

C. D. ELLEDGE

Life after Death in Early Judaism

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe
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Mohr Siebeck

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208



C. D. Elledge

Life after Death in Early Judaism

The Evidence of Josephus

Mohr Siebeck

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Dedicated to Jim Charlesworth

Preface

This study is the result of dissertation research originally completed at Princeton Theological Seminary and revised at the École Biblique de Jérusalem under a U.S. Student Fulbright Programs grant. I wish to thank, especially, Prof. J. H. Charlesworth of Princeton Seminary for advising this project from its very beginnings, as well as Abbé Émile Puech and Étienne Nodet, O. P., of the École Biblique for numerous conversations and lectures on topics directly related to this study. I express my gratitude also to the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem for permission to view manuscripts during the year 2001. The early findings of the present research were released in chapter 3 of the author's dissertation, "Resurrection and the End of History: The Resurrection Motif in Paul's Preaching and Defense in the Acts of the Apostles" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2001). The present work is a revision and expansion of portions of this work. Profs. Beverly Roberts Gaventa and Don Juel provided considerable probity and encouragement while serving on the committee. I wish also to thank Profs. Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, and Henning Ziebritzki for their very thoughtful and instructive suggestions, as I completed my work and prepared it for publication. I am indebted to Prof. Carsten Claussen for his encouragement and assistance in the process of publication. I thank Prof. John B. F. Miller and Michael T. Davis for many conversations that have informed my understanding of this, and many other, subjects.

Conventions of abbreviation and documentation generally follow those proposed in *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (ed. P. Alexander et al.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). Quotations of ancient classical authors follow the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library, with occasional revision. Translations of the key passages of Josephus featured in this study are those of the author. Aramaic text for *1 Enoch* follows the edition by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). Greek text for 2 Maccabees follows Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber II* (ed. R. Hanhart; Vetus Testamentum Graecum 9.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959). Text for Qumran manuscripts follows editions of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Clarendon) and the *Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck]), as listed in the footnotes. Greek text for Wisdom follows

Joseph Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962). Other *Septuaginta* follow Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1949; orig. 1935). Greek citations of Josephus follow Flavius Josephus, *De Bello Judaico: Der Jüdische Krieg* (ed. O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind; 3 vols.; Munich: Kösel, 1962); Johann Georg Müller, *Des Flavius Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion: Text und Erklärung* (New York: Georg Olms, 1969); *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities* (ed. R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, L. Feldman; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965-92); V. Istrin, *La Prise de Jérusalem de Josèphe le Juif* (trans. T. Pascal; 2 vols.; Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1934); David Flusser, *The Josippon [Josephus Gorionides]: Edited with an Introduction, Commentary and Notes* (2 vols; Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1978). Other ancient fragments generally follow Ioannes ab Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (4 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1905).

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List of Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
<i>ANF</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
<i>BASORSup</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement</i>
<i>BibLeb</i>	<i>Bibel und Leben</i>
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
CBET	Contributions to Exegesis and Biblical Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CRINT	Codex rerum iudicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément.</i> Ed. L. Pirot et al.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Etudes Bibliques
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FSC	Faith and Scholarship Colloquies
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSHZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit

<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal for Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement
<i>NRTh</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Ed. Charlesworth
PA	Philosophia Antiqua
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue de science religieuse</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherche de science religieuse</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
SSEJC	Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>SVF</i>	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> . Ed. ab Arnim.
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Ed. Kittel, et al.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentaries

WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Introduction

The realization of death, together with the need to interpret its mysteries, presents one of the most consistently featured problems in the history of religions. The literature of the Second Temple period (both Hellenistic and Roman) presents a vast and memorable array of responses to this problem. In his comprehensive survey of traditions regarding “life beyond death,” H. C. C. Cavallin once cited over thirty distinct ancient writings that contain significant reflection upon this topic, from the traditions in the Hebrew Bible to the advent of the Rabbis.¹ Further manuscript discoveries among the Dead

¹ H. C. C. Cavallin, *Life after Death: Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Cor 15; Part I, An Inquiry into the Jewish Background* (Lund, Sweden: Gleerup, 1974), 23–165.

Additional surveys, like that provided by Cavallin, include the following: R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity* (London: Black, 1913); Friedrich Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben* (Würzburg: Becker, 1926); Aimo T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt, I: Religionsgeschichtlicher Teil* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 49; Helsinki: Der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, 1944); D. Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (ed. H. Gressmann; HNT 21; 4. Auflage; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1966), 269–74; Günther Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung: Studien zur Anthropologie und Eschatologie des palästinischen Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (ca. 170 v. Cr. – 100 n. Cr.)* (AnBib 56; Roma: Biblical Institute Press, 1972); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during The Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; London: SCM, 1974; orig. 1973), 1:196ff.; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Émile Schürer, *The History of The Jewish People in The Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* (rev. ed. M. Black, G. Vermes, F. Millar, P. Vermes; trans. T. Burkill et al.; 3 vols.; London: T.&T. Clark, 1979; orig. 1885–1924), 2:539–44; Robert Martin-Achard, “Résurrection dans l’Ancien Testament et le Judaïsme,” *DBSup* 10:438–87; E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief (63 BCE – 66 CE)* (London: SCM Press, 1994), 298–303; Émile Puech, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?: Histoire d’une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* (EBib 21; 2 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1993); Hermann Lichtenberger, “La résurrection dans la littérature intertestamentaire et la théologie rabbinique,” *Concilium* 249 (1993): 35–44; Neil Gillman, *The Death of Death: Resurrection and Immortality in Jewish Thought* (Woodstock, Vt.: Jewish Lights, 1997); Paolo Sacchi, *The History of The Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 285; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2000), 426–38; James H. Charlesworth, in *Histoire du Christianisme (Des origines à nos jours)* (ed. J.-M. Mayeur, et al., and F. Laplanche; Tome XIV; Paris: Desclée, 2001), 505–51; N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 3; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A*

Sea Scrolls have since broadened the number of traditions,² as have specialized studies of the epigraphic evidence.³ These traditions, remarkably diverse in their respective notions of resurrection, immortality, and related concepts, are historically significant in their own right: They often reflect sophisticated theological attempts to come to terms with a world in which God and human fortunes clash violently. Moreover, beyond their own intrinsic value, they provide the ground and nutriment for both early Christian and rabbinical faith that God raises the dead. Islam would later follow down a similar path. In this sense, these traditions from the Second Temple period have left their enduring impression upon the history of religions in the West far beyond their own time, attesting to their priceless contribution and abiding relevance.

An *important*, yet *perplexing*, figure among these traditions is Flavius Josephus. His *importance* consists in his tendency to describe, as an historian, aspects of Jewish faith regarding life beyond death during his own time. His reports on these matters remain significant not only for understanding Jewish religion in the Second Temple period, but also for deciphering numerous aspects of New Testament history, including both Jesus Research and Pauline Studies.⁴ The *perplexity* of Josephus arises from

History of the Afterlife in the West (New York: Doubleday, 2004); Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Boston: Brill, 2004).

² This is especially the case with 4Q521 (4QMessianic Apocalypse) and 4Q385-88, 91 (4QPseudo Ezekiel^{ac}). On the former, see Émile Puech, *La croyance*, 2:627-92; "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 60 (1992): 475-522; "Messianic Apocalypse," in *Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579): Qumran Cave 4.XVIII* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1-36. On the latter, see Devorah Dimant, "Resurrection, Restoration and Time-Curtailing in Qumran, Early Judaism and Christianity," *RevQ* 19 (1999-2000): 527-48; and *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 7-88. The preliminary publication was provided in John Strugnell and Devorah Dimant, "4Q Second Ezekiel (4Q385)," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 45-58. Less certain is whether 4Q245 (4QPseudo Daniel^{ac} aramaic) may have preserved similar interpretation of Dan 12:1-3 in terms of a future resurrection from the dead. See Puech, *La croyance*, 2:568-70; and G. J. Brooke, J. Collins, P. Flint, J. Greenfield, E. Larson, C. Newsom, É. Puech, L. Schiffman, M. Stone, and J. Trebolle Barrera, *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 153-64.

³ Laurence H. Kant, "Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin," *ANRW* II.20.2 (1987): 677-80; Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millenium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE - 700 CE)* (CBET 2; Kampen: Pharos, 1991), 114-26; and Joseph S. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions: With Special Reference to Pauline Literature* (WUNT 121; Mohr [Siebeck], 2000); Puech, *La croyance*, 1:182-99; Cavallin, *Life after Death*, 99-101, 166-70.

⁴ Witness, for example, the 600 page study by Otto Schwankl on Mk 12:18-27 and its parallels; *Die Sadduzäerfrage (Mk 12, 18-27 parr): Eine exegetisch-theologische Studie zur Auferstehungserwartung* (BBB 66; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Hanstein, 1987). The *pericope* remains important for understanding the historical Jesus in John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*:

the observation that his descriptions can only partially be verified in writings from the same era: While claiming to report what his contemporaries said and believed on this important question, he has, in essence, left his readers with a description of Jewish beliefs about the future life that is unique to itself. Further limiting our understanding of this problem has been the tendency of critical studies to concentrate on one or two key passages in Josephus (e.g., esp. those regarding Pharisees or Essenes), without surveying them within the comprehensive context of what the author reveals about Jewish faith in the future life in the *Against Apion*, the *Jewish War*, and the *Jewish Antiquities*. Furthermore, there has been no single work dedicated to a comprehensive assessment of these materials in their historical context, their possible sources, and their apologetical purposes.⁵

The present study is an attempt to provide a concentrated assessment of what Josephus reveals regarding Jewish piety about the future life. The study takes both the *importance* and *perplexities* of Josephus' reports with equal seriousness: On the one hand, it takes Josephus seriously as one who was attempting to describe certain phenomena of Jewish piety as he observed them during his own time; on the other, it reads these reports with suspicion and regards Josephus as an apologetical translator, who has transformed the original content of Jewish beliefs regarding the future life into a Hellenistic philosophical synthesis for his own rhetorical purposes.⁶ The methods,

Rethinking the Historical Jesus, Volume III: Companions and Competitors (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 2001). For some recent examples within Pauline studies, see especially Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5* (JSNTSup 22; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988); and Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 207–398.

⁵ A. Schlatter's theological study of Josephus provides a point of departure; *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus* (BFCT 2.26; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1932), 263ff.; yet Norman Bentwich had also noted the apologetical devices used in some of these passages; *Josephus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1914), 117. Puech committed significant attention to these passages, especially in their relationships to Hippolytus and the Qumran scrolls; *La croyance*, 2:703–70. Joseph Sievers has provided a brief, yet informative, statement; "Josephus and the Afterlife," in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (ed. S. Mason; JSPSup; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998), 20–43. Sanders also devotes more than passing attention to all but one of the passages; *Judaism: Practice and Belief*, 299–303. Steve Mason's comprehensive study of Josephus' Pharisees is also highly instructive; *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* (Studia Post-Biblica 39; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 156–70. He has noted the opportunity and need for further work on the topic. Brief readings have also been supplied by Cavallin, *Life after Death*, 141–46; Segal, *History of the Afterlife*, 300–302; Wright, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 175–81; and Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essener-Texten im Werk des Jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Pharos, 1993), 62–66.

⁶ Cf. the passing comment of John J. Collins, which also accounts for both Hellenization and the possible value of these accounts: "Josephus has obviously Hellenized the Essenes for

purpose, and setting of this grand *interpretatio graeca* will be the subject of the present work.

The study begins with a brief synopsis of beliefs regarding life beyond death in Jewish literature beyond Josephus. The purpose of this synopsis is to provide a “control set,” alongside which aspects of Josephus’ complex presentation may be cross-examined. Second, the study proceeds with a comprehensive survey of Josephus’ presentation of Jewish beliefs regarding the future life. The survey emphasizes that Josephus’ presentation is not confined simply to the well known descriptions of the Jewish sects, but is significantly more extensive, since it is also attested in the *Against Apion*, in four speeches of the *Jewish War*, and in two additional passages of the *Jewish Antiquities*. Third, the study provides an exposition of the concepts regarding the future life in these passages and an analysis of the literary sources and more general cultural influences Josephus may have employed in their composition. Fourth, the study proposes three possibilities for appreciating the apologetical functions of these passages within Josephus’ works, including his idealizing portrait of Judaism, his own genuine concerns with theodicy, and the moralizing dimensions of his presentation of history. Finally, both 4 *Maccabees* and Justin Martyr’s *First Apology* are offered as corollary examples of the apologetical translation strategy contained in Josephus’ descriptions. It is hoped that this study will assist in clarifying at least one aspect of the enigmatic, yet intriguing, testimonies that Flavius Josephus has bequeathed to the history of Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

his Roman readers, but there is nonetheless a remarkable degree of correspondence between the two accounts [of *War* 2.154 and the *Rule of the Community* 4.7–13]”; *Daniel: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 398. Also Segal, *History of the Afterlife*, 302: “Josephus was trying to characterize a basically Semitic group to a pagan, philosophically trained readership, who were the only practical readers of this work.” Martin Hengel, “Das Begräbnis Jesu bei Paulus und die leibliche Auferstehung aus dem Grabe,” in *Auferstehung-Resurrection*, 162: “Dass er daneben auch einfach von der Hoffnung auf Unsterblichkeit sprechen kann, ist schlicht eine Angleichung an den Verständnishorizont der von ihm erhofften mehr oder weniger gebildeten heidnischen Leserschaft.” See also Puech, *La croyance*, 2:747–48, 781, 795.

Chapter 1

Faith in the Future Life: Afterlife Traditions beyond Josephus

Much of the importance of Josephus' writings depends directly upon his unique position in Jewish history. As he presents himself in his *Life*, his family history links him directly to the origins of the Judaeen state, even as his own career would lead him inevitably to its tragic end. He, thus, stands simultaneously in two worlds. Behind him is a lost world, whose memory continues to live on in completely new ways in his writings; before him is a world forever changed, in which he must discover new and viable ways to prepare for an uncertain future. When treating his portrayal of Jewish religion, one must constantly attend to the dynamic relationship between the author's vision of the past and his distinctive presentation of that past for a new age. Appreciating Josephus' presentation of Jewish faith in the future life, thus, demands careful attention to the author's literary antecedents where this topic is concerned.

1. Texts and Traditions

The present chapter attempts to meet this demand through a brief survey of the literary evidence for Jewish faith in the future life prior to and contemporaneous with Josephus. This treatment is not exhaustive. Its intention is only to sketch the basic options for belief in life beyond death that are expressed in literary evidence beyond Josephus. The survey indicates the basic lexical patterns that recur within the literary evidence and the multiple expectations of a future life that are recorded in these documents. In comparison, the unique features of Josephus' own treatment will stand forth in deeper relief, when studied within their ancient literary context.

1. 1 Enoch

An important starting point for this survey is the collection of materials presented in the pseudepigraphic apocalypse *1 Enoch*. Within this collection one meets some of the earliest evidence that mythological conceptions of the

soul's departure to *Sheol* (Num 16:30; Deut 32:22; Job 7:9; Isa 57:9; Ps 69:2-3, 15-16; 88:3-4; Jon 2:3-6) are now being reinterpreted in favor of an understanding of the afterlife that is directly concerned with punishment and reward beyond death. Since *1 Enoch* is a collection of at least five distinct compositions that date from the third century B.C.E. to around the turn of the era, it is necessary to work with the individual textual units that comprise this document when interpreting it. Although George W. E. Nickelsburg has stated that "Resurrection [of the dead] is an aspect and function of the great judgment in all the major sections of Enoch,"¹ a more guarded approach is preferred in what follows.² Instead of consistently advocating resurrection throughout the collection, *1 Enoch* preserves a more diverse panorama of ideas regarding life beyond death that emerged over approximately three centuries. Among these, perhaps the most consistent is the expectation of a "day of judgment," featured throughout numerous sections of the work.

Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (1 En. 72-82): The oldest portion of *1 Enoch* is an astronomical work that originated prior to the third century B.C.E.³ Within this calendrical work, a brief narrative insertion (81.1-82.9c) of later materials has been incorporated.⁴ Nickelsburg has dated this insertion prior to the composition of *Jubilees*, c. 200 – 150 B.C.E.⁵ Within this narrative, Enoch offers blessings for those who die in righteousness:

Blessed is the man who dies just and good,
And against whom there has been written and found
no account of wrongdoing for the day of judgment. (1 En. 81.4)

In this beatitude a day of judgment is clearly expected, there is a heavenly record of wrongdoings, and those who die in righteousness will be saved from the final judgment. Later in this passage, the precise meaning of dying

¹ George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 49.

² Cavallin, on the other hand, regards the *Similitudes* (1 En. 37-71) as "the only section of 1 En which clearly expresses a belief in resurrection of the body on the Last Day"; *Life after Death*, 44. He credits P. Grelot with a similar reading, "L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le livre de'Hénoch," *RevQ* 1 (1958): 122. See also Wright, who provides a brief reading of several key passages, *Resurrection of the Son of God*, 153-57.

³ Since its astronomy is even older, the work is sometimes dated earlier to the Persian period (before 333 B.C.E.); George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The First Book of Enoch," *ABD* 2:508-16, esp. page 509; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 8.

⁴ R. H. Charles argued that the original astronomical document contained only 72-79, 82. The moralizing beatitude of 81 came by way of later redaction and expansion of the tradition; *The Book of Enoch, Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 148. See also Otto Neugebauer, *The "Astronomical" Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1981), 411. Nickelsburg has further shown that this unit probably once served as a transition from chapters 1-36 to 91-105; *1 Enoch 1*, 337-38.

⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 338.

“just and good” is further clarified: “those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men” (81.9; translation R. H. Charles). Thus, a death of martyrdom may be implied. The nature of the future life itself is not described, other than by the general state of “blessedness” implied in the beatitude. Though very brief, this passage indicates that at an early stage in its literary formation, the Enochic literature was concerned with the fate of the dead, a final judgment, and possibly the unjust suffering of the righteous.

Book of Watchers (1 En. 1-36): The importance of judgment beyond death continues to occupy the collection in the *Book of Watchers*, a collection of visions and mythological tales about the fall of angelic beings (cf. Gen 6) that was composed near the dawn, and certainly no later than the middle, of the second century B.C.E.⁶ The *Book of Watchers* employs the notion of a final judgment to declare God’s ultimate retribution upon evildoers, both supernatural and human. Together with the spirits of their offspring, the Watchers,

will be taken to the abyss of fire,⁷ to the torments and to the prison of perpetual seclusion.⁸ Anyone who is condemned⁹ and perishes, from now on will be enchained together with them until the end of their generation. And at the time of judgment that I shall judge¹⁰ they shall perish forever.¹¹ I shall cause to perish all the spirits of the depraved and the sons of the Watchers because they have committed violence against men. (1 En. 10.13-15)¹²

Until the time of final judgment, the Watchers and their offspring are taken into a cosmic region where they are imprisoned together (cf. 16.1-2). They will be joined by all others who do evil. At the judgment itself, the emphasis seems to be upon the annihilation of evildoers rather than with an eternal punishment after death. The passage is concerned only with the “spirits” of the wicked, not with their bodies;¹³ and only with the wicked, not the good.

⁶ On the dating, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 293.

⁷ Greek: εἰς τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός. The Greek text is that of M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

⁸ ענן לזמא; cf. Greek: εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον συγκλείσεως αἰῶνος. Cf. 10.4-6, 18.15-16.

⁹ רבאן די ריהן, following Milik; but note the Greek mistranslation of ריהן as κατακαυσθή.

¹⁰ ובקען [רינא]. On the omission of this expression in the Greek versions, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 190-91.

¹¹ יאבדין לבן. It is possible that belief in annihilationism underlies such expressions in *1 Enoch*; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:200.

¹² 1 En. 10.13-19 is partially preserved in 4QEn^c. Cf. Also 4QEn^b (=1 En. 10.12), which precedes this passage and refers directly to the ריהן די ריהן רבאן. Aramaic text and restorations follow Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 189-92. The above translation is also influenced by Puech, *La croyance*; and R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. R. Charles; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:194.

¹³ Thus, Bousset-Gressmann note the absence of a resurrection in 1 En. 5.7-9, 10.17, 25.6; *Die Religion des Judentums*, 270; as Cavallin also does in his reading of 1 En. 6-11; *Life after Death*, 41.

Another section of the *Book of Watchers* (20-36) describes Enoch's cosmic journeys to observe the resting places and future abodes of the dead. In the first vision of this section, Enoch views "the prison house (δεσμοτήριον) of the angels," where the fallen angels are "detained forever" (21.10). In the following vision, "the spirits of the souls of the dead" reside in four separate domains (22.1-13).¹⁴ There is one for the righteous, one for the wicked who were never judged during their lives, one for the unjustly murdered who accuse their killers beyond the grave (as Abel accuses Cain, 22.7), and one for the wicked who apparently received judgment during their own lives. This section consistently refers to "the spirits" of the dead, but not their bodies. One brief allusion, however, may indicate that a future raising of the dead is envisioned for some of these souls, since those who have already received their judgment "will not be raised from there" (22.13).¹⁵ If this is, indeed, a reference to resurrection from the dead, the dating of *I Enoch* 20-36 in the late third / early second century B.C.E. would make this the earliest allusion to resurrection in extant literature.¹⁶

Later in Enoch's cosmic journeys, the final destiny of the righteous is more fully described:

As for the fragrant tree, no flesh has the authority to touch it until the great judgment, which will see the chastisement of all and the completion of all things. Then its fruit shall be given as food to the righteous and holy, those elected unto life.¹⁷ And it will be replanted in a holy place, before the house of God, the eternal king. Then they will rejoice with great joy, they shall be glad, and enter into the holy place, the perfumes of the tree will be for them alone,¹⁸ they shall have a very long life upon the earth, (the life) which your fathers lived. And, during their days, pains and torments and plagues and scourges shall not touch them. (*I En.* 25.4-6)¹⁹

In this passage, the elect righteous eat of a sacred tree, probably the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, cut off from all human access until now (*Gen* 3:24).²⁰ In a remarkably physical and this-worldly portrayal of the future life,

¹⁴ See Puech, *La croyance*, 1:109-12; and, further, Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2:200-02.

¹⁵ Greek: οὐδὲ μὴ μετεγερθῶσιν ἐντεῦθεν. Sadly, the Aramaic must be restored in a crucial portion of 4QEn^d: 𐤓𐤓𐤔 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕. Cavallin, on the other hand, remains skeptical: "This does not imply any reunion between body and soul at the resurrection, but rather indicates a 'resurrection of the spirit or soul'"; *Life after Death*, 42. Puech envisions the souls receiving retribution after death; *La croyance*, 2:707.

¹⁶ On the dating, see Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 293.

¹⁷ Cf. E. Issac's Ethiopic version: "This is for the righteous and pious. And the elect will be presented with its fruit for life"; "I Enoch," *OTP* 1:26.

¹⁸ Greek: αἱ ὁσμαι αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις αὐτῶν. Other readings render the passage more literally: "Its fragrance shall be in their bones"; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 54; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 315. The sense, however, seems to be idiomatic.

¹⁹ Translation depends upon the Greek text.

²⁰ Charles is more emphatic; *Book of Enoch*, 53.

the righteous will literally eat of the tree in Jerusalem, where it has apparently been transplanted.²¹ Perhaps one is to assume that the righteous have been “raised” (cf. 22.13) back to physical existence to enjoy these blessings. Instead of everlasting life, however, this prophecy envisions the restoration of the long lives that the earliest human ancestors enjoyed prior to the Flood, free of the torments that engulfed the human race due to the Watchers’ sins (cf. 10.10-11, 17, 22). The *Endzeit* is, thus, a restoration of the *Urzeit*. In these passages of the *Book of Watchers*, Enoch’s visions of the secrets of the cosmos indicate that “the afterlife is provided for in the structure of the universe.”²²

Epistle of Enoch and Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 91-105): In another literary unit of uncertain date, Enoch writes a letter of exhortation to future generations,²³ including an *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93.1-10, 91.12-17) in which world history is symbolically divided into a successive number of weeks. These chapters are often dated to the period of the Maccabean crisis (c. 170 - 160 B.C.E.) or to an era of intra-Jewish conflict during the Hasmonean dynasty (c. 100 B.C.E.), though the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is probably pre-Maccabean.²⁴ As in the earlier units in the collection, the day of judgment receives significant reflection in this unit. The iniquities of sinners are “inscribed” every day, until the day of judgment (98.8). On that day, the Most High will render “great judgment” upon sinners. There will be no one to defend them from “a flame more ardent than fire.” The righteous, however, will be guarded by angels on that day. They have nothing to fear (1 En. 100.4-9). Further descriptions of the righteous include the idea that their souls shall be in joy; their spirits shall not perish (1 En. 103.3-4); they shall arise from sleep and march into eternal light, where they will have joy like the angels and join the hosts of heaven, while sinners disappear into the darkness forever (1 En. 91.10; 92.3-5; 104.2-4, 6-7).²⁵ At the heart of these prophecies is also a fervent apologetical concern for theodicy: The wicked and righteous cannot be awarded the same fate by a just God (102.1-11).

These scattered statements may imply a resurrection of the righteous dead from the grave into the heavens, where the righteous shine forth among the

²¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 315.

²² John J. Collins, “Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age,” in *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 317-38.

²³ On the hortatory purpose of the unit, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105,” *CBQ* 39 (1977): 309-28.

²⁴ James C. Vanderkam, “Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17),” *CBQ* 46 (1984): 511-23.

²⁵ Only a fragment of 1 En. 92.5 seems to be preserved in 4QEn^g. Milik transcribes and restores: [לעלם] וְחַיִּים יִאֲבֹד בָּהֶן שׁוֹכֵא [שׁוֹכֵא]. Bousset-Gressmann suggest that the passage is a later “Ueberschrift”; *Die Religion des Judentums*, 271. This, however, is not necessary.

celestial luminaries and angelic beings.²⁶ If so, this is implied rather than directly stated;²⁷ and there is no explicit concern for the bodies of the dead.²⁸ This notion that the righteous will live on after death among the heavenly lights and angelic beings will have its counterpart in the resurrection prophecy of Daniel and later traditions (see below).²⁹ The wicked, on the other hand, are absorbed into the darkness, where they will be forever punished “in chains and in a burning flame” (103.3-8).³⁰ For the author of the *Epistle*, immortalization is also angelification. The souls of the righteous are glorified to the status of angelic beings in the company of the hosts of heaven. The most extensive prophecy in this regard (104.2-4, 6) is directly concerned with the “souls,” but apparently not the bodies, of the dead.

Dream Visions (1 En. 83-90): Among the *Dream Visions* of Enoch, a literary unit probably dating from the Maccabean crisis (c. 170 - 160 B.C.E.), one passage assumes that in the future, the righteous³¹ will be gathered together at the House of God, and the world will be restored to its original conditions at the time of the creation (1 En. 90.33, 36; cf. 25.4-6).³² Allegorically, the visions represent “the blind” as being burned forever in a fiery abyss (90.26-27). It is possible that the collection assumes that a resurrection of the dead will accompany these events, though there is no clear indication of this in the texts themselves.

Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37-71): Finally, an additional unit within the Enochic corpus provides numerous specimens of popular hopes regarding the future life. The *Similitudes of Enoch*, a work of uncertain origin dating from around the turn of the era (c. first century B.C.E. - first century C.E.),³³ foresees a day when Sheol must give back the dead:

²⁶ Puech presents arguments that a resurrection may be implied in these texts; *La croyance*, 1:116, and note 47.

²⁷ Bousset-Gressmann, however, argue that the passage envisions immediate judgment after death, without concern for a resurrection; *Die Religion des Judentums*, 270-71. Cavallin interprets 91.10 and 92.3-4 in a similar fashion; *Life after Death*, 42-43.

²⁸ Nickelsburg shares this position; *1 Enoch* 1, 519.

²⁹ Cavallin even suspects a literary allusion to Dan 12:1-3; *Life after Death*, 44.

³⁰ Greek 103:8: καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔσονται ἐν ἀνάγκῃ μεγάλη καὶ ἐν σκότει καὶ ἐν παγίδι καὶ ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη, καὶ εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλην εἰσέλθουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τοῦ αἰῶνος.

³¹ Probably “der besonders frommen Israeliten,” as Bousset-Gressmann suggest; *Die Religion des Judentums*, 270.

³² Puech, *La croyance*, 1:113; James C. Vanderkam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984), 168.

³³ A very plausible case has been made by Nickelsburg, Charlesworth, and others, that the *Similitudes* originate in the late first century B.C.E.; see Charlesworth, “The Date of the Parables of Enoch (1 En 37-71),” *Henoch* 20 (1998): 93-98. Others, like Collins, prefer a date in the first century C.E., prior to the Jewish Revolt; *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Biblical Resource Series; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 177-78.

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