

SOFANIT TAMENE ABEBE

Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Peter and Selected 1 Enoch Literature

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Peter and Selected 1 Enoch Literature

A Comparative Analysis

Mohr Siebeck

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*To
Paulos,
for making everything possible*

Preface

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Abbreviations

ABC	Anchor Bible Commentaries
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASNU	Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologaricum Lovaniensium
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
ExpTim	Expository Times
HCHCB	Hermeneia – A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
HeBAI	Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods, Supplement
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series

JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LNTS	Library of the New Testament Studies
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTG	New Testament Guides
NTS	New Testament Studies
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies
RQ	Revue du Qumrân
SBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

Chapter 1

Introductory Matters

A. The Book of Enoch and 1 Peter

The present work is an exegetical analysis that outlines the spatio-temporal aspects of the Jewish apocalyptic framework that has shaped the later 1 Enoch traditions (i.e., 1 Enoch 91–108) on the one hand, and as will be demonstrated, the First Epistle of Peter on the other. The Book of Enoch or the Ethiopic Enoch, is a composite work written in the name of Enoch from Genesis 5:21–24. The corpus exists in its most complete form in Ethiopic (Ge'ez) as a translation from Greek probably in the 4th–6th century CE. Before justifying my choice of comparanda and presenting the history of scholarship and methodological considerations that pertain to the present study, I will provide a brief introduction to 1 Enoch.

I. The Book of Enoch: Text and Transmission

There are nearly 150 copies of 1 Enoch in the Ge'ez tradition.¹ These are found among collections in Europe, the Middle East, North America and Ethiopia. Out of these, around 110 copies, in various states of preservation, are currently analysed as a basis for a critical edition being prepared by Loren T. Stuckenbruck. The Ge'ez manuscripts date from ca. 1400 until the late 20th century and constitute a tradition rooted in a translation from Greek composed in Ethiopia between the 4th and 6th centuries CE.² The Greek version, which

¹ Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Ted M. Erho, “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses for the Text Tradition of 1 Enoch: Problems and Prospects,” in: Grant Macaskill, Christl Maier, and Joachim Schaper (eds.), *Congress Volume Aberdeen 2019*, VTSup 192 (Leiden: Brill, 2022). As Stuckenbruck and Erho note, despite the overlaps with the Ge'ez, the Aramaic fragments indicate the existence “of a longer or substantially disparate text not preserved in any of the later versions.” While 4Q201 contains a different text than the Ethiopic tradition after 12:6, 4Q212 points to a longer text for 91:10; 91:15–16; 91:19 and 93:11–14. The manuscript fragments among 4Q207–211 also constitute a different tradition than the Ethiopic. See further, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 147, 173–174, 182, 594–595; J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 206–208, 266–267.

² Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:21–22.

constitutes approximately 28 percent of 1 Enoch is a translation from an Aramaic original.³ Below is a brief discussion of the extant 1 Enoch manuscript tradition, the relationship between these, and challenges that surround the construction of a critical text. I will also explain which critical texts I will draw upon in this study and on what basis that choice was made.

The Aramaic Enoch fragments are found in 4Q201–4Q212 and preserve less than 5 percent of the early Enochic corpus.⁴ Seven manuscripts preserve parts of 1 En. 1–36 and 1 En. 85–107. J. T. Milik dates 4QEn^a (=4Q201) to the first half of the 2nd century BCE,⁵ 4QEn^b (=4Q202) to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.E⁶ and 4QEn^d (4Q205) to the last third of the 1st century BCE.⁷ For my comparative study, I am only concerned with chapters 91–108 which are preserved in very fragmentary Aramaic texts (see below for a justification of a focus on the later 1 Enoch traditions).

Pertaining to the Apocalypse of Weeks, 4QEn^g (=4Q212⁸, mid-1st century BCE⁹) contains text from 1 En. 93:1–4, 9–10 and 91:11–17. For the Epistle of Enoch, 4QEn^c (=4Q204, last third of 1st century BCE¹⁰) and 4QEn^g preserve fragments of the text which belongs to 1 Enoch 92:1–5 and 94:1–2, 5.¹¹ Since 4QEn^g preserves only portions of the Exhortation, the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Epistle of Enoch, there is no evidence that it contained any of the other Enochic texts except chapters 91–105.¹² Unlike the Ethiopic tradition, 4QEn^g contains the proper order of the ten-week sequence of the Apocalypse of Weeks (i.e., 93:3–10 followed by 91:11–17).¹³

³ George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1–36; 81–108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 12; Knibb provides a higher estimate, putting the Greek version at around 35 percent (366 out of 1,062 verses in the Ge'ez text), cf. Knibb, *The Book of Enoch*, 20. For a discussion of whether the Ge'ez version derives from an Aramaic or a Hebrew original, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 214–216; Knibb, *The Book of Enoch*, 6–7; see also, R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906), lvii–lxx.

⁴ Cf. Ted M. Erho and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch,” in: *JSP* 23.2 (2013): 87. For a discussion of the Dead Sea materials see, Stuckenbruck, “The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment,” in: Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins (eds.), *The Early Enoch Literature*, SJSJ (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–63.

⁵ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 140.

⁶ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 164.

⁷ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 217.

⁸ Milik assigned it to columns i through v; cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 245–272; see also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 50.

⁹ So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 246.

¹⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 178–179.

¹¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 7.

¹² On which, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 50 and n. 85.

¹³ See further Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 50.

The Greek version is a reworking of older traditions preserved among the Aramaic and a few Hebrew fragments among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Greek Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus (4th century CE) contains a running text of most of the Epistle of Enoch (97:6–104:13) and in another section the story of Noah's birth (106:1–107:3). It parallels the Ethiopic at 97:6–107:3.¹⁴ However, as Stuckenbruck notes, the text "seems to have been hastily copied, is riddled with errors and can only be used with caution."¹⁵

The most complete running text of 1 Enoch is extant only in a Ge'ez version.¹⁶ The Greek version, which provides a textual basis for the Ethiopic, lacks texts or fragments for the Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71) as well as the Eschatological Admonition (1 En. 108). There are two recensions of the Ethiopic Enoch, 'Ethiopic I' (Eth I) and 'Ethiopic II' (Eth II).¹⁷ The latter represents a standardising text that emerged during the 17th century and reflects the attempt of Ethiopian copyists to turn the Ethiopic text into a version usable in the church.¹⁸ Eth I, the earlier recension, reflects a variegated textual tradition that is represented by a growing number of manuscripts. While Johannes Flemming¹⁹ and R. H. Charles²⁰ have identified six Eth I manuscripts, Michael Knibb²¹ has collated seven. Nine manuscripts were used by Siegbert Uhlig²² and Nickelsburg²³. Reflecting a much wider number of manuscripts, the critical edition currently being prepared by Stuckenbruck represents around thirty manuscripts in addition to formal citations of the Ethiopic Enoch from approximately "fifteen indigenous works composed before and during the 17th century."²⁴

¹⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 14.

¹⁵ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 186. He provides a list of missing portions and errors in the text:

(a) [missing text] where the bottom of the papyrus sheets are torn: 98:3b–4a; 98:11b–12a; 99:5b–6; most of 100:1; 100:10; 101:7b; 103:1; 103:13b; 104:9b; (b) the manuscript did not contain 105:1–2 (see below); and (c) a number of (mostly) smaller omissions through homoioteleuton: 98:15; 99:4, 8, 9, 16; 100:11, 13; 102:7, 8; 103:3–4, 5–6, 12, 15; 104:1, 12. In addition, in numerous instances the text requires some emendation in order to make sense. Good examples of this may be found in 97:8, 10; 98:3, 13, 14; 99:13, 16; 100:3, 5, 9; 101:2; 102:1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9; 103:2; 103:7, 9, 11, 12, 15; 104:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13.

¹⁶ As Nickelsburg correctly notes, the translation of 1 Enoch to Ge'ez occurred as part of translating the Bible from Greek, which in the Ethiopic canon included Jubilees and 1 Enoch, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 15.

¹⁷ Charles calls these the α and β recension, respectively, cf. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*, xvii–xxiv; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 16.

¹⁸ For a detailed description of the Eth II recension see, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 23–26.

¹⁹ Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1902).

²⁰ Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*, xvii–xxiv.

²¹ Knibb, *The Book of Enoch*.

²² Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, JSRZ 6 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984), 489.

²³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 15–17.

²⁴ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses".

Although Eth I reflect the oldest witnesses to the Ethiopic tradition, there is still about a thousand years that separate the earliest extant manuscripts from the fourth- to sixth-century translation of 1 Enoch. The greatest challenge that surrounds the construction of a critical text arises out of the fact that the Eth I witnesses derive from a relatively late period.²⁵ It is only Tana 9 and EMLL 7584 that can be confidently dated to the 15th century and Abb 55 and EMLL 2080 to the 15th–16th centuries. While the other seven are dated to the 16th–18th centuries: BM 485a, BM 485, Berl, and EMLL 1768 to the 16th century, Abb 35 and EMLL 6281 to the 17th century and BM 491 to the 18th. As Stuckenbruck and Erho note, it is no more than half a dozen codices and fragments that antedate the second millennium. Furthermore, there are 30 or 40 items which precede the 14th century at various states of condition available for the study. However, as Stuckenbruck and Erho note, the Ethiopic tradition was extremely conservative in the transmission of texts.²⁶ Scribes aimed for precise reproduction and the deliberate rewriting or editing of received tradition was extremely rare. They note the significance of the Ethiopic tradition:

[i]n antiquity, as well as the medieval period, Ethiopic texts seem to have changed almost exclusively through accidental corruption, i.e., mistakes in the transmission of the text in one manuscript into another [...] (as holds for all Jewish literature preserved in Ethiopic); hence the continuing importance of the tradition for its reception of very ancient material, whereas some parts of the Greek tradition are more susceptible to, e.g., Christianizing, interference.²⁷

Thus, corruptions of text occur by leaving material out than being added e.g., through homoioteleuton. Stuckenbruck and Erho also write that major corruptions commonly occur in miscopying through codicological displacement. Translators' proficiency in Greek is also a factor to consider in the construction of a critical text where mistranslations and other changes in language transfer are to be expected.²⁸

Reflecting an additional difficulty associated with the construction of a critical text, there is wide variation within the Ethiopic I recension. Following Uhlig, Nickelsburg places the nine manuscripts of this recension he uses (i.e., BM485, BM491, Berl, Abb 35, Abb 55, Tana 9, EMLL 1768, EMLL 2080, and EMLL 6281) into four subgroups which reflect products of a 15th century recension and share readings not followed by other manuscripts. These subgroups are

²⁵ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses".

²⁶ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses".

²⁷ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses". Stuckenbruck addresses the question of whether and to what degree scribal interference can be detected in the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1 Enoch in a recent essay, cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Has Christian Tradition Influenced the Ge'ez and Greek Versions of 1 Enoch?," in: Meron T. Gebreanayye, Logan Williams, and Francis Watson (eds.), *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2021), 55–66.

²⁸ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses".

sometimes overlapping with Abb 35 and Abb 55 each sharing characteristics with two sub-groups.²⁹ Given the growing number of Eth I manuscripts that are being identified since the publication of Nickelsburg's commentary, the clusters of manuscripts reflect an even more complex textual history.³⁰ As Erho and Stuckenbruck rightly note,

[c]lusters or families of manuscripts have emerged which share major conjunctive errors, especially common omissions, and duplications of passages, suggesting affiliations along different lines than those previously suggested. However, the relationships between individual manuscripts within families derived from conjunctive errors and the relationships of these groups or branches to each other have yet to be properly established.³¹

Further complicating the construction of a critical text is the problem with accessing manuscripts given the recent political situation in the country. This pertains to not only the manuscripts preserved by most, if not all, of the 800 monastic and 20,000 church libraries thought to exist in Ethiopia but also those in the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) stored at the National Archives and Library Agency in Addis Ababa.

My study is based specifically on the critical study of 1 Enoch 91–108 by Stuckenbruck which takes its point of departure in the Ethiopic text tradition due to the running text it preserves for chapters 91–108. In establishing an Ethiopic textual basis, Stuckenbruck considers the older, though more varied, Eth I recension while offering a text-critical negotiation of inner-Ethiopic variants that does not disregard the Eth II.³² He also consults the more fragmentary evidence preserved in the Aramaic, Greek, Coptic and Latin textual witnesses. In contrast to Nickelsburg who provides a single translation of a composite text that he bases on a critical comparison of all versions, Stuckenbruck offers a parallel presentation of these versions (Greek, Latin, Coptic) whenever they have a running text and lists differences with the Ethiopic manuscripts or the reconstructed Ethiopic text. This is due to the complexity and wide variation within each version, especially the Ethiopic, to establish the text. Thus, as Stuckenbruck notes, “by making the process transparent in this way, the reader has the possibility of observing and participating in at least some of the comparative and text-critical procedures being followed at any given point.”³³

²⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I*, 16 and nn. 67–68.

³⁰ See for e.g., Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Ted M. Erho, “The Book of Enoch and the Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition: New Data,” in: Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (eds.), *‘Go Out and Study the Land’ (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical, and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, JSJSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 257–267; Ted Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” *BSOAS* 76.1 (2013): 75–97; Erho and Stuckenbruck, “Ethiopic Enoch”.

³¹ Stuckenbruck and Erho, “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses”.

³² Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 26–27.

³³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 18.

Another strength of Stuckenbruck's edition is the provision of a putative Greek text that departs from the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus where a different Greek *Vorlage* has given rise to the Ethiopic tradition.³⁴ He also lists in full the fragmentary Aramaic and Coptic sources. I have thus drawn upon the text provided in Stuckenbruck's commentary based on the rich and exhaustive exposition of these traditions as well as the general preference for the Ethiopic I recension over the Ethiopic II.³⁵ The Ethiopic I evidence that underlies Stuckenbruck's edition is listed below along with dates, location and content for the manuscripts.³⁶

Table 1: Ethiopic I recension used by Stuckenbruck

Siglum	Date	Place	Content
BM 485	16 th c.	London (British Library)	1–108
BM 485a	16 th c.	London (British Library)	97:6b–108:10
BM 491	18 th c.	London (British Library)	1–108
Berl	16 th c.	Tübingen (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz)	1–108
Abb 35	17 th c.	Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France)	1–108
Abb 55	15–16 th c.	Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France)	1–108
Tana 9 ³⁷	15 th c.	Kibran (Kibran Gebriel Monastery)	1–108
EMML 2080	15–16 th c.	Hayq Estifanos	1–108
EMML 1768	16 th c.	Hayq Estifanos	1–108
EMML 6281	17 th c.	Collegeville (HMML)	1–108
EMML 7584	15 th c.	Collegeville (HMML)	1–108

II. Justification for the Choice of Comparanda

The similarities between 1 Peter and the Enochic traditions have been noted as early as 1890 when Friedrich Spitta proposed Jewish literature as a background to 1 Peter 3:18–22.³⁸ Spitta offered an interpretation of this passage within the context of Israelite flood traditions as well as 1 Enoch's myth of fallen angels.

³⁴ For the text-critical principles that lie behind Stuckenbruck's edition, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 27–28.

³⁵ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 27.

³⁶ The list of Eth I manuscripts above is adapted from Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 20–21. For a list containing details of the growing number of manuscripts in the standardised Eth II recension, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 23–25.

³⁷ As Erho notes, Tana 9 is filmed as EMML 8292 in a more legible copy than the catalogued copy in Ernest Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tänäsee*, VOHD XX 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), 107–108; cf. Erho, "New Ethiopic Witnesses," 89.

³⁸ Friedrich Spitta, *Christi predigt an die Geister (1 Petr. 3,19ff.): Ein Beitrag zur neustamentlichen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1890).

Other interpreters likewise consider 1 Enoch traditions when interpreting 1 Peter 3:18–22.³⁹ While a number of such studies engage this particular passage in 1 Peter, others have adduced perceived conceptual or linguistic parallels with respect to other aspects of the epistle. With the exception of Chad T. Pierce who offers a brief look at the apocalyptic motif of revelation and ‘glory’ in 1 Peter,⁴⁰ the comments and views which Petrine scholars offer in relation to 1 Enoch are often confined to brief paragraphs and footnotes. George Nickelsburg, for instance, writes without further elaboration that,

[t]he author of 1 Peter works from an apocalyptic worldview similar to that of 1 Enoch. The eschaton and the final judgment are imminent, and the reader can take comfort in the knowledge that, in spite of present tribulation, heaven holds a reward, as yet unseen, for the righteous (1:3–12).⁴¹

Additionally, before listing specific linguistic and conceptual parallels, Nickelsburg further adds that “striking parallels between 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 108 may indicate the Petrine author’s knowledge of Enochic traditions.”⁴² He provides the following list.⁴³

Table 2: Nickelsburg’s List of Similarities between 1 En. 108 and 1 Peter

	1 Enoch 108	1 Peter
do evil	2, 6, 10	3:12
seed will perish	3b	1:23 (perishable seed)
prophetic books, angels	6–7	1:10–12
love God, heaven	8, 10	1:8 (love Christ)
disdain silver, gold	8	1:7, 18
do not desire food	8	2:2 (desire milk)
breath that passes	9	1:24 (flesh as grass)
spirits tested, found pure	9	1:7 (found praiseworthy)
bles, blessing	9–10	3:9
reproach, insult, abuse	7, 10	3:16; 4:4, 16
blessing by contrast	10	2:9
summoned from darkness to light	11	2:9
exaltation	12	5:4, 6
righteous judgment	13	1:17; 2:23

³⁹ Cf. Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter III.19 and Its Context*, ASNU 13 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1946); William J. Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18–4:6*, 2nd ed., Analecta Biblica 23 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989).

⁴⁰ Cf. his brief analysis of the Jewish apocalyptic thought world in 1 Peter which I have earlier noted in Chapter 1: Chad T. Pierce, “Apocalypse and the Epistles of 1, 2 Peter and Jude,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017), 307–325.

⁴¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 86.

⁴² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 86.

⁴³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 560.

In explicating 1 Peter’s apocalyptic worldview along spatial axis and comparing it to the larger literary context within which 1 Enoch 108 appears, my study can be considered as an attempt to build on and further Nickelsburg’s brief study. It is also an attempt to respond to his suggestion that 1 Peter reflects an apocalyptic worldview comparable to Jewish apocalyptic writings concerned with the theme of divine revelation, final judgment, and ultimate vindication for righteous sufferers in the afterlife.

Similarly, John H. Elliott draws attention to the need for a more substantive engagement of 1 Peter vis-à-vis 1 Enoch.⁴⁴ The verbal and conceptual similarities he identifies, while focussed on the earlier Enochic traditions and 1 Peter 3:19–20, still include material concerning the later 1 Enoch texts as listed below.⁴⁵

Table 3: Elliott’s List of Parallels between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter

	1 Enoch	1 Peter
fate of deceased humans	102–104; 108:6	4:6
joy and exultation	104:14:00	1:6–9; 4:13
the end of all things (“history’s final phase”)	93:1–10; 91:12–17	4:7
suffering of the just and ultimate divine vindication	92–105	2:21–25
house as a reference to Temple	91:13	2:5–6
obedient children [of God]	91:3	1:13

Both Nickelsburg and Elliott are correct that these present interesting parallels worth investigating further especially given the combination of themes appearing in both traditions. However, neither Nickelsburg nor Elliott explores the overall context in which these similarities and differences appear or what organising principles lie behind the view of reality and exhortational content in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter. Nickelsburg invites a closer comparative reading of 1 Enoch and 1 Peter than that offered in his *Hermeneia* commentary on 1 Enoch chapters 1–36 and 81–108. He notes that such a comparative study “may reveal new insights into a common religious mentality that proliferated itself in a variety of groups and sects in early Judaism and primitive Christianity.”⁴⁶ Acknowledging Nickelsburg’s list of parallels which I have provided above, Elliott also notes the need for further study of “these and other affinities” between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter.

⁴⁴ John H. Elliott, “1 Enoch, 1 Peter, and Social-Scientific Criticism: A Review Article on a Major 1 Enoch Commentary,” *BTB* 39.1 (2009): 39–43.

⁴⁵ John H. Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ABC 37B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 357, 415, 544, 702, 745, 777.

⁴⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 554.

Towards this end, I will explore in greater depth the apocalyptic worldview in 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter in Chapter 2 below without arguing for a genealogical relationship (contra Nickelsburg who seems inclined towards it⁴⁷) to explain parallel ideas in 1 Peter and the Eschatological Admonition. Furthermore, the focus of my study is an exploration of space, a theme recognised as an important aspect of the early Jewish apocalyptic thought. The choice of this topic is justified by the relative scarcity of scholarly focus on the spatial aspect of apocalyptic literature that extends beyond those concerned with otherworldly journeys in general, and in particular the early Enoch tradition.⁴⁸ In other words, while there is a growing number of studies that explore spatiality in literature that depict heavenly journeys, attention has not been paid to the production of space that encapsulate space not only as conceived, experienced and imagined but also as constructed through the text itself. In this regard my choice of topic is justified given the recognised importance of space and time in the study of the later 1 Enoch traditions (i.e., chs. 91–108) on the one hand, and, on the other the overrepresentation of the study of temporality at the expense of spatiality in studies that engage 1 Enoch 91–108.

To the best of my knowledge and as a survey of the history of research will demonstrate below, there is so far no monograph length study dedicated to (i) the question of whether and to what degree 1 Peter can be read as reflecting the early Jewish apocalyptic thought, (ii) the similarity and differences between 1 Peter's presentation of reality and that of 1 Enoch. In relation to the latter, the comparative task undertaken in this study is justified by the presence of common themes and conceptual categories between 1 Peter and the 1 Enoch traditions analysed here. The present study is thus a more in-depth analysis than was provided by Elliott and Nickelsburg, and one that engages the noted conceptual parallels between 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter from a perspective that assesses the traditions in light of their respective participation in and representation of the Jewish apocalyptic outlook.

Going beyond verbal and conceptual similarities between 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 91–108 at the level of words and pericope, my comparative analysis takes into account the wider literary context in which such similarities (and differences) occur. Thus, after exploring the apocalyptic reality in terms of the

⁴⁷ Nickelsburg suggests that the text of 1 Enoch 108 could be part of "Peter's theological repertoire," cf. *1 Enoch 1*, 560.

⁴⁸ Kelley Coblenz Bautch rightly notes that the notion of space is critical to understanding the apocalyptic imagination, cf. "Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature," *HeBAI* 5.3 (2016): 273–288. For other explorations of apocalyptic spatiality in the Book of Watchers, see Pieter Michiel Venter, "Allotted Place and Cursed Space in 1 Enoch 12–36," *Old Testament Essays* 27.2 (2014): 666–683, and Daniel Assefa Kassaye, "Space and Time in 1 Enoch 1–36: A Narrative Critical Analysis," 2018, <https://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/26267>.

spatial perspective present in each literary tradition, I will analyse my comparanda in terms of how the themes of revelation, election, judgment and moral agency are treated in each tradition. More specifically, using critical spatial theory to analyse spatial categories, I will consider how reality is presented in the 1 Enoch traditions as well as in 1 Peter in its spatio-temporal dimension. In relation to this, and within the Jewish apocalyptic framework, my study will explore how each text responds to suffering and/or persecution and to those perceived to be opponents or persecutors. Towards this end, I consider the later 1 Enoch traditions (the Exhortation, the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Epistle of Enoch and the Eschatological Admonition) and their respective constructions of symbolic space. I argue that their respective visions of reality are constructed based on an axis linking heaven and earth through the disclosure of divine revelation by the Enochic author(s). This reality serves to identify the recipients of revelation as those who embody a heavenly lived space and as those who are divinely constituted through election and are given access to the divine.

In this view, suffering and/or persecution is closely aligned with the rise of sin and mythical evil. To the pious, suffering at the hands of the wicked presents an occasion to demonstrate allegiance and fidelity to God, receive divine approval and the revelation of hidden wisdom. Thus the 1 Enoch texts under consideration here do not offer an engagement with the notion of oppression through resistance discourse directed at perceived political or social enemies, such as imperial overlords or the rich and powerful. Instead, the primary and most salient emphasis is on offering a religious critique that involves re-drawing a map of the world. This re-drawn world presents spatial divisions between the hostile other upon whom there is imminent destruction and the elect community who are spatially located in the realm of God with the assured prospect of eschatological reward and vindication. This general spatial schema receives varying levels of expression and nuance in line with the particular outlook and specific aims of each text in 1 Enoch 91–108.

Similarly, but also in stark contrast and towards the author's own rhetorical ends, in 1 Peter reality is envisioned on a cosmic scale. Through a programmatic recalling of cultic spatial practices and significant events from Israel's sacred past, Peter depicts his Christ-elect addressees as establishing the space where the divine dwells. Forming a prominent aspect of the letter, the exhortations in 1 Peter feature Christ as a model for the readers to imitate. In all the three sections of the epistle's body, Peter depicts the characteristics of Christ's suffering as features that need to be emulated by the addressees as they too suffer like Christ.⁴⁹ Christ was blameless and pure (1:19; 2:22), righteous (3:18), he did not retaliate (2:22, 23) but rather entrusted himself to God who judges justly (2:23) and who foreknew his suffering (1:11). The readers are

⁴⁹ Mark Dubis, *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4:12–19*, SBLDS 33 (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 103.

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