards and punishments in the afterlife. Even so, this work is important because it shows the writer's concern with exhorting his readers to reverence the priesthood, despite their lengthy record of abuse and aside from consequent dissatisfaction among some Second Temple Jews (Wright 1997: 189-192). Sirach devotes a considerable amount of space to those entrusted with the priesthood. In Sirach 44:6-45:22, Enoch is listed among the righteous in the context of a discussion about the Aaronic priesthood. I suggest that Sirach was possibly implicitly referring to the character of Enoch as representing one example of the righteous priesthood. This reference may also suggest that ben Sira considered the Enochic writings as influential for deriving his own perspective about the priesthood. If so, then Sirach probably understood 1 Enoch as covertly referring to the priesthood by means of an embellished angelology.

9.4.7.2 *Enochic Motifs in Sirach*

Sirach's view of the cult and his relationship to the priesthood have received much attention among recent scholarship, with little or no consensus on either issue. Moreover, until recently, there has been little detailed analysis of Sirach's relationship to the priesthood (Olyan 1987: 261). I argue that there have been even fewer attempts to link Sirach to Enochic ideas, especially regarding Sirach's possible awareness of 1 Enoch's angelology as depicting the state of the priesthood.

What stands out is the similarity between the Enochic corpus and Sirach, in terms of an ethical concern for purity, not only with the priesthood, but with other Jews, who are exhorted to continue reverencing the priestly office (Sir 7:29-31). Sirach counterbalances this ethical perspective in the context of earthly rather than otherworldly consequences which are prominent in 1 Enoch. At the same time, Sirach admonishes individuals not to participate or trust in unrighteous sacrifices (Sir 14:11; 34:18-19; 35:6-12). These passages may also show that Sirach was aware of defective sacrifices being offered by corrupt priests of his time (cf Mal 1:6-14). If the writer was cognizant of the prophet Malachi's excoriation of priests, then he was probably also aware of the priesthood's sexual impropriety (Mal 2:13-16).

Wright (1997: 191) argued that Sirach was aware that substantial criticisms had been directed against the priesthood and offered a polemic against these complaints. I disagree with Wright, since Sirach appears to caution ordinary Jews not to follow the example of the disloyal priesthood in their desire to reverence them (cf Sir 2:15-17; 10:19; 15:15; 35:9-13). No doubt many Jews continued to believe that God's recognition resided with the Jerusalem priesthood. Yet, Sirach's admonishment did not mean that Jews were to follow the priests' example when it contravened the Mosaic laws. Rather, it appears that Sirach was telling Jews to show reverence for the priesthood by giving them a portion from the firstfruits of their labors as commanded in the Mosaic law (Sir 7:31). In doing so, they would be honoring the priesthood and showing a proper attitude of fear toward God.

In 1 Enoch 14:15-25, the writer depicts the heavenly realm as a temple that was so awesome it caused Enoch to tremble. A multitude of angels continually surrounded God, representing His celestial priests. God called Enoch a righteous man and a scribe of righteousness. Enoch is also told to intercede for the angels, implying that Enoch was given a priestly role (1 En 15:1-3). Sirach confirms 1 Enoch's estimation of Enoch's righteous character. He suggested that Enoch pleased God by keeping His commandments (Sir 44:16,20). Sirach also indicates that Enoch served a priestly role. The writer of Sirach considered himself part of the honorable priestly caste (Sir 10-12). Thus, both the writers of the Book of Watchers and Sirach viewed themselves as belonging to the element of the priesthood that exhibited wisdom by keeping God's laws (Harrington 1980: 182).

The writers of 1 Enoch indicate other loyal priests (1 En 20:1-7; 24:6; 83:1-4). Sirach also suggests that Enoch was one of many faithful priests whom God ordained by means of an everlasting covenant. God also gave the priesthood the task of communicating a proper understanding of His commandments through their teachings and actions (Sir 44:16-45:26). However, some Jewish writings predating the Maccabean Revolt suggest that the legitimacy of many Jerusalem priests had come into question because they failed to keep God's commands and to teach others to follow them. Literatures that various scholars have identified as critical of the priesthood include the Book of Watchers, the Astronomical Book, and Aramaic Levi (Stone 1987: 162-168).

Another possible association with Sirach and 1 Enoch concerns the wisdom motif prominent in both literatures. The wisdom of Sirach encompassed more than just the skill of copying manuscripts and conveying practical knowledge of ancient sages. Sirach is equated with an intellectual work that envisioned the whole Jewish tradition of "the law of the Most High" (Harrington 1980: 181). As pointed out, there is a general scholarly acceptance that by the second century B.C.E. the Mosaic Torah was entrenched within Judaism (Nickelsburg 1998:123). Sirach shows an awareness of the current divisions of the Hebrew Bible and reveals that the God of the Torah entered a covenant relationship with Israel. The writer of Sirach associated true wisdom with a proper knowledge of the Torah (cf Sir 2:16; 6:37; 10:19; 11:15; 15:1; 24:10-12; 23). The fact that there is only one explicit reference to the Mosaic covenant in 1 Enoch 93:6 can probably be attributed to the Enochic authors having a different approach to wisdom than the author of Sirach.

The book of Jubilees is generally considered a recasting of Genesis and Exodus which the writer ascribed to Moses. Jubilees 4:16-19 indicates that Enoch was the first to establish the teachings of the Mosaic covenant. I am of the conviction that the tradition of the Mosaic covenant, which is explicitly mentioned in Jubilees, is also overtly displayed in Sirach, but is derived from 1 Enoch. Nickelsburg (1998: 124f) argued that the Enochic authors presented their material as revealed wisdom without specifically emphasizing the Mosaic laws. Nevertheless, the centrality of judgment within 1 Enoch presupposed a body of commandments that formed the criteria for judgment outlined within 1 Enoch. I agree with Nickelsburg, but also suggest that 1 Enoch utilized angelology to depict the priesthood, while purposely intending to implicitly display concern for the Mosaic law.

In the Book of Watchers, the fallen angels went against God's laws by having sexual relations outside their caste. This action was contrary to the Mosaic laws prohibiting the priests and God's covenant people from involvement in illegal marriages. The prophet Ezra, sought to give the Israelites a proper understanding of the Mosaic law after the exile. He suggested that discontinuing the practice of contracting marriages with foreign women was necessary for both priests and ordinary Israelites.

9.4.7.3 Summary

Sirach was possibly influenced by 1 Enoch in several ways. Both Sirach and 1 Enoch were interested in purveying an ethic that appealed to the Mosaic code in the matrix of wisdom, but with a different focus. For the writer of Sirach, wisdom entailed an explicit demand to keep the Mosaic law. He appealed to the fact that this codified body of laws was given to God's covenant people. Enoch's appeal to wisdom had to do with utilizing angelology to covertly manifest that certain of God's covenant people, including some members of the priesthood, had violated the Mosaic laws concerning sexual purity. Sirach attests to some awareness of unfaithful priestly practices, but admonishes his readers to honor God by revering the priesthood. However, the writer of Sirach does not suggest his readers are to follow the example of those priests contravening the covenant laws. While Sirach and the writer of 1 Enoch were aware of unfaithful priests, both likely considered themselves as part of the faithful priestly caste.

9.4.8 Other Non-Canonical Apocalypses

9.4.8.1 The Dead Sea Scrolls

9.4.8.2 Introduction

The Qumran documents from the Book of Watchers and the Book of Astronomical Writings predate the establishment of the Qumran settlement. The sources of the Book of Watchers are considered to be older than the writing down of their present form, which took place sometime in the third century B.C.E. The Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book are the oldest, extra-biblical Jewish literature. This dating is substantiated by the antiquity of the evidence for the existence of a developed perspective of Enoch as a primeval sage.

The oldest extant sources besides information within 1 Enoch that attest to an early date for the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book are Jubilees 4:16-25 and Sirach 44:16 (Stone 1978: 484). The history surrounding the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch is less certain (Davidson 1992: 22). Despite an abundance of Qumran fragments, there have been relatively few attempts to study angelology in relation to this literature (Noll 1979: 9).

9.4.8.3 The Sectarian Writings

Fragments discovered at Qumran can be divided into two categories. The first relates to writings produced by the Qumran community. Scholarship generally accepts that some Qumran manuscripts originated within the Qumran settlement. These include 1QS, 1QH, 1QM, CD, and the biblical commentaries known as the Pesharim (Dimant 1984: 487-488). This literature is recognized as sectarian because it gives the impression that the composers belonged to a specific group who thought of themselves as separate from the remainder of humanity, including Second Temple Judaism. Several other writings manifest an eschatological view and a unified style of a biblical exegesis. They also suggest the notion that the Qumran group lived during the end time when their enemies would suffer final defeat. These additional writings include 4QShirShabb, 1QSb, and 4QShir. The second type of Qumranic writing was possibly copied, but not actually composed, by the Qumran group. These documents encompass both the canonical and non-canonical writings. Much of the Qumran literature is replete with references to angels. Sectarian writings such as 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb 1QM, 1QH, and 4QTeharot or 4QBer provide a detailed accounting of special roles for some supernatural agents, similar to the Enochic literature (Segal 1992: 304). The Qumran sectarian literature is related to several apocalyptic works and, in particular, reflects earlier Enochic ideas, especially regarding angelology (Noll 1979: 12ff).

The Qumran community may have been interested in angelology because of a conviction that they were united with the angels: *"Those whom God has chosen he has given to be an eternal possession and has given them for their inheritance the lot of the holy ones. With the sons of heaven, he has united their assembly to be a council of community"* (1QS 11:7-9). In 1 Enoch 6:3-8, the names of nineteen evil angelic leaders are listed in connection with sexual impropriety with humankind. 1 Enoch 9:1 also mentions four good angels who were superior to other angels. Other holy Watchers are listed in 1 Enoch 20:1-8.

It is not my intent to uphold a notion that the angels portrayed in 1 Enoch represented real personages even if some Jewish groups in the Second Temple Period may have believed angels existed. My conviction throughout this thesis holds that 1 Enoch's angelology served as a polemic against the tainted priesthood. In other words, I believe that most Jews generally understood angels in the early writings of 1 Enoch as representing a literary analogy rather than as real beings by the late Second Temple Period. Moreover, the expectation of an ideal priest, as portrayed by the character of Enoch in the early Enochic writings, provided a possible context for the Qumran community's belief in an emerging exemplary priest who would serve as the spiritual leader of a purified Israel (Hultgard 1980: 93-94). This leader is called "the anointed one of Aaron" (1QS 9:11), and the "expounder of the Torah" (4QFlor).

The Enochic idea of a supernatural hierarchy of good and evil angels (1 En 6-19; 21-36; 83-90) is interspersed throughout Qumranic literature. Within these fragments, a wide array of terms are used to describe angels.⁸⁰ These passages show the Qumran community was not only concerned with angelology, but ascribed names to angels correspond to the Enochic writings (Beall 1988: 89). The War Scroll describes an eschatological war against the enemies of the Qumranites. This battle is to be waged by the Qumran members with the support of the angels, "*On which there shall engage in a great carnage the congregation of angels and the assembly of men, the sons of light and the lot of the darkness, fighting each in communion through the might of God*" (1QM 1:10-11). The names of the angels Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael are written on the shields of battle towers (1QM 9:14-16). In 1QM 12:1-5, the idea of the faithful Qumranites being in heaven where they are named, numbered, and organized like the angels occurs. 4QSirSabb is concerned with angelic worship in heaven. If the writers of 1 Enoch used angelology to depict the priesthood, then there may be another correspondence between the Qumran sectarian writings and 1 Enoch. In the Collection of Blessings, the (faithful) priesthood is promised they will accompany God and the angels "*for everlasting time and for ages forever*" (1QSb 4:24-6). If Enoch represented an archetype priestly figure, the Qumranites may have viewed him as the precursor of their expected ideal eschatological priest.

⁸⁰ Some examples include; "angel of darkness" (1QS 3:20-21), "angel of truth" (1QS 3:24), "angels of destruction" (1QS 4:12; CD 2:6), "angel of hostility" (CD 16:5), "holy angels" (1QSa 2:8-9; 1QH 1:11; CD 15:17), "holy ones" (1QS 11:8), "sons of heaven" (1QS 11:8; 1QH 3:35), and "angels of thy presence" (1QH 6:13; 1QSb 4:25-26).

9.4.8.4 *Cosmic Dualism and Enochic Ethics in the Qumran Literature*

An obvious conviction within the Qumran literature is a system of thought that purveys cosmic dualism. The Qumran writings divide the universe into two distinctive realms (cf 1QS 3:13-4:26; 1QM 13; 1QH 5:1-12; 9:5-38). The “prince of light” is the angelic leader of a righteous element including other “sons of light,” who are equated with both angels and humans (1QM 13:10; 17:6-8). On the evil side, the “angel of darkness” holds complete dominion over the “sons of darkness,” also encompassing angels and humanity (1QS 3:20-21). At the root of the ethical system is the notion that the differences separating these two camps are eternal and incongruous. Within the Qumran literature, light stands for all that is true, good, and righteous within the cosmos. Conversely, darkness is consonant with everything deceitful, unrighteous, and evil.

The Qumran system of ethical cosmic dualism does not consider opposing forces of good and evil as being on equal footing. “*The God of Israel and the angel of truth assist all the sons of light*” (1QS 3:24-25; 1QM 13:5). In terms of angelology, the leader of the dark forces, Belial, may be as strong as his counterpart Michael, but God is immeasurably superior and inevitably on the side of the good angels. In the sectarian writings, Belial is not portrayed as a rebellious angel. This supernatural agent did not rebel but was created evil: “*And you [God] created Belial for the pit, angel of hatred; his [dominion is darkness, his counsel is for evil and wickedness*” (1QM 13:11). Thus, both Belial and the sons of darkness at his disposal were not defiant. From the Qumran perspective, these supernatural beings were only living out their created role (Collins 1997a: 103).

According to the Qumran system of ethics, God is ultimately responsible for wickedness in the universe. He is also the originator of the dualistic system of good and evil. The Qumran community emphasized God’s omnipotence. This conviction led to the logical conclusion that God was the creator of all things, including both righteous and unrighteous angels which He ordained for His purposes (1QS 3:15-17,25). The ethical framework of 1 Enoch appears to contain similarities and dissimilarities with Qumran angelology. 1 Enoch appears to implicitly suggest angels were created good but rebelled against the established order in the universe. In other words, the Enochic writings indicate angels had freewill and chose evil, contrary to the Qumran community’s beliefs that angels were created good or evil without choice.

A point of similarity between Enochic and Qumranic perspectives is that both literatures distinguish between righteous and unrighteous angels and ascribe names to them. Moreover, both the Qumranites and 1 Enoch viewed the dichotomy between good and evil angels as irrevocable and eternal. Perhaps Enochic angelology differed from the later Qumran community because the priestly Enochic writer intended to depict the priesthood. In so doing, he could show that the priesthood had a choice in obeying the established order of the universe. The Enochic author may have determined to display that the choice by many priests to contravene God's order resulted in evil within Jewish society. Since Second Temple Jews looked to the priesthood as their example, many Jews were also guilty of violating the established design for the cosmos. However, the Enochic writings suggest that humanity's breach was secondary to that of the priesthood, who were ultimately responsible for evil repercussions within the human realm. These lasting diabolic effects were shown in 1 Enoch through the survival of immortal and demonic offspring who resulted from the conjoining of the heavenly and earthly spheres (1 En 15:8-10).

The evil spirits of the Book of Watchers may have been congruous with the ignoble priesthood who influenced others toward a practice of evil. Thus, a disruption within the universe would be maintained. I suggest that the angelology of 1 Enoch may not have been disparate from the Qumran literature concerning what God ordained for angels. Although the Enochic writer did not explicitly state that God ordained some Watchers to fall, he may have resolved to implicitly show that God foreordained this fall to fulfill His purposes for the universe. In other words, though 1 Enoch suggests that the Watchers who possibly represented the priesthood chose to disobey, they may have not had a choice in the matter since God predestined them to disobey. If the Qumran community understood the Enochic writings in this way, then the perspectives of 1 Enoch and the Qumranites would not be dissimilar. Nevertheless, early Judaism recognized no rebellious angels. Satan was depicted as member of the heavenly court together with other angels (Job 1:6-12; 2:1-7; Zec 3:1-2; 1 Chr 21:1). If the Enochic writings did intend to display an ethic of angelic free choice, this ethic may have been responsible for the development of the concept of the devil, who is equated with Belial in the Qumran literature (Sacchi 211-232). At any rate, both 1 Enoch and the Qumran writings remove the control of disruptive forces in the universe from humanity to the supernatural realm.

The Enochic writings seem to portray humanity as victims of the evil that resulted from the fallen Watchers crossing the boundary between the pure and the profane. This angelic impurity was directly responsible for weakening the resolve of humankind to the point where they were no longer able to resist evil and impurity. I have argued throughout this research that the myth of the fallen Watchers was likely intended to challenge the legitimacy of the Second Temple priesthood. If this assessment is true, then Hanson (1977: 199-200, 206) was correct to argue that this myth functioned within the Enochic literature as a harsh indictment against the temple cult in a highly charged apocalyptic eschatology. Moreover, it is becoming more recognized within modern scholarship that the earliest sections of 1 Enoch were influential to Second Temple Judaism. The apocalyptic ideals displayed within the Enochic literature may have been the basis for the ideology of a distinct Jewish party usually referred to as the Essenes (Boccaccini 1998: 12,13).

Like 1 Enoch, the Qumran sectarian literatures are concerned with ethical purity, which is maintained by remaining distinct from the world. This concern is also shown by this community's conviction that it already belonged to and was participating in the heavenly setting with the holy angels. Its members viewed themselves as the "sons of heaven" and belonging to the same good party as the holy angels (1QH 11:19-22; 14:13; 1QS 11:7-8; 1QM 7:6; 1QSa 2:8-9). In 4QFlorilegium, the Qumran community serves as the locus of sacral purity during the epoch between the destruction of Solomon's Temple and the erection of the eschatological temple, largely due to a belief that angels were present. These writings also denounce Belial and his angels and bless God and the angels of the celestial temple (4QTeharot; 4QBer). Finally, in 11QMelchizedek, Melchizedek is equated with an angelic being and is closely identified with Michael the archangel, who assists the children of light.

9.4.8.5 *Summary*

The Qumran sectarian writings display similarities with the angelology of 1 Enoch. Both literatures attest to a belief in an angelic hierarchy. Angels appear regularly with names and special roles. Most significantly, Enochic and Qumranic writings suggest a supernatural origin for evil and a conflict between these incongruous forces operating within the universe, though these elements are more pronounced in Qumran sectarian literatures. A major difference between these two philosophies is that the Qumran sectarians believed angels were created either evil or good, while 1 Enoch seems to suggest that angels have freewill.

It is possible 1 Enoch intended to implicitly suggest that God ordained some angels to fall, though supernatural agents are depicted as having free choice. Conversely, Qumran writings may not have been completely lacking a free will aspect. While the community at large was ordained for salvation, individuals had an ongoing choice of continuing to remain a part of this settlement, a choice necessary to achieving salvation in the universal sense that this literature envisioned. Still, these literatures distinguish between righteous and unrighteous angels. Both the Qumran and Enochic writings also attest to a belief in a degeneration of history as necessary for ushering in an imminent, eschatological age. These works suggest that in this new era humanity will enjoy communion with God and the angels. The Book of Watchers attributed the making of war instruments to Azazel, the chief of the fallen angels (1 En 8:1). Another evil angel named Gaderel taught humanity to fashion implements of war (1 En 69:6). Yet 1 Enoch 52:8, portrays an eschatological era without war. The sectarian manuscripts do not indicate that the Qumran community fashioned war instruments. Nevertheless, they may have had good reasons for their lack of interest in this matter. This elect community may not have wanted to be associated with activities ascribed to evil angels (Boccaccini 1998: 174). If so, then the Qumranites would have been aware that Enochic angelology intended to portray evil angels as responsible for conflict in the universe.

If Enochic authors used angelology to depict the priesthood, this depiction would show that faithful priests, for whom Enoch was the archetype, belonged with good angels. This idea of the faithful priesthood participating in heavenly communion is also evident in Qumran fragments. The idea of a wicked priest defiling the Jerusalem temple and profaning the Qumran community which sought to keep the law occurs in the Qumran literature (1QpHab xiii 1-9). This idea may have been derived from the earlier Enochic writings. Similar to 1 Enoch's expectations, several sectarian writings assume a new temple in an eschatological age. This future temple is described as "*the house prophesied by Nathan for the messianic age*" (4QFlor i 1-6a). Several passages from the Hodayot suggest that angels exist in a divine hierarchy similar to 1 Enoch (1QH i 9-11; vii 28,29-30; x 8,23-24; xiii 7-12). The only certain passage in the Qumran sectarian literature explicitly stating that angels communicate knowledge to men as in 1 Enoch occurs in 1QH xviii lines 23-2A: *[Thou hast created] the host of knowledge to declare [Thy] mighty deeds to flesh, and the right precepts to [humanity].*

Several sectarian passages allude to the punishment of fallen angels (CD ii 17-19; 1QH x 14-xi 2). The Damascus document suggests that the Watchers did not obey God's commands and describes the giant offspring of the Watchers as being tall like cedars, with bodies like mountains. This description shows some awareness of the fallen Watchers from 1 Enoch within the Qumran sectarian literature. The Qumranites felt that God created Belial for destruction (1QM xiii 11). This supernatural agent is never viewed as culpable for his evil actions. Nevertheless, Belial is portrayed as active in the present evil age. He was responsible for deceiving Israel regarding false laws involving marriage and temple purity (1QS iv 13). This idea is similar to 1 Enoch, where a superior evil angel leads others away from the intended laws of marriage and appropriate behavior within the priesthood (1 En 54:6; 69:1-9). Other than the Qumranic and Enochic passages which refer to supernatural evil agents, other ordinary angels are portrayed as good, given names, and assigned specific roles (1 En 20-36; 93:2; 108:5; 1QS iii 24; 1QM xviii 6; 1QH vi 13; 1QSb iv 25,26).

The notion of a superior leader among the angelic host occurs in several extra-biblical texts (1 En 6:3,7; Jub 10:8; TSim 2:7; TDan 5:6). In the Qumran sectarian writings, the "Prince of Light" functions as the chief archangel from the righteous realm (1QS iii 20; CD v 18; 1QM xiii 10). Conversely, Belial is the "Prince of the evil realm" (1QM xvii 5). The sectarian writings also evidence the Enochic concept that righteous humans can become priestly angelic ministers (1QH 2:14; xii 23; xv 24). Michael the archangel is explicitly mentioned in 1 Enoch and at least one of the sectarian writings (1 En 9:1; 10:11; 1QM xix). A possible implicit allusion to Michael occurs in another Qumran passage (1QM xix 13). The two chief evil angels of 1 Enoch 6-16, Semihazah and Asael, are not mentioned in the Qumran community's works. However, the archangels Gabriel, Saniel, and Raphael appear in 1 Enoch and in one sectarian literature (1 En 9:1; 20; 87-88; 1QM ix 16). The theme of a correspondence between the heavenly and earthly realms and the opposition of the forces of good and evil angels is prominent in some Qumranic literature (1QM xv-xix). This depiction is not unlike what is taking place in the Enochic writings (1 En 10:16; 84:6; 93:1-10). No direct mention of an ascent to heaven or a dream vision appears in the sectarian writings. Nevertheless, evidence of visionary aspects is apparent in the liturgy for weekly Sabbath sacrifices, in what is probably known as the blessing and curse ritual in the annual covenant renewal festival (Noll 1979: 189).

No *angelus interpres* occurs within the Qumran sectarian texts, in the sense that visions of the heavenly spheres are granted to a specific character such as Enoch. However, some literatures express awe and give thanks for the elect members of the Qumran community being given insight into heavenly mysteries which have been concealed from others (cf 1QS xi 5-7; 1QM x 10). These passages reflect an awareness that angels can reveal mysteries similar to 1 Enoch. Moreover, the Qumranites believed they were privy to knowledge of heavenly mysteries like the angels of 1 Enoch (1QH iii 23; xi 14; 1QM x 8-14). Unlike 1 Enoch, the sectarian scrolls do not explicitly mention the future fate of individual created beings. However, they do envision a time of healing, peace, life without end, and everlasting blessing for all who remain in the realm of the good (1QS iv 6-8).

Noll (1979: 201) argued that the dualism of the Qumran writings was opposed to 1 Enoch because, unlike the Enochic literature, the sectarian writings view evil in the universe as God ordained and outside the realm of free agency. Against Noll, I suggest that the Qumran idea of cosmic dualism between the forces of good and evil is not unlike the ontological ethic of purity within 1 Enoch. The Watchers were expected to uphold their heavenly distinction by remaining separate from the earthly realm. At the same time, by placing themselves on equal heavenly footing with the angels, the Qumranites participated in this heavenly community as individuals chose to remain within this distinct realm of the good. This idea is comparable to how angels functioned in 1 Enoch. In the earlier Enochic writings, Enoch represented a prime example of one elect earthly character who achieved angelic status. This example corresponds to the Qumran belief that community members, like Enoch, represented the elect upon the earth and participated with the lot of the good angels. This assumption is especially true if the writers of 1 Enoch intended to use angelology to represent an ongoing conflict between the faithful elect and the unfaithful, both within the earthly priests and other ordinary Jews.

I have pointed out that the older sections of 1 Enoch predate the formation of the Qumran settlement. Even if there are some differences between Enochic and Qumran literatures, I believe sufficient congruency exists to argue that the Qumranites incorporated Enochic concepts into their distinct ideology. I am also of the conviction that the apocalyptic ideals displayed in the Enochic writings probably had a profound influence on the angelology that developed within the Qumran settlement.

9.4.8.2 *Writings Attributed to Baruch*

9.4.8.2.1 *Introduction*

A number of works are accredited to Baruch, who purported to be a friend and secretary to Jeremiah the prophet. 1 Baruch was probably written in Hebrew but survived mainly in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. Both the Syriac and Greek Apocalypses of Baruch manifest an apocalyptic perspective. This literature appears to have two parts which were brought together sometime in the first century B.C.E. (Evans 1995:13). 2 Baruch or the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch represents a Jewish work preserved only in the Syriac version, which was rendered from the Greek. Only one small fragment of the Greek text is extant. 2 Baruch was probably originally translated from the Aramaic. Several scholars have noted a close literary relationship between the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch and the Apocalypse of Shealtiel or Second Esdras. Most scholars agree on many instances where one work directly uses the other (Russell 1964: 123). This similarity can be readily recognized from the circumstances and type of questioning familiar from 4 Esdras (Nickelsburg 1981a: 123). 3 Baruch, or the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, was composed in Greek between the first and third centuries. The original may have been a Jewish writing that had undergone a Christian redaction. It is also possible it was originally a Christian work heavily dependent upon Jewish traditions. 4 Baruch or Omissions of Jeremiah represents a final work ascribed to Baruch. It was composed in the first or second century C.E. probably in Hebrew (Evans 1995: 26-28,34). 4 Baruch contains some evidence of Christian interpolations (4 Bar 6:7,13,25; 8:12-9:32).

9.4.8.2.2 *Enochic Angelic Ideologies in Baruch*

Collins (1979: 28) studied eastern Mediterranean apocalyptic literatures dating from the mid-third century B.C.E. to the middle of the third century C.E. He discovered that all the apocalypses he examined involved revelation mediated by a supernatural figure. This same perspective occurs in 1 Enoch and can also be found in 3 Baruch 1:3. In 2 Baruch 1:1, the seer supposedly received his otherworldly visionary disclosures during the reign of Jehoiachin, king of Judah. 2 Baruch 29 and 39 provide a picture of an eschatological Messianic age, while 3 Baruch has no trace of eschatological exaggeration or messianic expectation (Rost 1976: 117).

In the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, as in 1 Enoch, God's creation is viewed as containing secrets and mysteries which elicit a response of fear. The seer of 3 Baruch is comforted by an angelic messenger, who reveals heavenly secrets. This supernatural agent transported Baruch through various levels of heaven and explained their characteristics. This example is similar to the stated purpose and intent of 1 Enoch 1:2: "*[This is] a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them everything [concerning the heavenly realm] and understood.*" Baruch's work is also similar to 1 Enoch in its unmistakable ethical and didactic undertone. It intends to encourage by displaying how the godless inevitably suffer while the righteous are finally vindicated. Thus, both 3 Baruch and 1 Enoch utilize the revelation of divine secrets in the heavens to exhort their readers to maintain moral standards (Rost 1976: 117). Though 3 Baruch does not directly use God's created order to criticize humanity, as in 1 Enoch, Baruch sees a correspondence between human faithfulness and nature. 3 Baruch views human sin as affecting God's order, since each day the sun's crown has to be renewed because of its defilement by the many sins taking place upon the earth (3 Bar 8:3-5 cf Himmelfarb 1993: 72)

In the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, the angelic guide is interested in what is to take place in an eschatological era. As in the Enochic corpus, the angel of Baruch is also concerned with judgment and the eventual separation of good from evil (2 Bar 72:2-6; 73 and 74 cf 1 En 1:3-9). In 2 Baruch, through the symbolism of waters, the angel portrays a picture of both evil and a good era of peace, good will, and fruitful labor: "*These, (the angel says at the end) are the last clear waters which followed the last black waters.*" Charles (1929: 114,116) amends the clear waters to "bright waters"(2 Bar 72:1) and the black waters to "bright lightening" (2 Bar 74:4). Nevertheless, for our purposes, the author of Baruch suggests that God will shake the whole creation to eradicate evil before ushering in the new age (2 Bar 32:1). This statement recalls 1 Enoch 1:2-9: "*And the earth shall be rent asunder, and all that is upon the earth shall perish*" (1 En 1:7). The Enochic tradition of ascribing names, ranks, and specific roles to the angels is continued in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. For example, in 2 Baruch 11 Michael is called the commander of the angels, receives men's prayers from other angels, and has the keys to enter the fifth level of heaven. Angels are also conceived as an army (2 Bar 51:11; 70:7). Another possible association between 1 Enoch and Baruch involves a class of angels depicted as "angels of destruction." These supernatural agents serve as God's executioners during the final judgment (1 En 53:3; 56:1; 61:1; 62:11; 63:1; 2 Bar 21:23).

In 1 Enoch 14:22-23, the priests of the heavenly temple are angels. The Greek word translated “draw near” in 1 Enoch is often used in the Hebrew Bible for priests serving in the sanctuary (Nickelsburg 1981b: 580-581). Levi, in condemning the future sins of his priestly descendants, claimed to have learned about them from the “writings of Enoch” (TLex 4). Enoch appears in 1 Enoch 1-5 as a scribe. God also addresses Enoch as a “scribe of righteousness” and instructs him to intercede for the angels (1 En 15:1-2). Thus, Enoch is given an exalted role beyond the earthly priesthood. 4 Baruch is concerned with the restoration of a new temple reminiscent of the heavenly one depicted in 1 Enoch. The writer suggests that the holy vessels survived the earthly temple’s destruction and will be used in the eschatological temple sanctuary.

9.4.8.2.3 Summary

The writings ascribed to Baruch show some evidence of Enochic influence. The Syriac and Greek Apocalypses of Baruch exhibit an apocalyptic perspective. As in 1 Enoch, these literatures deal with revelations mediated by an angel. 2 Baruch is concerned with eschatology, while 3 Baruch is not. However, like Enoch, 3 Baruch has an undercurrent of an ontological ethic of moral purity. The literatures of Baruch are also concerned with the Enochic theme of judgment and the final separation of the forces of good and evil. Finally, 4 Baruch envisions an eschatological age where both the righteous priesthood and the temple are restored in a manner recalling 1 Enoch 14.

9.4.8.3 The Sibylline Oracles

9.4.8.3.1 Brief Introduction

The oracles consist of fourteen books ranging in date from the second century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E. Their name is derived from an association with the legendary “Sibyls” of antiquity. Sibyls represented old women involved in prophesy (Evans 1995: 24). These writings contain Jewish, Christian, and pagan elements.

9.4.8.3.2 Content

Like 1 Enoch, (cf 1 En 9:1; 21:10), the Sibylline Oracles identify certain angels by personal names. The most frequent names are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel (SibOr 2:215). The Sibylline Oracles also attest to the Enochic idea of hostile or distinctly evil angels (1 En 54:6; 69:1-9). In Sibylline Oracles 3:63, the primary evil supernatural agent is known by the name Belial, as in the Dead Sea Scrolls sectarian literatures (cf 1QS 1:18, 23-24).

In Ethiopic Enoch, the various stars are assumed to be living entities and are depicted as angels (1 En 18:13-16; 21:1-6). Elsewhere, in 1 Enoch 91-105, the righteous are promised they will shine like stars in the company of the angels. Other post-Enochic literatures, such as 2 Baruch, also associate angelic fellowship with becoming a star (2 Bar 51:10). However, the writer of Baruch went beyond the Enochic notion by claiming that in the eschaton the righteous will be more exalted than even the angels (2 Bar 51:12). A later variation of the earlier Enochic idea suggested that certain angels ruled the stars (cf Jub 19). These previous conceptualizations regarding supernatural beings developed into a further elaboration about angels. In the later Enochic tradition, Jubilees, and the Sibylline Oracles, angels were now in charge of the various elements, including the wind, rain, snow, hail, frost, darkness, fire, etc. (Jub 2:2f; 1 En 60:11-23; 65:8; SibOr 7:33f). This categorization included angels of the seasons of the year, who appear with Semitic names (Roth 1972: 964).

9.4.8.4 *The Ascension of Isaiah*

9.4.8.4.1 *Introduction*

The Ascension of Isaiah consists of Isaiah's martyrdom (chs 1-5) and his ascent to heaven. Prior to his martyrdom, Isaiah had a vision of Christ's descent to earth and his subsequent ascent to heaven (chs 6-11). Some versions contain the ascent without the martyrdom, suggesting that the two sections may have separate origins. This writing probably originated in the Hebrew and dates to the second century B.C.E. (Evans 1995: 32). The Ascension of Isaiah is usually viewed as a Jewish work, but the ascent portion probably had Christian influence (Himmelfarb 1993: 55).

9.4.8.4.2 *Enochic Convictions in the Ascension of Isaiah*

The Enochic apocalypses are not the only literatures to suggest that the seer of the account enjoyed the status of an exalted angel who was accompanied by an angelic guide. Isaiah goes through a process of transformation into angelic status (AscenIs 7:25; 9:30-31). Isaiah's escort informs him that his angelic transformation is temporary and that he must wait until after his death to permanently become like the angels in the seventh heaven (AscenIs 8:15, 23-28). The Enochic notion of graduations among the angels is confirmed by the suggestion that the praise of some angels, which is directed toward God's throne, is superior to that of other angels (AscenIs 7:17).

The Ascension of Isaiah portrays the Enochic idea that the spirits of righteous humanity are transformed into angelic appearance and accompany the angels in praising God in the seventh heaven (AscenIs 9:7,9,37-38; 10-13, 30; 1 En 20-24). Like 1 Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah depicts God's heavenly realm as a temple with a throne (AscenIs 7:17). Himmelfarb (1993: 58) argued that the question of whether the earliest form of the ascent was composed by a Jew or Christian was not important. Rather, she claimed this ascent was deeply indebted to the early Jewish tradition of ascents. If Himmelfarb's assessment is correct, then the ascent depicted in this work probably reflects Enochic concepts, since the early sections of 1 Enoch predates it and there are similarities between 1 Enoch and the ascent portion of the Ascension of Isaiah. Even if this writing represents a later Christian work, it shows the persistence of Enochic angelic concepts into the Christian era.

9.4.8.5 *The Apocalypse of Zephaniah*

9.4.8.5.1 *Introduction*

The Apocalypse of Zephaniah was originally composed in Greek sometime between 100 B.C.E and 70 C.E. One reason for suggesting an early dating relates to the mention of only a single level of heaven. Written in the Akhmimic dialect, this literature survived in a single manuscript with several missing parts. Unlike other apocalyptic writings, the identity of the seer is obscure. Also, while the hero of this apocalypse is considered righteous, he is not free from sin (Himmelfarb 1993:52-53). Nevertheless, indications within this account possibly suggest that the writer was influenced by the early Enochic traditions of angelology.

9.4.8.5.2 *Possible Indications of Enochic Influence in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah*

As in Enochic writings, the seer is accompanied by an angelic guide. During a tour of heaven the visionary is shown a beautiful celestial city with characteristics resembling the temple. Another angel named Eremiel greets the augur. This angel instructs him that this city was not the place of God's throne but served as the entrance to the abyss or underworld (ApZph 2:1-4, 11-12; 1 En 14:5-6; 18:11-14; 21:6-10; 22:11-12). Therefore, the tradition of ascribing names to angels is continued in this apocalypse.

The hero of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah is transformed into an angel, as in 1 Enoch. He is then able to join other angels in praying to God (ApZeph 3:3-4). This writing depicts the donning of angelic garb in a way that suggests a priestly investiture. The emphasis on angelic liturgical language by the visionary and other angels in his company may show that the author was interested in depicting heaven as a temple, a backdrop also present in 1 Enoch 14:18-22. The tradition of Enoch and other seers becoming like the angels may intend to show that the early Enochic composers and subsequent apocalyptic literatures sought this kind of transformation (Freedman 1992: 253). The tradition of the righteous dead dwelling with angels in the heavenly realm, as illustrated in 1 Enoch 39, is also a concern for the Apocalypse of Zephaniah.

9.5 Conclusions About the Influence of 1 Enoch's Angelology on Second Temple Judaism

Early Hebrew literatures associated with Israelite religion attest to a belief in supernatural beings as superior to man but subordinate to Yahweh. Yet there was little elaboration about the exact nature and character of these agents (Kuhn 1948: 217). The Hebrew Bible is often obscure about whether the messenger of Yahweh is a human, an angel, a supernatural being who appeared in human form, or Yahweh's hypostasis. During the later Second Temple Period, the notion developed that to discover the mysteries concerning humankind's future, the intermediary of angels was necessary. This belief led to profuse exploration and speculation about the exact nature of the angelic world. Some of the Jewish literatures surveyed attest to another concept that seems to have been developing within later Judaism: the idea that select figures within Israel's past had the ability to transcend humanity by being transformed into angelic beings (Charlesworth 1980: 145).

The earliest writings of 1 Enoch were the first of the so-called apocalyptic literatures to display a definite shift in thinking regarding angels. Scholars have offered possible reasons for the advent of an embellishment of angelology during the time of the writings of 1 Enoch. I agree with Roth (1972: 961) that Hellenistic ideas deeply influenced the development of the concept of angels. Yet this aspect must not be overplayed, since most of the features of the developed angelology, which appears in 1 Enoch and subsequent Jewish literatures have clear antecedents in the biblical tradition of Israelite religion (Freedman 1992: 248). In any event, by the time of the writings of 1 Enoch, angelology was used in a more liberal and purposeful manner.

In this final chapter, I have attempted to show that Enochic angelology is reflected in Jewish literatures that followed 1 Enoch. My overall purpose is to establish that Second Temple Judaism was influenced by 1 Enoch. My premise is that one can discover what a culture believed about angels by examining various literatures of the period. Due to the confined nature of this research, I have only provided a brief survey of selected post-Enochic literatures. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that several post-Enochic Jewish literatures sufficiently attest to an awareness of Enochic concepts, especially regarding angelology, but also in maintaining separation from other nations (Satran 1980: 34). Thus, if other Jewish literatures subsequent to 1 Enoch reflect Enochic concepts, then post-Enochic Second Temple Jewish society must have reflected 1 Enoch's influence. The discovery of various Qumran fragments suggests that the earliest writings of 1 Enoch were widely known within the context of post-Enochic Judaism (Segal 1992: 304). The degree of Ethiopic Enoch's impact on Second Temple Jewish society can be discovered by examining the Qumran sectarian literatures, which are replete with Enochic ideas concerning angelology, suggesting that 1 Enoch's influence was profound throughout the Qumran community.

The issue of Enochic influence on Second Temple Jewish society is further substantiated by post-Enochic literatures explicitly indicating that they gleaned their ideas from the writings ascribed to Enoch. The writer of the Testament of Levi (3:47) indicates that his ideas derived from information "*contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.*" The Testament of Simeon also state, "*I have seen it inscribed in the writing of 1 Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication (sexual impurity) and shall do harm to the sons of Levi*" (TSim 2:13-16). This declaration suggests the writer understood that 1 Enoch wrote about sexual impropriety within the priesthood. The Testament of Rueben specifically alludes to the myth of the fallen Watchers (TReub 2:13-19), inferring that the writer was familiar with the Book of Watchers. The Testament of Naphtali not only alludes to the fall of the Watchers but also states, "*I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord*" (TReub 1:28). Thus, the writer of this Testament also indicates that 1 Enoch wrote about the myth of the Watchers to illustrate that some members of Second Temple Jewish society, including the priesthood, were involved in sexual sin.

The writings of Jesus ben Sirach allude to the mythical character of Enoch (Sir 44:16; 49:14). Sirach understood Enoch as representing a righteous person who was pleasing to the Lord. Even if these passages do not indicate that Sirach was incorporating Enochic folklore into his work, he does show an awareness of the Enochic writings. The writer of Sirach also felt that appealing to this tradition was noteworthy. Many scholars have suggested that Jubilees was dependent upon the earlier writings of Ethiopic Enoch. For example, Charles (1921:xvii) argued that certain sections of 1 Enoch are so similar to what can be found in the Book of Jubilees that it seems as if the author of Jubilees wrote them. The composer of Jubilees attributed the origins of writing, medicine, and other trades to the Enochic writings (McNamara 1983:118). Jubilees defends and employs many ideas found in 1 Enoch. Both Jubilees and 1 Enoch considered the 364-day year solar calendar as acceptable because God revealed and ordained it. Though they differ in some details, 1 Enoch and Jubilees elaborate the myth of the Watchers in much the same manner (VanderKam 1977: 26).

Other post-Enochic literatures attest to Enochic influence by employing similar terminology. Like the Enochic writings, Daniel 4:13,17,23 uses the term "Watcher." Daniel also suggests that an elite apocalyptic group will shine like the "stars" of heaven (Dn 12:3). This passage implies that the righteous will be transformed into angels, since in biblical tradition stars are identified with angels (cf Job 38:7; Segal 1992: 305). In the early Enochic tradition, stars are also equated with angels. In the Enochic corpus, failure to keep the supernatural and human realms distinct is tantamount to evil. Some post-Enochic Jewish writings similarly attest to an ontological ethical dualistic mode of thought. The Qumran writings are interested in a separation of the forces of good and evil. The belief in good angels and evil angels evident in 1 Enoch can be found in many subsequent Jewish literatures (cf 1QM 13:11; Tob 5:21; 6:17). Moreover, as in 1 Enoch, angels regularly appear in later Jewish literatures as independent beings distinguished by individual names and traits (Roth 1972: 961). Finally, the book of Heavenly Luminaries, the Astronomical Book, and the Book of Watchers represent the oldest extra-biblical Jewish works (Stone 1987: 160). These Enochic writings predate the extra-biblical Jewish literatures surveyed. We cannot be sure that the writings of 1 Enoch influenced Judaic patterns of thought. However, since the post-Enochic Jewish literatures show evidence of Enochic dependence, it is my conclusion that Enochic angelic concepts influenced post-Enochic Jewish society.

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The thesis writer was born on July 1, 1953 in Stratford Ontario, Canada. He attended several post-secondary institutions in his home country. At Emmanuel Bible College in Kitchener, Ontario, he obtained a Bachelor of Theology in 1985. The University of Waterloo also awarded him a Bachelor of Arts in 1987. While at Emmanuel Bible College, he met his wife Janice. Marriage took place at Emmanuel, on May 22, 1983. A daughter, Frankie-Lee was born on March 3, 1987. A son, Kyle Vincent, arrived on March 10, 1990. Another daughter, Sarah Joy was born in British Columbia, the writer's current province of residence, on December 26, 1997. The author has been involved with New Tribes Mission, and is currently in contact with World Team Missions, who have offered a teaching position in the country of Chile.

Upon arrival in British Columbia on September 15, 1990, the thesis writer sought God's leading for his life. The Lord directed him to Canadian Baptist Seminary where a Master of Theology degree was completed in 1996. He was then accepted to the Dead Sea Scrolls Institute, at Trinity Western University, in British Columbia. A Master of Biblical Studies was obtained in 1997. The faculty of the Dead Sea Scrolls Institute encouraged the writer to apply for postgraduate studies. Application was made to the University of South Africa. The department of Old Testament accepted the writer for doctoral work at the University of South Africa in 1998.

One possible future interest is to teach at the university level in the field of Old Testament. The writer also has a keen interest in writing about various biblical issues. It is in an attitude of humble faith and confidence in God's ability that this work has been completed. The thesis writer's mother passed away on March 2, 1999. She was a godly inspiration in every possible way. This work is dedicated to her memory. She was largely responsible for any of the writer's life accomplishments.