

# From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The *Book of the Watchers* and Tours of Heaven

MARTHA HIMMELFARB

**T**HE FIRST ASCENT TO HEAVEN in Jewish literature appears in a third-century B.C.E. apocalypse that has as its hero the biblical patriarch Enoch: "Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. . . . And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne. . . . And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun. . . ." (*1 Enoch* 14:8, 18, 20)<sup>1</sup>

## Traditions about Enoch

Not only has Enoch gazed upon God, according to the Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36); he has also traveled to the ends of the earth in the company of angels to learn the secrets of creation. "And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder . . ." (*1 Enoch* 17:2-3).

The Hebrew Bible offers an account of the life of Enoch that is only four verses long. It appears in the genealogy of Genesis 5, which links Adam to Noah, Enoch's great-grandson. Despite the brevity of the notice, it sets Enoch apart from the other figures in the genealogy. The others live, become fathers, and die. Not so Enoch. After he becomes a father, we read of him that "he walked with God." This is not said of anyone else in Genesis 5. Nor does Enoch simply die. Rather "he was not, for God took him" (Gen 5:24).

The traditions about Enoch in the Book of the Watchers and other works from the period of the Second Temple are clearly related to this mysterious summary of Enoch's life and the end of his existence on earth. The Book of the Watchers is also closely related to another cryptic biblical passage, Gen 6:1-4, which describes the descent of the sons of God to marry the daughters of men. Some students view the narrative of the Book of the Watchers as an exegetical development of the biblical passages, while others believe that Genesis alludes to the same early traditions on which the Book of the Watchers draws.<sup>2</sup>

Enoch is the first biblical hero to whom revelatory journeys are attributed by the authors of the Second Temple period, but he is not the only one. Among the patriarchs, prophets, and scribes who are taken on guided tours of realms usually inaccessible to human beings are Abraham, Levi, Isaiah, Zephaniah, and Baruch.<sup>3</sup> The contents of the tours vary, but all are concerned with subjects that appear in the Book of Watchers, the throne of God and the angels of heaven, the secrets of nature, and the fate of souls after death.

### Apocalypses

These tours constitute one major group of apocalypses. The apocalypse is one of the characteristic forms of Jewish and Christian literature of the Greco-Roman period. The prophets had spoken in their own names. With the decline of prophecy, for reasons not fully understood, the authors of the apocalypse began to put their messages into the mouths of famous figures of the past.<sup>4</sup> The other major group of apocalypses consists of those concerned primarily with the end of history. The characteristic medium of revelation in these apocalypses is the symbolic vision, usually deciphered for the seer by an angel. The famous vision of the four beasts from the sea in Daniel is typical of these visions.

Daniel related the following: "In my vision at night, I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. Four mighty beasts different from each other emerged from the sea. The first was like a lion but had eagles' wings. . . . I approached one of the attendants and asked him the true meaning of all this. He gave me this interpretation of the matter: 'These great beasts, four in number [mean] four kingdoms will arise out of the earth. . . .'" (Dan 7:2-4, 16-17).<sup>5</sup>

The deciphering of the symbolic visions of the eschatological apocalypses has formal similarities to the description of sights seen in the course of tours.<sup>6</sup> Angels play a central role as interpreters or guides in both varieties of apocalypse.

The imminent, cataclysmic end of the world is rarely a central theme of the tour apocalypses, although it is an important subject in many of the larger works of which the tours form part.<sup>7</sup> The discussion of apocalyptic literature, however, has been dominated by the interest in apocalyptic eschatology, the conception of the end characteristic not only of many apocalypses but also of other types of literature of the Second Temple period.<sup>8</sup>

The certainty that God is about to destroy the wicked and after terrible upheaval reward the righteous seems to have grown out of prophetic eschatology well before the emergence of the first apocalypse, in the period after the return from the Babylonian exile, which took place toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E.. In their own land again, the people of Israel found themselves without their own king, powerless provincials in the great Persian empire. The last Persian emperor was succeeded not by a Davidic king but by Alexander and his generals, the founders of the Hellenistic empires. The restoration of Israel's past glory by human means began to seem unattainable.

Before the exile, prophetic eschatology looked forward to a future that was a better version of the past, a time of freedom and security, peace and prosperity. It was God who would bring about the change, but the people of Israel were also to play a role. Through repentance they were to create the moral preconditions for this new age. But as the hoped-for restoration remained in the future and disappointment followed disappointment, the prophetic view with its insistence on the importance of human participation gave way to determinism. Repentance would assure the individual of reward rather than punishment in the new age, but it would not affect the course of events. Regardless of the people's behavior, God would soon intervene in this hopelessly evil world to create an entirely new order.

Perhaps the most important reason for the scholarly emphasis on apocalypses devoted to the prediction and description of the end of the world is that the only two apocalypses to achieve canonical status, Daniel in the Hebrew Bible and the Revelation of John in the New Testament, are concerned almost exclusively with this end. (The Apocrypha, those books accepted as canonical by Roman Catholics but not by Jews and Protestants, include a single apocalypse, *4 Ezra*, which is like Daniel and Revelation in its concentration on eschatology.) But canonical status, the judgment of later Jews and Christians, should not influence the historian of the period before such judgments were made.<sup>9</sup>

A more defensible reason for the emphasis on apocalypses concerned primarily with eschatology is that until recently Daniel in the mid-second century B.C.E. was believed to be the earliest apocalypse. But the publication

of the Qumran Aramaic fragments of two Enochic works, the Book of the Watchers and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72–82), has dramatically changed the situation.<sup>10</sup>

## 1 Enoch

The Book of the Watchers and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries are two of the five separate Enochic apocalypses that make up the compilation referred to as *1 Enoch*.<sup>11</sup> The dates assigned to the Qumran manuscripts on the relatively objective basis of paleography show the Book of the Watchers and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries to be from the third century B.C.E., considerably earlier than they had previously been dated.<sup>12</sup> They are, thus, the oldest extant apocalypses.

The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries, the oldest apocalypse of all on the evidence of the Qumran manuscripts, is devoted almost exclusively to the courses of the sun and the moon and their relation to the calendar. We have seen that the concerns of the slightly later Book of the Watchers are more diverse, but the end of history is not prominent among them. Thus, it is no longer possible to treat apocalyptic eschatology as the defining features of apocalypses generally on the grounds that it is central to the earliest apocalypse.

We have seen that the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology and of the apocalypses that center on the end of history is a reaction to the conditions of the postexilic period. I shall argue here that both of Enoch's tours in the Book of the Watchers must also be understood against the background of the shock of the exile and the developments in Jewish thought to which that experience gave rise. The Book of the Watchers stands at the beginning of a long tradition of tours. Although each responds to a different set of circumstances, the conditions that shape the Book of the Watchers influence later works because of the place of the Book of the Watchers at the beginning of the tradition and its wide influence. Thus, the Book of the Watchers can serve as a way of approaching the tradition as a whole.

Like most of the books of the Hebrew Bible, the Book of the Watchers is not a book in the modern sense, that is, a unified composition by a single author.<sup>13</sup> Rather it combines several originally independent traditions. The person responsible for the work as we have it appears to have been both editor and author, expanding and developing themes in the sources on which he drew. The third-century B.C.E. date applies to the finished work; elements of it are certainly earlier.

The setting for Enoch's tours in the Book of the Watchers is the story of the fall of the watchers, the angels alluded to in Gen 6:1–4, who take

women as wives. This violation of the order of the universe has dire results both in Genesis and in the Book of the Watchers. According to the more extended account in the Book of the Watchers, the offspring of the sinful unions of the watchers and their wives are powerful and dangerous giants who wreak havoc on earth. When the suffering they have caused humanity becomes known in heaven, God sends the flood to cleanse the earth and instructs His archangels to imprison the watchers until the final judgment.

Enoch enters the narrative in the professional capacity of scribe. (The Book of the Watchers opens with Enoch's prophecy of the final judgment, but this section [*1 Enoch* 1–5] stands apart from the story line.) In chapter 12, Enoch is commissioned by the watchers who remain in heaven to announce their sentence to the fallen watchers. Deeply affected, the fallen watchers implore Enoch to petition God for mercy in their behalf. This petition provides the occasion for Enoch's ascent to heaven. In a dream Enoch stands before the throne of God and presents the petition. God rejects it, telling Enoch to tell the watchers, "You should intercede for men, and not men for you" (*1 Enoch* 15:2). Enoch's journey to the ends of the earth follows. It makes up the rest of the Book of the Watchers.

### Enoch's Ascent and Biblical Antecedents

Even before the discovery of the Qumran fragments fixed the date of the Book of the Watchers so close to late prophetic literature, Gershom Scholem had pointed out that Enoch's ascent to heaven stands in a line of visions that begins with Ezekiel 1, which was anticipated at some points by Isaiah 6, and culminates in the *bekhalot* texts.<sup>14</sup>

And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet he needed no counsellor. And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face trembling; and the LORD called me with His own mouth . . . (*1 Enoch* 14:18–24)

The similarities of *1 Enoch* 14 to Ezekiel 1 are many: the imagery of clouds and wind, of fire, crystal, and ice (see the passage quoted at the beginning

of this essay), the seer's falling on his face in the presence of God, the divine throne with wheels, the fiery figure on the throne.<sup>15</sup> These elements appear again and again in later apocalypses that describe the visionary's experience as he approaches God's throne.

But *1 Enoch* 14 departs from the pattern of Ezekiel 1 in one particularly significant way. Ezekiel is the only one of all the classical prophets to record the experience of being physically transported by the spirit of God (Ezek 3:12; 8:3; 11:24; 40:1-2, but even Ezekiel does not ascend to heaven.<sup>16</sup> The throne of God comes to him while he is standing by the river Chebar (Ezek 1-3). Enoch's is the first ascent in Jewish literature. With the exception of the second journey in the Book of the Watchers, during which Enoch remains earthbound, all later apocalyptic tours, whatever their subject, involve ascent.

In Enoch's vision, God is seated on a throne surrounded by a host of angels. In Isaiah 6 the angels about the throne serve as the council with which God consults as He sits in judgment of His people. The picture of God enthroned in the midst of the divine council appears elsewhere in the Bible as well.<sup>17</sup> Prophets claim to have overheard or, like Isaiah, to have participated in the deliberations of the council.

The divine council in biblical literature derives ultimately from the council of the gods presided over by El, the Canaanite patriarch of the gods.<sup>18</sup> In the Ugaritic texts the members of the council are distinct figures whose personalities play a part in the Canaanite myths. Since the multiplicity of gods was unacceptable to biblical thought, the Bible transforms the members of the council into angels or sons of gods, divine beings without individuality who exist merely to serve as heavenly courtiers. The function of giving counsel is alluded to in Enoch's vision, although negatively (*1 Enoch* 14:22). The divine council is in the background of the scene there, but a somewhat different understanding of the role of the angels about the throne dominates this vision.

Isaiah's vision of the divine council takes place in the Jerusalem Temple. The association of the divine council with the Temple goes back to its Canaanite origins. The mountain on which El and the gods assemble in the Ugaritic texts is the heavenly model for earthly temples.<sup>19</sup> The idea of a heavenly archetype for the earthly temple appears explicitly in the Bible in the instructions for the building of the tabernacle in the wilderness (Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8). Mount Zion, the Temple Mount, takes the place of the holy mountain of the Canaanite gods.<sup>20</sup> Here heaven and earth come together, as in Isaiah's vision, where the Jerusalem Temple appears to be at once the heavenly and the earthly seat of God.

The view of the Temple as God's dwelling place is central to Isaiah's

message. With Jerusalem under siege by a vast Assyrian army in the early seventh century, Isaiah argued against surrender: despite the many sins that he so powerfully condemned, Jerusalem could never be conquered, because God dwelt there.<sup>21</sup> The power of the Temple was confirmed for Isaiah's contemporaries when Isaiah's advice was followed. Hezekiah, king of Judah, did not surrender, but the Assyrian army returned home without entering Jerusalem. Modern historians are not certain how to explain this turn of events, but for Isaiah's generation and the generations that followed it was clear that God had miraculously defeated the foes of His people for the sake of His Temple. Indeed, because of the example of Isaiah's time, Jeremiah's contemporaries shortly before the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple were certain that those disasters could never take place.<sup>22</sup>

J. Maier suggests that it is the prophetic condemnation of the Temple in the period just before the destruction and the experience of the destruction itself that bring an end to the view of the unity of heavenly and earthly in the Temple.<sup>23</sup> The intensity of that condemnation can be seen in Ezekiel's claim from far-off Babylonia, surely false, that idolatry was taking place in the Temple itself.<sup>24</sup> Restoration is no longer possible. Only an entirely new beginning under God's supervision can succeed. Its human imperfections quickly make the rebuilt Temple a disappointment. Thus, the First Temple in its last days and the Second Temple almost from the start come to be seen as mere copies of the heavenly Temple, the true Temple.

The visions of the chariot throne of God in Ezekiel express this view.<sup>25</sup> The chariot throne is the heavenly counterpart of the cherubim without a rider that stand as a throne for the invisible God in the earthly Temple. The chariot throne carries the glory of God away from the Jerusalem Temple before it is given over to the Babylonians for destruction (chaps. 8–11) and returns it to the eschatological temple in the elaborate vision of the restored Jerusalem at the end of the book (chaps. 40–48; return of the glory, 43:1–4).

### **The Book of the Watchers**

Ezekiel's visions set the stage for the developments in the Book of the Watchers.<sup>26</sup> Since God is no longer present in the Temple on earth, the seer must ascend to His presence. The site of Enoch's vision is the heavenly abode of God. The description speaks of an outer and an inner house. This corresponds to the structure of the earthly Temple with its main hall and Holy of Holies. Because Enoch ascends to heaven, the chariot throne is not needed as a means of transportation. It stands stationary in the heavenly house of God.

The principle of correspondence between heaven and earth means that the heavenly temple must have priests. As far back as Isaiah 6 the angels of the divine council called out, "Holy, holy, holy," an acclamation that later became part of Israel's liturgy on earth. The angels of Enoch's vision are not explicitly described as offering praise, but they are said to stand before God even by night, which may hint at such a role.<sup>27</sup> The intercession that is so prominent a function of the angels in the Book of the Watchers is, of course, the work of priests on earth.

The priestly character of the angels becomes more explicit in the apocalypses that follow the Book of the Watchers. Angels assume the priestly (or Levitical) function of offering praise in a wide range of later works. In *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 8, the visionary sees "thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels" giving praise.<sup>28</sup> The *Testament of Levi* describes angels offering sacrifices in heaven (3:5-6). From Qumran there is preserved the *Angelic Liturgy*, which reports the blessings recited by the seven archangels in the course of the heavenly service.<sup>29</sup> In the *bekhalot* texts, the praise offered by the hosts of heaven includes hymns characterized by the repetitive description of God's greatness in formulaic language. Some of the hymns have become part of the liturgy of the synagogue.<sup>30</sup>

A state of purity is required for entrance into the earthly Temple, and access to the holiest parts is forbidden to all but priests. Contact with the holy can have dire consequences. When Uzzah reaches out and touches the ark, he dies (2 Sam 6:6-7). So too the ascent to God's throne is not for everyone, and even those chosen human beings who enter the realm of the angels must fear that they are intruding. When Isaiah sees God enthroned before him, he cries out, "Woe is me . . . I am lost, for I am a man of unclean lips" (Isa 6:5). His use of the language of purity is significant. In *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 8, the prophet dons a special garment when he joins the angels, just as the priest dresses in special clothes when he serves in the Temple. Ezekiel, Enoch, and the heroes of later apocalypses tremble and fall on their faces as they approach the throne. The dangers experienced by the visionaries in some of the apocalypses that follow the Book of the Watchers also appear to be related to the understanding of the heavens as a temple. The Book of the Watchers, then, begins the transformation of the deliberations of the divine council into the service of the heavenly temple. The transformation is made possible by associations that go back to Isaiah and the Canaanite background of the council. In both the divine council and the heavenly temple God appears as king. Prophetic literature offers the image of God as Israel's husband, but this image and the emotions it inspires do not influence the picture in *1 Enoch* 14. Here, as in the *bekhalot* texts, the



experience is of awe and fear.<sup>31</sup> It is wholly appropriate that Enoch calls God the Great Glory.

### Mystical Experience

But how far does the account of the Book of the Watchers reflect actual experience? The fact of pseudepigraphy, of attributing the work to a hero of the past, suggests at least a certain distance between the author and the experience described. Enoch's ascent cannot be taken simply as a testimony to the author's own experience. Whatever else it may be, it is an episode in a story about Enoch. But this is not necessarily an argument against the view that personal experience stands behind the description of Enoch's ascent. The *hekhalot* texts too are pseudepigraphic with their attributions to great rabbis of the tannaitic period, yet they are generally regarded as reflecting actual ascents, in part because some describe the procedure for achieving ascent.<sup>32</sup>

Even the striking parallels to Ezekiel that at first glance might seem to indicate that Enoch's ascent is a literary creation, with details borrowed from an already prestigious earlier work, can be read another way. All accounts of mystical experience stand at some remove from the experience they attempt to describe. The expression of the experience, like all expression, is governed by convention. The mystic seeking to describe an experience beyond words draws on language endowed with power and validity by great visionaries of the past. Thus, the *hekhalot* texts show significant similarities to each other and to Ezekiel. For Jews of the Second Temple period and later, Ezekiel is a most suitable source for the description of such experiences.

Indeed, the experience itself may well be shaped by convention. Mystical visions are not independent of the visionary's assumptions about the world. Christian mystics have visions of Christ; Jewish mystics do not. Even while their feet were planted firmly on the ground, members of the circles that produced the *hekhalot* texts knew in broad outline how the heavens were arranged, how the hosts of angels spent their time, what the throne of God looked like. Those who experienced ascent went up through seven heavens filled with angels who sing God's praises and keep out intruders to stand before the chariot throne. The ascent confirmed what the visionary already knew. Thus, another factor in the close relationship between Enoch's vision and Ezekiel's may be the expectations of the author of *1 Enoch* 14. The similarities in themselves, then, are not an argument against seeing *1 Enoch* 14 as the description of a genuine experience.

To put it differently, the author of *1 Enoch* 14 knows what the experience of the vision of God on His throne is supposed to be like, but it is impossible to say whether he had had such experiences.<sup>33</sup> This conclusion applies as well to many of the ascents and tours that follow the Book of the Watchers, although not to all. The nature of the content of some of the tours predisposes us to view them as literary creations rather than as descriptions of actual experiences. Ecstatic experiences that take the seer to God's throne seem somehow more authentic than tours of the heavens that contain a great deal of astronomical data or tours of hell that detail the punishments of sinners. Yet Ezekiel's vision in chapters 40–48 includes precise instructions for the eschatological temple, and it is hard to doubt that Ezekiel elsewhere records genuine experiences. Once we take seriously the gap between the raw experience and the interpretation contained in any attempt to offer an account of it, it becomes more difficult to rule out an experiential element in many of the tours. Still, there are tours of hell that can safely be judged to be literary excursions. Some consist almost entirely of borrowings, often word for word, from earlier works. Other cases are less clear-cut, but the existence of a well-defined genre makes purely literary activity seem more likely.

### The Social Setting of the Tours

The question of the experience behind these visionary tours is inextricably linked to the question of the social setting of the works in which the tours appear. Any hope of a better understanding of the nature of the experience lies in a better understanding of that background. Pseudepigraphy sets up effective barriers between the reader and the author and his community. Not only are we ignorant of the names of our authors and of the communities to which they belonged; in most cases we do not even know where and when their works were written except in the most general way. Despite the paucity of hard evidence, cautious comparison of the apocalypses with works like the gnostic ascents and the *bekhalot* texts may yield some clues.

Enoch's second journey takes him not to heaven but to the ends of the earth. In the course of this journey the geography of the cosmos is revealed to him. This tour is composed of two sources, each a complete tour. Chapter 20–36 develop the themes of chapters 17–19, the earlier source.<sup>34</sup> In both sources the only sight related to the story of Enoch and the watchers is the place where the watchers are punished (chaps. 18–19, 21). The tours are more interested in the foundations of the earth, the oceans and rivers upon it, and the astronomical and meteorological phenomena above it (chaps. 17–18, 23, 33–36). Both tours include a visit to the mountain

throne of God (chaps. 18, 24–25), and the second contains the places where souls are stored after death to await the day of judgment (chap. 22) and an elaborate description of Jerusalem and its environs (chaps. 26–32).

From the *Odyssey* on, Greek literature offers tours of realms usually closed to human beings, and it is not unlikely that these influenced the Book of the Watchers. But the immediate ancestor of the tour to the ends of the earth is Ezekiel's tour of the eschatological temple and the new Jerusalem in Ezekiel 40–48.<sup>35</sup> Like Ezekiel, Enoch is led by an angel. Especially in the second source the sights of the tour are the subject of dialogue between Enoch and his guide.

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees . . . the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom. . . . Then I said: How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look! Then Raphael, the holy angel who was with me, answered me and said: "This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden." (*1 Enoch* 32:3, 5–6)

The guide's explanations of the sights consistently begin with demonstrative pronouns or adjectives. These questions and explanations are a developed version of a form found in Ezekiel 40–48. There the prophet remains silent, but the angel gives instructions for the conduct of affairs in the new commonwealth and occasionally describes sights using demonstrative pronouns or adjectives. These demonstrative explanations are related to a form of exegesis that was widespread in the ancient Near East, a form applied to dreams, omens, and texts. The symbolic visions of the eschatological apocalypses are often deciphered in this way. The tours of Ezekiel, Enoch, and the other apocalyptic seers also reveal heavenly secrets. Thus, a similar form of explication is suitable.<sup>36</sup> The content of the tour to the ends of the earth will reward further study. Some argue for Babylonian influence on the cosmology of the tour, others for Greek.<sup>37</sup> The interest in Jerusalem and the surrounding area in the second tour provides a point of contact with the content of Ezekiel's tour.

But the central theme of the second tour is the wonders of nature, and this suggests a link to wisdom literature. One of the distinctive features of wisdom literature within the biblical canon is that it ignores history as an arena of revelation and turns instead to creation.<sup>38</sup> For the early, optimistic wisdom represented by Proverbs and some of the wisdom psalms, the self-evident message of the created world is the greatness of the creator: "The heavens proclaim the glory of God . . ." (Ps 19:2). Wisdom literature is

almost alone before the exile in its interest in creation; the only major treatment of creation outside of wisdom is the J account in Genesis 2.

With the exile, the P account of creation—so different in its emphases from J—takes shape, and creation appears for the first time as an explicit theme of prophetic literature in the work of the anonymous prophet we call Second Isaiah.<sup>39</sup> This new interest in creation is a reaction to the exile. Israel's recent past constituted a challenge to the belief that God manifests His power in the course of history. Since history no longer speaks clearly of God's greatness, Second Isaiah turns to the created world.

Lift high your eyes and see:  
 Who created these?  
 He who sends out their host by count,  
 Who calls them each by name:  
 Because of His great might and vast power,  
 Not one fails to appear.  
 Why do you say, O Jacob,  
 Why declare, O Israel,  
 "My way is hid from the LORD,  
 My cause is ignored by my God?"  
 Do you not know?  
 Have you not heard?  
 The LORD is God from of old,  
 Creator of the earth from end to end,  
 He never grows faint or weary,  
 His wisdom cannot be fathomed.  
 (Isa 40:26–28)<sup>40</sup>

The prophet moves from God as creator of the stars to Israel's lament about the course of recent history to a triumphant conclusion based on the evidence of the cosmos. The prophet has not abandoned the belief that God is Lord of history, but he looks beyond history for evidence. The speech attributed to Israel and the prophet's exhortation in response to it make it clear that many in the prophet's audience were not as sure as he that their God never grows weary.

Second Isaiah appeals to creation in another way as well in his allusions to the ancient Near Eastern myth of the defeat of the chaos monster by a warrior god.<sup>41</sup> The Babylonian form of the myth describes the victory of Marduk over Tiamat and the creation of the world from the monster's corpse. (Genesis 1 can be read as a polemic against this myth.<sup>42</sup>) In its Canaanite form the myth recounts Ba'al's defeat of the sea god Yam and the subsequent establishment of Ba'al's temple. This version of the myth was an important influence on the Bible's understanding of the exodus and the battles against Israel's enemies in the land. The God of Israel is given

many of the characteristics of Ba'al, the storm god, and even the events of the exodus are shaped according to the pattern of the myth. Like Ba'al's triumphant march to his mountain after his defeat of Yam, the wandering in the wilderness is depicted as a triumphant march to a holy mountain.

F. M. Cross points out that in the earliest biblical literature, including the Song at the Sea and the Song of Deborah, a process of demythologizing is at work.<sup>43</sup> Ba'al's defeat of Yam has been drastically historicized. The only divine actors in the biblical texts are the God of Israel and his heavenly host. God's enemies are human; the forces of nature are at God's command.

It is not surprising that Second Isaiah, who wrote in Babylonia, uses the Babylonian form of the myth. If early biblical literature demythologizes, Second Isaiah remythologizes.<sup>44</sup>

Awake, awake, clothe yourself with splendor,  
 O arm of the LORD!  
 Awake as in days of old,  
 As in former ages!  
 It was you that hacked Rahab in pieces,  
 That pierced the Dragon.  
 It was you that dried up the Sea,  
 The waters of the great deep;  
 That made the abysses of the Sea  
 A road the redeemed might walk.  
 So let the ransomed of the LORD return,  
 And come with shouting to Zion,  
 Crowned with joy everlasting.  
 (Isa 51:9-11)

The creation of the cosmos, understood as combat between God and a sea monster, is a model for the exodus from Egypt. In earlier accounts of the exodus, the sea appears as the instrument of God's vengeance on his enemies. Here as in the myth the sea is the embodiment of the forces against which God is struggling. The exodus has become a battle between God and the sea. Finally, the coming redemption will be modeled on the exodus and thus also on creation. Creation and the exodus serve to guarantee what is no longer universally accepted, God's ability to effect redemption once again.

We have seen that one aspect of apocalyptic eschatology is the devaluation of the role of human actors in history. In apocalypses like Daniel the events of history are described through the symbols of myth. History is thus emptied of its particulars. It is understood instead as reflecting conflicts taking place in the divine sphere. In Daniel 7 the enemies of Israel become beasts from the sea in an allusion to the combat myth. In Daniel 10-12 the

real conflict is between Michael, the angelic guardian of Israel, and the angelic guardians of the nations.

Second Isaiah's use of myth is not as extended as that of the apocalypses, but his depiction of the exodus and the coming redemption in the language of myth is a step toward the new eschatology.<sup>45</sup> Thus, his contemporaries' sense that history has failed or at least that its message is no longer clear leads to the prophet's use of myth and also to his appeal to the wonders of creation. As the use of myth anticipates an important aspect of later apocalyptic literature, so too does the interest in the wonders of creation.

The book of Job represents a more radical response to the disappointment of the exile. In Second Isaiah the old prophetic view of God as revealing himself in history is not set aside, but a new element is added to it. The cosmos, visible to all, undeniable, is now seen as evidence for God's control of history, which the course of history itself has brought into question. Cross suggests that without the prologue and epilogue, almost universally recognized as secondary, Job can be read as a denial of the meaningfulness of history as Israel has experienced it.<sup>46</sup> Job is certain that his suffering has a meaning, that God will explain it to him. But though Job is granted his confrontation with God, God offers no explanation. God's appearance in the whirlwind and the questions He asks of Job affirm God's power. He could be Lord of history if He so desired. But His response to Job suggests that He does not so desire. He is the great and potent creator, not the God who redeemed the people of Israel from Egypt to make a covenant with them and who will redeem them once again.

For the book of Job, God's awesome power as creator has as its correlate the human person's inability to comprehend God's ways. This is the point of the rhetorical questions of Job 38-39.

Where were you when I laid the earth's foundations?  
 Speak if you have understanding.  
 Do you know who fixed its dimensions  
 Or who measured it with a line?  
 Onto what were its bases sunk?  
 Who set its cornerstone  
 When the morning stars sang together  
 And all the divine beings shouted for joy?  
(Job 38:4-7)

In a departure from the view of earlier wisdom literature nature has become a repository of secrets. It is precisely human ignorance about those secrets that demonstrates God's greatness. Nature is understood to testify to God but not because God's ways are readily accessible to human beings.

The interest of the Book of the Watchers and of later apocalypses in the

works of creation can also be understood as a response to the experience of the exile and its aftermath. Like early wisdom literature and Second Isaiah, the Book of the Watchers sees nature as pointing to the creator. After each sight that he sees during his tour (chaps. 20–36), Enoch praises God. The tour and the Book of the Watchers as a whole conclude with such praise.

And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, and wind. . . . And as often as I saw I blessed always the LORD of Glory, and I continued to bless the LORD of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation. . . . (*1 Enoch* 36:1, 4)

But the Book of the Watchers has moved away from the optimistic certainty of Second Isaiah and early wisdom literature and comes closer to the outlook of Job. Like Job, the Book of the Watchers understands nature as full of secrets. The very fact of a tour in which the geography of the earth and astronomical and meteorological phenomena are the subject of revelation to a seer by an angel reflects such a view. Unlike Job, the Book of the Watchers claims that God does make those secrets known, although only to particularly righteous heroes. The concluding verse of the first source of the tour to the ends of the earth shows both the agreement and the disagreement: “And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen” (19:3). Enoch is the righteous one who moves among angels, carrying messages from the watchers to God and back, traveling to the ends of the earth in the company of the archangels. This is the man who is worthy of having nature’s secrets revealed to him.

The completed Book of the Watchers came three centuries after Second Isaiah. The more pessimistic view of the ability of human beings to read nature in the later work is probably in part the result of the fact that the great hopes of Second Isaiah, who saw himself living at the beginning of a new era, were disappointed. For Second Isaiah redemption is at hand, Cyrus is the anointed one of the God of Israel. But when Cyrus fulfilled the prophet’s expectations by permitting the return and the rebuilding of the temple, the new Jerusalem turned out to be small, divided, and decidedly unredeemed.

The view of the Book of the Watchers and of later apocalypses<sup>47</sup> that the revelation of secrets is properly limited to the chosen seer—and thus also to those who read his work—goes hand in hand with the emergence of groups within Israel who regard themselves as the true Israel while all

others are lost. This development becomes visible in the aftermath of the Maccabean revolt, but the processes that led to the growth of sects can be traced back to the exile and the efforts at defining membership in the community of Israel at a time when the natural boundaries of a people living in its own land under its own king were no longer in force.

The sectarian world view encompasses not only the secrets of creation but all revelation. As the Aramaic fragments show, the Book of the Watchers was read at Qumran. Although it is too early to have been written there, it was obviously congenial to this most sectarian (in the strictly sociological sense) of all Jewish groups of the Second Temple period.<sup>48</sup> The community at Qumran set up clear boundaries between itself and the rest of the Jewish people. The Jerusalem temple was polluted; the community constituted the true temple. The words of the prophets could be interpreted only with the aid of the insight of the Teacher of Righteousness, the community's revered founder. In short, only within the community was true revelation to be found.

Like the ascent in *1 Enoch* 14, the tour to the ends of the earth has an important influence on many later apocalyptic tours. Demonstrative explanations are a central feature in many of them,<sup>49</sup> and the contents of the tour provide a starting point for later developments. For example, the fate of souls after death, touched upon only briefly in Enoch's tour, becomes the subject of an extremely popular tradition of tours of hell and paradise that continues to flourish well into the Middle Ages in a variety of languages.<sup>50</sup>

But the main interests of Enoch's second tour, the secrets of nature and the geography of the earth, are considerably less prominent in later tours. Part of the reason for this is obvious. In the years after the Book of the Watchers the interest is more and more in heaven. Enoch's tour is the last to take place on earth. The causes of this shift in cosmography remain to be investigated. There is no uniformity to the new picture. For some works like the Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37-71) and many of the tours of paradise and hell, heaven is a single plane; after the initial ascent the visionary travels horizontally, much as Enoch does in his earthbound tour. But for others the heavens are plural, usually seven in number, and the visionary ascends from heaven to heaven. The levels of heavens available in this conception can be used to order the sights seen. In *2 Enoch*, for example, meteorological phenomena appear in the first heaven, the fallen watchers in the second, paradise and hell in the third, astronomical phenomena in the fourth, watchers who did not sin in the fifth, and the angelic host in the sixth and seventh.

The move from the earth to the heavens can account for the loss of interest in elements of earthly geography like Jerusalem and environs, but



it does not account for interest in the secrets of nature. As *2 Enoch* indicates, the heavens can provide a home for secrets formerly placed on earth. Tours of paradise and hell are produced well into the Middle Ages, and the tradition of apocalyptic ascents to the throne of God continues into late antiquity and the early Middle Ages—if we are willing to take the *hekhalot* texts as continuing the tradition. There is no such ongoing tradition concerned with the secrets of creation. Of the apocalypses that come after the Book of the Watchers, only the Parables of Enoch and *2 Enoch*, both of which draw on the Book of the Watchers, and *3 Baruch*, which seems to be dependent on *2 Enoch*, are interested in these secrets.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps the shift in interest away from the secrets of nature can be explained by the potential of apocalyptic eschatology to lead to the devaluation of the created world or at least to a loss of interest in it. For the many Jews in the centuries from the Maccabean revolt to the destruction of the Second Temple and beyond who eagerly awaited the end they thought imminent, the world in which they actually lived paled in comparison to the new world they expected so soon. This aspect of what scholars have called apocalyptic dualism, a radical distinction between the present world and the redeemed world, tends to undercut the appeal of Deutero-Isaiah and the Book of the Watchers to natural phenomena as evidence for God's greatness and power. It should be remembered that most of the apocalyptic tours themselves contain predictions of the coming end or else form part of larger works that make such predictions. It is significant that such eschatology is strikingly absent from two of the apocalypses mentioned above as maintaining an interest in creation, *1 Enoch* and *3 Baruch*.

We have seen that the two quite different journeys of the Book of the Watchers can both be read as responses to the experience of the exile. The ascent to heaven in *1 Enoch* 14 represents an attempt to reach the God who is no longer understood to dwell in the Jerusalem temple. The journey to the ends of the earth claims nature as a source of knowledge about God, at least for the select few, at a time when history does not speak clearly enough.

The decline of biblical prophecy and the rise of pseudepigraphic apocalypses are often taken as reflecting a feeling that God had become distant. Communication was no longer direct. It took place instead through symbolic visions, and even these visions were attributed to great figures of the past.

This view seems to me to be based primarily on one aspect of apocalyptic literature, the symbolic visions. The apocalyptic tours point in a different direction. It is true that the God of the Book of the Watchers is found not in Jerusalem, but on His heavenly throne. Yet Enoch is able to ascend to

stand before that throne! In doing so he continues the tradition of the prophets who stand in the heavenly council. The fact that the heroes of apocalyptic tours are able to take their place with the angels in the heavenly liturgy means that closeness to God is available at least for the elect. Although the significance of the attribution of the ascents to heaven to heroes of the biblical past cannot be denied, it must be remembered that Qumran offers us a contemporary example of a whole community that understood itself to enjoy fellowship with angels. Thus, the message of the apocalyptic tours is more than the claim that great men in the past could stand before God's throne. Attention to the tours, then, leads toward a fuller and richer understanding of the times in which these works were written and the spiritual life of Israel in these centuries of transition.

### Notes

1. Quotations from *1 Enoch* are taken from R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912). This translation with an abbreviated version of the notes appears also in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles. A new translation by Ephraim Isaac appears in *Old Testament Apocrypha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth.

2. For the Book of the Watchers as exegetical, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 49–52. For a radical version of the other view, see J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 31.

3. Abraham: *Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham*; Levi: *Testament of Levi* 2–7 (in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*); Isaiah: *Ascension of Isaiah*; Zephaniah: *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*; Baruch: *3 Baruch*. Enoch is the hero of tours not only in the Book of the Watchers but also in the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72–82), the Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71), and *2 Enoch*. With the exception of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, all of these works appear in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Apocrypha*. The *Ascension of Isaiah* in its present form is a Christian work, but in my view a Jewish version stands behind the Christian. The *Ascension of Isaiah* appears in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Eng. trans. ed. by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965) vol. 2. For a brief discussion of all works except the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*.

4. For a discussion of pseudepigraphy, see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 16 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977) 67–74.

5. All quotations of biblical texts are taken from the new Jewish Publication Society translation (JPS).

6. Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 58–60.

7. The only work in which strong eschatological interests appear during the tour itself is the Parables of Enoch. The ascent of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* culminates in a symbolic vision of world history like those of the eschatological apocalypses, and the

ascent of the *Ascension of Isaiah* ends with a vision of Christ in descent to earth, an event with eschatological significance.

8. For a discussion of the distinction between apocalyptic eschatology and the apocalypse as a genre, see Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei: The Might Acts of God*, 439-43.

9. Stone considers these three apocalypses atypical ("Lists," 443).

10. The fragments are published by Milik in *Books of Enoch*.

11. Before the Qumran discoveries, scholars had divided *1 Enoch* into five sections on the basis of obvious internal indications. The Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37-71) does not appear at Qumran, but the Qumran manuscripts include fragments of the other four sections of *1 Enoch*. With the Qumran discoveries the old debate about whether Hebrew or Aramaic was the original language of *1 Enoch* has been resolved in favor of Aramaic (except for the Parables of Enoch). What is preserved in Aramaic, it should be emphasized, is extremely fragmentary. The complete *1 Enoch* survives only in Ethiopic. Where the Aramaic can be compared to the Ethiopic, the correspondence is close but not exact. The Ethiopic was probably translated from the Greek version that survives in fragments, including a long stretch of the Book of the Watchers. As the only complete text, the Ethiopic remains indispensable.

12. For dates, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 7, 22-24. For some implications of the dates, see Michael E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978) 479-92.

13. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 48-55, for an analysis of sources in the Book of the Watchers.

14. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1954) 43-44.

15. On the relationship of *1 Enoch* 14 to Ezekiel 1, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 52-54; and especially Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100 (1981) 580-82.

16. Nickelsburg emphasizes this point ("Enoch," 580).

17. For example, 1 Kings 22, Isaiah 40, Psalm 82. See the discussion in F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 186-90.

18. Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 177-86.

19. *Ibid.*, 179-80.

20. Johann Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis, Kairos: Religionswissenschaftliche Studien* 1 (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1964) 97-101.

21. On this episode, see, for example, John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981) 293, 298-309.

22. It is against this view that Jeremiah warns: "Don't put your trust in illusions and say, 'The Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD, the Temple of the LORD are these [buildings]'" (Jer 7:4).

23. Maier, *Gnosis*, 105-6.

24. On this claim, see Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, trans. and abridged by M. Greenberg (New York: Schocken Books, 1972) 430-32.

25. Maier, *Gnosis*, 112-14.

26. Nickelsburg, "Enoch," 581-82.

27. Nickelsburg suggests that the verb "approach" (Charles: "draw nigh") in *1 Enoch* 14:23 has a technical, priestly meaning ("Enoch," 580-81 n. 19, 585).

28. Trans. O. S. Wintermute, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. Charlesworth.

29. Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975) 210-13.

30. On the *hekhlat* hymns, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, 57–63; and idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 2nd ed. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965) 20–29.

31. On the nature of *hekhlat* mysticism, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, 54–57.

32. *Ibid.*, 49–51.

33. For similar conclusions about Jewish apocalypses generally on the quite different grounds of cross-cultural parallels, see Susan Niditch, "The Visionary," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. George W. E. Nickelsburg and John J. Collins; *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 12 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980) 155–63.

34. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 54–55.

35. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 50–60, 67.

36. *Ibid.*, 56–60.

37. Charles refers to "Greek elements" in his commentary on chapters 17–19 (*Book of Enoch*, 38), and Nickelsburg shares this view (*Jewish Literature*, 54). Milik views both tours as influenced by Babylonian cosmology (*Books of Enoch*, 29–31, 37–38), although he admits Greek and Ugaritic elements (pp. 38–39).

38. See, for example, Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972) 289–304.

39. The words of this prophet are found in chapters 40–55 of the book of Isaiah. The prophet was active in Babylonia ca. 540, just before the fall of Babylonia to Cyrus of Persia. See, for example, John McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968) lviii–lx.

40. On this passage, see McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 23–25.

41. On this myth and its relation to biblical literature, see Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 112–44.

42. See E. A. Speiser (*Genesis*, Anchor Bible 3rd ed. [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979] 9–11) for a discussion of the relationship between the Babylonian myth and *genesis* 1.

43. Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 156–63.

44. *Ibid.*, 105–11.

45. *Ibid.*, 343–46.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Stone shows that one apocalypse, 4 Ezra, can be read as a polemic against the claim that such secrets are ever revealed to human beings ("Lists," 419–26).

48. For an introduction to the Qumran community, see Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland: Collins & World, 1977).

49. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 61–66.

50. *Ibid.*, 52.

51. Stone points to the presence of lists of the contents of revelation that include secrets of nature in several eschatological apocalypses that otherwise have little interest in such secrets ("Lists"). The significance of the lists will have to be considered in any discussion of the relationship between the eschatological apocalypses and the tour apocalypses.

52. For a survey of recent positions on the subject, see W. C. van Unnik, "Gnosis und Judentum," in *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, ed. Barbara Aland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) 65–86.

53. See, for example, "The Apocalypse of Paul," "Zostrianos," "Marsanes," and "Allogenes," in the *Nag Hammadi Library*, ed. James M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977).

### Bibliography

The apocalypses discussed above appear in one or both of two collections. Charles is the classic English-language collection; the new collection, Charlesworth, contains many additional texts. An excellent introduction to most of the works included in these volumes is Nickelsburg. Two excellent but quite different introductory treatments of the early Second Temple period are Bickerman and Stone, *Scriptures*. Stone's book emphasizes apocalyptic literature. A good example of a standard scholarly view of the apocalypses with an almost exclusive emphasis on eschatology is Russell. Some of the most important recent developments in the study of the emergence of apocalyptic eschatology derive from the insights of Cross. A recent attempt to take a fresh look at the relationship between genre and content is *Apocalypse*, ed. Collins.

The significance of the new dates for the Book of the Watchers and the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries is discussed in Stone, "Enoch." VanderKam treats the development of the Enoch traditions. Stone, "Lists," is a seminal discussion of the place of secrets of nature in apocalyptic literature. Himmelfarb traces the development of the concern with punishment in the afterlife in apocalyptic literature. Gruenwald offers an overview of the relationship between the apocalypses and early Jewish mysticism.

Bickerman, Elias. *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Post-Biblical Judaism*. New York: Schocken Books, 1962.

Charles, R. H., ed. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.

Charlesworth, J. H., ed. *Old Testament Apocrypha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-84.

—, ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983).

Collins, John J., ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Semeia 14. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979.

Cross, F. M. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Himmelfarb, Martha. *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.

Russell, D. S. *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964.

Stone, Michael E. "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978) 479-92.

—. "Lists of Revealed Things in 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.

—. *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.

VanderKam, James C. *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 16. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984.