

The Popularity and Rejection of the Story of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6-11)

Stephen Mahn

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ABSTRACT

The Popularity and Rejection of the Story of the Watchers (*1Enoch* 6-11)

Stephen Mahn

The Story of the Watchers has been transmitted from antiquity until today among the writings of different religious groups. In this thesis I will investigate the theological, historical and social implications of the transmission of this story during the Second Temple Period. This encompasses investigating the different influences on the population of ancient Judea during these times, and the internal theological developments of the Jewish community. I will focus on the relationship between theological developments and communal identity that influenced the choices of texts that were copied, modified and incorporated into communal literature. Ultimately, I will investigate why the Story of the Watchers was widely circulated and known, yet not included in the Hebrew Bible.

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The Story of the Watchers

The Story of the Watchers (*1En* 6:2-3) synthesizes and embellishes stories in Genesis. Primarily we see an elaboration of Genesis 6:1-4. Certain angels, referred to as the Watchers, choose to disregard G-d's will and enter the physical world to procreate with women.¹ This results in offspring who are mighty, evil beings that plunge the world into evil and chaos. G-d decides to destroy the world, punish these angels, save the righteous and prepare the world for a new and better future life. The acquisition of hidden knowledge is mentioned only briefly in Genesis.² The Story of the Watchers brings the teaching of hidden knowledge as part of the Watchers' misdeeds on earth that caused evil and chaos. There are significant changes and additions to the material in Genesis that can lead to or reveal differing theological views from those apparent in Genesis.

The Story of the Watchers began to circulate in ancient Judea around the time of the return from Babylon.³ The story itself seems to derive from earlier sources,⁴ whether they are from Babylon, Persia, Greece, the Northern Galilee or elsewhere. The different components coalesced into one story. The resulting Story of the Watchers became popular enough to be transcribed by hand for centuries and perpetuated until today.

¹ In this first chapter of SW this is the only reason given for the Watchers desire to come to the world. In the following chapters, in addition to procreation the Watchers engage in teaching of forbidden knowledge. These two themes are often understood to derive from different sources that were blended. Later in this thesis we will discuss why only one of these themes is presented in the final redaction of the story as the motivation for the Watchers descent. (cf. Nickelsburg and Vanderkam, *1Enoch: A New Translation*, 2.)

² Adam was forbidden to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and bad. We can wonder if this refers to knowledge of good and knowledge of bad, or if knowledge is both good and bad. Latter in our comparisons with Genesis we will see that certain things that are taught by the Watchers are presented as novelties attributed to different people.

³ Alexander "The Enochic Literature." Collins *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 44. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, 61.

⁴ Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1Enoch 6-11" 385.

In spite of (or because of) its popularity, this ancient story was shunned by the dominant religious authorities.⁵ It was not included in the Hebrew Bible, or in any Christian canon except that of the Ethiopic Church.⁶ It was not included even among the varied tales of the Talmud, in spite of the story's wide circulation. Only centuries later, did the story become incorporated (with modifications) in later accepted writings, such as the Zohar.⁷

Similarly, even though during the last two centuries academia began to look at the Bible critically, apocalyptic literature, of which the Story of the Watchers is one of the oldest examples, was neglected. A number of biases caused this neglect. Extra-canonical literature and 'late Judaism' was considered inferior to the Bible and 'Biblical Judaism.'⁸ Collins explains Gunkel's teaching that this "material does not conform to the standards of consistency and coherence presupposed by Charles and Wellhausen but may well allow loose ends and even contradictions to stand in the work."⁹ In addition, the extreme imagery and certain messages of apocalyptic literature made people uncomfortable, and they could not take it seriously.¹⁰ The colorful and horrific mythical imagery did not fit their view of serious theology. The violent cataclysmic end of the world was not always a

⁵ Certain scholars, such as Hanson in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* and Boccaccini in a number of works such as *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* and *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, describe clear antagonistic camps in conflict with each other during the Second Temple period. Those who circulated SW and its related Enochic literature during the Second Temple period were not the dominant party.

⁶ Yet it is referred to clearly in Jude 6.

⁷ Zohar, Vol. 1, 37a, 58a, 126a, Vol. 3, 208a.

⁸ DiTommaso, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part 1)" 236.

⁹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 17.

¹⁰ Collins, in *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 1, 2, 14-20 explains at length how the language of the apocalypses defies the concepts generally employed in biblical criticism. DiTommaso in "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism. III Judaism. a. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism. b. Rabbinic and Medieval" points out that the 'bizarre images and primal urges' expressed in Apocalyptic language often 'overshadow the inherent rationality of the ideology.', 17.

popular theme, either. This, of course, raises questions about the place of Daniel in the Hebrew Bible¹¹ and Revelation in the New Testament.

However, over time and with the discovery of the Ethiopic Church's canonical literature, and later with the Qumran discoveries, the focus on apocalypticism increased. In the Ethiopic canon we have an entire Book of Enoch. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, there are preserved fragmentary manuscript copies of most of the same booklets included in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.¹² Our story, the Story of the Watchers, appears towards the beginning of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. It is the core of the *Book of the Watchers* (chaps. 1-36). Multiple copies of our story survived in manuscript fragments at Qumran.¹³

Over the last few decades, the study of apocalypticism has found a renewed popular interest in academia. The Story of the Watchers began receiving special attention as the oldest example of this genre. It is now generally accepted that apocalypticism played a significant role in the years leading up to, and after, the destruction of the Second Temple. It is also generally understood that apocalypticism played a significant role in the development of Christianity. These are some of the reasons for the current heightened interest in this genre and worldview.

¹¹ The Book of Daniel will be dealt with at length later in this thesis.

¹² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: Commentary*, Table 2 pg 21. Nickelsburg identifies 108 chapters as the 'Ethiopic archetype.' Approximately 40 of them are missing at Qumran. The bulk of these being the Book of Parables (chaps. 37-71) which seems to be a later addition.

¹³ Eleven Aramaic fragments were found in Cave 4 containing parts of *Book of Watchers*, *Book of Dreams*, *Epistle of Enoch*, *1 Enoch* 86, *Astronomical Book* and three Greek fragments were found in Cave 7 containing parts of *1 Enoch* 103.

The Question

Today it is accepted that the final redaction of the Book of Genesis predates the Story of the Watchers as we have it.¹⁴ If this is so, why was the Story of the Watchers originally composed? Why was the material in Genesis not sufficient?

Many books were written in ancient Judea. Many books are alluded to in the Bible that we do not have.¹⁵ We must try to understand why this story continued to circulate so widely, and persistently, while others have been lost. In the Qumran community it was extremely popular. There were fragments from more copies of the different booklets of Enoch discovered there than any other books besides Psalms and Deuteronomy. It seems that the Qumran community found particular interest in the apocalyptic message found in portions of the Enoch books.

In light of the evidence that the Story of the Watchers was popular for a long period of time, we must try to understand why it was ultimately abandoned by the groups that emerged dominant from the period. For example, the Talmud refers to the story directly,¹⁶ yet does not tell the story anywhere. Similarly, the story is clearly referred to in the New Testament book of Jude (v.6), yet the full story is not told anywhere. We can bring the question chronologically backwards. It began to circulate before the Biblical canon was set, before all the books of the Bible were in their final composition. Why was it not included anywhere in the Biblical canon?¹⁷

¹⁴ Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible", 65.

¹⁵ Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture*, 17-18.

¹⁶ b. Yoma 20a, 67b.

¹⁷ The troublesome term 'canon' will be addressed in various parts of this thesis.

Direction of Inquiry

The first thing I will do is investigate theological issues in the Story of the Watchers itself. In order to put the story in a context its messages must be understood. The first step in contextualizing the story will be to compare it to the section of Genesis that it is most similar to. Since the Story of the Watchers builds on the Genesis story, the conceptual changes in the new story should define its purpose and significance. I will examine why an apocalypse was employed to address the feelings or emotional, theological, and social struggles of the writers. Apparently, none of the forms of ancient Jewish literature that deal with the theological issues addressed in the Stories of the Watchers was sufficient. This leads to the question of the exclusion of the Story of the Watchers from the Hebrew Bible. I will compare it with other works included in the Hebrew Bible in order to reveal theological issues that may help answer my question.

After obtaining a view into the theological ideas of the texts, we will look at the people and their environment. In order to understand the context of the Story we need to understand the social and geo-political influences of the times. I will examine the history of the periods under discussion and the reactions of various segments of Jewish society to the changes that occurred during these periods. This should add to the understanding of why some people held on to this story and others did not.

When we finish we should have a possible understanding of why the Jewish community that accepted the Hebrew Bible did not accept the Story of the Watchers.

Theodicy and Genesis

The core issue addressed in the Story of the Watchers is theodicy – the attempt to reconcile evil and suffering with the existence of an omnipotent, benevolent G-d.

The natural place in the Bible to start an inquiry related to the Story of the Watchers is chapter six of Genesis because of the similarities between the two texts. As we have mentioned, these similarities make it almost certain that our text of the Story of the Watchers relies on Genesis. In the Story of the Watchers (*1En* 6:3), angels come to earth to procreate with women. In Genesis the undefined *bnei elohim* come to earth and take women. (*Gen* 6:2) In the Story of the Watchers hidden knowledge is taught to man. (*1En* 8:1) In Genesis hidden knowledge is discovered (*Gen* 4:21-22). In the Story of the Watchers, the world becomes corrupted (*1En* 9:1). In Genesis the world becomes corrupted (*Gen* 6:11). In The Story of the Watchers G-d declares that He will destroy the world with a flood and save Noah. (*1En* 10:2) In Genesis G-d declares He will destroy the world with a flood and save Noah (*Gen* 6:7). These two accounts are obviously closely related. However, by examining the differences we will gain an insight into possibly irreconcilable theological perspectives.

In the Story of the Watchers, the Watchers are at fault for evil. They interfered with the divinely ordered world and wrecked havoc. In Genesis, man is at fault. Even if *bnei elohim* is read as angels, the other components are focused on man. G-d complains of the evil in man's heart (*Gen* 6:5), and the length of man's dwelling on earth (*Gen* 6:3). Conversely, the role of angels is dominant in the Story of the Watchers and possibly non-existent in Genesis.

This raises theological issues. We must place the blame for the world's evil somewhere.¹⁸ Either man is a 'defective' creation that is powerful enough to destroy the order of creation, or a superhuman, angelic force is the guilty party. In either case, we need to explain the tragedy of G-d's inaction while evil reigns. Furthermore, if the flood destroyed the doers of evil, we need to understand evil after the flood.

In the Story of the Watchers we find a different perspective than in Genesis on many of these issues. For example, the angels in The Story of the Watchers provide a layer of separation between G-d and the world that we do not find in Genesis. The angels act 'behind G-d's back.' Only, when the 'good' angels bring the cries of a suffering humanity to Him, does He act. G-d is presented at a distance from the evil transpiring on earth. Theological issues such as this one may lie at the heart of what places the Story of the Watchers in a different camp than Genesis.

Later Books of the Bible

In later books of the Hebrew Bible, these theological issues are not always addressed in the same way as the episodes we have explored in Genesis. Theodicy, angels, and revelation are dealt with in apparently contradictory ways. Is the Story of the Watchers so different from the later books of the Bible? Angels play a greater role in the Prophets and certainly in Daniel. G-d can be found seeking retribution against evil people and nations and mythological creatures. A period of continued evil is spoken about that will come to an end in a final appearance of G-d's glory and wrath. If we think of Ecclesiastes and Job, we see discussions of the futility of man's efforts and of

¹⁸ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, 54, 57, 60-61.

superhuman sources of evil. These later books seem to have adopted apocalyptic attitudes. Is there a new understanding of a spiritual in-between world that absolves G-d, to a certain degree, of negligence for allowing the world to experience evil and suffering?

We need to determine if the message and imagery of the Story of the Watchers is irreconcilable from those of the Prophets and Writings. Some scholars search for different underlying attitudes, such as an apocalyptic total despair of human action and this world, contrasted to a Biblical hold out of hope for humanity and the world. Other scholars feel there is more of a social issue separating the proponents of the Story of the Watchers from other groups.

It is clear that theological positions in the Hebrew Bible are not presented in a clear orderly 'rational' fashion as in a geometrical proof. My task is to determine where the Story of the Watchers falls among the varied Biblical positions and why it was excluded, while other texts were included.

Historical Issues

There are different opinions as to exactly when this story became popular. Some scholars feel that it was not until the early Hellenistic period.¹⁹ Others feel it was already circulating during the Babylonian/Persian periods.²⁰ There is a question as to what, or whether, the geopolitical situation was the motivational source of this story and of apocalypticism in general.

¹⁹ Cf. Collins "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism" 137 in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism vol. 1*.

²⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*. Milik is generally taken to task for proposing early dates for parts of the Enoch material. Among his ideas, he raises the idea that the Genesis texts may be a summary of SW (30-32), as opposed to the general consensus that SW rewrites portions of Genesis.

With the return from Babylon it is understood that there was a social struggle between different groups. The role of the Priesthood was an issue. The social structure of those that returned in relation to the Jews that never left was an issue. And of course, the relation to groups like the Samaritans and the ruling empires was a significant social issue. Some of these social issues are often understood to be the motivation for apocalyptic writings. Hanson, for example, discusses conflicts regarding control of the Temple and the vision of a restored Israel as a cause for the development of apocalyptic literature.²¹

Others feel that there was a theological development that may have developed on its own. They feel that an apocalyptic worldview began to spread and take root in a significant body of the population - a new theological perspective was coming of its own.²²

Recent scholars feel that the encroachment of Hellenism, whose effects were felt even before the Greek conquest, was the major reason for the development of apocalypticism.²³ The MT Book of Daniel is a clear example of an apocalyptic response to Hellenistic domination. This book took a tradition of a Daniel figure and Daniel stories and developed them into an apocalypse, MT Book of Daniel. We will see later how this apocalypse addressed the reality of Hellenistic conflict. There is a question as to whether earlier apocalypses were also composed in response to Hellenism, or whether they were in response to other conflicts, leaving a course of theological development that would be reapplied to future conflicts.

²¹ Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*.

²² Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement*.

²³ Collins, *Encounters with Biblical Theology*, 160; *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture*, 42.

Groups and Sects

We mentioned a question of different groups. There is no question that from the times of Korach there have frequently been different camps, to the point of the rendering the nation asunder. Our sources mention different groups until the time of the destruction of the Second Temple.²⁴ Academic inquiries have tried to trace these different groups historically, attempting to ascertain if the groups described in one source are the same, or a continuation of other groups. This may shed light on the development of theological attitudes and beliefs, which may be reflected in, or caused by, the literature we are studying.

As we mentioned, the Story of the Watchers became a significant part of a growing body of Enochic literature. A book of Enoch developed as different parts were added. As this book and Enochic literature circulated, different components of the Book of Enoch became associated with Enochic literature as a whole. Since the Story of the Watchers is a core part of what became a Book of Enoch, it reasons that it became associated with the group that perpetuated Enochic and apocalyptic literature. There are theories about some of the groups that gave Enochic literature a central place in their scriptures. Boccaccini in his works *Beyond the Essenes Hypothesis* and *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* portrays neat lines of variant 'Judaisms', one Enochic and one not. These two 'Judaisms' differed on fundamental theological issues. If there was such a discernable divide, this would be a significant reason why the Story of the Watchers was not accepted by the competing group.

²⁴ Josephus is probably the most well know source with his description of Pharisees, Essenes and Sadducees. The Qumran sectarians left documents describing themselves. The books of the Maccabees mention the Pious, 'Hassidim,' and Hellenizers. Other biblical books mention groups such as Samaritans, Tobiards, scribes, prophets, priests, the wealthy, 'people of the land,' etc.

Canonical Issues

When we want to compare the Story of the Watchers to the books of the Hebrew Bible, we must first discuss what this comparison means. There is a lively debate about what the Bible or canon meant during the Second Temple period, or if it meant anything at all.²⁵ There are basically two attitudes: there was no canon, rather an undefined group of documents held as divinely inspired, which can be added to; there was a canon to one degree or other at least partially closed. I find Vanderkam's term 'core canon'²⁶ useful when referring to the Pentateuch and Prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Most scholars agree that there was close to consensus on the authority of these books by the mid-Second Temple period, if not on their precise texts. The Writings, or 'other writings', are generally held not to have been closed until later in this period.²⁷ This adds significant relevance to the comparison of *1 Enoch* to selections from Writings.²⁸ If both were in the hazy area of 'widely accepted' yet not quite canonical, there really is a question as to why one would eventually be accepted and not the other.

The question of why the Story of the Watchers was written and circulated can be seen as a reflection on the books of the core canon and writings that eventually became the Writings. Since parts of Daniel, and other texts that became parts of the Writings, are generally accepted to have been redacted later than parts of *1 Enoch*, the issue of the final

²⁵ VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. In his introduction VanderKam discusses different views. (It is perplexing why he does not discuss Schiffman's views in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, which was published five years earlier.) Leiman brings different views in *The Canonization of Hebrew Literature*. Ulrich brings other perspectives in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*.

²⁶ VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon*, 23.

²⁷ The idea of Rabbis creating a canon at Yavne is generally not accepted any more. (VanderKam *From Revelation to Canon*, 17). The references in footnote 25 relate to this question.

²⁸ I choose to include Daniel in Writings due to chronological considerations. Most scholars agree it began to circulate after the books of the Prophets were well known. So, I include it with other works of the same period vying for acceptance.

canon cannot be addressed solely from a chronological perspective, *i.e.* by saying that the Story of the Watchers came along too late.

There is a current academic dispute as to which Jewish literary stream is the primary source of the apocalypses: Prophetic or Sapiential.²⁹ We need to compare and contrast texts from these different groups to understand what they have in common and where they differ. A significant implication of this research is whether the existence of different 'camps' among the Jews at this time, apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic can be discerned.

It is clear that the apocalyptic outlook and style of writing was, or became different from the outlook and style of writing of the core canon. However, there is not always a sharp difference between the two. There are issues such as 'the end of time' that appear in both. Angels are mentioned in both. Mythical episodes are mentioned in both, episodes where supernatural imagery is employed.³⁰ Scholars have been working to define the parameters of what constitutes a *bona fide* apocalypse, and what precisely constitutes the apocalyptic worldview.³¹

Then we have to return to our story. Where does the Story of the Watchers fall in this divide? It is the earliest apocalypse that we have. A much later work, considered an apocalypse, the Book of Daniel, is included in the Hebrew Bible. There must be a reason why an apocalyptic work such as Daniel is included, yet a well known apocalyptic work, the Story of the Watchers is not included. In addition to theologically isolated concepts,

²⁹ VanderKam in *From Revelation to Canon*, 244-48, summarizes the topic.

³⁰ In addition to the use of supernatural imagery, there is the issue of understanding this imagery as metaphor or understanding it literally.

³¹ DiTommaso's encyclopedia entry, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism III Judaism" draws together the previous scholarship on the topic and presents a coherent description of the apocalyptic worldview.

the geo-political environment of those that gathered the texts of the Hebrew Bible and the society that accepted it certainly play a role.

Theological Perspectives of the Story of the Watchers

The Story of the Watchers reveals a number of theological positions. All people strive to come to terms with the world around them and to make sense out of their lives. The Story of the Watchers attempts to come to terms with the existence of evil in the world. How can G-d's creation be so bad? We can struggle to determine whether evil derives from humanity or from a superhuman source, an angelic imposition with which we have to suffer until salvation is sent from the Most High. The Story of the Watchers portrays the later.³¹ Apparently those who circulated this story felt the world's evil was too great to be of human origin.³²

Etiology of Evil

Scholars distinguish between various threads of stories that were woven together to form the final version of the Story of the Watchers.³³ One of these threads implies that the angels and their progeny from human women are the ones who brought evil to the world. The other thread implies that an angel taught forbidden knowledge, and the people are the ones who committed evil in the world.³⁴ In either case, the ultimate blame is put on the angel(s), which is what is significant. In addition, if we look at a mythic symbolic

³¹ Boccacini, in *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 90, portrays this concept of an angelic spread of evil as the catalyst for a stream of Judaism that he calls 'Enochic Judaism.' This Judaism continued in opposition to other streams of Judaism.

³² Scholars often see Persian influence in acknowledging supernatural sources of good and evil. Sometimes it is understood as a development of the Warrior Myth – G-d fighting and imposing order on chaos.

³³ Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11" 385.

³⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A New Translation*, see chapter 8 and particularly note *i* on pg 25. "... It reflects a form of the myth in which the angelic revelations are primary and led to the seduction of the holy ones. Cf. 10:8"

level that tries to reflect the audience's experience on earth, the cause of evil is cast on an outside force, whether or not locals, insiders, learned from them and joined them.³⁵

Even though the Story of the Watchers blames the angels for humanity's woes, this may not be the entire story. The compilers of the story must have recognized various degrees of evil. It is not reasonable to assume that they felt there was no evil at all in the world before the episode of the angels corrupting the earth. Just as many societies distinguish between the evils of burglary and mass murder, similarly most of the communities that circulated the Story of the Watchers must have understood different degrees of evil. However, this may reinforce their insistence on angelic interference. They must have perceived such an outrageous injustice that they declared it to be of an otherworldly origin. They attained an "awareness that the world and history suffer the consequences of angelic sin. Evil becomes a force that acts in the world, and has a power beyond that of humans..."³⁶ The fact that the Story of the Watchers remained popular for centuries implies that even in times that may not have been outrageously evil,³⁷ people perceived a tremendous evil. It is true that human perception can magnify or minimize the evil one is experiencing. However, it is hard to argue, for example, that the time after Ezra was as bad as the time of the suppression of the Bar Kokhva rebellion, yet the origins of our story stretch towards, or beyond the time of Ezra. Dimant emphasizes that the legend of Asael connects evil to 'very human occupations.' In all times, humanity can be seen suffering from super-human evil temptations.³⁸ Collins says that the story serves

³⁵ In the second chapter of this thesis we discuss social situations that may be reflected in SW.

³⁶ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 95.

³⁷ It is true that a person completely absorbed in spiritual or other concerns may argue that good times are bad, but that is not an idea that will be easily accepted by the general population. I will expand on this idea in Chapter 2.

³⁸ Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11: A Methodological Perspective" 330.

many purposes in reaction to problems of change and culture shock.³⁹ The ability to see this story being applicable to many settings gives it an enduring meaning.

Angels

The Story of the Watchers employs angels as a major theological element. We must examine what theological identity these angels have and what role they play. The problem of the Watchers began with a lust, they “saw them and desired them” (1En 6:2), “Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget children for ourselves.” (6:3) The desire of the angels is significant. It establishes that angels have feelings and drives that are independent of G-d. Apparently, their desire was to have children.

On its own accord, the desire for children does not seem to be a negative thing. Part of the blessing to the righteous after the destruction and renewal of the world is “and they will live until they beget thousands.” (10:17) However, we are told that the angels came unto women and were defiled. (7:1)⁴⁰ Thus, we learn that angels are able to take a physical form and that having sexual relations with women defiles them. Furthermore, the results of such unions are evil giants that wreck havoc on all of creation, from the earth and animals to humanity. Therefore, this angelic desire to sire children is cast in an extremely negative light by its results. This reinforces the idea that the wrongdoing involved higher-beings, angels, coming to be with women and having children.⁴¹ This is

³⁹ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 50-51.

⁴⁰ Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 9.

⁴¹ Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven”, 198.

generally considered a case of crossing G-d's created boundaries that results in chaos.⁴²

For human men there is nothing wrong with this type of union. In Genesis we see that the *bnei elohim* saw women and had sexual relations with them, however the term defilement is not used.

This Story of the Watchers portrays the etiology of evil in a manner that causes a theological problem. We are given what can be a disturbing view of G-d's lack of direct control over the happenings in the world. It casts angels into a powerful independent role. Angels are able to have independent volition. They can interfere and create anarchy in the world. Even though the blame for the presence of evil is set squarely on the angels' misdeeds (10:9), from a monotheistic worldview we must ask 'where is G-d in all this?' This implies "an incipient dualism. The sinful angels involved in Gen 6:1-4 are in fact now cast in a role that is antagonistic to the purposes of G-d."⁴³ We must wonder how well the Jewish religion tolerated the concept of spiritual / angelic activity contrary to, or in direct rebellion against G-d during the period that our story circulated. It is established that people can choose to do wrong, but can angels? And if they can, how does this affect the understanding of monotheism?

Forbidden Knowledge

One of the great sins of the angels is the teaching of hidden or forbidden knowledge. The use of this knowledge caused godlessness that caused man to perish and cry out to heaven. This is again a case of anarchy resulting from the borders of creation

⁴² Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History*, 76. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven" 215. Hanson discusses a general ancient concern with human population explosions, and "Any unauthorized procreative activity was an unmistakable, blatant act of rebellion against the assembly of gods."

⁴³ McCullough, *The History and Literature of the Palestinian Jews from Cyrus to Herod*, 102.

being breached. It is interesting to note that much of the revealed knowledge relates to sex and violence. The challenge of these two phenomena is continuously prominent in society.⁴⁴ Sex and violence have preoccupied humanity forever. Are a woman's makeup and jewelry evil? How do we come to terms with the apparently supernatural power of women to affect men? Music, literature and art have tried to express and describe this phenomenon forever. It seems to be a mystery. In today's Western 'scientific' society there are attempts to measure and analyze what causes this phenomenon.⁴⁵ The Story of the Watchers is clear. This is a power from beyond. This power was not supposed to be here. Does this imply that makeup and jewelry should be rejected? It seems to, but does not state so explicitly.⁴⁶ *1 Enoch* 8 follows the description of the teaching of jewelry and makeup with "there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray and became corrupt in all their ways." That leaves little question. But there is no instruction to cease to using these things.⁴⁷

In the case of hidden knowledge too, the ultimate blame is placed on the angels, not humanity. Rather, humanity is the victim of this angelic corruption. The people that joined the angels are guilty and will be destroyed with them. However, they are presented as followers, not leaders. This knowledge, these technological and fashionable

⁴⁴ Isaiah 3. Note the calamities ascribed to women, without mention of corrupting angels.(see discussions about this later on in our sections on Isaiah and Ecclesiastes)

⁴⁵ Cf. a recent news article attempting to calculate the ratio between a woman's hips and waist that would maximally arouse men. 25/08/2007 The British Telegraph quoting Cambridge mathematicians. (telegraph.co.uk)

⁴⁶ In his treatise, *On the Veiling of Virgins*, chapter 7, Tertullian refers to the Story of the Watchers to argue the importance of women wearing veils. Certain texts, such as *Testament of Reuben* 5 (sometimes presented as 2:17-18), do admonish women from adorning themselves referring back to the seduction of the Watchers. Unfortunately, due to the extensive revisions of this text we cannot be sure at which point in time this section of the Testament was composed or last edited.

⁴⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: commentary*, 196 says there is no polemic against sexual activity besides the seduction of the Watchers themselves. However, Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 19, 21 seems to disagree. VanderKam, *Enoch: A man for all Generations* clearly disagrees "Asel taught humans, and through what he taught they made the entire earth corrupt: 'there was great impiety and much fornication, and they went astray, and all their ways became corrupt'(8:2).

innovations are described as 'all sins.' (9:8) From the beginning of time until today, humanity has struggled to come to terms with technological advances. We can see similar questions regarding metallurgy, nuclear power and genetic engineering. The one question with which a society struggles is whether these advances are naturally intended for earth and within the human realm, or whether they were not intended for earth and are beyond the human realm. For example, let us look at the ancient technological leap in the development of the use of metal. On the one hand, it enables more efficient farming and construction; on the other, it enables more efficient murder and killing. Is this great power human, or from the other side? Should we deal with it, or not?

Increased knowledge leads to a discussion of maturity, coming-of-age. When we are children, we are naïve. We do not understand many things, both positive and negative. As we grow up, we learn about new things and have to come to terms with them. Sometimes idealism and extremism are seen as a refusal to come to terms with reality. Returning to our example of metal, if metal can cause such evil, we may react by attempting to eliminate it altogether. In any case, one is driven to contemplate the awesome source of such powerful things. The Story of the Watchers portrays powerful knowledge as divine and not intended for humanity. The Watchers were not supposed to interfere with the earth - but they did. One of the results was the revelation of illicit knowledge.

We should ask a question. In the beginning of the story, the Watchers lust after women even before they are taught the hidden knowledge of makeup and jewelry.⁴⁸ What

⁴⁸ Nickelsburg, "Apocalypse and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11", 398, claims that by separating the two source stories that were blended it should read that the women were first taught these secrets, and then they seduced the angels. However, I choose to look at SW in its final composition as it was popularly circulated and the messages it communicates in this form. Collins, in "Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch"

does this imply? I think this relates to our core question about the source of evil. There is a potential for limited actual evil in the natural world. I disagree with scholars who feel that those who circulated the Story of the Watchers understood the world to be entirely devoid of evil before this episode.⁴⁹ However, the tremendous evil that the world experiences can be understood as being beyond what could be perceived as a level of evil deriving from the human soul. Yes, men lusted after woman before, but after women employed the hidden knowledge, this evil grew beyond its natural parameters.⁵⁰ The same can be said of violence after the teaching of metallurgy.

Frequently, scholars look at the hidden knowledge and its powers as portraying in mythical terms a 'culture shock' resulting from radical cultural changes.⁵¹ In attempting to find a setting for the original composition of the story different situations of cultural change are examined, primarily the changes caused by the spread of Hellenism.⁵² It is certain that these extreme challenges played a significant role in the popularity of the Story of the Watchers. I suggest that all individuals experience a type of 'cultural change' as they mature, and that this may be a reason for a popular identification with the themes of struggle in the story even after a given historical situation has passed. Collins describes apocalyptic literature as having 'the tendency to explain the human situation in mythic

challenges whether SW, *1 Enoch* 6-11, can be viewed separately from the entire *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1-36) as he states that there is no evidence that they circulated separately. All the more so regarding these two sources.

⁴⁹ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 51, "The time of the antediluvian patriarchs was therefore free of evil."

⁵⁰ Loader, *Enoch, Levi, Jubilees and Sexuality*, 18, discusses whether these teachings created the seductive powers or 'enhanced' the already present seductiveness of women.

⁵¹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 51.

⁵² Hellenistic influence did not begin with the Greek conquest. By the time of the return there was an increasing spread of Hellenistic influences through increased trade. This can lead to confusion since there was not exclusively Persian influence for a period, then exclusively Hellenistic.

terms.⁵³ I think we can see that in the Story of the Watchers. This does not negate the ability to see allusions to greater historical phenomena.

Theodicy

The good angels of the story tell us that G-d is omniscient and almighty. "For you have made all things and have authority over all. And all things are manifest and uncovered before you, and you see all things, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you." (9:5) However, we see that angels need to intercede for humanity. Why is G-d not being more proactive? The good angels actually ask this question, "... You see these things and permit them and you do not tell us what we ought to do..." (9:11) The need for angelic mediation removes G-d from constant direct interaction with creation. This relates to the dissonance between an almighty G-d and a world apparently left to anarchy. This clearly addresses the issue of theodicy - reconciling evil and suffering with a good, omnipotent G-d.⁵⁴ "One of the basic difficulties with any system that posits G-d as absolute and good is that it must explain the existence of evil."⁵⁵ The Story of the Watchers teaches us that evil can flourish while G-d is not aroused to act. The existence of evil is portrayed as a result of G-d's distance from the affairs of earth. In order to remedy the evil, G-d must be called to come near and deal with the world.

At the end of *1 Enoch* 8 the cry of the men killed by the children of the Watchers reaches heaven. The angels Michael, Uriel, Raphael and Gabriel see the problems on earth and the souls of those murdered cry to them to plead with G-d. The angels then plead with G-d and conclude the chapter saying, 'You know all things before they

⁵³ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 52.

⁵⁴ Nickelsburg, "Apocalypse and Myth in *1 Enoch* 6-11" 387.

⁵⁵ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 149.

happen, and you see these things and you permit them, and you do not tell us what we ought to do to them with regard to these things.' (9:11) This statement of doctrine, 'You know all things before they happen' must have been the coin of the times, as it seems to be taken for granted.⁵⁶ The dissonant phrase is 'You see these things and suffer them.' It is disturbing that while G-d is absolutely omnipotent, the angels must plead with G-d to act, and then request instruction about how they should act as G-d's emissaries to rectify the situation.

The consolation is that G-d is in control, and eventually will rectify the situation. This still leaves the question as to why G-d must wait. The Story of the Watchers seems to answer this too, by saying the period of waiting is a punishment for the Watchers, so that they should see their progeny killing each other. (10:12) Of course, the people suffering during this period may be willing to spare the Watchers that part of their punishment in order that they can forgo their suffering in the meanwhile.

There are different ways to deal with theodicy. This is one of them. If there is only one good G-d, and we accept the idea of superhuman evil, we need to acknowledge a superhuman source other than G-d. That can be a problem. If G-d is good, and all is from Him, we have to find a way for this other entity to function. Sacchi expresses it as "The conviction that evil derives from a contamination of the natural and human sphere through the action of beings belonging to the 'in-between' world."⁵⁷ In G-d's creation there is room for choice and sin. The Story of the Watchers extends choice and sin to an intermediate world. This allows for a superhuman force that is not another G-d. The same way people have free choice, similarly these angels had free choice, and chose evil. Since

⁵⁶ Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 200, "Typical of the theology of the period is the stress upon the Most High's foreknowledge."

⁵⁷ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalypse and History*, 60.

they are superhuman, and chose to act in the world, we have a superhuman evil in the world - an evil that does not have to be blamed on G-d. As Boccaccini writes, "the purpose of the myth of the fallen angels was to absolve the merciful G-d from being responsible for a world that the Enochians deemed evil and corrupted."⁵⁸ However, since G-d is good, omniscient and almighty, the situation must be rectified. The Story of the Watchers assures us that salvation is on the way. The mystery of theodicy is dispelled.

Evil could not be rationally explained in a monotheistic setting without the revelation of what transpired in the heavens. Now that the secrets are revealed, we can anticipate our salvation.

Salvation/ New Age

Salvation is the natural conclusion to where the Story of the Watchers is going. The audience needs to be assured of who is saved and when they will be saved. They also want to know how they are saved. This leads to a struggle with time and space. In the tangible here and now, things are evil. However, there is an intangible here and now: a here that is not here, and a now that is not now. The Story of the Watchers recognizes an 'immortal element', a soul of sorts, that is "destined (if just) to live an eternally blessed life with G-d."⁵⁹ This is an early Jewish source acknowledging a soul that can be separate from the body. This holds implications for the development and expression of Jewish thought and for dating the story.

⁵⁸ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essenes Hypothesis*, 135.

⁵⁹ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalypse and its History*, 60-61, Sacchi dissects SW into layers. He suggests on page 61 that BW1-base "does not know about the immortality of the soul," while on page 60 "there exists in human beings an immortal element destined (if just) to live an eternally blessed life with G-d. This element is present in BW1, but not its basis." also see page 96 quoting *1 Enoch* 9 speaking about "the disincarnate souls of the dead." He reiterates there that he feels this concept is a later insertion into an older kernel.

The result of accepting an 'in-between' spiritual reality and an immortal soul is that salvation, reward and punishment can intermingle with the spiritual planes of existence. If evil derives from a superhuman source, the salvation must also come from a superhuman source. If this world is contaminated by angels, souls can hide in another dimension while this world is purified. Deviant angels can also be imprisoned and punished in the 'in-between' world. This adds a level of flexibility in struggling with evil in a world controlled by one G-d. There must be more to creation than the evil running rampant that we see; and there is, in another plane of existence. There is a vindication of the righteous and punishment for the evildoers. The day will come when the results will also be seen here on earth. However, that vindication will be brought from beyond, not by man. "The pious person therefore can only *wait* for dawning of the new age. *G-d will bring it.* [...] The turning point of the eons is G-d's concern alone, entirely independent of the decisions made by man."⁶⁰

If the final rectification of the world will be accomplished by G-d alone, we are presented with a level of determinism, "G-d fixed the times in advance; they can be calculated (by Him at least); human action is of no weight in determining the course of history."⁶¹ This is a significant point in the Story of the Watchers. The emphasis on salvation coming from beyond follows from evil deriving from beyond. This certainly is consoling to an audience that has despaired from being able to change the world they live in. As Collins says, "The superhuman status of the actors takes the action out of the

⁶⁰ Schmithal, *Apocalyptic Movements*, 24.

⁶¹ Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*, 62.

sphere of human control and places the immediate situation in a deterministic perspective which also serves to relieve anxiety.”⁶²

The Story of the Watchers makes a clear statement that anarchy on earth is not the fault of humanity, rather of trouble-making angels. It also seems to imply that the human soul can cry after death. (9:10) The soul surviving after death allows for reward and punishment after one’s physical lifetime. Hence, the unjustified human suffering caused by the angels can be counter-balanced by a future reward, and those that joined in the evil caused by the angels will then receive their punishment. This addresses the issue of theodicy by providing a means for justice to prevail in the end, which is actually described at the end of the story. (*1 Enoch* 10-11)

This leads us to examine the understanding of the nature of the timeline of the world’s existence. History is controlled by G-d and will lead to a conclusion where G-d reveals His judgment condemning the evil and rewarding the righteous. The punishments seem to be postponed for a limited number of generations (‘seventy generations’ 10:12), yet will be meted out in this world. The revealed scheme of time assures the audience that the current suffering is temporary, and G-d will eventually intervene to correct the current distortion. Those seventy generations should be over soon.⁶³ This places the evildoers in a type of limbo for the period of time between now and the final judgment.⁶⁴ Similarly, the rewards seem to be in this world and will continue forever. This is a significant view when compared with other ancient Jewish texts that discuss final rewards and

⁶² Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 51.

⁶³ Schmithal, *Apocalyptic Movement*, 37, “Every present time remains a potential end-time. The end is never pushed off into the distant future, and so the historical tension is maintained.”

⁶⁴ Bocaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 91 discusses implications of this postponed justice. He emphasizes that this interim period where supernatural evil has not been eliminated is of primary importance in distinguishing SW from other Jewish (Zadokite) writings. See also Vanderkaam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 42. He describes how evil people were destroyed in the flood and the evil angels are imprisoned as part of their punishment to see their progeny kill each other before they are killed.

punishments.⁶⁵ Finally, the world will be restored and perfected and the righteous will enjoy an abundance of blessings.

Summary

From an overview of these theological themes, we are presented with an understanding of the world, G-d and humanity. The world is corrupted. The bad angels are the ones that have corrupted the world. However, G-d is in control and will rectify the situation in the world at its appointed time. Humanity is good. We are not at fault for the disastrous state of affairs on earth, but those that go astray and join the evil will be punished. We must persevere, be righteous and await the imminent salvation. This view becomes the core of the apocalyptic worldview: a supernaturally corrupted world that will be rectified by G-d, where the righteous will be rewarded and the evil punished.

⁶⁵ Whether the world attains a G-dly peace, or is destroyed and recreated on a new plane of existence is an important issue in the study of apocalypses.

The Story in Genesis and in Enoch

Genesis is one of the ancient books of the Jewish people. Scholars generally date Genesis before *1 Enoch* by hundreds of years.⁶⁶ From the text of *1 Enoch* it seems clear that the authors knew Genesis. The Story of the Watchers, or rather a prototypical version, is brought ever so briefly in Genesis. This raises two possibilities: one story is based on the other, or they are both based on another form of the story. Can we say that the story in Genesis assumes the traditions of a story similar to the Story of the Watchers as told in *1 Enoch*?⁶⁷ Sanders says that conjecture of a common third source is a “common scholarly fudge in such situations.”⁶⁸ He concludes that from our evidence we must say that the Story of the Watchers is expounding on Genesis. Similarly, regarding the possibility that Enoch writings are “intended to correct, or even supersede, the first book of the Torah”, Piovanelli states that “the knowledge of the Genesis stories that the Book of the Watchers requires from the reader is so important that it is difficult to take too seriously such an eventuality.”⁶⁹ He feels that it is clear that a prior knowledge of Genesis is assumed by the authors of *1 Enoch*.

Since the Story of the Watchers circulated after Genesis was already accepted as authoritative, and among people who accepted Genesis,⁷⁰ it is interesting to note that in Genesis we have examples contradictory to the idea of the angels being the ultimate source of evil. Qain killed Abel of his own accord before the events of Genesis 6. After

⁶⁶ For a contrary view, cf. Milik “Problèmes de la littérature enochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumran” 349. In addition, cf. Sanders, “The Enochic Literature and the Bible” 65.

⁶⁷ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalypse and Its History*, see chapter two – top of 50, “Clearly the author of BW1 (What I refer to as SW) took an even more ancient midrash on the Flood and its causes and developed it according to his own ideology [...]”

⁶⁸ Sanders, “The Enochic Literature”, 65.

⁶⁹ Piovanelli, “Sitting by the Waters of Dan”, 272.

⁷⁰ e.g. the Dead Sea community.

the flood, G-d tells Noah that "man's heart is evil from his youth." (Gen 8:21) Of course, we could see support for an outside origin of evil coming to and corrupting man from the Snake.⁷¹ However, the story of the *bnei elohim* could be read as an angelic invasion. It would seem reasonable to say that both views existed concurrently in some fashion, as can be implied by Enoch and other apocalyptic writings being held together with Genesis and similar writings in Qumran, Masada and probably most contemporary Jewish communities in Judea.

We must ask what the story is doing for us theologically in Genesis. And, since the version in *1 Enoch* seems to be later, we must ask why it is needed at all. (*i.e.* what does it add that Genesis is lacking). Sacchi calls it a "midrash *ante litteram* on the story of the Flood."⁷² Hanson discusses the genre classification problem and creates a category, "an early type of expository narrative combining elements which later were differentiated into the separate genres of targum, haggadic midrash, and Jewish ethnographic historiography."⁷³ One of the functions it serves is to apply through exposition a biblical text to contemporary theological problems.⁷⁴ Hanson emphasizes that the Story of the Watchers goes beyond a midrash that wants to explain the inherent meaning of a text. It is a 'radical transformation of its essential message.'⁷⁵

⁷¹ Vanderkaam, *Enoch: A Man for all Generations*, 42. He disagrees saying that the sin of the forbidden fruit and even subsequent fratricide is not considered the outrageous level of evil that ensued after the angels descent.

⁷² Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalypse*, 48.

⁷³ Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6-11", 196.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 195.

⁷⁵ Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 198. Contrarily, Boccacini, in *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 94, argues that SW preserves ancient traditions that were intentionally omitted from the Bible, hence the themes in SW are as old as those in the Bible.

In Genesis we have the story of *bnei elohim*. (Genesis 6:1) The story is not so clear. The word *elohim* can refer either to G-d or to a mighty person or persons.⁷⁶ This is somewhat similar to the English word 'lord', which can refer to G-d or people of power. The story continues and refers to the *nephilim*. (6:4) The juxtaposition leads to the *nephilim* being understood as being the children of the *bnei elohim*: "It does not say that the giants were born from the union of angelic beings with women. But it must have been very easy to interpret the passage in the sense that the giants were the children of a union against nature."⁷⁷ The name *nephilim* is also easily connected to the word 'fall,' which has the same root consonants.⁷⁸ The story can still be read in more than one way – describing a fall of angels from heaven, or a moral fall of humanity. Genesis continues and speaks of the 'evil of man on earth.' (6:5) That is a clear reference to man.⁷⁹

These eight verses do not give a clear story. Is it expected that the audience knows a more detailed story that is being referred to? Are the authors of the Story of the Watchers recording that story? Are they creating a new story or a bit of both? Whatever the answers may be, the parallel stories recorded in Genesis and the Story of the Watchers reveal more theological differences than similarities.

⁷⁶ Moses is referred to as being *elohim*, a court is referred to as *elohim*, e.g. Exodus 21:6. However, Collins in *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 190, points out that the term with a prefix 'son,' i.e. *ben (bnei) elohim*, is normally understood as angel. Hence, understanding it otherwise would bear the burden of proof.

⁷⁷ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalypse*, 49. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 199 notes that this was the common understanding of interpreters 'ancient and modern.'

⁷⁸ Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 199 calls this 'fanciful etymologizing.' I am not sure why. It seems straight forward, is there another understanding of the Hebrew root consonants n.ph.l? Alexander, in "The Enochic Literature", 59, accepts 'falling' as the obvious association.

⁷⁹ The possibility of two readings did not go unnoticed throughout history. (Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 198) Hanson discusses briefly the Jewish and Christian traditions of interpreting the phrase 'bnei elohim.' The dispute is ancient. Hanson quotes (his footnote 10) an Old Greek translation that refers to the heavenly children.

Theological Comparison

The Story of the Watchers does something not explicit in Genesis; it connects a number of brief stories and episodes. In Genesis, we are sped through history to arrive at significant periods that are elaborated upon. However, while speeding to the more significant events, a number of brief episodes or passing facts are mentioned. In the Story of the Watchers some of these disjointed episodes and facts are connected. The Story of the Watchers brings a clear progression of many of these Genesis 'fragments': angels saw women, they came to earth and begot mighty beings, metallurgy was taught to man, killing increased, sexual corruption ensued, the earth was defiled, G-d decides to destroy the world, yet He saves humanity through Noah.

In Genesis, the episodes are not connected smoothly. The beginning of metallurgy is credited to Tuval-Qayin. (Genesis 4:22) However, there is not an explicit connection between Tuval-Qayin's metallurgy and Lamekh's murder of Qain, although they are juxtaposed. The earth has been cursed. (5:29) However, it is only in the Genesis 'midrash' of the Story of the Watchers that some sort of connection is made – the *benei elohim* brought evil to the world; the world is bad (cursed); G-d will destroy it, yet save humanity through Noah. The figures of Tuval-Qayin and Lamekh are replaced by the angels. This does not necessarily negate these characters entirely, but could be seen as relegating them to people who abused the powers taught by the angels.⁸⁰

The description of the evil transpiring on earth is also more elaborate in the Story of the Watchers. Even if the choice of vocabulary in Genesis may imply some of the

⁸⁰ The fact that these two people are mentioned in Genesis, yet not in SW does not cause an irreconcilable situation. A person could reconcile the two stories.

same details,⁸¹ it is not spelled out in Genesis and the Story of the Watchers certainly goes further. During this rampant evil the earth cries out to G-d, reminiscent of the earth calling out after Abel's murder.⁸² However, in Genesis, before the commission to Noah, there is no mention of what made G-d take notice of the evil. In the Story of the Watchers, G-d is more distant and needs to have His attention drawn to a corrupted world. In Genesis, He is still watching and takes note on His own.

For these few extra associations we do not need the Story of the Watchers. What made the Story of the Watchers necessary are its additions, dressed upon the core story in Genesis.

Evil

The Story of the Watchers explains why there is evil in the world. For many people it is implausible that the tremendous evil on earth is of human making. The Story of the Watchers points to superhuman origins of evil in rebellious angels. It tells us that our problems, which seem overwhelming, are in fact superhuman. The story emphasizes a rebellion in heaven that caused evil on earth.⁸³ Evil is not G-d's will.

In Genesis, many of the teachings (e.g. metallurgy) that are attributed to angels in *I Enoch* are attributed to different men on earth. The story in Genesis does not necessarily avoid the issue of evil angels. If we read *bnei elohim* as angels, then we see that angels did something wrong. However, not every wrong action is a rebellion. Succumbing to

⁸¹ Gen 6:7 indicates an evil that defiled all life, human and animal.

Gen 6:11 uses two words *w'tišahet* and *hamas*, that imply levels of destruction and immorality.

Gen 6:12 tells us that 'all flesh' '*corrupted its ways*' implying an unnatural corruption, i.e. going against they way G-d created them.

⁸² Gen 4:10 "the blood of your brother screams to Me from the earth"

⁸³ This is grounded in the ancient theme that "rebellion against the order of the Most High unleashes the forces of chaos. (Hanson "Rebellion in Heaven", 199)"

lust is not necessarily a rebellion. Nonetheless, it displays a level of autonomy of a celestial being. While, the brief story in Genesis is not clear, the Story of the Watchers is very clear.

Women

Genesis says that the *bnei elohim* saw women and had sexual relations with them. Unlike the Story of the Watchers, in Genesis it does not say that this defiled them. Furthermore, the sin in the Genesis story could be understood from the phrase 'choosing any women they wanted.' (Genesis 6:2)⁸⁴ This would tell us that sexual relations *per se* were not the problem. The problem was mighty people abusing their power and taking any woman they chose.⁸⁵ In Genesis, no blame, not even as a result of other's corrupting influence, is placed on the women.

G-d

1 Enoch 9 brings another controversial idea. G-d is almighty and omniscient, but does not necessarily act. The angels have to plead with G-d to act. As we have mentioned, in Genesis, G-d addresses the evil on earth of his own accord - He sees and acts. (Genesis 6:5)⁸⁶ Of course, He may have tarried in acting until the situation was unbearable.⁸⁷ Even though in both stories we could understand a superhuman crisis that needs G-d's involvement to resolve, the issue of G-d's attention to the suffering is

⁸⁴ E.g. Rashi on the verse; Loader, *Enoch, Levi and Jubilees on Sexuality*, 10.

⁸⁵ Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11", 386, "the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of men is described as a neutral act." I find that hard to understand when taken in context, as an immediate prelude to the immoral conditions that led to the flood.

⁸⁶ This is a sign that SW is later than Genesis. The role of angels became more pronounced in the Second Temple Period, well after the basic text of Genesis was known.

⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that in Exodus, G-d waits until the people cry out to Him before reacting. (Exodus 2:23-25)

different. In Genesis, G-d is right there, directly connected. In the Story of the Watchers, He is removed to a degree. The difficulty understanding G-d's inaction is much greater in Genesis, where G-d is directly attentive and active, yet tolerates the evil for a period of time. This is a difficulty that is made less acute, if not removed, in the Story of the Watchers. The interposition of angels gives the impression that it is normal that G-d is distant from the world. This offers an explanation for the suffering that the audience is experiencing that they can accommodate to their monotheistic beliefs.

1 Enoch 10 can be seen as the climax, and maybe as summarizing the differences with Genesis. G-d speaks to and empowers angels to act. The punishment of the earth is most severely meted out to the rebellious angels, who are tortured and imprisoned awaiting a violent execution. G-d acts when the problem is brought to His attention, and the condemned are the guilty angels. In Genesis there is no description of punished angels. Genesis does not portray this intermediary angelic level that distances G-d from the happenings on earth, the drama is between men and G-d.

Final Judgment

The description of the destruction of evil is also revealing. The time of suffering will end. In both Genesis and Enoch, there is an ultimate vindication of man through Noah, and a punishment of those that brought evil to the world. G-d is almighty, and He will rectify His creation. However, the Story of the Watchers goes far beyond Genesis in describing the severe punishments of the angels.⁸⁸ The Watchers are the guilty party for

⁸⁸ SW may have intended allusions to the goat sent to Azazel where jagged rock mountains are mentioned. If so, this would further authenticate the story by connecting it to a text that must have been popular and accepted as authoritative.

bringing evil and suffering to the world. They must pay in the end or there is no justice to our suffering through time. The more horrible their demise, the more justified the wait.

As we have noted, in Genesis it is not clear that earth's problems have a superhuman source. It could be, but it is not definite (unless it is assumed that the original audience knew of additional material being referred to). However, the story as told in Genesis does not satisfy the theological needs of the generations struggling to come to terms with an almighty G-d and a world of extreme evil. It cannot be that humanity creates such evil, and that this evil upsets G-d's world and chosen people, apparently challenging G-d's dominion. This leads us to a question about when the Story of the Watchers began to circulate and if there were particular events that made it appealing. Of course, we could also ask if the Story of the Watchers satisfies the problems of later evil. Is it enough to learn that there can be superhuman sources to evil, on the pattern of the Story of the Watchers, and not to worry; just as the watchers were destroyed, so too will the source of the current evil will be destroyed?⁸⁹ In Genesis the flood killed the sinning generation, but what about after the flood? Evil existed afterwards. G-d even notes that man's heart is inclined to evil. (Gen 8:21) Immediately after the flood one of Noah's sons sinned. Were evil and evildoers eliminated from the world? No. Reading humanity as guilty in Genesis works with the flood killing those who sinned at that time and what people choose to do in the future will be dealt with in the future. For the Story of the Watchers, the great evil and the mighty evil doers that subsequently arose in history... from whence do they derive, and how will we be liberated from them?! The flood did not kill the problem.

⁸⁹ Later in the Pentateuch we see reference to giants such as the Anakim, which can be seen as implying another round of, or a continued species of superhuman beings on earth.

The conclusion of the Story of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* is puzzling: The blessings for eternal happiness for the righteous. Unlike a prophecy for a future time, the story is connected with Noah, an event of the past. The audience reading this book understood themselves to be a long time after Noah. There was certainly tremendous suffering between the time of Noah and the time when the Story of the Watchers was read. How did the audience place themselves on the time spectrum? How did they understand their lives relative to this story?⁹⁰ It seems like two destructions are implied here. The first is the flood which is past. The second is the “seventy generations” and “end of generations.” The audience is standing after the flood, but before the end of generations. We are in the apocalyptic twilight zone, neither here nor there. The evil beings are being dealt with. The end is right around the corner. Seventy generations from the flood must be now. The audience understands that it must be patient and persevere because the end is near. Thus, the message of the Story of the Watchers is an apocalyptic anticipation of an imminent supernatural destruction of evil.

Summary

We have mentioned a number of differences between the Story of the Watchers and Genesis. The first glaring difference is *1 Enoch*'s clearly stated rebellion in heaven. The angels bond together in an oath to do something they know G-d would not approve of, a ‘great sin.’ (*1 En* 6:3) In Genesis, the drama is played out on earth, without a mention of what may have transpired previously in heaven. The theological implications become clear. The authors of the Story of the Watchers felt that there is a superhuman evil on earth that only G-d will remedy. This evil was a result of a conspiracy of angels,

⁹⁰ Sacchi, in *Jewish Apocalypse and its History*, 51, notes the confusion about the timing of the salvation.

not of men. It was not at the forefront of G-d's attention. This strikes a "dualistic note ... which is discordant with the central message of Genesis, that Israel's G-d was sovereign over all things, and that evil stems from human rebellion against the sovereign G-d."⁹¹ In order to deal with this "dualistic note," G-d is removed, elevated a level above the angels, and thus more distant from earth. This distance is contrary to the attitude in Genesis. Finally, the resolution of the evil situation is completed by the flood in Genesis, while the Story of the Watchers leaves us in anticipation of an immanent entrance into an eternal age of peace, tranquility and prosperity.

Some of these differences are noted in Reed's brief discussion of Ben Sira and the *Book of the Watchers*.⁹² She notes that Ben Sira

might read Gen 6:1-4 through the expansions of the *Book of the Watchers*. Nor is it odd that he is selective in his use of these traditions. He omits any mention of the Watchers' teachings and any hint of their culpability for the origins of evil [...] avoiding any hint of dualism or determinism. In doing so, he neutralizes the more radical ramifications of the Enochic myth [...]

According to this understanding, the 'Enochic myth' was accommodated by Ben Sira by excluding the elements that contrast with the theology of Genesis. This would leave some 'loose ends.' Ben Sira mentions that the giants are not forgiven (Sir 16:7). However, he does not relate the story and cause of their eternal damnation. The popularity of the Enochic myth may have made it 'common knowledge' to a certain extent, yet it was forced into an theologically acceptable 'box'.

⁹¹ Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven", 202.

⁹² Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity*, 69-71.

Story of the Watchers contrasted with Isaiah

I chose to look at the Book of Isaiah to search for attitudes corresponding to the theological themes we find in the Story of the Watchers. Isaiah is one of the older and longer books of the Prophets. This implies that its content was compiled, edited and redacted over a long period of time. This would demand decisions regarding such things as what to include and what to exclude, which we hope will reveal attitudes that may be relevant to the exclusion of the Story of the Watchers from the Bible. It is not clear when the Story of the Watchers, or strands of the story, may have become familiar during the preparation of the text of the Book of Isaiah. However, there are many points where we can compare attitudes and beliefs. It is also notable that the Qumran community had more copies of Isaiah and sections of *1 Enoch* than almost any other books. This implies that the group saw something in common between the two.⁹³ Due to constraints of space and scope I limited my choices from Isaiah to those I felt were most relevant, acknowledging that there is more research to be done on Isaiah, the Story of the Watchers and apocalypticism.⁹⁴

Evil is from Man

From the start, the Book of Isaiah makes it clear that people are at fault for sin. They sinned and have the choice to repent, if not they will suffer destruction. There is no

⁹³ Newman, *Proximity to Power and Jewish Sectarian Groups of the Ancient Period*, 44, remarks that “the number of copies and extant of distribution of a work indicate its importance to the group.”

⁹⁴ Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in *1 Enoch* 6-11” 391 chooses Third Isaiah as one of his two biblical comparisons to SW, the other being Daniel. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Post-Exilic Social Setting*, 34 mentions Isaiah as a “Proto Apocalyptic” text. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 23-25 discusses Isaiah as a possible forerunner to apocalypticism.

blame passed on to angels. We immediately see a clear distinction from the Story of the Watchers. Isaiah casts particular blame on the elders and people in power. (e.g. Is. 3:14) The idea of human responsibility for the world's evil state of affairs is a theme throughout the Book of Isaiah.

No Rebellion in Heaven

At the conclusion of chapter 24, verses 21-23, we have some interesting verses:

And it shall come to pass on that day, that G-d will punish the host of the high ones on high, and the king of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be punished. Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed, when G-d of hosts shall reign in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before His elders will be His glory.

Why is punishing high ones mentioned? Which high ones? This is not referring to kings, as kings of earth are mentioned next. Could this be referring to a tradition of a 'rebellion on high'? Collins feels so, "It evidently presupposes a mythical story that is not explicit in the text."⁹⁵ If so, it also makes clear that those on high, remain on high, and are punished there. Those of the earth are on the earth and punished on the earth. It would be interesting to investigate what these higher beings may be, and why they are being punished. In any case, it seems to clearly negate the concept in the Story of the Watchers of 'celestial' beings descending to earth to corrupt it.⁹⁶

We do find a condemnation of the higher strata of society:

But they also reel through wine, and stagger through strong drink;
the priest and the prophet reel through strong drink, they are

⁹⁵ Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, 53. Further on 68, "In Israel too it is inevitable that there were more extensive traditions than those preserved in the biblical canon."

⁹⁶ Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth" 390.

confused by wine; they stagger through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all the tables are full of vomit and filth, so that there is no place clean. (Is. 28:7)

This selection condemns priests and prophets. In Isaiah we see a clear and harsh criticism of the figures of authority. This is relevant to discussions about who represented evil in the eyes of the authors and audiences of apocalypses. Alienation from the Temple cult may be a cause for a perceived vilification of the Jerusalem aristocracy of the Temple⁹⁷. Isaiah makes it clear that those who control the cult can be corrupted. This may share a theme portrayed mythically in the Story of the Watchers.

Women

In Isaiah 3, we have an interesting mention of women. Women will be punished for their evil ways of wearing jewelry and fancy clothing. Amulets are also mentioned. There is no mention of a superhuman source for these things. The women are to blame, and they will be punished. The power women harness in these ways is not considered beyond the reach of humans. The issue is here and now, how women are behaving. Of course, as we have mentioned elsewhere,⁹⁸ there is a question as to why this behavior is considered negative. Are women to be condemned for adorning themselves? Or is there a certain self-understood limit, that when crossed it is no longer adornment but enticement, or enchantment? For our purposes, we must note that women are considered human beings, and unlike the view of the Story of the Watchers, their 'magical charms' are a human property demanding human accountability.

⁹⁷ I will deal with this issue in Part 2 of thesis, 69-74.

⁹⁸ "Theological Perspectives of the Story of the Watchers", subheading "Forbidden Knowledge", 16.

We further see this idea in the address to the 'daughter of Kasdim':

Stand now with your enchantments, and with the multitude of your sorceries, wherein you have labored from your youth; perhaps you will be able to profit, perhaps you shall inspire terror. You are wearied in the multitude of your counsels. Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save you from these things that shall come upon you. (Is. 47:12-13)

When it says that she has labored from her youth in these sorceries, it implies that she is the source behind them, not an angelic revelation.

G-d is Close

Hezekiah prays to G-d to save him from Assyria. G-d answers him that his behavior has been bad and he will fall. However, G-d will save Judea from Assyria.

(Is. 37:15)

Here we see prayer being directed to G-d, and G-d responding. Angelic intervention is not sought. This is different than the Story of the Watchers. However, since we say that suffering is a result of our actions, it is not necessary to understand G-d as being separated from us by a level of angels. Our suffering has not escaped G-d's attention temporarily, as implied in the Story of the Watchers, rather it is G-d's response to our misbehavior. G-d and humans interact directly.

Determinism

In chapter 38, Hezekiah repents and G-d grants him fifteen more years to live and salvation from Assyria. Human action, repentance, can change history. This is contrary to the Story of the Watchers which despairs of human action being the agent of change.

There, as in Genesis,⁹⁹ Noah is told to prepare for the destruction of the world. Humans cannot save it. The superhuman evil that was released on earth is too much.

On the other hand, we read, "I am G-d and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand..." (Is. 46:9)

This statement challenges the individual's power to affect anything.

We see that there is a dissonance regarding human action. To a certain degree individual action will affect the individual. Enough individuals, or special individuals, can affect the entire nation. However, it seems that an apocalyptic view of all of history being pre-determined is acknowledged also. What does this mean? What are the implications for free will? There is certainly room left open for further discussions.¹⁰⁰ For our purposes, we must note that somewhat contradictory views are both expressed in the Book of Isaiah. Traditionally we understand that "In the Bible, the events of history were often regarded as contingent on the actions of men."¹⁰¹ We see that Isaiah limits that understanding to a certain degree by presenting G-d as having a predetermined, fixed plan.

Theodicy

"I make peace, and create evil: I, G-d, do all these things." (Is. 45:7)

This disturbing statement says what the authors of the Story of the Watchers cannot tolerate. For them, G-d cannot be the source of evil.

⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that in the rabbinic tradition it is understood that the many years it took for Noah to complete the building of the ark was an opportunity for the people to see what he was doing, ask him about it, and then repent. (Rashi 6:14)

¹⁰⁰ In our section on Daniel we address this issue.

¹⁰¹ Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*, 61.

...I will do all my pleasure: calling an eagle from the east, the man that executes my counsel from a far country: I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it. I will also do it. (Is. 46:9)

Similarly to the Story of the Watchers, it is stated that G-d knows all in advance. However, it states that all that comes to pass is directed by G-d's word and purpose. This differs from the Story of the Watchers, where the Watchers succeed in doing something not spoken or willed by G-d. The Story of the Watchers cannot tolerate suffering originating from G-d, Isaiah cannot tolerate anything being independent of G-d:

For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, says G-d. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. (55:8)

How does Isaiah deal with theodicy – 'we cannot understand G-d'. The authors of the Story of the Watchers must understand. They cannot tolerate such an irreconcilable situation as a good, omnipotent G-d and an evil world. So, they 'sacrifice' G-d's dominion for G-d's good, whereas Isaiah 'sacrifices' understanding for G-d's omnipotent singularity and goodness.

Eschatology

Isaiah speaks about the end of time. Justice will be restored and all the nations of the world will come to Jerusalem to seek G-d. War will end and idolatry will be abandoned. Since there are no angels to blame, there are no angels to kill at this time. The Book of Isaiah clearly describes a struggle with the surrounding nations. The Story of the Watchers does not. Throughout history, the success of these struggles is portrayed as being a result of the moral state of affairs in Judea, which is dependent on people's

behavior, particularly the people in power. However, at the end of time, G-d will appear and vanquish the nations and restore the righteous of Israel. This blissful time will be shared by all the nations of the world.

We have both, people as the agent of change in the world; and at the end of time, G-d as the agent of change. In either case, the individual's righteous behavior is demanded, either to bring success or to survive the final tribulations and enjoy the final rewards.

New or Restored World

"He will destroy death forever" (Is. 25:8) This verse seems to be more apocalyptic than the Story of the Watchers. The well-known question as to whether the end of time will usher in a restored, or a new world seems to be answered here as a new world. At the end of the Story of the Watchers it seems like a renewed, cleansed world, not a new world. (*1 Enoch* 11)

"The glory of G-d shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together" (Is. 40:5)

Generally apocalypses speak about universal salvation, as opposed to national salvation. (e.g. *1 Enoch* 10:21-22) Here in Isaiah we see the same idea of "all flesh" beholding a new revelation of G-d:

For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former things shall not be remembered, nor come to mind. But be glad and rejoice forever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem rejoicing and her people a joy: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more there an infant who lives a few days, nor an old man that has not filled his days: for the youngest shall die a hundred years old; and the sinner being a hundred years old shall be deemed accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them. They shall not build, and another inhabits; they shall not plant, and another eats: for as the days of a tree shall the days of my people be, and my chosen ones shall long enjoy the work of

their hands. They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth confusion, for they are the seed of G-d, and their offspring with them. And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox: and dust shall be the serpent's food. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, says G-d. (Is. 65:17-25)

Even though Isaiah here says 'a new earth', the description is our earth without the social outrages known to the book's audience. This brings us back to the question of understanding where allegory stops. If death will be destroyed forever and all flesh will behold G-d, do we need to discuss the current problems of infant mortality, abuse of power and so on? Is it understood that the descriptions of the new world are allegorical and poetic, and translate physically into a moral world? It is not easy to say that when specific examples, such as babies dying, or resurrection of the dead (which will be discussed shortly) seem to be implied. Of course, use of language, imagery and mental associations are not consistent in time and place.¹⁰² We are left with a gray area. A gray area may also have been acceptable to the book's audience.

Imminent Eschaton

Hearken to me, you stout-hearted, that are far from righteousness: I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry: and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory. (Is. 46:12)

Thus says G-d, keep judgment, and do justice: for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed. Happy is the man that does this, and the son of man that lays hold on it; that keeps the Sabbath and does not profane it, and keeps his hand from doing any evil. (Is. 56)

¹⁰² Imagery can be intended as a conceptual representation of something else, or as a literal representation. There are times and places where one idea of imagery is assumed, others where the other is assumed. Looking at literature from another time and location presents a challenge in understanding that culture's attitude towards such representations.

Similar to the Story of the Watchers, ultimately we need to maintain our moral and spiritual righteousness and we will be vindicated at the end of time. However, this end of time is on hand, “near to come”, so we must not despair. The Story of the Watchers tries to help us by giving the number of generations from the time of the flood. This works with the apocalyptic practice of trying to place ourselves on the time continuum, just before its end. Isaiah does not seem to do that, rather it just states that salvation is near to come. This presents a problem. For those living after Isaiah, they cannot say that he miscalculated, or we miscalculated. The time that is ‘near’ Isaiah is long past... so now what?

It may be that the lack of a time reference actually lowers the intensity of the anticipation. If the audience cannot place itself on a timeline, the ‘end’ may lose a degree of tangibility.

Resurrection

They (the evil) are dead, they shall not live. (Is. 26:14)

The dead men of your people shall live, my dead body shall arise.
Awake and sing you that dwell in the dust: for your dew is as the
dew on herbs, and the earth shall cast out the shades of the dead.
(Is. 26:19)

One of the challenges of understanding this literature is to determine if statements are parables or meant to be understood literally.¹⁰³ This verse speaks about resurrection of the dead. If it is meant to be understood literally, it serves the purpose of providing a final justice for the righteous, and a final condemnation of the evil. Here too, Isaiah seems to

¹⁰³Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 25 discusses the issue and brings (footnote 72) a source claiming this verse reveals a belief in individual resurrection. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth”, 394, footnote 52, brings Is. 66:6-9 as a source preparing ground for the concept of resurrection.

go beyond the Story of the Watchers. The Story of the Watchers does not speak about the resurrection of the dead. It does mention the cries of the souls of those who have died.

(*1 Enoch* 9:10) A type of existence of the soul after death is acknowledged. Resurrection of these souls is not that far a leap, but, nonetheless, it is not stated.

Final Justice

For by fire will G-d execute judgment, and with His sword, upon all flesh; and the slain of G-d shall be many. (Is. 66:16)

... And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have rebelled against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh. (Is. 66:24)

Isaiah ends with an eternal punishment of the evildoers, something that is also described in the Story of the Watchers. They both employ harsh descriptions of the end of evil. It is interesting to note that the final line in Isaiah switches back from the new blessed world to the eternal torment of the evil, whereas the Story of the Watchers ends describing the blessed state of being. It would be interesting to examine if there is a possible significance to this difference.

Summary

It is fascinating to see the similarities and differences between the Story of the Watchers and Isaiah. Isaiah contains apocalyptic elements and shares certain themes with the Story of the Watchers. Regarding resurrection and the recreation of the world, Isaiah, seems to apocalyptically out-do the Story of the Watchers. Nonetheless, there is a clear difference. That difference relates to an understanding of G-d and humanity.

This interference is a rebellion against G-d's order of creation. However, ultimately G-d controls history and the evil will perish and the righteous will be rewarded. The Book of Isaiah does not acknowledge that superhuman powers can rebel against G-d. Even evil on earth is often portrayed as being the hand of G-d. And since the source of evil is our sins, we can repent and pray to change things now as we await the imminent salvation.

Ultimately, an approach to theodicy seems to be what distinguishes these two works. The Story of the Watchers presents G-d as being somewhat aloof at times, and then evil can flourish. This allows for a period with a dualistic struggle with evil having the upper hand in this world. The Book of Isaiah denies dualism and presents G-d as being constantly attentive. The flourishing of evil is sometimes understood as being a direct result of our sins, and sometimes as deriving from the mystery of G-d's nature. Accepting or rejecting either a divine mystery of evil and suffering or a dualistic period seems to separate the two.

Ecclesiastes and the Story of the Watchers

Now that we have compared the Story of the Watchers to parts of Genesis and Isaiah, a logical next step would be to compare it to a book of the Writings that has similar themes.¹⁰⁴ I chose the Book of Ecclesiastes after seeing how Boccaccini focuses on it in a similar context.¹⁰⁵ In addition, the Talmud records a dispute as to whether Ecclesiastes should be included in the biblical canon.¹⁰⁶ We may be able to discern where a red line was drawn that the Story of the Watchers crossed, but Ecclesiastes did not.

Ecclesiastes is an example of wisdom literature. This type of literature was common in the Ancient Near East. At first glance it may seem strange to compare wisdom literature to an apocalypse. Wisdom literature focuses on human reflections on life and nature as opposed to apocalypticism's focus on revealed knowledge, which is beyond human perception.¹⁰⁷ This immediately leads to a number of theological implications directly relevant to our discussion. In the wisdom tradition, people are generally empowered. They can understand the world around them. The world is within the human sphere. From an apocalyptic point of view the world is (temporarily) beyond human comprehension and supernatural intervention is needed to understand and fix it. In wisdom literature, the world is fixed. It is for us to fathom and live with. Nonetheless, wisdom literature such as Ecclesiastes, and an apocalypse such as MT Daniel both co-

¹⁰⁴ It is true that to a certain degree the division is anachronistic, nonetheless, the contents of the three sections of the HB do demonstrate differences that will be discussed in a later section focusing on the canon.

¹⁰⁵ Boccacini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 120.

¹⁰⁶ b.Shabbath 30b.

¹⁰⁷ cf. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus*, 356-357, and his chapter on "Apocalypticism and Wisdom."

exist in the Hebrew Bible. There must be a way to reconcile them. So, there must have been something else that pushed the Story of the Watchers beyond the pale.¹⁰⁸

Ecclesiastes does not expect change. It seems to say that there will be no renewed, nor new world. "Generations come and generations go, but the earth remains forever." (1:4) This is very different from what we have seen until now in both the Story of the Watchers and Isaiah, and even in Genesis. Ecclesiastes does not offer a solution to the injustices of our days by means of reward in a new world. This world is G-d's creation. Ecclesiastes does not even feel that in the face of the evil he describes there is a need to change the world.¹⁰⁹ This contributes to the generally sober approach to life that we see throughout the book: "All have the same breath; man has no advantage over the animal. Everything is meaningless." (3:18-20) This matter-of-fact attitude is also expressed in regard to evil: "I saw the tears of the oppressed - and they have no comforter; power was on the side of their oppressors - and they have no comforter." (4:1)

The acknowledgment of evil as a natural, ever-present inexplicable phenomenon is a main theme of Ecclesiastes. This is the world and we will not understand it. There are some suggestions on coping with this reality:

When times are good, be happy; but when times are bad, consider:
G-d has made the one as well as the other. Therefore, a man cannot discover anything about his future. (7:14)

There is something else meaningless that occurs on earth:
righteous men who get what the wicked deserve, and wicked men
who get what the righteous deserve. This too, I say, is meaningless.
So I commend the enjoyment of life, because nothing is better for a
man under the sun than to eat and drink and be glad. Then joy will

¹⁰⁸ Contrarily, we can wonder if there was something different in Daniel that allowed it to be accepted, in spite of its apocalyptic attitudes.

¹⁰⁹ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 76. He presents this as a foundation of the Zadokite movement "Despite any odds this world is and remains the good and orderly universe created by G-d, and there is no reason G-d should destroy G-d's most perfect accomplishment."

accompany him in his work all the days of the life G-d has given him under the sun. (8:14-15)

This making-the-best-of-it and coming-to-terms with reality was exactly what the authors of the Story of the Watchers were not prepared to do. They were not ready to accept that "G-d has made the one as well as the other," a verse reminiscent of Isaiah's "I make peace and create evil. I, G-d, do all these things." (Is. 45:7) In spite of the similarity to this idea in Isaiah, we see Ecclesiastes runs a different course than either Isaiah or the Story of the Watchers.

Source of Evil

Even though evil is part of the world, there is blame to be placed. It is placed on us: "This only have I found: G-d made mankind upright, but men have gone in search of many schemes." (Ecl. 7:29); "Extortion turns a wise man into a fool, and a bribe corrupts the heart." (7:7)

Man corrupts and is corrupted. He cannot blame the heavens. Man is on a separate plane entirely, "...G-d is on heaven and you are on earth..." (5:2) This is another difference from the Story of the Watchers, where humanity is the victim of angels descending from heaven to earth. *They* corrupted the earth.

Women

In the texts we have been discussing, women are associated with different evils.

In Ecclesiastes we find the following description of women:

I find more bitter than death the woman who is a snare, whose heart is a trap and whose hands are chains. The man who pleases God will escape her, but the sinner she will ensnare. 'Look,' says

the Teacher, 'this is what I have discovered: Adding one thing to another to discover the scheme of things- while I was still searching but not finding - I found one upright man among a thousand, but not one upright woman among them all.' (7:26-28)

Women are condemned, and the blame is theirs. Consistent with the theme is the feeling of despair. Unlike the Story of the Watchers, where women were corrupted by the angels and they will apparently share in the subsequent cleansing of the earth, in Ecclesiastes there is no hope given. Do not ever hope to find an upright woman. This is also different from Isaiah, where even though women are at fault for their negative behavior, they can repent and change. It also seems clear in Isaiah that the evil women described do not include all women. Unlike Ecclesiastes, it is not a permanent, universal female evil.

G-d

Even though G-d is not seen as radically intervening in the course of the world, He is credited with controlling it:

A man can do nothing better than to eat and drink and find satisfaction in his work. This too, I see, is *from the hand of G-d*, for without him, who can eat or find enjoyment? (2:24-25)

That everyone may eat and drink, and find satisfaction in all his toil - this is *the gift of G-d*. I know that everything G-d does will endure forever; nothing can be added to it and nothing taken from it. *G-d does it* so that men will revere him. (3:13-14)

We are not asked to look beyond our daily routine. Rather, we are asked to appreciate G-d's gifts in our daily routine. The rewards are now. Of course, this does not satisfy a person who feels he is presently suffering enormously.

Ecclesiastes tells us that we will never understand suffering and injustice. When possible, enjoy life; when not, accept the incomprehensible reality of the world. Similar to Isaiah, G-d is credited with both good and evil. G-d is here and in control, but do not try to understand the suffering of the righteous. There is no need for a layer of angels to make G-d distant; we just need to despair from understanding.

Determinism

Not only that we cannot understand, but also it does not seem that we can hope to affect the course of time:

I have seen something else under the sun:
The race is not to the swift or the battle to the strong,
nor does food come to the wise or wealth to the brilliant or favor
to the learned; but time and chance happen to them all.
Moreover, no man knows when his hour will come:
As fish are caught in a cruel net, or birds are taken in a snare,
so men are trapped by evil times that fall unexpectedly upon them.
(9:11-12)

We are left without hope of changing anything. This is similar to the Story of the Watchers and apocalypticism in general. We cannot affect the pre-ordained course of nature.¹¹⁰ Although, contrary to apocalypticism, there is no sense of a course of history leading to a radical change on earth, that will be carried out by G-d.

¹¹⁰ Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 122. However, apocalypticism does not exhibit total pre-determination. To the contrary it exhorts people towards certain attitudes and behaviors. Daniel, for example, is exhorting his audience to live according to Torah laws. This will bring an immediate benefit, or a future reward. The individual's choice will determine his individual fate. However, Daniel does imply a pre-determined course of national fate.

Wisdom

It seems puzzling to me that although we are apparently doomed to never understand, wisdom is discussed: "Wisdom makes one wise man more powerful than ten rulers in a city." (7:19) "The quiet words of the wise are more to be heeded than the shouts of a ruler of fools. Wisdom is better than weapons of war, but one sinner destroys much good." (9:17-18)

If all is meaningless, there would seem to be no value in acquiring wisdom. We cannot change anything, and we are presented as not having a personal fate after this world, yet wisdom can make you more powerful than ten rulers in a city.

Not only is wisdom discussed, but, we are told to listen to G-d: "Guard your steps when you go to the house of G-d. Go near to listen" (5:1) This is not encouraging the expectation of a divine revelation that will explain the mysteries of heaven. Even though we are told to listen, we should not to expect to understand:

...then I saw all that God has done. No one can comprehend what goes on under the sun. Despite all his efforts to search it out, man cannot discover its meaning. Even if a wise man claims he knows, he cannot really comprehend it. (8:17)

It is very hard to discern a clear message here. There seems to be a value in wisdom, and as we have seen previously, in being good. There seems to be a dissonance between being resigned to fate and being able to make some sort of personal change that will result in a reward or benefit of some type.¹¹¹ This seems to contradict both Isaiah and the Story of the Watchers.

¹¹¹ Kruger, *Qoheleth*, 14, discusses the presence of the many contradictions.

Reward and Punishment

It is interesting to note that even through the apparent despair of Ecclesiastes we see the idea of reward and punishment:

To the man who pleases Him, G-d gives wisdom, knowledge and happiness, but to the sinner He gives the task of gathering and storing up wealth to hand it over to the one who pleases G-d. This too is meaningless, a chasing after the wind. (2:26)

There are those who please G-d, and there are sinners. The former receive gifts and the latter are punished. What Ecclesiastes judges as meaningless is not entirely clear here. Is it the sinner chasing wealth? Or the whole scheme of things? In any case, if there is reward and punishment not everything is hopeless. This seems to contradict the general theme of the book.

This dissonance seems to be clear regarding death as a possible punishment: "Do not be over wicked, and do not be a fool - *why die before your time?*"(7:17) An early death here appears to be a punishment. However, we also read:

Although a wicked man commits a hundred crimes and *still lives a long time*, I know that it will go better with G-d-fearing men, who are reverent before God. Yet because the wicked do not fear God, it will not go well with them, and their days will not lengthen like a shadow. (8:12-13)

Even though evil people may live a long time, it is still better for the G-d fearing man. The punishment of early death seems not to be definite.

End of Time

The lack of dramatic divine intervention is a recurrent theme in Ecclesiastes. For example, there is no divine appearance at the end of days. Yet seemingly out of context, there is mention of a final judgment:

Follow the ways of your heart and whatever your eyes see, but know that for all these things G-d *will bring you to judgment*. (11:9)

I thought in my heart, '*God will bring to judgment* both the righteous and the wicked, for there will be a time for every activity, a time for every deed.' (3:17)

When and where will this judgment occur? Is there a fundamental belief in a final judgment that can somehow be reconciled with the general theme of this book? Or, do we see an inherent dissonance being acknowledged?

Resurrection

Finally, on the topic of life after physical death, there also seems to be no hope.

For the living know that they will die, but the dead know nothing; they have no further reward, and even the memory of them is forgotten. (9:5)

...the dust returns to the ground it came from, and the spirit returns to G-d who gave it. (12:7)

Now, the spirit returning to G-d could be understood as a type of continuation of the soul, but it does not seem to be the simple meaning of the text. It does seem to affirm separate identities of body and soul without developing them whatsoever. We are left with a life that endures at times inexplicable suffering and with no hope for final vindication and reward. This again differs from both Story of the Watchers and Isaiah.

Summary

Ecclesiastes is different from the Story of the Watchers and Isaiah, yet it is included in the Hebrew Bible. We can see certain things in common between Ecclesiastes and Isaiah. They both have G-d directly in control of the earth. They both blame

humanity for evil behavior. They both despair of understanding G-d's ways of conducting the earth. We must wonder if these themes weighed into the choices of different texts to be accepted in the Hebrew Bible.¹¹²

There are other themes where we see the Story of the Watchers on a more common ground with Isaiah. A renewed earth at the end of time is a significant one. A final judgment and rectification of the earth's, and the individual's, evils would seem to be important too. Maybe these are reasons why the Qumran community apparently venerated both of these texts, as implied by the numerous copies found there.

We are trying to understand why such an ancient and apparently well-circulated text, the Story of the Watchers, was not included in the Hebrew Bible. From our comparisons, we must wonder if the reason is purely theological, or if there are other reasons as well. G-d's lack of direct and constant control may be a reason; passing blame for the world's evil on angels may be a reason. While considering this we must ask if Ecclesiastes' apparent lack of final judgment is not a more serious theological departure from long held beliefs, and yet it is included in the Hebrew Bible.

Collins discusses the conceptual structure, the worldview, of apocalypticism.¹¹³ He identifies certain central concepts: 1. the world is mysterious and demands supernatural revelation mediated by angels; 2. there is a hidden world of spiritual beings that directly affect human destiny; and 3. there is a definitive eschatological judgment. The Story of the Watchers contains these elements. Genesis does not speak of any of

¹¹² Schiffman, *Understanding Second Temple Judaism*, 56, "the feeling of immediacy of G-d and His presence that is so much in evidence in the religion of the Hebrew Bible. As Greek and other foreign cultures came to exercise greater influence on Jews, such ideas began to seem odd." This may have been an issue when a reaction to Greek culture may have led to retaking traditional themes and rejecting what may have been *perceived* as Greek influence.

¹¹³ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 8.

them explicitly. Isaiah seems to speak of eschatological judgment, but does not hold the position that angels are particularly relevant to human life. Ecclesiastes is similar to Isaiah in that it does not portray angels as a significant element of human life. However, Ecclesiastes is not clear about final judgment. As mentioned above, generally it denies the concept of judgment, although it does mention it. This may add some insight and articulation into our research about the exclusion of the Story of the Watchers. The significance of angels in determining human life may have been consciously rejected by those that accepted and formulated the Hebrew Bible. Peter Schäfer concludes an article on cosmology and theology writing, "The rabbis made every effort to put cosmology into the theological context of the relationship between G-d in heaven and his people of Israel on earth..."¹¹⁴ This may be part of the same issue we are dealing with. Adding a *significant* layer between G-d in heaven and people on earth may have been a divisive issue that was used in determining acceptable and unacceptable texts.¹¹⁵ As Boccaccini makes clear throughout his *Essenes Hypothesis*, there may have been an ongoing competitive conflict regarding the acceptance of such a view. However, we do find at both Qumran and the later Massada community copies of texts accepted in the Hebrew Bible and texts that were not accepted.¹¹⁶ This implies that these two views were not irreconcilable in some way by these communities. I do not think it is reasonable to say they did not notice the dissonance. Rather, they had a way to reconcile or disregard this issue.

¹¹⁴ Schäfer, "From Cosmology to Theology, The Rabbinic Appropriation of Apocalyptic Cosmology", 58.

¹¹⁵ We will have to address the role of angels in Daniel. The next section will discuss this at length.

¹¹⁶ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 403. "So, although the defenders of Masada possessed proto-Masoretic Bibles, they still read apocryphal and, most probably, apocalyptic texts. Indeed, we can surmise that the apocalyptic tradition, with its messianic urgency, helped to drive the revolt."

Theological Issues in MT Daniel

Daniel is one of the later works of the Hebrew Bible, if not the latest. That means that the writers can be assumed to have a certain level of familiarity with other literature that was circulating at the time, including most, if not all of the texts we have discussed until now. Daniel's portrayal of the theological themes we are discussing should reflect attitudes that determined the choices of the community that accepted the Hebrew Bible. Koch asks, "And why were writings with more famous (in modern terms also pseudonymous) authors like Enoch or Moses (*Jubilees*), or the *Testaments* excluded? [...]" These considerations show that the canonization of the book of Daniel was not simply due to its association with a renowned name."¹¹⁷ There must have been a need that caused Daniel to be accepted, and there must have been enough in common with the thought of the other texts to allow it to be accepted among them.

Daniel deals with the exile. The exile presented a significant theological challenge. How can G-d's sanctuary be destroyed and His people oppressed (or at least subjects of foreign rule)? Various prophets speak about the exile, the Jewish people's sins, and restoration. Daniel does not accept the return of Ezra and the construction of the Second Temple as an end to the exile. Being subject to a foreign empire cannot be the remedy for G-d's temple and nation. It constitutes a type of exile at home, especially under the later Hellenistic rulers. The support for this subjugation by certain Jews makes it even worse. This is not the same as a dispute on whether to support Assyria or Egypt in

¹¹⁷ Koch, "Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel", 421. Unfortunately Koch does not develop these comparisons in this article. But, his point is clear, we must wonder why one text made it while others did not.

order to preserve the nation. Here the issue is whether to support the preservation of the nation in the face of religious, cultural or national intrusions. The Book of Daniel presents theological attitudes relating to these issues. We will examine how they compare to what we have seen until now and how the Story of the Watchers compares with them.

Evil

Daniel accepts the presence of evil as a result of our sins. This attitude is made clear in Daniel's prayer in chapter 9.

...to the men of Judea, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to all Israel, who are near, and who are far, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespass which they have trespassed against thee. (9:7)

All Israel have transgressed your Torah, and have turned aside, so as not to obey your voice; therefore, the curse is pouted upon us.. (9:11)

Boccaccini discusses different attitudes of scholars towards this prayer.¹¹⁸ I agree with him that this prayer was included intentionally. It is known that there was a significant body of Daniel literature. The Hebrew Bible's text of Daniel only includes a small portion of that literature. The authors chose what to include and how to arrange it. It only reasons that they would include such a long prayer for a reason.¹¹⁹

However, we must look carefully to determine what this prayer may be doing. On one hand it reinforces the image of Daniel as a pious Jew, doing and saying what is

¹¹⁸ Boccaccini in *Rabbinic Judaism*, 181-188, sees this prayer as being crucial for the theology of Daniel. See also Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 359-360, where Collins comes to different conclusions.

¹¹⁹ Koch in "Stages", 421-22 argues that there were clear 'considerations' in selecting the pieces of Daniel material for inclusion in 'proto-Masoretic book of Daniel.' In the previous reference to Collins, the opinion of B.W. Jones is brought that this prayer is brought specifically to discredit its theological basis.

expected of such a person. On the other hand, Gabriel comes at the end of the prayer and tells Daniel that time is fixed for the restoration of the nation. In other words, this prayer anchors Daniel in the tradition of Genesis and Isaiah: we suffer for our sins. We are the cause of evil, not outside invaders. (Boccaccini feels this was part of a posturing against 'Enochic Judaism.') Gabriel, however, tells us that national restoration is not dependent on the people's repentance. It is pre-ordained. This then touches on a major novelty of the book of Daniel. Even though, individual piety will determine the individual's ultimate fate, nonetheless, the fate of the corporate body of Israel is predetermined. This contradicts the traditional notion of the nation's fate being determined by the nation's behavior.

Angels

Daniel's three friends are seen in the furnace with an angel. It is interesting to note that the angel in the furnace is referred to as *bar elahin*, Aramaic for *ben elohim*, as in Gen 6:1. This may be a coincidence, or it may be proof that the term in Genesis was understood by the author of this chapter of Daniel as 'angel', as opposed to 'mighty person.'¹²⁰ Another interesting nomenclature is the term *ir*, 'watcher', in verses 4:10, 4:14, and 4:20, the same term used for our angels in the Story of the Watchers.¹²¹ However, Daniel's watchers are not portrayed as rebelling against G-d. This may very well have been intentional, especially to those who understand a competition of Jewish theologies at the time. In other words, if the authors of Daniel were familiar with the

¹²⁰ Collins in *Daniel: A Commentary*, 190, states clearly that the term is normally understood as angel. This would make a non-angelic understanding of the term in Genesis 6 abnormal.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 224. Collins notes that the term appears nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, however it was popular in "Jewish literature of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods."

Story of the Watchers, which would be expected of a literary class in the same time and area where it circulated, their advancement of a contrary theology must have been intentional, in our case demonstrating that the watchers obey and fulfill their ordained roles. On the other hand, it may just be the use of a term that became popular at the time of the composition of Daniel.

Later we do see battling angels. In chapter 10, an angel speaks to Daniel before returning to battle with another angel. These are the angels of nations, whose battles determine the fate of the nations on earth, “now I will return to fight with the guardian angel of Persia: and when I depart from him, the guardian angel of Greece shall come.” We see angels as active players affecting the earth. We will discuss the implications of these battling angels in our discussion of determinism.

G-d, Determinism, Theodicy

Daniel presents us with a challenging view of the role of angels and of G-d. As we have discussed previously, we can understand the Story of the Watchers as inserting a layer of angels between G-d and the world. In the other texts we examined we do not see angels as distancing G-d, or His attention, from the world. In Daniel we have both. Angels are presented as a layer between G-d and the world, and G-d is not seen as removed.

G-d is close. In chapter two we see that G-d answers prayers and reveals secrets. We learn of the succession of kingdoms. G-d is closely controlling these kingdoms. This idea is seen throughout. Even though different kingdoms rise, their rulers are obligated to

recognize G-d, as Daniel says to Nebuchadnezzar, "in order that you will know that the most High rules in the kingdom of men, and gives it to whomever He will." (4:29)

This brings us back to the problem that the Story of the Watchers addresses: If there is an omnipotent, good G-d, why is there evil in the world? We see this addressed in Daniel on two levels, the individual and the national. On the individual level we see a powerful statement coming from the mouths of Daniel's three friends before being thrown in the furnace.

Shadrakh, Meshakh, and 'Aved-nego, answered and said to the king: 'Nebuchadnezzar, we have no need to answer you in this matter. There is our G-d whom we serve who is able to save us; He can save us from the burning fiery furnace, and from your hand, king. But if He does not, you should know, king, that we will not serve your gods, nor worship the golden image which you have set up. (3:16- 18)

This is fascinating. They state clearly that G-d is omnipotent. However, they acknowledge that there is no assurance that He will intervene on their behalf. Nonetheless, they will be loyal to G-d come what may. G-d rewards those that are faithful to Him, yet, He may not. However, the story does show them being saved. We are presented with the mystery of G-d's behavior, but, we are left with hope of being saved.

Barton focuses on the concept of submission to G-d.¹²² Daniel highlights this concept. It is true that at the end of the book there is hope for reward after resurrection. However, it is understood that the stories of the early chapters of Daniel were written

¹²² Barton, "Theological Ethics in Daniel" in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 666-69.

earlier, and in any case, they were left saying what they do. Collins also discusses the issue of the proclamation before the furnace:¹²³

It is a matter of principal, regardless of the consequences. The hope of deliverance, dramatized by the story, gives encouragement and comfort, but it is not in itself the basis for ethical action. That basis must be found in the intrinsic merits of the action proposed.

Barton states the theological ethic as “the end of all human activity is the acknowledgement of the G-d who has his own way in the world, and this is the function that is served by obedience to the law...”¹²⁴ This is very reminiscent of the penultimate verse of (added to) Ecclesiastes, “The end of the matter, everything is heard; fear the L-rd and keep His commandments, for this is man’s entirety.” This may reveal a common theme that helped both of these works become official ‘Writings.’ It is one thing to state that we do not understand G-d. It is the next step to accept G-d’s commandments in the face of the incomprehensible lack of divine intervention to alleviate persecution, even persecution resulting from adherence to these commandments. As the Hellenistic period progressed this theme must have become increasingly relevant. The focus is therefore, not only on G-d’s rewards, but also on living and dying on the principal of acknowledging G-d.

Daniel is an apocalypse. We see that there is a spiritual world where the fate of this world is determined. That world is revealed to Daniel. This causes us to contemplate the futility of human action in a world whose course is determined elsewhere. However, as we have just seen, futility does not change one’s obligations to act in a certain way. Chapter four even seems to allow Nebuchadnezzar a chance to escape his destiny. His

¹²³ Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 194.

¹²⁴ Barton, “Theological Ethics in Daniel”, 667.

dream's interpretation is clear. He will loose power for a time. However, Daniel advises him to change his ways immediately that "there may be an extension to your tranquility." (4:24) It is not clear if these means he can escape his fate entirely, or just postpone it.

Furthermore what is the angel's intention when he says, "The prince of the kingdom of Persia opposed me for twenty-one days, and behold, Michael, one of the chief princes came to help me." (10:13) If the succession of kingdoms is pre-ordained, why did Michael have to come help? Is he implying that the twenty-one days were pre-ordained? It seems as if they were not. Collins says they correspond to Daniel's twenty-one days of fasting.¹²⁵ Was Daniel's fasting also pre-ordained? And how does this set up the revelations for the future of kingdoms? This may be a key to understanding the two dates for the end of chapter twelve. It may be understood that pre-ordained is not precise to the day.

In chapter five we have the writing on the wall: "Mene. G-d has numbered your kingdom and brought it to an end. Teqel. You are weighed in the balances and found wanting. Peres. Your kingdom is divided and given to Maday and Paras." (5:26-28). If the period of his rule was pre-ordained, there is no reason to weigh his merits in the balance. When the time is up, he must go. We must reconcile this with the more specific predictions given in later chapters. Although we may ask if a prediction of 2500 days is specific. Wouldn't 2478 days seem more specific, and 2500 a rounded off number?

As we have pointed out regarding Daniel's prayer in chapter 9, predestination is a challenge to free will and traditional thinking about reward and punishment. Nonetheless, Daniel challenges traditional thinking. Daniel cannot simply discard views that are

¹²⁵ Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 375.

portrayed in traditional literature. Daniel seems to conclude with the concepts of corporate predestination and individual free will, even though we have pointed out examples that complicate such a simple statement. (*i.e.* 'there may be an extension to your tranquility', the battle of the angels necessitating Michael's interference, the weighing of merits to determine the fate of the nation.)

Judgment and Salvation

The problem of theodicy can be addressed with hope for a final judgment, when the righteous will be rewarded and the evil will be punished. Daniel presents such a vision. On the personal level this will be accomplished by means of resurrection of the dead to receive their reward or punishment. On the national level the empires of the world will fall and G-d's nation will be G-d's kingdom on earth. Dates are given for the end, which the audience can anticipate in their time.

Summary

Daniel presents a number of fairly unique positions in the Hebrew Bible. It has interactive angels that communicate with man and play a role in determining the fate of nations. Daniel presents submission to G-d as a virtue and an end to itself. It presents the resurrection as the anticipated vindication of a life and death of righteousness. We may ask why these novelties were accepted but the positions of the Story of the Watchers were not.

There are a number of similarities between the two stories. The result of the belief in the supernatural source of evil is that we cannot hope to change the situation without

G-d's intervention. Similarly, the Book of Daniel says that the end of the evil empires will not be by our deeds.¹²⁶ They both refer to people that join the evildoers.¹²⁷ The end of the Story of the Watchers seems to be less of a novelty than the end of Daniel: A restored world versus a final judgment after resurrection.

¹²⁶ This verse is generally understood to counter the Hasmonean revolution.

¹²⁷ e.g. Daniel 11:32, *1 Enoch* 8:1.

- Chapter 2 -

The Environment and the Canon

In the first part of this thesis I explored theological issues in the Story of the Watchers and different texts that were included in the Hebrew Bible. The purpose of this exploration was to determine whether there was a clear theological ideology that the Story of the Watchers did not adhere to that rendered it unfit for the Hebrew Bible.

In this half of the thesis I will explore the facts, or more appropriately, the theories on the ground. It is necessary to attempt to understand who were the people that accepted the Hebrew Bible in order to determine why the Story of the Watchers was not included. The phenomenon of apocalypticism and theories of apocalyptic groups is also particularly relevant to our question. This demands a look at general groupings of Second Temple Judaism. Finally, I will examine the environment from which the canon emerged. I believe that by the end we will have some ideas as to why the Story of the Watchers was not included.¹²⁸

Apocalypticism Summary

Apocalypticism is a theological attitude. It demands that we acknowledge a number of ideas: the world we experience is not the way it should be, particularly because of the existence of evil; there is a hidden reality that can be revealed; and there is a divinely appointed time when G-d will intrude on the world and set it right, the evil will

¹²⁸ If we do not have a convincing answer at least we have benefited from what Godingay describes "In doing theology, asking questions and walking round the different possible answers is at least as important and as interesting as giving answers." In "Daniel in the Context of Theology", 641.

be punished and the righteous rewarded.¹²⁹ Since we can perceive a development of this attitude, we will examine it as a historical movement of sorts. We will try to understand why this movement came into being and continued until the end of the Second Temple period. We need to understand how socially defined this movement was and how it fit in, or did not fit in with the society around it. This may shed light on why the Story of the Watchers was not included in the Hebrew Bible.

Apocalypticism grew at a time of overlapping Persian and Hellenistic influences. As Greece waxed, Persia waned. The Jews were affected by both cultures and by the experience of cultural transition. The brief story of Genesis 6:1 existed before the Persian conquest, and it seems to have been based on a longer story.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the Story of the Watchers did not circulate before the Persian period. We must ask why at this point in history did it begin to circulate.¹³¹ What made this the opportune time for the story?¹³²

As we have pointed out in the first half of this thesis, the Story of the Watchers primarily addresses theodicy – finding a way to reconcile an omnipotent good G-d with a world experiencing evil and suffering. The Persian period is a peculiar time for this thinking to flourish if we look at geo-political terms. Under Cyrus, the Jews were allowed to return to Judea and rebuild their Temple. That seems like an improvement in their situation compared to the recent conquest, destruction of the Temple and exile. However, there may have been a way of seeing it as bad time, as we will discuss shortly.

Additionally, on the personal level, people often experience evil and suffering even in

¹²⁹ Cf., DiTommaso, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism. III. Judaism. a. Second Temple and Hellenistic" bottom of the ninth page of the article in particular.

¹³⁰ Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible", 65-66.

¹³¹ One reason to see the story's beginning at this time is the apparent Aramaic original. In an earlier period, among the Jews, it should have been written in Hebrew. There is also the simple lack of any earlier evidence of the story, beyond various strands and motifs.

¹³² Collins, in *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 50-51 discusses some of the situations that may have generated SW and the multivalent properties of the story that take it beyond its historical source.

generally good times. Furthermore, it may also be that exposure to new cultures (Persian, Babylonian, Greek) highlighted a new way of thinking that addressed certain age-old questions of life. The influence of Persian dualism may have played a role in giving evil a pronounced spiritual identity, in our case evil-doing angels.

The Local Situation

A return of Jews from Babylonia occurred. The Persians were the controlling empire. However, we must examine who was in control on the ground. There were a number of competing groups vying for recognition and power from the imperial Persian regime. From this time until the destruction of the Second Temple we have the difficult task of identifying groups and currents of thought that were prominent in Jewish society, in spite of the fact that "All must admit in the end that the sources are too sparse and/or difficult to be highly confident of the results."¹³³

Overlapping groups and geographical locations make clear distinctions between different groups difficult. Furthermore, we are basing ourselves on texts. "The problems of dating coupled with the difficulty of the contents render attempts to draw sociological inferences perilous indeed."¹³⁴ When we look at a period of five hundred years, and one that ended two thousand years ago, we must be very careful not to overlook the fact that comparisons between our limited documents and artifacts may be comparisons of situations separated by a hundred years or more.

When the Jews were exiled to Babylonia, a significant population was left in Judea. It was not in the Babylonian's interest for the land to go barren. Their interest was

¹³³ VanderKam, "Mapping Second Temple Judaism", 3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 16. He further reminds us that constructed theories demand validation by the sources.

in breaking the nation so that it would not have the leadership to rise up against Babylonia. By exiling the classes of society likely to lead such a rebellion they achieved their goals. By leaving peasants to work the land, they also achieved their goal of producing tribute. Aristocratic types of people usually feel that they are the society, in the words of Louis XIV 'l'état c'est moi.' Hence, there was an attitude that no one was left in Judea.

In any case, a population will develop a structure and people will grab positions of power. We know about people of power in Judea. The Tobiads are the example of a family that was not exiled and increased in power.¹³⁵ The Tobiads were prominent players for centuries during the Second Temple period.

Besides a particular clan, we can ask if the general local population, who had not been exiled, did not see the returnees as cultural invaders. It is possible that those returning brought with them certain aspects of Babylonian or Persian culture. It is also possible that the locals had changed over time.¹³⁶ Whether one group, the other, or both had changed, it would entail a degree of culture clash when they were 're-united.' When the two groups vied for control there was sure to be conflict that may have led to the need for a new theological expression that is found in the Story of the Watchers.

¹³⁵ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 86. Histories of Second Temple Judaism inevitably discuss the Tobiads. In addition to written histories, the mention of this family in the Zenon papyri emphasizes the significance of this clan.

¹³⁶ Sometimes immigrants maintain their original culture in their new land, while 'back home' the culture changes.

The Temple

When the Temple was rebuilt, priests had to run it. There were different clans of priests vying for control.¹³⁷ The power and the prestige of the priests is a likely place to find frictions and divisions. Rebuilding the Temple was part of the goal in returning to Zion. The control of the Temple was a significant issue. The priestly clan of the Zadokites wanted to insure that they would have exclusive control. Retaining control of the Temple involved the central institution of the nation, which had religious, national and financial power. The Zadokite clan plays a role during most of the Second Temple period. Boccaccini asserts that this control of the Zadokites was opposed by a non-Zadokite priestly opposition that became Enochic Judaism.¹³⁸ Anti-Zadokite sentiments are felt to be expressed in the chapters of the Book of the Watchers immediately following the Story of the Watchers.

Enochic Judaism

Boccaccini has encouraged tremendous scholarly debate on many of our topics.¹³⁹ The challenge that he set for himself was to negotiate the maze of Second Temple Judaism. This maze encompasses many Jewish and non-Jewish groups coming in contact and conflict. What perplexes most scholars is the seemingly simple outcome, Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. Understanding how these two groups emerged from this period is an exercise in multi-faceted research with limited evidence and intense conscious or

¹³⁷ See Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 95.

¹³⁸ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 90-91.

¹³⁹ His work has led to, among other things, the Enoch Seminars that gather leading scholars on these topics to present papers which at the present have been published in two volumes. See bibliography.

subconscious personal attitudes.¹⁴⁰ Boccaccini discusses the history of ideas.¹⁴¹ Ideas intersect with society. It is well known that Second Temple studies focus on groups such as 'Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenees.' The Qumran discoveries have challenged these three neatly separated groups. The identity of the Qumran community does not fit cleanly into any of these groups.¹⁴² This is because groups of real people are usually not easily defined, especially if the group persists for a long period of time. Boccaccini, therefore, becomes a courageous explorer.

Boccaccini's initial conclusions are more neat groups and lines of transmission.¹⁴³ These lines seem to follow a flow of ideas. Scholars must ask if the groups on the ground were separated according to the different flow-charts of ideas.¹⁴⁴ Boccaccini's conclusion is the existence of Enochic Judaism. He wants to posit the existence of a Jewish theology that continued from before Ezra until its ultimate expression in Christianity. The Story of the Watchers is a core component of his Enochic Judaism which was in a running 'family feud' with other forms of Judaism, primarily 'Zadokite'. Hence, the Zadokite Bible would not be apt to include its competitor's theologically contradictory text.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ As books such as Lonergan's *Method in Theology* explain, individuals start with a certain way of making sense of the world around them. The greatest discovery of evidence from a corner of Second Temple Judaism is the Qumran discoveries. The controversies, bordering on scandals, about the research into these fragments expose how much personal attitudes and emotion can become invested in researching this period.

¹⁴¹ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 15-25.

¹⁴² In certain ways they seem like each of these three groups.

¹⁴³ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, xii.

¹⁴⁴ See Boccaccini (ed.) *Enoch and Qumran Origins* Part Five and related articles in Boccaccini and Collins (eds.) *The Early Enoch Literature*.

¹⁴⁵ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 92, states that the concept of the end of time and a renewed world is Enochic, and contrary to the dominant Zadokite theology. However, we do see it being absorbed into 'Zadokite' writings, as we have seen in our discussions of Isaiah and Daniel, to a degree equal to or greater than in SW. Boccaccini does address the influence of Enochic Judaism on Zadokite Judaism.

Prophets and Priests

We can also examine the attitude of the population represented by the Prophets. Many people may have seen the period after the return from Babylon as a continued disgrace, notwithstanding the rebuilding of the Temple. Hanson did ground breaking work in the research of investigating prophecy and apocalypticism. He discusses the loss of power experienced by prophets upon the restoration of the Temple. He describes a conflict between prophets who are visionaries and priests who are realists or pragmatists engaged in running an actual Temple and leading (dominating) a population.¹⁴⁶ Hanson sees this struggle in relation to the Zadokite Temple priests. The priestly aristocracy felt it had reached a type of prophetic fulfillment leading a spiritual community around the Temple cult. They were fulfilled with the rebuilding of the Temple. The prophets and those following them, in Hanson's words "the visionary group," did not see the reconstruction of the Temple as an end to the exile. Prophetic eschatology focused on the Israelite nation as a nation. The prophecies were not fulfilled as long as the nation has not been redeemed as a nation, and currently they were living under Persian rule. The nation that was so cherished and blessed by G-d was not independent and certainly not the world leader. Prophetic literature painted a greater picture of the restoration than the reality on the ground, they yearned for utopia. The current situation, even with a rebuilt Temple, appeared as an intolerable situation, a disgrace to the people and to G-d.

Schmithals also discusses this idea as a dispute between the Priests and the Prophets.¹⁴⁷ He describes the situation saying that "an increasingly sharp opposition developed between the two tendencies in the Jewish community, each of which claimed

¹⁴⁶ Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 71, particularly his footnote 44.

¹⁴⁷ Schmithals, *The Apocalyptic Movement*, 135.

orthodoxy for its own position.”¹⁴⁸ As he reconstructs a history, he describes a gradual change from restorationist-historical prophecy to dualistic-transcendent apocalypticism.

We see the two intermingled in the prophets and in early apocalyptic works.¹⁴⁹

Nonetheless, he insists that the view of the world is ultimately so different in apocalypticism that it cannot be supposed that prophecy itself transformed, or led into apocalypticism. He focuses on the hope that prophecy has for the restoration of this world, while apocalypticism has no hope for this world. Thus, the disenfranchised prophetic groups would have been drawn to apocalypticism, and their writings left out of the Temple literature, which is supposed to have become the Hebrew Bible.

According to the theories of Enochic Judaism, or of a Priestly/ Prophetic schism, we can point back to the Persian period as a starting point of apocalyptic dispute. This starting point works well with views that point to a starting point for the Story of the Watchers during that period. Sacchi determines “Surely it is a text prior to 200 BCE, as it is already documented in all its basic sections in a fragment that goes back to the first half of the second century BCE.”¹⁵⁰ In another place, Sacchi directly addresses the issue and brings us back to the fourth century BCE.¹⁵¹ This works well with theories of the origin of the Story of the Watchers.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 137.

¹⁵⁰ Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 47.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 61-62.

Divisions Revisited

However, there is a problem with these views. The groups we try to divide between do not seem to have separated for centuries after the Persian period. The Qumran evidence shows us a community that venerated Deuteronomy, the Prophets, Enoch and Jubilees. This community existed centuries after the Persians, yet prophecy and apocalypticism were both at home in this community. "It seems very unlikely that any real social groups ever defined their boundaries in terms of adherence to the teachings of Enoch or Daniel."¹⁵² In more general terms Cook states that "finally, it now appears too simple to characterize the postexilic period as a time rife with factional conflict. The postexilic proto-apocalyptic texts do not all presuppose a matrix of polarization of groups or class strata."¹⁵³ Furthermore, Hanson describes the apocalyptic movement in a periodically recurring 'dialectic' with the counter movement in Judaism.¹⁵⁴ It is too simple to say that the Story of the Watchers represented a distinct group of people that were at odds with others, and hence their writings were not accepted.

Hellenism

The spread of Hellenistic culture is often seen as a cause for the need for new theological answers. New knowledge and culture is introduced, and the local culture reacts with aversion saying it is sent by evil angels. The inability of the Jews to rid their cities of this culture demands an explanation. The local culture is seen as representing

¹⁵² Tiller, "The Sociological Settings", 254. Similarly, Beyerle in "The Book of Daniel and Its Social Setting" quotes Norman Cohn "there is no convincing evidence that they ('The authors of the Book of Daniel and the Enochic Writings') were sectarians in the sense of belonging to an identifiable group" 205.

¹⁵³ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Post Exilic Setting*, 218.

¹⁵⁴ Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 211.

G-d's will on earth. How can it be suppressed by another culture that violates G-d's order on earth?¹⁵⁵

The Diadochi wars are a popular event in locating a source for the rise of apocalypticism. The destruction of these wars certainly brought a tremendous suffering upon the residents of Judea, possibly greater than the Babylonian conquest. These were a number of wars going back and forth between the two sides. Judea was in the middle and suffered throughout these wars. This tremendous suffering is often seen as a cause for a need to find a new understanding of theodicy beyond what the common sacred writings of the time provided. People were not ready to blame themselves for this extraordinary suffering, nor were they prepared to give up on G-d, either. Apocalyptic writings may have answered the need for new understanding. Of course, the Story of the Watchers would seem to fit in with anti-Hellenistic groups that accepted the Hebrew Bible, and our question is left unanswered.

Hasmoneans

While on the topic of Hellenism, we must address the Hasmonean revolt. This revolt displaced the Zadokites. Schiffman thinks that displaced Zadokites were the founders of the Qumran community.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that Boccaccini thinks the priests that were displaced by the Zadokites became Enochic Judaism, and Schiffman sees displaced Zadokites as founding an Enochic Sect. This may be accounted for by the

¹⁵⁵ The word 'culture' includes religious dimensions such as public acknowledgment and worship of deities, and legal regulations assisting or deterring traditional religious practices, something that has come to for in Quebec's recent exploration into understanding the relationship between culture and religion.

¹⁵⁶ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 75.

fact that groups have varieties within themselves, they change over time, and their position in society changes over time as well.

When the Hasmoneans conquered Judea and re-established the Temple not every Jew was happy. For our purposes, we look to the former Priests. The Hasmoneans changed arrangements for leading the country and running the Temple. This upset people that had power in the past, such as displaced priests. These priests grabbed and ran with the Story of the Watchers. The Watchers and their progeny corrupted the world, and people joined them. The regime leading the Temple may very well have been seen as being among those that joined the evil forces. If the Story of the Watchers would be associated with such an anti-Hasmonean group, that may play a role in its rejection. However, there seems to be an anti-Hasmonean attitude in the Book of Daniel also.

Conclusion of Historical Review

In light of the historical review we have just conducted, we can see a number of reasons why a need could be felt for additional writings. The primary issue is disappointment in the current reality. The return to Zion was supposed to usher in a new divine age: an age of G-d's, and Israel's glory. The current age did not entirely fit the bill for many Jews, whether it was the nature of the reestablishment, or whether it was due to their exclusion from power.

Judaism

Since we are discussing Jewish groups, we should address 'Judaism.' For our purposes, this is important to determine whether the Story of the Watchers represented

Judaism, a type of Judaism, or a non-Jewish religion. Before the exile, there was a tribal existence that defined Jewish identity based on heredity and land. After the exile, and the infusion of foreigners into the tribal homeland, Judaism needed a defined identity. A large number of Jews lived in Babylon, and an ever increasing number of non-Jews lived in Judea. Geography alone became less of a determinant.

Jaffee discusses the term "Judaism."¹⁵⁷ He focuses on the term saying that Jews "viewed themselves and were viewed by others as constituting a homogeneous ethnic group bound by a noticeable body of ethnic customs. These included distinctive patterns of piety (eusebeia) [...]"¹⁵⁸ He further states that Judaism as a group claims direct physical descent of ancient Israel and loyalty to the Torah of Moses.¹⁵⁹ Our earliest sources describe Jewish customs such as the Sabbath, dietary laws, monotheism and lack of worshipped images, and circumcision.¹⁶⁰

Jews in natural communities shared certain common customs and recognized certain basic symbols as their own. But they were rather tolerant of wide ranges of behavior within the broad limits of Jewish social custom, and recognized few official interpretations of the common symbolic vocabulary as binding upon individual belief.¹⁶¹

According to Jaffee the term Judaism can encompass significant varieties of groupings that others may call schisms, sects or even different religions. For example, he downplays the differences between the Zadokites and other Jews: "The Zadokites, the Zadokite priestly families, who constituted more of a clan or estate than a self-defined

¹⁵⁷ Jaffee, *Early Judaism: Religious Worlds of the First Judaic Millennium*, Introduction.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 9-10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 13.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 127-129

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 134.

religious community.”¹⁶² Similarly, Schiffman describes a commonality among known groups:

Although the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Dead Sea sect, and others disagreed on fundamental issues of theology, law, biblical exegesis, and social and political matters, no sect ever claimed that the others were not Jews. Rather, all groups implicitly recognized the Jewish status of their competitors. Even in regard to the extreme Hellenists, the claim was never made that they had somehow left the Jewish people by their apostasy.¹⁶³

Judaism had long been accustomed to tolerating both differences of opinion and deviation from the norms of behavior by its members.¹⁶⁴

VanderKam brings a similar note regarding those who propose a defined Zadokite group's texts:

Here one encounters serious difficulties with categories because it is difficult to read the texts as expressing one viewpoint. If the scholars' categories are correct, there must have been a lot of good will within the groups such that they could embrace people who held diametrically opposed views.¹⁶⁵

It is interesting to note that tefillin (phylacteries) and mezuzoth were found at Qumran (objects defined in oral tradition, something usually associated with 'Pharisees'). Josephus describes the Zadokites dying in the Temple rather than desecrating the Sabbath by making war (showing extreme dedication to their oral traditions of Sabbath observance). Sacchi notes that “it is worth insisting on the fact that Essenism was not a clear and well-defined unit. As with every other group on earth there must have been numerous tendencies within Essenism [...]”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Schiffman, *Who was a Jew?*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid* 52.

¹⁶⁵ VanderKam, “Mapping Second Temple Judaism”, 15.

¹⁶⁶ Sacchi, “Enochism, Qumranism and Apocalyptic: Some Thoughts on a Recent Book”, 363.

This contrasts with those who want to define religion, and in our case Judaism(s), as a coherent theological outlook. Boccaccini reduces the ethnic element from ancient Judaism: "Rabbinic Judaism was no less innovative than Christianity. The sages [...] and strengthened the bond between ethnicity and Judaism into an *unprecedented* identification."¹⁶⁷ (Italics added). The struggle to identify Judaism primarily as either an ethnicity or a religious theology continues until today. There certainly was a geographically bound group of 'ethnic' Jews. This group had certain beliefs and practices. As people from this group spread to other places they maintained certain beliefs and practices. People who joined this group adopted certain beliefs and practices. Our challenge is to determine the extent to which those beliefs and practices can be challenged while remaining in one religious grouping called 'Judaism.'

Limits of Jewish Identity

We are speaking about the eventual rejection of the Story of the Watchers in the form that it was circulated among Jews during the Second Temple period. I would like to posit a few points that defined the limits of Jewish identity: nominal monotheism, the Temple and nation, and ancestral traditions. This is reflected in the battle cry of Judah Maccabee, "So when he had committed all to *the Creator of the world*, and exhorted his soldiers to fight manfully, even unto death, for *the laws, the temple, the city, the country and the commonwealth*". (2Maccabees 13:14)

This idea would allow for a variety of contrary opinions to remain in Judaism. In the words of VanderKam,

¹⁶⁷ Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 34.

We should also make due allowance for the possible role of a common religious tradition expressed in a shared literary heritage.¹⁶⁸

These points support the thesis that the separation into different types of Judaism, the highlighting of oppositions, is too rigid if it does not allow space for the many examples of cross-fertilization attested in the sources. As we might expect, writers throughout the period appear to have drawn on varied traditions within their shared heritage, without restricting themselves to one type.¹⁶⁹

Jews and those around them perceived a peculiarity about the Jews. They exclusively worshiped a formless G-d and made no statues representing Him. The precise definition of monotheism can be argued. In the case of our story the issue of the existence and independent volition of angels has to be measured against the understanding of monotheism. The existence of spiritual beings that act against G-d's will is very close to, or past the point of monotheistic belief. Nonetheless, no Jewish group of the period could consciously acknowledge other entities on an equal level with G-d.

The Temple and nation are central factors in Jewish life at the time. Criticisms of the running of the Temple emphasize its importance to the critics. The Temple is the spiritual center of the nation. They are interdependent. Even visions of the nations of the world coming to the Temple understand it as the Jewish Temple. Judaism sees a centrality of the Temple as a religious expression of the holy nation. Wright quotes Himmelfarb arguing that "the central importance of temple and priesthood was such that 'all Jews, or rather, all members of the literate elite who have left us their thoughts, were

¹⁶⁸ VanderKam "Mapping Second Temple Judaism", 19.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 20.

likely to have ideas about how priests should behave.”¹⁷⁰ However, the Story of the Watchers seems to ignore the Temple and the nation.¹⁷¹

Different Jewish groups followed ancestral traditions. The practices noted above such as circumcision and dietary laws were practiced by every Jewish group, with the exception of extreme Hellenists. However, the Story of the Watchers does not mention the importance of Jewish practices.

Let us return to the parts of the Hebrew Bible that we have examined before. The section of the Book of Genesis that is comparable to the Story of the Watchers does not contain the lengthy description of the angels, and it begins and ends before the Jewish nation exists. This is unlike the Story of the Watchers, whose blissful end has not yet occurred, yet it does not relate to the Israelite nation explicitly. Isaiah does not portray rebellious angels, which could be seen as a threat to monotheism; it does talk about the Temple, nation and traditions. Ecclesiastes is not as clear. It does not focus on angels. In chapter five it mentions the ‘house of G-d’ and sacrifices. Chapter eight speaks about obeying the King’s command, which can easily be understood as referring to traditional laws.

Daniel is different. Daniel is an apocalypse. It has battling angels. But, the Temple, nation, and traditions are central. “Daniel, quite unlike Enoch, was a hero who received special wisdom because of his obedience to Moses’ law.”¹⁷² Battling angels must not have been too much of a threat to the dominant understanding of monotheism of the time, but rebellious angels may have been.

¹⁷⁰ Wright III, “1 Enoch and Ben Sira”, 173. He quotes Himmelfarb, “The Book of the Watchers and the Priests of Jerusalem,” *The Origins of Enochic Judaism* 131-135. (non vidi)

¹⁷¹ When absorbed in BW there is reason to see a critique of the Temple (functionaries).

¹⁷² VanderKam, “Mapping Second Temple Judaism”, 15.

Another book in the Hebrew Writings that we have not discussed is the book of Jonah. Boccaccini discusses its rebellious nature.¹⁷³ For our purposes, no other spiritual being acts besides Jonah's G-d; there is no challenge to G-d's sovereignty. In chapter two, Jonah says, "my prayer will come to You, to your holy Temple." There is also the famous response Jonah gives to the sailors, "I am a Hebrew who fears G-d, the L-rd of the heaven, who made the sea and the land." (Jonah 1:9) The only thing not mentioned is the ancient traditions, which could be discounted on the fact that his mission is to a non-Jewish nation.

The Qumran discoveries also provide us with a glimpse into a corner of the Second Temple Period. When we look at the collection of writings, we note disparate theologies. We have Enoch, Daniel, and Sectarian writings all held in esteem, yet all differed on issues relating to evil and determinism. However, "the grounds for separation from the rest of Judaism were disagreement over the calendar and halachic issues, while the dispute with the Man of the Lie concerned the authority of the Teacher and interpretation of the Law."¹⁷⁴ The Qumran group had what appears to be a distinctive theology on many issues, yet that is apparently not what separated them from other Jews. They were monotheistic, revered the Temple, the nation, and what they felt were the laws and traditions.

The Story of the Watchers is different. The angelic rebellion in heaven is a challenge to monotheism. The drama occurs before the Temple, Nation and Jewish traditions exist. However, since this story is incorporated into a larger Enoch literature,

¹⁷³ Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 109-11. I mention Jonah because Boccaccini understands Jonah as being the product of a Sapiential group opposed to others. VanderKam has other reasons to take issue with Boccaccini on this point, see VanderKam "Mapping Second Temple Judaism", 19 in the footnote.

¹⁷⁴ Collins "Enochic Judaism", 296.

we are led by a hero, Enoch (who is not mentioned in the Story of the Watchers) who can be seen in conflict with the Temple, Nation and Traditions.¹⁷⁵ He is from the universalistic past. If the revelation of reality is transmitted outside of the Mosaic and previously known Prophetic revelations, their significance is diminished. Some of these potential implications became realized in certain apocalypses and apocalyptic groups who chose Enoch and other figures such as Noah for the source of pre-Mosaic knowledge.

The Hasmonean Revolution

All of the books of the Hebrew Bible were gathered in Jerusalem before, or at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolution.¹⁷⁶ The book of Daniel is generally understood to have been redacted during this revolution:

We may conclude that the Aramaic apocalypse is clearly a political manifesto which tried to encourage pious Jews, who felt victimized under Hellenistic empires, to resist their political, economic, and cultural pressure [...] It announces the destruction of the Hellenistic empire in the near future [...]¹⁷⁷

It also seems to have been accepted as part of the classical literature shortly thereafter.¹⁷⁸

Since no texts after the beginning of the Hasmonean period were accepted in the Hebrew Bible, we could look at that period for an idea as to what the criteria for being accepted were. When Koch discusses the canonization of the Book of Daniel he uses an interesting phrase, "[...] a message [...] which seemed essential for their religious self-

¹⁷⁵ This can also be seen to a degree in Wisdom writings. In a certain way many apocalypses are similar to wisdom writings. They can both reflect universal truths not dependent on Moses and the Torah. This has lead scholars to examine whether the Enochic, or wisdom literature was intended to negate or overwrite previous texts such as the Pentateuch.

¹⁷⁶ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, xvi-xvii, "at the core of the Hebrew Bible are exclusively the documents written, edited, or collected by the Jerusalem priesthood in the early Second Temple period, up to and including the book of Daniel [...]"

¹⁷⁷ Albertz, "The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel", 186.

¹⁷⁸ DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Daniel Legenda*, 50, particularly footnote 31.

understanding.”¹⁷⁹ The ‘religious self-understanding’ at the time of the Hasmoneans is a significant issue. In relation to our current discussion we can wonder how heavily ‘theological doctrines’ played into the equation of self-understanding relative to ‘nationalistic doctrines.’ In other words, tangible expressions of national identity relative to religion were at the forefront, *e.g.* idols, the temple institution, sacrifices and treasury; ancestral customs / laws of the fathers, such as kashruth, circumcision, Sabbath. Intangible concepts such as free will, providence, the ultimate etiology of evil and others may have played a role, to a greater or lesser degree depending on how they touched on tangible reality, *e.g.* the belief in resurrection expressed in Daniel is generally understood as a motivation to fight until martyrdom. We would think a view contrary to this would be suppressed.¹⁸⁰

Boccaccini says that the Hasmoneans’ goal was to “mark the restoration of the Mosaic law and its transformation from the law of the house of Zadok into the national law of all Jews.”¹⁸¹ He implies that the Hellenistic supporter Melanus was a religious ‘Enochite.’ It seems strange to propose any group of religious Jews of any variety that would support prohibiting circumcision, kashruth and the Sabbath.¹⁸² In addition, the *Animal Apocalypse* of *1 Enoch* supports the Maccabees.¹⁸³ It is clear that the Hasmoneans promoted their understanding of the Mosaic law. This does make us wonder about certain books of the Hebrew Bible that survived their reign. As Boccaccini argues, there are

¹⁷⁹ Koch, “Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel”, 422.

¹⁸⁰ Nonetheless, Ecclesiastes was accepted among the canonical literature, even though it is generally understood to reject resurrection.

¹⁸¹ Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 162-63.

¹⁸² 1Mac 1:44-50, 2Mac 6:6, 10:11. (Regardless of whether one employs a lunar or solar calendar, the Sabbath day remains the same.)

¹⁸³ It may be that there were different groups of Enochites, but this would leave us with certain Enochites friendly to the Zadokite laws restored by the Maccabees and confuse our neat group trajectories.

books included in the Hebrew Bible that do not clearly promote Mosaic law. It must be that not every book needed to focus on this issue.

The Christian Separation

There is a well-known later schism that may shed light on our discussion.

Christianity began as a Jewish phenomenon. As we have mentioned, Boccaccini feels it is still a form of Judaism. In any case, at a certain point it was no longer seen as being Jewish, nor did it consider itself Jewish. There are many opinions on when this happened. One opinion is that purely theological disputes were not the driving force of separation.¹⁸⁴ Only when Christianity focused on converting gentiles, who rapidly became the bulk of Christians, and when converting them did not require Jewish customs, such as circumcision, was the break made. According to this view, Jewish-Christians who were ethnically Jewish, practiced Jewish traditions such as dietary laws, Sabbath, and circumcision, were still considered Jews of a certain variety, even though they had some unique theological positions (however much they may or may not have been rooted in streams of Jewish thought).

The implications for us are clear. People who cherished the Story of the Watchers, Enochic writings, apocalyptic writings, sapiential writings, etc, were not necessarily considered as distinct as the Jewish Christians, who were considered a part of the Jewish people at the time. The great conflict we hear about between the Zadokites and Pharisees was based on control of the Temple worship and certain religious laws and practices. Issues such as the etiology of evil and resurrection of the dead do not seem to have been what drove a wedge and led to conflict between groups.

¹⁸⁴ Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew?*, 76. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishna*, 168.

However, this being said we must look at the canon. The acceptance of 'religious' literature would seem to involve theological issues.

Canon

There does not seem to be a dispute that by the time of Ezra the Pentateuch was in a form similar to what we have today.¹⁸⁵ There is more of a dispute as to when the books of the Prophets were accepted as a unit. Ben Sira (chapters 46-49) mentions the Prophets at approximately 200 BCE. Ben Sira seems to clearly know all the books of Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. These Prophets (and Ben Sira) were found at Qumran. The question is whether the Prophets was a closed group, or rather when it closed. Ben Sira's historical line goes straight through to Nehemiah, but then it stops. Nehemiah is a number of centuries before Ben Sira. His grandson mentions the Law, Prophets and Other Writings. This implies that Prophets was an identifiable group, even if there was not a universal consensus on the included books.

It has been noted that the Qumran community's legal writings imply a canon of sorts. "The books of the Law, the Prophets, and Psalms make up the Bible quoted by Qumran legal and exegetical literature."¹⁸⁶

2Maccabees 2:13 speaks of Nehemiah gathering the books of the Prophets, "[...] founding a library he gathered the acts of the kings, and the prophets [...]" This implies that at the time of the composition of 2Maccabees the period of prophets was considered

¹⁸⁵ Alexander, in "The Enochic Literature and the Bible", 65 understands SW as exegesis of Genesis, which he says must have been canonical literature in the fourth century BCE. Leiman, in *The Canonization of Hebrew Literature*, 26, discusses internal Biblical references and concludes "the Torah in its present form was certainly canonical during the lifetime of Ezra and his associates (fifth-fourth centuries B.C.)."

Trebolle Barrera, in "Origins of a Tripartate Canon", 133-38, gives an excellent presentation of the topic.
¹⁸⁶ Treballe Barrera, "Origins of a Tripartate Canon", 139. Also see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus*, 382, "The emphasis on the Torah at Qumran distinguishes the community's thought from that of Enoch and Daniel."

closed at Nehemiah's time. The later evidence from Josephus also implies the same thing. The fact that he regards Daniel as a prophet implies that he felt Daniel was before Ezra. This, of course, fits with the plot of Daniel. Josephus agrees that by the time of Nehemiah the period of the classic Prophets was over,¹⁸⁷ even if one could argue that there still existed the ability to prophesize.

It is often pointed out that Daniel is not included in Ben Sira's list. This can mean a number of things. Generally it is understood that the MT Book of Daniel was not circulating (or composed) at that time. The next line of Ben Sira, 49:14, is puzzling, as it mentions Enoch, "But upon the earth was no man created like Enoch, for he was taken from the earth." After going through what appears to be a chronological presentation of the Prophets, why is he mentioning Enoch, and other ancient figures? Is he alluding to other literature or leading up to his next historical figure, Simon?

Leiman¹⁸⁸ discusses the topical integrity of the Prophets as a chronological history: "the Prophetic books continue the history of Israel from where Deuteronomy ends." He also points out that the Hebrew Bible's Prophets end just before 500 BCE, again noting the attitude that the era of prophecy had ended.

This seems to work with the devise of pseudonymous attribution. A person could not expect to be accepted as a prophet after the period of prophecy had ended, thus he must attribute his message to an earlier period and figure. Since the period of prophecy seems to be closed, and the writings of that prophetic period were circulating, even in variant texts, it would seem improbable to add a new prophet, or to expect a major

¹⁸⁷ Against Apion 1 paragraphs 39-42.

¹⁸⁸ Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Literature*, 28.

addition to them, like the Story of the Watchers, to be accepted.¹⁸⁹ Hanson discusses anonymity and pseudonymity in writings of Second Isaiah. He feels this gave “rise to an attitude toward past writings which began to lay the foundation for the formation of a canon.”¹⁹⁰

This leaves us with the Writings. In comparison to the Pentateuch and the Prophets, the Writings are a fairly random sampling of texts. It gives the impression that there was literature circulating that was widely esteemed and by force of enthusiasm and respect eventually was considered canonical. Trebolle Barrera describes this idea:

“The expressions “Laws and Prophets” and “Law, Prophets and Psalms” refer primarily to the authority of these books as scripture, whereas the expression “Law, Prophets, and Writings,” which dates much later, marks instead all the books which comprise the scriptures of Judaism.”¹⁹¹

This final group of Writings is where we could expect to find the Story of the Watchers. However, even among this literature there are some limits.

Boundaries of the Writings

There are a number of problems with the Story of the Watchers. If a text about the period of Enoch existed, it should have been known since then and probably included in Genesis.¹⁹² A counter-argument would be that it was secret. Apparently that is not an easy argument to press. The many midrashic stories that expand on stories of the

¹⁸⁹ To a certain degree the order of books in the prophetic canon would not make a difference if one accepts a period of prophecy that has ended. The books of the prophetic period were known. It would reason to attempt to put the Prophets themselves in chronological order. Which order you put them among sacred writings does not allow other books to be considered from that period, especially if they do not claim to be from that period, such as Enoch (which claims to be of an earlier period).

¹⁹⁰ Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 70-71.

¹⁹¹ Trebolle Barrera, “Origins of a Tripartite Old Testament Canon”, 145.

¹⁹² Even though Job is sometimes viewed by Rabbinical sources (e.g. b.Baba Bathra 15a-b) as dating from the time of Genesis, it does not relate to the plot of events mentioned in Genesis as SW does.

Pentateuch are included in midrashim, not in the Hebrew Bible. If the story existed and was not included in Genesis, it is too late for the story. We could argue that among the Writings we have stories from earlier times, such as Ruth. So, that would leave some room open for the Story of the Watchers. However, we have no evidence of the Story of the Watchers circulating separately from the *Book of the Watchers*. Our documents show them combined, even though we can trace different sources involved in the composition. This then becomes very different than Ruth, for example. Four chapters culminating in the genealogy of David is different than dozens of chapters of Enoch's exploits, not to mention the actual content of those chapters. Furthermore, since the text had not already been accepted at the time of the Pentateuch, nor during the time of the Prophets, it would have difficulty receiving popular acceptance as a component of the same category of literature at a later time.

An opposite problem would be that it is too late. The story does not end. We have not entered the time of peace and prosperity on earth as described at the end of the Story. The flood came and went, but the world is not fixed. It is true that subsequent sections of the *Book of the Watchers* deal with that. However, the additional material probably creates more problems than solutions for allowing the story to be included in the Hebrew Bible.

The other lengthy books of Writings are different. Psalms were known, the question would be which ones to include. They were actually so well known at an early period that they were sometimes considered part of the Prophets. The national history until Chronicles fits the sequence from the Pentateuch through the period after the Prophets. The only other lengthy book then is Job. This raises the issue of theology. Job

addresses theology in a way that was tolerable, not so with the Book of the Watchers.

Actually, Job may have been included expressly to exclude the attitude of evil's temporarily independent rule expressed in the Story of the Watchers.

We have seen enough reason for the Story of the Watchers to be 'beyond the pale' of the range of acceptable theology, without addressing the entire *Book of Watchers*.

Unlike stories in the Writings such as Esther and Daniel, the Story of the Watchers does not emphasize the virtues of observance of the commandments. No book of the Writings is dated past the Hasmonean period.¹⁹³ The Hasmonean revolution was conducted under the flag of repossessing pure Judaism against Hellenistic infidelity. This was translated at that time as fidelity to the Torah and its commandments, reasserting the nation and rededicating the Temple. The Story of the Watchers does none of these things.

In summary, the books of the Writings fall into a few categories. Psalms and Lamentations were a well known part of the national liturgy, even if the texts were not fixed. Ruth enhances David's genealogy. The works attributed to Solomon are meant to reflect the depth of thought and personal development of this national icon over his lifetime.¹⁹⁴ Job struggled with theodicy in a tolerable way. Esther and Daniel encourage fidelity to the commandments in the face of oppression. Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles continue the national history from the end of the Prophets. James Sanders understands that the Writings focus on G-d's "involvement in Israel's history, or on wisdom."¹⁹⁵ The

¹⁹³ Zeitlen, "Jewish Apocryphal Literature", 233. A reason that "'outside books' were excluded from the Canon was that they revealed the time of their composition.... Some books were not included because they were written in a foreign language..." He emphasize here the idea of a time limit for acceptance and the issue of language. If SW was originally Aramaic, that may have played a role, although we could argue from Daniel.

¹⁹⁴ Bocaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 105. "The reason for this choice is manifest: the ancient Jewish tradition claimed that 'Solomon's wisdom surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt'."

¹⁹⁵ Sanders, "The Issue of Closure in the Canonical Process", 258.

Story of the Watchers does not discuss Israel's history nor could it be considered 'wisdom literature' and be attributed to King Solomon.

Conclusion

The Story of the Watchers found no place in the Hebrew Bible. There are theological reasons for this. Primarily, it presents G-d as being temporarily out of control and aloof to the world. This implies a type of dualism that was unacceptable at the time. Unlike other apocalyptic novelties that were tolerated in the book of Daniel, such as angelic mediation and national predestination. In addition, the Story of the Watchers became part of a body of Enochic literature that on a whole was different or contradictory to understandings presented in the texts included in the Hebrew Bible.

There are also structural reasons why it cannot find a place in the Hebrew Bible. It is staged in the period of Genesis. Genesis was known already. Later 're-writings' of known biblical stories, and Genesis stories in particular, were common, yet they co-existed rather than replace the Genesis stories. Of course, there is the interesting statement in the early midrash *Breishith Rabbah* (26:15) where R. Shimon curses whoever says that *bnei elohim* means angels. This reveals that the Story of the Watchers' understanding of *bnei elohim* persisted long after the Hebrew Bible was a recognizable unit.

Finally, we have geo-political reasons. The Pentateuch, Prophets and certain traditional laws and customs were known before the Hasmonean revolution. The rulers of the nation at this time had a reactionary agenda to Hellenistic influence and domination.

They promoted the ideas of Torah, Temple and Nation, which the Story of the Watchers does not promote, and may even be seen as de-emphasizing.

The Story of the Watchers was popular and revered by many Jews, yet due to a number of considerations, it was a clearly different category than the books included in the Hebrew Bible.

Post Script

The Story of the Watchers may not have made it to the Hebrew canon, but it remained with the 'Hebrews.'¹⁹⁶ The Talmud refers to the story without telling it.

Eventually it is told in the Zohar and continues in other Jewish writings. Unlike Ben Sira, which struggled before finally dying to living Judaism, the Story of the Watchers has an incredible staying power.¹⁹⁷ How a story that seems to be actively rejected can continue to emerge in a group's literature is a fascinating phenomenon. It would be interesting to examine why it was later accepted in post Biblical works that attained a 'canonical' status of their own.

¹⁹⁶ Not to mention other religions and even 'pop-culture.' Popular fictional books such as *The Lion, The Witch and the Wardrobe* by C.S. Lewis contain evil characters whose lineage is described as originating with "the giants" as understood in SW.

¹⁹⁷ Dr. Irwin D. Yalom of Stanford University in his prologue to *Love's Executioner* describes four primary issues that disturb humanity. He traces them all to coping with 'the harsh facts of life, the "givens" of existence.' Apparently the Story of the Watchers gives expression to this primary human struggle and helps people cope with it.

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The Story of the Watchers (*1Enoch* 6-11)

Translation from *1Enoch: A New Translation*

by George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam

Chapter 6

1. When the sons of man had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. 2/ And the watchers the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another, "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget children for ourselves."

3. And Shemihazah, their chief, said to them, "I fear that you will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin."

4. And they all answered him and said, "Let us all swear an oath, and let us all bind one another with a curse, that none of us turn back from this counsel until we fulfill it and do this deed."

5. Then they all swore together and bound one another with a curse. 6/ And they were, all of them, two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared onto the peak of Mount Hermon. And they called the mountain "Hermon" because they swore and bound one another with a curse on it.

7. And these are the names of their chiefs: Shemihazah – this one was their leader; Arteqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him; Kokabel, fourth to him; <Armumahel>, fifth to him; Ramel, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqel, eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermani, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Setawel, fourteenth to him; Samshiel, fifteenth to him; Sahriel, sixteenth to him; <Tummiel>, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Tamiel, nineteenth to him; Tehadiel, twentieth to him. 8/ These are their chiefs of tens.

Chapter 7

1. These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose. And they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants. 2. And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants. And the giants begot Nephilim and to the Nephilim were born Elioud. And they were growing in accordance with their greatness.

3. They were devouring the labor of all the sons of men, and men were not able to supply them. 4/ And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. 5/ and they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank the blood.

6. Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones.

Chapter 8

1. Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitable, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led the holy ones astray. 2/ and there was much godlessness on the earth, and they made their ways desolate.

3. Shemihazah taught spells and the cutting of roots. Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells and magic and skill. Baraqel taught the signs of the lightning flashes. Kakabel taught the sings of the stars. Ziqel taught the signs of the shooting stars. Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth. Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun. Sahriel taught the signs of the moon. And they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children.

4. (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven.

Chapter 9

1. Then Michael and Sariel and Raphael and Gabriel looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed on the earth. All the earth was filled with the godlessness and violence that had befallen it. 2. And entering in, they said to one another,

"The earth, devoid (of inhabitants), raises the voice of their cries to the gates of heaven. 3/ And now to <us>, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make suit, saying, 'Bring our judgment to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the majesty, before the Lord of all lords in majesty.'"

4. And approaching, they said to the Lord of the Ages, "You are the G-d of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings and G-d of the ages. And the throne of your glory (exists) for every generation of the generations that are from of old. And your name (is) holy and great and blessed for all the ages. 5. For you have made all things and have authority over all. And all things are manifest and uncovered before you, and you see all things, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you.

6. You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, <which the sons of men were striving to learn.> 7. And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him. 8. They have gone in to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women. And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-inducing charms.

9. And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breeds. <And the blood of men is shed on the earth.> And the whole earth is filled with iniquity. 10. And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit, and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven, and it <does not cease> to come forth from the presence of the iniquities that have come upon the earth.

11. You now all things before they happen, and you see these things and you permit them, and you do not tell us what we ought to do to them with regard to these things."

Chapter 10

1. Then the Most High declared, and the Great Holy One spoke. And he sent <Sariel> to the son of Lamech, saying, 2. "Go to Noah and say to him in my name, 'Hide yourself.' And reveal to him that the end is coming, that the whole earth will perish; and tell him that a deluge is about to come on the whole earth and destroy everything on the earth.

3. Teach the righteous one what he should do, the son of Lamech how he may preserve himself alive and escape forever. From him a plan will be planted, and his seed will endure for all the generations of eternity."

4. To Raphael he said, "Go, Raphael, and bind Asael hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness; And make an opening in the wilderness that is in Doudael. 5. Throw him there, and lay beneath him sharp and jagged stones. And cover him with darkness, and let him dwell there for an exceedingly long time. Cover up his face, and let him not see the light. 6. And on the day of the great judgment, he will be led away to the burning conflagration.

7. and heal the earth, which the watchers have desolate; and announce the healing of the earth, that the plague may be healed, and all the sons of men may not perish because of the mystery that the watchers told and taught their sons. 8. And all the earth was made desolate by the deeds of the teaching of Asael, and over him write all the sins."

9. And to Gabriel he said, "Go, Gabriel, to the bastards, to the half-breeds, to the sons of miscegenation; and destroy the sons of the watchers from among the sons of men; send them against one another in a war of destruction. Length of days they will not have; 10. And no petition will be (granted) to their fathers in their behalf; that they should expect to live an everlasting life, nor even that each of them should live five hundred years."

11. And to Michael he said, "Go, Michael, bind Shemihazah and the others with him, who have mated with the daughters of men, so that they were defiled by them in their uncleanness. 12. And when their sons perish and they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment and consummation, until the everlasting judgment is consummated. 13. Then they will be led away to the fiery abyss, and to the torture, and to the prison where they will be confined forever. 14. And everyone who is condemned and destroyed henceforth will be bound together with them until the consummation of their generation. <And at the time of the judgment, which I shall judge, they will perish for all generations.>

15. Destroy all spirits of the half-breeds and the sons of the watchers, because they have wronged men.

16. Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth, and let every wicked deed be gone; and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear and it will become a blessing, (and) the deeds of righteousness and truth will be planted forever with joy.

17. And now all the righteous will escape, and they will live until they beget thousands, and all the days of their youth and their old age will be completed in peace. 18. Then all the earth will be tilled in righteousness, and all of it will be planted with trees and filled with blessing; 19. And all the trees of joy will be planted on it. They will plant vines on it, and every vine that will be planted on it will yield a thousand jugs of wine,

and of every seed that is sown on it, each measure will yield a thousand measures, and each measure of olives will yield ten baths of oil.

20. Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all wrong and from all lawlessness and from all sin, and godlessness and all impurities that have come upon the earth, remove. 21. And all the sons of men will become righteous, and all the peoples will worship (me), and all will bless me and prostrate themselves. 22. And all the earth will be cleansed from all defilement and from all uncleanness, and I shall not again send upon them any wrath or scourge for all the generations of eternity.

Chapter 11

1. Then I shall open the storehouses of blessing that are in heave, and make them descend upon the earth, upon the works and the labor of the sons of men. 2. And then truth and peace will be united together for all the days of eternity and for all the generations of humanity.”