Dualism in Jewish Apocalyptic and Persian Religion – an analysis

by
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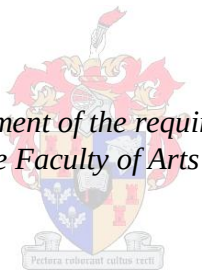

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the possible influence of Persian religion on dualism in Jewish apocalyptic literature, with particular attention to 1 Enoch.

Many studies have been conducted on Jewish apocalyptic, although relatively few studies concentrate on Persian religious influence. One of the main reasons for this is the problematic dating of Persian sources, all of which appear to date to a later period than the Jewish apocalyptic texts they are suspected of influencing. Scholars who believe in the antiquity of the traditions underlying the Persian texts, such as Boyce, Otzen and Silverman, tend to be positive about the possibility of influence, whereas scholars such as Hanson and VanderKam insist that the origins of apocalyptic traditions can be found within Jewish religion and Mesopotamian culture, respectively.

The dualism between God and evil plays a central role in Jewish apocalyptic. This basic dualism manifests itself in various dualities and on four levels. Firstly, on the cosmic level God is pitted against an agent of darkness (Satan/Belial/Mastema/Azazel) and good angels oppose fallen angels or demons. Secondly, in the physical universe God manifests in order, whereas evil shows itself in every area where God's order is transgressed. Thirdly, on an anthropological-ethical level, mankind is divided into the righteous and the wicked according to the path each individual chooses within himself. Finally, on an eschatological level, the evils of the present age are contrasted with a glorious future that will begin when the messiah has appeared and the final judgment, which is sometimes linked with a resurrection, has taken place. In order to calculate when this new age will dawn, apocalyptic writers divide history into periods.

Each of the abovementioned aspects finds a parallel in Persian religious thought, which revolves around the dualism between Ahura Mazda/Spenta Mainyu and Angra Mainyu/Ahriman. Each of the dualistic principles is supported by a host of divine beings and the battle involves nature and mankind, who are expected to choose a side. There is a strong messianic expectation, as well as a well-developed concept of a final judgment that involves resurrection, and the periodization of history is fundamental to the religion.

This thesis attempts to trace the development of the abovementioned concepts in Jewish thinking, depending mainly on the Hebrew Bible as representative of ancient Israelite religion. Where discrepancies between Jewish apocalyptic and the ancient religion become

evident, the possibility of Persian influence is considered. The investigation will show that each of the abovementioned aspects of the dualism between God and evil in Jewish apocalyptic contain traces of what might be the influence of Persian religion.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie tesis is om die moontlike invloed van Persiese godsdiens op die dualisme in Joodse apokaliptiek te ondersoek, met spesifieke verwysing na die *Ethiopic Book of Enoch.*

'n Groot aantal studies is reeds uitgevoer rondom Joodse apokaliptiek, alhoewel relatief min daarvan fokus op die invloed van Persiese godsdiens. Een van die hoofredes hiervoor is die probleme rondom die datering van Persiese tekste, waarvan almal uit 'n latere tydperk as die meeste Joodse apokaliptiese tekste blyk te dateer. Diegene wat vertroue het in die antiekheid van onderliggende tradisies in Persiese tekste, soos Boyce, Otzen en Silverman, is geneig om positief te wees oor die moontlikheid van invloed, terwyl ander soos Hanson en VanderKam daarop aandring dat die oorsprong van apokaliptiese tradisies te vinde is in Joodse godsdiens en die kultuur van Mesopotamië.

Die dualisme tussen God en die bose speel 'n sentrale rol in Joodse apokaliptiek. Hierdie basiese dualisme manifesteer in verskeie dualiteite en op vier vlakke. Eerstens, staan God op die kosmiese vlak teenoor 'n agent van duisternis (Satan/Belial/Mastema/Azazel), en sit goeie engele slegte engele of demone teë. Tweedens manifesteer God in die orde van die fisiese heelal, terwyl die bose manifesteer in die oortreding van God se orde. Op die derde, antropologies-etiese vlak, is die mensdom verdeel tussen goed en kwaad op grond van die weg wat elke individu in homself kies. Laastens word die boosheid van die huidige era op die eskatologiese vlak gekontrasteer met die glorieryke toekoms, wat sal aanbreek wanneer die messias gekom het en die laaste oordeel, wat soms verband hou met 'n opstanding, plaasgevind het. Apokaliptiese skrywers verdeel gereeld die wêreldgeskiedenis in tydperke om sodoende te bereken wanneer die toekomstige era sal aanbreek.

Elkeen van die bogenoemde aspekte vind 'n parallel in die Persiese godsdiens, wat gebaseer is op die dualisme tussen Ahura Mazda/Spenta Mainyu en Ahriman/Angra Mainyu. Elkeen word ondersteun deur 'n leer van goddelike wesens en die stryd sluit die natuur en mensdom, van wie verwag word om 'n kant te kies, in. Daar is 'n sterk messiaanse verwagting, sowel as 'n goed-ontwikkelde konsep van 'n laaste oordeel, wat gepaard gaan met 'n opstanding. Die verdeling van wêreldgeskiedenis in tydperke is ook fundamenteel tot die godsdiens.

Hierdie tesis poog om die ontwikkeling van bogenoemde konsepte in die Joodse denkwyse na te volg en maak hoofsaaklike staat op die Hebreeuse Bybel as verteenwoordigend van

oud-Israelitiese godsdiens. Waar diskrepansies tussen Joodse apokaliptiek en die antieke godsdiens vorendag kom, word die moontlikheid van Persiese invloed oorweeg. Die ondersoek sal toon dat elkeen van die bogenoemde aspekte van die dualisme tussen God en die bose in Joodse apokaliptiek moontlike tekens van Persiese invloed toon.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1. Introduction

It is commonly held that the experience of crisis prompts apocalyptic (Otzen 1990: 157). In a history littered with crises, the Jews seem to have experienced three major turning points: the Babylonian exile in 587 B.C.E., the end of the Exile and return to their homeland in *c.* 539 B.C.E., and the tidal wave known as Hellenism that swept through the Ancient Near East in the wake of Alexander the Great.

The Hellenistic age saw an increase in cultural interaction and information traffic, and in the midst of these developments, Jewish apocalyptic came into its own. The apocalyptic texts of this era contain many ideas that signal a departure from the biblical tradition, particularly in the areas of dualism, eschatology and the nature of evil, and over the course of a century scholars such as Nickelsburg (1972), Shaked (1984), Otzen (1990), Russell (1992) and, more recently, Silverman (2012), have debated the nature of the impetus behind these new concepts.

Otzen (1990) and Collins (1984) are among those who consider Zoroastrian influence likely in the area of eschatology, particularly in the concept of the periodization of history. The depiction and interaction of righteousness and wickedness in the Apocalypse of Weeks contains traces of the Persian notions of *asha* and *druj*, according to Koch. More recently, Silverman has also highlighted the similarities between Azazel, one of the main antagonists in the Enochic Book of the Watchers, and Azhi Dahāka; Silverman also considers the possible Iranian influence inherent in the weighing of souls described in the Similitudes of Enoch. On the other hand, scholars such as Hanson prefer to seek the origins of apocalyptic traditions within Jewish religion itself, whereas VanderKam believes they can be traced to Mesopotamia.

This thesis seeks to build on extant studies such as those mentioned above, in the hope of bringing fresh ideas to the table. The text of 1 Enoch, which appears relatively representative of the apocalyptic genre in content and spans a long period of time, will serve as the basis of the investigation, although examples from the Community Rule (1QS), the War Scroll (1QM) and the so-called apocalyptic sections of Daniel, will also be used. The approach of the study will be analytical and comparative. Translations of the abovementioned texts will be used,

due to the present author's insufficient knowledge of the languages involved. Manifestations of dualistic thought will be analysed and an attempt made to trace their development; where apparent discrepancies arise between the depiction of certain traditions in the Jewish text, the possibility of Persian religious influence will be considered. It is important to note that, for the purposes of this study, "influence" is understood to manifest "not only in the development of entirely new systems or traditions, but of change within a system due to external interaction" (Silverman 2012a: 30). Before the discussion commences, an overview of the background, terms and concepts vital to this study will be provided below.

1.2. Overview

1.2.1. The Persian People

The name "Persia" is of Greek origin and derives from "Fars", the name of the territory where the first Persian state was formed (Zaehner 1961: 20). The Persians were originally Iranian pastoralists who migrated into Fars during the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE (Kuhrt 1997: 653). Their society at this time was apparently made up of three classes – warriors, priests and herdsmen – and ruled over by a warrior aristocracy (Gnoli 1987: 581). The territory fell under Elamite rule at this time, but was forcibly detached by Ashurbanipal's attack on Elam in 646 BCE, at which time it gained independence under the leadership of Cyrus II, the first of the Achaemenid kings, and his successors (Kuhrt 1997: 653). The new rulers employed a government system based on that of their Elamite predecessors and also referred to their kingdom as Anshan, the name of the former capital (Boyce 1982: 10). Alexander's conquest brought an end to the Achaemenid empire in 330 B.C.E. and held the Iranians under Hellenistic rule for approximately two hundred years, during which their religion all but disappeared in the new cultural context (Duchesne-Guillemin 1983: 866). Only in *c.* 141 B.C.E. did a second Iranian empire arise to the east under the Parthians and evidence gleaned from Parthian, Greek and Latin sources suggests that the Zoroastrian religion continued to be practised in this era; there also appears to be proof that the Zoroastrian religion was being transcribed during this period (Boyce 1984b: 7). The same is evidently true of the Sasanian empire, the second Persian empire that existed from *c.* 224 B.C.E. to 651 C.E., which accepted Zoroastrianism as the imperial faith (Boyce 1984b: 7).

1.2.2. Persian Religion

Barr (1985: 221) distinguishes five developmental stages that must be considered when addressing the matter of Persian religion: 1) the ancient Indo-Iranian religion that preceded Zoroastrianism; 2) Zoroaster's religion; 3) the religion of the Achaemenids as documented in their royal inscriptions; 4) later Zoroastrianism, which reintroduced some of the ancient Indo-Iranian gods and myths to the faith; and 5) the religion of the Magi. Therefore, when considering the influence of Persian religion, one must be careful not to confine the study to Zoroastrianism; however, seeing that the available sources are Zoroastrian, this aspect of Persian religion might dominate the discussion.

1.2.2.1. Sources

Before giving an overview of Persian religion as it applies to this thesis, a note on the available sources is in order. The study of Persian religion continues to be plagued by a lack of written sources and a trustworthy system with which to date whatever sources are available (Shaked 1984: 310). The sources that will mainly be used in this thesis, are the "Great" Avesta, the *Bundahishn* and the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn.*

The "Great" Avesta is a collection of orally transmitted religious traditions, committed to writing in the Sasanian period (ca. 500-600 C.E.) (Boyce 1984b: 3). All the complete copies of the original appear to have been destroyed in the conquests of the Arabs, Turks and Mongols, but the summaries provided in the Pahlavi books indicate that the extant text comprises but a quarter of the original material (Boyce 1984b: 3; cf. Shaked 1984: 311-312). Amongst other texts, the Avesta contains the Gathas, seventeen hymns believed to have been composed by Zoroaster that later became part of the "Act of Worship" (Yasna); the latter, in turn, grew into a liturgy with seventy two sections written in Younger Avestan (Boyce 1984b: 2; Shaked 1984: 310-311). The Avesta also contains the *Yashts,* a set of hymns dedicated to lesser divine beings. These hymns are believed to contain traditions that date back to 2000 B.C.E. (Boyce 1984b: 2). Due to the apparent absence of historical references in the text, as well as the fact that no ancient source appears to allude to it, the Avesta is nigh impossible to date accurately; linguistic evidence suggests that the oldest part belongs to the second half of the second millennium BCE and later parts to the first half of the first millennium BCE (Skjærvø 2011: 55-56).

The *Bundahishn* forms part of the Zand of lost Avestan texts. The name *Bundahishn* means "creation," but the text deals with both cosmology and eschatology (Boyce 1984b: 4). Like the other Pahlavi books, the *Bundahishn* was only composed during the ninth or tenth centuries C.E., but it is generally agreed that the contents depend on orally transmitted and ancient knowledge (Skjærvø 2011: 57-58).

Finally, the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, also known as the Apocalypse of Zoroaster, is the most complete extant Zoroastrian apocalyptic text (Cereti 1995: 1). The text comprises many layers of tradition that make accurate dating difficult – historical references to events in the Sasanian period are accompanied by traces of ancient religious themes that are attested in the existing Avesta – but Cereti (1995: 13) believes the majority of the text to date to either the late Sasanian or early Islamic period.

The dating and content of these texts will be further discussed in subsequent chapters, where it becomes relevant to the discussion.

1.2.2.2. Ancient Iranian religion

Evidence suggests that the pre-Zoroastrian religion of the Iranians was centralized on the warrior class, placing great emphasis on violence in their pantheon and rituals (Gnoli 1987: 581). The religion appears to have been very conservative, indicating a strong priesthood (Boyce 1975: 19), and lacked eschatology, believing that the world would endure as it existed under divine rule (Boyce 1975: 39).

A number of ancient Iranian deities have been identified in the Avesta. At the top of the pantheon one finds three gods, or Ahuras – Ahura Mazda, Varuna and Mithra – who are responsible for upholding *asha* (order, justice and truth) (Boyce 1975: 15). Also important were Ātar (god of fire), Nairyōsanha (god of prayer), Anāhiti (the Heavenly Goddess), Yima khšaēta (the king of the dead), and finally Vāta (wind), Huvardāta (sun) and Māhadāta (moon), the "nature gods" (Boyce 1975: 17-18, 29).

1.2.2.3 Zoroastrianism

Zoroaster's doctrine introduced a novel religion to the Ancient Near East: a seemingly monotheistic belief system based on a radical dualism (Gnoli 1987: 581). This passage relates Zoroaster's vision and the basis of the early Zoroastrian faith:

> "The two primordial Spirits, who are twins, revealed themselves in a dream. They have two ways of thinking, of acting: the good and the bad. And, of the two, the one who acts well has made the right choice, not the one who does evil. And when these two spirits met, they established, at the beginning, life and nonlife, and the consequence, in the end, of the Worst Existence for evil, and Best Thought for good. The evil one of the two Spirits chose to do bad things, and the Most Bounteous Spirit…chose Truth, as is also true for all those who constantly strive to please the Wise Lord with honest actions" (*Y 30.3-5,* as quoted in Gnoli 1987: 582).

The passage also reveals another important aspect of Zoroastrianism, namely the role of choice. Choosing Truth leads to heaven, choosing the Lie leads to hell, and thus every person becomes responsible for his or her own destiny. The action-consequence dynamic applies to all creation; even the *daevas* are initially shown to have become bad due to the nature of their choice, although elsewhere Zoroaster indicates that they were created for corruption (Gnoli 1987: 582).

After choosing Truth (*asha*), it is said, the good spirit (Spenta Mainyu), became the channel through which Ahura Mazda created the six other Bountiful Immortals (Boyce 1975: 194). Each Bountiful Immortal (*Amesha Spenta)* embodies a quality and is responsible for an aspect of the good creation: Vohu Manah or "Good Thought" (animals), Asha Vahista or "Best Asha" (fire), Khshathra Vairya or "Desirable Dominion" (metal), Spentā Ārmaiti or "Holy Devotion" (earth), Haurvatāt or "Wholeness" (water), Ameretāt or "Immortality" (plants), and Spenta Mainyu or "Holy Spirit" (Man) (Schwartz 1985: 668-669). The *daevas,* "miscreated" by Angra Mainyu, are never named by Zoroaster, but he envisions them as the direct opposites of the *Amesha Spentas* (Boyce 1975: 201).

Zoroaster's doctrine underwent several transformations at the hands of his disciples over the centuries (Gnoli 1987: 581). Politics is one of the main reasons behind changes wrought in the religion. The Magi were tasked with adapting the traditional views of religion and kingship to accommodate (or at least appear to) the religions of the nations conquered by the Achaemenids without betraying orthodox Zoroastrianism (Gnoli 1987: 588). Zoroaster had rejected most of the ancient Iranian deities (Fox 1967: 134), but the Magi gradually re-introduced some of them to the religion (Gnoli 1987: 581). The most important among the ancient Iranian gods who rejoined the Persian pantheon were Mithra, the god of covenants

and light, and Anāhitā, the goddess of fertility and linked with royalty, both of whom appear in the royal inscriptions from Artaxerxes II and onward (Gnoli 1987: 584).

The Magi also brought about changes in the basic dualism by simplifying it (Fox 1967: 133). One of the most important changes occurred in the figure of Ahura Mazda: he came to be so closely identified with Spenta Mainyu that they were eventually perceived to be a single being (Fox 1967: 133). According to some Greek sources, the simplified dualism replaces Truth with Ahura Mazda (the Pahlavi texts' "Ohrmazd") and the Lie with Angra Mainyu ("Ahriman") (Gnoli 1996).

The Zoroastrian creation exists on both a corporeal (*gētīg)* and spiritual (*mēnōg*) level, but the forces of evil can only affect the *gētīg* state (Boyce 1975: 230). Time is linear, finite and divided into "unlimited" time, basically synonymous with eternity, and "limited" time, which stretches from the beginning to the end of creation (Boyce 1984a: 306). "Limited" time is furthermore divided into three periods: "Creation", when all was perfect; "Mixture", the present period during which Angra Mainyu and his evil forces work to corrupt the good creation; and finally "Separation", a future time when good and evil will be separated forever, allowing the creation to once more be perfect (Boyce 1975: 230-231). Between the Second and Third Times, Zoroastrians anticipate the coming of the messianic *saoshyant*, who will perform the final sacrifice, after mankind has been put through an ordeal of fire to separate bad from good and the dead have been resurrected (Gnoli 1987: 585).

1.2.2.4. Zurvanism

A later development in Persian religion, believed to have been a formulation of the Magi, is Zurvanism (Gnoli 1987: 588). It identified Zurvan ("Time") as the father of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, but gave him no other function beyond mistakenly allowing Angra Mainyu to contaminate the world and promising Ahura Mazda that he would eventually reign (Boyd & Crosby 1979: 569-570). Creation is still in the hands of the twin spirits. Zurvanism betrayed several aspects of traditional Zoroastrianism and was rejected by orthodox Zoroastrians (Boyce 1984a: 307). Despite this, it forms a part of the Persian religious tradition and will be referred to in this thesis.

1.2.3. Jewish Apocalyptic

1.2.3.1. Definition

The definition of "apocalyptic" is a heavily debated issue among scholars and the debate is has not yet reached a satisfactory solution (Russell 1992: 8-9). Collins (1979: 9) defines "apocalypse" as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world." This might serve as a basis for identifying texts as containing apocalyptic elements, but that does not yet define the broader term "apocalyptic" satisfactorily. Some scholars claim that the term "apocalyptic" is too broad for a single definition, or that the term can only be applied as an adjective describing apocalypses (Davila 2005: 37), and Hanson suggests a distinction between the three main concepts it encapsulates, namely: *apocalypse*, which denotes the literary genre; *apocalyptic eschatology*, a religious perspective that envisions a future deliverance from present evil; and *apocalypticism*, an ideology that has evolved from a society's apocalyptic eschatology (VanderKam 1984: 2). Nevertheless, the term "apocalyptic" continues to be used in different contexts, a fact Silverman (2012: 9) ascribes to the evident, yet indefinable, relation that exists between the three abovementioned terms. The relation is evident in the definitions provided above: apocalyptic eschatology underlies apocalypticism, which in turn informs apocalypses. It appears, therefore, that one cannot really be treated without considering the other two. For the purposes of this thesis, "apocalyptic" is understood as encapsulating all three concepts and, while the basis of the discussion is textual, the focus is on the apocalyptic-related traditions inherent in the texts.

1.2.3.2. Origins and purpose

The true origin of Jewish apocalyptic literature and ideas remains a mystery that nearly two centuries of debate have left largely unsolved, although specialists have identified two potential sources: Old Testament prophecy and Old Testament Wisdom literature[1] (VanderKam 1984: 1-2; cf. also Silverman 2012a: 13-26).

Jewish apocalyptic shares a number of traits with both of its potential antecedents. Its ethical doctrine resembles that of biblical prophecy and it is similarly future-oriented: it anticipates

[1] Gerhard von Rad was the first scholar to suggest Wisdom literature as the possible ancestor of apocalyptic (cf. Otzen 1990: 168-169).

deliverance at the hands of a messiah or messiahs and the subsequent dawn of a Messianic kingdom (Otzen 1990: 164). Scholars supporting Wisdom literature as the parent of apocalyptic point out the importance attached to knowledge in apocalyptic literature, the presence of "lists of revealed things", the use of symbols and even the use of the pseudonymous narrator, as evidence of links with biblical wisdom literature (VanderKam 1984: 4-7).

While VanderKam (1984: 7-8) suggests the need for further study into the relationship between apocalyptic and Old Testament Wisdom literature, Otzen (1990: 168) points out the great difference between the Israel-centric view of history found in biblical prophecy and the broad scope of Jewish apocalyptic. He considers this difference a signal for a change in approach and his solution is to consider apocalyptic as a new interpretation of biblical prophecy, an interpretation influenced, to some degree, by Old Testament Wisdom literature (Otzen 1990: 170).

The purpose of apocalyptic is three-fold. Firstly, it describes the world in such a way that the reader understands it better and so gains a framework within which to judge what is right and wrong (Otzen 1990: 157). Secondly, it places history into perspective by pointing out God's hand in all events, thereby making it possible for the reader to believe that his present trouble will end and lead to a happy future for those who remain steadfast in their belief (Otzen 1990: 169). This aids in the achievement of apocalyptic's third, and arguably most important, purpose: the provision of hope and encouragement to the suffering (Otzen 1990: 169).

1.2.3.3. Anatomy of an apocalypse

The content of apocalypses follow the same, basic framework: that of "revelatory narrative" (VanderKam 1984: 2). The revelations described in apocalypses are the result of the narrator's experience of the supernatural, be it through visions or cosmic journeys, guided and interpreted by a divine being (Collins 1984: 4). The narrator is generally an important figure from Israel's history, whose name is used pseudonymously by the real author in order to lend authority to his writing (Collins 1984: 5).

Apocalypses use symbolic language and imagery to describe the last days (VanderKam 1984: 2), during which a final judgment and the destruction of the wicked is foreseen (Collins 1984: 5). A focus on both temporal and spatial dimensions is also a common feature in apocalyptic (Collins 1984: 5).

1.2.4. The Text

The contents of 1 Enoch contains examples of Jewish apocalyptic traditions from the fourth century BCE to the dawn of the Common Era, consequently making it one of the most important texts in Jewish literature to have been composed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Nickelsburg 2001: 1; cf. Boccaccini 2005a: 1-2).

The book comprises five separate sections[2]: The Book of the Watchers (chapters 1 to 36), The Book of Parables (37 to 71), The Book of Heavenly Luminaries (72 to 82), The Book of Dream Visions (83 to 90), and the Book of Admonitions (91 to 105) (Russell 1992: 38).

1.2.4.1. The Book of the Watchers (1-36)

Although Collins (1984: 34) claims that no part of 1 Enoch predates the Hellenistic period, Nickelsburg (2001: 7) suggests that some traditions found in the Book of the Watchers might do so, concluding that book was probably completed before the second half of the third century BCE.

The book is believed to have had more than one author (Charles 1912: 1; Collins 2010: 342) and its historical context is difficult to determine. It has been suggested that no single crisis served as catalyst for the writing of the book, but that it was supposed to form "a lens through which any crisis [could] be viewed" (Collins 1984: 46).

The contents of the book may be subdivided into five further sections. The first five chapters introduces the book through an oracle of judgment, followed by an account spanning chapters 6 to 11, of the two hundred Watchers who fell from grace after sleeping with earthly women and begetting giant children, thus introducing evil into the world, their punishment and a foretelling of the judgment to come (Nickelsburg 2001: 7). Chapters 12 to 16 give an interpretation of the narrative contained in chapters 6 to 11 and show how Enoch is commissioned to condemn the angels and their offspring (Nickelsburg 2001: 7), whereupon he travels to Sheol on two separate journeys, related in chapters 17 to 19 and 20 to 36 respectively, and sees the punishment awaiting the wicked there (Collins 1984: 39).

[2] According to Collins (1998: 43), the textual evidence does not indicate that these five sections were regarded as a pentateuch.

1.2.4.2. The Book of Parables/Similitudes (37-71)

The second section of 1 Enoch is believed to be the work of multiple authors (Charles 1912: 64). Nickelsburg (2001: 7) traces the composition of the book to the late first century BCE, echoing Charles' (1912: 67) more specific conclusion placing the date of composition between 94 and 79 BCE. Some scholars, however, suggest that it came into being during the second century BCE (Collins 1984: 39).

The opening chapters of the Book of Parables resembles those of the Book of the Watchers and the contents revolve around Enoch's journeys through the cosmos, his description of the astronomical phenomena he witnesses and events surrounding, and including, the final judgment (Nickelsburg 2001: 7).

The heart of the book is the three parables for which it is named. These parables are revealed to Enoch in the form of visions during his journeys through heaven (Collins 1984: 39). The first parable shows the judgment awaiting the wicked and reveals heaven's secrets to Enoch; the second introduces a figure called "the Chosen One", who will one day sit on the throne and share the inheritance of the earth with the righteous; and the third parable sees the "Chosen One" on the throne executing judgment over angels and men (Collins 1984: 39).

1.2.4.3. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries/Astronomical Book (72-82)

The authorship of the third book is unknown, but scholars believe it was composed during the Persian period (Nickelsburg 2001: 7). VanderKam (1984: 87) posits a *terminus ad quem* of 200 BCE.

The Astronomical Book is at its essence an astronomical treatise (Collins 1984: 39). One of its central concerns is an explanation of the solar calendar and solar-based time measurement, with a view to prove its authority (Nickelsburg 2001: 8). It also views the last days from an astronomical perspective, giving an account of the cosmic signs that will herald their arrival (Collins 1984: 39).

1.2.4.4. The Book of Dream Visions (83-90)

Uncertainty exists about the authorship of the Book of Dream Visions (Charles 1912: 180). Its contents suggest it to have been written after 200 BCE, when the Graeco-Egyptians lost their supremacy over Israel to the Graeco-Syrians and the Chasids rose to take part in the Maccabean revolt, which also plays a central part in the visions (Charles 1912: 180; cf.

Collins 2010: 342). The continuing presence of the "great horn", which signifies Judas Maccabeus, at the end of the twelve shepherds' rule in the second vision indicates that the book must have originated before his death in 161 BCE (Charles 1912: 180; cf. Collins 2010: 342), a conclusion supported by Nickelsburg (2001: 8) and VanderKam (1984: 163).

The Book of Dream Visions relates two visions as told by Enoch to Methuselah, the first predicting the destruction of the world in the Flood and the second presenting a description of the world's history from Adam to the final judgment (Nickelsburg 2001: 8). The second vision contains the Animal Apocalypse, wherein angels are depicted as men and men are symbolized by different animals, placed under the guardianship of seventy angelic shepherds who fail in their duty and are punished by God (Collins 1984: 40). The final chapters sees the judgment of the wicked, the coming of the Messiah and the new Jerusalem.

1.2.4.5. The Epistle of Enoch (91-105)

The author of the Epistle is believed to have been a Pharisee writing between 104 and 95 BCE, 95 and 79 BCE or 70 and 64 BCE (Charles 1912: 221). The three potential dates are based on the assumption that apocalypses are the result of crises. During 104 and 95 BCE (the only date supported to some extent by Nickelsburg (2001: 8), the Pharisee party had just experienced its breach with Hyrcanus and was about to be destroyed by Jannaeus (Charles 1912: 222). However, the Pharisees also suffered oppression at the hands of the Sadducees and rulers between 95 and 79 BCE, and 70 and 64 BCE, making it difficult to ascertain an accurate date (Charles 1912: 222). It is generally, and rather vaguely, accepted that the contents of the Book of Admonitions possible reflect the Pharisees' situation during the late Hasmonean period (Collins 1984: 40). VanderKam, however, believes there is no reliable evidence to support this notion (VanderKam 1984: 143-144). Knibb (2005: 214) considers a post-Maccabean date for the greatest part of the Epistle most likely.

The final section of 1 Enoch takes the form of an epistle, allegedly penned by Enoch for his children and for the righteous, his "spiritual descendants" (Nickelsburg 2001: 8). The Apocalypse of Weeks forms part of the Epistle and is believed to be older than the rest of the section, possibly pre-Maccabean (Knibb 2005: 214). In the epistle, he exhorts the righteous to remain steadfast in anticipation of the final judgment, the reality of which has been proven by the revelations he received (Nickelsburg 2001: 8).

1.2.5. Dualism

1.2.5.1. Definition

Dualism is a religious or philosophical doctrine in which the origin of the universe and all of existence is reduced to two causal principles, each of whom possesses creative capabilities (Bianchi 1987: 507). It may be considered a "logical consequence" of monotheism, for it results from attempts at explaining the origins and existence of evil (Gnoli 1987: 581-582; cf. Fontaine 2011: 269). The two causal principles need not be perfectly equal or co-eternal: one might derive from the other (Bianchi 1987: 506).

Bianchi (1987: 507) refines his definition further with three categories according to which a potential dualism may be categorized: a dualism may be moderate or radical, cosmic or anti-cosmic, and dialectical or eschatological. A radical dualism has two equal, co-eternal principles, whereas a moderate[3] dualism has one principle from which the other derives (Bianchi 1987: 507). An anti-cosmic dualism regards creation as inherently evil, while a cosmic dualism regards it as fundamentally good; in a dialectical dualism the principles are perfectly equal and victory might belong to either, but an eschatological dualism foresees the triumph of good (Bianchi 1987: 508-509).

1.2.5.2. Dualism in Jewish apocalyptic

One of the main characteristics of apocalyptic is dualism (Russell 1992: 104). Scholars differentiate between several types of dualism in apocalyptic, most of which are encapsulated by Otzen's (1990: 171) three-fold division: cosmic dualism, anthropological-ethical dualism and eschatological dualism. He defines each type as follows: *cosmic dualism* is based on the relationship and distinction between the divine (God, heaven) and human (Otzen 1990: 171; also Russell 1992: 104); *anthropological-ethical dualism* is expressed in the relationship between the physical and the spiritual (Otzen 1990: 185); and *eschatological dualism* revolves around the contrast between the present and the future (Otzen 1990: 190).

When measured against the definition given above, Otzen's dualisms appear not to qualify as dualisms at all. Bianchi's definition basically requires two things of a dualism: firstly, that the principles must be able to create; secondly, that the principles must, in effect, constitute the ultimate basis of existence. With the exception of God, none of the principles involved in Otzen's dualisms possess creative capability, certainly none that would make it eligible for

[3] Fontaine (2011: 267) refers to moderate dualism as "relative" dualism.

the status of an "ultimate causal principle". Devoid of these qualities, each pairing might then be more likely to qualify as a duality, defined by the Oxford Advanced English Learner's Dictionary as the "state of having two parts or aspects".

The question arises whether there is any dualism in Jewish apocalyptic at all. Fletcher-Louis (2010 : 1595-1596) suggests that apocalyptic is not based on a dualistic worldview and cites the emphasis on human transformation and "profound ecological concern" found in apocalyptic texts as evidence. Instead of dualistic, he states, the theology of the apocalypses is merely biblical (Fletcher-Louis 2010 : 1595). This argument seems valid when viewed against the background of the traditional understanding of what dualism in apocalyptic entails (as exemplified by Otzen's abovementioned formulation), but it is not necessarily insurmountable.

The struggle between good and evil may be accepted as constituting a moderate dualism. God pre-exists everything, including evil. God is not necessarily shown to have created evil directly; in the case of the fallen Watchers, He merely set the cosmic laws in place which they then broke, thereby introducing evil into the world. The "direct" creator of evil in the world is therefore something other than God and consequently forms the other causal principle. This dualism is a cosmic dualism, as evil enters God's fundamentally good creation and corrupts it, and it is eschatological, for Jewish apocalyptic always anticipates the victory of good in the end.

Instead of differentiating between cosmic and eschatological dualism as separate phenomena in apocalyptic, the terms "cosmic" and "eschatological" become adjectives describing the single dualism underlying apocalyptic, namely that between God and Evil. The cosmic, anthropological-ethical and eschatological aspects of this dualism are expressed in dualities that manifest in the heavenly realm, in the physical universe, on a personal and on a temporal level. In the following chapters, the discussion will revolve around the manner in which the basic dualism between God and evil manifests on each of these levels.

CHAPTER TWO: THE BASIC DUALISM – GOD AND EVIL

As stated in the previous chapter, the struggle between good and evil forms the basis of apocalyptic. In accordance with the adage that knowing evil enables one to know good, this struggle is used to fulfil the basic function of apocalyptic: to give hope. However cosmic the struggle, it remains that good and evil cannot be called dualistic principles. According to the definitions provided in the previous chapter, dualistic principles require creative capabilities.

In Jewish apocalyptic, God invariably forms one half of the dualism. He is the creator of all and the embodiment of good. Opposed to him stand various originators of evil, both human and supernatural. It is important to note that, while God must, by definition, be the ultimate creator of evil (or at least its potential), it is the actions of others that make evil take form in the world. It is therefore not unreasonable to claim that they possess creative abilities to a certain degree, in the same way one would call an artist the creator of an artwork, instead of the provider of the formless, raw material.

The presence of dualism in apocalyptic has led to frequent speculation regarding the influence of Persian religion, which is regarded as revolving around a radical dualism (McCarter Jr 2011: 32). The aim of this thesis is to study the various manifestations of the basic dualism between God and evil in 1 Enoch, with the purpose of determining whether claims of Persian influence are justified. In this section, the investigation will commence with a study of the two dualistic principles.

2.1. Yahweh and evil

2.1.1. Ancient Israelite Religion

The picture of pre-monarchic Israelite religion remains incomplete and burdened with uncertainties (Albertz 1994: 23). However, while scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the particulars of the early religion, they agree on one point: it is unlikely that Israel, as a whole, worshiped only a single god.

Fohrer posits a theory centred on clan religion. According to him, Israel was initially divided into a number of nomadic clans, each of which worshiped its own god (Fohrer 1973: 39). This deity remained unattached to any earthly sanctuary and instead travelled with the clan, ensuring its protection (Fohrer 1973: 40).

More recent studies, notably those of Smith (1990) and Gerstenberger (1996), argue in favour of a more pantheistic form of religion. The early Israelites appear to have worshiped not only Yahweh, but also Baal, El and Asherah (Smith 1990: xxiii). Gerstenberger (1996: 35) suggests that goddesses and god/goddess pairs continued to form part of the Israelite pantheon into the monarchic period.

As Israel gradually transformed into a settled community, it presumably became necessary for the nomadic religion to adapt for the sake of survival (Fohrer 1973: 122). Canaanite religious concepts were possibly integrated into Yahwism and emphasis on Yahweh as a sovereign god increased (Fohrer 1973: 121), with the figure of Yahweh assimilating various traits of Canaanite deities such as Baal and El, a process reaching completion in the time of the monarchy, when Yahweh became Israel's national god[4] (Smith 1990: 146-147).

As national god, Yahweh was worshiped in the temple at Jerusalem (Gerstenberger 1996: 25). There appears to have been no images of Yahweh, a fact that might have served to increase the sense of distance between Yahweh and the average individual, who was careful not to approach Yahweh too freely (Fohrer 1973: 97). Despite this, the relationship between Yahweh and Israel was evidently a special one, characterized by its personal nature,[5] and took on a covenantal aspect involving both the people and the land (Smith 1990: 147).

2.1.2. Good and evil: the figure of Yahweh

The meaning of the name "Yahweh" is still uncertain[6], but while the available sources fail to present an answer to this problem, they contain enough information to create a coherent portrait of Yahweh as the national god.

In ancient Israelite perception, Yahweh is neither member nor leader of a pantheon, but stands on his own (Fohrer 1973: 77). Whereas he was not generally believed to be attached to an earthly dwelling in the period before the monarchy, being instead relegated to a heavenly residence from where he periodically descended to earth (Fohrer 1973: 77), he is closely

[4] Smith (1990: 148) considers this process as centralization of national worship, prompted, at least in part, by monarchic politics.
[5] See Fohrer (1973: 181-182) for a discussion of the features of the Yahweh-Israel relationship.
[6] For a summary of interpretations, see Fohrer 1973: 76-77.

associated with the Temple at Jerusalem during the monarchic period[7] (Gerstenberger 1996: 25).

An important and prominent characteristic of Yahwism is the combination of positive and negative aspects in Yahweh (Fohrer 1973: 97). He is Israel's leader and protector (Otzen 1990: 172), superior to the gods of Israel's enemies (Smith 1990: 149), and actively involved in the lives of his people (Fohrer 1973: 81-82). On the other hand, he is passionate and prone to violence when roused, a trait that has been called "demonic" by some (Fohrer 1973: 78). The Hebrew Bible depicts Yahweh as the originator of both light and darkness (Meyers 2011: 98). Any mysterious or horrifying phenomena that might have been ascribed to evil beings in other religions, are attributed to Yahweh himself (Fohrer 1973: 175). Thus it is difficult to form a coherent picture of the Israelite concept of evil. Although there was a measure of belief in demons, which will be discussed in the next chapter, it appears that no being other than Yahweh was considered its creator or originator (cf. 2 Sam 24).

2.2. Transformation and the birth of dualistic thought

2.2.1. The Development of Monotheism

The changes brought about by the Exile greatly influenced Yahwism. One of the most important changes is the establishment of a relatively clear monotheism, of which the first proof may be found in written texts dating to the Exilic period[8] (Smith 1990: 152).

Jerusalem's fall in 587 BCE resulted in the captivity and deportation of many Judaeans to Babylonia, away from their native country and, more importantly, away from their main place of worship, the Temple (Fohrer 1973: 312). To the Judaeans, separation from the Temple constituted separation from Yahweh himself. Solving the problem required a shift in emphasis: sovereign Yahweh came to be perceived as omnipresent, located not in an earthly structure but in heaven, where he could receive worship from anywhere in the world (cf. Ezek 1-3) (Otzen 1990: 172).

In addition to the adjustments made to the object of worship, religious worship itself grew more structured, with greater focus on ceremonies and rituals (Fohrer 1973: 312). The

[7] It seems likely that this enhanced the sense of a personal relationship for the average Israelite, who now had a physical location to associate with Yahweh's presence.
[8] Writing gained importance during the latter half of the monarchic period, which saw an increase in written texts (Smith 1990: 151).

mention of the divine name outside the temple cult was forbidden[9] and Yahweh was called by names such as "the Lord", "the Lord of Spirits" and "the Highest", in an attempt to avoid speaking his name whilst at the same time emphasising his transcendence[10] (Otzen 1990: 172).

By the fifth century BCE, Yahweh's evolution from tribal to transcendent god was complete (Fohrer 1973: 356). The standardisation of religion enabled the Judaeans to survive as a nation during the Exile and at the foundation of the newly found common religion, was a common image of God (Gerstenberger 1996: 1).

2.2.2. God and his adversaries

The Exile altered the Judaeans' perception of God. In a world where their king had been defeated and their reverence for the title consequently diminished, it seemed inappropriate for God to be called king; instead, there was a revival of old epithets, amongst which was the term "father" (Gerstenberger 1996: 8).

The late Postexilic period, in turn, saw a return to the notion of God as king, not only over Israel but over all of creation (Fohrer 1973: 373; cf. Albertz 1994: 135). The concept of God moreover expanded to allow for the belief in Yahweh as creator of everything[11], increasing his transcendence until he had outgrown his personal relationship with his people (Fohrer 1973: 375).

Despite the increasing distance, Israel's faith in God's goodness grew to such an extent that they eventually believed him incapable of evil (Fohrer 1973: 375). According to Gnoli (1987: 581-582), this problem is usually the catalyst that prompts dualism, and the Jews were no exception. To them, it seemed answerable only by attributing the existence and propagation of evil to another being, thereby adding dualistic beliefs to an otherwise rigid monotheism (Fohrer 1973: 375).

In the Postexilic perception, and with growing frequency, evil was ascribed to supernatural powers intent on wreaking havoc with the order established by God (Meyers 2011: 95). God and his angels stood against Satan and his demons, locked in a cosmic battle of good and evil

[9] Gerstenberger (1996: vi) claims that Yahweh's name has been unpronounceable since the third century BCE.
[10] Written texts of the Exilic and Postexilic periods reflect this tendency, especially the Pseudepigrapha and Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (Otzen 1990: 172).
[11] This belief is foreign to traditional Yahwism and required the incorporation of non-Yahwistic concepts into the existing religion (Fohrer 1973: 179).

that took place within man (Fohrer 1973: 375). This idea is essential to apocalyptic. Thus, the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dream Visions see the Watchers as the cause of sin and the opponents of God and his angels; the Similitudes and Epistle sees a division in mankind and a division in heaven (1 En 41:1); the angels of nations are said to battle one another in Daniel (Dan 10:13); the War Scroll envisions a battle between the Sons of Light, led by Michael, and the Sons of Darkness, led by Belial, while the Community Rule sees this battle relocated to man's heart (Collins 1984: 126-131). In the section that follows, the manifestation of this underlying idea in apocalyptic will be discussed.

2.3. God and evil in Jewish apocalyptic

2.3.1. God in Jewish apocalyptic

The Exilic and Postexilic developments in God's character as a transcendent being reached their culmination in Jewish apocalyptic. The God of apocalyptic is a distant, omniscient and omnipotent figure residing in a heavenly realm that is absolutely removed from the earth and not freely accessible to humans (Russell 1992: 105).

In apocalyptic texts, God is an almighty god. Whatever he wills, happens, and even man exists only because it pleases him (Otzen 1990: 173). Apocalyptic writings emphasise this dynamic repeatedly: the opening chapter of *1 Enoch* makes it clear that Enoch's vision happened by God's will and his power is described in vivid terms, Daniel 2:20 describes the changing seasons and the rise and fall of kings as subject to God's will, and significant portions of the Community Rule and War Scroll are dedicated to asserting God's power and majesty.[12]

Humans are capable of acting with initiative, insofar as they have free will to choose right or wrong, but even free will occurs within the limits that God allows (Goldingay 2001: 647). The Book of Daniel presents an interesting perspective on this characteristic of God: even though his will determines and restricts every event that happens on earth, this does not automatically mean that what happens, happens according to his plan[13] (Goldingay 2001: 647).

[12] Cf. 1QS 3:15-19, 4:12 and 11:11. 1QS 11:11 states in no uncertain terms that nothing can happen "outside of" God. Also 1QM 1:8, 10:8 and 13:13.
[13] Cf. Dan. 11:27, 29.

While God is portrayed as awesome and remote, he is also shown to possess a compassionate side and is always faithful to his adherents (Goldingay 2001: 648). He is regarded as both detached and involved, far away yet omnipresent (Russell 1992: 87). His mercy is reserved for the righteous, even when they err (1QS 11:11-12) and he will ultimately relieve them of their suffering, in vanquishing evil (1 En.1:8; 1QS 4:19-23). He is creator and judge, the one who will annihilate the current world so as to create a new, better one in its place (Otzen 1990: 173).

2.3.2. Evil in Jewish apocalyptic

Opposed to God and other manifestations of good in apocalyptic (angels, the righteous), stands a host of evil forces both natural and supernatural. Apocalyptic texts differ with regard to the origin of evil: some envision it, at least partially, as the result of a heavenly rebellion (1 Enoch, Jubilees), while others assert that God created good and evil as separate entities from the very beginning (Community Rule, the War Scroll). Whatever their opinion on evil's origins, most apocalypses agree that Satan and his followers are the originators and perpetrators of evil in the world (Russell 1992: 112).

Satan is usually named as the seducer of the evil faction, portrayed as a seducer and referred to as prince or ruler of the human world (Otzen 1990: 181-182). He has various names in apocalyptic texts, most notably Satan, Beliar, Belial and – in Jubilees – Mastema (Otzen 1990: 181). He and his followers, fallen angels or demons, constitute one side of a conflict in heaven that, according to some texts[14], precedes their fall from grace (Russell 1992: 110).

A number of apocalyptic texts hold that humans are also responsible for evil, if only partly, due to a divided soul (Otzen 1990: 182). The two sides, good and bad, constitute a lifestyle (Collins 1984:131). They are locked in a perpetual battle wherein evil must be continually defeated in order to live a righteous life (Otzen 1992: 92). The opposition is also visible in mankind, which is depicted as divided between the wicked and the righteous[15] – the "Children of Darkness" and "Children of Light" in the War Scroll – who have chosen to fight for either God or his enemies.

[14] 1 En 41:1; 1 QS 3:25; 1 QM 13:11.
[15] The division is not made on the same principle in all apocalypses. In 1 Enoch, the Community Scroll, the War Scroll and Jubilees, for example, the righteous are basically those that follow God and the wicked are those that are "godless". In the Book of Daniel, however, the righteous are Israel and the wicked everyone outside of Israel.

2.4. God and evil in 1 Enoch

2.4.1. God in 1 Enoch

The Exilic and Postexilic trend in God's transcendence is reflected in 1 Enoch. God's separation from humankind is repeatedly emphasized: the distance between God and man is absolute, even more so than in other traditions (Jackson 2004: 91). He dwells in a faraway, divine realm and is referred to with circumlocutions – "Holy and Great One" (1 En 1:3), "Eternal God" (1:4), "Most High" (10:1), and "Lord of Glory" (36:4) – terms that stress his greatness and the difference between him and man (Nickelsburg 1991: 59). The imagery used to describe the divine realm, where everything is depicted in extremes (fire and ice, sun and snow) serves a similar purpose (Nickelsburg 2001: 260).

God is a "transcendent, wholly other, heavenly king" (Nickelsburg 2001: 260). He reigns from a heavenly throne room of fire, stars and lightning (1 En 14:17) – the awesomeness of which is underlined through the use of metaphors relating to brightness (Beyerle 2005: 58) – seated on a crystalline throne so brilliant that Enoch cannot look at it directly (14: 18-19). On earth, He has a mountain-throne that reaches to heaven (18: 8), where he will sit when "he comes down to visit the earth for good" (25:3). He is attended by millions of "courtiers", none of whom can come near him (14:22). The kings of the earth are subject to him and rule only as long as he allows them to, for he is the one who gave them their kingdoms (46:5).

God is the lord of creation. He has created everything that exists and holds power over everything he created (1 En 9:5). Man and spirit alike are under his lordship (37: 2, 4; 38:2); the world and the ages obey his will (Nickelsburg 2001: 43). Order and predictability are two of his key characteristics, expressed in the perfectly regular and symmetrical 364-day Enochic calendar (Jackson 2004: 150).

Although he is both king and lord of creation, he maintains his distance and rarely, if ever, directly interferes in human affairs. He is absent from the historical survey given in the Apocalypse of Weeks (Koch 2005: 190). In the Book of the Watchers, when mankind is suffering at the hands of the Watchers' offspring (1 En 9: 1-5), it is not God who responds to their cries for help, but the archangels, who subsequently petition God to intervene (Jackson 2004: 91). God's punishment of the sin that follows does not destroy evil completely, merely limits it until he can destroy the world and all the evil with it, in order to create a new,

unblemished world (Boccaccini 2005a: 6). Until that time, evil continues to harass mankind in various guises.

2.4.2. The origin of evil in 1 Enoch

The Book of Enoch does not attribute evil to a single source. Although some of the parts are in agreement, each posits its perception of evil and its origins independently of the others (Nickelsburg 2001: 46). Only the Apocalypse of Weeks, while greatly concerned with the nature of evil, remains silent on its origin (Koch 2005: 192). There are two explanations for the origin of evil in 1 Enoch: firstly, evil was introduced into the world as a result of a rebellion in heaven and consequently the angels who rebelled are held responsible; secondly, evil originates with humans who disobey God (Nickelsburg 2001: 46).

2.4.2.1. Angelic Rebellion

The Book of the Watchers, particularly its sixth to eleventh chapters, revolves around the story of the angels who rebelled and brought evil into the world as a result. According to the story, two hundred angels, called Watchers, see the daughters of men and lust after them. They swear an oath[16] of solidarity and descend to earth under the leadership of Shemihazah (6:3), where they take and defile themselves with human wives, as well as teaching them so-called "eternal secrets which were made in heaven", this time led by Azazel (9: 6).

The women give birth to giant offspring, violent creatures who prey upon mankind's toil; when their source of food has grown depleted, they start devouring men and they sin against all creatures of the earth (7: 5). The earth's cries for help are heard by the archangels, who petition God on mankind's behalf.

In consequence, the flood is foretold and Raphael is sent to bind Azazel hand and foot, cast him into a hole in the desert in Dudael and cover him with rocks (10: 4-5). God charges the angels to "write down all sin" against Azazel, as his teachings have ruined the earth (10:8). Gabriel is tasked with destroying the Watchers' offspring (10:9), the ghosts of which become demonic spirits who continue to harass mankind (15: 8-9), while Michael must punish the Watchers – he must bind Shemihazah and the others under the earth for seventy generations, until the final judgment. The Watchers plead for forgiveness, but are not granted it (13:4 – 14:4).

[16] Collins (2008: 264) considers the oath, which Shemihazah clearly intends as some sort of security, as evidence that the Watchers knowingly break God's law.

The story presents a single sequence of events, with two possible originators of evil. Firstly, it is under Shemihazah's leadership that the angels defile themselves sexually and produce giant offspring who wreak havoc on earth; secondly, Azazel becomes the leader in teaching heavenly secrets to the women, through which men and women are led astray and evil spreads all over the earth (VanderKam 1984: 124-125). Suter (2005: 332-333) identifies two possible functions in the myth: firstly, it relates the origin of evil precisely as the author believed it to be, thus attributing the origin of evil to a single event; or secondly, the story does not present a single, actual event, but a paradigm, showing how the continuous transgression of God's laws leads to the continuous emergence of evil[17]. In the context of the Book of the Watchers, however, the origin of evil is presented as being supernatural.

The Animal Apocalypse also clearly ascribes the introduction of evil into the world to the fallen angels (Davila 2005: 35), but whereas Boccaccini (2005b: 42) sees the Book of Dream Visions take a similar view, this possibility is denied by Reed (2005: 341). She suggests that the concept of a heavenly rebellion as the origin of sin is not as widely believed in the Book of Enoch as has been assumed: the Book of Dream Visions and the Epistle of Enoch downplay the role of the Watchers to such a degree that Azazel's teachings are not even mentioned (Reed 2005: 340-341). Regarding the myth of the Watchers, she subscribes to Suter's second possibility and claims that it must be interpreted as a paradigm in which the Watchers no more than equal "wicked humans" (Reed 2005: 341).

2.4.2.2. Human culpability

The Book of the Watchers attempts to absolve God from responsibility for sin, by giving an account of a different source of evil. This attempt appears to make humans into the victims of the Watchers' evil, instead of laying blame on them (Boccaccini 2005a: 6). However, the passage of 1 Enoch 16:3 seemingly suggests otherwise:

> "[These secrets] you made known to the women in the hardness of your hearts, and through this mystery the women and the men cause evil to increase on the earth."

Jackson (2004: 92) interprets the passage as laying responsibility for sin on humans. This seems a reasonable supposition, if by "responsibility for sin" is meant the "spreading of evil" and not "responsibility for the origin thereof". Causing evil "to increase on the earth" is not the same as being its originator. The passage clearly blames the fallen angels foremost for

[17] Jackson (2004) identifies three paradigm exemplars functioning as explanations of the origin and presence of evil in 1 Enoch, of which two are in the story of the Watchers. This is discussed in the following section.

imparting the forbidden knowledge. In the Similitudes, it is implied that humans are "touched" by death because of this forbidden knowledge (69:11) (cf. Collins 2008: 269).

The Epistle of Enoch is clearer in its blame of humans. The Epistle, while acknowledging the existence of a heavenly rebellion in the past, does not consider this the impetus through which evil entered the world, but emphasizes human responsibility (1 En 98:4) (Nickelsburg 2001: 47). This is also, to a certain extent, the case in the Book of Dream Visions, which apparently blames the Watchers for introducing evil and humans for perpetrating it (Nickelsburg 2001: 47). Jackson (2004: 35) finds this to be the case in the Book of the Watchers as well: the women who become the Watchers' wives and receive the forbidden knowledge, are depicted as co-perpetrators of evil and not merely victims.

The question remains: who is to blame for introducing evil into the world? Is it the one who transgresses divine law by imparting knowledge, knowing that this knowledge will lead to sin, or is it the lesser being who receives the knowledge and acts on it, thereby causing evil?

2.4.3. The nature of evil in 1 Enoch

Be it a heavenly rebellion or a human transgression, evil in all its forms appear to spring forth from one thing: disobedience to God[18]. Disobedience may be seen to occur on either a cosmic or human level, with the contravention of the cosmic order as it was established by God or the breaking of divinely determined laws pertaining to human behaviour toward God and toward one another (Nickelsburg 2001: 46).

2.4.3.1. Transgression of the cosmic order

The five opening chapters of 1 Enoch establish an idea of the divine order and, by implication, inform the reader what would constitute transgressing it (Jackson 2004: 31). These form the background for the tale of the Watchers, in which the results of breaking this divine order are illustrated.

The tale of the Watchers' rebellion gives evil two different forms. The first form is that of the transgression of the boundaries between divine and human (Boccaccini 2005a: 6). The Watchers break this boundary for the first time when they leave heaven for the human world, and for the second time when they sleep with the women, thereby crossing the physical

[18] In 1 Enoch, sins are rarely specified when they are being condemned; instead, people are warned not to go against God (cf. 5:4; 27:2; 67:8; 67:10)

boundaries between divine beings and humans. This "Shemikhazah[19] exemplar" (Jackson 2004: 22), establishes the concept of a cosmic battle between God and evil, showing its spiritual and human manifestations (Jackson 2004: 35).

The second form of evil is that of the transmission of forbidden knowledge. Jackson (2004: 27) refers to it as the "'Aza'el exemplar", named for the so-called leader of the angels who revealed heavenly secrets to the human women. The knowledge revealed by the angels includes the making of weapons and cosmetics, as well as information about mantic arts (VanderKam 1984: 126), and as a result of this knowledge, evil spreads all over the earth. Considering the respective punishments dealt to Azazel and his fellow Watchers (10: 4-6; 10: 12-14), the revelation of heavenly secrets seems to be considered the worse of the two evils. God's charge to Raphael to "write down all sin" against Azazel (10: 8) might be interpreted as implying that the origin of the present, continuing evil lies in this transgression.

Jackson (2004: 27) identifies a third form of transgression, which he labels the "cosmic exemplar". Evil is perpetrated by the angels who are in charge of natural phenomena: the "heads of the stars in command" disregard God's will and consequently the stars, weather and seasons deviate from the courses set for them by God, neglecting to appear at the correct times (1 En 80: 6). As a result of this deviation, the worship of the righteous, which relies on the symmetrical 364-day calendar, is thrown out of synchronization with God's established regulations and rendered offensive (Jackson 2004: 149).

2.4.3.2. Laws Regulating Human Behaviour

Humans exist to worship God. Failing to obey this law results in a curse and punishment; even kings will lose their kingdoms for such negligence (1 En 5:4; 27:2; 46:5). In 1 Enoch, however, mankind goes astray and starts worshiping other divine beings, offering sacrifice to demons (19:1) and regarding the stars[20] as gods (80:7).

In the human sphere, evil also takes the shape of oppression of the righteous at the hands of the wicked. Human rulers and nations oppress the righteous (89:15; 89:55) as do the seventy angelic shepherds whom God has placed in charge of mankind (89: 65). The abovementioned manifestations of evil will be more closely studied in the following chapters.

[19] Eth. Shemihazah (Jackson 2004: 22)
[20] See the next chapter for a discussion of the stars as heavenly beings.

2.5. The question of influence

In tracing the development in the characters of God and evil from biblical concepts to Jewish apocalyptic, it becomes apparent that the dualism that lies at the heart of apocalyptic was not a part of traditional Jewish thinking. This makes it seem probable that foreign cultures exerted an influence and, considering that the dualism truly developed during the Post-exilic period, it is tempting to assume that Persian religion fulfilled this function. To assume such a thing, however, would be to ignore the full context and circumstances leading to this formulation.

It has already been argued, in the previous chapter, that dualism can be considered a natural development out of monotheism given the right circumstances. As such, it may be said that dualism is not culture-specific, but rather brought about by circumstances that awaken in people the desire to distance themselves and their god from evil (cf. Fontaine 2011: 268). Israel's religion appears to have been predominantly monotheistic by the time of the Babylonian exile and, as argued above, the circumstances of the exile were conducive to the development of dualistic thought. Foreign influence was therefore not strictly necessary as a catalyst in this regard.

It would be imprudent, however, to dismiss foreign influence entirely. The apocalyptic texts used in this study, particularly 1 Enoch, primarily date to the Hellenistic era. Silverman (2012a: 25) asserts that one must not underestimate the importance of a Hellenistic context. The Hellenistic age is partly characterized by the "global-village" idea, in that physical and intellectual boundaries disappeared to a great extent, making possible the spread of foreign ideas (Collins 1984: 28). Meyers (2011: 100) suggests that it is precisely this development that exposed the Jews to Persian ideas through the works of Greek writers, especially Herodotus. If Persian religious notions found their way into Jewish apocalyptic in one form or another, the Hellenistic era would have provided an ideal setting. In fact, one must question whether it is realistic to suppose that foreign ideas *failed* to influence Jewish thinking on any level. Although it seems unlikely that Persian religion is essentially responsible for the existence of dualism within Jewish apocalyptic, it is not entirely implausible that it played a role in the formulation of the dualism and its various aspects.

According to Meyers (2011: 105), it is possible and perhaps even likely that Zoroastrianism exerted a degree of influence in the cosmological speculation out of which the dualism was formulated. The resemblances in the respective portrayals of God and Ahura Mazda raise

questions in this regard. Like God in 1 Enoch, and apocalyptic in general, Ahura Mazda is the creator of everything and the ultimate judge over his creation: he even created the Evil Spirit, although the latter was not created evil, but became so by choice (Zaehner 1961: 55). This seems very similar to God's relationship with the Watchers, who were also created good and turned to evil by choice. Boyce (1982: 193) suggests that Second Isaiah and other prophets adopted the concept of Yahweh as creator and God from Zoroastrian depictions of Ahura Mazda, a suggestion evidently supported by the fact that the concept of Yahweh as creator was completely foreign in monarchic Yahwism (Fohrer 1973: 179).

There is, however, one aspect of the relationship between God and evil that seems to be at odds with the relationship between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu: whereas Jewish apocalyptic is clearly superior to evil and allows it to exist, the dualistic principles in later Zoroastrianism[21] always appear perfectly equal. According to Shaked (1984: 315), this is not necessarily the case. The basis of his argument is simple: Angra Mainyu/Ahriman is said to have only a non-material (*mēnōg)* existence, meaning that he technically has no presence in the material (*gētīg*) world, whereas Ahura Mazda basically creates the material world out of himself and is therefore present in its various aspects (cf. *GBd* 1.44). Moreover, Ahura Mazda is omniscient, which Ahriman is not (*GBd* 1.13, 15), and it is stated outright that Ahriman cannot undo what Ahura Mazda has done (*GBd* 1.24), which should be possible for principles of equal strength.

Given the nature of such a relationship between good and evil and the similarities that already existed between Ahura Mazda and God, it is possible that the Jewish apocalyptic writers seeking to establish a source of evil separate from God, found a foundation for their formulation in Persian dualism. Until the Persian doctrine can be assigned a specific date, however, the probability remains uncertain (Shaked 1984: 316).

The parallels between the various manifestations of evil in Jewish apocalyptic and Persian religion will be discussed over the course of the following chapters. In this chapter, it may be noted that the concept of evil deriving from a source other than God appears to have been an internal development, independent of Persian religion. In this case, as with the dualism itself, the following may be concluded: although it seems possible that Persian religion influenced

[21] Given the probability that it was a later, more developed form of Persian dualism that exercised an influence (if any) on Jewish apocalyptic, the dualistic principles denote Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu/Ahriman (cf. McCarter Jr 2011: 33).

the formulation of the dualism, it cannot with any measure of certainty be said to have served as its primary catalyst.

CHAPTER THREE: ANGELS

3.1. From the Hebrew Bible to Jewish Apocalyptic

Angels are ubiquitous in Jewish apocalyptic, so much so that the presence of a heavenly guide and interpreter is considered a characteristic feature of apocalypses (Collins 1984: 4-5). The conflict between good and bad angels, and in some cases demons, constitutes an integral aspect of the dualism between God and evil: the picture presented in Jewish apocalyptic is of God as the leader of an army of angels, opposing a demonic prince and his legions in battle (Russell 1992: 110-111). This picture, however, is rather different from the one found in pre-exilic literature (Olyan 1993: 2).

A keen awareness of a spiritual world, existing in a close relationship with and exerting influence on the physical world, is attested in the earliest biblical texts (Olyan 1993: 15), yet its angelology and demonology appears to be not nearly as well-developed as that of apocalyptic texts. Several reasons have been posited for the considerable development in angelology and demonology from the ancient to the Second Temple period[22], of which only one will be assessed in this section, namely that of foreign influence.

Otzen (1990: 180) attributes the development in Jewish angelology to Persian influence, claiming that the concept of higher and lower-class angels found in Jewish apocalyptic bears great similarity to the Zoroastrian system of *Amesha Spentas* and the angels beneath them. Meyers (2011:100), while denying foreign influence on Jewish apocalyptic thought in general, acknowledges a possible relation between the angelology of 1 Enoch and the Zoroastrian guardian spirits called *fravashis*. The term *fravashi* is sometimes identified with *urvan*, the human soul, and it is suggested that the concepts merged early on in Zoroastrianism (Boyce 2001[23]). The thirteenth *yasht* is devoted to the *fravashis* and serves as the primary source of information about them (Boyce 2001). In it, they are depicted as both supernatural entities residing in the upper air, who guard and help their worshipers, and as *urvans*, especially the souls of dead heroes (cf. *Yt.*13.85-144) (Boyce 2001). In vv.149 and 155, however, the soul and the *fravashi* of holy men and women are invoked as separate things, suggesting that, although the concepts of *fravashi* and *urvan* may have been connected, they were not necessarily considered to be identical. There is as of yet no

[22] For a summary and assessment of the hypotheses surrounding development in Jewish angelology from pre-exilic times to Jewish apocalyptic, see Olyan 1993: 3-9.
[23] Please note that this is an Internet source and, as such, has no page numbers.

consensus about the nature of the *fravashis*[24], but this need not hamper a study of their possible influence on Jewish angelology: they are generally understood to be supernatural beings capable of acting on their own, like angels, and possess qualities that parallel those of apocalyptic angels.

3.1.1. Names and organization

The angelology of the Hebrew Bible[25] is not well-defined (Wright 2010: 328). With the exception of Gabriel and Michael in the book of Daniel[26], none of the angels appearing in biblical texts are named and while they often appear in great numbers, there seems to be no discernable order in their ranks[27] (Olyan 1993: 15).

Angels are most often called *mal'āk*, or "messenger", but they are also frequently referred to as *bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm*, a term usually translated as "sons of God" (Gen. 6:2; Job 1:6; Pss. 29:1; 89:7), and used to describe not only angels, but also god-like men and lesser gods (Wright 2010: 328; Collins 2008: 260). These "sons of God" appear to form part of Yahweh's council (Gen.28:12; 2 Sam.14:17; 1 Kgs 22:19-22) and this has led some scholars to suggest that they were originally foreign gods incorporated into Yahwism and made subject to Yahweh (Fohrer 1973: 173; Wright 2010: 328).

Although names are lacking, some angels are referred to by certain titles, such as the Destroying Angel (2 Sam 24:16; Exod. 12:23) and the Angel of the Covenant (Mal. 3:1). Among these, the one that features most prominently in the Hebrew Bible is the Angel of the LORD (Gen.16:11-12; Num. 22:31-35; 1 Kgs. 13:18; 2 Kgs. 1:3)[28]. This figure, at times appearing as a messenger of Yahweh and sometimes evidently appearing as Yahweh himself, is understood to have been evidence to Israel of Yahweh's involvement in their lives (Wright 2010: 328).

[24] For a discussion of theories surrounding this issue, see Boyce (2001).
[25] The biblical texts used in this chapter are used on the assumption that they mostly portray pre-exilic traditions, even if they were composed during or after the Exile. One might argue that the conditions of the Exile would have encouraged the Judaeans to remain as faithful as possible to the original traditions. For the dating of each text, cf. Collins 2004: 59-61 (Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, Deut); 183-184 (Josh, Judg, 1 and 2 Sam, 1 and 2 Kings); 445 (1 and 2 Chron); 507 (Job); 461-463 (Psalms); 307-309 (Isa); 415-420 (Mal).
[26] The section in which these name appear, however, is generally dated to ca.166 BCE, by which time the Jews would have been exposed to Babylonian and Persian influence (Collins 1997: 8-9). Therefore, although it occurs in the Hebrew Bible, it is likely that this exception reflects the developments of the Second Temple period, rather than ancient Hebrew concepts (Wright 2010: 239).
[27] A notable exception here is Josh 5:13-15, where Joshua meets a "commander of the army of the Lord", a title implying the existence of ranks.
[28] Cf. Olyan 1993: 16

Three classes of angels appear in the Hebrew Bible: the Seraphim, Cherubim and the Ḥayyot (Olyan 1993: 16). In the Book of Numbers, Yahweh sends snakes to bite the people of Israel and afterwards orders Moses to make a *seraph* (a "fiery serpent") which will heal the victims (21:6, 21:8). The name of these serpents is believed by some to derive from the effect of their bite (Langton 1949: 38), but this explanation has been dismissed as overly simplistic by others (Davies 1986: 104). Seraphim further appear in the books of Deuteronomy (8:15) and Isaiah (6; 14:29; 30:6)[29]. The *Ḥayyot*, a term translated as "living creatures", appear in the first chapter of Ezekiel and are later identified with the Cherubim in the tenth chapter[30] (Olyan 1993: 16).

The Seraphim and Cherubim feature with increasing frequency in Second Temple period texts (Olyan 1993: 32). They are joined by the Opphanim, the first clear mention of which occurs in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En 61:10)[31] (Olyan 1993: 34). The Book of Enoch also mentions 'Watchers' and 'angels of principalities' as angelic divisions and portrays the various classes of angels as residing on different levels in heaven (Wright 2010: 330).

Second Temple literature, particularly apocalypses, sees a distinction being drawn between good and evil angels, the organization of angelic divisions into hierarchies and the assignment of proper names to select angels[32] (Wright 2010: 329). The ancient terms "sons of God" and "sons of heaven" are still found in apocalyptic texts (1 En 6:2; 14:3; 1QS 4:22) (Stokes 2010: 1252); beyond this, both good and bad angels are named as individuals. The Book of Enoch lists the names of the twenty Watchers who serve as the leaders of the two hundred who transgress (1 En 6:7), while other texts name Satan (*Jubilees*), Mastema (*Jubilees*), Beliar (1QS; 1QM) and Belial (1QS; 1QM) as evil angels. The good angels that are named in 1 Enoch are usually classed as archangels and include Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel, Phanuel and Raguel.

As mentioned above, the organization of the vague angelology found in the Hebrew Bible into the sophisticated system of Jewish apocalyptic has been attributed to Zoroastrian influence. It seems safe to rule the *fravashis* out of this equation: in *Yasht* 13, they are usually

[29] Although the text of Isaiah was only completed after the Exile, parts of Isa 1-39 are generally believed to date to the seventh or eighth centuries B.C.E. (Collins 2004: 307-309).
[30] The book of Ezekiel is dated *ca.* 571 B.C.E., making Babylonian influence a possibility (Collins 2004: 354).
[31] It has been suggested that the Ophannim were perceived as angels in the sixth century BCE, but Olyan (1993: 38-39) disagrees with this and claims they derived from Ezekiel's vision of God's throne (1993: 35).
[32] According to Wright (2010: 329), the assignment of proper names derives from exegesis of older passages from the Hebrew Bible. Cf. also Olyan (1993).

addressed collectively[33] and, even if addressed individually, only referred to as the *fravashi* of an individual, without being given a name of their own. There is no evidence of any particular hierarchy or other form of organization in their ranks, unless one were to consider their attachment to "their own kindred…their own borough…their own town…their own country" (*Yt.*13.68), as such.

Another parallel frequently remarked upon is that between the *Amesha Spentas* and the archangels (Cohn 1993: 222). At first glance, it is easy to note several points of similarity: both the *Amesha Spentas* and the archangels usually number seven[34]; both groups are divine beings, lower than the Creator but higher than other angels; and each of the archangels and *Amesha Spentas* has a specific sphere of influence and responsibility. Broadly speaking, then, the notion that the Zoroastrian system influenced the Jewish approach does not seem unlikely. Upon closer inspection, however, some of the particulars seem to refute this claim.

Firstly, the equality in the number of archangels and *Amesha Spentas* seems to be an important aspect in theories about Zoroastrian influence, especially as it is uncertain where the Jewish concept of seven "higher" angels originated (Bautch 2009: 181). There are two potential problems with this parallel. The first is that the number of archangels, or "higher" angels, in Jewish apocalyptic is not fixed, but vary between groups of four or seven (Van Henten 1995: 151). This tendency is illustrated in 1 Enoch: four archangels are listed in 1 En 9:1 and seven in 1 En 20. In the Book of Dreams, where seven angels appear once more, four of them are separated from the other three by duty: they must punish the fallen angels, while the remaining three accompany Enoch (1 En 87.2-89.1). Judging by the duties they carry out, as described in 88.1-89.1, the four may be identified with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel in 10.1-22, which makes them archangels, but there is nothing in the text to suggest that they are in any way higher-ranked than the three angels accompanying Enoch. In 90.21, again, there is a reference to "the seven first white ones." Finally, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel are categorized, along with three others[35], as "holy angels who keep watch" (20.1), suggesting that they are of the same status. May it be advisable, then, to accept the four archangels in 1 En 9 as part of a larger group, even if the others are not mentioned? If one

[33] It might be of interest to note that the *fravashis* are described as "many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands" (*Y.* 13.65), recalling 1 Enoch's "ten thousand times ten thousand" (14:22) and "a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand" (40:1).
[34] Some scholars identify *Spenta Mainyu* with Ahura Mazda, concluding that there are only six Bounteous Immortals, but Schwartz (1985: 668) refers to this identification as "mistaken."
[35] Knibb (1978) lists only six, but notes that one of the Greek versions ($Gr^{Pan\ a}$) lists seven and is probably correct in doing so.

accepts it as thus, the first potential problem would be ruled out, but is the equality in numbers of principal angels really enough to justify an investigation into Zoroastrian influence? This leads to the second problem: can it truly be said that Jewish writers adopted the *idea* of seven principal angels from a foreign source?

It has been shown that the texts in the Hebrew Bible believed to be based on pre-exilic traditions make no clear reference to an angelic hierarchy. Nevertheless, there are references to angels that appear to be more elevated than others: the angel of Yahweh, whose behaviour sets him apart to the extent that some scholars identify him with Yahweh (Meier 1995: 88), and, as mentioned earlier, the commander of the Lord's army who appears before Joshua (Josh 5: 13-15). Of the latter, Van Henten (1995: 151) suggests that he is a "forerunner of the archangel," which later evolved into the Prince of the heavenly host. In the light of this evidence, the notion of "higher" angels seems to have been present in Jewish thinking even before the exile and searching for foreign origins in this regard seems unnecessary.

In their individual capacity and despite the parallels with the Zoroastrian system, therefore, it appears the abovementioned two aspects may have developed independently within Jewish society, without foreign influence. What is intriguing, however, is that Jewish angelology should have combined these aspects in a way that resembles Zoroastrianism so closely.

3.1.2. Physical appearance

When angels appear in the Hebrew Bible, they may take the form of humans or of composite beings with anthropomorphic features (Olyan 1993: 15), although a human appearance appears to be the most frequent (Davies 1986: 108). The degree of resemblance between angel and human varies. At times, the divine being looks so human that its true nature goes unnoticed until it is proven by some wondrous act: Gideon's scepticism must be dispelled with acceptance of his sacrifice (Judg 6: 11-22), and Samson's mother refers to the angel of the Lord as a "man of God" who *looks* like an angel (Judg 13: 3-21). The incident related in Gen 32:22-30, in which Jacob wrestles with a man who turns out to be an angel of Yahweh (or even Yahweh himself), appears rather ambiguous. When daybreak approaches, the angel requests to be released, but Jacob demands a blessing in return. This may either have been a custom among his people or it may indicate an awareness of his opponent's true nature; the fact that he names the site of struggle Peniel ("I have seen God face-to-face"), supports the latter. However, one must question whether he would have fought his opponent knowing, from the start, who the opponent truly was. If not, he must have become aware of the

opponent's identity during the struggle, meaning that he did not recognize him as anything but a man at first. At other times, despite the description of anthropomorphic features, the texts suggest that there is something extraordinary about the angels' appearance, as they are instantly recognized for the divine beings they are (Gen 18: 2; 19: 1; Num 22: 22-35). There is no indication, however, what kind of characteristics prompt the recognition.

Interestingly enough, where angels are classed, they are also described. Anthropomorphic features are still present, but the Isaiah's Seraphim and Ezekiel's Cherubim are composite beings: the seraphim are winged serpents with seemingly human faces, feet and hands (Isa 6; cf. Mettinger 1995: 1402; Davies 1986: 114), while the cherubim are described as having human figures, but four faces, hands and wings each (Ezek 1: 1-9; 10: 7-11). The four faces of the Cherubim are alternately given as the face of a human, lion, ox and eagle (Ezek 1: 10) and cherub, human, eagle and lion (Ezek 10: 14). In addition, a multitude of eyes are said to cover the Cherubim's bodies (Ezek 10:12).

The descriptions of angels found in Second Temple period texts are a stark contrast to the vague picture painted in the Hebrew Bible. Anthropomorphic features are still predominant, but there is never an instance where an angel is mistaken for a man: an angel's appearance always seems to physically reflect the glory of God and the language used to describe them includes elements like light, precious stones and fire (Wright 2010: 329). These elements usually transform the otherwise human features into something supernatural, such as fiery eyes or a face like lightning (Dan 10:6). They are shown, in some instances, to be able to change their form at will, looking like fire one moment and like men the next (1 En 17:1).

There seems to be little similarity between the physical appearance of angels in Jewish apocalyptic and the Zoroastrian *fravashis.* Like the angels, *fravashis* were usually believed to be winged creatures, but unlike angels, they were invariably female[36] (Cohn 1993: 90; Schwartz 1985: 677). Boyce, however, suggests that there is still no clear evidence that these beings were in fact perceived as female, as there remains no "certain plastic representation," although she agrees that they might have had wings (Boyce 2001).

[36] There are females among the *Amesha Spentas* as well: Spenta Mainyu is male, while Ārmaiti, Haurvatāt and Amərətat are female and neuter nouns are used to refer to the remaining three, although they are usually assumed to be male (Boyce 1982: 205).

Nevertheless, even if there is a possibility of the *fravashis* having been seen as male, this leaves only the mutual feature of wings as similarity between them and Jewish angels[37] and as older biblical texts already describe the Seraphim as winged, it appears that the similarity is the result of coincidence rather than Zoroastrian influence.

3.1.3. Roles and functions

The Hebrew Bible does not present a very concise picture of the roles angels play or the functions they perform (Otzen 1990: 179). They are shown to accompany Yahweh when he descends to earth (Gen 18), to act as Yahweh's armies (Josh 5) and to form a divine council which attends Yahweh at the heavenly court[38] (Pss 82:1; 89: 5-7) (Fohrer 1973: 173; Olyan 1993: 15; Davies 1986: 108).

A term frequently used to describe an angel is *mal'āk*, or "messenger"[39]. The term is used more than two hundred times in the Old Testament, though it must be noted that the term sometimes refers to a human messenger and not a supernatural one[40] (Meier 1995: 81). As Yahweh's messengers, angels deliver messages from him to humans (1 Kgs 13:18; Zech 1:14[41]), at times explaining the message as well (Zech 1:9; 4:1-6); they accompany and protect humans, usually when the latter are on a God-given mission (Gen 24:7; Exod 14:19), sometimes to the extent of feeding their charges (cf. Elijah's journey, in 1 Kgs 19:5-6) (Meier 1995: 85-86).

It is difficult to ascertain the moral standing of angels in the Hebrew Bible. Just as they are shown to protect men, they might also destroy not only Israel's enemies (cf. the 185 000 Assyrians in Isa. 37:36-37), but Israelites themselves (2 Sam 24:16), executing Yahweh's judgment on the nations. When Joshua asks the commander of the army of the Lord on whose side he is, the angel replies merely that he comes as the commander of the Lord's army, indicating that his loyalty does not lie with any humans, but with Yahweh (Josh 5:13-15). From these examples it appears as though angels have no sense of right or wrong, or at least,

[37] Meier (1995: 93) claims that angels in Jewish apocalyptic are rarely shown to have wings, although they move around in the air. 1 En 61:1, however, clearly states that they move using wings (Knibb 1978)
[38] Fohrer (1973: 173) suggests that these angels were once foreign gods, incorporated into Yahwism and made subject to Yahweh.
[39] A notable exception in this regard is the Seraphim and Cherubim, who are never described as messengers, nor shown to fulfil such a function in the Old Testament (Meier 1995: 84)
[40] It appears to have been customary, in the ancient Near East, to apply the same term used for human messengers to their heavenly counterparts (Meier 1995: 81).
[41] The first eight chapters of Zechariah are believed to date to *ca.* 520 B.C.E.; foreign influence is therefore a possibility (Collins 2004: 404).

as though they are morally ambiguous (Martin 2010: 665). The depiction in 2 Sam 14:17 appears to refute this statement, but while it suggests that angels know the difference between good and evil, it does not prove that the difference matters to them.

The angels in the Hebrew Bible, then, be they "good" angels who help Yahweh's chosen people (1 Kgs 19:5-6) or "evil spirits" (1 Sam 16:14-23), are the servants of Yahweh and exist to do his will without questioning it (Martin 2010: 665). They are Yahweh's helpers, unable to exist independently of him, and the roles they play are symbolic of Yahweh's involvement with his people (Fohrer 1973: 175).

In Second Temple period literature, especially Jewish apocalyptic literature, the roles and functions of angels are enlarged upon and more clearly described (Meier 1995: 92). Many of the functions fulfilled by angels in the Hebrew Bible continue to be fulfilled in Jewish apocalyptic. Angels are still shown to attend God at his heavenly court[42] (1 En 40; cf. also *Testament of Levi* and *The Apocalypse of Abraham*) (Russell 1992: 86). They guard God's throne: the Seraphim and Cherubim are also mentioned in 1 En 71:7, along with the Ophannim, as "they who do not sleep, but keep watch over the throne of his glory," as the Cherubim were shown to do in Ezek 10. Angels also execute punishment on wrongdoers, particularly divine ones, as shown in 1 Enoch (chs. 9-10; 90:23-25). Moreover, as will be seen below, their roles as warriors and messengers, already prominent in biblical passages, are greatly elaborated in apocalyptic texts and become arguably their most important functions (cf. Russell 1992: 77; Wright 2010: 330).

With the increasing distance placed between God and man during the Second Temple period, it became necessary for angels to serve as a link between God and man (Fohrer 1973: 374). Thus, in Jewish apocalyptic, the messenger-function evolves into that of mediator: angels make communication between earth and heaven possible (Otzen 1990: 179). The carrying of men's prayers to God and God's response back to men is the task of the angels, especially the archangels, who are shown to exist in close proximity to God (cf. the archangels' petition for God's intervention when the earth cries out under the giants' assault, in 1 En 9; also Stuckenbruck 1995:175; Bautch 2009: 176). These angels not only bring prayers before God, but also intercede on behalf of the righteous[43] (1 En 99:3), with whose protection they

[42] The roles they play at the heavenly court are summarized by Wright (2010: 330) as "deliberative, judicial, revelatory, or liturgical roles," cf. Dan.7:9-10; 1 En 14:19-23; 40:1-7; 60:2-6; 61:9-13.
[43] This function is implied in 1 En 15: 2, where God orders Enoch to tell the fallen Watchers that they "ought to petition on behalf of men."

have been entrusted (1 En 100:5; 1QM 13:10). God's punishment of the wicked is mediated through angelic agents, referred to as the "angels of punishment" (1 En 56:1). Angels act as scribes, recording the earthly events they witness, both good and evil, for the purpose of the final judgment, when their records will be used to lay charges against the accused (1 En 103:2; 108:2). They will also gather the wicked together for God to judge (100:4).

As in the Hebrew Bible, angels reveal God's word to humans, and also interpret it for the sake of the human seer (Dan 8:16) (Meier 1995: 93). This interpretative function is usually combined with that of guide: in an apocalypse, an angels usually accompanies the human seer on his cosmic journey and answers the questions put to them, as well as explaining confusing visions (1 En 17-36) (Russell 1992: 77; Wright 2010: 329). Another prominent function of angels in 1 Enoch is their involvement in the running of the cosmos, but this will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The role of warrior, present in the Hebrew Bible but not well-described, becomes one of the most important aspects of the angels in Jewish apocalyptic[44] (Wright 2010: 330). The moral ambiguity of biblical angels is not to be found in their apocalyptic counterparts. Apocalyptic pits God and the good angels against Satan/Belial and the bad. This is not a mere opposition manifesting itself in a series of dualities throughout the heavenly and physical dimensions, but an all-out eschatological war in which angels play a very active role (1QM 17:6-8; Dan.12). An elaborate picture of this war is presented in the War Scroll and it should be noted that while Belial, the leader of the evil angels or demons, takes part in the battle against the Prince of Lights (elsewhere identified as Michael), God only appears in "the seventh lot" to finish off the enemies in one blow (1QM 1: 14-15): before that, the battle is waged by angelic armies in the supernatural realm and human armies on earth. The supernatural battles, it is suggested, determine the outcomes of the earthly ones (Russell 1992: 107). Some texts assign nations to specific angels, who then oppose one another as their nations do[45] (Dan. 10:13). So, for example, Michael is the guardian angel of Israel according to the Book of Daniel (12:1).

In the aspect of roles and functions, angels find a number of parallels in the *fravashis*. Like angels, the *fravashis* are shown, in *Yasht* 13, to be the protectors and helpers of the faithful

[44] 1 Enoch appears to be an exception in this regard. It depicts God's angels as carrying out God's sentence against divine and human sinners, but while much mention is made of earthly bloodshed, the angels are not clearly shown to be involved in anything that constitutes a war.
[45] The notion of angels being associated with specific nations is once again implied in 1 En 89:59-60, although it is not stated that they wage war against one another.

(Boyce 2001). They watch over and maintain certain cosmic elements, such as the sea and stars (*Yt.* 13.59-60), in which respect they closely resemble the angels in 1 Enoch. The Avesta goes further, however, and credit them with helping the creator, Ahura Mazda, in ordering the cosmos at the beginning (Boyce 2001). This sentiment is not found in 1 Enoch, which considers God as needing "no holy counsel" (14:22), and thus by implication also no help. The *fravashis* are praised as warrior spirits and it is implied that they fight for their "own place and land" (*Yt.* 13.67), while they may also be invoked by the faithful to battle on their behalf and protect them against the invisible forces of the *druj* (*Yt.* 13. 69-72). What sets the *fravashis* apart from angels in this regard, is that it appears as though the *fravashis* can choose to heed pleas for help at their own discretion and that they themselves are worthy of worship. Neither of these two features finds a place in apocalyptic in general or 1 Enoch in particular, which considers God the only being worthy of worship and where the good angels only act upon God's order (1 En 9; cf. also 90).

In addition to the similarities in their number and status, the archangels and *Amesha Spentas* share certain functions, if only to a degree. Cohn (1993: 222) notes that both groups of entities fulfil a protective function and are charged with maintaining certain elements in the cosmos. Each of the *Amesha Spentas* presides over an element of creation with both an abstract and physical manifestation. Their function is dual: they both personify spiritual values and guard the physical world (Cohn 1993: 85). Thus one finds Spenta Mainyu, the "Holy Spirit," guarding man; Vohu Manah, the "Good Thought," guarding animals; Asha Vahishtra, the "Best Truth/Order," over fire; Khshathra Vairya, "Dominion," over metal; Spentā Ārmaiti, "Holy Devotion," over earth; Haurvatāt, "Wholeness," over water; and Ameretāt, "Immortality," over plants (Schwartz 1985: 668-669). The *Amesha Spentas* are believed to have helped in the creation of their respective elements; *Yasht* 19 refers to them as "the makers and governors…of these creations of Ahura Mazda" (*Yt.* 19.18).

The archangels in 1 Enoch are also said to preside over specific aspects of the cosmos. Uriel is over "thunder and tremors" (20:2), Raphael over human spirits (20:3), Raguel is an angel of vengeance (20:4), Michael guards the righteous (20:5), Saraqael is in charge of the "spirits of men who cause the spirits to sin" (20:6), and Gabriel presides over the Cherubim, the serpents[46] and the Garden (20:7). The dual manifestation – spiritual and physical – of the Zoroastrian system evidently does not apply to 1 Enoch. Nowhere are the angels said to have

[46] Joines (1974: 44) believes these serpents to refer to Seraphim.

played a part in the creation of their elements, nor do they appear to embody them; in fact, their spheres of influence seem to be nothing more than duties assigned to them by God, as a king might assign duties to his government.

As stated above, most of the functions fulfilled by angels in Jewish apocalyptic can be traced back to the Hebrew Bible. That there are parallels with the Zoroastrian system seems obvious, but these parallels appear to operate only on a general level without standing up to closer inspection. As such, it seems rash to claim Zoroastrian influence in this regard.

3.2. 1 Enoch: areas of possible influence

3.2.1. Supernatural agents of evil

The circumstances of the Exile prompted Judaeans to reconsider their beliefs about the origin of evil and God's role in it, the result of which is a significant development in Jewish demonology (Fohrer 1973: 375). The vague evil presence found in the Hebrew Bible evolves into a sophisticated system of demons, fallen angels and a Satan-figure, and although the development itself seems easy to trace, it remains unclear how evil came to take its apocalyptic form (Pierce 2010: 1198). Some scholars suggest a link with Zoroastrianism, citing parallels between the demons/fallen angels of apocalyptic and the *daevas*, and between Ahriman and Satan (Cohn 1993: 221; Pierce 2010: 1198; Riley 1995: 465). A recent study by Silverman (2012a) also investigates the possible Persian influence in the Enochic figure of Azazel and the motifs associated with him. This section considers firstly the developments in Jewish demonology from the Hebrew Bible to 1 Enoch, secondly the parallels found in Zoroastrianism and finally offers an assessment of the evidence.

3.2.1.1. Satan and demons in the Hebrew Bible

The concept of an independent agent of evil is unknown in the Hebrew Bible. Yahweh himself is shown to be responsible for the evil that happens on earth, whether directly or through angelic agents (1 Sam 16:14; 1 Kgs 22:19-23) (Fohrer 1973: 175). Langton (1949:10) asserts that the Hebrew Bible, in its concern with Yahweh's status as the only real God, avoided references to Hebrew demonology (which he believes to have been "rampant"), resulting in an incomplete and inaccurate picture thereof.

Although no attempts are ever made to formulate a proper system or even to explain their origins, a handful of demons appear in the Hebrew Bible (Eshel & Harlow 2010:531;

Langton 1949: 35). Among the classes of demons are the *shedim* (Deut 32:17), the hairy (goat) demons (Lev 17:7; 2 Chron 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14), disease demons, Azazel (Lev 16) and Lilith (Isa 34:14) (Fohrer 1973: 176; see also Langton 1949: 16-22). Where mentioned, the demons in the Hebrew Bible resemble those of foreign religions (Langton 1949: 35). Martin (2010: 658-660) suggests that the term "demon" as used by the ancient Israelites refers to foreign gods and uses the example of the hairy demons to support his claim. These demons, originally called *śĕʿîrîm*, which translates as "hairy demons, satyrs," (Eshel & Harlow 2010: 531) or "goat-god"/ "goat demon" (Martin 2010: 659), is believed to have been an object of worship in Samaria and, Martin suggests, Judah as well.

Despite their presence, however, demons do not seem to play an important role in biblical events. The "relevant" evil occurrences – that is, those occurrences where the evil force actually causes a critical event – are shown to originate with Yahweh (1 Sam 16:14; 1 Kgs 22:19-23; 2 Sam 24).

The figure believed to be the forerunner of the Satan found in apocalyptic and Christianity, referred to by the Hebrew term *śāṭān*, fits into this vague demonology. The *śāṭān* of the Hebrew Bible is no independent author of evil (Pierce 2010: 1198). The word *śāṭān* is a noun, usually translated as "adversary" or "accuser" (Day 1988:15), and this appears to be his main function in the biblical context.

While the role of accuser remains essentially the same, *śāṭān* is used to refer to both heavenly and human beings fulfilling the role (Pierce 2010: 1197). The term does not stipulate the type of being it refers to; this must be deduced from the context in which it occurs. A human is portrayed as *śāṭān* in 1 Sam 29, 2 Sam 19, 1 Kgs 5 and 11, and Ps 109; in two of these passages, the function fulfilled is not that of accuser, but of a military adversary (2 Sam 19; 1 Kgs 5,11), while the other passages depict a legal accuser of sorts (Day 1988: 25-28). A celestial *śāṭān* appears in four contexts: as an adversary to Balaam (Num 22:22-35)[47]; as the accuser of men before God (Job 1-2; Zech 3:1-7); and as a spirit prompting David to act wrongly (1 Chron 21:1-22:1)[48] (cf. Pierce 2010: 1197; Day 1988:1; Breytenbach & Day 1995: 1371).

[47] Some scholars believe the *śāṭān* in this context to be Yahweh himself (Breytenbach&Day 1995: 1372).
[48] Compare with 2 Sam 24, where the spirit is sent by God. The reasons for the different accounts are beyond the scope of this thesis. See Pierce's theories (2010: 1197-1198).

Scholars have been unable to prove the existence of an official office of "legal prosecutor" in the ancient Israelite justice system (Breytenbach & Day 1995: 1372) and Day (1988:39) states that it did not exist. Instead, she suggests, the term *śāṭān* describes not an office but a function, one that could be fulfilled by anyone as needed (cf. Abishai in 2 Sam 19) (Day 1988: 26). If one accepts that the *śāṭān* mentioned in Num 22 refers to Yahweh, while elsewhere the *śāṭān* is obviously a different creature (Job 1-2), it seems that the function can also be performed by different celestial beings.

It is generally believed that the *śāṭān* was a member of Yahweh's court, an angel (Pagels 1997: 39), although Pierce (2010: 1197) points out that it is difficult to determine, in Job and Zechariah, whether *śāṭān* actually belongs to the court or imposes himself on it. He is shown only with divine permission and within the boundaries set by Yahweh (Job 1-2), without seeming to have any malicious intent (Pagels 1997: 40). Nevertheless, there is already a hint of his later character found in the book of Job. Firstly, the *śāṭān* questions Yahweh's established order which allows the faithful to prosper without fail; thus, while he remains subject to Yahweh, he is challenging Yahweh's creation and even Yahweh himself to a certain degree (Breytenbach & Day 1995: 1373). Secondly, as Riley (1995: 469) states regarding the *śāṭān's* action in the book of Job:

> "This is not the action of a mere heavenly prosecutor in the divine council…no prosecutor destroys the property of the defendant, then kills his children and destroys his health, in order to bring about hatred for the Judge."

Thus, while it is acknowledged that the *śāṭān* in the Hebrew Bible is a creature and subject of Yahweh, without independent abilities, there appears to be some hint of the character of God's enemy in later texts.

3.2.1.2. Evil spirits and their leaders in 1 Enoch

Second Temple period demonology differentiates very clearly between angels and demons, spiritual beings without physical bodies, who strive to harm humans (Eshel & Harlow 2010: 531). While the line between good and evil is also clearly drawn in 1 Enoch, however, angels appear to be the agents of both sides of the battle. The origin of evil, according to the Book of the Watchers, lies in the actions of the Watchers who defile themselves with human women, giving birth to giants who all but destroyed the earth (1 En 6-7). Although the giants' bodies

perish as a result of God's punishment, their spirits remain[49] and continue to plague mankind. This concept of the origin of evil is of great importance in 1 Enoch and is believed to have influenced much of Jewish apocalyptic literature (Collins 2008: 270).

It is important to note that the fallen Watchers never seem to be explicitly equated with demons, nor, for that matter, are the souls of their offspring (Martin 2010: 667). The spirits of the dead giants are called "evil spirits" and "spirits of the evil ones" (1 En 15:9), but the Greek translation of the word is *pneuma*, which denotes spirit rather than demon: for this reason, Martin (2010: 667) suggests that these evil spirits are better understood as the same kind of spirit found in 1 Sam 16:14-23. Of them it is said that they are corrupt, that they inflict harm upon the earth and its people, that they neither eat nor drink and "are not observed"[50] (1 En 15:11). Amongst other things, they entice humans into sacrificing "to demons as to gods" (1 En 19:1). What the word "demons" refers to is not clear, but seeing as the demons are the recipients of sacrifice, it seems possible that they are foreign gods or idols (cf. Martin 2010: 667).

The term "satan" appears in 1 Enoch in two contexts: firstly, as a description of a group of beings who fulfil the same function as the *śāṭān* in the Hebrew Bible, namely accuse humans before God (40:7); secondly, as the name of an individual being whose servants the Watchers became prior to leading mankind astray (54:6). Therefore, Satan is considered the leader of the Watchers according to the Book of Parables. The Book of the Watchers, however, names Shemihazah as their leader (6:3), while Azazel appears to usurp that role later, when God orders the angels to ascribe all sin to him (10:8). Moreover, in 54:6 the Watchers are described as the "hosts of Azazel," implying that they were led by him. Pagels (1997: 47) suggests that Shemihazah and Azazel are two of the names used to describe God's enemy, just like Satan, Belial and Mastema. From the text itself it seems unclear whether the Watchers had three leaders, each causing them to sin in a different way – Shemihazah led the descent to earth and was described as their leader when they defiled themselves with the women, Azazel led them in sharing heavenly secrets with humans[51], and the figure called Satan is not explicitly shown to do anything, although his corrupting influence is implied – or whether the name Satan is another name for either Shemihazah or Azazel.

[49] The reason why their entire existence cannot be destroyed is apparently because they are half-angel and half-human, with the angelic half being, for the moment at least, indestructible (1 En 15:8-16:1).
[50] It is not clear whether this means they are invisible, though it seems to be implied.
[51] For an in-depth discussion of the paradigm exemplars based on the sins of Shemihazah and Azazel respectively, see Jackson 2004: 21-149.

The way in which Satan is described in 54:6 makes it seem as though the author regards him as the cause of corruption and, consequently, evil. Shemihazah's transgression resulted in the earth's suffering, first at the hands of the giants and, after the flood, at the hands of the evil spirits. Azazel's sin, the transmission of forbidden knowledge to human beings, resulted in the corruption of mankind: 1 En 10:8 goes so far as to say that "the whole earth has been ruined by the teaching of the works of Azazel." It is also noteworthy that all *sin* is ascribed to, not evil. For his teachings, unlike the evil spirits, do not merely assault God's creation, leaving man as the innocent victim. The forbidden knowledge have caused men to sin, signifying a corruption of creation itself. This, to any creator, would be a much greater transgression than just attacking his creation from the outside, and it might be why Azazel's punishment is different than that of Shemihazah and the other Watchers. The possibility of Zoroastrian influence in the nature of Azazel's sin and his punishment has been investigated in a recent study by Silverman.

3.2.1.3. Possible Persian influence

In terms of the so-called "demonology" (for want of a better word) of 1 Enoch and that of Zoroastrianism, parallels abound. However, as has been proven in the section on angels, parallels do not automatically suffice to prove influence. Therefore, three possible areas of influence will be discussed below, parallels will be given and then assessed to determine whether any part of their formulation can be said to be the result of Persian influence.

3.2.1.3.1. The evil spirits and the *daivas*

The first area of possible influence is that of 1 Enoch's evil spirits. As far as functions are concerned, the *daivas* of Zoroastrianism appear to parallel them most closely. The *daivas* strive to harm mankind and influence men to do wrong (Boyce 1975: 225), a mission echoed in 1 En 19: 1, where the evil spirits lead men astray into sacrificing to demons. Neither of the two groups are capable of having physical forms – the evil spirits had bodies until the giants died, but are now doomed to an eternally spiritual existence, whereas the *daivas* are also restricted to a *mēnōg* (spiritual) state (Gnoli 1996[52]). *Yasna* 32.3 calls the *daivas* the "seed of Bad Thought," which, although not perfectly, seems to partly parallel the evil spirits' derivation from fallen angels. The violent tendencies of the giants and, presumably, of their

[52] Please note that this is an Internet source and, as such, has no page numbers.

spirits after death, are likewise implied in the fact that the *daivas* are said to keep company with the demon Wrath (Boyce 1975: 225).

There is one very important feature of the *daivas* that does not apply to the evil spirits in 1 Enoch. In keeping with the theme of free choice, so central to Zoroastrianism, the *daivas* are said to have become evil by choosing the Lie instead of the Truth (*Y*.30.6) (Gnoli 1987: 582). This suggests a capability of independent thought, which is never found in the evil spirits of 1 Enoch. The nature of their existence is explained in 1 En 15:9:

> "And evil spirits came out from their flesh because from above they were created, from the holy Watchers was their origin and first foundation."

As Knibb (1978:101) points out, the original Aramaic clause provides an explanation for the emergence of spirits from the dead giants, but it does not give a reason why these spirits are to be called evil. The circumstance of their conception, a sinful liaison between divine and human beings, appears to have determined their fate, without their having any choice in the matter.

3.2.1.3.2. Angra Mainyu/Ahriman and the Satan-figure

The second area of possible influence, one frequently cited by supporters of the foreign-influence hypothesis (notably Boyce, Cohn and Pierce), is that of the Satan-figure and Angra Mainyu/Ahriman. Considering the leadership-problem found in 1 Enoch – that is, the problem of the leader of evil – it might be advisable to extend the field of comparison to include Shemihazah and Azazel. Little is said of the figure called Satan in 1 Enoch, but the essence of his character may be gleaned from 1 En 54:6: those who follow him, become corrupt and go on to corrupt others. The essence of wickedness implied in this verse is found in the figure of Ahriman, too, who exists only to pollute the good creation (Shaked 1984: 316). The other two leaders, Shemihazah and Azazel, are like Angra Mainyu in that they are still subject to God and not equal to him; in fact, Jewish apocalyptic never makes Satan God's equal (Pierce 2010: 1198). As Angra Mainyu/Ahriman served as creator of the *daivas* (Boyce 1975: 201), Shemihazah may be considered the ultimate cause behind the existence of the evil spirits, although he was not their sole creator, as Angra Mainyu/Ahriman was.

On the whole, the figure of Angra Mainyu/Ahriman does not appear to parallel any of the three leaders in 1 Enoch particularly closely. He is a creator, which none of them are. He is confined to a *mēnōg* ("spiritual") state and incapable of manifesting in a physical form

(Shaked 1984: 316), while the fact that Shemihazah and Azazel were able to conceive offspring with human women suggests they inhabited physical bodies and nothing is said of Satan's state of being. The element of free choice is both similar and different: Ahriman chose to be evil and consequently became the source of all that is bad in the world (Schwartz 1985: 681); Shemihazah and Azazel chose to break the divine law and descend to earth. In addition to this, Azazel is explicitly linked with the corruption of mankind through forbidden knowledge, yet it is implied that his knowledge is limited (1 En 16:3). Similarly, in contrast to Ahura Mazda's omniscience, Ahriman is said to possess only "after wit"; hence, knowledge far more limited than that of the creator-god (*GBd* 1.2-3, 15; cf. Fox 1967: 134). Unlike Ahriman, however, neither Azazel nor Shemihazah are portrayed as particularly evil. They recognize their sin and are shamed into begging for forgiveness, which they do not receive (1 En 13:4-14:4), as opposed to Ahriman who, when offered peace by Ahura Mazda, vows to destroy Ahura Mazda and the good creation (*GBd* 1: 20-23). Despite a hint of similarity, therefore, direct influence seems unlikely in this regard, and if the authors of 1 Enoch were trying to purposefully deny Zoroastrian conceptions in their writings, thus also betraying influence, it seems improbable that they would have made the fallen Watchers into such sympathetic beings just to prove a point.

3.2.1.3.3. Azazel

The sin and punishment of Azazel have also been identified as potentially influenced by Persian religion. Literature on the subject is extremely sparse: Cohn (1993: 222), for example, mentions the similarity between Azazel's punishment and Azhi Dahāka's imprisonment as an instance of Persian influence, but does not elaborate. The basis of this regrettably brief section is therefore, by necessity, a single study conducted recently by Jason Silverman.

He identifies quite a few parallels between the two figures: a binding until the final judgment, a close association with violence and marriage between divine and human beings (Silverman 2012a: 188). According to *Yasht* 19, Azhi Dahāka has not only three heads, but also six eyes and a thousand senses, and he is the strongest of Angra Mainyu's creations, brought into being with the sole purpose of destroying the good creation (19.37). The *yashts* also refer to two women being held captive by Azhi Dahāka and mention his marriage to them (5.34; 9.14; 15.24) (Silverman 2012a: 190). The *Bundahishn* and the *Zand-ī Wahman Yashn* tell of Azhi Dahāka's imprisonment by Thraētaona inside Mount Damavand, where he will remain

until the last judgment, when he will suffer his final defeat at the hands of Keresāspa (Silverman 2012a: 190). The monster-bound-until-the-eschaton motif is accepted as dating to the late Achaemenid period (Silverman 2012a: 191-192).

In 1 Enoch, Azazel's hands and feet are bound and he is cast into a chasm in the desert in Dudael, whereupon he is covered with rocks (10:4-5). On the day of the final judgment, he will be thrown into the fire (10:6). Among the things Azazel teaches mankind is the art of making weapons (8:1), an art that, combined with the teaching of the other Watchers, causes great destruction and bloodshed on earth (8:4-9:1). Azazel is therefore closely associated with violence, as is the blood-thirsty Azhi Dahāka (Silverman 2012a: 193). Finally, like Azhi Dahāka, Azazel is a supernatural being who marries a human woman (Silverman 2012a: 193). Despite the fact that Azhi Dahāka is a dragon and Azazel is an angel, Silverman asserts that the parallels are strong enough to suggest influence.

CHAPTER FOUR: COSMIC ORDER AND CHAOS

The physical universe, its origin and functions, have always been subjects of interest to human beings. Indeed, studies suggest that some, if not all, religions contain some form of cosmology[53] (Oden 1992: 1163). In the Ancient Near East, knowledge of the cosmos was widely believed to stem from divine revelation received by select human beings at the beginning of creation (Vanderkam 1984: 102). In early Judaism, the cosmos was more than just the physical universe: it was the physical representation of God's divine order and cosmic phenomena was believed to exercise influence over mankind and its destiny (Russell 1992: 84). This concept of cosmic order is a recurring and important theme in Jewish apocalyptic (Yarbro Collins 1996: 99). The order in nature, from the stars to the sun to the seasons, reflects the fundamental aspect of order in God's nature; therefore, an understanding of nature and its workings enables one to understand God's will (Russell 1992: 84). In a sense, one might argue that, in the Jewish apocalyptic perception, God *is* order. This belief plays a prominent role in 1 Enoch, most notably in the Book of the Watchers (chapters 1 to 5, and 17 to 36) and the Astronomical Book, also referred to as the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (chapters 72 to 82).

The Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book are believed to be the two oldest apocalypses, dating to the third century B.C.E. (Yarbro Collins 1996: 9). Vanderkam (1984: 83) proposes a *terminus ad quem* of 200 B.C.E. for the Astronomical Book and suggests that a similar date may apply to the Book of the Watchers (1984: 114).

The five opening chapters of the Book of the Watchers provide a picture of an orderly universe, an illustration of nature's obedience to God's command, and establish the theme of cosmic order that is also found in chapters 17 to 36 (Yarbro Collins 1996: 100). There is a firm distinction made between those that adhere to the divine order and those who transgress it (Jackson 2004: 31).

With the exception of chapters 80 and 81, the Astronomical Book is concerned with the laws governing cosmic phenomena, which must be correctly understood to establish an accurate calendar (Yarbro Collins 1996: 102). Chapters 80 and 81, on the other hand, have an ethical rather than scientific focus (Vanderkam 1984: 78). Here, as in the opening chapters of the Book of the Watchers, sinners' violation of moral laws is shown to reflect deviation in the

[53] Cosmology, in this instance, also includes cosmogony. Russel (1992: 84) notes that ancient thought saw the two concepts melt into one another and become inseparable.

cosmic order (Vanderkam 1984: 106). The breaking of cosmic laws is one aspect of sin, and therefore evil, in 1 Enoch[54] (Nickelsburg 2001: 46). The concept of human sin having a negative effect on the physical universe is also found in the Persian text of *Jāmāsp Nāmag* (12-21, 26-28) (Lincoln 1983: 146). This is only one of a few parallels found between Persian religion and 1 Enoch: in the following sections, similar parallels in the Enochic calendar and several cosmic mechanisms will be investigated.

4.1. The Enochic Calendar

The main concern of the Astronomical Book is the establishment of a correct calendar (Collins 1998: 62). A calendar was of great religious importance, for it enabled adherents to conduct religious activities at the right times according to God's will, and the prominent effort at clarification made by the author of the Astronomical Book is probably the result of calendrical disputes in the Jewish community (Yarbro Collins 1996: 10).

The calendar described in the Astronomical Book, where it makes its earliest appearance, has 364 days (Stern 2010: 234). The 364-day calendar is promoted by several documents from Qumran, notably the Temple Scroll[55] and the Book of Jubilees (Rochberg-Halton & Vanderkam 1992: 818; cf. also Collins 1998: 60-61), instead of the rabbinic lunar calendar of 354 days (Talmon 2006: 27). In 1 Enoch, the 364 days are divided into twelve months: eight months of 30 days each and four – the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth – months of 31 days each, a possible allowance made for the summer and winter solstices, as well as autumnal and vernal equinoxes (Stern 2010: 234). With such a system, a specific date would fall on the same day every year, emphasizing order (Morisada Rietz 2006: 208). The Astronomical Book does not provide a consistent picture of the calendar's basic nature: it is implied that it is solar (72:32), stellar (74:12) and in one instance even luni-solar (74:17) (Stern 2010: 233). The obvious discrepancy between the Enochic calendar and observable phenomena has led some scholars to believe that the calendar was only meant as a theoretical model and not intended for practical use[56] (Talmon 2006: 58; Stern 2010: 240). The Astronomical Book bases the authority and authenticity of its calendar on the fact that it was revealed to Enoch by the archangel Uriel (Yarbro Collins 1996: 111). Its institution is believed to be God's will (Morisada Rietz 2006: 211).

[54] Jackson (2004: 27) calls this the "cosmic exemplar."
[55] The Temple Scroll is believed to have been written between 200 B.C.E. and 104 B.C.E. (Vanderkam 1992: 819).
[56] The debate around the intention and application of the 364-day calendar is still ongoing (Grabbe 2004: 187).

4.1.1. The question of influence

In previous chapters, the study of foreign influence in any given aspect begins with a study of the ancient Israelite concept of that aspect. In this case, however, such a study is by necessity very brief.

It is possible that the ancient Israelites followed a calendar of sorts, but there is not enough evidence to ascertain what it might have looked like (Rochberg-Halton & Vanderkam 1992: 814). Even the nature of the "actual" calendar followed by Jews at the time when the Enochic calendar was formulated is unclear: Rochberg-Halton & Vanderkam (1992: 820) state that suitable sources are lacking, but more recent studies suggest that a 354-day calendar was in use (Collins 1998: 60; Talmon 2006: 27-28). Silverman (2012b: 5)[57], on the other hand, sees the 364-day calendar as an adaptation of a 360-day original, as outlined in 1 En 72[58]. The months attested in the Hebrew Bible are named according to ordinal numbers or with names suggestive of Canaanite or Babylonian influence (Rochberg-Halton & Vanderkam 1992: 816).

That the Jews borrowed elements of the Babylonian calendar and astronomy for their own calendar is accepted as fact (Vanderkam 1984: 93) The Babylonian calendar, which has 365 days, the popular one used in the Ancient Near East and was even adopted as the primary calendar of the Persian Empire[59] (Grabbe 2004: 186). It was therefore readily available to be borrowed from. The question remains whether it influenced the Enochic calendar, which, as has been shown above, was different even from the popular Jewish version.

Babylonian influence has been widely assumed in the Astronomical Book in general (Silverman 2012b: 2). The 364-day scheme found in the Enochic calendar was known in Mesopotamia at some point in the 7th century B.C.E., but discarded again, presumably due to its inaccuracy (Silverman 2012b: 7). The methods behind the calculation of new moons (1 En 78:15-16), is based on Babylonian methods and the so-called "zigzag" pattern, whereby the length of day and night increase or lessen proportionately, is believed to stem from early Babylonian astronomy (Neugebauer 1981: 4). It is possible that the use of "regular" 30-day months is also of Babylonian origin, but the four epagomenal days appear to have been

[57] All material attributed to Jason M. Silverman in this chapter comes from a draft of his article, "Iranian Details in the *Book of the Heavenly Luminaries* (1 Enoch 72-82)," which has been approved for, but is still forthcoming in, the Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
[58] Silverman (2012b: 5) suggests that a 360-day scheme is also implied in 1 En 75:1-2; 82: 4-6; and 82:11-12.
[59] There is evidence that the Jewish community at Elephantine also used the Babylonian calendar (Grabbe 2004: 186).

influenced by the Jewish seven-day week and has no parallel in Babylonian systems (Neugebauer 1981: 4). It must also be noted that the months in the Astronomical Book are not named, as they are in Babylonian systems, but numbered according to the methods found in biblical traditions (Stern 2010: 234).

The days of the Enochic calendar, as described in 1 En 72: 8-16, are divided into eighteen parts. A similar tendency can be found in Mesopotamian astronomical texts, notably MUL.APIN, but the fact that the day-parts are never connected with any specific unit of time make Babylonian influence only a possibility (Neugebauer 1981: 11-12; Vanderkam 1984: 93).

While the parallels between the Babylonian and Enochic schemes are indisputable, however, it is not necessarily the case that the only foreign influence to have played a role in the formation of the Enochic calendar was Babylonian. Judging by the lack of resources on the subject, Persian influence in the Enochic calendar has not been a popular subject of research until now, but Silverman recently reopened the discussion.

As stated above, Silverman (2012b: 5) claims that the Enochic calendar was adapted from a 360-day model, just as the 365-day Persian calendar has a 360-day scheme, outlined in the *Bundahishn*[60], as basis. In addition, both calendars use epagomenal days, the Enochic calendar four and the Persian calendar five (Silverman 2012b: 6). While a 365-day calendar appears to date to the Achaemenid era (Silverman 2012b: 6), it is believed that the Persians continued to use the original 360-day calendar for religious purposes (Grabbe 2004: 186). Considering the attack on a 360-day calendar found in 1 Enoch (75:1-2; 82:4-6), and the fact that no evidence for such a calendar being used in the Jewish community has been found yet (Collins 1998:61), it is tempting to connect the "sinners" who use the 360-day calendar (82:4) with the Persians[61]. It has also been hypothesized that the emphasis on the authenticity and correctness of the Enochic calendar was prompted by the appearance of the 365.25-day calendar introduced during Seleucid rule (Silverman 2012b: 6). The subject being plagued as it is by an absence of sources, it seems unlikely that any "connection" made in this thesis can progress beyond speculation.

[60] In the *Bundahishn (5.5)*, there are 360 apertures, 180 in the east and 180 in the west, through which the sun rises and sets every day. For a brief outline of parallels between the system of solar gates in the Astronomical Book and the Zoroastrian system, see Silverman 2012b: 2-9. He also sees possible Persian influence in the seven islands of 1 En 77 (2012b: 10-18).

[61] The date of the Astronomical Book suggests that it was open to Hellenistic influence (Yarbro Collins 1996: 10) and it might be possible that the Zoroastrian religion was more widely known at this time, perhaps through Greek authors.

4.2. Cosmic Mechanisms

4.2.1. Angels and the cosmos

The belief that supernatural forces of good and evil inhabit the physical world permeates 1 Enoch (Meyers 2011: 95). In 1 Enoch, cosmic phenomena is believed to be under the control of heavenly beings, who in turn are presided over by the archangel Uriel[62] (72:1; 74:2) (Jackson 2004: 145)[63]. At the top of the hierarchy, below Uriel, are the seasonal leaders who take turns to be "on duty" for 91 days each; next are the twelve leaders of the months, who are divided into four groups of three; and finally the leaders of thousands, who are in charge of each of the 360 days (Neugebauer 1981: 33). "Spirits" are also in charge of climatic phenomena such as thunder and lightning (60:14), hoar-frost (60:17)[64], hail (60:18), mist (60:19) and rain (60:21).

The idea that cosmic phenomena are under the control of heavenly beings, or are in fact heavenly beings themselves, was not a novel one in Jewish thought at the time of the Astronomical Book's composition. Ugaritic-Canaanite mythology has astral warriors and the existence of similar beings are implied in the Hebrew Bible (Judg 5:19-20), suggesting that the ancient Israelites also conceived of astral bodies as divine entities (Collins 1998: 61). Heavenly bodies were worshipped as gods in the Ancient Near East, for they were perceived to exercise influence over earthly events, and it is possible that the ancient Israelites partook in this tradition (Wright 2010: 1255). It therefore seems unnecessary to attribute this element in 1 Enoch to foreign influence. It might prove more useful to study the way in which this element is depicted for similarities with Persian thought[65].

The stars' movements are not extensively discussed anywhere in the Astronomical Book: indeed, it would appear the author does not attach scientific as much theological value to them (Silverman 2012b: 8). What is important about the "heads of the stars of command" (80:6) is that they are the originators of chaos in nature, for their failure to appear at the right

[62] For a summary of Albani's study of the similarities between Uriel and the Babylonian god Shamash, see Bautch 2009: 184-185.
[63] Jackson (2004: 141) claims that the names of the angels found in 1 En 6:7 serve as proof of their connection with cosmic phenomena, but Neugebauer (1981: 33) dismisses the names as meaningless.
[64] Silverman (2012b: 9) draws attention to the similarity between 1 Enoch's negative portrayal of cold, and the Zoroastrian tradition that names cold as one of Angra Mainyu's creations.
[65] Babylonian influence seems unlikely in this regard. The Babylonians evidently believed that stars were fixed to the sky, "drawn" by a god, and they had three stars for every month – one for the path of Enlil, one for Ea and one for Anu (Huxley 1997: 192-194). This does not appear to parallel the Enochic concept.

time leads to the seasons falling behind the Enochic calendar, which in turn leads people to sin by not performing religious activities at the correct times (Collins 1998: 61).

A partial similarity can be found in Zoroastrian cosmology, according to which Ahura Mazda created the stars to assist in the battle against Angra Mainyu and his hordes and resist onslaughts on the good creation (Silverman 2012b: 8). At first glance, this seems to be the exact opposite of the "stars" in the Astronomical Book, where they are to blame for human sin. It is however important to note what is implied about their actual function. The transgression of the stars, or the "heads of the stars in command," may provide a hint as to the original purpose behind their creation: stars, and all cosmic phenomena, were created by God to serve his purpose and function according to his laws, thereby upholding and strengthening order. This seems to find at least a vague parallel in the Zoroastrian system as mentioned above.

Another possible connection can be drawn between the angels in charge of phenomena and the *fravashis*[66]. Although the Astronomical Book frequently refers to angels as "leaders," it is not certain where and when the concept of this so-called leadership originated (Jackson 2004: 145). Several traditions in the Ancient Near East viewed stars either as gods or warriors (Wright 2010: 1255; Silverman 2012b: 8), but there appears to be no understanding of heavenly beings under the auspices of a creator-god "leading" phenomena, except in Zoroastrian tradition. Here, the *fravashis* are not only associated with heavenly bodies, but said to have shown "their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights" (*Yt.* 13:57). The terms used to describe the angelic leaders, "heads of the stars of command" (80:6) and "heads of the thousands" (82:4), seems to imply a military formation (Jackson 2004: 147), which might be considered to be a parallel to the militaristic nature of the *fravashis,* who are repeatedly praised for their prowess in battle (*Yt.* 13:31; 13:35; 13:40; 13:45). A prominent difference between the angels in the Astronomical Book and the *fravashis* is that the *fravashis* are credited with assisting in the creation of the cosmos, which the Enochic angels are not (Boyce 2001). It would be imprudent, however, to completely dismiss the possibility of influence because of this difference.

[66] See the previous chapter for other similarities between *fravashis* and the angels in apocalyptic.

4.2.2. The Seven Stars

The Book of the Watchers contains two references (18:13-16; 21:1-6) to "seven stars" that are bound in a fiery void as punishment for transgressing God's law. Their sin is that they failed to appear "at their appointed time," an echo of the transgression of the heads of the stars (80:6) (Jackson 2004: 146).

It is possible that the seven stars of 1 Enoch refer to the seven planets, which were known to the Greeks by Plato's time (427 B.C.E. – 347 B.C.E.) and to the Babylonians even before that (Yarbro Collins 1996: 120-121). Yarbro Collins (1996: 102) considers 1 Enoch's negativity toward the seven stars as a "de facto polemic" against the gods of the planets. This suggestion seems to be supported by the statement in 1 En 80:7 which implies that it is a sin to equate stars with gods. However, it is possible that there is a closer resemblance between the Persian concept of the planets and the Enochic portrayal of the seven stars.

The *Bundahishn* also lists the seven planets known by the Greeks and Babylonians: the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (5:12). However, instead of regarding them as gods, the *Bundahishn* calls them "devs" (5:9). The basis of their alleged evil is their comparatively erratic behaviour, which is described as following: "…there is a time when they are swift, there is another when they are slow, there is a time when they are retrograde, there is another when they are stationary" (5:9). They also adorn themselves with the "Ohrmazdean Light" used by the constellations, disguising themselves as stars even though they are not stars (cf. MacKenzie's translation, 1964: 517). In other words, one might say that the seven planets, who appear as seven stars, seem to transgress the divine order by not behaving themselves like the other constellations, i.e. not coming out "at their appointed time." Apart from the fact that they are explicitly called "devs," while the context of 1 Enoch implies that the seven stars are angelic beings, the concept of the seven planets in the *Bundahishn* seems to provide a plausible potential source for the concept of the seven stars found in 1 Enoch.

The similarities between Persian and Enochic cosmology are few and relatively vague. As Vanderkam (1984:92) notes, merely listing parallels is not very useful for determining historical derivation. The comparative and regrettable lack of evidence makes it difficult to prove Persian influence beyond reasonable doubt. However, while the parallels between Persian and Enochic systems are not as clear-cut as those between Enochic and Babylonian,

in some cases, there might be enough similarities and plausible signs of influence to justify a claim of potential influence.

CHAPTER FIVE: LIFE AND THE AFTERLIFE

To the apocalyptic writer, creation functions as the battleground for the struggle between God's forces and those of evil (Collins 2005: 60). Previous chapters have investigated the manner in which this struggle manifests in the supernatural realm and the physical creation; in this chapter, the focus shifts to mankind.

Early Judaism believed man to be created in God's image[67] and granted sovereignty over the rest of creation (Otzen 1990: 185). Creation is also mirrored, to some degree, in all human beings[68] (Otzen 1990: 185). It seems logical, then, that the struggle between good and evil taking place in creation, should also take place in mankind. On this anthropological level, the dualism between God and evil may be seen to operate on three different levels.

On the first level, apocalyptic thought divides mankind into two camps: the righteous and the wicked (Otzen 1990: 189). The definition of righteous and wicked varies from text to text, even within a single collective work like 1 Enoch, and this will be studied in subsequent sections, but in broad terms the righteous are those who obey God and the wicked are those who deny and oppose him (cf. Russell 1992: 111-112). Some writings suggest that every person can choose whether to follow God or evil, whereas others seem to hint at predestination. This will also be investigated later in this chapter.

On the second level, the same forces, or "spirits," of good and evil that divide mankind struggle within the heart of every human being (Collins 1984: 131; cf. Boccaccini 1991: 100). The most explicit description of this battle is possibly the one found in the Community Rule (1QS), but it also plays a significant role in others texts, notably Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Russell 1992: 114). As shall be seen, there are possible references to this concept in 1 Enoch, albeit more vague and open to debate.

On the third level, mankind is divided in terms of its fate after death. Unlike the ancient Israelites, who appears to have lacked a belief in post mortem judgment (Tromp 1969: 22), the apocalyptic writers display a keener interest in the rewards and punishments that await after death. This interest may have been informed by the fundamental belief that the human soul is immortal, a belief to which many Hellenistic Jews subscribed (McDannell & Lang

[67] The concept of people being created in God's image is, according to Otzen (1990:186), a "naturalized Jewish concept," but it is possible that it originally derives from an Egyptian or Mesopotamian source.
[68] Similar notions are present in Greek and Persian thought and Otzen (1990:185) has no doubt that the idea entered into Jewish religion through foreign influence.

2001: 18). The idea of an immortal soul is found in some sections of 1 Enoch, but others contain no clear references to it (e.g. the Book of Dream Visions, cf. Boccaccini 1991: 132). The main focus of this chapter's section on the afterlife, however, will be the depiction of the realm of the dead, especially as it appears in 1 Enoch, which displays a significant departure from the traditional Israelite concept of Sheol. Persian influence has been suggested as a formative force behind this transformation, and possible traces might also be found in the abovementioned two manifestations of the God-evil dualism. The aim of this chapter is to weigh the available evidence in an attempt at determining whether a claim of Persian influence may be justified in the areas of the two-way doctrine, the role of choice and the portrayal of the afterlife.

5.1. The Two Ways

5.1.1. The Righteous and the Wicked

Given the dualistic nature of the apocalyptic writer's religious view and the belief that the struggle between God and evil reaches from the divine world into the physical, as shown in the previous chapter, it seems reasonable that mankind would be viewed in similar terms.

The notion of two ways dates back to the sixth century B.C.E., when a man's life was believed to be conducted along one or more paths, either good or evil (Nickelsburg 2001: 454). There is a tradition of such a distinction in the Hebrew Bible, where the Wisdom literature distinguishes between the foolish, who have given over to evil, and the wise, who live according to God's will (Otzen 1990: 182). This distinction plays an important role in apocalyptic literature, particularly in 1 Enoch, the Book of Daniel, the Community Rule and the War Scroll.

In the Book of Daniel, it is implied that the nation of Israel constitutes the righteous side of the battle, while the Gentile nations constitute that of the wicked (Collins 1997: 92). Chapter 7 of the book seem to be mainly concerned with the oppression of the righteous at the hands of the Gentile kings[69], who wage war against them and win, but who will be in turn defeated by God when he pronounces judgment in favour of the righteous (Dan 7:21-22). The distinction here appears, then, to be based on nothing other than nationality.

[69] It is believed that the apocalyptic part of the Book of Daniel was written in reaction to the oppression suffered by the Jews at the hands of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Knibb 2002: 18).

A similar idea is suggested in the Community Rule and the War Scroll, where the "sons of light" are consistently contrasted with the "sons of darkness" (cf. 1QS 1: 9-10; 2:15; 3: 18-21; 1QM 1:1; 13: 10-13). This conflict has been occurring since the time of creation and will lead to vastly different outcomes for the respective parties: the "sons of light" will have healing, peace and long lives (1QS 4:7-8), but the "sons of darkness" are doomed to plague, eternal torment and disgrace (1QS 12-13) (Collins 1984: 131). Within the context of the community at Qumran, where these texts originated, it is probable that the "sons of light" were the community members themselves, while the "sons of darkness" were all people outside of the community (Otzen 1990: 183).

The importance of the righteous-wicked division is established in the very first chapter of 1 Enoch, where it is foretold that the righteous will be blessed and made to prosper (1:8), while the wicked will be destroyed (1:9). The Book of Parables is mainly concerned with the respective fates of the righteous and impious (cf. 38:3; 41:2; 45:6); the Astronomical Book focuses on the distinction in chapter 81 (cf. 81: 7-8); in the Book of Dream Visions, the righteous are represented by sheep and the wicked by wolves and other animals (cf. 89:27); and the Epistle of Enoch consists of admonitions to the righteous and warnings to the wicked (cf. 94:1; 94:7; 96:1; 96:4). In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the righteous are referred to as a "plant of righteousness"[70] (93: 5) and the "people of the chosen root" (93: 8) who are scattered by the impious.

The five works that comprise 1 Enoch also vary in their opinion on what, and who, the righteous and wicked are. The Book of the Watchers places Michael in charge of "the best part of mankind, in charge of the nation" (20:5), which suggests that it subscribes to a view similar to the one expressed in Daniel, according to which Israel are the righteous. There appears to be no other basis for distinction, as there is no mention made of a law, Mosaic or otherwise[71] (Sacchi 2005: 402). Men are said to have become unclean and will, according to the text, commit sin by sacrificing to demons (19:1). Given that this is against God's command, and the Watchers are considered evil for having transgressed God's command (21:6), it seems sensible to assume that the Book of the Watchers considers those who adhere to God's command as righteous, and those who oppose it, wicked.

[70] The plant-metaphor seems a logical one in the context of the prominent role agriculture played in Israel's world (Nickelsburg 2001: 444). For more on the image of the plant in Israelite literature, cf. Nickelsburg 2001: 444-445.

[71] The Book of Dream Visions seems to imply the same thing: the Animal Apocalypse distinguishes only between sheep (Israel) and other animals (Gentiles).

The Astronomical Book continues the idea of adherence to God's command, linking it with the calendar; the main characteristic of the righteous is that they follow the 364-day calendar (Collins 1984: 58). In contrast to this, social distinction seems to play a prominent role in the Book of Parables and the Epistle of Enoch.

The Book of Parables identifies "the kings and the powerful" as wicked (46:4; cf. 38:4; 53:5; 62:9; 63:1), for they commit sin and deny "the name of the Lord of Spirits" (38:2). This does not necessarily mean that only the powerful deny God, only that they are more likely to; conversely, the oppressed are not necessarily all righteous, but they are more likely to be (Collins 1984: 146). It is also important to note that, like the Book of the Watchers, no reference is made to the keeping of a law that resembles the Mosaic law, and in this case there also appears to be no distinction made between Jews and Gentiles (Collins 1984: 146). The Parables, then, seem to associate belief in the "Lord of Spirits" with righteousness, and denial thereof with wickedness.

Stuckenbruck (2011: 153) sees a direct relation between the opposition between righteous and wicked, as depicted in chapters 91 to 105, and social distinction. There is a clear polemic against "those who acquire gold and silver" (94: 7; cf. 96:4-5; 97:8) and oppressors (96: 5, 8; 99:12); indeed, the oppression appears to be based not on the piety of the righteous, but on the fact that they are poor, while the wicked are rich (Nickelsburg 1972: 113). Social distinction, however, although a prominent theme in these chapters, is not the only basis for the difference between good and evil. The emphasis on iniquity and deceit (94:6; 95:6), blasphemy (94:9; 96:7), and pride (97:8; 99:2), as opposed to wisdom (91:10; 93:10; 104:12) indicate an interest in distinction on religious grounds as well (Knibb 2005: 218).

From the above, it seems as though there is no single definition, or set of actions, by which to measure righteousness and wickedness. Whereas nationality is enough to render someone righteous according to some texts, others require adherence to specific rules or merely the following of a certain lifestyle. They do, however, have one thing in common: the will of God. If Israel constitutes the righteous, as in the Book of Daniel and the Book of the Watchers, it is because God has chosen them to be his people. If adherence to the 364-day calendar is a requirement for righteousness, that is because God has ordained this calendar and following it consequently equals following God's will. Similarly, the lifestyle described in the Community Rule, War Scroll, the Book of Parables and the final chapters of 1 Enoch is considered to be the lifestyle of one who chooses God and denies evil.

The opposition between the forces of *qushṭa* and *shiqra/ hamsa*[72] plays a key role in the Apocalypse of Weeks (Koch 2005: 191)[73]. In Nickelsburg's (2001: 441, 443) translation, *qushṭa* is translated as "righteousness," *shiqra* as "deceit" and *hamsa* as "violence." It is important to note that, while *qushṭa* represents a positive force, *shiqra* and *hamsa* always appear together to represent the negative force (Koch 2005: 191). *Qushṭa* is nowhere portrayed as a creative force, but rather a field of power, and there is no clear evidence given that it derives from God or creation (Koch 2005: 191). It appears to have been established with creation, though the details of its origin are never given, and it exists as a force of progress that precedes individuals' actions, though it is difficult to establish exactly what it denotes (Koch 2005: 192). The particulars surrounding *shiqra* are equally vague; it may denote evil speech, action or even intention (Koch 2005: 192).

The *qushṭa-shiqra/ hamsa* opposition appears to parallel the two spirits found in the Community Rule, in that they present different paths for humanity to walk along (1QS 18-19). Koch (2005: 197) sees a link between this antagonistic pairing and that of the Zoroastrian *asha* (truth) and *druj* (lie), the latter of which has as one of its main representatives, the demon Aeshma ("Wrath"), who is second only to Angra Mainyu (Schwartz 1985: 682). There is also a possibility that the Aramaic translations of Achaemenid royal inscriptions used *qushṭa* and *shiqra* as the Aramaic versions of *asha* and *druj* respectively, although a lack of evidence at Elephantine prevents it from being more than a possibility (Koch 2005: 198). The concept of mankind being divided into two opposed groups is also paralleled in the Gathas, where they are the followers of *asha* and the followers of *druj* (*Y.* 31:2; 43:12; 51:9). In fact, the notion of man choosing to follow either the Truth or the Lie is one of the principal features of Zoroastrian dualism (De Blois 2000: 6-7; cf. also Skjærvø 2011: 59).

In the light of the abovementioned parallels, it is tempting to draw lines of influence between the Persian religion and Jewish apocalyptic, specifically 1 Enoch. However, as Levison (2006: 175-176) points out, the opposition between good and evil is a rather general one and not only confined to Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Considering, in addition, the lack of clear-cut definitions of "righteous" and "wicked" in Jewish apocalyptic, as well as the vagueness of

[72] These are the Aramaic terms (Koch 2005: 187).
[73] Sources on this particular opposition, that between *qushṭa* and *shiqra/hamsa*, are extremely scarce, so much so that this article by Koch is the only discussion the present author has been able to find.

the nature of *qushṭa* and *shiqra*, it might be rash to ascribe the concept of a divided humanity to the influence of a Persian original.

5.1.2. The Two "Spirits"

The choice between the cosmic forces of God and evil that divides mankind, in turn, is believed to be linked to the division within man's heart (Russell 1992: 114). The idea of good and evil co-existing inside of man is found at the beginning of the second century B.C.E., in the writings of Ben Sira (Boccaccini 1991: 100). Man's nature is ambivalent; it is not necessarily inherently evil, merely capable of doing evil (Boccaccini 1991: 104).

The Community Rule describes the concept of two opposing spirits inside man's heart in some detail. God has created the two ways – of truth and injustice – for man to follow (1QS 3: 17-20), and now the two "spirits" rule man's nature (1QS 4: 15-16), existing in equal measure and causing man to "walk in both wisdom and folly" (1QS 4: 23-25). This doctrine seems to be reflected in the Similitudes, where it is stated that God "has divided the spirits of men" (41: 8). This passage appears to be the most explicit reference to a concept of two spirits, but a more subtle reference suggests that a similar concept underlies the Epistle of Enoch. The fact that the author feels it necessary to exhort people to choose righteousness (1 En 94:4) suggests that they have the potential to choose otherwise, which would only be possible if the potential existed in their hearts.

The nature, or identity, of the two spirits is not presented very clearly in the Community Rule, and there is an ongoing debate about whether they represent human dispositions, cosmic forces or something else (Levison 2006: 169). Collins (1984: 131) suggests that the two spirits in the Community Rule are, at least mainly, personifications of lifestyles. On the one hand, the spirit of truth is characterized by "humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, and intelligence" (1QS 4: 4), whereas the spirit of falsehood causes "greed…wickedness and lies, haughtiness and pride" (1QS 4: 9-10). In the Epistle of Enoch, the wicked are said, amongst other things, to commit blasphemy (1 En 94: 4), to "practise hatred and wickedness" (95: 2), to lie and persecute the righteous (95: 6-7), to be materialistic (94:7; 97:8; 98:2) and to worship idols (99:7). The Epistle is not as elaborate in its description of the righteous "spirit" as it is with the wicked, but it seems reasonable to assume that the righteous lifestyle would be the opposite of the wicked in every particular.

The origin of the two-spirit teaching remains a topic of debate. Levison (2006: 184-185) singles out three positions taken on the matter: firstly, Kuhn's and Dupont-Sommer's suggestion of foreign, particularly Persian, influence; secondly, Wernberg-Møller's assertion that the notion developed out of a hierarchical structure within the Qumran community; and thirdly, Seitz's suggestion that it derives from 1 Sam 16:14[74].

There is potential evidence for Persian influence in the Qumran texts' use of the term *yeṣer*, which denotes an "evil impulse" and is opposed to a "good impulse" (cf. 1QS 4:5; 3:17-19; 4:23-25) (Otzen 1990: 90). This term appears frequently in literature from the later rabbinic period, although the first hints thereof evidently appear in the writings of Ben Sira, which are commonly dated to the beginning of the second century B.C.E. (Cook 2007: 80-83). Boccaccini (1991: 100) considers the rabbinic concept of *yeṣer* to be a clearly defined part of a sophisticated doctrine of good and evil in man, and suggests that the term, as it is used in texts from the first and second centuries B.C.E., should be understood differently. Cook (2007: 86) believes it possible that Ben Sira's concept of *yeṣer*, which appears rather ambiguous, is actually quite similar to the rabbinic one. He adds that the doctrine of good and evil impulses within man seems not to have been fixed yet at the time the Qumran Scrolls were composed (Cook 2007: 91). However, seeing as the concept underlying the doctrine can be traced back to the second century B.C.E., it seems possible that the Qumran authors were influenced by it. If so, the term *yeṣer* as used in the Community Rule appears to parallel the Avestan terms *spenta mainyu*, which may be translated as "beneficial" or "good impulse," and *angra mainyu*, which may be translated as "destructive" or "evil impulse" (De Blois 2000: 4).

Nevertheless, the co-existence of two spirits inside of man cannot be satisfactorily explained by the influence of Zoroastrianism, especially not the early religion, which concerns itself with the division in mankind rather than man himself (Levison 2006: 176). As far as the origin of the teaching is concerned, the possibility of internal development should not be discounted. As was noted above, the division of mankind into good and evil is a "general" tendency and not confined to a single religion. Might the same logic not apply to the concept of two opposing spirits co-existing within the human heart? It is important to note that recognizing a certain ambivalence within man is not necessarily the same as seeing two independent entities co-existing and struggling within him (cf. Boccaccini 1991: 100).

[74] "Now the Spirit of the LORD had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him" (NIV)

Levison (2006: 185) proposes a combination of hypotheses: an exegesis of 1 Sam 16:14 may account for the idea of a good and evil spirit, but in the text the spirits are sent by God and do not co-exist in Saul's heart; one departs as another is sent. If one accepts the possibility that Persian dualism influenced Judaism at this point, introducing the concept of opposing cosmic forces such as an angel of light and one of darkness, it might have led the Jews to re-interpret the two spirits mentioned in 1 Sam 16:14 and internalize them so as to reflect the cosmic struggle (Levison 2006: 185).

5.2. The Role of Choice

The concept of free will is already found in the Hebrew Bible, where man has been granted the freedom to choose or deny God's will (cf. Deut 26-28) (Broshi 2006: 236). The tradition continues in some apocalyptic texts, but this is countered by the idea of predestination found in others. The basic worldview of the apocalyptic writer places mankind at the heart of the struggle between forces of good and evil (Otzen 1990: 91). For some writers, man has the option of choosing which way he will follow, a choice that influences his own deeds and the state of the world at large, and one for which he will ultimately be held responsible (Russell 1992: 111-112). Suter (2005: 334) suggests that man was not created to be evil; when someone chooses evil, they become something they were not meant to be.

On the other hand, some scholars assert that a doctrine of predestination is inherent to apocalypticism: given that the future can be viewed by the apocalyptic narrator, it must mean that future events and their outcomes are already set and cannot be changed (Broshi 2006: 241). The two-way doctrine of Qumran contains hints that the "ways" continue throughout life and beyond death, a notion that may accommodate a doctrine of predestination rather well: people are already participating in the life they were chosen to have (Nickelsburg 1972: 166; cf. Vermes 2004: 89). Predestination is especially a prominent feature in the Community Rule (cf. 1QS 15-20, 22-24) (Broshi 2006: 235). Both elements of free will and predestination may be found in 1 Enoch.

5.2.1. The Role of Choice in 1 Enoch

At the heart of 1 Enoch lies the belief that creation was originally structured according to God's divine order. As was discussed in earlier chapters, the nature of sin basically constitutes transgression of this order, an occurrence that may take many forms. The fact that

God's creatures, man and angels, are able to disobey him suggests the existence of free will. The question, however, is whether some people are destined to choose obedience, while others are doomed to choose disobedience.

In the Book of the Watchers, the Watchers' sin appears to be the result of their own free will (1 En 6-11) and they are made to suffer the consequences, without any mention of their having been destined to do so (cf. 1 En 10: 4-15). Both the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dream Visions attribute the existence of evil in the world to the Watchers' sin and seem to suggest that this exercise in free will effectively limits the free will of man by influencing humanity's resistance to evil[75] (Boccaccini 1991: 149).

Nevertheless, the term "the chosen" is used in reference to the righteous (1 En 1:5; 5:7-8), suggesting predestination; by contrast, the final judgment, which will include the righteous and see the destruction of the wicked, is mentioned frequently (1:5; 1:9; 10:12; 16:1; 22:4), and begs the question whether mankind will be made to suffer the consequences of their free will or whether the outcome was determined at creation.[76] The latter option seems to be supported by 1 En 22:13, according to which Sheol contains a separate compartment for the souls of sinners; Raphael tells Enoch that these souls "will not be killed on the day of judgment, nor will they rise from [there]." One might interpret this passage as an acknowledgment that the sinners were not fully responsible for their choices and consequently do not deserve to be held accountable[77]. On the whole, then, neither the Book of the Watchers nor the Book of the Dream Visions presents an explicit position on the matter of free will.

The Apocalypse of Weeks appears to support Broshi's abovementioned comment about predestination being inherent in apocalypticism. The history of mankind from Enoch to the final judgment, along with the roles to be played by the righteous and the wicked, are laid out across ten "weeks," indicating predestination. The righteous are referred to by the Hebrew term "the chosen ones of eternity" (1 En 93: 5, 8, 10), which has no parallel in the rest of 1 Enoch or other literature and might refer to their being chosen to have eternal life or, though

[75] The Astronomical Book also traces the reason behind sinners' behaviour to the "heads of the stars in command," whose transgressions cause the ignorant to do wrong (1 En 80: 6-7). Cf. Jackson 2004: 146.
[76] 1QS 3:15-16 is very explicit in its belief that all things are predetermined.
[77] Cf. also 1 En 10:21-22, where it is predicted that *all* the "sons of men" will be righteous after the deluge. This prediction presents a problem for the doctrine of a final judgment, for it removes the two "ways." A possible solution to this problem would be if the righteous are to be judged according to the extent of their righteousness, as is suggested in 1QS 4:15-17.

this is less likely, to their having been elected as the righteous before creation (Nickelsburg 2001: 442).

Unlike the Apocalypse of Weeks, the rest of the Epistle is relatively clear on its position regarding free will. Whilst not denying the angels' role in introducing sin into the world, the author believes that sin is of man's own making (1 En 98:4-5) (Russell 1992: 112). Human beings are explicitly told to "seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and a life that is pleasing" (94: 4) and the consequences of succeeding and failing to do so are made clear (cf. 96:1-2, 6-8; 97:6-10). According to the Epistle, man has freedom of choice and will be held responsible for his decisions (Stuckenbruck 2011: 152).

5.2.2. Possible Persian Influence

Jewish apocalyptic writings, including 1 Enoch, carry within them a strong sense of predestination that appears at odds with the Persian concept of free will (Shaked 1984: 318). Zoroastrian dualism is based on the idea of choice: in the beginning, the two primordial spirits choose between the Truth and the Lie, setting a standard for the rest of creation, which will face the same choice (*Y.* 30: 3-5) (Gnoli 1996). Shaked (1984: 318) suggests that the concept of "choice" does not necessarily imply freedom of choice as the term is generally understood, but rather a wholehearted commitment to the attitude one fulfils. If this is so, Zoroastrian dualism is built on a concept of predestination, at least in the divine realm. This idea is proposed by other scholars as well, who claim that the spirits' choices are the result of their inherent natures (Bianchi 1987: 507). The notion is rejected by Gnoli (1987: 581), who asserts that the spirits' natures were instead determined by their respective choices.

Even if the twin spirits' choices were predetermined, however, this would not necessarily lessen the amount of free will an individual has. The two ways have been established to present a choice. This indicates a "dual predestination," in which God has predetermined everything in the world and leaves the spirits of truth and falsehood to co-exist according to their natures, a notion which is also found in the Community Rule (Broshi 2006: 237). In addition, Shaked (1984: 319) notes that Middle Persian texts[78] portray the individual's free will as limited to action, which influences one's fulfilment of religious duties and one's status as righteous or wicked. If one considers it as freedom of choice, limited to action and existing within a framework of predetermined events, it might apply to the Epistle of Enoch, where all

[78] Although it is believed that these texts represent much older traditions (cf. Boyce 1992: 1169), it remains a difficulty in proving Persian influence (cf. Broshi 2006: 239).

the events of history have been preordained by God (1 En 93), but man retains some measure of free will (1 En 94). In the Epistle, the emphasis is also not so much on the internal workings of righteousness or wickedness as on their expression (cf. 1 En 94:4; 95:2; 98:12; 99:7).

5.3. The Afterlife

An interest in death and what lies beyond dates back to ancient times. As Davies (1999: 85) states: "Because everyone dies, everyone has a view on death." The cultures of the Ancient Near East formulated fairly detailed theories about what followed death; belief in the afterlife appears to have been widespread and generally unhindered by scepticism (McDannell & Lang 2001: 1).

The ancient Israelites were evidently not very interested in life after death (Otzen 1990: 212). According to their traditions, the dead all went to Sheol, a grim and joyless realm of the dead (Boccaccini 1991: 120; cf. Otzen 1990: 212). The name Sheol can still be found in Jewish apocalyptic texts, including 1 Enoch, although its image has undergone several changes (Puech 2006: 248). This section will explore the Enochic concept of the afterlife, beginning with a study of the ancient Israelite concept so as to identify areas of transformation that may signal possible Persian influence.

5.3.1. The Ancient Israelite Realm of the Dead

Despite their apparent lack of interest, the Israelites did not consider man to be fully destroyed upon death, but believed that a shadow of his former self detached itself from the body and went to the underworld, where it continued some form of existence (Fohrer 1973: 219). The Hebrew Bible contains evidence of only two ascensions to heaven, namely those of Enoch (Gen 5:24) and Elijah (2 Kings 2:11), who were both believed to have been taken while they were alive (Davies 1999: 91). The rest of the dead all went to the realm of the dead[79], most commonly called Sheol (Emerton 1987: 216; cf. Davies 1999: 91; Tromp 1969: 21). It is not clear when the Israelites started using the name Sheol or where its origins lie

[79] The idea of a grim, shadowy gathering-place for the dead is widely attested in the Ancient Near East and the Greco-Roman world (Davies 1999: 91).

(Tromp 1969: 21, 23). It has been translated as "non-land" (Fohrer 1973: 219), but its literal meaning is closer to "grave"[80] (Bernstein 1993: 140).

The people of the Ancient Near East, including the Israelites, generally viewed the universe as consisting of three levels, with the earth in the middle, heaven above and underworld below (McDannell & Lang 2001: 1). Sheol was believed to be located below the earth (Tromp 1969: 135; cf. Isa 44:23; Ps 95:4), as an enclosed space with the Abyss of Waters running under and around it, and supported by the Pillars of Heaven, which supported earth as well (Davies 1999: 88; cf. Fohrer 1973: 219-220).

Sheol was considered a chaos, particularly a watery chaos (Tromp 1969: 132-133). It was a potentially dangerous place (Otzen 1990: 213), with treacherous marshes, rivers and deeps reflecting similar perilous places on earth (Tromp 1969: 140). Some texts in the Hebrew Bible, which speak of "gates of Sheol," seem to suggest that the realm of the dead resembles a city (Ps 9:14; Isa 38:17) (Tromp 1969: 153). This corresponds to the ancient Babylonian image of the netherworld, which comprised a city complete with laws, palaces, rulers, judges and demon-guards[81] (Bernstein 1993: 8). Some biblical passages envisage Sheol as a house-like place, with rooms and beds (Prov 7:27) (Tromp 1969: 156).

Once a person died[82] and went to Sheol, he or she could never return from there (cf. 2 Sam 12:23; Jer 51:39); all memories of the former life on earth were lost, earning Sheol the epithet of "land of forgetfulness" (Tromp 1969: 188-189). Here one was reunited with one's ancestors (McDannell & Lang 2001: 5). The Israelites evidently believed that death separated one not only from the land of the living forever, but also from Yahweh[83] (Fohrer 1973: 220). That is not to say that the dead are out of Yahweh's jurisdiction; he remains in control of Sheol[84] (cf. 1 Sam 2:6)" (Puech 2006: 247; cf. also Tromp 1969: 197). He does not make his presence known to the dead through miracles as he does on earth (Ps 88:11), for death severs all connections between him and them; however, the dead are presumed to be unaware of this fact, as they have lost all memories of the wonders he worked while they were alive (Tromp

[80] For a comprehensive discussion on the names and epithets of Sheol found in the Old Testament, cf. Tromp 1969: 21-128.
[81] Some traditions also thought of the underworld as a temple-complex (Horowitz 1998: 351).
[82] In biblical texts, death is often referred to as sleep (Job 14:12, 16:22; Jer 51:39).
[83] The desert, ocean and grave were all considered partial manifestations of Sheol, a view that informed the Israelite understanding of life after death: the separation endured by those lost in the desert, for example, appears to have been considered similar to that endured after death (Tromp 1969: 130).
[84] Otzen (1990: 212), claims that Yahweh was seen as the god of the living and that his influence ended after death. Given the nature of the Israelite concept of Yahweh as explored in earlier chapters, however, it seems unlikely that the Israelites would have thought anything beyond Yahweh's control.

1969: 188). Yahweh's absence makes Sheol into a grim, dark[85] and joyless place, as Tromp (1969: 197) states: "Old Testament Sheol is a region of death and darkness, just because Yahweh is not there."

The afterlife being a shadow of the earthly one, it appears the Israelites believed one's life to continue in much the same form after death, if to a lesser degree (McDannell & Lang 2001: 6). This belief appears to be reflected in several other traditions in the Ancient Near East (Horowitz 1998: 351). The most fortunate of the dead were the ones who had died in old age, not before his time, and surrounded by his descendants (Otzen 1990: 213; cf. McDannell & Lang 2001: 5-6). A notable difference between the earthly life and the beyond was that the dead had no personal possessions (cf. Ps 49:17; Job 15:29) (Tromp 1969: 187).

Sheol was not necessarily completely negative. Although it meant separation from one's loved ones and Yahweh, it also meant separation from earthly misery; slaves, for example, were freed in death (McDannell & Lang 2001: 9). The Hebrew Bible also makes no reference to any form of judgment executed on the dead in Sheol[86] (Tromp 1969: 22). Nevertheless, although it continued, it seems life in Sheol was a half-life and not worth looking forward to.

The Exile wrought a change in the Israelite perception of the afterlife. Whereas the Israelites had always based their understanding of reward and punishment on the covenant between Yahweh and the nation – meaning that breaking the covenant would see the nation punished as a whole – the Exile saw an increased interest in the individual and the effect one's life might have on one's fate after death (Otzen 1990: 213). This does not necessarily mean that the concept of a morally neutral Sheol disappeared completely, but it seems that those who took a differentiated view on the afterlife, such as that found in 1 Enoch, were a relative minority (Bernstein 1993: 336-337). In addition, the post-exilic period saw growth in the concept of a divine realm existing parallel to the visible world, which would be revealed after death or after the last days (Fohrer 1973: 375).

5.3.2. The Enochic Realm of the Dead

An important development that takes place in the apocalyptic view of the afterlife is that the dead are no longer considered mere shadows of their earthly existences; instead, it is their "souls" or "spirits" that dwell in Sheol (Russell 1992: 98). The Hellenistic Jews regarded the

[85] Light was associated with life; conversely, darkness was linked with death (cf. Job 10:21, 17:13; Ps 35:6, 107:16) (Tromp 1969: 142)
[86] Judgment is mentioned in Job 31:6, but this refers to Yahweh's judgment (Tromp 1969: 22).

human soul as immortal[87] (McDannell & Lang 2001: 18). The Enochic authors appear to have believed that every human being possessed a soul that would be separated from the body when a person died (cf. 1 En 22:3, 5; 102: 4-5) (Sacchi 2005: 402). This relationship between body and soul, at least as it is depicted in the Epistle of Enoch, is not one of antagonistic forces locked in constant struggle and consequently does not technically constitute a dualism (Stuckenbruck 2011: 154).

The separation of body and soul is believed to hold a connection to the Exilic development in the concept of reward and punishment. The ancient Israelite belief was that rewards and punishments were dealt with on earth, but during the Exile and afterwards, the belief developed to include the afterlife (Otzen 1990: 79). In 1 Enoch, the duality between body and soul plays an important role in this new concept of justice: while the righteous man's body suffers in life, his soul will receive rewards in Sheol after death (102:5; 103:4), while the soul of the wicked man who has enjoyed a seemingly blessed life will be punished (98:3; 103:7) (Stuckenbruck 2011: 154).

The idea of a dual existence, bodily and spiritual, appears to some degree to be paralleled in the Persian belief that creation exists in both a spiritual (*mēnōg*) state and a corporeal (*gētīg*) one (Boyce 1975: 230). While this belief is only recorded properly in later Avestan texts – a fact that has prompted speculation about influence from Greek philosophy – it is rooted in early Zoroastrianism (Gnoli 1987: 585). The *gētīg* creation is susceptible to Angra Mainyu's assault, while the *mēnōg* creation cannot be touched by him (Boyce 1975: 230). This idea seems to be reflected in the Book of the Watchers, where a possible belief in predestination renders the souls of the righteous immune to corruption, since they have been chosen. Whether this is the result of Persian influence, however, is difficult to determine. Moreover, the idea evidently does not find a parallel in the Epistle of Enoch, where free will makes the human soul susceptible to evil (see above).

It has also been argued that Persian religion influenced the Jewish apocalyptic concept of the ascent of the soul (Yarbro Collins 1996: 21), whereas others choose to seek influence with the Greek philosophers, as the notion of the ascent of a righteous soul to a heavenly realm is Platonic (McDannell & Lang 2001: 16). In 1 Enoch, however, the souls of all the deceased

[87] The Book of the Watchers seems to adhere to this view: Enoch is told that "their souls will not be killed on the day of judgement" (1 En 22:13).

descend to Sheol, where they are held temporarily until the day of judgment (Otzen 1990: 214). Persian or Greek influence thus seems unlikely.

5.3.2.1. Division in the Afterlife

The ancient belief that all souls return to Sheol after death continues to be found in many apocalyptic texts, although the image of Sheol has undergone a change (Puech 2006: 248). Whereas the Sheol of the Hebrew Bible was devoid of judgment (cf. Tromp 1969: 22), the apocalyptic version of the netherworld is one where souls receive the dues they did not receive in life: rewards for the righteous and punishment for the wicked (cf.1 En 102:4-104:8) (Nickelsburg 1972: 118). Moreover, the souls are not to remain in Sheol forever; they are all awaiting the final judgment (Russell 1992: 100). In 1 Enoch, the division between the righteous and the wicked is not restricted to mere reward and punishment – their souls reside in completely separate places (Otzen 1990: 214).

According to the description of Sheol in 1 En 22, it is divided into a number of sections, each for a specific type of soul[88] (VanderKam 1984: 140). Although the text states that there are three places (1 En 22:9), four are in fact described[89] (Knibb 1978: 110). One section is for the righteous (22:9); one section is for the sinners who escaped judgment during their lifetime (22:10); the third section is for the souls of those who were unjustly killed (22:12); and the fourth section seems to be for sinners in general, presumably those that received some punishment during their lives (22:13). This division only remains in effect until the last judgment, when it is predicted that the righteous souls will ascend to heaven (104: 2, 6) and Sheol will become a hell of punishment for the souls of the wicked (103:7-8) (Stuckenbruck 2011: 154).

The division appears to be the result of some sort of preliminary judgment, taking the form of a weighing of the deeds, according to the Similitudes (1 En 41:1; 61:8). Determining the time at which the weighing takes place is difficult, as the phrasing in 1 En 41:1 seems to indicate that it happens directly after death, whereas the context of 61:8 places it in the future, at the time when the Chosen One will execute judgment. The notion of weighing deeds is attested in the Hebrew Bible, though only in two of the later texts (Job 31:6; Dan 5:27), and Silverman (2012a: 195-196) believes that the concept was inspired in some part by the balancing of deeds found in Persian religion.

[88] This appears to be the earliest instance of a division that is recorded (Russell 1992: 98).
[89] Collins (1984: 42-43) supports the idea of three sections.

According to Zoroastrian texts, the deceased journeys to the Chinvat Bridge on the fourth day after death, where he or she is met by the soul's double: a beautiful girl for the righteous and an old hag for the wicked (Davies 1999: 43). On the bridge, the soul's deeds, thoughts and words are balanced by Rashnu[90], accompanied by Mithra and Sraosha, who directs the soul to either hell or heaven (Silverman 2012a: 196; cf. Gnoli 1987: 585).

A similar idea is found in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, where the deceased heart is weighed against *ma'at* (Bernstein 1993: 13). While the idea is similar, however, there is one important difference: in the Persian system, the deceased's actions, thoughts and words are weighed in terms of good and evil and his or her fate is determined by whichever weighs the most; in the Egyptian system, the heart as a whole is weighed against a general standard, namely *ma'at* (Silverman 2012a: 196). The weighing of deeds is a closer parallel to 1 En 41:1 and 61:8 (Silverman 2012a: 199). It is possible, therefore, that the author of the Similitudes either adopted or adapted the idea under Persian influence, but the lack of elaboration in 1 Enoch makes it far from certain.

5.3.2.2. Heaven and Hell

The authors of 1 Enoch believed in the existence of a heaven and a hell (1 En 18:14; 21:3; 53; 103) (cf. Sacchi 2005: 402). On the day of judgment, the righteous would ascend out of Sheol and join the heavenly host (41:2), while the wicked would remain in Sheol and endure punishment (22:11) (Collins 1984: 145).

In the Enochic literature, the first reference to hell is found in 1 En 27:1, where it is called "the accursed valley"[91] (Russell 1992: 99). Elsewhere, mention is made of an "abyss of fire," into which the Watchers will be thrown at the time of the judgment, to suffer eternal torment (10:13) and in the Similitudes a "deep valley with burning fire" is explicitly called Hell (54:1-4) (cf. Otzen 1990: 215). The Epistle also promises that the souls of the wicked will be bound and tortured with "burning flames" in Sheol (103: 8). The notion of fire in Sheol is not part of the traditional description (Tromp 1969: 191).

Fire is also a prominent element in the Enochic heaven (Alexander 2011: 171). The first wall Enoch encounters on his first ascension is surrounded by fire (1 En 14:9). Fire also surrounds the large house he enters and its door is ablaze (14:12). Also the second house is built of fire

[90] "The Judge," cf. Schwartz 1985: 669.
[91] This might be a reference to Gehenna, which later became a common name for hell (Otzen 1990: 215-216; cf. Russell 1992: 99)

(14:15), both its floor and roof (14:17). A sea of fire burns around the throne of God and is before him, preventing anyone from approaching (14:22). In this text, fire preserves God's inaccessibility (Nickelsburg 2001: 260).

It is possible that heaven is associated with fire due to the fiery nature of the luminaries, but it is also possible that it functions as a symbol of purity (Alexander 2011: 172). In the Persian religion, fire plays a very important role and is associated with *asha*, the utmost form of good (Schwartz 1985: 668). In Greek philosophy, Heraclitus also singled out fire as the purest and most spiritual substance in creation (Alexander 2011: 172). His philosophy is believed to have been influenced by Persian thought; amongst his theories is one asserting that the element of fire is present in all aspects of creation, a train of thought that resembles the Zoroastrian belief that fire forms part of the other six creations (Boyce 1982: 158-159). It is unlikely that the idea of fire in heaven entered into Jewish thought through Babylonian influence, where the heavens were mainly believed to be made of stone or water (Horowitz 1998: 262). Given the accessibility of foreign ideas in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, and assuming that the fire in 1 En 14 is symbolic, the possibility of Persian influence seems viable (Alexander 2011: 172).

CHAPTER SIX: BETWEEN TWO AGES

One of the primary purposes of apocalyptic literature is the encouragement of its readers, who are presumably enduring difficult times (Otzen 1990: 157). Apocalyptic writers base their encouragement on the belief that the present, difficult age will end and make way for a glorious age in which wickedness will cease to exist and righteousness will thrive (Russell 1992: 107). In other words, whilst evil appears to rule the present age, God will certainly rule the next one. This constitutes the eschatological aspect of the dualism between God and evil.

Apocalyptic eschatology appears to be at least partially prompted by a yearning for order (Jindo 2005: 413). It is a prominent feature of apocalyptic thought that the evil which reigns in the present age grows worse until the day of the final judgment (Otzen 1990: 201). The person who is searching for reason behind the evil he is forced to suffer, tries to create a framework within which the wickedness of the present will be balanced out by righteousness and, very importantly, justice in the future and where he will be rewarded for his fortitude. For this reason, eschatology, which provides a framework for the "end times," has been likened to myth (Wilder 1931: 201). As in myth, creation is viewed in terms of light and darkness, and the predicted sequence of events that will accompany the end of the world, however mythical they may essentially be, are presented as historical realities (Jindo 2005: 412-413). This entails a specific, more comprehensive view of history, a characteristic of apocalyptic thought, in which the passing of time forms part of a larger picture and thus gains meaning (Henze 2005: 207). The concept of history forming a whole supported the concept of God's wholeness (Russell 1992: 87). The eschatological events that signal the end of history – the coming of a messiah, the resurrection and the final judgment – take on mythical proportions and become as unearthly as the Kingdom of God that is believed to follow their appearance (Otzen 1990: 197).

All three of the abovementioned events are paralleled, to some extent, in Persian religious texts and, as in previous chapters, the possibility of influence will be studied. Before discussing the events, however, one must consider the temporal context in which they are placed. This leads to another element of apocalyptic eschatology, which has also been identified as an area of possible Persian influence: the periodization of history.

6.1. The Periodization of History

An important function of apocalyptic is that it places the world and its history into perspective for the reader, showing the reader his or her place in the greater scheme of things and thereby creating a sense of order (Otzen 1990: 169). Some apocalypses provide a survey of history, usually in the form of a "prediction" of events as they are revealed to the narrator, who supposedly receives the revelation at a time before they take place (Russell 1992: 87; cf. also Otzen 1990: 198). The length of time covered in these historical surveys varies: in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 91: 11-17; 93: 1-10), Enoch "predicts" the period from his own time to the coming of the Kingdom of God, a period numbering ten "weeks"; in the Book of Daniel, Daniel is shown the rise and fall of empires throughout seventy "weeks" (Dan 9: 24-27), from the Exile until the day when Michael rises to deliver Israel. By correctly "predicting" history up to the time of the reader, the apocalyptic writer gained authority in terms of further predictions, especially those concerning the end of the world (Russell 1992: 88).

The historical surveys generally entail a division of world-history into periods, a feature found also in non-historical apocalyptic texts, such as the Community Rule and the War Scroll. The community at Qumran appears to have inherited its notions concerning the division of history into periods and the predetermined nature of each period from older traditions, specifically the Book of Daniel and 1 Enoch (Morisada Rietz 2006: 215). This "periodization" of history is therefore widely accepted as characteristic of apocalyptic and serves multiple purposes (Yarbro Collins 1996: 83).

Firstly, by dividing history into epochs, ages, lots or "weeks," the apocalyptic writer shows that history, however chaotic it may seem, is actually part of a well-ordered and predetermined sequence (Collins 1984: 50). This, in turn, emphasizes the fact that earthly kings and rulers are effectively powerless against God, who alone holds control over, and determines, the events that make up history (cf. Dan 7: 26-27; 8:25) (Russell 1992: 91).

Secondly, if the time of the world is divided into a known number of periods, it enables the apocalyptic writer to show the reader where they stand in relation to both the past and the future (Koch 2005: 187). In 1 Enoch, the reader is shown to live in the seventh of the ten "weeks" that constitute all of history: the reader should therefore take heart from the fact that the time of the end is closer than ever, seeing as more "weeks" have elapsed than still lie ahead (Collins 1984: 50).

Thirdly, schematization allows for the calculation of the time of the end, a matter which occupied most apocalyptic writers (Yarbro Collins 1996: 69). In some cases, as in the Book of Daniel, the calculation is specific to the point of numbering days (Dan 12: 11-12), whereas others texts provide the number of time-units left before the end without specifying the length of time represented by each unit. Thus, the War Scroll speaks only of "lots," and while 1 Enoch states that there are seventy generations between the time of the Watchers' incarceration and the end, there is no indication of how long each generation might be.

The preoccupation with time and its passing therefore does not necessarily indicate an interest in history on the part of the apocalyptic writers (Otzen 1990: 199). They appear to have been more interested in the sense of order created by periodization and the predictions it enabled them to make.

6.1.1. The Periodization of History in 1 Enoch

Three prominent examples of periodization of history occur in 1 Enoch: in the Book of the Watchers (ch.10); in chapters 83 to 90 of the Book of Dream Visions, which are also referred to as the "Animal Apocalypse"; and in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which form part of the Epistle and consists of two separate passages, chapters 91: 11-17 and 93: 1-10.

In the Book of the Watchers, the time between the binding of the Watchers and the Day of Judgment is divided into seventy generations (1 En 10:12) (Collins 1984: 50). Yarbro Collins (1996: 73) considers the use of the number seventy to be due to the fact that it is a round number and probably also because it is a multiple of seven, since the number seven seems to play an important role in 1 Enoch in terms of cosmic order[92]. The "seventy generations" are not elaborated upon, so it is not clear what length of time is represented by each generation, but in a later passage of the Greek text the period between the binding of the stars that disobeyed God and their final punishment at the last judgment is given as ten thousand years (18: 15-16) (Knibb 1978: 106). There appears to be no evidence for a connection between the seventy generations and the ten thousand years, however, and it seems likely that the use of the number ten derives from the tradition of counting in decades (Yarbro Collins 1996: 82). The tendency to divide history into periods, although attested in the Book of the Watchers,

[92] Cf. the seven stars (21:3); the seven mountains (24:2; 32:1); the 364-day calendar, with 364 being a multiple of seven (72:32); the sun which is seven times brighter than the moon (73: 3); the seventy shepherds (89: 59); and the seventh "week," which serves as the turning point, when iniquity will be destroyed (91: 8-12).

does not appear to play a prominent role in this particular section, not as prominent as in the Book of Dream Visions.

Periodization takes place on two levels in chapters 83 to 90. On one level, mankind's history is divided into three periods, spanning the time from creation to the Deluge (85:3-89:8), the time after the Deluge to the day of judgment (89:9-90:27), and the time following the final judgment (90:28-38) (Nickelsburg 2001: 354). The second level contains the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 83-90), which portrays all of world history, from creation until the end of time, in the form of an allegory, using different kinds of animal to represent the various nations of the earth (Yarbro Collins 1996: 73). God places mankind in the custody of seventy angelic shepherds, who must "pasture the sheep, and do whatever [he commands them]" (1 En 89:59). The number seventy matches the seventy "weeks of years" found in the Book of Daniel, as well as the seventy "generations" of the Book of the Watchers, and is found in Jeremiah 25, also in association with wicked shepherds (Jer.25: 34-36) (Collins 1984: 51-55). The period during which the seventy shepherds rule, is divided into four periods: the first lasts twelve "hours" (89:72); the second spans the reign of twenty-three shepherds (90:1)[93]; the third covers twenty-three shepherds (90:5); and the fourth period lasts for the reign of twelve shepherds (90:17). Each period appears to correspond to a segment of Israel's history – the Babylonian exile, the restoration during the Persian period, Ptolemaic rule and the time from the Maccabean revolt until the day of judgment – although the times do not match exactly (Collins 1984: 55; cf. Yarbro Collins 1996: 73).

Finally, the Epistle of Enoch contains the Apocalypse of Weeks, which is widely acknowledged to be a "distinct apocalypse" (Collins 1984: 49). Some scholars believe that the Apocalypse, which actually consists of two separate passages (1 En 91: 11-17; 93: 1-10), can be dated to a pre-Maccabean source that was later incorporated into the younger, post-Maccabean text of the Epistle, but this has yet to be proven (Knibb 2005: 214). In the Apocalypse of Weeks, history comprises ten "weeks"[94], with Enoch having been born in the first (93:3). Weeks seven to ten and beyond are described first (91: 7-17), followed by weeks

[93] This number is not stated explicitly, but arrived at by subtracting the twelve shepherds mentioned in 89:72 from the number of shepherds mentioned in 90:1. According to the Aramaic text, there are thirty-seven shepherd (90:1), but Knibb (1978: 212) points out that this is commonly accepted as a mistake for thirty-five. This assumption appears to be supported by 90:5, which mentions another twenty-three shepherds that bring the total to fifty-eight and finally 90:17, which adds twelve shepherds to make seventy.

[94] Yarbro Collins (1996: 81) points out the lack of explanation behind the division of history into ten, instead of twelve or seven, periods, but notes that the number seven nevertheless plays an important role in the Apocalypse and suggests the influence of "sabbatical logic".

one to seven (93: 3-10). The Apocalypse is primarily concerned with an overview of history, beginning with the time of the narrator, Enoch, and "predicting" everything that will occur up until the Day of Judgment (Collins 1984: 50). The events are described in chronological order, but there is no attempt made to give precise dates or to calculate the length of each "week" (Yarbro Collins 1996: 80). It is generally held that the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks saw his own generation as living in the seventh week, during which wickedness reaches its culmination and the righteous are elected (Knibb 2005: 217). There appears to be an alternation between righteousness (*quṣhta)* and deceit (*shiqra*), which, while not exactly corresponding to specific weeks, provides a type of pattern that gives order to history (Henze 2005: 208-209). In this case, it therefore seems as though the schematization of weeks serves a dual purpose: on the one hand, it shows readers that they are living during the last days and that the turning point is close at hand; on the other, it proves that worldly events are under supernatural control and progressing according to a divine plan (Collins 1984: 52).

6.1.2. The Question of Persian Influence

The eschatological notions found in Zoroastrianism signal a break from traditional Persian religion and an innovation on Zoroaster's part (Boyce 1975: 233). The prophet saw time as being divided into three stages and consisting of limited (also called "finite") and unlimited (or, "boundless") time, with limited time being divided into two parts: the first part is called "Creation" and the second "Mixture" (Boyce 1975: 230-231). Some believe unlimited time to be divided into two parts as well, with one period preceding the creation of the universe and one succeeding its end (Boyd & Crosby 1979: 575). During the first part of limited time, "Creation," the twin spirits are separated and make their choice, through which the universe comes into being (Gnoli 1987: 585). The second part, "Mixture," is initiated by Angra Mainyu's attack on the good creation and is characterized by the mixing of good and evil in battle (Boyce 1975: 232). Good and evil will only be separated in the third stage (Gnoli 1987: 585). The moment of this separation is called *Frashegird,* and the third stage, which constitutes unlimited time (i.e. eternity), is termed "Separation" (Boyce 1975: 232). After *Frashegird*, good and evil will remain separate for all eternity, with evil unable to taint good ever again (Boyd & Crosby 1979: 575).

According to the *Bundahishn*, the period of limited time (both "Creation" and "Mixture") is made up of twelve millennia, which is divided into four equal parts of three millennia each (Gnoli 1987: 586). The twin spirits first exist in a spiritual state for three thousand years

(*GBd.* 1.14) and then, after Ahriman (as he is called in this text) begins his assault on the good creation, Ohrmazd fixes a period of nine thousand years for the "Mixture," in order to "render the Evil Spirit useless, by this fixation of time" (*GBd.* 1.26).

It seems logical to trace the four-fold division found in the Animal Apocalypse to this Zoroastrian tradition. However, there are several points to consider. Firstly, while both traditions divide world history into four, the divisions in the Persian system are all of equal length and the length of each is explicitly stated in terms of years. The periods of the Animal Apocalypse are of varying lengths, although the first and fourth are equally long, as are the second and third. This makes it seem unlikely that the Jewish formulation was influenced by Persian thought in terms of details.

Another approach might be to consider the broader tradition of the four-fold division, without paying attention to the manner in which it is used. The four-fold scheme appears in the Book of Daniel[95] as well, notably in the form of a four-metal statue (Dan 2) and in the vision of four beasts rising from the sea (Dan 7). In the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, Zoroaster is shown a tree with four branches – gold, silver, steel and mixed iron – and each branch represents an epoch of the millennium of Zoroaster (*ZWY* 1. 3-11; cf. Cereti 1995: 170). Although this is a relatively late source, it is believed to derive from a much older Persian idea to which Greek formulations can also be traced (Shaked 1984: 314). However, it has been argued that the notion of four epochs was not limited to Zoroastrianism (Cereti 1995: 171). It seems as though most cultures in the ancient world regarded world history as consisting of four ages that were associated with certain metals, most commonly gold, silver, bronze and iron (Russell 1992: 90). In 1 Enoch, the four ages are not associated with metals, nor are they explicitly correlated with four kingdoms, although there seems to be some degree of correspondence between them and Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule (Collins 1984: 55). Moreover, there seems to be a lack of consistency in the Persian concept: two chapters after the four-branched tree, Zoroaster is shown another tree with seven[96] branches – of gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, steel and mixed iron – which represents "the seven epochs that will come" (*ZWY* 3. 19-20). There appears to be no convincing reason, therefore, to attribute the notion of a four-fold division of history to Persian influence in particular, as the idea might have been adopted from any number of cultures in the Ancient Near East.

[95] Silverman (2012: 171) believes the available evidence indicates Iranian influence underlying the use of the four-kingdom scheme in Daniel.
[96] This is possibly the result of foreign influence (Cereti 1995: 180).

It has been suggested that the ten-period scheme found in the Apocalypse of Weeks might derive from the Persian concept of the millennium (Collins 1984: 50). The millennium plays a prominent role in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, particularly the ten centuries that make up the millennium. The seven epochs (*ZWY* 3. 20-29) cover ten centuries, at the end of which evil will reach its height (*ZWY* 4). Even if the number of periods in the Apocalypse of Weeks does not match the number of epochs in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (cf. VanderKam 1984: 155), it seems to correlate with the number of centuries involved. Yarbro Collins (1996: 81), on the other hand, suggests that the number of "weeks" in 1 Enoch is connected to the importance of the decade in the Jewish numerical system. In addition to this, it is important to note that the ten "weeks" of 1 Enoch constitutes all of history, whereas the Zoroastrian ten centuries form part of the nine thousand years that make up world history (*ZWY* 5.6). The tipping of the scales in favour of righteousness occurs in the seventh Enochic "week" (1 En 93: 9-10), whilst Zoroaster is merely assured that "not even one of the sinful will pass from this millennium to that millennium" (*ZWY* 6.13). It seems that this tenth century, in which evil reaches its climax, will be the last overall and that the final judgment will take place around this time, for it is foretold that wickedness will disappear before the next millennium commences (*ZWY* 9.23). This is very similar to the vision of the Apocalypse of Weeks, which sees the final judgment taking place "in the tenth week, in the seventh part" (1 En 91:15).

The notion of two different ages appears in Zechariah and is therefore not entirely novel in the Jewish context (Fohrer 1973: 338). The concept of predetermined world events is also found in Israelite Wisdom literature (Otzen 1990: 197). The Old Testament, moreover, shows a tendency to organize history into periods of "weal and woe," although Otzen (1990: 200) believes that the sophisticated system of history as a set number of periods must have developed under Persian influence. However, as VanderKam (1984: 155-156) points out, the periodization of history was a common practice during the Hellenistic age, and no foreign system can be directly linked with the Apocalypse of Weeks or any part of 1 Enoch. Nevertheless, the similarities presented above once again suggest that Persian influence should not be entirely dismissed as a possibility.

6.2. Messianic Expectation

In 1 Enoch, and other apocalyptic texts such as 2 Baruch, the transition between the present age and the age to come is facilitated by a saviour-figure, sometimes called the messiah

(Otzen 1990: 208). Messianism is a complex concept in Judaism and finds expression in a variety of ideas (Cook 1998: 1120). The concept does not appear to be of considerable importance in the Hebrew Bible, where its only prominent appearance occurs in the Book of Isaiah, which propagates the notion of an ideal future king who will save Israel because of the Davidic covenant (cf. Isa. 53) (Otzen 1990: 206). The idea of the messiah being born of the line of David may be based on 2 Sam 7: 12-16, which promises the establishment of a Davidic king to rule for eternity (Collins 2006: 76).

It is important to note that the saviour, in the ancient context, was evidently envisioned as a king who would rule over an earthly kingdom. Thus Cyrus is hailed as a messiah, God's "anointed" who saved Israel from oppression (Collins 2006: 78). The idea of an earthly messianic king appears to have continued into Early Judaism, but does not feature prominently in apocalyptic texts (Otzen 1990: 206-207). Even during the Maccabean revolt, a time that seems ripe for the development of a saviour-concept, there appears to have been no such thing (Collins 2006: 77). As Otzen (1990: 207) states: "It is almost as if the messianic figure did not quite fit into the apocalyptic concept of the supra-terrestrial Kingdom of God."

The idea of a human messiah does, however, seem to have been prevalent in the Qumran Community. Several texts contain references to a figure who is expected to play an important part in eschatological events and calls him the "son of God" (Xeravits 2010: 1248). The Community Rule, on the other hand, appears to anticipate the appearance of two messiahs and calls them the "Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9: 10-11). Whether the Scrolls refer to two messiahs or not has been a matter of some debate, but Cook (1998: 1120) believes the textual evidence (1QS 9: 10-11) supports the idea and points out that the concept of two messiahs is present in several apocryphal texts as well. There does not seem to be anything supernatural about the two messiahs, although it seems as though they might return from death, albeit as humans (Collins 1984: 123). Thus, the Teacher of Righteousness, who was evidently the Qumran community's leader in its early days, is expected to return at the time of the end to fulfil the role of the priestly messiah (Otzen 1990: 211). There appears to be no expectation of any acts of salvation that will introduce the new age; indeed, the roles played by them derive from offices that existed in the community itself (Collins 1984: 123).

Where the figure does appear in apocalyptic texts, he is frequently endowed with supernatural traits, perhaps in keeping with the unearthly nature of apocalyptic eschatology, and referred to as the Chosen One or the Son of Man (cf. 1 En 45:3; 46:4) (Otzen 1990: 209). This

supernatural son of man features prominently in the vision described in Daniel 7, as well as in the second vision recorded in the Similitudes of Enoch.

6.2.1. The "Son of Man" Tradition

The vision described in Daniel 7, as it exists at present, is generally believed to date to the time at which the Jews were being persecuted by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167-164 BCE), although the traditions underlying it seem to draw on ancient Near Eastern myth (Nickelsburg 2010a: 1249).

In the vision, Daniel witnesses four beasts rising from the sea (7:3). The beasts, all of them composite creatures, appear one after the other to sow destruction on the earth and gain sovereignty (7: 4-8). The fourth beast is particularly powerful, endowed with four heads on which grow ten horns, of which three disappear to make way for another, smaller horn that has eyes and "a mouth speaking great things" (7: 7-8). After the appearance of the small horn, the beasts are judged in a heavenly court, presided over by the "Ancient of Days," and the fourth beast is destroyed, while the other three are stripped of their power (7: 9-12). Once the judgment is over, "one like the Son of man" appears with the clouds, is brought before the Ancient of Days and given an eternal, indestructible kingdom, glory and dominion, "that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him" (7: 13-14).

The title "Son of man" was not common during the period in which this passage was written and consequently this figure's identity remains uncertain (Collins 1984:122). The similarity between the language used in 7:14 and 7:27, where the "one like the Son of man" appears to be substituted with "the people of the saints of the Most High," has led some to believe that former is merely a personification of the latter (Nickelsburg 2010a: 1250). Albani (2005: 50-51) shares this opinion, but suggests it strange that he should be referred to as "one like the Son of man" instead of "son of God." As Collins (2005: 62) points out, however, the term "one like the Son of man" must be regarded as a description, instead of a title (cf. Nickelsburg 2010a: 1249). It has also been suggested that this figure is the heavenly counterpart of the righteous of Israel and that his enthronement therefore mirrors their glorification (Nickelsburg 2010a: 1250). This correlates with the view of the relationship between heaven and earth found in Dan 10:13. The uncertainty surrounding this figure seems to largely disappear in 1 Enoch, where the term "Son of Man" is clearly used as a title for a heavenly messiah.

The Son of Man appears for the first time in 1 En 46 and goes on to play an important role in both the second and third parables; indeed, the degree to which these parables focus on a single messianic figure makes the Similitudes of Enoch unique among Jewish apocalyptic works (Collins 1984: 147). The final chapter of the Book of Dream Visions contains what might be a reference to a messianic figure, although he is not associated with any form of salvation as such (Sacchi 2005: 404). Instead, this "white bull" (1 En 90: 37) appears to be a new Adam (Collins 2006: 78). In the next verse, all creatures are transformed into white bulls, but the "first among them" is a wild-ox (90:38). It is uncertain whether the wild-ox and the white bull (90:37) are the same being; Knibb (1978: 216) suggests that these verses might actually refer to *two* messiahs, one priestly (the white bull) and one military (the wild-ox), but points out that an alternative translation of the passage would imply that they are one being. On the whole, then, the Son of Man seems to play a significant role only in the Similitudes of Enoch.

The "Son of Man" is also referred to as the "Chosen One" (49:2; 51:3), the "Righteous One" (38:2), the "Messiah" (48:10) and, in the Aramaic text, the "Son of a Woman" (62:5) (cf. Nickelsburg 2010a: 1250). The titles of "Chosen One" and "Righteous One" seem to be connected to the designations of "the holy" as "the righteous" and "the chosen" (cf. 48:1, 4) (Collins 1984: 148).

The Son of Man is described as having the appearance of a man, but a "face full of grace, like one of the holy angels" (46:1). In apocalyptic literature, those described as having the appearance of men are usually angels, and in this case the Son of Man seems to be a heavenly being who is consistently portrayed as residing in the heavenly realm, in God's presence (Collins 1984: 148-149). His existence precedes creation (48:6) and he appears to be untouched by persecution and suffering (Nickelsburg 1972: 76; cf. also Nickelsburg 2010a: 1250). Righteousness is said to dwell with him (46:3) and he wields immense power (46: 5-6; 52:6).

This power is expected to come into play during the final judgment, with which the Son of Man is closely associated. It is predicted that he will judge the kings and mighty of the earth and strip them of their power (46: 4-6), and he will also judge the "things that are secret" (49:4). In this sense, he differs from the Danielic "one like a son of man," who only appears after the judgment (Dan 7:13) and fulfils no function in connection with it (Nickelsburg 2010a: 1250). His appearance alone will cause the destruction of everything associated with

wealth and warfare (52: 6-9). He will serve as a support to the righteous, whose "lot" he has been protecting all along (48: 4-5) (cf. Collins 1984:148). Having been given knowledge of all secrets, he will be the means of communicating them to the righteous (46:3) (cf. Jackson 2004: 137). After the judgment, he will also become a companion to them and dwell with them for all eternity (62:14).

In the final chapter of the Similitudes, the Son of Man is identified as Enoch himself (71:14). The revelations seems sudden and, according to Collins (1984: 151), finds no supporting evidence in the preceding chapters. However, Enoch is clearly addressed as "Son of Man" in 60:10. Furthermore, 46:2 states that Enoch is shown "all the secrets, about that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days." The Son of Man has righteousness, knows secrets and has been chosen by the Lord of Spirits because "through uprightness his lot has surpassed all" (46:3). Given that Enoch alone is chosen out of mankind to appear directly before God (1 En 14) and is commended for his righteousness (15:1), as well as being shown secrets of the universe (1 En 17-36, 72-82), the connection between Enoch and the Son of Man seems well-supported.

However, it is also possible that the term "Son of Man," when used in connection with Enoch, merely denotes his status as human, albeit a human who surpasses all others in righteousness. The term "sons of men" is used elsewhere to denote humans as opposed to the angelic Watchers (7:3; 14:2) (cf. Beyerle 2005: 55). It must also be noted that there appears to be secrets that remain withheld from Enoch (cf. 60:10), making it unlikely that he would be able to "reveal all the treasures of that which is secret" as the Chosen One is expected to do (46:3). Finally, while there seems to be evidence identifying Enoch with the Son of Man in the earlier chapters of the Similitudes, the language used when describing the Son of Man in chapters 46 to 69 consistently suggests that Enoch is seeing a being separate from himself. Otzen (1990: 211) believes it likely that the last two chapters of the Similitudes are a late addition to the section, a possibility that would account for the sudden "clarification" of the Son of Man's identity.

6.2.2. The Question of Persian Influence

It has been suggested that the idea of a messiah-figure is rooted in the cult and mythology of the Ancient Near East, but it remains unproven; aside from the Jews, the only religion with any form of eschatology appears to have been that of the Persians (Fohrer 1973: 350). Messianic expectation has always been an essential part of Zoroastrianism and seems to trace

back to ancient times, as attested by its appearance in *yasht* 19, which is one of the oldest hymns (Gnoli 1987: 586).

In Zoroastrianism, the "messiah" is usually referred to as the *saoshyant*, meaning "beneficent one" (*Yt.* 13.129). Where the word appears in some of the Gathic hymns, it has often been interpreted as referring to Zoroaster himself (cf. *Y.* 48.9); in other instances, the plural form is used, denoting leaders and good men who will help defeat evil and bring about the "Making Wonderful" (*Frashegird*) (*Y.* 46.3; 48.12), sometimes even continuing in this endeavour after death (*Y.* 30.9; 61.5; 70.4) (Boyce 1975: 234-235). According to a later legend, the *saoshyant* is a descendant of Zoroaster, whose seed lands in a lake and impregnates a virgin when she bathes there (Gnoli 1987: 586). Another legend holds that there will be three saviours, each of whom will appear in one of the last three millennia in world history (Buck 1998: 17). These three saviours are Ukhshyatereta ("he who makes truth grow"), Ukhshyatnemah ("he who makes reverence grow"), and Astvatereta ("he who embodies truth") (Gnoli 1987: 586). The latter, Astvatereta, is believed to be the true *saoshyant* (Buck 1998: 18), a belief supported by *Yasht* 13.129, which equates the term *saoshyant* with Astvateretat in particular. The *Zand I Wahman Yasn*, on the other hand, seems to expect five saviour-figures, of which the first three – Hushedar (*ZWY* 9. 1-8), Peshyotanu (*ZWY* 9. 9-10) and Saoshyans (*ZWY* 9.24) – are mythical and the other two Sasanian kings, but the kings are generally accepted as late additions to the text and are therefore irrelevant in this instance (Buck 1998: 23).

The *saoshyant* is a central figure in Zoroastrian eschatology (Cereti 1995: 223). He has a physical body (*Yt.* 13.129) and is said to possess "eyes of wisdom" (*Yt.* 19.94). He leads the fight against the Lie and ultimately defeats it (*Yt.* 19.89-93; *Y.*59.28). When the Lie has at last been defeated, the *saoshyant* will raise the dead for the final judgment (*GBd* 34.7) and when the judgment is finished, he will perform a sacrifice, using the fat of a holy bull and white haoma, to restore the dead and grant them immortality (*GBd* 34.23; *Yt.* 19.89). He is also said to reward men according to their deeds as per Ahura Mazda's instruction (*GBd* 34.25). With his sacrifice, he will bring about the renewal of creation (*Frashegird*) (*Yt.* 19.89; *GBd* 34.32; *ZWY* 9.24). Although the notion of the *saoshyant's* sacrifice is only fully attested in later texts, it is based on ancient traditions (Gnoli 1987: 585).

On the whole, then, the *saoshyant* appears to be primarily associated with the restoration of mankind and the world. The Son of Man or Chosen One of 1 Enoch, on the other hand, is mainly connected with judgment. Whatever renewal and restoration occurs, is done by God

(cf. 1 En 62:16), although the appearance of the Son of Man seems to signal its imminence. Conversely, the *saoshyant* is said to resurrect the dead for the final judgment, but evidently does not play any part in the actual judgment. Unlike the Son of Man, who is depicted as residing in the heavenly realm, the *saoshyant* is a man who leads an earthly life (*Yt.* 13.129; *ZWY* 9). He is born on earth, albeit as the result of supernatural intervention. The prevalent belief in Zoroastrianism appears to have been that there will be more than one saviour, whereas 1 Enoch and the Book of Daniel only indicate the existence of one[97].

As far as the messianic figures are concerned, there seems to be no clear evidence of Persian influence in the Jewish concept, but what about the messianic idea (cf. Otzen 1990: 218)? Did the Persian belief in a future saviour prompt a similar formulation in Jewish religion? Given that the concept of an ideal future ruler is already attested in the Hebrew Bible, it seems unlikely. The ancient concept is very different from the apocalyptic version, but for once the development does not appear to contain any trace of Persian influence. If anything, the Persian *saoshyant* bears a greater similarity to the ancient Israelite idea of a Davidic saviour-king.

6.3. Resurrection and Judgment

In apocalyptic, the appearance of the messiah serves as a signal that the final judgment is at hand. Some texts, notably the Book of Daniel and 1 Enoch, combine the belief in a coming judgment with a belief in resurrection and indeed, wherever the latter is found, it is usually associated with judgment (Russell 1992: 102). In some instances, resurrection occurs so that judgment can take place, whilst other texts predict a post-judgment resurrection (Yinger 2010: 855).

6.3.1. Raising the Dead

The Hebrew Bible contains traces of a resurrection-concept. Ezekiel 37 envisions the restoration of Israel as a physical resurrection (Nickelsburg 2010b: 1142). Although this is only a vision and not a direct expression of belief, it seems reasonable to suppose that the metaphor was used because the audience was familiar with the concept of resurrection (Puech 2006: 248). Isaiah foretells that the "dead ones shall live" (Isa. 26:19), which, if it is an actual

[97] The belief in multiple saviours seems to correlate with Qumran doctrine, but there is one important difference: in Zoroastrianism, the saviours appear one after the other in different millennia, whereas it seems to be expected that the two messiahs of Qumran will appear simultaneously.

reference to a bodily resurrection, would be the first attestation of such a belief in the Hebrew Bible (Russell 1992: 96). Puech (2006: 249) considers this passage evidence precisely that, asserting that it proves the existence of a belief in the resurrection of the righteous, which dates back to at least the third century BCE. The only explicit mention of resurrection in the Hebrew Bible, however, occurs in the Book of Daniel (Otzen 1990: 214). In the closing chapter, it is predicted that "many of those sleeping in the earth's dust shall awake" (12:2). The resurrection envisaged does not seem to be a general one, but is rather reserved for the very righteous and the very wicked, sometimes referred to as a "double resurrection" (Collins 1984: 90; cf. Nickelsburg 2010b: 1143).

In 1 Enoch, the resurrection is frequently portrayed as an important aspect of the final judgment (Nickelsburg 2001: 49). Russell (1992: 101) identifies four "trends" regarding resurrection in apocalyptic, of which three may be detected in 1 Enoch: firstly, a partial resurrection in which only the righteous rise from the dead and the wicked do not (1 En 46:6; 62:15)[98]; secondly, a double resurrection like the one found in the Book of Daniel, where some of the righteous and some of the wicked are raised to receive their dues (1 En 26-27); and thirdly, a universal resurrection that is followed by the final judgment (1 En 51:1-2). The validity of the latter example is arguable, but an interpretation of the passage as indicating a universal resurrection is not entirely implausible. The earth is said to "return that which has been entrusted to it," as is Sheol, and there does not seem to be any discrimination made between righteous and wicked (the righteous ones are picked out from among those who have been returned, cf. 51:2), nor is there any ostensible evidence that only some of those "entrusted" to the earth and Sheol will rise from the dead. Moreover, whereas the resurrection envisioned in the Book of the Watchers (1 En 22) and the Epistle (1 En 102) appear to involve only the spirit (cf. Nickelsburg 1972: 123, 136), the reference to both the earth *and* Sheol having to return what has been entrusted to them, seems to suggest that this resurrection involves the body as well. If so, it is possible that this idea resulted from contact with Persian religion (Shaked 1984: 323).

6.3.1.1. The Question of Persian Influence

The idea of a bodily resurrection plays an important role in Zoroastrian eschatology (cf. *GBd* 34). The resurrection entails the reunion of the body and the soul that has been separated in

[98] Conversely, in 1 En 22, it appears as though some of the wicked are resurrected to suffer additional torment (Nickelsburg 1972: 143).

death, thus re-establishing the original "unitary whole" (Meyers 2011: 103-104). This, according to Zoroastrianism, constitutes the highest form of existence and provides the only opportunity for perfect happiness (Davies 1999: 42; Boyce 1975: 236).

The Zoroastrian resurrection does not exclude either the righteous or the wicked, but includes "all men" (*GBd* 34.7). The lines between the two are drawn only in the assembly of Isadvastar, where each person must bear witness to his own good and evil deeds (34. 10-11). Once the resurrected bodies have been put through the ordeal by fire and purified, they are transfigured as a result of the *saoshyant's* sacrifice and granted immortality (*GBd* 34.23). This resurrected form is referred to as the Future or Final Body (Boyce 1975: 236; cf. *ZWY* 3. 3; 9.24).

The prevalent notion of the resurrection in 1 Enoch – namely, the notion of a partial or double resurrection – appears to be based on an older Israelite tradition, perhaps the same that inspired the references in Isaiah and Daniel. Assuming, however, that 1 En 51:1-2 refers to a resurrection of both body and soul and considering that this concept appears to be unattested in both the Hebrew Bible and the older sections of 1 Enoch, it might be considered potential evidence for Persian influence.

6.3.2. The Final Judgment

The ancient Israelite notion of judgment has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Here, it is enough to note that the Hebrew Bible contains evidence of such a notion (cf. 1 Kings 8:32; 1 Sam 3:13) and that there are passages that might be interpreted as referring to a future day of judgment (Isa 13:6, 9) (Yinger 2010: 853). There appears to be no generic doctrine concerning the divine judgment in early Judaism, although the language used in most formulations indicate the influence of older, biblical traditions (Yinger 2010: 853). The most common view seems to anticipate a judgment that will occur at the end of time, in some instances after the appearance of a messiah and a resurrection of some sort (Otzen 1990: 214). Given the diverse nature of judgment in apocalyptic, this section will concentrate solely on its depiction in 1 Enoch.

6.3.2.1. Judgment in 1 Enoch

The first reference to divine judgment occurs in the introductory chapters of 1 Enoch, foreshadowing its prominence and establishing it as a theme which will serve as the basis for elaborations in other major sections of the collection (Nickelsburg 2001: 37).

The judgment is mentioned in the Book of the Watchers (cf. 10:6, 12-14), but not elaborated upon (cf. VanderKam 1984: 129); in the Similitudes, all three parables are concerned with the judgment on some level (cf. 38:3; 41:1; 45:4; 49:4; 60:6; 61:9; 63:12; cf. Collins 1984: 143-144; Nickelsburg 2001: 48); and the reassurance that the wicked will be judged and punished is a central theme in the Epistle (cf. 91:15; 92: 3-5; 94:6, 9; 95:2; 96:8; 99:11, 15; 100:4; 102-104; cf. Nickelsburg 2001: 37). The Similitudes also envision two judgments: a preliminary judgment in the form of a flood (54:7- 55:4) and a great judgment at the end of time (cf. Russell 1992: 103).

The judgment does not only concern humans, but heavenly beings as well (Russell 1992: 102). Thus, the Watchers are to be cast into the abyss of fire on the day of judgment (10:13) and the Book of Dream Visions regards judgment as primarily reserved for the angels who brought sin into the world (90: 21-25; cf. Jackson 2004: 148). In fact, the Dream Visions do not seem to anticipate an individual judgment at all, seeing as humans are considered to be victims, rather than propagators, of sin (Boccaccini 1991: 156).

Two types of judgment are envisioned: the first type accompanied by cataclysmic events, the second carried out by God or a representative (Russell 1992: 102-103). Thus, in the first chapter, the mountains and hills melt and are flattened, and everything on earth is destroyed on the day of judgment (1 En 1: 6-7). The Flood, a preliminary judgment, also destroys everything except the righteous ones who were forewarned (54:7-55:4). In the Similitudes, however, either God or the Chosen One, acting as God's representative, sits on the throne and executes judgment on all aspects of creation (61:8; 62).

6.3.2.2. The Question of Persian Influence

Persian religion also expects a final judgment that will take place after the appearance of the *saoshyant* and a collective resurrection (*GBd.* 34). Fire is essential to this judgment, which is understood to take the form of a torrent of fire through which all mankind must pass (Gnoli 1987: 585; cf. *Y.* 51.9; 32.7). To the righteous, it will be as though "he is walking in warm milk," but the wicked will feel as if he is walking through "molten metal" (*GBd.* 34.19). Whether living or dead, all must pass through this ordeal (Boyce 1975: 242).

Fire is also associated with judgment in 1 Enoch. The wicked, both human and angelic, are cast into an abyss of fire (10:13; 90: 25-27) and it is suggested that God will bring "fierce fire" upon the wicked (102:1). However, there are two important aspects of Zoroastrianism

that seems to find to parallel in the Enochic formulation. Firstly, the fiery ordeal in Zoroastrianism includes *all* of mankind, whilst fire is only associated with the judgment of the wicked in 1 Enoch. Secondly, in Zoroastrianism the fiery ordeal results in the purification of everyone who passed through it, rendering them all righteous (*GBd.* 34.20), but in 1 Enoch, judgmental fire results in the destruction of the wicked. These vital differences make it unlikely that the Persian concept exercised an influence on the Enochic idea. Moreover, given how far back the notion of divine judgment dates in ancient Israelite religion, it seems plausible that the concept developed internally, expanding in scope and growing more sophisticated as Jewish eschatology developed due to their surroundings.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

A close reading of the text of 1 Enoch reveals a significant number of parallels with elements found in Persian religious texts. The aim of this thesis was to investigate these parallels for possible traces of Persian influence, with specific attention paid to the manifestations of the God-evil dualism on the cosmic, physical, anthropological-ethical and eschatological level. An attempt was made to trace the development of each manifestation to biblical tradition and, where no clear line of development could be found, an alternative was sought in Persian religion.

7.1. A Summary of the Findings

The second chapter dealt with the basic dualism between God and evil. Yahweh's "transformation" into the God of apocalyptic was studied, as was the evolution in the Jewish understanding of evil, especially with regards to the development of an agent of evil separate from God. Seeing as no convincing evidence of similar dualistic tendencies could be found in the Hebrew Bible, the possibility of Zoroastrian influence was considered, especially since the figures of Ahura Mazda and the apocalyptic God show striking similarities. It was argued that the dualism between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu/Ahriman does not appear to be based on perfect equality, and that a sense of monotheism is maintained. It was suggested that such a relationship might have seemed acceptable to Jewish apocalyptic writers, who were presumably seeking to solve the problem of evil and were thus already showing a tendency toward dualistic thought, to use as a basis for a similar development. Therefore, although it seems unlikely that the Zoroastrian dualism acted as the catalyst for the development of dualism in Jewish apocalyptic, there is a possibility that it influenced its formulation to some extent.

In the third chapter, the question of Persian influence on angelology and demonology in Jewish apocalyptic was addressed. Whilst no proof of demonology could be found in 1 Enoch, a definite opposition between good and bad angels was evident. The developments in terms of angelic names, organization and functions were studied, as well as the archangels and the evil angelic agent (Shemihazah, Azazel or Satan). Although the angelic tradition appears rooted in biblical tradition and can therefore also not be said to have been adopted from a foreign source, the similarities between the angels and Persian *fravashis*, the concept of archangels and the *Amesha Spentas*, and Azazel and Azhi Dahāka were found to be too numerous to dismiss. It was argued that, while it was possible that the individual concepts

surrounding angels developed independently out of biblical thought, the fact that the concepts, and their overall structure, reflected Zoroastrian concepts so closely, constituted a possibility of Persian influence.

The fourth chapter considered the manifestation of the God-evil dualism in the physical universe. While Babylonian influence was acknowledged, parallels were also found in between the Enochic and Persian calendars: both appear to be based on a 360-day original and use epagomenal days. It was suggested that the idea of heavenly beings controlling astral phenomena is rooted in ancient Near Eastern and biblical traditions, but that there are similarities in the depiction of Enochic angels and *fravashis*, and that the basic function of the angels in charge of the stars – to maintain order – appears to mirror the role of the stars as described in the *Bundahishn*. Finally, it was argued that the seven stars referred to in 1 En 18:13-16 and 21:1-6 might be connected to the seven planets and that, although this concept would have been known through Greek sources as well, there appears to be a closer resemblance to the Zoroastrian depiction, which portrays the planets as heavenly beings who transgress the divine order. On the whole, this chapter was hampered by a lack of sources, which made it difficult to attain a level of certainty beyond reasonable doubt.

The anthropological-ethical manifestation of the God-evil dualism was studied in chapter five, with the focus mainly on the two-way doctrine as it applies to mankind and man's heart, the role of choice and the afterlife. The concept of a division in mankind was found to have biblical roots and it was argued that no single definition of what constitutes "righteous" can be applied to 1 Enoch, making the study of development difficult. Koch's study was used as the basis of a discussion of the *qushṭa-shiqra/ hamsa* opposition found in the Apocalypse of Weeks and parallels were drawn with the Zoroastrian concepts of *asha* and *druj*. It was pointed out that the dynamics of the *qushṭa-shiqra/hamsa* opposition in the Apocalypse of Weeks were too vague to support a claim to Persian influence. The doctrine of the "two spirits" was considered next and the use of the term *yeṣer* in the Community Rule was assessed for possible influence. It was concluded that, while there might be a resemblance in the meanings of *yeṣer* and *asha/druj*, the concept of *yeṣer* and the accompanying "two-spirit" doctrine can be explained via internal developments and that the possibility of Persian influence, though not to be discounted, is tenuous at best. A similar conclusion seems to apply to the question of free will. Although Shaked argues that there is a strong sense of predestination underlying the Zoroastrian faith, it appears to depend on a series of assumptions, making for a slippery-slope argument. It was argued that ascribing the concept

of the "ascent of the soul" to either Persian or Greek influence would be rash, since 1 Enoch sees the souls of the dead *descending* to Sheol. A lack of detail in 1 Enoch also hindered the comparison of the "weighing of deeds" motif and the Zoroastrian tradition of the weighing of deeds on the Chinvat Bridge – as identified by Silverman – and it was concluded that Zoroastrian influence is possible, but difficult to ascertain using only the available evidence. The prominence of fire in the depiction of heaven (1 En 14), highlighted by Alexander, was considered in the light of possible influence, based on the fact that fire is widely known to be considered holy in Zoroastrianism. It was noted that the idea of a physically fiery heaven might derive from the fiery nature of the luminaries and Babylonian influence was dismissed on account of their cosmology which favoured a heaven of stone or water. The present author reached the same conclusion as Alexander: given the accessibility of knowledge in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods and assuming that the fire in 1 En 14 is symbolic, the possibility of Persian influence seems strong.

The sixth chapter dealt with dualistic manifestation on the eschatological level. The practise of dividing history into periods was studied, as were the events believed to signal the transition from one age to the next – the coming of the messiah, resurrection and the final judgment. The purpose of periodization of history was discussed and the concept was found to have possible roots in biblical tradition. The "seventy generations" mentioned in the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse of Weeks served as the basis of the study. It was argued that the "seventy generations" of the Book of the Watchers and the seventy angelic shepherds of the Animal Apocalypse seem to derive from Jeremiah 25. The four periods described in the Animal Apocalypse were compared to the four-epoch scheme in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, but the lack of consistency in the latter's portrayal, the problem of a late date and the fact that the four-fold scheme is known to have been common in the ancient Near East led to a conclusion that the four-period scheme could not reasonably be attributed to Zoroastrianism in particular. The same conclusion applies to the Apocalypse of Weeks, where the number of Enochic "weeks" corresponds to the ten-century millennium that features so prominently in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn.* However, whereas the ten "weeks" encapsulate all of world history in 1 Enoch, the ten centuries in the Zoroastrian scheme is but one millennium of twelve that comprise world history. The expectation that the new age will dawn at the end of the tenth "week" in 1 Enoch and the tenth "century" in Zoroastrianism signals another possible parallel. However, it was found that, although the parallels are enough to encourage further study, it would be imprudent to ascribe the periodization of

history in 1 Enoch to the influence of Persian tradition. No ostensible evidence was found for Persian influence in the messianic concept of the Enochic Son of Man. The tradition appears to have developed from biblical traditions, with the idea of an ideal future saviour-king developing into a transcendent divine being in much the same way as Yahweh developed from tribal deity to transcendent God.

Finally, it was argued that 1 Enoch does contain signs of a resurrection doctrine, although the particulars vary from section to section. The passage of 1 En 51:1-2 was suggested to contain a belief in a general resurrection involving both body and soul, which, if true, would correspond to the Zoroastrian doctrine of resurrection not only in the fact that it is physical as well as spiritual, but also in its relation to the final judgment that succeeds it. It was noted that fire plays an important part in both the Enochic and Zoroastrian concept of the final judgment. However, whereas Zoroastrianism holds that everyone must pass through the fire and be purified, the Enochic fire of judgment seems to be reserved for the wicked, who are not purified but destroyed by it. This discrepancy led to the conclusion that the association of fire with judgment was most likely an internal development and independent of Persian influence.

7.2. Conclusions

Dualities permeate creation. Light and darkness, good and evil, male and female, day and night; the inherent system of opposites is found everywhere, without being restricted to a specific culture. Perhaps this is why it is possible for dualistic thought to develop in any culture (Fontaine 2011: 268). If one's worldview is constructed on the basis that everything has an opposite, it seems logical to apply it to religious views as well, even if the religion in question is essentially monotheistic and the perceived "opponent" of the principle deity is significantly weaker, as has been shown to be the case in Jewish apocalyptic. In this study, it has become apparent that most aspects of the traditions found in 1 Enoch (and apocalyptic in general) can be traced to biblical traditions. It seems feasible, therefore, that the God-evil dualism and its various manifestations were internal developments, owing little or nothing to foreign influence. Yet the considerable number of similarities between aspects of dualism in Jewish apocalyptic and Persian religion prevents one from dismissing Persian influence altogether.

It has become evident that sources continue to be a problem. Although scholars believe that Persian religious texts, despite the late date of composition, are based on ancient traditions, it

is difficult to determine exactly *which* traditions are in fact ancient. So, too, the uncertainty surrounding the authorship of apocalyptic texts, especially the various sections of 1 Enoch, presents a difficulty. Without having an indication of the author's social status, political views and the rigidity of his religious beliefs, it is hard to determine how much access he would have had to foreign ideas and how receptive he would have been to them. Nevertheless, this study relies a lot on scholarly opinions concerning the antiquity of Persian religious traditions, and one might argue that, until greater certainty is achieved concerning these traditions, claims of Persian influence cannot actually be disproved any more than they can be proven.

Most of the studies conducted on this issue concentrate on systems or traditions, attempting to find proof that a certain tradition exists in Jewish apocalyptic, or in a particular text, *because of* Persian influence. The findings in this thesis suggest that the ideas, or at least the greatest number of them, were most likely the Jews' own from the beginning. The manner in which they *manifest*, i.e. the way in which they are formulated and depicted, however, seem to indicate that Persian ideas may have exercised a measure of influence.

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