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ANGELS AT QUMRAN

**A Comparative Study of
1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and
Sectarian Writings from Qumran**

Maxwell J. Davidson

Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
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for Mary, Debbie and Tim
Angels unaware

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PREFACE

The research underlying this book was originally submitted in 1988 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Queensland. It is therefore fitting that I acknowledge the invaluable assistance of the faculty and staff of the Department of Studies in Religion, and in particular, that of my advisor for the project, Professor Francis Andersen. His constant encouragement, wealth of knowledge and gracious guidance contributed immeasurably to my work. I wish also to thank the Baptist Theological College of Queensland for generously providing sabbatical leave from my teaching duties in the first part of 1987.

This monograph represents a substantially shortened version of the dissertation, for which the mammoth task of the original typing was capably accomplished by my wife. In addition, there was generous help from Dr Derek Kiong of Singapore in the design of appropriate software to handle various technical aspects. I am grateful, also, to Professors James Charlesworth and James Mueller for their assistance in getting this book to print in the JSP Supplement series, as well as to the skilled staff of Sheffield Academic Press. Professor Johann Maier is to be thanked for his helpful suggestions for the bibliography, along with Professor T. Muraoka of the University of Leiden for his help with the Ethiopic transliteration. However, in acknowledging the assistance of other people, I take full responsibility for any and all defects in the final result.

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November 1991

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible	IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums	JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>	JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament	JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
APOT	R.H. Charles (ed.), <i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i>	JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments	JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	JQRMS	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series</i>
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>	JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium	JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>	JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
BibOr	<i>Biblica et orientalia</i>	JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>	JTC	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies	JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
BSO(A)S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>	Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament	NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>	Numen	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series</i>	Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament	OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum	PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert	PVTG	<i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece</i>
EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>	RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>	RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>	RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>	SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs	SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies	SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>	SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies	SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>	SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
IDB	G.A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>	SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
IDBSup	IDB, Supplementary Volume	SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	SPB	Studia postbiblica
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>	STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
		SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
		SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
		TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
		TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
		TDOT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
		TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
		TS	Theological Studies
		TU	Texte und Untersuchungen

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TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Ethiopic Manuscripts

Berl	Berlin Manuscript
BM 485	British Museum Manuscript 485
Ryl	Papyrus Ethiopic Manuscript 23
Tana 9	Lake Tana Manuscript 9

Fuller details concerning these manuscripts are found in Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, pp. 22-27.¹

Greek Manuscripts

These texts are published in Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*.

G	Codex Panopolitanus, the Gizeh Papyrus Greek Text
G ²	Duplicate of G for <i>1 En.</i> 19,3-21.9
Sync.	Georgius Syncellus's Greek Text. Variant texts as published by Black are indicated by ¹ and ² .

Miscellaneous Conventions

1 Enoch is used to designate specific portions of the text of *Ethiopic Enoch*. When referred to, the *Parables of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37-71) are clearly indicated by means of chapter numbers, and the phrases 'Enochic writings' and 'Enochic books' signify only the particular sections of *Ethiopic Enoch* considered in this investigation (*1 Enoch* 1-36 and 72-82). As explained in Chapter 1, the *Parables* do not belong within the scope of the present study. Writings attributed to Enoch are referred to as Enochic for convenience, though it is recognized, of course, that Enoch the antediluvian is only the fictive author.

Quotations in English from various translations of ancient documents will be used as follows, unless otherwise indicated:

Black, <i>Book of Enoch</i> .	<i>1 Enoch</i> 1-71, 83-108
Dimant, 'Peshar'.	4Q180, 4Q181
Dupont-Sommer, <i>Essene Writings</i> .	1QH, 1QSa, IQSb
Fitzmyer and Harrington, <i>Palestinian Aramaic Texts</i> .	4Q'Amram

1. Short titles only are cited here. Full bibliographic details appear at the first occurrence of each work in the main body of the text and in the bibliography.

Abbreviations

Kobelski, <i>Melchizedek</i> .	4Q286, 4Q287, 11QMelch
Leaney, <i>Rule</i> .	1QS
Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters'.	<i>1 Enoch</i> 72-82
Newsom, <i>Sabbath Sacrifice</i> .	Sabbath Shiroth
Rabin, <i>Zadokite Documents</i> .	CD
Wintermute, <i>Jubilees</i> .	<i>Jubilees</i>
Yadin, <i>Scroll of the War</i> .	1QM

Hebrew and Aramaic texts are quoted from the following transcriptions unless otherwise indicated:

Allegro, DJD 5 (1968), pp. 67-74.	4QCatena ^a
Baillet, DJD 7 (1982), pp. 215-62.	4QShir
Brooke, <i>Exegesis at Qumran</i> .	4QFlor
Burrows, <i>Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery</i> .	1QS
Dimant, 'Peshar'.	4Q180, 4Q181
Fitzmyer and Harrington, <i>Palestinian Aramaic Texts</i> .	4Q'Amram
Lohse, <i>Die Texte</i> .	1QH, 1QSa, 1QSB
Newsom, <i>Sabbath Sacrifice</i> .	Sabbath Shiroth
Rabin, <i>Zadokite Documents</i> .	CD
Yadin, <i>Scroll of the War</i> .	1QM

Ethiopic quotations are normally from Ryl, published in Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, unless otherwise indicated, and the transliteration system used is that found in Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*. Quotations in Ethiopic are normally followed by my own translation, unless otherwise specified. Quotations from the English Bible are from the RSV.¹

For the citation of Qumran texts the following conventions are observed:

1QS 3.13	Column 3, line 13 of the document 1QS from Cave 1
4Q403 1 ii 4	Fragment 1, column 2, line 4 of the text 4Q403

The second system is used to distinguish column numbers from fragment and line numbers when several fragments of a document have been recovered. For documents known in both a series of columns and separate fragments, the first system is employed, together with the abbreviation 'frg.' for the fragments (e.g. 1QH 11.9 and 1QH frg. 2 10).

Fragments that have been joined by an editor are indicated as follows:

4Q405 8-9 3	Fragments 8 and 9 (joined by the editor), line 3 of the text 4Q405. (In the case of 4Q405 20-21-22, it is actually only column 2 of fragment 20 which has been joined to fragments 21 and 22. For simplicity, the column number has been omitted.)
-------------	--

1. *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version: Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: An Ecumenical Edition* (New York, Glasgow and Toronto: Collins, 1973).

Internal cross-references are provided in the following format: e.g. §3.2.1 refers to Chapter 3, Section 2.1.

PART I**ENOCHIC BOOKS**

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY: *1 ENOCH*

1. General Background

In 1773, Scottish traveller James Bruce returned to Europe from Abyssinia, bringing with him three Ethiopic MSS of what is now known as *1 Enoch*.¹ One of these, Oxford Bodleian MS 4, was published in an English translation in 1821.² Prior to this, only relatively small portions of the Book of Enoch and allusions in Greek, Latin, Coptic and Syriac were known.³ The earliest Ethiopic MSS come from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries AD.⁴ Black dates the earlier of the two more substantial Greek MSS, the Chester Beatty Papyrus, to the fourth century AD.⁵ Nevertheless, it has long been clear that the Ethiopic writings which form *1 Enoch* derive from the Judaism of the last centuries BC, and are translations coming ultimately from Semitic originals.⁶

1. E. Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People* (London: Oxford University Press, 3rd edn, 1973), pp. 11-13.
2. For the details, see J.T. Milik (ed.), *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. v.
3. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. v-vi. The available Greek MSS are discussed in M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG, 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), pp. 7-9.
4. M.A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), II, pp. 23-28.
5. *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 7.
6. E.g. R.H. Charles, *APOT*, II, pp. 171-77. Cf. E. Ullendorff's argument concerning an Aramaic Vorlage, which he proposed (prior to the publication of the Qumran fragments) in 'An Aramaic "Vorlage" of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Problemi attuali di scienza et di cultura, 48; Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960), pp. 259-67; repr. in *idem, Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), pp. 172-81.

However, it has long been the discovery that material in the Qumran fragments corresponds to small sections of the Ethiopic text which has shed considerable light on the early history of this literature. It is now virtually certain that the original language—with perhaps some small exceptions in Hebrew—was Aramaic.¹ The presence of Enochic material in the Qumran library raises the question of whether it was composed by the Qumran community or rather was brought to the settlement on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea,² having been composed by others. It is, in fact, most unlikely that the Enochic writings were the products of the Qumran writers.³

A matter of terminology should first be clarified. We now possess *1 Enoch* in Ethiopic (which represents the most complete text), various MSS corresponding to about one third of the Ethiopic text in Greek (viz., 1.1-32.6, 89.42-49, 97.6-104.13 and 106-107), and corresponding Aramaic material, which is, unfortunately, extremely fragmentary.⁴ Moreover, there are also the previously mentioned quotations and allusions known in Coptic, Syriac and Latin.⁵

1. Cf. M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 185-86 and *idem, Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 6.
2. There is general agreement among scholars that the sect established itself at Qumran around the middle of the second century BC. See, e.g., J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT, 26; London: SCM Press, 1959), pp. 49-51; F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, rev. edn, 1961), pp. 57-61; J. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reappraisal* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2nd edn, 1964), pp. 94-95; R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959; London: Oxford University Press, rev. edn, 1973); E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC-AD 135)* (trans., rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-87), II, pp. 586-88; J.H. Charlesworth, 'Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes', *RevQ* 10 (1980), pp. 213-33; R.T. Beckwith, 'The Pre-History and Relationships of the Pharisees, Sadducees and the Essenes: A Tentative Reconstruction', *RevQ* 11 (1982), pp. 41-46; D. Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature', in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M.E. Stone: Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 542-47.
3. See below for palaeographic evidence.
4. J.T. Milik ('Fragments grecs du livre d'Hénoch [P. Oxy. XVII 2069]', *Chronique d'Egypte* 92 [1971], pp. 321-43) also says he has identified two fragments in Greek, corresponding to parts of *1 Enoch* 77-78 and 85-87.
5. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 78-83 and S.P. Brock, 'A Fragment of Enoch

However, Charlesworth has noted the potential for confusion in the use of the name '1 Enoch' for all versions, suggesting that '1 Enoch' be used for *Ethiopic Enoch*, and 'Aramaic Enoch' for the Qumran material.¹ Methodologically this is helpful, since there are numerous variations between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions. Moreover, the astronomical section (*1 En.* 72–82) is apparently more a summary than a translation of the longer Aramaic material corresponding to it. Thus, '1 Enoch' will be used to refer to the Ethiopic version, with its system of chapter and verse numbering. When evidence from the Greek or Aramaic versions is cited, the particular source will be indicated, such as 4QEn^a from Qumran, or the Greek Gizeh Papyrus.

The composite nature of *Ethiopic Enoch* has long been recognized. Five major sections have been identified, a typical arrangement being: the *Book of Watchers* (chs. 1–36), the *Book of Parables* (chs. 37–71), the *Astronomical Book* (chs. 72–82), the *Book of Dreams* (chs. 83–90), and the *Epistle of Enoch* (chs. 91–107).² However, it should not be assumed that *1 Enoch* as we know it, or at least *1 Enoch* without the *Parables*, already existed as a single 'book' during the period of the sect's occupation of Qumran.

Milik has concluded, on palaeographic grounds, that the oldest copy of Aramaic material from the *Book of Watchers* (4QEn^a) comes from the first half of the second century BC, while the oldest text of the *Astronomical Book* (4QEnastr^a) derives from the early second or late third century BC. Such dates require the originals to have been written prior to the establishment of the community at Qumran. The oldest copy of the *Book of Dreams* comes from the third quarter of the second century BC, and for the *Epistle of Enoch*, the date given is mid-first century BC.³ Milik does admit that in his dating techniques

in Syriac', *JTS* ns 19 (1968), pp. 626–31.

1. J.H. Charlesworth, 'The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Paris and Tübingen on the Books of Enoch', *NTS* 25 (1979), p. 315 n. 2.

2. So Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 5. Note, however, that although these 'book titles' have some relevance in relation to the literary history of *Ethiopic Enoch*, they should not be allowed to conceal the fact that the history of the Ethiopic text is much more complex than the set of five titles might suggest. E.g., see the discussion about the *Astronomical Book* (see below, §1.4), and note that the *Epistle of Enoch* includes material from a once-separate Noah tradition (*1 En.* 106–107).

3. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 5, 7–8, 22–23, 41, 49, 273.

'there is a fairly wide margin of error',¹ but Beckwith, arguing from content and referring to the original composition, has also concluded that the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of Watchers* 'are the earliest of the four books, going back . . . probably to a period around or before the end of the third century BC'.²

2. 1 Enoch and the Qumran Community

This study considers the roles of angels³ in the Enochic literature and in certain other writings found at Qumran. The comparisons made will add weight to the view that the members of the Qumran community, taken in this study to be a branch of the Essenes,⁴ did not

1. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 5, 7.

2. R.T. Beckwith, 'The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar: Marks of their Origin, Date and Motivation', *RevQ* 10 (1981), p. 367.

3. By way of general definition, the term 'angels' is taken to mean spiritual beings who have been created by God. Their normal abode is heaven, though, as servants of the creator, they can be assigned tasks on the earth. Belief in the existence of such beings is common to the various OT writers and the authors of the period in focus in our study, the last two centuries BC and the first AD. For a general discussion about angels in the OT, see B.J. Bamberger, 'Angels and Angelology', *EncJud*, II, pp. 956–61.

4. The view that the Qumran sectaries represented a branch of the much larger group of Essenes is held by the great majority of scholars. So P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ, 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), pp. 19–20; Milik, *Ten Years*, pp. 89–92; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community: Its Origin and Teachings* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1959), pp. 28–41; Cross, *Ancient Library*, pp. 53–70; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), pp. 39–67; A.R.C. Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 31–33; W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, 'Qumran and the Essenes: Geography, Chronology, and Identification of the Sect', in *The Scrolls and Christianity* (ed. M. Black; London: SPCK, 1969), pp. 11–25; J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Prolegomenon', in *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (ed. S. Schechter; 2 vols. in one; New York: Ktav, 1970), p. 16, and esp. pp. 22–23; G. Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (SJLA, 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), p. 3; Charlesworth, 'Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls', pp. 213–33; Beckwith, 'Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes', pp. 41–46. Fitzmyer ('Prolegomenon', p. 16), following Milik (*Ten Years*, pp. 89–92), relates the Qumran Essenes to three other groups of Essenes—those in camps (mentioned in the Damascus Covenant), those living in towns and villages in Palestine (as indicated by Josephus, *War* 2.8.4

actually compose the Enochic writings, but rather carried these previously composed documents to Qumran. Certain differences will emerge between the Enochic writings and those considered to be the products of the sectaries themselves.¹

Archaeological evidence indicates that the settlement was built on ancient ruins at Qumran on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea in the second half of the second century BC.² This first stage of the site's habitation by the Qumran sect continued till (probably³) the earthquake of 31 BC. The second stage extended from some point in the reign of Archelaus (4 BC–AD 6) till the Jewish War, when the settlement was burned about AD 68, apparently under Roman attack.

As already noted, Qumran material from the *Book of Watchers* and the astronomical texts predates the establishment of the Qumran settlement. The history of the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch* in relation to the Qumran community is less clear. The fact that two of the Enochic books were not composed at Qumran does not pre-empt the matter for the other two. On Milik's dating, the Aramaic fragments were written after the establishment of the community, so the palaeographic evidence only serves to give an upper limit to the

§124), and the Therapeutae of Egypt (as mentioned by Philo, *Vit. Cont.* 3–11 §§21–90).

1. P.R. Davies ('Eschatology at Qumran', *JBL* 104 [1985], p. 45) writes of 'a number of works which, although present in the Qumran library, are generally conceded to have been written outside it. . . it seems a fruitful working hypothesis that such literature was Essene or Essene-related without being specifically Qumranic'. Davies is thinking of the Qumran Essenes as a sub-group of the larger Essene movement, and, indeed, of a group whose roots go back to the Judaeen exiles in Babylon. Most scholars do not hold to this view of Essene origins. See the Bibliography for works by Davies and by J. Murphy-O'Connor. Authors in the previous note hold the majority view. Charlesworth ('Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls', p. 221) summarizes the generally held position concerning the non-Qumran provenance of *1 Enoch* and the related *Jubilees*: '*Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* 72–82' are 'documents strikingly similar to many of the Dead Sea Scrolls and certainly composed prior to the Essene exodus' [to found the community at Qumran]. On the identification of documents which originated within the sect, see §7.2.

2. See Charlesworth, 'Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls', who summarizes the general consensus of scholars concerning the history of the community. See also G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2nd edn, 1975), pp. 53–57.

3. Cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, II, p. 587.

period in which the original compositions must have been written. 4QEn^f is our earliest copy of the *Book of Dreams*, being dated to the third quarter of the second century BC.¹ The *Epistle of Enoch* is represented only in 4QEn^g, which dates from about the middle of the first century BC.² The present study will lend incidental support to the idea that the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, along with the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, are Enochic writings not actually composed at Qumran. The first half of the study will consider these four Enochic books. However, the *Book of Parables*, as found in *Ethiopic Enoch*, will be excluded, for reasons discussed below.

3. The Necessity of Using the Ethiopic and Greek Versions

A fundamental methodological issue concerns the use of the Ethiopic and Greek texts as primary sources, for the community at Qumran used Aramaic versions of Enochic material, not Ethiopic and Greek. It could appear at first sight that the comparison of views in the sect's own writings with those in the Aramaic version of the Enochic writings might be straightforward. Yet in practical terms it is not possible to make much progress if the only Enochic texts to be used consist of the Aramaic material. It is far too fragmentary.³ So the question of whether it is valid to use the Ethiopic and Greek texts in association with the Aramaic evidence forces itself upon us. If we read an Ethiopic or Greek version, are we reading a fair approximation to what a Qumran sectary would have read? It might appear from Milik's account that we now possess very substantial parts of *Ethiopic Enoch* in Aramaic. He writes:

For the first book of Enoch, the *Book of Watchers*, we can calculate that exactly 50 per cent of the text is covered by the Aramaic fragments; for the third, the *Astronomical Book*, 30 per cent; for the fourth, the *Book of Dreams*, 26 per cent; for the fifth, the *Epistle of Enoch*, 18 per cent.⁴

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 41.
2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 5.
3. Cf. the conservative remark of G. Vermes ('Methodology in the Study of Jewish Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period', *JJS* 36 [1985], p. 152) that Qumran alone 'would offer no more than a very partial and fragmentary' picture.
4. *Books of Enoch*, p. 5.

However, Black says that 'the Aramaic fragments amount disappointingly to no more than 5 per cent of the Ethiopic book'.¹ Knibb has found that the Aramaic evidence corresponds to parts of about 200 verses in the Ethiopic out of a total of over 1000, but he points out that 'we are very far from possessing the equivalent in Aramaic of 196 verses of the Ethiopic version', due to the damaged state of the Qumran fragments.² Nevertheless, he concedes that the Greek and Ethiopic versions are 'a not too unreliable guide to the Book of Enoch as it was known at Qumrân'.³ Certainly there are differences, but generally these are relatively minor, at least apart from the case of the *Astronomical Book*, which is discussed below. In support of this statement it is sufficient to refer to the detailed textual work of Knibb, who has provided photographs of the Rylands Ethiopic MS 23, a translation of it, a critical apparatus compiled from over thirty MSS, and text-critical notes in the light of the Aramaic fragments.⁴

4. *The Astronomical Book*: 1 Enoch 72–82

However, for the *Astronomical Book* (1 En. 72–82), direct correlation is much lower. Certain sections of the Aramaic do more or less correspond to the astronomical section of *Ethiopic Enoch*. 4QEnastr^b can be related to 1 En. 76.13–77.4, 78.4, 78.9–12, 79.3–6, 78.16–79.2 and 82.2, 9, 13. 4QEnastr^c is related to 1 En. 76.3–10, 76.13–77.4 and 78.6–8, while 4QEnastr^d is possibly to be linked with 1 En. 82.20.⁵ However, considerable portions of astronomical material correspond directly with nothing in the Ethiopic. Thus, 4QEnastr^a and much of 4QEnastr^b discuss the phases of the moon, giving material which is absent from the Ethiopic.⁶ Furthermore, certain Ethiopic material cannot be directly linked to the Aramaic at all, such as 1 Enoch 72–75, which describes the movements of sun and moon in relation to the Enochic 364-day calendar.⁷ It seems very likely that the translator(s) of the original Aramaic compiled information representative of

1. *Book of Enoch*, p. 1.
2. *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 12.
3. *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 13.
4. *Ethiopic Book*, II, *passim*.
5. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 6, 284–97.
6. So Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 7–8, 274–84.
7. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 274.

the calendrical essentials of the Aramaic texts, eliminating much of the tedious repetition of the movements of the heavenly bodies and calendrical calculations.¹

None of this makes much difference to the present study. As we shall see later, in these chapters in the Ethiopic, Enoch is instructed by the archangel Uriel,² who has special responsibilities in the calendrical and astronomical realms.³ While the name 'Uriel' itself is not preserved in the Aramaic corresponding to these sections, there is no conflict between the general angelology of the Aramaic and Ethiopic materials. Certain other problems are associated with these chapters in the Ethiopic and will have to be dealt with when the astronomical section is considered as a whole.⁴ Thus I will proceed on the general assumption that the Ethiopic version, supplemented by the Greek, will not lead us far astray with our particular topic. Aramaic material corresponding to the Ethiopic will, of course, be consulted as the primary source whenever it is available.

5. *The Book of Parables*: 1 Enoch 37–71

Nothing has been said so far about the *Book of Parables*, 1 Enoch 37–71 in the Ethiopic MSS. In fact, no MS corresponding to any part of 1 Enoch 37–71 has been recovered from Qumran.⁵

In relation to the present study, it is necessary to decide whether to consider the angelology of the *Book of Parables* when comparing the views expressed in the writings of the Qumran community with those in the Enochic writings. On the one hand, the *Book of Parables* is a thoroughly attested part of the Ethiopic MS tradition. On the other, it is not known in a Greek version, and appears to have been unknown at Qumran. Of course, mere absence of the *Book of Parables* from the Qumran fragments neither in any way proves that this writing was not

1. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 274–75 and Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 10.
2. Simplified spellings for the names of angels will normally be used. E.g., 'Sariel' will be used for the name שריאל, rather than a strict transliteration. Similarly, other names will be simplified, such as 'Shemihazah' for Šemihazah and 'Asael' for 'Asa'el.
3. The same tradition is also found in the astronomical section of the *Book of Watchers*, 1 En. 33–36. E.g., 1 En. 33.3.
4. See below, §4.2.
5. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 4.

known to the sect, nor that it did not exist at the time when the sect lived at Qumran.¹ For example, it might not have been known to those assembling the library, or it might have been consciously rejected for some reason,² or it might not have been copied very often by the Qumran community, so that no fragments survived.

The whole matter of the complex and still-debated question of the date of composition of the *Book of Parables* has been reviewed recently by Black,³ who favours a date in 'the early Roman period, probably pre-70 AD'.⁴ Milik has argued for a date of around AD 270,⁵ but this proposal has not found general scholarly acceptance.⁶

The issue is by no means yet resolved, but the indications are that the date of composition of the *Parables* was too late for it to have been available to the Qumran community. This consideration, together with the fact that no fragment of the book has yet been recovered from Qumran, has led to the decision to exclude *1 Enoch* 37-71 from

1. J. Albertson ('An Application of Mathematical Probability to Manuscript Discoveries', *JBL* 78 [1959], pp. 133-41) has argued on mathematical grounds that it is extremely unlikely that the *Parables* did exist at the time the Qumran scribes were copying their MSS. However, this type of calculation is subject to many problems. There are numerous unknowns involved, and the actual number of MSS that have survived is rather too small for the satisfactory application of statistical methods. Albertson's work has been severely criticized on technical grounds by H.E. Robbins ('Comments on a Paper by James Albertson', *JBL* 78 [1959], pp. 347-50), and no conclusion concerning the existence of the *Parables* should be drawn from his calculations.

2. Cf. J.C. Greenfield and M.E. Stone, 'The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes', *HTR* 70 (1977), p. 55. C.L. Mearns ('The Parables of Enoch—Origin and Date', *ExpTim* 84 [1978], p. 118) thinks that the *Parables* are a very early Jewish-Christian work, and that as such they would have been rejected by the Qumran sect.

3. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 183-84, 187-88.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 188.

5. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 95-96.

6. See, e.g., C.L. Mearns, 'Dating the Similitudes of Enoch', *NTS* 25 (1979), pp. 36-69 and *idem*, 'Parable of Enoch', pp. 118-19, who proposes a date of AD 40-50; M.A. Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review', *NTS* 25 (1979), pp. 345-59, who suggests the end of the first century AD. J.C. Hindley ('Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: An Historical Approach', *NTS* 14 [1968], pp. 551-65) had earlier argued for a date of about AD 115.

this study.¹ Our interest will rather centre on the four sections of *1 Enoch* that were known in Aramaic versions at Qumran.

6. The Book of Giants

In addition to the Enochic books discussed above, Milik mentions thirteen Qumran fragments which he has identified as belonging to six copies of a work very similar to the Manichaean *Book of Giants*.² The *Book of Giants* in its Manichaean form is one of seven works attributed to Mani, a son of Parthian aristocracy born in AD 216 and brought up in an Elkesaite camp in southern Babylonia. There he learned a particular Jewish-Christian tradition which had originated in Palestine. The Cologne *Mani Codex*³ purports to contain excerpts from an Enochic writing that has definite affinities with parts of *Ethiopic Enoch*, though there are also differences. Thirty years prior to the publication of the Codex, Henning had argued that one of Mani's sources was the *Book of Enoch*, but that he had made certain adaptations (which do not concern us at present).⁴ Milik has now linked Mani's *Book of Giants*, not with the *Book of Enoch*, but with the *Book of Giants* as identified at Qumran.⁵ Enoch is named in two texts published by Milik,⁶ and it is clear, on the basis of its contents, that 4QEnGiants is related to the Enoch cycle. Yet the nature of the relationship is by no means obvious. As Black has observed, 'Milik's identification of these fragments on the Giants with the surviving Sogdian fragments of the Manichaean book is a brilliant piece of detective work'.⁷ However, it is the nature of the relationship which is of concern to us, for Milik has firmly asserted not only that 4QEnGiants is Enochic, but that it constituted a fifth *Book of Enoch* at

1. This is not to suggest that the angelology of the *Parables* is not of significant interest in its own right, but merely that it lies outside the scope of the present investigation.

2. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 309-17.

3. Cf. Greenfield and Stone, 'Enochic Pentateuch', pp. 62-63. For the text, see L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Herausgegeben und übersetzt* (Papyrologia Coloniensis, 14; Opladen, 1988).

4. W.B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS* 11 (1943), pp. 52-53.

5. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 298-301.

6. *Books of Enoch*, p. 305 (4QEnGiants^b 1 ii 21); p. 315 (4QEnGiants^a 8 4, cf. Pl. xxxii).

7. *Book of Enoch*, p. 9.

Qumran—forming, with the other four, an Enochic ‘Pentateuch’.¹ The *Book of Giants*, he claims, was subsequently replaced in the Enochic corpus by the *Book of Parables*, at some time after the composition of the *Parables* around AD 270.² If it were able to be shown that the Qumran sectaries utilized a formal collection of Enochic writings as an Enochic Pentateuch, then the present investigation would need to give thorough attention to the *Book of Giants*. However, Greenfield and Stone have argued cogently that Milik’s hypothesis is without adequate basis, and call it ‘pure supposition’.³ Black has also argued against the idea of an Enochic Pentateuch, pointing out that it appears that no actual Enochic *Astronomical Book* ever existed at Qumran anyway.⁴

If Black is right, and the mass of astronomical texts recovered at Qumran makes it likely that he is, then this further undercuts the ‘Pentateuch’ theory. It seems clear that there was no collection at Qumran of five distinct books of Enoch in a manner analogous to the Mosaic Pentateuch.⁵ This fact severely weakens any case that might be made for the consideration in this study of the *Book of Giants* along with the other four Enochic writings to be investigated. Moreover, I have argued that the Ethiopic and Greek versions will not give us too unreliable a guide to the Enochic writings read at Qumran. In view of the absence of the *Book of Giants* from these versions, there seems to be no reason to seek to supplement the fragments of the Aramaic *Book of Giants* with the various Manichaean fragments, such as those published by Henning,⁶ and to include the *Book of Giants* in this

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 58.

2. *Books of Enoch*, p. 98.

3. ‘Enochic Pentateuch’, p. 65. For a detailed discussion of arguments against Milik’s suggestion, see M.J. Davidson, ‘Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of *1 Enoch* 1–36; 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1988), pp. 16–21.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 10.

5. It is, however, interesting to note that eventually an Ethiopic version with five major sections was produced, thereby associating the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Parables*, the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*. We cannot be certain why these five particular books were arranged in the order they were, though the suggestion of D. Dimant (‘The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch’, VT 23 [1983], pp. 14–29) that they are organized around a biographical theme, is attractive.

6. ‘Book of Giants’, pp. 52–74.

study. The status of this Aramaic *Giants* material in relation to the four Enochic books chosen for this investigation is uncertain.¹

However, another factor supports the decision to exclude the Aramaic *Book of Giants*. Both it and the Manichaean material are essentially just elaborations of the fall of the watchers and associated matters.² This means that either the *Book of Watchers* or the *Book of Giants* is largely redundant. It is thus somewhat curious to find Milik suggesting that, in the supposed Qumran collection, 4QEnGiants would have come after ch. 36.³ For it would thereby repeat, with elaboration,⁴ part of *1 Enoch* 6–16, but be separated from it by the account of Enoch’s journeys (*1 En.* 17–36).⁵

In summary, then, the Enochic material that will be addressed in this study will be based on *Ethiopic Enoch* without the *Parables* (chs. 37–71). The Ethiopic text, along with the Greek fragments, will be taken as a generally satisfactory guide to the corresponding Enochic material known to the Qumran community. However the fundamental text, inasmuch as it is available, must be the Aramaic from the Qumran library itself. In view of the uncertain status of the Aramaic *Book of Giants* in relation to the other writings attributed to Enoch, 4QEnGiants fragments will not form part of the focus of our study.

7. The Declining Use of Enochic Writings at Qumran

An intriguing matter which concerns the apparently declining popularity of Enochic writings at Qumran is raised by Milik. He writes:

1. Cf. Knibb (*Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 13) in relation to a specific case (*1 En.* 84.2–4, 6): ‘Also, the precise nature of the relationship (if there is one) between 4QEnGiants^a 9 and 10 and the Ethiopic version of 84.2–4 and 6 is unclear. . . .’

2. E.g., names are assigned to some of the sons of the fallen watchers. Baraqel’s son is Mahawi; the leader of the watchers, Shemihazah, has two sons named Ohyah and Hayah (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 311–13).

3. *Books of Enoch*, p. 310. Logically, it could have been incorporated in the *Book of Watchers* at some earlier point. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 10.

4. Cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, ‘The Bible Rewritten and Expanded’, in Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, p. 96: ‘The stories about the giants are surely secondary to *1 Enoch* 6–11 and presume the action in the latter. They may have been composed as complements to *1 Enoch* 12–16. . . .’

5. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 310.

It is significant in every respect that, apart from one manuscript of the Astronomical Book (Enastr^b) and some copies of the Book of Giants, no manuscript of 4QEn has been found in the beautiful 'classical' writing of the Herodian era or from the last period of the Essene occupation of Hürbet Qumrân. Qumrân scribes and readers must have gradually lost interest in the literary compositions attributed to Enoch, just as happened, though more rapidly and more drastically, in Pharisaic circles. We should note likewise that an early scroll, En^a, had already been withdrawn from circulation and its detached leaves used for other purposes—for example, the verso of the first leaf for a schoolboy's exercise. Equally significant, finally, is the absence of the Books of Enoch from other caves at Qumran, whose stores formed private libraries.¹

On Milik's dating, 4QEn^{a-g} had all been copied before the turn of the era, though both 4QEn^c (containing parts of the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*) and 4QEn^d (with parts of the *Book of Watchers* and the *Book of Dreams*) come from the last third of the first century BC. It is possible, of course, that the loss of interest in the Enochic literature was more apparent than real. Chance factors of MS preservation and discovery may well have been operative. On the other hand, this study has the potential to identify doctrinal factors which might have predisposed the Qumran community to a diminishing interest in this literature.²

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 7.
2. At the conclusion of this investigation of the angelology of the Qumran sectarian writings and the Enochic literature that has been selected for study, it will be of interest to return to this issue.

Chapter 2

THE BOOK OF WATCHERS (I): 1 ENOCH 1-16

In 1912 Charles wrote of *1 Enoch* 1-36, 'This section is of composite structure and from many hands',¹ a judgment which has stood the test of time.² However, in the form in which the Enochic writings were known at Qumran, the portions corresponding to chs. 1-36 in the Ethiopic and Greek belong to the one document, and the *Book of Watchers* apparently had its own identity. This is clear from the fact that the fragments of 4QEn^a contain parts of chs. 1-12, those of 4QEn^b cover portions of chs. 5-14, and 4QEn^c embraces parts of chs. 1-36. 4QEn^a and 4QEn^b appear to have contained only this writing.³ Nevertheless, despite the fact that the various components of the *Book of Watchers* were already collated at Qumran, for the sake of convenience, chs. 1-36 will be considered under several sub-headings.

1. Introduction: *The Great Judgment to Come*: 1 Enoch 1

1.1. *Ten Thousand Holy Ones*: 1 En. 1.9

Referring to chs. 1-5, Rowland has difficulty in seeing how 'this whole section fits in with the subsequent stories'.⁴ However, there are some close links with the rest of *1 Enoch* 1-36. The coming judgment of God, certain and effective, is introduced in ch. 1. Evildoers, both angelic and human, will tremble before God (*1 En.* 1.3, 5) while the

1. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 1.
2. Cf. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 12), who, writing some 70 years later, and of the whole book, speaks of a 'jig-saw puzzle'. His opinion regarding chs. 1-36 appears to be the same.
3. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 6, 25.
4. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), p. 51.

righteous will be blessed (*1 En.* 1.8). Then chs. 2–5 describe how the works of God keep to their proper order. This applies to the heavenly bodies, seasons, trees, and seas and rivers. Wicked people have abandoned God's commands (*1 En.* 5.4), so judgment is ahead for them, while the righteous will enjoy forgiveness of sins, mercy and peace, and inherit the earth (*1 En.* 5.5–9).

Thus, these early chapters prove a fitting introduction to the whole collection of books in *Ethiopic Enoch*, in which the themes of the disturbance of the divinely established order and its restitution, along with judgment for the offenders and the control of God over the whole cosmos, constitute leading motifs in a complex work. It is these ideas of divine judgment and blessing which are prominent in the theophanic discourse of *1 Enoch* 1.

The section is modelled in part on Deuteronomy 33,¹ which commences, 'This is the blessing with which Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel. . . ' and then describes Yahweh's theophany, coming from Sinai, Seir and Paran, and 'from the ten thousands of holy ones' (Deut. 33.2). *1 Enoch* begins: 'The words of blessing, according to which Enoch blessed the righteous elect. . . ' (*1 En.* 1.1). Here however, in *1 En.* 1.4, God is going to tread upon the earth on Mt Sinai, not come from it, as in Deut. 33.2.²

The points of contact with Deut. 33.2 are general rather than precise. The mention of Sinai suggests the giving of the Law, and VanderKam³ and Hartman⁴ have adduced various Jewish texts which utilize the Sinai motif but which, like *1 Enoch* 1–5, cast it in an eschatological

1. As noted by J. VanderKam, 'The Theophany of Enoch I 3b-7, 9', *VT* 23 (1973), pp. 132, 136-37, 148-49, and P.D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 141-42.

2. The sense may be that Yahweh comes with his retinue of holy ones, rather than leaving them behind. This has been argued by F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, 'The Blessing of Moses', *JBL* 67 (1948), pp. 198-99. Cf. VanderKam, 'Theophany', pp. 148-49 and Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, pp. 78-79. In this case, *1 En.* 1.9 and Deut. 32.2 would be identical. It is possible that יהוה מסני בא means 'Yahweh of Sinai came', rather than 'Yahweh came from Sinai', as in the RSV rendering. The point is argued by F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 24a; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1989), pp. 224-25. Either way, the idea is different from that in *1 En.* 1.4.

3. 'Theophany', pp. 136-50.

4. L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (ConBNT, 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979), pp. 40-48.

framework. The theophany of *1 Enoch* 1 stands in a well-attested tradition. The God who manifested himself in the giving of the Law is now to come in the future to judge the world in accordance with that Law.¹

The eternal God comes as conqueror (*1 En.* 1.4).² Fear will seize 'all', presumably all people,³ while the watchers or fallen angels⁴ will shake, as will the mountains (*1 En.* 1.5-6). The judgment envisaged is probably universal, falling on both human beings and angels.⁵ *1 En.* 1.7 is reminiscent of the Deluge terminology: 'all that is upon the earth shall perish'.⁶ The judgment of which Enoch speaks is future, however, 'for a generation remote' (*1 En.* 1.2).

The mighty God does not come alone, but with 'ten thousand holy ones to execute judgment upon all' (*1 En.* 1.9). For this verse we have evidence from Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic texts.⁷ קדיש is clearly visible in 4QEn^c 1.1.15, and is restored by Milik thus: קדישיןהי.⁸ The term קדוש is found frequently in the OT as a designation for God,⁹ but is also used of angels.¹⁰ קדישין refers to angels here (*1 En.* 1.9) and in

1. Cf. A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 90, quoted by VanderKam, 'Theophany', p. 137.

2. For a discussion of the motif of conqueror, see VanderKam, 'Theophany', pp. 136, 138-39. The author apparently utilizes two motifs which are not necessarily interdependent. God is a victorious conqueror who executes punishment deemed appropriate by God the judge. Although the imagery in *1 En.* 1 does not mention an assize in relation to what it calls a 'judgment', this motif is probably to be thought of as being in the background. Judgment in the sense of an assize is implied later in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 22.4-13). It is explicit in the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 90.26-27) and the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 100.4-11).

3. Cf. *1 En.* 102.3, 'the children of earth shall tremble', another context in which angels are associated with the divine vengeance. Here the courtroom motif is nearby in *1 En.* 103.2, in a section which shows a great deal of internal cohesion.

4. See below, §2.2.2, for the term 'watcher'.

5. So Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 108. Charles (*Book of Enoch*, p. 7) thinks it refers to humans only.

6. Cf. Gen. 6.7, 13 and especially v. 17.

7. G has: σὺν ταῖς μυριάσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ which is presumably to be understood as equivalent to Ryl (except that it lacks 'his'). Ryl reads: *bate' lefit qeddusān* ('with ten thousand holy ones').

8. *Books of Enoch*, p. 184 and pl. ix.

9. E.g. 2 Kgs 19.22; Job 6.10; Pss. 71.22; 78.41; 89.19 (Eng. 89.18); Isa. 1.4; 5.19; 40.25; 48.17; 60.9; Jer. 50.29; Ezek. 39.7; Hos. 11.9; Hab. 1.12.

10. E.g. Job 5.1; 15.15; Ps. 89.6, 8 (Eng. 89.5, 7); Dan. 8.13 and Zech. 14.5. While OT writers have used the term for both God and angels, *1 Enoch* normally

1 En. 12.2, 14.23, 81.5, 103.2 and 106.19. 'Holy angels' is used in *1 En.* 20.1-7, 21.5, 9, 22.3, 24.6, 27.2, 32.6, 93.2, and 'holy ones of heaven' at *1 En.* 9.3. Thus according to *1 En.* 1.9, God the judge will appear with the glorious entourage that normally surrounds his throne,¹ to punish the wicked and vindicate the righteous. The motif of an angelic host that accompanies God in the process of punishment in the world is also found in the OT. In the eschatological court scene of Daniel 7, God is served by 'a thousand thousands' and 'ten thousand times ten thousand' (Dan. 7.10). Zechariah 14 is also eschatological in orientation. Yahweh has a day on which he will fight against the nations: 'the LORD your God will come, and all the holy ones with him' (Zech. 14.5). In this case, the angels appear to be associated with the battle itself, having military rather than judicial functions. This corresponds to their role in *1 En.* 1.9. In both Zech. 14.5 and *1 En.* 1.9, Yahweh is a warrior, accompanied by an angelic host as he comes.²

1.2. Which the Angels Showed me: *1 En.* 1.2

1 En. 1.2 announces both blessing for the righteous and judgment for the godless, dominant themes in various parts of this Enochic literature. Enoch himself is the human communicator in the opening chapter, as he will be in the whole corpus. In addition to the themes of blessing and judgment, another recurring feature is the paramount importance of revelation. God has opened Enoch's eyes, although what he actually receives is revelation not directly from God, but mediated by angels. This will be Enoch's experience time and again.³

employs 'great' as well as 'holy' for God, as in *1 En.* 1.3; 14.1; 25.3; 84.1; 92.2; 98.6; 104.9 rather than using 'holy' alone, though note that 'the Holy One' is used for God in *1 En.* 93.11 and in the *Parables* (*1 En.* 37.2). ὁ ἅγιος occurs in *1 En.* 1.2 (G), but is absent from the Ethiopic texts.

1. 1 Kgs 22.19; Ps. 82.1; Dan. 7.10. Cf. the seraphim (Isa. 6.2) and the living creatures or cherubim (Ezek. 1.5-12; 10.3-22).

2. Cf. P.D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 126-27, 203-204, 315-16, for a discussion of this sort of divine warrior motif in the development of apocalyptic eschatology.

3. Cf. *1 En.* 10.1-2; 12.1-2; 17.2-3; 18.14; 22.1, 3; 24.6; 32.6; 81.1, 5; 93.2. The means of revelation is somewhat different in the *Book of Dreams*, according to which Enoch is informed through visions (*1 En.* 83.1; 85.1), though angels are involved there also (see §5.4.2.2).

The brief biblical statement in Gen. 5.24, ויחהלך חנוך אִם האלהים, appears to have been understood by the Enochic authors to mean that Enoch walked with the angels.¹

Divine revelation through angelic intermediaries is familiar from the OT. Ezekiel was conducted in the temple vision by one 'whose appearance was like bronze, with a line of flax and a measuring reed in his hand' (Ezek. 40.3; cf. 40.13, 17, 19, 24, etc.). This figure is to be understood as an *angelus interpretis*, an interpreting angel. In the visions of Zechariah, the angel of Yahweh (מלאך יהוה) frequently talks with the seer and provides him with explanations concerning a variety of subjects, from coloured horses to the dimensions of Jerusalem.² Similarly, angels assist Daniel to understand heavenly matters.³

However, it is especially in certain non-canonical Jewish writings of the last three centuries BC and the first AD that the idea of revelation involving angels became a prominent and distinguishing feature in what is now recognized as a specific literary form, the genre apocalypse. In his study of apocalypses deriving from the eastern Mediterranean area from mid-third century BC to mid-third century AD, Collins found that all fifteen Jewish apocalypses he considered involved revelation mediated by an otherworldly figure.⁴ This is certainly the case with *1 Enoch* 1-36.⁵

In this context in which revelation is given by the holy ones to Enoch, the God who comes in judgment will do so 'from the highest heaven' (ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν) (*1 En.* 1.4: G). The text of Ryl has simply 'emsamāy' ('from heaven'). It is likely that Black⁶ is correct in saying that 'G. . . seems original'. At least there is biblical precedent for the phrase in Deut. 10.14, 1 Kgs 8.27 = 2 Chron. 6.18, 2 Chron. 2.5 (Eng. 2.6) and Neh. 9.6. The Aramaic fragments lack it.

1. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS, 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), p. 114.

2. E.g. Zech. 1.9, 12, 14; 2.2-4 (Eng. 1.19-21); 4.1, 4, 5; 5.5.

3. E.g. Dan. 7.16; 8.13, 15-16; 9.21; 10.16, 18.

4. J.J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia, 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 28.

5. Other examples of the phenomenon include: *2 En.* 1.3-6; *Apoc. Zeph.* 2.1; *4 Ezra* 4.1; *3 Bar.* 1.3; *T. Levi* 5.1. The list could readily be extended.

6. *Book of Enoch*, p. 106.

The idea of an extended heaven, here perhaps of two heavens,¹ fits in with the idea of mediated revelation, in that it is associated with the emphasis on the relative remoteness of God as found in the last centuries before the turn of the era.² The phrase, *samāya samāyāt* ('heaven of heavens' or 'highest heaven', taking the construction as an elative) occurs in Ryl in the *Parables of Enoch* (*1 En.* 71.5). Its use effectively locates God one step further away from the world of human beings.³

Before leaving *1 Enoch* 1, comment on Black's translation of v. 2 is necessary, for it includes the word 'watchers': 'from the words of the [watchers and] holy ones I heard all'.⁴ He appears to be following Milik's restoration of 4QEn^a 1 i 3.⁵ Neither the Greek nor Ethiopic versions have this term here. Watchers who have sinned and so have cause to fear God's judgment are certainly mentioned in *1 En.* 1.5, but that is to begin on a theme that receives extended treatment in chs. 6–36. If the term is original in *1 En.* 1.2, it will be referring to good angels, as in Dan. 4.10, 14, 20 (Eng. 4.13, 17, 23), where the phrase עיר וקדיש is found.⁶

The legend of the watchers is preceded by chs. 2–5, which compare the orderly obedience of nature to the creator with the disorder in the world of disobedient people. Israel has transgressed and spoken impiously (*1 En.* 5.4). In striking contrast, 'all his works which he has made for ever attend on him year by year; and all his works serve him and do not change, but perform all his commands' (*1 En.* 5.2). Charles says, 'This was a favourite theme with Jewish writers',⁷ and it is possible that the editor(s) of *1 Enoch* chose to utilize some similar

1. For a discussion of multiple heavens, ranging in number from two to ten, see H. Traub, 'σὺπερνός', in *TDNT*, V, p. 511.

2. Cf. J.H. Charlesworth, 'A History of Pseudepigrapha Research: The Re-emerging Importance of the Pseudepigrapha', in *ANRW*, II.19.1, pp. 81–84.

3. Cf. VanderKam, 'Theophany', p. 139.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 25.

5. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 142, 144. Milik's transcription and restoration read: מלי עירין וקדישין.

6. If this is to be understood as a hendiadys, the phrase will mean 'holy watcher'. On 'watchers' as a term for angels, see further, present chapter, §2.2.2.

7. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 8–9. He mentions Sir. 16.26–28; *T. Naph.* 2.9; 3.2–3; *2 Bar.* 48.9–10; *Pss. Sol.* 18.12–14 and *1 Clem.* 20. There are no OT precedents for using the order of nature as a basis for exhortation as in *1 En.* 2–5. (Cf. VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 120–22.)

work, such as parts of the astronomical description of the four seasons in 4QEnastr^d 1 i 1–2.¹ Nevertheless, it is clear from the Qumran evidence of 4QEn^c that *1 En.* 1.9 continued straight on to *1 En.* 2.1,² so that presumably, in the literary plan of the compiler(s) of the *Book of Watchers*, the nature homily had its place. In fact, as it is now found, it forms a fitting introduction to the major theme of the *Book of Watchers*. It invites the reader to identify with righteousness, not wickedness, of which a striking example follows in the account of the angels that fell.³

Chapters 6–16 are concerned with the angels who sinned in having sexual relations with women, with the consequences ensuing from these liaisons, and with false teaching given by these angels to people. This sin is in striking contrast to the co-operation of nature. Sinful humans are similar to the fallen angels in that they, too, have spoken against God (*1 En.* 5.4). Consequently, they will know no peace (*1 En.* 5.5), but rather 'dissolution (and) execration' (*1 En.* 5.6). The theme of blessing for 'all who are without sin' (*1 En.* 5.6), introduced in 1.8, is reiterated here (*1 En.* 5.6–9).

2. The Fall of the Watchers: 1 Enoch 6–11

2.1. Introduction: 1 Enoch 6–11 in Relation to 1 Enoch 12–16⁴

Chapters 6–11 describe the fall of certain angels and the introduction of sin into the world. Among other things, the angels' sin includes coming to earth and marrying women. Consequently, the world is to be deluged, though Noah will be saved, and the angels who sinned will be punished. The earth itself will be restored, while humans will be freed from sin and worship God forever.

Then chs. 12–16 introduce Enoch—he is nowhere mentioned in chs. 6–11—and describe how he is taken up to be with the angels

1. Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 111, 418–19; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 296.

2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 84–85.

3. This wisdom interest of the editor of *1 Enoch* has been highlighted by R.A. Coughenour, 'The Wisdom Stance of Enoch's Redactor', *JSJ* 13 (1982), pp. 47–55. The wickedness–righteousness theme is particularly prominent in the *Epistle of Enoch*, discussed below, Chapter 6.

4. On the literary development of *1 En.* 6–16, see C.A. Newsom, 'The Development of *1 Enoch* 6–19. Cosmology and Judgment', *CBQ* 42 (1980), p. 321.

(1 En. 12.1-2). He is commissioned to inform the fallen angels that they can expect 'neither mercy nor peace' (1 En. 12.6), and is told of the death of the giants, the offspring of the illicit union of the angels and the women. However, he learns that from the deceased giants will come evil spirits which will continue to cause destruction on the earth. The link between chs. 6-11 and 12-16 is the statement in 1 En. 12.1, 'And before these things Enoch was taken up. . . ' to be with the angels in heaven. It is not obvious whether 'these things' refer to everything that has been described in chs. 6-11, or to some more limited aspect such as the commissioning of the archangels (chs. 10-11).¹ Either way, Enoch is informed of what is to befall those who disobey God. This then provides the setting, as Enoch makes the journeys described in chs. 17-36, for the subsequent disclosure of revelation about the structure of the cosmos and the future judgment.

2.2. 'Watchers' as a Term for Angels

In chs. 6-11 the angels that fall are called 'watchers, children of heaven' (1 En. 6.2). Watchers have been mentioned already, in 1 En. 1.5. The term occurs in Dan. 4.10, 14, 20 (Eng. 4.13, 17, 23), and in certain non-canonical apocalyptic writings.² עיר is generally taken to be related to the Aramaic עור, 'to be awake', as is reflected in G's word, ἐγρηγόροσ (cf. γρηγορεῖν, 'to watch'). The Ethiopic, *teguh*, is cognate with the verb *tagha*, 'to watch over'.³

The term in the *Book of Watchers* (1 En. 1.5; 10.7, 9, 15; 12.4; 13.10; 14.1, 3; 15.2, 9; 16.1, 2) and in the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En. 91.15)⁴ refers to angels who sinned. Yet not all watchers have sinned, as 1 En. 12.2, 3 makes clear. Elsewhere, the noun itself is not used but, instead, angels are described as those who watch.⁵ These watchers are

1. There is ambiguity in G, πρὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων and Ryl, *wa'emqedma k'ellu nagar* ('and before everything' or 'and before all the words'). Both λόγος and *nagar* (no doubt reflecting Aramaic נלג) can mean 'something spoken' as well as 'thing'.

2. *Jub.* 4.22; 7.21; cf. 5.1; *T. Naph.* 3.5; 1QapGen 2.1, 16. 'Watchers' in the sense of unfallen angels occurs in 1 En. 12.2, 3; cf. 20.1 (as well as in the *Parables*); *Jub.* 4.15; 4QMess ar 2.16, 18.

3. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 106) discusses some possible origins of the term.

4. These are the occurrences in Ryl. For G, see Appendix B.

5. 1 En. 20.1 (in Ryl but not G); 1 En. 82.10. Cf. the *Book of Parables* (1 En. 39.12-13; 61.12; 71.7), which mentions angels that do not sleep but guard the throne of God.

archangels such as Uriel, Raphael, Michael and Gabriel (1 En. 20.1-8).¹ The Aramaic of 4QEn^c 1 xxii 5 (= 1 En. 22.6), reads ארמא אשדירא. Both Ryl (*mal'ak*, 'angel') and G (τὸν ἄγγελον) appear to have paraphrased the term ארמא.²

Certain additional epithets are applied to these angels. Those who fall are 'watchers of heaven',³ 'eternal watchers'⁴ and 'sons of heaven'.⁵ Good watchers are called 'holy ones' (1 En. 12.2) and 'watchers of the great Holy One' (1 En. 12.3). It is the lofty estate from which the rebellious watchers fell, together with the enormity of the consequences of their actions, that gives solemnity to these chapters.

2.3. 1 Enoch 6-11 and Genesis 6.1-4

Chapters 6-11 have been described as expository narrative by Hanson,⁶ while Nickelsburg says it is 'narrative in form and interpretative in technique', as well as 'mythic in content'.⁷ Genesis 6 provides the basis for the interpretative elaboration found in 1 Enoch 6-11. Such a statement, of course, assumes the priority of Genesis, and this has been the position of scholarship generally.⁸ The issue is undoubtedly complex, and beyond the scope of the present study.⁹ Only a couple of matters may be mentioned. For example, Gen. 6.2 has

1. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 6.

2. Cf. J. Barr, 'Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch (I)', *JJS* 23 (1978), pp. 189-90.

3. 1 En. 12.4; 13.10; 15.2; 91.15; cf. 16.2.

4. 1 En. 14.1.

5. 1 En. 13.8; 14.3.

6. P.D. Hanson, 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11', *JBL* 96 (1977), p. 197.

7. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins' "Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch"', *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers* (ed. P.J. Achtemeier; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), I, p. 312.

8. E.g. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 14. More recently, Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 31) has proposed that Genesis has borrowed from 1 Enoch, and Black (*Book of Enoch*, pp. 124-25) inclines to this position.

9. The work of Hanson, 'Rebellion' and R.S. Hendel, 'Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6.1-4', *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 13-26 may be noted. An example of an earlier study is G. Kraepling, 'The Significance and Origin of Gen. 6.1-4', *JNES* 6 (1947), pp. 193-208.

בני האלהים אה בנוה האדם which the LXX renders literally: οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων. By comparison, G reads οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ. The text of Ryl, *mal'ekt welud samāyāt*, is identical in meaning to G. It appears likely that 'God' in Gen. 6.2 has been replaced by 'heaven' in *1 En.* 6.2, given the reluctance of later Judaism to refer directly to God.¹ If this is correct, it provides evidence suggesting the dependence of the Enochic author on Genesis. Further support for this view is found in the explicit mention of angels in *1 Enoch* 6. A later editor might have been expected to clarify the meaning of the source, rather than to make it more cryptic. Thus the phrase, 'angels, sons of heaven', can be regarded as a clarifying expansion of the expression, 'sons of God'.²

One further matter may be mentioned. Gen. 6.1-4 is much briefer than the myth of the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 6-11. The fact that midrashim on OT passages are regularly longer than the texts on which they are based lends further support to the priority of Gen. 6.1-4. The dependence of *1 Enoch* 6-11 on Gen. 6.1-4 will be assumed in what follows.

2.4. Outline of the Contents of 1 Enoch 6-11

Watchers are said to lust after the beautiful women on earth, and to formulate a pact with their leader, Shemihazah, to marry them and beget children. In all, two hundred watchers descend to Mt Hermon, in twenty groups of ten (*1 En.* 6.1-8). The giants resulting from these unions devour people's food, attacking both humans and beasts (*1 En.* 7.1-5). So 'the earth made accusation against the lawless ones' (*1 En.* 7.6).

1 En. 8.1-2 introduces Asael as the angelic being who teaches metallurgy to mankind, which results in the production of weaponry and of jewellery, and of other adornments for women. Men and

1. Cf. H. Bietenhard (*Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* [WUNT, 2; Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1951], pp. 80-82), who notes 1 Macc. 3.18; 4.10; 12.15.

2. Cf. P.S. Alexander ('The Targumim and Early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Genesis 6', *JJS* [1972], p. 61), who says, 'one thing is certain: as far back as we can go in the exegetical tradition on Gen. 6.1-4, בני אלהים are taken as angels'. The earliest exegesis of Gen. 6 according to Alexander is *1 En.* 6. He assumes the priority of Gen. 6 and regards *1 En.* 6-11 as 'an elaborate midrash on Gen. 6.1-4' (p. 60).

women subsequently begin to commit fornication. Shemihazah appears in this context too, along with some other watchers, but now in the role of a teacher of astrology and sorcery. As people begin to disappear from the earth, their cry is again raised to God (*1 En.* 8.4). The archangels Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel pray to God because of the plight of humankind (*1 En.* 9.1-11), whereupon God sends an archangel to warn Noah of the impending Deluge so that he can escape. Another archangel binds Asael and casts him into an opening in the desert, where he is to stay till the great judgment. This angel also announces the healing of the earth. A third sets the giants against one another 'in a battle of destruction', while a fourth binds Shemihazah and those with him till the final judgment. Then God announces future blessing for both the earth and humankind, with the promise that sin will be eliminated and that there will never be another Deluge (*1 En.* 10.16-11.2).

2.5. Shemihazah and Asael: Two Strands in Chapters 6-11

Our aim is to determine the roles of the angels involved in the narrative. This will be feasible only if first some understanding of the function of the narrative in its original setting can be ascertained.

Within this section there are various indications that two originally independent traditions have been woven together. For example, in *1 En.* 6.3, 7 Shemihazah is the leader of the 200 who lust after the women. The angel Asael, on the other hand, is listed tenth as a chief of ten. Yet in ch. 8 it appears that Asael is the leader, bringing humankind knowledge which leads to war and fornication, while Shemihazah is said to have 'taught spell-binding and the cutting of roots' (*1 En.* 8.3). This impression is confirmed by *1 En.* 10.8: 'The whole earth has been devastated by the works of the teaching of Asael; record against him all sins'. This is in contrast to the problem resulting from the cohabitation of the angels with the women. The giant offspring of the marriages cause want, destruction and bloodshed (*1 En.* 7.3-6). People's cry to God is repeated in juxtaposition to the account of the secret knowledge introduced by Asael and the eight other angels (*1 En.* 8.4; cf. 8.1-3).¹

1. The two lists of watchers in 6.7-8 and 8.1-3 differ, both in the order of the names and in the actual names themselves. The second list has only nine names compared to twenty in the first, although the nine all occur in the longer list.

We deduce from such considerations that this material did not originally form a unity. Leaving aside the material that can be recognized as belonging to the Asael stratum,¹ a core remains which constitutes the story of Shemihazah. In essence, this tradition consists of the angels' plan to take wives, their descent to earth, their marriage and the procreation of giants who devastate the earth, the cry of oppressed humans for judgment, intercession for humankind by good angels, and God's declaration of judgment, along with the promise of future peace and blessing on the earth.²

The Asael material, on the other hand, has the watchers teaching sorcery and spells, together with the cutting of roots and herbs (*I En.* 7.1d, e). Asael and eight other angels give various forms of instruction to humanity, teaching such things as metallurgy (which leads to the production of weapons of war and jewellery), cosmetics, sorcery, spells and various forms of astrological divination (*I En.* 8.1-3). The giants motif is absent. Immorality in the Asael stratum follows from the use of jewellery and cosmetics (*I En.* 8.2). What Asael did is amplified in *I En.* 9.6. In addition to teaching sins and wrongdoing, 'he revealed the eternal mysteries prepared in heaven'. Chapter 10 (vv. 4-8) describes how Raphael is to bind Asael, cast him into an opening in the desert, and let him stay on jagged rocks for all time. The earth is to be healed, not now from the devastation caused by the giants, but 'on account of the mysteries which the watchers have disclosed' (*I En.* 10.7). All sin is to be recorded against Asael (*I En.* 10.8).

Nevertheless, although the weight of evidence in relation to *I Enoch* 6-11 does make a convincing case for seeing at least two sources which have been editorially combined,³ we do have to seek to

1. *I En.* 7.1d, e; 8.1-3; 9.6, 8c; 10.4-8 and perhaps 10.9-10 (see the following note).

2. Cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11', *JBL* 96 (1977), pp. 384-89. Cf. Hanson, 'Rebellion', pp. 197-202. See also C. Molenberg, 'A Study of the Roles of Shemihazah and Asael in 1 Enoch 6-11', *JJS* 34 (1983), pp. 136-46 and D. Dimant, '1 Enoch 6-11: A Methodological Perspective', in Achtemeier (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers*, I, pp. 323-39. Although differing in certain respects from Nickelsburg and Hanson, Dimant comes to fairly similar conclusions.

3. J.J. Collins ('Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P.D. Hanson and G.W.E. Nickelsburg', in Achtemeier [ed.], *Society of*

instead of
propitiating Asael
out in the desert

understand the text as we have it.¹ In neither the Shemihazah nor the Asael strand does the sin of the angels take the form of seeking to usurp God's position by overthrowing him. In the Shemihazah narrative, the angels' sin is lust (*I En.* 6.1-2). In the case of Asael, the earth has been ruined through the angels' teaching (*I En.* 10.8). Yet there is no suggestion of any threat to God's authority, beyond rebellion in the form of illegitimate behaviour, and no mention of any direct confrontation with God's sovereignty.²

2.6. The Function of these Narratives in their Present Setting

It will be convenient to begin by considering Suter's hypothesis concerning the function of *I Enoch* 6-11.³ Noting that the usual way to read the legend of the watchers is to focus on the world of humanity, seeing the origin of sin in the world as being due to the fallen angels, he proposes that the primary interest really lies with the angels, their fall and their fate.⁴ Instead of thinking of this narrative as providing an aetiology of sin in the world, Suter sees it as a paradigm concerning the purity of the Jewish priesthood. He points out that the Judaism of the Second Temple was very concerned with family purity, especially in relation to the priesthood,⁵ and sees several parallels

Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers, I, pp. 315-22) has rightly pointed out that source criticism which finds apparent breaks in the continuity of a narrative or seeming duplications should not necessarily be assumed to have demonstrated that multiple sources lie behind the document, though the evidence is strong in the case of these chapters. Various analyses have sought to identify the underlying sources of the leading motifs in *I En.* 6-11. E.g. Hanson ('Rebellion', pp. 204-206) saw the influence of Hurrian mythology, while Nickelsburg ('Apocalyptic and Myth', pp. 395-97, 399-405) saw Greek influence. F.M. Cross ('New Directions in the Study of Apocalyptic', *JTC* 6 [1969], pp. 157-65) has emphasized early OT and Canaanite roots. VanderKam (*Apocalyptic Tradition*) has discussed Babylonian divination wisdom as an influence.

1. Cf. J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), p. 36.

2. On the nature of the sins of the angels and possible connections with Phil. 2.5-11, see J.A. Sanders, 'Dissenting Deities and Philippians 2 1-11', *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 284-89.

3. D.W. Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16', *HUCA* 50 (1979), pp. 115-35.

4. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest', pp. 116-17.

5. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest', pp. 119-22.

between the angels in the myth and the priesthood. Both had restrictions on marriage (the angels should not have married at all), and Suter thinks that there is an underlying tension between endogamy and exogamy which is basic in *1 Enoch* 6–11. Moreover, both priests and angels (*1 En.* 15.2) have responsibilities for intercession. Wrong marriages (in the OT) result in the exclusion of priests from altar service, whereas angels are excluded from heaven because of their marriages in *1 En.* 14.5.¹ He concludes:

the parallels between the role of the priesthood in Ancient Judaism and the symbolic function of the fallen angels in the myth all indicate that at an important level of meaning the myth of the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 6–11 deals with the problem of the inner purity of the Jewish community to which the purity of the priesthood is essential.²

However, despite Suter's view 'that the myth concentrates on the angels and their deeds',³ the interest lies beyond the angels. The eventual focus is on the restoration of the devastated earth and a return to conditions akin to the original paradise (*1 En.* 10.16-22; 11.2). The fact that the legend ends with the blessing of humanity strongly suggests that the angels and their affairs in isolation are neither the centre of interest nor merely the analogue of some other point which the author wishes to make. Other substantial objections to Suter's hypothesis concerning the function of the myth of the fallen watchers can be raised,⁴ and the conclusion is that Suter has not been able to make his case. The angels of *1 Enoch* 6–11 are not functioning in the narrative as analogues of Jewish priests.

A very different suggestion is made by Betz,⁵ whose interest lies in identifying syncretistic interrelationships among several apocalyptic traditions. The hermetic text *Kore Kosmu*, from an Egyptian-Hellenistic cosmogony, provides him with a parallel to the fall of the angels and the devastation of the giants in *1 Enoch*.⁶ He thinks that 'the

1. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest', pp. 122-24.
2. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest', p. 131.
3. 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest', p. 117.
4. See Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 40-42.
5. H.D. Betz, 'On the Problem of Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism', *JTC* 6 (1969), pp. 134-56.
6. 'Religio-Historical Understanding', pp. 142-48.

real evil—this is agreed among all texts concerned—is bloodshed'.¹ The watchers sin in taking wives (*1 En.* 6.2-3), and the giant offspring devour people's food, treat them violently, slay them and abuse the animal world (*1 En.* 7.3-6). In addition, sorcery is taught (*1 En.* 8.3; 9.7), and metallurgy, which leads to the manufacture of weapons of war and seductive jewellery (*1 En.* 8.1-2), as well as to the revelation of eternal mysteries (*1 En.* 9.6). The picture is considerably more complex than Betz allows. He does correctly seek the 'underlying questions' of the literature,² which for him are those of existentialism. He finds them clothed in the myth of the fallen souls in his hermetic text. Having made the assumption that the most complete account of an ancient tradition has been preserved in *Kore Kosmu*, he then interprets the Enochic myth and other material in personal existential terms. He says his texts

agree on the evaluation of man's situation in this world. Man stands 'ensnared in himself, helpless in a hostile world devouring and penetrating him completely. Getting free from it and from oneself. . . in order to find the way back to one's proper self, becomes the ardent desire of the whole epoch.'³

The fallen angels are interpreted as existential factors which trap men so that they lead inauthentic lives. Yet the great emphasis on personal salvation that Betz sees in the myth does not accord with the response of God in sending the Deluge (*1 En.* 10.1-2). The deity adds to the misery of those in an oppressive world by destroying them!

The Deluge can be better understood as God's judgment on sinners who bear a measure of responsibility for their own sin, despite the involvement of the fallen angels (cf. *1 En.* 10.14). Moreover, one would expect that all would need deliverance from the oppressive forces that attack the ego. However, Noah is in a different category, and it is from him that the race is to be rebuilt (*1 En.* 10.3). Further, on Betz's thesis, those who are oppressed are the ones who need deliverance. Yet nothing is said in our text about any sort of resurrection

1. 'Religio-Historical Understanding', pp. 147-48. He refers to Rev. 16.4-6, *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* 8-9, *Kore Kosmu* and *1 En.* 6.4-6.
2. 'Religio-Historical Understanding', p. 137.
3. 'Religio-Historical Understanding', p. 148, quoting H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (FRLANT, 33; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), I, p. 199.

for those whose blood is shed by the giants. The paradisiacal blessings of the future are not for them but for 'the plant' (*I En.* 10.3)¹ to come from Noah, a 'plant of righteousness' (*I En.* 10.16). Closely associated with the idea of the plant is that of the remnant of Israel. In *Isa.* 60.21 and 61.3 it refers to the post-exilic remnant, though in *I En.* 10.16 it is post-diluvial humankind.² In the Qumran literature the image of the plant describes the elect (e.g. *1QS* 8.5; 11.8; *CD* 1.7; *1QH* 6.15; 8.6, 9-10). So the eschatology here envisages the OT idea of a righteous people of God, a corporate idea. It is not legitimate to reduce the hope expressed in *I Enoch* 10 to mere personal eschatology, let alone simply to personal existence in the present age.

Another approach to the myth of the fallen angels sees in it an aetiology of sin in the world,³ although such a view is accurate only as far as it goes. True, the myth does provide such an aetiology, with evil entering the world through the descent of rebellious angels who illicitly marry humans⁴ or illegitimately teach them. In the Shemihazah stratum, blame is laid on the angels for their illicit marriages (*I En.* 6.1-3) and the procreation of the giants (*I En.* 7.1-5). In fact, the Shemihazah cycle appears more concerned with the affliction and bloodshed introduced into the world through the sin of the angels, than with subsequent human sin. This is certainly so if we are right in regarding as secondary the teaching motif connected now in our documents with Shemihazah. The spirits of the deceased giants apparently continue to cause harm in the world (*I En.* 10.9, 15), and their

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, pp. 30, 133) here follows the longer text of Sync. (See *idem*, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 24). The texts of G and Ryl more simply speak of posterity preserved for the whole earth, lacking any reference to a plant. 'The plant of righteousness' is well attested in *I En.* 10.16. On the plant motif, see also §8.3.2.

2. See also *I En.* 84.6; 93.2, 5, 10.

3. E.g. M. Barker, 'Some Reflections on the Book of Enoch', *JSOT* 15 (1980), p. 9.

4. Contrast *Gen.* 3.1-7, in which the serpent entices the woman to disobey God, and she is followed by her husband. In this case, responsibility is shared by the serpent and Adam and Eve. Human responsibility is not explicit in *I En.* 6-11, unless perhaps *I En.* 10.14 is referring to humans rather than Shemihazah (see Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 89), though the Deluge does imply some responsibility on the part of humankind (see above). However, *I En.* 98.4-8 (in the *Epistle of Enoch*) places responsibility squarely on human shoulders, reflecting a tradition more in accord with *Gen.* 3.1-7.

evil influence will continue till the final judgment (*I En.* 15.11-12).

However, in the Asael stratum the emphasis is different. The angels did wrong in teaching metallurgy so that humanity acquired weapons for war. Moreover, women received adornments which, together with cosmetics, enhanced their attractiveness (*I En.* 8.1-2), and impiety and fornication resulted. The magic arts were also introduced (*I En.* 8.3; 9.8; cf. 7.1d, e). All sins are to be recorded against Asael (*I En.* 10.8). There is thus a double emphasis. Not only have the angels sinned, but people have too. Apart from Noah, 'the righteous one' (*I En.* 10.2-3), 'the whole earth was full of godlessness and violence' (*I En.* 9.1). Here are echoes of *Gen.* 6.1-11, and perhaps a hint at the editor's idea in combining the Shemihazah and Asael material. Sin in the world is due to both angels and humankind.

Molenberg sees the Shemihazah and Asael strands in *I Enoch* 6-11 as both functioning in much the same way. She interprets the cycles typologically,¹ such that the rebellious angels represent sinners of the author's own time, in order 'to act as a warning . . . to teach man by angelic analogue of the eventual triumph of righteousness over sin'.²

It is true that righteousness is seen to triumph, and the motif of instruction through the bad example of the angels is, in fact, the way the passage is applied in the *Damascus Covenant*.³ Nevertheless, Molenberg does violence to the two strands when she proposes that the rebellious angels represent sinners.⁴ *I Enoch* 6-11 clearly distinguishes between angels and human beings, with the angels coming from outside the world.⁵ Oppressed people cry to the archangels, who approach God on their behalf (*I En.* 9.1-11). Similarly, the fallen angels can hardly represent sinners when it is they who teach them to sin (*I En.* 8.1-3). Consequently, Molenberg's hypothesis must be rejected.

We can now postulate some motivations which underlie *I Enoch* 6-11. First, the problem of evil defies a merely human explanation because of the scope and extent of injustice. The Shemihazah stratum provides an aetiology of evil in the world. But there is also that evil abroad which can be related to people's own actions. Blame cannot

1. 'The Roles of Shemihazah and Asael', pp. 140-41, 144-45.

2. 'The Roles of Shemihazah and Asael', p. 145.

3. *CD* 2.15-17; see below, §9.3.2.

4. 'The Roles of Shemihazah and Asael', pp. 141, 145.

5. On the distinction between angels and humans in the Enochic and Qumran literature, see below, §8.2.2.6.

simply or exclusively be laid on the angels. This corresponds to the Asael stratum, with its emphasis on the sins people have learned and chosen to practise.

The source of the problems lies outside of humankind in the myth, and this implies that the oppression the author and his associates experience derives from circles outside of their own, not from within. Thus, we might well seek to locate our editor(s) in a period of history that involved oppression and injustice. The document is of course Jewish, and one possibility would be to look to outside foreign influences as the cause of oppression. The main interest of the Shemihazah myth is in the conflict introduced by the superhuman giants who overwhelm humankind. Apparently a major force is threatening the whole race,¹ rather than an internal conflict within the priesthood, as suggested by Suter. It is unwise to be dogmatic, but Nickelsburg has made a couple of plausible suggestions in the wars of the Diadochi (323–302 BC),² the leaders who succeeded Alexander the Great, and (less likely) the struggle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies (217–198 BC) for the control of Palestine,³ though as Collins notes, the hypothesis is to be seen as 'extremely tentative'.⁴

The lack of explicit details to enable identification of a specific setting for all or part of *1 Enoch* 6–11 makes the task difficult and contributes to the diversity of setting suggested. Yet this very ambiguity assists such literature to retain its appeal over the years. Assuming the myth of the angels reflects some sort of crisis, readers could well read it differently in differing circumstances, in each case seeing it as descriptive of their own situation. This polyvalent character of apocalyptic material enables it to be applied to different historical situations as the occasion arises.⁵ Given this characteristic of such

1. Cf. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth', pp. 390–91.

2. These rulers were said to have been descendants of the unions of gods and humans, and to have claimed divinity (so VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 128).

3. Nickelsburg ('Reflections', pp. 313–14) considers that 'the imagery of warfare is close at hand'. Cf. *idem*, 'Apocalyptic and Myth', p. 391.

4. 'Methodological Issues', p. 321. Elsewhere, Nickelsburg ('Bible Rewritten', p. 93) himself also thinks that the watchers in *1 En.* 12–16 are portrayed as disobedient priests of the heavenly temple, and that we should understand the author to have had a disagreement with the Jerusalem priesthood.

5. Cf. J.J. Collins, 'The Apocalyptic Technique in the Book of the Watchers', *CBQ* 44 (1982), pp. 98–99.

literature, we need not be unduly concerned if the original setting of our document finally eludes our grasp.

Nevertheless, it is appropriate to conclude this section by emphasizing the importance of having sought to ascertain the function of these chapters in relation to the readers for whom they were written. Hartman writes of the 'illocution' of a text, 'what its author wants to say with that which he says', and of the effect of the literature on its audience.¹ It now becomes possible to discuss the functions attributed to angels in these chapters.

2.7. Theodicy and God's Answer Mediated by Angels: 1 Enoch 9–10

The previous section has argued that there is a paradigmatic significance in the angelic myths in the fact that they point to the oppression experienced by the author and his circle. The very existence of such oppression highlights a problem of theodicy which is expressed clearly in the prayer of the four archangels to God (*1 En.* 9). The angels in the narrative enable the original author to express the problem of those who are suffering greatly, and for whom the angels intercede.

The prayer consists of a doxology (*1 En.* 9.4–5), an account of the angels' misdeeds (*1 En.* 9.6–9), the complaint of the people on earth (*1 En.* 9.10), and a statement of the problem of theodicy (*1 En.* 9.11). The angels acknowledge that God is creator and has power over all things (*1 En.* 9.5), angels and giants included. Moreover, nothing is hidden from his knowledge. Taking the prayer as it is in the final redaction, with the Shemihazah and Asael strands combined, we have the archangels reminding God of what he already has seen and known about the wicked deeds of the fallen angels (*1 En.* 9.6–9). God must surely have known the despair of 'mortal men . . . crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven' (*1 En.* 9.10). Then the angels enunciate their (and the author's) problem to God, saying,

1. L. Hartman, 'Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre', in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), pp. 334–41. Cf. also, in the same volume, E.P. Sanders, 'The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses', pp. 454–59.

But thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and thou seest them and hast let them alone; and thou dost not say to us what we should do with regard to them on account of these things (*I En.* 9.11).

God is silent, while human beings suffer in a world over which theology says he exercises control and about which he is said to know everything.

It is necessary to consider the underlying motivations of the literature still further. Chapters 10–11 outline the glorious eschatological future for humanity and the oppressors' removal from the scene. Concerning God's apparent inactivity and even impotence, divine answers are provided through the four archangels, Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel and Michael.¹ Sariel is sent to Noah (*I En.* 10.1-3) with a message about 'the End that is approaching; that the earth will be completely destroyed... that a Deluge is about to come... to destroy all things from the face of the earth' (*I En.* 10.1-2). He is to warn Noah so that he might 'escape... and from him a plant shall be planted and established for all generations for ever' (*I En.* 10.3). The use of 'end' (*I En.* 10.2; G, Sync.: τέλος; Ryl: *feṣṣāmē*) is in line with the eschatological ethos of this whole section.² This is reinforced by the mention of the plant (*I En.* 10.3), if this represents the original text.³ In the Enochic account, the Noachic Deluge is the first step in a series of eschatological events stretching far beyond Noah's time. In Genesis 6–9, the timespan is much more restricted, dealing with the flood and the command to replenish the earth (Gen. 9.7). The Enochic author expands this by using typological exegesis to embrace events

1. There is confusion concerning the names of these angels, as is clear from Appendix A, below. The original list of four was apparently 'Michael', 'Sariel', 'Raphael' and 'Gabriel'. Although 'Uriel' has replaced 'Sariel' in many witnesses to *I En.* 9.1, the name 'Sariel' occurs in 4QEn^b 1 iii 7 (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 170, 173), and is thus to be taken as original. See also Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 129, 162-63. In the *Parables of Enoch*, 'Sariel' has been replaced by 'Phanuel' (*I En.* 40.9; 54.6; 71.8) and this name is replaced by 'Uriel' in *Apoc. Mos.* 40.2 and rabbinic literature.

2. Corresponding to *I En.* 91.19, 4QEn^b 1 ii 21 has סוף. Given the emphases of the other angelic messages upon the final judgment (*I En.* 10.6, 10, 12-14), the Deluge should be understood as part of the total eschatological intervention of God.

3. The 'plant' is mentioned only in Sync. Whether original here or not, *I En.* 10.16 has the 'plant' attested in both Ryl and G.

down to the final judgment and the eschatological bliss of the righteous.¹

The second angel, Raphael, has to bind Asael and cast him onto rocks in an opening in the desert, where he is to stay for all time in darkness (*I En.* 10.4-8). Raphael is also to record that all sin is to be attributed to Asael's account (*I En.* 10.8). On the final judgment day, Asael will face a blazing fire. Raphael is to heal the earth which has been despoiled through the teaching of Asael.² Again we note an eschatological perspective here. Asael is to be incarcerated from the time Raphael goes to him until the final judgment day. There is no indication how far off that will be, but it is reassuring for the afflicted, because it is certain. The renegade angel who has wrought so much evil is out of the way for the present and will ultimately get his full deserts.

The third angel, Gabriel, is to go to the bastard offspring of the watchers' union with the women (*I En.* 10.9) and cause them to destroy one another. *Jub.* 5.6-11 is similar in this respect, and adds that 'their parents also watched' (*Jub.* 5.10; cf. *I En.* 10.12; 14.6). This horror for the fallen angels and their offspring provides further reassurance for the afflicted. There is, however, an intriguing problem raised by this account. If the angels and giants which have brought so much evil have really been dealt with, why is evil still rife in the world? It is probably as an answer to this enigma that we should understand *I En.* 15.8–16.1. When the giants are killed, evil spirits or demons will come from their bodies,³ wreaking havoc on the earth, causing fighting and sorrow, and rising up against humanity (*I En.* 15.11-12) until the great judgment.⁴ Here, then, in a narrative

1. Cf. L. Hartman, 'An Early Example of Jewish Exegesis: *I Enoch* 10.16–11.2', *Neot* 17 (1983), pp. 20-23.

2. There is presumably a play on the name Raphael. רפאל is attested in 4QEn^a 1 iv 6 (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 157) and is related to רפא, 'to heal'.

3. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 143) cites several references to 'similar descriptions of the origin of evil spirits', including *Jub.* 10.

4. Knibb (*Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 102) recognizes the difference in meaning between the Ethiopic and Greek texts of *I En.* 17.1, and says that the Greek 'offers rather better sense'. He renders *I En.* 17.1 thus: 'wherever the spirits have gone out from (their) bodies, their flesh shall be destroyed before the judgment; thus they will be destroyed until the day of the great consummation is accomplished upon the great age, upon the Watchers and the impious ones'. Cf. Black's translation of G (*Book of*

about angels, is a window on the world-view of the author. The continuing presence of evil in the world is explained in terms of the activities of evil spirits which will be called to account at the end of the present era. Indeed, if we are right in thinking of this literature as offering an explanation of the difficulties faced by the author and his circle, the description will mean that evil spirits, evil human beings and evil circumstances will always be around, but that ultimately God will deal decisively with the wicked in the final judgment.

The fourth angel, Michael, is sent to Shemihazah and the other fallen watchers (*1 En.* 10.11). Michael is to inform the watchers that their offspring will be slain, and then bind these watchers for seventy generations, until their final judgment and imprisonment (*1 En.* 10.12-13).

The mention of the seventy generations which are to extend from the time of Noah and Enoch till the end offers the readers further consolation. Such a chronology implies that history is proceeding in accordance with a divine plan, despite apparently contradictory indications in everyday events. Dividing history into seventy periods was not uncommon among the Jews, particularly in apocalyptic circles.¹ Following the seventy generations, the watchers will face final incarceration (*1 En.* 10.13).² The final fate of the spirits of the giants is mentioned in 10.15.

However, it is not only the certainty of final judgment on the watchers and giants which is spelled out to the archangel Michael by God, but also the bliss of the future age, in language reminiscent of the Garden of Eden (*1 En.* 10.16-11.2). Hyperbole enhances the

Enoch, p. 35): 'the spirits which came forth from their bodies will go on destroying, uncondemned. In such ways they will destroy until the day of the end, until the great judgment, in which the great aeon will be completed.'

1. See, e.g., Dan. 9.24-27; 4Q180 and 181 (discussed below, §13.5.1); the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93.3-10; 91.12-17; see below, §6.2.2); and the second vision of the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 85-90; see below, §5.4.2.5).

2. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 248) says, 'The temporary imprisonment of the wicked angels will in no way prevent them from exercising a baneful influence on humanity, and in particular on the people of Israel, as will be described in greater detail by the author of the *Book of Dreams*'. This is erroneous, since our author has the angels themselves imprisoned, while it is the spirits of their offspring, the giants, which are free in the world, causing evil. In the *Book of Dreams*, *1 En.* 83-90, the fallen watchers are clearly different from the 70 shepherds or angels (*1 En.* 90.21; cf. 90.22; and also see below, §5.4.2.3).

description of the felicity to be experienced: a thousand measures of wine from the vine, a thousand measures from one of seed, and so on. All sin will be gone, all people will be righteous, and all nations will serve and worship God. Nor will there be a further Deluge—how could there be any need for it!

The basis of this whole section (*1 En.* 10.1-11.2) is the Genesis account of the marriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men, the wickedness on the earth, the Deluge, and Noah's salvation, which sees the re-establishment of the race. The author takes this sequence of events from the *primaeval* period or *Urzeit* and clothes it with new meaning relating to the *Endzeit*. His approach is a typological one in which the judgment of Noah's day prefigures the final judgment, while the idea of righteousness in the new race of Noah's descendants is extended to all people, who will worship God. For the author, *Endzeit wird Urzeit*.¹ This technique enables our author to use a story in which angels are the principal characters in order to offer hope to his troubled readers. Their presence is quite in harmony with the author's theology.

The four archangels (*1 En.* 9.1; 10.1, 4, 9, 11) have further roles to play for the author and his readers, beyond the execution of God's judgment on the fallen watchers and their offspring. Because they serve before God's presence,² their words carry authority from him, as they announce impending judgment. They are also proof in themselves that not all angels have acted in the same high-handed way. God is still in control in his world, and there are still those angels who live in his presence, doing his will.

3. Enoch and the Fallen Watchers: 1 Enoch 12-16

As already observed, the myth of the fallen watchers was originally separate from this section, and only now, for the first time since the

1. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth', p. 388. Cf. Hanson, 'Rebellion', pp. 195-96, 202-209.

2. Cf. *1 En.* 40.1-10, in the *Parables*, where the four angels are in the immediate presence of God, the so-called Angels of the Presence (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 77). A different tradition appears in *1 En.* 20, which has seven archangels. The tradition of four appears to have been changed at some stage to seven (or else, perhaps, to have developed independently). For further discussion of these angels, see Appendix A and §§10.4.2, 13.8.2 below.

Introduction (*I En.* 1) is Enoch mentioned. According to *I Enoch* 12–16, Enoch is taken up to heaven where he is with the holy watchers (*I En.* 12.1–2).¹ They instruct him to announce to the fallen watchers associated with Shemihazah (*I En.* 12.4–6) and presumably Asael (*I En.* 13.1–2) that they will be punished. Afraid, the fallen angels request Enoch to petition God on their behalf (*I En.* 13.3–6). Then Enoch is told in a dream to rebuke them (*I En.* 13.8). *I En.* 14.1–7 records how the watchers will not have their petition granted, but will be bound instead, after which Enoch has a vision of God's throne, described in terms reminiscent of Ezekiel 1. Finally, he is instructed about rebuking the watchers (*I En.* 15.1–16.4). The section concludes much as it began, with the anti-epistolary formula, 'You shall have no peace' (*I En.* 16.4; cf. 12.6).

3.1. *Intercession by Angels*

One important function of angels in the *Book of Watchers* is intercession.² Enoch records the watchers' petition (*I En.* 13.4, 6), since the fallen watchers themselves are unable to look up to heaven, 'for shame for the sins for which they were condemned' (*I En.* 13.5). Following the throne vision, God tells Enoch, 'Go and say to the watchers of heaven who have sent you to intercede on their behalf: "It is you who should be petitioning on behalf of men, and not men on your behalf"' (*I En.* 15.2). This ironic twist emphasizes the depths to which the angels have fallen.

Angels are different in nature from human beings (*I En.* 15.3–7), for their dwelling place is properly in 'the high heaven' (*I En.* 15.3),³ not earth. To beget offspring was not fitting for them. Nor was it right to defile themselves 'with the blood of women' (*I En.* 15.4), possibly a reference to contamination with menstrual blood. However, it is the act of intercourse with humans and the procreation of offspring that are clearly disapproved (*I En.* 15.3), whether or not defilement with menstrual blood is in view. Certainly the procreation of children was unnecessary for the angels who were intended to be

1. There is some difficulty in deciding at exactly which point in Enoch's career these events should be placed. See Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 141–42.

2. Already found in *I En.* 8.4–9.11.

3. Ryl more strongly emphasizes the gap between heaven and earth with its *smāya le'ula waqeddusa zala'alam* ('the high, holy and eternal heaven').

'holy', spirits¹ 'that live for ever' (*I En.* 15.4, 6). Humans, by contrast, are mortal, and so need to replace themselves (*I En.* 15.4–5). It is by virtue of their nature, standing as they do between human beings and God, that angels are cast in the role of intermediaries.

It was noted earlier² that Judaism in the centuries prior to the turn of the era emphasized God's relative remoteness from humanity. Consequently, angels were thought to be the bearers of revelation. The earlier belief had been that God spoke directly to his servants the prophets, as reflected in expressions such as *ויהי דבר-יהוה* (e.g. Jer. 16.1, Ezek. 18.1) and *נאמתי-יהוה* (e.g. Hos. 2.15 [Eng. 2.13]; Joel 2.12). A corresponding idea in the Enochic corpus is that angels communicate with God on behalf of humans. Such intercession is found in *I En.* 9.3, 89.76 and 104.1.³

I En. 8.4–9.11 follows the description of the sins of the angels. People cry for heavenly help (*I En.* 8.4). However, their prayer, at least in Sync.², is not made directly to God, for 'their voice went up to heaven: "Bring our cause before the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the Great One"'.⁴ Sync.¹ is shorter but similar in meaning. The Ethiopic texts and G simply record that people prayed to heaven. The longer versions in Sync.^{1,2} appear to be expansions to link *I En.* 7.5–6 and 8.4a with *I En.* 9.1, where the four archangels look down from heaven. Knibb considers that the longer versions are 'hardly original'.⁵ By contrast, Black⁶ follows Charles, who says, 'It is natural that the substance of the prayer of men as they were slain by the giants should be given when it is first referred to in viii.4'.⁷ While it is difficult to decide this textual issue, *I En.* 8.4 in the longer form

1. The contrast here is between 'spirit' and 'flesh', spirits being incorporeal. The use of the term 'spirits' for beings belonging to the heavenly realm is frequent in apocalyptic literature, as in *I En.* 15.4, 6–7; 60.17; *Jub.* 1.25; 2.2; 15.31–32; *2 En.* 12.1–2; 16.7; *T. Levi* 4.1; *4 Ezra* 6.41. See further E. Sjöberg, 'πνεῦμα, III. ריח in Palestinian Judaism', in *TDNT*, VI, pp. 375–76.

2. See above, §2.1.2.

3. Cf. the *Book of Parables* (*I En.* 39.5; 40.6; 47.2) and *Tob.* 3.16; 12.15; *T. Levi* 5.6–7.

4. For the text, see Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, pp. 22–23.

5. *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 84.

6. *Book of Enoch*, p. 29.

7. R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. xiv.

is consistent in its theology with the general belief in the Enochic books regarding angelic mediation for humans in relation to God, and in particular with *1 En.* 9.1-4, which of course provides the immediate context of *1 En.* 8.4 in the *Book of Watchers*.

The four archangels look down to earth and see violence and godlessness. This is reminiscent of Gen. 6.11-12, though there it is God who observes the corruption on earth. Our text places angels between God and humanity, in line with the tendency to de-anthropomorphize God's dealings with humanity in Second Temple Judaism.¹ The thought of the long version of *1 En.* 8.4 is well attested in both the Greek and Ethiopic texts of *1 En.* 9.3 and appears to be consistent with 4QEn^a 1 iv 11.² The archangels inform 'the holy ones of heaven' that people on earth 'are making their suit'. Then they utter the prayer (*1 En.* 9.4-11) discussed earlier in relation to the issue of theodicy.³

Angelic intercession is also important in the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83-90) which will be discussed later,⁴ and it has OT precedent in Zechariah 1-2. There the seer hears the angel of Yahweh asking, 'O LORD of hosts, how long wilt thou have no mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these seventy years?' (Zech. 1.12). God's reply to the angel is gracious and comforting (Zech. 1.13). The book of Zechariah is notable in the OT for the importance of angels in it, and in this respect it is related to the Enochic apocalyptic writings.⁵ The intercessory role of angels was a doctrine that would come to full flower in the apocalyptic literature of the later Second Temple period. In the Enochic books it was an important theological idea that bridged the gap between a relatively

1. G.F. Moore (*Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* [3 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927], I, p. 411) says that angels were not thought of in orthodox Judaism as intermediaries when people prayed to God. 'That the angels intercede for men, and particularly for Israel, is a notion frequently found in apocalypses and popular writings' (I, p. 438). In addition to references in *1 Enoch*, he cites *T. Levi* 3.5; Rev. 8.3-4; Tob. 12.12, 15. 'Man is not dependent on angelic intercession' and can call on God directly when in need (I, p. 439). He appears to regard the apocalypses as a by-path in the theology of Second Temple Judaism. Yet their very number and variety suggest that they represented an important expression of Jewish thought in this era.

2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 157-58.

3. See above, §2.2.7.

4. See below, §5.4.2.2.

5. Angelic intercession is also mentioned in Job 5.1; 33.23.

transcendent God and a world whose inhabitants saw their hope of deliverance from distress in an appeal to him.

3.2. Angels in the Throne Vision: 1 Enoch 14.8-25

In *1 En.* 14.1-7, Enoch recounts to the fallen watchers the rebuke he was given by God to deliver to them and their offspring. Their petition made through Enoch has failed completely. Chapters 15-16 give more details of the punishment of the watchers and giants, and once again it is Enoch's task to inform them. Between these two passages lies the description of a heavenly vision experienced by Enoch (*1 En.* 14.8-25).¹ The imagery is reminiscent of Ezekiel 1 and 10. For example, in both, the throne of God rests on wheels, and fire also has an important place in both descriptions (*1 En.* 14.18-19, cf. Ezek. 1.13, 15-18; 10.6, 9-13). There also appears to be a literary relationship with Daniel 7.²

The function of the vision of the divine throne in the narrative, lying as it does between the two passages relating to Enoch's rebuke of the watchers, is to underscore the authority and reliability of the message the seer is to convey.³ In the case of Ezekiel, his vision (Ezek. 1) marked the commencement of a ministry which predicted the judgment of God on Judah.⁴ It was, of course, well known that the

1. I. Gruenwald (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* [AGJU, 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980], p. 36) calls this 'the oldest Merkavah vision we know of from the literature outside the canonical Scriptures' and a model for later Merkavah mysticism.

2. For discussions of possible literary dependence involving *1 En.* 14, Ezek. 1, 10 and Dan. 7, see H.H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation* (London: Lutterworth, 2nd edn, 1947), p. 29; Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, pp. 54-55; D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic: 200 BC-AD 100* (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 340-45; T.F. Glasson, 'The Son of Man Imagery: Enoch XIV and Daniel VII', *NTS* 23 (1976), pp. 82-90; Rowland, *Open Heaven*, pp. 255-58 and Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 151-52.

3. Rowland (*Open Heaven*, pp. 241-42) thinks that the present position of the vision in the apocalypse is not original, suggesting that it comes abruptly after *1 En.* 14.7 and that ch. 15 represents a parallel account of *1 En.* 14.1-7. There are, in fact, various differences which support the view that both descriptions of the rebuke have their place in the present form of the narrative. These are considered in Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', p. 60. The following discussion will treat *1 En.* 14-15 as a whole.

4. E.g. the siege portrayal, Ezek. 4; the prophecy against the mountains of Israel,

calamity he predicted was fulfilled by the Babylonian conquerors. Thus a note of authority would attach to Enoch's declaration to the watchers, for he, too, had seen the throne of God and heard directly from him.

There is clearly a claim here that Enoch is communicating revelation from God. Enoch's response to the vision is to fall prostrate, trembling till God has spoken and an angel has raised him (*I En.* 14.13-14, 24-25).¹ Enoch's direct encounter with God must be seen in the context of a Judaism that stressed the relative remoteness of the deity. Even angels could not enter the second, more splendid house where God was, or look on his face. Certainly, 'no flesh was able to look on him' (*I En.* 14.21). Yet for Enoch, the door into God's presence is open, though it is true that he sees only the blazing fire surrounding God (*I En.* 14.22). It is not immediately clear where the 'ten thousand times ten thousand' (*I En.* 14.22) who stand before God are actually located. Presumably they are angels as in *I En.* 1.9 (cf. 9.3), and if this is so they will be outside the actual throne room, according to *I En.* 14.21. Although there are some difficulties with the text of 14.23,² it is clear that God is attended by numerous angels who 'draw near to him' and 'turn not away from him by night or by day . . .' (*I En.* 14.23). Because they may not enter God's immediate presence, his superiority is highlighted. So for Enoch to declare that the fallen angels may no longer ascend to heaven (*I En.* 14.5), when even pure angels in heaven have limitations placed on them, is to emphasize the extent of the angels' sin. Moreover, given that the righteous Enoch falls trembling in awe, the fallen watchers ought to be thoroughly terrified.³

God has no equal. There is no room whatsoever for anything akin to an absolute dualism. Evil is an intrusion into a good cosmos, and results from the rebellion of watchers who formerly enjoyed God's heaven. In fact, the picture might even be regarded as more monistic than that in the Bible, which has temptation presented to Eve by the serpent in primaeval days. Incidentally, the OT never offers an

Ezek. 6; the enactment of being exiled, Ezek. 12; etc.

1. Cf. Ezekiel, who was similarly summoned to his feet by God (*Ezek.* 1.28-2.1).

2. Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 99; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 151.

3. Cf. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 42.

explanation of how the tempter came to be, or how he became evil. Satan is never mentioned in the four Enochic books we are studying.¹ The explanation of how sin and oppression came to be in a good world created by God is to be found, for example, in the disobedience of the watchers (*I En.* 1-36) and of other angels, such as the seventy shepherds in the *Book of Dreams* (*I En.* 89.59-90.19).

There are also cherubim associated with the fire in the large house built of hailstones (*I En.* 14.10) and the chariot-throne (*I En.* 14.18).² Their function is probably protection and behind the reference in the throne vision here may lie Ps. 18.11 (*Eng.* 18.10) or *Ezek.* 1.13-14.³ These winged celestial beings are to be distinguished from the angels so frequently mentioned in our texts.⁴

Thus in summary, the vision of ch. 14 has an important place in the final form of the *Book of Watchers*. The presence and behaviour of the angelic hosts underscore the majesty and unrivalled supremacy of the God who gives a direct and authoritative word to Enoch. Such revelation contrasts with that transmitted to human beings by the fallen angels in the *Book of Watchers*.

3.3. Illegitimate Revelation

The two strands in chs. 6-11 involve two different types of wrong committed by the watchers. In the Asael tradition, the issue is that the angels have taught a variety of things which should not have been revealed to humanity (*I En.* 8.1-3; 9.6-7; 10.7-8). The Jewish apocalypses are not just concerned with matters of eschatology. Particular attention in the *Book of Watchers* centres on the structure of the universe and calendrical matters, and the relationship between apocalypses, eschatology and wisdom will be considered in more detail in the next chapter, which deals with Enoch's journeys through the cosmos (chs. 17-36). There, revelation is given to Enoch through the mediation of the angel Uriel and others, and is intended to bring praise to God (*I En.* 36.4). This revelation by the angels is clearly approved as legitimate, and there is an obvious contrast with the

1. The name does occur in *I En.* 53.3; 54.6, in the *Parables*.

2. They are also mentioned in *I En.* 20.7.

3. So Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 147.

4. Cherubim are discussed more fully in connection with the *Sabbath Shirot* from Qumran. See below, §12.7.2.

revelation given by the fallen angels. In their case, the revelation had devastating effects on humankind (*1 En.* 10.8), and for bringing it, the angels are punished severely. We can speak, then, of illegitimate revelation, in contrast to the legitimate revelation given through the angels and Enoch.

1 En. 16.2-3 deals with the revelation of heavenly secrets by the watchers who had sent Enoch to petition on their behalf. There are some textual difficulties here that are significant for our investigation. Unfortunately, no Aramaic evidence is available. The Ethiopic versions are consistent in saying that the watchers had not been shown various heavenly secrets, although they did, in fact, know worthless or rejected information which they showed to the women, evil on earth being the result. By contrast, G suggests that the angels knew things which had not been shown to them, namely secrets from God, and these they revealed to the women.¹

On the whole, the idea is probably that the fallen angels did somehow have access to heavenly secrets, whether obtained legitimately or not, and these they wrongly revealed 'to women in (their) hardness of heart' (*1 En.* 16.3). This has similarity to the Shemihazah strand concerning angelic sin, in which it was considered contrary to the proper order of things for angels to marry humans and procreate (*1 En.* 15.3-7). Here, in the instruction strand, angels are in heaven and have access to heavenly secrets, but they introduce things to earth that properly belong only in heaven. In certain matters, the two realms should not mix.

1. *1 En.* 16.3 in G reads: ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἦτε καὶ πᾶν μυστήριον ὃ οὐκ ἀνεκαλύφθη ὑμῖν καὶ μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένον ἔγνωτε. . . For *1 En.* 16.3, Ryl has: *basamāy hallawkkemu waxebu' at 'adi' itakaštu lakkemu wamennuna meštira 'a' markkemu* ('You were in heaven, but hidden things had not been revealed to you, and you knew a worthless secret'). Charles (*Ethiopic Version*, p. 47 n. 4) regarded the ὃ as an interpolation. Its omission almost brings G into harmony with Ryl. Charles (*Ethiopic Version*, p. 47 n. 5) further suggested that behind *mennuna meštira* lies μυστήριον τὸ ἐξουθενημένον (rather than μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένον). Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 102. If the Ethiopic tradition is correct, it is a little difficult to see why heavenly information is called worthless or rejected. G implies greater sin on the part of the angels, for they are said to have known things they had not been shown, and then to have communicated this stolen information. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 155) emends G to give the translation: 'there was no secret that was not revealed to you; and unspeakable secrets you know. . . ' (*1 En.* 16.3).

As already noted, Collins has suggested that apocalyptic literature may owe its appeal to different groups in a variety of circumstances to the nature of its symbolism, which lends itself to differing applications as the circumstances require. It is interesting to speculate about the appeal of the Enochic literature to the Qumran community. Perhaps the issue of revelation was involved, given the conflict between the sect and the Jerusalem establishment over what constituted orthodoxy and proper interpretation of the Scriptures. It is not difficult to see how *1 Enoch* 1-36 could be read as an illustration of the contrast between legitimate and illegitimate revelation. Such a possibility is in keeping with what Collins has called the polyvalence of the apocalypses.¹ The Qumran sect's interest in the Enochic writings will be considered in detail later.²

1. *Apocalyptic Technique*, pp. 98-99. See above, §2.2.6.

2. See below, §14.11.

Chapter 3

THE BOOK OF WATCHERS (II): 1 ENOCH 17–36

1. *Enoch's Journeys: 1 Enoch 17–36*1.1. *Outline of the Contents of 1 Enoch 17–36*

This section describes journeys undertaken by Enoch under the guidance of various archangels. Its contents mark it off clearly from the more ancient myth of the watchers and the various traditions attached to it (*1 En.* 12–16). Nevertheless, this account of Enoch's journeys was associated in one MS with the myth of the fallen angels from an early date. 4QEn^c, dated by Milik to about the last third of the first century BC, evidently contained chs. 1–36.¹ However, it is the logical connections, rather than redactional matters, that concern us more here.

1 Enoch 17–19 describes a journey to the west in which angels show Enoch all the rivers of the earth, the storehouses of the winds, the fountains of the earth and seven mountains, one of which reaches to the heavens. At the ends of the heavens and earth, Enoch sees a place for the imprisonment of disobedient stars and fallen angels, who will stay there till the great judgment.

Chapter 20 breaks into the narrative somewhat, giving a list of seven archangels and their functions, while *1 Enoch* 21 appears to be an elaboration of *1 Enoch* 18–19. *1 Enoch* 22 describes four places for the different categories of the dead and then *1 Enoch* 23–25 resumes the discussion about the seven mountains. Around the tallest mountain are fragrant trees, and in particular, one whose fruit will be given at the great judgment to the righteous, who will enjoy extreme longevity. *1 Enoch* 26–27 tells of a new Jerusalem located in 'the middle of the earth' (*1 En.* 26.1), and of the place of judgment, an

1. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 178.

accursed valley. Enoch is then taken east (*1 En.* 28–32) to see all manner of fragrant trees, and again there is one that is outstanding, the tree of knowledge. Next, he sees many beasts at the ends of the earth in the east, and observes the stars (*1 En.* 33). Journeys to the north, west and south, with more observations of the stars, are described in *1 Enoch* 34–36, and the section concludes with a doxology which is placed on Enoch's lips (*1 En.* 36.4).

2. *1 Enoch 1–36 and the Genre Apocalypse*

The *Book of Watchers* as a literary unit is a representative of the genre apocalypse.¹ However, there has been considerable discussion in recent years regarding the parameters of the genre, its relation to apocalyptic thought and the phenomenon of apocalypticism.² The term 'apocalypticism' is best used to refer to the way social groups look at reality. An essential feature of this world-view is 'apocalyptic eschatology',³ which designates a very important strand in the apocalyptic outlook. Hanson distinguishes between apocalyptic eschatology and prophetic eschatology. The eschatological outlook of the prophets, he says, anticipates God's intervention in human affairs, basically in the familiar flow of historical processes. Apocalyptic eschatology, by contrast, looks to a divine deliverance which largely or wholly supersedes the usual run of historical events, an intervention independent of 'human instrumentality'.⁴

While Hanson's contribution has been helpful, he has been justly criticized because he overemphasizes eschatology. The apocalypses

1. E.g. Collins, *Apocalypse*, pp. 15, 23. Although *1 En.* 17–36 was originally separate from *1 En.* 6–11 (cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 10), and chs. 1–5 appear to have been added as an introduction, it is still legitimate to speak of the *Book of Watchers* as a whole. As noted above, chs. 1–36 belonged to the one literary unit at Qumran.

2. See Collins, *Apocalypse*, pp. 3–4 on the need for a definition of 'apocalypse' as a term referring to a literary genre; cf. Newsom, 'Cosmology', pp. 310–13. A helpful survey of opinions concerning the characteristics of apocalypses and the development of apocalyptic thought is found in F. Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (SPB, 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 6–94. So also Hartman, 'Survey', pp. 329–43.

3. Cf. P.D. Hanson, 'Apocalypticism', in *IDBSup*, p. 30.

4. Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, pp. 11–12.

had other significant features, and in particular, a considerable interest in the nature and functioning of the cosmos.¹ This interest in the sapiential led von Rad to postulate the origin of apocalyptic thought in the wisdom tradition rather than the prophetic.²

It will be argued in this section that both the wisdom and eschatological features of *1 Enoch* 17–36 are integral to the function of these chapters in the *Book of Watchers* and that Enoch's journeys make a fundamental contribution to the total message. Following this discussion it will be possible to consider the roles of angels in these chapters.

Important motif analysis of various works generally considered to belong to the genre apocalypse has been co-ordinated by Collins.³ In addition to Jewish and Christian apocalypses, his study of the genre considers Gnostic, Greek, Latin and Persian apocalypses, together with Jewish rabbinic literature and mysticism. These morphological studies led to the definition:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁴

1. E.g. see M.E. Stone, 'Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature', in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F.M. Cross, W.E. Lemke and P.D. Miller; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 441–43.

2. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), I, pp. 450–51; II, pp. 306–308. (For comments on the 1968 German edition, see VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 4–5.) The debate about the origins of apocalyptic eschatology has been reviewed by M. Knibb, 'Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses', in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips and M.A. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 155–80. Knibb considers that 'there seems to be reasonable evidence for the view that the Jewish apocalypses represent a continuation of Old Testament prophecy, just as apocalyptic eschatology represents a continuation of the future expectation of the prophets. . . . However, other influences. . . contributed. . . and in particular the apocalypses have to be seen as learned compositions, standing within a learned tradition' (p. 176). On the importance of wisdom elements in the apocalypses, see Stone, 'Lists', and Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Mysticism*, pp. 3–28.

3. *Apocalypse*.

4. Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 9. Cf. J. Carmignac, 'Description du phénomène de

It can be objected that Collins does not give sufficient attention to the wisdom elements in his treatment. Nevertheless, on the criteria he uses, *1 Enoch* 1–36 fairly closely fits the pattern of the genre. An almost universal element in the fifteen Jewish apocalypses studied is revelation by means of visions. This feature is found in the *Book of Watchers* at *1 En.* 13.8 and 14.8. Moreover, the revealed information is communicated by otherworldly mediators. For example, in *1 En.* 21.8–10, the angel Uriel explains to Enoch about the prison designated for the fallen angels. Such dialogue is seen by Collins as a common means by which revelation is communicated. Pseudonymity is another characteristic identified by Collins, and of course is a feature of our book, which purports to come from the antediluvian Enoch (*1 En.* 1.1–2). Collins also finds the use made of primordial events to be a further feature of apocalypses. Such references are quite frequent in our book, as for example in the case of the flood (*1 En.* 10.2) and the tree of knowledge (*1 En.* 32.3). Another common feature is that apocalypses are concerned with a final judgment, a central motif in the *Book of Watchers* (e.g. *1 En.* 1.5–7; 10.9–14; 22; 27.2–4), and the future blessedness of the righteous (e.g., *1 En.* 1.8; 10.17–19; 25). The *Book of Watchers* also has a variety of the so-called otherworldly journey, in which Enoch goes to the ends of the earth (*1 En.* 17–36).

Such features of the genre are distributed throughout the whole *Book of Watchers*, and this is consistent with the view that chs. 17–36 are now an integral part of *1 Enoch* 1–36. It is thus necessary to think of *1 Enoch* 17–36 within the context of the *Book of Watchers* as a single literary unit in order to appreciate what is described in it. Moreover, recognizing that it is an apocalypse will assist in our appreciation of its function for its readers,¹ and will enable us accurately to describe the place of angels in these chapters.

Thus, chs. 17–36 are understood to form part of a larger whole which may properly be treated as a single apocalypse. On this basis, it will be argued that angels are involved in this section to help convey an integrated message of profound importance in a world oppressed by evil. It is, of course, part of the function of the earlier chapters to

l'apocalyptique dans l'Ancien Testament', in Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and Near East*, p. 165: 'Genre littéraire qui décrit des révélations célestes à travers des symboles'.

1. Cf. Hartman, 'Survey', pp. 334–36.

describe how evil has come to be present on earth. Enoch's journeys are closely related to this theme.

2.1. *The Eschatology of 1 Enoch 17–36*

Just as a leading theme in *1 Enoch* 1–16 is future judgment, so it is also in *1 Enoch* 17–36. It is either explicit or implicit in three out of every four chapters.¹ The character of the judge is determinative for the nature of the judgment ahead. Black renders *1 En.* 22.14 thus: 'Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said, "Blessed be the judge of righteousness, the Lord of glory and righteousness, the everlasting Lord"'. The title 'judge of righteousness' is absent from G and Ryl, perhaps omitted by homoeoteleuton, but its presence in the text has support from the Aramaic.² Milik renders דין as 'judgment', but 'judge' is likely to be correct, given the interest in the judge, rather than in his judgment as such in the beginning of v. 14. The judge is righteous in his decisions and his exaltation above those whom he judges is implied by the description 'Lord of glory' or 'glorious Lord'. He is also κυριεύων τοῦ αἰῶνος according to G. Whether this is 'Lord (or ruler) of the world' or 'eternal Lord' cannot be readily decided from the Greek αἰών, which presumably corresponds to an original עלמא or עלמיא.³ The similar designation, ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ αἰῶνος (Ryl: *neguṣzala'alam*, with the same meaning as the Greek) is absent from the beginning of 4QEn^d 1 xii, but occurs in the corresponding *1 En.* 25.7, as well as in 25.3, 5 and 27.3. However, whether the original author meant 'eternal' or 'world' in *1 En.* 22.14 makes little difference to the overall sense here, in that God's sovereignty is asserted either way.

These exalted titles of God are particularly prominent in chs. 17–36 in the four doxologies (*1 En.* 22.14; 25.7; 27.5; 36.4) in which Enoch expresses praise for the revelation given to him. They set God, who is both creator and judge, apart from his creation and from those whom he will judge, and emphasize his greatness. In this way, the reader is

1. Only *1 En.* 17, 23 and 34–36 do not make reference to it.

2. 4QEn^d 1 xi 2 preserves part of *1 En.* 22.14. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 218) restores רבוּחַא [מרא] בריך דין קשוּמַא [א ולהוה בריך מרא] רבוּחַא. He suggests that רבוּחַא [מרא] בריך דין קשוּמַא ולהוה בריך has been omitted by the translators.

3. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (BibOr, 18a; Rome: Biblical Institute, 2nd edn, 1971), p. 77.

helped to have confidence for the future, despite the difficulties of his present experience.

Several categories of beings face judgment. Enoch sees seven stars, 'which transgressed the commandment of the Lord', incarcerated in a waste place 'until the time of the completion of the punishment for their sins, in ten thousand years' (*1 En.* 18.13–16; cf. *1 En.* 21.6). The identity of these stars is not clear, but they are treated separately from the fallen watchers and their offspring.¹ Connected with these stars in *1 En.* 18.14 are 'the hosts of heaven', which might also be stars, or perhaps angels other than the watchers.²

The watchers have to stay in a prison until the great assize (*1 En.* 19.1; 21.7, 10) and constitute a second group under judgment. According to *1 En.* 21.10, they are imprisoned for an eternity.³ However, in the light of various other references to the process of judgment that is to be laid upon the watchers, this imprisonment will not be for ever and ever. Rather, at the end of a long period, they will face the final judgment.⁴

A final group consists of 'the spirits of the souls of the dead' (*1 En.* 22.3). Enoch is shown four hollow places where the dead await the great judgment (*1 En.* 22.1–4). One of these is for the spirits of the righteous dead (*1 En.* 22.9). The others are for sinners who have not received retribution in their life-time (*1 En.* 22.10–11), for the spirits of those whose complaints remain to be heard (*1 En.* 22.12) and for those who have collaborated with the lawless without being wholly lawless themselves (*1 En.* 22.13).⁵

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 160) suggests that they are to be linked with the ἀστέρες πλανῆται of Jude 13. They are certainly different from the fallen watchers who are mentioned in *1 En.* 19.1. In the parallel account of *1 En.* 21.1–10, the seven stars are bound for ten thousand years (*1 En.* 21.3, 6) in a location separate from the watchers (*1 En.* 21.7, 10).

2. צבא השמים refers in the OT to both heavenly bodies and angels. Cf. Gen. 2.1; Neh. 9.6; Ps. 103.20–21. In Jewish thought, the stars were seen as animate servants of God (cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 160).

3. G reads: μέχρι αἰῶνος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ryl has: 'eska la'alam, with the same sense.

4. Only the final judgment of the watchers is mentioned in *1 En.* 1.5, 7 and *1 En.* 91.15. In *1 En.* 10.12, there is a period of 70 generations (on this expression, see Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 137 and above, §2.2.7) to be followed by 'the great day of their judgment'.

5. Cf. the analysis in Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 168. He observes, 'The text in both versions' (the Greek and Ethiopic) 'is confused and corrupt. . .'

1 *Enoch* 26 describes a blessed place in the middle of the earth, apparently the new Jerusalem.¹ The place of the final judgment is also described. The Valley of Hinnom is an 'accursed valley' (*1 En.* 27.1-2) where 'all the accursed' shall 'be gathered together who utter with their lips unseemly speech against the Lord' (*1 En.* 27.2). The righteous will be able to observe this judgment (*1 En.* 27.3).

By contrast, the righteous will be blessed. One of the hollow places is reserved for the righteous (*1 En.* 22.9). They are thus safe, despite the trials and injustices of life on earth. For them there is no judgment ahead, only blessing. They will observe the condemnation of the sinners (*1 En.* 27.3) and bless God for his righteous judgment. This is part of their vindication. Beyond this, they will receive the recompense at the great judgment of being allowed to touch what must be the tree of life (*1 En.* 25.4), for it is to be given to them and they will live long lives (*1 En.* 25.5). The actual condition envisaged seems to be no more than to live 'a longer life upon earth just as (their) fathers did; and in those days tortures, pains, labours and blows will not touch them' (*1 En.* 25.6). The same conception of life on earth is found in *1 En.* 5.9 and 10.17. Once again, motifs from the *Urzeit* are being used to describe the *Endzeit*. The tree of knowledge is not located near the tree of life, but far to the east, in the Paradise of Righteousness (*1 En.* 32.2-3).² The fruit of this tree imparts great wisdom to those who eat.³ Thus, the coming age is conceived in terms modelled on the primaeval pattern in the early chapters of Genesis.

2.2. Cosmological Concerns in 1 Enoch 17-36

Nevertheless, eschatological concerns are not the only things that occupy our author's mind. Enoch's journeys throughout the cosmos are also very important. These journeys are horizontal, not vertical, taking him to the ends of the earth, not to heaven. The *Book of Watchers* is classified by Collins as an apocalypse with an otherworldly journey

1. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 172 on *1 En.* 26.2.

2. In Gen. 3 both trees are in Eden.

3. *1 En.* 32.6 reflects the Genesis tradition about the beginning of human sin, though here it is merely observed that the original parents ate, gained knowledge, had their eyes opened, knew they were naked, and were driven from the garden. No attempt is made by our author to relate this tradition to that of the introduction of sin into the world by fallen angels.

and a concern with eschatology.¹ This classification points to the two major foci of chs. 17-36, the eschatological and the cosmological interests. This section considers the cosmological concerns.

Part of the debate about the nature of the genre apocalypse has concentrated on the importance of revelation and the nature of this revelation. There are some matters which humankind cannot know apart from divine revelation. In the thought of Second Temple Judaism such things included the mysteries of life and of the cosmos, and the events of the end-time.² The disclosure of heavenly secrets is extremely important in the *Book of Watchers*.

We have already noticed the idea that legitimate revelation is given to Enoch, in contrast with the illegitimate disclosure of information by certain angels (*1 En.* 9.6).³ In *1 Enoch* 17-36, the seer's journey is fundamentally concerned with revelation. He is taken by angels (*1 En.* 17.1; cf. 18.14; 19.1) to various locations at the earth's extremities. According to G he goes 'whither no flesh goes' (*1 En.* 17.6: καὶ ἀπῆλθον ὅπου πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ περιπατεῖ). By contrast, Ryl has *waharku xaba k'ellu zašegā yānsosu* ('and [I] went where all flesh walks').⁴ It seems highly likely that G preserves the original meaning, for the things Enoch sees, both according to *1 Enoch* 17 and elsewhere, are certainly those not normally seen by the general run of humankind! For example, he observes the four winds believed to support the earth and the heavens (*1 En.* 18.2-3) and the promptuaria

1. *Apocalypse*, p. 23.

2. Cf. G. Bornkamm, 'μυστήριον, μύεω', in *TDNT*, IV, p. 815: 'The disclosure of divine secrets is the true theme of later Jewish apocalyptic. . . . There is an underlying and explicit sense that God is infinitely remote, that heaven and earth, creation, history and its end, are full of puzzles, that the present is incapable of answering innumerable questions without a concrete prophetic word and human apprehension. Thus the concept of mystery has now a very significant role.' Cf. also U. Luck, 'Das Weltverständnis in der jüdischen Apokalypitik: Dargestellt am äthiopischen Henoch und am 4. Esra', *ZTK* 73 (1976), p. 294.

3. See above, §2.3.3.

4. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 103. Read *wahorku* for *waharku*. E. Isaac ('1 [Ethiopic Apocalypse of] Enoch [Second Century BC-First Century AD]: A New Translation and Introduction', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983], I, p. 22 n. 171) notes that his MS EMMML 2080 of the fifteenth or possibly fourteenth century agrees with the Greek fragments. Cf. also Charles, *Ethiopic Version*, pp. 46-47.

where the dead await the judgment (*1 En.* 22.1-13).¹

The revelation given to Enoch is mediated by angels, and includes material about the stars and heavenly luminaries (*1 En.* 17.3; 36.3) and 'the fire in the west which tends all the luminaries of heaven' (*1 En.* 23.4). The winds have their storehouses. They support the earth and sky and cause the heavenly bodies to revolve, as well as carry the clouds (*1 En.* 18.1-5). The winds, like the stars, blow from what the author calls gates, and bring both good and bad weather (*1 En.* 34.1-35.1). Rivers (*1 En.* 17.5-6), thunder and lightning (*1 En.* 17.3), birds and beasts (*1 En.* 33.1-2) and aromatic trees (*1 En.* 28-32) are also observed. In addition are those matters more directly connected with eschatology and discussed in the previous section. Interest in such knowledge which is normally inaccessible to human beings is a common feature of apocalypses.²

Thus in summary, it is clear that *1 Enoch* 17-36 is concerned with more than what might be described as the 'usual' eschatological categories of apocalypses, such as descriptions of the last judgment and the future bliss of the righteous. Both wisdom and eschatological elements have their place in conveying the author's message, as can now be made clear.

3. Content and Function in *1 Enoch* 17-36

Milik does not see a strong logical connection between the eschatological and cosmological elements in this part of the *Book of Watchers*. He writes of chs. 17-18 that 'the theological interest is blurred by scholarly curiosity in such fields as cosmography, astronomy, meteorology'.³ However, this implies that the original compiler(s) had quite lost track of the central purpose in writing, only to return to the theme of the fallen watchers again in *1 En.* 19.1-2. Moreover, it will become clear in this part of our study and the next, that it is inappropriate to consider 'scientific curiosity' and 'speculative knowledge' as isolated aspects of our author's thought. The whole cosmos

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 157) suggests that the Ethiopic translator was thinking of Hades, where all will (eventually) walk.

2. See, e.g., *1 En.* 41.1-7; 60.11-22; *2 En.* 23.1-3; 40.1-13; *2 Bar.* 59.4-11; *4 Ezra* 4.5-8; 5.36-37. In addition, the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72-82) is an extended example.

3. *Books of Enoch*, p. 35.

is God's, administered by his angels and under his control.¹

Stone has studied the range of things revealed in a broad cross section of apocalypses in the hope that 'a view can be reached of what the writers of the apocalypses thought to lie at the heart of apocalyptic revelation itself'.² However, he states that he does not know the function of the so-called speculative knowledge in these writings, 'although this is . . . an integral and most significant part of the apocalypses and of the religious world-view whose expression they are'.³ He suggests that the lists may derive in part from the wisdom tradition, even though he considers that Hanson, in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 'succeeds in demonstrating, beyond a doubt, the origins of apocalyptic eschatology in prophecy'.⁴

An understanding which sees an integration between the wisdom and eschatological elements is suggested by Newsom,⁵ who argues from the ancient Near Eastern diplomatic practice of a king who seeks to impress visiting dignitaries by displaying his wealth and power. She cites the biblical example of King Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20.13).⁶ Newsom's conclusion is that God is managing his cosmos well, with the implication that his judgment will also be effectively executed in due time. However, while this suggestion of royal diplomacy shows some parallels to Enoch's journeys, such as the idea of impressing a visitor, it does not explain the integration of eschatology and cosmology in these chapters. Furthermore, Enoch's journeys take him into realms which humans normally cannot know (cf. *1 En.* 17.6; 19.3), and this element of mystery and revelation, integral to the whole *Book of Watchers*,

1. See below, §3.4.

2. *Lists*, p. 418.

3. *Lists*, p. 443.

4. *Lists*, p. 441.

5. 'Cosmology', pp. 324-28.

6. 'Cosmology', p. 325. A more suitable example would have been the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (1 Kgs 10.1-10), an incident Newsom does mention in passing (p. 328). In Hezekiah's case, the picture is now complicated by the fact that Isaiah is sent by God after the king has shown all his treasures to the Babylonian envoys (2 Kgs 20.16-18), with a message of future judgment. The situation is more straightforward in Solomon's case, but nevertheless, this analogy also fails to do full justice to the relationships between the cosmology and eschatology in *1 En.* 17-36. A more apposite OT parallel, Job's interrogation by God about various natural phenomena (Job 38-39), is discussed below, §3.3.

has no correlate in the practice found in 2 Kings 20.¹

Better insight is offered by Luck who invokes the category of world-view as a means of understanding the underlying rationale of apocalypses.² Beginning with Eccl. 3.10-15, he suggests that a person must have an integrated view of the world to understand life's experiences. Formerly, the Law had provided a basis for seeing the world as a righteously-ordered cosmos. However, wisdom was no longer seen as accessible through the Law in the opinion of the writers of the apocalypses. Wisdom belonged to God alone. On the other hand, Enoch is able to receive revelation, so that people come to know that the world is maintained in an orderly way, despite experiences that suggest the opposite. Luck suggests that the Law was not able to answer questions raised by the experience of unrighteousness and suffering, but that revelation as presented in the apocalypses offered a means of coping with life in the world.

In considering the eschatology of this section, we have already noticed the importance of the hope of future blessing for the righteous, as well as the judgment of the sinners. These twin themes can be correlated with the cosmological aspects of Enoch's journeys in terms of the author's world-view. Moreover, it is possible to see how the fall of the watchers and the destruction caused by the giants fit into the whole literary structure as it is in its final form.³ As argued earlier,⁴ the fall of the watchers offers an aetiology for the presence of sin in the world. The human race has been corrupted through angelic teaching and further, the watchers have fathered giants whose spirits continue to wreak havoc in the world. On both counts people need deliverance, and that is guaranteed through the coming judgment on the wicked and blessings for the now-afflicted righteous. In *1 Enoch* 17-36, deliverance is assured in the light of the revelation given to Enoch. Nothing is left to chance. The places for the incarceration and judgment of the watchers are already allocated (*1 En.* 19.1; 27.1-2),⁵ and the dead are located in an orderly series of hollow places (*1 En.* 22.1-13), with a separate place designated for the righteous (*1 En.* 22.9b). The realms

1. Cf. Collins, 'Apocalyptic Technique', p. 104.

2. 'Das Weltverständnis', pp. 286-305.

3. See below, especially §§3.3-4.

4. See above, §2.2.6.

5. Cf. Collins, 'Apocalyptic Technique', p. 108.

visited by Enoch contain full provision for them, including the availability of the trees of knowledge (*1 En.* 32.3) and life (*1 En.* 25.5-6). Collins has argued that at the heart of apocalyptic eschatology lies the confidence that ultimately death will be transcended.¹ Consequently, he suggests, a person is freed to live righteously in the midst of the demands of the present life.

This is not strictly accurate, however, for the *Book of Watchers*. Collins mentions the idea of two worlds, which are sometimes thought to follow one another in temporal succession (e.g. *4 Ezra* 7.50). He also points out that in some writings the twofold universe is thought of in terms of two storeys, two contemporaneous and parallel realms of existence,² with rewards variously conceived in terms of resurrection or fellowship with angels.³ However, the *Book of Watchers* does not entertain any hope of ultimate eternal existence in a heavenly realm. Instead, *1 Enoch* 1-36 envisages longevity on earth in Edenic conditions. It seems that eventually people will die, having lived 'a longer life upon earth just as (their) fathers did' (*1 En.* 25.6; cf. *1 En.* 5.7). Nothing is said of the future of the spirits of the souls of the righteous who are in one of the four promptuaria (*1 En.* 22.9b). They are safe, but we are not told how they will fare after the final judgment. Nevertheless, redress of present inequity and a better future can be anticipated with confidence since all is under God's control.⁴

The same can be said in relation to the function of the journeys of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 17-36). It is not that scholarly curiosity has blurred theological interest,⁵ for the journeys also serve to reassure the reader. Although we disagreed with Newsom's idea that the motivation behind the display of royal treasures is analogous to that underlying these journeys, her conclusion is oriented in the right direction:

the tour of the heavenly realm given to Enoch functions as proof of the efficiency of the divine administration and hence of the efficacy of the divine decree of judgment. . . Enoch makes the tradition of cosmic mysteries stand surety for apocalyptic hope.⁶

1. 'Apocalyptic Eschatology', pp. 41-43.

2. 'Apocalyptic Eschatology', p. 37.

3. 'Apocalyptic Eschatology', pp. 34-36. He cites *1 En.* 104.2, 6, with its promise that the righteous will 'become companions of the angels of heaven'.

4. Cf. Luck, 'Das Weltverständnis', p. 295.

5. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 35.

6. 'Cosmology', pp. 325, 328.

However, there is more here than the display of divine wisdom and power. Enoch is shown secrets about matters such as the movements of the heavenly bodies, matters quite out of human reach to fathom. As Stone indicates, to know the names and the number of the stars is a sign of the special status of the one who knows.¹ In the OT it is God who counts, names and control the stars (Ps. 147.4; Isa. 40.26). Yet Uriel shows Enoch the movements of the stars, their number and names (*1 En.* 33.3-4).

It is striking that many of the items shown to Enoch appear in the list of questions that God puts to Job (Job 38-39). These include the foundations of the earth (Job 38.4; *1 En.* 18.2), its expanse (Job 38.18; *1 En.* 23.1; 33.1), light and darkness (Job 38.19; *1 En.* 17.4; 23.4), thunder (Job 38.25; *1 En.* 17.3; 20.2), movements of the stars (Job 38.31-32; *1 En.* 33.3-4), lightning (Job 38.35; *1 En.* 17.3) and beasts (Job 39.1-30; *1 En.* 33.1). As Stone demonstrates, there was a common range of items that generally concerned the writers of apocalypses.²

All of this mysterious information is concealed from others but made known to Enoch by the angels. Here is understanding of the whole universe, including both cosmological and eschatological secrets, so that the course of history is seen to be built into its structure.³ This serves to enlarge the understanding and perspective of those suffering in their present life, enabling them to persevere with optimism. The eschaton is not necessarily imminent, but it is certain.

4. The Importance of Angels in Enoch's Journeys

The preceding discussion has laid the groundwork for an appreciation of the roles of angels in *1 Enoch* 17-36. It is a common and indeed essential feature of Jewish apocalypses to have angels involved in giving revelation to a seer in whose name it is presented to others.⁴

In the journeys of *1 Enoch* 17-36, angels play a prominent and indispensable part. Enoch is taken on his first journey by an

1. 'Lists', p. 427.

2. 'Lists', pp. 414-35.

3. Cf. J.J. Collins, 'Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age', *HR* 17 (1977), p. 128 and *idem*, 'Apocalyptic Technique', p. 108.

4. Cf. Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 9; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Mysticism*, pp. 26-28. See above, §2.1.2.

unspecified number of beings (*1 En.* 17.1-2, 4-5) who may be assumed to be angels, since later the phrase 'one of the holy angels who was with me' or the like is repeated often (*1 En.* 21.5, 9; 22.3, 6; 23.4; 24.6; 27.2; 32.6; 33.3). Since these are regions 'whither no flesh goes' (*1 En.* 17.6) and the things seen are so esoteric that 'no one of men shall see as (Enoch) saw' (*1 En.* 19.3), a guide and interpreter is essential. The angels are 'holy, spirits that live for ever' (*1 En.* 15.4) whose native land is separate from that of humans, and this helps to qualify them for their role as guides in the matters made known to Enoch. The actual number who accompany Enoch is unspecified, though various angels are named in the narrative. Part of their function is to ensure that Enoch understands what he sees. His *angelus interpres* initially seems to have been Uriel (*1 En.* 19.1; 21.5, 9-10), who informs him about the place where the fallen watchers are imprisoned (*1 En.* 19.1-2; 21.5, 10). He also shows Enoch the accursed place of the final judgment (*1 En.* 27.1-4). Part of the literary technique is that of question and answer, as in *1 En.* 21.4-5, where Enoch asks, 'For what iniquity have they been bound, and why have they been cast down here?' The angel also can ask Enoch about some matter so that it will be elucidated in the ensuing discussion (e.g. *1 En.* 21.8-10).

Then, with no obvious reason for the change, it is Raphael who shows Enoch the four hollow places (*1 En.* 22.3) and again, Raguel who explains about the 'fire in the west which tends all the luminaries of heaven' (*1 En.* 23.4). Michael, in charge of Israel's future blessings according to *1 En.* 20.5, and elsewhere its guardian angel,¹ functions in relation to the tree of life (*1 En.* 24.6-25.6). In the 'Paradise of righteousness' (*1 En.* 32.3), the *angelus interpres* is Raphael, though Gabriel is over paradise according to *1 En.* 20.7. Uriel returns later to explain about the movements of the stars (*1 En.* 33.3).

There seems to be little correlation, if any, between these functions of the angels in *1 Enoch* 17-19 and 21-36 and the formal list of names and responsibilities in *1 Enoch* 20. This list has seven archangels, in contrast with the four, Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel, found in *1 En.* 9.1. Presumably different traditions have been utilized by the final redactor. Despite the list of seven archangels in *1 Enoch* 20, only the first four appear in the subsequent chapters

1. E.g. Dan. 10.13, 21; 12.1.

of this section, viz., Uriel,¹ Raphael, Raguel and Michael.²

1 En. 20.1 in the Greek is quite different from the Ethiopic. While Ryl has: 'And these are the names of the holy angels who keep watch',³ G has only: "ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων ('angels of the powers') as a heading for the list of names that follows. Black comments that 'it is impossible to trace G ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων to a common original' with the Ethiopic, but thinks it possible that both may be original.⁴ This unusual expression in G is paralleled only elsewhere in *1 En.* 61.10 (in the *Parables*), as noted by Black, who also mentions 1QM [*sic*, 1QH] 8.11 and 1QH 10.34-35 (גבורי כוח) as parallels 'of a kind'.⁵ This Qumran expression points to the might of the angels, and could be the idea in G's version of *1 En.* 20.1. Alternatively, these seven archangels could be over the rest of the angels, if we take δυνάμεων as analogous to the OT צבאות, in the common expression, יהוה צבאות. Elsewhere Black notes that the LXX has κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων in 1 Kgs 17.1; 18.15 (LXX: 3 Kgdms 17.1; 18.15) and Ps. 42.12 [*sic* 46.12] (LXX: 45.12; Eng. 46.11).⁶ Either way, the expression is unusual.

Angels have a central role in the story and the achievement of the author's aims, but there is apparently no concern to have a self-consistent angelology. The focus is rather on the narrative's effect on the reader. Enoch is not only conducted to regions normally inaccessible to ordinary people, but care is taken to ensure that he understands what he is shown. God's message is made clear by the angels. What has been said in the preceding section, about the message conveyed by

1. Cf. Appendix A and §2.2.7 above, where it is noted that in later lists 'Uriel' has replaced 'Sariel'.

2. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 162) suggests that the actual order in ch. 20 reflects some later, localized angelology. Note that the seventh angel, Remiel ('Ρεμειήλ), is absent from G's list of only six names, but is found in the duplicate of the Gizeh text that includes *1 En.* 19.3-21.9, designated by Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. xii) as G². The name is missing also from Ryl but appears as the name of a fallen angel in *1 En.* 6.7 (4QEn^a 1 iii 7; רממאל). See *Book of Enoch*, p. 163, where Black argues for the genuineness of this verse.

3. Knibb's translation, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 106.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 162.

5. *Book of Enoch*, p. 162. For other similar references in the Qumran literature, see Appendixes C and D below. *1 En.* 61.10 has: *malā'ekt xāyl* ('angels of power').

6. M. Black, 'Two Unusual Nomina Dei in the Second Vision of Enoch', in *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honour of Bo Reicke* (ed. W.C. Weinrich; 2 vols.; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), I, p. 56.

the eschatological and cosmological material, is dependent on the angels of these chapters. As the angels move around the universe, confidently explaining its mysteries, the reader becomes aware that the world and its future are firmly under divine control. Those not privileged to receive directly for themselves the revelation that Enoch is given will learn all when the seer eventually returns to communicate it through his book.

Despite the formal difficulties with the list of angels in *1 Enoch* 20, this chapter gives the same impression of a world under divine control. Each angel is responsible for some important matter. The same two foci of interest in the rest of *1 Enoch* 17-36 are found here. Cosmological phenomena such as thunder and the luminaries are cared for by Uriel and Raguel, while eschatological issues are superintended by the others. Michael is probably to be thought of as being over Israel in the present.¹ The function of Sariel (*1 En.* 20.6) is not clear, due to textual difficulties.² In placing the various tasks under the angels it is not that God has abdicated from responsibilities that are properly his, for it is the underlying presupposition of these chapters that the angels have been appointed by God.³ Yet God himself is very much out of sight. This is the world-view of a Judaism in which God is relatively remote from his people, conducting his affairs in the world through the agency of the angels. It is an outlook different from that in many parts of the OT, in which God is intimately involved with his people.⁴ The angels who perform the functions assigned to them are holy angels who keep watch⁵ and, as those who have access to the divine presence, are well qualified to supervise the operation of the cosmos. It is not clear from our texts whether these

1. In *1 En.* 20.5, Ryl reads: *diba šannāyū lasab' ta' azāzi diba ḥezb* ('over the best part of mankind, overseer of the people'). G has ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τεταγμένος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χάφ. I cannot follow Charles (*Ethiopic Version*, p. 53) when he says that Χάφ is right since Uriel is over chaos, as in *1 En.* 21.1-2, for the verse under discussion, *1 En.* 20.5, deals with Michael.

2. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 163): 'The texts of both G^{1,2} and Eth(iopic) are manifestly corrupt'. (G¹ in Black's nomenclature corresponds to our G.)

3. Cf. Bietenhard (*Die himmlische Welt*, p. 103) who notes that the freedom of the angels is strictly limited.

4. E.g. in Exod. 32.34-33.16, Moses will accept nothing less than the presence of God with Israel. An angel in God's place is inadequate in his view.

5. *1 En.* 20.1, discussed above, in the present section.

angels are usually away from God on active service, though this is the general impression given by their functions, or whether they are normally near to God. Nevertheless, as citizens of heaven, they will be eminently informed about secret matters.¹

1. Cf. the watchers who fell, *1 En.* 17.3.

Chapter 4

THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK: 1 ENOCH 72–82

In *Ethiopic Enoch*, chs. 72–82 consist essentially of astronomical and calendrical information. No Greek version is known, though Milik has identified two fragments of a Greek papyrus with parts of *1 Enoch* 77–78.¹ Extensive astronomical material in Aramaic has been recovered from Qumran Cave 4. Some has already been encountered in the description of Enoch's journeys, *1 Enoch* 33–36. That section was associated with considerable geographical data and information about the final judgment and future blessings for the righteous. As already argued, these chapters can be understood as part of a coherent world-view. However, the *Astronomical Book*, as known in the Ethiopic versions, has very little that is not calendrical, except for some geographical material in *1 Enoch* 77 and a moral focus in *1 En.* 80.2–82.3

1. Outline of the Contents of 1 Enoch 72–82

There appear to be two versions of the astronomical and calendrical information in *Ethiopic Enoch*. *1 En.* 72.2–76.14 concludes with Enoch's statement to his son: 'I have shown you, my son Methuselah, all their laws. . .', while *1 En.* 77.1–79.1 ends similarly, with Uriel telling Enoch that he has revealed everything about the heavenly bodies. In the first version (*1 En.* 72.1–76.14), Enoch is shown the 'gates' of the sun, or the points on the horizons in the east and west

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 19. Also see *idem*, 'Fragments, grecs du livre d'Hénoch'. Consideration of *2 Enoch* suggests that Greek recensions may have existed at some stage. E.g. *2 Enoch* 13 is considered to be 'a highly condensed version of *1 En.* 72' by F.I. Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Late First Century AD): A New Translation and Introduction', in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I, p. 123.

where the sun rises and sets. He is also shown how the length of the daylight changes throughout the year, the variations in the illumination of the moon, and the relation between the solar year of 364 days and the lunar year of 354. The solar year envisaged consists of twelve months of thirty days each, with an epagomenal day added after the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth months. The winds of the earth are also understood to blow from 'gates', twelve in all, four being associated with winds bringing blessings and the other eight with winds causing difficulties.

The second version (*1 En.* 77.1-79.1), commences with information about the four major points of the compass and the mountains, rivers and seas. A discussion of the lunar phases follows, and a scheme involving full and hollow lunar months gives a year of 354 days. There is a deal of duplication here of preceding material.

1 En. 79.1-6 speaks again of the lunar year which falls behind the author's calendar by five days in half a solar year. Then follows *1 En.* 80.2-82.3, which deals with a calendrical problem in relation to the seasons which are lagging behind the calendar (*1 En.* 80.2-8), Enoch's inspection of the heavenly records (*1 En.* 81.1-4), the commission given to the seer to return to earth for a year in order to instruct Methuselah and a concluding exhortation of Methuselah by Enoch (*1 En.* 82.1-3). Because of the change of focus from calendrical to moral matters, Neugebauer describes *1 En.* 80.2-82.3 as 'an intrusion of non-astronomical material: apocalyptic. . .'.¹ Finally, *1 En.* 82.4-20 provides a hierarchy of the stars which care for the seasons, the months of thirty days each and the 360 single days, as well as the four intercalary days in each year. There is mention here, too, of people who err in relation to the four epagomenal days (*1 En.* 82.5).

2. *1 Enoch 72-82 and 4QEnastr*

The Qumran excavations have yielded fragments from four scrolls, 4QEnastr^{a-d}.² Milik reports that:

1. O. Neugebauer, 'The "Astronomical" Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82)', Appendix A in Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 411. But also see below, §§4.2, 4.3.1.

2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 273-74.

The majority of the fragments, those of Enastr^a in their entirety and the great majority of those of Enastr^b, belong to an elaborately detailed and monotonous calendar in which the phases of the moon, day by day, were synchronized with the movements of the sun in the framework of a year of 364 days; the calendar also described the movements of the two heavenly bodies from one 'gate' of the sky to another. This part of the work no longer exists in the Ethiopic version.¹

Certain parts of the text do correspond approximately to short sections of *1 Enoch 72-82*.² Nevertheless, the situation is that correspondence between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions is less in the astronomical section than for any other part of *1 Enoch*. According to Milik, the Aramaic work 'filled voluminous scrolls',³ so that the Ethiopic represents an abbreviated version of the Aramaic, with some parts wholly omitted, such as the tedious and extensive description of the phases of the moon.⁴

The question raised in Chapter 1 is thus acutely relevant for the *Astronomical Book*. Can *1 Enoch 72-82* be taken to be a fair representation of the contents of what was known at Qumran? Leaving aside 80.2-82.3 for the moment, it would appear that the Ethiopic does appear to give a reasonable if only general guide to the contents of the original, even though in this section it is far from being a translation of the Aramaic. The range of topics dealt with and the general content are similar, as are the actual astronomical and calendrical details. In both, also, Methuselah is being informed (*1 En.* 79.1, cf. 4QEnastr^b 26 6).

According to *1 Enoch 72-82*, Enoch is instructed by the angel Uriel who is in charge of the 'motion of the luminaries of the heaven' (*1 En.* 72.1). Uriel is mentioned at various points in the following chapters of the Ethiopic text.⁵ 4QEnastr^b 25 3 preserves parts of *1 En.* 78.9-12, according to Milik, though the name 'Uriel' is not extant. He restores it thus: '[. . . And 'Uri'el demonstrated to me] a further calculation', based on *1 En.* 78.10.⁶ Black, however, is

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 7.

2. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 284-97.

3. *Books of Enoch*, p. 8.

4. See the discussion above, §1.4.

5. *1 En.* 72.1; 74.2; 75.3-4; 78.10; 79.1-6; 80.1; 82.7.

6. *Books of Enoch*, p. 293. This is the only Aramaic passage published to date which may indicate the involvement of an angel.

uncertain about this identification with *1 En.* 78.10.¹ All that is visible are the words שְׁבוֹן אַחֲרַן אַחֲזִיחַ לֵה דִי אוֹל [. . .], rendered by Black as, 'Another calculation I was shown with regard to it (the moon?)'.² Nevertheless, irrespective of the actual identification, the context of the Aramaic as it stands is in harmony with the involvement of the angel Uriel throughout *1 Enoch* 72–82 as the one who shows various things to the human visitor.³

Given the general consistency and the specific similarities between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions for the other Enochic books under consideration, our previous conclusion seems justified for the *Astronomical Book* too. The Ethiopic will thus be taken as a reasonable guide to the contents of the original Aramaic. Actually, the matter is somewhat less critical than might appear at first, since angelic involvement in these chapters is relatively small, and is essentially similar to what is encountered elsewhere.⁴

Nevertheless, 80.2–82.3 poses a more complex problem. As mentioned, these chapters have been regarded as intrusions in material that otherwise deals with astronomy and the calendar.⁵ Nothing corresponding to this section has survived in Aramaic, so we are left with internal considerations. However, these chapters are in no way inconsistent with the rest of the *Astronomical Book*. The rather different topic with which they deal does not automatically mean it was not placed in the document by the original editor(s). We should not assume that we today always understand the motivation behind an ancient author's thought adequately, or that an ancient editor has acted clumsily. Charles separates ch. 81 from chs. 72–79 and 82 because the blessing of 82.4 is 'for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years', whereas 'the blessing of 81.4 is for the man "who dies in

1. *Book of Enoch*, p. 417.

2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 417.

3. See below, §4.4.1.

4. E.g. *1 En.* 33.3 and 74.2.

5. So Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 411; Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 18–19, 69–71. Charles (*Book of Enoch*, pp. 147–48) says, 'But the moment we have done with 79, we pass into a new atmosphere in 80.2–8. The whole interest is ethical and nothing else. . . Chapter 80.2–8, therefore, is manifestly an addition, made to give an ethical turn to a purely scientific treatise. . . ' (italics his). VanderKam (*Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 76–79, 107) largely follows Charles.

righteousness"'.¹ He could be right, but by no means necessarily so. *1 En.* 82.4–5 has:

Blessed are all the righteous ones, blessed are those who walk in the path of righteousness and do not err, like the sinners, in counting all their days in which the sun travels in the sky. . . There are people who err concerning them (the epagomenal days) by not counting them in the reckoning of the year. . .

Yet *1 En.* 81.4 and 82.4–5 are readily reconciled if *1 En.* 82.4–5 is seen to specify a particular cause of unrighteousness, namely error in relation to the 364-day solar year, while *1 En.* 81.4 gives a general statement without delineating what specifics make a person righteous. *1 En.* 82.4 thus seems appropriate enough in its present astronomical setting in the Ethiopic text, though admittedly the recurrence of calendrical material in *1 En.* 82.4–20 is surprising, following as it does the angelic announcement that Enoch is to spend a final year with his family.

Neugebauer also says that 82.9–20, concerning the leaders of the stars, is 'obviously an addition taken from a different source'.² It is likely that there has been some dislocation in relation to these chapters, as Charles had earlier suggested,³ and there presumably was literary development before the *Astronomical Book* reached its present form.

The issue for this investigation, however, is more one of the authenticity of these chapters within the Enochic traditions of the Qumran community, rather than of a detailed knowledge of their literary history prior to their use at Qumran. At present it appears there is no conclusive evidence against their being regarded as representative of what the Qumran community would have read. Milik considers that 'the essentially astronomical and calendrical content was enriched by cosmographic and moral considerations'.⁴ So while uncertainties

1. *Book of Enoch*, pp. xlix–l.

2. 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 413.

3. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 148–49.

4. *Books of Enoch*, p. 8. Cf. M.E. Stone, 'The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE', *CBQ* 40 (1978), p. 487, and Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 38. Similarly, the authenticity of *1 En.* 72.1, which speaks of the renewal of the creation so it will last forever, might also be questioned on the grounds that it does not deal only with astronomical matters. Its genuineness in the Ethiopic text as it now stands

remain about the literary history of the *Astronomical Book*, it appears satisfactory to utilize the whole of *1 Enoch* 72–82. One further factor in favour of this approach is that, at least for the Ethiopic editor(s), this material seemed to belong.

3. Motivation in the Astronomical Book

3.1. The Nature of the Astronomical Information

The *Astronomical Book's* superscription (*1 En.* 72.1) reads:

Book on the Motion of the Luminaries of the Heaven, how each one of them stands in relation to their number, to their powers and their times, of their names and their origins and their months, as the holy angel Uriel, who is their leader, showed to me when he was with me. And he showed to me their whole description as they are, and for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever.

The central subject of the *Astronomical Book* will thus be the movements of sun, moon and stars and their interrelationships in connection with the calendar. The information will be conveyed to 'me' (Enoch) by the *angelus interpretis*, Uriel, and this information will hold good until the new creation in the eschaton.

It has been suggested that the astronomical chapters of *Ethiopic Enoch* show evidence of influence by Babylonian astrology.¹ Astronomy deals with matters such as the movements of the heavenly bodies and their relationship to the calendar, while astrology is concerned with predicting the future, say of the nations, from a study of the relative positions of the heavenly bodies in the sky. The positions of these bodies at the time of a person's birth is also the concern of the individual horoscope, which correlates such data with the person's destiny. An example of such a horoscope has been found at Qumran.² Astrology is believed to have originated in Babylon and to have developed side by side with astronomy, dating from at least the second

is accepted by M. Black, 'The New Creation in 1 Enoch', in *Creation, Christ and Culture: Studies in Honour of T.F. Torrance* (ed. R.W.A. McKinney; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), p. 13.

1. So Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 19. Cf. also, M. Hengel (*Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* [2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974], I, p. 238), who speaks of 'the Essene astrological book'.

2. On 4QCryptic (4Q186), see below, §8.2.2.9.

millennium BC.¹ The earliest individual horoscopes derive from Babylon from late in the fifth century BC.²

However, a close study of the astronomical chapters shows that the concerns of *1 Enoch* 72–82 are astronomical and calendrical rather than astrological. The author is claiming the validity of a 364-day solar calendar, with twelve thirty-day months, and four intercalary days, one being inserted after each of the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth months. The lunar year is also correlated with this solar year. *te'merta hi'ahā* (*1 En.* 72.13, 19, 'its sign') could, perhaps, be thought to refer to zodiacal signs. However, since the discussion concerns the way the length of daylight varies throughout the year, Neugebauer's rendering of 'characteristics' seems better:

And (the sun) returns to the east and enters the sixth gate and it rises and sets in the sixth gate (during) 31 days according to its (the gate's) characteristics (for the season) (*1 En.* 72.13).

The idea is that the sun rises in 'a specific gate (sc., position in the sky)' which is "indicative" or "characteristic" for the seasons.³ Likewise, it might be conceivable to misunderstand *šelṭānomu* (*1 En.* 72.1; 'their authority' or 'their power') to refer to the authority of the luminaries over the world of humanity, but the ensuing material clearly deals with variations in the period of daylight throughout the year.⁴

In *1 En.* 75.3, *te'mert* ('sign') is again used and again the reference is to astronomical matters. Uriel shows Enoch things about 'the signs,

1. For a summary of the history of astrology in the ancient Near East, see B.O. Long, 'Astrology', in *IDBSup*, pp. 76-78 and for the relationship of the Jews to it, see J.H. Charlesworth, 'Jewish Interest in Astrology during the Hellenistic and Roman Period', in *ANRW*, II.20.2, pp. 926-50. See also, O. Böcher, 'Astrologie III', in *TRE*, pp. 299-308, and J.C. Dobin, *To Rule Both Day and Night: Astrology in the Bible, Midrash and Talmud* (New York: Inner Traditions International, 1977).

2. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I, p. 236.

3. Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 395. Cf. Isaac ('1 Enoch', pp. 51-52), who uses 'principle'.

4. It should, however, be observed that it is likely that the idea of the twelve gates of the sun is an adaptation of a zodiacal scheme. But, as Charlesworth ('Jewish Interest in Astrology', pp. 934, 948) has noted, it is not a necessary conclusion that astrological beliefs, such as the thought that one's destiny is influenced by movements of the sun, have been adopted as well.

the times, the years and the days'.¹ Neugebauer suggests that the use of 'signs' here could refer to the stars as indicators of changes in climate from one season to the next.²

One other passage, *1 En.* 80.2-8, perhaps suggests astrological interest. It tells of how 'in the days of the sinners years shall become shorter' (*1 En.* 82.2). Harvests will be late and the calendar will be ahead of the seasons. Likewise, the moon and stars will be seen in positions not expected according to the calendar (*1 En.* 80.4-6). What is more, sinners will err in their thoughts concerning the heavenly bodies, thinking 'them to be gods' (*1 En.* 80.7). Clearly this last statement expresses a viewpoint which is opposed to the worship of the luminaries and implies the opposition of the author of this passage to astrology.³ It will be argued in the next section that *1 En.* 80.2-8 is not concerned with the control of human affairs by the heavenly bodies in an astrological sense, but rather with what will happen when sinners use a wrong calendar.

In summary, then, the *Astronomical Book* is concerned with astronomy, particularly in relation to calendrical matters. It has not adopted astrological beliefs which consider human destinies to be influenced by the movements of the heavenly bodies.⁴ This is in accord with *1 En.* 8.3, where astrological practices are said to have come into the world through the sin of the fallen angels. In fact, the *Astronomical Book* seeks to show that the operation of the astronomical bodies follows fixed laws, and so their study cannot lead to predictions of the future as attempted by astrology.⁵

1. Cf. Gen. 1.14.

2. 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 402.

3. Warnings against this type of ancient practice are already found in the OT (e.g. Deut. 4.19; Isa. 47.13-14; Jer. 10.2). This attitude is quite understandable in the context of OT monotheism (cf. Isa. 40.25-26; Dan. 2.27-28).

4. Cf. Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 395: the zodiacal signs 'do not exist in Enoch's astronomy'.

5. VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 103. Such an outlook is, however, in contrast to that of the *Treatise of Shem*, dated by Charlesworth ('Jewish Interest in Astrology', pp. 937-38), to the last third of the first century BC. It also contrasts with 4QCryptic, the astrological document from Qumran (discussed below, §8.2.2.9).

3.2. The Motivation behind *1 Enoch* 72-82

Rowland, who has provided a helpful survey of the subjects dealt with in Jewish apocalypses, is concerned to uncover their nature, and argues against the tendency to equate eschatology and the heart of the genre apocalypse. Instead, apocalypses seem 'essentially to be about the revelation of the divine mysteries through visions or some other form of immediate disclosure of heavenly truths. . . .'¹ This interest in knowledge not normally available to humans can be seen as an attempt 'to understand how the present relates with both the past and the future' and is a way of providing reassurance 'by demonstrating how the whole of history must be seen as the arena of divine activity'.² This is essentially the understanding previously argued in relation to the *Book of Watchers*. Such a rationale also offers a way of considering the *Astronomical Book* as a literary unit, with the moral and eschatological portions being integral to the whole.

Certainly, a major purpose underlying the *Astronomical Book* is to set out the author's understanding of the true calendar. This is a solar calendar of 364 days. The movements of the sun are described such that the year begins at the vernal equinox, and progresses with months of thirty days each, except that every third month is effectively thirty-one days through the insertion of an epagomenal day, which marks an equinox or solstice (*1 En.* 72; 75.1-2; 82.11).

The official calendar of Judaism at this time was apparently based on lunar months³ and the new months began the day after the crescent was first sighted in the sky.⁴ Festivals would thus have been regulated

1. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, pp. 73-189. The quotation is from pp. 70-71.

2. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, p. 189. Cf. Luck, 'Das Weltverständnis', p. 295, and the discussion above, §3.3.

3. A solar calendar is also known from *Jub.* 6.32-36 and from the Qumran community. For the use at Qumran of the Enochic calendar and of that of *Jubilees*, see Milik, *Ten Years*, pp. 107-13. Also see below, §8.2.2.3.

4. Debate continues about the use of various calendars in the Judaism of the last centuries BC and the first century AD. See, e.g., Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, I, pp. 587-601; J.C. VanderKam, 'The Origin, Character and Early History of the 364-Day Calendar: A Reassessment of Jaubert's Hypotheses', *CBQ* 41 (1979), pp. 390-411; P.R. Davies, 'Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins: An Assessment of VanderKam's Theory', *CBQ* 45 (1983), pp. 80-89; J.C. VanderKam, 'The 364-Day Calendar in the Enochic literature', in *Society of Biblical Literature 1983 Seminar Papers* (ed. K.H. Richards; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), p. 163 n. 24.

by the lunar phases.¹ This probably explains the concern of the *Astronomical Book* to describe the movements of the moon and to correlate the lunar with the solar calendar (chs. 73–74). It is the sun (*1 En.* 72) and the stars (*1 En.* 75.1) that properly regulate the calendar, such that lunar years are always ten days short (*1 En.* 74.10–16) and to the day this relationship holds in all eternity' (*1 En.* 74.12), persisting till the new creation (*1 En.* 72.1). Thus the detailed calendrical treatise does not allow us to agree with Charles who says, 'The author has no other interest save a scientific one coloured by Jewish conceptions and beliefs'.² There is an underlying apologetic and polemical motivation. The solar and sidereal movements control a calendar that is invariable from year to year, but it is not only scientifically better to use it. It is a matter of sin and righteousness for our author.³

Josephus considered the Essenes to be extremely scrupulous about the sabbath.⁴ The Essene calendar began on a Wednesday, and by virtue of a year of exactly fifty-two weeks, every festival fell on the same day from year to year. No OT festival ever fell on the Sabbath (except the beginning of the feast of Purim, described in Esther).⁵ Thus the importance of the 364-day calendar may well have lain in the structure of the religious year to which it led. Beckwith suggests that the *Astronomical Book* was also probably concerned to promote the observance of the jubilee year.⁶ *Jub.* 4.17–18 says that Enoch's calendrical writings dealt with jubilees and sabbaths, in addition to the days, months and years. It appears that because of such religious concerns the author of the *Astronomical Book* was eager to defend the 364-day solar calendar.

The calendar describes things 'as they are, and for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever' (*1 En.* 72.1). This state of affairs is said to have a heavenly

1. Moore, *Judaism*, II, p. 23; F.F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 112, 151.

2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 147.

3. And also for the Essene sect, represented in part at Qumran.

4. *War* 2.8.9 §147.

5. Beckwith, 'Earliest Enoch Literature', pp. 380–84. Interestingly, Esther is the only canonical book of the OT not represented by any fragment thus far identified from Qumran.

6. 'Earliest Enoch Literature', p. 384.

origin.¹ The angel Uriel reveals these matters to Enoch but their ultimate source is the Lord's command (*1 En.* 72.36; 75.3). Thus non-compliance with this particular calendar amounts to wickedness committed against God. The heavenly bodies themselves are obedient.² By contrast, there are people on earth who are disobedient. The case of the four epagomenal days, one at the end of each quarter, is specifically mentioned.

While the luminaries do true service in relation to the four epagomenal days, some people are said to err (*1 En.* 75.1–2). The sinners follow a wrong calendar but 'blessed are those who walk in the path of righteousness and do not err, like the sinners, in counting all their days in which the sun travels in the sky. . . .' (*1 En.* 82.4). Clearly, the calendar under attack in the *Astronomical Book* as a whole is not a lunisolar one of 354 days but a 360-day form, though there is no direct evidence that such a calendar ever existed in Judaism.³

As already noted, the solar calendar, based on the movements of the heavenly luminaries, is a permanent arrangement in the author's view (*1 En.* 72.1). By contrast, failure to observe the true calendar leads to confusion with the seasons, rains and harvests, and the movements of the moon and many stars get out of phase in relation to the calendar (*1 En.* 80.2–8). From the perspective of the author it will not be the solar calendar as such that will be at fault, given its heavenly origin and the fact that it is based on the very structure of the cosmos. Hence blame is laid on the sinners (*1 En.* 80.2) and on many of the 'leaders of the stars' (*1 En.* 80.6). *1 En.* 82.9–20 describes how the stars are controlled by leaders in relation to the seasons and epagomenal days, the twelve months and the 360 single days. Presumably these leaders

1. Cf. *Jub.* 6.32–38, especially 6.35. In *Jubilees*, the same 364-day solar calendar is espoused and is fundamental to the author's re-writing of Israel's history. *Jub.* 2.17–20 says that God and his angels in heaven observe the sabbath and so should his people on earth. Use of the solar calendar means that the sabbath can be observed simultaneously in heaven and on earth.

2. *1 En.* 72.1, 36–37; 75.2. The whole scheme depends on the heavenly bodies all performing what they are commanded to do. On the nature homily of *1 Enoch* 2–5, see above, §2.1.2.

3. Cf. VanderKam, '364-Day Calendar', p. 164. But note also Beckwith, 'Earliest Enoch Literature', p. 387, who refers to the thirty-day months implied in the Flood narrative. (See *Gen.* 7.11, 24; 8.3–4.)

are angels.¹ In other words, blame for problems in the world is laid upon angels. This is reminiscent of the *Book of Watchers*, though there the theme of angelic sin is much more developed, with the teaching of Asael's angels (*1 En.* 10.7-8) and the devastation caused by the Nephilim (*1 En.* 17.1). The idea is also found in the *Book of Watchers* in the rebellion of stars which 'transgressed the commandment of the Lord at the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their proper times' (*1 En.* 18.13-16).

So the cause of the breakdown in co-ordination between natural phenomena and the calendar lies not in the rationale underlying the 364-day solar calendar itself, at least as far as the author is concerned. *1 En.* 80.2-8 does not appear to be a polemic against the lunisolar calendar thought to have been the official one used by the Jews in that period,² though this is possible. As utilized among the Jews, this calendar consisted of alternating months of thirty and twenty-nine days respectively, giving a total of 354 days for the lunar year. Intercalation was achieved by inserting an extra month every two or three years as necessary, as was done by the Babylonians.³ Given the intercalary adjustment, the seasons would never fall more than thirty days behind this type of calendar. It just may be that this gap is sufficient to have provoked the invective of *1 En.* 80.2-8.

However, the fact is that the 364-day calendar preferred by our author is itself beset by a serious problem. Each year it falls behind the true solar year by one and a quarter days. This has been discussed by Beckwith, who has plausibly suggested that *1 En.* 80.2-8 is an explanation of the problem in terms of human and angelic sin.⁴ In general terms, this understanding appears to be on the right lines,

1. So Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', pp. 413-14, following Dillmann. Certainly the names assigned to them are consistent with those of the other angels in *1 Enoch*. E.g. Melk'el, Hel'ememēlek, Mel'eyal and Nārēl separate the four seasons (*1 En.* 82.12-13).

2. See above.

3. S.J. De Vries, 'Calendar', in *IDB*, I, pp. 485-87. The fact that intercalation was employed means that the calendar was really a combination of a lunar one and a solar one so that it is properly designated a lunisolar calendar, rather than a lunar one.

4. 'Earliest Enoch Literature', pp. 365-403; *idem*, 'The Modern Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar with the True Solar Year', *RevQ* 7 (1969-71), pp. 379-96.

though there are difficulties with the details of Beckwith's case.¹ However, it is sufficient to recognize here the link in the author's thought between sin and problems with the calendar, regardless of the exact scheme he is attacking. For him, the cosmos is a moral creation: moral disobedience affects the physical world. As was observed in relation to the *Book of Watchers*, an integrated world-view operates here, too. The author and readers of the *Astronomical Book* know that their calendar is correct, for it comes with divine sanction, mediated by angels in the context of a divinely-ordered cosmos.² This leads to a consideration of the place of angels in the *Astronomical Book*.

4. The Roles of Angels in the Astronomical Book

4.1. Uriel, Teacher of the True Calendar

The most obvious angelic involvement in the *Astronomical Book* is that of the archangel Uriel as the teacher of the true calendar. Uriel shows Enoch the whole description of the heavenly luminaries, their interrelationships, and the way the calendar depends on them (*1 En.* 72.1; 74.2; 75.3, 4; 78.10; 79.2, 6; 80.1; 82.7). Uriel has already been met in the *Book of Watchers* as an *angelus interpres*. He explains to Enoch about the place where the fallen watchers are incarcerated (*1 En.* 19.1; cf. the duplicate in *1 En.* 21.5, 9-10). Similarly, Uriel tells the seer about the accursed valley where the great judgment is to occur (*1 En.* 27.2-3). However, these functions are quite different from Uriel's role in the *Astronomical Book*. It is only in *1 En.* 33.3-36.4, the astronomical section of the *Book of Watchers*, that Uriel is actually involved in showing Enoch how the stars go out through their gates, and how they relate to seasons and months. Another similarity in that passage to his work in the *Astronomical Book* is that he writes everything down, although in 74.2 it is Enoch, himself, who records what he is told.

Uriel's name (אוריאל) means 'light of God'³ and it is logical that he should be associated with the heavenly bodies. But he seems to have been assigned various roles by the Enochic writers, no doubt

1. See Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 104-105.

2. Cf. Luck, 'Das Weltverständnis', p. 295.

3. 'Flame of God' is also possible, since אור can mean both 'light' and 'flame' (cf. BDB, pp. 21-22).

reflecting differing traditions. Thus in the list of seven archangels in *1 Enoch* 20, which expands the earlier list of four, it is Raguel who 'tends the hosts of the luminaries' (*1 En.* 20.4), not Uriel,¹ whose role is different. For *1 En.* 20.2, G has Οὐριήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταπτάροου.² This reflects the role assigned to Uriel in Enoch's journeys, where it is he who explains to Enoch about Tartarus, the prison of the stars and angels (chs. 18–19, 21). The text of Ryl is quite different, stating that Uriel is one "emenna malā'ekt qeddusān 'esma hara'am wazar'ad, one 'of the holy angels, namely, of thunder and tremor'.³

However, in the *Astronomical Book*, Uriel's central roles as the angel over the luminaries and the revealer of the divinely ordained calendar are predominant. His function in revelation can be contrasted with the motif of the false teaching by the angels under Asael, in the *Book of Watchers*. This is particularly striking in relation to the magical and astrological matters enumerated in *1 En.* 8.3 (cf. *1 En.* 9.6-7). Note also that it is erroneous ideas about the heavenly bodies that are specifically condemned in *1 En.* 80.7-8.

4.2. Angelic Control of the Luminaries

Uriel's role according to the *Astronomical Book* extends far beyond communicating the calendar to Enoch. He is the leader or guide (*marāhi*) of the heavenly bodies and controls their function in relation to the calendar (*1 En.* 72.1). In 79.6 he is described as *mal'ak 'ābiy zawe'etu marāxihomu* ('the great angel, the one who is their leader', that is, of the sun, moon and stars). The same thought is repeated in 74.2; 75.3 and 82.8, though *1 En.* 75.3 adds that Uriel is fulfilling a divine appointment.

1. 'Raguel' means 'friend of God', but Milik (*Books of Enoch*, pp. 219-20) suggests that the author of Enoch understands it as 'shepherd of God'. See also Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 162-63.

2. Y. Yadin (*The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness: Edited with Commentary and Introduction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962], p. 239) suggests that the double meaning of אורר may be connected with the differences of opinion regarding the role of Uriel. 'On the one hand he was regarded as the angel appointed over hell-fire, over darkness and the end of all flesh; on the other, as the angel set up over the luminaries.'

3. Various suggestions attempt to relate the Ethiopic and the Greek, but Knibb (*Ethiopic Book*, II, pp. 106-107) finds none satisfactory.

All of this demonstrates the orderliness and integration of the cosmos. While human beings would not normally be privy to such information, it is authoritatively revealed to Enoch. Moreover, the arrangement Enoch is shown is one which will endure 'for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever' (*1 En.* 72.1). Here, then, are key motifs which are conveyed from a perspective in which angelic involvement is fundamental in the communication of the author's conception of the universe. The present is orderly, the correct calendrical data are known to the author and his circle, and the future promises a new order. There is no concern with the eschatological judgment, except at 80.8, where it is merely mentioned. Once again it is clear that the world is in God's control and so the righteous can rest secure, as was the case in the *Book of Watchers*.

Yet Uriel is by no means the only angel involved with astronomical and calendrical matters. All of the stars have their angelic guides (*1 En.* 80.1). The astronomical world envisaged is populated by angels who regulate the stars so that they move across the sky in their proper positions and order (*1 En.* 82.10). *1 En.* 82.10-20 gives a detailed survey of the leaders of the stars, who are 'presumably angels'.¹ Nothing is left to chance! There are 'leaders of the thousands of the orders of the stars' who are over each thirty-day month, as well as four important leaders associated with the four epagomenal days (*1 En.* 82.4-6).² *1 En.* 82.9-20, while perhaps a later addition to the earlier part of the chapter,³ gives a list of the names and functions of the angels concerned with the stars and the seasons. Four leaders are over the seasons, including the epagomenal days (*1 En.* 82.11; cf. 82.4, 13). Three leaders are subordinate to each of the seasonal leaders, and these correspond to the twelve months of the year (*1 En.* 82.11). Likewise, there are '360 heads over thousands (of stars)' responsible for the days (*1 En.* 82.11).

1. Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 414.

2. Neugebauer, 'Astronomical Chapters', p. 413.

3. So Neugebauer ('Astronomical Chapters', p. 413), but not Charles (*Book of Enoch*, p. 176), who says these verses are 'quite in harmony with all that rightly belongs to this section of the book'. He also points out that 72.1 promises information about the stars, but that 82.6-20 alone sees the promise fulfilled. Certainly the section is consistent with the universe of the *Astronomical Book* and can no doubt be taken to reflect an ancient tradition associated with Enoch.

Some of these leaders of the stars will stray from God's commandments, change their orbits and tasks and not appear at the divinely designated times, so that the calendar and seasons will get out of phase (*1 En.* 80.2-8). The possible significance of this passage has been discussed earlier.¹ We note again the integration of the angelic world, the cosmos and the world of humanity. Ultimately, punishment will come on those who flout the divine order (*1 En.* 80.8). An eschatological perspective is invoked to cope with apparent disarray in the author's world.

4.3. Uriel and the Heavenly Tablets

This eschatological perspective is given much greater prominence in *1 En.* 81.1-82.3. Enoch is shown 'the book of the heavenly tablets', which he reads and understands. It contains 'all the deeds of mankind and of all the children of flesh on the earth, unto the generations of eternity' (*1 En.* 81.1-2). Here is further reassurance for Enoch from his angelic guide,² for all is known beforehand. God will not be surprised. The motif of order and control is emphasized through what the heavenly guide shows the seer. Russell³ points to parallels in Babylonian mythology, in which 'tablets of destiny' are important in New Year rituals. Whether or not there has been any direct influence here is difficult to say, but the various divine books in the OT constitute a more obvious source.⁴ *1 En.* 81.2 indicates that the course of human history has been written beforehand.⁵ Similarly, future unrighteousness in the world is described on the tablets of heaven

1. See above, §4.2. For the same idea, see *1 En.* 18.12-16.

2. Ryl has simply: *wayebēlani* 'and he said to me', with the subject of the verb unspecified. In the context, it is probably Uriel.

3. *Method and Message*, p. 125.

4. E.g. Pss. 56.9 (Eng. 56.8); 139.16; Mal. 3.16-18; Dan. 10.21; 12.1, 4. The *Book of Jubilees*, which is related to *1 Enoch*, mentions written records dealing with future events, including future judgment and the lot of the righteous in the messianic kingdom (*Jub.* 5.13; 23.30-32; 30.21-23; 32.21-22). Heavenly tablets are also referred to in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*T. Ash.* 2.10; *T. Levi* 5.4).

5. The degree to which the matters discussed in the various heavenly records can be said to be predetermined differs from writing to writing. The homiletic midrash described by Moore (*Judaism*, I, p. 476) is rather different. A man who has died is asked by God to write down his own deeds. In *1 En.* 81.2 the record already exists 'unto eternity'.

(*1 En.* 106.19), as are the future blessings of the righteous (*1 En.* 103.2-3). In general, the Enochic books show a strong determinism in outlook that finds explicit expression in the motif of the heavenly books.¹

In the *Astronomical Book* as we have it in the Ethiopic tradition, Enoch is shown the heavenly tablets (*1 En.* 81.1-4) as an introduction to the account of his return to earth for a period of one year. He is then returned to earth by some of the angels, with the commission to tell everything to his son Methuselah (*1 En.* 81.5-10).

The actual number of angels is uncertain. The so-called Group I Ethiopic MSS have seven, while the Group II MSS² have three.³ As Black notes, 'either reading could be original',⁴ but regardless, at the end of his time away from other people, Enoch is escorted by angelic guides. From an editorial point of view, Enoch's return to his family (*1 En.* 81.5-6) introduces his address to Methuselah and other family members in ch. 91.⁵ The *Dream Visions* (*1 En.* 85-90), the subject of the next chapter, are also presented as Enoch's account to Methuselah of what he has seen in all his visions (*1 En.* 83.1, 9; 85.2).

1. A determinism also underlies the course of the future judgment as outlined in the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams*, with its predictions concerning the punishment of the 70 shepherds, and the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, which sketches the course of history down into the eschaton.

2. This classification goes back to J. Flemming and L. Radermacher (eds.), *Das Buch Henoch* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 5; Leipzig, 1901). Group I includes the older MSS. See further Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, pp. 21-28.

3. There may be reflected here a tradition that three angels have responsibilities for the travel of visionaries. A similar situation is found in the *Book of Dreams*, where three of a group of seven take Enoch to a lofty vantage point (*1 En.* 87.2-3).

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 253.

5. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 173.

Chapter 5

THE BOOK OF DREAMS: 1 ENOCH 83-90

1. General Character of the Dream-Visions

The first of the two dream-visions describes the Deluge (chs. 83-84) and the second, the course of world history from Adam to the eschatological age (chs. 85-90). Enoch experienced them relatively early in his career, the first when he was learning to write and the other sometime prior to his marriage (*1 En.* 83.2).¹ He communicated both to his son Methuselah (*1 En.* 83.1; 85.1-2; cf. 81.5-6).

The first vision consists only of a prediction of the Deluge, followed by a prayer in which Enoch praises God and asks for judgment on the wicked and posterity for the righteous. It is possible that the flood of *1 Enoch* 83 may have an eschatological meaning, though on the surface at least, it seems to be simply an account of a flood tradition.² No fragments corresponding to any part of chs. 83-84 have been recovered from Qumran, whereas various pieces of the account of the second dream have been found, and from four MSS, 4QEn^{c-f}.³ Since the *First Dream-Vision* is very short, its absence from the fragments may well be due to chance factors. However, this issue has no real bearing on our study, since no angel is mentioned except in *1 En.* 84.4, which speaks of heavenly angels who are doing wrong, a theme already familiar from the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*.

In genre, the *Second Dream-Vision* is a historical apocalypse without a true otherworldly journey sequence.⁴ In this dream-vision,

1. Cf. *Jub.* 4.19-20. For a discussion of the relation of the various Enochic books and *Jubilees* to the biography of Enoch, see Dimant, 'Biography'.
2. Cf. Collins, 'Apocalypse', p. 31.
3. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 6, 41.
4. Collins, 'Apocalypse', pp. 22-23.

Enoch is taken by three angels to a high vantage point so he can observe all the things he is to be shown (*1 En.* 87.2-4), and then to be with the righteous at the judgment (*1 En.* 90.31). This apocalypse includes a historical review from Adam till the time of the writer, generally taken to be in the Maccabean period but prior to the death of Judas Maccabaeus in 161 BC.¹ Moreover, since 90.28-29 looks for a new temple, it is quite likely that the Second Temple has not yet been recaptured and rededicated, events which happened in 164 BC.

2. Outline of the Second Dream-Vision (1 Enoch 85-90)

This has been called 'the animal farm' section² because it is allegorical in form, using animals to represent human characters in the drama of world history from Adam to the new age. Actually, the 'zoomorphic history of the world'³ is a history of Israel. Angels are represented by stars, as in the case of the watchers that fell (*1 En.* 86.1-3), or by humans, as in the case of the seven archangels (*1 En.* 87.2-3) and the seventy angels, portrayed as shepherds, who are over Israel (*1 En.* 89.59). Adam is a white bull, Eve a heifer. The biblical history is followed in ch. 85, and then in ch. 86 Enoch sees a single star fall from heaven and become a bull among the 'human' bulls. Many stars follow and they have sexual intercourse with the 'human' cows. This is the *Book of Dreams'* version of the fall of the watchers, and appears to conflate the two traditions of Shemihazah and Asael.⁴ If significance is to be attached to the three types of offspring from these illicit unions—elephants, camels and asses⁵—then our author is following the same kind of tradition found in Syncellus' version of *1 En.* 7.2 and in *Jub.* 7.22, both of which have three kinds of offspring.⁶ The elephants, camels and asses attack the oxen and also gore one another (*1 En.* 86.6; 87.1; cf. *1 En.* 10.9-10).

1. *1 En.* 89.14 is usually understood to refer to Judas, who is here unvanquished. E.g. see M. Smith, 'The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism', *NTS* 7 (1961), p. 359; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 43-44.
2. M. Smith, 'Dead Sea Sect', p. 358.
3. The phrase is Black's (*Book of Enoch*, p. 72).
4. See below, §5.4.2.1.
5. *1 En.* 86.4; 88.2; 89.6; 4QEn^e 4 i 21.
6. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 240; Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 125-26. The *Book of Watchers* knows only one type of offspring, the giants (*1 En.* 7.2-4).

Enoch then sees four beings like white men, and three others with them. These represent the seven archangels, met previously in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 20).¹ The three angels conduct Enoch to a lofty vantage point so he can see what will happen to the elephants, camels, asses, stars and 'all the oxen', who represent sinful humankind before the Noachic Deluge (*1 En.* 87.1-3). Chapter 88 describes the imprisonment of the fallen stars. One of the four white men then instructs one of the white oxen (Noah) concerning the coming flood, which Enoch sees destroy all the animals, including the offspring of the stars. Noah and his three sons are saved (*1 En.* 89.1-9). Abraham and Isaac are described as white bulls, but Jacob is a white ram (*1 En.* 89.10-12), and thereafter the people of Israel are described as sheep. Israel's enemies are depicted as asses, wolves, dogs, wild boars and the like (e.g. *1 En.* 89.13, 43, 49). The biblical history is followed from Abraham till the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Lord of the sheep forsakes them, handing them over to their enemies (*1 En.* 89.56). He is quite unmoved by either the affliction of the sheep (now described as blind) or Enoch's petition for them (*1 En.* 89.57-58).

The sheep are then handed over to the care of seventy shepherds who are under the Lord's supervision. He gives them exact instructions regarding the number of sheep they are to destroy. The history of Israel then is considered in four divisions of twelve, twenty-three, twenty-three and twelve periods under the shepherds.² These seventy shepherds stand for the angels in charge of the nations among which the sheep are scattered. The shepherds repeatedly destroy more sheep than commanded by the Lord (e.g. *1 En.* 89.65, 69, 76). The author's meaning is that Israel has suffered far more than it has deserved at the hand of the nations.

It is the fourth period of twelve shepherds which brings the author to his own time as he makes the transition from *vaticinia ex eventu* to real prediction.³ This is clear, both from the description of the stage

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 260) has suggested that the four principal archangels might be Michael, Sariel (or Uriel, who has replaced Sariel in later tradition), Raphael and Gabriel (see above, §2.2.7 and the first note under that section, and Appendix A). The group of three would then be Raguel, Saraqael and Remiel.

2. See Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 78-80 for suggested correlations with historical eras.

3. The transition is generally thought to occur at the end of *1 En.* 90.16. See VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 161-63, for a review of arguments

reached in the Maccabean conflict, and from the fact that the narrative moves abruptly from the successful Maccabean campaign (*1 En.* 90.19) to eschatological matters like the judgment, the New Jerusalem and the New Eden (*1 En.* 90.20-38). The last part of the Second Dream-Vision commences with the condemnation of the stars that mated with the oxen, of the seventy shepherds and of the blind sheep, representing apostate Israel (*1 En.* 90.20-27). Then a new and greater house replaces the old one, with the Lord of the sheep in its midst (*1 En.* 90.28-29). *1 En.* 90.30 envisages the conversion of the gentiles, as 'all the animals of the earth and all the birds of heaven' fall down in homage and obedience to those sheep which had not been blind and so were spared. The Lord of the sheep has great joy at the return to his house of the sheep which had been killed but which have now been brought back to life. This is reminiscent of Dan. 12.2 which envisages a resurrection of the dead of Israel.¹ Finally, Enoch sees a white bull 'with large horns', one which is feared and petitioned by the beasts and birds (*1 En.* 90.37). Charles had thought the bull to be the Messiah,² but recently Milik has argued persuasively that the bull is like the first white bull, Adam, though more glorious, to judge by its horns.³ The general idea seems to be that there will be a return to the Edenic conditions once enjoyed by Adam.⁴ Upon waking, Enoch recalls his dreams and weeps profusely (*1 En.* 90.39-42), as he says, 'on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men, each according to his destiny, were shown to me' (*1 En.* 90.41).⁵

concerning the dating of the *Book of Dreams*.

1. Cf. Black, 'New Creation', p. 19.
2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 215.
3. *Books of Enoch*, p. 45.
4. Cf. Black, 'New Creation', pp. 19-20.
5. Black's rendering (*Book of Enoch*, p. 83) of 'destiny' for *kefl* differs from Charles's 'order' (*Book of Enoch*, p. 217, followed by Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 217) and Isaac's 'type' ('1 Enoch', p. 72). According to Dillman (*Lexicon*, p. 878), *kefl* has many meanings, including 'division', 'part, portion', 'proportion', and 'order, class'. Whether *1 En.* 90.41 has the deterministic force that Black's rendering perhaps suggests ('each according to his destiny') is debatable. Nevertheless, 'everything shall come and be fulfilled' probably does suggest more than mere review in retrospect.

3. The Motivation Underlying the Book of Dreams

It is possible to identify in some detail the circumstances of the author's time. Apparently the Hasidim begin to form (*1 En.* 90.6-7), in the midst of an apostate Judaism. Judas Maccabaeus is usually identified in 90.9.¹ The severe affliction of the non-apostate Jews (the sheep) under the Seleucid oppressors is depicted in terms of birds of prey (*1 En.* 90.11), although Judas himself survives, crying for divine help when under attack from Lysias, the Syrian (*1 En.* 90.13). This corresponds to 1 Macc. 4.30-33 (cf. 2 Macc. 11.6-9). Judas and his supporters pray and God answers by sending a good angel to their aid (2 Macc. 11.8, 10), so that the Battle of Beth-zur ends in a resounding victory for the Maccabaeans (2 Macc. 11.13). According to *1 En.* 90.14 it is the man who has been commissioned by the Lord of the sheep to write down the deeds of the seventy shepherds who comes to the rescue of Judas. Indeed, it is then said that the Lord himself comes (*1 En.* 90.18), routing the beasts and birds, while the sheep are given a great sword with which to fight the enemy (*1 En.* 90.19).

Clearly, the author of *1 En.* 90.6-19 lived in perilous times when the theocracy itself was under threat. According to Collins,² the generalization is often made that a review of history, presented as prophecy in historical apocalypses without otherworldly journeys, functions merely as background to the eschatological prophecies to which they lead. On the other hand, the interests of the apocalyptic writers cannot be reduced to matters of wisdom alone, with everything worth knowing for its own sake. It appears that the reviews of history serve to demonstrate the efficiency of the divine plan, regardless of how life might seem at the time of writing. In other words, the ultimate realization of God's eschatological blessing is assured! The problem of theodicy is given an answer in apocalyptic circles (cf. *4 Ezra* 4.22-28). Certainly for the Enochic books, an eschatological perspective forms an intrinsic part of each one.³ In general, a fairly unified

1. But see Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 276-77, who mentions but rejects the alternative view which sees the 'great horn' as John Hyrcanus.

2. *Apocalypse*, p. 14. Cf. Rowland, *Open Heaven*, pp. 137, 142; G.I. Davies, 'Apocalyptic and Historiography', *JSOT* 5 (1978), pp. 20-21.

3. This is true to a lesser but still important extent for the *Astronomical Book*. See above, §4.3.2.

world-view is presented, despite the diverse approaches, and it is this understanding of the cosmos as God's, that to him belong history, astronomy, the future of Israel, the retribution of the wicked and the like, which provides the key to understanding these complex books.

Thus in the review of history in *1 Enoch* 85-90, the author 'saw and interpreted the events of history *sub specie aeternitatis* and observed in the apparent confusion of history an order and a goal. . . . ' He was 'able to take in the whole of history at a glance and recite its meaning in terms of the divine purpose'.¹ The author of the *Book of Dreams* saw himself as standing at the edge of the eschatological future with release at hand from his present trials. God's intervention was certain. Here, then, is the primary motivation underlying the *Book of Dreams*.

Thus Charles's statement, that chapters '87-90 were written by a Chasid in support of the Maccabean movement',² is only partially adequate. The writer's theme is a grand one, involving the destiny of the nation's faithful, both corporately and individually, and the motif identified by Collins as characteristic of apocalyptic eschatology is present here in its own way, the hope of transcending death.³ Thus, the untainted sheep are safe from the final judgment (*1 En.* 90.31-32). The nation lives on, despite the apparently unrestrained abuse of the seventy shepherds and the ferocity of the wild animals that attack the sheep. Indeed, they all become white bulls, like the new Adam (*1 En.* 90.37-38), sharing the eschatological glory with their Lord.

4. The Roles of Angels in the Book of Dreams

4.1. Angels in the First Dream-Vision: 1 Enoch 83-84

The *First Dream-Vision* consists only of an account of the coming flood and Enoch's prayer for God to give him posterity. It does not mention the sin of the watchers. The reason given for the coming destruction is 'the sins of the whole earth' (*1 En.* 83.7). Enoch's prayer may be a later expansion of his grandfather's command that he ask for posterity to be left for him. If this prayer has been added to an older flood tradition then it is understandable that a later editor would

1. Russell, *Method and Message*, pp. 220, 221.

2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 182.

3. 'Apocalyptic Eschatology', pp. 30-37.

have mentioned the sin of the watchers, to harmonize the Deluge account here with other Enochic traditions. This could explain what is apparently a reference in *1 En.* 84.4 to the fallen watchers: 'the angels of thy heaven are doing wrong, and upon mankind abideth thy wrath until the great day of judgment'. However, apart from this reference, angels are not mentioned in the *First Dream-Vision*.

4.2. Angels in the Second Dream-Vision

In the much larger *Second Dream-Vision* angels have several important roles, including functions not previously encountered. Other matters, such as the fall of the watchers and their punishment, have already been considered and will receive minimal attention here, except inasmuch as special features are present.

4.2.1. *The Fallen Angels in the Second Dream-Vision.* Actually, the legend of the watchers (*1 En.* 86.1–89.9) shows several differences from the account in *1 Enoch* 1–36. In the *Book of Watchers* there are two angelic leaders, Shemihazah and Asael, whose primary sins respectively are to have sexual relations with women and to teach forbidden knowledge on earth. In the *Book of Dreams* the story of the watchers appears to be either a conflation of the two versions in the *Book of Watchers* or else to come from a quite different tradition. Asael is featured rather than Shemihazah. In 86.1, 'a single star fell from heaven' which became a bull and 'pastured among those oxen'. That this star is Asael seems clear by comparison of its punishment by being bound and cast into the abyss (*1 En.* 88.1) with the similar punishment of Asael in *1 En.* 10.4–6. The *Book of Watchers* does not portray Asael as coming to earth ahead of the others who also taught the heavenly secrets, but simply as being in the company of others (*1 En.* 8). In the other tradition, Shemihazah is leader of two hundred watchers. However, in the *Book of Dreams* a single star falls first (*1 En.* 86.1) and then many stars follow (*1 En.* 86.3). The sin of the angels corresponds to the Shemihazah tradition in that it is the intercourse of the stars which had become bulls that is mentioned (*1 En.* 86.4). In the Shemihazah cycle, the offspring are called giants (*1 En.* 7.2–4), while three kinds of offspring appear to be meant by the elephants, camels and asses in the dream-vision (*1 En.* 86.4).¹

1. See above, §5.2.

The results of these liaisons in the *Second Dream-Vision* correspond to those in the *Book of Watchers*. The offspring cause devastation on the earth (*1 En.* 7.3–5, cf. 86.5–6) and eventually attack one another (*1 En.* 10.9, cf. 87.1), and in both, the Deluge follows the sin of the angels (*1 En.* 10.2, cf. 89.2–6). However, the *Second Dream-Vision* does not dwell on the guilt of the angels in the way that the *Book of Watchers* does. Nor is there any mention of the theme that sin itself was introduced into the world by them (cf. *1 En.* 8; 10.8).

Ultimately, the fallen stars are judged and punished (*1 En.* 90.21, 24) as in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 10.13; 14.5), but it seems that the myth of the fallen angels is of relatively small importance for our author whose purposes are different. His interest lies much more with the plight of Israel in his own day, and, as will be discussed shortly, why Israel has suffered so excessively in the past. He finds his explanation not in the myth of the fallen angels, but in the seventy shepherds whom God has set over Israel (*1 En.* 89.59–61).

4.2.2. *Angels as Intermediaries.* Another role of angels encountered in the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book* was their function as intermediaries between God and humanity.¹ Revelation conveyed in this way is a fundamental feature of apocalypses.² In the *Book of Dreams* with its visions, the method of revelation differs from that in the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, in which Enoch is conducted around the remote parts of the earth and the heavens on otherworldly journeys, constantly accompanied by angels, who guide him and provide explanations of various matters normally inaccessible to humans. There is no fundamental difference, however, between the communication through the visions and the journeys. In the midst of the journeys of chs. 12–16, *1 En.* 14.8 introduces Enoch's glimpse of the throne of God: 'And it was shown to me thus in a vision. . .'³

In Enoch's *Second Dream-Vision*, the angelic guide is somewhat less prominent than in the earlier Enochic books. An explanation may

1. See above, §§2.1.2, 2.3.1, 3.4, 4.4.1.

2. Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 22.

3. Cf. S. Niditch, 'The Visionary', in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J.J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS, 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), p. 153: 'visions become primary means of divine revelation'. She calls the heavenly tour 'another variety of vision experience'.

be offered for this. The bulk of the *Second Dream-Vision* is a review of world history from creation to the author's time during the Maccabaeen Revolt. In the form in which this is presented, Enoch is an observer of the allegorically presented history of Israel which the readers will have already known. An *angelus interpretis* is hardly necessary.

However, angelic guides are introduced at two important points in the narrative. In 87.1-3, three archangels take Enoch to a lofty vantage point 'away from the children of the earth' so that he can observe the incarceration of the fallen watchers (*I En.* 87.4-88.3). Enoch can then see both the earthly and the heavenly. Thus, in 89.59-65 he sees both realms as God arranges for seventy angels to have responsibility for the destruction of specified numbers of the people of Israel. Similarly, he hears God instruct another angel to keep a record of the activities of the seventy, and also sees what they actually do to Israel.

The second occurrence of angelic guidance is found in the description of the last judgment and seems to serve a different purpose, that of enabling Enoch to be an active participant in the future as well as an observer of it. Following the condemnation of the watchers, the seventy angels and the apostate Jews (*I En.* 90.20-27), the removal and replacement of the old temple (*I En.* 90.28-29) and the conversion of the Gentiles (*I En.* 90.30), Enoch is placed by the three archangels 'in the midst of those sheep' (*I En.* 90.31). In the remainder of *I En.* 90.31 it is difficult to be certain what the original details were,¹ but 90.32-39 makes it clear that Enoch is once again given an excellent position from which to see everything. The fact that he is in the midst of the final scene of blessing (*I En.* 90.31, 39) may also imply that he belongs there as one who will enjoy the future blessings. This would further enhance the authority with which he reports what he sees.

Once again angels function in the narrative to facilitate its telling, so that the seer can communicate authoritatively. We note, however, that while there is angelic mediation in the *Second Dream-Vision*, there is no angelic interpretation as was the case in the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*.

1. For the problems here, see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 215; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, II, pp. 215-16; and Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 279.

4.2.3. *Angels as Servants of God.* In addition to the way in which the three archangels put Enoch in positions from which he can observe what is being revealed to him, there are other examples of angels functioning as servants of God in a more general way. In ch. 88, one of the seven archangels from the group of four whom Enoch saw first (*I En.* 87.2) seized the first star that had fallen (Asael) and bound and threw it into an abyss (*I En.* 88.1). Another gave a sword to the offspring of the fallen stars for their self-destruction (*I En.* 88.2), and yet another stoned them and bound the other stars that had had intercourse with the women, casting them into an abyss (*I En.* 88.3; cf. 10.4, 11-12).

It was also an archangel's task to inform Noah of the impending flood (*I En.* 89.1), instructing Noah 'in a mystery'. Here the angel engages in the legitimate communication of a mystery or secret (*meštir*) in contrast to the illegitimate revelation of the fallen watchers in *I En.* 16.2-3.¹ *I En.* 89.59-90.19 describes the appointment of seventy shepherds to pasture the Lord's sheep, their misdeeds, and their subsequent condemnation. These shepherds were supposed to care for the sheep after the Lord had handed them over to the wild beasts. This pictures the dispersion of Israel among the nations. The shepherds, angels associated with the nations, were told to destroy specified numbers of the sheep (*I En.* 89.56-60). Finally, there is a recording angel who is appointed by God to 'observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep' (*I En.* 89.61) so that God 'may know all the deeds of the shepherds' (*I En.* 89.63).² This function is connected with the final judgment.

4.2.4. *Angels and the Judgment.* As the last judgment begins (*I En.* 90.20), the books are opened before the Lord of the sheep. The fact that these are sealed books guarantees they have not been tampered with. Similar ideas are found in *I En.* 89.71, 90.20 and 89.77. Exactly who opens the books is not immediately clear from *I En.* 90.20. Ryl has: *wanas'a k^wello mašāhefta xetumāta wafathōn* ('and he took all the sealed books and he opened [them]'). Black follows Charles and emends *k^wello* ('all') to *kāle'u* ('the other'), so that the sense is 'and

1. Cf. above, §2.3.3.

2. The recording angel is mentioned also in *I En.* 89.70, 76; 90.14, 17; 90.20, 22.

the other one took the sealed books and opened them',¹ 'the other one' being then 'the white one' who has recorded the books for the Lord. No doubt this is the sense.²

This recording angels reads the book to God and implores him on behalf of Israel, speaking against the abuses perpetrated by the seventy angels (*I En.* 89.76; cf. 89.63, 70; 90.14, 17, 20). All of this provides an assurance to the oppressed people of God that injustice will not pass unnoticed. There will be retribution for the oppressors and vindication for the oppressed.³

The importance of heavenly records has been discussed previously.⁴ Here they suggest both the accuracy of the evidence and the inevitability of the judgment to befall both wicked angels and humans alike. While such records are scarcely necessary for the omniscient God (*I En.* 84.3), they are an accommodation for the readers' reassurance. The fallen stars are arraigned first, being brought before God by the seven archangels and condemned to a fiery abyss (*I En.* 90.21, 24). Then the seventy disobedient shepherds who have dealt maliciously with the Lord's sheep are seized by one of the archangels to meet the same fate (*I En.* 90.22, 25). The third group to be condemned comprises the blinded sheep or apostate Jews. They are cast into a similar abyss in the middle of the earth (*I En.* 90.26).⁵

Thus, in the whole process of judgment, angels in the *Second Dream-Vision* have a central role, from the initial incarceration of the fallen watchers to recording the disobedience of the angelic shepherds, the presentation of the evidence against them in the opening of the heavenly records and the actual task of casting the watchers and shepherds into the abyss.

1. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 278; Charles, *Ethiopic Version*, p. 185 n. 25.
2. The emendation is scarcely necessary if *nas'a* ('he took') and *fatħa* ('he opened') are related to *I En.* 90.14, 17, where the one who has written about the deeds of the twelve shepherds opens his book before the Lord. Cf. Isaac, 'I Enoch', p. 70, who has 'and he took all the sealed books'.
3. Cf. *I En.* 104.1 where salvation is certain, for there is a written record of their names.
4. See above, §4.4.3.
5. For a different tradition concerning the place to which the dead are assigned, see *I En.* 27.1-3. Ch. 22 describes places in which the dead await the final judgment, rather than the place of punishment itself. Cf. also *I En.* 98.3, 103.7, and in the *Book of Parables*, *I En.* 48.9, 54.1, 67.4.

4.2.5 *Angels and a Problem of Theodicy*. If angels in the *Second Dream-Vision* serve in the narrative to facilitate the communication of revelation to Enoch and the recital of Israel's history, they are much more important in relation to an acute problem of theodicy: how has it come about that Israel has suffered so much in the past, and why is it so afflicted in the present Hellenistic period?

It is a biblical theme with deep roots, that God's people suffered affliction as a direct result of sin. In the days in the Sinai wilderness, the sin of the golden calf resulted in a plague from God (Exod. 32.33-35). Judges records repeatedly how Israel did what was right in its own eyes and how God sent enemies against his people (e.g. Judg. 3.12-13; 4.1-2). However, the parade example is the Babylonian conquest and Judah's exile.¹

Now in the *Second Dream-Vision*, the correlation between rebellion against the sovereign God and inevitable punishment is still to be found, but it is largely overtaken by the concern to explain why Israel's afflictions were so great, far beyond what its sins seemed to deserve. The sin of Israel is pictured in the vision as blindness in the sheep.² Particular interest centres on God's people from the fall of Jerusalem onwards, and it is the Lord of the sheep who initiates much slaughter among them, for 'they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded' (*I En.* 89.54). The Lord handed them over to the ravages of other nations (*I En.* 89.55-56), the slaughter of a specified number of the sheep being placed in the hands of the seventy shepherds (*I En.* 89.59-60). Herein lies the novelty of the presentation in the dream-vision.

The seventy shepherds prove to be disobedient and they kill more sheep than the Lord commands. This is why Israel has suffered so grievously and to a degree beyond the measure of its sin. The blame is to be laid on the angelic shepherds God has placed over the nation. It is neither God's fault nor Israel's. Here again is the familiar theme of devastation among humans due to angelic disobedience, though the

1. E.g. Jer. 18.1-12; Ezek. 5.1-17.
2. *I En.* 89.32, 41, 54, 74; 90.26. The Egyptians, wolves in the story, also have blinded eyes (*I En.* 89.21), whereas those who fight alongside Judas Maccabaeus (*I En.* 90.6, 10) are saved in the end, and 'there was not one among them that did not see' (*I En.* 90.35).

application of it here is quite different from that in the *Book of Watchers*.¹

This scheme of the seventy angels who rule Israel for seventy periods from the Babylonian conquest till the advent of the eschaton creatively utilizes several OT ideas. Genesis 10 gives a list of seventy nations descended from Noah and Deut. 32.8 appears to take this up, stating that an angel was assigned to each ethnic group.² Israel, however, was different, Yahweh himself caring for it. Jer. 25.17-38 has no doubt also influenced our author, for there the (human) leaders of the nations which have oppressed Israel are referred to as 'shepherds' who will be punished by God (Jer. 25.34, 36).³

Another scheme is also invoked, that of the division of history into seventy periods. Biblical antecedents are found in the seventy years of Jer. 25.11, 29.10 and Daniel's seventy sevens (Dan. 9.23-27). Our author apparently sees these seventy years among the Gentiles as seventy periods in which the angels associated with the Gentile nations successively have control over Israel.⁴ A somewhat related plan occurs in the ten divisions of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 En. 93.3-10; 91.11-17) in which seven weeks bring the scheme to the author's time, while three refer to the eschatological era.⁵

1. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 252, cf. 248) identifies the shepherds with the fallen watchers: 'We shall meet these angels again in the guise of the seventy shepherds in the Book of Dreams'. This identification is incorrect, since the *Book of Dreams* speaks of both the shepherds and the fallen watchers who are portrayed as stars (1 En. 86.1, 3 and §§5.4.2.1, 8.2.2.1).

2. This assumes that בני אלים is the correct reading, as in a fragment from Qumran Cave 4 (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 254). The LXX reading of ἑσθησεν ὄρτια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀρκιθμόν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ supports the Qumran reading against the MT. It seems to depend on an original Hebrew meaning 'sons of gods'. The MT reads: יצב נבלח עמים למספר בני ישראל. See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 196 n. 2, for a brief discussion of this matter.

3. Cf. VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 164-67.

4. Cf. VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 164-67. Bietenhard (*Die himmlische Welt*, p. 109) sees Babylonian influence in the use of 'seventy', but this is unlikely to be correct, since there are such clear parallels in the OT, which is constantly being utilized by our author as he develops his book.

5. See below, §6.2.2. Milik has discussed other examples of this sort of scheme in *Books of Enoch*, pp. 248-58. Clearly, the 70 generations for which the fallen watchers are incarcerated (1 En. 10.12) is also related to this kind of schematization.

Thus, it can be stated that the seventy angels who successively have control over Israel's punishment provide the answer to the problem of theodicy regarding the excessive severity of its afflictions. Yet there is an end in sight, a glorious eschatological future in which the true people of God, those engaged in the Maccabean struggle, are to be vindicated. There will be a new temple and presumably a new Jerusalem (1 En. 90.29). This must have been of great encouragement to those engaged in the struggle against apostasy and Hellenism, for the Second Temple has been declared polluted through the ritual of the blinded sheep, a condition that existed right from its beginning (1 En. 89.73-74).¹

4.2.6. *Angels and the Holy War*. Finally, the idea of angelic help for the people of God engaged in holy war occurs in 1 En. 90.14, a concept fundamental in the *Qumran War Scroll*.² The great horn representing Judas is under severe attack from the shepherds and the ravens, eagles, vultures and kites.³ In addition, the wild sheep—apostate Jews—assist them (1 En. 90.16). Charles questions the authenticity of the reference to the shepherds' fighting (1 En. 90.13),⁴ but it is an idea consistent with the archangel's intervention on behalf of the Maccabaeans in the same context (1 En. 90.14).⁵ Here is a conception not very different from that found in the *War Scroll*, in which the battles of God's people on earth involve angelic warriors too.⁶ Indeed, the angelic participation in the *War Scroll* and in the Maccabean conflict are examples of the Israelite tradition of holy war known from the OT, and paralleled in Canaanite texts.⁷

The angel who helps Judas and his forces is probably Michael, Israel's special champion,⁸ whose intervention has been discussed

1. The picture of the Solomonic Temple is much more sympathetic, for although it is described as a low construction, the presence of the Lord of the sheep exalted it (1 En. 89.50).

2. See below, §11.5.2.

3. 1 En. 90.9, 12-13, representing the Syrians, Egyptians and Macedonians; see Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 277, for these suggested identifications.

4. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 209-10.

5. Cf. also Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 277.

6. See below, §11.5.2. Cf. §11.5.4.

7. Miller, *Divine Warrior*, pp. 142-44.

8. So Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 201.

previously.¹ While there is some uncertainty about whether there is duplication of material in 90.13-18,² the ultimate outcome of the conflict is clear, for 'all the beasts and all the birds of heaven fell away from those sheep and were submerged in the (cleft) earth, and it (the earth) covered them' (*I En.* 90.18). The pious now enter the eschatological bliss, while the wicked, both humans and angels, receive what they deserve. The conversion of the Gentiles is also included (*I En.* 90.33).

1. See above §5.3.

2. Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 209-11.

Chapter 6

THE EPISTLE OF ENOCH: 1 ENOCH 91-108

1. The Nature of 1 Enoch 91-108

By contrast with the *Book of Dreams*, which is rather unified, the writing called the *Epistle of Enoch* consists of several literary units from various dates and authors.¹ They have, however, been woven into a fairly unified whole. Two MSS which include material from the *Epistle of Enoch*, 4QEn^c and 4QEn^g, have been recovered from Qumran, and palaeographic analysis indicates that the older one, 4QEn^g, is from the middle of the first century BC.² Nevertheless, it is impossible to date the *Epistle* very precisely, due to the quite general nature of its hortatory contents.³

Textually this section is well attested, 'the best preserved of the works attributed to Enoch, after the *Book of Watchers*'.⁴ In addition to the Ethiopic texts and the Qumran fragments, substantial portions of the Greek version have survived in the Chester Beatty Papyrus.⁵ There are divergences in the Greek and Ethiopic from the Aramaic, though again, with care, it is possible to be confident that we know the content of the original sufficiently for our purposes. Milik suggests that 'the beginning of the *Epistle of Enoch* (*I En.* 91.1-10) was more

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 21) calls the whole section 'a conglomerate of different traditions'.

2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 48, 178; cf. pp. 264-65.

3. The *Apocalypse of Weeks*, now embedded within the *Epistle of Enoch*, can, however, be dated to around the time of the Maccabean resistance or just prior to the decrees of Antiochus IV in 167 BC. See Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, pp. 136-40; Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 292-93; VanderKam, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 145-49.

4. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 48.

5. See Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 8. On the two Aramaic MSS, 4QEn^c ^g, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 6.

fully developed in the original than in the Ethiopic versions'.¹ Agreement is closer from ch. 94 onwards.

The *Epistle of Enoch* is like a Jewish testament, a genre with similarities to the apocalypses. In it, Enoch gives a farewell exhortation to Methuselah and other relatives (*1 En.* 91.1-3; 92.1; 94.1; 105.1-2). He is also said to have given his epistle to Methuselah.² Whatever the actual content and extent of Enoch's letter,³ what is now called the *Epistle of Enoch*, chs. 91-108, consists mainly of final exhortations and warnings from the aged Enoch. There is a strong eschatological element. The name ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΝΩΧ appears in the Greek at the end of ch. 107, perhaps having been suggested by *1 En.* 92.1⁴ or 100.6.

Embedded within chs. 91-108 is a nature poem (*1 En.* 93.11-14) and the so-called *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 93.3-10; 91.11-17), an older source used by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*.⁵ Charles long ago perceived the serious dislocation that has occurred in the Ethiopic tradition, recognizing that *1 En.* 91.12-17 should follow ch. 93, so that the weeks into which world history is divided follow in numerical order.⁶ Collins classifies this section as an apocalypse without an otherworldly journey, but with a review of history.⁷ Chapters 106-107 describe the birth of Noah, who will provide posterity for

1. *Books of Enoch*, p. 48. He makes similar comments about *1 En.* 92.3-5, while *1 En.* 93.11-14 is 'quite different from the Ethiopic text', being preceded by a lengthy section no longer extant.

2. *1 En.* 92.1 (= 4QEn⁶ 1 ii 22): [. . . ושלח ח . . .] (as restored by Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 260). Cf. 93.1. See also Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 283.

3. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 285) thinks it may even have consisted of only *1 En.* 92.2-5, though 'it is impossible to say' just how much of what is now called the *Epistle of Enoch* was included in the original letter (*Book of Enoch*, p. 11).

4. 'Epistle', as in the text of Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 84-85, at *1 En.* 92.1 and 93.1, has to be supplied, being absent from the Ethiopic and Aramaic. See Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 283, 285.

5. Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 287-89.

6. *Book of Enoch*, pp. li, 218-19. For a recent discussion of the literary structure of *1 En.* 91.1-94.1, see Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, pp. 102-109. But note also the rejection of Dexinger's complex hypothesis concerning the literary history of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in J.C. VanderKam, 'Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93.1-10; 91.11-17)', *CBQ* 46 (1984), p. 513-18.

7. *Apocalypse*, pp. 31-32. Note, however, that a heavenly journey is apparently presupposed, in that Enoch is said to have encountered angels and to have read heavenly records.

Methuselah's line. Chapter 108 is presented as 'another writing which Enoch composed for his son Methuselah' (*1 En.* 108.1), predicting the punishment of evil-doers and the reward of those who love God.

The Qumran evidence shows that chs. 105-107 of the Ethiopic and Greek belonged with the earlier parts of the *Epistle of Enoch* in the version known at Qumran. However, ch. 108 is missing from the Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Qumran evidence. This could, of course, be due to chance. It appears that ch. 108 is a later and independent addition.¹ Yet certain ideas found in *1 Enoch* 108 are very similar to those of *1 Enoch* 91-105, and this suggests a relationship of some sort with the earlier part of the *Epistle of Enoch*.² Nevertheless, the lack of any textual attestation suggests caution in our use of this chapter as one which was known to the Qumran community. As it turns out, the angelic functions mentioned in it introduce nothing additional to those met in the rest of the *Epistle of Enoch*.

2. Form and Function in the Epistle of Enoch

2.1. 1 Enoch 91-105

The paraenesis of this long section³ does not give much emphasis to exhortation to live righteously, although there is a little of this in the introductory address to Methuselah and his relatives.⁴ This is despite the fact that Enoch announces that he will show 'the paths of righteousness and the paths of wrong-doing' (*1 En.* 91.18). This he really only does indirectly as he mentions—with another intention in mind—some of the characteristics of the sinners (*1 En.* 97.8; 99.11).

The intention is rather to offer encouragement to the righteous who suffer violence, oppression and injustice in the world. This is expressed in exhortations such as 'Fear not' (*1 En.* 102.4), 'Grieve not' (*1 En.* 102.5) and 'Be of good courage' (*1 En.* 104.2). The basis on which they are made is that future blessing for the righteous is

1. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 269; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 323.

2. For example, there are the familiar themes of heavenly records (*1 En.* 108.3; cf. 103.2), reward for the righteous (*1 En.* 108.10-13; cf. 103.3-4), their abuse by the wicked (*1 En.* 108.10; cf. 99.15), and the contrast between the rich and the poor (*1 En.* 108.8; cf. 103.5-6).

3. The *Apocalypse of Weeks* and the *Nature Poem* are treated below, §§6.2.2, 6.3.2.2.

4. E.g. *1 En.* 91.3, 4, 19; cf. 94.1-4; 104.9.

guaranteed by God. In the present life, righteousness does not seem to bring any benefits for them, while sinners not only prosper but gloat as well. Thus the author reminds the righteous of the injustice they have suffered (*1 En.* 103.9-11) and assures them of future blessing in heaven (*1 En.* 104.1-2).¹ The other side of the coin is that the final judgment will bring retribution to the wicked. The fate awaiting the sinners is expressed in numerous passages (e.g. *1 En.* 100.7, 9-10). Nickelsburg has drawn attention to the literary forms in this part of *1 Enoch*,² identifying the major ones as 'woes'³ and 'exhortations',⁴ together with descriptions of the future judgment and events leading up to it.⁵

The basic style of these chapters is direct address, in keeping with the formal setting of Enoch's discourse to Methuselah and his relatives (*1 En.* 91.1-2). However, most of Enoch's speech directly addresses sinners.⁶ This is perhaps surprising, given that formally his hearers are Methuselah and other relatives. But according to *1 En.* 92.1, what he has to say is for later generations as well, for all 'who observe uprightness and peace'. How much of this material is the original work of the editor of the document as we have it is unclear, but he at least borrowed the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, which is an independent unit now integrated into the *Epistle of Enoch*.⁷

One of the features of the paraenetic sections is that there are numerous examples of abrupt transition from direct address of the

1. This involves the continued existence of the spirit but not a resurrection of the body. Cf. R.H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity: A Critical History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963; repr. of 2nd edn, 1913), p. 295. See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS, 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 114-30, for a detailed analysis of *1 En.* 102.4-104.8.

2. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'The Apocalyptic Message of *1 Enoch* 92-105', *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 309-28.

3. *1 En.* 94.6-8; 95.4-7; 96.4-8; 97.7-10; 98.9, 11-16; 99.1-2, 11-16; 100.7-9; 103.5-8. For a discussion of the 'woes' as constituting a wisdom element, see R.A. Coughenour, 'The Woe Oracles in Ethiopic Enoch', *JSJ* 9 (1978), pp. 192-97.

4. *1 En.* 92.2; 95.3; 96.3; 102.4, 5; 104.2, 4, 6.

5. E.g. *1 En.* 97.3-6; 99.3-5; 100.1-3, 4-6, 10-13; 102.1-3.

6. E.g. *1 En.* 94.8-10; 95.4-7; 96.5-8; 97.2-4; 99.1-2; 104.7-9.

7. Cf. Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 32.

sinners to direct address of the afflicted righteous, and vice versa.¹ Both groups are thought of as being present to hear the woes and exhortations. Nickelsburg has rightly argued that the *Epistle of Enoch* was intended to urge the righteous to stand firm in the midst of oppression.² Nevertheless, given the examples of direct address to the sinners, the purpose must also be seen to include their exhortation, presumably with a view to their repentance.³

Apocalyptic eschatology is fundamental to this whole section, which does, of course, presuppose revelation earlier derived from a heavenly vision, from the words of the holy ones and the heavenly tablets (*1 En.* 93.2). The fact that the *Epistle* is essentially hortatory means that at a literary level it is not to be regarded as an apocalypse, though it clearly has affinities with formal apocalypses.⁴

Apocalyptic eschatology is so important in the *Epistle* because it answers the dilemma the righteous face at the hands of their wealthy oppressors. Economic exploitation is a major factor in defining the two classes, the wealthy sinners and the righteous poor,⁵ a distinction with a biblical background.⁶ Thus, the righteous have suffered but they will find healing and rest when the wicked are judged (*1 En.* 96.3, 8). They will share the joy of the heavenly angels (*1 En.* 104.4)⁷ and receive manifold recompense for their labours, for

1. E.g. *1 En.* 95.2, 3; 96.3, 4; 97.1, 2; 98.1; 99.2, 3; 100.4, 5; 103.8, 9; 104.6, 7.

2. 'Apocalyptic Message', pp. 325-26.

3. This has been subsequently recognized by G.W.E. Nickelsburg ('The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature', in *Essays in Honour of Yigael Yadin* [ed. G. Vermes; Oxford: Allanheld, 1983], p. 344).

4. Cf. Collins, *Apocalypse*, p. 45.

5. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 49.

6. In certain Psalms (e.g. 10, 12, 14, 37, 40, 41, 52, 70, 72, 74) 'rich' and 'poor' designate the wicked and the godly respectively. The poor are those loyal to Yahweh and his covenant. Cf. Amos 8.4-6.

7. The verse is omitted by the Chester Beatty Papyrus, but there seems to be no reason to regard it as an Ethiopic interpolation. Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, I, pp. 241-42, n. on v. 5; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 317. The Chester Beatty Papyrus appears to have many omissions compared to the Ethiopic. For an analysis, see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104: A Study of the Greek and Ethiopic Texts', in *Armenian and Biblical Studies* (ed. M.E. Stone; Sion Supplement, 1; Jerusalem: St James Press, 1976), pp. 112-35. He discusses *1 En.* 104.3-5 on pp. 130-33.

their spirits will live on in joy (*1 En.* 103.3-4).¹ They will also wreak revenge on the wicked (*1 En.* 95.3; 96.1; 98.12).²

A similar sort of picture of the overthrow of the wicked is also found in *1 En.* 100.2-3, where the image is of horses wading up to their breasts in the blood of sinners, though in this case it is the sinners who are destroying one another. The wicked ultimately face the great judgment, when the angels will rejoice at their destruction (*1 En.* 97.2). They will perish in fire, with all their ill-gotten possessions (*1 En.* 98.3), accursed for ever (*1 En.* 102.3), 'afflicted in great tribulation, and in darkness and in the toils of death and in a blazing fire' (*1 En.* 103.8).

There will thus be a complete reversal of the fortunes of the righteous. Far beyond the measure of suffering they have experienced on earth (*1 En.* 103.2), they will eventually experience blessing in the heavenly realm, transcending death and sharing the companionship of the angels (*1 En.* 103.3-4; 104.6).³

In summary, then, these chapters of the *Epistle of Enoch* aim to encourage the righteous who suffer violence and oppression at the hands of sinners. There does not seem to be any one particular group meant by 'the sinners', except that they have in common their abuse of the righteous.⁴ The basis of the encouragement offered to the righteous lies in the certainty and effectiveness of the final judgment and the glorious future God will grant them.

2.2. The Apocalypse of Weeks: *1 Enoch* 93.3-10; 91.11-15

Although the *Apocalypse of Weeks* forms a separate literary entity within the *Epistle of Enoch*,⁵ its present setting is appropriate enough, for there is a general kinship of ideas between the *Apocalypse* and the rest of the *Epistle of Enoch*. It represents a variation on the

1. The general idea is clear, despite the textual problems. See Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104', p. 125.

2. These appear to be references to events in the Maccabean conflict. Cf. the Eighth Week of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 91.12) and also *1 En.* 90.19.

3. The textual status of *1 En.* 104.6 will be discussed below, §6.3.3.5. Collins has identified the transcendence of death as the essential element in apocalyptic eschatology ('Apocalyptic Eschatology', pp. 30-37). In the *Epistle of Enoch*, the focus is on personal transcendence of death, rather than on the future of the nation.

4. Cf. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, p. 126.

5. See above, §6.1.

theme of the division of world history into periods, a theme already encountered in the *Book of Dreams* and in the imprisonment for seventy generations of the fallen watchers (*1 En.* 10.11-12).¹

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* envisages history divided into seven weeks with the innovation that the eschatological era is divided into three weeks. Enoch was 'born the seventh in the First Week' (*1 En.* 93.3), following Genesis 5. The Deluge occurs in the Second Week, a time of falsehood and violence (*1 En.* 93.4). The fall of the watchers is not mentioned, though their judgment is specified for the Tenth Week (*1 En.* 91.15). The transition to the eschatological era comes at the close of the Seventh Week when the elect are said to be chosen (*1 En.* 93.10).² There have been various attempts to identify the elect. Thorndike has suggested that the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is a secret history of the Qumran sect, rather than a history of Israel down to Maccabean times,³ but his arguments run counter to what seems to be clearly a *vaticinia ex eventu* account of Israel's history. Moreover, as Black observes, the Eighth Week tells of a sword to be given to the righteous for judgment on the wicked 'and there is a large measure of agreement that it refers to events in the Maccabean period, more specifically to the struggle for freedom under the Maccabees'.⁴

The eschatological period, ushered in by the sword given to the righteous (*1 En.* 91.12), will see 'the royal House of the Great One' built in splendour (*1 En.* 91.13), a new temple. This will be followed by a universal judgment in the Ninth Week, with judgment on all who work iniquity and a salvation extending to people of all nations (*1 En.* 91.14). In the Tenth Week, there will be judgment on 'the watchers of heaven' (*1 En.* 91.15). There will be a new heaven and

1. Milik postulates the existence of a *Book of Periods* (*Books of Enoch*, pp. 251-52), based on his study of 4Q180 1 and 4Q181 2, though the actual existence of such a book seems unproven. 4Q180 1 1 begins: פשר על הקצים אשר עשה אל. Yet the use of פשר need not imply the existence of an actual book. The word occurs again in 4Q180 1 7 concerning Azazel and other angels, but it appears to be just a theme that is being commented upon, not a book as such. See below, §13.5.1, for a discussion of 4Q180 and 4Q181.

2. Cf. *1 En.* 10.16; 93.5, for 'the eternal plant of righteousness', and above §2.2.6, and below §8.3.2.

3. J.P. Thorndike, 'The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Qumran Sect', *RevQ* 3 (1961), pp. 163-84.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 293.

the author thinks of a new cosmic realm suited to the eschatological salvation envisaged.¹ The ultimate blessing will be timeless, weeks without number, and characterized by righteousness with no intrusion of sin (*I En.* 91.17).

Thus the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is related in motivation to the exhortations of the *Epistle* proper. Both are concerned to show that ultimately the righteous will be blessed and sinners judged. History is far from being a random process in the midst of which the righteous seek to serve God, only to be ultimately deceived. On the contrary, it moves according to the plan of God. While the *Apocalypse of Weeks* does not indicate when it was revealed, it deals with matters which frequently come to Enoch by revelation in these traditions. *I En.* 93.1 specifically links this section with the seer. Here then, in different form is another attempt to encourage the righteous in their struggle for God and against evil.

2.3. 1 Enoch 106–108

Although chs. 106–107 have been shown by the Qumran evidence to belong to the *Epistle of Enoch*,² their content is quite different from the main part of it, and they are generally regarded as originally having belonged to some other work, known hypothetically as a *Book of Noah*. However, as VanderKam has argued, in their present setting they form 'a literary *inclusio*', since 'the Epistle begins and ends' with Enoch communicating revelation to his son Methuselah.³ They deal with the birth of Noah and involve Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch and Noah. Lamech is frightened because Noah is 'a strange son' and 'resembles the children of the angels of heaven' (*I En.* 106.5). He asks Methuselah to go to Enoch, whose 'dwelling place is amongst the angels' (*I En.* 106.7) and this Methuselah does. The concern of Lamech, that the child is not really his (*I En.* 106.6, 12), parallels 1QapGen 2–5, as does this whole chapter.⁴ Enoch tells Methuselah that

1. On this theme, see Black, 'New Creation', p. 17. The transformation of the earth is one way in which conditions suitable for the future bliss of the saved are envisaged in apocalyptic thought. Another is to think of the righteous as dwelling in heaven. Cf. Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 292.

2. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 206–207; Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 318.

3. *Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 174–75.

4. The theme of Noah's birth is also found in 1Q19, which, according to Fitzmyer (*Genesis Apocryphon*, p. 187), 'may belong to a version of *Enoch* slightly different

Noah really is Lamech's son, and that Noah and his three sons will be saved when the rest of humankind perishes and the earth is cleansed of corruption. The cause of this destruction is attributed to the fall of the angels and the birth of the giants.¹ Enoch's basis of authority for what he tells Methuselah is that he knows the heavenly mysteries, having been shown them by the angels (*I En.* 106.19). Chapter 107 briefly says that while evil will continue, eventually blessings will replace injustice. Lamech is then to be informed of these things by Methuselah.

Chapter 108 identified itself as 'another writing of Enoch', intended for Methuselah and for those who will come after him and 'keep the law in the last days' (*I En.* 108.1). Enoch recounts what sort of fate awaits the sinners (*I En.* 108.3–7) and the blessed future ahead for those who love God (*I En.* 108.8, 10). Such themes are familiar ones in the Enochic books.

3. The Roles of Angels in 1 Enoch 91–108²

3.1. Angels in the Apocalypse of Weeks

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* provides in very brief compass the history of Israel from the birth of Enoch to the felicity of the righteous in the new heaven. Its style is very succinct, and it does not state explicitly that revelation has been given (though it is presupposed). In this way, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* differs markedly from a work such as the *Astronomical Book* (*I En.* 72–82). It does not dwell on how the sinners get to their place of punishment, saying simply that they 'will be cast' into it (*I En.* 91.14). No angels are said to be involved in gathering them, in opening heavenly records, or in throwing them into a fiery place of retribution.

Given the summary style of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the almost total absence of the mention of angels is understandable. They are

from that preserved in Ethiopic, or to a slightly different account of the same story'. A 4Q fragment mentioned by Milik (*Ten Years*, p. 35) 'even gives the baby's weight'.

1. *I En.* 106.13–17. There are problems with the text here as discussed by Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 322) and Knibb (*Ethiopic Book*, II, pp. 245–47), but they do not materially affect our study.

2. The *Apocalypse of Weeks* and ch. 108 will be considered before the *Epistle of Enoch* proper.

involved only at two points. The first occurs in *I En.* 93.6, describing the close of the Fourth Week, and mentions angels as righteous and holy, if the text of Ryl is followed.¹ While it is true that the term 'righteous ones' is not used of angels elsewhere in the Enochic books, it is not an inappropriate one in this context. For the fallen watchers, mentioned in the Tenth Week (*I En.* 91.15), are then to be contrasted with these angels who have not sinned. In any case, 'holy ones' here certainly refers to angels which Black takes to be 'the angels in the Sinai Theophany (Deut. 33.2)'. He applies 'righteousness' to the Sinai Law which is mentioned in the next part of the verse.² However, it may not be correct to connect the Sinai Theophany (Deut. 33.2) with *I En.* 93.6. For Weeks Three to Eight the text refers to the end of the week in each case and associates a significant event or character with it (*I En.* 93.5, 6, 7, 8, 10; 91.13).³ If only a single event is in mind in *I En.* 93.6, it will be the giving of the Law, though there may be a conflation of events. If the 'vision of holy ones' does refer to the theophany of Deut. 33.2, which alludes to God's dealings with Israel following the Law-giving, then it is out of chronological order, preceding the Law-giving of *I En.* 93.6. Charles suggests that the visions refer to 'the divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt', which, of course, did occur prior to the giving of the Law.⁴ Yet, as DEXINGER notes, it is a departure from biblical terminology to describe the wonders done in Egypt as visions. He favours seeing a reference here to the giving of the Law at Sinai.⁵

Yet while this seems to be correct, does *I En.* 93.6 refer to the angelic mediation of the Torah, an idea usually seen as a later

1. Our only witnesses here are the Ethiopic versions. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 290) follows Charles's MS g (BM 485), which reads, *rā'eya qeddūsān waṣedqaytra'* ay ('a vision of holy ones and of righteousness shall be revealed'). Ryl has *rā'yāta qeddūsān waṣādeqān* ('visions of holy and righteous ones'). Isaac ('1 Enoch'), using the MS Tana 9, translated with 'visions of the old and righteous ones', which does not make sense in a context which deals with the giving of the Law. DEXINGER (*Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, p. 113) accepts the reading of Ryl and certain other MSS since it is the more difficult one.

2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 290.

3. Cf. VanderKam, 'Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks', pp. 510-20.

4. *Book of Enoch*, p. 230.

5. *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, pp. 126-28.

rabbinical development?¹ The earliest extra-biblical reference is in Josephus (*Ant.* 15.5.3 §136), if his ἄγγελοι are angels and not human messengers, such as prophets. He has Herod say, 'We have learned the noblest of our doctrines and the holiest of our laws through angels sent from God'.² The earliest references that clearly indicate the mediation of the Law by angels are in the NT (Gal. 3.19; Acts 7.53; Heb. 2.2), much later than the Enochic text.³ On the evidence, then, we probably should not think of angelic mediation of the Torah in *I En.* 93.6.

To sum up, angels are described as 'holy ones' and 'righteous', probably in contrast to the fallen watchers who are judged and condemned in the Tenth Week. The author may be conflating the giving of the Law and the reference to angels in the Sinai Theophany of Deut. 33.2. Alternatively, though less likely, there may be here our earliest reference to angelic involvement in the mediation of the Torah. A variation on this view—though there is no specific evidence to support it—is that angels are considered to have been associated with God when he gave the Law, though not as the mediators of it.⁴

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* also mentions angels in connection with 'the great judgment' in the seventh part of the Tenth Week (*I En.* 91.15), a judgment which 'will be exacted from all the watchers of heaven', a translation largely dependent on the Ethiopic, since 4QEn^a 1 iv 22-23 is damaged. However, the Ethiopic appears to agree quite well with the Aramaic as we have it. Once again, we have the familiar Enochic theme of judgment of the fallen watchers,⁵ and once again the

1. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 290.

2. Cf. R. Marcus and A. Wikgren (eds.), *Josephus: With an English Translation in Nine Volumes. VIII. Jewish Antiquities, Books 15-17* (London: Heinemann, 1963), pp. 66-67, who take the reference to be to prophets or priests.

3. On angelic mediation of the Law, see F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 176-78.

4. The idea that God is constantly surrounded by holy angels has been discussed above, §§2.1.1, 2.3.2.

5. 'All the watchers of heaven' will refer to all who have fallen. There are several variants for this verse. For the details, see Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, I, p. 345; II, p. 220 and DEXINGER, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, p. 115. The effect on the general idea of the verse is negligible for our purposes. Note that *teguhān* ('watchers') has been entered in Appendix B (which is based on the text of Ryl) for this verse, while *malā'ekt* ('angels') is not included, since it is absent from Ryl.

fact that there will be judgment of the watchers helps convey the ideas of order and justice. As the weeks of history move inexorably to the time of bliss for the righteous, so too are the sinful angels dealt with. The deterministic note in the *Apocalypse*, with its final judgment, and the promise of the new heaven offer great assurance to the righteous.

3.2. Angels in 1 Enoch 108

Several familiar angelic roles are encountered in this chapter. *1 En.* 108.3 tells how the evildoers will have their names 'blotted out of the Book of Life and out of the books of the holy ones and their seed shall be destroyed for ever'. Once again, there are significantly different textual variants, though there is quite strong evidence from the Ethiopic to support Black's rendering.¹ We take 'holy ones' to represent the original. Thus the angels maintain the heavenly records of the living, but sinners will perish. The idea of angelic records is familiar from the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 89.61-64, 70-71, 76-77; 90.14, 20), the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 81.1-2), the *Epistle of Enoch* proper (where 'the tablets of heaven' is parallel to 'the book(s) of the holy ones'; *1 En.* 103.2),² and also *1 En.* 106.19. The idea of angelic records is a well-attested motif in these Enochic writings and is certainly appropriate here in *1 En.* 108.3. The records underline the idea that all the deeds of humans are known, and that at the final judgment absolute justice will be executed, and the righteous will be vindicated.

An *angelus interpres* appears in 108.5. Enoch asks 'one of the holy angels' with him about the place of punishment for 'the spirits of sinners and blasphemers' and 'those who pervert everything which the Lord has spoken through the mouths of the prophets' (*1 En.* 108.6).

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 101) follows BM 485a: 'emmasħafā heywat wa' emmasħafēta qeddusāt ('from the Book of Life and from the books of the holy ones'). There are no Greek or Aramaic witnesses here. Charles (*Book of Enoch*, p. 269) and *Ethiopic Version*, p. 223) preferred a conflate text: 'emmasħafā heywat wamasħefē qeddusān ('from the Book of Life and from the holy books'). Ryl is the same as BM 485a, except that it omits 'from the Book of Life'. BM 485 reads: 'emmasħafā heywat wa' emmasħafā qeddus ('from the Book of Life and from the Book of the Holy One' or God). Of the variants cited by Knibb (*Ethiopic Book*, I, p. 418), only two—Tana 9 (fifteenth century AD), which has 'holy books', and BM 485 (early sixteenth century AD), noted above—lack 'holy ones'. 'Holy ones' appears to be the correct reading.

2. On this reading, see below, §6.3.3.3.

6. The Epistle of Enoch

The phrase 'one of the holy angels who was with me' or the like is particularly frequent in the account of Enoch's journeys (chs. 17-36).¹

Angels are mentioned in a novel way in *1 En.* 108.7: 'For some of them are to be written and inscribed above in heaven, in order that the angels... may know what will happen' to various types of people. What is to be written down, and by whom, remains unclear,² although the general idea is that angels will read the records and so be informed of the fate of sinners and the rewards of the righteous. The text does not say what benefit the angels derive from reading these records. It is possible that there is a warning intended for them so that they will not rebel. This would also apply to the readers. In addition, the righteous will be encouraged by the certainty both of the judgment of the wicked and of the blessings ahead for them.

3.3. Angels in the Rest of the Epistle of Enoch

Angelic roles in this section are related to the theme of judgment and retribution for wrong-doers and promised blessings for the righteous. Apocalyptic eschatology determines both what is said in the *Epistle of Enoch* in general, and the place of angels in particular.

3.3.1. *Fallen Angels*. The sin of the fallen watchers and their judgment receives no attention at all, apart from chs. 106-107.³ This is understandable, for the focus of interest is upon people in their wickedness and the situation of the righteous. However, there is another reason why the fall of the watchers is absent. An apparently contrary view of the genesis of sin in the world is presented. There are textual problems with the passage in question, *1 En.* 98.4-5, though these need not delay us since the general thrust is clear. Sin is the direct result of humanity's doing and was not brought into the world from the outside.⁴ Nickelsburg calls this passage 'an anti-deterministic argument',⁵ and it stands in strong contrast to the view in the *Book of Watchers*, that sin has been introduced into the world

1. The importance of such angelic guides has been discussed above, §3.4.

2. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 324.

3. Cf. the discussion earlier in this chapter on *1 En.* 106, §6.2.3.

4. For the textual issues, see Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104', pp. 113-117.

5. 'Enoch 97-104', p. 115.

by angels who cohabited with women and taught illicit secrets. However, the final editor was well aware of the myth of the angelic marriages with women, and at least was prepared to reproduce his source in chs. 106–107, which deal with the birth of Noah. For there, Lamech's concern is that Noah might not really be his son but have been conceived instead through an angel (*1 En.* 106.5-6), in view of his strangeness. He resembles 'the children of the angels of heaven' (*1 En.* 106.5), and the narrative assumes unselfconsciously that this in itself is a feasible thing to have happened. Lamech asks his father, Methuselah, to go to Enoch whose 'dwelling-place is amongst the angels' (*1 En.* 106.7). Such a statement also corresponds to the traditions in the *Book of Watchers*. The myth of the fallen angels is quite explicit in *1 En.* 106.13-14, 17a.¹ Enoch reports the angels' fall that occurred in the days of his father Jared, their marriages and the birth of the giants. The destruction of the world by the Deluge means that only Noah and his three sons will survive.

Just as the introduction of sin into the world is conceived quite differently in chs. 106–107 compared to chs. 91–105, so too is the eschatological future. Here, injustice will 'cease from off the earth' (*1 En.* 107.1), whereas elsewhere the *Epistle of Enoch* envisages a heavenly existence.² Chapters 106–107 show various features that are found in apocalypses. Thus Enoch is residing at the ends of the earth with the angels (*1 En.* 106.7-8) and declares that he knows the future because the holy ones or angels have told him (*1 En.* 106.19). He also has access to the heavenly tablets (*1 En.* 106.19).

3.2.2. *Revelation Mediated by Angels.* Once again, angels are involved in the revelation of heavenly secrets to Enoch, this time so that he can recount them to Methuselah.³ He says in *1 En.* 93.2,

1. I follow here the textual rearrangement of Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 100, cf. pp. 321-22, and *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 44.

2. E.g. *1 En.* 104.2, 6; cf. 91.16, in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*. Future blessing on earth is anticipated in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 10.17-22), as is probably the case in the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 90.26-29). The *Astronomical Book* does not comment on a place of future existence for the blessed.

3. Cf. *1 En.* 81.5-6.

I, Enoch, was shown in a heavenly vision,
And from the words of the watchers and holy ones I came to know
everything,

And from *the tablets* of heaven I read and understood everything.¹

When the displaced portion of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En.* 91.11-17) is restored to its original position following *1 En.* 93.10, so that the weeks follow in order, and the *Apocalypse* as a whole is separated from the material now around it in the Ethiopic, *1 En.* 93.2 is followed by *1 En.* 93.11. *1 En.* 93.11-14 forms a short nature poem. One of the Aramaic fragments, 4QEn^a 1 v, shows that in the Aramaic, *1 En.* 93.14 leads straight on to *1 En.* 94.1,² which marks the commencement of the series of woes and exhortations which characterize the *Epistle of Enoch*. In its present setting, this once separate nature pericope³ now serves to enhance the authority of Enoch who has seen the heavenly vision (*1 En.* 93.2). He alone among humans has the answers to the wisdom-related questions posed in the poem, such things as being able to hear the voice of God, see his spirit, know the length and breadth of the earth and the number of the stars.⁴ In its setting in the Aramaic version, it shows the knowledge that Enoch has, and serves as an introduction to *1 Enoch* 94, which begins, 'And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein...' Revelation is fundamental in the *Epistle of Enoch*. Enoch has learned it from the angels and the heavenly tablets, and passes it on to his relatives.

3.3.3. *The Recording Role of Angels.* Yet another familiar role of angels is that of keeping heavenly records as they relate to the future judgment of the wicked and the vindication of the righteous. There are several examples of this function in the *Epistle of Enoch*. Thus sinners will be unable to claim there is insufficient evidence at the final assize to convict them, for 'every one of (their) sins will be written down day by day' (*1 En.* 104.7; cf. 98.6-8). A complete account of the sinners' iniquities will be read out before God (*1 En.* 97.6). While

1. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 285) queries the authenticity of 'tablets' (hence the italics), but the Ethiopic *ṣafṣafa* is well attested.

2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 270.

3. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 286.

4. Stone ('Lists', pp. 423-26) points to similar items in other apocalyptic literature.

angels are not actually mentioned in these verses, it is from the angels that God will enquire about the deeds of the sinners at the judgment, and in view of their literary activity on behalf of the righteous, it is reasonable to understand them as the authors of these records also.

Concerning the spirits of the righteous dead, the angels write holy books telling of their future felicity (*I En.* 103.2, 4).¹ The angels thus serve the author as a means of communicating his apocalyptic eschatology, which involves the transcendence of death by the righteous.² The much-afflicted righteous can take heart, for a glorious future awaits them. The angels remember them before God in heaven and their names have been recorded (*I En.* 104.1). It is no accident that the next verse begins, 'Be of good courage. . .' (*I En.* 104.2).

This recording function of angels is thus of vital importance within the message of the *Epistle of Enoch*. The fact that the details are recorded suggests that the account will be accurate. Moreover, the records are written day by day (*I En.* 98.8; 104.7), suggesting completeness. Closely linked with this role of angels is their function as intermediaries between God and humankind. It is not implied that God's knowledge is limited, as if he needed a written record so he will not be forgetful or ignorant. Rather, the thought is one of bringing reassurance to the beleaguered righteous in terms they can readily understand. God's purpose will be fulfilled, they will be blessed abundantly, and their oppressors will receive what they deserve.

3.3.4. *Angels and the Final Judgment.* The work of recording the deeds of human beings is preparatory to the final assize, when the angels will bring the petitions of the righteous against the wicked 'before the most High to remind him' (*I En.* 99.3). Here is yet another way of assuring the righteous that their cause will in no way be overlooked. Once again, no demeaning of God's ability is implied. The image is of the law-court, with evidence being presented to the judge (cf. *I En.* 100.10). At the commencement of the final judgment,

1. Once again, as with *I En.* 108.3, there is some uncertainty about whether the writings here are associated with 'the holy ones'. Ryl has: *ṣehfata qeddusān* ('the writing of the holy ones'), though G reads: τὴν γραφὴν ἀναγκαίαν. Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 313) argues that 'the book(s) of the holy ones' provides a better parallel to 'the tablets of heaven' than the reading of Berl ('the holy books', as followed by Charles, *Ethiopic Version*, p. 213). I follow Black here.

2. Cf. Collins, 'Apocalyptic Eschatology', pp. 30-37.

the angels will search out all who have helped the oppressors of the righteous, 'and will gather together into the one place all who were aiding and abetting wrong-doing' (*I En.* 100.4).¹

The complementary activity on the part of the angels will be to guard 'the righteous and holy' (*I En.* 100.5). Charles may be right in interpreting this verse in relation to the deceased righteous between death and the judgment,² though he is no doubt influenced by the reference he saw to the incarcerated watchers in the previous verse and the promptuaries described in the *Book of Watchers* (*I En.* 22). The clause, 'And thereafter the pious will sleep a pleasant sleep' has eschatological significance and 'there is certainly more intended than simply the quiet rest of the righteous watched by their guardian angels in this life'.³ In the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*I En.* 91.17b) the righteous dead are mentioned as waking from sleep.⁴ It could be, in the light of v. 4, that v. 5 is saying that angels will meticulously guard the righteous at the time of the great judgment, and that they need have no fear.⁵ Whatever the author's exact meaning, it is clear that the holy angels will protect the righteous, whereas the wicked who have assisted wrong-doing will be gathered by the angels to face judgment.

The role of angels as witnesses for the prosecution has already been discussed. They bring the complaints of the righteous about the wicked before God (*I En.* 99.3), who will enquire from the angels concerning the deeds of the wicked (*I En.* 100.10). They also serve as recorders of the sinners' actions (98.6-8; 104.7; cf. *I En.* 97.6). It is very likely, too, that angels of punishment⁶ are referred to in

1. This seems to be the correct sense here, though Ethiopic I texts have this verse referring to the fallen watchers. Thus Charles (*Ethiopic Version*, p. 209) translates: 'and they will gather in one place all those who brought down sin'. Because the interest right throughout the *Epistle of Enoch* proper is in the righteous and their human oppressors, it will be correct to regard the reference to the watchers as arising from 'an Eth(iopic) corruption, probably influenced by the Enochic idea of the fallen angels' (Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104', p. 97). But see also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 52.

2. *Book of Enoch*, p. 249.

3. Black, *Books of Enoch*, p. 307.

4. For the textual problems here, see Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 294-95.

5. There are some textual variants here. See Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104', pp. 97-98.

6. Cf. *I En.* 100.4. These angels are important in the *Book of Parables*, *I En.* 53.3; 56.1; 62.11; 63.1; 66.1. See also Ps. 78.49 and the discussion on מלאכי חבל in 1QS 4.12 below, §9.3.1.

I En. 102.3a: 'And the angels shall execute what has been commanded them'.¹ The context is one of fearsome judgment, with the sinners accursed for ever and having no peace. In this setting, the angels, as ministers of God, are obedient in executing some aspect of the judgment, whether a preliminary matter, like gathering the guilty (*I En.* 100.4) or the actual implementation of the sentence.

Mention has also been made of how the angels have written down the good things planned for the righteous (*I En.* 103.2-4). Moreover, the angels who act as witnesses for the prosecution also serve as counsel for the defence, in the sense that they remember the righteous before God for good and have recorded their names in his presence (*I En.* 104.1).

All of this further contributes to the encouragement offered to the righteous. The angels play a vital role in the process of judgment, which will result in the condemnation and punishment of the wicked and the vindication and bliss of the righteous. Life might not seem to justify the stand of the righteous for God at the moment, since they suffer oppression and violence in a topsy-turvy world. But all will be wonderfully reversed in the eschaton.

3.3.5. *Angels and the Future Bliss.* Finally, we notice a passage that relates the future bliss of the righteous to the heavenly angels. The righteous can take heart because eventually they will 'have great joy as the angels of heaven' (*I En.* 104.4) who have joy, no doubt because they are in the presence of God. Therefore the righteous should not abandon hope but rather take heart.² Chapter 104 portrays the future blessing of the righteous as a heavenly existence comparable to the new cosmic realm anticipated in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*I En.* 91.15-16). The doors of heaven will be opened to them (*I En.* 104.2). They

1. There is evident confusion in the texts. For example, Knibb renders Ryl thus: 'And all the angels will carry out their commands and will seek to hide before the one who is great in glory, and the children of the earth will tremble and shake' (*Ethiopic Book*, II, p. 237). Black has rearranged *I En.* 102.3 in the light of both the Ethiopic and the Greek witnesses, and has the heavenly bodies hiding in fear. Isaac's Tana 9 has human beings seeking to hide.

2. *I En.* 104.4 is omitted by the Chester Beatty Papyrus. Although possibly an interpolation in the Ethiopic texts, it is well attested, and given the apparently numerous omissions from the Chester Beatty Papyrus it should probably be accepted as part of the text. See Nickelsburg, 'Enoch 97-104', pp. 130-33.

are exhorted not to weaken in their resolve to be righteous (*I En.* 104.5-6), nor to be afraid as they see sinners prosper. Rather than become companions of sinners, they should keep far away from evil and realize that they will 'become companions of the angels of heaven' (*I En.* 104.6). The Chester Beatty Papyrus omits this last thought, concluding with the exhortation to keep clear of the evil deeds of sinners. Nickelsburg has argued convincingly for its authenticity, pointing to structures parallel to the longer form of 104.6 elsewhere in the *Epistle of Enoch*.¹ This idea of companionship with the angels of heaven is one which is found in certain Qumran sectarian writings.²

However, this passage does not imply that the righteous will actually be transformed into angels. It is comparison that is expressed. In *I En.* 104.4, they will have joy 'as the angels of heaven' while *I En.* 104.6 says, 'you shall become associates of the host of heaven' (*laharrā samāy hallawakkemu sutiūfāna*).

1. 'Enoch 97-104', p. 133.

2. E.g. see below on IQS 11.5-9 (§8.3.2); CD 15.15-17 (§9.3.4); IQM 7.6 (§11.5.3); IQH 6.12-13 (§10.4.2); IQH 11.13 (§10.5.1); 4Q181 1 1-6 (§13.5.2.2); IQSa 2.8-9 (§13.7.2).

Part II

QUMRAN SECTARIAN WRITINGS

Chapter 7

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY:
QUMRAN SECTARIAN LITERATURE1. *The Discovery of the Scrolls from the Dead Sea Region*

The Essene community which had established itself on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea by some time around the middle of the second century BC deposited numerous documents in the caves of the Qumran area.¹ Over 600 scrolls or fragmentary texts have been recovered from eleven different caves to date. Further discoveries have been made in three other areas: at Masada, at Khirbet Mird (between Bethlehem and Qumran), and from wadis south of Qumran (Murabb'at, Seiyal, Khabra and Mahras).² However, most of the material from these areas comes from the period AD 74–135, between the First and Second Jewish Revolts against Rome,³ and so is irrelevant to this study of the Qumran community. Nothing that appears to derive from the Qumran Essenes has been identified from these caves, with the exception of a fragment of the *Sabbath Shirot* found at Masada.⁴

2. *The Sectarian Literature from Qumran*

The documents recovered from Khirbet Qumran can be divided into two categories.⁵ The first includes those produced by the sect

1. On this identification, see above, §1.1.

2. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years', *TD* 29 (1981), pp. 353-54.

3. Fitzmyer, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament', p. 354.

4. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBLBS, 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, rev. edn, 1990), p. 78.

5. A convenient listing of published texts is provided in Fitzmyer, *Major Publications*, pp. 11-76.

members and referred to as Qumran literature. The second comprises material which was used, and perhaps copied by the sect, but not actually composed by its members. These documents include both canonical and non-canonical writings.

For some writings there is ready agreement that they have originated within the community itself. Dimant expresses the commonly held view regarding the sectarian literature from Qumran, saying,

The best-preserved and most typical works in this category are the *Rule of the Community*, the *Damascus Covenant*, the *Thanksgiving Psalms* (*Hodayot*), the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (*War Scroll*) and the biblical commentaries known as *Pesharim*.¹

They are recognizably sectarian in that they present a largely consistent picture in which the writers and their group think of themselves as separate from the rest of humankind, including Judaism in general and the Jerusalem expression of it in particular. Thus, the *Rule of the Community* discusses how an outsider can enter the sect,² and along with the *Damascus Covenant*, explains how life should be regulated. The writings often presuppose the use of a 364-day calendar, in contrast to the lunisolar one apparently followed in Jerusalem.³ Certain eschatological views, such as the idea that the sect lived on the edge of the coming period when its enemies would be dealt a final blow, are also a unifying feature, as is an identifiable style of biblical exegesis. While there are important variations from document to document (and even within the one writing) the overall unity of the thought-world is impressive.⁴ It is intended, then, to consider the following

1. 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 487-88.

2. Smith ('Dead Sea Sect', p. 358) suggests that the characteristic mark of a sect is the need for conversion in order to enter the group.

3. See above, §4.3.2.

4. E. Tov ('The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls', *Textus* 13 [1986], pp. 31-57) has also sought to differentiate, on the basis of orthography and language, the sectarian writings from non-sectarian documents. His work is not convincing, and it is not proposed to base any evaluation of the sectarian or non-sectarian character of a writing on his criteria. E.g. he argues that the Qumran texts show two general types of spelling, plene and defective, and that those written by the sect members show the plene form. Yet the *Hodayot* use both כל and כול, as does the *Damascus Covenant*. Similarly, the *Hodayot* have both כי and כיא. Tov's method may prove fruitful in the future, but at present it is far from refined.

writings found at Qumran as sectarian. Sectarian works which do not mention angels are excluded.

2.1. Rules

The *Rule of the Community* (1QS) deals with the life and organization of the community. The *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS_a) was attached to the 1QS scroll and concerns the eschatological community. The *Damascus Covenant* (CD) was originally known as a *Zadokite Work*, having been recovered first from the Cairo Geniza in two mediaeval MSS. The presence of fragments of the same work in Caves 4, 5 and 6,¹ plus the ideas it contains, relate it firmly to the Qumran sect.² The *War Scroll* (1QM) describes the eschatological holy war against the sect's enemies, to be waged by the sect members in association with angels.

2.2. Poetic and Liturgical Works

The *Hodayot* (1QH) scroll consists of thanksgiving hymns, which somewhat resemble the biblical psalms. The *Benedictions* (1QSB) is a second appendix to the *Rule of the Community*, and consists of blessings to be pronounced in relation to various community members. The *Sabbath Shirot* (4QShirShabb) present, among other things, an invocation of angels to pronounce blessings, Sabbath by Sabbath. The *Canticles of the Instructor* (4QShir) is of a series of songs showing similarities to both the *Sabbath Shirot* and the *Hodayot*.

2.3. Works of Biblical Interpretation

The Qumran sect had a characteristic method of interpreting biblical texts. The various commentaries are called *pesharim* since they give the (writer's) interpretation of the OT text, פשר having to do with the untangling of the meaning of a secret or mystery (ר). The biblical texts are seen as concealing facts about the sect's history, its enemies and its future. A *pesher* makes such matters plain. Certain of the *pesharim* involve angels. The *Florilegium* (4QFlor) uses 2 Sam. 7:10-14, along with other OT texts, to express the sect's teaching about the temple and messianic beliefs. 4QCatena³ consists of various biblical

1. See Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 490-91 n. 50.

2. A minority view sees the *Damascus Covenant* as predating the Qumran community and possibly originating in the Diaspora. See above, the third note of §1.2.

texts interpreted within an eschatological framework, while the *Midrash on Melchizedek* (11QM_{elch}) is an eschatological midrash in which it is said that Melchizedek will set free those in his inheritance.

2.4. Some Further Texts

A few other texts with relevance are grouped here. The Description of New Jerusalem (1QJN ar, 2QJN ar, 4QJN ar, 5QJN ar, 11QJN ar) is a work describing Jerusalem and the temple in the future, rather after the style of Ezekiel 40-48. Its sectarian provenance is not certain.¹ In the Testament of Amram (4QAmram), Amram, father of Moses, recounts a dream in which he sees two angelic figures, one of whom is Melchiresha.²

4Q280 has been designated as the *Rule of Cleanness* by Milik.³ Other relevant texts are the liturgical writing dealing with blessings and curses, 4QBer (4Q286 and 4Q287). 4Q180, a commentary on the periods of history, and 4Q181 also appear to be sectarian.

2.5. Other Sectarian Writings

These may be considered in two categories. First, there are numerous fragments of texts which probably belong to sectarian compositions, but which are so small that they lack any real context. Such texts will, in general, be ignored.⁴ Nevertheless, there is no way forward but to proceed with the available material. Should different data emerge from texts published in the future, our conclusions will have to be modified accordingly.

The second grouping is merely one of convenience, with no regard for the type of text. It includes sectarian writings which do not

1. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 488 n. 33. See below, §13.6.

2. See below, §13.2.1, for a discussion of the sectarian provenance of 4QAmram.

3. J.T. Milik, 'Milki-yedek et Milki-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens', *JJS* 23 (1972), pp. 126-29.

4. Our conclusions should not be contradicted by data in such material, since the actual corpus that is considered covers the great bulk, in terms of numbers of text lines, of the relevant sectarian writings recovered to date. The issue is complicated by the fact that large numbers of the individual Qumran fragments still await publication. Fitzmyer ('Scrolls and the New Testament', p. 354) commented in 1981 that over 75 per cent of the 400 fragmentary texts, assembled from around 15,000 fragments, were then still awaiting publication. More recently, in 1990, he has reported that 70 per cent of the Qumran Cave 4 texts are still unpublished (*Major Publications*, p. xiii).

mention angels, or at least not in the extant parts, and these works are not considered further. The largest of these is the *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple).¹ Angels do not feature in this extensive halakhic work which Yadin identified as sectarian. The *Copper Scroll* (3Q15) lists real or imaginary hidden treasure on copper sheeting. Its sectarian status is doubted by some scholars.² A horoscope (4QCryptic) relates the spiritual qualities of people to their parts in the Houses of Light and Darkness, and to the times of their birth under the signs of animals. Since no angels are mentioned in it, it will not be treated in its own right.

So-called continuous *pesharim* which do not mention angels include the Habakkuk *pesher* (1QpHab), the Nahum *pesher* (4QpNah) and the commentaries on the Psalms (4QpPs^a, extant for parts of Pss. 37, 45, and 60, and 4QpPs^b, covering parts of Pss. 127 and 129, and possibly Ps. 118). There are also numerous fairly small fragments, such as various *pesharim* on Isaiah. These works show no concern with angels, and the same is true for 4Q159 and the *Words of Moses* (1Q22), related to Deuteronomy.

3. The Non-Sectarian Literature from Qumran

Only a few examples of the non-sectarian materials will be mentioned. They include various MSS and fragments of the Hebrew Scriptures, representing every canonical book except Esther, and spread over some 200 MSS.³ Tobit, Sirach and the Epistle of Jeremiah, works which later came to be regarded as deuterocanonical, were also known at Qumran. In addition, there are Jewish writings that have long been known from other sources and by virtue of dating and content are not to be regarded as sectarian. These include the Enochic books considered in this study, *Jubilees*, the *Testament of Levi* and the *Testament of Naphthali*.⁴

1. Published by Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols. plus supplement; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Hebrew edn, 1977; Eng. edn, 1983). See also *idem*, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985), pp. 230-32.
2. See Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 271-73.
3. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (with the collaboration of P. Vermes; London: SCM Press, 2nd edn, 1982), pp. 200-202.
4. On *Jubilees* and the Qumran sect, see O.S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees (Second

The Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 includes forty-one biblical psalms, some material previously unknown to scholars and four non-canonical psalms known from other sources. None of this material appears to derive from the Qumran sect.¹ In addition, two collections of psalms from Cave 4 are not considered to be from the sect, on the basis of matters such as vocabulary and syntax.²

One non-sectarian writing found at Qumran but not known previously should be noted because it does mention angels. The Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen), consists of elaborations of Genesis which have been partially preserved in the portions of the twenty-three columns that have been recovered. Columns 2-5 record traditions about the birth of Noah, whose father Lamech fears has been conceived through the sons of heaven, the watchers. Clearly this is of significance for the present study, in that 1QapGen in this respect is related to *1 Enoch* 106-107 and the *Book of Giants*. The question is thus raised of whether the scribes of Qumran were the authors of such material. Fitzmyer has reviewed the arguments proposed for the dating of 1QapGen, concluding that it probably derives from the first century BC (or perhaps from the first century AD).³ The fact that it has closer relationships with the Enochic writings and *Jubilees* (which are generally regarded as having originated outside of the community at Qumran), than with the accepted Qumran literature suggests non-sectarian provenance for 1QapGen as well.⁴ It will not be regarded for the purposes of this study as a Qumran product, though we might be cautious rather than dogmatic concerning its precise relationship to the sect.

Century BC): A New Translation and Introduction', in Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, pp. 49-50. On the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Qumran literature, see J.J. Collins, 'Testaments', in Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, pp. 340-42.

1. See J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPp^s)* (DJD, 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) and D. Flusser, 'Psalms, Hymns and Prayer', in Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, pp. 558-60.
2. See E.M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS, 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 21-25.
3. *Genesis Apocryphon*, pp. 16-19.
4. Cf. G. Vermes (*Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* [SPB, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 1961], p. 96 n. 2), who speaks of its 'freedom from any sectarian bias', and Nickelsburg, 'Bible Rewritten', p. 107.

Possibly belonging to the same tradition is the so-called *Elect of God* text (4QMess ar), which Fitzmyer has strongly argued does not deal with the Messiah but is rather concerned with the birth of Noah.¹ The *Words of the Heavenly Lights* (4QDibHam) includes prayers apparently designated for various days of the week. Baillet noted what he considered to be an absence of sectarian bias.² 4QDibHam will not be considered further.

4. Methodological Issues

Each Qumran sectarian writing will be considered separately, in an attempt by exegesis to understand what the authors are saying. Particular interest, of course, lies in those passages which involve angels, but each such passage needs to be considered within the context of the whole document in which it is set. Clearly the primary sources must be the Qumran texts themselves.

However, the importance of dealing with the literature document by document is perhaps less self-evident. There is a temptation to consider all of the Qumran community's writings as a whole, since the documents all belonged to people who lived in the same isolated settlement in the wilderness of Judaea. This appears the more plausible when it is realized that on all of the evidence, the community members shared a common motivation for belonging to the sect and living at Qumran. Thus, it could appear reasonable to attempt a synthesis of the community's views by using material from the various writings, as if this synthesis would represent a statement of what the sect believed, from the beginning of its history to its end.³ Yet it is a dubious assumption to imagine that all members even at any one time held exactly the same views on every matter. Smith points out that it is not necessarily valid to think that the books which scholars in the twentieth century have recovered represent the official library of the community. And 'even if we suppose that all books came from the official

1. J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic "Elect of God" Text from Qumran Cave IV', *CBQ* 27 (1965), pp. 348-72, esp. pp. 370-73.

2. M. Baillet, 'Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, grotte 4: "Les Paroles des Luminaires"', *RB* 68 (1961), p. 250. Cf. Flusser, 'Psalms, Hymns and Prayer', p. 567.

3. Cf. K.M.T. Atkinson, 'The Historical Setting of the "War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness"', *BJRL* 40 (1958), p. 274.

library, we cannot be sure that everything in the library reflected faithfully and directly the beliefs of its owners'.¹

Several factors urge caution. One concerns the length of time during which the community was in existence, something like 200 years from mid-second century BC till AD 68, apart from a probable break in the occupation of the Qumran site for around three decades from about 30 BC. Now clearly a group of people over an extended period of time is liable to show development in what is believed and how it is practised, so the library discovered at Qumran should be regarded as a diachronic sampling of beliefs and practices. Palaeographic studies of the sectarian writings have identified scripts characteristic of both the Hasmonaean (c. 150-30 BC) and Herodian (c. 30 BC-AD 70) periods, and the MSS have been able to be dated to fairly narrow timespans.² These studies have concluded that the dates of composition of the major sectarian writings—the *Rule of the Community*, the *Damascus Covenant*, the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll* and the *Temple Scroll*—all appear to be from about 170 BC to 100 BC, a span of only a couple of generations.³ Even so, there is evidence that the various documents have undergone literary development, and this encourages us not to expect uniformity of detail, even within a particular writing. For example, the *War Scroll* MS, 1QM, dates from the second half of the first century BC but it has been argued that one of the six fragments of this composition recovered from Cave 4 (4Q491 or 4QM^a) represents a different recension of the work.⁴ This sort of evidence cautions against the assumption that all beliefs were fixed for the whole life of the sect. Our first consideration should be to look at the themes and motivations of a particular document as such, before proceeding prematurely to comparisons with other writings,⁵ at the time bearing in mind that differences within the one document might also be found.

1. 'Dead Sea Sect', p. 347.

2. Cross, *Ancient Library*, pp. 117-22.

3. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 532. The earlier figure depends on dating the beginning of the sect to that time.

4. C.-H. Hunzinger, 'Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamā aus Höhle 4 von Qumrân', *ZAW* 69 (1957), pp. 131-51. See also M. Baillet (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD, 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 50, for the view that 4Q493 belongs to a different recension from 1QM.

5. Cf. B.W. Dombrowski, 'The Idea of God in I Q Serek', *RevQ* 7 (1971), p. 515.

Furthermore, examination reveals many similarities of belief and practice from document to document, as well as important differences. For example, there are differences in organization reflected in the *Damascus Covenant* and the *Rule of the Community*.¹ There are also differences in messianic expectations² and in the terminology employed.³ Presumably, there would have been various views held even at any one time in the community's history, as well as the development of ideas over a period of time. Such considerations confirm our approach of dealing with each piece of literature separately.

However, it will still prove possible to think of the sectarian literature as a whole, provided the material is not forced into an artificial synthesis that did not exist among the sectaries themselves. Despite differences, the similarities prove to be impressive and testify to a general cohesion of thought within the community.

Finally, when comparisons are made with other documents, such comparisons will best be made first with other Qumran writings. Affinities among writings originating within the sect will presumably be greater than between a sectarian document and one deriving from outside of the community. However, the sectaries were also Jews, committed to monotheism, God's covenant with Israel, his sovereignty and purposes in the affairs of humankind and so on. They were people of the OT, pledged to its study and bound to obey it (1QS 5.7-11; 8.1-4; 9.9). So comparison should, secondly, be made with other Jewish writings. A third level of comparison which can then be applied to a text is that of comparison with the documents of other religions. Particularly relevant here are the writings of Zoroastrianism, which have been proposed as a source for the type of dualism found in part of the Qumran literature.⁴ Recourse to such comparisons may be appropriate, but it must be remembered that ideas outside of Judaism

1. E.g. 'the Overseer' (מבקר) has more responsibilities in CD than in 1QS, where 'the Many' (רבים) are more important. New members are admitted in the *Rule* under the supervision of the Many (1QS 6.18-20), whereas in the *Damascus Covenant* this function lies with the Overseer (CD 13.7, 11-12; 15.7-11).

2. Cf. M. Smith, 'What Is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?', *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 66-72.

3. E.g. Belial (בליעל) can refer to the angelic leader of the hosts of evil (1QM 13.2-6) but can also be used in its biblical sense of 'worthlessness' (1QH 2.22). On this point, see below, §10.3.2.

4. See below, §8.2.2.3.

should only be seen as possible sources for ideas appearing within it, if such concepts cannot be adequately explained on the basis of existing internal traditions.

only recognize that we are dealing with the final form of a document which combined several older traditions.

1.2. *Outline of the Contents of the Rule of the Community*¹

The aim of the community is to seek God, do what is good according to Moses and the prophets, love all that God chooses and hate what he hates (1QS 1.1-15). Matters concerning entry into the covenant community are described (1QS 1.16-3.12), followed by a section concerning two spirits which affect people's lives and their destiny (1QS 3.13-4.26). Sect members are to be a community holding fast to the covenant, separate from perverse people, and faithful to the way of the community (1QS 5.1-6.23). The community's penal code is outlined in 1QS 6.24-7.25. 1QS 8.1-15a probably describes the preparation of those who originally formed the Qumran community after a period of two years, in which case it predates the establishment of the sect at Qumran.² Alternatively, it has been taken to refer to the establishment of an inner council within the Qumran community.³ The *Rule* concludes with a hymn to God, who is to be praised and served at all times (1QS 10.1-11.22).

Even this brief outline does give a general context in which specific passages can be examined. This is particularly necessary since our investigation is concentrating on those passages here and there which happen to mention angels. It will be convenient to commence with 1QS 3.13-4.26, concerning the two spirits, since this represents a clearly demarcated section in terms of content, and presents in brief compass a number of matters important to our investigation.

1. This outline follows Fitzmyer, *Major Publications*, p. 130.
2. So Leaney, *Rule*, pp. 210-12.
3. So Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 26-27; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 90. See below §8.3.2.

Chapter 8

THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

1. *Introduction*

1.1. *The Text*

The original find of the *Rule of the Community* in 1947 consisted of a MS of eleven columns from Cave 1. Called the *Manual of Discipline* by the American editors, it was published in 1951.¹ The fact that subsequent discoveries in Caves 4 and 5 yielded portions of eleven other copies of this work² suggests that it was an important one for the Qumran community.³ This impression is confirmed by a study of its contents, since it deals with the way the life of the community was to be conducted. The various MSS have been dated by palaeographic analysis to the period 100 BC down to the Herodian era.⁴ The indications are then that the *Rule of the Community* derives from sometime in the second half of the second century, fairly early in the sect's history.⁵

Various attempts have been made to analyse the literary history of the *Rule of the Community*, though conclusions have varied. It is certain that the work existed in two or more recensions, according to the evidence from Cave 4,⁶ but for the purposes of our study we need

1. M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery. II.2. Plates and Transcriptions of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

2. Ten Cave 4 MSS, 4QS^{a-j}, are as yet unpublished. Two small fragments of 5Q11 have been published by J.T. Milik, in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 180-81. (See Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 498 n. 82.)

3. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 497-98 and Leaney, *Rule*, p. 111.

4. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 498 n. 82.

5. Cross, *Ancient Library*, p. 121, suggests that the *Rule of the Community* was not programmatic, but rather reflected already developed practices of sectarian life.

6. See Milik, '*Milkî-šedeq*', p. 135.

2. The Two Spirits Discourse: IQS 3.13-4.26

2.1. Overview of the Two Spirits Discourse¹

The *Discourse* is addressed to the Instructor (מַשְׁכִּיל), a teacher who has first been taught himself.² In the introduction it is stated that the Instructor is to teach all the sectaries about human nature and behaviour (IQS 3.13-15a). A short prologue declares the sovereignty of God, both in creation and in determining beforehand the patterns of behaviour of what he has made. The creation is dependent on him and humankind is to rule over the earth (IQS 3.15b-18a).

IQS 3.18b-4.1 declares that God has appointed two spirits for humankind 'to set (their) course by them' (רִשָּׁם לִי שְׁנֵי רוּחוֹת לְהַחֲלִיךְ בָּם) (IQS 3.18). These 'are the spirits of truth and of perversity' (רוּחוֹת הַיְשׁוּבָה וְרוּחוֹת הַתְּבוּעָה, IQS 3.18-19). Line 19 associates 'the generations of truth' with 'a dwelling of light', and 'the generations of perversity' with 'a dwelling of darkness'. All the sons of righteousness (בְּנֵי צְדָקָה) are in the hand of the Prince of Lights (מְלָאךְ הַיְשׁוּבָה). The Angel of Darkness (בְּנֵי תְבוּעָה) (IQS 3.20-21). These two classes of people walk in the ways of light and darkness respectively. The phrase 'sons of righteousness' is used in IQS 3.20, 22 to designate the sect members, as is 'sons of light' (IQS 3.13, 24, 25).³ They are contrasted with the 'sons of perversity' (IQS 3.20-25),⁴ called 'sons of darkness' elsewhere.⁵ However, the sect members, the sons of light, do not always walk perfectly in the ways of light, 'and by the Angel of Darkness are the errors of all the sons of righteousness'. Yet why this should be so is hidden, 'according to the secrets of God for his appointed time' (IQS 3.21b-23). Thus the author offers his solution to the problem

of the presence of evil among the people of God. Then IQS 4.2-8 outlines the ethical and religious traits of the lives of the sons of truth.¹ The results for them will be 'healing and abundance of peace with length of days, fruitfulness of seed with all eternal blessings...' (IQS 4.7). The spirit of perversity, according to the third section (IQS 4.9-14), is associated with moral evil in the lives of all who walk in it (or by it; כֹּל הַחַלְכֵי בָהּ). The consequences for them will be 'a multitude of blows at the hand of all the angels of destruction' (מְלָאכֵי חֲבָל), together with God's furious wrath and 'the humiliation of annihilation in darkening fires' (IQS 4.12-13). The final section (IQS 4.15-26) indicates that fierce enmity between the spirits of truth and perversity will persist until the time fixed by God for the destruction of all perversity. Then some will be purified from all evil and enter into 'all the glory of Adam' (IQS 4.23).

2.2. The Dualism of IQS 3.13-4.26

Because various mutually opposed pairs can be identified, the *Discourse* is commonly described as dualistic. While several types of dualism can be distinguished,² the essential idea is the opposition of two mutually exclusive categories of reality. Thus we can speak of cosmic dualism, in which two spirit-beings, or groups of beings are in conflict, each seeking to rule the cosmos; of physical dualism, with the opposition of good matter and spirit; of ethical dualism, involving the antithesis of good and evil; of psychological dualism, in which two contrary inclinations in a person struggle within; of eschatological dualism, in which the antithesis is between the present age and one to come; and so on. Within IQS 3.13-4.26 several antithetical pairs can be identified.

the Prince of Lights (3.20)	the Angel of Darkness (3.20-21)
God's angel of truth (3.24)	
no corresponding phrase used	the spirits of his lot (3.24)
	the spirit of perversity (3.18-19)
the spirit of truth (3.18-19)	
the spirit of light (3.25)	the spirit of darkness (3.25)

1. The 'sons of truth' correspond to 'his angel of truth' (IQS 3.24), just as the 'sons of light' correspond to the 'Prince of Lights' (IQS 3.20, 24, 25). The identity of these angels is discussed below, §8.2.2.2.

2. Charlesworth ('Critical Comparison', p. 389 n. 1) distinguishes ten types.

1. This section has been subjected to extensive investigation. For references to the date of its publication, see the excellent survey of J.H. Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in IQS III, 13-IV, 26 and the "Dualism" Contained in the Fourth Gospel', *NTS* 15 (1968), p. 395; for more recent titles, see H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT, 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 123-24 n. 1.

2. See Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 22-25.

3. The expression also occurs in IQS 1.9; 2.16; IQM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13.

4. This designation is found in IQS 3.21 (though cf. IQS 9.17, 10.17, 11.17, and nowhere else in the Qumran literature, to my knowledge).

5. IQS 1.10; IQM 1.7, 10, 16; 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 16.11.

- the sons of righteousness (3.20, 22) the sons of perversity (3.20)
- the sons of light (3.13, 24, 25) no corresponding phrase used
- the sons of truth (4.5, 6) no corresponding phrase used
- the generations of truth, in a dwelling of light (3.19) the generations of perversity from a well of darkness (3.19)
- behaviour belonging to the spirit of truth—various virtues such as compassion, humility, patience, etc. (4.2-6) behaviour belonging to the spirit of perversity—various evils such as greed, lying, pride, hardness of heart, etc. (4.9-11)
- destiny of those walking by the spirit of truth: healings, peace, longevity, eternal blessings, everlasting life (4.6-8) destiny of those walking by the spirit of perversity: punishment, terror, annihilation in fire (4.13-14)
- the present time, when the spirits contend with each other (4.23) a coming time (קץ אחרון) (4.16-17)

2.2.1. *The Angel of Darkness.* The Angel of Darkness (מלאך חושך) 1QS 3.20-21 exercises dominion over the sons of perversity. The name 'Angel of Darkness' is not known in this exact form in any other Jewish literature. He is probably to be identified with the spirit of perversity, and also with the spirit of darkness.¹ The use of several names for the Angel of Darkness does not imply the existence of several angelic beings, just as several designations are used for the one God in the *Discourse*.² The *Discourse* understands the sect to be in

1. So Wernberg-Møller (*Manual of Discipline*, p. 72 n. 76), though he subsequently arrived at a different interpretation in *idem*, 'A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the *Rule of the Community* (1Q Serek III,13-IV,26)', *RevQ* 3 (1961), pp. 413-41, in which he argues for a psychological understanding of the spirit of perversity, rather than seeing this spirit as an angel. See further on in this section, and also Charlesworth, 'Critical Comparison', p. 391. Schubert (*Dead Sea Community*, p. 63) links the Angel of Darkness with תשמת as if in 1QS 3.23 it is a proper name, whereas nothing more seems to be implied there than the common noun, 'hostility' (cf. CD 16.5; IQM 13.11). תשמת does occur as a proper noun in *Jub.* 10.7-8; 11.5, 11; 17.16; 18.9, 12; 19.28; 48.2, 9, 12, 15; 49.2, as the name of the cosmic adversary.

2. God is דעתה אל (1QS 3.15), ישראֵל אל (1QS 3.24) and נקמה אל (1QS 4.12). Cf. Charlesworth, 'Critical Comparison', p. 391.

conflict with the angelic being, who both controls the sons of perversity (1QS 3.20-21), and succeeds in bringing the sons of light themselves to act in some respects according to the ways of darkness (1QS 3.21-24).

The 'Angel of Darkness' is commonly identified with Belial (בליעל).¹ He has 'all the spirits of his portion' (כול רוּחַ גּוֹרְלֵי) in concert with him (1QS 3.24) against the sons of light. His 'portion' or 'lot' signifies the group of spirits assigned to his dominion by God (1QS 3.15-16). According to 1QS 2.5, the lot of Belial includes humans too, the sons of darkness in the language of the *Two Spirits Discourse*.

2.2.2. *The Prince of Lights.* As indicated in the table above, the Angel of Darkness is opposed to the Prince of Lights (שַׁר אֱוֵרִים), 1QS 3.20.² No explicit identification of the Prince of Lights is given here, but he has dominion over the sons of righteousness, the sect members, and they walk in the ways of light or ethical and religious purity (1QS 3.20-21; cf. 1QS 4.2-6). The sons of light are assisted in their struggle with the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot by 'the God of Israel and his angel of truth' (or 'his loyal angel'; מַלְאָךְ אֱמוּנָה; 1QS 3.24), who is no doubt to be identified with the Prince of Lights.³ Moreover, just as the Angel of Darkness is also called the spirit of perversity, the Prince of Lights is called the spirit of truth (1QS 3.18-19).⁴

The term 'prince' (שַׁר) is used of angels in Daniel and reflects the idea that there are two levels of activity in the cosmos. On earth, human princes war with each other as in Dan. 11.5, but in the heavenly realm there is corresponding conflict among the angels, as in Dan. 10.18-21.⁵ 'Prince' (ἄρχων) is also used of angels in the Greek

1. See, e.g., Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 74; R.E. Brown, 'The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles', *CBQ* 17 (1955), p. 409; J. Licht, 'An Analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in DSD', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*. IV. *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2nd edn, 1965), p. 93. Belial will be discussed below, §8.3.1.

2. Cf. אֱוֵרִים שַׁר (CD 5.18), and שַׁר טָאוֹר (1QM 13.10).

3. So P. Guibert, 'La Règle de la Communauté', in *Les textes de Qumrân* (ed. J. Carmignac and P. Guibert; 2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), I, p. 33.

4. Cf. Charlesworth, 'Critical Comparison', p. 391.

5. Thus, when Daniel has a vision of a 'man' (Dan. 10.5-6), he is told that his

versions of *T. Sim.* 2.7, *T. Jud.* 19.4 and *I En.* 6.3 (referring to Shemihazah). There is no doubt that the Prince of Lights in the *Rule of the Community* is an angel, and Yadin has argued convincingly for his identification with Michael. He compares IQM 17.6-8, where Michael is to be sent to assist Israel and IQM 13.10, where it is said that God has long ago appointed the Prince of Light (מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים) to assist Israel.¹

In the Discourse, the plural מַלְאָכִים may be connected with the heavenly luminaries² whose functioning was of great importance to the Qumran community. The community was deeply concerned to follow the solar calendar as delineated in *Jubilees* and the *Astronomical Book*. By such a calendar their worship was regulated throughout the year, and their use of it set them apart from the temple worship in Jerusalem, where a lunisolar calendar was apparently in vogue.³

A different identification of the Prince of Lights is suggested by Wernberg-Møller,⁴ who thinks that this angel is Uriel. Such an idea is understandable, given that in *I En.* 72.1 Uriel is set over the heavenly luminaries. However, Uriel is not included in the list of the four archangels in the *War Scroll*.⁵ We have already noted that Sariel

heavenly informant has been withstood by the prince of the kingdom of Persia for twenty-one days, but that 'Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help' him (Dan. 10.13). His messenger eventually leaves him to fight against the princes of Persia and Greece, a conflict in which he is aided by Michael (Dan. 10.20-21). Michael is named again in Dan. 12.1, as the great prince who has charge of Israel. He will arise at the time of the great eschatological trouble, and Daniel's people will be delivered.

1. *Scroll of the War*, pp. 235-36. No distinction is to be made between the Prince of Lights (IQS 3.20; CD 5.18) and the Prince of Light (IQM 13.10).

2. So Guilbert, 'La Règle', p. 33 n. 13: 'Le pluriel "les lumières" semble désigner les astres aux révolutions desquels président les anges saints dont l'action règle le calendrier et le culte propre à la secte'.

3. The importance of the calendar is seen, for example, in IQS 10.3-8; 1QH 1.15-20; CD 6.18; 16.3-4. On the Qumran calendar see, e.g., A. Jaubert, 'Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân: ses origines bibliques', VT 3 (1955), pp. 250-64; *idem*, 'Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine', VT 7 (1957), pp. 35-61; Beekwith, 'The Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar', pp. 379-96; *idem*, 'The Qumran Calendar and the Sacrifices of the Essenes', *RevQ* 7 (1969-71), pp. 587-91; Vermes, *Qumran in Perspective*, pp. 175-82, and above, §4.3.2.

4. *Manual of Discipline*, p. 71 n. 60; cf. Charles, *APOT*, 2.811.

5. Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 236; see IQM 9.15-16.

belongs to the original list in *I En.* 9.1, rather than Uriel.¹ Michael appears to be the correct identification.

2.2.3. *God, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness.* Clearly, the *Two Spirits Discourse* is predicated on a dualistic view of cosmic reality. There are two opposing camps, the one led by the Angel of Darkness and the other by the Prince of Lights. The lot of the Angel of Darkness includes 'all the spirits of his portion' (IQS 3.24) and the sons of perversity who walk 'in the ways of darkness' (IQS 3.20-21). A contingent of assistants for the Prince of Lights, corresponding to the spirits of the lot of the Angel of Darkness, is not explicitly mentioned, but such a group may reasonably be inferred from passages elsewhere in the Qumran literature. For example, IQM 12.7-8, describes the angelic support for the sons of light in their battle against the sons of darkness: 'Mighty men and a host of angels are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of War (God) is in our congregation and the host of his spirits is with our steps. . .'

In the Discourse, as in IQM, it is ultimately God who fights on the side of the sons of light. They apparently belong to his lot rather than to that of the Prince of Lights (who is also on their side and has dominion over them; IQS 3.20).² Belial's lot appears to include both humans (IQS 2.5) and spirits (IQS 3.24-25). This opposition between God and his lot, and the Angel of Darkness and his lot, is by no means an equal contest of two camps headed by equal and co-eternal beings. Such would be a denial of traditional Jewish monotheism based on the OT. God is the creator of all things, including angels.³

God existed before all things, and it is he who determined beforehand how they would fit into his creation. Within this deterministic pattern, they will glorify him. Thus humankind has been created to rule the earth and God has created and arranged two spirits, those of truth and perversity, by which people are to walk (IQS 3.18-19). 'It was he who created the spirits of light and darkness and upon them

1. See above, §2.2.7.

2. This is explicit in IQS 2.1-2, where 'the priests bless all the men of the lot of God (כָּל אֱנוֹשׁ יוֹרֵל אֵל) . . . Cf. IQM 1.5; 13.5; 15.1; 17.7. The idea that the community is God's lot, not an angel's, is a fact already laid down for his people in Deut. 32.8-9. See above, §5.4.2.5, for the idea that the nations were allotted to angels.

3. Cf. Milik, *Ten years*, p. 118.

founded every work and upon their ways established every deed' (1QS 3.25-26).

Many scholars have seen Iranian influence in the development of the cosmic dualism in the *Two Spirits Discourse*, while others think that it originates essentially from within Judaism, primarily from the OT, to whose study the Qumran community was devoted (1QS 5.7-11; 6.6-8), and from Jewish apocalyptic writings, such as *T. Jud.* 20.21, *T. Reub.* 2.1-2; 3.3-6.¹ For the present study of the roles of angels in the Qumran literature, the question of past factors which shaped the Qumran community's belief is somewhat peripheral. Our concern is rather with the beliefs themselves, as they are met in the documents as we have them, though it is clearly helpful for our understanding to have a context in which to view them and with which to compare them.

2.2.4. *Ethical Dualism in the Cosmic Context.* As well as the strongly cosmic component in the dualism of 1QS 3.13-4.26, there is a prominent ethical dualism, expressed as light versus darkness. 1QS 3.21-24 attributes the sins committed by the sons of light to the Angel of Darkness and his spirits. Nevertheless, the sons of righteousness walk in the ways of light (1QS 3.20). It appears that the author is thinking of the overall ethical orientation of their lives as being righteous, and of their sins as setbacks, out of keeping with their fundamental character. By contrast, the sons of perversity walk in the ways of darkness (1QS 3.21).

Column 4 gives the ways of the spirits of truth and of perversity. 1QS 4.2 begins, 'These are their ways on earth' (ואלה דרכיהן בנהל). The feminine suffix here means that the ways are not those of the sons of light and darkness, with the focus on the two groups within humanity at large, but rather those of the spirits of light and darkness (1QS 3.25). דרכיהן in 1QS 3.26 is resumed in 1QS 4.2.

There is a correspondence between 1QS 4.2-8 and 4.9-14. The latter specifically refers to the spirit of perversity (1QS 4.2-8 and 4.9-14), and probably a corresponding phrase, like לירוה אמת (1QS 4.9), and accidentally omitted from 1QS 4.2 following the general introduction,

1. The literature on the nature of the dualism in the Discourse and the extent to which Iranian influence is responsible for its form is immense. See Charlesworth, 'Critical Comparison' and Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, pp. 123-24 n. 1, for a survey of it.

'These are their ways on earth'.¹ One of the difficulties in interpreting the Discourse has arisen from the use of *רוח* in these verses not only for a metaphysical entity like the spirit of truth, but also in the sense of a 'disposition' within the heart. Thus the spirit of truth produces an inward spirit of humility (1QS 4.3) while the spirit of perversity produces a spirit of lust (1QS 4.10). The question then arises as to whether the whole *Discourse* is really speaking of attitudes within people and not of metaphysical realities. This issue will be addressed shortly.²

2.2.5. *Eschatology in the Two Spirits Discourse.* In the Two Spirits Discourse, the author's eschatology is integrated with his determinism. Understandably, the angels in the Discourse operate within this eschatological framework. God has set the pattern of the present and future (1QS 3.15) and this predetermined scheme is for his glory (1QS 3.16). In the present, humankind is to have dominion over the earth (1QS 3.17-18). The human race is divided into two camps as we have seen, the community under God with the Prince of Lights (1QS 3.20) and the sons of perversity under the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot (1QS 3.20-21). God has appointed these two spirits for human beings to walk by them (1QS 3.18, *ישמש לו שתי רוחות ליהלך בהם* in this present time. The result is a fixed 'period to the existence of perversity' (1QS 4.18).

The present period will end with what is called 'the time of visitation (פיקודה)', referring to God's direct intervention in the affairs of the human race.³ In 1QS 3.13-4.26, God's visitation means that the wicked will receive 'a multitude of blows at the hand of all the angels of destruction', everlasting perdition and annihilation in fire (1QS 4.11-14). לשוח עולמים (1QS 4.12) has occasioned debate over whether it means 'corruption' or 'the pit, Sheol' in the Qumran literature. Murphy has argued convincingly that the meaning in 1QS 4.12 is

1. For this and the preceding paragraph, cf. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 79, and Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 73 n. 3.

2. See below, §8.2.2.6.

3. The word occurs in 1QS 3.14, 18; 4.6, 11, 19, 26, but not elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community*. In the sense of 'punishment', it is found in the OT in Num. 16.29; Isa. 10.3; Mic. 7.4; Jer. 8.12 and elsewhere. The idea of gracious visitation is found in Job 10.12. See BDB, p. 824, and also H.W. Beyer, *ἔπισκέψεσθε*, *TDNT*, II, pp. 606-607.

'destruction', not 'the pit'.¹ The visitations will take place at the אורון קץ (1QS 4.16-17), the time that marks the division between the present scheme of things and that which follows, when God will destroy perversity for ever (1QS 4.18-19).²

By contrast, those following the spirit of light will enjoy blessings in the present, and in the future, 'eternal blessings and joy in eternity with everlasting life' (1QS 4.6-8). The Discourse ends with the promise of a 'new creation', which is apparently a renewal expected on earth, not in heaven, when the community will live for ever.³

2.2.6. *The Spirit of the Angel of Darkness.* The spirits which comprise the lot of the Angel of Darkness are almost certainly evil angels. To justify this statement it will be necessary to consider the semantic range of the noun רוח. It will not, however, be particularly helpful to limit this consideration to 1QS 3.13-4.26, for considerable controversy has surrounded the interpretation of רוח in the Discourse itself. Related to this is the debate concerning the very nature of the dualism embodied in the Discourse. So a wider perspective from the Qumran literature in general will be sought. The majority of scholars have understood the Discourse to present a cosmic dualism with a strong ethical component, and there is also, to varying degrees, a recognition of a psychological dualism involving conflict between good and evil tendencies within the human heart.⁴

1. R.E. Murphy, 'Šahat in the Qumran Literature', *Bib* 39 (1958), p. 65. He compares the association here of חבל and שרף with Isa. 54.16.

2. J. Carmignac ('La notion d'eschatologie dans la Bible et à Qumrân', *RevQ* 7 [1969-71], pp. 17-31) has discussed how the Qumran writers thought of periods of time, in particular of the domination of Belial and of freedom from his domination, and how they did not think in terms of an end of the world. In 1QS 4.16, אורון קץ appears to convey the same idea as the phrase אורון הימים, examined by Carmignac, who shows that אורון הימים refers to the time of transition from the one period to the next (p. 23). קץ is again used in eschatological contexts in the *Two Spirits Discourse*, in 1QS 3.15, 23; 4.13, 16, 18, 25; 11.9. Its other occurrences in 1QS are at 1.14; 10.1, 5, where the contexts are not as acutely eschatological as in the *Two Spirits Discourse*. The idea of periods, קצים, was an important one in the sect. See below, §§9.2, 13.5.1.

3. Cf. Black, 'New Creation', p. 13; *I En.* 72.1; and §9.2.

4. See, e.g., K.G. Kuhn, 'Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion', *ZTK* 49 (1952), p. 312; Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, pp. 66-67; Schubert, *Dead Sea Community*, pp. 62-66; H.G. May, 'Cosmological Reference in the Qumran

By contrast, Wernberg-Møller adopted a view in a later article which differs from the position he had espoused in his *Manual of Discipline*. In the earlier work he had understood the dualism as essentially cosmic. He subsequently argued that only a psychological dualism is portrayed in 1QS 3.13-4.26.¹ He writes, 'The dichotomy of our "essay" does not lie in the distinction between pious and impious ruled by conflicting spirits respectively, but in the opposed mental dispositions of every human being'.²

His hypothesis has been well refuted by Charlesworth³ and May.⁴ Wernberg-Møller thinks that according to 1QS 4.23 'both "spirits" dwell in each individual person as created by God... RWHWT is used here as a psychological term... We have thus arrived at the rabbinic distinction between the evil and the good YESER'.⁵ He is thinking of רוח in the OT sense of 'mood or disposition',⁶ and this governs his interpretation.⁷

It is germane then to our consideration of angels to indicate briefly the semantic range of רוח in the Qumran literature,⁸ before returning

Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery', *JBL* 82 (1963), pp. 1-14; G.R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), pp. 558-62; Charlesworth, 'Critical Comparison', pp. 401-402; and J. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature', *JBL* 93 (1974), p. 381.

1. 'Reconsideration', pp. 412-41.

2. 'Reconsideration', p. 431.

3. 'Critical Comparison', pp. 395-99.

4. 'Cosmological Reference', pp. 1-14.

5. 'Reconsideration', p. 422.

6. Wernberg-Møller, 'Reconsideration', p. 422.

7. M. Treves ('The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community', *RevQ* 3 [1961], pp. 449-52) also holds to a psychological interpretation and curiously limits his consideration of רוח to its usage in the OT in order to understand its application in a Qumran text. He says, 'It never meant—in Old Testament language—"an incorporeal being, such as an angel, a demon, or a fairy"' (p. 449). 'Old Testament angels do not dwell inside men's hearts' (p. 450). This overlooks the possibility of the development of ideas in Judaism after OT times!

8. This will be illustrative of the essential nuances only. A recent, comprehensive survey is A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of RUAH at Qumran* (SBLDS, 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), though some of his classifications of the occurrences of רוח differ from my own. For a briefer treatment, see A.A. Anderson, 'The Use of "Ruah" in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM', *JSS* 7 (1962), pp. 293-303.

to 1QS 3.13–4.26. First, רוח is used to mean wind or breath a few times, though by no means as commonly as in the OT. This sense is not found in 1QS, but occurs in 1QH 1.10, 28-29, 7.23 and 1QM 6.12. Secondly, it is used as a comprehensive term to refer to a human being or the vital force in a person. Thus, in 1QH 1.21-22, the writer refers to himself as 'a creature of clay . . . and fount of defilement . . . a spirit of straying, and perverse'. The spirit can be utterly destroyed (1QS 2.14) and the hymn-writer's spirit can search among the dead (1QH 8.29). A third meaning common in Qumran literature concerns the disposition, mood or behavioural characteristics of a person. This is what might be called the psychological sense of רוח, and is of importance in relation to the *Two Spirits Discourse*. A person showing a broken spirit (1QS 8.3) is contrite, while a person whose spirit has gone astray should learn understanding (1QS 11.1). In the *Hodayot* we read of dispositions such as a zealous spirit (1QH 2.15), a perverse spirit (1QH 3.21) and a spirit of knowledge (1QH 3.22-23).

Clearly, in the *Two Spirits Discourse* the section on the ways of the two spirits (1QS 4.2-14) includes numerous examples of this use of רוח, such as dispositions of humility, patience, compassion, on the one hand, and on the other, greed, pride, lust and so on. There is no doubting that this psychological use of רוח is a common one in the *Rule of the Community*.¹

The fourth way in which רוח is employed occurs in contexts that speak of the spirit of holiness (רוח קדוש), with or without a pronominal suffix. The spirit of holiness or holy spirit is from God,² and represents God's creative and purifying power in peoples' lives. It will be by a holy spirit that God will purify people from all evil deeds at the predetermined time of the visitation set down to deal with perversity (1QS 4.18-19, 21). The spirit of holiness is the creative source of prophecy (1QS 8.16). The faithful are delighted by his holy spirit (1QH 9.32) and strength is given by this spirit (1QH 16.7). There seems to be a degree of overlap between this and the psychological use, and it is not always easy to tell them apart, as in 1QH 12.11-12 and 16.11.

1. In addition to the examples already given in 1QS, note 5.21, 24; 6.17; 7.18; 8.12; 9.3, 14, 15, 18, 22; 10.18-19.

2. E.g. 1QH 7.6-7, 'For thou . . . hast poured out thy holy spirit within me that I should not stagger'. Similarly, 1QH 9.32; 12.11-12; 1QS 8.16.

Finally, רוח is used for supernatural beings. As mentioned above, Treves implies that the lack of such usage in the OT should govern our interpretation of the Qumran literature.¹ However, there can be no doubt that רוח designates such beings in the sect's literature. The parallelism of 1QH 3.21-23 provides a good starting point. The author of this hymn thanks God that he has been cleansed by him from his transgression 'to stand in array with the host of the holy ones'.² 'Holy ones' is a common term in the Qumran literature for angels.³ He has entered 'into communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven', again angels, and his lot is 'in the company of the spirits of knowledge', so that he might praise God's name. Here the parallel terms 'holy ones', 'sons of heaven' and 'spirits of knowledge' are all used of heavenly beings.⁴ God is master of every spirit in 1QH 10.8, where רוח is parallel to אלים, also a common term in the Qumran literature for angels.⁵ Similar usage is also found in the *War Scroll*. Spirits are celestial beings in 1QM 10-12, while the host of God's spirits is with the sectaries in the battle against Belial, and Belial and all the spirits of his lot are accursed for their wicked plan (1QM 13.2, 4). In 1QM 13.11-12, Belial's spirits are explicitly identified as angels of destruction and רווחי is parallel to מלאכים in 1QM 12.7-8.

Such usage of רוח in the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll* demonstrates that the Qumran literature has emphasized a dimension of the semantic range of the word which was very infrequently to the fore in the OT. It has already been argued⁶ that the angel, Prince of Lights, is also called the spirit of truth in the *Two Spirits Discourse* and this

1. Contrary to Treves ('Two Spirits', p. 449), this usage does occur occasionally in the OT, as, e.g., in 1 Kgs 22.21; Job 4.15.

2. Translation of M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ, 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), p. 117.

3. See below, §8.3.2.

4. So Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 117 n. 7: 'Here רווחי דעו refers to "angels", parallel with צבא קדושים'. Similarly, J. Carmignac, 'Les Hymnes', in Carmignac and Guilbert (eds.), *Les textes de Qumrân*, I, p. 200 n. 11. Spirits of knowledge are important in the *Sabbath Shirot*. See below, §12.7.

5. E.g. 1QM 1.10, 11; 14.15, 16; 15.14; 17.7; 1QH 7.28; 19.3. It is frequent in the *Sabbath Shirot* (see Appendix D). The identification of אלים as angels is discussed in detail below, §10.6.

6. See above, §8.2.2.2.

conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the term *מלאכי* is used quite widely for angelic beings in Qumran Literature.¹

We can now return to the issue of the spirits of the lot of the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3.21-25). They are to be understood as evil angels,² an idea consistent with the overall cosmic dualism of the *Two Spirits Discourse*.³

This raises the question of whether the Prince of Lights has a corresponding entourage of good angels.⁴ The *Two Spirits Discourse* is not explicit (as is 1QM 13.10), but it is very likely that good angels are associated with the Prince of Lights, given the symmetry of the author's dualistic scheme.⁵

1. I do not find any basis in passages like 1QM 12.8-9 or 1QH 10.8, where *מלאכי* is parallel to *אליהם*, for the view which sees the spirits of deceased humans becoming angels. In the Qumran literature, the distinction between humans and angels seems always to be maintained. Cf. Black ('Two Unusual Nomina Dei', I, p. 55): 'In the Qumran scrolls *מלאכי* "spirit" is used of disembodied spirits, angelic beings', as though these two groups are identical. On p. 56 he does appear to make a distinction between 'angelic beings and disembodied spirits'. His meaning may be that the angels are incorporeal, but if so, the terminology is unhelpful, since it implies that the angels were once embodied. J.H. Charlesworth ('The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel', in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* [ed. J.J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS, 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980], pp. 135-51) has suggested that for the Qumran sect 'a fully initiated Essene has transcended the human level and has started to become an angel' (p. 136), noting particularly IQSb 4.25. Nevertheless, this idea, if present, is very undeveloped. The Qumran statements about fellowship of humans with angels (see below, §14.10.2) speak of this matter but do not suggest a transformation of human beings into angels. By contrast with the four Enochic books we have studied, which do not envisage such a transformation, there is the statement in the *Parables* that 'all will become angels in heaven' (1 En. 51.4). In 3 En. 4.1-3, Enoch is identified with Metatron, while in 2 En. 22, Enoch is transformed to look like one of the angels. Cf. also, *Asc. Isa.* 9.30. (I follow here the numbering system of M.A. Knibb, 'Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah [Second Century BC-Fourth Century AD]: A New Translation and Introduction', in Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, pp. 143-76.)

2. No link is made here with the spirits of dead giants, as mentioned in 1 En. 16.1.

3. So Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, pp. 231-32. Dombrowski ('The Idea of God', p. 518 n. 14) speaks of the virtual identity of angels and spirits.

4. So Anderson, 'Use of "Ruah"', p. 299.

5. Granted, the symmetry is not complete, as is clear from the table in §8.2.2 above. C. Trautmann ('"L" instruction sur les deux esprits': Le dualisme dans la

2.2.7. *The Angels of Destruction*. A further category of angels is mentioned in 1QS 4.12, in connection with the visitation upon those who follow the spirit of perversity or Angel of Darkness.

The visitation of all who walk in it will be a multitude of blows at the hand of all the angels of destruction (*מלאכי זבל*) to fell them for ever in the furious wrath of God the avenger, everlasting terror and continuous reproach, with the humiliation of annihilation in darkening fires (1QS 4.12-13).

These angels are to execute God's judgment on the sons of perversity. However, some discussion is needed concerning their allegiance, whether they belong to the lot of the Angel of Darkness, or directly to God. Leaney cites CD 8.2, which states that God will visit apostates 'to extinction by the hand of Belial' and says of the angels of destruction in 1QS 4.12 that 'they are agents of Belial'.¹ However, such a simple equation demands examination, for in the context of 1QS 4 it is clear that these angels operate to fulfil God's will in the coming visitation, for God is the avenger. They may be said to belong to that class of angels whom Moore calls God's deputies, 'angel warders of hell and tormentors of the damned'.²

A related idea occurs in 1 En. 10.12, where the archangel Michael is commissioned by God to bind the fallen watchers for seventy generations until the final judgment occurs. 1 En. 90.21-24 has an archangel seizing the seventy disobedient shepherds who have abused Israel, while in similar vein, angels gather for judgment all who have assisted wrong-doing (1 En. 100.4). The idea in 1QS 4.12 seems to be similar. Biblical precedent is found in Ps. 78.49, where God lets loose on sinners a company of destroying angels (*מלאכי רעים*).

doctrine et la pratique des esséniens', *Foie et Vie* 80 [1981], p. 35) speaks of 'parfaite symétrie' in relation to the two leading spirits. Cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg and M.E. Stone (*Faith and Piety in Early Judaism: Texts and Documents* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], p. 38), who say that 'the involvement of God, not just the Prince of Light, on behalf of the righteous... hints at a certain lack of symmetry in the dualism of the sect'.

1. *Rule*, p. 154.

2. *Judaism*, I, pp. 403-404. Cf. J. Michl, 'Engel II (jüdisch)', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1940-), V, p. 75: 'Die Straf-Engel müssen an sich keine bösen Mächte sein, sondern vollstrecken einfach die von Gott verhängte Strafe'.

The *War Scroll* has a passage with many similarities to 1QS 3.13–4.14. In 1QM 13.12 the same expression, ‘angels of destruction’ (מַלְכָּאֵי חֲבַל)¹ occurs, but these angels belong to Belial’s lot and ‘walk in boundaries of darkness’. Yadin implies that these are the same angels as in 1QS 4.12 by his reference to the *Rule of the Community*,² but the *War Scroll* identifies these angels of destruction with the spirits of Belial (1QM 13.11–12). They share Belial’s wicked plan (1QM 13.4) and Belial’s purpose is ‘to render wicked and guilty’ (1QM 13.11). This appears to be in conflict with the identification of the angels of destruction in 1QS 4.12 with those who serve God in executing punishment. The spirits of Belial’s lot, on the other hand, are said in the *Two Spirits Discourse* to cause the sons of light to stumble (1QS 3.24), a role they also have in the *War Scroll*.

The third occurrence in the Qumran literature of the expression ‘angels of destruction’ is in CD 2.6. Those who refuse to join the sect can anticipate God’s wrath ‘by the hand of all angels of destruction’. This idea is the same as that in 1QS 4.12. However, the picture is complicated by CD 8.2, where apostates from the sect will be destroyed by God through the agency of Belial.³

Perhaps two traditions are operating in the Qumran literature. On the one hand, punishment will be by angels who voluntarily serve God. On the other, Belial and his angels are opposed to God but nevertheless execute punishment under his sovereignty. While it might be possible to understand the angels of destruction in all three passages (1QS 4.12; 1QM 13.12; CD 2.6) as belonging to Belial but ultimately under God’s sovereign jurisdiction, thus harmonizing the three references with one another and with CD 8.2, this approach is not the way the texts themselves take us. The angels of destruction in the *Two Spirits Discourse* are rather to be understood as God’s obedient servants who execute his judgment.⁴

1. The expression occurs in 1QS 4.12, CD 2.6 and 1QM 13.12. See also below, §9.3.1, and see my Appendix C for similar phrases with מַלְכָּאֵי חֲבַל occurs in the Rabbinic Literature (e.g. in *Sabbat* 55a).

2. *Scroll of the War*, p. 323.

3. Biblical precedent for the operation of evil spirits under God’s sovereignty is seen in the lying spirit in the mouth of prophets (1 Kgs 22.23 = 2 Chron. 18.21), and in the evil spirit from Yahweh that tormented Saul (1 Sam. 16.14–23; 18.10; 19.9), if these are, in fact, spirit beings.

4. Cf. another group of angels, the *malā’ekta maqṣaft* (‘angels of punishment’), in

2.2.8. *Angels and the Origin of Sin*. As noted earlier in the *Book of Watchers*, the presence of evil and its origin in a world made by a good God posed a problem for the Judaism of the Second Temple Period. Various answers were advocated.¹ In Genesis 3, the man and woman rebel against God, though no explanation of how the Tempter came into existence—or how he became evil—is offered, if he was in fact originally good. The OT does not further develop the idea of the serpent as tempter. A different approach resulted from the midrashic treatment of Gen. 6.1–4, producing the idea of angelic rebellion, with sin introduced into the world by fallen angels. This is the approach of the *Book of Watchers*. A quite different solution is offered by the author of the *Two Spirits Discourse*. Sin occurs because the world in general, and human beings in particular, are seen as the arena for a cosmic struggle between truth and perversity, with the forces of the Angel of Darkness arrayed against God and the Prince of Lights. The determinism pervading the discourse removes the responsibility for sin from humanity, for a person’s behaviour depends on one’s inheritance in the lots of truth and perversity (1QS 4.24).

This raises two problems, neither of which is worked out by the author. First, in his care to avoid an absolute dualism with God and the Angel of Darkness presented as coeval and coeternal, he asserts that God is the creator of all spirits (1QS 3.15–26), so that in the end, God is responsible for the evil in the world.² The other problem is that humankind is not really accountable for sin that is committed. According to the *Two Spirits Discourse*, individuals have no say in

the *Parables* of Enoch. They are God’s agents to bring punishment in the final judgment on people such as mighty kings and the unrighteous (1 En. 53.3; 56.1; 63.1; 66.1). 1 En. 53.3 speaks of ‘the angels of punishment continually preparing all the (iron) fetters of Satan’, to destroy kings and the mighty (1 En. 53.5). Black (*Book of Enoch*, p. 218) suggests that these are ‘the chains by which the wicked are bound in Gehenna. . . . The kings and potentates are first bound by them and then cast into Gehenna.’ The fact that these instruments belong to Satan means that he is apparently thought of as being subject to God and as God’s servant in executing punishment, and that the angels of punishment serve God in a way similar to that suggested in CD 8.2.

1. A helpful summary of such answers according to the writers of the Pseudepigrapha is found in Charlesworth, ‘Pseudepigrapha Research’, pp. 77–81.

2. Cf. Charlesworth, ‘Critical Comparison’, p. 393; and also Trautmann, ‘L’instruction’, p. 33.

how they will live. This conflicts with statements elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community*. For example, in 1QS 5.1, members of the community are those who have offered 'to return from all evil and to hold fast to all that he has commanded according to his will'. Then follows a catalogue of moral and religious decisions that the volunteer must make, thereby implying human responsibility in the matter. Similarly, one may enter the covenant community if purified by subjection to the ordinances of God (1QS 2.25b-3.12, a passage leaving plenty of room for human decision). Such a tension may indicate divergent traditions behind the text as we have it now. We must be content to recognize that this situation exists and observe that it has not been worked through theologically by the final editor.

2.2.8. *Conclusion: Angels and the Dualism of 1QS 3.13-4.26.* 1QS 3.13-4.26 presents a type of cosmic dualism. On the one side are God and his lot, which comprises the community or the sons of light, together with the Prince of lights who is also known as God's loyal angel and the spirit of truth. There is probably also a group of good angels associated with the Prince of Lights. The angels of destruction may also belong to this same camp. On the other side is the Angel of Darkness or the spirit of perversity, together with the evil angels of his lot and the sons of perversity.

It is not that the sons of light commit no sin, for the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot oppose them (1QS 3.24). Nevertheless, it appears that people are either in one category or the other, with no middle ground. The dispositions which the spirits of truth and perversity produce in people are described by means of the psychological reference of ריח (1QS 4.2-6, 9-11). Our author introduces the idea of a divinely ordained inheritance for every person in the divisions of light and darkness (1QS 4.15-18, 24-25), and it may be that he has in mind the sort of astrological determinism found in 4QCryptic.¹

1. See J.M. Allegro, 'An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran', *JSS* 9 (1964), pp. 291-94 and *idem* (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 88-91 and pl. xxxi. This fragmentary document sees individuals as possessing particular proportions in the house of light (בבית האור) and in the pit of darkness (בבור החושך). Thus, one with more inheritance in the house of light than in the pit of darkness will belong to the sons of light, provided we are right to combine the ideas of 1QS and 4QCryptic. One's inheritance

Argument concerning the dualism of the *Two Spirits Discourse* has centred on whether the Discourse is based on a cosmic dualism involving angels or a psychological one concerned with innate dispositions in individuals. Our discussion has shown that as the text now stands, there is a fundamental cosmic dualism in mind, while it is necessary to speak also of ethical and eschatological dualisms. There is, further, a psychological dualism in the sense of a division within the individual, represented as the struggle between light and darkness or truth and perversity (1QS 4.23-24). Nevertheless, it is inaccurate to reduce the dualism of the *Two Spirits Discourse* to the later rabbinic scheme of the good and evil tendencies in humanity. We may postulate that in the literary history of the *Two Spirits Discourse*, the ethical dualism of the Two Ways of righteousness and perversity has been combined with dualistic ideas that were predestinarian as well as cosmic in reference.¹ Gammie has argued that ethical dualism is basic to the structure of the Discourse and that it is sometimes externalized into a cosmic dualism and sometimes 'internalized into a psychological dualism'.² If the ethical emphasis does, in fact, have the longer history in the development of the *Two Spirits Discourse*, we can understand how the ideas of 'lots' within humankind and of the predestination of these lots could be integrated into a system displaying a cosmic dualism. The teleological outcome of the Two Ways would have been retrojected into the concepts of lots and a predestinarian framework.

Finally it must be stressed that God is not opposed by an angelic being who is his equal. As Sjöberg has expressed it, 'Judaism has no place for an evil power standing in eternal confrontation with God. Its

is determined by the time of birth (4QCryptic 2). Caution is necessary here, for we do not know to what extent 4QCryptic represented the general beliefs of the Qumran community as against a minority view. Nevertheless, as Charlesworth ('Jewish Interest in Astrology', p. 939) has suggested it would be wrong to assume, from the manner in which it is written ('from left to right, and in Greek, Hebrew and cryptic script'), that such speculation 'was an unaccepted idea at Qumran'. Perhaps the 'esoteric, mystical, zodiacal nature of the thought' might have been considered to be best recorded in such a manner. For a contrary view, see M.R. Lehmann, 'New Light on Astrology in Qumran and the Talmud', *RevQ* 8 (1975), p. 599. At this stage the status of such traditions in the community is still unclear.

1. Cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, pp. 135-36.
2. 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 381.

dualism is relative, not absolute.¹ Nevertheless, reality as conceived by the author of the *Two Spirits Discourse* does involve conflict in the heavenly realm, a cosmic dualism. Moreover, the angelic and the human worlds are closely involved with each other, as all moves forward according to God's predetermined plan.

3. Angels in the Remainder of the Rule of the Community

3.1. The Angel Belial

The term בליעל occurs five times in 1QS (1QS 1.18, 24; 2.5, 19; 10.21). Discussion centres on whether or not this word is a common noun meaning 'worthlessness', or the name of an angelic being who leads the spiritual forces opposed to God, the Prince of Lights and the community. In the second case, Belial would appear to be identical with the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3.20-21) and with Melchiresha.² Kuhn, for example, classifies the occurrence in 1QS 10.21 as a common noun and the others as proper nouns.³

The word occurs twenty-seven times in the OT, but never refers unambiguously to a personal being. It is associated with death and chaos (e.g. Ps. 41.9, Eng. 41.8), and with activities which are against society (e.g. in Judg. 19.22, wrongdoers can be called בני-בליעל) and against the king (e.g. 2 Sam. 20.1, the rebel Sheba is 'a worthless fellow'). Those who abuse the cultus are also called בני-בליעל (Deut. 13.14; Eng. 13.13).⁴

The term, however, does appear to have lent itself to a personified usage, with the idea that behind worthless actions or thoughts there stands a figure promoting such things. Von der Osten-Sacken suggests that the expression in Nah. 2.1. (Eng. 1.15) provides a possible point of departure.⁵ In a context that belongs to the tradition of holy war waged by Yahweh, the wicked (בליעל) is 'utterly cut off'. He also

points to Ps. 18.5-6 (= 2 Sam. 22.6) where the word is linked with מוח and שאול, and again personification could readily be understood.

In the *War Scroll*, the word clearly means a personal being and an evil angel, the leader of the lot of darkness, and enemy of the Prince of Light.¹ On the other hand, in 1QH 2.22, the OT sense of 'worthlessness' appears to be correct on the basis of the parallelism of the text. The writer's enemies 'are an assembly of vanity and a congregation of בליעל'. The term in 1QS appears to be used in both ways,² though it is not always immediately clear in which way the word is to be taken in a particular instance.

1QS 10.21 belongs to a section which describes, in the first person, both the attitudes and actions of the model member of the community. Thus, the sectary promises not to be given to jealousy or covetousness, nor take revenge on those committing evil. The sect member will welcome those who repent but offer no consolation to apostates (1QS 10.18-21), and he says, 'I will not cherish בליעל within my heart. There shall not be heard from my mouth any obscenity nor wicked deceit. . . .' (1QS 10.21-22). Again, the meaning 'worthlessness' or 'folly' for בליעל seems quite appropriate.³ In 1QS 1.18, 23-24 and 2.19, the phrase, 'the dominion of Belial' (ממשלה בליעל) occurs. Huppenbauer considers that this idea is analogous to the dominion of perversity (ממשלה עולה, 1QS 4.19), and that בליעל should not be understood in a personal sense. He also thinks that the phrase, 'the lot of Belial' (גורל בליעל, 1QS 2.5) is equivalent to the 'lot of perversity' (גורל עול) in 1QS 4.24.⁴

It appears that 1QS 3.13-4.26 was at one time separate from the context in which it is located in our copy of the *Rule of the*

1. As in, e.g., 1QM 13.10-11. See below, §11.2.2.1.

2. Cf. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 73-74.

3. So H.W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten: Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums* (ATANT, 34; Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1959), p. 36. It is nevertheless rendered as a proper noun in the translations of Guilbert, 'La Règle', p. 74; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 100; Leaney, *Rule*, p. 235; E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und deutsch, mit masoretischer Punktation, Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), p. 39; Vermes (*Scrolls in English*, p. 91), who translates it by 'Satan'; and Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 38.

4. *Der Mensch*, p. 36.

1. 'ἄνεμος, III. ריח in Palestinian Judaism', p. 376.

2. See below, §§13.1-4, for discussion of the *Midrash on Melchizedek* (11QMelch), the *Testament of Amram* (4Q'Amram), 4Q280 and 4Q286.

3. K.G. Kuhn (ed.), *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 33.

4. For OT usage see B. Otzen, 'בליעל b^eliyy'al', in *TDOT*, II, pp. 131-36.

5. P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT, 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 74-76.

Community,¹ and so recourse to the *Two Spirits Discourse* to clarify the meanings of 'the dominion of Belial' and 'the lot of Belial' should perhaps be taken with caution. However, certain parallels are impressive. For example, 1QS 3.23 mentions the hostile dominion of the Angel of Darkness, while line 24 speaks of 'all the spirits of his portion'. These ideas may be compared with 'the men of the lot of Belial' and 'the spirits of the Angel of Darkness'. It thus seems likely that בליעל refers to an angel in these texts (1QS 1.18, 23-24; 2.5; 2.19), and that Belial is identical with the Angel of Darkness mentioned in the *Two Spirits Discourse*.²

It cannot be argued that 'the lot of perversity' (1QS 4.24 cf. 4.26), which is formally similar to 'the lot of Belial', is an indication that בליעל is not a personal being.³ The phrase refers to those who have been grouped by God, in his predestinarian choice, to constitute the ones who have more inheritance in perversity than in truth. It is true that it is the disposition, perversity, which is mentioned here rather than the figure behind it, but this does not prove that the Angel of Darkness is not an existent personal being for the author. For comparison, we note 1QM 1.11, which contrasts 'the sons of light' with 'the lot of darkness'. These phrases mention the antithetical pair of light and darkness, without naming either the Prince of Light (as he is in 1QM) or the Angel of Darkness (who is known as Belial in the *War Scroll*).⁴ Such phrases cannot be used to argue that the particular angels do not exist.

One passage in the *Damascus Covenant* speaks unambiguously of Belial as a personal figure: Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the Prince of Lights, and Belial raised up Jannes and his brother by his evil device. . . . (CD 5.18-19). Here the Prince of Lights corresponds to Belial and it is logical to regard both as angels. Whether it is methodologically valid to appeal to the *Damascus Covenant* to clarify something in the *Rule of the Community* must be borne in mind. The significance of בליעל in one document must not necessarily determine

1. Leaney, *Rule*, pp. 46-50, 114.
 2. P.J. Kobelski (*Melchizedek and Melchireša'* [CBQMS, 10; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981], p. 33) identifies Belial in 1QS 2.4-5 as 'the principal foe of the sons of light'.
 3. So Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch*, p. 36.
 4. See above, §8.2.2; cf. §11.2.2.1.

our understanding of it in another. However, while there are unresolved questions concerning the exact relationship between the two documents, it is clear the connection is close,¹ and the value of the evidence of other sectarian literature should be seen as greater than that of the OT usage. Undoubtedly, the connections are closer chronologically, sociologically and doctrinally.

Yet this still leaves us with the two interpretations from which to choose for the occurrences in the *Rule of the Community*: 'worthlessness' and 'Belial, the leader of the other evil angels'. The presence of the Angel of Darkness in the *Two Spirits Discourse*, which is now embedded in 1QS, argues strongly for seeing the same figure elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community*, at least in 1QS 1.18, 24, 2.5, 19, if not in 1QS 10.21.

In this light, the phrase 'the dominion of Belial' (ממשלה בליעל, 1QS 1.18, 24; 2.19) can be considered. 1QS 1.16-3.12 deals with entry into the covenant community. Those who decide to join the community must enter into a covenant from which they will never withdraw, despite any pressure to do so 'during the dominion of Belial'. Part of the liturgy in 1QS 1.21-26 involves a recital by the Levites of Israel's sins 'during the dominion of Belial'. The phrase refers to the period of history in which the sect was living, for them 'the present age until the coming of Messiah'.² Belial rules, though according to the *Two Spirits Discourse*, the period of his dominion is limited in keeping with the secrets of God (1QS 3.22-23; 4.18-19; cf. 1QH 15.19-20). 1QS 2.19 specifies that each year there should be a census conducted by the community, 'all the days of the dominion of Belial'. The same idea is found in 1QM 14.9-10, where the community thanks God for his mercies during Belial's dominion and for the fact that the sectaries have remained firm in God's covenant, unbeguiled. The *War Scroll* deals with the eschatological battle in which the dominion of Belial will end with the defeat of the sect's enemies.³

1. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 502-503.
 2. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 50 n. 44.
 3. The word בליעל is not used as a proper name outside of the Qumran literature, though 'Belian' is known in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, *Sibylline Oracles* and *Jubilees*, and also in 2 Cor. 6.15. See Guilbert, 'La Règle', p. 25 n. 6, and, e.g., *Jub.* 1.20; *Sib. Or.* 2.167; 3.63, 73; *T. Dan.* 5.1, 10; *T. Naph.* 2.6; *T. Levi* 3.3; 19.1. The form 'Belial' appears to have been a Qumran

3.2. The Fellowship of Human Beings with Angels

Gammie writes of spatial dualism in which 'a contrast is drawn between heaven and earth'.¹ This view of reality is fundamental to the apocalyptic thought-world of the Enochic authors, and is by no means absent from the world-views of the Qumran writers. All of these authors, of course, shared the Jewish belief that God was the God of heaven.

The concept of a supra-mundane realm populated by angels is reflected in 1QS 11.5b-9a, a passage not yet examined:

From the source of his righteousness are the decrees of light in my heart; from his marvellous secrets mine eye has gazed on what is for ever. . . those whom God has chosen he has given to be an eternal possession and has given them for their inheritance the lot of the holy ones (בטורל קדושים). With the sons of the heavens (בני שמים) he has united their assembly to be a council of community and their assembly is a house of holiness, a planting for eternity (למטעה עולם) in every age that is to be (עם טרל קץ נהייה).

In this final hymn of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 10.1-11.22), the writer rejoices that he has been enlightened by God. In keeping with the presuppositions underlying the Qumran biblical commentaries or *pesharim*, we may understand this enlightenment to be from the OT, coupled with the divinely inspired interpretation experienced within the community.² The community thinks of itself in several ways, which include the idea that God has chosen them,³ a thought drawn from the OT concept of Israel as God's chosen people (Deut. 7.6). The sect considered itself to be the true Israel, the faithful remnant.⁴ It saw humanity as being divided into two communities, and

development. The *Testament of Levi* was known at Qumran (Fitzmyer, *Major Publications*, p. 60), and possibly the *Testament of Naphtali* (H.C. Kee, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs [Second Century BC]: A New Translation and Introduction', in Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I, p. 776).

1. 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 358.
2. See below, §9.2.
3. 1QS 11.7; cf. 4.22; 1QM 10.9; 1QH 17.21; 1QSb 1.1-3. Those not in the community have not been chosen from of old (CD 2.7).
4. Cf. Leaney, *Rule*, pp. 74-75; Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, pp. 13-14; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 201-202; Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch*, p. 35.

the enlightenment spoken of in 1QS 11.5b-9a was reserved for the sectarian community but hidden from outsiders.

The inheritance provided for those who are God's possession is to belong to the lot of the holy ones (1QS 11.7) or angels. קדושים occurs only here in the *Rule of the Community* to designate angels, but is similarly used several times in the *War Scroll*, and elsewhere in the Qumran literature.¹ Though the term is also used occasionally in the sectarian writings for the community members, the saints,² its reference to angels in 1QS 11.8 is clear from the parallelism of 'the holy ones' and 'the sons of the heavens' or 'the sons of heaven'.³

The idea that the Qumran community was united to the heavenly community of the angels is found several times in the sectarian writings and appears to have been one which was generally held. In Ringgren's words, 'The angels and those who are saved constitute one great community. But its visible manifestation on earth is, of course, the Qumran community itself'.⁴

However, I will restrict my discussion for the moment to the *Rule of the Community*, and note the related 1QS 8.1-10, before returning to the relationship of the community to the angels. Column 8 has been taken to refer to the maintenance of an inner council of twelve laymen and three priests in the community.⁵ However, Wernberg-Møller has argued cogently that it refers to the initial establishment of the sect at Qumran.⁶ According to 1QS 8.4-10 the community effectively takes

1. E.g. 1QM 10.12; 12.1, 4, 7, 8; 18.2; 1QH 3.22; 10.35; 11.12, and commonly in the *Sabbath Shiro*: e.g. 4Q400 1 i 3; 4Q405 18 2. The usage has OT precedent and occurs often in the Enochic books in this sense, as discussed above, §2.2.1.

2. E.g. 1QM 3.5; 6.6; CD 20.8; 1QH 4.25.

3. This is another term in the Qumran literature for angels, as in 1QS 4.22; 1QH 3.22; cf. 1QH 11.11. 1QH frg. 2 10 has בני שמים in parallel with אלים, also commonly used for angels. Almost all scholars understand both קדושים and בני שמים to refer to angels in 1QS 11.8. 'Sons of heaven' is a periphrasis for 'sons of God', which occurs in Gen. 6.2, and which has been discussed above (§2.2.3). See also Job 1.6; 2.1; 38.7; Ps. 29.1. Ps. 89.6-7 (Eng. 89.5-6) has בני אלים in parallel with קדושים; cf. 1QS 11.8.

4. *Faith of Qumran*, p. 128.

5. E.g. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 90 n. 4; Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 26-27.

6. *Manual of Discipline*, pp. 122-23 n. 1: the phrase עצת היוד is an important self-designation of the sect (1QS 3.2; 5.7; 6.12-13; cf. 1QpHab 12.4). 1QS 8.4b-10 should probably be taken to refer to the whole community, and not to the group of

the place of the Jerusalem temple.¹ It is 'a holy house consisting of Israel, and a most holy congregation consisting of Aaron' (1QS 8.5-6).² The same thought underlies 1QS 5.4-7; 9.3-6.³

This digression enables us to establish a critical point concerning the sect's relationship with the angels as this idea is expressed in 1QS 11.7b-9a. The community is united with the holy angels to be a combined 'council of community'. Their community on earth is 'a house of holiness', a temple, and corresponds to the angelic cultus in heaven. This idea is reflected also in the importance placed upon the solar calendar by the sect.⁴ Of particular interest for our present study of 1QS 11.5-9 is the fact that *Jubilees* (which was known at Qumran)⁵ thinks of the calendar as having been ordained in heaven (*Jub.* 6.31, 35), divinely revealed to humanity (*Jub.* 4.16-19), and observed in the angelic worship in heaven (*Jub.* 2.17-19; 6.18). In other words, there

twelve plus three priests (cf. Leaney, *Rule*, pp. 210-11). This view is consistent with the imagery of the plantation found in 1QS 8.5. It is the whole community which is 'an eternal planting' (1QS 8.5), as in 1QS 11.8, and the expression signifies the righteous remnant, faithful to God and blessed by him. It emphasizes the community's unique position in relation to God, and occurs elsewhere in the Qumran literature. In addition to 1QS 8.5 and 11.8, see also CD 1.7; 1QH 6.15. 1QH 8.6-11 elaborates on the metaphor. The idea of the eternal plant appears to have been widely used in Second Temple Judaism as a figure of the future blessing of God on his elect. E.g. *1 En.* 10.16; 84.6; 93.5 (cf. 93.2); 93.10; *Jub.* 1.16; 7.34; 21.24; *Pss. Sol.* 14.3. The metaphor as used in the OT, at Qumran and in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is discussed by Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse*, pp. 164-70.

1. The idea of the temple as such was not rejected, only the temple in its corrupt state. The extensive *Temple Scroll* is testimony to the importance of the cultus and the temple to the sect. Cf. Cross, *Ancient Library*, p. 101.

2. Wernberg-Møller's translation, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 33. On p. 124 n. 14 he argues that the prefixed ל ישראל means not 'for' but is used to avoid a construct chain. The rendering 'for Israel' obscures the idea that the community itself is a temple. The same point applies to לאררין.

3. Cf. also CD 3.18-4.12; 4QFlor 1.1-7; 1QS 5.4-7; 1QpHab 12.3-5. See G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT* (SUNT, 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 50-93, and Nickelsburg and Stone, *Faith and Piety*, pp. 71-72. The implications in terms of purity regulations are explored by M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS, 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 10-51.

4. See above, §8.2.2.2.

5. Fitzmyer, *Major Publications*, pp. 17, 21, 23, 53, 71-72.

was a cult in heaven with which the earthly people of God served and worshipped in synchronized fashion.¹ The *Sabbath Shirot*, whose entire setting is the heavenly temple in which the angels worship, also reflect this same idea of the association of the sect members with the angels.² It is in this context that the community thought of itself as having inherited the lot of the angels, and having been united with them, a holy house for the worship of God, for whom they constituted the eternal remnant.

A further issue presents itself. Leaney says of 1QS 11.8 that the sect believed 'that God intended to unite (it) at the end of the age with the great company of his angels'.³ It is true that a hope of future blessings was current at Qumran, as the next paragraph makes clear, but it is not the point being made in 1QS 11.8. Its focus falls on the present experience of the community. The union has occurred: 'With the sons of the heavens he has united their assembly to be a council of community' (ועם בני שמים חבר סדרם לעצה יחד), though of course it is to continue to 'every age that is to be' (כול קץ נהיה); 1QS 11.8-9). Death is not mentioned as a transition point to the new age. The future blessings had already begun.

It is this perspective, that the future has begun and death is not seen in such a way that it is a preoccupation of the writers, which Nickelsburg has suggested lies behind the absence of any mention of resurrection in 1QS 4.6-8 in the *Two Spirits Discourse*.⁴ The blessings of 1QS 4.6-8, as well as the punishments of 1QS 4.11-14, are to be realized at the time of God's visitation. For the sons of light, who walk in the ways of the spirit of light, there will be blessings apparently to be enjoyed on the earth—healing (in the sense of well-being),⁵ many progeny,⁶ endless joy,⁷ a crown of glory or perhaps

1. Cf. Guilbert, 'La Règle', p. 77 n. 137. *T. Levi* 3.5-6 also has a heavenly sacrificial system which the archangels conduct.

2. See below, Chapter 12.

3. *Rule*, p. 254. He cites *1 En.* 104.6 and 2 *Bar.* 51.5, 10, 12 as parallels.

4. *Resurrection*, p. 159.

5. Cf. Leaney, *Rule*, p. 152. Wernberg-Møller (*Manual of Discipline*, p. 79 n. 22) points out that מרפא is used in the OT in relation to eschatological salvation, as in Jer. 8.15; 14.19; Mal. 3.20. Cf. also *1 En.* 10.7; 95.4; 96.3; *Jub.* 1.29; 23.29.

6. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 79 n. 23. The idea of having many progeny is again one found in the OT, as in Gen. 49.25; Exod. 23.26; Deut. 7.13; 28.4; 30.9. It has eschatological associations in Isa. 49.20; 53.10 and in

fullness of glory,¹ and clothing in eternal light, suggesting blessing from God.

By stark contrast, according to 1QS 4.11-14, there will be retribution at the visitation for all the sons of darkness. The angels of destruction² will execute the furious wrath of God, bringing terror, shame and annihilation 'in the fire of a murky Hell' (1QS 4.13).³ Again it appears that the idea of the nature of the future is not very developed.

Mentioning these anticipated blessings and punishments broadens the context in which the idea of the present fellowship of the Qumran community with the angels can be viewed. For the sect, the blessings have been inaugurated in the present (1QS 11.8-9) but will continue into the future. In the *Two Spirits Discourse* that future comes into its own with the visitation of God (1QS 4.6-8, 11-14).

¹ *En.* 10.16-17.

⁷ Cf. *1 En.* 5.7-9; 25.6.

¹ Cf. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 79 n. 25.

² See above, §8.2.2.7.

³ Translation from Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, p. 26. On p. 81 n. 49, he points out that מַחֲשִׁימִים is used in Ps. 88.7 to refer to Sheol.

Chapter 9

THE DAMASCUS COVENANT

1. Introduction

1.1. *Discovery of the Text*

With the publication of the *Rule of the Community* in 1951,¹ it was realized that the texts which had been recovered in 1896 from the geniza of the Karaite Synagogue in Cairo and published by Schechter in 1910² were closely associated with the Qumran community of Essenes. This conclusion was based on the many similarities in terminology and ideas and confirmed with subsequent realization that various fragments from Caves 4, 5 and 6 at Qumran³ belong to what is now known as the *Damascus Covenant*. The oldest fragment, 4QD^a, is dated to the first third of the first century BC by Milik,⁴ who writes concerning both the available MSS and the unpublished fragments:

1. Burrows, *Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery*.

2. S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910 [repr. with a Prolegomenon by J.A. Fitzmyer; New York: Ktav, 1970]). Two MSS designated A and B were found, A consisting of sixteen columns and B of two, numbered 19 and 20 by Schechter. He omitted the numbers 17 and 18. MS B is an expanded form of part of A, which dates from the tenth century AD. MS B is from the twelfth century. P.R. Davies (*The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document'* [JSOTSup, 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983], pp. 3-47) surveys the history of the interpretation of the *Damascus Covenant*, from Schechter's work to the time of writing.

3. 4QD^{a-g} with possibly an eighth, 4QD^h, are still unpublished (cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 490-91). 5Q12 has been published by J.T. Milik (in Baillet, Milik and de Vaux (eds.), *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, p. 181), and 6Q15 by M. Baillet (in the same volume, pp. 128-31).

4. Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 58; *idem*, 'Milki-šedeq', p. 135. 4QD^a was formerly designated 4QD^b, as noted by Dimant ('Sectarian Literature', p. 491).

The text that the Qumrân exemplars present is substantially that of the A recension found in Cairo, but with some noteworthy additions. One of them occurs before the passage which forms the beginning of the Cairo copy; and the end of the work, missing in the Geniza manuscript, is preserved in two manuscripts from Cave IV.¹

For our purposes, there is the question of the adequacy of the textual material available for our study, with almost all of it coming from the mediaeval period and most of the fragments from Qumran still unpublished. The identification of the Cairo document with the writings of the Qumran community is taken as certain by scholars generally,² and this suggests that it can be used confidently. Secondly, the general agreement of the Qumran fragments with the Cairo texts confirms this approach. Unfortunately, however, our study will be limited to the extent that we do not have access to the unpublished Cave 4 fragments, which do not merely duplicate the Cairo text, but seem to correspond to some of the sections known to be missing from it.

1.2. *Contents and Nature of the Damascus Covenant*

The work is in two parts,³ the first of which contains an exhortation concerning the sect, the covenant and God's dealings in history. Our knowledge of this section derives from the Cave 4 fragments and columns 1.1–8.21, together with 19.1–20.34. The exhortation has a meditation on the lessons of history (CD 1.1–2.1), a discussion of the predestination of the upright and the wicked (CD 2.2–13), and further lessons from history (CD 2.14–4.12a). CD 4.12b–7.9a,⁴ 7.9b–8.21⁵ and 19.35–20.34 consider the community of the New Covenant, the sons of Israel, and the destinies of the faithful and apostates.

The exhortation is a theoretical introduction to the second part, the halakic section (CD 15.1–16.20; 9.1–14.22).⁶ CD 15.1–16.20 consists mainly of rules regulating entry into the New Covenant and the use of oaths. Columns 9.1–10.10a cover various regulations concerning life

1. Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 38.
2. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 490.
3. For a detailed outline incorporating Qumran material, see Fitzmyer, 'Prolegomenon', pp. 18–19. For the correspondences of the various Qumran fragments to the Cairo MSS, see Fitzmyer, *Major Publications*, pp. 132–33.
4. 19.1–5a = 7.5b–9a.
5. 19.5b–34 = 7.9b–8.21.
6. Fitzmyer, 'Prolegomenon', p. 19.

within the community. Rites to be followed in the community, including sabbath regulations and purity rules (CD 10.10b–12.18) are followed by a section giving instruction on community organization (CD 12.19–14.19). This includes rules concerning local communities, the responsibilities of the Overseer of the camp and other related matters. A short section on the penal code (CD 14.20–22) concludes the writing as we have it, though Milik places a 4Q section after the penal code, one which he says deals with a feast of renewal of the covenant.¹ This outline suggests a certain coherence of literary form, despite the fairly wide range of topics covered.

A great deal of attention has been given over recent years to analysing the literary history of the *Damascus Covenant*.² However, its literary history, whatever it was, will not be determinative for our study of the beliefs it includes about angels. In the form in which the *Damascus Covenant* materials have been recovered we are dealing with a literary work in its own right, essentially in the same form as that in which it was known, used and copied at Qumran. Since palaeographic dating puts the oldest Qumran MS of the *Damascus Covenant* in the period 100–75 BC, and most of the fragments are in Herodian style, from the first century AD,³ it appears that the *Damascus Covenant* was important to the community for at least a century. Thus it will be taken as satisfactory to utilize the material we have as part of this investigation of the Qumran sectaries' beliefs about angels.

As noted above, the *Covenant* has clear affinities with the *Rule of the Community*. However, the *Rule of the Community* seems to deal with the life of the sect in the Qumran setting. The *Damascus Covenant*, by contrast, presupposes numbers of separate communities, called camps (מחנות; CD 7.6; 12.23; 13.4, 5, 7, 13, 16, 20), where the members marry (CD 7.6–7) and live in groups of ten or more, each led by a priest (CD 12.23–13.3; cf. CD 13.13). Trade relations with outsiders

1. *Ten Years*, pp. 151–52. For a somewhat different outline, including an alternative placement of the section on the covenant renewal, see Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 496–97.

2. J. Murphy-O'Connor has written extensively in relation to the particular theory of Essene origins that he has espoused. See the bibliography for this literature. For a similar viewpoint, cf. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document'*.

3. Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 58; *idem*, 'Milki-šedeq', p. 135; *idem*, in Baillet, Milik and de Vaux (eds.), *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, pp. 128–29, 181.

or 'children of the pit' are carefully regulated (CD 13.14-16).

A related matter is the significance of the phrase, 'the land of Damascus' (CD 6.5, 19; 8.21; 19.34; 20.12). The converts of Israel, those of the New Covenant (CD 6.19; 8.21; 19.34; 20.12), are those who have left Judah and sojourned in 'Damascus'. Vermes has shown convincingly that there was a Jewish exegetical tradition which expected Damascus to be 'the seat of the eschatological sanctuary, the gathering place of the exiles, and the place of the Messiah's coming', so that 'the exilic abode' of the Qumran community 'was called, correctly, *the land of Damascus*'.¹ Some have taken Damascus to be a symbolic designation for Qumran itself.² However, as argued by Dimant,³ it seems that the migration to the land of Damascus has to be dated prior to the establishment of the community at Qumran around the middle of the second century BC. So it is best to regard 'the land of Damascus' as a general symbolic name for the 'exile' experienced by the sect, rather than as the designation of a specific site. This view then allows for the presence of the sect members at sites other than Qumran, as presupposed by the *Damascus Covenant*.

2. *The Sect's Self-Understanding: CD 1.1-4.12a*

The way the sectaries saw themselves in relation to God and the rest of Israel can be approached by considering the two sections in the *Damascus Covenant* that deal with lessons from history (CD 1.1-2.1; 2.14-4.12a) and the intervening discussion about the predestination of the upright and the wicked found in CD 2.2-13.

The *Damascus Covenant* as so far published begins with the first meditation on the lessons from history (CD 1.1-2.1). CD 1.4 introduces the fundamental OT ideas of the remnant (שארית) and the covenant of the forefathers (ברית ראשונים). The OT prophets long

1. *Scripture and Tradition*, pp. 43-49. The quotation is from p. 49. In the next section we will further examine the sect's self-understanding.

2. Cross had early proposed that 'Damascus' was a prophetic term for the desert at Qumran (*Ancient Library*, pp. 81-83 n. 46).

3. 'Sectarian Literature', p. 494.

4. The term 'sect' is used deliberately, rather than 'community' as employed in our discussion of 1QS. If CD was written for the various groups of sect members living in numbers of communities, then the collective term 'community' for them all is scarcely appropriate.

before had proclaimed God's judgment on his people, but the obverse of this was the promise that God would preserve a remnant from which the nation would be re-established.¹ The author of CD 1.5-7 specifically says that Israel has been given over by God 'into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon' 'in the epoch of wrath' (בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ). God's punishment is understood to extend from the sixth century BC to the writer's time.² The exiles who returned from Babylon saw themselves as the remnant (e.g. Hag. 1.12, 14; 2.2; Ezra 9.13-15; Neh. 1.2-3). However, the author of the *Damascus Covenant* sees the Israel of the Second Temple Period not as the remnant, but as faithless people, corrupt through the false teaching of the 'man of scoffing', and subject to the wrath of God (CD 1.13-2.1). To him, it is the sect members, the exiles in Damascus (CD 6.5, 19; 8.21; 19.34) who constitute the remnant. The sect has been given a 'teacher of righteousness' by God, and 'with a perfect heart they did seek him' (CD 1.10-12). The Teacher has revealed to them what God will do to 'the congregation of the faithless' (CD 1.12), as part of his predetermined plan, 'for God has not chosen them from of old (CD 2.7; cf. 2.8), and 'those whom he hated he caused to stray' (CD 2.13). By contrast, he has raised up a remnant, the sect (CD 2.11-13).

Following this discussion concerning the predestination of the upright and the wicked, the author introduces his second treatment of lessons to be learned from history (CD 2.14-4.12a). History is characterized by sin and God's judgment, and various examples are cited.³

1. E.g. Amos 3.12; 5.3; 6.9; 9.1; Isa. 4.1-3; 8.1 cf. 7.3; 10.22-23; Mic. 4.6-7; 5.2-8. Indeed, such ideas reach back to the Deluge, the divine judgment from which righteous Noah and his immediate family were saved (Gen. 6.9-13; 9.8-17). In the exilic prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the severity of God's judgment is announced (Jer. 6.9; 11.21-23; 15.9; Ezek. 5.1-4, 8-17; 9.4-10), but even so there is hope of a remnant (Jer. 23.3-4; 31.7-8; Ezek. 11.14-21).

2. On the use of יְהוָה with eschatological significance, see above, §8.2.2.5, and the fourth note of that section. In the OT it is used to mean 'end' (e.g. Ezek. 7.2, 6; Dan. 12.13; cf. Carmignac, 'La notion d'éschatologie', p. 21). In CD, as in the Qumran literature generally, it means 'period, time, epoch'. Cf. Sir. 43.6, where יְהוָה is rendered by χρόνος (Charles, *APOT*, I, pp. 475-76). This sense applies to each occurrence in CD: 1.5; 2.9, 10; 4.5, 9, 10; 5.20; 6.10, 14; 7.21; 12.23; 15.7, 10; 16.3; 20.15-23.

3. E.g. the children of Noah (CD 3.1); the sons of Jacob and their descendants who went to Egypt (CD 3.4-7); and those who should have entered the land at Kadesh (CD 3.7-9).

By contrast, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob did not follow wicked or lustful inclinations (CD 3.2-4) and were 'his covenanters for eternity' (CD 3.3-4). The sect as the remnant *par excellence* is presented in CD 3.18-19 as 'a sure house in Israel, the like of which has not stood from ancient times even until now'. The sectaries are the ones who keep the covenant and the Torah (CD 3.16), under the correct interpretation of the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 1.11-12).

An eschatological hope is introduced for those who maintain the covenant. 'They that hold fast to it are destined for eternal life (לחיי נצח)' (CD 3.20). The exact nature of this life is difficult to determine.¹ Charles thinks 'the author believes in a blessed immortality'.² However, in the OT נצח means both 'eminence'³ and 'endurance, everlastingness'.⁴ Nothing in the remainder of the *Damascus Covenant* supports Charles's assertion, if he means some sort of heavenly existence. CD 7.5-6 (= 19.1-2) adapts Deut. 7.9 to promise life for a thousand generations to those keeping the precepts of the Law. Cothenet suggests that CD 3.20-21 is offering 'a promise that the community as such, rather than individuals, will live on for ever'.⁵ The next phrase of CD 3.20, 'and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs',⁶ is virtually identical to that in 1QS 4.23 (להם הוא וכול כבוד אדם) and supports the idea of some sort of life on earth, free from sin.⁷

Column 4 emphasizes the distinction between the sectaries and the rest of Israel. CD 3.21b-4.2 quotes Ezek. 44.15, interpreting it in a manner characteristic of the Qumran *pescharim*. Individual words or phrases are applied typologically, to illustrate issues relating to the sect.⁸ Three terms, 'priests', 'Levites' and 'sons of Zadok' are

1. The phrase may be modelled on that of Dan. 12.2 and Sir. 37.26 (חיי עולם). Cf. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents. I. The Admonition. II. The Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1958), p. 13.

2. *APOT*, II, p. 808.

3. It is used in 1 Sam. 15.29 of Israel and 1 Chron. 29.11 of God.

4. According to BDB (p. 664), this latter sense is much the more frequent, though almost always with ל prefixed. E.g. 2 Sam. 2.26; Isa. 13.20; Amos 8.7.

5. 'Document de Damas', p. 159 n. 35.

6. Vermes's translation, *Scrolls in English*, p. 100.

7. M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (BJS, 48; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, repr. 1983 [1961]), p. 139. See also below §10.3.3.

8. On OT interpretation at Qumran see O. Betz, *Offenbarung und*

apparently all applied to the sect members in general.¹ This separation from 'the house of Judah' is to be seen as irreversible (CD 4.11).²

3. Angels in the Damascus Covenant

3.1. Angels of Destruction: CD 2.6

CD 2.2-13 lies between the two passages dealing with the sect and the history of God's people. It sets out a predestination not very different from the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.13-4.26). In both passages God is said to love good ethical qualities (CD 2.3-4; 1QS 3.26-4.8, 22-23), though in the *Two Spirits Discourse* his love and hatred are specifically directed against the two spirits which cause the various evil actions and attitudes named there. In both, God knows the future before it comes about (CD 2.8-10; 1QS 3.15-17; 4.18). In the *Damascus Covenant*, God leads astray those whom he hates (CD 2.13), while in 1QS the same result is achieved by the allocation of the two spirits to human beings. Some have been chosen from of old, others have not, according to the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 2.7),³ while the *Rule of the Community* speaks of the allocation of inheritance in perversity and truth (1QS 4.24), such that people's actions are thereby determined. Both passages speak of blessings for God's people, though

Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (WUNT, 6; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960); F.F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (London: Tyndale Press, 1960); J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament', *NTS* 7 (1960-61), pp. 297-333; A.G. Wright, 'The Literary Genre "Midrash"', *CBQ* 28 (1966), pp. 105-38, 417-57; Vermes, *Post-biblical Studies*, pp. 37-49; J.D. Amusin, 'The Reflection of Historical Events of the First Century BCE in Qumran Commentaries (4Q 161; 4Q 169; 4Q 166)', *HUCA* 48 (1977), pp. 123-52; W.H. Brownlee, 'The Background of Biblical Interpretation at Qumran', in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor, BETL, 46; Paris-Gembloux: Editions Ducolot, 1978), pp. 183-93; *idem*, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk* (SBLMS, 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979); G.J. Brooke, 'Qumran Peshar: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre', *RevQ* 10 (1981), pp. 483-503; *idem*, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup, 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

1. So Cothenet, 'Document de Damas', p. 160 n. 3. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), p. 36.

2. However, apostasy was apparently possible, as in CD 8.1-2.

3. It is nevertheless possible for people to be converted (CD 2.5).

the *Covenant* mentions only forgiveness (CD 2.4-5), while the *Rule* elaborates on eschatological blessings such as longevity, peace and the glory of Adam (1QS 4.6-8, 22-23). Both deal with the future punishment of the wicked in similar language (CD 2.5-6; 1QS 4.11-14), and in both cases there is to be no remnant. The major differences between the two sections are that in the *Rule of the Community* there are the two angels, their corresponding spirits¹ and the sharp contrast between light and darkness, while the *Damascus Covenant* expresses its dualism in covenantal terms. Nevertheless, the kinship is extremely close, sharing a determinism that is understandable in the context of the sect's sense of identity as *the people of God*. Ethical and religious dualism also occur in both, with the one contrasting the sons of light and darkness and the other, the remnant and the backsliders of Israel.

A further striking similarity between the two passages is that both envisage the punishment of the wicked by 'angels of destruction' (מלאכי חבל; CD 2.6; 1QS 4.12). The expression occurs only in these two passages in the Qumran literature and in 1QM 13.12.² According to CD 2.5-7, God will show

power and might and great wrath with flames of fire by the hand of all angels of destruction against them that backslide from the way and those that abhor the ordinance, so that there shall be no remnant or survivors of them.

These angels of destruction are servants of God,³ whether, as seems likely from the context of 1QS 4.12, they are good angels whose task is to punish on God's behalf, or whether they are members of the lot of the Angel of Darkness, followers of Belial, who are nevertheless ultimately subject to God's sovereignty. The striking similarities between CD 2.5-7 and the *Two Spirits Discourse* suggest that the interpretation we give to these angels should be the same in the two places. It is doubtful whether CD 8.2 (= 19.14), which indicates that God will judge apostates 'by the hand of Belial', is really related to CD 2.6, unless the angels of destruction are, after all, angels of Belial's lot.

1. See above, §8.2.2.1.
2. See the earlier discussion, §8.2.2.6.
3. See above, §8.2.2.7.

3.2. Fallen Watchers: CD 2.17-21

The second meditation on lessons from history (CD 2.14-4.12a), concerning those who have followed 'thoughts of guilty inclination and eyes of whoredom' (CD 2.16), begins with the case of the watchers. 'When they walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, the watchers of heaven (עירי השמים) fell' (CD 2.18).

To my knowledge there are only two certain references to the fallen angels in the sectarian writings found at Qumran. These are CD 2.17-21, and 4Q180 1 1-10.¹ The myth of the fallen angels was, of course, well known to the Qumran community from literature not actually written by the sect but in its library, in particular from the Enochic writings (including the *Book of Giants*), *Jubilees*, probably the *Testament of Naphthali*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. It is therefore of interest to notice how the myth of the fallen watchers is used in the *Damascus Covenant*. The author seeks to show that history is strewn with examples of those who have followed wrong inclinations and stubbornly rejected God's commandments. His list includes the fallen watchers as well as their offspring (CD 2.19), along with the people of Noah's day (CD 2.20-21), Noah's sons and their families (CD 3.1), and Israel from the time of Jacob's sons onwards (CD 3.4-12), including those in the wilderness of Sinai, the kings and 'the first members of the covenant' (CD 3.10).

The author stresses the serious consequences of sin as he exhorts the sect members and prepares to deal with the fate of sectaries who might apostasize (CD 7.9b-8.21). Thus he points out that the watchers fell, entangled in stubbornness and wicked inclination, and their giant offspring died (CD 2.18-19). Similarly, God punished the sinners of Noah's day (CD 2.20; CD 3.1), Jacob's descendants (CD 3.4, 7), those who refused to enter the land at Kadesh (CD 3.7-10), and others. The great contrast is with those who held fast to the covenant, with the result that God established the sect as 'a sure house in Israel' (CD 3.19), a faithful remnant (CD 3.18-4.12a).

There is an underlying theme of sin despite privilege. The wicked

1. See below, §13.5.2.1. Amram in 4Q'Amram may have seen an evil watcher, though the reading is uncertain. If it was a watcher he saw, it would not have been a fallen angel of the type encountered in *I En.* 6-11, to judge by the context (see below, §13.2.2). 1QH 10.34-35 may refer to the fallen angels also (see below, §10.9.1).

are none other than those whom God has made (CD 2.21), those among whom lived faithful Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (CD 3.2-3), those to whom were given the commandments of God (CD 3.6, 8), those to whom a land was offered (CD 3.7) and those who were members of the covenant (CD 3.10). Yet they rebelled.

The watchers who fell (CD 2.17-18) are called *השבים* and the use of *השבים* serves to emphasize the height from which they fell.¹ Moreover, a great fall brought great consequences, in that the giants they begot perished too. Now the author does not connect the watchers' fall with the introduction of sin to the world, as is done in *1 Enoch* 6-11, even though this tradition would presumably have been well known to him and his readers. In fact, it seems likely that he has avoided making this connection explicit, for he has already offered a different aetiology of sin. The wicked are those whom God has not chosen (CD 2.7). Their wicked works have been known to God before they themselves ever existed.

Thus, the myth of the fallen angels is used by the author of the *Damascus Covenant* quite differently from the ways in which it is employed in the *Book of Watchers*. In the *Damascus Covenant*, the fall of the watchers is one of several examples of rebellion against God and the consequences this brings. The differences between the use of the myth of the fallen angels in the *Book of Watchers* and the treatment it receives in the *Damascus Covenant* can be accounted for in terms of the differing interests and beliefs of the authors. This will be discussed further in the final chapter (Chapter 14).

3.3. *Belial and the Prince of Lights*

According to CD 4.12b-18, there are 'three nets of Belial':²

And during all those years shall Belial be let loose upon Israel, as he spoke by the hand of the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz, saying: 'Fear, and the pit, and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the land'. Its explanation (*פסרו*): the three nets of Belial. . . The first is whoredom, the second is wealth, the third is conveying uncleanness to the sanctuary.

1. They fell because they followed wicked inclinations and lustful looks, and 'walked in the stubbornness of their hearts' (CD 2.17-18; cf. *1 En.* 16.3).
2. As discussed shortly, *בליעל* here refers to 'Belial, the evil angel' rather than 'worthlessness'. In the ensuing discussion, this meaning will be assumed and the word in translation written 'Belial'.

The quotation from Isa. 24.17 is part of Isaiah's vision, which commences at Isa. 24.1, and concerns the coming day of Yahweh's wrath. CD 4.18-19 also alludes to Isa. 24.18, which declares that there will be no escape. The text is wrested from its context, and given a new application related to the sect's circumstances. The author applies it to three evils of his day, evils he regards as nets employed successfully by Belial to ensnare the Jews who do not belong to the sect. Thus fear, the pit and the snare are allegorized to mean fornication, riches and profanation of the temple.¹ These three evils are operative in the Israel out of which the sectaries have come, and are the three nets or stratagems employed by Belial 'during all those years' (CD 4.12). The concept of Belial's nets is to be understood in the light of the eschatological ideas found in the *Damascus Covenant*.²

The author thinks of the epoch in which he lives as the age of wickedness (*קץ הרשע*); CD 6.10, 14; 12.23; 15.7, 10), the ages of Israel's blindness (*קציוהו ישראל לעורו*); CD 16.2), and the years in which Belial is let loose (*ידיה בליעל משולח*); CD 4.12-13).³ During this period the sect is to walk in strict accordance with the Law (CD 6.4-11). There are instructions regarding converts

1. Fitzmyer (*Semitic Background*, pp. 23-24) calls this modernizing a text's meaning to the sect's circumstances.
2. From the extensive literature on the eschatology of the Qumran community, only a small selection is given, with some emphasis on the *Damascus Covenant*: Smith, 'Messianic Figures', pp. 66-72; H.W. Huppenbauer, 'Zur Eschatologie der Damaskusschrift', *RevQ* 4 (1964), pp. 567-73; J. Licht, 'Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran', *JJS* 16 (1965), pp. 177-82; E.J. Pryke, 'Some Aspects of Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *Studia Evangelica* (ed. F.M. Cross; TU, 103; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968), V, pp. 296-302; Carmignac, 'La notion d'eschatologie', pp. 17-31; A. Caquot, 'Le messianisme qumrânien', in Delcor (ed.), *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, pp. 231-47; J. Carmignac, 'La future intervention de Dieu selon la pensée de Qumrân', in Delcor (ed.), *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, pp. 219-29; *idem*, 'Qu'est-ce que l'apocalyptique? Son emploi à Qumrân', *RevQ* 10 (1979), pp. 3-33; J.J. Collins, 'Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran', in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (ed. B. Halpern and J.D. Levenson; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), pp. 351-75; Davies, 'Eschatology at Qumran', pp. 39-55; L.H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS, 38; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989).
3. *קץ* here clearly means 'period', not 'a significant date which divides two periods' as tentatively suggested by Licht ('Time and Eschatology', p. 181).

during the age of wickedness (CD 15.7-10) and regulations for the camps (CD 12.23-13.7). The sectaries must keep themselves clear of the evil influences of the sons of the Pit or those not belonging to the sect (CD 6.14-7.4).

The age of wickedness is an interim period. God's anger will be unleashed against Israel for about forty years following the death of the Teacher (CD 20.13-17).¹ Then salvation will come for them (CD 20.20).² Some sort of future blessing was envisaged, according to CD 3.20-21 and 20.33-34. This was probably expected to be experienced on earth, for all the glory of humanity or Adam was to be theirs (CD 3.20),³ but the concern of the document was more with the situation in which the sect was living at the time of writing. This is well illustrated by the way in which the author returns immediately from his comment about the future (CD 3.20-21) to the sect's history and its conflicts (CD 4.2-12).

It is within this understanding of history and the sect's position in it that our author speaks of the age in which Belial is active. The three nets of Belial—whoredom, wealth and profaning the sanctuary—are sins of which Israel at large is allegedly guilty in the author's time. He illustrates this within an exegetical framework that depends on his special methodology (CD 4.12-5.15). There seems no doubt that בלעיל refers to an angel in at least one part of CD 4.12-6.2, the section on the three nets of Belial. In his denigration of Israel as a nation without understanding and therefore subject to God's wrath, the author refers to the opposition Moses encountered from the Egyptian magicians prior to the Exodus (CD 5.17-19):

1. On the chronological questions this raises in relation to the history of the sect, see Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, p. 48.

2. There was certainly a messianic hope in the author's mind, though there has been much discussion about how many messianic figures were anticipated. Generally it is thought that there were two, a priestly Messiah of Aaron and a political Messiah of Israel (CD 12.22-13.1; 14.19; 19.10; 20.1). See the summary and bibliography in Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 538-42. CD sees the sectaries as following its ordinances 'during the epoch of wickedness until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron and Israel' (CD 12.22-13.1). משיח אהרן וישראל is generally taken to refer to the two messiahs (cf. 1QS 9.1.1, with the plural, משיחי אהרן וישראל).

3. Cf. Coethenet, 'Document de Damas', p. 146.

For in ancient times Moses and Aaron arose by the hand of the Prince of Lights (אֱלֹהֵי הַלְּוִיִּם), and Belial raised Jannes and his brother by his evil device, when Israel was delivered for the first time.

Here Belial is in opposition to the Prince of Lights, an angel met previously in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (IQS 3.20). There the Prince of Lights is opposed by the Angel of Darkness. It seems clear that Belial and the Angel of Darkness represent the same angel.

In CD 5.17-19, the human world is greatly influenced by the angelic world. Moses is raised up by the Prince of Lights, while Belial¹ cunningly arranges opposition through Jannes and his brother.² Here, then, is a further connection between the *Damascus Covenant* and the *Rule of the Community*, in addition to the determinism discussed earlier. The cosmic dualism here is like that found in the *Two Spirits Discourse*. The fact that eventually the sect will be established for ever (CD 3.20-21) makes it clear that Belial will not ultimately succeed. Moreover, in CD 4.12-13 Belial is said to be let loose (פָּתַחְתָּ), and although the agent is not specified, God is the one implied by the fact that he is speaking and taking the initiative in the following line (CD 4.14). God stands in control of Belial, despite the power of this evil angel.

The function of this passage in the author's plan is clear. The sect belongs to the tradition of Moses, correctly and conscientiously upholding the Law. Belial, by contrast, has a long history of opposing God's people, and he still does so. The sect lives in the epoch of Belial or the age of wickedness, and Israel now stands outside the Covenant, caught in his nets.

Since בלעיל in CD 5.17-19 is clearly the angel Belial in opposition to the Prince of Lights, it seems correct to see the same angel involved with the three nets. This is confirmed by CD 12.2-3, in which Belial is said to have spirits under him. As with the spirits of the lot of the Angel of Darkness in IQS 3.24, the spirits of Belial here cause people to stumble. It does seem that these spirits are real beings, not merely psychological tendencies, as proposed by some concerning the spirits in the *Two Spirits Discourse*.³ Just as in the *Discourse* the Angel of

1. In *Jub.* 48.9, it is Prince Mastema who opposes Israel by aiding the magicians.

2. On the name 'Jannes', and the later 'Jambres', see H. Odeberg, 'Ἰάκωνος, Ἰαμβρέως', *JDNT*, III, pp. 192-93, and Coethenet, 'Document de Damas', p. 165.

3. See above, §8.2.2.6.

Darkness had other spirits or angels associated with him, so CD 12.2-3 appears to presuppose the same belief. Furthermore, there are no indications in CD 12.2-3 that perverse dispositions are in view. On the contrary, CD 12.2-3 says that the one who encourages apostasy¹ is to be judged according to the law found in Lev. 20.27 concerning a medium or a wizard. The expression 'a medium or a wizard' (אֹיִב אוֹ יִדְעָנִים), is found in virtually identical form in several OT passages.² There is no idea in such contexts that the medium is dealing with psychological dispositions. The goal is consultation with the spirits of the dead. This observation further strengthens the argument that the spirits of Belial are supernatural beings.

Apostasy was apparently of considerable concern to our author, despite the determinism of CD 2.2-13. In CD 8.2 (= 19.14), converts who apostasize will 'be visited to extinction by the hand of Belial'. This activity of Belial has been previously distinguished from the activities of the angels of destruction in IQS 4.12 and CD 2.6, for these angels are obedient to God.³ CD 2.6 appears to be parallel to IQM 13.11-12, which indicates that all the spirits of Belial's lot are angels of destruction. Perhaps Belial and his spirits drag those who follow them down to destruction with them. There may also be the thought that God uses even evil beings to achieve his purposes, in this case, the punishment of those who commit apostasy from the covenant.

Finally, in CD 16.5, the person who chooses to take the oath to return to the Law of Moses will no longer be followed by מַלְאֲךְ הַמְשַׁמָּה. As noted earlier,⁴ מַשְׁמָה in the Qumran literature is to be understood as a common noun, 'hostility', rather than as the proper noun, 'Mastemah'. The expression should be translated, 'the angel of hostility'.⁵ This angel, no doubt to be identified with Belial, molests those outside of the covenant, while there is security for the true people of God.⁶

1. Cf. Deut. 13.6.
2. Lev. 19.31; 20.6, 27; Deut. 18.11; 1 Sam. 28.3, 9; 2 Kgs 21.6; 23.24; 2 Chron. 33.6; Isa. 8.19; 19.3.
3. See above, §8.2.2.7.
4. See above, §8.2.2.1.
5. Cf. Cothenet, 'Document de Damas', p. 184: 'l'ange d'inimitié'.
6. Good angels accompany God's people according to Exod. 14.19; 23.20, 23; 32.34; 33.2; and Ps. 34.8 (Eng. 34.7).

3.4. *Fellowship with Angels: The Holy Community: CD 15.15-17*
Schechter's Cairo MS was so badly damaged in column 15 that restoration was impossible.¹ From line 5b onward, the column deals with the rules governing admission to the sect of those who want to turn from their corrupt ways (CD 15.15-17). Milik has published his translation of the concluding lines of the column as they have been restored using an unpublished Cave 4 fragment, 4QD^a. Although Milik's work cannot be checked, it is consistent with the closely related passages in IQSa 2.8-9 and IQM 7.6. The restoration reads:

Fools, madmen (*mšwg*'),² simpletons and imbeciles (*mšwgh*), the blind (*lit.*, those who, being weak of eye, cannot see), the maimed (*hgr*), the lame, the deaf, and minors, none of these may enter the midst of the community, for the holy angels (are in the midst of it).³

The list of bodily defects which exclude a person from the midst of the community⁴ recalls Lev. 21.16-24.⁵ The general context in Leviticus 21 concerns the purity of the Aaronic priests. They must be holy, avoiding certain actions which would profane God's name (Lev. 21.6). Disqualifying items include contact with the dead, marriage to a harlot and shaving the edges of the beard, as well as various blemishes, including blindness, lameness, facial mutilation, deformity of limb or back, dwarfness, defective sight, skin disease and crushed testicles (Lev. 21.18-20). An affected person was not permitted to approach the altar or the veil, lest God's sanctuary be profaned (Lev. 21.22-23).

The list of disqualifying defects in the Damascus Document both summarizes and expands the Leviticus list. 4QD^a embraces all the Levitical matters with its mention of the blind, the maimed, the lame and the deaf. It also adds to these physical defects certain intellectual

1. See the photograph in Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments*, p. xv.
2. These two defects may belong to the previous line, and not to the list of exclusions, as has been suggested by Schiffman (*Eschatological Community*, pp. 47-48).
3. Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 114. The portion in parentheses at the end is presumably restored text. Cf. Cothenet, 'Document de Damas', p. 184. A related list occurs in 11QTemple 45.7-18: an affected person may not enter the 'city of the sanctuary'.
4. 'Community' is used here because of its presence in Milik's translation of 4QD^a, but it should not be taken to mean only the group of sectarians living at Qumran.
5. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, 'A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. XI. 10', *NTS* 4 (1957), pp. 56, 58.

disqualifications. In addition, minors (meaning those under twenty years of age, according to the *Rule of the Congregation*), may not enter the midst of the community.¹

It might appear that 4QDa was simply excluding certain individuals from full membership in the sect. However, it is more likely that the exclusion was rather from some particular aspect or aspects of the life of the community, presumably functions like worship or decision-making.² For example, when the group was at worship it was obligated to maintain ritual holiness, and so exclusions could well have applied. The reason given is that 'the holy angels (are in the midst. . .)' (4QDa).³ In the similar passage in IQSa 2.3-8, the exclusions apply in relation to the decision-making council of the sect.

The belief of the sect presented here highlights the awareness the members had that they were sharing in the life of the heavenly realm, in harmony with the holy angels. They lived in the present but already experienced something of the life of the eschaton.⁴ This idea has already been encountered in the *Rule of the Community*, and it recurs in the *Hodayot*, the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *War Scroll*.

1. IQSa 1.6-12 specifies that the children of community members must be twenty years old before they can be counted in the census or marry. It is reasonable to appeal to the *Rule of the Congregation* here since it shares many features in common with the halakhic part of the *Damascus Covenant*, including the section on the exclusion of those with defects (IQSa 2.3-9). Cf. Vermes, *Qumran in Perspective*, p. 97.

2. So Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, p. 48. For detailed argument, see Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 238-40.

3. The restoration here is rendered highly likely by comparison with the parallel passages in IQSa 2.3-9 and IQM 7.3-4, both of which have similar lists and conclude with a reason involving angels. While the idea of the community as the temple is not developed in the *Damascus Covenant* as it is in the *Rule of the Community*, yet, on the basis of the very considerable similarities in self-understanding of the sect found in the two documents, we will not err if the temple idea is connected to the present discussion. As the true temple, the sect members were duty-bound to maintain strict and appropriate standards of purity. The angels who dwell with God in the heavenly temple could be thought to require a similarly pure environment in the earthly temple (cf. Newton, *Concept of Purity*, pp. 49-51).

4. Cf. Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, p. 48.

Chapter 10

THE HODAYOT

1. Introduction

The sectarian psalm-like compositions from Qumran Cave 1 are known as the *Hodayot*, since many of the individual poems begin 'אודכה אודני, 'I thank thee, O Lord', or as the *Hymns*, since they bear some resemblance to certain of the canonical thanksgiving psalms.¹ The scroll was badly damaged, but eighteen columns containing about thirty individual hymns have been reconstructed, though it is often difficult to discern where the literary divisions occur, due to the state of the text. There are also many fragments whose original place in the whole is not known. In addition to the original material known as IQH, certain other fragments from the same work have also been found but as yet are unpublished.² The copies of the *Hodayot* from Cave 1 come from late in the first century BC.³

The authorship of the *Hodayot* remains an unresolved question. The most common view is that at least some of the hymns are the work of the Teacher of Righteousness, because the strongly personal and biographical tone of many of the hymns is consistent with what is known of the Teacher from other writings such as IQpHab and CD.⁴ Yet this identification cannot be proved. There are considerable

1. E.L. Sukenik, 'Ošar ham-megillōt hag-gēnūzot še-bidē ha 'ūmbersīṭāh ha 'ibrīt (2 parts, Plates and Transcriptions; Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation and the Hebrew University, 1954) and E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (idem, trans. and ed. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin; 2 parts: Plates and Transcriptions; Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1955).

2. Concerning IQ35 1-2 and 4QH^{a-f}, see Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 523.

3. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 523.

4. J.P. Hyatt, 'The View of Man in the Qumran "Hodayot"', NTS 2 (1955-56), p. 277 summarizes the data.

difficulties involved in matching descriptions in the hymns to specific historical situations in the life of their author (or authors), due to the eschatological and apocalyptic outlook of the *Hodayot*.¹

Debate has also occurred concerning the function of the *Hodayot* in the life of the Qumran community. Liturgical use² is likely, even for the hymns that use first person singular rather than second person pronouns.³ On the other hand, some think that these hymns were used for personal edification.⁴ However, while uncertainty about how the community used the *Hodayot* remains, their essentially meditative character cannot be denied. This is seen in the author's praise of God (1QH 10.8-11; 12.3-9), his thankfulness for God's deliverance from wicked people (1QH 2.31-36; 5.5-13), his sense of personal unworthiness (1QH 1.21-25; 3.23-24), his joy in knowing God's truth (1QH 7.26-27) and the like.

2. Methodology

Earlier, when our approach to the study of the role of angels in the Qumran literature was being discussed, the need to consider the various documents individually and each in its own right was stressed. Because the *Hodayot* form a collection of related but separate compositions, it will be essential to deal with each individually, rather than trace a particular theme through various hymns, though occasionally reference to other similar contexts will be made. Moreover, these compositions are poetry, not prose,⁵ and so must be interpreted as such.

1. B.P. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS, 50; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1981), p. 10.
2. J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), p. 54.
3. E.g. 1QH 2.20-30; 2.31-37; 3.19-36. It is suggested that the worshippers may have identified with the author's experience as they worshipped. Cf. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Acta Theologica Danica, 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), pp. 332-48; Carmignac, 'Hymnes', pp. 134-35; J. Maier and K. Schubert, *Die Qumran-Essener: Texte der Schriftrollen und Lebensbild der Gemeinde* (Uni-Taschenbücher, 224; Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1973), p. 193; Kittel, *Hymns*, pp. 10-11.
4. So Flusser, 'Psalms, Hymns and Prayers', p. 566.
5. For a summary of some of the work done on the poetry of 1QH see Kittel, *Hymns*, pp. 14-20. In addition, see J. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 168-80; Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*,

10. The Hodayot

Angels are not mentioned in quite a few of the *Hodayot*, so these will be ignored. Our investigation will primarily involve the hymns represented by 1QH 1.6-37, 3.19-36, 5.20-6.34, 7.26-33, 9.37-10.12, 10.14-11.2 and 11.3-14. 1QH 3.19-36 will be considered first, since it introduces in brief compass a number of matters relating to angels in the *Hodayot*.

3. 1QH 3.19-36

3.1. Structure and General Theme

This hymn consists of an opening stanza and five others.¹ The Opening Stanza (1QH 3.19-21), as in many of the Qumran hymns, gives a general summary of the contents of the whole.² The author gives thanks that God has saved him from Sheol Abaddon and raised him to an eternal height. He now knows there is hope for a mere creature of dust, hope involving an eternal community. Stanza A (1QH 3.21-23) expresses the author's joy over his cleansing from sin in order that he might share 'in rank with the host of holy ones', 'together with the congregation of the sons of heaven' (1QH 3.21-22). In Stanza B (1QH 3.23-25), the author reflects on his make-up—'a creature of clay . . . kneaded with water'—and on the distress he meets in the world. Contemplation of this distress leads to a consideration, no longer in the first person, of the snares of the pit (Stanza C, 1QH 3.26-28), followed by a discussion of the wrath ahead for all who belong to Belial. Yet this involves a horrific cataclysm (Stanza D, 1QH 3.29-34). The rivers of Belial 'flow over all the high banks' and 'break into the nether world'. This is the unleashing of the eschatological forces of evil. The tide is turned in Stanza E (1QH 3.34-36) as

pp. 53-54; H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran: mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), pp. 16-33.

1. Kittel, *Hymns*, pp. 56-59. In this discussion I will use her terminology, viz. Opening Stanza, Stanza A, etc., as well as her translation.
2. For simplicity, only whole lines will be used to define the stanzas, even though stanzas begin and end independently of the accidents of when the scribe had to begin a new line. Thus, the Opening Stanza would be better listed as 1QH 3.19b-21a, rather than 1QH 3.19-21. In the system adopted here, the same line number will often appear as the last of one stanza and the first of the next.

'the army of heaven sends forth their voice' and 'the war of the mighty army of heaven rushes across the earth, and it does not draw back until it is complete'. God is ultimate victor in the battle.

On the broad scale, the poem deals with God's victory over evil as that victory is experienced by the author and by the whole world. The author's distress, with the answering hope given by God (1QH 3.19-25), is set in the context of the eschatological struggle and God's final victory (1QH 3.29-36).

3.2. The Eschatological Battle

It is not possible to reduce this hymn to the mere deliverance of the author from distress in the present life. Laurin sees it as 'simply an expression of praise to God for his protecting care amid the heavy persecutions that we know were heaped upon the sect' and says that the author did not mean anything eschatological by what he said.¹ However, as Nickelsburg has observed, 'The text neither mentions nor hints that the author has experienced persecution at the hands of his enemies'.² The eschatological perspective of the whole hymn is clear.³ For example, גורל is a contemporary Jewish term in contexts involving eschatological salvation.⁴ The personal note appears only in the earlier portion, while attention in the remainder focuses on the whole world and God's future action in it.

Translators have differed over the verb tenses to be used to properly convey the author's thought in the various parts of Stanzas C-E. However, Collins has suggested that there is a 'deliberate ambiguity of eschatological language' in the hymn. He thinks the language is applicable on two levels, that of the author's past and present, and that of the eschatological future. The former application does not exhaust the future application of the eschatological language used.⁵

These considerations assist our interpretation of the references to בליעל. As mentioned previously, this noun means 'worthlessness' in the OT, but in the Qumran literature frequently refers to the angelic

1. R.B. Laurin, 'The Question of Immortality in the Qumran "Hodayot"', *JSS* 3 (1958), p. 346.

2. *Resurrection*, p. 153.

3. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, pp. 44-78.

4. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, pp. 73-75.

5. Collins, 'Patterns', p. 371.

leader of evil, opposed to God and the Prince of Lights or Michael.¹ It occurs three times in our hymn. בליעל נהלי is used in 1QH 3.29, 32, where, in the eschatological context of Stanza D, the meaning of 'worthlessness' seems less appropriate than the proper noun. Stanza E (1QH 3.34-36) speaks of the 'army of heaven' (צבא השמים, line 35) that sweeps into the battle that belongs in Stanza D to the rivers of Belial. This is the eschatological battle, familiar from the War Scroll.

Here, as in the War Scroll, בליעל refers to the angel who heads the forces of evil. In Stanza E the angelic army of God comes against the angel Belial. It is called צבא השמים (1QH 3.35), a phrase used in the OT and 2 Maccabees of the angelic host at Yahweh's disposal.² God, himself, is called יהודה צבאוה and אלוהי צבאוה on numerous occasions.³ 'Hosts' in this title can be used to designate not only Israel's armies (1 Sam. 17.45), but also the angels under God (as in 1 Kgs 22.19) and the heavenly bodies (Isa. 40.26). In the *Hodayot*, it refers to angels in 1QH 3.35, 10.35,⁴ 13.8 and 18.23. The idea of God's angelic army is prominent in the War Scroll in general, and צבא is used specifically of the angels in 1QM 12.1, 7, 8.

The description of the heavenly army in 1QH 3.35 is further elaborated in lines 35-36. 'And the war of the mighty army of heaven (מלחמה גבורי שמים) rushes across the earth' and 'its decision is forever (לעד)'. Given the military setting of Stanzas C-D, and in line with our interpretation of בליעל in 1QH 3.29, 32, we may also take the word in line 28 to mean the angel Belial. The text reads: 'And the moment of wrath for all of Belial'.⁵ לכול בליעל probably includes all who belong to and support Belial, the humans and perhaps the angels of his lot too,⁶ though this is not explicit in our text.

1. See above, §8.3.1.

2. E.g. 1 Kgs 22.19, although this battle is between Ahab and Syria, and is not the eschatological battle. Similarly, in 2 Kgs 6.17, Yahweh's heavenly army protects Elisha. Judas Maccabaeus is also assisted by angels in battle (2 Macc. 10.29-30). In Josh. 5.13-14, the captain of the army of Yahweh (שר צבא יהוה) appears to Joshua. Note that the צבא השמים is also used frequently for the celestial bodies in the OT, as in Deut. 4.19; 17.3; 2 Kgs 17.16; 2 Chron. 33.5; etc.

3. E.g. 1 Sam. 1.3; 2 Kgs 3.14; Isa. 1.9; 10.23; Amos 5.14; etc.

4. See below, §10.9.1.

5. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, p. 65) renders בליעל here by 'corruption'.

6. Cf. Carmignac, 'Hymnes', p. 201 n. 27.

3.3. *The Eschatological Blessings*

1QH 3.21-23 reads:

And a perverted spirit you purified from great sin,
So that it might be stationed in rank with the host of holy ones,
And so that it might come together with the congregation of the sons of
heaven (עדה בני שמים).

And you cast for man an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge. . .

The author rejoices that he has been enlisted with the angels. Though sinful and frail (1QH 3.21, cf. 3.23-24), he has been purified, and even now, in his present experience, he has come into fellowship with the sons of heaven and the host of holy ones. He has an eternal lot with the spirits of knowledge. The author here uses three synonymous terms for angels: 'holy ones', 'sons of heaven' and 'spirits', which are all known elsewhere in the Qumran literature as designations for angels.¹ The parallelism of 'spirits of knowledge'² with 'sons of heaven' (1QH 3.22-23) indicates that this phrase, too, refers to angels. God has united the author with the angels 'that he might praise' (1QH 3.23) God's name. This is to be done 'in community' (ביחד, 1QH 3.23), an idea familiar from the *Rule of the Community*.³ Fellowship with the angels is experienced within the community of the sect, and especially in the context of worship,⁴ as is suggested by the focus of this hymn on thanksgiving to God.

The author has become part of an eternal community, even though he is only dust. He speaks about how he has joined the sectarian community and in metaphorical language says he has been redeemed from the Pit (שחת) and raised from Sheol Abaddon (שאול אבדון) to an eternal height (לרום עולם). The whole hymn has been the focus of a debate about whether the Qumran community believed in the resurrection of the body, the immortality of the soul, both or neither.⁵ In fact, on the

1. On צבא as a term for angels, see above, §10.3.2; on קדושים, see §2.1.1; on בני שמים, §8.3.2; רוחות רעהו, see below, §12.3.2. For a discussion of spirits as angels, see above §8.2.2.6.

2. Angelic knowledge is a very important theme in the Asael strand of the myth of the fallen angels in the *Book of Watchers* (see above, §2.2.5).

3. E.g. 1QS 1.1, 12, 16; 2.22.

4. See above on 1QS 11.5-9, §8.3.2.

5. E.g. Laurin ('Immortality', pp. 344-47) has argued that 'eternal height' merely connotes the security of the author and not heaven, and that rescue from Sheol, Abaddon and the Pit refers to his safety from death, as in 1QH 5.6-11. Cf. also,

issue of resurrection or immortality, our hymn is not definitive. What is clear, however, as Nickelsburg has argued, is that the author is caught up in the joy of belonging to the community that is associated with the holy angels, so that 'the blessings of the *eschaton* are already a reality for the author. . . It is precisely the function of this hymn to give thanks for the accomplished fact of this eschatological deliverance'.¹ The Qumran texts as a whole do not contemplate the immortality of the soul separate from the body, while the idea of resurrection appears not to be in conflict with the beliefs underlying the hymn under discussion. Yet this is not the point of interest for the author. His joy comes from eschatology already inaugurated, though he certainly envisages an eternal future for the sect, whether as the community on earth or as resurrected sect members (1QH 3.21).

4. *1QH 5.20-6.34*4.1. *Structure and General Theme*

There is considerable uncertainty about the extent of this hymn, as the scroll has been extensively damaged. The most obvious indicator of a new composition, the formula 'I give thee thanks' or 'Blessed be thou', has been lost. The outside limits of the hymn are 1QH 5.20 and 7.5.² Alternative proposals within this range have also been made.³ 1QH 7.1-5 will, in fact, be omitted from this discussion, since it will not affect our understanding of 1QH 5.20-6.34, which is of much greater significance for our study of angels,⁴ and can be

Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, pp. 66-67 n. 3, and M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot): Texte hébreu; introduction; traduction; commentaire* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), pp. 125-26. On the other hand, cf. J. van der Ploeg, 'L'immortalité de l'homme d'après les textes de la Mer Morte (1QS, 1QH)', VT 2 (1952), pp. 171-75. Cf. also the statement of Josephus (*War* 2.8.11. §154) that the Essenes held to the immortality of the soul.

1. *Resurrection*, pp. 153-54. Cf. Delcor (*Hymnes*, pp. 124-26) who cites *Odes* 31.1-2 as a parallel use of 'the height' to signify blessing experienced in the present rather than something to be anticipated in the future.

2. So Jeremias, *Der Lehrer*, pp. 168-80 and Carmignac, *Hymnes*, p. 216.

3. E.g. Becker (*Das Heil Gottes*, pp. 53-54) suggests 1QH 6.1-36, whereas Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 37) finds two sections, 1QH 5.20-39 and 6.3-36.

4. The one possible reference to an angel, the word בליעל in 1QH 7.3, will be discussed below, §10.4.3, in connection with the discussion of the word in 1QH 5.20-6.34.

satisfactorily discussed as a coherent whole.

In the Opening Stanza (1QH 5.20-22) the author thanks God because he has not been abandoned, despite the glory and power of God. The rest of the hymn develops this theme (1QH 6.4-34), notwithstanding the opposition that is experienced (1QH 5.22-6.3).

In 1QH 5.22-26, the writer laments the opposition he has encountered from his friends, the members of his covenant (ברִיחִי; 1QH 5.23) and those of his council (סוּדִי; 1QH 5.24). The next four stanzas (1QH 5.26-29; 5.29-32; 5.32-36; 5.36-39) continue the theme of the opposition encountered by the author, but as the hymn progresses there is a growing proportion of each stanza devoted to the personal pain of the writer, with decreasing emphasis on the opposition itself. In column 6, the author begins to reflect on God's deliverance (1QH 6.2-6), which leads to a consideration of the remnant (1QH 6.10-12). This remnant belongs to God and has entered 'into a common lot with the Angels of the Face' or of the Presence (1QH 6.12-14), and is likened to an everlasting plant (1QH 6.14-19). The hymn then returns to the unfaithful opponents who have really rebelled against God (1QH 6.19-24), in whom the author takes refuge (1QH 6.24-29). The author finds comfort finally in the certain coming of God to crush the opposition (1QH 6.29-34).

4.2. Fellowship with the Angels of the Presence

Among the blessings the author contemplates in 1QH 6.10-19 is the fact that God's people are associated with the Angels of the Presence (1QH 6.12-13). Again, is this a present reality or a future hope? Dupont-Sommer translates, 'For thou hast caused [them] to enter (הביאוחה) thy [glo]rious [Covenant] with all the men of thy council (עצחכה) and into a common lot with the Angels of the Face'. The verb is rendered in the past tense by most translators,¹ though the present is preferred by Lohse² and the future by Vermes.³ It is in line with the

1. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 143; T.H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (rev. edn; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), p. 159. Carmignac, *Hymnes*, p. 220; Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*, p. 210; and Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 101.

2. *Die Texte*, p. 135.

3. *Scrolls in English*, pp. 169-70.

sect's self-understanding, as expressed elsewhere in the *Hodayot*, to think of this being in one lot or group with the angels as a present experience, rather than as something wholly future. The same idea occurs in 1QH 3.20-23, just considered. Outside of the *Hodayot* similar ideas are expressed in 1QS 11.7-9, CD 15.15-17, 1QM 7.6, and 1QSa 2.8-9.¹

The Angels of the Presence (מלאכי פנים) are those who serve before God in heaven. Elsewhere in the Qumran literature they appear in 1QSb 4.25-26 (מלאך פנים and also the plural, מלאכי פנים).² These angels, as a group (or singly as 'the Angel of the Presence') are known from other Jewish writings.³ The idea occurs in *1 En.* 40.1, while in Tob. 12.15, Raphael describes himself as 'one of the seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One'. This link with the archangels, here seven, is to be compared to *1 En.* 40.1-10 (with four archangels). The Angels of the Presence function like a king's chief ministers, having direct access to God's presence.⁴ The name itself is found in Isa. 63.9 for the angel who rescued Israel from affliction.

Thus in 1QH 6.13, the author asserts that he has fellowship with the angels who live and move in the very presence of God. God's remnant, the sect, thinks of itself as being in the same lot as these angels.⁵ The remainder of line 13, וואין מליץ בנים לק[רושיכה], seems to emphasize the immediacy of this association. Mansoor translates: 'And there is no intercessor [to thy holy ones]', citing evidence relating to מליץ meaning 'intercessor, interpreter'.⁶ If this is the correct idea, it

1. See §§8.3.2; 9.3.4; 11.5.3; 13.7.2. Kuhn (*Enderwartung*, pp. 66-70) gives several references from the *Hodayot* fragments in his 'Exkurs I: Die Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln in den Qumrantexten'. Cf. the sect's association with the Prince of Lights in 1QS 3.20, discussed above, §8.2.2.3.

2. Cf. also, M. Baillet, 'Un apocryphe mentionnant l'Ange de la Présence', in Baillet, Milik and de Vaux (eds.), *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, p. 99 and the discussion of Ministers of the Presence in the *Sabbath Shirot* (see below, §12.7.2).

3. *Jub.* 1.27, 29; 2.1, 18; 15.27; 31.14; *T. Levi* 3.4-8; *T. Jud.* 25.2.

4. Cf. Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 410.

5. Delcor (*Hymnes*, p. 176) refers to the sect as 'l'antichambre du Ciel'.

6. *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 143 n. 2. Similarly, Carmignac, 'Hymnes', p. 221 n. 57. Mansoor notes Job 33.23, which may be referring to an angel in using מליץ. 'Intercessor' is the sense of the word elsewhere in the OT (Isa. 43.27 and 2 Chron. 32.31). It has not been included in my Appendix C. BDB (p. 539) relates the word to לִיץ, 'to scorn'.

emphasizes the close relationship the sectary believed he had with the angels who served in the very presence of God.¹

4.3. *Belial in 1QH 5.20–6.34*

The word בליעל occurs three times in this hymn (1QH 5.26, 39; 6.21).² 1QH 7.3 will also be included in this discussion, though as already noted, its relationship to the present hymn is unclear. It was argued earlier that בליעל in 1QH 3.19-36 refers to the angelic leader of the forces of evil.³ From the context of 1QH 5.20–6.34, the use of the word בליעל to mean 'worthlessness' and 'godlessness' is possible. Thus, those who have been led astray stagger aside from God's way, suffering misfortune, 'and בליעל like a counsellor is with their heart' (וכמוא יועץ בליעל עם לבבם; 1QH 6.19-22). On the other hand, given the Qumran context at large, where Belial is clearly the personal angelic enemy of God, such an interpretation of these four texts (1QH 5.26, 39; 6.21; 7.3) is also reasonable and probably should be followed. The personal sense is assumed by the majority of translators.⁴ It is possible that the ambiguity of the term in the *Hodayot* may indicate that the hymns come from an early stage in the sect's life, when the OT sense was followed, with the application of the word to the opponent of God being a later one. It is in other Qumran writings such as the *Rule of the Community* and especially the War Scroll that the doctrine of an angelic enemy of the sect is more clearly developed. It is also possible that בליעל is used ambiguously in a conscious way within the poetic framework of the *Hodayot*.

The only occurrences of בליעל in the *Hodayot* not yet considered are 1QH 2.16, 22. Further detailed analysis will not add anything new

1. 1QH 6.14 is ignored here because of the damaged state of the text.

2. A *beth* has to be restored in 1QH 5.26 and both a *beth* and a *yodh* in 1QH 5.39, but the context in both cases makes these restorations very likely to be correct.

3. See above, §10.3.2.

4. E.g., Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*; Vermes, *Scrolls in English*; Lohse, *Die Texte*; Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*; Carmignac, 'Hymnes'. Vermes has 'devilish' in 1QH 5.26 (p. 167). Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 148) uses 'base' in 1QH 7.3, but 'Belial' elsewhere. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, pp. 100-102) has 'Belial' in 1QH 6.21, but not in the other places, while Delcor (*Hymnes*, pp. 164, 170, 178, 186) does not use the proper noun at all. He thinks that Belial as the personification of evil is absent from the *Hodayot* (pp. 44, 52), as does Huppenbauer (*Der Mensch*, p. 73).

to the observations already made. It is again difficult in these two lines to decide whether the meaning is 'worthlessness' or whether Belial, the angel, is meant. The former seems more likely in these two places, based on the parallels in them to the word בליעל.

4.4. *Angels as Mighty Ones: 1QH 5.21*

4.4.1. *As Servants of God: 1QH 5.21*. As already noted, the Opening Stanza expresses the author's joy that the God of might and glory has blessed him in his weakness. The contrast between God and the author is enhanced by a reference to wondrous mighty ones who serve God (נבורי פלא משרחיכה).¹ Here is the common OT idea that the host of angels performs God's will. נבורים is used of angels elsewhere in the Qumran literature in 1QH 3.35-36; 8.11-12; 10.34-35; 1QM 15.14² and in the *Sabbath Shirot*.³ The angels here are clearly thought of as more powerful and wonderful than mere human beings. On the other hand they are less than God, for they serve him.

4.4.2. *As Protectors of God's People*. It will be convenient to consider here a further reference to mighty angels as servants of God, even though it is found in another hymn, 1QH 8.4–9.36. Since there is just the one reference to angels in this long hymn, and that reference occurs very early in it, only the first portion need be considered. The overall theme is praise to God who has blessed the author and made him a blessing to others. In the early part, he describes himself as having been placed by God beside a fountain in the desert. Trees of life grow up by the water, described as an everlasting plantation (1QH 8.6, 10), which refers to the author's community.⁴ Others have not recognized this holy growth (1QH 8.10-11), but God protects it so that it prospers (1QH 8.11-12). The image used in 1QH 8.11-12 to

1. משרחיכה is the corrected form for משרחיכה in the text where the first *yodh* is marked to be ignored (Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 135 n. 1). Cf. Ps. 103.21, usually taken to refer to angels.

2. For the restoration needed in 1QM 15.14, see J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre; traduit et annoté avec une introduction* (STDJ, 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), pp. 167-68.

3. 4Q402 1 4; 4Q403 1 i 21-22; 4Q405 13 5.

4. A similar image is used elsewhere in the *Hodayot* (1QH 6.15), in the *Rule of the Community* (see above, §8.3.2), and also in 1 En. 10.16; 84.6; 93.5, 10 (see above, §§2.2.6-7).

indicate this protection is that of Eden with the cherubim, and the sword of fire (Gen. 3.24):

And tho[u, O G]od hast shut up his fruit
in the mystery (ר) of the strong valiant ones (כורי כתר)
and of the spirits of holiness and of the flame of whirling fire.

The waters are unavailable to any who do not recognize the heavenly plantation for what it is (IQH 8.13-14). God's plantation thrives and streams of blessing flow from the author to others (IQH 8.16-20). This is a further example of angelic involvement with the author's sect. The strong valiant angels serve God by ensuring the safety and fruitfulness of his people.

5. IQH 11.3-14

This is another hymn which mentions the author's relationship with angels, called in IQH 11.13 'the everlasting host' and 'spirits'.¹ God has dealt wonderfully with a 'creature of clay' (IQH 11.3). The author gives thanks for his understanding of God's truth and deeds towards him (IQH 11.3-7), for God's pardon and mercy, and again for the 'understanding of all (his) marvellous mysteries' (IQH 11.3-7). The section IQH 11.10-14 is important for our study of angels.

5.1. Present Fellowship with the Angels

As observed by Nickelsburg,² the final stanza commences with a statement using a perfect verb, כרתה: 'And thou hast cleansed man of sin because of thy glory' (IQH 11.10), an accomplished event. Then follow five infinitival subordinate clauses, expressing purpose—that the sectary might be holy, joined with the holy community,³ raised from dust and perversity to knowledge, and:

1. The text is damaged after רוחי, an alternative form at Qumran of רוחו (Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 169 n. 3).
2. *Resurrection*, p. 155.
3. I take קרושיבך עם בונלי (IQH 11.11-12) to refer to membership of the sect, since it is in parallel with 'thy sons of truth', this phrase not being used anywhere else in the Qumran literature for angels.

10. The Hodayot

that he may watch before thee with the everlasting host and together with [thy] spirits [of holiness]

that he may be renewed with all [that is and] shall be and with them that know, in a common rejoicing (IQH 11.13).

In line 13, 'everlasting host' (צבא ער) is to be taken as referring to angels in keeping with the use of צבא elsewhere in the *Hodayot*.¹ More difficult to decide, however, are the time references of the last three infinitival clauses.² Important here is IQH 11.12, the third infinitival clause of which has been taken to refer to a resurrection, at least of the righteous dead.³ However, it is clear that the worm that is a mere human has already been raised from the dust to understanding, just as the author has already learned the secret of God's truth and understood God's marvellous deeds, according to IQH 11.4. To gain understanding of God's mysteries (IQH 11.10) is a frequently employed motif in the *Hodayot* and corresponds to actually joining the sectarian community and embracing the sectarian teaching.⁴ This is well illustrated by the present hymn in IQH 11.9-11, where understanding God's mysteries is linked with belonging to God's sons of truth, the community.

Now joining the community and receiving revealed knowledge are things that have occurred in the past.⁵ God has dealt marvellously with 'dust' (IQH 11.3),⁶ giving the author understanding. This means then, that IQH 11.12 should be taken to refer to a past event,⁷ just as the forgiveness of IQH 11.10-11 and joining the community (IQH 11.11) have already occurred.⁸ Because these things are past events, it is highly likely that the clauses of IQH 11.13 should also be understood to refer to what has already happened. Thus, the

1. See above, §10.3.2. The same is true of 'spirits' (see above, §8.2.2.6). On ער in relation to the angels, see the next section.
2. Cf. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, pp. 84-85.
3. So Schubert, *Dead Sea Community*, p. 111.
4. J. Licht ('The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll', *IEJ* 6 [1956], pp. 97-99) summarizes the data concerning the importance of knowledge in the *Hodayot*.
5. See, e.g., IQH 4.5; 7.10, 19-20, 26-27; 14.8.
6. On 'dust' as a Qumran term for humanity, see Licht, 'Doctrine', pp. 10-11.
7. Cf. IQH 3.20, which says that the author has been raised to 'an eternal height' an expression previously interpreted to mean joining the community (see above, §10.3.3).
8. Cf. Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, pp. 86-88.

sectary in the present watches along with the angels before God. The sect member does so on earth, they in heaven, but belongs with them, as has been found previously in 1QH 3.19-23 and 6.12-13. The eschaton has begun, described in 1QH 11.13 as a renewal.¹

5.2. The Everlasting Host

In 1QH 11.13 angels are designated collectively as 'the everlasting host' (צבא ער). Used as a noun, ער in the OT indicates distant time, whether past (Job 20.4) or future. With a future reference, it can refer to a human life-time (Prov. 29.14) or God's existence (Isa. 57.15).² In the *Hodayot*, it is used of those who follow God's way and who stand fast for ever (1QH 4.22). Ungodliness will be destroyed for ever (1QH 14.16). God hates perversity for ever (1QH 14.25) and his righteousness is firm for ever (1QH 8.2). From the word itself it is not possible to gauge the timespan involved in any particular case. Context must be taken into account.

It will be helpful to consider 1QH 7.31-32: 'For thou art a God of eternity (עולם) and all thy ways are established from everlasting to everlasting ([לנצח] [נצח]ים)'. While ער is not used of God here, immediately before this statement it is applied to the community. Thus the community is set before God for ever and ever (לעולמי ער). It seems that the author is stylistically varying his terms in this poetic material to convey the idea of remote time. Of course, in the case of God no end is to be envisaged, and the same is probably in mind for the community. The same expression, עולמי ער, is used in 1QH 11.25 to express the wish that God's name will be praised for ever. Thus the author of 1QH 7.31-32 implies that the God of eternity has established the sectarian community and it will continue before him indefinitely. In connection with the 'everlasting host' (1QH 11.13), it appears that the angels will live on indefinitely too. The sect (everlasting, according to 1QH 7.31) watches in one lot with the everlasting host

1. This is against the view of Pryke ('Eschatology in the Scrolls', p. 56), who applies the passage to the future, and suggests that the destiny of deceased sectaries is 'to join the angelic company of spirits and to be transmuted from the [sic] matter into spirit, from man into angelic being'. This is erroneous, for in the Qumran literature the distinction between human being and angel is always maintained. See above, §8.2.2.6, and especially the extended note on this subject which is to be found in that section.

2. BDB, pp. 723-24.

(1QH 11.13). A similar theme has been considered in 1QH 3.20-23.

On the other hand, no deduction can be made from 1QH 11.13 that angels are eternal in the sense that they have never been created. From other passages it is quite clear that God has no rival and is creator of all. The *Hodayot*, like the Qumran literature in general, are quite in accord with the OT on this matter. God has established the world by an act of his own undetermined will, and he rules it.¹ Thus, 'the everlasting host' is not to be thought of as having existence which is eternal like God's. All things exist by the will of God, who has preordained all their activity.² This latter thought goes beyond the ideas of the OT.³

To sum up, in the *Hodayot* angels are thought of as created beings who will continue for ever, and the sectaries are seen as having been forgiven and established as the people of God who will also continue for ever, sharing a common lot with the angels. Whether this involved belief in personal existence for ever, or just the continuation of the community, is a question not possible to answer from either 1QH 7.31-32 or 1QH 11.13.

6. God is Superior to Angels

Two hymns not considered so far (1QH 7.26-33; 9.37-10.12), underscore the idea that God is far superior to the angels. In 1QH 7.26-33, the author thanks God in the first stanza that in his mercy he has enlightened a perverse heart with his truth (1QH 7.26-27). God's greatness is extolled by means of three rhetorical questions (1QH 7.28), whereas the next stanza apparently returns to humanity, stating that no one can stand before God's wisdom (1QH 7.28-29). The sectarian community is the place where the dilemma is resolved, for God forgives the sons of truth and establishes them for ever (1QH 7.29-31). The poem concludes by restating the greatness of the eternal God (1QH 7.31-32) and the author's wonder that mere human beings should understand God's marvellous deeds (1QH 7.32-33).

1QH 7.28 reads: 'Who among the gods (אלים) is like thee, O Adonai', comparing God with the אלים and implying his superiority. This

1. 1QH 1.8, 20; 10.2; 16.8.

2. 1QH 1.14-15, 19-20; 10.22; 11.34; 12.31; 15.13-14, 19, 22.

3. Licht, 'Doctrine', pp. 4-5.

heightens the author's amazement that he, sinful as he is, should have the privilege of understanding God's deeds and the knowledge he gives. The question is identical to that in the Song of Moses (Exod. 15.11), *מי כמכה באלים ירויה tetragrammaton*.¹

אלים in the Qumran literature always refers to angels and occurs frequently.² In IQH frg. 2.10 it is in parallel with 'sons of heaven' which refers to angelic beings in IQH 3.22. The term in the War Scroll is used several times to contrast the heavenly army with the earthly one (e.g. IQM 1.10-11; 15.14). The question might be asked whether אלים in these contexts means 'gods' in an ancient, polytheistic sense.³ Such an idea, that God is one among many, is never contemplated elsewhere in Qumran thought. Moreover, the use of the term in the Qumran literature argues strongly against such an interpretation. For example, in IQM 17.7, Michael is to be exalted among the אלים. This idea is in parallel with Israel's exaltation among the peoples. The likely meaning is that the angel Michael is to be honoured among those of his own kind, as Israel is to be honoured among other human beings. We have already noted the use of the term in parallel with 'sons of heaven' in IQH frg. 2.10.

אלים is often translated 'gods',⁴ but while the singular could be used for a pagan god (e.g. Exod. 34.14; Deut. 32.12), 'angelic beings' is clearly its sense in the Qumran literature. Cross considers that the 'apparent plural 'ēlim' of אלה (as distinct from OT references using a plural form of 'ram' as a 'military or noble appellation') 'occurs in the Bible only four times'⁵ (Pss. 29.1; 89.7 [Eng. 89.6]; Exod. 15.11; Dan. 11.36). He sees its use in 'late apocalyptic' as being 'in reference

1. Delcor (*Hymnes*, p. 196) also draws attention to the similarities with Pss. 95.3; 96.4. These verses use אלהים.
2. IQH 7.28; 10.8; 19.3; IQH frg. 2.3, 10; 1Q22 (*Words of Moses*) 4.1; IQM 1.10, 11; 14.15, 16; 15.14; 17.7, and the *Sabbath Shirot*, with more than thirty occurrences including 4Q403 1 i 26, 33, 38.
3. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 174 n. 17. For a discussion of the assembly of the gods in the Canaanite texts from Ugarit, see Miller, *Divine Warrior*, pp. 12-23.
4. E.g. see IQH 10.8 in Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 234 and Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, p. 183.
5. F.M. Cross, 'אלה', *TDOT*, I, pp. 254-55.

to angelic members of Yahweh's court', and as 'appellative'.¹ In the present passage, IQH 7.28, the main thrust is clear. God has no rival. No one among the angels (or אלים) is to be compared with him. He is the everlasting God (IQH 7.31-32) who has his angelic court, but he is certainly not one god among many.

In the second hymn (IQH 9.37-10.12), the author thanks God that all exists by his will (IQH 9.37-10.3). By contrast with God, humans are frail and dependent (IQH 10.3-7). The next stanza reflects on God's supremacy over all beings. All is done under his sovereignty and nothing can compare with his strength (IQH 10.8-10). Who then can stand in the presence of God? Yet he has made this possible for the author who at death will return to dust (IQH 10.11-12). A chiasmic arrangement in the preserved part of the hymn has the thought moving from God (IQH 9.37-10.3) to humans (IQH 10.3-5), then to humans and God together (IQH 10.5-7), back to God again (IQH 10.8-10), and finally to humans (IQH 10.10-12).²

In IQH 10.8-10 the author recounts some attributes of God. Line 8 reads: 'Behold, you are the prince of gods (אלים), And king of the honored ones (נכבדים), And lord of every spirit, And ruler of every created thing'. The passage highlights God's greatness by comparing him to the angels. As we have noted, אלים is a Qumran term for angels, so נכבדים, in parallel with it, will be an angelic designation also.⁴ It is further evidence of the rich angelological vocabulary employed by the Qumran community. Angels can appropriately be termed נכבדים since they are privileged to live in the presence of the glory of God.⁵

The third term for angels in this series is רוח, a frequent Qumran designation for angels.⁶ The phrase 'lord of every spirit' is reminiscent

1. Cross, 'אלה', pp. 254-55.
2. Cf. Kittel, *Hymns*, pp. 136-45.
3. The translation is from Kittel, *Hymns*, p. 139.
4. This term for angels is also attested in the *Sabbath Shirot*. 4Q400 2 2 = 4Q401 14 i 8. Cf. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns* (p. 163 n. 9), who noted that at the time of writing it was unknown elsewhere in the Qumran literature.
5. Cf. the angelic designation, תלאמי פנים, discussed above, §10.4.2. See also, *T. Jud.* 25.2, *T. Levi* 18.5, and Delcor, *Hymnes*, pp. 225-26. According to *I En.* 14.22, God is the great and glorious one. כבוד is often applied to God in the Qumran literature, as in IQS 10.9, 12; CD 20.25; IQM 4.6.
6. See above, §8.2.2.6, for רוח as a term for angels.

of the Ethiopic 'agzi manāfest ('Lord of spirits'), found over a hundred times in the thirty-five chapters of the *Parables of Enoch* (1 En. 37-71). The exact phrase is known only in the *Parables* (and possibly 2 Macc. 3.24), though 1QH 10.8 comes very close. It is possible that Num. 16.22, 27.16 provided the OT background for this expression, since God is 'the God of the spirits of all flesh'.¹ Nevertheless, 'spirits' in 1QH 10.8 refers to angels, not humans. Elsewhere, Black has argued that the more likely origin of the expression is to be found in an interpretation of the common OT designation of God, 'Yahweh of hosts'.²

Two further comments can be made about 1QH 10.8. First, the author is saying that God is superior to the angels, designated here as אלים, נכבדים, and רוחות. Secondly, the angels are created beings, for God is 'ruler of every created thing'. This is the consistent position of the Qumran writers.³

7. Two Further Texts: 1QH 13.8 and 18.23

The first reasonably complete line in the severely damaged column 13 is 1QH 13.8: 'all thy works before thou createdst them with the host of thy spirits and the congregation [. . .]'. The stanza apparently names various parts of the created order. While no attempt will be made to analyse the whole hymn, in view of its condition, two observations are pertinent concerning line 8. First, 'the host of thy spirits' (צבא רוחיך) is to be understood to refer to angels, in view of the use elsewhere of צבא and רוח for angels in the Qumran literature.⁴ Secondly, 1QH 13.8 provides yet another example of the belief that angels are created beings. God created everything, together with his host of spirits.

Column 18 is even more damaged and the context and development cannot be ascertained. However, 1QH 18.23-24 has: '[. . .] the host of knowledge to recount mighty deeds unto flesh and the true precepts unto him that is born [. . .]'. Once again it is clear that angels are meant, since צבא דעת recalls other expressions that designate angels,

1. See above, §8.2.2.6.
2. 'Two Unusual Nomina Dei', pp. 53-56.
3. Cf. the discussion about the two spirits in 1QS 3.13-4.26 above, §8.2.2.3.
4. For 'host', see above §10.3.2, for 'spirits', see §8.2.2.6.

such as צבא רוחיך (1QH 13.8), רוחות דעת (1QH 3.22-23) and צבא קדושים (1QH 3.22). Apparently, the author(s) did not tire of rearranging the various epithets applying to angels, producing many combinations.¹ This, of course, is consistent with the use of poetic form, but nevertheless does highlight the interest of the writer(s) in angels.

There is an angelic function mentioned here which is not at all prominent in the Qumran literature. As observed earlier, knowledge of the sect's doctrines was of great importance, according to the *Hodayot*.² 1QH 18.23 says it is the host of knowledge that brings true teaching to humanity. Just how the angels participate in communicating knowledge to the sectarian community is not clear. In apocalypses such as those in the Enochic books, the role of angels as communicators to the seers is quite explicit. Yet this kind of idea is not found in the Qumran literature, with the possible exception of the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, whose sectarian provenance is quite uncertain.³ In the Qumran literature in general, the revealed truths of God come through the sect's teachings. God's plan for the world is a mystery or secret (סוד), one of his unalterable decisions.⁴ The sect placed great emphasis on the writings of the OT, which was indeed a revelation of God's truths, but the depth of its mysteries needed to be brought out by proper interpretation. So God gave the Teacher of Righteousness the necessary insight (1QpHab 7.4-5). The *pesharim* represent sectarian exegesis of the biblical texts, such that God's mysteries were made known.⁵

Thus, the problem of how the host of knowledge fits into this scheme of communicating knowledge is highlighted. We have observed that the sect saw itself as already sharing fellowship in a common lot with the angels, and that this fellowship was particularly in focus in the worship of the sect.⁶ Perhaps it was thought that when the community members were being taught in a corporate setting the angels were

1. Cf. the diverse terminology of the *Sabbath Shirot*, in my Appendix D.
2. See above, §10.5.1.
3. See below, §13.6.
4. Cf. Licht, 'Doctrine', p. 8.
5. For a more detailed discussion of this theme and of knowledge as conceived at Qumran, see Licht, 'Doctrine', pp. 7-8, 97-99 and Ringgren, *Faith of Qumran*, pp. 60-63, 114-20.
6. See above, §§8.3.2; 9.34; 10.4.2; 10.5.1; and below, §§11.5.3; 13.5.2.2; 13.7.2.

somehow involved in teaching them, even though the teaching was no doubt related closely to the sectarian doctrines previously given to the Teacher or others.¹ Alternatively, the role of the angels in communicating revealed truth may have been seen as much less immediate. We do not know how the sect thought that the Teacher of Righteousness received his special insights. Perhaps he was like the visionaries of the apocalypses, so that revelation had previously come to him through angels, and this is what is envisaged in 1QH 18.23. A related possibility regarding some of the sectarian knowledge might be that it was seen as revelation that had been mediated by angels to various apocalyptic seers. This certainly could have been the case for the revelation of the 364-day calendar so important at Qumran and whose origin, of course, is not to be attributed to the community itself.

8. Angels and Nature: 1QH 1.6-13

1QH 1.6-38 is part of a hymn that clearly shows the author's careful organization of ideas. The merciful God has both made everything and known beforehand all the works of the creation for all ages (1QH 1.6-9). The author elaborates on this theme, first concerning the heavens (1QH 1.9-13) and then the earth, with particular emphasis on human beings in their frailty, sinfulness and predetermined destiny (1QH 1.13-27). Yet humans have been made to praise God (1QH 1.27-31) and their experience of God's mercy gives them good reason to do this (1QH 1.31-34). The poem, as it now stands, concludes with an exhortation to the wise to hold to knowledge (1QH 1.35-38).

In 1QH 1.8-11, רוח occurs three times (ll. 9, 10, 11), and it is not immediately clear in each case whether it refers to spirits or winds. The passage reads:

It is thou who hast formed every spirit (כָּל רוּחַ) [good and] ba[d]
[together with their ways] and the judgment of all their works.
It is thou who hast spread out the heavens (10) for thy glory
[and] hast [created] all [their hosts] according to thy will
together with the mighty winds (רוּחוֹת עוֹר) according to the laws which
governed them

1. In the *Sabbath Shirot*, the angelic priests of the heavenly temple are said to have a teaching role, though it is not clear whether they teach other angels or people. See below, §12.3.2.

before (11) they became [thine] angels of (. . .] במָרַם הַיּוֹחַם לְמַלְאכֵי
hol[iness];
and to the everlasting spirits (רוּחוֹת עוֹר) in their dominions
[hast thou entrusted] the heavenly lights according to their mysterious
(laws) . . .

In line 9, רוח appears to refer to angels in general, as an introduction to the following description of the elements of nature.¹ The spirits' activity is planned by God.²

The second occurrence of רוח, in line 10, comes as the author gives examples from the creation, indicating in various ways that all is according to the design of God. He has spread out the heavens, an idea well known from the OT.³ In the light of this and in the context of the list of heavenly phenomena found in this passage, the expression רוּחוֹת עוֹר (1QH 1.10) should be taken as 'mighty winds', rather than as 'mighty spirits' or angels.⁴

Finally, רוּחוֹת עוֹר (1QH 1.11) could mean either 'everlasting winds' or 'everlasting spirits'. The use of 'everlasting' here suggests that it probably should be taken to refer to angels, as in 1QH 1.9. The use of 'everlasting' for angels is known in 1QH 11.13⁵ and also in the *Sabbath Shirot*,⁶ while *1 En.* 15.4 says that the fallen watchers lived 'an everlasting life'.⁷

1. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, pp. 20-21 n. 10) thinks that the reference here is rather 'to the two spirits in the world' as in 1QS 3.13-4.26. This is possible, though it seems better, in the context of the discussion of the creation and of the apparent involvement of angels in it, to see the spirits here as these same ministering angels.

2. Cf. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, p. 21 n. 11), who argues for the sense of a 'fixed or proper norm' for מִשְׁפָּט as applied here to the spirits' deeds. He cites Deut. 18.3; 1 Sam. 2.13; 8.9, 11. Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 98) and Dupont-Sommer (*Essene Writings*, p. 202) have 'judgment'. Carmignac ('Hymnes', p. 178) renders by 'le programme de toutes leurs oeuvres'.

3. E.g. Ps. 104.2; Isa. 51.13; Job 9.8. Ps. 104.2-6, in particular, seems to lie behind this section.

4. So, all translators mentioned two notes above, as well as Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, p. 150; Lohse, *Die Texte*, p. 113; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 17. Maier and Schubert (*Qumran-Essener*, p. 194) have 'die Geiste der Stärke'. Gaster (*Scriptures*, p. 134) uses 'potent spirits'.

5. See above, §10.5.2. The expression in 1QH 11.13 is צַבָּא עַד.

6. 4Q400 1 i 3, 15; 4Q403 1 i 29; 4Q405 19 3.

7. Cf. *1 En.* 14.1; 15.6.

As previously noted, according to the *Astronomical Book*, the various heavenly bodies are under the direction of angels.¹ *I En.* 20.4 shows a similar belief, while the *Parables of Enoch* tell of angels who are responsible for such things in nature as dew, hoar-frost, lead and tin, water and hail.² In view of such data and in the light of the general interest at Qumran in angels, it is probable that 'angels' should be taken as the meaning of מלאכים in IQH 1.11, rather than 'messengers'.

מלאכים could mean 'before they (the winds) belonged to the angels of . . .', meaning that God set the courses of the winds before placing them under the management of angels. Alternatively, the *lamedh* could mark the complement of the verb, so that the meaning would be 'before they, the winds, became angels'.³ The sense would then be that God planned the courses of the winds before he created them as angels. In the first interpretation, the winds are managed by angels, as in the Enochic writings. In the second, they are identified with the angels themselves.

If the above analysis is along the right lines, we have a statement involving angels in a divinely ordered cosmos. This admirably contributes to the motif of order, seen first in the heavens and then on earth. Order in the lives of human beings is included. Such an arrangement points to the glory of the Creator (IQH 1.9-10). Although no spirits or angels are explicitly associated with the luminaries, stars and other things listed by the author, it could be that these things, too, are thought to have angels associated with them.

9. The Judgment of Angels

9.1. Judgment in IQH 10.34-35

Column 10 has a hymn which appears to have extended from IQH 10.14 to the early lines of IQH 11. The author, who blesses God for the wisdom he has been given, has leaned on God's truth and not

1. See *I En.* 15.1, 3; 79.6; 80.6; 82.9-20, and above, §4.4.2.
2. *I En.* 60.17-21; 61.10; 65.8; 66.2. Cf. also *Jub.* 2.2. Bietenhard (*Die himmlische Welt*, p. 102) says: 'Nichts in der Welt ist tot, sondern alles ist von Engeln regiert'. Similar ideas were also common in Mesopotamian thought. See T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 5-7.
3. Cf. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 98 n. 8 and BDB, p. 226.

trusted in riches (IQH 10.14-26).¹ He rejoices in the Covenant (IQH 10.27-31). In IQH 10.34-35, the author contemplates the theme of judgment: 'And I was afraid when I heard thy judgment of (עם) the strong valiant ones (נבורי כוח) and thy trial of (עם) the hosts of thy saints (קדושיכי)'. (צבא נבורי כוח). 103.20 and צבאי in Ps. 103.21, where both references are to angels. However, it is only the vocabulary that the author appears to adopt, for Psalm 103 exhorts the angels to bless Yahweh, while the judgment context of our hymn is quite different. Probably 'the host of thy saints' refers to the same angels designated by the parallel phrase, 'the strong valiant ones',² rather than the faithful sect members.³

There are at least three ways of understanding this section. One is to take it to mean that God, in association with (עם) the mighty and holy angels, will exercise judgment on all his creation (IQH 10.36),⁴ an idea also found in *I En.* 1.9. This would then be related to the eschatological war described in IQH 3.34-36. The writer thus trembles as he contemplates the severity and certainty of the future judgment.

Another possibility is to take the mighty and holy ones as Belial and his angels, so that the author trembles when he contemplates their fate. This is unlikely to be correct since no other passage in the Qumran literature describes Belial and his angels as holy. Furthermore, Belial is normally mentioned in the Qumran literature separately from his angels when they are referred to.⁵

A third interpretation sees the angels in IQH 10.34-35 as the fallen watchers of *I Enoch* 1-36. Holm-Nielsen⁶ thinks it would be remarkable if these angels were called holy. However, their nature, at least before they fell, is described in this way in *I En.* 15.4 (cf.

1. חיל נבורים in l. 24 will not be discussed, for the context indicates that mighty men, not angels, are meant. So most translators, although Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 165) is ambiguous, while Dupont-Sommer (*Essene Writings*, p. 235) has 'the hosts of the valiant' in contrast to the 'creature of flesh'.
2. Cf. the reference to angels in IQH 3.22, discussed above, §10.3.3. With the designation 'strong valiant ones', cf. נבורי כוח in 4Q402 1.4 in the *Sabbath Shihot*.
3. In the following discussion it is assumed that it means angels.
4. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 182 n. 40. So similarly, Delcor, *Hymnes*, p. 232. *עם קדושיכי* is used for angels also in IQH 3.22.
5. E.g. CD 12.2-3; IQM 1.15; 13.11-12; 14.9-10; 15.13-14; 11QMelch 1.12; cf. IQS 3.21, 24.
6. *Hodayot*, p. 182 n. 40.

1 En. 106.13), so this is not an insuperable objection to seeing a reference here to the fallen angels. This is the position adopted by Dupont-Sommer¹ and Carmignac.² A more serious objection is raised by Delcor, who points out that עַם following מַשְׁפָּט and רִיב is awkward, and that one would expect מַשְׁפָּט and רִיב to have been in the construct state, rather than to be followed by a preposition.³

Overall, the reference is more likely to be to angels who assist God in judgment, though a reference to the fallen watchers does not seem to be ruled out. If it is fallen watchers that are referred to here, further comment is necessary. This reference will then be one of a very small number in the Qumran literature referring to these angels.⁴ There is no elaboration either on the sins of these angels or on the nature of their punishment. Knowledge of the details is apparently assumed by our author. Since fragments of Aramaic *Enoch* have been found at Qumran, as well as of *Jubilees*,⁵ the myth of the fallen watchers can be taken to have been well known in the community.

The use to which the author would then be putting the myth is of special interest. As was the case in the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 2.16-21), the purpose here will be educative, to draw a lesson from the severity of the punishment meted out to the angels. The text does not quite say this, but it is a possible interpretation. The writer has been recognizing his own dependence on God's grace to him in the Covenant. It is likely that he contemplates what his situation would have been if he had not been in the Covenant. If the angels were treated so severely, how would he have fared? In his imagery he says, 'My groaning reached the abyss and spread also to the dungeons of Sheol' (1QH 10.33-34). That was where the fallen watchers had been so severely incarcerated to await the final judgment, according to 1 En. 10.12 and 19.1-2. On the alternative interpretation, that the author is contemplating the judgment of God in more general terms, with angels assisting in its execution, his trembling will again be because of its severity.

1. *Essene Writings*, p. 236 n. 1.

2. 'Hymnes', p. 253 n. 29.

3. *Hymnes*, p. 232.

4. See above, §9.3.2.

5. For the fall and punishment of the watchers, see *Jub.* 4.15; 5.1-2, 6, 10-11.

9.2. Evil Spirits in 1QH 3.18?

There is one *Hodayot* passage which some authors think speaks of evil spirits. In the hymn now represented by 1QH 3.6-18, the author likens his distress to the birth-throes of a pregnant woman (1QH 3.7-12), apparently describing his own troubles in terms of the coming messianic woes.¹ 1QH 3.12 refers to a second woman who also has agonizing pain in childbirth. The remainder of the hymn again describes the writer's distress (1QH 3.13-16), and ends with the Pit open to receive אִפְעָה רֹחִי אִפְעָה (1QH 3.18). אִפְעָה also occurs in 1QH 3.12, 17. In the OT it means 'viper'.² The sense of אִפְעָה in 1QH 3.12 is uncertain, as reflected in translations such as 'asp',³ 'vanity',⁴ and 'wickedness'.⁵ Dupont-Sommer thinks 'the Asp' is Belial.⁶

In view of the uncertainty about the significance of אִפְעָה in 1QH 3, it is difficult to agree with Dupont-Sommer, who understands the אִפְעָה רֹחִי of 1QH 3.18 as 'evil spirits', or demons.⁷ It is more likely that the author is speaking of the final end of evil, personified as the pregnant woman, while all who act perversely, like offspring who follow their mother, perform 'works of vanity'.⁸ In any case, given the difficulties of the passage, it will be unwise to draw any conclusions about angels from it.

1. So Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 61; Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 208; Collins, 'Patterns', pp. 368-70.

2. Isa. 30.6; 59.5 and Job 20.16. Cf. BDB, p. 821. Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 114 n. 7) points out that אִפְעָה in Isa. 41.24 is parallel with אִין ('nothing'), though according to BDB (p. 67), אִפְעָה and אִפְעָה are unrelated.

3. *Essene Writings*, pp. 208-209.

4. Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 157-58.

5. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, p. 51.

6. *Essene Writings*, p. 208 n. 5. So also Delcor (*Hymnes*, pp. 45, 113-15), who argues that אִפְעָה here is to be connected with the serpent in Eden (Gen. 3). But there the word is נָחָשׁ, so such a connection should be made cautiously.

7. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 209. Cf. Delcor, *Hymnes*, p. 116.

8. Translation of Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, p. 158.

Chapter 11

THE WAR SCROLL

1. Introduction

1.1. *The Texts and their History*¹

Among the MSS recovered from Qumran Cave 1 were nineteen columns of what is commonly called the *War Scroll*, or the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. 1QM is dated to the second half of the first century BC, due to its early Herodian script.² In addition, Cave 4 has yielded fragments of six MSS³ which, on palaeographic grounds, have been assigned dates ranging from the first half of the first century BC for 4Q493 to early in the first century AD for 4Q494.⁴ The fragments of various lengths correspond to portions of eleven of the columns of 1QM. Some sections bear a close relationship to the text of 1QM, while others show a much looser connection and cannot be matched exactly. Apparently, the *War Scroll* existed in more than one recension.⁵ Moreover, many scholars have found evidence within 1QM itself to indicate that it is a composite work, with a complex literary history.

In this investigation it will be best to consider 1QM as a single work. This is not to discount its literary history, but it is rather a

1. There are occasional discrepancies over line numberings from transcription to transcription. Yadin (*Scroll of the War*) has been consistently followed.

2. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 515.

3. 4Q491-496 have been published in M. Baillet (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: III*, pp. 12-68.

4. See Baillet (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: III*, pp. 12, 45, 50, 53, 55, 58.

5. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 515 n. 149. The angelology of the 4Q fragments has been examined in Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 312-15. The Cave 4 version appears to be very similar to 1QM in its angelology, and so need not be considered here. A succinct summary of the present state of scholarly opinion on these introductory issues is given in Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 515-16.

pragmatic decision in view of the complex and unresolved issues in current research. At the same time, we shall be alert to any differing emphases in the angelology in the various parts of the scroll and as much as possible consider specific sections on their own merits.

The overwhelming majority opinion of scholars is that the *War Scroll* is a Qumran sectarian composition from the second century BC,¹ although there continue to be minority views.² This conclusion is based on the numerous features in the *War Scroll* which are found elsewhere in the Qumran literature.³

1.2. *Outline of the Contents of the War Scroll*

The first line of 1QM 1 succinctly introduces the major themes of the *War Scroll*:

And th[is is the book of the disposition of] the war. The first engagement of the sons of light shall be to attack the lot of the sons of darkness, the army of Belial. . . .⁴

The *War Scroll* apparently envisages a real war, but its deeper purpose is theological and eschatological, as indicated by the use here of the terms 'sons of light', 'sons of darkness', 'lot' and 'Belial'. After a great struggle, God himself will intervene and all the enemies will

1. See, e.g., Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 487-88; Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch*, pp. 77-78.

2. E.g. Driver (*Judean Scrolls*, pp. 369-73) dates the *War Scroll* to 'some time between AD 106 and AD 115 and certainly not after AD 132-5' (p. 371), and connects the Qumran sect with the Zealot movement. But such a theory is discounted by the palaeographic evidence of both the 1QM and 4QM MSS. C. Roth (*The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958], pp. 63-67) thinks that the *War Scroll* was written not long before the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in AD 70.

3. E.g. there is the belief that the author and his group are the sons of light, who are diametrically opposed to the sons of darkness, and who are led by the Prince of Light (1QM 1.1-15; 13.4-16; cf. 1QS 3.13-4.26). Another important similarity is the idea of angelic involvement with the author's group in the battles of 1QM (1QM 1.10; 7.6; 9.14-16; 12.1-7; 15.13-14; 17.6-9). Cf. the way the Qumran sect thought of the angels as being in the one lot with them (1QS 11.3-14; CD 15.15-17; 1QSa 2.3-9).

4. For consistency with our usage elsewhere, 'sons of light' and 'sons of darkness' will not be capitalized, even though they are in the translation of Yadin, *Scroll of the War*.

be defeated (IQM 14.15). This is the final holy war.¹ As a theological work, the *War Scroll* presents an idealized picture of the war that was anticipated. In keeping with the sect's strict adherence to the Law of Moses, the military organization mirrors that of Israel in the wilderness.² However, there are difficulties in ascertaining the actual course of the war.³

The main topics covered in the *War Scroll* are these:

- War and the ultimate victory of the sons of light (IQM 1.1-17)
- Priestly service during the war (IQM 2.1-6)
- Plan of the forty years' war (IQM 2.6-15)
- Trumpets (IQM 2.16-3.11)
- Standards (IQM 3.12-5.2)
- Battle formations and weapons (IQM 5.3-14)
- Instructions for infantry and cavalry (IQM 5.15-6.16)
- Ages of the soldiers (IQM 7.1-4)
- Purity of the camp (IQM 7.4-7)
- Role of the priests and Levites, trumpet signals, 'towers' (IQM 7.8-9.16)
- Exhortations and prayers for the battle (IQM 9.17-12.15)
- Blessings and curses for the battle (IQM 12.16-14.1)
- Thanksgiving (IQM 14.2-18)
- War against the Kittim (IQM 15.1-19.13)

The conflict can be described as an eschatological war in the broad sense, in that it is a future war that involves the decisive intervention of God and the introduction of the new age. Yet Collins has noted⁴ that neither of the two main types of eschatology in Second Temple Judaism identified by Mowinckel corresponds with the outlook of the *War Scroll*. Mowinckel's categories are:

The one side is national, political, this-worldly, with particularistic tendencies, though universalistic when at its best. The other is super-terrestrial, otherworldly, rich in religious content and mythological concepts, universalistic, numinous, at home in the sphere of the 'Holy' and the 'wholly Other'.⁵

1. Cf. Carnignac, 'La Règle', p. 84.
2. See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, pp. 38-64.
3. See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, pp. 18-37 for one proposal, and for a criticism, J.J. Collins, 'The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic', VT 25 (1975), p. 606 n. 47.
4. 'Patterns', p. 353.
5. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 281.

The *War Scroll* looks to the military victory of the sect over its enemies, but is scarcely political in its outlook. The emphasis is essentially religious. Even the people of Israel, as 'offenders against the covenant' (IQM 1.2), are included in the catalogue of the sect's enemies. More importantly, the heavenly world is extremely involved in the war, with both good and evil angels having their parts in the conflict.

The *War Scroll* does not explicitly mention any messianic figure who might have been expected to have a prominent role.¹ Yet it does envisage a future state which appears to be on earth, with 'long life for all sons of light' (IQM 1.9) described in 'this-worldly' terms, as in IQM 12.11-15. Although the sect will be victorious, there are no references to the end of the world or a final judgment. Pryke has argued for what he calls 'historical eschatology' as the outlook of much of the Qumran literature. He sees a messianic war ending the present evil age, followed by a period of peace and prosperity.² Nevertheless, the *War Scroll* does not tell us in any detail about what is expected to occur beyond the final victory.

2. The Forces of Evil in the Eschatological War

2.1. IQM 1 and the Eschatological Opponents

Column 1 serves as an introduction and summary for the *War Scroll* as we now have it. Several key themes are subsequently developed in the remainder of the book. There is a dualistic framework, in which the following pairs can be identified. The sons of light (IQM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13) correspond to the sons of darkness (IQM 1.1, 7, 10, 16), who are also called the army of Belial (IQM 1.1), which includes those of Edom, Moab, Ammon and Philistia, along with the Kittim of Asshur and 'the offenders against the covenant' (IQM 1.2). Their opponents, the sons of light, are designated as the sons of Levi, Judah and Benjamin or 'the exiles of the wilderness' (IQM 1.2) and the people

1. On messianic expectations among the sectarians, see, e.g., Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', pp. 538-42, and the relevant notes in §9.3.3, above.
2. 'Eschatology in the Scrolls', pp. 45-57. Collins ('Patterns', p. 361) has suggested that the *War Scroll* may, in fact, imply two messiahs, with its chief priest who is prominent in the direction of the war and 'the Prince of the Whole Congregation' (IQM 5.1).

of God or God's lot, in contrast to the lot of Belial (1QM 1.5).¹

This last pair of terms highlights the opposition between God and Belial, for the dualism is supra-mundane as well as earthly. There is also an eschatological aspect to the dualism of 1QM 1, for this is the eschatological battle. Darkness has its times appointed by God, who has also determined the times for peace, blessing, long life and glory for the sons of light (1QM 1.8-9).² The battle will result in the annihilation of the sons of darkness (1QM 1.16).

1QM 1 does not explain why some are called sons of light and others sons of darkness. As von der Osten-Sacken has observed, there is no indication here of an ethical dualism³ as found in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.13-4.26).⁴ The author is concerned with the protagonists in the eschatological war which will be fought between the people of the sect and the rest of humankind. For him the two groups already exist, and now he is describing their respective ends. The sons of light are those who belong to the tribes of Levi, Judah and Benjamin, rather than to one of the nations or to the offenders against the covenant (מרשעי בריתה). The 'offenders against the covenant'—the phrase is found in Dan. 11.32—are apostate Jews, meaning those Jews not belonging to the sect. Thus in 1QM 17.8, the eschatological victors are 'the sons of his (sc. God's) covenant'.

As noted already, the dualism of 1QM 1 includes a type of cosmic dualism, an opposition between God and Belial. But fundamental to the nature of 1QM 1, and indeed, to the whole *War Scroll*, is the interdependence of the heavenly and earthly realms. The men referred to as the sons of darkness are also the army of Belial (חיל בליעל),

1. נורל in 1QM is discussed below, §11.4.1.

2. On the use of מער in 1QM, see below, §11.3.

3. *Gott und Belial*, pp. 85-86.

4. Cf. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 85-86. Von der Osten-Sacken points out that רשעה is not connected in 1QM 1 with דושך, in what he regards as the earliest material represented in the *War Scroll*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that wickedness is associated with the enemy in both 1QM 1.6 and 1.13, and the enemy is called 'the sons of darkness'. Thus, not much should be made of the lack of prominence of ethical matters, bearing in mind that the *War Scroll* is essentially about the final war, and not life as it has been in the past. It seems that there is no fundamental difference in ethical outlook in the rest of the book compared to the hints given in 1QM 1.

1QM 1.1).¹ In the great slaughter of the battle that defeats the Kittim (1QM 1.9-10) both 'the congregation of angels' (עדה אלים) and 'the assembly of men' (קהלה אנשים), 1QM 1.10-11) will participate. There will be 'the war cry of angels (אלים) and men for a day of doom' (1QM 1.11). The battle against the Kittim will consist of seven stages (גורלות); in three the sons of light will prevail over the sons of darkness, whereas in three others, the army of Belial will gain the ascendancy (1QM 1.13-14). However, God himself will intervene in the seventh stage and 'subdue [Belial and all] angels of his dominion' (1QM 1.14-15).²

2.2. *Belial in the War Scroll*

2.2.1. *Belial, the Angelic Leader of the Forces of Evil.* The OT usage of the term בליעל has been discussed previously.³ The use of the word in the *Rule of the Community*, and especially in the *Hodayot*, shows some ambiguity, with both the OT meaning of 'worthlessness' and the idea of an evil individual being represented.⁴ The situation is different in the *War Scroll*. בליעל denotes the angel who is the enemy of God and his people.⁵

1QM 13.1-14.1 is a collection of blessings and curses, together with prayers. 1QM 13.10-12 is addressed to God:

And thou wast the one who made Belial to corrupt, an angel of hatred, his [dominion] being in darkness and his counsel to render wicked and guilty. All the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction, walk in the boundaries of darkness. . . .

Clearly, Belial is an angel, indeed, an angel of hatred (מלאך משטמה). This phrase also occurs in CD 16.5.⁶ Especially important here is the

1. It will be argued shortly that בליעל in the *War Scroll* regularly refers to Belial, the evil angel.

2. The restoration of Yadin (*Scroll of the War*, pp. 262-63) is followed by J. Carmignac, 'La Règle de la Guerre', in *Les textes de Qumrân* (ed. J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert; 1961), I, p. 93; Lohse, *Die Texte*, p. 182; Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*, p. 247; van der Ploeg, *La Guerre*, pp. 36, 68.

3. See above, §8.3.1.

4. See above, §§8.3.1; 9.3.3; 10.4.3.

5. Cf. Huppenbauer (*Der Mensch*, pp. 84-88), who finds the sharpest dualism of the Cave 1 texts in the *War Scroll*. While generally reluctant to see Belial as a personal being in texts such as 1QS and 1QH, he does so for 1QM.

6. On משטמה as a proper name, see above, §8.2.2.1.

fact that God is said to have created Belial, a belief stated explicitly in the *Two Spirits Discourse* concerning the Angel of Darkness.¹ It is the case there, as here, that the dualism is not absolute, with God's equal opposed to him. Furthermore, there is a strong determinism, for God has made Belial in order to bring about corruption among humankind (ואחה עשיחה בליעל לשחה), an idea again found in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.15-18). There is likewise an aetiology of sin here. Ultimately, God is the cause of sin, as in 1QS 3.13-4.26,² for it is he 'who made Belial to corrupt' and it is Belial who causes people to go astray.

In another hymn, one of thanksgiving following the battle, God is blessed because of his mercy to his people 'during the dominion of Belial' (1QM 14.9). The period leading up to and including the final war is thought of as one in which Belial, assisted by all of his angels of destruction, has sought to beguile the sectaries away from the covenant, and a time during which those under his dominion have done evil (1QM 14.10).³ However, it should be emphasized that although the enemy might appear to be in control, the author knows that God is superior to Belial and his supporters (1QM 14.10-11). Consequently, the author is grateful that God preserves them through this time.

In 1QM 16.13-17.9, the high priest solemnly exhorts the army when it has suffered some losses (cf. 1QM 16.9). Although there is some damage to the text of 1QM 17.4-6, the general sense is clear:

They (sc. the enemies) do not [know that from the God] of Israel is all that is and that will be, and he [will annihilate Belial] in all future times of eternity. Today is his appointed time to subdue and to humble the prince of the dominion of wickedness.

The restoration of Belial's name is purely conjectural,⁴ though in fact 'the prince of the dominion of wickedness' (שר ממסלו רשעה) is readily identified with Belial.⁵ 'Dominion' is associated with Belial in 1QM 14.9, just discussed, while those over whom he rules are 'nations of wickedness' (1QM 15.2).⁶ This identification seems certain, since

1. See the discussion above, §8.2.2.3.
2. See above, §8.2.2.8.
3. Cf. 1QS 3.20-25 and the discussion above, §8.2.2.5.
4. Cf. van der Ploeg (*La Guerre*, p. 176): 'Il faut renoncer á restituer le texte'.
5. So Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 340.
6. Cf. also, 1QM 1.6, 13; 3.9; 11.10; 14.7.

elsewhere throughout the *War Scroll* the great enemy is Belial, along with those of his lot.¹ Now at a climactic stage in the struggle the prince of the dominion of wickedness is subdued. His angelic counterpart on the side of the sect is Michael (1QM 17.6), and we can again compare the *Two Spirits Discourse* where the Prince of Lights (identified with Michael)² is opposed by the Angel of Darkness (whom we have identified with Belial).³ Milik has suggested that the description, 'the prince of the dominion of wickedness', is a paraphrase connected with the name 'Melchiresha', which is found in the *Testament of Amram* (4Q'Amram^b 2 3).⁴ The phrase, 'the prince of the dominion of wickedness', is not known in any other Qumran writing, but serves here to indicate Belial's exalted status as a prince (שר), his opposition to God, and the ethical character of his dominion, indicated by the term 'wickedness' (רשעה).

2.2.2. *The Angels of Belial's Lot.* Belial's lot consists of both angels and human beings. In 1QM 1, the war is said to progress in seven stages, with the first six being evenly contested. It is in the seventh that 'the great hand of God shall subdue [Belial and all] angels of his dominion' (1QM 1.14-15).⁵ Elsewhere, Belial has 'the spirits of his lot' associated with him. The clear identification of these as angels is made in 1QM 13.11-12: 'All the spirits of his lot' are 'angels of destruction'. The phrase מלאכי חבל has been discussed previously,⁶ when it was argued that the angels of destruction mentioned there were God's servants. By contrast, the angels of destruction in 1QM 13.11-12 serve Belial and wreak havoc on earth, fully in harmony with Belial's purposes (1QM 13.10-11). Incidentally, this context has been discussed in connection with Belial as a created being, and there is no doubt that his angels have likewise been created by God.

Elsewhere, the angelic complement of Belial's lot is said to consist of spirits. Thus, 'Belial and all the spirits of his lot' are subject to the curses of the priests and Levites in 1QM 13.2. Their plan is wicked

1. Cf. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, p. 97.
2. See above, §8.2.2.2.
3. See above, §8.2.2.1.
4. See Milik, '*Milki-šedeq*', p. 142, and the discussion below, §13.2.2.
5. On the restoration, see above, the final note in §11.2.1.
6. See above, §8.2.2.7 (on 1QS 4.12), §9.3.1 (on CD 2.6).

(1QM 13.4) and they are spirits of destruction (רדחיה תול),¹ which have been kept away from the sectaries by the God who will redeem his people (1QM 14.10).² The idea of angels or spirits forming part of the lot of the leading wicked angel has already been met in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.20-25), which closely parallels 1QM 14.10.

2.2.3. *The People of Belial's Lot.* The concept of the association of humans and angels is fundamental to the structure of the *War Scroll*. Belial not only has angels in his lot, but also people who will eventually be destroyed (1QM 1.5). The war begins as the sons of light attack 'the army of Belial' (1QM 1.1), which consists of the surrounding nations. These are then listed and include traditional enemies such as Edom and Moab, along with Jews who do not belong to the sect. Likewise, the king of the Kittim has all the army of Belial with him (1QM 15.1-3). But God's wrath is 'against Belial and against all the men of his lot' (1QM 4.2), just as God is said to have his sword, according to 1QM 15.3.³ He raises his hand 'against Belial and all the army of his dominion' and 'the Kittim shall be smashed' (1QM 18.1, 3).

Thus our author describes the enemies of the people of God. Belial and all his angels are against the sons of light. So, too, are the armies of the nations. But it is not just in name that Belial is associated with these armies. Nor is it merely a matter of sharing common goals. God's angels actually participate in the battle, assisting the sons of light, and it is highly likely that our text says the corresponding thing concerning Belial and his angels, that they aid the sons of darkness. Unfortunately, 1QM 16.9 has a lacuna, though the context makes the restoration of the name 'Belial' highly likely to be correct.⁴ 1QM 16.9 belongs to the exhortation by the high priest of the soldiers who make

1. Cf. מלאכי תול in 1QM 13.12 (= 4Q495 2 4), and elsewhere in 1QS 4.12 and CD 2.6. See also above, §8.2.2.7, and the third note of that section.

2. A similar name might be found in the damaged 1QM 15.14, where, in the midst of the battle against the Kittim, God raises his hand 'against all the spirits of wickedness. . . .'. See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 335 and van der Ploeg, *La Guerre*, pp. 167-68.

3. The phrase מלאכי תול occurs in 1QM 15.3; 19.11 but is written as one word. The same idea is found in 1QM 11.11-12; 16.1; 1QH 6.29. Cf. the same image, in the 'Day of Yahweh' contexts of Jer. 46.10; Isa. 34.6; Amos 9.4.

4. Cf. van der Ploeg, *La Guerre*, p. 171. He numbers the line as 11. Virtually all scholars restore 'Belial' here.

the first assault on the Kittim. He gives his address 'when [Belial] girds himself for assistance to the sons of darkness'. In fact, regardless of this restoration, the whole structure of the *War Scroll* assumes the assistance of Belial and his angels for those who belong to him.

3. The Sovereignty of God

The *War Scroll* presents a formidable foe arrayed against the sons of light. The war itself apparently occupies a total of forty years,¹ and 1QM 1.13-15 implies a war between evenly matched forces. In 1QM 16.9-17.9, the high priest exhorts the troops to gather their strength and not to fear (1QM 16.13-14). At this point, the first line of attack has suffered losses and relief soldiers must be called to the front.

Against this background we set the fundamental premise of our author, that God is sovereign in the battle itself, and in the course of history in general. This is seen in the prayer of 1QM 10.8-11.17:²

(8) Who is like thee, O God of Israel, in heaven and earth, that he can do according to thy great works and thy powerful might. . . (11) deep things [. . .] the expanse of the skies, the host of the luminaries, (12) the domain of spirits and the dominion of holy ones. . . He that created the earth and the boundaries of her divisions (13) into wilderness and plain-land. . . (1QM 10.8-13).

God has created the earth, and the lacuna in line 11 seems to require something about the act of creation in relation to the heavens, to correspond to the mention of the creation of the earth in line 12.³ If this is correct, it is a statement that God is creator of the angels, here mentioned as 'holy ones'.⁴

As already discussed, God has made (עשה) Belial, and presumably

1. Cf. above, §11.1.2.

2. This prayer is replete with allusions to OT passages. For a survey of OT quotations and allusions throughout the *War Scroll*, see J. Carmignac, 'Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans "La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres"', *RB* 63 (1956), pp. 234-60, 375-90.

3. Cf. Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 306; van der Ploeg, *La Guerre*, p. 137. Carmignac ('La Règle', p. 108 n. 14) notes the similarity of this section to 1QH 1.7-20.

4. For קדושים as angels, see above, §§2.1.1, 8.3.2. The 'domain of spirits' could refer to either the realm of winds or angels. On angels and the heavenly phenomena, see 1QH 1.9-11 and above, §10.8.

all the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction. 1QM 13.10 also mentions the Prince of Light (שׁר טאור), whose task is to assist the sectaries. Following a lacuna, the text reads: 'and all spirits of truth in his dominion'. It will be consistent with our author's general dependence on the OT, and with what is stated about the creation of Belial, to see the Prince of Light and his spirits or angels as created beings also. Since line 10 says that God has appointed the Prince of Light 'from of old' to assist the sect (באז פקדוה לעורו), this further indicates his position as a being subordinate to God.

The hymn of thanksgiving to be used after the battle includes the invocation, 'Rise up, rise up O God of angels (אלים) and raise thyself in power...' (1QM 14.16). As regularly in the Qumran literature, אלים refers to angels.¹ The prayer appears to be related to Dan. 11.36. As von der Osten-Sacken has shown, Daniel 11-12 (and especially Dan. 11.40-12.1) shows numerous parallels to 1QM 1. The king of Dan. 11.36, Antiochus IV, exalts himself above every god (אל) and speaks against the 'God of gods (אלים)'. He provides a model for the author of the *War Scroll*, who sees in him an analogue of Belial.² If 1QM 14.16 is, in fact, connected with Daniel 11, and given the sectarian use of אלים for angels, the reference in 1QM 14.16 should be seen as an invocation to God to take his rightful place, by asserting his authority over Belial and his angels.

God's sovereignty over the angelic world is also seen in connection with the recurrent motif that God has his appointed times in relation to the eschatological war and its outcome. The use of the word טוער in the *War Scroll* is striking, both in its frequency and its application. In the OT³ it is used of appointed times, both in a general sense (e.g. Gen. 18.14; Josh. 8.14; 1 Sam. 20.35) and for set feasts in Israel (Deut. 31.10; Isa. 33.20; Neh. 10.34). It is also employed for appointed meetings (Lam. 1.15) and places such as the temple (Lam. 2.6), and especially the tent of meeting (Exod. 33.7; Num. 12.4; Josh. 18.1). Of particular interest in relation to the use of the word in the *War Scroll* is Dan. 8.19, where Daniel's interpreter, Gabriel, tells him that the vision he has seen 'pertains to the appointed time of the end'. Such an

1. See above, §10.6.
2. *Gott und Belial*, pp. 30-34.
3. See BDB, pp. 417-18.

eschatological application of טוער is like its use in the *War Scroll*.¹ In the *Damascus Covenant*, the *Hodayot* and the *Rule of the Community* (apart from the *Two Spirits Discourse*, 1QS 3.13-4.26), טוער is normally used in the OT senses of the feasts of Israel (1QS 1.9, 15; CD 3.14; 6.18; 1QH 4.12) and the seasons (1QS 10.3, 5, 7; 1QH 1.24). However, application to eschatological contexts is absent in general, though 1QH 13.20 and 15.15 should be noted. By contrast, the word's four occurrences in 1QS 3.13-4.26 (1QS 3.18, 23; 4.18, 20), all relate to the time appointed by God for his visitation against wickedness.

Of some twenty occurrences in the *War Scroll*, טוער refers to religious feasts occasionally (1QM 2.4, 6, 7; 10.15; and possibly 3.4), and for the rest applies to the eschatological war. Thus, in an eloquent way it is used to declare that God is sovereign and that no opposition from Belial, his angels and his human partisans can succeed, for all is in the predetermined plan of God. Darkness has its appointed time, after which its opportunity will be over and God's majesty will shine (1QM 1.8-9). God will act in might at the appointed time against the Kittim. The war, for the sect, is the appointed time when the enemy's dominion will be removed (1QM 18.9) and the appointed future of God's people realized (1QM 12.3), for all is from God, both what is and what will be (1QM 17.5).

In a similar way, there are several references to the mysteries or secrets of God. In the sectarian writings, a mystery (ר) refers to the hidden wisdom and purposes of God. The whole eschatological drama belongs to the secrets of God. The dominion and hostilities of Belial up to the present have been allowed by God's mysteries, but the sect has stood firm (1QM 14.9-10). Fundamental to the idea of the divine secrets is the thought that God is in omniscient control. Thus, even the fact that some of the community's soldiers will fall is not to be seen as a matter of chance, for in keeping with his mysteries, God will in some way be testing those destined to fight.²

The present digression to consider the importance of טוער and ר in the *War Scroll* has been necessary to underscore the sovereignty of God within the dualistic framework of the author's understanding. God is not only above all angels by virtue of having created them. All

1. Cf. also Hab. 2.3, with its time appointed for the vision.
2. In the *Two Spirits Discourse*, ר is used three times, and twice is connected with טוער, God's appointed end (1QS 3.23; 4.18).

of the events of the end are by his appointment and according to his mysteries. He stands separate from all angels and human beings, in full control.

This is also clear in the thanksgiving hymn of IQM 14. God is praised because he has brought the mighty down (IQM 14.11-12). All is according to the appointed times and mysteries of God (IQM 14.13-14), and God humbles those 'belonging to the angels' (לְהַשְׁפִּיל אֱלֹהִים), and IQM 14.15), which could mean the people of Belial's lot or his angels, or perhaps both.¹ He also raises up² those belonging to the dust, his holy people (IQM 14.14).³

4. God's Lot and the Angels

4.1. The Use of נורל in IQM

There are two different uses of נורל in IQM 1. One refers to groups of individuals, as in IQM 1.1, 5, 11, 13b, the other to the phases of the battle against the Kittim, seven in all (IQM 1.13a, 14).⁴ In the OT the word is used in relation to casting the lot in the distribution of the land in Joshua's day,⁵ a sense corresponding in a general way to that found in relation to the groups in IQM 1. But whereas in the allocation of the land there were many lots, the author of the *War Scroll* thinks of only two, and not of portions of land but of groups consisting of both human beings and angels. Some attention has already been given to the angels and people of Belial's lot. Belial's forces, consisting of both humans and spirits or angels, are mentioned

1. Authors who see the reference as being to Belial's angels include Carmignac, 'La Règle', p. 118; Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*, p. 265; van der Ploeg, *La Guerre*, p. 50; Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, p. 143 and Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 329. Dupont-Sommer (*Essene Writings*, p. 191 n. 2) says, 'he strikes down "the gods", i.e. the angels (an allusion to the myth of the fall of the angels as in *Enoch*'. This seems quite out of place in the context of the *War Scroll*, in which humans and angels under Belial fight against God and the sect, and are defeated.

2. Yadin (*Scroll of the War*, pp. 328-29) restores מְרִיבֵי and is followed by all of the other authors mentioned in the previous note. The general sense appears to be correct, given the corresponding word, מְרִיבֵי, in l. 15. Whatever the original sense, the victory of God is clearly in view.

3. Other references that affirm God's victory include IQM 1.4-7; 6.4-6; 9.4-6; 15.13-16.1; and 17.4-9.

4. This latter usage will not be considered further.

5. Josh. 15.1; Judg. 1.3. See von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 78-80.

in association with נורל in IQM 1.1, 5, 11; 4.2; 13.2, 4, 5, 11-12.

The sect members are the people of God's lot (IQM 1.5; 13.5; 15.1; 17.7). IQM 1 refers to these same people as the sons of light, and although this expression does not occur again in the rest of the *War Scroll*,¹ the closely related 'lot of light' is found in IQM 13.9.² The sect can equally be called 'the lot to be redeemed' (IQM 17.6), 'the lot of God' (IQM 17.7) and 'the lot of thy (sc. God's) truth' (IQM 13.12). Thus, while the enemies of the sect are in the lot of an angel (Belial), God's people are associated with God himself. This idea has already been encountered in the *Rule of the Community* (IQS 2.1-2) and is related to Deut. 32.8-9. This is not to say that the sect is without angelic assistance, but rather that the angelic helpers are also subject to the sovereign God. The opposition is thus finally between Belial, a created angel, and God, the creator, so the outcome is sure.

4.2. The Prince of Light and Michael

In two contexts in IQM a leading angelic helper of the sect is mentioned and the two angels of these references, Michael and the Prince of Light, are to be identified.³ IQM 16.13-17.9 describes how the chief priest is to come before the men of the hard-pressed battle formation to encourage them. Israel, the sect, is assured of victory and will rule over all the world, so they should take heart.

Today is his appointed time to subdue and to humble the prince of the dominion of wickedness. He (sc. God) will send eternal assistance to the lot to be redeemed by him through the might of an angel: he hath magnified the authority of Michael through eternal light to light up in joy [the house of]Israel, peace and blessing for the lot of God, so as to raise amongst the angels (אֱלֹהִים) the authority Michael and the dominion of Israel amongst all flesh (IQM 17.5-8).

Help for God's lot is sent through an angel (IQM 17.6). The idea of angelic help in holy war has been discussed previously.⁴

The accounts of the Jewish resistance in 1 and 2 Maccabees show various parallels to ideas in the *War Scroll*.⁵ However, the

1. 'Sons of darkness' is, however, found in IQM 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 18.11.

2. Yadin (*Scroll of the War*, p. 261) restores IQM 1.13-14 thus: נורל אֱלֹהִים.

3. Cf. above, §8.2.2.2.

4. See above, §10.3.2.

5. E.g. victory comes from God alone (1 Macc. 3.19; IQM 1.14); trumpets are

eschatological perspective of the *War Scroll* contrasts with 1 and 2 Maccabees, which describe a war that has already been fought. The *War Scroll* stands at some distance from the Maccabean circle.¹ Nevertheless, the idea of help from angels as in 2 Macc. 10.29-30 is an important parallel.² Background to this idea is found in Dan. 10.1-12.1. Dan. 11.40-12.1, with its account of the battle at 'the time of the end' (Dan. 11.40), shows a number of parallels to 1QM 1, as indicated previously.³ At the climax of the 'time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time' (Dan. 12.1), the angel 'Michael, the great prince who has charge' of Israel, will arise and Israel will be delivered. The general similarities with 1QM 17.5-8 (and 1QM generally) include the ideas of the eschatological battle, victory for God's people, the distress ahead (cf. 1QM 16.11) and the prominence of Michael. 1QM 17.5-6 also mentions the prince of the dominion of wickedness, and the use of ω for this leading angel recalls Dan. 10.13, 20-21, with the princes of the kingdoms of Persia and Greece opposed to Daniel's informant and to Michael. The *War Scroll*, like these accounts in Daniel, sees reality operating on two levels, the heavenly and the earthly.

The outcome of the conflict will be the defeat of Belial (1QM 17.5-6), and the enemy's soldiers (1QM 17.4). Michael will be honoured among the angels (1QM 17.7-8), while Israel (the sect) will gain dominion over all flesh (1QM 17.7-8). All of the enemy is apparently to be slaughtered (1QM 1.5-7; 3.9; 4.1-2; 14.5; 18.4-5).⁴ In a similar way, Michael's exaltation will be over Belial and the other angels who war

used (1 Macc. 3.50-54; 5.33; 1QM 2.16-3.11); the division of troops into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens (1 Macc. 3.55; 1QM 4.1-5); the use of Deut. 20.3-4 (1 Macc. 3.56; 1QM 15.4-9); the use of prayer before battle (2 Macc. 10.16; 1QM 10.8-12.15); praise and prayer after the battle (2 Macc. 10.38; 1QM 14.2-16); and angelic help at the height of the battle (2 Macc. 10.29-30; 1QM 17.5-7).

1. Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 66-68.

2. 'When the battle became fierce, there appeared to the enemy from heaven five resplendent men on horses with golden bridles, and they were leading the Jews. Surrounding Maccabeus and protecting him with their own armour and weapons, they kept him from being wounded. And they showered arrows and thunderbolts upon the enemy . . .'

3. See above, §11.3.

4. Whether the author is consciously using hyperbole is not clear. Cf. Ps. 2.9-10 (Eng. 2.8-9).

against him. No clear details of the nature of the future existence of the sect members are given, beyond saying that they 'shall be glad in eternal knowledge' (1QM 17.8) and that they will have peace, joy and blessing (1QM 17.7). Continued earthly existence is presumably what is meant.

1QM 13.9-13 is part of the prayer cycle to be used during the battle. God is thanked because he has placed the sectaries in 'the lot of light', and because long ago (אָמַר) he has appointed the Prince of Light (שׁר טָאוֹר) to assist them (1QM 13.9-10). The use of this name is appropriate in a context that expresses its dualistic outlook by the light-darkness contrast. This sharply dualistic passage recalls the *Two Spirits Discourse*, in which the Prince of Lights (שׁר טָאוֹר) has dominion over the sons of light whom he assists in their struggle with the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3.20-25).¹ The Prince of Light in 1QM 13.10 fulfills the same role as Michael in 1QM 17.6-8. On this basis, Yadin's identification of Michael with the Prince of Light is to be accepted.²

The Prince of Light has in his dominion all spirits of truth (1QM 13.10),³ corresponding to the angels of destruction in Belial's lot (1QM 13.10-12). However, as has already been noted, the term 'lot' when applied to the sectaries includes them in God's lot and not in an angel's. Although the Prince of Light and the angels of his dominion are never actually said to belong to God's lot, it is consistent with the conceptual framework of the *War Scroll* to summarize the situation thus:

God	God's lot	Belial's lot
	Michael = Prince of Light	Belial (not equal to God)
	Angels of Michael's dominion	Angels of Belial's lot
	The sect	People of Belial's lot
	= people of the covenant	= all outside sect
	= sons of light	= sons of darkness

1. See above, §8.2.2.2.

2. *Scroll of the War*, pp. 235-36; so too Carmignac, 'La Règle', p. 114 n. 8.

3. For the identification of spirits as angels in the Qumran literature, see above, §8.2.2.6.

5. Angelic Participation in the Eschatological Battle

Up to this point in the discussion I have sketched in a general way the roles of the various angels in the eschatological conflict. On the one side stand Belial and his angels who assist the people of his lot,¹ the sect's enemies. On the other is God, with the sectaries in his lot. They are aided by Michael and he, like Belial, has angels under him. It is noteworthy that the opposition does not lie between God and Belial directly, but instead between Michael and Belial. There is a sense in which God himself stands outside of the conflict.² We will now examine several other passages involving these basic ideas.

5.1. The Sect, Curses and Towers

The war is to be conducted with an acute awareness of the place of the angelic world in it. This is evident in the liturgical approach taken to the war. 1QM 9.10-16 provides details on battle formations that involve four 'towers' (מגדלות), which are apparently units of soldiers with specially long shields and spears. The men of the towers are arranged in such a way as to facilitate the advance of the army.³ On each of their shields is written the name of one of the four archangels:

On all the shields of the men of the towers they shall write: on the first 'Mi[chael]', [on the second 'Gabriel', on the third] 'Sariel', on the fourth 'Raphael'; 'Michael' and 'Gabriel' on [. . .] (1QM 9.14-16).

Fortunately, although the text is damaged, all four names are preserved. It is clear that our author used the same tradition of four archangels found in *1 En.* 9.1, rather than that of seven, as in *1 En.* 20.1-8.⁴ The use of the archangels' names presumably expresses the sect's sense of identification with these angelic champions who are God's four leading attendants and Angels of the Presence. The names would serve as a reminder to all the troops that the holy angels were with them as mighty warriors.⁵

1. Just how the angels of the lots of God and Belial help the corresponding human armies is not explained. There is no indication given that humans actually fight against angels. Rather, the idea is probably that they are somehow enabled by the angels to fight against one another more effectively.

2. Cf. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, p. 193.

3. For a detailed analysis of the towers, see Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, pp. 187-90.

4. See above, the first note of §2.2.7, and Appendix A.

5. Cf. Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 237.

The same idea is found in the descriptions of the trumpets which were to summon the army to the holy war. Num. 10.1-10 provides OT precedent.¹ Each trumpet used by the sect is to bear a name expressing faith in God, self-awareness, purpose or the like. In the same way, the battle standards of 1QM 3.13-4.17, inspired by Num. 2.2-34,² carry further battle slogans. These express the sect's understanding of the war in which it is to engage. For example, one slogan indicates that the sect sees itself as going out in the name of God, in a battle that will see God's wrath come upon Belial and those of his lot (1QM 4.1-2).

Somewhat similar in function are the curses of 1QM 13.1-6, pronounced by the chief priest,³ and the priests and Levites. They are to execrate 'Belial and all the spirits of his lot' (1QM 13.1-2), saying, 'And cursed be Belial for the plan of hatred, and accursed in his guilty authority. Cursed be all spirits of his lot for their wicked plan. . . .' (1QM 13.4). These execrations further serve to heighten the sect's awareness of the true nature of the battle. Belial and his angels are involved in the very essence of the conflict.

5.2. Angels and Humans Fight in the War

However, several statements indicate much more explicitly that the sectaries thought that the battle was actually one in which both humans and angels would fight simultaneously. According to 1QM 1, God has an appointed time when the sons of darkness will be destroyed, and at which

there shall engage in a great carnage the congregation of angels (אליים) and the assembly of men, the sons of light and the lot of darkness, fighting each in communion (יחד) through the might of God with the sound of a great tumult and the war cry of angels (אליים) and men for a day of doom (1QM 1.10-11).

The prayer of 1QM 12, to be used before the battle, indicates that God's army consists of 'a multitude of holy ones' and 'hosts of angels'

1. So Carmignac, 'La Règle', p. 96 n. 1. Davies (*War Scroll*, p. 63) notes the use of trumpets in 1 Maccabees, and especially 1 Macc. 4.13; 5.31-33. As in Numbers, the trumpets are not named.

2. So Carmignac, 'La Règle', p. 97.

3. The text is damaged. The restoration is made virtually certain by the following context, which mentions brother priests and Levites. Cf. 1QM 15.1.

(צבאוח מלאכים) in heaven,¹ and 'the elect ones of the holy nation' on earth (1QM 12.1). Both groups are to be mustered for the battle (1QM 12.4-5). 1QM 12.6-8 has the angels actually involved with the sectarian army:

the congregation of thy holy ones are amongst us for eternal alliance. . . a host of angels (צבא מלאכים) are among those mustered with us, the Mighty One of War is in our congregation, and the host of his spirits is with our steps. . .

Here the writer not only asserts that angels will be with them, but he also believes that God himself, the Mighty One of War, will be too.² The thought is similar to that in 1QM 15.13-14, where God raises his hand to act against the wicked spirits, and the angels (אליים) gird themselves for battle. The participation of the angelic armies in this eschatological battle belongs to the traditions of the holy war as it was conceived in Israel.³ But here the application is to the eschatological conflict, not to a battle of more limited significance in the course of Israel's history.

5.3. *The Ritual Purity of the Camp: 1QM 7.3-7*

The fact that the angels are mustered with the congregation of the elect has its implications for the purity of the camp. 1QM 7.1-2 lays down regulations concerning the ages of various types of soldiers and this section is followed by a list of those disqualified from participating in the war or entering the camp (1QM 7.3-6).

The section on the exclusion of certain individuals from the camps (1QM 7.3-6) bears many similarities, both general and specific, to CD 15.15-17 (as restored using 4QD^a) and 1QSa 2.3-7.⁴ In addition to the general idea of the exclusion of certain persons, all three passages specifically mention people with impairment of sight and the ability to walk normally. The *Damascus Covenant* and the *Rule of the Congregation* both exclude those with bodily blemishes. Those under age are excluded by the *Damascus Covenant* and the *War Scroll*,

1. For צבא as a military term, cf. above, §10.3.2.
2. Carmignac, 'La Règle', p. 112 n. 64 points to this title of God in Ps. 24.8. The title is parallel to 'the King of Glory' in l. 7, also from Ps. 24.8.
3. Miller, *Divine Warrior*, pp. 143-44.
4. See above, §9.3.4, and below, §13.7.2.

though the latter also mentions the exclusion of women,¹ and the necessity for the combatants to be volunteers and sexually pure. The list appears to be a collation of items derived from various OT contexts.²

As with CD 15.15-17 and 1QSa 2.3-7, important OT background, to judge from some of the bodily defects mentioned in 1QM 7.3-5, is presumably Leviticus 21, which deals with the purity of the Aaronic priests. They had to be holy (Lev. 21.6, 8) in view of their relationship to God and their service for the people. The author of the *War Scroll* gives the reason for the exclusions: the 'holy angels are in communion with their hosts' (1QM 7.6).³

Yet there is a striking difference between Deuteronomy and the *War Scroll* here. Deut. 23.14 says that nothing indecent must be seen in the camp because Yahweh 'walks in the midst of (their) camp'. The author has adapted this passage to fit in with the prominent place occupied by angels in the sect's thought. This is consistent with what we have already seen concerning the sect's belief that the eschatological war was one in which both humans and angels were to fight.

5.4. *The War on Two Levels*

It is clear that dualistic concepts are essential to an understanding of

1. It is noteworthy that both 1QM 7.3-6 and CD 15.15-17 refer to minors, and that 1QM 7.3-6 mentions women. The evidence concerning marriage and the Qumran community is somewhat ambiguous. See Cross, *Ancient Library*, pp. 96-98.

2. Carmignac ('La Règle', p. 103) suggests as background Lev. 21.18; Deut. 15.21; 20.5-8 (cf. 1 Macc. 3.56); Deut. 23.11; 2 Sam. 5.6-8. Josephus (*War* 2.8.9 §§147-149) mentions the burial of excrement (cf. Deut. 23.12-13), as well as the use of a lonely place, while 1QM 7.6-7 prescribes a distance of 2000 cubits between the camp and a latrine. See further Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 291; *idem*, *Hidden Law*, pp. 171-82; and *idem*, *Temple Scroll*, I, pp. 294-304 on 11Q Temple 46.13-16.

3. Davies (*War Scroll*, p. 42) says of the phrase 'for holy angels are in communion with their hosts' (1QM 7.6): 'Although conclusions have been drawn from this about the belief in angelic warriors, the revision amounts to no more than the removal of anthropomorphism and does not indicate any belief in angelic assistance on the battlefield. . . .' Carmignac (review of Davies, *War Scroll*, *RevQ* 9 [1978], p. 601) rightly objects to what amounts to the circular reasoning that does not find angels in cols. 2-9, since angels are not to be found there! Carmignac says, 'Et on ne trouve pas trace des anges dans un texte qui en parle! Avec de telles méthodes, on peut tout "prouver"!'. 1QM 12.6-8 in fact mentions both God (the Mighty One of War) and angels as being with the sectarian army, so, at least in that passage, the angels are not merely replacing God himself.

the nature of the eschatological war. Cosmic dualism is important in that two camps of angelic beings are involved, with God also on the side of Michael. There is spatial dualism too, in that there are two worlds, the heavenly and the earthly. Our author does not actually discuss the conflict between the angels directly, for his concern is focused on the war on earth. But war between the angels is presupposed by the exaltation of Michael among the angels,¹ by the fact that God defeats Belial and his spirits,² and by the involvement of both people and angels in the battle (1QM 1.9-11). Although we do not find a description like that of the confrontation between Michael and the Prince of Persia, as described in Dan. 10.13, 20-21, or of the heavenly war of Rev. 12.7-9, with Michael and his angels opposing the dragon, the conceptual framework is nevertheless similar. 1QM 12.1-2 involves the same idea.

6. Additional Note: The Sources of the Dualism of 1QM³

The very obvious dualism of the framework of the *War Scroll* in general, which is reflected in its angelology in particular, forces the question of the sources of this dualism upon us, at least for brief comment. Conflicting answers have been proposed on the basis of differing interpretations of the evidence. Of interest for our study is the question already raised in relation to the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.13-4.26), that of the extent, if any, of Iranian influence.

Clearly, the Qumran sect was essentially Jewish. Fundamental to its life was the OT, as is evident from its study of the Torah, its use of OT citations and allusions, its emphasis on the Covenant, and so on. This means that the starting point for any analysis of its doctrines should be the OT and the Jewish context. As has been noted, von der Osten-Sacken has argued that the dualism of the *War Scroll* can be understood to derive from ideas latent in the OT and he sees Dan. 11.40-12.1 as important background to 1QM 1, along with holy war and day-of-Yahweh traditions.⁴ Black has also emphasized the

1. 1QM 17.8-9.

2. 1QM 1.15; 14.14; 15.13-14; 17.5-6; 18.1-3.

3. See also the discussion regarding the dualism in 1QS 3.13-4.26, the *Two Spirits Discourse*, §8.2. The remarks in the present section are relevant to a consideration of the sources of the dualism in that document also.

4. *Gott und Belial*, pp. 28-62.

importance of Ezekiel 38 as background to the *War Scroll*.¹ It is not the place here to investigate the evidence for such proposals, but the idea in general appears to be correct, and various OT allusions have been noted in the preceding pages. The OT background to the idea of Belial as an evil angel is more problematic,² but even so, it is not without OT antecedents, particularly the use of בליעל in holy war contexts (like Deut. 13.14-15 [Eng. 13.13-14]; Judg. 19.22) and especially its occurrence in Nah. 2.1 (Eng. 1.15) and Ps. 18.5 (Eng. 18.4).³ In view of the evidence that he has gathered, von der Osten-Sacken is confident that the dualism of 1QM 1 springs from the OT and Jewish contexts.⁴ It is only when he considers 1QS 3.13-4.14 that he finds it necessary to postulate Iranian influence.⁵

By contrast, Collins is much more ready to find significant Iranian influence in the *War Scroll*.⁶ He sees the concept of holy war as important in Daniel 10-12, and especially the mythology of 'the old Canaanite type myth of the conflict with the forces of chaos'⁷ and the idea of conflict among supernatural beings.⁸ He acknowledges that 1QM 17.7 closely parallels Dan. 12.1-3 and Daniel 7, but then asserts that 'the *War Scroll* does not derive its basic structure from the Canaanite chaos myth, but from the Persian dualism of light and darkness'.⁹

While it is possible, and might even be probable, that there has been direct, or perhaps indirect Iranian influence on the thought of the author or authors of the *War Scroll*, considerable caution needs to be exercised in view of the strong evidence for the existence in the OT of the seeds of dualistic thought of the kind found at Qumran. As Barr, writing of the relationships between the thought of the Qumran

1. *Scrolls and Christian Origins*, pp. 153-54.

2. See above, §8.3.1. On 'Belial' in 1QM, see above, §11.2.2.1.

3. Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 73-78.

4. *Gott und Belial*, p. 81.

5. *Gott und Belial*, p. 168.

6. 'Mythology', pp. 596-612.

7. 'Mythology', p. 601.

8. The existence of holy war mythology in Daniel is denied by Davies, 'Dualism and Eschatology', pp. 28-29, but see also the reply, J.J. Collins, 'Dualism and Eschatology in 1QM: A Reply to P.R. Davies', VT 29 (1979), pp. 212-16.

9. Collins, 'Mythology', pp. 603-604. His argument is evaluated in Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 310-12.

literature and Iranian religion has pointed out, it is invalid to think that for the Qumran sect 'the conceptions shared by the two could not possibly have developed out of the earlier Old Testament religion. All that is required', in order to challenge such an idea, 'is a hypothesis that could account for the same facts on an inner-Jewish basis'.¹

A further difficulty besetting the whole debate concerns the dating of the sources of Iranian religion. The Avesta, or Zoroastrian scripture, consists of various writings collated in the Sasanian period (third to seventh centuries AD) or later. Some of this material probably goes back to Zoroaster himself (sixth century BC).² The Pahlavi literature in the form in which it is now known to scholars derives from the ninth century AD but again apparently contains material which is much older.³ The problem of the sources is such that Collins can call it a 'notorious difficulty'.⁴

In the light of the problems associated with both fact and methodology, the whole question of possible Iranian influence on the theology of the Qumran sect must be left open. The weight of evidence does seem to lie with the essentially Jewish roots of the Qumran beliefs, but this is not to exclude the possibility of influence from Zoroastrian religion. However, it is inaccurate to assume large-scale absorption and adoption of Iranian ideas.⁵ It should be concluded that at least the predominant roots of the dualism and the angelology of the *War Scroll* lie in the author's Jewish heritage.

1. J. Barr, 'The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity', *JAAR* 53 (1985), p. 205.

2. Cf. S. Shaked, 'Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations', *IOS* 2 (1972), p. 443; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 23.

3. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 23; A. Hultgård, 'Forms and Origins of Iranian Apocalypticism', in Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, pp. 388, 406.

4. *Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 23.

5. Cf. Barr, 'Religious Influence', p. 230.

Chapter 12

THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE OR THE ANGELIC LITURGY

1. Introduction

1.1. *The Manuscripts*

Fragmentary materials of ten copies of the *Sabbath Shirot* or *Angelic Liturgy* from Qumran Cave 4 (designated 4Q400–407), Masada (MasShirShab) and Cave 11 (11QShirShabb) have been published by Newsom.¹ Palaeographic study identifies 4Q400 as the oldest, dated to the late Hasmonaean period, c. 75–50 BC. The most recent copies are from Cave 11 (c. AD 20–50) and Masada (c. AD 50).² Various lines of evidence converge to make 'it most likely that the Sabbath Shirot were produced by the Qumran Community'.³ Their sectarian origin will be assumed.

1.2. *Form and Function*

The whole cycle of the *Sabbath Shirot* apparently consisted of 13 separate songs, each assigned in its exordium to a particular Sabbath. All dates preserved belong to the first thirteen Sabbaths of the 364-day calendar.⁴ The seventh song begins typically:

1. C. Newsom, *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS, 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985).

2. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 86, 126, 147, 158, 186, 249, 258, 355, 359, 363.

3. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 61. So also J. Strugnell, 'The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân—4Q Serek Šîrôt 'Ôlat Haššabbât', in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (VTSup, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 318. Strugnell's paper included what were designated 4QS1 39 16-26 (= 4Q403 1 i 16-26) and 4QS1 40 24 2-9 (= 4Q405 20-21-22 7-14).

4. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 5.

By the instructor (למשכיל). Song of the sacrifice of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month. Praise the God of the lofty heights, O you lofty ones among all the *elim* of knowledge (אלי דעה) (4Q403 1 i 30-31).

Throughout the *Sabbath Shirot* the setting is heaven and the beings who are exhorted to praise God are angels. They are referred to by numerous designations, many of which are well known from elsewhere in the Qumran literature. Other terminology from its contexts can also be recognized as designating angels. Thus אלים is a regular angelic designation at Qumran.¹ On the other hand, 'lofty ones' renders הרמים, which, by virtue of its parallelism with another clearly angelic designation in the next line, 'the holy ones of God' (קדושי אלוהים),² is probably also referring to angels.³ Similarly in 4Q400 1 i 3-5, 'holy ones', 'priests' (כוהנים), 'Ministers of the Presence' (משרחי פנים) and 'spiritual creatures' (מעשי רוח)⁴ are all apparently terms for angels. This argument could be repeated time and again, and despite various uncertainties of interpretation, it is clear that an extensive angelological vocabulary is utilized.

The *Sabbath Shirot* mention the Sabbath sacrifice, but which sacrifice is meant? Since the Qumran community had separated itself from the official worship in Jerusalem,⁵ it is possible it had its own substitute liturgy, though one presumably without actual offerings, for such practice would have been a flagrant violation of Deut. 12.5-14, which prohibits the multiplication of sanctuaries.⁶ Or perhaps the sacrifice was that of the heavenly cultus, though Newsom thinks this unlikely.⁷ Indeed, apart from the headings of the type quoted, the content does not really support the idea that the *Sabbath Shirot's* function was primarily to do with an actual Sabbath sacrifice at all, though they might well have been recited at the time of the Sabbath offering.⁸

1. See above, §10.6.

2. On 'holy ones', see above, §§2.1.1; 8.3.2. Newsom (*Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 214) notes that the phrase in 4Q403 1 i 31 could mean 'holy ones of God' or 'holiest of the godlike ones', but in either case is 'clearly an angelic title'.

3. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 214.

4. This ambiguous phrase, included in Appendix D, could be referring to spiritual matters. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 99.

5. On the sect's relationship with official Judaism, see above, §9.2.

6. Carmignac, 'Chants', p. 312.

7. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 18.

8. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 18-20. Perhaps no literal sacrifice was

A more satisfactory suggestion is that the *Sabbath Shirot* enabled the worshipping community to experience the validation of its claim to be a holy temple with a legitimate priesthood, whose service was parallel to that of the heavenly angels with whom they were closely associated.¹ The idea of human and angelic priesthoods which praise God is seen in 4Q400 2 1-7, although it does not explicitly designate the angels as a priesthood.² The sectaries are to praise God, even though their praise is feeble compared to that of their angelic counterparts.

[. . .] to praise your glory wondrously with the *elim* of knowledge and the praiseworthiness of your royal power together with the holiest of the h[oly ones]. . . how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations? . . . [What] is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared) with the knowledge of the el[im]? . . .] (4Q400 2 1, 6-7).

Thus, as the Qumran worshippers praised God together with the angels, they would have been reassured in their belief that they were the legitimate and holy priesthood, the true בני צדוק, to use the phrase from CD 3.21-4.4. This would have been despite the contradictory evidence of their exclusion from the Jerusalem temple.³

2. The Heavenly Temple

The *Sabbath Shirot* conceive of heaven as a temple in which the angels worship. Various terms are used to refer to heaven, including 'temple (היכל, 4Q400 1 i 13),⁴ 'debir' (דביר, 4Q403 1 ii 13), 'tabernacle'

involved, but rather a 'sacrifice of praise' (cf. Heb. 13.15; Rev. 5.8). The Jewish Christians of the first decades of the Christian church were also isolated from the Jerusalem cultus. Note, however, that the angels are said in 11QShirShabb 8-7 2-3 to offer sacrifices and drink offerings. Thus, at least by analogy with the earthly system, the angels were thought to offer sacrifices, even though no particular sacrifice as practised in Judaism might have been in the author's mind.

1. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 71-72. See also, C. Newsom, 'Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot', *JJS* 38 (1987), p. 13.

2. For the angelic priesthood, see, e.g., 4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19, 20; 4Q400 1 ii 19; etc. See also the concordance in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 418.

3. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 72.

4. Usually only one or two references will be cited as examples in this chapter. For a complete listing, see the concordance in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 389-466.

(משכן, 4Q403 1 ii 10), 'sanctuary' (מקדש, 4Q405 23 ii 11) and 'holy place' (קודש, 4Q400 1 i 14), and terminology to designate certain architectural features and furnishings.¹ The divine chariot-throne (מרכבה) is also important in the *Sabbath Shirot* and is described in some detail in the twelfth song (4Q405 20-21-22 7-14). The throne bears the divine Glory. The *Sabbath Shirot* appear to know of more than one chariot-throne, as in 4Q403 1 ii 14-15 and 4Q405 20 ii-21.²

Heaven is apparently thought to be divided into seven holy areas.³ If Newsom's restoration of 4Q405 7 7 is correct, the seven areas correspond to the *debirim* of the heavenly temple.⁴ Newsom observes that 'it is extremely difficult to supply parallels for the notion of seven heavenly sanctuaries'.⁵ The *Sabbath Shirot* do not describe the actual spatial arrangement of the seven sanctuaries, in contrast to a passage like 3 *En.* 1.1-2.⁶

3. The Angelic Priesthood

3.1. Introduction

Various passages refer to angels as priests. For example, they are 'priests of the inner sanctum' (כוהני קודש; 4Q400 1 i 17, 19). It is not clear how many priestly divisions there are, but it is likely there are seven. 4Q403 1 ii 22 reads;

כזה [נוח] שבע במקדש פלא לשבעה סודי קודש כן [. . .]

seven priest[hoods] in the wondrous sanctuary for the seven holy councils [. . .]

There is, in fact, no undamaged reference that makes it certain that there were seven priesthoods,⁷ but 'the references to seven holy

On the plurals as in 4Q400 1 i 13, היכלי מלך, see Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 49.

1. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 42-43.
2. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 45, though it is possible that we may have a case of plurals of majesty (*Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 49).
3. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 31, 43, 49. See 4Q400 1 ii 10; 4Q403 1 ii 11, 21, 27.
4. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 272.
5. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 50.
6. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 51.
7. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 31. In addition to 4Q403 1 ii 22, cf. 4Q405 7 7 and 4Q405 8-9 4-5.

councils leaves (*sic*) little doubt that there are seven separate divisions among the angelic priests'.¹ If this is correct, the seven priesthoods would presumably correspond to the seven holy places in the heavenly temple.

Whether all of the angels are understood to belong to the priesthood is also unclear. There are a few references to groups of angels that do not seem to function as priests. For example, 4Q400 2 2 is apparently speaking of only some angels, 'the *elim* of knowledge' (4Q400 2 1), when it says 'they are honoured among all the camps of godlike beings (מחני אלהים)'.² Some of the angels probably have military functions, as is suggested by the terms פקודיהם ('mustered troops' or 'ranks'³) and דגליהם ('divisions'),⁴ as well as by the description of the eschatological war in 4Q402 4 7-11.⁵

3.2. Priestly Functions of the Angels

Various priestly functions are fulfilled by the angelic priests. Several of these are found in what Newsom has proposed as a reconstruction of the first Sabbath Song.⁶ Priestly angels in this song seem to correspond to Angels of the Presence in other Jewish texts, including the Qumran literature,⁷ though the actual phrase פנים מלאכי is absent from the *Sabbath Shirot*. However the equivalents, משרתי פנים ('Ministers of the Presence', 4Q400 1 i 4) and . . . משרתי פני מלך קודש [. . .], 4Q400 1 i 8)⁸ occur in the first song. The angels are also 'priests of the inner sanctum' (4Q400 1 i 8, 17, 19).⁹ In 4Q400 1 i 19, the phrase כוהני קודש is probably in apposition to קדושי קדושים. Newsom translates by 'priests of the inner sanctum, holiest of the holy ones', suggesting that these angels represent a special class among the angels as a whole. She also notes the apparent apposition in line 8, such that the priests of the

1. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 31.
2. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 113. On אלהים as an angelic designation in the *Sabbath Shirot*, see below, §12.7.2.
3. Cf. Strugnell, 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 337.
4. 4Q405 20-21-22 14.
5. See also below, §12.6.
6. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 7.
7. See above, §10.4.2, and below, §13.8.2.
8. My translation.
9. On the translation of קודש, see Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 98.

light [. . .]' We have already noted that 1QH 18.23-24, which has angels teaching human beings,¹ raises the question of the relationship of angelic revelation to the Qumran concept of revelation through the Teacher of Righteousness and the *pesharim*. Here in the *Sabbath Shirot* the situation appears to be simply one in which the heavenly cult is modelled on the earthly one, so that the angelic priests by analogy teach in heaven, just as the priests of the sectarian community teach on earth.² Probably also by analogy, the angelic priests are said to offer sacrifices (לבוזי קדושים) and their offerings produce an odour, as do their drink offerings.³

A further priestly function of the seven leading angels or chief princes⁴ is prominent in 4Q403 1 i 10-29, part of the sixth Sabbath Song.⁵ In addition, 4Q405 13 corresponds to 4Q403 1 i 17-23, the main difference being that deputy princes (נשיאי משנה) appear to be involved instead of chief princes.⁶ In 4Q403 1 i 10-29, each of the chief princes in turn is said to pronounce a threefold blessing on recipients who are variously designated. The passage is highly formulaic, with each series of blessings arranged in the following way, with only minor variations in certain places.⁷

- 1 The nth among the chief princes (seven in all)
- 2 will bless
- 3 in the name of (some attribute or work of God or angels)
- 4 all those who. . . (e.g. display some attribute)
- 5 with seven words of. . . (majesty, wonder, etc.)
- 6 to bring some good (to those blessed by the angel).

Elements 4 and 5 are in fact repeated three times in each stanza, in the pattern 4, 5; 4', 5'; 4'', 5''. The priestly act of blessing by the chief princes can be compared in a general way to Aaron's blessing (Num. 6.22-27).⁸

1. See above, §10.7.
2. 1QS 6.3-8; CD 13.2-7; cf. the role of the high priest in the eschatological war, 1QM 10-12.
3. 11QShirShabb 8-7 2-3. On the terminology, which is rare in contemporary Jewish literature, see Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 372-73.
4. On 'chief princes' (נשיאי רש), see below, §12.7.2.
5. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 9.
6. So Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 277. See 4Q405 13 7.
7. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 195-97.
8. Cf. Gaster, *Scriptures*, p. 286. Newsom (*Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 197) does not find the parallels to be particularly close.

Similarly, the Levitical priests bless in God's name (Deut. 10.8; 21.5).

3.3. Who is Blessed in 4Q403 1 i 10-29?

The question of who is actually blessed by the angels is important for the collation of the angelic designations in the *Sabbath Shirot*. Strugnell suggested that those blessed are sometimes people and sometimes angels, with some cases unclear.¹

In the following analysis, only those designations whose readings are certain or almost certain, either from 4Q403 1 i itself or by confirmation from overlapping fragments, are considered, and various parallels are listed.² Those who are blessed are:

1. 'All their councils' (11; 1QS 2.25; CD 14.10).
2. 'Those who have knowledge of eternal things' (11; Lev. 16.34; Ps. 139.24; 1QS 2.3).
3. 'Those who are eternally pure' (13; Ezra 6.20; cf. Prov. 15.26; 1QS 6.22, 25; 1QH 3.20-21; cf. 1 En. 10.16; 93.5).
4. 'All who walk in uprightness' (17; Ps. 15.2; Prov. 14.2; 19.1; CD 1.20).
5. 'Those who establish majesty' (17; Ps. 8.2 [Eng. 8.1]; cf. 1QS 10.23; 1QH 11.4-7).
6. 'All who know the mysteries of the pure [. . .]' (19; 1QS 4.6; 1QH 4.27-29; 7.26-27; 12.13, 20).
7. 'All who are eager for his good favour'³ (20; Ps. 40.8-9 [Eng. 40.7-8]; 1QH 5.21-22, cf. Isa. 16.6).
8. 'All who confess his majesty' (20; Ps. 29.1-2; cf. 1QH 2.31; 3.19, 37; 1QM 10.8-9).
9. 'All those with powerful insight' (21; Ps. 111.10; Prov. 16.22; cf. Prov. 1.7; Wis. 10.12).
10. 'All those whose way is perfect' (22; Ps. 119.1; Prov. 11.20; 1QS 4.22; 1QM 14.7; 1QH 1.36; 1Qsa 1.28).
11. 'All who wait for him' (23; Isa. 40.30-31; Dan. 12.12).

1. 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 331. Carmignac ('Chants', p. 311) takes them all to be the members of the Qumran community.
2. In all cases, Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 188-206 should be consulted. Line numbers from 4Q403 1 i are given first, followed by parallels, both linguistic and thematic, from the OT, the Apocrypha and the Qumran literature.
3. Or, 'eager for righteousness' (Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 202).

12. 'All the holy ones who establish knowledge'¹ (24; Ps. 34.10 [Eng. 34.9]; 1QS 9.12-16; 11.3-5).
13. 'All who exalt his statutes' (24-25; Ps. 19.8-12 [Eng. 19.7-11]; CD 14.6-8; 15.2-16.5).
14. 'All who are appointed for righteousness, who praise his glorious kingdom'² (25; Ps. 145.5, 12; 1QS 3.15-20).
15. 'Those appointed for righteousness' (27; 1QS 3.15-20).

From this survey, it becomes clear that the recipients of the blessings of the chief princes could conceivably be the members of the Qumran community or angelic worshippers in heaven.³ If 4Q403 1 i 18 were not damaged the issue would have been decided one way or the other, had the word אֱלִים been preserved, for this is regularly used for angels at Qumran.⁴ Both Newsom⁵ and Strugnell⁶ have conjecturally supplied the word, but only the *aleph* is certain.⁷ Our conclusion is thus that either people or angels could have been understood to be the recipients of the blessing of the angelic priests.⁸ Indeed, both may have been in view. The ambiguity here may, in fact, belong to the genius of the *Sabbath Shirot* in the life of the Qumran community. While the distinction between humans and angels is always maintained in the Qumran literature,⁹ the idea of close association between the sect members and the angels is a very important one. If the function of the *Sabbath Shirot* was to enhance worship and give assurance to the community of the validity of its own priesthood, then a sense of sharing in the blessing given by the chief princes of heaven would have assisted significantly in realizing this aim.

1. But see Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 203-204 for an alternative translation.

2. The first clause here is conjectural. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 189.

3. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 196. Newsom thinks that those blessed are angels, because of the predominantly angelological focus of the *Sabbath Shirot*.

4. See above, §10.6. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 196.

5. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 188.

6. 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 322.

7. Cf. Carmignac, 'Chants', p. 315 n. 12.

8. These designations have been listed in Appendix D as terms referring to angels.

9. See above, §8.2.2.6 and the fifth to last note of that section.

4. Angelic Praise in the Sabbath Shirot

The *Sabbath Shirot* are consistently concerned with the praise of God by the angelic worshippers. Each of the thirteen Sabbath songs apparently has a similar exordium, including an exhortation to certain angels to praise God.¹ In the case of the seventh song's exordium quoted above, the exhortation to praise is not addressed to all of the angels but to the 'lofty ones among all the *elim* of knowledge' (4Q403 1 i 30-31).² Similarly, the first song's exhortation to praise is addressed to the 'godlike ones among all the holiest of the holy ones' (אֱלֹהִי כֹל קְרוֹשֵׁי קְרוֹשִׁים).³ The chiefs of the realm of the holy ones are also the chiefs of praise-offering, according to 4Q405 23 ii 11-12.

Numerous passages speak of this angelic praise. For example, the angels exalt God's glory (4Q400 1 ii 13) and 'declare his royal splendor according to their knowledge' (4Q400 2 3). The sectarian community praises God in association with the angels (4Q400 2 1-8), even though their praise is impoverished by comparison (4Q400 2 6-7). 4Q403 1.1.1-9 mentions praise offered by the seven chief angelic princes, while 4Q405 20-21-22 6-14⁴ deals with the divine chariot-throne and the praise of the cherubim.

5. God is Superior to Angels

The angelic praise of God, which is a dominant motif in the *Sabbath Shirot*, implies the exalted status of God over the angels. He is the one through whom all things have come into being (4Q402 4 12 = MasShirShabb i 2), including all the everlasting spirits (4Q403 1 i 35). He is 'the king of the heavenly beings' (4Q402 3 ii 12; מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִי) and 'the God of the angels' (11QShirShabb 5-6 5-6; אֱלֹהִי אֱלִים). There is

1. See above, §12.1.2, for 4Q403 1 i 30, the beginning of the seventh song.

2. See the discussion of the translation in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 214.

3. 4Q400 1 i 2. On אֱלֹהִים used as an angelic designation, see below, §12.7.2.

4. 4Q403 1 ii 15 also mentions the chariot-throne. On the possible relationships between the *Sabbath Shirot* and the later Merkabah speculations, see L.H. Schiffman, 'Merkabah Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q Serekh Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat', in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians* (ed. J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982). Newsom ('Merkabah Exegesis', p. 16) considers that 4Q405 20-21-22 6-14 is 'a self-conscious exegesis of Ezekiel'.

no suggestion in the *Sabbath Shirot* that there is any angel who could be thought to equal God.

6. Angels and the Eschatological War

The terms נשיא and ראש are applied to angels in the *Sabbath Shirot*. They have their political and military associations in the OT,¹ and נשיא is used in this way in the *War Scroll*.² Yet these terms in the *Sabbath Shirot* are applied to angels who do not have military but priestly roles.³ For example, in the sixth Sabbath Song 'The sixth among the chief princes will bless in the name of . . . and he will bless all who wait for him . . .' (4Q403 1 i 21-22).⁴

Similarly, other terms commonly used in military contexts in the OT are used of angels in the *Sabbath Shirot*. For example, 4Q405 20-21-22 6-14 describes the praise of the divine chariot-throne. Line 14 concludes the section: 'from between all their divisions (רגליהם) . . . all their mustered troops (פקודיהם) rejoice, each of[n]e in [his] stat[ion] (מעמד[ו])'. It is difficult to tell whether these terms imply actual military organization and function, or whether they are used only by analogy for priestly angels organized in the heavenly temple.⁵

There is, however, one passage in the *Sabbath Shirot* in which angels are clearly involved in war. The text of 4Q402 4, from the fifth song,⁶ is unfortunately severely damaged, so that little can be deduced concerning either the war envisaged or the combatants themselves. 4Q402 4 7 has מלחמה אלוהים. As will be discussed in a moment, the meaning of אלוהים in the *Sabbath Shirot* is often, as Newsom renders it, 'godlike beings' or 'angels', rather than 'God'. In

1. For נשיא, see Num. 2.3, 5, 7, 10; 7.2, 10; 34.18, 22; etc. Cf. J. van der Ploeg, 'Les chefs du peuple d'Israël et leurs titres', *RB* 57 (1950), pp. 47-61. For ראשים, see Num. 7.2; 10.4; 13.3; 17.18 (Eng. 17.3); etc. For ראש and נשיא in apposition, see Num. 7.2; 10.4; 36.1 (cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 32).

2. 1QM 3.3, 15, 16; 4.1; 5.1.

3. Contrast Newsom, *Sabbath Shirot* (p. 33) who thinks that both military and political roles may be included in these titles.

4. For other examples, see Appendix D. It is probably indicative of the *Sabbath Shirot*'s emphasis on the angels as priests that צבאות, a common biblical term for 'armies', is absent (as noted by Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 320).

5. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 320-21.

6. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 8, 157.

this particular line it is ambiguous, but line 9 employs the plural ירוצו with אלוהים as its subject, implying that it is not referring to God,¹ but angels. Line 9 reads: '[. . .] the heavenly beings run to [his] muster, and there is the sound of tumult [. . .]'.² Line 10 preserves the phrase, 'the heavenly beings (אלוהים) in the war of heaven (במלחמת שחקים)'.³ While there is no precise parallel to the phrase 'the war of heaven',⁴ the reference in 4Q402 4 7-10 will presumably be to the angelic participation in the eschatological war known from the *War Scroll*⁵ and 1QH 3.34-36. It is not clear, however, whether our passage envisages a battle in which angels fight in heaven or on earth, though line 10 may favour the former idea. Nor is it clear whether angels fight against other angels or human beings, or both. 4Q402 1 4 may also refer to a military setting. Angels are called גבורים here, while פשע occurs in the next line, which unfortunately is incomplete.

7. Angelological Terminology of the Sabbath Shirot

7.1. General Description

Appendix D tabulates the many designations of angels in the *Sabbath Shirot*. The wide range of terms and the numerous combinations of epithets are unique in the Qumran literature. Many designations are peculiar, or almost so, to the *Sabbath Shirot*, though the *Hodayot* and the *Canticles of the Instructor* show similar tendencies. Several terms of importance are well known from elsewhere in the Qumran literature. These include אלים, מלאכים, קדושים, רוחים (in the construct) רוחות, and גבורים.⁶ The term מלאכים is not frequent in the *Sabbath Shirot*, occurring only twelve times.⁷ The probable reason is that our

1. However, note that the meaning 'God' appears more likely than 'godlike beings' in the phrase אלוהי אלים in 4Q402 4 8.

2. 'Muster' renders פקוד[ו]ן of which only the פ and the ק are certain. Newsom, (*Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 155, 158-59) favours her transcription on contextual grounds, and suggests that reference to a military muster would fit the context better than reference to a visitation.

3. For שחקים, 'clouds', 'sky' in the OT, see, e.g., Deut. 33.26; Job 38.18; Isa. 45.8; Jer. 51.9, etc. Cf. BDB, p. 1007.

4. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 159.

5. E.g. 1QM 1.9-11; 17.6-8.

6. See above, §§2.1.1; 8.2.2.6; 8.3.1; 10.4.4.1; 10.6.

7. Based on the concordance in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 424.

author has such a rich inventory of angelic titles that he gives relatively little attention to this common designation.

Certain angelic designations found elsewhere in the Qumran literature are absent from the *Sabbath Shirot*. Strugnell has noted the absence from the *Sabbath Shirot* of שָׂמַיִם, suggesting that 'perhaps it is too banal for a specialist in ouranology'.¹ Thus angels are not called בני שָׂמַיִם or בני שְׂמַיִם.² Nor are proper names such as 'Michael', 'Gabriel' and 'Belial' to be found. The one possible exception, to be discussed below, is 'Melchizedek', but the evidence for its occurrence is dubious.

7.2. Special Designations

7.2.1. *Godlike Beings*. מַלְאָכִים as an angelic designation may refer to Melchizedek in 11QMetch 2.8-9,³ and if this is so, it represents the only known occurrence in the Qumran literature outside of the *Sabbath Shirot*. Yet undoubtedly מַלְאָכִים is used extensively in the *Sabbath Shirot* for both God and angels, although in numerous places it is difficult to discern the specific referent.⁴ However, certain contexts clearly refer to angels.⁵

7.2.2. *Priests*. The use of כֹּהֵן for angels is unknown in the OT, other Qumran texts and Jewish works deriving from 200 BC to AD 100. This is despite the occurrence in a text like *Jubilees* of a heavenly temple with angels having priestly functions.⁶ Likewise, Tob. 12.15, which has seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints before the glory of the Holy One, does not use the term 'priests'. The *Sabbath Shirot*, by contrast, speak of angels as priests who are organized into one or perhaps seven priesthoods.⁷

1. 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 333.
2. Cf. Strugnell, 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 333. The damaged 11QShirShabb o 2 may preserve a reference to angels as sons. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 382.
3. See below, §13.1.3.
4. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 24. This should be remembered when consulting Appendix D.
5. These include 4Q403 1 i 32, 32-33, which have מַלְאָכִים, 4Q400 2 5 with מַלְאָכִים and 4Q402 4 9 which uses the plural verb יִרְאוּ with מַלְאָכִים as subject.
6. E.g. *Jub.* 2.17-19; 15.26-27; 31.13-14.
7. See above, §12.3.1.

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7.2.3. *Ministers*. Four times the term מְשֻׁרְתִים is used of the angelic priests, and on two of these occasions additional description is used. They are 'Ministers of the Presence (מְשֻׁרְתֵי פָּנִים) in his glorious *debir*' (4Q400 1 i 4) and 'Ministers of the Presence of the king of holiest [...]' (4Q400 1 i 8; ... מְשֻׁרְתֵי פִי מֶלֶךְ קֹדֶשׁ).¹ The phrase מְשֻׁרְתֵי פָּנִים does not occur in the *Sabbath Shirot*, but the idea is common,² and 'Ministers of the presence' is clearly the term corresponding most closely to 'Angels of the Presence' known from other Qumran texts.³

7.2.4. *Princes*. The use of נְשִׂאִים in the *Sabbath Shirot* has already been noted as having OT precedent in the book of Numbers, where it refers to human beings, not angels, and to those whose functions are political and military, not priestly.⁴ There is probably influence from Ezekiel too. In Ezek. 38.2-3 and 39.1, the term is applied to the chief prince⁵ of Meshech and Tubal. The word occurs frequently in Ezekiel, often with reference to the descendant of David, as in Ezek. 34.24. The use by the *Sabbath Shirot* of נְשִׂאִים for angels appears to be unique for Jewish writings 'except in the magic text *Sefer Ha-Razim*, where it is said that the fifth heaven contains twelve angels called נְשִׂאֵי הַכֹּכָבִים'.⁶ נְשִׂאֵי הַכֹּכָבִים is the term applied to leading angels in both Daniel and later rabbinic theology.⁷

נְשִׂאֵי רִשָׁה is found in several contexts, especially in the sixth song, in which the seven chief princes give their blessings.⁸ These seven leading angels are probably to be identified with the seven archangels known from other Jewish sources.⁹ The idea of seven may have been

1. Translation mine. The other occurrences are in 4Q401 15 3 and 4Q405 23 i 3.
2. E.g. 4Q400 1 i 8; 4Q401 16 3; 4Q405 1 i 4; etc.
3. See above, §10.4.2, and below, §13.8.2.
4. See above, §12.6.
5. נְשִׂאֵי רִשָׁה, cf. 4Q403 1 i 1, 17, 21, 23, etc.
6. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 27.
7. נְשִׂאֵי רִשָׁה has been discussed above, §8.2.2.2. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 102. Though Strugnell ('Angelic Liturgy', p. 334), wrote that נְשִׂאֵי רִשָׁה was absent from the *Sabbath Shirot*, it may well be found in 4Q400 1 i 12; 4Q401 6 4 and 4Q403 1 i 23, but all are uncertain readings. (See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 91, 102, 133, 241).
8. E.g. in 4Q403 1 i 1, 17, 21, 23 from the sixth song, and elsewhere, in 4Q403 1 i 20; 4Q405 3 i 12a.
9. On four as the original number of the archangels, see above, the first note in §2.2.7.

influenced by Ezek. 9.2 with the seer's vision of six executioners and another 'man' as scribe. Seven priestly angels are found in Tob. 12.15, while seven archangels are known in *I En.* 20, 81.5, 87.2, 90.21-22, *T. Levi* 8.2-10 and later Jewish literature such as *3 En.* 17.1-3.¹

However, in addition to the seven chief princes, there are also seven deputy princes *נשיא קהילה*, 4Q400 3 ii 2 and probably 4Q405 13 7). Deputy priests are known from 2 Kgs 23.4, 25.18, and 1QM 2.1.² Newsom's hypothesis regarding the organization of the heavenly priesthood is that 'primarily the author refers to a system of seven hierarchically ordered priesthods in the seven sanctuaries, presided over by the seven chief princes and the seven deputy princes, one pair for each sanctuary'. She also notes that 4Q403 1 ii 19 apparently indicates that the seven deputies collectively constituted an organizational group too.³

The seven chief princes may well have been seen as seven high priests, one for each sanctuary. This is suggested by the use of the plurals *אשרידי* in 4Q405 23 ii 5 and *אשרי* in 11QShirShabb 8-7 4, since the ephod and breastplate were worn exclusively by the one and only Jewish high priest of the day.⁴

7.2.5. Cherubim. Two of the Sabbath Songs mention cherubim (*כרובים*). These are the seventh, which includes 4Q403 1 ii 15⁵ and the eleventh, which includes 4Q405 20-21-22 3, 7, 8.⁶ Cherubim are known from Gen. 3.24 as guardians of Eden, from Ps. 18.11 (Eng. 18.10; Yahweh rides on one) and from various texts which have Yahweh enthroned on representations of cherubim (1 Sam. 4.4; 2 Sam. 6.2; 2 Kgs 19.15; Isa. 37.16; Pss. 80.2 [Eng. 80.1]; 99.1; 1 Chron. 13.6). Yahweh speaks from between the two cherubim (Exod. 25.22; Num. 7.89). Along with seraphim (Isa. 6.2), cherubim are winged, in contrast with all

1. The importance of the number seven in the *Sabbath Shirot* has been discussed by Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 13, 48, 51, 213.
2. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 33.
3. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 34-35. The quotation is from p. 35.
4. So Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 46.
5. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 9.
6. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 11. 4Q405 20-21-22 = 11QShirShabb 3-4-7.

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other angelic beings in the OT.¹ Consequently, the damaged text of 11QShirShabb 5-6 8, which mentions 'their wings', will be referring to the cherubim, as in 4Q405 20-21-22 7-8. Cherubim are mentioned in post-biblical Jewish literature in the throne vision of *I En.* 20.7. In the *Parables of Enoch*, they constitute a separate angelic class (*I En.* 61.10; 71.1) and in 2 *En.* 21.1 they stand around God's throne. *Sib. Or.* 3.1 and *Sir.* 49.8 depend on OT usage.²

Both of the contexts in the *Sabbath Shirot* in which cherubim are mentioned deal with the heavenly *debir* and the praise of the divine chariot-throne (or thrones).³ Ezekiel chapters 1 and 10 have many points of contact with these passages in the *Sabbath Shirot* in ideas and vocabulary. Thus both accounts focus on the divine chariot-throne and its movement, both have cherubim,⁴ wheels, fire and so on. As far as I am aware, in the Qumran literature published to date, cherubim are only mentioned in the *Sabbath Shirot* and in the somewhat-related *Canticles of the Instructor*.⁵ Their task is to bless the chariot-throne (4Q403 1 ii 15; 4Q405 20-21-22 7-8).⁶

7.3. Miscellaneous Epithets

In addition to the descriptive terms already noted, many others are utilized, resulting in a range of angelological terminology far more extensive than that found in any other known Qumran writing. Only a selection can be noted here.⁷

1. Cf. F. Landsberger, 'The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art', *HUCA* 20 (1947), pp. 227-54; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 97.
2. See further E. Lohse, 'ἄεροβίον', in *TDNT*, IX, p. 438; Michl, 'Engel', pp. 78-79. W.F. Albright, 'What Were the Cherubim?', *BA* 1 (1938), pp. 1-3 is still valuable.
3. Cf. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 48. She notes here 1 Chron. 28.18.
4. In Ezek. 1.5, 15, 19, 20, etc., there are four living creatures and these are identified as cherubim in Ezek. 10.1, 3, 7, 9, 15, 18.
5. 4QShir^b 41 2; see below, §13.11.
6. It is to be noted that although *אשרי* and *נללים* are mentioned in 4Q403 1 ii 15 and 4Q405 20-21-22 iii 9-10, they are only parts of the chariot-throne (so Strugnell, 'Angelic Liturgy', p. 339), even though they are apparently animate, since they bless, along with the cherubim (4Q403 1 ii 15). Cf. also, Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 309. In later Judaism the *אשרי* became a class of angels, as already in the *Parables of Enoch* (*I En.* 61.10; 71.7), but not in Ezek. 1.15-21; 10.6-17. The same is true of the *נללים*, as in *3 En.* 6.2; 25.6-7.
7. Appendix D gives a comprehensive listing of the terminology. Usually only

The epithet 'everlasting' (both ער and עולם) is linked to the epithets 'holy ones' (4Q400 1 i 3), 'elim' (4Q405 19 3) and 'blessed ones' (4Q403 1 i 29). Moreover, the angels are 'those who have knowledge of eternal things' (4Q403 1 i 11) and those who 'rejoice in knowledge forever' or else who 'rejoice forever' (4Q403 1 i 37).¹ They are also everlasting spirits (4Q403 1 i 35). The angels are everlasting only in a derived sense, for MasShirShabb 1 2-4 is quite explicit in stating that all things have come into existence through God. There is no idea in our author's mind that the angels can rival God. 4Q403 1 i 35 may be designating angels as creatures.²

The knowledge of the angels is frequently emphasized. As those who draw near to the God whose knowledge is so exalted (MasShirShabb i 2-5), they possess knowledge and understanding. Hence they are called 'elim of knowledge' (4Q400 2 1), 'angels of knowledge' (11QShirShabb 2-1-9 5), 'godlike beings who draw near to knowledge' (4Q400 1 i 6),³ 'spirits of knowledge and understanding' (4Q405 17 3) and the like. They are also 'those who cause knowledge to shine among all the elim of light' (4Q403 1 ii 35).⁴

Various epithets indicate the exalted status of the angels, no doubt in relation to the human worshippers in the community,⁵ though the angels are not to be compared with the God whom they serve and praise as priests. They are, however, 'everlastingly blessed ones' (4Q403 1 i 29), and an elite group appears to be honoured among the אלוהים and revered (נכבדים, נוראים) among humans (4Q400 2 2). They are 'wondrous spirits' (4Q403 1 ii 10), 'spirits of honour and majesty' (4Q405 24 2), 'wondrously arrayed for service', (4Q405

one reference will be cited here. In some cases, others can be obtained from Appendix D, but for full listings, see the concordance in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 389-466. Unless some special purpose can be served by giving the Hebrew, this will not be done. In the light of the discussion of those who are blessed in 4Q403 1 i 10-29 (see above, §12.3.3), terms from that section will be included here and in Appendix D.

1. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 210-11.
2. See Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 218. Newsom sees an angelic designation here in the term מעשוי. The everlasting spirits come into being at the utterance of God (4Q403 1 i 35).
3. See the note on this reference in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 99-100.
4. See above, §12.3.2.
5. Cf. 4Q400 2 6-7.

23 ii 10), 'terrible in strength' (11QShirShabb 5-6 3) and viewed by the author as 'lofty ones' (4Q403 1 i 30). Various terms recognize the splendour of their office in the heavenly temple. For example, they are 'angels of the king' (4Q403 1 ii 23), 'angels of glory' (4Q405 17 4) and 'holy ones of the inner sanctum' (4Q401 16 3). Service in the inner sanctum is also connected with other designations such as 'priests' (4Q400 1 i 8) and 'spirits' (4Q405 14-15 i 4).

8. A Single Leading Angel?

As already noted, the *Sabbath Shirot* think of a hierarchy among the angels. There are chief princes, deputies¹ and an angelic priesthood or priesthods. But does the author also conceive of a single high priest over all the other angels? Newsom has pointed out that נשיא occurs in the singular in 4Q401 23 1, as does השר in 4Q403 1 ii 23, while 4Q403 1 ii 24 has ריש מכוון קורב.² However, in the case of 4Q401 23 1, the text preceding נשיא is missing, as is almost all of the word following it, so it is clearly impossible to derive evidence for the idea of one superior prince from this context, even though the singular 'is otherwise unattested in the *Shirot*'.³ Similarly, the text preceding השר in 4Q403 1 ii 23 and ריש מכוון קורב in 4Q403 1 ii 24 is missing. So even though the singulars are exceptional in the *Sabbath Shirot*, it becomes rather speculative to base an argument on them.

Newsom also states:

It appears highly likely, however, that a reference to Melchizedek was originally contained in 4Q401 11 3 צדק כהן בער[ח אל]. A second possible reference to Melchizedek occurs in 4Q401 22 3 [מל]כי צדק.⁴

This could be correct, but in view of the condition of the texts it appears to be an overstatement to consider the matter 'highly likely'. Regarding the *kaph* in the phrase 4Q401 22 3, Newsom herself says that 'the first trace is ambiguous and could be *kap*, *nun* or *dalet*'.⁵ Whether or not there is a single leading angel in the *Sabbath Shirot*

1. See above, §12.3.2.
2. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 37.
3. Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 144.
4. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 37. Cf. pp. 134, 143-44.
5. *Sabbath Sacrifice*, p. 143.

cannot be settled with our present evidence. If the name 'Melchizedek' does belong in the text it will be the only proper name in the *Sabbath Shirot* as we have them.

Chapter 13

SMALLER DOCUMENTS

1. *The Midrash on Melchizedek: 11QMelch*1.1. *Introduction*

Although the recovered text of 11QMelch consists of only 26 lines plus a few letters, it has created considerable interest because of its subject matter, both in relation to NT¹ and Qumran studies. For the latter it reveals belief about Melchizedek as an angel, and represents a tradition independent of the OT references to Melchizedek in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110.² Palaeographic study indicates that 11QMelch is probably to be dated to mid-first century BC or a little later.³ Given this date, the fact that 11QMelch is unknown from any other source, and the consistency of its views with those of texts universally recognized as sectarian, 11QMelch will be treated here as a sectarian document.

Like the *Florilegium* from Cave 4, 11QMelch consists of isolated OT texts linked with theological intention. It consists of sectarian interpretation of Lev. 25.9, 10, 12, 13, 15, Deut. 15.2, Pss. 7.8-9 (Eng. 7.7-8), 82.1-2, Isa. 49.8, 52.7, 61.1-3 and Dan. 9.25. However, the OT texts which actually mention Melchizedek, Genesis 14 and Psalm 110, are not referred to directly.⁴

1. See, e.g., J.A. Fitzmyer, "Now this Melchizedek. . .", *CBQ* 25 (1963), pp. 305-21.

2. See the survey of Melchizedek traditions in M. Delcor, 'Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews', *JSJ* 2 (1971), pp. 115-35.

3. A.S. van der Woude ('Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI', *OTS* 14 [1965], p. 357) favours a date in the first half of the first century AD. Milik ('*Milkī-sedeq*', p. 97) suggests a date as early as 75-50 BC and Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, p. 3 n. 4) proposes 50-25 BC.

4. Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, pp. 53-55) does find certain similarities to Ps. 110.

11QMelch conceives of history in terms of ten jubilees, a variation on the reinterpretation of the seventy years of Jer. 25.11, 12 and 29.10. An OT reinterpretation of this type is found in Dan. 9.2, 24-27, with seventy sevens.¹ In the author's scheme, the mention of the tenth jubilee (11QMelch 2.7)² implies a system involving 10 × 49 years or seventy weeks.

1.2. Outline of the Contents of 11QMelch

The first quotation in the work as we have it mentions a jubilee year (Lev. 25.12-13; 11QMelch 1.11-2.1), the second, the remission of debts (Deut. 15.2; 11QMelch 2.3). 11QMelch interprets these ideas as being for the coming eschatological time (מְלִיכָהּ הַיָּמִים); 11QMelch 2.4) of the tenth jubilee (11QMelch 2.6-7) when captives will be restored and released by Melchizedek (11QMelch 2.5-6).³ The phrases, 'proclaim liberty to them' (11QMelch 2.6), and 'the time for Melchiz[edek]'s year of favour' (11QMelch 2.9) recall Isa. 61.1-2, which appears to underlie the general structure of 11QMelch, speaking not only of salvation but also of 'the day of vengeance' of God.⁴ Perhaps this association prompts the author now to quote Pss. 7.8-9 (Eng. 7.7-8) and 82.1-2, which deal with judgment (11QMelch 2.10-11). These texts are interpreted with respect to the execution of divine vengeance on 'Belial and the spirits of his lot' by the agency of Melchizedek, assisted by 'all the *elimi*' (11QMelch 2.12-14). 11QMelch 2.15-16 derives from Isa. 49.8 and 52.7, the author's interpretation of which concerns the prophet and an anointed one, though much of 11QMelch 2.17-24 has been lost. 11QMelch 2.25 returns to the theme

1. The idea of divinely fixed periods of history has been met in the Apocalypse of Weeks (*J. En.* 93.1-10; 91.12-17; above, §6.2.2), with its ten weeks, and the Second Dream Vision (*J. En.* 89.59-90.27; above, §5.4.2.5), with its seventy shepherds over Israel's history. Cf. also *Jub.* 50.4-5; *T. Levi* 16.1-17.1; 17.2-9 and the 4QpsEzek texts. On 4Q180, see below, §13.5.

2. Column 2 is the only one preserved to any extent. According to Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, pp. 5-10), part of a line from column 1, some small portions of column 3 and three fragments whose place in the whole cannot be determined have been preserved.

3. On the nature of this deliverance, see below §13.1.4.

4. Cf. M.P. Miller, 'The Function of Isa. 61.1-2 in 11QMelchizedek', *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 467-69.

of the jubilee. Column 3 and the other remaining fragments are extremely damaged.

1.3. Melchizedek as an Angel

Melchizedek has been identified by various scholars, from van der Woude on, as an angel who is over other good angels.¹ An important argument in support of this identification has been the apparent application of the term מְלִיכָהּ to Melchizedek in 11QMelch 2.9-10, which reads:

9 it is the time for Melchiz[edek]'s year of favour, [. . .] in his strength he will raise up the holy ones of El (אֱלֹהִים) for discernment, as it has been written

10 concerning him (מְלִיכָהּ) in the songs of David, as it says: 'Elohim (אֱלֹהִים) [st]ands in the assembly [of El,] in the midst of Elohim (אֱלֹהִים) he judges'.

Kobelski has translated עליו (line 10) as 'concerning him', taking its antecedent as Melchizedek. This then identifies Melchizedek with מְלִיכָהּ. Carmignac has argued convincingly against this position, taken originally by van der Woude,² saying it is much more likely that the antecedent is 'judgment' rather than 'Melchizedek'.³ However, as Kobelski has observed, the argument that מְלִיכָהּ refers to Melchizedek is not really affected by this conclusion.⁴

The context of 11QMelch 2.9-10 suggests that מְלִיכָהּ and Melchizedek should probably be identified in the first occurrence of

1. So van der Woude, 'Melchizedek', pp. 369-73; de Jonge and van der Woude, 'Melchizedek and the NT', pp. 304-308, 321-22; Fitzmyer, 'Further Light', pp. 252-53; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 59-62. Milik ('*Mitkf. sedeq*', p. 125) sees in Melchizedek 'une hypostase de Dieu . . . Dieu lui-même sous la forme visible où il apparaît aux hommes, et non pas un ange créé distinct de Dieu'. This speculation has no real basis in the text, and has been rejected by Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, pp. 73-74), who has pointed out that the OT identification of God and his angel, as in Gen. 16.7, 13, is not a feature of the Judaism of the period of our text. Nor is there is a clear distinction between the angels and their Creator (1QS 3.13-4.26 [§8.2.2.3] as well as in 1QH 13.8 [§10.7], 1QM 17.4-6 [§11.2.2.1 and elsewhere]).

2. 'Melchizedek', p. 364: 'מְלִיכָהּ bezieht sich auf Melchizedek'.

3. J. Carmignac, 'Le document sur Melchisedeq', *RevQ* 7 (1969-71), p. 353.

4. *Melchizedek*, p. 59.

in 11QMelch 2.10.¹ Kobelski notes that אַלְיָהוּם is not only used of God in the OT, but also of Moses (Exod. 4.16; 7.1), Samuel's ghost (1 Sam. 28.13), and Baal (1 Kgs 18.24).² Similarly, in Pss. 82.6, 97.9 and 138.1, 'angels' may be the meaning of אַלְיָהוּם. So there is no case to be made for reserving it for God. Indeed, in the very text cited by the author, Ps. 82.1, it must have originally had a different sense in its second occurrence from the meaning 'God' which it had in its first. אַלְיָהוּם is often used of angels in the Sabbath Shirot, though there it can also refer to God.³

According to Milik,⁴ 11QMelch 2.5 should be restored to say that the captives have been cut off 'from the sons of heav[e]n, and from the inheritance of Melchizedek'. However, the restoration כִּי הַשָּׁמַיִם appears to be rather dubious, in that all but four letters in the clause are doubtful.⁵ Certainly, if the restoration is correct, this is a further indication that Melchizedek is an angel, for he is then linked here with 'sons of heaven', used elsewhere in the Qumran literature for angels.⁶ In addition, Kobelski points out that elsewhere in the Qumran literature נוֹרָא is never used of a human figure, only of God and Belial, and so 11QMelch 2.8, with 'the m[e]n of the lot of Mel[ch]izedek', further points to the exalted nature of Melchizedek.⁷

11QMelch 2.9, 13 seems, to Kobelski, to provide the most convincing confirmation of the identification of Melchizedek as an angel. 11QMelch 2.9 closely follows Isa. 61.2, 'the year of the LORD's favour' but 'Melchizedek' has replaced 'Yahweh'. 11QMelch 2.13 also relates to Isa. 61.2, but associates Melchizedek with the execution of the judgment of God. In addition, 11QMelch 2.13-14 has been appealed to for support of Melchizedek's identification as an angel. There Melchizedek is said to be assisted by [...] אֱלִי (line 14),

1. So Fitzmyer, 'Further Light', pp. 261-62.

2. *Melchizedek*, p. 60. In this and in the following discussion I refer to Kobelski's arguments on pp. 59-62.

3. See above, §12.7.2.

4. '*Milki-šedeq*', pp. 97, 99, 103.

5. Milik, '*Milki-šedeq*', p. 97.

6. E.g. 1QS 4.22; 11.7-8 (which has 'sons of heaven' in parallel with 'the holy ones', a common designation for angels); 1QH 3.22 and 1QH fig. 2.10 (where the phrase is in parallel with אַלְיָהוּם, also a term for angels).

7. *Melchizedek*, p. 60.

restored by van der Woude as [נוֹרָא אֱלִי] כִּי אֱלִי.¹ Yet as Fitzmyer notes, 'It is not, however, certain and presents a difficulty',² since אֱלִי is used in the rest of this text for God. Nevertheless, it should be observed that the plural אַלְיָהוּם is used frequently elsewhere in the Qumran literature, and always refers to angelic beings.³

Carmignac objects that in 11QMelch 2.14 Melchizedek is assisted by אַלְיָהוּם, and in this sense he is separate from the אַלְיָהוּם in 11QMelch 2.13-14, rather than being one of them.⁴ Yet it could hardly be argued that Belial in line 12 is of a different nature from the spirits of his lot, who work in association with him. Elsewhere, the Angel of Darkness is mentioned separately from the spirits of his lot (1QS 3.21, 24) as is Belial, an angel of hatred, named apart from his angels of destruction (1QM 13.11-12).

It seems correct, then, to see Melchizedek as an angel in the thought of 11QMelch. If this is so, the identity of the herald (מְבַשֵּׁר) who is mentioned in 11QMelch 2.16, 18 comes into question. Though there has been considerable discussion, the matter of whether the herald is to be identified with Melchizedek or whether he is some other prophetic figure is 'difficult to say because of the fragmentary state of the document'.⁵ However, a decision either way makes little difference, once the primary identification of Melchizedek as an angel has been made. If the herald and Melchizedek are identical, then a prophetic role will also have to be assigned to this angel.

1.4. *The Functions of Melchizedek in 11QMelch*

Melchizedek is to proclaim liberty to the captives and to effect it for them (11QMelch 2.6). According to one restoration, the captives might be separated from 'the inheritance of Melchizedek'⁶ before the deliverance. Given the broken context in lines 4-5, and therefore the number of conjectural restorations required, it is only possible to speculate on the nature of the deliverance to be achieved by

1. 'Melchisedek', p. 358.

2. 'Further Light', p. 264.

3. See above, §10.6.

4. 'Sur Melkisédeq', pp. 366-67.

5. Fitzmyer, 'Further Light', pp. 253-54. See also de Jonge and van der Woude, 'Melchizedek and the NT', pp. 306-308; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 61-62.

6. Cf. Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, p. 13), who says that his 'cut them off' is a tentative reading in l. 5.

Melchizedek (11QMelch 2.5-6).¹ It seems that relief from iniquities is part of his task.

The possibility of a priestly role for Melchizedek has also been suggested. 11QMelch 2.8 begins לכפר, but the context as we have it does not say that Melchizedek will atone. Van der Woude² and Fitzmyer³ restore כפר to line 6, but Kobelski says, 'No commentator on this scroll has successfully located any explicit reference to his (sc. Melchizedek's) priesthood'.⁴ In CD 4.9-10, it is God who atones. While other later Jewish traditions do involve Melchizedek in high-priestly functions, and *T. Levi* 3.5-6, describes the priestly service of archangels,⁵ such references cannot prove the case for 11QMelch. The fact that 11QMelch is so different from the Melchizedek traditions in either the OT or Hebrews 7 should warn us not to press its traditions into harmony with those found elsewhere in Jewish literature, and particularly with those in the later rabbinic writings. Thus, the issue of a possible priestly role for Melchizedek ought to be left open.⁶

For Melchizedek as a judge executing the wrath of God, the picture is not so ambiguous. Melchizedek's 'year of favour' will see him lead other angels, 'the holy ones of El for deeds of judgment' (11QMelch 2.9). The 'year of favour' introduces the salvation-judgment theme from Isa. 61.2, resuming from line 6 the proclamation of liberty which reflects Isa. 61.1. According to the restoration followed by Kobelski, Melchizedek executes the judgment of God (ל), [and he will protect all the sons of light from the power] of Belial and from the power of all [the spirits of] his [lot] (11QMelch 2.13).⁷ 11QMelch 2.14 reiterates the thought of line 9, that angels, now called מלאכי, will

1. The restoration of the name Melchizedek at the end of l. 5 appears likely to be correct, given that פ is preserved and that the name is clearly present in the earlier part of the line. See Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, p. 13.
2. 'Melchisedek', p. 363.
3. 'Further Light', p. 259.
4. *Melchizedek*, p. 64.
5. Kobelski *Melchizedek*, pp. 64-71.
6. Cf. the hesitation of Fitzmyer ('Further Light', p. 255).
7. Kobelski's restoration is defended in *Melchizedek*, pp. 18-19, being on the suggestion of F. du Toit Laubscher ('God's Angel of Truth and Melchizedek: A Note on 11QMelch 13b', *JSS* 3 [1972], pp. 46-51). Du Toit Laubscher argues for this restoration by comparing 11QMelch 2.13 with 4QCatenaa 12-13 i 7-9, published in Allegro (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4. I*, pp. 71-72.

help him, assuming that the interpretation discussed in the previous section is correct. The judgment that Melchizedek and the angels assisting him will execute is against Belial and the spirits of his lot (11QMelch 2.12-13), if the restoration in 11QMelch 2.13 is along the right lines.¹ The quotations of Pss. 82.1 and 7.8-9 (Eng. 7.7-8) in 11QMelch 2.10-11 locate the scene in the heavenly court-room. Lines 10-11 can now be paraphrased thus: 'concerning the judgment, as it says in the songs of David, "Elohim (Melchizedek) stands in the assembly of God's angels, in the midst of the other מלאכים to execute judgment". Indeed, God (ל) judges the nations. He said to Belial and his lot, "How long will you favour the wicked at the expense of the righteous?"'.²

In 11QMelch 2.11 it is ל, God, who is finally the judge. The tetragrammaton of the MT is here replaced by ל, one of several substitutions regularly used by the Qumran writers.³ Melchizedek is his agent, obedient and loyal, in contrast to Belial and his spirits, who are bent on turning away from the commandments of God (11QMelch 2.12). This fact prompts us to maintain the author's balance and not to exalt Melchizedek beyond the writer's intention. Earlier, the discussion about Melchizedek's possible priesthood was concluded cautiously. Likewise, in relation to the question of judgment, caution is needed. Kobelski discusses Melchizedek's role as executor of the vengeance of God under the heading, 'Melchizedek As King'.⁴ He rightly speaks of the end of Belial's dominion and of 'the great eschatological battle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness' in Qumran thought.⁵ However, he takes 11QMelch 2.16 to refer to the

1. On this reading, in addition to Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 18-19, cf. also van der Woude, 'Melchisedek', p. 358; Miliik, 'Milki-šedeq', p. 98; Fitzmyer, 'Further Light', p. 248.
2. It seems to me less likely that the rebuke of Melchizedek will be directed to a group of *elohim* who have allowed Belial and his lot to prosper, an idea tentatively suggested by Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, p. 62). Such a meaning would complicate the scenario without any explanation being given, whereas the rest of our document (as well as other Qumran texts) is consistent with the idea that Belial is the wicked angel opposed to God and the one to be rebuked.
3. See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, pp. 37-38, 178-79.
4. *Melchizedek*, pp. 62-64.
5. *Melchizedek*, p. 62. Von der Osten-Sacken (*Gott und Belial*, p. 208) also notes the similarity between the dualistic, eschatological war of the *War Scroll* and the conflict in 11QMelch.

(IQS 3.20).¹ The traditions appear to be very similar, although 11QMelch is rather bolder, and contrasts with Deut. 32:8-9, where Israel is under God. Other nations are under angels.²

1.5. *Melchizedek and Michael*

It has already been argued in relation to the *Two Spirits Discourse* that the Prince of Lights, God's angel of truth and the spirit of truth were to be identified with the archangel Michael.³ Similarly, Michael is to be identified with Melchizedek as he appears in 11QMelch.⁴ Various functions are common to Melchizedek (in 11QMelch) and Michael elsewhere. In 11QMelch, it is Melchizedek who leads other angels against the forces of Belial to bring freedom to the children of light (11QMelch 2.5-8, 13-14). Outside of the Qumran literature, it is Michael who has been given the responsibility by God to protect his people (Dan. 10.13, 21; 1 En. 20.5; cf. T. Dan. 6.2 and T. Levi 5.6). Similarly, in the *War Scroll*, this function belongs to Michael (1QM 17.5).

In fact, neither the name 'Michael' nor 'Melchizedek' is at all common in the Qumran literature. 'Michael' occurs only in IQM 9.15, 16 and 17.6, 7.⁵ 'Melchizedek' is attested only in 11QMelch, though it is likely that the name should be restored in 4Q'Amram also, along with that of Michael.⁶ Thus it appears that there were various beliefs about the name of the leading angel in the period when texts like 11QMelch, the *Rule of the Community* and the *War Scroll* were being written.

It is only possible to speculate about why our author might have chosen to use the name 'Melchizedek' in his document. Kobelski says, 'I believe that the reason he refers to the heavenly figure in this text as Melchizedek and not as Michael is to emphasize his priestly

1. See above, §8.2.2. Cf. also the discussion in relation to the *War Scroll*, above, §11.4.1.
2. See above, §5.4.2.5.
3. See above, §8.2.2.2.
4. This identification was first made by van der Woude, 'Melchizedek', pp. 369-72; cf. de Jonge and van der Woude, 'Melchizedek and the NT', p. 305; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 71-74.
5. As listed by Kuhn (ed.), *Konkordanz, Konkordanz und idem, 'Nachträge zur "Konkordanz zu den Qumranentexten"', RevQ 4* (1963). See Appendix C.
6. See below, §13.2.2.

establishment of the reign of Melchizedek, even though his translation reads, 'saying to Zion, "Your God (YHWH) [is king]"'.¹ Perhaps he is being influenced illegitimately by etymological considerations,² or by other Melchizedek traditions, such as those in Hebrews 7, with its kingly and priestly associations.

The theme of judgment is connected with the idea of the heavenly court as in Ps. 82.1, which is quoted in 11QMelch 2.10. Here is yet another indication in the Qumran literature of the sovereignty of God. If the question of line 11³ is addressed to Belial and the spirits of his lot, then they are before the heavenly court and subject to the divine decree of judgment that Melchizedek will implement.⁴ There is no room in our author's thought for a cosmic dualism involving two equal powers, with God and Belial in a conflict whose outcome is uncertain. Neither does Melchizedek act independently of God, as 11QMelch 2.13 makes clear, since the judgment is God's, not Melchizedek's.

Finally, 11QMelch 2.8 speaks of expiation 'for all the sons of [light and] for the [me]n of the lot of Mel[ch]izedek (לְכָל בְּנֵי הַלֹּטְם)';⁵ This designation apparently refers to the people on the side of God and Melchizedek, described here as belonging to Melchizedek rather than Belial. However, it needs to be stressed that while Melchizedek enjoys exalted status, he is nevertheless subject to God himself. A similar situation is envisaged in the *Rule of the Community*, though there the sons of light are explicitly said to belong to God's lot (IQS 2.1-2). Yet it can also be said that under 'the Prince of Lights is the dominion of all sons of righteousness'

1. Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, p. 62): 'During this period the reign of Melchizedek is established (2.16) supplanting the dominion of Belial who had prospered for a time (2.11-12)'. His translation is on p. 16.
2. For the probable etymology of the name Melchizedek, see Fitzmyer, 'Now Melchizedek . . .', pp. 229-31; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 55-56. While etymological considerations were clearly important for the author of Heb. 7.1-2, there are no explicit indications in the text that the author of 11QMelch was concerned with the meaning of the name as such.
3. 'How long will you [judge (favorably) the unjust one and be] partial to the wicked'.
4. Cf. Job 1-2; Zech. 3.1-2.
5. Cf. 'from the inheritance of Melchizedek' (פַּרְעֹה לְכָל בְּנֵי הַלֹּטְם) which occurs in 11QMelch 2.5.

character'.¹ However, this rests on the supposition that Melchizedek is a priest in our author's thought. The only hint that he might be is in the damaged section, 11QMelch 2.6-7, and on this matter the evidence is inconclusive.² An alternative motivation for the use of the name 'Melchizedek' in our text could have been a connection between the theme of judgment and the establishment of the righteous rule of God³ on the one hand, and popular etymology, which took the name Melchizedek to mean 'righteous king',⁴ on the other.

1.6. Belial in 11QMelch

The judgment of God which Melchizedek executes is against Belial and the spirits of his lot (11QMelch 2.12). They have apparently molested the people of Melchizedek's lot (11QMelch 2.13). As elsewhere in the Qumran literature, the angel Belial is leader of the evil angelic forces. 'Belial' occurs in 11QMelch 2.22, 26, 3.7 and 4.3. Unfortunately, none of these passages is well preserved,⁵ thus making it impossible to draw firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it is probably reasonable to assume that no beliefs concerning Belial and his spirits were expressed in 11QMelch that have not been encountered elsewhere in the Qumran literature.

2. The Testament of Amram: 4Q'Amram

2.1. Introduction

Cave 4 yielded five fragmentary copies of an Aramaic composition designated by the sigla 4Q'Amram^{a-e}. Similar in genre to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,⁶ 4Q'Amram consists of visions supposedly seen by Moses' father Amram, and recounted to his sons on the day of his death. Of particular interest is the fact that Amram sees two angels disputing about his future.

Milik proposed a date in the second century BC, perhaps even in the

1. *Melchizedek*, p. 71.
2. See above, §13.1.4.
3. E.g. 11QMelch 2.16 quotes Isa. 52.7, 'Your God reigns'.
4. On the etymology of 'Melchizedek', see the note of §13.1.4 (and the caveat concerning the etymology of the name and 11QMelch).
5. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, p. 23; cf. p. 9.
6. Cf. J. Starcky, 'Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân', *RB* 63 (1956), p. 66.

first half of it.¹ Palaeographic evidence supports a mid-second century date. The Aramaic of the text does not locate it more precisely than between 200 BC and AD 200.² Clearly, if it derives from before 150 BC, it would come from the very early days of the Qumran sect or else pre-date it. Dimant has noted that 'practically all the sectarian writings published to date are written in Hebrew, while the Aramaic is reserved for Apocryphal and narrative works'.³ This suggests that 4Q'Amram might not be the product of the Qumran sectaries.

However, despite this uncertainty about its provenance, there is general concord between its beliefs and those found in other writings normally regarded as deriving from Qumran. Thus, the ideas of two leading angels opposed to each other and struggling for the control of the human race, and of realms of light and darkness are also found in the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Scroll* and the *Damascus Covenant*.⁴ This suggests that 4Q'Amram should be regarded as either a Qumran sectarian document or else a work very closely allied to the sect's writings. On these grounds it will be considered here as properly belonging to our investigation.

2.2. The Angelology of 4Q'Amram

The reading 'watchers' in 4Q'Amram is disputed. Milik restores עירא twice in 4Q'Amram^b 2.2 on slender evidence⁵ and reads [. . .] עירי in 4Q'Amram^d 2.1.⁶ He also suggests that עירי is to be read in a small piece of MS that he thinks might belong with line 10 of 4Q'Amram^b.⁷ In view of the uncertainty of these readings, nothing should be made to depend on the matter. If watchers are mentioned here, they will be

1. *'Milki-sedeq'*, p. 127; *idem*, 'Visions de 'Amram', p. 78.
2. So Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, pp. 25-26.
3. 'Sectarian Literature', p. 488.
4. E.g. 1QS 1.9-10; 2.1-2, 5; 3.18-21; CD 5.18-19; 1QM 1.1; 13.2-6; 17.6-8.
5. 'Visions de 'Amram', p. 83: 'Je restitue à deux reprises le terme עירא, "veilleur", en m'inspirant d'une trace minime de la lettre à la fin de cette ligne, trace aussi bonne pour un shin ou pour un lamed'. The second case of which he writes here appears to have no textual evidence to support it.
6. 'Visions de 'Amram', p. 83. 'Le pluriel de "veilleur" se lit probablement . . .' He has marked all but the second *yodh* in עירי as doubtful readings.
7. 'Visions de 'Amram', p. 83. See also J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century BC–Second Century AD)* (BibOr, 34; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978), pp. 92-95, for these restorations.

watchers in the general sense of leading angels. Nothing in the context connects them to the fallen watchers of *I Enoch* 6–11.

While the occurrence of the word 'watcher' in our text is unproven, it seems certain that Amram did see two angels, considering that the document recounts a vision, and that the functions of the two protagonists are appropriate to angels. For this discussion, the term 'watcher' will be employed, in keeping with the usage of other authors. According to 4Q'Amram^b, Amram hears a great debate about himself. The two protagonists have been given power over humanity,¹ though the one bestowing this authority is not specified. It will fit the context of Amram's vision and be consistent with the general tenor of the Qumran literature to see this one as God himself. 4Q'Amram would be unique if some power other than God were giving such authority to these watchers. Although they rule over all humanity (4Q'Amram^b 1 12), as in IQS 3.18–21, they possess only a derived authority.

Kobelski² understands 4Q'Amram^b 1.12 to mean that Amram has the power to choose domination by one or the other of these watchers. However, since this reading is conjectural, firm conclusions should not be drawn from it. Amram does notice that one of the watchers is dark, 'fear[so]me, [like a ser]pent'.³ The appearance of the other has not been preserved in the lines that follow. Amram asks the second watcher about the dark one, and is told that his name is רשע 'wicked', though the surrounding context is missing (4Q'Amram^b 2 3). The text indicates that his 'activity is da[r]k' (l. 4) and that he has 'power over all the darkness' (l. 5). The watcher then volunteers that he himself has 'power over all the light' (l. 6). Thus, the idea of a dualism depicted in terms of light and darkness, with each of the two divisions

1. E.g. 4Q'Amram^b 2 1 has been restored in Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Palestinian Aramaic Texts* as: עֲלֵי עֲלֵי. For a survey of traditions concerning the struggles of angels over people's souls, see K. Berger, 'Der Streit des guten und des bösen Engels um die Seele: Beobachtungen zu 4Q Amr^b und Judas 9', *JSS* 4 (1973), pp. 1–18. Berger regards 4Q'Amram as the oldest document showing this sort of tradition (p. 18).

2. *Melchizedek*, pp. 27, 29–30, following the restoration of Miliik, 'Visions de 'Amram', pp. 79–80. So Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, p. 93.

3. This reading from 4Q'Amram^b 1 13 is no doubt correct, judging by the parallel passage in 4Q'Amram^a 2 4–5.

headed by an angel, is met here as in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (IQS 3.18–21, 24–26).

Amram asks the angel who is over the light what his names are. All that is preserved is the fact that he has three names (4Q'Amram^b 3 2: דְּלִיָּהוּ שְׁמֵיהּ). There is an obvious parallel here to the answer about the angel over the darkness, of whom the one name, 'Melchiresha', is legible (4Q'Amram^b 2 3). So it appears likely that each angel has three. For the angel over the darkness Kobelski has suggested 'Belial' and 'the Prince of Darkness', in addition to the 'Melchiresha' of the text. We have seen repeatedly that Belial is the name of the leader of the forces of evil.¹ Kobelski considers various possibilities from the Qumran literature for the third name.² He chooses 'Prince of Darkness', despite the fact that this is unknown in the sectarian literature, and so restores the list as 'Belial', 'Prince of Darkness' and 'Melchiresha'.³ He may be right, but on present evidence certainty is impossible. 'Angel of Darkness', known from IQS 3.20–21, deserves serious consideration in preference to a name not actually attested in the literature.

For the set of names for Melchiresha's counterpart the most obvious restoration is 'Melchizedek', by analogy with 'Melchiresha' and since this is the name of the angelic leader opposed to Belial in 11QMelch. Based on the popular etymology of the first century, the name was taken to mean 'righteous king',⁴ and it may have been on this analogy that Melchiresha was thought of as 'wicked king' or 'king of wickedness'.⁵ As argued earlier,⁶ Melchizedek is probably the same angel as Michael, and this name is a good candidate to be one of the

1. E.g. IQM 1.1; IQS 2.4–5.

2. *Melchizedek*, p. 33, 'the Angel Mastemah' (IQM 13.4); 'Angel of Perdition' (4Q286 10 ii 7); 'Spirit of Abaddon' (4Q286 10 ii 7); 'Angel of Darkness' (IQS 3.20–21); and 'Prince of the Dominion of Wickedness' (IQM 17.5). In addition, he thinks that 'Prince of Wickedness and 'Prince of Darkness' are both possible, though neither is known from the Qumran literature as yet.

3. *Melchizedek*, p. 33.

4. Cf. Philo, *Leg. All.* 3.79; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.10.2 §180; *War* 6.10.1 §438; Heb. 7.2 has the related βασιλευς δικαιοσύνης.

5. Cf. Miliik, 'Milkf-šedeq', p. 127, who sees the significance of the name as 'Roi d'impité'.

6. See above, §13.1.5.

three. Again, in view of the prominence of the light-darkness motif, 'Prince of Light' may well be the third.¹ These are the three names suggested also by Kobelski,² but again certainty is impossible. All of this illustrates the considerable interest of this author in the names of angels, which Josephus says the Essenes were under oath to preserve.³

3. *Melchiresha* in 4Q280 2

The text of 4Q280 2⁴ consists of a series of curses directed against Melchiresha, whose name occurs in 4Q280 2 2. Those issuing the curses wish him no compassion from God, no peace, only damnation. Moreover, those 'who carry out [(his) wicked schemes]' are likewise execrated (4Q280 2 5).⁵

The parallels between 4Q280 and 1QS 2.4-25 are striking, as demonstrated by Kobelski,⁶ though in 1QS 2 the curses are directed against all those of Belial's lot, and are not connected with Melchiresha. Nevertheless, this further points to the similarities between Belial and Melchiresha, or as we have suggested, their identity.

1. In 1QM 13.9-13, Michael and the Prince of Light are one and the same.
2. *Melchizedek*, p. 36.
3. *War* 2.8.7 §142. The documents from the Qumran authors have a very limited range of proper names for angels. This is particularly striking for the Sabbath Shirot, devoted to the angels of the heavenly temple as they are. They probably do not include a single proper name (but see above, §12.8). It might be that the authors were, in fact, guarding the angels' names, in accordance with Josephus's comment, though clearly, some names were recorded. Perhaps there were other names that they did not record, because those names were particularly secret. The fact that some names were written down may suggest that the sect did not anticipate that outsiders would read their documents. Or, this could be an inaccuracy on the part of Josephus.
4. This fragmentary Hebrew text, first published in 1972 in Milik, '*Milkiš-šedeq*', pp. 126-29; cf. pp. 129-30, is dated to the first half of the first century by Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, pp. 37-42). 4Q280 is one of six extant parts of one or more works which are rules relating to cleanness.
5. The translation is from Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, p. 38, and the restoration is based by Milik ('*Milkiš-šedeq*', pp. 129, 131) on close similarities between 4Q280 2 5 and 4Q286 10 ii 11.
6. *Melchizedek*, pp. 38-42.

4. *Blessings and Curses* in 4Q286 and 4Q287: 4QBerakot

The text of the *Berakot* is represented by the fragments of at least five copies according to Milik, who has published 4Q286 10 ii 1-13 and 4Q287 4 1-11 in a combined form.¹ He suggests dates of early in the first century AD for 4Q286 and a little earlier for 4Q287, and proposes a date in the third quarter of the second century BC for the original composition.²

4QBer as published consists of a series of curses to be spoken by the council of the community (עצרת הדין) and directed against Belial and his wicked associates. Belial is condemned for his hostile scheme and domination (4Q286 10 ii 1-3). According to Milik's restoration,³ all the spirits of his lot (רוחיו ג[ר]י[ל]ו) בל, 4Q286 10 ii 3) are to be cursed for their wicked scheme, but once again, firm conclusions cannot be drawn because of the text's poor state of preservation. The punishment deserved is the eternal pit (שחמ עולמים); 4Q286 10 ii 4-5). The curse is then extended to all the sons of Belial, who are probably the people of his lot, or possibly his spirits (4Q286 10 ii 5-6).

4QBer provides further examples from the variegated Qumran terminology for the angels, and here in particular for Belial. In line 5, מלכישתא is Milik's restoration, and given the singular suffix of the word following the lacuna (ממלכיותו), 'his dominions'), it appears to represent the name, 'the Wicked One'. Milik compares it with 'Melchiresha' (4Q280 2 2) and 'the Prince of the Dominion of Wickedness' (1QM 17.5-6).⁴ Two other titles may be present in 4Q286 10 ii 7, viz., 'the Angel of the Pit' and 'the Spirit of Abaddon'. Both require restoration: מלאך השחמ ורוח האבדון.⁵ Kobelski notes

1. '*Milkiš-šedeq*', pp. 130-35. The siglum 4QBer is used below to refer to Milik's combined text. Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, pp. 43-48) has also published 4Q286 10 ii with translation and commentary.
2. '*Milkiš-šedeq*', pp. 134-35.
3. '*Milkiš-šedeq*', p. 131.
4. '*Milkiš-šedeq*', p. 132. If this restoration is correct, then it is the first attestation of the title in Judaism for a personal devil', according to M. Black, in a private communication. See also M. Black, 'The Doxology to the *Pater Noster* with a Note on Matthew 6.13b', in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. P.R. Davies and R.T. White; JSOTSup, 100; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 333-36.
5. Milik, '*Milkiš-šedeq*', p. 131. מלכישתא is not listed in Appendix C due

that שָׂרָף and אֲבַדּוֹן occur together along with Sheol in 1QH 3.16-19.¹

Such names as 'the Angel of the Pit' and 'the Spirit of Abaddon' for the leader of the angelic forces of wickedness are both plausible. שָׂרָף can refer to a pit dug in the ground, though the OT examples also involve figurative applications, as in Job 9.31, Prov. 26.27 and Ezek. 19.4, 8. It is also commonly used as a synonym of Sheol, the abode of the dead.² As in the case of the OT writers, death evoked great fear according to the *Hodayot*. For example, in his distress, the writer of 1QH 8.28 is in bitter pains and likens his condition to that of those who go down into Sheol.³ Thus if we have in 4QBer an angel's name, 'Angel of the Pit', it is a most appropriate one for an evil angel, given the fear with which death was viewed.

'Abaddon' is likewise a fitting term to link with such an angel, for it too, is associated with death. In the OT, אֲבַדּוֹן normally means 'place of destruction', 'the underworld', being in parallel with שָׂרָף in Job 26.6, Prov. 15.11, 27.20 and with מוֹת in Job 28.22.⁴ Jeremias suggests that the personification of אֲבַדּוֹן in Job 28.22 (where it and מוֹת are introduced as speakers) provides the background for the idea of an angel of Abaddon⁵ (as we may have it in 4Q286). Thus, the name 'Spirit of Abaddon' is similar in meaning to 'the Angel of the Pit'.

A further issue in relation to 4QBer concerns the liturgical nature of it, 4Q280 and the early part of 1QS, which deals with entry into the Covenant. These three documents illustrate the way the sect saw itself as separate from those outside of its community. They stood opposed to Belial or Melchiresha (4Q280 2 2; 4Q286 10 ii 1-2), the spirits of his lot (4Q286 10 ii 3-5), and everyone who refused to enter the covenant (4Q280 2 7; 4Q286 10 ii 12; 1QS 2.4-5, 25-26). The

to the extensive restoration required.

1. *Melchizedek*, p. 47. Both שָׂרָף and אֲבַדּוֹן are also found elsewhere in the Qumran literature. E.g. 1QM fig. 9 3, 1QH 3.19, 32, 4QDibHam 7.8 for אֲבַדּוֹן, and 1QM 3.9, 1QH 2.21, 3.18, CD 6.15, 4QDibHam 3.17 for שָׂרָף. Kobelski (*Melchizedek*, p. 47) also cites Rev. 9.11, which says that the name of the angel of the bottomless pit is called 'Abaddon' in Hebrew and 'Apollyon' in Greek.
2. E.g. Job 33.24; Ps. 16.10; Isa. 51.14 and elsewhere. See BDB, p. 1001.
3. The idea found in *I En.* 103.7-8, that Sheol is the place of final punishment, is not prominent in the Qumran literature. Cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 292. However, 1QS 4.11-14 proposes a notion of this kind.
4. See B. Otzen, "אֲבַדּוֹן 'abhadh', *TDOT*, I, pp. 19-23.
5. J. Jeremias, "Ἀβδαδών", *TDNT*, I, p. 4.

sect's world-view involved a dualism between the spirit-world and the world of humanity, but there was nevertheless an extensive interaction between the two realms. The text of the *Berakot* provides yet another example of this belief.

5. *4Q180 and 4Q181*

5.1. *Introduction*

Several very damaged fragments which have received the sigla 4Q180 and 4Q181 were originally published by Allegro.¹ More recently, Dimant has provided transcriptions, restorations and a detailed commentary. Her work is used as the basis for the following discussion.² The view that 4Q180 and 4Q181 were originally part of the one composition has been effectively discounted by Dimant.³ Thus, 4Q180 and 4Q181 will be treated separately here.

4Q180 1 1-5 commences, פֶּשֶׁר עַל הַקְּצִיִּים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים, leading to the title, the *Ages of Creation*.⁴ It is stated that events will be fulfilled in accordance with God's establishments of the periods of history, as engraved on tablets. Generations from some point in history⁵ down to the birth of Isaac occupy ten generations.⁶ 4Q180 1 7-10 begins,

1. Allegro (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: I*, pp. 77-80. Cf. also J. Strugnell ('Notes en marge du Volume V des "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan"', *RevQ* 7 [1969-71], pp. 252-55), who severely criticized Allegro's work in *Qumran Cave 4: I*.
2. D. Dimant, 'The "Peshar on the Periods" (4Q180) and 4Q181', *IOS* 9 (1979), pp. 77-102. For the texts themselves, see her pp. 78-79. Because there is a close similarity between 4Q180 1 5, 8-9 and 4Q181 2 1-2, 4, Milik ('*Milkt-šedeq*', pp. 109-22) published a composite text combining 4Q180 1 and 4Q181 2. He considers them to be two copies of the one work, constituting, along with some further material also with the siglum 4Q180, a *peshar* on the periods of history created by God.

3. 'Peshar', pp. 77-102, esp. pp. 89-91. She argues that the relationship between the two documents 'may be better explained as a citation' (p. 90), one citing the other or both quoting some third document. Milik ('*Milkt-šedeq*', p. 122) also thinks that 11QMeich is from the same work.

4. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4: I*, p. 77. Dimant, 'Peshar', calls it the *Peshar on the Periods*.

5. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, pp. 251-52) thinks of the birth of Noah here. Dimant ('Peshar', p. 80) prefers to see that of Shem. The issue does not affect our study.

6. As restored by Dimant ('Peshar', pp. 78, 81), based on context. She finds no grounds (p. 109) for the view of Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 252) who sees the

פֶּשֶׁר עַל אוֹזְאֵל וְהַמְּלָאכִים, and gives a résumé of the story of the fallen angels and the giants they begot. The damaged lines that follow speak of Azazel, Israel, iniquity, commandments and guilt (4Q180 1 8-10). Milik has restored the text to give the sense that Azazel caused Israel to sin during seventy weeks,¹ but this depends on his combination of 4Q180 and 4Q181. Such an involvement of Azazel or Asael with Israel would be quite different from the traditions of the *Book of Watchers* and from any other known ancient documents.² 4Q180 2-4 i, ii and 4Q180 5-6³ cover incidents from biblical history, such as the divine manifestation to Abraham at the Oaks of Mamre, and the punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The fragment of 4Q181 1 1-6⁴ tells of people in a community of wickedness (l. 2: יַחַד רְשָׁעָה), a congregation of holiness (l. 4: עֵדָה קְדוּשָׁה), which is to be counted in the community of the angels (ll. 3-4, with restorations: [א]לִים [ב]יַחַד)⁵ and in the lot of God's holy ones (l. 4: בְּזוֹרֵל עִם קְדוּשָׁיו). בְּזוֹרֵל עִם קְדוּשָׁיו and אֱלִים are regular Qumran terms for angels.⁶ The fragment ends with something about each person's lot which has been cast. Eternal life is also mentioned at the end of this very damaged text. As already mentioned, lines 1-2 and 4 of 4Q181 2 (which may have preceded 4Q181 1 in the original composition) bear close similarities to 4Q180 1 5, 8-9. 4Q181 2 4-10 speaks of lovers of iniquity and the fact that there is no limit to the goodness of God.

Milik dates the copies of 4Q180 and 4Q181 to the early years of the first century AD.⁷ There are several features, both in ideas and vocabulary, that suggest that these texts should be regarded as the work of the sectaries at Qumran.⁸ For example, the terms קְדוּשָׁים and אֱלִים are used (4Q181 1 4), as well as מְלָאכִים (4Q180 1 7). אֱלִים for angels is a common term in the Qumran literature, though it is known

whole of history as seventy 'generation-weeks', as suggested by 4Q181 2 3. This depends on his combination of 4Q180 1 and 4Q181 2.

1. *Books of Enoch*, pp. 251-52.
2. Cf. Dimant, 'Peshet', p. 81.
3. See Dimant, 'Peshet', pp. 81-85.
4. See Dimant, 'Peshet', pp. 86-88, for the texts of 4Q181 1, 2, and also Vermes, *Scrolls in English*, pp. 251-52.
5. The restoration is by Milik, 'Milki-sedeq', p. 114.
6. See above, §8.3.2. קְדוּשָׁים can also apply to the sect members.
7. *Books of Enoch*, p. 257.
8. Cf. Dimant, 'Peshet', pp. 91-94.

occasionally in the OT in this sense too.¹ The use of גִּבּוֹרִים in connection with the divisions of humanity is also frequent in the sectarian writings,² occurring here in 4Q181 1 4. We have already noted the phrases, 'community of wickedness' (4Q181 1 2) and 'congregation of holiness' (4Q181 1 4). Finally, the interest of 4Q180 in the periods of history (4Q180 1 1, 3, 9) and the associated determinism (4Q180 1 1-4) is consistent with authorship in the Qumran community.

5.2. Angels in the Ages of Creation

5.2.1. *Azazel and the Fallen Angels: 4Q180 1 7-10.* Here the angels who have intercourse with women are led by Azazel (עֲזַזְאֵל) and giants are produced. It has been observed that, in *1 Enoch* 6-8, there are two literary strands. In one tradition, two hundred angels, led by Shemihazah, descend and beget giants which bring devastation to the earth. In the other, Asael (עַסְאֵל) appears as leader of angels who teach metallurgy and cosmetics on earth.³ Asael also appears in the Shemihazah strand, as the tenth angel in the list of twenty leaders. The author of 4Q180 appears either to have combined the traditions or known another version. In later rabbinical writings, Asael and Shemihazah are linked as the two leading fallen angels.⁴ Our author has actually used the name 'Azazel' (עֲזַזְאֵל) for the leading angel, a change which Milik suggests is because he restricts his writing to the use of biblical names.⁵ The name appears as עֲזַזְאֵל in 4QEnGiants^a 7 i 6, which is the spelling in Lev. 16.8, 10, 26, where the name is connected with the goat sent into the wilderness on the Day of Atonement.⁶

4Q180 1 1-6 provides a general introduction concerning the periods (קְצִים), with history being said to be engraved on tablets. Lines 7-10 introduce a *peshet* concerning Azazel and the angels. The author is concerned with the themes of sin and punishment.⁷ His interest does

1. See above, §10.6.
2. Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 256; von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, pp. 76-78.
3. See above, §2.2.5. ✓
4. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 314, 322-39.
5. *Books of Enoch*, p. 252.
6. For a discussion of the Asael-Azazel traditions, see Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 121. For 4QEnGiants^a 7 i 6, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 313.
7. Dimant ('Peshet', p. 97), who compares 4Q180 with CD 2.15-17 (discussed

not lie primarily in presenting an aetiology of sin in the world, though this is perhaps implicit.

4Q180 1 1-2, 7-10 reads:

- 1 Peshet concerning the periods made by God, (each) Period in order to terminate [all that is]
- 2 and all that will be. Before he created them he set up their activi[ties. . .]
- 7 [And] Peshet concerning 'Azaz'el and the Angels 'wh[
went unto the daughters of men]
- 8 [and they bar]e unto them giants'. And concerning 'Azaz'el
[who led them astray to deceit]
- 9 [to love] iniquity and to cause to inherit wickedness, all their
Pe[riod for destruction]
- 10 [with jealou]sy of judgments and the judgment of the council [. . .]

It is likely that the author's concern is to relate the fallen angels to the divinely predetermined course of the world's history. God has created all the periods, and history is predetermined (4Q180 1 1-2). Here, then, is a way of thinking about humanity's iniquity. Beyond the actions of the angels with the women is the decision of God. The position of this text is not very different in certain respects from that of the *Two Spirits Discourse* (1QS 3.13-4.26), and represents an adaptation of the Enochic idea that the angels were responsible for the introduction of sin into the world. There God created all things, including the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Perversity (1QS 3.15, 18-19, 25-26). It is the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot which cause the sons of light to stumble (1QS 3.21-24), though this will only continue till the divinely appointed end (1QS 3.23). The operation of Azazel in our text is probably much the same. Moreover, 1QS 3.20-21 declares that all the sons of darkness are under the evil angelic power, which explains why humankind is so wicked. Something similar appears to be suggested in 4Q180 also. As with the *Two Spirits Discourse*, 4Q180 apparently attributes sin to God in the final analysis, because of its determinism.

above, §9.3.2), mentions the sin of the angels. As noted in our discussion of that passage, reference to the fallen watchers in the Qumran literature is quite rare.

5.2.2. *Fellowship with angels: 4Q181 1 1-6*. One other important reference to angels¹ appears in 4Q181 1 1-6, which mentions the present experience of the Qumran community as being one of sharing fellowship with angels. Vermes renders lines 3-6,

In accordance with the mercies of God, according to his goodness and wonderful glory, he caused some of the sons of the world to draw near (him) . . . to be counted with him in the com[munity of the g]ods as a congregation of holiness in service for eternal life and (sharing) the lot of his holy ones . . . each man according to his lot which he has cast for . . . eternal life. . . ²

This familiar theme is consistent with the Qumran community's understanding of its relationship with God. It is a relationship operative in the present, but reaching beyond the present to eternal life ([. . .] ע[ה] ל[ם] [. . .] 4Q181 1 6), and shared with the holy ones.³

6. Description of the New Jerusalem

This Aramaic work has partly survived in several copies found in Caves 1, 2, 4, 5 and 11,⁴ and apparently describes the New Jerusalem in a fashion patterned on Ezekiel 40-48. Considerable details of such things as the dimensions of the city, the houses and streets, the gates, and the inside of a house are presented. The phrase 'and he showed me' (וואדוויאני) occurs frequently.⁵ The visionary and his guide are not identified, but by analogy with other writings involving heavenly journeys the guide will be an angel.⁶

1. The angels mentioned as appearing to Abraham, Isaac and Sarah will not be discussed here, since they do not add to the biblical descriptions.

2. *Scrolls in English*, pp. 251-52; 'gods' renders אלהים, meaning 'angels'.

3. Cf. above, §§8.3.2; 9.3.4; 10.3.3; 10.4.2; 10.5.1; 11.5.2-3, and below, §13.7.2.

4. For 1Q32, see D. Barithélemy and J.T. Milik (eds.), *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD, 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 134-35. For 5Q15, see Baillet, Milik and de Vaux (eds.), *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, pp. 184-93, where some variants from Cave 4 are considered as well. 2Q24 has been published in the same volume, pp. 84-89. A preliminary publication of 11QJN ar has appeared in B. Jongeling, 'Publication provisoire d'un fragment provenant de la grotte 11 de Qumrân (11Q JérNouv ar)', *JSJ* 1 (1970), pp. 58-64.

5. E.g. in 5Q15 1 i 2, 8, 10, 15; 1 i 2, 6, etc.

6. In the OT, note Zech. 1-6 and Ezek. 40-48, where Ezekiel is accompanied by

The similarities of the role of the angel in the *Description of the New Jerusalem* to the roles of various angels in numerous contexts in *I Enoch* is obvious. What is less clear is whether this work is to be regarded as a product of the Qumran community itself.¹ The document makes no reference to the sect in contrast to the people of Belial, there is no interpretation of Scripture in the tradition of the *pesharim*, there is no hint of either cosmic or ethical dualism,² and revelation comes through a seer instructed by a heavenly guide, a method in striking contrast to the sect's emphasis on the OT interpreted by the sect's teachers. Such observations suggest that its origin was not within the Qumran sect. Of course, it might be objected that it should be regarded as the only extant sectarian document of its kind. Yet even if this is correct, its very uniqueness only emphasizes that it lay outside the mainstream of sectarian writing. The fact that it has been recovered in numerous fragments and from five different caves certainly indicates that it enjoyed popularity in the community at some stage. However, the same can be said of the Enochic writings, which are not to be regarded as part of the Qumran literature. Thus, we should not look to the *Description of the New Jerusalem* in order to ascertain how the sectarian writers understood the roles of angels.

7. The Rule of the Congregation: 1QSa

7.1. Introduction

This document of two columns is a complete work found as part of the same scroll as the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and the so-called *Benedictions* (1QSB).³ The title, '*Rule of the Congregation*', follows the text itself, which begins *ישראל ערו לכול ערו*.⁴

a 'man', normally understood to be an angel. The *Description of the New Jerusalem* is presumably to be classified as an apocalypse with an otherworldly journey and cosmic eschatology. Cf. Collins, *Apocalypse*, pp. 23, 37-41.

1. Dimant ('Sectarian Literature', p. 488 n. 33) considers the document to be a 'borderline case'.
2. Of course, any apocalyptic journey involves a spatial dualism, but nowhere in the literature generally accepted as deriving from the Qumran sect is the spatial dualism presented in the way it is here. The community's interest was certainly in two worlds, but two worlds that had come together in the community's experience of fellowship with the holy angels.
3. It was originally published by D. Barthélemy, 'Règle de la Congrégation

The *Rule of the Congregation* is 'for all the congregation of Israel at the end of days' (בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים), 1QSa 1.1) and thus is eschatological in outlook. As has been noted already, 'the end of days' designates the period before the end of Belial's dominion and the commencement of the future blessings of God for the sect.¹ This understanding of the *Rule of the Congregation* is confirmed by the description in 1QSa 2.11-22 of an 'assembly for the council of the community', the presence of the Messiah (מְשִׁיחַ), 1QSa 2.12) and the observance of a communal meal at which the Messiah of Israel plays an important part (1QSa 2.20-21), although he is subordinate to the priest, who corresponds to the Messiah of Aaron, known from other Qumran writings.²

Nevertheless, it is clear that the *Rule of the Congregation* had a double function. 1QSa 2.21-22 says of the communal meal, at which Messiah and priest are present, that the men of the congregation 'shall proceed according to this rite at every meal [where] at least ten persons [are assembled]'. In other words, this meal was not to be celebrated just in the future at the time of the messiahs, but rather reflected the sect's regular practice. The mention of 'at least ten persons' shows that the practice was not limited to the community at Qumran.³

The fact that the meal described in 1QSa 2.17-22 applied to both the sect's future and present highlights the point that the members thought of themselves as a community already sharing in the future, in the sense that they had begun to experience some aspects of it. This, for example, we have noted particularly in relation to certain passages in the *Hodayot*, such as 1QH 11.3-14.⁴

(1QSa), in Barthélemy and Milik (eds.), *Qumran Cave I*, pp. 108-18.

4. עֵרָה, 'congregation', is particularly common in 1QSa, occurring some twenty times, but is apparently equivalent to יָד, 'community' in 1QS. (Cf. Dupont-Sommer [*Essene Writings*, p. 104], who notes 1QSa 2.21, which has 'congregation of the community').
1. See above, §8.2.2.5, and Carmignac, 'La notion d'eschatologie', pp. 17-31.
2. 1QS 9.11; CD 19.10-11; 20.1; 12.23-13.1. Cf. J. Carmignac, 'La Règle de la Congrégation', in J. Carmignac, E. Cothenet and H. Lignée (eds.), *Les textes de Qumrân* (2 vols.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), II, p. 13.
3. On the communal meal, see Cross, *Ancient Library*, pp. 85-90.
4. See above, §10.5.1. Cf. Cross, *Ancient Library*, p. 87 n. 63.

7.2. Angels in the Congregation: IQSa 1.27-2.10¹

Angels are mentioned in the *Rule of the Congregation* only in this section, which deals with 'the assembly gathered for the council of the community in Israel' (IQSa 2.2). This appears to be a special group drawn from the members at large and made up of men of understanding, who are able-bodied and upright, judges, officers, leaders of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, and Levites (IQSa 1.27-2.3). There is a list of those to be excluded from the council of the community (IQSa 2.3-7), and the pattern is familiar from both the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 15.15-17; 4QDa) and the *War Scroll* (1QM 7.3-7).² Though there are differences in the exclusions mentioned in these three lists, the similarities are striking.³ As in IQM 7 and CD 15, the reason for the exclusions is given: 'for the angels of holiness are [in] their [congregation] (בְּתוֹרַתָּם) כִּי־אֱלֹהִים מְלַאכֵי קוֹדֶשׁ [בְּתוֹרַתָּם] (IQSa 2.8-9). This is precisely the reason given in the two parallel cases in the Qumran literature, if this restoration is correct.⁴ For the sect, the eschatological future was in some measure inaugurated and already being experienced. The holy angels were with the assembly, and ceremonial holiness was essential for the sectaries to perform the required holy tasks.

8. The Benedictions: IQSb

8.1. Introduction

The other document found attached to the *Rule of the Community* was the *Benedictions*, IQSb.⁵ The *Benedictions* consist of liturgical blessings which the Instructor (מְשַׁכֵּל) is to pronounce concerning various groups, such as those who fear God, the sons of Zadok or the priests, and the Prince of the Congregation, who is probably

1. For a discussion of this passage in the context of general concern about purity within the sect, see Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, pp. 37-52.

2. For the OT background to these passages see above, §§9.3.4; 11.5.3.

3. See above, §11.5.3.

4. Once again the idea of Deut. 23.15, that Yahweh was in the camp, is replaced by the belief that angels are there. As Schiffman (*Eschatological Community*, p. 43) points out, Lev. 21.16-24 'requires that the priests serving in the sanctuary not be afflicted with particular deformities or blemishes'. Cf. the discussion above, §9.3.4.

5. See J.T. Milik, 'Recueil des Bénédictiones', in Barthélemy and Milik (eds.), *Qumrân Cave 1*, pp. 118-30, for the original publication.

to be identified with the Messiah of Israel.¹ The *Benedictions* were probably intended for use in some eschatological context.²

8.2. Like Angels of the Presence

In the surviving portions of this liturgical document, angels are mentioned in the section concerning the blessing of the sons of Zadok (IQSb 3.22-4.28). IQSb 4.24-26 reads:

And thou, thou shalt be as an Angel of the Face in
the dwelling-place of holiness for the glory of Elohim of hos[ts. . .]
[and thou shalt] be in the company of God, ministering in the royal
palace,

and decreeing fate in company of the Angels of the Face;
and the council of the community. . . .
for everlasting time and for all ages for ever;

Angels of the Face or Presence (מְלַאכֵי פָּנִים) stand in the presence of God as his servants.³ Here, the idea is that the priests serve God 'in the royal palace' (הַיְכָל) (דְּהִיכָל) is used in the OT for both 'palace' and 'temple'.⁴ Given the liturgical context of the blessing, the translation 'royal temple' seems more appropriate. The blessing thus envisages the Angels of the Presence serving in the heavenly temple of God the king,⁵ and the sectarian priests are to do the same. The eschatological nature of this composition makes the expression, 'the royal temple' an appropriate one, for the sectaries no longer were associated with the

1. Dupont-Sommer (*Essene Writings*, p. 112 n. 2) argues that this person, mentioned also in CD 7.20 and IQM 5.1, is the Messiah of Israel. The messianic passage, Isa. 11.1-5, is applied to him (IQSb 5.24-26) and it is he who will restore the kingdom of God's people (IQSb 5.21) and the covenant (IQSb 5.23). Cf. J. Carmignac ('Le Recueil des Bénédictiones', in J. Carmignac, E. Cothenet and H. Lignée (eds.), *Les textes de Qumrân*, II, p. 33): 'Le passage sur le Prince de la Congrégation (V, 20-29) nous confirme qu'il faut très probablement voir en lui le "Consacré d'Israël"'. This figure is mentioned also in IQM 5.1; IQPsa 1.2; CD 7.20. See also Carmignac, 'Le Recueil des Bénédictiones', p. 41 n. 61.

2. Cf. Dimant, 'Sectarian Literature', p. 524.

3. See above, §10.4.2, on IQH 6.13.

4. BDB, p. 228. E.g. Ahab's palace, 1 Kgs 21.1; the palace of the king of Babylon, 2 Kgs 20.18; Solomon's temple, 2 Kgs 23.4; Zech. 8.9.

5. The idea of God as king is found elsewhere in IQSb. Thus, the Prince of the Congregation is to restore 'the kingdom (מְלִיכוּת) of his people' (IQSb 5.21) and IQSb 5.24-28 speaks of messianic victory which brings the nations into subservience, applying Isa. 11.1-5 to the Prince of the Congregation.

temple in Jerusalem. But they could now speak of serving in connection with the temple of the king himself.

Milik suggests that the reference is to the temple in the New Jerusalem,¹ the hope being that the priests will eventually serve there, in 'the dwelling-place of holiness' (1QSb 4.25). While this is a plausible suggestion in view of the eschatological orientation of the *Benedictions*, because of the limited context available it is difficult to know exactly what the author meant. He does not say what he anticipated beyond the arrival of the Messiah of Israel. 1QSb 4.26 mentions the council of the community (עצת יחד) and something about 'for ever' (לעת עולם). Two ideas familiar from the *Rule of the Community* may be present here, one being that the sect itself corresponds to a holy temple² and the other that the community in some way is thought of as continuing indefinitely.³ In this case, the blessing envisaged for the priests would be that they should serve God in the sectarian community on earth and on into perpetuity.

This suggestion is supported by the clause, 'decreeing fate in the company of the Angels of the Face' (1QSb 4.26). This seems to envisage the continuation of the community and also of outsiders about whom destiny (גורל) could be declared. Such declaration of 'lots' or 'destinies' can be seen as analogous to the blessings and curses of 1QS 2.1-18. In the covenant ceremony described there, it is the priests (and Levites) who make the declarations, just as it is the priests in 1QSb 4.26.⁴ It thus seems likely that 1QSb expresses the wish that the priests might continue in their priestly ministry in fellowship with the Angels of the Presence, reflecting on earth what the angels do in heaven.

Finally, angels are mentioned in the badly damaged 1QSb 3.6.⁵ This section deals with the blessing of the High Priest, and 1QSb 3.6 may

1. *Qumran Cave 1*, p. 127.

2. Cf. 1QS 8.4-10 and the discussion above, §8.3.2.

3. Cf. 1QS 11.7-9 and the discussion above, §8.3.2.

4. Dupont-Sommer (*Essene Writings*, p. 112 n. 1) suggests that the decreeing of destiny refers to the 'day of judgment and visitation' when all creatures' destinies will be decreed according to their spirits (1QS 4.26). This is possible, but we have no other reference in the Qumran literature to the idea of priestly participation in such a function. The suggestion made here does at least accord with known priestly roles and with the Qumran belief that the sect functioned in association with the heavenly angels.

5. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (1955), p. 123.

be expressing an idea similar to the one discussed for 1QSb 4.24-26. The state of the text makes it impossible to be sure.¹

9. The Florilegium: 4QFlor

The *Florilegium* is a collection of thematically selected OT texts, together with sectarian interpretation.² The community is identified with the temple and the sons of Zadok, and apparently two messiahs are anticipated.³ בליעל occurs four or perhaps five times (4QFlor 1.8, 9; 2.2; frg. 4 3 and possibly a second time in 1.8).⁴ 4QFlor 1.7-8 speaks of rest for the sect members from בליעל,⁵ while 4QFlor 1.8-9 associates those who stumble, no doubt in a moral sense, with בליעל. The context in 4QFlor 2.2 is broken. In none of these cases is it possible to determine confidently the precise meaning of the term בליעל,⁶ though 4QFlor frg. 4 3, with 'the time when Belial shall open [. . .]', appears to refer to Belial the angel.

It is possible that 4QFlor 1.4 alludes to the presence of angels in the temple, and thus to their association with the sectaries. Ammonites, Moabites, half-breeds, foreigners and strangers are excluded, and the reason given is that God's holy ones are there (כיא קדושי שם). This is reminiscent of CD 15.15-17 (with 4QD^a), 1QM 7.3-7 and 1QSa 2.3-9. Thus Brooke takes קדושי (he reads קדושו) to mean angels.⁷ However, we note that the very consistent reasons for exclusion found in the

1. 1QSb 1.5 also refers to angels with the use of קדושים, according to S. Lamberigts ('Le sens de qdšwšym dans les textes de Qumrân', *ETL* 46 [1970], p. 28). Because the surrounding text is so damaged it is prudent to leave open the issue of whether angels or sect members are meant here.

2. Published in J.M. Allegro, 'Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature', *JBL* 75 (1956), pp. 176-77; *idem*, 'Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrašim', *JBL* 77 (1958), pp. 350-54; *idem*, *Qumran Cave 4: 1* (1968), pp. 53-57. See also Strugnell, 'Notes en marge', pp. 220-25. Extensive study of this document is found in Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*.

3. Cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, pp. 178-93. See 4QFlor 1.3-4, 11, 16.

4. References are given according to the system in Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, pp. 86-97, so that 4QFlor 1.1-19 corresponds to fragments 1 and 2, and 4QFlor 2.1-6 to fragments 1 and 3. 'Frg.' is used for other fragments.

5. The phrase is found only here and possibly in 4QFlor 2.1-2 in the Qumran literature (cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, p. 194).

6. On this problem, see above, §8.3.1.

7. *Exegesis at Qumran*, pp. 100-107.

other three passages are absent from the *Florilegium*. The other passages use the word מלאכים, and exclude members of the sect, not foreigners or even Jewish outsiders. So it seems best to understand 'holy ones' here as referring to the sect members.

10. 4QCatena^a

This document¹ also consists of OT texts and sectarian interpretation. 4QCatena^a 1-4 8 as restored has בממשלה בלי[על]. If correct, this will be referring to Belial the angel who exercises dominion in the world in the period during which the sect lives. There is an eschatological framework to the author's thought.² The phrase אנשי בליעל (4QCatena^a 10-11 4) is an ambiguous case, though 'men of worthlessness' is the likely meaning, since the next phrase is 'and all the rabble'.

4QCatena^a 12-13 i 1-11, however, is an eschatological passage concerning the sons of light (בני אור) who are to be helped by God's loyal angel, מלאך אמתו,³ against the power of Belial (4QCatena^a 12-13 i 7). This will occur in a time of affliction, when God will 'help them from all the spirit[s] of . . .' (4QCatena^a 12-13 i 9). Line 11 also mentions the 'men of his lot' and 'Belial' has been restored before this phrase by the editor. The context appears to relate to the eschatological war in which God intervenes on behalf of the sect, a prominent motif in the *War Scroll*.⁴ General similarities to 11QMelch have also been noticed by du Toit Laubscher.⁵

11. The Canticles of the Instructor: 4QShir

Preserved in fragments from two copies, 4QShir^a and 4QShir^b,⁶ the Herodian scripts indicate that they date from the last quarter of the first century BC and around the turn of the era respectively.⁷

1. Published in Allegro (ed.), *Qumran Cave 5*, pp. 67-74 as 4Q177.
2. Cf. 4QCatena^a 1-4 5: באוריהו הימים.
3. The letters *kaph*, *taw* and *waw* are marked by the editor as being difficult to read. For the same expression, see 1QS 3.24.
4. See above, §11.2.
5. 'God's Angel of Truth'.
6. Published as 4Q510 and 4Q511, in Baillet (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4: III*, pp. 215-62.
7. Baillet, *Qumran Cave 4: III*, pp. 215, 219.

4QShir^b 2 i 1 begins: למשכיל שיר. Such a phrase is found in the exordia of the songs of the Sabbath Shiroth¹ and Flusser notes the similarity to the expression in Ps. 45.1.² It has been suggested that the original document consisted of a collection of songs written by an Instructor for praising God and driving evil spirits away.³ Possibly all of the songs began in a similar way in this liturgical document. The Instructor speaks in the first person⁴ and wording and content often resemble the *Hodayot*.⁵

Angels are prominent in the *Canticles*, which include several ideas that have already been considered in connection with other documents. It will be sufficient only to mention the angelological terminology previously encountered and to discuss a couple of ideas that represent special features in our present document.⁶ The angels are 'holy ones' (קדושים, 4QShir^a 1 2); אלים (4QShir^a 1 2); 'strong mighty ones' (גבורי כוח, 4QShir^a 1 3); 'the spirits of his (sc. God's) domain' (רווחה במשלה, 4QShir^b 1 3); 'everlasting beings' (הווי ער, 4QShir^b 10 10) and 'angels of his (sc. God's) glory' (מלאכי כבודו, 4QShir^b 35 4). 'Holy cherubim' (כרוכי קודש) are also mentioned in the broken context of 4QShir^b 41 2.⁷

In common with ideas encountered elsewhere in the Qumran literature, the angels are under God who is אל אלים (4QShir^a 1 2), and they appear to have functions in the operation of the cosmos (4QShir^b 1 1-5).⁸ 4QShir^b 2 i 8 probably links angels with the luminaries.

Baillet has taken 4QShir^b 35 3-4 to mean that the sectaries will be servants of the angels,⁹ thereby suggesting that this is another Qumran

1. E.g. 4Q403 1 ii 18, the start of the eighth song.
2. 'Psalms, Hymns and Prayers', p. 566.
3. Baillet, *Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 215.
4. 4QShir^a 1 4; cf. Flusser, 'Psalms, Hymns and Prayers', p. 566.
5. Baillet, *Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 220.
6. A comprehensive listing of angelological terminology is provided in Appendix C. Here only one reference is given in each case. The variety is reminiscent of the *Hodayot*, and especially, the Sabbath Shiroth.
7. Cf. above, §12.7.2.
8. The similarity of this passage to 1QH 1.8-13 has been noted by Baillet, *Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 220. On 1QH 1.8-13, see above, §10.8.
9. *Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 237. He translates thus: 'Et ils seront prêtres, Son peuple juste, Son armée et ministres des anges de Sa gloire. Ils le loueront par des merveilleux prodiges.'

expression of the sect's sense of association with the angels. However, as the text is transcribed, we have:

והיו כוהנים עם צדקו וצבאו ומשרתים
מלאכי כבודו יהללוהו בהפלא נורא

The final *mem* of משרתים is clearly against the meaning suggested above, which assumes the construct משרתי.

The problem is to decide the subject of יהללוהו. If the subject is משרתים, the translation will be: 'And they will be priests, his righteous people, his army. And ministers, angels of his glory, will praise him. . . .' Alternatively, the subject might be כבודו מלאכי, with משרתים belonging with the preceding words. In this case we translate; 'And they will be priests, his righteous people, his army and ministers. Angels of his glory will praise him. . . .' However, if משרתים ומשרתים is part of the complement of והיו, we would have: 'And they will be priests, his righteous people, his army and ministers, angels of his glory. They will praise him. . . .'

The use of the conjunction with משרתים, the lack of a pronominal suffix on this word and the absence of a *waw*-consecutive with the verb הלל all support the first alternative. Furthermore, if the third alternative were correct, the idea that the sect members would become angels in the future would be unique in the Qumran literature. Nowhere else in the corpus is there found an expectation that the sectaries will live in heaven, let alone become angels.¹ If we take the subject as כבודו מלאכי, with or without the preceding משרתים as being in apposition, then the statement about the sectaries stops after 'army' (or 'ministers'), and it is the angels who praise God. This understanding would harmonize with the same idea found elsewhere in the Qumran literature, and, in particular, with the dominant theme of angelic praise in the Sabbath Shirot, a document with which the Canticles share certain other similarities.

According to 4QShir^a 1 4-5, the Instructor proclaims God's praise to ward off the spirits of angels of destruction (רוחי מלאכי חבל)² and the spirits of bastards (רווחו ממורים), specified as שד אים,³ and

1. See above, §8.2.2.6.

2. Cf. 1QS 4.12; CD 2.6; 1QM 13.12 and see above, §§8.2.2.7; 9.3.1.

3. Baillet (*Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 217) compares this Qumran spelling using two words with the form שדים found in Deut. 32.17; Ps. 106.37, pointing out that in Assyrian, *šēdu* is a benevolent demon. The context of frightening spirits away

אחים.¹ It is not certain that these beings are to be identified with the offspring of the fallen watchers (*1 En.* 10.9). In the *Book of Watchers*, although the giant offspring are killed, their spirits 'go on destroying, uncondemned' (*1 En.* 16.1) until their ultimate destruction in the final judgment (*1 En.* 10.15). Nevertheless, it may well be that the Qumran author is in part drawing on the Enochic traditions which were well known to the sect. The ממורים are also mentioned as needing to be frightened off in 4QShir^a 35 7 and 48-49 + 51 ii 2-3.²

The spirits of the angels of destruction are distinguished from the demons in 4QShir^a 1 5 and are presumably the same as the angels of destruction known elsewhere in the Qumran literature. It is doubtful that the addition of 'spirits' to the designation has any significance. Thus, in 4QShir^b 43 6, we have the apparently identical רוחי חבל, an expression also found in 1QM 14.10.³

implies that the term is referring to a malevolent being.

4. According to Baillet (*Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 217), this refers to a malevolent female demon, the name deriving from Sumerian through Akkadian *lilitu*. The word occurs in Isa. 34.14, rendered 'night hag' in the RSV. Cf. BDB, p. 539.

1. This reading is not certain. Baillet (*Qumran Cave 4: III*, p. 217) relates it to the Akkadian *ahû*, which designates a savage beast of some sort. Cf. Isa. 13.21.

2. See also 4QShir^b 2 ii 3; 182 1; cf. 1QH frg. 6 3; frg. 9 11.

3. With חבל restored. Cf. also, the use of רוחי עולמים in רוחי אלהי עולמים in the Sabbath Shirot in 4Q405 19 3.

PART III

ENOCHIC AND QUMRAN ANGELOGOGIES COMPARED

Chapter 14

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

This chapter will collate the angelological data from the various documents and identify similarities and differences. Throughout this investigation, each individual writing has been considered on its own merits, and it is not proposed now to attempt a synthesis from either the Enochic writings or the Qumran literature, though harmonious views will be noted. Such a method would obscure the differences that have emerged among the Enochic writings and the Qumran documents.¹

2. The Nature of Angels

2.1. In the Enochic Books

In the *Book of Watchers*, angels belong to high heaven, while people belong on earth (*1 En.* 15.3-10; §2.3.1). Angels do not need to marry and procreate since they live for ever (*1 En.* 15.4, 6), and are spirits who dwell with God. The fact that they are created seems to be assumed throughout the Enochic books. The emphasis in *1 Enoch* 15, that they are spirits (*1 En.* 15.4, 6, 7, 10) occurs nowhere else in *1 Enoch* 1-36.² Beyond these references, only *1 En.* 106.17 in the section about the birth of Noah alludes to the spiritual nature of angels. The same writing also implies their splendid appearance (*1 En.* 106.5). Otherwise, no interest is expressed anywhere in their anatomy. In the throne vision of *1 Enoch* 14, attention is on the

1. Cross-references to the earlier parts of this study will be included in parentheses, in the form '\$4.2.3', the first number referring to the chapter, and subsequent numbers referring to the section or subsection within the chapter.

2. *1 En.* 19.1 may also think of angels as spirits. See Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 160-61.

splendour of God's house and not on the angels present.

Knowledge of heavenly secrets is important to the Asael strand in the *Book of Watchers*. The angels communicate this knowledge to human beings (*1 En.* 9.6; 16.2-3; §2.3.3).

The idea that angels have the capacity for moral choice is fundamental to the myth of the fallen angels in both the Shemihazah and Asael strands in the *Book of Watchers*. The angels choose to descend to marry women (*1 En.* 6.1-5; §2.2.5) or teach metallurgy and sorcery (*1 En.* 8.1-3; 10.8; §2.2.5).¹ However, the author does not reflect on how angels, who are spirits, can marry women and beget offspring,² though all accounts about the marriages of angels assume the angels are males.

Finally, there is a consistent emphasis on the holiness of angels in the Enochic books.³ The holy angels belong in God's heaven, and in the throne vision of *1 Enoch* 14, near the very presence of God himself.⁴ Yet for all this, it should be noted that the gap between angels and human beings is not thought to be so great that there can be no communication between the angelic and human worlds. On the contrary, there is sexual intercourse with women (*1 En.* 6.1-3) and Enoch frequently converses with angels (*1 En.* 13.1, 9-10; 87.4; 93.2). This latter point is essential to the literary genre apocalypse, which is well represented in the Enochic books (§3.2). The angels who conducted Enoch on his journeys could make themselves indistinguishable from men when they wished (*1 En.* 17.1; 86.3). In summary, the authors of the various parts of the Enochic books

1. The exercise of choice is not stated explicitly in relation to Asael and his followers, but is implied by the fact that they made the secrets known to women (*1 En.* 17.3).

2. Cf. the *Book of Dreams*, which has stars becoming bulls and mating (*1 En.* 86.3-4).

3. E.g. the *Book of Watchers*: *1 En.* 1.2, 9; 14.25; 20.1; the *Astronomical Book*: *1 En.* 72.1; 74.2; the *Epistle of Enoch*: *1 En.* 93.6; 103.2. No significance should be attached to the absence of a specific reference in the *Book of Dreams*. There the nature of the narrative is sufficient to account for this fact, since most of it is allegorical.

4. E.g. the *Book of Watchers*: *1 En.* 14.22; 15.2-3; *Book of Dreams*: *1 En.* 84.4; the *Epistle of Enoch*: *1 En.* 97.2; 104.4, 6. Again, concentration on astronomical and calendrical matters is adequate reason for the lack of an explicit reference in the *Astronomical Book*.

appear to have shared a fairly unified understanding of the nature of angels. This understanding can be readily traced to roots in the OT.¹

2.2. In the Qumran Literature

The term 'spirit' (רוח) is used for angels in several of the Qumran writings. This is true for the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3.18-19; §8.2.2.2; 1QS 3.25; §8.2.2.6), the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 12.2-3; §9.3.3), the *Hodayot* (1QH 3.21-23; 11.13; 13.8), the *War Scroll* (1QM 13.2, 11-12; 14.10; §11.2.2.3) and the *Sabbath Shirot* (4Q403 1 i 35; §12.7). It may also occur in the *Midrash on Melchizedek* (§13.1.4) and the *Berakot* (§13.4).

Angels are associated in several places with heaven, as in 1QS 4.22, 11.8, 1QH 3.22 and 1QM 12.1 (§8.3.2) and especially in the *Sabbath Shirot* (§12.2-3). 1QH 11.13 also refers to angels as the everlasting host, though the emphasis in the *Hodayot*, on God as creator of all rules, out any suggestion that the angels and God are coeval (§10.6). Angels are called everlasting in 4QShir^b 10 10 (§13.11), as in the *Sabbath Shirot* (4Q405 19 3; §12.7.3). They are associated, as Angels of the Presence, with God himself in 1QH 6.13 (§10.4.2) and 1QSB 4.24-26 (§13.8.2), while the *Sabbath Shirot* use different but corresponding terms and the angels serve in heaven's inner sanctum or sanctums (§12.7.2).

They are frequently described as holy, as in 1QS 11.8 (§8.3.2), 4QD^a (§9.3.4), the *Hodayot* (1QH 3.22; §10.3.3; 1QH 10.34-35; §10.9.1), the *War Scroll* (1QM 7.6; §11.5.3), the *Sabbath Shirot* (4Q401 16 3; §12.7.2), 1QSa 2.8-9 (§13.8) and 11QMelch 2.9 (§13.1.4).

They are spirits of knowledge (1QH 3.22-23; §10.3.3) and the host of knowledge (1QH 18.23-24; §10.7), while the angels' knowledge is particularly important in the *Sabbath Shirot* (§12.3.2). No speculation about their appearance is entered into, though in 4Q'Amram^b one of the angels is dark and fearsome and the other's face is like a snake (4Q'Amram^b 1 13-15, §13.2.2).

1. E.g. for the fall of the angels in the *Book of Watchers*, cf. Gen. 6.1-4 and §2.2.3; for the holiness of angels, cf. Deut. 33.2; for angels conversing with humans, cf. Gen. 19.1-3; Ezek. 40.3-4; for the heavenly dwelling of angels, cf. Dan. 7.10; for the knowledge of heavenly matters and their communication with humans, cf. Judg. 6.11-21.

Several documents make it clear that angels are created beings. The *Hodayot* does so indirectly by stressing that God made all things, which presumably includes angels (§10.6). The *Sabbath Shirot* also imply that angels are creatures (4Q402 4 12; §12.5). 1QS 3.15-21 and 1QM 13.10-12 are more explicit. Both are strongly dualistic and the need for Jewish monotheism to be asserted no doubt prompts the authors in these two cases to state that angels are created beings (§§8.2.2.3; 11.2.2.1).

A couple of these dualistic contexts indicate that the evil angels were pre-determined in their wickedness. Thus, according to the *War Scroll* (1QM 13.10-12) Belial was created to corrupt, while in the *Two Spirits Discourse*, God has created all things and established the pattern of behaviour they follow. The context includes the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot (1QS 3.15-24). For these authors, moral choice by evil angels appears to be excluded.

2.3. Comparison

Although not all of the documents specifically mention every aspect that we have noted above concerning the nature of angels, a measure of generalization does seem possible. The various writers share a common conception of a heavenly world populated by created angelic beings. These angels can be described as spirits, not beings of flesh, and holy, in that they are associated with the holy God. It is possible there is also a common understanding of angels as everlasting (though this has been noted only in the *Hodayot*, the *Sabbath Shirot* and the *Canticles of the Instructor* from Qumran, and in the *Book of Watchers*).

All writers presuppose a separation between the realms of angels and humans, a spatial dualism, but this gap, in various ways, is frequently bridged. Nevertheless, it appears that all our authors would hold to the view that the proper dwelling-place of angels is in heaven, even though many of the angels engage in various activities around the cosmos. Interaction between the two realms is conceived variously. This is especially the case when the apocalypses, as found in the Enochic books, are compared with certain Qumran writings. For example, in the Enochic apocalypses, one or more angels speak with Enoch, conduct him on journeys, show him special information and so on. The only Qumran sectarian writing in any way similar is the *Testament of Amram*, in which Amram speaks with an angel. The

sectarian status of the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, which has a seer being shown the holy city, is uncertain (§13.6).

Nevertheless, although it is appropriate to speak of the worlds of angels and human beings and of interaction between them, no writer, in any of the literature studied, shows interest in angels in isolation from the affairs of humanity. This is true in the Enochic books for the myth of the fallen angels, the maintenance and operation of the cosmos, the final judgment and so on. Similarly, in the Qumran literature, angels have functions in the natural world in which people live, they serve God perfectly in heaven (in part as models for the sect), evil angels like Belial are involved when humans sin, and so on. The writers are concerned with their own lives, not with abstract speculation about angels.

The *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 6–7), and the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 86.3–4) have marriage between angels and women.¹ While such a tradition is certainly found in CD 2.17–21, 4Q180 1 1–10 and possibly 1QH 10.34–35 (§10.9.1), very little use is made of it in the Qumran literature. Indeed, the possibility that angels can make moral choices, as in the myth of the fallen angels, is not evident in the Qumran literature. Certainly Belial and his forces are said to have evil designs on God's people (1QM 13.4–5), but the determinism presupposed in several parts of the Qumran documents is much more obvious than any idea of free moral choices made by angels (cf. §14.3.2). This is especially clear in 1QS 3.15–24 and 1QM 13.10–12.

A much more prominent type of interaction between angels and humans is seen in the involvement of the Qumran community with the heavenly angels. This occurs specifically in the eschatological conflict of the *War Scroll* and certain passages in the *Hodayot* (§14.4.2.2), and in the portions that deal with the association of the community with the angels (cf. §14.10.2).^b

The initiative in the various interactions between humans and angels normally lies with the angels, though when angels do perform their functions, they do so in obedience to God. Despite differences in the ways in which interaction between the angelic and human worlds is conceived, there is a common understanding among the various authors that such interaction is consistent with the nature of angels. In

1. Cf. Lamech's concern over the conception of Noah, in the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 106.5–6; §6.3.3).

fact, the writer's basic conceptions of the nature of angels are very similar and are fairly consistent with the angelology of the OT authors, although the idea that the angel Belial was created by God and intended to be evil is foreign to the OT. It is the particular motivations underlying the various writings that can be invoked to explain why the expressions of this common understanding about angels differ from writing to writing.

3. Angels and Responsibility for Sin in the World

3.1. In the Enochic Books

There are several differing traditions about the origin of sin in the world and where the responsibility for its presence is thought to lie. The *Book of Watchers* offers the most elaborate presentation, using the myth of the fallen angels as developed from Gen. 6.1–4 and expounded in *1 Enoch* 6–11. In the Shemihazah tradition, the marriage of women by Shemihazah and his followers produces giants, which bring devastation and bloodshed to the earth (*1 En.* 7.3–6; §2.2.5). The offspring are killed and their angelic parents are imprisoned, to await the final judgment (*1 En.* 10.11–13). It has been suggested that the extent and severity of sin in the author's world is thus explained for him by invoking an origin for sin that lies outside the world of mere human beings (§2.2.6). The continuing presence of sin is partly handled by the promise of judgment, so it cannot be said that God is inactive (*1 En.* 9–10, §2.2.7), and partly by proposing the on-going activity in the world of the spirits of the deceased giants (*1 En.* 15.8–16.1; §2.2.7). In this scheme, humanity does not bear responsibility for sin's introduction or continuation. This is consistent with an outlook which sees sin as injustice inflicted on defenceless victims.

The Asael tradition also sees sin as introduced by angels. Asael and his followers taught people the skills of metallurgy, cosmetics, jewellery and astrological skills so that war, impiety and fornication resulted (*1 En.* 8.1–3; 9.6; §2.2.5). All sin is recorded against Asael (*1 En.* 10.8). However, while the primary responsibility for sin lies with the angels, a certain responsibility for its continuation rests with human beings, for they do, in fact, practise it (§2.2.6).

Little is said in the *Astronomical Book* on this subject. Most of it deals with calendrical matters. Even so, problems in the synchronization of the author's 'correct' solar calendar with the seasons are linked

to the obedience of the angels responsible for the functioning of certain stars (*I En.* 80.6, cf. 82.9-20; §4.3.2). A similar idea is found in the *Book of Watchers* (*I En.* 18.13-16). Humans are also at fault, for some do not utilize the author's scheme of four intercalary days to augment the twelve-month, 360-day solar calendar to 364 days (*I En.* 75.1-2).

The *Book of Dreams* employs a version of the angelic fall which combines the Shemihazah tradition (with devastation by giants) and the tradition with Asael as leader (*I En.* 86-88; §5.4.2.1). However, the Deluge marks the end of these problems in the world and the author does not say that the angels have introduced sin among human beings. The author is primarily concerned with Israel's excessive affliction, which is the dominant theme of the *Second Dream Vision*. Angels (as seventy shepherds placed over periods of history) are invoked as the cause of this, since they destroy more people of Israel than God commands (*I En.* 89.59-90.25; §5.4.2.5). However, some responsibility for sin is also placed on Israel itself, since it forsook the house of God and thereby became blind (*I En.* 89.32, 41, 54, 74).

The *Epistle of Enoch* is concerned, by and large, with the wicked and the righteous. It is aware of the myth of the fallen angels (in the Noah section, *I Enoch* 106-107; §6.3.3.1) but this is not used in relation to the question of why sin is in the world. On the contrary, a different aetiology of sin appears, in which sin is humanity's doing and not something sent into the world from the outside (*I En.* 98.4-5; §6.3.3.1).

3.2. In the Qumran Literature

To a large extent, the sectarian writings do not comment at all on the original cause of sin. The notable exceptions are in two portions which show marked cosmic dualism—the *Two Spirits Discourse* in the *Rule of the Community* and a passage in the *War Scroll*. These will be discussed after the predominant themes of the whole corpus have been considered. The Qumran literature, on the whole, gives a lot of attention to present responsibility for sin, rather than to its original cause. In the *Hodayot*, the author's awareness of his own sinfulness is most acute, but the root of his condition is not blamed on any angel! To be human is to be sinful (1QH 1.27), from birth to old age (1QH 4.29-30). By contrast, God is wholly righteous (1QH 4.30-31). Responsibility for unfaithfulness to the covenant also rests with

humanity, for it goes back to their forebears (1QH 4.34; 17.18-19).

In similar vein, the *Damascus Covenant* attributes sin to people's wickedness in walking contrary to the commands of the covenant (CD 20.28-29) and to their being drawn away by wicked inclination and lustful eyes (CD 2.16), a pattern discernible down through Israel's history (CD 2.14-4.12). False teaching has also contributed (CD 1.13-2.1). Apparently, even those who have joined the sect can apostasize (CD 7.9-8.21). There is, however, an underlying election which is not integrated in the author's scheme with human ability to choose to sin. Some have not been chosen by God and he has known their works before he made them (CD 2.7-8; §9.3.2). It is to be noted that when the author of the *Damascus Covenant* does mention the watchers that fell (CD 2.17-21; §9.3.2), he does so to provide an example of the consequences of sinful desire. He does not use the myth to explain the presence of sin in the world, for his point is that sin is of humanity's own doing.

If the *Two Spirits Discourse* is left aside for the moment, the *Rule of the Community* presents a similar picture. Those who enter the covenant community must confess their iniquity, acknowledging that their forebears were the same (1QS 1.25). Though they might be tempted during the dominion of Belial, the sectaries promise not to turn back themselves (1QS 1.16-18), but to be merciless toward those who do turn from the way (1QS 10.20-21) in apostasy.

The closest any Qumran sectarian text comes to the Enochic account which attributes the sin in the world to the fall of the angels, is found in 4Q180 1 7-8, which mentions Azazel (for Asael) and the angels who have intercourse with women.¹ Although the text is damaged, it seems that 4Q180 connects the angels' fall in some way with human iniquity (§13.5.2.1).

In the case of 11QMelch 2.12, Belial and the spirits of his lot have apparently rebelled against God's precepts.² It is not stated whether this is a voluntary rebellion or something predetermined by God.

Finally, the *War Scroll* and the *Two Spirits Discourse* remain to be reviewed. The *War Scroll* is little concerned with the causes of sin, either in the past or present. The lines are already drawn and the

1. Cf. the conflated version of the myth of the fallen angels found in the *Book of Dreams* (*I En.* 86-88; §5.4.2.1).

2. The reading is uncertain. See above, §13.1.6.

author stands on the eve of the final war. He belongs to the sons of light and all outside of his group are enemies who are about to be overthrown. Occasionally human responsibility is suggested, with expressions like 'sinful' (IQM 3.8), 'unjust flesh' (IQM 4.3), 'nations of vanity' (IQM 4.12; 11.9) and 'guilty flesh' (IQM 12.11).

IQM 14.9-10 indicates another emphasis. Belial and the spirits of his lot are said to have sought unsuccessfully to beguile the sectaries away from the covenant. This at least introduces the idea that people can be tempted by angels. The importance of Belial is expressed more clearly in IQM 13.10-12. He has actually been created by God to cause corruption (§11.2.2.1). Thus ultimately, God is responsible for sin. However, no correlation of these ideas with others about sin's cause is attempted by the editor of the *War Scroll*.

In the *Two Spirits Discourse* (IQS 3.13-4.26), there is an essential cosmic dualism with ethical and psychological implications (§8.2.2.9). Sin is in the world as a result of the two spirits God has created, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness (IQS 3.16-25). The Angel of Darkness and his angels cause people to stumble, and a person's lot in light or darkness depends on that individual's divinely determined inheritance (IQS 4.24). So people are not themselves ultimately responsible for their own sin (§8.2.2.8). As in the *War Scroll*, God is its ultimate cause.

The *Sabbath Shirot* do not discuss human sinfulness at all, though one passage mentions the propitiatory ministry of the angels (4Q400 1 i 16; §12.3.2). Given the interest of this document in the heavenly priesthood, it would not have been surprising to have found some discussion of human sin.

3.3. Comparison

The interests of the various Enochic authors appear to have determined the particular ways in which responsibility for sin is understood in each. As a broad generalization, it can be said that among these authors there was a strong tendency to explain it in terms involving angels. The exception is *1 En.* 98.4-5 in the *Epistle of Enoch*, where sin is said not to have been sent into the world but to be due to the human race itself. In the Shemihazah tradition in the *Book of Watchers*, sin, oppression and distress are blamed on the angels whose offspring, when killed, released spirits which continue to harm people. In the case of Asael, he and his followers have taught

humanity all manner of knowledge that has led to the sin in the world. In the *Astronomical Book*, angelic disobedience has put the 'true' 364-day calendar out of phase with the seasons. For the author of the *Book of Dreams*, angelic 'shepherds' are used to explain the excessive measure of Israel's affliction.

By contrast, much of the Qumran literature is concerned to emphasize the importance of the covenant, the true adherents of which are the sect members. These authors are essentially biblical in their views on sin, repentance, faithfulness to the covenant, and so on. There is in the background, however, the figure of Belial with his evil angels, exerting influence on humanity. Yet apart from IQS 3.13-4.26 and IQM 13.10-12, the involvement of Belial and his angels in people's sin is not made explicit by the sectarian authors. In these two passages, the development of ideas has been in quite a different direction from that seen in the Enochic books, namely that of determinism and cosmic dualism.

Finally, it is important to remark on the independence, from certain other Jewish traditions, of both the Enochic and Qumran beliefs about the cause of sin in the world and angelic fall. Thus Genesis 3, with the serpent, plays no part in any of these texts. Moreover, passages like Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28, which lend themselves to an interpretation in terms of an angelic fall, are not utilized.

4. God's Judgment on Angels

4.1. In the Enochic Books

The ultimate judgment on those who have done wrong and thereby caused affliction for the righteous is a central theme in the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*. God's people suffer injustice in the world, but the prospect that ultimately God will bring to account those who sin, while vindicating his own people, is presented in several ways. These three Enochic books reveal an eschatology that looks to a final judgment, with angels among those to be punished in each case.

In the *Book of Watchers*, the judgment has a preliminary phase, the temporary incarceration of the fallen angels and the destruction of their offspring, the giants (*1 En.* 10). The temporary imprisonment of the angels will last for seventy generations, an indication of order in the world. God is not inactive, despite the apparent state of affairs

in the eyes of those who suffer (§2.2.7). The place of the final judgment is also shown to Enoch (*I En.* 27; §3.2.1), thereby reinforcing the impression that all is under control.

The *Book of Dreams* also envisages the final judgment of the fallen watchers (*I En.* 91.21, 24; §5.4.2.1). It is, however, much more concerned with the excessive suffering of Israel under the nations. This suffering is to be attributed to the disobedience of the seventy angels assigned by God to have authority for defined periods, so it is most important that these angels are brought to account (*I En.* 90.22, 25; §5.4.2.4). They are also only allowed to operate for a divinely set length of time, called seventy periods. This helps convey hope to God's people, for they can look forward to a glorious eschatological future.

The *Epistle of Enoch*, apart from the Noah Appendix, is concerned with the wicked and the righteous, and does not understand sin as originating with fallen angels. There is therefore no discussion of the judgment of angels in the major part of the *Epistle*. However, in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, now embedded in the *Epistle*, the order of history is portrayed in ten phases, and at the end of the final week 'judgment will be exacted from all the watchers of heaven' (*I En.* 91.15; §6.2.2). Although the *Apocalypse* does not mention the fall of the angels earlier on, it uses their judgment to complete the picture of the assize that has already dealt with human beings. Then the future age commences.

The *Astronomical Book*, whose interest is to present the 364-day calendar and its justification, does not deal with the judgment of disobedient angels. The fate of the angels who have caused changes in the movements of some stars (*I En.* 80.6) is not discussed, though the punishment of sinners is mentioned in the same context (*I En.* 80.8).

4.2. In the Qumran Literature

4.2.1. *Judgment on the Fallen Angels.* The most important judgment on angels that is described in the Qumran literature falls on Belial and his angels in the eschatological war, but for clarity this will be treated separately. In general, it can be stated that since the Qumran writings—except possibly 4Q180—do not connect the cause of sin in the world with the myth of the fallen angels, they show no interest in the judgment of these angels as a means of assuring the people of God that all will be well in the end.

In CD 2.17-21 (§9.3.2), the fallen watchers are mentioned to warn

against evil intent and lust, and the author does not stay to elaborate on their fate. He wants to give his many examples from history of those who have succumbed to the evils he is warning against. In 1QH 10.33-35, if the author is recounting how he trembled when he contemplated the judgment of God on the angels (§10.9.1), the function of the myth will be that it reminds the author of what he himself would have received from God in judgment, were it not for God's mercy.

4.2.2. *Angels and the Eschatological War.* The involvement of angels in the *War Scroll's* account of the eschatological conflict is fundamental to the author's scheme. We will refer here particularly to the angelic forces of Belial which will be defeated by God and his angels, and leave aside for the moment the angels who help the sectaries. In this sense, we can think of God's judgment on these angels (1QM 1.14-15; 14.14-15; 15.13-14; 17.5-6; 18.1-3) in a war which is fought by two kinds of warriors, the heavenly and the terrestrial (§§11.5.2; 11.5.4). God helps the sect by sending assistance through Michael (1QM 17.6; §11.5.4), while Belial apparently assists the sons of darkness (1QM 16.9; §11.2.2.3). The war is the outpouring of God's wrath on Belial and those of his lot (1QM 1.4-6; 3.9; 13.1-2), and this is reflected in the liturgical curses of 1QM 13.1-2, 4 (§11.5.1), whose justification lies in the evil activities of Belial and the spirits of his lot. Yet the need for judgment to come upon them can be traced one step further back. They are evil because they were created that way. Belial was made by God 'to corrupt, an angel of hatred', 'his counsel to render wicked and guilty' (1QM 13.10-12; §11.2.2).

No detail is given in the *War Scroll* of the ultimate destiny of Belial and his angels, though it is clear that the human enemies will be wiped out (1QM 1.4-6; 18.1-4). 1QM 18.1 probably means that Belial will be permanently out of the way 'when the great hand of God shall be raised up against Belial and against all the army of his dominion for eternal discomfiture'. For Belial and his angels to be permanently defeated seems to be essential to the author's conception of the sect's ultimate peace and freedom from both human and angelic enemies (1QM 1.9). Yet the failure to speculate on Belial's fate is analogous to the almost complete silence on the future bliss to be enjoyed by the sect.

The *Two Spirits Discourse* does not discuss the future of the spirit of perversity or Angel of Darkness, except to say that there is a planned visitation to end all perversity (1QS 4.18-19). As in the *War*

Scroll, the interest lies more with the future of those human beings who are in the lot of darkness (1QS 4.11-14; §8.2.2.5), than with that of the angels. One of the *Hodayot* also speaks of the army of heaven at war against Belial (1QH 3.19-36; §10.3.2). It 'rushes across the earth, And it does not draw back until it is complete, and its decision is forever' (1QH 3.35-36). Yet once again, no indication of anything beyond this is given. In the *Sabbath Shirot*, there is one passage which speaks of a war that involves angels, though whom they fight is not indicated in the extant text. Presumably, this war is eschatological (4Q402 4 7-10; §12.6).

4.3. Comparison

Broadly speaking, two different models regarding the future judgment of angels have emerged from our comparison, with one pattern represented in the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, and the other in the *Qumran War Scroll* and 1QH 3.19-36. In these Enochic books, fallen angels are to undergo a final judgment at which they will be condemned. This is appropriate because they have sinned and brought sin to the world, and with it great distress for human beings, or, in the case of the seventy shepherds in the *Book of Dreams*, excessive affliction for Israel. Their judgment provides the authors with a means of assuring their troubled yet righteous readers that justice will prevail in God's cosmos, so they can take heart.

In certain of the Qumran writings there are markedly different views concerning both the causes for sin's presence in the world and the way in which peace and vindication will be achieved for the people of God. Angels are involved here too, but in quite different ways from their roles in the Enochic books. No final judgment seems to be anticipated, but rather the military defeat of the angels whom God has created evil in the first place. There is no speculation on the justice of this situation, only assurance and joy that God and his angels are to deliver the sectaries.

5. Obedient Angels and Judgment

5.1. In the Enochic Books

Within the framework of a final judgment, the authors of the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch* assign a

variety of roles to angels. This section considers these functions across the three books concurrently, since each presents a similar view.¹

In the *Book of Watchers*, the archangel Michael serves the summons on Shemihazah and the other angels who married the women (*J En.* 10.11-13). It is also stated several times that certain angels are responsible for the arrest of fallen or rebellious angels, as well as for their incarceration until trial at the final judgment. For example, Raphael casts Asael onto rocks in the desert (*J En.* 10.4-6),² while Michael binds Shemihazah and his fellow-angels for seventy generations (*J En.* 10.11-12; §2.2.7). Enoch is subsequently shown that such imprisonments have occurred and that all is ready for the coming judgment (*J En.* 18.13-16; 19.1; 21.7, 10; cf. 22.1-14; §3.2.1). Such things help reassure the readers. All will be well in the end, because all is under God's control. The role of arresting offenders is to be compared with the more military function of the ten thousand holy ones who come with God to execute judgment, according to *J En.* 1.9 (§2.1.1). In the *Book of Dreams*, Asael is imprisoned in the earth by an angel (*J En.* 88.1). Also, as prison warders, the seven archangels bring the fallen angels, the seventy angels who abused Israel, and the apostate Jews to the judgment (*J En.* 90.20-26; §5.4.2.4). Similarly, in the *Epistle of Enoch*, angels descend to gather sinners for judgment (*J En.* 100.4; §6.3.3.4).

In keeping with the judicial imagery, there are also witnesses for the prosecution who have the necessary evidence ready at hand. Raphael in the *Book of Watchers* has to record all sins to Asael's account (*J En.* 10.8; §2.2.7). Likewise, in the *Book of Dreams*, an angel keeps a record for God of everything that the seventy shepherds do to Israel (*J En.* 89.61-63, 70-71, 76; 90.14, 17) and subsequently the books are opened before him (*J En.* 90.20; §5.4.2.4). In the *Epistle of Enoch*, God enquires from the angels about the sinners' deeds (*J En.* 100.10) and they also bring the petitions of the righteous concerning the sins of the wicked (*J En.* 99.3; §6.3.3.4). Heavenly records, not actually said to be written by angels but probably their

1. The *Astronomical Book*, no doubt because of its concentration on calendrical matters, does not give details of a final judgment.

2. Gabriel's commission relates to the destruction of the giants (*J En.* 10.9-10), and is thus slightly different from those of Raphael and Michael. Sariel's task is to warn Noah (*J En.* 10.1-3).

work, are also part of this framework (*I En.* 98.8; 104.7-8). Their existence suggests both the accuracy and the completeness of evidence against the sinners. The righteous can be confident that justice will be done. Angels also function in the *Epistle* as counsel for the defence of the righteous. They remember the righteous before God, who has a record of their names (*I En.* 104.1; §6.3.3.4).

Angels also execute the sentence. In the *Book of Watchers* (*I En.* 10.13), the condemned watchers are dragged off to the fiery abyss, and although the subject of the verb is unspecified, there is no doubt that angels as God's servants perform this task, in the light of the context. The same is true of *I En.* 90.24-26, where watchers, the seventy angels and the apostate Jews are cast into the fiery abyss. In the *Epistle of Enoch*, the angels do what has been asked of them, probably a reference to the execution of the final sentence (*I En.* 102.3).

Thus the picture that emerges is one of extensive angelic involvement in the whole process of divine judgment. Obedient angels faithfully serve God and the final judgment sees justice done, with the righteous vindicated and blessed. Meanwhile, the righteous can take courage, for although the judgment is not said to be imminent, it is certain.

5.2. In the Qumran Literature

Although the Qumran authors do not think in terms of a final judgment in the way the Enochic writers do, imagery beyond merely neutral existence in the pit is used in two contexts to describe the fate of the wicked at the hands of angels of destruction. In the *Two Spirits Discourse*, those who belong to the Angel of Darkness will experience punishment from these angels of destruction, with endless shame, destruction by fire and existence in darkness until their eventual extinction (1QS 4.1.1-14; §8.2.2.5). Similarly, those who depart from the way can expect flaming wrath at the hands of God's angels of destruction (CD 2.5-7). These angels are God's servants (§9.3.1). Mention of them presumably serves as a goad to repentance for those outside of the sect, or as a deterrent for those, who having joined, might be tempted to commit apostasy.

As noted in the previous section, the *War Scroll* and 1QH 3.19-36 deal with the execution of God's wrath on Belial and his lot. Corresponding to Belial and his angels, who are to be defeated, are God's angels who implement the divine judgment. In the *War Scroll*,

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Israel, that is, the sect, is sent help through the might of its traditional protector, Michael (1QM 17.6-8), called elsewhere the Prince of Light, appointed from of old to assist them (1QM 13.10; §11.4.2). Arrayed against the forces of Belial, both angelic and human, are God's angels led by Michael. They fight alongside the sectaries (1QM 1.10-11; 12.7-8; 15.13-14; §11.5.2). This war involves both angelic and human warriors (§11.5.2; 11.5.4), though exactly what the angels do is not elaborated. God's loyal angel assists the sect, according to 4QCatena^a 12-13 7 (§13.10), while Melchizedek is involved in the execution of the divine judgment on Belial, according to 11QMelch 2.13 (§13.1.4).

The hymn 1QH 3.19-36 reflects some similar ideas. The army of heaven rushes across the earth against all who belong to Belial, and the community is 'stationed in rank' (1QH 3.21-22) with these heavenly warriors. Belial is defeated but the community is eternal (§10.3.3). If 1QH 10.34 is referring to angels who are involved with God in judgment (§10.9.1), it is not clear what form this judgment will take. Nor does 4Q402 4, in the damaged state in which we possess it, indicate either the purpose or the outcome of the war of which he speaks (§12.6).

5.3. Comparison

The differing understandings about the origin of sin and responsibility for it in the world, along with differences in eschatological outlook in the Enochic writings, compared to the Qumran literature, have already been discussed. These same differences render understandable the ways in which angels will serve God differently in executing his judgment on wrongdoers. However, these differences ought not obscure the important similarity that God in both schemes of thought has his hosts of loyal and effective servants among the angels. This is of crucial importance for the respective readers. In both cases, the issues confronting writers and readers are clearly under God's control, albeit through the executive agency of the angels who serve him.

6. The Superiority of God in Relation to Angels

In any system in which there are multiple spiritual beings there inevitably arises the question of a hierarchy of power and influence. This is a particularly acute issue in a Jewish context, since monotheism

is fundamental to the essence of Second Temple Judaism. This section thus collates the main data bearing on God's relationship to the various angels and summarizes matters concerning the dualism found in our texts.

6.1. *In the Enochic Books*

Various types of dualism are to be distinguished (§8.2.2). For example, a spatial dualism envisaging two realms, heaven and earth, is presupposed in the *Book of Watchers*. The watchers are from heaven and come down to earth (*I En.* 6.2). The division of history into the present period and the time of the future judgment and beyond (*I En.* 10.12-22) represents an eschatological dualism, while the division of humanity into the righteous and the ungodly indicates an ethical dualism. In a monotheistic system, none of these forms of dualism implies any threat to the superiority of God over all other beings. Similarly in the *Astronomical Book*, the author's thought embraces a spatial dualism, in that Enoch visits realms not normally accessible to human beings (*I En.* 19.3; 72.1-2), an eschatological dualism, in that a new creation is envisaged (*I En.* 72.1) and an ethical dualism, in that at least *I Enoch* 80-81 involves sinners as distinct from the righteous. The same three dualistic contrasts occur in the *Book of Dreams*. Thus stars fall from heaven and records are kept in heavenly books (*I En.* 86.1; 89.70), reflecting spatial dualism. The ideas of future judgment and a new Eden (*I En.* 90.20-42) indicate an eschatological dualism, and ethical dualism is in view in the presence of blinded sheep, in contrast to those whose eyes begin to see (*I En.* 90.6-10).

In the *Epistle of Enoch*, a similar outlook is evident. The author thinks of both heaven and earth (spatial dualism, *I En.* 104.4-6), a future judgment (eschatological dualism, *I En.* 100.4), and a sharp ethical division between sinners and the righteous (*I En.* 100.5, 7-9).

However, there is no trace in the Enochic books of a cosmic dualism in which two equal, or nearly equal, heavenly powers are opposed to each other. The nearest any of the authors comes to this is in the *Book of Watchers*, where two angelic leaders of the fallen angels are named, Shemihazah in one tradition and Asael in another (§2.2.5). But the superiority of God is undisputed. There is no battle between God and either of these angels, unless we think of the one-sided contest of the final judgment in which the fallen watchers are imprisoned in the fiery abyss for ever (*I En.* 10.13; §14.4.1). Indeed,

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the watchers are forthwith imprisoned after their fall to await the judgment and their ultimate condemnation (*I En.* 10.4-6, 11-13; 21.7-10).

These disobedient angels can be compared with those who acknowledge God's superiority by their ready obedience to him. Thus the four obedient archangels in the *Book of Watchers* implement the preliminary punishment of the fallen angels (*I En.* 9-10; §2.2.7). Also, according to the throne-vision, 'ten thousand times ten thousand' stand before God, presumably as servants, along with the cherubim. Yet because of God's greatness, no angel can enter his immediate presence (*I En.* 14.21-23; §2.2.3). God has no rival.

Similarly in the *Astronomical Book*, Uriel is an exemplary guide for Enoch, conducting himself 'as he was ordered by the Lord' (*I En.* 82.7). In addition, he is the angelic leader of the luminaries (*I En.* 72.1). It is the major thesis of the author that the 364-day calendar controlled by these heavenly bodies, which are under the jurisdiction of numerous angels (*I En.* 82.9-20), will continue in orderly fashion till the new creation (*I En.* 72.1). Some disobedient stars or angels receive a relatively minor mention (*I En.* 80.6), but although their rebellion has caused problems in relation to the synchronization of the true calendar with the seasons, the basic functioning of the cosmos apparently does not face any insurmountable problems. God is indisputably in control.

Nor in the *Book of Dreams* is there any trace of a true cosmic dualism. Asael and the others with him, together with the disobedient angels placed over the nations, are all condemned in the final judgment (§14.4.1). Moreover, it is God who actually gives the seventy shepherds their responsibilities, a further indication of his superiority. This is despite the fact that they disobey. By contrast, there are seven obedient archangels who assist Enoch so that he sees what is to befall the disobedient angels (*I En.* 87.2-3; 90.31), and the angelic scribe who records for God all the deeds of the angels who abuse Israel (§14.5.1). Angels who report on the sins of the wicked in the *Epistle of Enoch* likewise acknowledge the superiority of God over them by their obedience (§14.5.1), and at the judgment will do what God commands (*I En.* 102.3).

To sum up, the Enochic authors gave no place to any rival to God. Even though angels are very important in all four books considered, no angel ever challenges God to usurp his authority. Angelic

disobedience, according to our texts, is not directed against God in order to overthrow him. In the most developed case, that of the fallen watchers, the motivation appears to have been self-interest.

6.2. In the Qumran Literature

Various forms of dualism can be demonstrated in the Qumran literature, though the three identified in all four Enochic books studied are not always all present in any one document. This is partly explicable in terms of the subjects of the documents. For example, the *Sabbath Shirot* involve a spatial dualism between heaven and earth (§12.1.2) but no eschatological dualism, apart from a brief section which is probably about the eschatological war (4Q402 4 7-10; §12.6). Certain documents are also rather short, in some cases, due to damage. If we possessed more of 4Q180 for instance, we might find not only spatial and ethical dualism, but also an eschatological dualism involving the future judgment of Azazel and the angels associated with him (§13.5.2.1). In the longer documents, spatial, ethical and eschatological dualism, with various emphases, are to be found. The *War Scroll*, for example, shows a spatial dualism, with God acting from heaven on behalf of the sect on earth (1QM 12.1-2; §11.5.4). There is relatively little concern with explicit ethical issues, although they are no doubt presupposed in the categories of light and darkness (1QM 1.1; §§11.2.1; 14.3.2). Nevertheless, the lines are already drawn, for the author writes with the eschatological war about to begin, so it is not surprising to find relatively little ethical material. On the other hand, the whole framework of the *War Scroll* is dependent on an eschatological dualism, with the ages divided by the war.

These examples suffice to illustrate that forms of dualism like the spatial, ethical and eschatological varieties are to be found in the Qumran literature. These are consistent with Judaism deriving from the OT. However, as stated above, it is the possible presence of cosmic dualism that is of particular interest in considering the relationship of God to angels.

The *Two Spirits Discourse* in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3.13-4.26) has occasioned much discussion on this issue, since it involves mutually opposed angels, the Prince of Lights with whom are associated the sons of light, and the Angel of Darkness with whom are associated the sons of darkness and a contingent of other angels (1QS 3.20-21, 24-25; §8.2.2.1). Given the clear statement that God has

made all things and ordained their patterns (1QS 3.15-18), it was argued that the *Two Spirits Discourse* presupposes a cosmic dualism, but not one involving equally or nearly equally matched powers. Nor is the opposition to be described simply in terms of God and an evil angel. It is one step away from this, with two angels and their respective angelic cohorts arrayed against each other (§8.2.2.3). God's activity is a further and decisive factor in the scheme. The dualism of the *Discourse* is indeed a variety of cosmic dualism, but with God clearly unequalled. The *Discourse* also involves ethical and psychological aspects with which the two angelic groups are involved (§8.2.2.9). Eventually, those who live according to the evil spirit will be punished in the Pit (1QS 4.11-14), though the fate of the Angel of Darkness is not spelled out.

Elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community*, it was argued that Belial is an evil angel (1QS 1.18, 24; 2.5, 19) and equivalent to the Angel of Darkness in the *Two Spirits Discourse* (§8.3.1). However, the cosmic dualism in the *Rule of the Community* outside of the *Two Spirits Discourse* is much less evident. There is certainly no doubt though, that God is superior to Belial. He has already united the sect with the angels and the community sees itself as an 'everlasting plantation' (1QS 11.7-9; §8.3.2 and the note there on the phrase *עצבו הירק*).

Belial opposes the Prince of Lights in the *Damascus Covenant*, in a passage reminiscent of the *Two Spirits Discourse* (CD 5.17-19). Belial and the spirits under him (CD 12.2) are clearly subject to God. In CD 4.12-13, the passive voice is used of Belial who is let loose against Israel, presumably by God (§9.3.3). God is in control of everything.

In certain of the *Hodayot* it is quite clear that God has no equal rival, though Belial as an angel is again mentioned (1QH 3.28, 29, 32; §10.3.2; 1QH 5.39; 6.21; 7.3; §10.4.3). God's heavenly army will be victorious over Belial (1QH 3.34-36; §10.3.2). Wondrous mighty angels serve him (1QH 5.21; §10.4.4.1), as do the Angels of the Presence (1QH 6.13; §10.4.2), while no angelic being can compare with God (1QH 7.26-33; §10.6). God, in fact, made every spirit (1QH 1.8-9; §10.8). Similarly, God is the creator of all things and king of the angelic beings in the *Sabbath Shirot* (4Q402 3 ii 12; 4Q402 4 12; §12.5).

The *War Scroll* shows a similar form of cosmic dualism. The war involves both earthly and heavenly opponents (§11.5.4). Belial is the angelic leader of the forces of evil, assisted by his angels of

destruction (1QM 13.10-12), and opposed to Michael (1QM 17.6; §11.2.2.1) or the Prince of Light (1QM 13.10; §11.4.2), who has all spirits of truth in his dominion (1QM 13.10). While such cosmic dualism is in sharp focus in certain passages in the *War Scroll*, once again there is no question of an equality between God and any angel. As in the *Two Spirits Discourse*, God stands somewhat at a distance, being superior to both the good angelic leader and the evil one. Thus, Belial is a created being (1QM 13.10-12; §11.2.2.1) as, no doubt, are his angels of destruction (§11.2.2.2). God is sovereign (1QM 10.8-13; §11.3) and will subdue Belial (1QM 17.4-6; §11.2.2.1; cf. 1QM 1.15). God is also over the Prince of Light. He has been appointed by God from of old to assist the sect (1QM 13.10; §11.3). Finally, God has his appointed time for the war and a predetermined outcome, ideas expressed often (e.g. 1QM 18.9), and all is contained in the mysteries of God (§11.3).

In the *Midrash on Melchizedek*, the angel Melchizedek leads other angels against Belial and his spirits, according to our interpretation of this damaged text (11QMelch 2.11-14; §13.1.3). He executes the vengeance of God and brings in salvation for the people of his lot (11QMelch 2.6-9; §13.1.4). Melchizedek is apparently to be identified with Michael (§13.1.5). The overall scheme is thus analogous to that found in the *War Scroll*, which describes the same eschatological conflict in which Belial is defeated, although slightly different imagery is employed. Again, the dualism involves two angels, with God on the side of one and opposed to the other. It is God in the end who is the judge (11QMelch 2.11; §13.1.4).

4Q'Amram again presents two angels opposed to each other. The authority they have has been given to them and is not innate. Presumably, it is God who has bestowed it on them (§13.2.2). The relationships appear to be very similar to those just noted for Melchizedek, Belial and God. 4QCatena^a bears similarities to 11QMelch and the *War Scroll*, with God's angel helping the sect against Belial (4QCatena^a 12-13 i 7; §13.10). No form of cosmic dualism is implied in 4Q180. In 4QBer there are curses against Belial and his lot, but nothing there contributes to the present discussion. The *Sabbath Shirot* are consistent with the idea of God's superiority over all the angels, though the text deals only with good angels who serve in his presence. Finally, the *Rule of the Congregation* does not refer to evil angels, while the *Benedictions* mention only the obedient Angels of the Presence.

6.3. Comparison

In all of the material we have studied, whether Enochic or from the Qumran sectaries, there is never a cosmic dualism in which God stands opposite his equal or near-equal. In the various Enochic books such a possibility does not present itself. All angels are under God's authority, even those who have disobeyed. For them, there is certain divine retribution, which in several places is considered to have already commenced, by virtue of their imprisonment until the final judgment. Other angels are God's competent and obedient servants, involved in various ways in the operation of the cosmos.

The situation is somewhat different in the various Qumran writings which have two angelic figures in opposition to each other. Such dualism is presented in differing form in the *Rule of the Community*, the *Damascus Covenant*, the *War Scroll*, the *Midrash on Melchizedek*, 4Q'Amram, 4QCatena^a and 4Q280. But in every case it is clear that God is superior to such angels, so at most it is correct to speak of only a limited form of cosmic dualism. Moreover, such thought differs markedly from any alleged Iranian parallels in that Qumran thought involves God, along with two leading angels in conflict, and not simply a good being opposed to an evil one. Certain Qumran writings mention Belial without mentioning an angel opposed to him, but these never give any hint that God and Belial represent two deities in opposition to one another, in some form of absolute cosmic dualism.

7. Angels as Mediators

7.1. In the Enochic Books

7.1.1. *Intercession to God on Behalf of Humanity.* In the *Book of Watchers*, angels are occasionally cast in the role of intermediaries who intercede to God on behalf of human beings. Thus, in *I En.* 9.1-3, and possibly *I En.* 8.4, people pray, asking the angels to bring their cause before the Most High (*I En.* 9.4-11; §2.2.7). The fallen watchers ought to have petitioned on humanity's behalf, but instead, they have Enoch plead their cause (*I En.* 14.25-15.2; 16.2; §2.3). In the *Book of Dreams*, the recording angel pleads on behalf of suffering Israel (*I En.* 89.76), while *I En.* 104.1, in the *Epistle of Enoch*, has angels remembering the righteous before God. Such conceptions are connected with an emphasis in Second Temple Judaism on the relative inaccessibility of God to human beings (§2.1.2; 2.3.1). Thus, in the

four Enochic books studied, even the exceptional Enoch does not ever actually see God, though he does hear God's voice directly in his throne vision (*1 En.* 14.24–15.1). In general, angels are thought to bridge the gap between God and human beings. There is, however, one example of prayer made directly to God—the prayer of the 'sheep' in the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 89.15–17).

7.1.2. *Revelation Mediated by Angels.* The *Book of Watchers*, the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch* all involve the disclosure of information from God, through angels. Thus, in the *Epistle of Enoch*, Enoch receives information from the angels and presents it in testament form to his relatives (*1 En.* 93.1–2; §6.3.3.2).

The introduction of the *Book of Watchers* announces that what follows is what the angels showed Enoch (*1 En.* 1.2; §2.1.2). The mediation of hitherto undisclosed knowledge by an otherworldly being is an essential feature of the genre apocalypse (§§3.2; 3.4). *1 Enoch* 17–36 sees angels conduct Enoch on a tour in which he learns from them about natural phenomena, the imprisonment of the fallen watchers, the places in which the dead await the final judgment, and so on. The esoteric nature of this cosmological and eschatological information makes the assistance of angelic guides essential (§3.4), and they answer his questions and ensure that he understands (e.g. *1 En.* 27.1–4). No other human, only Enoch, sees these things (*1 En.* 17.6; 19.3). There is a striking contrast between the revelation conveyed to Enoch and that given illegitimately by Asael and his associates to humankind in general. These angels apparently had access to heavenly secrets which should not have been divulged to humans (§2.3.3). Through the legitimate revelation entrusted to Enoch, the readers are given reason for confidence about the orderly structure and future of the whole cosmos. The range of topics on which Enoch is given information is extremely broad (§3.2.2). Nothing is left to chance, with the judgment of the fallen angels and sinners certain, the righteous dead cared for in a special place, and full provision made for the future life of the righteous in Paradise (§3.3).

In the *Astronomical Book*, revelation concerns calendrical matters. The true calendar of 364 days is revealed to Enoch by Uriel (*1 En.* 72.1; 74.2; etc; §4.4.1). A polemical tone is found in the *Astronomical Book* (as it is known in the Ethiopic version), non-compliance with

the calendar being seen as sin (§4.3.2). This highlights the importance of Uriel's revelation. The author seeks to authenticate his calendar by showing it to have been disclosed from heaven.

The *Book of Dreams* has Enoch taken up to a vantage point by seven archangels so he can observe what is to be revealed to him (*1 En.* 87.2–4; cf. 90.31; §5.1). Although the narrative is presented as a vision, there is still the basic idea of revelation through angelic mediation. The angelic guides who appear at two points in the story are clearly fundamental to it (*1 En.* 87.2–3; 90.31; §5.4.2.2). An angel also informs Noah of the impending Deluge (*1 En.* 89.1; §5.4.2.2).

7.2. In the Qumran Literature

In the Qumran literature considered, there is only one possible case of revelation that involves an angelic mediator: the description of the New Jerusalem. However, at most, this is to be considered a borderline case for inclusion in the list of Qumran sectarian writings, and probably does not belong with them (§13.6). Nor have we found examples of angelic mediation in bringing people's prayers to God. People are never said to pray to angels in the Qumran literature.

One designation for angels can, however, be mentioned. In 1QH 18.23, angels are 'the host of knowledge' that recounts truths to humans. Three suggestions for understanding this were made (§10.7). Perhaps the angels were somehow involved in revelation when the community was assembled, an idea to be related to the community's sense that it shared fellowship with the angels. Or perhaps the reference is to revelation made earlier through angels, as described in writings such as the Enochic books, and which had presented information such as the nature of the true calendar. Or perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness or other sectarian teachers of the past were thought to have been given insight by angels.

In the *Sabbath Shirot*, the angels are thought to possess great knowledge, and as priests have a teaching role. It is likely that the leading angels teach other angels, in a way analogous to the teaching function of the priests among the community on earth. If this is so, they are scarcely bringing revelation to human beings (4Q403 1 ii 35; §12.3.2).

7.3. Comparison

The differences between the Enochic and the Qumran literature in relation to angels as mediators is striking. Prayer in the Qumran literature is made directly to God, quite in the style of the OT (e.g. 1QS 10.11-17; 11.15-22; 1QM 10.1-12.15; 13.7-16; 18.6-13 and the *Hodayot* generally). The *Hodayot* are noteworthy for their intimate style, most beginning, 'I give thee thanks, O Adonai' (e.g. 1QH 2.31), and a few, 'Blessed be thou, O Adonai' (e.g. 1QH 10.14). This practice of direct address to God is counter to any suggestion that God was thought to be so transcendent that he could only be approached through angelic mediation. It indicates that ideas of the sect's association with angels are not to be understood in such terms.¹ It should not be thought that the importance of angels to the sect merely indicates a sense of isolation from God, with angels substituting for his presence with them. Admittedly, this was characteristic of Second Temple Judaism, and the sect no doubt was influenced by such an outlook. Nevertheless, the sectarian writers were acutely aware of the nearness of the heavenly world, and thought that the sect stood in a uniquely close relationship to God. An expression of this sense of closeness to God is the way they considered themselves to be in fellowship with the angels. By contrast, angels have a role in the Enochic writings as intermediaries when people pray. Only Enoch has direct dealings with God (*I En.* 14.24-25; cf. 19.3). Such thought presupposes that God is perceived to be much more removed from humans than in the Qumran understanding.

The idea of revelation is also very different in the Enochic books compared to that encountered in the Qumran literature. At Qumran, the emphasis concerning God's revelation fell first of all on the OT. The sect kept the Law meticulously according to the sectarian interpretation (1QS 9.9-10; CD 4.7-8), and a group of ten had to have one of its number studying the Law continuously. Moreover, the members in general spent one night in three in its study (1QS 6.6-8). Of course, the sect followed special interpretations, and in their view the interpreter *par excellence* was the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God had made clear the references concerning the time in which the sect lived, and the time of the imminent divine intervention (1QpHab 7.4-5).

1. Cf. below, §14.10.2, and the treatment of 1QM 7.6 by Davies, *War Scroll*, p. 42, discussed above, §11.5.3, and the final note of that section.

14. Comparisons and Conclusions

OT statements were frequently interpreted as having their fullest meaning in relation to the sect, rather than in relation to the circumstances of the original author.¹ There is no evidence that angels were involved in this process of interpretation, unless it is implied by 1QH 18.23 (§10.7).

By contrast, the Enochic writings lack any explicit OT citations that are interpreted and applied by the authors. This is not to say that the authors did not utilize the OT or were unfamiliar with it. On the contrary, the OT influenced them greatly. For example, it provides the background and some of the terminology for the introduction of the *Book of Watchers* (*I En.* 1.1-9; §2.1), Ezekiel's vision forms the basis of the throne vision of *I Enoch* 14 (§2.3.2) and the myth of the fallen angels depends on Gen. 6.1-4 (§2.2.3). There are also many historical allusions, the most extended being the *Second Dream-Vision*, which recounts Israel's history (*I En.* 85-90; §5.2). Yet despite the extensive influence of OT thought on the Enochic authors, they really only used the OT as general background to assist in the communication of the new revelation. It is this revelation which was mediated to Enoch by the angels.

The issue can be summarized as follows. Both the Qumran and the Enochic writers held to ideas of continuing revelation in their own day. The OT was an important source book for all of them,² but they used it differently. For the authors of the Enochic books, the new revelation came from God, and was mediated by angels and communicated to the seer whom they called Enoch. By contrast, the Qumran writers saw new and relevant revelation as deriving from the old revelation more directly, mediated through the agency of sectarian interpreters, especially the Teacher of Righteousness. The sectarian *pesharim* brought out the true meaning of the OT for the sect in the end times.

1. For a brief comparison of the means by which revelation was thought to be received at Qumran, compared to the ideas in the apocalypses, see J. Duhaime, 'La Règle de la Guerre de Qumrán et l'apocalyptique', *Science et Esprit* 36 (1984), pp. 82-84.

2. This applies least to the author of the *Astronomical Book*.

8. Further Cosmic Functions of Angels in the Enochic Books

This chapter has already considered a number of functions of angels in the operation of the cosmos. In addition, they have several other related responsibilities, according to the Enochic traditions. *I Enoch* 20 preserves a formal list of seven archangels and each has a particular realm of responsibility (§3.4), such as the care of thunder and earthquakes (Uriel), the blessings of Israel (Michael), Paradise (Gabriel) and the luminaries (Raguel). In *I En.* 18.4-5, angels are possibly associated with the winds. In the *Astronomical Book*, it is Uriel who is in charge of all the luminaries (*I En.* 72.1), and the result is that all their movements, and with them the 364-day calendar, are perfectly co-ordinated (*I En.* 75.3). *I En.* 82.7-20 supplies a list of various angels who are over the stars. They are assigned in such a way that the calendar is established till eternity (*I En.* 72.1), with its seasons, months, epagomenal days and so on (§4.4.2). For the authors of these passages, the worlds of nature and humanity are controlled by God through the angels. A similar idea appears in the *Book of Dreams* with the seventy angels, each of whom has authority during seventy periods of history from the Babylonian captivity till the eschaton (§5.4.2.5).

All of these angels who serve by assisting in the operation of the cosmos can be called ministering angels. In the *Book of Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, their presence serves to guarantee to the reader the orderliness of the cosmos in a troubled world. God is really in control as he mediates his will through his personal agents. Such a view was common in the Judaism of our period.¹ Interestingly, the authors of the published Qumran literature do not write of such matters, with one exception. Angels are associated with the natural world in IQH 1.8-11 (§10.8). No doubt the sectaries in general were aware of such beliefs from OT passages such as Psalm 104, but their interests were different from those of the Enochic writers. The Qumran sect was concerned with its identity as God's people, his remnant awaiting the imminent end of Belial's dominion. Consequently, the author of the *War Scroll* writes of Michael as the special angel over the sect (1QM 13.10; 17.6). Over all other nations is the one evil

1. Moore, *Judaism*, I, pp. 403-10.

angel, Belial, together with his helpers. Such an outlook does have a certain similarity to the ideas found in the *Book of Dreams*.

9. Angels and the Throne of God

9.1. In the Enochic Books

The *Book of Watchers* incorporates the vision in which Enoch saw the throne of God (*I En.* 14.8-25) in the tradition of Ezekiel 1 and 10 (§2.3.2). The vision concentrates on the splendid surroundings of God's throne, and on the throne itself. God himself is clothed in extremely bright garments, whiter than snow (*I En.* 14.20), though there is no reflection on God's nature in the style of later merkabah mysticism.¹ God is attended by 'ten thousand times ten thousand' (*I En.* 14.22; cf. Dan. 7.10), angels whose function is not specified. Although these angels are continually near him (*I En.* 14.23), they cannot enter the actual place where God is to see him (*I En.* 14.21). Cherubim (*I En.* 14.11, 18) are described as fiery beings, but here they are not associated with the movement of the divine throne as in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 1.15, 19; 10.15). Their role may be protection (§2.3.2).

The function of the throne-vision in the narrative of the *Book of Watchers* is to enhance the authority of Enoch's message about certain judgment on the fallen angels, as detailed in the surrounding chapters (§2.3.2). Finally, it is to be noted that only Enoch has the privilege of this vision directly. Other humans must be content to hear about it. God, his throne and the attendant angels are removed far above the world of humanity.

9.2. In the Qumran Literature

The *Sabbath Shirot* contain descriptions relating to the Sabbath praise offered by the angels in heaven. The calendar used is the 364-day solar calendar, known also in the *Astronomical Book* and in *Jubilees* (§§8.2.2.2; 12.1.2). Heaven is conceived as a complex temple, apparently with seven sanctuaries in which seven angelic priesthods serve, each led by a chief prince and his deputy. 4Q405 20-21-22 6-14 deals with the divine chariot-throne and the praise associated with the

1. Cf. G.G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 3rd edn, 1954), pp. 40-79.

scene is the dominant emphasis. Cherubim play an important part. In its description of the movement of the divine throne, the whole passage stands much closer to Ezekiel's descriptions than does *I En.* 14.8-25. The scene is one of constant activity till all eventually falls silent. Such an account is consistent with the *Sabbath Shirot's* preoccupation with the heavenly worship. The *Sabbath Shirot* appear to have facilitated the sect's sense of unity with the angels as it worshipped God on earth, in parallel with the worship of the angels around God's throne (§12.1.2). The use of the same calendar both on earth (by the sect) and in heaven (by the angels) is consistent with this sense of oneness. The angelic priests who serve so close to God's throne are charged to bless, though it is not clear whether they bless other angelic worshippers, the sectaries on earth, or both. This very ambiguity may have served to strengthen the sect's belief that it was associated with the angels (§12.3.3).

9.3. Comparison

The throne-vision of *I Enoch* 14 is experienced by Enoch, but is not available to others. It serves to enhance his authority and to authenticate the revelation he delivers. In the end, God is remote, and even angels cannot look on his face. By contrast, the *Sabbath Shirot* have a different emphasis, presupposing a close association between the sect and the angels of God's presence, for both groups worship God in parallel. Furthermore, it is likely that the heavenly servants of God are called upon to bless his earthly servants.

10. The Association of the Righteous and Angels

10.1. In the Enochic Books

As observed in the discussion about the mediation of revelation, Enoch himself is closely associated with various angels (§14.7.1). This is true in each of the four books considered. Others do not have such involvement with the angelic world. Angels properly belong to the heavenly realm. It was sin for Shemihazah and his followers to associate in marriage with the 'daughters of men' (*I En.* 15.1-7), and for Asael and his band to divulge heavenly secrets on earth (*I En.* 9.6).

Nor do the *Book of Watchers*, the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of Dreams* anticipate an association with angels as part of life in the eschaton. In these books there are two outstanding features of the

eschatological hope. One is the expectation of final judgment.¹ The other is the hope of future blessing which is described in a variety of ways, but in general appears to anticipate a better life on a renewed earth.² But such an existence is not described in terms of co-existence with angels.

The *Epistle of Enoch* also anticipates a future judgment, both in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*I En.* 91.14-15; §6.2.2) and in the *Epistle proper* (e.g. *I En.* 100.4, 7-13; 102.3; §6.3.3.4). Concerning future hope, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* envisages a new creation with endless existence, apparently on a new earth (§6.2.2). This existence may include the righteous dead (*I En.* 91.16-17).³

The *Epistle of Enoch* in one place clearly anticipates a heavenly existence for the righteous (*I En.* 104.1-6; §6.3.3.5). The doors of heaven will be open to them, they will have joy as the angels in heaven and will be 'companions of the angels'. *I En.* 103.4 probably expresses the same belief. This will be realized in the future, but sinners can expect the final judgment (*I En.* 104.7).

10.2. In the Qumran Literature

Various sectarian authors write of blessing in the future, but this appears to have been expected to take place on earth, not in heaven. For example, the *Two Spirits Discourse* looks to God's visitation or intervention in blessing and judgment at the end of the present period (*IQS* 4.6-8). At God's appointed and decisive time, all perversity will be eliminated and the sect will live on the renewed earth (*IQS* 4.18-19, 25; §8.2.2.5). *IQS* 11.8-9 speaks of the continuity of the community like an eternal plantation for all coming ages, again apparently on earth (§8.3.2., and the note on עַרְוָה in that section). *CD* 3.20-21 anticipates all the glory of Adam for the sect, a kind of restoration to humanity's original condition, and again presumably on earth (§9.3.3). A similar conception is found in the *War Scroll*

1. E.g. the *Book of Watchers*: *I En.* 1.9; 10.12-14; 22.11, 14; 27.1-3; the *Astronomical Book*: *I En.* 80.8; 81.4; the *Book of Dreams*: *I En.* 84.4; 90.20-26.

2. E.g. the *Book of Watchers*: *I En.* 5.6-9; 10.16-11.2 (§§2.2.4; 2.2.7); *I En.* 23-25 (§3.2.1) the *Astronomical Book*: *I En.* 72.1; the *Book of Dreams*: *I En.* 90.28-38 (§5.4.2.5) and the Noah fragment (§6.3.3.1).

3. See Black, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 294-95, for a discussion of these verses. The *Book of Watchers* also suggests that some sort of future awaits the righteous dead, in that their spirits are kept in a prompty separate from those of others (*I En.* 22.9).

(1QM 1.8-9; §11.1.2), while 1QM 17.7-8 anticipates the rule of the sect over all people (§11.4.2). 1QSb 5.23-28 probably conveys similar ideas (§13.8.2). 11QMelch does not give any idea of a heavenly salvation either, but rather speaks of a judgment on the forces of evil (§13.1.4). The continuity of the community is assumed in 1QH 7.29-31 (§10.5.2), while the eschatological battle which cleanses the earth of perversity is described in 1QH 3.26-36 (§10.3.3). The various documents are consistent in that a future in heaven is never clearly described, though the idea of a resurrection of deceased sectaries is perhaps envisaged in a passage like 1QH 3.19-23. However, it is not explicitly expressed (§10.3.3).

Thus, with such expectations about the nature of the future blessings, there are no statements that ultimately the sectaries will be associated with angels in heaven. However, several passages speak of the sect's fellowship with the angels already. It was argued that according to 1QS 11.5-9, the community had already been united with the angels and corresponded on earth to the angelic cultus in heaven (§8.3.2). For the community, the blessings of the coming age had begun and would continue to 'every age that is to be' (1QH 11.8-9). Similarly, the author of 1QH 3.21-23 has already experienced eschatological deliverance, described as having been raised to an eternal height. Already he is 'stationed in rank with the host of holy ones' (1QH 3.21-22; §10.4.2). In 1QH 11.13, the author stands with the everlasting host already, just as he has already been cleansed and given understanding (1QH 11.10-11). Also, according to 4Q181 1.3-6, the sectaries have drawn near to God and are in the lot of the angels (§13.5.2.2).

This same belief finds expression in the *Damascus Covenant* (CD 15.15-17 with 4QDa; §9.3.4) and the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 2.8-9; §13.7.2), both of which exclude certain persons having specific impediments, because the holy angels are with the community. As a priestly community serving the holy God and in communion with the angels, the purity of the group had to be maintained. In the *War Scroll*, the holy angels are mustered with the army of the sect, and bodily defects exclude certain persons from participating in the war (1QM 7.3-7; §11.5.3). Various passages in the *War Scroll* have human beings and angels involved in the conflict, both on the side of Belial and of his angels (1QM 1.1; 4.2; 16.9; 18.1-3; §11.2.2.2-3), and on God's side (1QM 1.10-11; 12.7-9; 15.13-15; §11.5.2).

The *Sabbath Shirot*, with the correspondence between the sectarian worship on earth and angelic worship in heaven, provide yet another expression of the same sort of idea (§§12.1.2; 12.3.3). In similar fashion, the *Benedictions* express the desire that the priests of the sect might serve God as do the Angels of the Presence, and decree fate in their company (1QSb 4.24-26; §13.8.2). This is consistent with the way the sect thought of itself as a temple for the worship of God (§8.3.2).

Thus, we can speak of a partially realized or inaugurated eschatology in relation to the idea of the present association of the sectaries with the angels. Further blessings are expected in the future, when evil will have been eliminated from the world. However, there is no further development of the concept of fellowship with angels expressed as expectation of life in heaven in the future. Fellowship with the angels has already been realized.

10.3. Comparison

Three different kinds of future expectations have been identified. In the *Book of Watchers*, the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of Dreams* a future, heavenly assize is anticipated, when justice will be done. So the afflicted righteous can take heart in the present. A blessed life on earth lies ahead. Angels are not involved in this future.

In the *Epistle of Enoch*, a heavenly existence appears to be expected, one in which the righteous will be companions of the angels. In this case, as in the other Enochic writings that have been studied, all must wait till the final judgment ushers in the future age.

The Qumran literature in general also anticipates future blessing to be experienced on earth, but it will be preceded by the eschatological conflict in which the sect will be assisted by the angels, according to the *War Scroll*. Nevertheless, the eschatological blessings have already been inaugurated. The community already serves God in partnership with the angels. An important difference from the Enochic writings is that this fellowship with angels is not restricted to a single seer. The whole community is continually in one lot with them.¹

1. This section has concentrated on the association of the righteous with angels. There are also many examples in the various texts of the association of other people with angels too. E.g. in the *Book of Watchers*, the fallen angels associate with humankind in marriage and in teaching them (§14.3.1). In the Qumran literature, Belial

11. Concluding Comparative Remarks

It is clear that there are important unifying factors which can be identified throughout the four Enochic books taken collectively. These include the role of Enoch, the importance of revelation by angels to the seer, the motif of a final judgment, and so on. This is despite the numerous points of difference we have observed within the corpus. There are differences even within the one book, as in the case of the two versions of the angelic fall in the *Book of Watchers*. Nevertheless, there is a unity of content and character that is much greater than the sum of the discrepancies.

The same is true of the Qumran sectarian writings. Again there are differences from document to document, as seen in the tension between determinism and individual responsibility, or in the various names for the two leading angels. Yet once more, the similarities are consistent with the view that the various documents come from the one socio-religious group. The results of our investigation thus justify the initial decision to compare the books represented in *Ethiopic Enoch* as a whole (excluding the *Parables*) with the Qumran literature.

But why were these four books of interest to the Qumran community in the first place? Several reasons can be suggested. Both the Enochic books and the Qumran literature presuppose Jewish monotheism, with considerable dependence on both the ideas and language of the OT. Both derive from the same general social and religious milieu of Second Temple Judaism. Furthermore, to some extent they both share the perspectives of what might be termed 'sect mentality', the idea that the writers and their circle constitute an in-group in contrast to those on the outside who neither have the truth nor enjoy God's favour.¹ Both also look to the future intervention of God to reverse present injustice and bless his people. Of further interest is the fact that the

and the spirits of his lot are involved with human combatants in the eschatological war (§14.4.2.2). Angels are also influential in people's behaviour when they sin (§14.3.2).

1. This is much more so in the case of the Qumran community. However, the esoteric revelation contained in the Enochic books would undoubtedly have reinforced a sectarian outlook in the sociological milieu in which they were produced. Cf. VanderKam, '364-Day Calendar', pp. 157-65.

solar calendar proposed in the *Astronomical Book* was the one used in the Qumran community.

Yet despite the importance of such similarities, there are considerable differences which have come into focus in our study concerning angels. For example, the Qumran literature involves a type of cosmic dualism, with God and Michael on one side and Belial on the other. The forces of evil appear to be led by the one angel, even though he has several names. Furthermore, an eschatological battle will see Belial and his forces, both human and angelic, defeated once and for all. Then, at least according to some of the documents, a messianic age will commence.

By contrast, the term 'cosmic dualism' is inappropriate to the thought of the Enochic books. There are, indeed, angelic leaders of evil, but they are promptly incarcerated after they fall, to await their condemnation at the final judgment. In the Qumran literature, Belial is fully active till the end-time appointed by God.

The fact that the Enochic traditions look to a final judgment which is not imminent, though certain, also contrasts with the outlook in the Qumran literature. The Qumran community thought of an inaugurated eschatology, seeing itself as already in fellowship with the angels prior to the end of the age in which it lived.

Both groups of literature involve angels in their understanding about why there is evil in the world. Yet again, there are striking differences. To generalize, the predominant Enochic tradition thinks of angelic disobedience as the cause, while the Qumran writers see Belial as responsible. He has been created evil by God, according to certain texts.

Finally, there are fundamental differences in the way the two groups of writings conceive of how God's secrets are revealed to human beings. In all four Enochic books, new revelation concerning a considerable range of matters is said to be mediated by angels to the seer Enoch. It is true that OT language and ideas are often used, as in the myth of the fallen angels, which is an expository narrative based in a general way on Gen. 6.1-4. However, the situation is quite different with the Qumran literature. For the Qumran community, the central issue was the authoritative interpretation of the Law and the prophets, according to the characteristic style of the Qumran *pesharim*. OT texts are often quoted and given specifically sectarian interpretation. The OT text itself is not handled in this way by Enochic authors.

The suggestion was made in Chapter 1 (§1.2) that this investigation might evince some data which would support the initial assumption, that the Enochic writings in Aramaic were not the products of Qumran sectaries. The significant differences that have emerged support this working hypothesis, that the Qumran sectaries themselves were not the authors of the books attributed to Enoch.

Furthermore, we might also speculate that it was because of such major differences in outlook that the Enochic books became of lessened interest to the Qumran community as time went on, if indeed Milik's suggestion that this happened is correct.¹ Initially they may have been of some importance to the newly formed sect, because of such things as the 364-day calendar proposed by the Enochic astronomical writings and the hope expressed for the righteous. Perhaps once the calendar had become well established within the life of the sect, the need to appeal to the *Astronomical Book* may have correspondingly diminished. Similarly, as the sect produced its own writings with their distinctive eschatology, the rather different Enochic traditions might have grown less significant for a community in which priestly traditions were of such importance. All of this, however, must remain as speculation with some plausibility.

12. Issues for Further Investigation

One value of the present study lies in its relatively narrow focus. It has been restricted to four Enochic books and to writings thought to derive from the Qumran sectaries. This has kept us from ranging too widely in a great variety of literature, and from generalizing from documents of widely different character and provenance. Yet, to some extent this strength has constituted a weakness as well, for our study has lacked a broader context in which to consider the findings. This prompts some brief observations concerning other areas for further research, in order to provide a more rounded picture of the angelology of the Jewish and early Christian world.²

1. See above, §1.7.

2. My field of interest is placed in a wider setting by A.F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA, 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977). Segal traces the heresy opposed by the Jewish rabbis, the 'two powers in heaven' theme, back from the early rabbinic literature, in an effort to identify what particular group or groups might have been referred to. One of his

For example, it would prove profitable to consider the angelology of the canonical book of Daniel in relation to those of the Enochic and other related books from the period of Second Temple Judaism. Such a study would throw light on the question of whether the angelology of Daniel is more akin to that of the rest of the OT, or whether it is more like that of the Enochic books studied here. A similar investigation could be undertaken in relation to the Qumran literature.

The present study has not been concerned with the *Parables of Enoch*. An urgent task is a thorough consideration of the angelology of *1 Enoch* 37-71. It is possible that new understandings of the relationships of its traditions to those found in the rest of *Ethiopic Enoch* would emerge. This, in turn, might throw some further light on the vexed question of the date of composition of the *Parables*. It also appears likely that valuable results would be achieved from a comparative study of the angelology of the NT, the Qumran literature and *1 Enoch*. Would it prove to be the case that contrasting elements uncovered in our research might be found side by side in the NT? And what of the early Church Fathers? Have their understandings about angels and their roles been shaped just by the NT writers, or have emphases from elsewhere also had their influence? Moreover, the early rabbinic writings invite study. Such investigations will demand painstaking research, but they promise their rewards, for as we have seen in the present study, the ideas of the writers are in part laid bare when their ideas about angels are considered.

conclusions is that early targets charged with holding to 'two-powers' theology were 'apocalyptic or mystical groups who posited a primary angelic helper for God' (p. 262). He sees a second power opposed to God as a later development in the history of the two powers tradition. He does not, however, deal in any detail with Belial, the evil angelic figure so prominent in the Qumran literature we have studied. For his treatment of Jewish sectarian texts, see pp. 182-219.

Appendix A

THE FOUR ARCHANGELS IN *I ENOCH* 9.1

There is considerable confusion concerning the names of the four archangels.¹

For *I En.* 9.1, variants include:

G	Sync	Ryl
Μιχαήλ	Μιχαήλ	<i>Mikā'el</i>
Οὐ[ρ]ιήλ	Οὐριήλ	<i>Gabre'el</i>
Ῥαφαήλ	Ῥαφαήλ	<i>Sureyāl</i>
Γαβριήλ	Γαβριήλ	<i>'Ureyān</i>

Variant Ethiopic Readings:

Mikā'el absent

Some variants include *Rufā'el*.

The order of the names also varies.

Gabre'el

Sureyāl (some MSS, *Sureyān*)

Sure'el and *'Ure'el* are spelling variants.

'Ureyāl (some MSS, *'Ureyān*)

Two Aramaic fragments preserve part of *I En.* 1.9:

4QEn^a 1 iv 6-7 (*I En.* 9.1)

מִכָּאֵל
[. . .]
רַפָּאֵל
[. . .]

4QEn^b 1 iii 7 (*I En.* 9.1)

מִכָּאֵל
[ש]רַיָּאֵל
[. . .]
[ג]בְּרִיָּאֵל

From the Aramaic evidence the original list was apparently 'Michael', 'Sariel', 'Raphael' and 'Gabriel'. 'Sariel' is preserved in the Aramaic fragments only here in 4QEn^b, but the Ethiopic manuscripts come close with 'Suryal'.² In the Gizeh Papyrus, Syncellus and most of the Ethiopic manuscripts, 'Uriel' has replaced 'Sariel'. Black thinks that these variations will have arisen due to Ethiopic traditions, but he does not offer any suggestion regarding the nature of such traditions.³

1. See Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, pp. 23-25; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, I, pp. 22-23, 29-33; II, pp. 84-89; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 157-59, 170-73.

2. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 129: 'In the occurrence of "Suryal", the oldest of all the traditions has been faithfully preserved'.

3. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 129.

Variants for *I En.* 10.1 include:

G	Sync	Ryl	Ethiopic Variants
Ἰσραήλ	Οὐριήλ	'Arayalālyur	'Asarya Leyēr 'Asuryē Ulyēr 'Asarēyē Labyēr 'Asrē ēlyēr 'Asreyēlyēl 'Asreyāl

Syncellus alone uses a name found in the list of ch. 9.1, that of Uriel. Since 'Uriel' appears to have replaced 'Sariel', Black is no doubt correct to include 'Sariel' in his translation.¹ Milik suggests that the Ethiopic variants and the Gizeh Papyrus reading represent some sort of conflation of 'Israel', 'Sariel' and 'Uriel'.² In *I En.* 10.4, 'Raphael' is well-attested, as are 'Gabriel' in 10.9 and 'Michael' in 10.11. Finally, in the *Book of Parables (I En.* 40.9; 54.6; 71.8, 9, 13) 'Phanuel' (*Fānu'ēl*) is the name of the fourth archangel while 'Sariel' is missing (40.9).³

The group of four archangels, Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel, are called by Syncellus (*I En.* 9.1) οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι. The same list occurs in 1QM 9.14-16, where the shields of the towers are to be inscribed with these four names.⁴ Elsewhere in the Qumran literature, in the Sabbath Shirot, the tradition of seven leading angels is utilized, although there are not only seven chief angelic priests, but seven deputies also.⁵ The *Book of Watchers* also has seven archangels (*I En.* 20).⁶

1. *Book of Enoch*, p. 30.
2. *Books of Enoch*, p. 172.
3. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, p. 201.
4. See above, §11.5.1. Yadin (*Scroll of the War*, p. 238) gives relevant references in other Jewish literature.
5. See above, §12.3.1-2.
6. See above, §3.4.

Appendix B

TERMINOLOGY IN THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

This appendix tabulates the designations used for angels in the four Enochic books considered in this investigation. The following points should be noted:

1. Restorations are not generally included in the table unless more than half of the word concerned is visible in the text.
2. Ethiopic designations are based on the text published in Knibb, *Ethiopic Book*, namely, Rylands Ethiopic Ms 23. English translations of the various Ethiopic expressions will be found in the first column of the table, and the expressions are listed alphabetically according to these translations.
3. Greek designations are based on the text published in Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*.
4. Aramaic designations are based on the Qumran fragments as published in Milik, *Books of Enoch*.
5. The various divisions in the Enochic books are distinguished by *BW (Book of Watchers)*; *AB (Astronomical Book)*; *BD (Book of Dreams)*; and *EE (Epistle of Enoch)*.
6. Aramaic references are given in a simplified way. E.g. a 1 i 3 signifies 4QEn^a 1 i 3. The corresponding reference in *Ethiopic Enoch* is listed before the Aramaic reference, thus: 1.2 (^a 1 i 3). For fragments from the astronomical material, astr is used for 4QEnastr.
7. '?' before a reference indicates that there is some doubt as to whether the expression there actually refers to angels.
8. The numerous and diverse proper names of angels found in this literature have not been included in the table. For purposes of comparison with the names of the archangels as found in the Qumran literature, see Appendix C. Appendix A considers *I En.* 9.1 and the names 'Michael', 'Gabriel', 'Sariel' and 'Raphael'. Names occurring in the Qumran literature, like 'Melchizedek' and 'Melchiresha', are absent from the Enochic texts.
9. For terminology which occurs in both the singular and the plural, usually only the more frequently occurring form is listed in the English, Greek and Aramaic columns, but all references are cited.

ETHIOPIC ENOCH

angels	<i>malā'ekt</i>	BW: 1.2; 6.2, 8; 10.7; 14.21; 18.5, 14; 19.1; 21.10; 22.6; 33.3; 36.4 AB: 75.3 EE: 91.15; 97.2; 99.3; 100.4, 10; 102.3; 104.1; 106.6, 7; 108.7
angel, great	<i>mal'ak 'ābiy</i>	AB: 79.6
angels, holy	<i>malā'ekt qeddusān</i>	BW: 20.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 21.5, 9; 22.3; 23.4; 27.2; 32.6 AB: 72.1; 74.2 EE: 93.2; 100.5
angels, holy and honoured angels of heaven	<i>malā'ekt qeddusān wakeburān</i> <i>malā'ekta samāy</i>	BW: 24.6 BW: 19.2 EE: 104.4; 106.5, 12
angels of your (God's) heaven	<i>malā'ekta samāyātika</i>	BD: 84.4
cherubim	<i>kirubēl</i>	BW: 14.11, 18; 20.7
heads	<i>'ar'est</i>	AB: 80.6; 82.11, 12, 17, 20
holy ones	<i>qeddusān</i>	BW: 1.9; 12.2; 14.23 AB: 81.5 EE: 93.6; 103.2; 106.19; 108.3 BW: 9.3
holy ones of heaven	<i>qeddusāna samāy</i>	
holy ones of the angels who draw near to him (God)		
host		BW: 1.4
host of heaven	<i>hara samāy</i>	EE: 104.6
host of heaven	<i>xāyla samāy</i>	BW: 18.14
leader, leaders	<i>mal'ak/malā'ekt</i>	BW: 6.3, 7
leader	<i>xābay</i>	BW: 6.8
leader, leaders	<i>marāxi</i>	AB: 72.1, 3; 74.2; 75.1; 79.6; 82.11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20 BD: 90.14; cf. 17.1 and 87.2 EE: 93.6
man	<i>be'si</i>	
righteous ones	<i>šādeqān</i>	EE: 93.6
shepherds	<i>nolāweyān</i>	BD: 89.59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76; 90.1, 3, 5, 13, 14, 17, 22, 25
some from heaven's height	<i>'emmal'elta samāy</i>	EE: 106.13
sons of heaven	<i>weluda samāy/samāyāt</i>	BW: 6.2; 13.8; 14.3
spirits, holy, that live for ever	<i>manfasāweyān</i> <i>qeddusān heyāwāna</i> <i>heywat zala'ālam</i>	BW: 15.4; cf. 15.6

GREEK ENOCH

ARAMAIC ENOCH

<i>ἄγγελοι</i>	BW: 6.2; 10.7; 14.4, 21; 18.14; 19.1, 2; 21.10; 22.6 EE: 99.3; 100.4; 102.3; 104.1; 106.6		
cf. ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων	BW: 20.1		
<i>ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι</i>	BW: 20.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 21.5, 9; 22.3; 24.6; 32.6		
<i>ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</i>	EE: 106.5		
<i>χερουβὶν</i>	BW: 14.11, 18; 20.7		
<i>ἄγιοι</i>	BW: 1.2, 9; 12.2; 14.25	𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤏	AB: 82.11 (astr ^b 28 3)
<i>οἱ ἄγιοι τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ ἐγγίζοντες αὐτῷ</i>	BW: 14.23	𐤀𐤌𐤁𐤏	BW: 1.2 (* 1 i 3); 1.9 (* 1 i 15) EE: 106.19 (* 5 ii 26)
cf. δυνάμεις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	BW: 18.14		
<i>ἄρχων</i>	BW: 6.3, 7, 8		
<i>υἱοὶ (τοῦ) οὐρανοῦ</i>	BW: 6.2; 13.8; 14.3	𐤁𐤏𐤏	BW: 6.8 (* 1 iii 13; b 1 ii 17a); 7.1 (* 1 iii 13)
<i>(ἄγιοι καὶ) πνεύματα ἕκοντα αἰώνια</i>	BW: 15.4, 6		

ETHIOPIC ENOCH

spirits of heaven	<i>manāfesta samāy</i>	BW: 15.10
spiritual ones	<i>manfasāweyān</i>	BW: 15.7; cf. 18.3
star, stars	<i>kokab/kewākebt</i>	BW: ?18.15; ?21.6 BD: 86.1, 3; 88.3; 90.21, 24
stars of heaven	<i>kewākebta samāy</i>	BW: ?18.14; ?21.3
ten thousand times ten thousand	<i>te'lefīta te'lefīt</i>	BW: 14.22; cf. 1.9
watchers	<i>teguhān</i>	BW: 1.5; 10.7, 9, 15; 12.2, 3; 14.3; 16.1, 2 EE: 91.15
watchers, everlasting	<i>teguhān em'ālam</i>	BW: 14.1
watchers, holy	<i>qeddusān teguhān</i>	BW: 15.9
watchers of heaven	<i>teguhāna samāy</i>	BW: 12.4; 13.10; 15.2
white ones	<i>da'ādew</i>	EE 90.21

GREEK ENOCH

ARAMAIC ENOCH

πνεύματα (του) ούρανοῦ	BW: 15.7, 10		
ἀστέρες	BW: ?18.14, 15	טובין / כוכב	BD: 86.1 (f 1 1); 86.3 (f 1 4); 88.3 (c 4 i 11)
ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	BW: ?21.3, 6		
μυριάι μυριάδες	BW: 14.22; cf. 1.9		
ἐγγήγοροι	BW: 1.5; 10.7, 9, 15; 12.2, 3; 14.3; 16.2	עירין / עירא	BW: 12.3 (c 1 v 19); 33.3 (c 1 xxvii 19)
ἐγγήγοροι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος	BW: 14.1		
ἄγιοι ἐγγήγοροι	BW: 15.9	עירא וקדישא	BW: 22.6 (c 1 xxii 5) EE: 93.2 (e 1 iii 21)
ἐγγήγοροι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	BW: 12.4; 13.10	עירי שבניא	BW: 13.10 (c 1 vi 8)

Appendix C

TERMINOLOGY IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

This appendix tabulates the angelic designations in all the Qumran sectarian literature discussed in this study, with the exception of the Sabbath Shitrot, whose terminology is found in Appendix D. The following points should be noted:

1. Terms occurring in fragmentary texts that have not been examined in this study are not included in the table. Such items can be identified by using the concordances in the various volumes of DJD.
2. Restorations are not generally included in the table unless more than half of the word concerned is visible in the text.
3. The symbol '-----' is used for the keywords of the various sections. E.g. in the section relating to 'angels', '----- of destruction' is to be read as 'angels of destruction'.
4. All occurrences of מַלְאָכִים have been listed since it is often unclear whether the angel Belial or 'worthlessness' is meant. The relevant discussions elsewhere in this study should be consulted.
5. Frequently there is ambiguity concerning מַלְאָכִים. Sometimes it clearly refers to angels and sometimes to the sect members. References which have not been judged to refer to angels have been omitted from the table. '?' indicates either that there is uncertainty about whether the reference is to angels or humans, or that the reading itself is doubtful.
7. Because of the considerable overlap between IQM and the corresponding Cave 4 fragments, terminology from 4Q491-497 is not included. For this material, see Davidson, 'Angels at Qumran', pp. 312-15.

	1QS	CD	1QH
אלהים godlike being			
אלים elim			7.28; 10.8; 19.3; frg. 2.3, 10
אלי [...] נבורי אלים	----- of ... mighty ones of the -----		
בלעיל Belial	1.18, 24; 2.5, 19; 10.21	4.13, 15; 5.18; 8.2; 12.2; 19.14	2.16, 22; 3.28, 29, 32; 4.10, 13; 5.26, 39; 6.21; 7.3
בני אל sons of God			
בני (ה) שמים sons of heaven	4.22; 11.8		3.22; frg. 2.10
עבורים mighty ones			
נבורי אלים ----- of the elim			
עבורי כח strong -----			8.11; 10.34-35
נבורי שלא wondrous -----			5.21
חל נבורים army of -----			10.24
מלחמת נבורי שמים army of the ----- of heaven			3.35-36
גבריאל Gabriel			
טורל חושך lot of darkness			
הווי עד those who are everlasting			
דרסנע the wicked (one?)			
כרובי קודש holy cherubim			
מיכאל Michael			
מלאך angel			
מלאך אמתו ----- of his truth	3.24		
מלאך חושך ----- of Darkness	3.20-21		
מלאך כבוד ----- of his glory			
מלאך (ה) ממשמה angel of hostility		16.5	
מלאך (ה) פנים ----- of the Presence			
מלאך שלום ----- of peace			
מלאכים angels			
מלאכי [...] ----- of ...			1.11; 19.2; frg. 50.4
מלאכי חבל ----- of destruction	4.12	2.6	
מלאכי חבל your -----			
מלאכי ממלכתו ----- of his dominion			
מלאכי פנים ----- of the Presence			6.13
מלאכי קודש ----- of holiness			
צבאות מלאכים hosts of			
צבא מלאכים host of -----			
רוחי מלאכי חבל spirits of ----- of destruction			

1QM	11QMelch	Various 4Q	1QS _a , 1QS _b
	2.10		
1.10, 11; 14.15, 16; 17.7		181 1 4 Shir ^a 1 2; ^b 16 4	
	2.14		
15.14			
1.1, 5, 13; 4.2; 11.8; 13.2, 4, 11; 14.9; 15.3; 18.1, 3	2.12, 13, 22, 25; 3.7 frg. 4.3	286 10 ii 1, 2, 6; Flor 1.8, 9; 2.2; frg. 4.3; Testim 2.3 Catena ^a 1-4 10; 10-11 4; 12-13 i 4, 4, 6, 7	
	2.14		
	2.5		
15.14		Shir ^a 1 3	
9.16			
13.5		Shir ^b 10 10 286 10 ii 5 Shir ^b 41 2	
9.15, 16; 17.6, 7			
13.14; 17.6		Catena ^a 12 i 7 Shir ^b 20 i 2; 35 4	
13.11			1QS _b 4.25
		180 1 7	
13.12			1QS _b 3.6
12.4			
1.15			
7.6; 10.11			1QS _b 4.26 1QS _a 2.8-9
12.1			
12.7			
		Shir ^a 1 5	

	1QS	CD	1QH
מלכי צרק Melchizedek			
מלכי רשע Melchireša'			
נכבדים honoured ones			10.8
עזזאל 'Azazel			
עירי השמים watchers of heaven		2.18	
צבא host			
צבא דעת ----- of knowledge			18.23
צבא השמים ----- of heaven			3.35
צבאות מלאכים hosts of angels			
צבא מלאכים host of angels			
צבא עד everlasting -----			11.13
צבא קדושים ----- of your holy ones			10.35
צבא קדושים ----- of holy ones			3.22
צבא רוחיו ----- of his spirits			
צבא רוחיך ----- of your spirits			13.8
קדושים holy ones	11.8		
קדושי [...] -----?of ...			
קדושי his -----			
קדושי my -----			
קדושי אל ----- of God			
קדושיכה your -----			11.12
צבא קדושיכה host of your -----			10.35
צבא קדושים host of -----			3.22
רוח spirit			
רוח אור ----- of light	3.25		
רוח (ה)אמת ----- of truth	3.18-19; 4.23		
רוח (ה)עול(ה) ----- of perversity	3.18-19; 4.9, 23		
רוח חשך ----- of darkness	3.25		
רוחות spirits	3.18		
צבא רוחיו host of his spirits			
רוחי [...] ----- of ...			
רוחי אמת ----- of truth	4.23		
רוחי בליעל ----- of Belial		12.2	
רוחי ערלו ----- of his lot	3.24		
רוחי דעת ----- of knowledge			3.22-23
רוחי ובל(ו) (his) ----- of destruction			
רוחי מלאכי הבל ----- of angels of destruction			
רוחי מסורים ----- of bastards			
רוחי קדש ----- of holiness			8.12
רוחי רשע ----- of wickedness			
רשאל Raphael			
שר prince			
שר (ה)אורים ----- of Lights	3.20	5.18	
שר מאור ----- of Light			
שר במשלת רשעה Prince of the Dominion of Wickedness			
שריאל Sarial			

1QM	11QMelch	Various 4Q	1QSa, 1QSB
	2.5, 8, 9, 13, ?22		
		'Amram ^b 2 3; 280 2 2	
		180 1 7, 8	
12.1			
12.7			
12.8			
10.12; 12.1; 18.2; ?15.14			1QSB 1.5; Shir ^a 1 2 Shir ^a 2 2
		181 1 4 ?Flor 1.4	
12.4, 6; ?18.2	2.9		
12.8			Catena ^a 12-13 i 9
13.10			Shir ^a 2 3; ^b 48-51 8
13.2, 4	2.12		
14.10			Shir ^b 43 6 (lacks 'his') Shir ^a 1 5 Shir ^a 1 5
9.15			Shir ^b 1 6
13.10 17.5-6			
9.15			

keyword of the particular section is to be read in each case. E.g. in the section relating to the 'godlike beings', '----- of light' is to be read as 'godlike beings of light'.

Appendix D

TERMINOLOGY IN THE *SABBATH SHIROT*

References are from the Cave 4 fragments unless otherwise indicated. Thus, 400 1 i 6 means 4Q400 1 i 6, while 11QShirShabb and MasShirShabb specify the source of a fragment as Cave 11 or Masada respectively.

If an angelic designation is known from duplicate passages, normally only one reference is cited. Duplicates are listed in the concordance in Newsom, *Sabbath Sacrifice*. Furthermore, no attempt at listing every separate occurrence of each particular expression has been made. While many are, in fact, found only once in the edited fragments of the *Sabbath Shirot*, others, such as אלוהים, occur in numerous contexts. Once again, Newsom's concordance can be consulted.

Certain entries are marked thus:

Symbol	Significance
*	אלוהים is used for God as well as for angels.
**	It is unclear whether the expression refers to angels or not.
#	קדושים refers to both humans and angels. Only those occurrences that are clearly or probably referring to angels are listed. 'Holy things' is another possible meaning.
##	Both רוש and ראש are found in the Sabbath Shirot, with רוש being employed for the singular and ראש for the plural construct.
+	ממלכות is actually duplicated in 4Q405 23 ii 11. See Newsom, <i>Sabbath Sacrifice</i> , p. 339.
?	Such readings are doubtful. Restorations are not generally included in the table unless more than half of the word concerned is visible in the text.
{דעה}	In 4Q403 1 i 37, the enclosed word has been deleted by a scribe and עד has been inserted, as discussed in Newsom, <i>Sabbath Sacrifice</i> , pp. 210-11.

In the case of the plural of רוח, the *Sabbath Shirot* appear to employ the constructs רוחות and רוחי without any distinction in meaning. Consequently, '-----' is used to indicate that one or the other of these words is involved in the references given. All plural occurrences are listed as if they were spelled רוחות.

The symbol '-----' is also used in the column of translations to indicate that the

אלוהים*	godlike beings	400 2 5; 403 1 i 32
אלוהי אורים	----- of light	405 46 2
אלוהי לקרובי דעה vacat	-----who draw near to knowledge	400 1 i 6
אלוהי חיים	living -----	403 1 i 44
אלוהי כלילו	----- of his (God's) crown or of his whole offering	405 23 i 5
אלוהי פלא	wondrous -----	403 1 i 36
קדושי אלוהים	holiest of the -----	403 1 i 31
אלים	elim	402 9 2; 404 2 2
אלי אור	----- of light	403 1 ii 35
אלי דעה	----- of knowledge	400 2 1; 405 23 i 8
אלי דוד	majestic -----	403 1 i 38
אלי עולמים	everlasting -----	MasShirShabb i 11
רוחי אלי עולמים	spirits of the everlasting -----	405 19 3
אלי רום	lofty -----	403 1 i 33
ברוכי עד	everlasting blessed ones	403 1 i 29
גבורים	mighty ones	
גבורי עז	strong -----	402 1 4
גבורי שכל	----- of insight	403 1 i 21; 405 13 5
הוגי דעה	those who chant with knowledge	403 1 i 36
הרמים	lofty ones	403 1 i 30
סהורי [. . .]	pure ones of . . .	400 1 i 15
ידעים	those who know	MasShirShabb i 4
ידועי עולמים	----- eternal things	403 1 i 11
ידועי רזי [. . .]	----- the secrets of . . .	405 3 ii 9
יושבי מרומי רומים	inhabitants of the height of heights	MasShirShabb i 9
כהונות	priesthoods	405 7 7, 8
כהונות פלא	wondrous -----	405 8-9 6
כהו[נות] שבע במקדש פלא	seven priest[hoods] of the wondrous sanctuary	403 1 ii 22

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כהנים	priests	
כהן בעד[ת. . .]	priest of the congregation	401 11 3
כהני קרב	priest of the inner sanctum	400 1 i 8, 17; 405 20-21-22 8
כהני מרומי רום	----- of the lofty heights	400 1 i 20
כהני רוש	chief -----	401 13 3
[. . .] רוש מכוון קרב	chief [. . .] from the priest of the inner sanctum	403 1 ii 24
כרובים	cherubim	403 1 ii 15; 405 20-21-22 8
כרובי קודש	holy cherubim	405 20-21-22 3; 11QShirShabb 3-4 4
מאירי דעה	those who cause knowledge to shine	403 1 ii 35
מברכ[י. . .]	those who bless him	403 1 i 28
מדרי לו	those who confess his majesty	403 1 i 20
מלאכים	angels	
מלאכי הרעה	----- of knowledge	11QShirShabb 2-1-9 5
מלאכי כבוד	----- of glory	405 17 4
מלאכי מלך	----- of the king	403 1 ii 23
מלאכי קודש	----- of holiness	405 19 7; 20- 21-22 9; 23 i 8
מעשים**	creatures	
מעשיו	his -----	403 1 i 35
מעשי כבודו	his glorious -----	405 23 ii 12
מעשי רוח	spiritual -----	400 1 i 5
מעשי רוח[ותח] רקיע פלא	spiritual ----- of the wondrous firmament	405 19 3
מרוממים	those who exalt	405 14-15 i 3
מרנני (דעה) עד	those who rejoice (in knowledge) forever	403 1 i 37
משרתים	ministers	
משרתי [. . .]	----- of . . .	401 15 3; 405 23 i 3
משרתי פנים	----- of the Presence	400 1 i 4
משרתי פני מלך קודש	----- of the Presence of the King of Holiness	400 1 i 8

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נעדי צדק	those appointed for righteousness	403 1 i 27
נראי כוח	those terrible in strength	11QShirShabb 5-6 3
נכבדים	those who are honoured	400 2 2
נשיאים	princes	
נשיאי משנה	deputy princes	400 3 ii 2; ?405 13 7
נשיא קי[. . .]	prince of ?holiness	401 23 1
נשיאי רוש	chief -----	401 1 i 1, 17; 405 3 i 12a
ראשי נשיאי כהונה פלא	chief ----- of the wondrous priesthoods	403 1 ii 21
ראשי נשיאים	chief -----	403 1 ii 20
קדושים#	holy ones	
קדושי אלוהים	----- of God/godlike beings	403 1 i 31
קדושי ממיסרי דעה	----- who establish knowledge	403 1.1 24
קדושי עד	everlasting -----	400 1 i 3, 15
קדושי קדושים	holiest of the -----	400 1 i 2, 19
קדושי קודש קודש[ים]	----- of holiest hol[iness]	400 1 ii 6
קדושי קרב	----- of the inner sanctum	401 16 3
רוש / ראשי#	chief/chiefs of	
כהני רוש	chief priests	401 13 3
נשיאי רוש	chief princes	403 1 i 21; 405 3 ii 6
ראשי דבירו	chiefs of his <i>debir</i>	403 1 ii 11
ראשי לבושי פלא לשרת	----- of those wondrously arrayed for service	405 23 ii 10
ראשי ממלכות [. . .]	----- of the realm of . . .	403 1 ii 3
ראשי ממלכות קדושים למלך הקודש+	----- of the realm of the holy ones of the king of holiness	405 23 ii 11
ראשי ממשלות [. . .]	-----of the dominion [. . .	401 14 i 6
ראשי מרומים	----- of the heights	403 1 i 34
ראשי נשיאי כהונה פלא	----- of the princes of the wondrous priesthoods	403 1 ii 21
ראשי נשיאים	----- of the princes	403 1 ii 20
ראשי עדה דבולך	----- of the congregation of the King	403 1 ii 24
ראשי תבנית אלוהים	----- of the divine structure	403 1 ii 16
ראשי חושבנות כול אלוהים	----- of the praises of all the godlike beings	403 1 i 31-32
ראשי תרומות	----- of the praise offering	405 23 ii 12
[. . .] רוש מכוון קרב	chief [. . .] from the priest of the inner sanctum	403 1 ii 24

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רוח / רוחות	spirits/spirits of	
מעשי רוח	spiritual creatures	400 1 i 5
מעשי רוח [וחת] רקיע פלא	spiritual creatures of the wondrous firmament	405 19 3
בדני רוח אורים	figures of luminous -----	405 14-15 i 5
אלוהים -----	divine -----/----- of God or godlike beings	403 1 i 43; 1 ii 8, 9
אלוהים חיים -----	spirits of the living God/godlike beings	405 20-21-22 11
אלי עולמים -----	----- of everlasting elim	405 19 3
בן -----	----- of understanding	403 1 i 37
דעת אמת -----	----- of the knowledge of truth	405 19 4
דעת ובניה -----	----- of knowledge and understanding	405 17 3
הדר והדר -----	----- of majesty and splendour	405 24 2
הדר -----	----- of splendour	405 14-15 i 6
מאירים -----	luminous spirits	405 19 4-5
עולמים -----	everlasting spirits	403 1 i 35
פלא -----	wondrous -----	403 1 ii 10
צבעי [. .] -----	----- in garments of [. . .] colour	405 23 ii 9
צדק -----	----- of righteousness	403 1 i 38
קדש קדשים -----	most holy -----	403 1 i 44; 405 20-21-22 10
קדש עולמים -----	----- of everlasting holiness	403 1 i 44
קרב קדש קדשים -----	----- of the most holy inner sanctum	405 14-15 i 4
שרי	?princes of . . .	400 1 i 12
השר	the prince	?403 1 ii 23
שרי קדש	?princes of holiness	?401 6 4

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