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The Afterlife in the Book of Enoch

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Abstract

This thesis draws together and thematically links the notions of the afterlife contained within the Book of Enoch (also known as 1 Enoch), in particular the Book of the Watchers. The thesis gives particular attention to the imagery of the afterlife and the fate of the dead, and its correlation to imagery of the afterlife beliefs in other cultural traditions. This thesis explores the fundamental shift in afterlife beliefs in the Book of the Watchers from those found in the Hebrew Bible. The comparative method has been employed in order to compare the afterlife ideas in the Book of the Watchers to the religious myths of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and Persians (Zoroastrianism). The Book of the Watchers has also been compared to ideas found in the Hebrew Bible. These traditions and cultures were chosen as they all help to make up the cultural mix of Judea during the time 1 Enoch was composed.

The Book of the Watchers marks a major point of expansion of Jewish tradition. It builds on old traditions by developing ideas of the afterlife and approaching them from an apocalyptic view point. I argue that the Book of the Watchers represents a different concept of afterlife beliefs within the Jewish tradition, and that by analysing the theme of the afterlife it will contribute to a better understanding not only of 1 Enoch, but of Jewish afterlife beliefs during the Second Temple period, during the time of Hellenistic domination Additionally, I argue that the Book of the Watcher's imagery about the afterlife is shaped by a vision of the need for a restoration of justice. The concept of restoration of justice is one of the major themes of the Book of the Watchers. Its imagery of the afterlife developed as an imagined way of fixing an unjust world.

Declaration

This thesis is an original work of my research and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Introduction

This thesis draws together and thematically links the notions of the afterlife contained within the Book of the Watchers, considered to be one of the first Jewish apocalyptic texts. This is the first booklet in 1 Enoch (chapters 1 -36), composed perhaps by the mid or late third century BCE.[1] 1 Enoch (also known as the Book of Enoch) itself is a text written over several centuries, between around 300 BCE and the end of the 1st century CE. This was a period in which Judea had become part of Ptolemaic Egypt following the conquests of Alexander the Great, and his defeat of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty (330 BCE). The thesis gives particular attention to imagery of the afterlife and the fate of the dead, and its correlation to ideas about the afterlife in other cultures. Specifically, the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks, Persians (Zoroastrians). The Jewish culture will also be considered through the Hebrew Bible. This thesis argues that the imagery about the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is shaped by a vision of the need for a restoration of justice. There is a gap in the current literature regarding the eschatological ideas found in 1 Enoch. Current studies on 1 Enoch look at the text in relation to Christian traditions,[2] or developments within Judaism during the Second Temple period.[3] The current trend in scholarship on 1 Enoch is driven by interest in the community behind the writings.[4] I argue that driving its innovative imagery is perception that the current world order is unjust, and that Enoch, the great grandfather of Noah, has to warn humanity about the need for justice to return on earth.

[1] George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004) 3.
[2] Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of the Enoch Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[3] James VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010).
[4] Gabriele Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005).

The conception of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers does not resemble anything found in the Hebrew Bible. This raises a significant question about its provenance. This thesis seeks to explore these conceptions, hoping that it will contribute to a better understanding of the Book of Enoch, and to our understanding of ideas about the afterlife during the Second Temple period. Additionally the thesis will also help us understand intercultural communication and may further contribute, indirectly, to existing knowledge on religious syncretism during the Hellenistic period. It is important to have a fuller understanding of what was a living Jewish religious tradition. Many ideas in the Book of the Watchers may have influenced the development of later Christian traditions about the afterlife.

The Book of Enoch is both an apocryphal and pseudepigraphical text.[5] The entire composition is attributed to Enoch, although, it was written by a number of authors.[6] It is composed of a number of shorter sections or booklets, written independently of each other. The date of each of the booklets also differs. There are five main sections and two short appendices, thought to have originally been composed in this order. The Astronomical Book (72 – 82), followed by the Book of the Watchers (1 – 36), the Epistle of Enoch (91 -105), the Book of Dream Visions (83 – 90), and finally the Book of Parables (37 - 71). The two appendices consist of: The Birth of Noah (106 – 107) and A Final Book of Enoch (108). Later, the Book of Enoch was organised and collected together into an interrelated corpus linked with the tradition that had become attached to the patriarch Enoch. The table below shows the

[5] H.D.F. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1984) 170.
[6] George Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) 21.

current order of the five main booklets of 1 Enoch, which have been arranged, their current chapters and the dates they were originally written.

Table 1

The Booklets which make up 1 Enoch	**Chapters**	**Date of composition**
The Book of the Watchers	Chapters 1 – 36	c. 300 BCE
The Book of Parables (also Known as the Similitudes of Enoch)	Chapters 37 – 71	c. 40 BCE to c. 1 CE
The Astronomical Book (also known as the Book of Heavenly Luminaries)	Chapters 72 – 82	c. 400 – 300 BCE
The Dream Visions	Chapters 83 – 90	c. 200 BCE
The Epistle of Enoch	Chapters 91 -105	c. 200 BCE

*This table shows the five main booklets which make up the Book of Enoch, along with the chapters covered and the approximate date they were written.

The date of each of the booklets which make up the Book of Enoch has caused some scholarly debate, in particular the Book of Parables, which was the only booklet not found in the Qumran caves. To date, this book has not been found in its original format or language, and only exists in full in Ethiopic. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage in lengthy debate about when these various booklets were actually composed, as its aim is to examine the themes within the Book of the Watchers in regards to the afterlife. This thesis will follow the general scholarly consensus regarding the dating of each of the booklets, which the table demonstrates.

Much of the Book of the Watchers afterlife symbolism, imagery, and ideas differs from what is found in the Hebrew Bible. Themes such as resurrection, salvation, darkness, fire, Sheol, punishment and reward are major concerns for the authors. These themes all connect to ideas of justice. The Hebrew Bible and the Book of the

Watchers have different conceptions of life after death, a difference which remains unexplained in the scholarship. This thesis intends to fill that gap by comparing the afterlife themes found in the Book of the Watchers to those found in the Hebrew Bible and by analysing them in comparison to neighbouring traditions of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Zoroastrians.

The choice of these particular traditions and cultures is not accidental. They have been chosen because all of them have directly or indirectly contributed over time to the rich cultural mixture that was Judea in the late Hellenistic period, when 1 Enoch was written.

In comparison to biblical ideas about the afterlife, the Book of the Watchers reveals an exciting development in life after death imagery and tradition. Like the conception of the afterlife among the Sumerians, Babylonians and Greeks, biblical notions of afterlife project imagery of a shadowy realm, where everyone ended up after death.[7] With the composition of The Book of the Watchers, the concept of the afterlife became more elaborate. The writings evoke a dualistic, 'us' verses 'them' mentality. Embedded in apocalyptic ideas, the imagery of the afterlife becomes far more vibrant than most previous biblical conceptions of the hereafter. In 1 Enoch, the afterlife is a place where the wicked suffer and the righteous are rewarded. This dualistic idea of good versus evil and justice triumphing over injustice in 1 Enoch, changes the conception of the afterlife found in the Hebrew Bible. This thesis will explore the fundamental shift in beliefs about the afterlife in 1 Enoch from previous biblical tradition.

[7] Norman Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 56. See also, David Leeming, *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 9.

Overview of the Chapters of the thesis

The first chapter discusses the historical background of 1 Enoch. It also contains the literature review, examining current and relevant scholarship on the Book of Enoch, and the discussion of the methodology, namely the comparative method, and the justification for its use in this thesis. The Book of Enoch was developed over an extensive period of time. This chapter helps to contextualise the contents of 1 Enoch. It provides a brief chronological history of the text and explores Enoch as its major character or protagonist.

The second chapter analyses bloodshed, violence and how these themes are related to the notions of justice and the afterlife. The Book of the Watchers is concerned with the perceived injustices of the world. It presents the wicked prospering while the righteous suffer. For the authors of the Book of the Watchers the earth is not as it should be, and through divine judgment justice will be enacted for both the living and the dead. This chapter deals with the notion of the corruption of the earth through violent bloodshed. Its first part looks at the figure of Abel and the representation of his violent death in the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dream Visions. Many of those who reside in the afterlife have died violently at the hands of the wicked. The dead call for their murders to be avenged and revenge and justice exacted. The second section looks at the rebel angels and how their actions led to extensive bloodshed on the earth. This was compounded by their offspring, the giants, who not only violently murder and consume all creation, they also consume blood. The bloodshed on the earth from the actions of the wicked, the rebel angels and the giants demand justice. This chapter explores the notion of how divine judgment and justice are connected through the afterlife.

Chapter 3 is titled The Underworld in Heaven. This chapter examines the places of punishment and reward in regards to chapter 22 in the Book of the Watchers. This text explores the notion of divine justice and how this concept is applied to the dead in the afterlife. The wicked are punished and the righteous are rewarded. The circumstances one faces in the afterlife are based on the way in which one has lived one's earthly life. The Enochian belief in post-mortem reward or punishment was a new concept in Israelite religion, as was the moral aspect being applied to the afterlife. The notion of the dead receiving either remuneration or castigation in the afterlife, was not a premise which is expressed anywhere in the Hebrew Bible. The authors of the Book of the Watchers recognised that people who are good did not necessarily have a good life, just as the wicked often prospered. This inherent unfairness of the world could be remedied at the time of death. People's souls should and would be forced to atone for their earthly crimes during their death. Chapter 22 of 1 Enoch details the rewards or punishments the dead face, depending on how they have lived their lives. This concept of post mortem reward or punishment, can be found in both Greek and Zoroastrian beliefs. The authors of Enoch may have been influenced by ideas from these cultures.

The fourth and final chapter explores the concept of resurrection and how the idea is presented in the Book of the Watchers. Its development of the concept of resurrection is significant for a number of reasons. First, it goes beyond traditional Israelite beliefs of resurrection as a national restoration, as expressed in the Hebrew Bible. In the Book of the Watchers individuals are to be raised from the dead. In this text it is not enough for a person to be considered an Israelite. Instead a person has to be righteous. In this way the eschatology expounded in chapters

22, 24 and 25 of 1 Enoch goes beyond national considerations. Finally, resurrection is connected not just to death, but also to the underworld, final judgement and justice for the righteous. Other cultures may have influenced some of the concepts of resurrection found in the Book of the Watchers, as the ideas expressed are not found in such a form anywhere in the Hebrew Bible. This thesis is more concerned with identifying literary parallels in the mythological traditions of other cultures than seeking to define issues of historical origin, always very difficult to determine in biblical literature. What matters most is not the specific path by which ideas and themes have shaped the book of Enoch, but the particular way in they are formulated in this remarkable collection of texts.

The imagery of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers represents a restoration of justice, through the concept reward and punishment based on one's earthly life. The foreign occupation and colonisation by Hellenistic culture was likely the genesis for the authors to attest to a restoration of justice, very different from that offered by the Hellenistic world in which the Israelites were forced to live.

Chapter 1: A brief introduction to 1 Enoch

Introduction

The five sections of Book of Enoch, supplemented by two appendices, are attributed to the Biblical patriarch, Enoch, who is mentioned in Genesis 5: 21 – 31 as being the father of Methuselah and thus the great grandfather of Noah. The Book of Enoch is considered part of the Biblical canon in the Christian Ethiopic Orthodox Church.[1] Other Christian and Jewish traditions regard 1 Enoch as non – canonical and consider it part of the apocrypha.

The different parts of 1 Enoch, a "collection of revelatory writings," were composed mainly in Aramaic (although some fragments in Hebrew were found, 8: 4, 9: 4 and 106) in Qumran, Israel.[2] They were written sometime between the fourth century BCE and the first century CE.[3] Fragments of 1 Enoch manuscripts preserved at Qumran are dated from the Second Temple period. The only complete copies of 1 Enoch have been preserved in Ethiopic manuscripts which date from the fifth or sixth century CE.[4]

This first chapter is split into two sections. The first part provides a brief literature review and the second an explanation of the comparative approach used as the methodology. The literature review focuses on scholarship dealing with the motif of the afterlife presented in 1 Enoch. This is not an exhaustive literature review. Nevertheless, it does provide an overview of scholarship in the area.

[1] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 106-107.
[2] Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Religious and Philosophical writings in Late Antiquity: Pagan, Judaic, Christian* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 106.
[3] Ibid, 106.
[4] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 107.

This thesis draws on the comparative method, in combination with close reading of the text and a contextual approach. The comparative method allows for a cross cultural analysis of 1 Enoch against other cultures. In order to gain a meaningful cross - cultural analysis, a contextual analysis is essential to situate 1 Enoch within its own cultural religious beliefs about the afterlife. Finally, a close reading of the text provides a critical analysis of the patterns and themes of the afterlife in 1 Enoch. These afterlife themes, as in many traditions which have evolved over time, are not uniform and as such attention to detail is required.

Literature Review

The earliest scholarly work in the west on 1 Enoch took the form of translations. In the seventeenth century, Greek fragments of the Book of Enoch were brought to the attention of scholars by Joseph Scaliger.[5] The fragments Scaliger found were in the *Chronography*, a work by a Byzantine monk, George Syncellus, from the beginning of the ninth century.[6] The text contained two extensive excerpts from 1 Enoch, both of which Syncellus assigns to the *Book of the Watchers*, chapters 1 - 36 of 1 Enoch.[7] There was a limited amount of interest in the Greek sections of 1 Enoch. While the stories it contained were intriguing, many of the scholars of the time realised that Greek was not the original language in which 1 Enoch was composed, and there was only so much that could be learned from a limited second-hand source. This changed when James Bruce obtained the full Ethiopic versions of 1

[5]Helge, Kvanvig, "The Book of Watchers," in *Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochian: An Intertextual Reading* (Boston: Brill, 2011) 320.
[6]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 13. See also Eibert J. C. Tigghelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of the Watchers and Apocalyptic* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 152.
[7] William Adler, "Berossus, Manetho, and "1 Enoch" in the World Chronicle of Pandorus," *The Harvard Theological Review,* Vol. 75, No. 4, (1983): 419 - 422.

Enoch.[8] While Richard Laurence was the first to translate the Ethiopic Enoch into English, many more translations of the text followed.[9] Versions of the Ethiopic Enoch appeared in Latin (Gefrorer 1840), German (Hoffmann 1833, Clemens 1850 and Dillmann 1851, 1853), English (Schodde 1882), Hebrew (Goldschmidt 1892), and French (Brunet 1856 and Martin 1906).[10]

The interest in 1 Enoch peaked when the original Aramaic copies were identified amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls by J.T. Milik, in his book published in 1976.[11] Milik's volume is a seminal text. It was the first book to contain some of the new primary Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch, along with a textual and critical commentary. Milik does not have much to say with regards to the afterlife perceptions found in 1 Enoch, and is more interested in the dating of the texts and the translations of the Aramaic fragments. Milik made many controversial claims in his book, including that the chapters which make up the Enochic corpus, should be considered the Qumran Pentateuch.[12] According to Milik this Pentateuch is written on two scrolls, the *Book of the Watchers, The Book of Giants, the Dream Visions* and the *Epistle of Enoch* were written on one scroll, in that order. The *Astronomic Book* was written on a second separate scroll. According to Milik, *the Book of Giants* was later replaced by the *Parables of Enoch* and thus the Book of Enoch attainted its current form. According to Nickelsburg this particular theory has not found wide acceptance.[13] In fact, Greenfield and Stone argue, that just because a number of the Enoch books found at Qumran were copied onto a single scroll, does not demonstrate that they

[8] Kvanvig, "The Book of Watchers," 320.
[9] Richard Laurence, *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Ethiopic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893).
[10] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 110.
[11] Jozef Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
[12] Ibid, 58, 77 -78, 183 – 84.
[13] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 22.

formed a Pentateuch.[14] Milik also claimed that the *Book of Parables* is a late Christian composition, as no fragments of this text were found at the Qumran. The absence of the *Book of Parables* at the Qumran does not necessary indicate that the Parables were composed at a later date.[15] Until the original copies of the Parables surface its date will remain a mystery. It should be noted, however, that many scholars believe the Parables to be a Jewish composition, not a Christian one as Milik claims.[16] Another criticism has been raised regarding Milik's restoration of the texts, which Greenfield and Stone claim is open to challenge, as his readings are not always confirmed by photographs or "direct examination of the fragments".[17]

George Nickelsburg and James VanderKam have also written critical commentaries on 1 Enoch.[18] These are currently considered to be primary, substantial, and essential documents for anyone studying the Book of Enoch. The two volumes contain translations of the book, combined with a critical commentary, which includes information on dating of the texts, social considerations, worldviews, and religious thoughts behind the writings. Both of the volumes list the afterlife themes found in Enoch, such as Judgement day, the resurrection of the dead, salvation and heaven. None of these, however, are discussed in detail, and then only in relation to the Enoch texts. According to Nickelsburg the texts of 1 Enoch offers some "theological surprises," such as that the "mode of moral instruction is sapiential rather than set in the form of commandments and laws."[19] Nickelsburg also notes

[14] Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the date of the Similitudes," *The Harvard Theological Review,* Vol. 70, No. 1/2, (1977): 51 – 65.
[15] Ibid, 55.
[16] Ibid, 57.
[17] Ibid, 90-91.
[18] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1. See also George Nickelsburg and James VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2*: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37 – 82* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).
[19] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*, 5.*

that there are some “stereological silences in the texts.”[20] There is no sacrificial cult in Jerusalem, and themes such as, forgiveness and justification are largely missing from the texts.[21] The authors of 1 Enoch are more interested in “divinely revealed wisdom about the workings of the cosmos and the course and end of history.”[22] In volume one of his commentary, Nickelsburg does very briefly acknowledge that some of the traditions found in 1 Enoch can be traced back to both the Mesopotamian (specifically Babylonian) and Greek myths. According to Nickelsburg, “The precise nature of that contact is uncertain, and dependence on material common to Greek and ancient near eastern myth is not to be excluded”.[23]

The critical commentaries by Milik, Nickelsburg, and VanderKam are all useful in regards to this study. Many of the ideas in Milik’s book are questionable, but his book still contains very useful information regarding the dating of the texts, history, social environment, translations commentary and other cultural connection to 1 Enoch. The work of Nickelsburg and VanderKam is an invaluable foundational resource for this thesis. Of immediate relevance is their commentary and discussion on each section of the Book of Enoch which are related to the theme of afterlife including judgment, justice, and resurrection. Nickelsburg and VanderKam mainly explore 1 Enoch in relation to its Jewish context, with only occasional explorations of the possible interactions 1 Enoch may have had with other cultures.

[20] Ibid, 5.
[21] Ibid, 6.
[22] Ibid, 6.
[23] Ibid, 62.

Brian Schmidt considers the afterlife beliefs of ancient Israel, with particular interest in "articulating what constituted a fulfilling life and an acceptable death."[24]The afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch are not the focus of this chapter, as Schmidt major interest is in the period of Iron Age Israel, namely 1200 – 600 BCE, before the Second Temple period (c. 583 BCE to 70 CE). Schmidt argues that during the Iron Age the dead were perceived as weak and frail and that their continued existence in the underworld was characterised as shadowy and silent.[25] According to Schmidt, during the Iron Age, mourning rites were of great importance, but this ultimately served to "perpetuate the memory of the deceased in the minds of the living."[26] He argues that before the advent of the Second Temple period, the best of life was on this side of the grave and family and public rituals on behalf of the deceased were thought to preserve the dead from complete oblivion.[27] Fulfilment could only be found in this life, not the next. Schmidt does discuss the figure of Enoch briefly towards the end of the article when he discusses the transformation of Israelite afterlife beliefs during the Second Temple period.[28] He states that works like 1 Enoch present a shift in traditional Jewish beliefs of a shadowy, feeble existence in the underworld, to beliefs which now included bodily resurrection and, immortality of the soul as a reward for the righteous and ascension.[29]

While neither 1 Enoch nor the Second Temple period is the main focus of Schmidt's article, it is still relevant to know what afterlife beliefs were in Iron Age Israel.

[24]Brian B. Schmidt, "Memory as Immortality: Countering the Dreaded "Death After Death" In Ancient Israelite Society, in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 4. Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-To-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity, ed. Alan Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 87.
[25] Ibid, 97.
[26] Ibid, 98 -99.
[27] Ibid, 99.
[28]Ibid, 96-97.
[29] Ibid, 96 – 97.

Schmidt, like many other scholars, including Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck, believe that apocalyptic works like 1 Enoch represent a shift in traditional Jewish afterlife beliefs. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the ideas in 1 Enoch may not have been widely accepted, as the traditional view of the afterlife as presented in the Hebrew Bible claims Sheol is a realm of dark forgetfulness. Nevertheless, knowing what the traditional beliefs of the Israelites were is important in order to gain a clear picture of what themes and ideas were connected to their understanding of death and the afterlife. In this way the themes of the afterlife in 1 Enoch can be analysed within their own cultural context.

George W. E Nickelsburg examines the Book of Parables in his book chapter, "Four worlds that are "other" in the Enochic Book of Parables".[30] He argues that the authors of the Book of Parables saw their world as a place of violence and injustice and that only the coming judgment would reverse all the ills of the world.[31] He also argues that the mechanisms for judgment are being prepared in other worlds and this knowledge is revealed to Enoch.[32] In this chapter Nickelsburg is interested in exploring the otherworlds, as they are presented in the Book of Parables. He defines these otherworlds as "those places that are different from the familiar, inhabited worlds that are occupied by the author of the text and his audience – different from that world to the point of being "other than" it".[33] Nickelsburg identifies four otherworlds. He identifies heaven as having two forms: in the first heaven God dwells along with his entourage including the Son of Man and the righteous dead,

[30] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Four worlds that are "other" in the Enochic Book of Parables," in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions,* ed. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M.M. Eynikel, Florentino Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 55.
[31] Ibid, 56.
[32] Ibid, 56.
[33] Ibid, 55.

the second heaven, is the location of “astronomical and meteorological elements.” The third otherworld is that part of the terrestrial disk that is removed from human access, where the places of punishment and judgment are located. Finally, he identifies the transformed Earth, as it will exist after the time of the final judgment, as a place of blessing for the righteous both living and dead. He concludes that in the Book of Parables the world is dominated by the kings and the mighty who worship idols and oppress the righteous. They abuse God’s creation by using their wealth to wage war and manufacture idols. Alongside the kings and the mighty are the rebel angels led by Azazel, who brought into the world forbidden knowledge which has created violence and magic. “And finally there is death itself. For the righteous and the chosen, then, this world is a place of darkness and misery”.[34] The purpose of the Book of Parables is to provide comfort to the righteous and assuring them that these otherworlds exist and that they pertain to their salvation and the destruction of the sinners.[35]

Loren Stuckenbruck is also looking at otherworlds in relation to 1 Enoch, but with a focus on the Epistle of Enoch. He argues “that, to a significant degree, the cosmology of the Epistle was based on its reception and adaption of an earlier Enochic seer’s vision of places for the dead in the Book of the Watchers, especially as described in 1 Enoch chapter 21-22.”[36] Stuckenbruck reviews the realm of the dead in the Book of the Watchers, detailing all the major elements including the four chambers, three of which are dark and hold various kinds of sinners and one which is illuminated and is the dwelling place for the righteous dead. He compares the

[34]Ibid, 74.
[35] Ibid, 74.
[36] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The “otherworld” and the Epistle of Enoch,” in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions,* ed. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M.M. Eynikel, Florentino Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 82.

vision of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers to the vision of the afterlife in the Epistle of Enoch. Stuckenbruck claims that the "Epistle does not describe any places of post-mortem existence."[37] Nevertheless, the authors of the Epistle engage in a discourse with: the righteous dead, the wicked dead, the righteous who are living and the wicked who are living. The author addresses each of these groups in order, encouraging the righteous dead not to be fearful as justice is coming. The wicked dead will experience "evil and great tribulation and be in darkness and in a net (or chains) and flaming fire, and it is in this state that they will be brought to the great judgment."[38] The Enochic authors tell the living righteous to stop complaining about their suffering, as their ultimate state will be angelic. Finally, in an address to the wicked who are alive, the authors' claim that they will be made to account for their misdeeds and that every sin is recorded. Stuckenbruck concludes that "the Book of the Watchers' account of the four chambers does not place emphasis on describing the reward to be embodied by the righteous. The Epistle streamlines afterlife into very clear and distinct eschatological outcomes for the righteous (who will be like angels) and the wicked (who will be punished by fire) respectively."[39] Stuckenbruck also points out that the fallen angels who are the catalyst for the evils of the world, according to the Book of the Watchers, have all but vanished in the Epistle. Instead the Epistle of Enoch focuses on human evil. Furthermore, the symbolic shift from the demonic to the human sphere changes the method of punishment, which the wicked will face. The motif of judgment by fire, which was applied to the wayward stars and fallen angels in the Book of the Watchers, is now applied to human sinners in the Epistle of Enoch.

[37] Ibid, 86.
[38] Ibid, 88.
[39] Ibid, 91.

Both Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck look at judgment, suffering, punishment, reward, the final judgment and justice in their respective book chapters. Both these chapters are from the same volume, entitled *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions.*[40] Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck look at how the otherworlds function in 1 Enoch. This term is broadly used to describe places outside the earth as it currently is. Their articles are different in the sense that Nickelsburg is examining the Book of Parables, while Stuckenbruck is focused on the Epistle of Enoch. Stuckenbruck is more overtly focused on the afterlife than Nickelsburg. Nickelsburg also discusses the fate of the wicked and the righteous dead in some detail. Stuckenbruck's article is more closely related to my research, which aims to discuss the motif of the afterlife in relation to the Book of the Watchers, something Stuckenbruck discusses in some detail.

Decock investigates the Book of Parables in relation to the New Testament. He examines the terms "holy ones" and "sons of God," to investigate "whether this usage reflects a close association between the righteous and the angels".[41] Decock concludes that the term holy ones normally refers to angels in the Hebrew Bible. He also states that in the later sections of 1 Enoch the term generally refers to both the angels and the righteous, a change that he says likely occurred because of the shifting worldview of the coming judgment. The righteous expected to share in the glory of the angels instead of remaining in Sheol. Decock argues that other scholars have rejected the view that sections of 1 Enoch such, as 37- 71 (Book of Parables) and 92 – 105 (Epistle of Enoch) show an expectation of an immortal future for the

[40]Tobias Nicklas, and Brill Academic Publishers. *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010).
[41] P. B Decock, "Holy Ones, Sons of God, and the Transcendent future of the Righteous in 1 Enoch and the New Testament," *Neotestamentica,* Vol. 17, No. 1, (1983): 70 – 82.

righteous.[42] Instead, scholars like Stemberger believe that 1 Enoch basically holds the same views as the Hebrew Bible, meaning that "the future of the righteous can only be seen as bodily, earthly and historical."[43] Decock details these arguments, but in the end concludes that the new elements in 1 Enoch can best be understood as the result of an apocalyptic transformation.[44] "The suffering of the sons of God is a fundamental experience of the apocalyptists."[45] At present the righteous are being persecuted, heavenly revelations, like the Book of Enoch, are there to reassure the righteous that "this present, visible situation is not the ultimate reality. Vindication beyond death, the gift of immortality, sharing in the heavenly life with the angels are all characteristics of apocalyptic eschatology."[46] Decock claims that in the New Testament there is an apocalyptic model for divine sponsorship, with roots in the Judaism of the time. By comparing the apocalyptic of divine sponsorship in works like 1 Enoch, with New Testament texts of divine sponsorship, many similarities between the two begin to emerge, such as hidden and revealed divine mysteries, knowledge and revelation of the heavenly mysteries, resurrection, immortality, heavenly life, suffering and being like the angels.[47]

Examining any connection between 1 Enoch and the New Testament is beyond the scope of this thesis. The Christian community in many ways have been the custodians of the Book of Enoch. Even though it is a Jewish composition, its

[42] Ibid, 74.
[43] Ibid, 74.
[44] Ibid, 78.
[45] Ibid, 78.
[46] Ibid, 78.
[47] Ibid, 78 – 80.

worldview and apocalyptic framework fits in well with the expectations and writings of certain Christian circles. .[48]

Much of the early Enoch research focused on the Christian aspect of the pseudepigrapha.[49] Scholarship on Jewish apocalyptic literature during this time has been primarily a Christian undertaking. Jewish scholars tended to marginalise the apocalypses, choosing to focus more on canonical literature.[50] Christian scholarship has focused on the New Testament which was "fashioned in a powerfully eschatological environment".[51] As such, Christians were happy to use the Jewish apocalyptic texts, which had helped to shape Christianity. 1 Enoch, especially the Book of Parables (the second text in 1 Enoch), was considered valuable because of the figure of the 'Son of Man.'[52] This phrase appears in other apocalyptic texts, such as Daniel and Revelation. This character was seen as a messiah figure in both the Jewish and Christian faiths. Christians have used the 'Son of Man' terminology in order to represent Jesus Christ. Indeed, between 1915 and 1950, much of the scholarship on Enoch focused on the figure of the heavenly saviour.

Decock has added to the scholarship described above. He is interested in both the sons of God and the holy ones, not only to determine their role in the Book of Parables, but to compare this to how these terms are used in the New Testament. While Decock is not so interested in the Son of Man terminology, he is still interested in the notions of resurrection and the righteous becoming like the angels.

[48] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 106-107.
[49] Pseudepigrapha is the term used when a author uses a false name on a document. Pseudepigrapha usually denotes writings professing to be that of a particular Biblical character.
[50] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1.*
[51] Ibid, 114.
[52] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 79.

Decock, like many other scholars, compares 1 Enoch, or sections of 1 Enoch to either the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament, a common practice in current scholarship. It is also commonplace to compare 1 Enoch to texts found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls. This thesis reflects on the fact that there are afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch which simply have no place in the traditional biblical version of the hereafter. Nevertheless, the article by Decock helps to place my work within current scholarship.

1 Enoch is frequently examined in relation to the Hebrew Bible or other Jewish apocryphal texts some of which are preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The articles which explore 1 Enoch in its own cultural context are significant as it is vital to know how the Book of Enoch fits in with other Jewish beliefs. 1 Enoch provides a different picture of the afterlife from what is presented in the Hebrew Bible, in which Sheol is presented as a realm of darkness and gloom, where all the dead both great and small are destined to go.[53] John J. Collins in a book chapter explores this theme further, arguing that during the Hellenistic period a more meaningful life version of the afterlife was challenging the traditional view of the afterlife as a dank place of misty gloom.[54] According to Collins the belief in a more meaningful afterlife first emerged in the apocalypses of 1 Enoch and Daniel, although they were not universally accepted.[55] He argues that in the "pre-Christian period, the topography of the afterlife was still unclear, and the Scrolls give surprisingly little information on

[53] Philip S. Johnson, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002) 76.
[54] John J. Collins, "The Other World in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions,* ed. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M.M. Eynikel, Florentino Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 95.
[55] Ibid, 95.

the subject."[56] Collins reminds us that the Book of Enoch (excluding the Book of Parables) and the Book of Daniel was preserved in multiple copies among the Dead Sea Scrolls, "and their views on the afterlife were presumably known to the authors of the sectarian scrolls."[57] Collins goes on to compare the afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch against those found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. He concludes that while the afterlife beliefs presented in the scrolls are not uniform, with some texts claiming the wicked will be punished by fire in the afterlife, other texts lack this fiery element. On the whole however, they do not resemble what is found in 1 Enoch. There is no concept in the Scrolls of resurrection or a final judgment. Collins states while the works of 1 Enoch and Daniel were preserved at the Qumran and known to the sectarians, they were not authored by them.[58] Collins is ultimately examining if the sectarian group behind the Scrolls were influenced by the afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch. It seems that for the most part the sectarians were not particularly interested in the afterlife. While punishment or retribution may have extended into the afterlife, the notions of resurrection and a final judgement did not have a place in their belief system.

Philip R. Davies also discusses afterlife beliefs in the Dead Sea Scrolls. He argues that if "the Qumran scrolls do not – as is increasingly thought – uniformly reflect the beliefs and practices of a single group, then there is no reason a priori to expect complete conformity in the beliefs of this kind."[59] He goes on to say that "Consequently, it is inadvisable to seek a clear and consistent expression of belief

[56] Ibid, 96.
[57] Ibid, 101.
[58] Ibid, 111.
[59] Philip R. Davies, "Death, Resurrection, and Life After Death in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 4. Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-To-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity, ed. Alan Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 189.

in the nature of the afterlife."[60] Like Collins, Davies treats 1 Enoch and the Book of Daniel as separate from the rest of the Dead Sea Scrolls, claiming that the rest of the literature at the Qumran was directly descended from the community responsible for the Enochic writings.[61] Davies states that the clearest evidence of afterlife beliefs in the Dead Sea Scrolls is, found in the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, the War Scroll and the wisdom discourses.[62] Davies concludes that there is no agreement in the scrolls in relation to resurrection, the eternity of the soul and the identification of the righteous.[63] According to Davies, the notion of a final judgment can be found in some of the texts such as the wisdom literature arguing that "Human life is lived under the shadow of imminent judgment, a judgment that determines the individual's eternal status" and that "The goal of life, the meaning of life, is afterlife."[64] Davies concludes that there is no notion of resurrection in the Dead Sea Scrolls, although rewards for the righteous dead are envisioned. On balance it seems likely that these views may have been influenced by 1 Enoch and Daniel and that those in the Qumran believed that they would be joined by their dead fellows on the day of judgment, so they could all share in eternal life with the heavenly beings.[65]

Both Collins and Davies compare 1 Enoch to the Dead Sea Scrolls. While they agree on most points such as that the Book of Enoch (excluding the Book of Parables) was written before the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed and that, aside from the punishment of the wicked extending into the afterlife, for the most part the

[60] Ibid 209.
[61] Ibid, 195.
[62] Ibid, 210.
[63] Ibid, 196.
[64] Ibid, 197.
[65] ibid, 2010.

afterlife beliefs in the Scrolls do not represent the notions found in 1 Enoch. Both Davies and Collins also agree that the Scrolls do not envisage a resurrection of the righteous dead, even though the righteous dead are to be rewarded in the afterlife. Departing from Collins, Davies states that the Qumran community was influenced by texts such as 1 Enoch and likely believed that the righteous dead would join the living on the day of judgment. Rather confusingly Davies argues that resurrection is not a belief ascribed to in the Scrolls and yet even though he notes this, he still believes that those in the Qumran community believed in the rising of the dead. This part of his argument is an oxymoron, as it is unwise to make suppositions that are not supported by the literature at the Qumran. While a resurrection is envisioned in both 1 Enoch and Daniel and these texts had some importance or authority to the Qumran community, it may simply be that those at Qumran were not really interested in the afterlife beliefs in these books and instead focused on other themes and ideas. 1 Enoch presents many notions which often are inspired by the Hebrew Bible. Many of these ideas, however, tend to transcend themes found there.

Collins and Davies share the view of many scholars mentioned here, including Decock, Schmidt, Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck, namely that the traditional notion of Sheol as the land of darkness, gloom and forgetting has been transformed into a place of punishment and justice in 1 Enoch. It is hard to know if 1 Enoch challenged the traditional Jewish view of the afterlife in any meaningful way. Even though it was found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, according to Collins and Davies, in regards to afterlife beliefs the influence on the Scrolls was minimal.

Methodology: The Comparative Method

In order to explore the themes of the afterlife in 1 Enoch, I will use the comparative method in combination with a close reading of the text. The comparative method was selected as the best approach to examine the representation of the afterlife in 1 Enoch and its relationship with other cultures. The afterlife as described in 1 Enoch is very different to what is found in the Hebrew Bible. So while it is important to analyse 1 Enoch in relation to its own cultural context, as this thesis intends to do, the comparative method will help to broaden the scope of the research. It will allow me to explore the concept of the afterlife in relation to cultures that were in close contact with the authors of 1 Enoch. Research on this topic is underdeveloped and the comparative method will help uncover aspects of the afterlife in the Book of Enoch, which scholars have not yet investigated. In this way, I will be able to fill a gap in the literature, by reading closely the text in question, against texts that express the afterlife views of other near eastern communities.

There is not one standard definition of the comparative method. At its core, it involves contrasting two or more things, with a view towards discovering something about the objects being compared. According to Ragin, the term is typically used in a narrow sense to refer to a specific kind of comparison.[66] In terms of this thesis, the comparative method will be used to understand themes of the afterlife in 1 Enoch, which cannot be explained strictly within the Jewish context. In order to do this, other cultures of the ancient near east and Mediterranean will be explored in relation to their afterlife views.

[66] Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 1.

While the themes of the hereafter could be discussed in relation to the text itself, or even within the context of the Jewish cultural and social milieu of the Second Temple period, looking at other cultures adds a broader context to the themes of the afterlife found in the Book of Enoch. A more pluralistic appreciation of the notion of the hereafter seems absolutely necessary, given that 1 Enoch advocates ideas which are considerably different to that found in the Hebrew Bible. This clearly points to different streams of tradition that needs attention.

It could be argued, that the theme of the afterlife in 1 Enoch is so different, because it is an apocalyptic text and this genre tends to have very descriptive language. Yet, 1 Enoch is the first Jewish apocalyptic text and as such is the prototype of the genre, not a later product. Thus, turning attention to the ideas and beliefs expressed by other near eastern societies, which maintained nevertheless, close cultural contact with the Israelites, is likely to prove a fruitful endeavour. The relevance of this study lies in the fact that due to the descriptive nature of 1 Enoch, the views it expresses with regards to the hereafter have few correlations within the Hebrew Bible. The question must be asked where did these ideas about life after death in 1 Enoch come from? This question is yet to be answered in scholarship on 1 Enoch. This study will attempt to answer it by looking at afterlife themes and ideas of non-Jewish cultures, which contributed to the Hellenistic cultural mix of the region and contrasting them with ideas presented in the Book of Enoch.

Along with the comparative method, this thesis uses a close reading of the texts in order to help illuminate the afterlife traditions in1 Enoch. Close reading of the

text involves critical analysis, which focuses on significant features or patterns to achieve a deep understanding of a text's structural elements, cultural references, rhetorical features, form and/or meanings.[67] The aim of this thesis is to make observations with regards to the theme of the afterlife in 1 Enoch. Certain near eastern and Mediterranean afterlife traditions may have influenced the authors of 1 Enoch. By combining a close reading of the text with the comparative method, this thesis will be able to come to a better understanding of the Enoch tradition.

These methodologies will be complemented by the contextual method, taking into account historical and cultural milieu. Cohen has argued that in regards to the contextual approach, "fine analysis should not be undertaken without achieving and maintaining awareness of the total context."[68] In this case the contextual method will be used along with a thematic analysis of the motif of the afterlife. 1 Enoch cannot be divorced from its cultural context. Much of the Book of Enoch (apart from the Book of Parables) was found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls. Removing 1 Enoch from its own cultural context prohibits any sort of meaningful analysis. According to King, contextual analysis "allows one to consider not only the content of a piece of literature, but also the way in which the content is communicated. When texts are read in light of similar texts from their relative environment, meaning may be generated in fresh ways."[69] He further states "this interpretive strategy can reveal shared motifs, as well as common cultural and religious practices."[70] This is ultimately the purpose of this thesis, to analyse the connections of the motif afterlife

[67] Victor J. Moeller, *Socratic Seminars in High School: Texts and Film that Engage Students in Reflective Thinking and Close Reading* (New York: Routledge, 2014) i, 14 – 16.
[68] Maurice Cohen, "Contextual Analysis: An approach to the Study of Philosophic Arguments," *Metaphilosophy,* Vol. 8, No. 1, (1977): 3 - 20.
[69] Andrew M. King, "Did Jehu Destroy Baal from Israel? A Contextual Reading of Jehu's Revolt," *Bulletin for Biblical Research,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (2017): 309 - 332.
[70] Ibid, 312.

in 1 Enoch within its own cultural context, to ascertain if its notion of life after death may have been influenced by the wider cultural milieu of the ancient near east and Mediterranean.

The comparative method is viewed with suspicion and sometimes outright hostility by many scholars. One of the reasons for this rejection, is because the comparative method was the analytical tool used by early scholars of religion, such as Frazer[71] and Smith[72], in whose works cultures and religious traditions were analysed through the lens of evolution theory, classifying cultures and religion as developing or developed. However, "Whatever conclusion Frazer and Smith drew between the comparative method and evolution, the comparative method is in fact distinct from evolution."[73] The comparative approach can show how A is similar to B or how B is different from A. It does not show or claim that A is inferior to B or that B is better than A. That extrapolation is made when scholars examine the data. In all studies a certain number of generalisations are made. An unfortunate weakness of the comparative method is that it is particularly susceptible to this. It is not the method itself which does this, but rather what the scholar does with the data which is collected. As such, the hypotheses, theoretical framework, evaluation and explanation, which were flawed, not the way in which they used the comparative method.[74] According to Collier, "comparison is a fundamental tool of analysis."[75] He further states that the comparative method "sharpens our power of description, and

[71] James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion,* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide, 2003).
[72] William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, First Series. The fundamental Institutions,* (London: A and C Black, 1894).
[73] Robert A. Segal, "In defence of the Comparative Method," *Numen,* Vol. 48, No. 3, (2001): 339 – 373.
[74] Ibid, 347.
[75] David Collier, "The comparative method." in *Political Science: The State of Discipline II,* ed. Ada W. Finifter(Washington D.C.: American Political Science Association,1993) 105.

plays a central role in concept formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and differences among cases."[76] Comparison and the comparative approach are used both implicitly and explicitly across comparative religion and the social sciences in general. This thesis will focus on comparing the afterlife themes in 1 Enoch, to other ancient near eastern and Mediterranean societies, but without evolutionary prejudices about the stage of their development.

There are those, however, who oppose the use of this methodology for very different reasons. Scholars object to its use, claiming that cultures are all unique and as such, cannot be compared.[77] Others claim that each religion is distinctive and therefore should only be studied within its own cultural context.[78] While others argue that comparative data becomes meaningless, on the basis that when things such as ritual or religious practices are removed from their context, they become distorted.[79] In fact, it is a common criticism for opponents of the comparative method to allege that "comparativists are comparing apples with oranges and are erroneously calling them both citrus fruits".[80]

Clifford Geertz, for example, claims that "cultures, by their very nature, cannot be compared".[81] His opposition is tied to the idea that generalisations tend to be inaccurate, biased and promote a particular point of view, which at times can be controversial when comparisons are tied to a specific cause.[82] For Geertz,

[76] Ibid, 105.
[77] Paul Roscoe, "The Comparative Method" in Robert A. Segal (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006) 26.
[78] Segal, "In defence of the Comparative Method," 342.
[79] Roscoe, "The Comparative Method," 41.
[80] Ibid, 42.
[81] Ibid, 26.
[82] Segal, "In defence of the Comparative Method,"342.

generalisations are little more than inferences, which "begins with a set of presumptive signifiers and attempts to place them within an intelligible frame."[83] Geertz argues that any cultural phenomenon lies in the particular, not in the general, and that above all, generalisations miss the distinctiveness of the cultures which are being studied. [84] Nevertheless, even Geertz, despite all the criticism he has levelled at the comparative method, had to resort to it in his research into Islam in Morocco and Indonesia.[85]

In his book, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*,[86] Geertz argued that the comparative study of religion needs to shift from a discipline in which one simply "records, classifies, and perhaps even generalizes about data deemed plausibly enough in most cases, to have something to do with religion to one which asks close questions of such data".[87] According to Geertz the way to do this is to distinguish between a "religious attitude toward experience and the sorts of social apparatus which have, over time and space, customarily been associated with supporting such an attitude."[88] He points out that there have been successful comparative studies, although he does not mention what these studies are, only that it is a scholar's task to enlarge that success. In order to do this, the systematic study of religion should not just describe ideas, but determine how and in what way these ideas inform differing views of reality.[89]

[83] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1973) 26.
[84] Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995) *40*.
[85] Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1968).
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid, 2.
[88] Ibid, 2.
[89] Ibid 2.

A major concern of Geertz, in his book *Islam Observed*, was the appropriate use of the data. This is the same concern as Jonathan Z. Smith has wrestled with. Smith, a staunch advocate of the comparative method, sees merit in the comparative approach. Although he does have some problems with how it is used. Smith's concerns regarding the comparative method stem from the idea that categories of classification need to be redefined.[90] Smith believes that comparative studies should be viewed as an intellectual operation and as a theoretical discipline.[91] For Smith, the way forward in comparative studies of religion is of upmost importance. Scholars must pay attention to the categories which they are using.[92] "Comparison, as seen from this view,"[93] allows for an analytical approach "by emphasizing varied aspects' of the object of study."

As noted above, Geertz's main issue with the comparative method is the tendency to generalisation made by scholars. In his comparative study, however, Geertz showed that by asking close questions of the data, generalisations could be minimised. By combining Geertz's approach, with appropriate instructive categories as proposed by Smith, this study will be able to avoid extensive or broad generalisations, and produce a successful and rigorous study. This thesis focuses on the ideas and imagery surrounding the afterlife in the text of 1 Enoch. This will not involve sweeping generalisations about the concept of the afterlife in the Book of Enoch, the Jewish tradition, or the ancient near east at large. Rather, through close reading of the various texts specific elements of the afterlife will be identified,

[90] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Classification," in *Guide to the Study of Religion,* ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (London; New York: Continuum, 2000) 43.
[91] Jonathan Z. Smith, *The Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden, Brill: 1978) 292.
[92] Smith, "Classification," 43.
[93] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990) 53.

considered and explored. The main classifications for this project are the afterlife, but far more specific categories have also been identified, such as resurrection, darkness, fire/light, reward and punishment just to name a few. All these categories feed into how the afterlife is conceptualised in 1 Enoch. By studying the particular elements of the one theme, valid conclusions can be drawn and generalisations minimized.

As previously mentioned, opposition to the comparative method also comes from concerns that each religion is distinctive and therefore should only be studied within its own cultural context.[94] Any kind of data can be taken out of context and misrepresented, especially if an author is trying to push a certain line of reasoning. Careful comparison keeps sight of cultural context, as this is one factor among many which adds weight and authority to scholarship.

When comparative research is done well, it takes into account both cultural context and historical setting. In this thesis, 1 Enoch and its afterlife themes will be looked at in their own cultural context (via the Hebrew Bible) and the wider context of the time, namely other cultural groups, such as the Babylonians, Sumerians, Greeks and Zoroastrian Persians. The choice of these particular traditions and cultures is not accidental. They have been chosen because all of them have contributed over time to the rich cultural mixture that was Judea in the late Hellenistic period, when 1 Enoch was written. Furthermore, a number of comparative research projects have dealt with 1 Enoch and these cultural traditions. Mesopotamian and Jewish traditions shared not only their Semitic origins, but many religious elements, such as

[94] Segal, "In defence of the Comparative Method," 342.

dates of important festivals like the Israelite/Jewish Passover and the Babylonian Akitu which both happened at the same spring equinox, flood stories, and the relevance of the number seven, to mention just a few. Many scholars already point to Mesopotamian influences in 1 Enoch, specifically looking at the character of Enoch which many scholars believe relates to the Sumerian King lists and the antediluvian sages.[95] Also Babylonian and Persian discoveries regarding the cosmos are often credited with informing the Enochic view found in the Astronomical Book (chapters 72 -82 of 1 Enoch).[96] This thesis will utilise the results of these analyses, but it will also look at other comparative themes, which are more specifically related to ideas pertaining to the underworld and the afterlife. The Babylonians and Greeks for example, told a number of stories about descending to the underworld[97] which is also a prominent theme in 1 Enoch; given the long historical interaction between those cultures the theme warrants further exploration. This thesis intends to examine themes related to the underworld in the Babylonian and Greek traditions and compare them to the imagery of 1 Enoch and thus contribute to a better understanding of the Book of Enoch and the cultural melange that informed its composition.

Furthermore, studying religions only within their own cultural context can give a distorted picture of traditions, rituals, ideas and beliefs. Acknowledging other cultural

[95] Amar Annus, "On the Origin of the Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha,* Vol. 19, no. 277, (2010): 277 -320. See also John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1998) 45.

[96] Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn : Neukirchener Verlag, 1988). See also Jason M. Silverman, "Iranian Details in the Book of Heavenly Luminaries (1 Enoch 72 – 82)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Vol. 72, No. 2, (2013): 195 – 208.

[97] Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

traditions and beliefs actually contextualise 1 Enoch better than just exploring the text, in relation to other Jewish material, as it can situate the afterlife themes in 1 Enoch within a broader cultural context. No religion was created in a vacuum. It is unreasonable to think that outside factors had no impact on cultural traditions, ideas or beliefs. Religion is not a static thing; it changes with time as does culture. If research just focused on exploring cultures in their own context, there is the danger of labelling them as special or unique. For example, resurrection is a major theme in 1 Enoch. When studied within its own cultural context, specifically against the Hebrew Bible, one might come to the conclusion that this concept in 1 Enoch is special, as the only other reference to bodily resurrection occurs in one line of Daniel 12. The concept of resurrection is not unique to 1 Enoch. The Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and even the Persians all have various stories about resurrection. For the Sumerians, Babylonians and the Greeks resurrection was only of gods or of exceptional people such as Inanna/Ishtar, Dionysus, and Semele just to name a few.[98] The Persian Zoroastrians also have a rich and very descriptive tradition of resurrection. What sets the Zoroastrians apart from these other cultures, is that like 1 Enoch, their resurrection event is set in the future and involved a mass resurrection of normal everyday humans.[99] For the authors of Enoch and the adherents of Zoroastrianism resurrection is reserved not just for gods and exceptional people, such as heroes, but is an inclusive event and revolves around the theme of restorative justice. Thus, while 1 Enoch maybe considered unique

[98] Diane Wolkstein and Samuel Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1983). See also Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012) 32. See also, Richard Seaford, *Dionysos* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006) 111-112. See also Dag Oistein Endsjo, *Greek Resurrection Beliefs and the Success of Christianity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 64.

[99] Shaul Shaked, "Zoroastrianism and Judaism," in *A Zoroastrian Tapestry: Art, Religion and Culture*, ed. Pheroza J. Godrej and Firoza Punthakey Mistree (Usmanpura Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002) 203 - 204, 206.

within the Jewish tradition, when it is considered in relation to other cultures in the same geographic area, it is clear that many of the notions it expresses in regards to the afterlife have analogues in other societies. This is worth exploring, by traversing the beliefs of these other cultures; we may come to a better understanding of 1 Enoch.

For Smith the assumption of the uniqueness of religious elements, such as resurrection is a serious concern, and he has ardently argued "'Uniqueness' is absolute, and, therefore, forbids comparison by virtue of its very assertion."[100] This is a considerable problem, while each religion does have its own distinctive elements, no religion is unique. In his article, "In defence of the comparative method," Segal notes that this methodology is often shunned by religious scholars because "...it not merely fails to differentiate religions but it also levels them."[101] This is a problem when authors wish to defend and protect the distinctiveness or uniqueness of their religion.

With regards to current research on 1 Enoch, this notion of uniqueness is turned on its head. This thesis looks at 1 Enoch as being distinctive in the Jewish tradition, but not in regards to other beliefs, which were being expressed by other cultures. Through the use of the comparative method, this thesis intends to traverse beyond the Jewish ideas of the afterlife and investigate the beliefs and traditions of other cultural groups, who were in close cultural contact with the Israelites, in order to explore life after death concepts. Exploring the perceptions of the afterlife expressed by the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and Persians will enable a better

[100]Smith, *Drudgery Divine,* 116.
[101] Segal, "In defence of the Comparative Method," 342.

understanding of the Enoch tradition. These other beliefs may help to clarify 1 Enoch and some of the ideas it holds in relation to the hereafter, which is what makes it unique within the Jewish tradition. While the ideas articulated in the text present a worldview, specifically from a Jewish perspective, cross cultural contact may have added certain notions or impulses, which affected how the authors of the Book of Enoch communicated and described beliefs and traditions regarding the afterlife. So while 1 Enoch may have a special place and even be considered 'unique' within the Jewish tradition (as 1 Enoch is the first apocalyptic text), it is by no means unique when considered against other cultural afterlife beliefs. This is the danger of only studying religions or religious traditions or themes within their own cultural context. Sometimes there is a bigger picture which can shed light on various ideas, and the comparative method is one way of highlighting this fact.

The thesis is limited to comparing the afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch to the beliefs of the hereafter of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and Persians. These cultures were chosen due to their close contacts with the Jewish culture. There are many other cultures in the ancient near east which could have also impacted on the afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch including the Hittites, Akkadians, Assyrians and Egyptians just to name a few. While this is a limitation of this study, it is also unrealistic to include every society in the ancient near east – that kind of research would need a series of books to explore all the connections.

Conclusion

In this thesis, the comparative method will be used alongside a close reading of the text to analyse and explore the afterlife beliefs in 1 Enoch. This text will be looked at within its own cultural context in relation to the Hebrew Bible, although many ideas cannot be found within the Biblical canon. A broader scope must be used to see if these concepts have analogues within other ancient near eastern cultures. The comparative method is the best approach to use for this endeavour.

The Book of Enoch is part of a tradition which evolved over a long period of time. 1 Enoch was lost to the west for an extensive period of time, with few references in other sources as to what may have been contained within the text. The rediscovery of the Aramaic fragments in 1952 has led to varied scholarship which includes translation, cross-cultural analysis, textual and historical studies. This chapter has included a brief literature review which has focused on the literature surrounding 1 Enoch and the afterlife as a way of contextualising this study. The main point to come out of this brief survey, is that most if not all authors, acknowledge that the notion of Sheol being a place or darkness and gloom is challenged and transformed in 1 Enoch. The various texts in the Book of Enoch presents a very different view of the afterlife than what is found in the Hebrew Bible. This is the question driving this thesis: if these beliefs do not appear in the Hebrew Bible, then where do they come from? Are these beliefs drawn from the Hebrew Bible and simply a case of elaboration, or were the authors of 1 Enoch influenced by the wider cultural milieu of the Hellenistic period? The major argument of this thesis is that the Book of Enoch articulates a different concept of beliefs about the afterlife within Jewish tradition. By analysing the theme of the afterlife, we can gain a better understanding of the texts

that make up 1 Enoch, as well as of, afterlife beliefs that developed between the fourth century BCE and first century CE. During this time, Judea had shifted to being under Hellenistic, rather than Persian political control. The authors of the Book of Enoch were responding to what they saw as the violence and injustice of their world.

Chapter 2: Blood of the dead: life denied and the afterlife in 1 Enoch

Introduction

Spilled blood is a repeated theme in 1 Enoch, connected to notions of violence and injustice. The first bloodshed mentioned in the Book of the Watchers is that of the murder of Abel by Cain.[1] In the Hebrew Bible, Cain is the first child of Adam and Eve and the older brother of Abel.[2] The same crime occurs in the Hebrew Bible, with the first violent act ending in murder. In chapter 22 in the Book of the Watchers, the spirit of Abel represents all the spirits of the dead who have been unfairly murdered. He embodies the bloodguilt and the spilt blood of all victims. The character of Abel in the Book of the Watchers is a symbol of the corruption and injustice on the earth. The theme of injustice is further exemplified by the fallen angels and their hybrid offspring known as the giants. These characters intensify the bloodshed, violence and injustice on the earth. The fallen angels' giant offspring are labelled half breeds, bastards and sons of miscegenation who consume blood.[3] The giants drink the blood of all creation, animals, humans and each other. In the Hebrew Bible blood is directly tied to life and is said to belong to God.[4] Thus by desecrating and destroying creation the giants are directly attacking God and by implication, everything which God said was "good".[5] Therefore, consuming blood is the ultimate blasphemy in 1 Enoch.

[1] 1 En 22: 7, 86: 4 -5.
[2] Gen 4: 1 – 2.
[3] 1 En 7: 5; 10: 9; 10: 15.
[4] Lev 17: 14, Deut 12: 23.
[5] Gen 1: 2 – 31.

The literature surrounding the figures of the fallen angels and the giants in the Book of Enoch is extensive. While the focus of these studies differ, they all tend to touch on the wickedness of the fallen angels and the giants. The evil that the angels and their subsequent monstrous offspring commit on the earth is really a central premise in 1 Enoch. How evil came to be on earth is an important question. According to the Book of Enoch, evil is not human in origin but celestial in that It stems from a rebellion in heaven by the fallen Watchers (angels).[6] The fallen angels commit several sins, in teaching humans forbidden knowledge and taking human wives to produce children (the giants).[7] This is very different from the Genesis account of evil, which involves Adam and Eve eating fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil.[8] While the literature on the fallen angels and the giants is extensive, there is not much literature which discusses the figure of Abel in 1 Enoch. The only study which explores this character in any meaningful way in relation to the Book of Enoch is by J. Byron in his book *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition*.[9] This volume examines literature which mentions the figure of Abel. Byron argues that gaps in the narrative of Genesis 4 led to the development of numerous traditions about Cain and Abel, not obviously connected to the narrative in the Hebrew Bible. This includes Abel being identified as a righteous individual, an avenger and judge, as well as, Abel's portrayal in Christian literature as the prototype of Christ and the Church.[10] Byron traces how these various traditions developed. The figure of Abel in the Book of Enoch is motioned several times in chapters five and six of Byron's book. Byron examines the animal apocalypse, in the Book of Dream Visions. He

[6] 1 En 6: 1 – 8.
[7] 1 En 7: 1 – 4; 8: 1 – 4.
[8] Gen 2: 17; 3: 6.
[9] J. Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition: Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the first sibling Rivalry* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[10] Ibid,166.

discusses the symbolism of the red and black bull which represent Abel and Cain respectively. He also discusses the figure of Abel in the Book of the Watchers. Here, Enoch is sent on a cosmic journey, during which he sees many divinely constructed places including the underworld. An entire chapter (chapter 22) is devoted to the description of the afterlife. The afterlife is described as being in a mountain. On the mountain of the dead dwells the spirit of Abel, the only spirit whom Enoch sees. All the others reside in various hollows in the mountain (see chapter 3). Byron claims that in the Book of the Watchers the spirit of Abel is a representative of the righteous dead demanding vengeance. There are some problems with this interpretation, notably that Abel is never associated with or called righteous in 1 Enoch. Byron does note this, only to claim that a more cautious interpretation will note that chapter 22 of 1 Enoch emphasises not the righteousness of individual but the violence of their murders and the retributive justice which they seek.[11] Nevertheless, he claims that there is enough evidence from other texts such as Josephus and 4 Maccabees in which Abel represents a righteous individual who suffers to the point of death to justify his belief that Abel, in the Book of Enoch, is a righteous figure. He states that the audience of 1 Enoch would have been aware of the Abel traditions and as such there was no need to stress in chapter 22 that Abel was righteous. This chapter analyses the figure of Abel, the Watchers (fallen angels) and the giants in connection to violence, bloodshed and injustice.

It will be argued that through the imagery of bloodshed and violence the prospering of the wicked on earth becomes a pronounced theme. This is shown in 1 Enoch though the figures of Cain, the fallen angels (also known as the Watchers) and the

[11] Ibid, 183.

giants. These wicked figures cause the earth to cry out for justice. I will argue that justice for the dead, those who reside in the afterlife, can only be restored through divine intervention in the form of blood vengeance. Vengeance in 1 Enoch is considered to be justice. These two themes are intertwined and cannot be separated. Blood for blood and death for death is the justice advocated for in 1 Enoch. In the last section of the chapter, I argue that the giants are directly tied to the theme of death and as a consequence to the afterlife. I argue that the theme of the giants consuming blood ties into the notion of blood vengeance and thus justice in 1 Enoch.

Bloodshed, Cain and Abel in the Book of Dream Visions (chapters 83 -90)

Violent death and injustice on the earth are exemplified by the murder of Abel, who is mentioned twice in 1 Enoch, once in the Book of the Watchers and once as a symbol in the Book of Dream Visions. The first human to die in 1 Enoch is Abel at the hand of Cain. The Cain and Abel story is recounted in the Book of Dream Visions.[12] The first time Abel is mentioned in 1 Enoch is in the Book of Watchers, where Abel's spirit is introduced.[13] Enoch sees the spirit of Abel during his cosmic journey, in which he sees all the areas which lie outside the bounds of the earth, in the heavenly realm. Enoch sees God's heavenly temple and throne room.[14] He sees the paradise of righteousness.[15] He visits the various places of punishment for the wayward angels and disobedient stars.[16] In the west he sees the underworld. It

[12] 1 En 85: 3 - 8.
[13] 1 En 22: 5 – 7.
[14] 1 En 14: 9 – 22.
[15] 1 En 28: 1 – 3, 29: 1 -2, 30: 1 – 3, 31: 1 – 3, 32: 1 – 6.
[16] 1 En 18: 10 – 11, 19: 1, 18: 13, 21: 1 – 10.

is here that the spirit of Abel resides.[17] Those who read the Book of the Watchers are expected to know the Cain and Abel story from the Hebrew Bible. During the Second Temple period, at least in Qumran, the story was well known and perhaps even popular.

The violent death of Abel can be seen in the Book of Dream Visions (chapters 83 – 90), where a black bull murders a red bull.[18] Allegorically, the black bull represents Cain and the red bull symbolises Abel. The colours associated with them are significant as both Adam (their father) and Seth (their brother) are said to be white bulls.[19] White is connected to righteousness and purity as exemplified by Seth.[20] While the black symbolises wickedness, sin, evil, and death and is equated with Cain.[21] Finally, red has a certain association with bloodshed, and likely represents the spilt blood of Abel and is related to his murder.[22]

The death of Abel is linked to themes of injustice and the need for justice in the afterlife following his murder. In order to understand the pattern into which Abel as the red bull fits, it is useful to examine examples from other cultural traditions with which the Book of Enoch may have interacted in antiquity. Abel, or the red bull, has a clear connection to the Israelite God, by whom he was favoured.[23] In the ancient near east and Mediterranean, bulls were considered to be close to powerful gods

[17] 1 En 22: 1 – 14.
[18] 1 En 85: 3 – 10.
[19] 1 En 85: 3 – 10.
[20] Ps 22: 12- 13, Isa 10:13; 34:7, Ps 51: 7, Isa 1: 18, Eccl 9: 8, Dan 11: 35; 12: 10. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*:* 370 – 371.
[21] Lydia Gore – Jones, "Animals, Humans, Angels and God: Animal Symbolism in the Historiography in the 'Animal Apocalypse' of 1 Enoch," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha,* Vol. 24, No. 4, (2015): 268 - 287.
[22] 2 Kgs 3: 22, Isa. 63: 2 -3. See also Gore – Jones, "Animals, Humans, Angels and God," 278.
[23] Gen 4: 4 – 5.

and goddesses. In Greece, the bull is often associated with Zeus.[24] In Zoroastrianism the bull was one of the first primordial creations of Ahura Mazda (the supreme god) and is considered to be the embodiment of Vohu Manah or the good mind.[25] In the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh* Anu or An (the supreme god) gives the Bull of Heaven to Inanna/Ishtar to fight the hero Gilgamesh. Bulls were also considered to be sacred animals by many cultures in the ancient near east and Mediterranean. For instance, in ancient Greece the bull was considered a holy animal because of its size and strength; it was also believed that bulls had magical powers.[26] Bull's blood was considered a sacred substance, dangerous to touch and death to taste.[27] The bull at Delphi was not only considered holy, but it was also believed that bull's blood was "the Sanctifier, He who maketh Holy."[28] The Sumerians and Babylonians considered bulls to be sacred animals too. After Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu kill the Bull of Heaven, the gods curse Enkidu and condemn him to death. In fact, the Bull of Heaven's demise at the hands of Gilgamesh and Enkidu is the reason Inanna/ Ishtar gives for her descent to the underworld. Bulls were revered in the ancient near east; their status as sacred creatures meant that slaughtering one was a serious offence. The killing of the red bull in 1 Enoch is a serious insult, not only to God but as can be seen in the Book of the Watchers 22: 7, as offensive to the spirit of Abel. The injustice of the act causes Abel's spirit to demand vengeance and justice for his murder.

In the Book of Dream visions, Abel, as a red bull has a symbolic connection to death, bloodshed and the afterlife. This parallels many cultural traditions in the

[24] Gilbert Murray, *The Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York: Dover Publications Inc, 2009) 18.
[25] James Russell, "Zoroastrian Notes," *Iran and the Caucasus,* Vol. 6, No ½, (2002): 1 -10.
[26] Murray, *The Five Stages of Greek Religion,* 18.
[27] Ibid, 19.
[28] Ibid, 19.

ancient near east and Mediterranean. In Zoroastrianism the primeval bull was killed by the wicked spirit/god Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), a murder that released all animal life onto the earth.[29] While the Zoroastrian Bull (also known as the uniquely crated bull) here is associated with life, it is also associated with death and bloodshed, as it was through various parts of its slaughtered body that other animals came into existence.[30] Another instance of bulls being connected to death and the underworld can be seen in the Greek myth of the *12 Labors of Hercules*. For his tenth labour, Hercules is sent to collect the red cattle of the giant Geryson.[31] In order to do this, Hercules travels to the west to Erytheia, an Island, beyond Oceanos.[32] It is known as the red land, as it is in the section of the world where the sun sets.[33] Traditionally the place where the sun sets was often an entrance to the underworld. The island, Geryon and the red cattle are chthonic figures.[34] The strange red cattle of Erytheia are reminiscent of the red bull in 1 Enoch. Although in the Greek story the red bulls and cows are not killed, but rather the giant Geryon who dies at the hands of Hercules. All these stories from various cultures have the element of bloodshed in them and death thus they are connected to the underworld. In most of the myths it is the bull's blood which is spilled through an act of violence and vengeance. These all parallel the slaughter of Abel in the Book of Dream Visions, the one exception being in the Hercules myth. Strikingly, the Hercules myth is the only story where the bulls are specifically described as being red and the only myth where the bulls are

[29]James R. Russell, "On Mysticism and Esotericism among the Zoroastrians," *Iranian Studies,* Vol. 26, No. ½ (1993): 73 - 94. See also Edward J. Kidder, "A Comparison between Persian and Japanese Creation Myth," *International Journal of Contemporary Applied Researches*, Vol. 5, No. 6, (2018): 35 - 47.
[30] Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938) 95, 278.
[31] David E. Falkner, "The Legend of Hercules," in *The Mythology of the Night Sky: An Amateur Astronomer's Guide to the Ancient Greek and Roman Legends,* ed. David E. Falkner (Springer: New York, 2011) 30, 135.
[32] Jan N. Bremmer, "Odysseus Versus Cyclops," in *Myth and Symbol 1* ed. S. des Bouvrie, (Athens: The Norwegian Institute, 2002) 144.
[33]Matthew Leigh, "Founts of Identity – the Thirst of Hercules and the Greater Greek world," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies,* Vol. 10, No. ½, (2000): 125 – 138.
[34] Ibid, 131.

not killed. The bull's red colour may foreshadow the bloodshed that would occur on their Island home with the murder of their custodian. The authors of 1 Enoch may have been using the symbolic connection bulls have to death and the underworld to comment on the human condition, as all the first humans are described as bulls, cows or calves. Finally, the bull seems to have an almost universal connection to bloodshed, violence, vengeance and death. Portraying Abel as the red bull feeds directly into these tropes. The connection of Abel with the underworld recalls the account of Abel's spirit calling out for vengeance and justice against his brother Cain, in the Book of the Watchers.

The imagery of the red bull in the Book of Dream Visions may have been associated with the red heifer story in the Hebrew Bible. The story is recounted in Numbers 19 of a red heifer being slaughtered and burnt as a way of purifying the entire congregation, specifically, those who came into contact with a corpse. This is an atypical offering, as the animal's blood is infused with its ashes. It seems that the blood gives the ashes their purification power.[35] All who are involved in the preparation of the heifer must be ritually clean. They are, however, rendered unclean after the ritual with the heifer. They must undergo purity rituals of their own, which involves washing themselves and their garments.[36] They must also wait until evening to re-join their people.[37] The paradox of the red heifer ritual is that it renders those clean who are unclean and defiles those who are considered pure.[38] This ritual is complex. It has been argued by Blau that there are many puzzling

[35] Albert I. Baumgarten, "The Paradox of the Red Heifer," *Vetus Testamentum,* Vol. 43, Fasc. 4 (1993): 442 - 451.
[36] Num19: 7 – 10. See also Baumgarten, "The Paradox of the Red Heifer," 442 – 443.
[37] Num 19: 7 – 10. See also Baumgarten, "The Paradox of the Red Heifer," 442 – 443. See also John Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?," *Revue de Qumran,* Vol. 1, No. 1, (1958): 73 - 84.
[38] Baumgarten, "The Paradox of the Red Heifer," 443.

regulations which surround the red heifer ritual.[39] The relevance here, however, is the colour red and connection with a corpse, death, underworld and ritual uncleanness. Abel is referred to as a red bull in the Book of Dream Visions the notion of red cattle may have called to mind the ritual of the red heifer. If one kills the red heifer, one is rendered unclean. Furthermore, according to Israelite law in the Hebrew Bible, if one comes into contact with a corpse one is considered unclean.[40] In other words, if this is applied to the Cain and Abel story found in 1 Enoch, Cain is not just morally unclean, but also ritually unclean.

Abel's murder at the hands of his brother is the first act of injustice when the wicked were allowed to prosper. Cain is ritually defiled twice, as he has killed the red bull Abel, and has also been in contact with Abel's corpse. In fact, as part of the red heifer ritual numbers 19: 13 states "Whoever touches a dead person, the body of any man who has died, and does not cleanse himself, defiles the Tabernacle of the Lord, and that person shall be cut off from Israel; because the water for impurity was not thrown upon him, he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is still on him." In the biblical story after killing his brother, Cain is banished by God.[41] The laws surrounding corpses and death in the red heifer ritual may help to explain why Cain was sent from God's presence, rather than punished with death for spilling Abel's innocent blood. Numbers 19: 13, 20 -21 states that anyone who is unclean shall be cut off from the community. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 19: 2 – 7 states that if a man kills another and it is an accident with no malice behind the action, the manslayer may flee to another city to save his life. An accidental death does not

[39] Joseph L. Blau, "The Red Heifer: A Biblical Purification Rite in Rabbinic Literature," *Numen,* Vol. 14, Fasc. 1 (1967): 70 - 78.
[40] Num 19: 11, 13 – 16, 22.
[41] Gen 4: 16.

require a blood avenger to kill the perpetrator of the crime. Genesis 4: 8 suggests that Cain may fall into this category, as while there was malice behind his actions he would not have known or understood what death meant. He may not have even understood the fact that striking his brother would kill him. As such, he did not understand the consequences of his actions would result in death. Nevertheless, in the Book of the Watchers the spirit of Abel cries out for justice. In the Book of Enoch only an act of divine justice in the form of vengeance will satisfy the spirit of Abel.

Cain did not know what death was. Genesis 4 shows how Abel was the first human to experience death. This would make the death of Abel manslaughter rather than murder based off Cain's intent. In Genesis 4: 14 - 16 Cain is forced from God's presence and he is marked by God so that no one will kill him for his crime. In Genesis 4: 17 Cain is noted as a builder of cities. In Deuteronomy 19: 1 - 6 He bids them set aside from the land that God has given his people to dwell in, three cities for the manslayer to flee to, so that he will not be killed. Putting these elements together suggests that Cain may have been the builder of one or even all three of the cities to provide sanctuary to all those "cut off" for manslaughter. It is possible that Cain provided a place outside of the community where others like him could flee, to escape blood vengeance. God states that an accidental murder does not incur blood guilt as long as the perpetrator flees to another city.[42] Although, Genesis 4: 13 - 15 does give an indication that Cain understood his actions meant that someone may try to slay him for the murder of Abel. That is why God marks Cain in the first place; so that he would be safe from blood vengeance. In the Book of Enoch, specifically the Book of the Watchers, Abel's spirit cries out for vengeance

[42] Deut 19: 1 – 6.

against his brother. The Abel tradition in the Book of Enoch is an elaboration of Genesis 4. Considering that in 1 Enoch Abel is a chthonic figure who cries out from the afterlife for vengeance and justice, it is possible that there may have been different streams of tradition about Abel circulating during the Second Temple period. It is also possible that the authors of Enoch took the narrative in Genesis 4 and identified with the character of Abel. The Book of Enoch's central premise is that the world is not as it should be and that the wicked prosper over the righteous. The murder of Abel fits into this world view. Abel is the first human to suffer and die at the hands of the wicked. The story of Cain and Abel, for the authors of 1 Enoch, is the first instance of the wicked prospering through acts of violence and injustice.

Abel, Bloodshed, and the Afterlife in the Book of the Watchers (Chapters 1 – 36)

In the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dream Visions, Abel represents the unjustly slaughtered. Abel's lamenting spirit is introduced in the Book of the Watchers, chapter 22:7. Enoch sees Abel's spirit in the underworld, crying out for justice and vengeance to be exacted against his murderer Cain. [43] This scene in 1 Enoch is an embellishment of Genesis 4 in the Hebrew Bible, where Cain murders his brother Abel.[44] Exactly why Cain killed his brother is unclear. The Hebrew Bible never explains Cain's reason for murder. Presumably, it was out of jealousy. Cain's sacrifice to God is deemed unacceptable while Abel's sacrifice is favoured.[45] The Hebrew Bible also never explains why Cain's offering to God is problematic.[46] After the murder is committed, Genesis 4: 10 states that God could hear Abel's blood

[43] 1 En 22: 7.
[44] Gen 4: 8.
[45] Gen 4: 5.
[46] Gen 4: 2 – 5.

crying out from the ground. In the Book of the Watchers instead of Abel's blood crying out, it is Abel's spirit in the afterlife crying out for justice and vengeance upon Cain.[47]

According to Glasson, Enoch's vision of Abel is derived from an embellishment of Abel's crying blood Genesis 4: 10, and Genesis 9: 4 which states that blood is the seat of the soul.[48] By linking the two verses together, Abel's inanimate blood from Genesis 10: 4 transforms into a personification of the dead Abel, which is understood to be the dead man's spirit.[49] It is then this spirit of Abel which dwells in the afterlife, crying out for vengeance.[50] The appeal being made by Abel is significant. Not only is his blood evidence of Cain's crime as is found in Genesis 4: 10, but Abel's cry has itself transformed into a call for revenge.[51] This is reminiscent of laws in Exodus 21 which is known as the law of retaliation and states that in order for justice to be enacted the punishment must be in a similar manner of the offence. For instance, Exodus 21: 23 – 24 states: life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot. The spirit of Abel wants blood for blood; this is evident as his spirit calls for both Cain and all his progeny to be killed as an act of blood vengeance. In other words, Abel wants Cain's bloodline to be exterminated so that Abel can receive justice.

The notion of spilt blood in the Book of the Watchers is linked to the afterlife and the justice and vengeance for which the souls of the dead cry out. This notion of the blood being linked with the soul is found in other places in 1 Enoch too. In 8: 4

[47] 1 En 22: 5 – 7.
[48] Francis, T. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London: SPCK 1961) 16.
[49] Ibid, 16.
[50] Ibid, 16. See also Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition,* 180.
[51] 1 En 22.

humans are dying because of the rebellious angels. The passages states “and as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven.” 1 Enoch 9: 9 -10 is a continuation of 8: 4; “And the blood of men is shed on the earth, And the whole earth is filled with iniquity. And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit, and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven and it does not cease”.[52] In the underworld, it is not only Abel who cries out to heaven due to his untimely murder. Other souls call out too. These other souls are not specified, but they reside in darkness in the afterlife and make claims or legal cases against their murders (see chapter 3).[53] Being in a darkened hollow in the underworld marks these souls as sinners, although it is unclear why these people are considered wicked. What they have done wrong is never stated, but the fact that they reside in a darkened chamber in the underworld instead of in the illuminated chamber with the righteous spirits, suggests that even though their murders may have been unjust, they are not necessarily innocent victims. Nevertheless, the spilling of blood on the earth reverberates in the afterlife. These spirits, just like the spirit of Abel, seek justice through divine vengeance.

The violent murder of Abel highlights the belief in the Book of Enoch that through unjust actions the wicked prosper on earth. Nickelsburg has argued that the passages 22: 5 – 7 in 1 Enoch “as well as 22: 12 and chaps. 6 – 11, emphasize not the righteousness of those who have been murdered, but the violence of their murders and the certain judgment that will befall them.”[54] The passages Nickelsburg mentions refer to Abel’s soul crying out in the afterlife (22: 5 – 7). That in 22: 12 refers to the justice the righteous, in the form of a resurrection that they will

[52] 1 En 9: 9 – 10.
[53] 1 En 22: 12.
[54] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 306.

eventually receive (see chapter 4). Finally, chapters 6 – 11 are a reference to the rebel angels who came to earth and took human wives. The fallen or rebel angels taught their wives forbidden knowledge and had children with them. Both the forbidden knowledge and the offspring produced violence and bloodshed on an unprecedented level. The blood or souls crying out to heaven is a direct indictment that the perpetrators of violence are not punished. Abel is named most likely because he was the first human to experience violence, which resulted in death. This first violent act did not result in any significant punishment for the offender. This shows that from the beginning of time perpetrators of violent acts have not had to face justice. The story of Cain and Abel emphasizes this idea and likely reinforced the view of the authors of 1 Enoch that this world was ultimately unjust and that justice would only be found in the afterlife, or through divine judgment. According to the Hebrew Bible, Cain had to face God to answer for the murder of his brother. God spared him; Cain was sent away and marked so that no one would slay him for his crime.[55] In both the Hebrew Bible and 1 Enoch, Cain is never punished for the murder of Abel or spilling innocent blood. This is notable as the spilling of blood is covered by many laws in the Hebrew Bible. For example, Numbers 35 makes it clear that the spilling of blood creates blood guilt and can only be redressed by a blood avenger. Deut 19:10 -13 states that no one should pity a murderer who is put to death for shedding innocent blood. Forgiveness does not exist in 1 Enoch. The God of the Book of Enoch is a figure of divine judgment, justice and vengeance. For the authors of 1 Enoch the wicked did not deserve compassion. The wicked are almost cartoonish in the sense that they are so bad that there is literally nothing good about them. Therefore, they deserve to be punished for eternity. The only way

[55] Gen 4: 14 -16.

for the wicked to atone for their earthly behaviour is to suffer through divine judgment and vengeance. In 1 Enoch this is justice.

Spilling blood is considered to be not only morally wrong but also spiritually wrong as it contaminates the earth, God's dwelling place. In Numbers 35: 33 – 35 there is a prohibition against spilled blood as polluting the land, which is a problem because God dwells there. Spilling blood contaminates and pollutes God. The only way to combat the pollution caused by the spilling of innocent blood is the shedding of guilty blood. The Hebrew Bible states multiple times that the spilling of innocent blood is to be avenged and the murderer put to death, especially if the intended act of violence was murder. Cain was not struck down by God; he was not killed in order to decontaminate the land. His guilty blood was not required for Abel's innocent blood. Cain was cursed by God and forced from his presence and made to wander the earth.[56] Given the insistence in the Hebrew Bible that only through blood vengeance can the land be cleansed and the victim of the crime receives justice, it is curious that Cain was spared by God. As previously noted, it is possible that the laws in Deuteronomy about sanctuary from blood vengeance may have applied to Cain, although this is far from certain given Cain's acknowledgement in Genesis 4 of the laws surrounding the spilling of innocent blood.[57] This kind of injustice, where the wicked are seemingly rewarded for their immoral behaviour is a central theme of 1 Enoch. This is why the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers became a place of reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked (see chapter 3). If injustice reigned on earth, then the western section of heaven, where the afterlife is located,

[56] Gen 4: 12 – 14.
[57] Gen 4: 14.

is a place of justice. God's dwelling place is a realm of judgment and retributive justice.

Fallen Angels in 1 Enoch and the Afterlife

While the story of Cain and Abel represents the first act of brutality and slaughter, it is the rebellious angels who are pointed to in 1 Enoch as the main cause of violence, bloodshed and injustice on earth. It has long been noted that 1 Enoch 6: 1 – 6 is a retelling and an expansion of the narrative found in Genesis 6.[58] The Biblical account states: "When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair, and they took to wife such of them as they chose".[59] 1 Enoch 6: 1 – 2 states: "When the sons of men had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. And the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another, "Come let us chose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget children for ourselves."" Furthermore, the watchers knew what they intended to do was a sin as Shemihazah, their leader, notes that this deed is a "great sin" and then later notes that all the fallen angels were bound by a curse.[60] There is another element to the fallen angel's sin, in 1 Enoch 8: 1 Asael is introduced, as the fallen angel in charge of teaching humans forbidden knowledge.

> *Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning*

[58] Kelly Coblentz Bautch, "What Becomes of the Angels "Wives"? A Text-Critical Study of "1 Enoch" 19: 2," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 125, No. 4, (2006): 766 - 780. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 176.
[59] Gen 6: 1 – 2.
[60] 1 En 6: 3 – 5.

> *silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led the holy ones astray.*[61]

These new technologies brought to earth by the fallen angels caused death en masse through war and bloodshed. The angels and their deeds caused the number of spirits in the afterlife to swell. These spirits born of violence and bloodshed cry out to the gates of heaven, groaning and demanding vengeance and justice. According to Annus the revelations made by the fallen angels to their human wives and children were considered a transgression because it promoted promiscuity and violence.[62] In fact, 1 Enoch 8: 2 states, "And there was much godlessness on the earth, and they made their ways desolate." The text implies that Asael taught humans a more efficient means of shedding blood and killing with iron weapons, shields and breastplates. Asael's transmission of the technologies of metalworking and instruction in the ways of war, caused the world to be polluted by bloodshed, violence death and injustice.

The outcome of the fallen angels' actions led to the destruction of creation and are bound together to explain the corruption and bloodshed and injustice which is contaminating the earth. The Shemihazah tradition is outlined in 6: 1 – 6 and chronologically comes before the Asael tradition outlined in 8:1. It can be seen that the two myths are already combined in 7: 1 where it is stated: "These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose. And they began to go into them, and to defile themselves through them, and to

[61] 1 En 8: 1.
[62] Annus, "On the Origin of the Watchers," 289.

teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants". Shemihazah and his two hundred co-conspirators further victimise the earth by producing monstrous offspring, while Asael and his cohort devastate the earth by introducing knowledge humans should not have. This is knowledge which leads to death and, which can only be avenged through blood vengeance. The major difference between the two is that the Shemihazah story portrays humans as hapless victims against supernatural evil forces. In the Asael myth, humans are complicit in the devastation of the earth. [63] In the view of Nickelsburg: "War, violence and forbidden sex are the two author's primary concerns. These evils are a result of a primordial angelic rebellion. In the one case, war and violence are bred into the world by forbidden sexual relations, in the other they are taught to humans, who seduce the watchers into forbidden sexual relations."[64] These sexual relations resulted in offspring known as the giants. As the giants were the result of wicked actions, their nature reflects this. The giants caused unprecedented bloodshed, suffering, death and injustice on the earth.

The Giants and the consuming of blood in 1 Enoch: Blood Vengeance as Justice for the dead.

The giants in the Book of Enoch are chthonic figures related to the bloodshed and injustice which is a feature of the current age. The giants are often discussed in relation to the crimes of the watchers. The giants are a consequence of the sexual union between the watchers and their human wives. Scholars such as Nickelsburg, Stuckenbruck and Suter tend to argue that the giants are the source of evil in the

[63]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 190.
[64]Ibid, 191.

world and that they are in direct opposition to God's created order.[65] These commentators are correct, as the circumstances of the giants' birth seem to dictate their evil nature and their destructive tendencies towards all creation. In short, the giants embody the violence and bloodshed brought to earth by the fallen angels. By rebelling against God and the created order, the fallen angels' own attempt at creation, in the form of offspring, is the antithesis to God's "good" creation.[66]

The blood and spirits of the victims of the giants cry out from the afterlife for divine blood vengeance and justice. Destructive consumption in relation to the giants ties into the notion of blood vengeance. The giants are directly connected to death and consequently linked to the afterlife due to their nefarious activities. The themes of consumption and bloodshed are used by the authors of 1 Enoch to illustrate the ironic punishments the giants receive through divine intervention. This leads to justice through blood vengeance for those in the afterlife.

According to the Book of the Watchers, the giants have an insatiable appetite, which leads to a cycle of increasing violence, bloodshed and injustice. 1 Enoch 7: 3 – 6 states:

> *They were devouring the labor of all the sons of men, and men were not able to supply them. And the giants began to kill men and devour them. And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish,*

[65] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6 – 11," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 96, No. 3 (1977): 383 - 405. See also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The "Angels" and "Giants" of Genesis 6: 1 – 4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture Of Early Apocalyptic Traditions," *Dead Sea Discoveries,* Vol. 7, No. 3 (2000): 354 - 377. See also David Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of family Purity in 1 Enoch 6 – 16, *Hebrew Union College Annual,* Vol. 50, (1979): 115 - 135.

[66] Gen 1.

and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank blood. Then the earth brought accusations against the lawless ones.

The passage states that the giants ate flesh, but the real problem seems to be the consumption of blood. It is the act of drinking blood that causes the earth to cry out to heaven due to the violence and bloodshed the giants have caused. This passage about the giant's consumption of blood relates almost directly to the Cain and Abel narrative. In Genesis 4: 10 - 11 Abel's blood is said to be crying out to God from the ground. In the same way that in 1 Enoch the earth brings accusations against the giants for all the blood, they have spilled. Even in the Hebrew Bible the spilling of blood is connected to consumption. In Genesis 4: 10 Cain is cursed by the ground "which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand." In 1 Enoch the earth is said to be calling out with a voice. The Hebrew Bible similarly specifically mentions the earth having a mouth, for example Numbers 26: 10. The earth may have been thought to be sentient in antiquity, and the anthropomorphic features of a mouth and a voice gives some credence to this interpretation. Lending support to this theory, as Bautch has noted, stars and other heavenly bodies were understood to be sentient beings in antiquity.[67] Furthermore, Psalms 141: 7 and Isaiah 5: 14 describe Sheol as having a mouth. The idea of death or the underworld being a devouring monster is a common motif in the ancient Near East. The giants are monsters, their origins being part of a supernatural rebellion against the created order. While the created order is for life to flourish, the giants are agents of death. They consume life and drink blood, and so unjustly feed Sheol.

[67] Kelly Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple, The Prison in the Void and the Uninhabited Paradise: Otherworldly sites in the Book of the Watchers," in *Other Worlds and Their Relation to this World Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* ed. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik Eynikel and Florention Garcia Martinez (Linden: Brill, 2010) 43.

Another problem is that the giants are unjustly consuming everything on the earth: labour, animals, humans and each other. The notion that the giants are cannibalising each other parallels Numbers 13: 32 -33 where the Nephilim are described as giants who consume each other. The Nephilim are also mentioned in Book of the Watchers as the sons of the giants. The Book of the Watchers 7: 2 states that the giants begot the Nephilim and that they grew in accordance with their greatness. That the giants are consuming meat and drinking blood is seen as an abomination. In pre-antediluvian history, in the time before the Flood, all food was plant-based matter. According to Genesis 1: 29 -30 God made humans and all creation to be vegetarian. According to Biale, "The vegetarianism of the period from the Garden of Eden to the Flood was the Bible's dietary utopia".[68] Consuming blood is an insult to God, as blood is life, and life belongs to God. The creation of life was a divine act which makes life special. By emphasising the consumption of blood, the evil nature of the giants is accentuated. They are the antithesis to God's creation as they only wish to devour it. In some ways the giants represent both Sheol and death. They consume life to create death. The chaos the giants epitomize symbolises the violence and injustice of those murdered on the earth.

The consumption of blood and the denial of life lead to an act of divine destruction to restore justice. Men are permitted to eat meat, after the Flood, but they are prohibited from consuming blood. Genesis 9: 4 "only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood." This decree is made by God after the Flood. Not only were the giants drinking blood, but they were also eating the flesh of every living creature. These actions not only polluted the earth, but forced God to destroy most of his creation in order to save it. The malevolent forces unleashed by the fallen angels

[68]David Biale, *Blood and Belief: The circulation of a Symbol between Jew and Christians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 18.

lead to the Flood. Furthermore, God states that whoever sheds the blood of a man must in turn have his bloodshed because humans were made in God's image. Humans are said to be made in God's image, but how that links to blood is unclear. Wilson has suggested that the Flood narrative is a massive act of blood vengeance; God's way of punishing all the violence and perversity in the world and restoring justice to the dead.[69] He suggests that humans "are to enact their role in God's image by imitating God and punishing murderers by taking their life."[70] Wilson states: "When the themes that scholars employ to interpret *imago Dei* in Genesis 1 are applied to Gen 9: 6, the case for reading this verse as sanctioning blood vengeance, instead of as a prohibition of murder or a declaration of the supreme worth of human life is strengthened".[71] He claims that being made in God's image is to take retributive justice.[72] It is likely the authors of 1 Enoch read the text in this manner. The earth was filled with violence; God was being implored by the earth and the spirits of the dead to avenge their murders. Therefore, the Flood in 1 Enoch is an act of blood vengeance and an act of divine justice.

The notion that the Flood was an act of blood vengeance and divine justice against the giants can be seen in the many edicts set out in the Hebrew Bible against consuming and spilling blood: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life. Therefore I have said to the people of Israel, No person among you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger who

[69] *Imago Dei* is the Latin term for "image of God."The term is found in several sections of Genesis. Stephen M. Wilson, "Blood Vengeance and the *Imago Dei* in the Flood narrative (Genesis 9: 6)," *Journal of Bible and Theology*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (2017): 263 - 273.
[70] Wilson, "Blood Vengeance and the *Imago Dei*", 269.
[71] Ibid, 270.
[72] Ibid, 271.

sojourns among you eat blood."[73] This statement (Leviticus 17: 11 – 12) is just one of many in the Hebrew Bible which warn against consuming blood. In fact, the Hebrew Bible states a number of times that blood is life. Leviticus 17: 13 – 14 declares: "For the life of every creature is the blood of it: therefore I have said to the people of Israel, You shall not eat the blood of any creature, for the life of every creature is in its blood; whoever eats it shall be cut off". In Deuteronomy 12: 23 this notion is repeated: "Only be sure you do not eat the blood; for blood is the life, and you shall not eat the life with the flesh".[74] Given all the prohibitions in the Hebrew Bible against consuming blood, it is not surprising that the giants' appetites led to their own destruction. According to Carmichael, the consuming of blood and the flesh together is not only against the divine order but it is what separates humans from wild animals.[75] Thus the giants must be punished for drinking the blood of creation and behaving like wild animals. The punishment must be severe considering the giants are consuming the blood and stealing the life of human beings, who are made in the "image of God". The giants are the embodiment of sin and as they will not repent thay cannot receive forgiveness. God's divine judgment against the giants in 1 Enoch, is not just an act of vengeance but a way to restore justice.

Divine intervention, in the form of blood vengeance and justice, comes in the form of ironic punishments. The first punishment of the giants is to go to war against each other, while their fathers watch them destroy each other.[76] 1 Enoch 14: 6 states: "And that before these things, you will see the destruction of your sons, your

[73] Lev 17: 11 – 12.
[74] Deut 12: 23.
[75] Calum Carmichael, *Illuminating Leviticus: A study of its Laws and Institutions in the Light of Biblical Narratives* (Baltimore: Project MUSE, 2006) 73 -74.
[76] 1 En 10: 9 -12; 12: 6; 13: 6; 14: 6; 88: 2.

beloved ones, and that you will have no pleasure in them, but they will fall before you by the sword." The Animal Apocalypse in the book of Dream Visions also recalls this particular punishment of the giants. In the Animal Apocalypse the giants are referred to as elephants, asses and camels.[77] Gore – Jones has stated that while the elephant is never mentioned in the Bible both camels and asses are, they are considered unclean animals.[78] Furthermore, the description of the giants as camels and elephants are suggestive of their size.[79] 1 Enoch 88: 2 states: "And one of these drew a sword and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses. And they began to strike one another, and the whole earth quaked because of them." This is an ironic punishment because it was the fallen angel, Asael, who taught the secret of metallurgy and war, of how to create iron weapons, breastplates and shields.[80] The forbidden knowledge the watchers brought to earth will be used to destroy their own children. God will force the fallen angels to watch their offspring die and murder each other, in the same way the birth of the giants meant that human fathers had to watch their sons and daughters die, killed by the giants. The second divine punishment and act of justice is the Flood.[81]

According to the Book of the Watchers, the giants are one of the main causes of the Flood due to the injustices they caused on earth through acts of consumption and violence. The Book of the Watchers states that men were perishing and their cry (from the afterlife) went up to heaven.[82] 1 Enoch 9: 2 and 9: 10 also state that the souls of the dead are crying out for justice and vengeance from God. Their groans

[77] 1 En 86: 4.
[78] Lydia Gore – Jones, "Animals, Humans, Angels and God," 280.
[79] Ibid, 280.
[80] 1 En 8: 1.
[81] 1 En 10: 1 – 3; 89: 6.
[82] 1 En 8: 4.

have come up to the gates, of heaven because of the inequities and bloodshed on the earth. This calls to mind Abel's spirit calling out for justice and vengeance for this murder.[83] 1 Enoch 9: 1 mentions that the earth was full of bloodshed and was filled with godlessness and violence. In the Hebrew Bible it is not the giants who caused the Flood, but humans. God sees his creation as wicked and evil and wishes to destroy them.[84] Carmichael states that the Flood mirrors the offense of the indiscriminate killing on earth, because its effects are in fact indiscriminate.[85] All life, aside from the souls in the ark, perish without distinction.[86] In 1 Enoch the wickedness which pervades the earth is supernatural in nature; it begins with the rebel angels and continues with the rampaging giants. 1 Enoch 9: 9 - 10 states that the giants are spilling the blood on the earth and that the souls of the dead, the victims of the giants, continually demand justice and judgment. It is ultimately the destructive deeds of the giants which results in divine intervention to enact blood vengeance and justice in the form of the Flood.[87]

The Flood imagery in the Book of the Watchers is used to emphasize the annihilation of the giants through divine judgment, vengeance and justice.[88] The punishment of the giants, like all punishments in 1 Enoch, has an element of irony. The giants die but are forced to remain on earth as evil spirits. These evil spirits are produced by both the wars and the Flood. As Stuckenbruck puts it, "Spirits or souls emerged from their dead bodies, and it is in this form that the giants are allowed to

[83] 1 En 22:7. The major difference here is that Abel was killed by this brother Cain and not the giants. This has been explored earlier in the chapter.
[84] Gen 6: 4 – 7.
[85] Carmichael, *Illuminating Leviticus, 18 – 19.*
[86] Ibid, 18.
[87] Stuckenbruck, "The "Angels" and "Giants" of Genesis 6: 1 – 4, 364.
[88] Ibid, 365.

exist until the final judgment."[89] The giants were considered half breeds, from both the realms of heaven and earth, as they do not completely belong to either sphere. What perished in the Flood was their human flesh and what remains is their immortal spirit from their angelic fathers.[90] Nickelsburg puts it succinctly, observing: "we should read "spirit" here not by analogy with the spiritual element of a human being, but as a reference to the immortal substance of the watchers."[91] They must remain on earth as they were begotten on the earth.[92] These evil spirits of the giants are malevolent characters because they were spawned from the rebellion of the fallen angels.[93] In their new form the giants continue to engage in sort of activities which characterised them before the Flood.[94]According to 1 Enoch 15: 12: "And the spirits of the giants <lead astray>, do violence and hurl upon the earth and <cause illness>. They eat nothing, but abstain from food and are thirsty and smite." This is similar to the evil spirits described in Sumerian and Babylonian mythology, the major difference being that the evil spirits were (for the most part) souls of dead humans. In spirit form the giants can no longer consume blood. This is the irony of their punishment, which addresses the complaint from all the souls of the dead whose blood cried out from the ground, the earth and the afterlife. The giants can no longer drink blood; they can no longer cause death. Part of their punishment is to always be hungry and thirsty. They had voracious appetites in life; in their new evil spirit form those appetites still exist, but the giants have no way of satiating it. In their new form, they can no longer flout authority over God's creation. God's

[89] Ibid, 365.
[90] 1 En 15: 8 -10; 15:4 – 7.
[91] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 272.
[92] 1 En 15: 10.
[93] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 273.
[94] Stuckenbruck, "The "Angels" and "Giants" of Genesis 6: 1 – 4, 365.

dominion is emphasised as the giants represent the judgment and justice which will befall the wicked.

The wars and the Flood which God sends against the giants, and his own creation, was an act of blood vengeance and justice, for those in the afterlife whose blood was spilled. God's ability to destroy his own creation far surpasses the ability of the fallen angels and giants combined. The watchers and giants sent all of their victims to the afterlife. God, however, sent all humanity (except for Noah and his family) to the afterlife. In 1 Enoch the divine blood vengeance of the Flood was enacted to restore justice to those residing in the afterlife. Nevertheless, if the giants are agents of death feeding Sheol with the souls of the dead, God is the harbinger of death who gorged Sheol on souls via the Flood. This was an act of both divine vengeance and justice to restore righteousness to the earth and destroy the wicked.

Conclusion

For the authors of 1 Enoch, blood vengeance is justice. Victims, however, rarely see their murders avenged. The first victim of violence is Abel, who was murdered by his brother Cain. This is followed by the violence and bloodshed caused by the fallen angels and the giants. These supernatural beings cause death on an unprecedented scale. The violence and bloodshed they cause is not simply assumed by the authors of 1 Enoch, but they are made explicit, and is illustrated by numerous passages.

The Cain and Abel story may have been important to the authors of 1 Enoch because it parallels the story of the fallen angels. The fallen angels' story is enacted

on a larger scale than the story of Cain and Abel, but all the major plot points are very similar. The intrinsic message of both stories is that the perpetrators of violence are not punished and that victims rarely see justice. This is solved in 1 Enoch not by human means, but by divine intervention. Cain, the fallen angels, the giants and all of the wicked are destroyed in one act of divine blood vengeance, the Flood. God enacts justice on a grand scale. The wicked and the injustice they cause in 1 Enoch is representative of the injustice caused by the conquering and colonizing force of Hellenistic culture.

In this chapter, it has been argued that blood vengeance in 1 Enoch represents the reassertion of justice. For those souls who were unjustly murdered their cries from the afterlife were finally answered. Bloodshed and violence are presented here as the direct result of opposing God's created order. In the section on the giants, I have argued that their consumption of blood not only leads to their ironic punishments but also ties them to the underworld as they murdered creation in order to feed their voracious appetites.

Chapter 3: The Underworld in Heaven in the Book of the Watchers

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the portrayal of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. This offers the earliest conception of the afterlife in the Enochian literature. When compared to the wider ancient near eastern and Mediterranean notions of the afterlife, the description in chapter 22 of 1 Enoch is underdeveloped. The purpose of the afterlife in the Greek, Babylonian and Sumerian cultures is simply a place to put the dead. This notion is also the central premise of the afterlife in the Hebrew Bible. For these cultures it was important to put the dead somewhere, but the underworld had to be imagined as somewhere separate from the land of the living. The purpose of the afterlife in 1 Enoch, however, is to provide a sense of justice for those the authors considered to be righteous. In the Book of the Watchers the afterlife provides a specific function, which goes beyond a dwelling place for the dead. The righteous dead are rewarded and the wicked punished. The purpose of the afterlife in 1 Enoch is the ultimate assertion of justice.

The presentation of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers has not been explored in much detail. Nevertheless, there are a few articles which buck the trend. For instance, Ekaterina Matusova, and her article "The Post – Mortem divisions of the dead in 1 Enoch 22: 1 -13," deals specifically with the land of the dead and how it is represented in the Book of the Watchers.[1] Her main argument is that the afterlife in

[1] Ekaterina Matusova, "The Post – Mortem divisions of the dead in 1 Enoch 22: 1 – 13," in *Evil and Death: Conceptions of the human in Biblical, Early Jewish, Early Christian, Greco-Roman and Egyptian Literature,* ed. Beate Ego and Ulrike Mittmann (Berlin: Massachusetts: De Gruyter, 2015) 149 – 177.

the Book of the Watchers should be understood within its own cultural context. She argues that one need not look beyond the Jewish literature for answers as to where the ideas about the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers originate from. She rejects the hypothesis that many of the details of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers come from Greek sources. She does admit that there may have been some Mesopotamian influence on the notion of the afterlife. Nevertheless, she believes that it is far easier to account for the ideas in the Book of the Watchers through the lens of eschatological readings of texts such as Isaiah, Psalms and Qoheleth. This article relates directly to this chapter, as I intend to explore the imagery of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. I will argue that imagery in the Book of the Watchers has not only connections to the Hebrew Bible and Mesopotamian traditions, as Matusova claims, but also may have been influenced by Greek and Zoroastrian ideas. This will be explored throughout the chapter.

Nickelsburg has made a significant contribution in his commentary on 1 Enoch (see chapter 1), providing helpful interpretations of each chapter, passage and verse.[2] His commentary on the afterlife in chapter 22 in Book of the Watchers is comprehensive. He suggests not only what the symbolism surrounding the afterlife may be, but also details how some elements in the afterlife may have connections to other sources, such as biblical verses or traditions. Nickelsburg's analysis of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers provides invaluable observations. As his commentary relates to the entire Book of Enoch, discussion of the afterlife was not his major aim of the book. Nevertheless, his book is used extensively throughout this chapter.

[2] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1.

Himmelfarb mentions the realm of the dead in the Book of the Watchers in two separate books. In *Apocalypse: A Brief History*, the land of the dead is mentioned only in passing; as one of the many cosmic sites Enoch visits during his tour of the heavens.[3] Himmelfarb's other book; *Tours of Hell* explores the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers in relation to the Apocalypse of Peter.[4] Her main argument is against the claim of Albrecht Dieterich that the motifs in the Apocalypse of Peter are part of the Orphic – Pythagorean tradition. While she explores various Jewish apocalypses in order to investigate its ancestry, she mentions the realm of the dead in the Book of the Watchers several times. She states that the Apocalypse of Peter must be understood as an expression of a "range of Jewish and Christian tour apocalypses going back to the Book of the Watchers."[5] She concludes "that the various motifs in the Apocalypse of Peter, whatever their origin, have been shaped in consciousness of a Jewish Christian tradition."[6] This includes the tradition of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers.

The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is also briefly mentioned in Bremmer's article "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter."[7] The land of the dead in the Book of the Watchers is mentioned in relation to his discussion about Himmelfarb's arguments in her book

[3] Martha Himmelfarb, *Apocalypse: A Brief History* (Chichester; Malden: Wiley – Blackwell, 2010).
[4] Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).
[5] Ibid, 67.
[6] Ibid, 67 .
[7] Jan Bremmer, "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell: Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter," in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World: Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions,* ed. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 305 – 321.

"Tours of Hell."[8] Bremmer believes that both Himmelfarb and Dieterich make good points. Bremmer argues that the author of the Apocalypse of Peter was likely aware of Jewish, Christian and Greek traditions and thus was able to combine those traditions is varying ways. He claims that the Apocalypse of Peter clearly contains Enochic traditions. Bremmer concludes: "Inspired by the Orphic tradition, some Jews started to adapt the Greek crimes and penalties in the afterlife to their own traditions."[9] Himmelfarb and Bremmer show the way that many authors use the afterlife themes in 1 Enoch to explore other topics, in this case the Apocalypse of Peter. In many ways this is emblematic of how the afterlife in 1 Enoch is discussed in other articles, in passing rather than a major focus. It is not generally the main focus and as such not much analysis is directed towards the text.

In his article "Where is the Place of Eschatological Blessing?", Nickelsburg mentions the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers in passing.[10] His major aim is to discuss the eschatological places of blessing for the righteous and how this may tie into the concept of a new or renewed earth. Collins also mentions chapter 22 in the Book of the Watchers. He explores the topography of the afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in an article called "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls."[11] According to Collins, the Book of the Watchers was one of the apocalypses which inspired some ideas about the afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Kelly Bautch also mentions the topic.[12] She analyses three sites: the heavenly temple, the prison of the seven stars and the Paradise or garden of righteousness or truth. She mentions the realm of the

[8] Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell.*
[9] Bremmer, "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian, 320.
[10] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Where is the Place of Eschatological Blessing," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone,* ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran and Ruth A. Clements (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004) 53 – 72.
[11] John J. Collins, "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
[12] Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple, The Prison".

dead several times, but always in passing and always in relation to these other sites. While these articles engage with the concept of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers, it is generally in relation to another topic.

This chapter will argue that the presentation of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers directly relates to notions of justice and overcoming injustice. The Book of the Watchers uses ideas of punishment and reward in the afterlife as way of interpreting the concept of justice. It will also be argued that many of its ideas about the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers have come from elaboration or reinterpretation of passages in the Hebrew Bible. The cultures of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and Persians (Zoroastrianism) will also be considered as they may have, either directly or indirectly, provided inspiration for some of the concepts and or symbols of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers.

The Book of the Watchers and an Ethical Afterlife

The Hebrew Bible mentions Sheol (the underworld) sixty-six times, referring to it as the Pit or Abaddon and as a place under the earth.[13] It is a realm of darkness and dust, where all the dead reside regardless of their earthly behaviour.[14] The wicked and the righteous dead dwell together in Sheol. There is no punishment for the wicked or reward for the righteous. In the Hebrew Bible the spirits of the dead are seen as forgetful wraiths.[15]

[13] Job 7: 9, Job 11: 8, Ps 30: 9 Ps 55: 15, Isa 14 : 9, Ezek 31: 14 Amos 9: 2.
[14] Job 17: 13, 16; Ps 88: 6.
[15] Ps 6: 5, Qoh 9: 10, Isa 38: 18.

The underworld described in the Hebrew Bible is similar to other cultural views of the afterlife in the ancient near east and Mediterranean. The Sumerians, Babylonians and Geeks all believe that the realm of the dead is located under the earth in a land of darkness and gloom.[16]All these cultures also believed that regardless of one's earthly behaviour, wicked or righteous, all the spirits of the dead dwell together in the underworld. The Greeks also believed that Hades was the land of feeble and forgetful spirits.[17]

By contrast, in the Book of the Watchers the spirits of the dead are not simply reduced to forgetful shades. The dead retain their memories, as the afterlife is a place of justice. The dead must remember their earthly lives in order to understand why they are being punished or rewarded. Justice has no purpose if one cannot remember or understand why they are receiving certain treatment. This is why the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is so different, not only within its own Jewish cultural tradition, but also to other religious traditions such as the beliefs held by the Sumerian, Babylonian, and Greeks.. The afterlife is not simply a place to send the dead; it is a realm where justice is implemented.

Its concept of the afterlife shows that various traditions about the land of the dead were circulating among the Israelite population during the Second Temple period. There was not one single unified version of life after death. The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers provides an alternative to the gloomy dark Sheol presented in the Hebrew Bible. The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is a way for the oppressed

[16] William F. Hansen, *Handbook of Classical Mythology* (Santa Barbara; California: ABC CLIO, 2004) 161. See also Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation,* 155. See also Wolkstein and Samuel Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth,* 61 – 62. See also Richmond Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 335.
[17] Homer's, Odyssey Book 11; Plato, The Republic 10: 621.

to receive justice. Stuckenbruck argues that "social justice was not simply a matter of postponing much – longed - for justice, but rather a program for change through resistance that can already operate in the present".[18] In 1 Enoch the final judgment represents a change in the systems of power, where those who have been oppressed have a place in the establishment of a new world order. Those who are considered righteous in this new power structure would be accorded significant influence over those considered to be wicked. The afterlife is a reflection of this new order where the oppressors of the righteous reside in darkness and in some cases even torment.[19] The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is a microcosm of what is to happen at the time of the final judgment. The wicked will have no power or authority before God; their immoral actions will guide their eternal fate. Immorality is to be punished and morality to be rewarded. Regardless of the social, political, or religious power, one wields during life, in the afterlife justice before God is based on one's character and actions. An ethical afterlife was necessary in order to show that God was just and that leading a good moral life by obeying God's laws had meaning and consequences.

The Book of the Watchers, the Afterlife and the Dissonance Model

The Book of the Watchers functions as way to critique the status quo, encouraging resistance and rejection of the established order.[20] According to Williamson and

[18] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Images of Dealing with Social Injustice from Jewish apocalyptic Tradition: A Resource for Renewed Reflection," in *Turning to the World: Social Justice and the Common Good Since Vatican II,* ed. Carl N. Still and Gertrude Rompre (Montreal; Kingston; London; Chicago; McGill – Queen's University Press, 2018) 93.
[19] 1 En 22: 1 – 13.
[20] Robert Williamson Jr. and Justin Jeffcoat Schedtler, "Apocalyptic Movements in Early Judaism: Dissonance and Resistance," in *Apocalypses in Context: Apocalyptic Currents through History*, ed. Kelly J. Murphy, Justin Jeffcoat Schedtler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016) 102.

Schedtler, the Book of the Watchers is resistance literature, although it "does not seem to reflect any particular crisis".[21] Collins agrees with this sentiment, that the apocalyptic framework in 1 Enoch could have applied to different crises in different times and that the text was written in such a way as to make it applicable to any crisis.[22] Williamson and Schedtler argue that "the Book of the Watchers functions "as a general resistance to Greek rule over the Jewish people."[23] For Williamson and Schedtler the fact that the early Jewish apocalypses attribute authorship to scribal figures, such as Enoch and Daniel, suggests that the actual authors were themselves scribes, making them members of the educated elite in society. They would have had some measure of access to wealthy and powerful people. Williamson and Schedtler have labelled this phenomenon the dissonance model, "in which apocalyptic thought is understood to emerge in situations where there is a perceived lack of fit between the reality of lived existence and the way that people feel the world ought to be."[24] They further argue that a sense of dissonance can involve active oppression by means of persecution and/or political and economic powerlessness.

Dissonance can also occur in less dire situations, which can emerge when members of society, often with considerable means and power, have a sense of how the world should be and due to this have issues conforming with the dominant culture.[25] Williamson and Schedtler argue, that the Book of the Watchers was

[21] Ibid, 103.
[22] John J. Collins, "The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of the Watchers," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (1982): 91 - 111.
[23] Williamson Jr. and Schedtler, "Apocalyptic Movements in Early Judaism", 103.
[24] Ibid, 101.
[25] Ibid, 101.

written at a time of relative peace.[26] Nonetheless, its authors do express a feeling of dissonance with contemporary society. They claim that the world has drifted away from the way it should be, due to the actions of the fallen angels and their offspring the giants (see chapter 2). There is an expectation that God will set the world right via an eschatological intervention, where those who have gone astray will be judged and justice will be restored.

The dissonance model helps to explain the setup of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. The afterlife represents the outcome of justice and judgment of God. It is a symbol of the world as it should be, with the righteous being rewarded and the wicked being punished. The afterlife also makes clear that one's actions have consequences. The Book of the Watchers claims that God will vindicate those who feel a sense of dissonance with the current cultural, political, economic and religious systems, and so urges a moral life. The Book of the Watchers never explains what exactly constitutes good moral behaviour. It specifies that the fallen angels and their giant offspring have caused all the wickedness on earth. Cain is the only human named who is considered to be wicked. In later parts of 1 Enoch, such as the Book of Parables and the Epistle of Enoch, it is the wealthy wicked who are the main group of sinners. In the Book of the Watchers there does not seem to be a specific problematic group. The wicked dead have been categorised into those who were not punished in their life time, those who were the companions of the lawless and not pious and those who complain about how they died.[27] The wicked dead reside in the dark, while the righteous dead reside in an illuminated section of the

[26] Ibid, 105.
[27] 1 En 22: 10 – 13.

afterlife.[28] In this way the dissonance model is implemented. Those considered to be wicked are judged and undergo various punishments as a form of retributive justice.

The Mountain of the Dead in 1 Enoch chapter 22

The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is represented by a Mountain.[29] This is not unusual imagery. The Sumerians and Babylonians believed that one of the entrances to the underworld was at the base of a mountain. The Epic of Gilgamesh states the base of the Mashu mountains reaches down into the underworld.[30] The Zoroastrians believe that when a person dies their soul is judged on a bridge, which is located on the summit of a mountain.[31] The mountain of the dead in the Book of the Watchers is unusual in occupying the western section of heaven, effectively as an underworld in heaven. Most other underworlds exist below the earth. This is true for the Babylonians, Sumerians and Greeks. This is also true for the Hebrew Bible where the underworld is seen as being below the earth, as in Job 17: 16: "Will it go down to the bars of Sheol? Shall we descend together into the dust?" Proverbs 7: 27 states "Her house is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death." The closest parallel to making the underworld part of the heavenly realm is the Zoroastrian belief that the righteous dead reside in heaven with their God (Ahura Mazda), while the wicked dead are consigned to an underworld in order to be tormented.[32] In the Book of the Watchers all the dead, both wicked and righteous,

[28] 1 En 22: 9.
[29] 1 En 22: 1.
[30] Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic poem and Other texts in Akkadian and Sumerian* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1999) 71. See also Dina Katz, *The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources* (Potomac, CDL Press, 2003) 78.
[31] Bd 30: 33.
[32] Bd 30: 26. See also, Prods Oktor Skjaervo, *The Spirit of Zoroastrianism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011) 188.

reside in the mountain of the dead in heaven with different sections to separate the wicked from the righteous. In the Book of the Watchers there are many divinely appointed sites which serve specific purposes. As Bautch states, it is not the case, in this product of the Second Temple period, that there is one cosmic mountain that serves simultaneously as home to God, paradise and the realm of the dead".[33] The mountain of the dead is just one of many locations in the heavenly realm, set aside specifically to enact justice and judgment.

The placement of the mountain of the dead, likely reflects the shape of the cosmos set out in the beginning of Genesis 1: 1 when God made the heavens and the earth. This was likely the inspiration for the placement of the realm of the dead in the heavenly sphere. There is no underworld mentioned in the creation story, as a place set apart from heaven and earth. The authors of 1 Enoch often took biblical verses and applied them in innovative ways. In the Book of the Watchers the souls of the dead required a dwelling place and heaven was the solution. This makes sense; heaven is the realm of the spirit, while the earth is the home of flesh.

The themes of justice and injustice in the afterlife are portrayed in the Book of the Watchers through the image of the mountain of the dead. In the Book of the Watchers, this mountain has four huge hollows or pits, which serve as "repositories for the souls of the dead – both good and evil."[34] These are not their final resting places. Some of the unrighteous who were "not pious, but sinners" and "companions of the lawless" will not be raised, but the rest presumably will.[35] One of

[33] Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple, The Prison," 37.
[34] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 302.
[35] Collins, "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls,"96.

these hollows is illuminated, while the other three are dark.[36] It should be noted that the four compartments are separated from each other.[37] The illuminated cavern contains a bright fountain in its centre, while the three dark caverns appear to be barren. The illuminated section of the afterlife has no counterpart in the Hebrew Bible, which describes Sheol has being a land of darkness and gloom.[38] For example Psalms 88:6 states "Thou hast put me in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark and deep". The division of the souls in the Book of the Watchers is not a feature of the Hebrew Bible, in which all the souls of the dead reside side by side, regardless of how they lived their earthly life. The righteous and wicked, the kings and peasants, the wealthy and the poor all go down to the dark depths of Sheol. In many ways the realm of the dead in the Hebrew Bible is the great equaliser, as it does not discriminate and all are equal in death. This is not the case in the Book of the Watchers, in which the afterlife is a place of justice and judgment.

The Book of the Watchers and the Fountain in the Afterlife

The fountain in the Book of the Watchers is a symbol of justice for the righteous dead. There is only one fountain on the mountain of the dead and it is in the chamber with the righteous spirits. The notion of a fountain in the afterlife for the righteous dead likely has roots in the Hebrew Bible. There are many passages which mention the "fountain of life." This phrase is used in different contexts. For example, Psalms 36: 9 states "For thee is the fountain of life; in thy light to we see light." Proverbs 10: 11 states "the mouth of the righteous is like the fountain of life, but the mouth of the wicked conceals violence." Proverbs 14: 27 states "the fear of

[36] 1 En 22: 2.
[37] 1 En 22: 8 – 13.
[38] Job 17: 13, Job 38: 17, Ps 88: 6, Ps 143: 3.

the Lord is a fountain of life, that one may avoid the snares of death." From this small sample it is clear that the righteous are associated with God or the fountain of life, while the fear of God makes one live ethically so that they may avoid Sheol. Proverbs 16: 22 associates wisdom with the fountain of life. In Jeremiah 2: 13 God calls himself the fountain of living waters. It is undeniable that the Hebrew Bible symbolised God as a fountain of life or living water. In the Book of the Watchers 1 Enoch 22: 9 states, "And this has been separated for the spirits of the righteous, where the bright fountain of water is." The fountain in the chamber of the righteous dead symbolises God's presence in the chamber. It is also a metaphor for the suffering that the righteous have endured. In Gen 7: 11 the fountains of the deep were released unleashing the forces of chaos in the form of the Flood. The wicked were wiped out and only righteous Noah and his family survived. In Exodus 14: 16 - 30, God parts the Red Sea for Moses, so the people of Israel may escape slavery in Egypt, but closing the sea over the Egyptians when they tried to pursue the Israelites. Again the suffering of the righteous is ended through the destructive force of water. God is deeply connected with this elemental force. The fountain in the Book of the Watchers is a reminder that God resides with the righteous at all times, in life and in death. The fountain is a reminder that God will enact the final judgment. Divine vengeance will destroy the enemies of the righteous. Divine justice will vindicate the righteous and condemn the wicked.

While this fountain likely represents God, it is also a reward for the righteous living a just life and provides them with drinking water in the afterlife. Being that the mountain of the dead is made of hard rock, and there is no vegetation described

growing on it, the mountain is probably dry.[39] This may relate to Exodus 17. After the Israelites left Egypt, they camped at a place called Reph'idim (meaning resting place), where the Israelites became thirsty and threatened to stone Moses. God told Moses to go to the rock at Horeb, to strike the rock, from which water came, so the people might drink. To sum up, this passage shows God providing water for his people out of a mountain of hard rock in an area where there was nothing to drink, in a location which means resting place. Exodus 17 can be read in an eschatological manner in relation to the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. The Mountain of the Dead in the Book of the Watchers is said to be made of hard rock. The afterlife or the resting place of the righteous dead (God's people or the Chosen) has a fountain in it, water that the souls of the dead may drink from. If this reading is correct, then it can be inferred that the spirits of the dead in 1 Enoch suffer from thirst. The fountain may be in the righteous chamber in order to combat this.

The notion of thirst in the afterlife is a common theme. In the Sumerian *Bilgames and the Netherworld*[40] we are told that a dead man who disrespects his parents "drinks water weighed out in a scale, he never gets enough."[41] This can also be seen in the Greek underworld, Hades. Tantalus, the king of Lydia, was said to have committed two sins and for his crimes his punishment was to stand in water up to his neck with a bunch of grapes above his head.[42] He was both unable to drink and

[39] 1 En 22: 1.
[40] This is the Sumerian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh, like many of the gods/goddesses and hero's that the Sumerians and Babylonians shared; there was a name change to this figure when the Babylonians took control from the Sumerians. The Sumerian Bilgames became the Babylonian Gilgamesh. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh,* 141.
[41] George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh,* 187 – 188.
[42] Nick Humez, "Classical Blather: Hellenic Damnation and Other Afterlives," *Verbatim* Vol. 28, No. 1, (2003): 14 - 18.

eat and as such he had to exist in perpetual thirst and hunger.[43] This notion is also found in the Zoroastrian version of the underworld, where certain wicked souls are forced to endure perpetual thirst and hunger.[44] The notion of punishment and reward are not themes generally associated with the Sumerian or Greek underworlds. For the most part the spirits of the dead are not judged based on their earthly behaviour. We see a moral standard being applied in 1 Enoch and Zoroastrianism as both religious systems believed the afterlife was a place of justice and judgment. The fact that water or rather the lack of water is used as a punishment in the Sumerian and Greek afterlife is fascinating but also an anomaly. In Greek mythology much of the literature about punishment or reward in the afterlife comes from the later writing of Plato, Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs. It shows us that some crimes were unforgivable. This is demonstrated through the precious resource of water. It is, therefore, no surprise that the authors of the Book of the Watchers would bless the righteous dead with a fountain. The righteous dead are being rewarded for leading just lives. The Book of the Watchers uses a common theme found in ancient near east and Mediterranean cultures, but twists it. Now not only is the fountain in the Book of the Watchers used to reward the righteous, but it is also used as a way to punish the wicked. Divine justice enacted through the medium of water.

The fountain found in the illuminated cavern in the mountain of the dead is an important feature. It is noteworthy because it is one of the few symbols in the mountain we are given. Nickelsburg mentions in passing that the notion of the fountain in 1 Enoch may have come from Orphic sources, either directly or

[43] Ibid, 15.
[44] Eileen Gardiner, *Zoroastrian Hell: Visions, Tours and Descriptions of the Infernal Otherworld* (New York; Italica Press Inc, 2013) xiv.

indirectly, as it contains an idea that there is a "vivifying and refreshing fountain of water in the underworld".[45] Nickelsburg does not say why he thinks this is the case. A more detailed explanation of this reasoning would have been useful. It is rather likely that this concept in 1 Enoch may have been influenced by Greek sources. There are many different Orphic gold tablets. Some of them mention two fountains in the Greek underworld (Hades) [46] There is a warning not to drink from one of these fountains. This fountain to the left of Hades mansion has a white cypress tree next to it.[47] According to the gold tablet L3 this fountain should not even be approached. "You must not approach this fountain, not even a little!"[48] The other fountain is called the Mnemosyne and is fed via a lake of the same name. The waters of this fountain are considered to be sacred and it is watched over by guardians. Drinking from this fountain according to the tablet L3 will allow the soul to "reign with the other heroes," most likely a reference to the Elysium Fields.[49] On other tablets such as L4, the basic notions are the same, but the details are different. For example, the fountain which one should avoid is said to be to the right of Hades house rather than to the left.[50] On tablet L6, the white cypress, which is said to be next to the fountain to, be avoided on tablet L3, is now considered to be next to the fountain which one should drink from.[51] It is important to note that while these two fountains formed part of Orphic philosophy, at their most basic level, they provide drinking water for the spirits of the dead. Their first purpose is to quench thirst; the beliefs and rituals attached to them let the initiates know which was the

[45] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 307.
[46] A. Bernabe and Ana Isabel Jimenez San Cristobal, *Instructions for the Netherworld: The Orphic Gold Tablets* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
[47] Ibid, 10.
[48] Ibid, 10.
[49] Ibid, 11.
[50] Ibid, 11.
[51] Ibid, 12.

correct fountain to drink from so, they may dwell in paradise. The fountain in the Book of the Watchers will not transfer the righteous dead to place of paradise, but it may provide the spirits with the ultimate form of divine justice, a method of resurrection at the time of the final judgment (see chapter 4).

The Afterlife in the Book of the Watchers: Darkness and Light

In the Book of the Watchers, the audience is told that the afterlife is home to both the righteous and the wicked who dwell in light and darkness respectively. Light does not exist in the underworld in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, it is the Hebrew Bible which has provided the inspiration for light as part of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. Just as Genesis 1 provided the inspiration to locate the afterlife in Heaven, Genesis 1 also provided the notion that light should exist in the afterlife. In Genesis 1: 4 the audience is told that God saw that light was good, so he separated it from darkness. This very much relates to the afterlife in 1 Enoch. The "good" or the righteous souls dwell in light and are separated from the "bad" or wicked souls who dwell in darkness. Light is also the first creation of God, which not only links light to God, but also makes it a core component of the world that was subsequently manifested. In the Book of Enoch the concepts of God and light are entwined. For instance, in chapter 14, Enoch is taken on a cosmic journey, where he sees God's dwelling place which is made of fire, lightning, shooting stars and snow.[52] In this theophanic scene God appears to Enoch as various forms of light. The throne God sits on is like ice and its wheels like the shining sun.[53] Rivers of fire issued from beneath the throne.[54] God who sits upon the throne is "whiter than much snow," and

[52] 1 En 14: 10 – 13, 15 – 17.
[53] 1 En 14: 18.
[54] 1 En 14: 19.

"his apparel was like the appearance of the sun".[55] This theophanic scene is similar to others found in the Hebrew Bible, like Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7. God is obscured in all these visions with light. Enoch describes God and his temple in terms of brilliance, fire, and light. Even the snow and ice of the heavenly realm are luminous. The entwined notions of God and light are represented in the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. God is righteous and described in terms of light, therefore the righteous dead are godly and as such dwell in light. The righteous dead dwell in the light of God as they walked in the metaphorical light of God during their life. Their souls are being rewarded due to their earthly behaviour. It also combats the notion in the Hebrew Bible that the spirits in the afterlife all reside in darkness and gloom. In the Book of the Watchers only the wicked reside in darkness as retribution for their crimes. The darkness and light of the afterlife is a form of divine justice.

Furthermore, the notion of light and its relation to goodness, purity, salvation, justice and righteousness can be found in many places the Hebrew Bible, not just in relation to theophanic scenes. For instance, Proverbs 4: 18 says that the "path of righteousness is like the light of dawn, which shines brighter and brighter until full day" and Proverbs 13: 9 states "the light of righteousness rejoices, but the lamp of the wicked will be put out". In these verses from the Hebrew Bible, we can see that the notion of righteousness and light are linked. While the underworld of the Hebrew Bible may be dark, the notion of an illuminated section of the underworld in the Book of the Watchers may have had its genesis in biblical teachings. Even in the afterlife, God has power over elemental forces, just as he has power over all the souls in the afterlife. Placing the righteous souls in the first element of creation,

[55] 1 En 14: 20.

bestows a blessing upon them. The light in the hollow of the righteous represents their obedience to God, making them adherents to the tenets of light. The righteous in the Book of the Watchers suffer due to the evil of their age. The Book of the Watchers shows that while the righteous suffer during their lives at the hand of the wicked, in the afterlife their righteousness is seen as just and as such they are rewarded. The dissonance model is an active component of the afterlife. The righteous being rewarded for their earthly behaviour implies a sense of cosmic justice, namely that, this is how things should have been during their lifetime. The afterlife in the Book of the Watchers rectifies this sense of dissonance. The righteous will find the justice they sought during their lives in the afterlife.

Juxtaposed to the illuminated hollow in the mountain of the dead are the three dark hollows, which have been created to accommodate the wicked souls. The notion of a dark underworld is not unique, as it is an idea found in many cultures. This is true for the Sumerians, Babylonians and Greeks where the darkness of the afterlife was just one of the many bleak conditions in the realm of the dead. This is also true for the version of Sheol depicted in the Hebrew Bible. For example. Job 10: 21 – 22 states “before I go whence I shall not return, to the land of gloom and deep darkness, the land of gloom and chaos, where the light is as darkness.” Darkness in the Book of the Watchers is not just part of the environment of the afterlife; it is used as a form of punishment for the wicked dead. The notion of darkness being linked to wickedness comes from verses in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, Proverbs 4: 19 states “The way of the wicked is like deep darkness; they do not know over what they stumble.” 1 Samuel 2: 9 states “He will guard the feet of his faithful ones; but the wicked shall be cut off in darkness; for not by might shall a man prevail.” There

is also the notion that God will punish his enemies with evil and darkness, Jeremiah 23: 12 states “Therefore their way shall be to them like slippery paths in the darkness, into which they shall be driven and fall; for I will bring evil upon them in the year of their punishment, says the Lord.” Isaiah 13: 9 – 11 states that on the day of the Lord, the sun, moon and stars will not shed their light and that God will destroy all the wicked on the earth. Job 12: 25 states that all people must bow to the power of God and those who do not will “grope in the dark without light.” The wicked souls in the Book of the Watchers reside in darkness to atone for their earthly crimes. The darkness they dwell in represents both punishment and the enforcement of justice against God’s enemies.

The darkened chambers which hold the wicked dead in the afterlife, act like prison cells, evoking the notion of judgment and justice. In the Hebrew Bible, prisoners dwell in darkness. Ps 107: 10 – 11 states “Some sat in darkness and gloom, prisoners in affliction and irons, because they had rebelled against the words of God, and spurned the counsel of the Most High.” These people who have sinned against God are forced to dwell in darkness for their disobedience. There is another passage in Isaiah 42 which also notes that prisoners in a dungeon sit in darkness. Yet, this passage is about God bringing these righteous people into the light. These are the kinds of lines which would have inspired the authors of the Book of the Watchers to punish the wicked in darkness. The darkness represents a physical manifestation of justice.

In the Book of the Watchers God controls the darkness, as a form of vengeance against the wicked dead. God’s association with darkness has a long history in the

Hebrew Bible. The theophany in Psalms 97: 2 describes God appearing in clouds and thick darkness. In Psalms 18: 9 – 11, darkness is said to be a thick covering around God. There are several instances in the Hebrew Bible when the appearance of God is paired with darkness and clouds such as in Deuteronomy 4: 11 and 5: 22, and 2 Samuel 22: 12. In some cases, as in Deuteronomy this is to hide God in the same way that light is also used as a form of concealment. In other cases, such as in Psalms 18, 97 and 2 Samuel 22, the darkness is used by God as a way to announce his coming when destroying his enemies. The darkness in this case is often paired with fire and/ or lightning which is used as God's weapon against his foes. Psalms 18 and 2 Samuel 22 both state that God will come to the rescue of the righteous as they have kept God's ordinances and as such are clean and blameless. 2 Samuel 22: 21 -51 and Psalms 18: 20 - 50 are nearly identical in the way they convey the message that God will deliver the righteous. Psalms 97: 2 states: "Clouds and thick darkness are around about; righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne." As Psalm 97 progresses, Yahweh executes judgment on the earth. By verse 10 not only has Yahweh defeated his enemies but this defeat is transformed in a promise to deliver righteous from the wicked.[56] The notion that God will appear in darkness in order to destroy the enemies of the righteous was likely used by the authors of the Book of the Watchers in relation to the afterlife. Not only is darkness in the afterlife a punishment for the wicked souls of the dead, but it shows God's complete destruction of the enemies of righteousness. As the righteous souls dwell in the glory and light of God, the wicked will dwell in the darkness of God's wrath. The dissonance model is at work. The earth is not how it should be as the wicked prosper over the righteous. This can only be rectified,

[56]E. N. Ortlund, "An Intertextual reading of the Theophany of Psalm 97," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2011): 273 - 285.

according to the Book of the Watchers, through divine judgment. The use of 2 Samuel 22 and Psalms 18 by the authors of the Book of the Watchers fit in with the Enochian image of God. In the Book of Enoch, Yahweh is a God of vengeance rather than forgiveness. There is not one instance throughout the entire Book of Enoch where the wicked are forgiven for their actions. Both 2 Samuel 22: 48 - 49 and Psalm 18: 47 – 48 state that God will deliver the righteous from violence and give them vengeance on their adversaries. In the Book of the Watchers one of the many symbols of this vengeance is the darkened hollows, where the wicked dead are forced to reside. For the souls of the dead in the Book of the Watchers vengeance and justice comes through darkness.

In Genesis 1 the darkness is not just separated from the light, but is controlled through the presence of light. God made day and night. The day is ruled by the sun, but the night also has light from both the moon and stars. All sources of light come from the heavenly realm and thus God. This means that God has complete control over the darkness. In Exodus 10: 21 – 23 as God sends darkness across the land of Egypt as one of the ten plagues. Grossman, Friedman, Moss and Stackert all make various arguments about the symbolism of the plague of darkness. Grossman argues that the plague of darkness is emphasised because the Israelites were about to emerge from the darkness of slavery into the light of freedom.[57] Friedman has argued that other scholars have interpreted the motif of darkness as representing the God of Israel's victory over the Egyptian god Ra, god of the sun and creator of the universe.[58] Friedman claims that the Egyptian goddess Sekhmert

[57]Jonathan Gossman, "The Structural Paradigm of the Ten Plagues Narrative and the Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart," *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. 64, Face. 4 (2014): 588 - 610.
[58] Ira Friedman, "And Upon All the Gods of Egypt I will Execute Judgement": The Egyptian deity in the Ten Plagues," *Tradition: A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2015): 8 - 18.

is referred to as “eye of the sun” and that Ra’s daughter is the deity being attacked in Exodus.[59] Friedman argues that “God demonstrated that Sekhmert, and through her the entire Egyptian pantheon, was powerless to protect the Egyptians and to wreak vengeance on the Israelites.”[60] Moss and Stackert argue that the plague of darkness in Exodus 10 literally and metaphorically renders the Egyptians blind and lame.[61] Exodus also makes a point of stating that the Israelites had lights in their homes, implying that only the Egyptians were made to face the horror of the darkness.[62] These are some explanations for the plague of darkness in the context of the Hebrew Bible.

By contrast, the context of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers is different. Exodus 10: 23 states the Egyptians were unable to see each other or rise from their places for three days, while the Israelites had light where they dwelt. The authors of the Book of the Watchers may have been inspired by this plague, as in many ways it fits into their notions of the afterlife. The wicked Egyptians are left to the darkness, while the righteous Israelites dwell in the light of their homes. Both the darkness and the light are simultaneously a curse and blessing from the God of Israel and show his power over all elements of creation. By controlling the darkness and light he shows he is a God of justice and vengeance defending his righteous people. In this sense, the plague of darkness in Exodus mirrors the creation story in Genesis 1 where God separates the light from the darkness. This is exactly the makeup of the afterlife. The wicked dwell in darkness while the righteous are consigned to the light. Confining the wicked souls of the dead to darkened chambers confers a sense of

[59] Ibid, 16 – 18.
[60] Ibid, 18.
[61] Candida Moss and Jeffrey Stackert, “The Devastation of Darkness: Disability in Exodus 10: 21 – 23, 27, and Intensification in the Plagues,” *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 92, No. 3, (2012): 362 - 372.
[62] Ibid, 369 – 370.

justice best understood through the dissonance model. The wicked souls reside in darkness for their various sins. This is the way the world should be. The Book of the Watchers makes sure that injustice during one's lifetime is replaced by justice in the afterlife.

The Book of the Watchers and the Wicked Spirits of the Dead

There are three darkened chambers in the mountain of the dead; each cavern holds a different kind of sinner who experiences different forms of divine justice. All of the dark chambers are separated from each other. According to 22: 10 in the Book of the Watchers the first of the dark chambers holds the spirits of the dead who did not have judgment executed on them in their lifetime. The passage states: "Here their spirits are separated for this great torment, until the day of judgment, of scourges and tortures of the cursed forever, that there might be recompense for their spirits. There he will bind them forever."[63] The passage has a universal appeal, as not one specific group is singled out. Matusova has argued that these spirits may be connected to ideas of the evil prospering in Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes).[64] She states: "Qoheleth lists examples of wicked people prospering all their lives long while multiplying their evil doing (Qoh 8: 10 – 14)."[65] She argues further: "In combination with the idea of inevitability of judgment for every human being and deed, it suggests the conclusion that these wicked people have not received "judgment" in their life time."[66] She claims that this relates directly to the wicked spirits in the first dark chamber in the Book of the Watchers, who did not receive judgment in their life

[63] 1 En 22: 11.
[64] Matusova, "The Post – Mortem divisions of the dead," 168 – 169.
[65] Ibid, 168.
[66] Ibid,168.

time. This argument is problematic, however, because there is no notion in Qoheleth of divine judgment.[67] While Qoheleth 3: 17 does mention God judging the wicked and the righteous, it does so because there is a time appointed for every matter and work. This is the only line in Qoheleth that talks about judgment over the wicked and the righteous. Much of the book of Qoheleth comes across as very pessimistic, in the sense that men live only to toil and die, and as such have no advantage over the beasts.[68] The text is deterministic in the sense that God has allotted all people a certain amount of time on earth, because of this Qoheleth 9: 7 states: "Go eat your bread with enjoyment, and drink your wine with a merry heart; for God has already approved what you do." This line is far more representative of the beliefs in Qoheleth overall, and this sentiment is repeated throughout the text several times, Qoheleth 2:24, 5: 18, 8: 15 and 9: 7. Qoheleth gives the impression that one should enjoy life as much as possible, as God already knows the fate of all. The Book of Enoch's problem with Qoheleth is over the issue of divine judgment especially at the time of death. Qoheleth believes that: "Since the experience of death is not determined by a person's religious, ethical, moral or cultic status, it is impossible to exert any influence over it".[69] The Book of Enoch and Qoheleth both deal with the problem of the wicked prospering during the Second Temple period, but they come at the dilemma from opposite directions.[70] The Book of Enoch is concerned with the future, while Qoheleth is concerned with the present. If the wicked spirits who did not face judgment during their lifetime are in fact based off the notions in Qoheleth, then it is a metaphorical rebuke against the ideas presented there, asserting that there is an afterlife where justice is enacted and that

[67] Luca Mazzinghi, "The Divine Violence in the Book of Qoheleth," *Biblica*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (2009): 545 - 558.
[68] Qoh 3: 19.
[69] Matthew S. Rindge, "Morality and Enjoyment: The Interplay of Death and Possessions in Qoheleth," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (2011): 265 - 280.
[70] Mazzinghi, "The Divine Violence in the Book of Qoheleth," 556 - 557.

God's future plans will come in the form of a final judgment. It seems more likely that these spirits are the Enochian solution to the problem of the wicked prospering and not having to face justice during their life time, rather than just a comment on Qoheleth. The Epistle of Enoch clearly condemns the ideas in Qoheleth concerning the righteous, the wicked, death, judgment, justice and the afterlife.[71] It is in the Epistle of Enoch rather than in the Book of the Watchers that we find a clear rejection of the tradition in Qoheleth.[72]

Why the wicked prosper and the righteous are oppressed is an ethical question faced by many religions. The Book of the Watchers offers the advice that God will eventually sit in judgment over all. Until then humans will be judged and experience justice once they die. While the wicked in this first dark chamber are tormented in the afterlife, they also have to endure judgment and justice again during the time of the final judgment. During that time, they will suffer "scourges and tortures" of those "cursed forever," when they are resurrected for further punishment (see chapter 4). For justice to be done there must be a "recompense for their spirits," meaning that their spirits must continue to pay for their crimes. The Book of the Watchers treats these spirits as the worst of humanity. The only other group who encounter punishment in the present and at the time of the final judgement are the fallen angels. Even the giants and disobedient stars are not treated this way. The giants experienced divine judgment and now roam the earth as evil disembodied spirits.[73] For the disobedient stars, their punishment will end in ten thousand years.[74] This is not the case for the wicked humans or the fallen angels. The rebellious angels have

[71] 1 Enoch 102: 4 – 11, 103: 1 – 15, 104: 1 – 8.
[72] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The "Epistle of Enoch": Genre and Authorial Presentation," *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2010): 358 - 388.
[73] 1 En 15: 4 – 10.
[74] 1 En 18: 13 – 16.

been confined within the earth in darkness: “bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment and consummation, until everlasting judgment is consummated. Then they will be led to the “fiery abyss, to the torture, and to the prison where they will be confined forever”.[75] This mirrors the punishment the wicked humans face. Being confined in a dark hollow within a mountain and on the day of the final judgment when they will confront the “scourges and tortures of the cursed forever,” here they will be bound forever.[76] Asael, one of the leaders of the fallen angels, is bound hand and foot and cast into darkness.[77] He is forced to lie on sharp and jagged rocks; with his face covered so he may not see the light.[78] “And on the day of the great judgment, he will be led away to the burning conflagration”.[79] Asael is given a far more severe punishment than the other angels. While we are not told what torments those in the first dark chamber are experiencing, they, like the fallen angels, are to endure a second round of divine vengeance and justice during the final judgment. Asael was the leader of the angels who taught humans the secrets of heaven, in particular metallurgy. He showed them ways not only to make instruments of war, but how to fashion gold and silver and all manner of precious stones and dyes.[80] This knowledge encouraged humans to be wicked in various ways. During the Second Temple period the authors of the Book of the Watchers struggled with the notion of the wicked continuing to prosper by committing evil acts. These people likely never endured any consequences for their crimes. This may have been so wide-spread and egregious that its authors believed these people were as evil as the fallen angels. The dissonance model

[75] 1 En 10: 11 – 12.
[76] 1 En 22: 10 – 11.
[77] 1 En 10: 4.
[78] 1 En 10: 5.
[79] 1 En 10: 6.
[80] 1 En 8: 1 -2.

would suggest that all evil should be wiped from the earth, so the righteous may prosper. Through this literal reversal of the current dominant order, justice will be restored.

The second chamber is full of the wicked dead who complain about how they died. 1 Enoch 22: 12 states "And this has been separated for the spirits that make suit, who make disclosure about destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the sinners."[81] These spirits are being tormented as they restlessly complain about the ways in which they were murdered during their lifetime. As Nickelsburg states, the identity of the occupants in this hollow has long been an interpretive problem.[82] He claims that "Terminological similarities to vv 5 – 7 suggests that they are innocent victims like Abel. But their unjustified violent deaths need not imply that they are "righteous.""[83] It is clear that they are not among the righteous, as they dwell in one of the darkened chambers as opposed to the illuminated chamber where the spirits of the righteous reside. If they were the martyred righteous, Nickelsburg argues, it seems incredulous that they would be consigned to a dark chamber and not provided with light and life - giving water. The martyred righteous are the most "egregious victims of injustice in this world."[84] It has also been suggested that these spirits maybe "restlessly seeking vengeance on their murders."[85] This is similar to a concept found in Mesopotamian literature in Inanna/Ishtar's descent to the underworld. The Goddess Ishtar demands entrance to the underworld otherwise she will destroy the gates of the netherworld and allow the dead to consume the living. It could be that the spirits who reside in this cavern

[81] 1 En 22: 12.
[82] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 308.
[83] Ibid, 308.
[84] Ibid, 308.
[85] Ibid, 308.

will not accept God's justice. They continue to complain about how they were murdered in the "days of the sinners," instead of trusting that God will judge their murderers, either when they die or during the final judgment. The righteous do trust in God's justice and vengeance, while the wicked continue to question God's judgment. Questioning God would make these people wicked. 1 Enoch 14: 22 states: "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, but he needed no counsellor; his every word was deed." This passage shows God's sovereignty over all of creation. This includes the afterlife and the judgment of those who reside there. If God does not need or take advice from the angels who attend him, he certainly is not going to take advice from a bunch of humans who are demanding vengeance and justice. Especially when God has already expressed that the final judgment is inevitable. As Bautch states, "Places for judgment do exist in the cosmos, the Book of the Watchers emphasizes that all of humanity and cosmological phenomena will be subject to such judgment."[86] God is in control of all creation and by questioning God's sovereignty these complaining spirits are engaged in a form of blasphemy. Bremmer argues: "Obedience to God, precisely in times of persecution, must have made blasphemy an even more serious crime then it would have been anyway."[87] The spirits in this chamber will receive justice for their murders, but they must also accept the justice God decrees. Furthermore, these spirits are not righteous but wicked. They may have to experience divine justice in their dark chamber for their crimes, before justice can be enacted on their murderers.

[86] Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple, The Prison," 53.
[87] Bremmer, "Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian," 316.

The third dark chamber is the final compartment of the wicked. 1 Enoch 22: 13 states “And this was created for the spirits of the people who will not be pious, but sinners, who were godless, and they were companions of the lawless. And their spirits will not be punished on the day of judgment, nor will they be raised from there.”[88] Unlike the first two darkened chambers these spirits do not seem to be suffering any sort of torment. Their major punishment seems to be the darkness of their dwelling. It is also explicitly stated that they will not be punished during the final judgment nor will they take part in the resurrection. It seems that this hollow is static; the condition in the hollow will not change for the spirits inside and at the final judgment will have neither positive or negative effect on the current existence of the inhabitants. Nickelsburg believes that these spirits were judged during their lifetime “and for that reason they do not need to be recompensed either immediately after death or at the great day of judgment.”[89] It has also been suggested that these spirits “comprises the generation of the flood who were judged by their destruction in the flood.”[90] This theory is given some credence when one considers that the giants, who in 1 Enoch are the cause of the flood, and are referred to as the “lawless ones.”[91] The people in this chamber were specifically labelled as “companions of the lawless.”[92] Furthermore, 1 Enoch 10: 20 states: “Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all lawlessness and from all sin, and godlessness and all impurities that have come upon the earth remove.” This relates to the flood with “godlessness” and “lawlessness” being mentioned in the verse. This again relates to the identification of the spirits in the final chamber who were both “godless” and “companions of the lawless.” There is problem with this theory. In 1

[88] 1 En 22: 13.
[89] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 308
[90] Ibid, 309.
[91] 1 En 7: 6.
[92] 1 En 22: 13.

Enoch 9: 10 we are told that because of the fallen angels' actions, and the actions of their offspring, the giants, that "the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit." This would seem to suggest that the complaining spirits who dwell in the second dark chamber could be from the generation of the flood as well. There is a possibility that both chambers contain members from the time of the flood, but that would also mean that the first dark chamber should also contain people from this time period too. This notion works if those in the first darkened chamber are the people who murdered the humans in the second dark chamber. This is problematic because that would mean that the members of the first dark chamber would have to go through the destruction of the flood, which wiped all human life, except for Noah and his family. This means that the spirits in the first chamber would have been judged during their lifetimes. The passage 22: 10 states that those in the first dark chamber were not judged during their lifetimes, which is why they are in there. The flood was a judgment against all the wicked humans on earth. As such it is unlikely that those in the first dark chamber were alive during the time of the flood.

The Book of the Watchers infers that those in the fourth chamber faced justice during their life time. It is unclear exactly who those in the fourth darkened chamber are. It is filled with those who were "not pious," but were in fact "godless" sinners and "companions of the lawless" but who exactly resides in this chamber is still unclear. That the punishment they received was sufficient enough to mean that while they will dwell in darkness for eternity, they will not suffer torment in the underworld or during the final judgment.[93] It may be that they represent the generation of the flood, but it is just as likely that this is not the case. There must be

[93]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 308.

many “godless” sinners who have been punished in their lifetime and a straightforward reading is no less reasonable than the flood theory. The spirits said to inhabit each of the chambers in the mountain of the dead may hold multiple levels of meaning just like the other symbols, such as light and darkness. By not specifically identifying the spirits in any of the chambers and giving a very general description of why they reside in certain chambers, the afterlife becomes universal. There is also the very real possibility that the identification of these spirits was well known during the Second Temple period and that their true meaning has been lost to time. What is clear is the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers was set up in order to articulate an image of the restoration of God’s divine justice.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore how the theme of justice relates to the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. Many of the symbols on the mountain of the dead seem like they may come from other cultural traditions and were re-purposed by the Book of the Watchers, but framed in terms of justice and judgment. The imagery of the fountain in the illuminated chamber of the righteous dead, may have been either directly or indirectly, influenced by Greek/Orphic beliefs. The Mesopotamian myths about the underworld have literary parallels about the afterlife being dark, the location being a mountain and the notion of vengeful spirits of the dead. The Zoroastrians have the closest parallels to the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers. Both visions of the afterlife are governed by a moral code, as such human behaviour dictates whether one is righteous or wicked. They also share the concept that the righteous dead dwell in light and the wicked in darkness. Nevertheless, many of the ideas and imagery of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers are best

understood within their own cultural context. This chapter shows that if biblical texts are read with an eschatological eye, they can be re-interpreted in a way which exemplifies judgment, vengeance and the restoration justice. This eschatological framework helps to validate the concept of the afterlife as a place of justice.

The notion of justice in the afterlife within the Book of the Watchers comes from a reinterpretation of sections of the Hebrew Bible. It seems that Genesis 1 played a major role in the location of the afterlife and the illuminated section for the righteous souls, as separated from the darkened chambers of the wicked souls. The authors of 1 Enoch use and repurpose the creation story in Genesis 1 to give it an eschatological twist. This is very typical of the way in which 1 Enoch interacts with various passages in the Hebrew Bible. This eschatological reading of the Hebrew Bible implies that many texts such as Psalms, Proverbs and Exodus contributed to the imagery of the afterlife. The Book of the Watchers re -imagines Sheol as a place of justice and judgment as a way to combat cultural dissonance. The world is not as it should be according to the Book of the Watchers. The wicked prosper while the righteous suffer. The source of this suffering was likely provoked by the political dominance of a colonising Hellenistic culture during the Second Temple period. In order to combat this, the Book of the Watchers offered justice in the afterlife and a final judgment which would return justice to the earth by installing a new power structure.

This chapter has argued that justice and judgment in the Book of the Watchers are major themes which help explain the symbols and imagery in the afterlife. The notions of punishment and reward are the key to divine justice being implemented in

the afterlife. It has also been argued that the eschatological framework in the Book of the Watchers inspired its authors to create an ethical afterlife based on a person's earthly behaviour. This inevitably led to the creation of a vision of the afterlife in which justice is the governing principle.

Chapter 4: Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers

Introduction

Some of the earliest notions of resurrection appear in works relating to the Hellenistic reform and Maccabean Revolt (167 – 160 BCE), during the socio-political crisis of the second century BCE. The theme of resurrection certainly increased during and after the Maccabean Revolt.[1] Yet when considering the historical development of resurrection in early Jewish literature, the Book of the Watchers may provide evidence that the belief in resurrection appeared at least half a century before the Maccabean Revolt.[2] The theme of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers is "disconnected from any particular military conflict or with the martyrdoms of the Maccabean age."[3] The social and political environment in which the hope of resurrection was first imagined in the Book of the Watchers remains a mystery.

The notion of resurrection in 1 Enoch first appears in the Book of the Watchers. It holds an early form of Jewish resurrection beliefs, although the idea has much older roots in the ancient near east. Resurrection was an idea that was already known to the first known literate society - the Sumerians. The Babylonians also have various myths which depict resurrection. The Zoroastrians too have a complex resurrection event woven into their eschatological world view. The concept of resurrection in the

[1] Gerbern S. Oegema, "Was the Maccabean Revolt an Apocalyptic Movement?," in *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview: The first Enoch seminar Nangeroni meeting Villa Cagnola, Gazzada (June 25 – 28, 2012),* ed. Lester L. Grabbe, Gabriele Boccaccini and Jason Zurawski (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2016) 84 – 85.
[2] Wifrid Harrington, "Resurrection of the Body and Life Everlasting," *The Furrow,* Vol 37, No 2, (1986): 92 -100.
[3] C. D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism, 200 BCE – CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) 145.

Book of the Watchers is unique within its own cultural context. When wider religious contexts are compared to the Book of the Watchers, however, it is clear that the concept of resurrection was a common trope in the ancient near east. Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers can be defined as an eschatological event, in which certain spirits of dead humans are restored back to life through divine agency. It presents some of the wicked dead as resurrected to face further punishments, while the restored righteous eat from the tree of life and enjoy the new earth ruled by God. The imagery of the righteous eating from the tree of life suggests a bodily resurrection. The Book of the Watchers depicts resurrection as part of the final judgment and as the ultimate restoration of justice.

There is a phase between death and the afterlife, and final resurrection in the Book of the Watchers. The themes of death and resurrection are connected to justice and judgment. The dead have already faced judgment and a form of justice in the afterlife (see chapter 3). Nevertheless, it is the final judgement and the resurrection which will ensure justice enduring for both the righteous and the wicked dead. Furthermore, at the time of the final judgment, the justice implemented in the afterlife will also be achieved on the earth through divine mandate. Therefore, when discussing the idea of death and/or resurrection, the restoration of justice is at the heart of these concepts in the Book of Enoch.

This chapter intends to examine the notion of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers. It will be argued that while some biblical literature may have inspired its eschatological idea of resurrection, the notion may have been influenced either directly or indirectly by the cultural milieu of the Second Temple period, specifically

Zoroastrianism. It will also be argued that during the final judgment there will be a restoration of justice. One component of this is the bodily resurrection of the dead.

Scholarship on resurrection

Resurrection is a popular topic. Elledge has written an entire book on the subject, in which one of its chapters deals with resurrection in the Book of the Watchers. Elledge examines the particular "Enochic" assumptions about resurrection. He insists that the Book of the Watchers is critical for understanding the historical emergence of resurrection." He explains that the notion of resurrection is found in chapter 22 in the Book of the Watchers. He discusses the fate of both the righteous and the wicked and the respective resurrections of each group. Elledge argues throughout the chapter that the Book of the Watchers envisages a bodily resurrection of the dead: "A literal reading of the precise imagery utilized in this passage would suggest that this restored, primeval life embraces physical existence upon the earth."[4] Elledge uses various passages from the Book of the Watchers for much of his evidence of physical resurrection. This chapter follows the argument of Elledge that the Book of the Watchers portrays a physical resurrection of the dead. Only some of the wicked dead are to be raised, while the resurrection of the righteous dead is only alluded to, as Elledge points out. This chapter will also argue that the resurrection event is an extension of the justice the afterlife promises. That resurrection in the Book of the Watchers represents the ultimate form of justice for both the righteous and the wicked dead. This chapter will also take into account outside factors which may have either directly or indirectly influenced the idea of

[4] Ibid, 142.

resurrection in the Book of the Watchers; this includes biblical notions as well as concepts from other religions such as Zoroastrianism.

Mark Finney's book *Resurrection, Hell and Afterlife: The Body and the Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, is relevant, in particular chapter three entitled: "The priority of the soul: constructions of the afterlife in Second Temple Judaism."[5] He argues that the majority of Second Temple Judaism texts envisage a resurrection of the soul, rather than the physical resurrection of the body. The Book of Enoch is mentioned extensively throughout the chapter as envisaging the resurrection of the soul. He conflates the ideas in the Epistle of Enoch, the Book of Parables and the Book of the Watchers, although, this is problematic because they were all written in different time periods. Finney does mention that 1 Enoch is a composite text written by different authors during different times, claiming that much of the Book has been dated to the second and first century BCE. While this is true, there are five main sections or chapters that make up the Book of Enoch, which range in date from the fourth century BCE to the turn of the current era (see chapter 1).[6] He argues that the mountain of the dead in chapter 22 emphasizes the spirits of the dead. He links the ideas in chapter 22, which forms part of the Book of the Watchers, to ideas in chapters 102 – 103, which are from the Epistle of Enoch.[7] Taking all these chapters in 1 Enoch together, he claims that their authors all believed in the resurrection of the soul and not the body. In fact, Finney quotes a variety of authoritative sources to prove his point including Nickelsburg, Stuckenbruck and Collins. Unfortunately for Finney, these authors are talking about

[5] Mark Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and Afterlife: The Body and the Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: Taylor and Francis group, 2016).
[6] Neusner and Avery-Peck (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Religious and Philosophical,* 106.
[7] Finney, *"Resurrection, Hell and Afterlife,"* 51 -52.

the resurrection in the Epistle of Enoch, not the Book of the Watchers. Finney, however, has structured his argument in such a way that it appears that Nickelsburg, Stuckenbruck and Collins could be referencing both sections of 1 Enoch. For someone not well versed in 1 Enoch, Finney's argument is compelling. The Book of Enoch was part of a developing tradition. By the time the Epistle of Enoch and the Book of Parables were composed the belief of how resurrection would function had changed. The later compositions of 1 Enoch envisage a spiritual resurrection. Conflating these ideas with the earlier Enochic literature of the Book of the Watchers is problematic. This chapter will focus on the Book of the Watchers, which has the earliest notion of bodily resurrection within the writings of 1 Enoch.

Sigvartsen also discusses resurrection in the Book of the Watchers in his book *Afterlife and Resurrection beliefs in the apocrypha and apocalyptic literature*.[8] In a chapter entitled "Old Testament Pseudepigraphical Writings" the theme of resurrection in Second Temple period compositions is discussed. The Book of Enoch is the first text examined by Sigvartsen. In this chapter he deals with each of the booklets which make up 1 Enoch. He argues that they should be discussed separately due to the Book of Enoch's composite nature and uncertain dating. In regards to the Book of the Watchers, Sigvartsen discusses in detail the chapters and verses which he claims refer to resurrection: 20:8, 22 and 25. He states that "The Book of the Watchers does not explicitly address the nature of the eschatological resurrection – whether it will be a bodily or just a resurrection of the soul."[9] Basing his argument on chapters 20:8 and 22 Sigvartsen says that these verses suggest a resurrection of the soul, rather than the body. He then considers

[8] Jan Age Sigvartsen, *Afterlife and Resurrection beliefs in the Apocrypha and Apocalyptic Literature* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).
[9] Ibid, 109.

the passages 5: 7 and 25: 4 – 6 Sigvartsen argues that these passages allude to the righteous dead experiencing a resurrection of the body. “All the books view the eschatological judgement as the solution to theodicy, and the resurrection belief is what makes the judgment possible.”[10] Sigvartsen bases his conclusions primarily on the ideas provided within the Book of Enoch. This chapter examines the Book of the Watchers within its own context. It will also be compared to the Hebrew Bible and, other possible cultural influences such as Zoroastrianism. While the Book of the Watchers is not explicit about its resurrection beliefs, there is enough evidence to argue that it did envision a bodily resurrection of the dead at the time of the final judgment. The restoration of the body is linked to the restoration of justice.

The Book of the Watchers and Defining Resurrection

The theme of resurrection is sometimes associated with various other cultures, including the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and Zoroastrian Persians. Bronner defines resurrection as, “the belief that the future dead will rise from their graves, bringing about a revival of the whole person, body and soul.”[11] This kind of basic definition is lacking in much of the scholarship which discusses resurrection. Many authors fail to define resurrection at all, which makes finding a comprehensive definition challenging.

There are scholars such as Levenson and Elledge who provide complex definitions. Levenson argues resurrection must be defined “as an eschatological event, that is, one that is expected to occur in history but also to transform and redeem history

[10] Ibid, 126.
[11] Leila Leah Bronner, *Journey to Heaven: Exploring Jewish Views of the Afterlife* (Jerusalem: New York: Urim Publications, 2011) 22.

and to open onto a barely imaginable world beyond anything that preceded it."[12] There is an expectation that God will "redeem the tragedies of history, not just for the few who survive till the end but for all who have lived, or have lived rightly."[13] In his book Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism 200 BCE – CE 200, Elledge explores the meaning of resurrection in regards to Judaism. He argues: "Early Judaism envisioned resurrection in varied ways. Given the wide spectrum of literary and conceptual expression, definitions will necessarily fall short of the complexities posed by the evidence."[14] Elledge states that those who attested to resurrection made a specialised claim that it could only be achieved through divine agency via an eschatological event. In fact, resurrection should be understood as the dead who await their restoration into full human existence through an eschatological event. "This distinguishes resurrection from mere resuscitation and from reincarnation."[15] The notion of resurrection is present in a wide variety of early Jewish texts. It displays that the authors could imagine how the new "risen life would be distinguished from the old."[16] All the varied notions of resurrection present this event as leading to a new form of human existence.

Elledge's definition includes the concepts of "spiritual" and "bodily" resurrection.[17] Bodily resurrection involves the restoration of the spirit into the body of the deceased. A spiritual resurrection is an event when the spirit of the deceased is raised to a higher form of existence by God without the need for a physical body. The notions of both bodily and spiritual resurrection are attested to in 1 Enoch. The

[12] Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and Restoration of Israel: The ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) 20.
[13] Ibid, 20 – 21.
[14] Elledge, *"Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism,"* 2.
[15] Ibid, 3.
[16] Ibid, 3.
[17] Ibid, 5 – 6.

Book of the Watchers seems to restore certain members of the dead to a physical body and new life on earth. The Epistle of Enoch and the Book of Parables envision the resurrection of the spirits of the righteous dead to a heavenly existence, with no concern for the physical body. There is a third mode of resurrection which will be discussed in this chapter, namely national resurrection. This is the resurrection of the nation of Israel rather than individual people being raised. Keller has noted that the earliest ideas of resurrection were more in line with notions of immortality for the nation of Israel, a national restoration.[18] The individual would only be able to participate in the coming salvation if they were alive to see it. This national restoration ushered in a time in which God would destroy Israel's enemies and the nation would be restored to power. In this case the individual suffered because of the nation's sins; a national resurrection was a hope for one's descendants.[19] National restoration is the earliest form of the concept of resurrection in the Hebrew Bible. Later Jewish literature such as the compositions of 1 Enoch, transformed a national hope for salvation into an individual hope.

The idea of resurrection is complicated. Elledge has stated that any definition of the term will fall short of accurately describing what resurrection means.[20] That fact that so many scholars fail to give any kind of description shows the complexity of the term. Elledge's definition is useful as a starting point. His only interest is in describing the Jewish notion of resurrection and he has done this admirably. This chapter highlights the complexity of the term. The Sumerians and Babylonians also believed in resurrection, but of gods and goddesses, as can be seen in

[18] Edmund B. Keller, "Hebrew thoughts on Immortality and Resurrection," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion,* Vol. 5, No. 1, (1974): 16 – 44.
[19] Ibid, 28.
[20] Elledge, *"Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism,"* 2.

Inanna/Ishtar's descent to the underworld. The goddess Inanna/Ishtar goes down to the underworld and is killed while she is down there by the queen of the underworld. Inanna/Ishtar is later resurrected by another god. This example shows that other cultures have resurrection narratives. The Sumerians and Babylonians had no concept of humans rising from the dead only gods and goddesses. The Persian Zoroastrians also believed in a resurrection event. They believed that at the time of the final judgment all deceased humanity will be raised and purified and then live a blessed existence in the light of their god. The Sumerian, Babylonian and Zoroastrian beliefs all have nuances just like the Jewish versions of resurrection. A sweeping definition which took into account all the nuances of resurrection, including of gods and goddesses, as well as various human resurrections, some of which are inclusive and others in which only an elect group are raised from the dead, would be an undertaking of immense proportions.

Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers and the Hebrew Bible

The Book of the Watchers believes in a universal eschatological event in which all will be judged. It is a recurring theme throughout the book. The main concern for the Book of the Watchers is the need to combat the notion of evil. The authors believed that individuals were responsible for their earthly behaviour (see chapter 3). The development of the concept in 1 Enoch stems from the beliefs of the Israelites, which are expressed in the Hebrew Bible writings. There are passages in the Hebrew Bible which refer to a national resurrection/restoration of the Israelite people, such a Deuteronomy 32: 39, 1 Samuel 2: 6 - 7, Psalm 88, Hosea 6: 1 -3, and Ezekiel 37. 1 Enoch relies on Biblical traditions and teachings of national

restoration, but it also transcends them, using ideas from elsewhere in antiquity.[21] The interpretation of the idea of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers is notable, because aside from Daniel 12: 2 and Isaiah 26: 14 - 19 the idea of a bodily individual resurrection is not attested to anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, the Hebrew Bible would have provided inspiration for the notion of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers.

It is likely that the authors of the Book of the Watchers were influenced by the concept of national resurrection in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, Hosea 6: 1 - 3 contains the notion of a national resurrection. There are conflicting views on the concepts found in Hosea 6: 1 -3, which arise from various scholars who argue one of three things. The first argument maintains that the verses are influenced by the agricultural Baal worship, namely the seasonal cycle of Baal dying and then rising from the netherworld. As both Bronner and Wijngaards have succinctly argued, the Baal myth is a poor fit to the biblical concept of death and resurrection of humans; in fact one has nothing to do with the other .[22] The second set of scholars tend to argue that the passage indicates healing and not resurrection. Many authors have claimed that these verses refer to sickness and healing. Authors like Spronk do not find this to be a compelling argument. Spronk asserts that the idea of deliverance from the realm of the dead is the belief expressed in Hosea 6: 1-3, which refers to more than just healing and sickness.[23] On the other hand Wijngaards argues: "...the references to wounds and sickness do not prove that no real death is intended."[24]

[21] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 303 – 304.
[22]Leila Leah Bronner "The Resurrection Motif in the Hebrew Bible: Allusions or Illusions?" *Jewish Bible Quarterly,* Vol. 30, No. 3, (2002): 143 - 154. See also J. Wijngaards "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos. VI 2)," *Vetus Testamentum,* Vol. 17, Fasc. 2, (1967): 226 – 239.
[23]Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel* (Germany: Verlag Butzon and Bercker, 1986) 276.
[24]Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal," 229.

The final scholarly discourse which surrounds verses 1 -3 refer to resurrection or revival after death. Mauchline and Andersen agree with this view, arguing that the second verse in Hosea alludes to a revival after death.[25]

Bronner believes that the motifs in Hosea suggest not only national revival but also an individual, physical resurrection.[26] It is far more likely, however, that Hosea 6: 1-3 refers to national revival or resurrection of the Israelites via the motif of healing, rather than physical resurrection as Bronner claims. This assertion is backed up by Wijngaard, who never deviates from the underlying assumption throughout his article, that the resurrection alluded to in Hosea is in fact a national revival of the Israelite people as a whole.[27] Furthermore, Hosea 13 deals with the sins of Israel in relation to the Baal cult and idolatry, as the Israelites had turned away from the God of Israel. In Hosea 13: 14 God asks: "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death?" This verse sheds light on the earlier passages of Hosea 6: 1 -3 and indicates that the prophet Hosea is speaking of God healing and reviving the people of Israel as a whole, not individually. Hosea 6: 1 – 3 is a call for the Israelites as a nation to be healed and raised up. Therefore, Hosea is about forgiveness and subsequently the revival/resurrection of the Israelites as a nation rather than the individual resurrection found in the Book of the Watchers.

In the Book of the Watchers there is a shift from the traditional Jewish view of resurrection being about the nation of Israel to being about the individual. Isaiah 26 represents this new trend in the Hebrew Bible. This shift seems to have occurred

[25] John Mauchline, *Book of Hosea: The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956) 625. See also: Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: a new translation with introduction and commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1980) 420 – 421.
[26] Bronner "The Resurrection Motif in the Hebrew Bible," 149.
[27] Wijngaards "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal," 226 – 239.

during the Second Temple period. Isaiah 26 is widely thought to be from a relatively late period, most likely the early Second Temple period (late sixth or early fifth centuries BCE).[28] Part of verse 19 of Isaiah 26 reads, "Thy dead shall live, their bodies shall rise. O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!" This imagery shows that there was an expectation of personal resurrection for some Israelites.[29] Verse 21 proclaims, that God will "punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity, and the earth will disclose the bloodshed upon her, and will no more cover her slain." Johnston believes that these inhabitants are foreign oppressors and that these people will not be resurrected; only God's people will.[30] It is significant that Isaiah differentiates between Israel and its foreign oppressors during the time of God's final judgement. God will punish the oppressors and restore the Israelite people; part of this revival will include the resurrection of dead Israelites.[31] Through the divine acts of both restoration and resurrection, God's judgement is a vindication of the righteous, especially those slain by the oppressors.[32] The act of divine judgment punishes the wicked, particularly those who have in some way wronged the righteous.[33] Isaiah focuses on the vindication of the righteous, which means that not everyone is resurrected; the wicked stay dead and do not rise to be judged.[34] The application may be national, but the imagery presupposes the concept of individual resurrection".[35] There is a similar idea in the Book of the Watchers. The major difference is that some, but not all, of the wicked dead will be raised along

[28]Kevin J.Madigan and Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection: The Power of God for Christians and Jew* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008) 186, 189.
[29] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol,* 225.
[30] Ibid 225.
[31]George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity,* Expanded ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 2006) 31.
[32] Ibid 31 – 32.
[33]Isa 26: 20 – 21. See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 32.
[34]Isa 26: 14. See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life,* 32.
[35]Johnston, *Shades of Sheol,* 225.

with the righteous. The Book of the Watchers also does not differentiate between the people of Israel and the rest of the human population. The purpose of the resurrection in the Book of the Watchers is the implementation of divine justice on all humanity not just the Jewish people.

The idea of bodily resurrection in Isaiah 26: 19 may have influenced the Book of the Watchers, although, scholars such as Levenson have argued that the text of Isaiah 26: 19 is ambiguous.[36] Many commentators such as Schmitz, Sweeney, Madigan and Levenson have debated whether it represents a "true" resurrection of the sort that was anticipated in later Jewish and Christian faiths, or if this is simply another metaphorical example of national recovery as is found in the dry bones imagery of Ezekiel 37.[37] Dewart has argued that the ideas of national resurrection and individual resurrection are so closely entwined, "that it is problematic whether some passages,"[38] such as Isaiah 26, is actually referring to the "giving of new life to the individual or to the nation."[39] According to Birkeland the latter eschatological belief surfaced after the Israelite people came into contact with the Zoroastrians.[40] It is widely believed that 1 Enoch was influenced by Zoroastrianism, so it is not unreasonable to posit that so was Isaiah 26: 19, written around the same time. Madigan and Levenson believe that Isaiah 26: 19 is suggestive of the later imagery

[36] Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel,* 199 – 200.
[37] Phillip C. Schmitz, "The Grammar of Resurrection in Isaiah 26: 19 a- c," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 122, No. 1, (2003): 145 - 149. See also: Marvin A. Sweeney, "Textual Citation in Isaiah 24 -27: Towards an Understanding of the Redactional Function of Chapters 24 -27 in the Book of Isaiah," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 107, No. 1, (1988): 39 - 52. See also: Madigan and Levenson, *Resurrection: The Power of God,* 188.
[38] Joanne E. McWilliam Dewart, *Death and Resurrection* (Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1986) 22.
[39] Ibid 22.
[40] Harris Birkeland, "The Belief in the resurrection of the dead in the Old Testament," *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology,* Vol. 3, No. 1, (1949): 60 - 78.

found in Daniel 12,[41] which is widely believed to depicted an individual resurrection of the dead. From the above evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that Isaiah 26: 14 - 19 represents the first Jewish eschatological worldview, which went beyond mere restoration of the Israelite people, but in fact ascribed to the belief that a major part of the restoration included a physical individual resurrection of the dead. This was nevertheless distinct from more developed examples of Jewish biblical apocalyptic literature, such as the Book of the Watchers.[42] It is also likely that Isaiah 26: 19 influenced the belief of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers. A physical resurrection of the dead represents justice for the righteous spirits who were forced to suffer due to the wicked.

The Mountain of the Dead and Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers

In the Book of the Watchers there is some sort of a resurrection envisioned. 1 Enoch 20: 8 states that the archangel Remiel has been "put in charge of them that rise." Remiel is responsible for the humans who are resurrected. There are seven archangels on the list including Raphael "who is in charge of the spirits of men" and Sariel "who is in charge of the spirits who sin against the spirit."[43] Remiel is the last archangel on the list, with his job beginning at the time of the final judgment. Then some of the wicked and all the righteous dead will be resurrected to face further rewards and punishments for how they conducted themselves while they were alive. 1 Enoch 5: 7 states that there will be light, joy and peace for the righteous who will

[41] Madigan and Levenson, *Resurrection: The Power of God,* 188.
[42] Schmitz, "The Grammar of Resurrection in Isaiah," 145.
[43] 1 En 20: 3 – 6.

inherit the earth, while the wicked will be cursed. The resurrection at the time of the final judgment represents the implantation of justice on the earth for humanity.

Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers relates to the final implementation of justice. This event is to occur as part of the final judgment. Nickelsburg has stated that the authors of the Book of the Watchers "believed in some kind of a resurrection."[44] This is evident when one examines chapter 22, about the mountain of the dead. In verse 10 the audience is introduced to the wicked spirits who were not judged during their lifetime (see chapter 3). The verse states that these wicked spirits who reside in a dark chamber on the mountain will be moved to "there" at the time of the final judgment. This is a difficult verse to interpret. These wicked spirits should probably be grouped together with the rebellious angels, who, according to 10: 13 – 14, are to be condemned, bound and led to the fiery abyss at the time of the final judgment.[45] Chapter 21: 7 – 10 provides a description of the fiery abyss. Nickelsburg argues that "it is reasonable to suppose that "there" in chapter 22 "refers to that abyss."[46] Chapter 22: 13 describes another group of wicked spirits who were not pious but sinners. The verse also states that these spirits will not be "raised up from here" (see chapter 3). Resurrection is denied to this group, who will remain in their dark abode forever. They will receive no further punishment at the time of the final judgment; they are to be imprisoned in the mountain of the dead forever (see chapter 3). Elledge succinctly asserts "Stated in the negative, a brief, yet recognizable reference to resurrection appears in this passage."[47] In summary, the sinners in one dark chamber are moved from the mountain of the dead to

[44] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*:* 306.
[45] Ibid, 308.
[46] Ibid, 308.
[47] Elledge, *Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism,* 136.

another place of punishment, and the wicked spirits in the last chamber will not be raised at all. This suggests the concept of a resurrection of the wicked spirits of the dead.

Resurrection may also be alluded to within the illuminated chamber of the righteous dead. Aside from the light in the chamber, these spirits are sustained by a fountain of water. The fountain of water reinforces the theme of resurrection. As Nickelsburg states, "The imagery of water connotes life, even if this is the place of the dead."[48] This is another example of the Book of the Watchers taking biblical traditions and surpassing them. In the Hebrew Bible the souls of the dead are expected to remain in Sheol forever, without any concept of a return to life. There are two exceptions to this, Isa 26: 14 which may posit a resurrection of the righteous and Dan 12: 2 which also speaks of many rising to everlasting life and others to everlasting shame.[49] The Book of Daniel was composed well after the Book of the Watchers in 1 Enoch, so is somewhat irrelevant here. Isaiah 26: 19 links the notion of resurrection to water and light, after telling the dead or the "dwellers of dust" to arise. The verse goes on to say, "for thy dew, is the dew of light." Here the notions of light and water are linked to the concept of resurrection. Furthermore, Ps 36: 9 states: "for with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light we do see light." Again, just as in Isaiah, the notion of water, in this case a fountain, light and life, are all linked together. According to Sigvartsen, "the water image with life - giving force (eg. Jer 2: 13, 17: 12) alludes to God's life-giving force itself, while light is often associated with God's presence and life itself (e.g. Pss 27: 1, 49: 19, 56: 13)."[50] These are very powerful symbols, life

[48]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 307.
[49] Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life,* 32.
[50]Sigvartsen, Afterlife and Resurrection beliefs in the Apocrypha, 105.

being associated with God and God with the righteous dead.[51] The imagery of the fountain of water in the afterlife presented in the Book of the Watchers likely draws inspiration for the resurrection of the righteous dead from the Hebrew Bible.

There are many other sources in the ancient near east linking the notion of water with resurrection, which may have influenced the authors of the Book of the Watchers. In her descent to the underworld, the Sumerian goddess Inanna is resurrected when she is given the food and water of life.[52] In the Babylonian version of the same myth, the goddess Ishtar is also resurrected after the waters of life are sprinkled on her.[53] While the issue is debated, it does seem that the Greeks had no notion of resurrection in the traditional apocalyptic/biblical sense of the term. .[54] They did, however, have the notion of immortality and rebirth. The Pythagoreans, for instance, believed that the soul was immortal, but trapped within an impure body. When a person died their soul was destined to be reborn in a never ending cycle.[55] The only way to escape this recurrent cycle was though "recollection," which is basically the soul's memory of itself, in previous incarnations and journeys though the underworld. The Orphic beliefs of the water fountain in the underworld form part of this process.[56] Nickelsburg believes that the authors of the Book of the Watchers are in debt to Greek ideas (Platonic, Orphic and Pythagorean) in regards

[51] Ibid, 105.
[52] Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth,* 64.
[53] Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation,* 159.
[54] There is some debate over the god Dionysus. Some scholars argue that he was resurrected, however it was more likely his story is about rebirth not resurrection.
[55] Kristen Szumyn, "Katabasis: The Pythagorean Descent", *Ancient History Resourses for Teachers,* Vol. 31, No. 1 (2001): 69 - 79. See also Hasskei Mohammed Majeed, "The Orphic origins of belief in reincarnation in ancient Greek Philosophy," *Phronimon,* Vol. 14, No. 1 (2013): 119 - 132. See also Francis Macdonald Cornford, *From Religion to philosophy. A study in the origins of Western Speculation* (New York: Harper & Row 1957) 161 – 162. See also Stian Sundell Torjussen, "The "Orphic – Pythagorean" Eschatology of the Gold Tablets from Thurli and the Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneid," *Symbolae Osloenses,* Vol. 83, No. 1 (2008): 68 - 83. See also W. W. Fenn and W. Douglas Mackenzie, "The Relation between the Resurrection of Jesus and the Belief in Immortality," *The American Journal of Theology,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (1908): 565 - 587. See also 1 En 22: 3 -13.
[56] Szumyn, "Katabasis: The Pythagorean Descent", 72 – 73.

to the fountain in the realm of the dead. The authors of the Book of the Watchers likely knew of these ideas. They may have been inspired either directly or indirectly by them. Just as the authors of 1 Enoch took biblical ideas, twisted and reinterpreted them, it is not inconceivable that they did something similar with well known myths from other cultures. Thus, all of these concepts could have influenced the authors of the Book of the Watchers, with the water fountain in the afterlife relating to the resurrection of the righteous dead.

In order to understand how the authors of the Book of the Watchers understood the eschatological life for the righteous and the wicked dead, chapters 24 and 25 must be taken into account. Nothing in the imagery of the mountain of the dead suggests what kind of resurrection the Book of the Watchers envisions. If anything, it suggests a spiritual resurrection of the dead, which is also the resurrection imagined in the Epistle of Enoch and the Book of Parables. Chapter 22 provides information of how and where the spirits of the dead dwell until the final judgment. Chapters 24 and 25 provide information about what will happen specifically to the righteous and the wicked at the final judgment. Chapter 24 and 25 suggest a bodily resurrection of the dead in order to enact the justice at the time of the final judgment.

Bodily Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers

Chapters 24 and 25 explain the final judgment and show the restoration of justice through bodily resurrection. They describe a tree that no flesh has the right to touch until the final judgment, when God will descend to the earth in goodness.[57] The fruit of the tree will be given to the righteous and the pious when it is transplanted to

[57] 1 En 25: 3 – 4.

Jerusalem and its sanctuary, the source of eternal life.[58] The tree of life has connections to the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2: 9, in which both the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil are introduced. In Genesis 3: 22 for consuming from the tree of knowledge, Adam and Eve are cast out of the garden of Eden, so they will not eat fruit from the tree of life and become like gods. In Gen 3: 24 cherubim are placed in the garden to guard the tree of life so that none will consume it. The Book of the Watchers never explicitly states that the special tree in chapter 25 is the tree of life, only that the righteous will consume its fruit at the eschaton and will live a long life on earth like the first patriarchs, while torments, plagues and suffering will not form part of the new age.[59] This passage equates God with the tree of life, implying God's role as life giver and his victory over death. It also links God to the creation story in Genesis 1, as his coming and the final judgment brings about a new earth as well as the destruction of the wicked. This will bring about the vindication of the righteous both living and dead. In fact, 1 Enoch 5:7 states: "For the chosen there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth." Scholars such as Bachmann have argued that the tree described in chapters 24 – 25 is not the tree of life but the tree of wisdom. Bachmann argues that the tree described here should be equated with the tree of wisdom described in chapter 32.[60] She claims that if the two trees are linked, the passage depicts wisdom's appearance during the final judgment.[61] Stock-Henketh states that the tree of life and the tree of wisdom have been intentionally separated in the Book of

[58] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 315.
[59] 1 En 25: 6.
[60] Veronika Bachmann, "Rooted in Paradise? The Meaning of the 'Tree of Life' in 1 Enoch 24 – 25 Reconsidered," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha,* Vol. 19, No. 2, (2009): 83 - 107.
[61] Ibid, 104.

the Watchers.[62] One tree inhabits in the south west section of heaven while the other resides in the north east section of heaven. He claims this separation is to "emphasise the impossibility of the realization of the final age until judgment has been done and the righteous vindicated."[63] Although Stock-Henketh argues that while chapter 25 states that the tree of life will be transplanted to Jerusalem at the time of the final judgment, it may be correct to assume that the tree of knowledge may be transplanted too, although this is never stated in the text.[64] In Genesis 2 and 3 God never forbids Adam and Eve from eating the fruit of the tree of life; only the fruit from the tree of knowledge is forbidden. The tree of life only became inaccessible after the first humans consumed fruit from the tree of knowledge, so they would not become like gods. If the new golden age in the Book of the Watchers is characterised by the vindication of the righteous and the restoration of justice, by following the guidance of Enoch, the righteous will attain what Adam and Eve failed to achieve – immortality.[65] There may have been more than one garden of Eden narrative, as shown in Ezekiel 28: 13 – 18. Williams argues that he does not think that Ezekiel 28 is a fuller version of Genesis 2 –3 or even a new version of the myth, but a reprimand to the King of Tyre for hubris in claiming that he is a god or godlike.[66] Nevertheless, if read with an eschatological eye, Ezekiel 28 claims that the first man was gifted with wisdom, but through arrogance and hubris he was cast out of Eden. If this is linked to Genesis 2 and 3, it gives a reason why God would be afraid that by eating from the tree of life the humans would become like gods. The righteous in the Book of the Watchers praise God and have followed his laws.

[62] Jonathan Stock-Hesketh, "Circles and Mirrors: Understanding 1 Enoch 21 – 32," *Journal for the study of the Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 11, No. 21 (2000): 27 - 58.
[63] Ibid, 52.
[64] Ibid, 52.
[65] Ibid, 52.
[66] Anthony J. Williams, "The Mythological Background to Ezekiel 28: 12 – 19?" *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1976): 49 - 61.

Providing them with fruit of the tree of life is consequently a reward, as they have shown that they would not seek to surpass or subvert God's rule. Furthermore, the Book of the Watchers states that once the righteous have consumed the fruit of the tree the fragrance will be in their bones. Nickelsburg claims this may be a reference to the resurrection of the body.[67] Considering that the righteous dead should share in the justice and vindication of the righteous, it makes sense that by consuming the fruit from the tree of the life they should be bodily resurrected to share in the destruction of the wicked through the final judgment.

At the time of the great judgment the fruit of the tree will be given to the "righteous and the pious," and "its fragrances <will be> in their bones."[68] This is a description of the eschaton and the tree of life.[69] It may also reference a bodily resurrection of the righteous at the time of the final judgment.[70] In chapter 22 the author is concerned with the spirits of the dead, but in chapter 25 the author is concerned with "their bones". It is worth noting that Ezekiel 37 also associates bones with resurrection. In a vision, Ezekiel is taken to a valley full of dry bones where he is commanded by God to prophesy to the bones, which then swiftly reform into skeletons, growing sinews, muscles, and skin. The fully fleshed bodies are given breath and come back to life. The dry bones are the entire house of Israel, who are living in exile and have given up hope. God intends to open the graves and reanimate the dead dry bones and to then restore these people to the land of Israel. The verses in Ezekiel are more about the eschatological hopes for restoration of Israel as a nation, rather than individual bodily resurrection found in the Book of the

[67]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 315.
[68] 1 En 25: 4 – 6.
[69]Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 315.
[70] Ibid, 315.

Watchers.[71] While this somewhat macabre scene is not re-enacted on any level in 1 Enoch, the ideas and imagery of a restored Israel may have informed the author's ideas of individual resurrection. Dewart has argued that "the eschatological hopes of the individual and of the nation were not totally separate from each other; indeed some commentators see a synthesis of the two occurring about 200 BCE."[72] The Book of the Watchers, where the mountain of the dead imagery is found, is widely believed to have written around 300 BCE.[73] Nevertheless, the Book of the Watchers may have been one of the precursors to this synthesis. Furthermore, the valley of dry bones in Ezekiel was written around 600 BCE.[74] It is possible Ezekiel 37 provided some influence either directly or indirectly in regards to the fragrance being in the bones of the righteous in the Book of the Watchers. Elledge has noted that the precise imagery in chapter 25 is unparalleled and presents a unique demonstration "of human revivification" found in early Jewish literature.[75] Ezekiel 37 does not explain the imagery in the Book of the Watchers, although it demonstrates how other early Jewish writings used the idea of human bones to explore the notion of resurrection.[76] Resurrection is about justice for the dead, and the genesis of this idea in the Book of the Watchers likely comes from biblical writings such as Ezekiel and Isaiah.

The resurrection beliefs in the Book of the Watchers may have been influenced by the Persian religion of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians also use the imagery of bones

[71] McWilliam Dewart, *Death and Resurrection*, 20 -21.
[72] Ibid 21.
[73] Michael A. Knibb, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish texts and Traditions* (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2009) 18. See also Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation,* 3.
[74]Annette Evans, "To What Extent is *Ezekiel* the Source of Resurrection of the Dead in 4Q385 *Pseudo – Ezekiel* and the Targum Ezekiel?", *Old Testament Essays,* Vol. 28, No. 1, (2015): 70 - 85.
[75]Elledge, *"Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism,"* 142.
[76] Ibid, 142.

as part of their resurrection beliefs. The Bundahishn 30: 7 states, “when the appointed time arrives all the dead, righteous and wicked alike, will arise on the spot where they died.”[77] All souls will be reunited with their bodies. Bones will be demanded back from the earth, blood from the water, hair from plants and the souls from the wind and fire; as such every person will be resurrected in the same manner in which they were first created.[78] This is similar to the vision in Ezekiel 37. It is notable that the resurrection event in the Book of the Watchers is very different to the imagery in Ezekiel and the Zoroastrian Bundahishn. There are, however, doubts regarding the dating of Zoroastrian texts. Most writings come from the Sassanid age (third to seventh century CE), and from the early Islamic period.[79] It has been suggested that the “basic beliefs go back to the Achaemenid time: eschatology, both individual and universal, is from the very beginning strongly integrated in the Iranian worldview.”[80] The dating of the Zoroastrian texts makes it difficult to identify the exact nature of the influence of Persia on the Book of the Watchers. Nevertheless, scholars such as Blanco argue that the similarities between Zoroastrianism and “Jewish Apocalypticism are too obvious to be ignored.”[81] The concept of bones seems to be a common thread within resurrection faith. Also the reconstitution of the body is significant as while the Book of the Watchers does not provide such imagery, it is the fragrance being in their bones which suggests a bodily resurrection of the righteous dead. This forms part of the justice of the final

[77]S. A. Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition and Modern Research* (Montreal: Buffalo: McGill – Queen’s University Press, 1993) 94.
[78]Bd 34.5; Bd 3.13 see also Jenny Rose, *Zoroastrianism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (New York: Continuum, 2011) 55.
[79] Carlos Blanco, *Why Resurrection? An Introduction into the Belief in the Afterlife in Judaism and Christianity* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011) 132.
[80]Ibid, 132.
[81] Ibid, 133.

judgment and this idea was likely inspired by beliefs from the Hebrew Bible and Zoroastrianism.

The final judgment and justice in the Book of the Watchers is part of a complex eschatological belief system. Resurrection of the dead is just one element of the final judgment and part of the justice which will prevail on the earth. The Zoroastrians also adhere to a very specific eschatology. Part of which included the ideas and concepts of linear time, free will, heaven, hell and a place similar to purgatory called Hamestagan, redemption with a saviour figure, a final judgement and an individual bodily resurrection.[82] According to De Jong "...the idea that the history of the world will come to an end with the final victory of good over evil, after which mankind will enjoy an eternal life of bliss in creation, has been recorded in Zoroastrian literature" from a very early period.[83] These ideas are very similar to the world view found in the Book of the Watchers and other, apocalyptic writings. Both of these belief systems sharply divide the present time, which will end with the final judgement, from a new golden age which is to follow.[84] In this new age, justice and the forces of good prevail and those who suffered in the previous age will be rewarded.[85] This suggests that the notion of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers may have been influenced by Zoroastrianism.

It is notable that the final judgment in both the Book of the Watchers and Zoroastrianism involves a moral element. Like the Book of the Watchers, how one

[82]James R. Russell, "The place and time of Zarathushtra," in *A Zoroastrian Tapestry: Art, Religion and Culture*, ed. Pheroza J. Godrej and Firoza Punthakey Mistree (Usmanpura Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002) 29 – 39.
[83]Albert De Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 324.
[84] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1*,* 40.
[85] Ibid, 40.

has lived is important in determining whether one is rewarded or punished in Zoroastrianism. The Zoroastrians believed that the resurrection would occur at their equivalent of the final judgment. According to Zoroastrian philosophy the righteous and wicked will be gathered together to account for their deeds during their corporeal lives. They will then be separated from each other in their reconstructed form, the wicked will be sent to hell and the righteous to heaven for three days.[86] Terrible punishments await those cast into hell, including darkness and filth.[87] While the righteous in heaven experience "every imaginable bliss in the realm of endless light."[88]Those who are not considered to be either righteous or wicked will go back to Hamestagan (purgatory).[89] Three days later everyone is purified by walking through molten metal. As a result, all humans will be made immortal and worship Ahura Mazda as the supreme creator.[90] The exact way the final judgment is enacted is different to what is found in the Book of the Watchers. Both religious systems believed that resurrections represent the ultimate form of justice for the righteous. In fact, one of the major links between Zoroastrianism and the Book of the Watchers is the idea that justice will ultimately prevail and that this will be enacted through divine intention.

The Book of the Watchers is more selective in regards to individual bodily resurrection when compared to Zoroastrian compositions. One major difference is that in Zoroastrianism all the souls of the dead will eventually be purified and be able to take part in the new age. While the Book of the Watchers postulates a resurrection for only specific people. The righteous will enjoy a bodily resurrection,

[86] Bd. 30: 10 see also Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition,* 94.
[87] Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition,* 94.
[88] Ibid 95.
[89] Ibid 95.
[90] Yasna 32: 7, 51: 9, Ibid, 95.

and the wicked who did not face judgment in their lifetime will also be resurrected. The righteous are to be rewarded and the wicked are to partake in further punishment. The concept of forgiveness, after justice has been enacted, seems to be a ubiquitous theme in the Zoroastrian theology, whereas for the Book of the Watchers the punishment for crimes committed in the previous age will continue into the new age, a carryover of justice.

The eschatological worldview in Zoroastrianism is very similar to the Book of the Watchers, and may have influenced the notion of resurrection and justice. The resurrections in the Sumerian and Babylonian religious beliefs were not of people but of gods and goddesses. In Zoroastrianism resurrection is of humans and is universal. While the Book of the Watchers is far more selective about who will be resurrected at the time of the final judgment, it is similar to Zoroastrianism in the sense that it is people who are to be revived. The belief in resurrection in both the Book of Enoch and Zoroastrianism is based on morality and justice, this concept of morality does not form part of the Sumerian or Babylon beliefs on resurrection. There are certainly nuances and major differences between the Book of the Watchers and Zoroastrianism; however, the notion of resurrection as a way to restore justice to the dead suggests that Zoroastrianism may have influenced the Book of the Watchers.

The impact of Zoroastrian beliefs on Judaism is an intensely debated topic, with two distinct positions emerging within scholarly discourse. One position maintains that the ideas, doctrines and practices in Zoroastrianism significantly impacted

Judaism.[91] The other utterly contests this view. Insisting that there was no influence and in some cases claiming that in fact if there was any impression it moved in the other direction with Judaism influencing Zoroastrianism.[92] The controversy stems from the lack of clear evidence regarding the dating of the Zoroastrian sources.[93] As the texts cannot be set in a firm historical setting the Zoroastrian influence on Judaism is difficult to evaluate.[94] This causes substantial complications tracing with any accuracy or certainty "the question of exchange of religious ideas and practices."[95] Blanco argues, "There is evidence that the basic eschatological beliefs of Zoroastrianism go back to the sixth century BCE or earlier and the contact between both religions is clear from the Persian rule on Palestine after Cyrus's conquest of Babylon."[96] It is also well attested that the Jewish people came into to close contact with Zoroastrianism during their exile in Babylon in the sixth century BCE.[97] While it is common for similar ideas to arise independently in different cultures and religious systems, it seems unlikely that so many commonalities could have formed in parallel independently.[98] There is clear evidence of the similarities in 1 Enoch and Zoroastrianism. Of particular interest here, is the eschatological beliefs of individual bodily resurrection. It is likely that this idea was developed out of the Jewish conception of national restoration/resurrection and the impulse for the progression and development of ideas was most likely influenced by Zoroastrianism.

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[91] Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2001) 76 -77.
[92] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol,* 234 – 236. See also Anders Hultgard, "Persian Apocalypticism," in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism.* Vol 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1998) 79.
[93] Blanco, *Why Resurrection? An Introduction,* 134.
[94] Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition,* 96.
[95] Ibid, 95 – 96.
[96] Blanco, *Why Resurrection? An Introduction,* 134.
[97] Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition,* 96.
[98] Ibid, 96 – 97.

Conclusion

Resurrection in the Book of the Watchers represents the ultimate restoration of justice for the righteous dead. There are many influences which may have either directly or indirectly played a role in the development of the idea. The concept is very common in the ancient near east, with the Sumerian, Babylonians and Zoroastrians all having different versions of resurrection within their belief systems. The idea of resurrection in the Book of the Watchers may also have been inspired by the idea of national resurrection in the Hebrew Bible. The concept of national resurrection is essentially about the vindication and justice for the people of Israel. While the Book of the Watchers expresses a belief in individual bodily resurrection, justice for the righteous is at the centre of the concept. Therefore, the idea of national resurrection in the Hebrew Bible if read with an eschatological focus could easily be re-interpreted.

During the Second Temple period, the imagery about resurrection began to evolve. The notion of national resurrection began to morph from a national restoration of the Israelite people into an individual belief. This can be seen in Isaiah 26 and the Book of the Watchers. The genesis for the change likely came from the time of the Babylonian exile and the resulting contact the Israelites had with other cultures and religious systems like Zoroastrianism. The Israelites came into further contact with the Zoroastrians after Cyrus's conquest of Babylon and the area came under Persian rule. It is likely that contact between the Zoroastrians and the Israelites involved a certain amount of influence. Especially to those Jews who had eschatological beliefs. The Book of the Watchers is one of the first Jewish apocalyptic texts and expresses the belief that one's earthly behaviour impacts their

fate at the time of death and during the time of the final judgment. The purpose of the final judgment was to bring about justice.

This chapter has argued that the Book of the Watchers expresses a belief in a bodily resurrection of the dead during the final judgment. It has also been argued that this idea is connected to the notion of the vindication and justice for the righteous. It has also been argued that it was most likely a combination of beliefs in the Hebrew Bible and Zoroastrianism, which were the major sources of inspiration in the Book of the Watchers in regards to the concept of resurrection.

Conclusion

The main focus of this thesis has been the theme of the afterlife in the Book of the Watchers, the first booklet in 1 Enoch. The Book of the Watchers, composed perhaps around 300 BCE, is one of the first Jewish apocalyptic texts and as such is significant as it provides a fuller understanding of religious beliefs during the Second Temple period, in particular after the absorption of Judea into an overwhelmingly Hellenistic culture, after a long period under Persian control. Many of the afterlife ideas in the Book of the Watchers are either not represented in the Hebrew Bible, or transcend and re-interpret imagery found in the biblical canon. While much can be gained from a close textual reading of the Book of the Watchers, this thesis has examined these ideas in a wider cultural context. This has allowed a diverse focus as it placed the Book of the Watchers not only in its own cultural context, but also in the context of other cultures in the ancient near east and Mediterranean. The comparative method has been employed in order to compare the afterlife ideas in the Book of the Watchers to the religious cultural narratives of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Greeks and of the Zoroastrianism of the Persians. The Book of the Watchers has also been compared to ideas found in the Hebrew Bible. These traditions and cultures were chosen as they all help to make up the cultural mix of Judea during the time 1 Enoch was composed.

While the Book of the Watchers at times relied heavily on the Hebrew Bible, there are some notions of the afterlife that have no biblical counterpart. For example, the imagery of the fountain of water in chapter 22, in the mountain of the dead, could have come from reinterpreted biblical tradition, but it may also be influenced by Orphic/Pythagorean beliefs, as suggest by Nickelsburg. The Book of Enoch and

indeed the Book of the Watchers was not composed in a vacuum. It is unreasonable to think that dominant cultural forces had no impact on the worldview of the authors. The Book of the Watchers is a product of Jewish thought, although there may have been some other cultural influences either directly or indirectly.

The Book of the Watchers and indeed some of its afterlife imagery may have developed in response to the colonising force which was the Hellenistic world. It was written in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great in 330 BCE and the establishment of both Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Empire between 312 and 63 BCE. Prior to Alexander, Judea had been under Persian control, so it is not surprising that some currents of Judaism should develop under Zoroastrian influences about the afterlife, in rejection to the development of Hellenistic forms of Judaism, symbolized by Qoheleth.

It has been argued that the Book of the Watchers shaped its imagery of the afterlife in response to the need for a restoration of justice. I have argued that the authors of the Book of the Watchers believed that the current world order was unjust and through the figure of Enoch and his teachings would humanity be set to rights. In chapter three, this idea was highlighted through the dissonance model, generated by the perception that the world is not as it should be. The concept of restoration of justice is one of the major themes of the Book of the Watchers. Its imagery of the afterlife developed as an imagined way of fixing an unjust world through the implementation of justice in a world to come.

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