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# Rewriting Israel's History in the Apocalyptic Context: Animal Apocalypse in First Enoch

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The aim of this article is to deal with the apocalyptic theology of the unknown writer who rewrote the biblical history of Israel in the Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90). The thesis is that this rewriting process received much inspiration from the texts of the Book of Isaiah. Both the Animal Apocalypse and the Book of Isaiah focused on the future glory of Jerusalem. A good example of this Jerusalem oriented reading of the Book of Isaiah can be seen in the Book of Sirach 48:18–25.<sup>1</sup> But before proceeding, some words should be said about the term “Rewritten Bible.”

## REWRITTEN BIBLE: A MODERN META-LEVEL TERM

In 2006, the international scholarly network Studies in the Rewritten Bible (= SRB) was established on the initiative of Åbo Akademi University (ÅAU). Our aim was to deal with the question of reception history of biblical stories in the three monotheistic Abrahamic religions, and we

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<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of Ben Sira in understanding the message of the Book of Isaiah concerning Jerusalem, see recently Antti Laato, “Understanding Zion theology in the Book of Isaiah,” in *Studies in Isaiah: History, Theology, and Reception*, ed. Greger Andersson, Tommy Wasserman and David Willgren (LHBOTS 654; Edinburgh: T&T Clark & Bloomsbury, 2016), 22–46.

had the intuition that the concept “Rewritten Bible” could be a suitable umbrella term for our aims. In this respect, the story has no happy end. At every conference, we found ourselves called to discuss what “Rewritten Bible” is, and what it is not. This resulted in a decision to change the name of SRB to “Studies in the Reception History of the Bible”. Nevertheless, it may be interesting for readers to know what kind of reflections I had for the term “Rewritten Bible”.

The modern concept of “Rewritten Bible” was introduced by Geza Vermes, who applied it to a literary phenomena which was typical of certain texts. Vermes referred to the following texts: the Palestinian Targum, Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, Ps-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the later rabbinical midrashic Yashar.<sup>2</sup> Since then, Vermes’ study scholars have discussed the definition of the term. The main problem has concerned how the concept should be understood: does it refer to a specific interpretive process or to a literary genre?<sup>3</sup> Vermes himself did not concentrate on the generic definition of the “Rewritten Bible.” He seems to have understood this term as referring mainly to certain interpretive processes which are detectable in rabbinical midrash (Yashar), in translations (the Palestinian Targum), in historical writings (*Ant.* and *LAB*) and, in particular, in new presentations of Genesis material (*Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*). He emphasizes that these texts “in their own way show how the Bible was rewritten.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Studia Post-Biblica; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 67–126, esp. 95.

<sup>3</sup> For this discussion, see, e.g., Erkki Koskeniemi and Pekka Lindqvist, “Rewritten Bible, Rewritten Stories: Methodological Aspects,” in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland August 24-26 2006*, ed. Antti Laato and Jacques van Ruiten (SRB 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2008), 11–39; Antti Laato, “Gen 49:8–12 and Its Interpretation In Antiquity – A Methodological Approach to Understanding of the Rewritten Bible” in *Rewritten Biblical Figures*, ed. Erkki Koskeniemi and Pekka Lindqvist (SRB 3; Turku: ÅAU/Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2010), 1–26.

<sup>4</sup> Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95. Later, Vermes speaks of “a ‘rewritten’ Bible, a

The “Rewritten Bible” was no ancient concept, and it is impossible to find any mention in the ancient sources of how it would have been understood. “Rewritten Bible” is rather a typical meta-level term which has been developed by modern scholars in order to denote certain interpretive tendencies in antiquity.<sup>5</sup> This being the case, the discussion concerns certain interpretive phenomena in antiquity for which Vermes coined the term “Rewritten Bible,” and whether it is possible to find corresponding literary activity in the ancient textual evidence. This indicates that the definition of the term “Rewritten Bible” is open to different applications. The situation does not fit terms such as “targum,” “pesher,” and “midrash,” because they all occur in ancient sources. Hence, it is possible to determine how they were used, understood and modified in antiquity. The rewritten Bible, on the other hand, is a later concept and therefore, the discussion is not dependent on the ancient application of the term, but rather on the way in which its use is meaningful in modern scholarly studies. I proposed my own way of understanding the “Rewritten Bible” in literary activities of late antiquity when I wrote the above-mentioned article on Gen 49:8–12 (n. 3).

In my article, I concluded that Vermes’ analytical term—“Rewritten Bible”—can be related to many different interpretive processes in antiquity. It is not limited to a specific literary form. I argued that the “Rewritten Bible” is a literary phenomenon where the reader creates a referential world for the object of his reading by filling its gaps. He arranges the content of the text in its referential world and creates a

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fuller, smoother and doctrinally more advanced form of the sacred narrative,” and treats all textual examples under the title “Biblical midrash.” See Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ: 175 B.C. – A.D. 135*, ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Martin Goodman (Vol. 3.1; Edinburgh: Clark 1986), 308–41, esp. 308. Even here, however, it is difficult to infer that Vermes understood the “Rewritten Bible” as a form-historical genre.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28. In his article, Segal writes that “it is necessary first to address how ancient readers understood this fundamental concept” (12). His question is anachronistic, however.

planned, logical series of events which have a beginning, a middle, and an end. In antiquity, such reading processes led to new texts where a reader creates a referential world for the biblical text. This referential world contains elements not attested in the biblical text. The referential world was presented in a new text and such new texts may have been of different kinds. I argued that translation, pesher and midrash are all connected with the reading process where new elements are attested in the text. The same is true of pseudepigrapha, Christian interpretive activities, and theological occupations in Qur'an. The best examples of these new texts, where the referential world is arranged in a logical sequence, incorporating additions and interpretive modifications, are Jubilees, *Genesis Apocryphon*, Josephus and LAB, that is, the texts that had provided Vermes with examples of "Rewritten Bible."

In this article, my thesis is that the rewritten version of the biblical history in 1 En. 85–90 is based on the writer's combination of historical records with an apocalyptic referential world based on the Book of Isaiah. The past events in the biblical books were not only historical records for the writer. Rather, they were part of a secret, divine plan which began with the creation of the world and would end with future eschatological events that were introduced in the Maccabean period. The Book of Isaiah provided the writer with good tools to rewrite the biblical history from this apocalyptic perspective.

#### AN APOCALYPTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

The Animal Apocalypse in 1 En. 85–90 follows the main lines of the biblical historical writings, and a modern reader acquainted with the Hebrew Bible can easily recognize correspondences.<sup>6</sup> Scholars often compare the content of the Animal Apocalypse to the Book of Daniel,

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<sup>6</sup> An illustrative list can be found in George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001), 358.

since both stem from the same historical and religious milieu (related to the Maccabean period). There are four significant similarities between the Animal Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel:

- 1) Examples of historical credos where the history of Israel has been presented in a short form are found already in the Hebrew Bible itself.<sup>7</sup> In the Book of Daniel, for example, such a way of presenting the history of Israel was related to the “pseudo-prophecy” of the ancient Near Eastern literary form.<sup>8</sup> In Daniel 11, the future is seen through several *vaticinia ex eventu* prophecies which provide a paradigm for future events. The theological emphasis is put in high relief: God has everything in his control.
- 2) Apocalyptic chronology is a specific attempt to calculate when the end will come. In both the Animal Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel, such apocalyptic calculations are based on the prediction of seventy years’ captivity found in Jeremiah (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10). The Chronicler understood the Jeremiah prediction about the exile of 70 years in such a way that the return from the exile would be realized only when “the country has paid off his Sabbaths” (2 Chr 36:21). This implies that the period of seventy years has been understood as corresponding to seventy sabbatical years. According to this way of thinking, the 70 years came to corresponding to 70 weeks of year, that is, a total of 490 years in Dan 9:24–27. The same period of 70 weeks of year is also presented in 1 En. 89–90.
- 3) The typical feature in eschatological thinking is that the primeval paradisiacal period will be realized in the eschatological future. This phenomenon is visible already in some prophetic texts of the Hebrew Bible (see, e.g., Isa 65:17–25; Ezek 47:1–12; Am 9:13; Joel 4:18; Zech 14:8) and then, later, in the Book of Daniel (Dan 9:24; 12:2–3) and, as we shall see, in the Animal Apocalypse.
- 4) Finally, I would like to emphasize that important theological topics in the rewritten version of the history of Israel of the Animal Apocalypse can be related to the Book of Isaiah. Joseph Blenkinsopp has shown con-

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<sup>7</sup> For these historical credos see Gerhard von Rad, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB 8; Munich: Kaiser 1961), 9–86.

<sup>8</sup> William W. Hallo, “Akkadian Apocalypses,” *IEJ* 16 (1966): 231–42; Maria de Jong Ellis, “Observations on Mesopotamian Oracles and Prophetic Texts: Literary and Historiographic Considerations,” *JCS* 41 (1989): 127–86.

vincingly that the Book of Isaiah has been understood as an important apocalyptic source in the Book of Daniel.<sup>9</sup> He also argues that the Book of Isaiah was popular in pre-Christian Judaisms, and that it was understood as an apocalyptic source. This being the case, it would be no wonder if the Book of Isaiah also lurked behind the Animal Apocalypse. In the following sections (3–6) I will discuss four important topics in the Animal Apocalypse which are repeated in different contexts, and in different ways demonstrate that they form a skeleton, or plot, of the rewritten version of the history of Israel. I shall then show that all these four topics of the Animal Apocalypse are related to the content of the Book of Isaiah.

### THE ANIMAL METAPHORS OF “BULL” AND “SHEEP”

The history of Israel from Adam to the end of days is presented in the Animal Apocalypse by the use of animals as metaphors for biblical figures. The metaphor of “bull” dominates from Adam to Abraham and Isaac (1 En. 89:10–12) but with Jacob, the metaphor of ram (and sheep) is used for the first time, and this metaphor dominates until the eschatological end, when again a white bull is born (1 En. 90:37). Something important took place after Abraham and Isaac. Jacob did in some sense begin a new period in the history of Israel. How could such a presentation be understood?

The change from bulls to sheep is apparently related to the fact that bulls lived longer than sheep. Jacob’s own words in Gen 47:9 indicate that he did not live as long as his father and grandfather: “The years of my sojourning are a hundred and thirty. My years have been few and difficult, and they do not equal the years of the pilgrimage of my fathers.” A similar explanation for this shift from bull to sheep during the time of Abraham (and Isaac) can be found in Jub. 23:8–31, which recounts the death of Abraham. The writer of Jubilees has apparent problems in understanding why the righteous Abraham lived for only 175

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<sup>9</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2006), 18–27.

years. He compares Abraham's life with the patriarchs who lived before the great flood, and notes that while the former lived only three and a half jubilees, the patriarchs of the old period lived for up to 19 jubilees. The writer's explanation for this phenomenon is that sin increased in the world after the angels descended from the heaven. This was the reason why the length of the life of human beings was decreased:

Then it will be said: "The days of the ancients were numerous—as many as 1000 years—and good. But now the days of our lives, if a man has lived for a long time, are 70 years, and, if he is strong, 80 years." All are evil and there is no peace during the days of that evil generation. During that generation the children will find fault with their fathers and elders because of sin and injustice, because of what they say and the great evils that they commit, and because of their abandoning the covenant which the Lord had made between them and himself so that they should observe and perform all his commands, ordinances, and all his laws without deviating to the left or right. (Jub. 23:15–6)<sup>10</sup>

This being the case, Abraham was in some sense contaminated by these collective sins. However, his righteousness was the reason why he lived much longer than ordinary people (maximum 70 or 80 years).

The writer of Jubilees also paints a scenario that in the future, when the stipulations of the Torah are followed, the people will begin to live longer again. He apparently has Isaiah 65:17–25 in mind when he writes:

In those days the children will begin to study the laws, to seek out the commands, and to return to the right way. The days will begin to become numerous and increase, and mankind as well—generation by generation and day by day until their lifetimes approach 1000 years and to more years than the number of days (had been). There will be no old man, nor anyone who has lived out his lifetime, because all of them will be infants and children. They will complete and live their entire lifetimes peacefully and joyfully. There will be neither a satan nor any evil one who will destroy. For their entire lifetimes will be times of blessing and healing. (Jub. 23:26–29)<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Translations from the Book of Jubilees are taken from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Leuven: Peeters 1989).

<sup>11</sup> James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2001).

This way of understanding the epoch of human history—that a willingness to follow the stipulations of the Torah could increase the length of human life again—would also explain the end of the Animal Apocalypse where a new white Bull (some sort of new Adam) is born and all sheep become bulls:

And the eyes of all were opened, and they saw good things; and there was none among them that did not see. And I saw how that house was large and broad and very full. And I saw how a white bull was born, and its horns were large. And all the wild beasts and all the birds of heaven were afraid of it and made petition to it continually. And I saw until all their species were changed, and they all became white cattle. And the first one became “word”<sup>12</sup> among them (and that “word” was a large animal), and there were large black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the cattle. (1 En. 90:35–38)

These verses are related to the description of final judgment and the New Jerusalem in 1 En. 90:20–38. The Lord of the sheep rejoiced when the white bull was born, and the sheep were transformed into cattle. In the presentation of the Animal Apocalypse, this indicates some sort of metamorphosis back to the primeval period when human beings were

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<sup>12</sup> The Ethiopian text reads *nagar*, “a word.” It seems clear that “word” cannot be the original reading. An old proposal by Dillmann was that the Ethiopian text would have read a Greek text where the Hebrew (or alternatively Aramaic) word of “wild ox” (רֵאמָא/רֵאמֵא) had been transliterated as ρημ/ρημα. This would have been misinterpreted as ρημα, “the word” (August Dillman, *Das Buch Henoch* [Leipzig: Vogel, 1853], 287–88; so also Robert Henry Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch Edited from Twenty-Three MSS* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906], 188, although he also mentions the view of Goldschmidt, who argues that the original טלה [“lamb”] was corrupted to מלה [“word”]). According to Lindars, the consonants of the Aramaic אומר (“a lamb”) were read to mean “a word” (Barnabas Lindars, “A Bull, a Lamb and a Word: 1 Enoch XC.38,” *NTS* 22 [1976]: 483–86; see further Michael Anthony Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* [Vol. 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978], 216). Nickelsburg’s proposal is that that the Aramaic דרב (“leader”) was read in Hebraizing fashion as “word.” He argues that the verb דרב (“to lead”) in the Animal Vision (89:14) is attested in 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 2:16 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 402; for this, see also Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press 1976] 241).

bulls and cattle. A good background for such metamorphosis is Isaiah 65–66.<sup>13</sup> Isa 65:17–25 in particular refers to a period when a new heaven and a new earth will be created, when human beings will once again live a long life, and when there will be a peaceful coexistence between human beings and animals.

### THE METAPHOR OF MAN

In the Animal Apocalypse, the metaphor of “man” is used to describe angels (1 En. 87:2; 90:21). However, in two cases, it is noted that even human beings “became men.” The first case is Noah:

And one of those four went to <one of the white bulls><sup>14</sup> and taught it a mystery—trembling as it was.<sup>15</sup> It was born a bull but became a man.<sup>16</sup> And he built himself a vessel and dwelt in it, and three bulls [Shem, Ham and Japhet] dwelt with him on that vessel, and the vessel was covered and roofed over them.

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<sup>13</sup> In Åbo Akademi University, Stefan Green is completing his doctoral dissertation on Isaiah 65–66 where he discusses in which ways these chapters reflect proto-apocalyptic ideas. Among the points of comparison is the Book of Enoch. I recommended the reader to consult his study when it is completed.

<sup>14</sup> The singular reading is attested only in manuscript m, while all other Ethiopian manuscripts read “those white bulls.” There is reason to follow 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 1:13 הד מן תורי (see Milik, *Enoch*, 238).

<sup>15</sup> Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 364–65, follows the reading “trembling as he was” (*’enza yere’ed*, attested in the manuscripts mt,β), while Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press 1993), 161, proposes “without his trembling” (*’enza ’iyere’ed*, attested in the manuscripts gqu). This difference is interesting, since it shows that copyists had difficulties in understanding the reference to “trembling.” The same verb is also used in 1 En. 89:31, 34 (on this, see further in section 7 below).

<sup>16</sup> It is remarkable that Noah was born as a bull and transformed into a man. However, it is worth noting that the Aramaic text (4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4) does not contain such an idea (for this, see Milik *Enoch*, 238–39). A similar transformation is related to Moses (1 En. 89:36), and for that verse, even the Aramaic text has been preserved.

The second case is Moses:

And I saw in this vision, until that sheep<sup>17</sup> became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep and made all the sheep stand in that house. (1 En. 89:36)

It may be significant that Noah built the ark and Moses built the house.<sup>18</sup> Was the theme of “becoming a man” in some way related to these important epochs in human history and in the history of Israel? And what is the meaning of the phrases that Noah and Moses became men?<sup>19</sup>

To answer these questions, it is best to begin with the case of Moses, since the Aramaic version confirms the reading that he became a man, while the case of Noah is textually insecure. There is one interesting text in the Book of Isaiah which may explain the transformation of Moses to an angel, namely Isa 63:11:

ויזכר ימי־עולם משה עמו איה המעלם מים את רעי צאנו  
איה השם בקרבו את־רוח קדשו

Then he [= God] recalled the days of old, the days of Moses and his people—  
where is he who brought them through the sea, with the shepherd of his flock?  
Where is he who set his Holy Spirit in him.

It is possible to interpret the Hebrew text as God transforming Moses into an angel by putting “the spirit of his holiness” inside him. Indeed, the Hebrew *רוח* can be interpreted as “an angel,” something which is presented in the 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice where angels are

<sup>17</sup> The Aramaic text adds *ו אתהפך ו* (“was changed and,” 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 10; Milik, *Enoch*, 205).

<sup>18</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that in the case of Moses, “the house” refers to the tabernacle, because later in 1 En. 89:40 it is said: “And I saw those sheep until they were satisfied, and that house [tabernacle] was in their midst in the pleasant land.” In the case of Solomon (1 En. 89:49–50) the “house” (Jerusalem?) is distinguished from the temple (“high tower”).

<sup>19</sup> Concerning Jewish interpretations that a human being can ascend to heaven, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

called אלים, אלהים, אלהים, קדשים, רוחות, among other terms.<sup>20</sup> A similar idea is also detectable in Ex 7:1, where it is said that Yahweh will make Moses a אלהים to Pharaoh (נתתיך אלהים לפרעה).

Turning to Noah, no text relating to a transformation to an angel-like figure can be found in the Hebrew Bible. However, God did make a covenant with Noah, and this covenant is characterized as eternal (Gen 9:8–17). At first sight, there is nothing special here, since the descendants of Noah, as well as all animals, are included in the covenant. Nonetheless, there is a text in the Book of Isaiah, namely Isa 54:9, which may have inspired an ancient interpreter (or some later editor responsible for the Ge'ez version of the Animal Apocalypse) to think more about the character of Noah:

כִּי־מִי נַח זֹאת לִי אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי מֵעַבְרַי מִיַּנַּח עוֹד עַל־הָאָרֶץ  
כֵּן נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי מִקֶּצֶף עֲלֶיךָ וּמִגַּעַר־בַּד

To me this is like the days of Noah, when I swore that the waters of Noah would never again cover the earth. So now I have sworn not to be angry with you, never to rebuke you again. (Isa 54:9)

By referring to “Noah’s water,” this verse implies that the covenant accounted for in Genesis 9 was especially related to Noah himself. So, if Yahweh’s covenant with Noah was eternal, then Noah must also live on after his “death.” By combining Isa 54:9 with Gen 9:8–17 the writer may have concluded that even Noah would have been taken into the heavenly court, which, in turn, would imply that he was transformed into an angel. The ancient interpreter may have found additional proof for his conclusion in the fact that in the stories of both Noah and Moses, God saved the righteous ones through waters of chaos, as indicated in Isa 54:9–10 and Isa 63:11–12.

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<sup>20</sup> For this, see Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSM 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 23–38; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Sabbath,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 805–807, esp. 806–807.

## THE METAPHORS OF HOUSE AND TOWER

The Animal Apocalypse contains two important concepts, “house” (בית), and “tower” (*māxfad*), which are related to the cultic community or cultic building. The first time the house is mentioned in the Animal Apocalypse is in 1 En. 89:36 (see above). Whether this house refers to the tabernacle or not cannot be taken for granted, but the tabernacle is a good option, especially if Milik’s reconstruction of מ[שכן] in 4Q En<sup>c</sup> 4 10 is right.<sup>21</sup> Later in the Animal Apocalypse, it becomes clear that “house” can no longer refer to the tabernacle, but rather to the city of Jerusalem:

And a little sheep became ram [Solomon] instead of it, and it became ruler and leader of those sheep. And that house became large and broad. And a large and high tower [Temple] was built upon that house for the Lord of the sheep. That house was low, but the tower was raised up and was high. And the Lord of the sheep stood upon that tower, and they spread a full table<sup>22</sup> before him. (1 En. 89:49–50)

Instead of the word “house,” the text uses “tower” to denote the Temple. The Testament of Levi 10:5 confirms that Jerusalem has been called “house” in the Book of Enoch:<sup>23</sup> “For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as the book of Enoch the righteous maintains.” There are certainly plenty of possibilities to argue about which biblical texts may lurk behind the identification of Jerusalem with “house.” For the thesis of this study, it is certainly significant that

<sup>21</sup> For this, see Milik, *Enoch*, 206.

<sup>22</sup> Reference is made to the offerings and sacrifices (cf. Ex 25:30).

<sup>23</sup> This has been noted already by Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 240–41. It is worth noting too that Kee, whose translation to Testament of Levi I use here, notes that “no known parallel in Enochic literature” can be found for T. Levi 10:5 (Howard C. Kee, “Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983], 775–828, esp. 792).

the Book of Isaiah contains important key texts where “house” can be taken as denoting Jerusalem. For example, the central and programmatic text of in Isa 2:2–4 contains this possibility:

ונעלה אל־הר־יהוה  
אל־בית אלהי יעקב  
וירנו מדרכיו  
ונלכה בארחתיו  
כי מציון תצא תורה  
ודבר־יהוה מירושלם

“Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh,  
to the house (בית) of the God of Jacob.  
He will teach us his ways,  
so that we may walk in his paths.”  
The law will go out from Zion,  
the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem. (Isa 2:3)

This text speaks about “the mountain of Yahweh,” Zion, Jerusalem, and “the house of the God,” terms that may all have been understood as designations for the holy city. Such a reading would also be suitable in Isa 2:2, which speaks about “the mountain of the house of Yahweh.” Here, it might be suggested that the “house of Yahweh” was interpreted as referring to, not only the temple mountain, but the whole city. A similar possibility to understand “house” as referring to the whole city of Jerusalem can be found in Isa 66:20: “my holy mountain, [that is] Jerusalem” (הר קדשי ירושלם).

The term “tower” as a reference to the Temple of Jerusalem may be related to the idea that it is a copy of the heavenly sanctuary, something which is implied in Ex 25:9. In 1 En. 87:3, the corresponding word, “tower,” has been used for the heavenly locale, indicating that the reference is made to the sanctuary:

And those three who came after took hold of me by my hand and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted me onto a high place, and they showed me a tower high above the earth,<sup>24</sup> and all the hills were smaller.

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<sup>24</sup> This high tower probably refers to a heavenly sanctuary, an idea which is implied in Ex 25:9 and a well-known topic in inter-testamental Jewish writings.

Again, it is possible to find a text in the Book of Isaiah which features a relationship between the earthly and the heavenly temple, namely Isa 66:1: “Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool. Where is the house you will build for me? Where will my resting place be?” Even though this is a criticism of the people, the continuity in Isa 66:20 indicates that it is precisely Jerusalem that is conceived as the holy place for Yahweh. Therefore, the link between heaven and Jerusalem is put in high relief in Isaiah 66.

The Animal Apocalypse has a different attitude toward the cult of the First and the Second Temple. As quoted above, 1 En. 89:50 refers to the first temple as “a large and high tower (Temple),” it was “raised up and was high. And the Lord of the sheep stood upon that tower, and they spread a full table before him.” However, in the case of the Second Temple it is said:

And they began again to build as before and they raised up that tower and it was called the high tower [Second Temple]. And they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. (1 En. 89:73)<sup>25</sup>

What implications does this critical attitude toward the cult of the Second Temple have for the understanding of the history of Israel? It is again possible to find traces of this criticism of the Second Temple in the Book of Isaiah. As already noted, Isaiah 66 contains a criticism against the temple, which had been rebuilt.<sup>26</sup> Other texts in Isaiah 56–66 make this criticism apparent. The people did not live according to the will of God and, therefore, they could not expect God to hear their prayers, even though they were delivered in the Temple itself (Isa 59:1–2).

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<sup>25</sup> This is an important observation on the nature of the sacrificial cult in the Second Temple.

<sup>26</sup> Concerning this criticism, see, especially, Stefan Green, “The Temple of God and Crises in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 Enoch,” in *Studies in Isaiah: History, Theology, and Reception*, ed. Greger Andersson, Tommy Wasserman and David Willgren (LHBOTS 654; Edinburgh: T&T Clark & Bloomsbury, 2016), 47–66.

## BLINDNESS AND OPENING OF EYES

Blindness and the opening of eyes are important topics in the Animal Apocalypse. The topic of blindness is mentioned for the first time in 1 En. 89:21: “And I looked at the sheep until they went out from the wolves, and the wolves’ eyes were blinded,<sup>27</sup> and the wolves went out pursuing those sheep with all their might.” Blindness implies that great works of Yahweh have not been understood, and the consequence is a penalty. The first time blindness is mentioned in the case of Israel is in the events of Ex 32, which are retold in 1 En. 89:32:

And again that sheep [Moses] that led them went up to the summit of that rock, and the sheep began to be blinded and to stray from the path that it had shown them, but that sheep [Moses] did not know about these things.<sup>28</sup>

The topic of blindness is subsequently taken up regularly in the rewriting of the history of Israel (1 En. 89:33, 41, 54, 74; 90:7, 26).

In addition to blindness, the opening of eyes is mentioned several times in the Animal Apocalypse. The first mention of this topic is in 1 En 89:28:

But the sheep departed from that water and went out to a desert, where there was no water or grass, and they began to open their eyes<sup>29</sup> and see. And I saw <until> the Lord of the sheep was pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep was going and leading them.

This theme is then repeated in several times in the rewritten version of the history of Israel (1 En 89:41, 44; 90:6, 10, 35).

It seems clear that blindness and the opening of eyes are closely connected. In 1 En. 89:41, the topic of Judges 2 has been summarized

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<sup>27</sup> The motif of blindness appears here for the first time. It refers to the Egyptians, but later, the same motif is also used for Israelites together with the motif of “opening eyes.”

<sup>28</sup> Nickelsburg’s translation follows the text of 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 4 (ואמרה לא ידע בהון), see Milik, *Enoch*, 204). The Ethiopian text has “but that sheep did not know.”

<sup>29</sup> 4QEn<sup>c</sup> 4 3:17 reads ועיניהון התפתחו “and their eyes were opene[d]” (Milik, *Enoch*, 243).

by using both metaphors: “And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes they were blinded [the period Judges], until another sheep [Samuel] arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.” A similar process is repeated in Maccabean times:

<sup>6</sup> And behold, lambs were born of those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see [Hasidim!?] and to cry out to the sheep. <sup>7</sup> But they did not listen to them nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded [unbelievers during the Maccabean time].” (1 En. 90:6–7)

James C. VanderKam has proposed that the opening of eyes is a motif which is related to the ancient etymology of the name of Israel.<sup>30</sup> This may well be so, but for the thesis of this paper it is important to note that the theme of blindness and opening of eyes is a central theme in the Book of Isaiah.

Blindness is related to the hardening motif and the opening of eyes texts in the Book of Isaiah. These topics are attested both in Isaiah 1–35 and in 40–66, and it is one of the most central thematic parallels between the two parts of the book.<sup>31</sup> The majority of the people are blind (Isa 6:9–10; 29:9–12), while there is a remnant whose eyes are opened (Isa 29:15–24; 50:4–9).<sup>32</sup> The most important text in the Book of Isaiah is Isa 29:9–24. In verses 9–14, the people are criticised because of their blindness and inability to read and understand the prophetic message.

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<sup>30</sup> James C. VanderKam, “Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90),” in *Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman (SJSJ 83; Leiden: Brill 2003), 279–92.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion, see Ronald E. Clements, “Beyond Tradition History: Deutero-Isaianic Development of First Isaiah’s Themes,” *JSOT* 31 (1985): 95–113 (reprinted in Ronald E. Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* [Westminster: John Knox, 1996], 78–92); H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah’s Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 46–51; Antti Laato, “*About Zion I Will Not Be Silent*: The Book of Isaiah as an Ideological Unity (ConBOT 44; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1998), 96–102.

<sup>32</sup> Note in particular Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 94–115, who sees the connection between the sealed book in Isa 8:16–18 and Isa 29:18; 50:4–9.

On the other hand, in Isa 29:17–24, it is prophesized that the time of blindness will end, and that the people will receive a wonderful future.

According to Isa 29:18, in the time of salvation, the *blind* will see the deeds of Yahweh, and the *deaf* people will hear the voice of Yahweh (see similar predictions in Isa 32:3; 35:5). There are many texts in Isaiah 40–66 where the deaf and blind are present (42:16, 18–19; 43:8; 44:18). Isa 42:16 states that in the coming time of salvation, the blind and deaf people will see and hear (see also 41:20; cf. 40:21; 52:15). This seeing and hearing is an indication that the people will no longer be hardened, but rather ready to experience the salvation of Yahweh. This salvation is also implied in Isa 6:12–13. Furthermore, Isa 29:18 speaks about “the words of the book” which will be understood in the coming day of salvation. This book must be the same as the (sealed) book in 29:11.

The Animal Apocalypse refers to “the sealed books” (1 En. 90:20; *masāhefta xetumāta*) where the actions of the 70 shepherds, as well as of human beings, are written down (1 En. 89:68–72, 77). That the books are called “sealed books” may be an association with Isa 29:11 and Dan 12:4, 9. The function of the sealed books in the Animal Apocalypse is to indicate how much evil the seventy shepherds can do to the sheep of Yahweh until the end comes. At the same time, this indicates that in the end-time, there is a group who will begin to understand the message of the sealed books. In these writings, an explanation is given as to why the sheep of Yahweh have been the object of much terror. Notably, Isa 29:18–21 contains a similar message:

18 ושמעו ביום־ההוא החרשים דבר־יספר  
ומאפל ומחשך עיני עורים ראינה  
19 ויספו ענוים ביהוה שמחה  
ואביוני אדם בקדוש ישראל יגילו  
20 כי־אפס עריץ  
וכלה לץ  
ונכרתו כל־שקדי און  
21 מחטיאי דם בדבר  
ולמוכיח בשער יקשון  
ויטו בתהו צדיק

- 18 In that day the deaf will hear the words of the scroll,  
and out of gloom and darkness  
the eyes of the blind will see.
- 19 Once more the humble will rejoice in the Lord;  
the needy will rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.
- 20 The ruthless will vanish,  
the mockers will disappear,  
and all who have an eye for evil will be cut down—
- 21 those who with a word make someone out to be guilty,  
who ensnare the defender in court  
and with false testimony deprive the innocent of justice.

It is significant that these same verses have been interpreted in Qumran (4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>), but unfortunately in a very fragmentary text.<sup>33</sup> However, it seems as if the text has been interpreted to mean that the Qumran community and its Teacher have earned the ability to read and understand the sealed Book of Isaiah. In 4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>, the peshet of Isa 29:17 contains the Hebrew word מורה, and the interpretation is related to Zech 11:11. This indicates that the reference is made to the Teacher of the Righteousness. Therefore, an attractive proposal is that the Teacher of Righteousness is understood as someone who is able to understand the secret message of the sealed book (Isa 29:11).<sup>34</sup> A similar understanding is plausible in the Animal Apocalypse too.

## THE BOOK OF ISAIAH AND THE ANIMAL APOCALYPSE

As I have shown above, there are good grounds to understand the four important (and often repeated) theological topics of the Animal Apocalypse as being related to similar themes in the Book of Isaiah. Conse-

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<sup>33</sup> See these texts in, for example, Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 94–124; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition Volume One 1Q1–4Q273* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 318–27.

<sup>34</sup> For this, see also Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 122.

quently, it can be argued that the Book of Isaiah has provided a theological framework for the writer of the Animal Apocalypse from which he understands the biblical history of Israel that he rewrites. Proceeding from such an observation, I will conclude this article by demonstrating in which ways the central existential problems dealt with in the Animal Apocalypse receive their answer from the Book of Isaiah.

The silence of God in the postexilic period emanates as a difficult issue already in the Hebrew Bible, where it is manifested in particular in three prayers preserved in Ezra 9, Neh 9 and Dan 9. Similarly, Isa 63:7–64:11, which also deals with the problem of God's silence in the postexilic period, is an important passage of theodicy in the Book of Isaiah. As Williamson has shown, it contains good parallels to Nehemiah 9.<sup>35</sup> Part of this passage, Isa 63:11–14, has already been treated above, where we say that it can explain the idea found in the Animal Apocalypse that Moses was transformed into an angel.

The postexilic reality of God's silence received its particular form in apocalyptic chronologies preserved in both Dan 9:24–27 and in the Animal Apocalypse. I have devoted a separate study to this problem in which I argue that the four periods of 12 + 23 + 23 + 12 weeks of year correspond to chronological periods that were known to the author, who followed a chronological system of Demetrius:<sup>36</sup>

- 1) The first period of 84 years is the period from the reform of Josiah until the end of the exile. It was calculated in the following way: 13 (the last regnal years of Josiah after his reform) + 11 (Jehoiakim's regnal years including Shallum's three months' reign) + 11 (Zedekiah's regnal years including Jekoniah's three months' reign) + 49 years (the duration of the exile according to Dan 9:24–27) = 84 years.
- 2) The second period of 161 years corresponds to the period from the rebuilding of the Second Temple during Darius' second year, to the rise of

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<sup>35</sup> H. G. M. Williamson, "Isaiah 63,7–64,11: Exilic Lament or Post-Exilic Protest?" *ZAW* 102 (1990): 48–58.

<sup>36</sup> Antti Laato, "The Chronology in the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch 85–90," *JSP* 26 (2016): 3–19.

Alexander the Great where the writer follows Demetrius' chronology, a chronology which is 26/27 years shorter than our absolute chronology, i.e., 520 BCE – 187/188 years = 333/332 BCE.

- 3) The third period of 161 years corresponds to our absolute chronology, because it is clear from 1 Macc that the Greek chronological system from Alexander the Great onwards was known to Jewish authors. This means that the third period ends at 172/171 BCE, which corresponds to the time of the murder of Onias III. If we assume that the author followed Demetrius' chronology, it is also significant that the same year is derived from the chronological system of the Damascus Document.<sup>37</sup>

By using this apocalyptic chronology, the writer of 1 En. 85–90 wanted to show that God's silence had a meaning. He has calculated beforehand every year until the end. Something essential began in the Maccabean period and onwards when Yahweh began to open the eyes of the lambs and gave answers to the prayers of his people. It is from this perspective that the author of 1 En. 85–90 looked at passages of the Book of Isaiah where it is prophesied that in the future, the eyes of the people will be opened and that they would once more hear the word of Yahweh.

The apocalyptic chronology begins with the note that the shepherds will destroy more than Yahweh has commanded them. This topic of punishment of the people, and especially of the righteous ones, is an important theme in the Books of Maccabees. I have argued elsewhere that essential features of this martyr theology are based on Isaiah 53.<sup>38</sup> It is worth noting that even Daniel 11–12 (describing the martyrs of the Maccabean period) contains clear allusions to Isaiah 53. In the Animal Apocalypse, the martyr theology does not dominate in a similar way, which may be an indication that the acute persecutions of the Maccabean period had already passed, and the writer was rather looking for-

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<sup>37</sup> See Antti Laato, "The Chronology of the Damascus Document of Qumran," *RevQ* 60 (1992): 605–607; idem, *Guide to Biblical Chronology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2015), 83–86.

<sup>38</sup> See Antti Laato, *Who Is the Servant of the Lord? Jewish and Christian Interpretations on Isaiah 53 from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (SRB 4; Turku: ÅAU/Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

ward to a new, marvelous period under the Hasmoneans. Such an interpretation receives support from the apocalyptic chronology, which dates the beginning of the fourth period to the beginning of the Maccabean period.

The use of the verb “tremble,” *r'd*, may also be significant in the Animal Apocalypse, where it appears four times (1 En. 86:6; 89:1, 31, 34). The first text refers to the watchers in front of which “all the sons of the earth began to tremble and quake before them, and to flee.” However, the second text is more difficult to understand (1 En. 89:1): “And one of those four went to <one [Noah] of the white bulls> and taught it a mystery—trembling as it was.” Nickelsburg thinks that “trembling” in the case of Noah “may be a typical reaction to the angelophany.”<sup>39</sup> It seems to me that Noah’s “trembling” is related to his attitude toward Yahweh, which enables the angel to reveal “a mystery” (*mestir*) to him. Blenkinsopp has further noticed that Isa 24:16–17 contains an Aramaic loanword, רז, which appears only here and in the Book of Daniel. In the latter, it functions as “a key component of the interpretive process” (Dan 2:18–19, 27–30, 47; 4:6).<sup>40</sup> Even though no pesher on Isa 24:16–17 is available in the Qumran writings, it is significant that the alliterative triple פחד ופחת ופח (“terror, trap, pit”) is explained in the Damascus document (CD 4 14) as referring to the three nets of Belial: “fornication,” “wealth,” and “desecration” (of the Temple).<sup>41</sup> The content of the mystery taught to Noah is apparently related to the coming destruction of the humankind. But why Noah is depicted as “trembling”? One possible explanation can be found from the Book of Isaiah. The Ethiopic *r'd* is semantically equivalent to the Hebrew חרד, as can be seen from Ezra 10:3, 9, where a group of חרדים is also called מרעידים. On the other hand, in 1 En. 89:31, the Ethiopian *r'd* used to denote the people’s reaction in Sinai is clearly based on Ex 19:16, where the verb חרד is used. This would indicate that the attitude of “trembling” and the teach-

<sup>39</sup> Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 375.

<sup>40</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 17.

<sup>41</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 25.

ing of “mystery” are related to each other. Noah is one who receives the revelation of God and trembles at that message.

In the Book of Isaiah, there are two verses where the attitude of trembling is related to the word of God, namely Isa 66:2, 5. The group favored by Yahweh is depicted as follows in verse 2: “These are the ones I look on with favor: those who are humble and contrite in spirit, and who tremble at my word.” As is clear from Isa 66:5, this group is hated by the majority of the people: “Hear the word of the Lord, you who tremble at his word: Your own people who hate you, and exclude you because of my name, have said, ‘Let the Lord be glorified, that we may see your joy!’ Yet they will be put to shame.” This analysis suggests that Noah was depicted as one who belonged to the group of *חַרְדִּים* or *מַרְעִידִים*. He received the message of mystery which was related to the coming destruction of the world and the salvation of the righteous ones, something which, according to the Animal Apocalypse, would be realized again in the future. As in Isa 66:5, the Animal Apocalypse also has a clear reference to the idea that the majority of the people paid no attention to the words of the loyal sheep:

And behold, lambs were born of those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see [Hasidim!?] and to cry out to the sheep. But they did not listen to them nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded [unbelievers during the Maccabean time]. (1 En. 90:6–7)

The religious group behind the Animal Apocalypse was especially worried about the fate of Jerusalem. It may well be that Isa 61:1–3 was understood as referring to those loyal sheep who were sorrowful over the fate of Jerusalem and who will receive comfort from the prophet behind the Book of Isaiah. Isa 61:1–3 was a central text at the time when the Animal Apocalypse was written, and it was seen to reflect the eschatological message of Isaiah (see Sir 48:17–25; 4Q521; 11QMelch).

In 1 En. 90:20–38, the eschatological scenario of doom, and the coming future of Jerusalem are closely related to the texts on Jerusalem described in the Book of Isaiah. In 1 En. 90:20–27, the punishment of

the seventy shepherds and disloyal sheep is depicted. Most significant is the depiction of the great abyss outside Jerusalem:

<sup>26</sup> And I saw at that time that an abyss like it was opened in the middle of the earth, which was full of fire. And they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found to be sinners. And they were thrown into that fiery abyss, and they burned. And that abyss was to the south of that house. <sup>27</sup> And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.” (1 En. 90:26–27)

The location of the abyss to the south of Jerusalem parallels the end of the Book of Isaiah where it is said:

And they will go out and look on the dead bodies of those who rebelled against me; the worms that eat them will not die, the fire that burns them will not be quenched, and they will be horror to all mankind.” (Isa 66:24)

In this verse, the reference is to the people who have come to worship Yahweh in Jerusalem and who, when they go out from the city, will see all who have rebelled against Yahweh in the great furnace.<sup>42</sup>

After the scene of judgment, 1 En. 90:28–36 depicts a new city of Jerusalem. This new Jerusalem is something totally different to the first Jerusalem:

And I stood up to see, until that old house was folded up—and they removed all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded up with it—and they removed it and put it in a place to the south of the land. And I saw until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house [new Jerusalem], larger and higher than that first one, and he erected it on the site of the first one that had been rolled up. And all its pillars were new, and its beams were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than (those of) the first one, the old one that he had removed. And all the sheep were within it. (1 En. 90:28–29)

The description corresponds to Isa 2:2, according to which “the house of God” (interpreted as Jerusalem) will be upon all other mountains and hills. The continuation in Isa 2:3, according to which peoples come to Jerusalem to pay homage there, also parallels 1 En. 90:30 in a nice way,

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<sup>42</sup> It is worth noting that the word *חורר* (“horror,” Isa 66:24) is also used in Dan 12:2, who depicts the eschatological doom against faithless ones. For this, see also Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 18.

according to which “all the animals upon the earth and all the birds of heaven were falling down and worshiping those sheep and making petition to them and obeying them in everything.”

In summary, this survey on the Animal Apocalypse has shown that the writer received much inspiration from the Book of Isaiah when he rewrote the history of Israel. He seemed to have argued that the Book of Isaiah contained a secret message pertaining to the future of Jerusalem, which would be realized in the future, and which had now been given to the faithful ones whose eyes had been opened. They now had a message for other members of the people of Yahweh.