

THE LETTER OF JUDE'S USE OF 1 ENOCH:
THE BOOK OF THE WATCHERS AS SCRIPTURE

by

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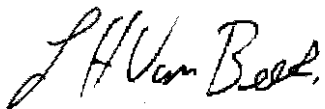
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PROMOTER: Professor J. E. BOTHA

November 1997

I declare that *The Letter of Jude's Use Of 1 Enoch: The Book Of The Watchers* is my own work and that all of the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated or acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "LH VanBeek".

Lawrence Henry VanBeek

Preface

This thesis attempts to show that 1 Enoch: The Book of the Watchers (BW) was authoritative and therefore canonical literature for both the audience of Jude and for its author. To do this the possibility of some fluctuation in the third part of the canon until the end of the first century AD for groups outside of the Pharisees is examined; then three steps are taken showing that: 1. Jubilees and the Qumran literature used BW and considered it authoritative. The Damascus Document and the Genesis Apocryphon both alluded to BW. Qumran also used Jubilees which used BW. 2. The New Testament used BW in several places. The most obvious places are Jude 6, 14 and 2 Peter 2: 4. Jude in particular used a quotation formula which other New Testament passages used to introduce authoritative literature. 3. The Apostolic and Church Fathers recognized that Jude used BW authoritatively. The final chapter deals with the specific arguments of R. Beckwith, E. Ellis and D. Charles against Jude seeing BW as authoritative. The thesis concludes that the historical evidence points to Jude's use of BW in an authoritative and therefore canonical manner.

I am very appreciative of the University of South Africa, the examining committee and in particular, Prof J. E. Botha for the kind and attentive way that I have been treated. I owe them a great deal for this opportunity.

In case my daughter Lauren ever reads this, "In this life, you are God's greatest gift to your mother, Lynne and me."

Lawrence VanBeek

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Abbreviations

ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
Apol	(Tertullian's) Apology
AscenIs	Ascension of Isaiah
Bar	The Epistle of Barnabas
BTh	The Book of Thomas
BW	I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers
CD	The Damascus Document
1Chr	First Chronicles
2Chr	Second Chronicles
CivD	(Augustine's) De Civitate Dei
1Cl	First Clement
2Cl	Second Clement
Constit Apost	Apostolic Constitutions and Canons
1 Cor	First Corinthians
2 Cor	Second Corinthians
Ecc1 Hist	(Eusebius') Ecclesiastical History
Eph	Ephesians
Gl	Galatians
Gn	Genesis

Heb	Hebrews
Herm Vis	(Shepherd of Hermas) Visiones Pastoris
ISBE	International Standard Bible Encyclopedia
1Ki	First Kings
2Ki	Second Kings
Lk	Luke
Mt	Matthew
NT	New Testament
Orat	(Tertullian's) De Oratione
OT	Old Testament
4Q252	4Q Genesis Peshar (a)
4Q266	Damascus Document (a)
4Q267	Damascus Document (b)
4Q270	Damascus Document (e)
Rv	Revelation
Rm	Romans
TDNT	Kittel G and Friedrich G 1976. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Bromiley G (ed). Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
1Tm	First Timothy
2Tm	Second Timothy
virg	(Tertullian's) On The Veiling Of Virgins

VirII

(Jerome's) De Viris Illustribus

chapter one

Introduction and Outline of Thesis

During the intertestamental period a number of books were written and/or compiled by authors from several Jewish sects; these books have been not accepted into the Protestant canon, yet some are mentioned by New Testament authors.

Jude 6, and 14 refer to an intertestamental book known as *I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers*¹. Jude 6 alludes to *The Book Of The Watchers*, with specific reference to the angels of heaven which left their original domain and are being kept under darkness for judgement. Jude 14 is a direct quote from *The Book of the Watchers* 1:9 and contains a specific introductory formula showing the authoritative nature of *The Book Of The Watchers*.

¹From here known simply as *The Book Of The Watchers*, or *BW*.

The books² of *I Enoch* were used by at least one sect of Judaism and by Christians in the first century AD. During the third century AD the books of *I Enoch* fell into disuse by most of the Christian Church except the Ethiopian church from which the only complete copy of *I Enoch* exists.

Roger Beckwith (1985), Daryl Charles (1993), E. Earle Ellis (1991), and S. Z. Leiman (1976) all argue for a twenty-two book Old Testament canon being established by the first century AD³, and either explicitly or by inference say that *I Enoch* was not considered as canonical literature by Jude. Richard Bauckham (1990) would argue that Jude would consider *I Enoch* authoritative and even inspired, but not canonical. The view that Jude could not have seen *I Enoch* as canonical stems from a view of canon that sees the twenty four book

²Books is plural because *I Enoch* is a composite of five separate books, sometimes known as the Enochic Pentateuch.

³See chapter five *The Old Testament Canon in the First Century*.

Old Testament as the only authoritative literature for Jews and Christians, both for our time and Jude's time.

This thesis seeks to show that *The Book Of The Watchers* was used by Jude as authoritative and canonical literature. To accomplish this task several issues become important: 1) the date and provenance of the books of *I Enoch*; 2) the present views of how Jude uses *I Enoch*; 3) the date and authorship of Jude; 4) the situation of the Old Testament canon in the first century AD; 5) the New Testament quotation formulae and Jude's formula when quoting *I Enoch*; 6) the use of *The Book Of The Watchers* by *Jubilees* and the Qumran literature; and 7) the use of *The Book Of The Watchers* by 2 Peter and the Apostolic and Church Fathers.

Once the above tasks are accomplished it becomes necessary to answer the arguments of Roger Beckwith (1985), Richard Bauckham (1981, 1990), Daryl Charles (1993), and E. Earle Ellis (1991), dealing with the question of Jude's use of *The Book Of The Watchers* with specific reference to the Essene canon and the nature and

understanding of haggadah by Jude and the early Apostolic and Church Fathers.

The second chapter deals with the date and provenance of the books of *I Enoch* - we do this to give an understanding of the book which the letter of Jude uses. *I Enoch* is a composite of possibly five different books. The Books are known as: 1) *The Book of the Watchers*, ch 1-36, completed in the second half of the third century BC; 2) *The Book of the Similitudes*, or *The Parables*, ch. 37 - 71, first century BC - first century AD; 3) *The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries*, or *The Astronomical Writings*, ch. 72 - 82, early Babylonian period (Neugebauer *The Astronomical Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (72-82) in Black 1985: 387); 4) *The Book of Dream Visions*, ch. 83 - 90, 161 BC (Nickelsburg ABD); and 5) *The Epistle of Enoch*, ch 91 - 107, early - late second century BC (Nicklesburg, ABD).

These books are often called the "Enochic Pentateuch". Milik (1976: 4) says that originally The

Book Of The Giants - found at Qumran - was part of the Enochic Pentateuch and that *The Book Of The Giants* was replaced by *The Parables*. Black (1985: 9) says that a Jewish Christian translator/redactor put the different books together to form a "Pentateuch" as early as the second century AD. Still *The Book of the Giants* was omitted and replaced by *The Parables* to either form, or leave a "Pentateuch". That the sections of *I Enoch* were written at different times by different authors is important to this thesis for it aims to show the canonicity of *The Book Of The Watchers* not all of *I Enoch*.

The third chapter surveys the views of Jude's use of apocalyptic literature; this is to show where present scholarship is at. The four views are: 1) Jude was not using *I Enoch* at all, but Jude quoted from an earlier Jewish oral tradition; 2) Jude was quoting from the book of *I Enoch*, but not seeing it as inspired scripture, rather seeing the quote as aimed either at Jude's audience, and/or at his opponents; in this Jude's use of

Apocalyptic is often considered similar to Paul's use of the *Jannes and Jambres* story, or the use of the inscription on Mars Hill; 3) some accept that Jude quotes *I Enoch* 1:9 as scripture; 4) a few recent works see Jude as quoting *I Enoch* as inspired, but not as canonical.

The four views seem to more or less fit two camps: 1) those that feel Jude could not have considered *I Enoch* authoritative or as scripture; these would be those who hold to view number one or two or a combination of those views; 2) those who see that Jude could have used *The Book Of The Watchers* as authoritative and, or as scripture; these would be those who hold to view three, or four.

The fourth chapter deals with the date and authorship of Jude. It is important to come to a decision about the terminus a quo and terminus ad quem for the writing of Jude because a date beyond mid first century would suggest a more solidified view of canon by the Pharisaic Jews, who held power after AD seventy.

There are two problems when trying to hinge a date

on Jude; first, Jude wrote to an audience who he assumed understood the problems dealt with, so he did not outline the problems specifically enough to hinge a date on them; and second, he did not address his opponents or their doctrines directly and that again leaves little to go on. Bauckham (1990: 168-169) lists sixty authors from 1869 through 1984 who date the book of Jude anywhere from mid first century to late second century .

Even with the uncertainties it is helpful to find a terminus a quo and terminus ad quem for Jude, for a date in the first century allows for more flexibility in the hagiographa. After AD seventy the pharisaic party carried a great deal of religious and political power and their views as to canon held sway.

The dating of Jude is generally attempted from information gleaned on three fronts: 1 Jude's opponents; 2. Authorship; 3. Jude's relationship to 2 Peter. The first two of these are still important for the discussion of date.

Chapter five deals with the state of the Old

Testament canon in the first century AD. This chapter examines the evidence from *Ben Sirach*, *Jubilees*, *Philo*, the New Testament, *Josephus* and *2 Esdras* (*4 Ezra*). The purpose of the chapter is to show that there was an awareness of canon in the first century AD. The first two sections of the canon, the Torah and the Prophets were likely set, but that the hagiographa was still open for consideration, thus leaving room for an open investigation of the status of *The Book Of The Watchers*.

Chapter six deals with the formula Jude uses when introducing *Enoch* - we do this to demonstrate that Jude's formula can show that he considered *I Enoch* to be authoritative. Contrary to Kistemacher (1987: 395) and Guthrie (1981: 978), Jude did use an established formula to show the authoritative nature of *I Enoch*, with particular reference to *The Book Of The Watchers*. Mark 7:6 and Matthew 15:7 are the closest to Jude 14 in method of introductory formulae in the New Testament and help to show Jude's intent with his formula.

Chapter seven deals with the use of *The Book Of The*

Watchers by *Jubilees* and in the Qumran literature; this shows that writers before Jude saw *I Enoch* as authoritative literature. *The Book Of The Watchers* is quoted several times in *Jubilees* in an authoritative manner. Copious copies of the books of *I Enoch* have been found in the various caves of Qumran and two specific documents of Qumran - *The Genesis Apocryphon* and *The Damascus Document* specifically reference *I Enoch*. The use by *Jubilees* and the Qumran literature combined with the self knowledge of authority found within *I Enoch* show the authoritative nature of *I Enoch* to *Jubilees* and the inhabitants of Qumran.

Chapter eight deals with the use of *The Book Of The Watchers* by 2 Peter and by some of the Apostolic and Church Fathers; this shows that Christian writers after Jude saw *I Enoch* as authoritative literature. 2 Peter and the Apostolic and Church Fathers give evidence to the place of *I Enoch* and to the opinion of Jude's use of *I Enoch* in the first three centuries of the church. 2

Peter follows Jude in using *I Enoch* as authoritative literature. The Apostolic and Church Father's views on *I Enoch* and Jude vary, but two things come to the fore with a glance at their works: first, the authority of *I Enoch* was still being debated by the church in the centuries following Jude and in at least one case *I Enoch* was accepted as scripture partly because of Jude's use of it; second, Jude itself was being debated, sometimes because of his use of *I Enoch*. What becomes apparent is that the early Fathers and 2 Peter saw Jude as using *The Book of the Watchers* as authoritative literature.

Chapter nine deals with some specific arguments by the modern authors Roger Beckwith (1985), Richard Bauckham (1990), Daryl Charles (1993), and E. Earle Ellis (1991), against Jude considering *The Book Of The Watchers* as canonical.

Having completed the above tasks the thesis will conclude that Jude did use *The Book Of The Watchers* as authoritative, canonical literature.

chapter two

The Book of Enoch: Introduction and Brief Summary

The book of *I Enoch* is a composite of possibly five different books. The Books are known as 1) *The Book of the Watchers*, ch 1-36, completed in the second half of the third century BC¹; 2) *The Book of the Similitudes*, or *The Parables*, ch. 37 - 71, first to third century AD²; 3) *The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries*, or *The Astronomical Writings*, ch. 72 - 82, early Babylonian period (Neugebauer *The Astronomical Chapters of the*

¹Milik felt that the Book of the Watchers predates Genesis 6:1-4 and that Genesis borrowed from Enoch (Milik 1976: 31; Black 1985: 124).

²Isaac (Isaac 1983: 7) dates *The Parables* 105 - 165 BC and Milik (1976: 95) dates them AD 270. There is a possibility that *The Parables* are earlier than Isaac suggests but no hard evidence to this has been found.

Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82) in Black 1985: 387)³; 4)

The Book of *Dream Visions*, ch 83 - 90, 161 BC

(Nickelsburg *I Enoch* in *ABD*); and 5) The *Epistle of*

Enoch, ch 91 -107⁴, early - late 2nd century BC

(Nicklesburg, *I Enoch* in *ABD*).

These books are often called the "Enochic Pentateuch". Milik speaks of an Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch which came from the Qumran *Enoch*, except that the Qumran *Enoch* did not contain the *Book of the Parables*, but rather the *Book of the Giants* (Milik 1976: 4). The *Book of the Giants* may have been removed and replaced by the *Book of the Parables*, which was possibly composed by Christians in the 3rd century AD (Milik 1976:

³Isaac dates it at 110 BC (1983: 8). Nickelsburg considers the Book of Luminaries older than *The Book of Watchers* (1984a: 173).

⁴Chapter 105 is considered an independent fragment (E. Isaac 1983: 10).

85)⁵. Black (1985: 9) disagrees with an original Pentateuchal *Enoch*. He says that a Jewish Christian translator/redactor put the different Books together to form a "Pentateuch" as early as the second century AD. Still the *Book of the Giants* was omitted and replaced by the *Book of the Parables* to either form, or leave a "Pentateuch".

As to the language of *I Enoch* there is general agreement that the Ethiopic is a tertiary version⁶; a translation of a Greek Vorlage, which came from an Aramaic, and/or Hebrew grundscrift. Nickelsgurg (*I Enoch* in *ABD*) feels that the Ethiopic stems directly from the Greek.⁷ Ullendorff (1968: 61f) says that the Ethiopic

⁵See the date of *The Parables* p 11.

⁶The views of the date of the original Ethiopic translation vary from 4th - 6th C. AD (Nickelsburg 1984a: 178).

⁷Black agrees with this and notes that George Syncellus quotes extensively from the Greek *I Enoch* chapters 1 - 32 (Black 1985: 4).

text comes directly from the Aramaic. Knibb (1978: 38-46)⁸ feels that though the Ethiopic text usually agrees with the Greek there are times when the evidence clearly supports an Aramaic vorlage. Though the evidence for the translators of the Ethiopic texts having some Aramaic at their disposal is substantial, still the Greek portions of Enoch are likely the base for the Ethiopic texts, and the Greek texts were also based on the Semitic grundschrifts. Much of this is conjecture one way or the other since the Aramaic portions found at Qumran make up recognizable portions of only one hundred and ninety six verses and sixty nine of these belong to the first fourteen chapters of the Ethiopic version (Knibb 1978: 12). The extant Greek portions of *I Enoch* also only

⁸It should be noted that Knibb (1978) was trying to set the stage for his use of the Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23. This is a later Ethiopic II MS and is the main MS for Knibb's translation.

cover about one third of the work and these are in the first thirty two chapters and the last ten chapters.⁹ Much of *I Enoch* exists only in the Ethiopic texts. The portions of *I Enoch* referred to by Jude are from the section of *The Book of Watchers*, which exists in Greek.

The first section/book - *The book of the Watchers* begins with a five chapter introduction to the man Enoch, to his visions which were brought by angels and to the judgements and rewards the book presents. Chapters six through twelve discuss the rebellion of the angels.¹⁰ The angels seeing that the daughters of men were beautiful had intercourse with them, creating the giants, who killed each other off due to an edict from God. The

⁹The quote in Jude 14 and the allusion to the "Watchers" in Jude 6 both come from *The Book of the Watchers*, which exists in a Greek text.

¹⁰The rebellion of the angels has close literary ties to Genesis 6:1-4. Both Milik (1976: 31) and Black (1985: 124) suggest that the Genesis account is dependant on the Enochic account.)

angels also taught metallurgy, sorcery, and warfare to mankind.

In chapters twelve to sixteen Enoch is given a prophetic commission with which he intercedes for the fallen angels, but is finally instructed to foretell their demise. In chapters seventeen to nineteen Enoch takes a journey west to the edge of the earth and gives two visions concerning the punishment of the Watchers. In chapters twenty through thirty six Enoch repeats his visions, then travels to the place where God's throne and the tree of life is. He then tells of the refreshing of the righteous and the punishment (in the valley of Hinnom) of the wicked.

The second section - *The Similitudes, or Parables* is longest section in the *Ethiopic Enoch*. *The Parables* was not found amongst the Aramaic fragments of the *I Enoch* corpus at Qumran. *The Parables* is often considered to be of Christian construction as late as the second century

AD.¹¹ The parables deal with the victory of righteousness and the eradication of the wicked. The first parable, chapters thirty-eight to forty-four deal with rewards of the righteous and judgements of the wicked men and fallen angels. The second parable, chapters forty-five to fifty-seven deal with the Messiah as the Son of Man.¹² The Son of Man judges both men and angels and the Arch angels carry out the judgement. The third parable, chapters fifty-eight to seventy-one deal again with rewards for and resurrection of the righteous, the judgement by the Son of Man, and the punishment of the angels.

¹¹See page eleven the dating of the parables. Also Hindley (1967-8) in his article "Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch. An Historical Approach" makes a case for dating the parables in the second century AD.

¹²The concept of "Son of Man" has often been discussed as to its Christian connection. An important aspect of the argument is the dating of *The Parables*. A date in the second century AD removes any import of its influence on the Christian use of the term for Jesus (Hindley 1967-8: 564).

The third section/book - *The Book of Astronomical Writings*, or *The Heavenly Luminaries* deal mainly with the Solar calendar which is three hundred and sixty four days - four seasons of ninety one days.¹³ This section still carried religious significance - not just "scientific". Chapter eighty speaks of disorders in the sun, moon, stars and earth in the last days. The Aramaic fragments at Qumran suggest a much larger Astronomical section than is contained in the fifteenth - sixteenth century AD Ethiopic recension.

The fourth section/book - *The Dream Visions* are in chapters eighty three to ninety. There are two dream visions which are told to Methuselah. The first vision is of the earth sinking into the abyss and being destroyed, ie. the deluge.

¹³Nickelsburg (1983: 509) says that Jewish sectors of the second century BC were locked in disputes about the institution of the solar or lunar calendar. This dispute is also evidenced in *The Book of Jubilees* 4:17, 21.

The second vision begins with a zoological account of history from Adam to probably the Maccabean period. In this account people are animals ie. the sheep are Israel, the white bull is the Messiah and the angels are depicted as shepherds. As in the other books the faithless humans and angels are judged. In the end it says the kingdom of the Messiah will be established and the Messiah will appear.

The fifth section/book - *The Epistle of Enoch* claims to be a letter from Enoch to his spiritual descendants. This section contains the Apocalypse of Weeks which divides the future into ten "weeks". The main theme of the apocalypse of weeks is the contrast between unrighteousness and righteousness, and the victory of righteousness over unrighteousness. It finishes by telling of the birth of Noah who praises God as an infant and is sent that mankind might survive the deluge.

The book is a compilation by different

authors/redactors over a considerable period of time. The themes seem to jump around and yet there is an underlying thread of judgement for the wicked and rewards for the righteous that tie the "pentateuch" together. Enoch was fairly widely used by the Apostolic Fathers and the Church Fathers.¹⁴ Though it fell into disuse everywhere¹⁵ but Ethiopia (as far as we can tell at this time) it did seem to have a time of great importance for that church and for the Christian Church until the third Century AD.

The portion of *I Enoch* important to this thesis -

¹⁴2 Peter ; Jude 14, 15; The *Epistle of Barnabas*; 4:3,16:6, Justin Martyr, 2 *Apologia*, 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 5.1.10,2; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 5, 52; Georgius Syncellus, *Chronography*; Tertullian *De cultu feminarum* 1.3.50 all allude to, or quote *I Enoch*.

¹⁵It should be noted Origen in *Contra Celsum* 5:52 mentions that not all the churches considered Enoch divine and Augustine (of Hippo) in *City of God* 15.23, 18.38 considered some of Enoch to be inspired, but considered much of it to be fable.

The Book Of The Watchers is a third century BC document that was referred to by both *The Book of Jubilees* and by the Qumran literature the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *The Damascus Document*.

chapter three

A SURVEY OF THE VIEWS OF JUDE'S USE OF APOCALYPTIC

The Post AD 1850¹ scholars see Jude as canonical and are divided into four main camps as to Jude's use of apocalyptic literature. All of them concentrate on Jude 14,15 and then include Jude 6 and 9² with those conclusions. Jude 14, and 15 quote *I Enoch*:

It was about these that Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied saying: "Behold the Lord is coming with ten thousand of his holy ones, to execute judgement on all and to convict every soul concerning all the works of

¹We chose to stay with the post 1850's because they usually summarize earlier views. The Apostolic and Church Fathers are discussed in chapter four.

²Jude 9 is beyond the scope of this thesis.

ungodliness which they impiously did and concerning all the harsh things that ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

Jude 6 is an allusion to the Book of the Watchers:

Angels not having kept their own domain, but left their proper dwelling He has kept in eternal bonds under darkness for the judgement of the great day.

The four views of Jude's use of *I Enoch* are: 1) Jude not using *I Enoch* at all, but Jude quoted from an earlier Jewish oral tradition; 2) Jude was quoting from the book of *I Enoch*, but not seeing it as inspired scripture, rather seeing the quote as aimed at Jude's audience, and/or at his opponents; 3) Matthew Black (1985) accepts that Jude quoted *I Enoch* 1:9 as scripture; 4) Richard

Bauckham (1991) sees Jude as having quoted *I Enoch* as inspired, but not as canonical.

The four views seem to more or less fit two camps:

1) those that feel Jude could not have considered *I Enoch* as authoritative scripture; these would be those who hold to view number one or two or a combination of those views; 2) those who see that Jude could have used *I Enoch* as authoritative and as scripture; this would be those who hold to view three, or four.

The thesis that Jude did not use *I Enoch* is based on the differences between Jude 14,15 and *I Enoch* 1:9.

Mombert ([s a]: 24) felt that the variations were considerable and that since *I Enoch* was not expressly cited by Jude there is doubt whether Jude knew the book at all. Huther (1887: 692) felt that the prophecy of Enoch could have been imparted to the disciples by Christ when existing tradition caused them to ask him about the events. Lawlor (1972:80) says that we need not puzzle

over how or where Jude got the prophecy; the Holy Spirit guarded Jude and Paul from setting down anything unreliable³.

Mayor (1979:234 - 37)⁴. agrees with Lawlor (1972: 80) and even takes it a little further; he says that Jude's use of *I Enoch* was uttered by inspiration without human assistance and that *I Enoch* was subsequent to and borrowed from Jude.

Thompson (1931: 14-15) takes a similar view to Lawlor (1972: 80) and others mentioned above, and puts forward three suppositions: 1) if Jude used *I Enoch* then what he used was true and inspired at the time he used it, ie. it became inspired when Jude used it; 2) *Enoch*

³ Lawlor (1972: 80; also Lenski 1945: 639; and Wolf 1960: 38) said Jude was getting the material from oral tradition and used this otherwise uninspired material to meet the needs of his audience. Lawlor and others are steering away from Jude looking at any of the Apocalyptic literature as being inspired. Lawlor (172: 66) also says that it is not necessary to insist that Jude used the book of *Enoch* for information on the angels in v. 6.

⁴Also see Alford vol. 4, 1871: 198.

and Jude used a common source from the traditions of his day(Thompson, 1931: 57), but Jude was inspired to apply the truth to the readers hearts (Thompson, 1931: 71); 3) Jude used the writings because the teachers he opposed liked them (Thompson, 1931: 14). Thompson (1931: 49) also says that Jude 6 is based on Genesis 6:4 not on the Watchers story of *I Enoch* 15:3. Thompson does not accept that *The Book Of The Watchers* could have been considered authoritative by Jude.

Albert Barnes (1959: 395) also felt that Jude used prevalent tradition among the Jews and adopted them when they contained important truth. He felt that there was no proof that Jude quoted from *I Enoch* (1959: 400), but that traditions were circulating in New Testament times. Barnes (1959: 395) said that some of the traditions may have been founded in truth and if such traditions were adopted by Paul (*Jannes and Jambres* in 2 Tm 3:8) why could not Jude have used some of these traditions also.

Barnes (1959: 400) also said that there is no proof that *I Enoch* existed in Jude's time⁵ and that Jude and *I Enoch* may have used a common tradition. The existence of *I Enoch* in the Qumran literature will be addressed more fully in chapter seven.

Kistemacher (1987: 395) as late as 1987 supported the view that *I Enoch* 1:9 is authoritative only because the author of Jude was divinely inspired and that Jude did not regard the rest of *I Enoch* as scripture, but as a highly respected volume of religious writings, which though not scripture did affect the thought and language of the New Testament books especially Matthew, Luke, Romans, Hebrews, and Revelation. For proof that Jude did not consider *I Enoch* as inspired Kistemacher (1987: 395) uses Guthrie (1981: 396) who said Jude did not use any recognized formula to show that *I Enoch* was prophecy and

⁵The Qumran findings have proved the existence of *I Enoch* in Jude's time.

B. B. Warfield (1982: 844)⁶. who says "it is written" is the common formula used to quote canonical Old Testament scripture.

The view that Jude did not use the Apocalyptic Literature appears based on a rejection of *I Enoch* being scripture, canon, or inspired. Bauckham (1983: 94 -101) and Osborne (1976-7: 334-41) have shown that Jude did use Apocalyptic particularly *The Book Of The Watchers*. The review of views number four and five will show the high degree of integrity that Jude felt the Book of The Watchers to have.

The second group (those who see Jude as having used *I Enoch*, but not as having considered it inspired) also has trouble with Jude's use of Apocalyptic as

⁶Contrary to this view Duane Frederick Watson (1988: 64) says that Jude 14, 15 uses a standard formula of introduction as evidenced in 4QPisa^b 2:7; 4QFlor 1:16; Acts 2:16; 4:11 ; and Bauckham (1990: 225) says the introductory formula indicates that Jude regarded the text as inspired prophecy and the description of Enoch as the seventh from Adam shows his antiquity and special authority.

authoritative. Though they do not deny that Jude used *I Enoch* they cannot accept that Apocalyptic held equal authority with the Old Testament canon as scripture. This group concentrates on three major points: 1) the Old Testament was quoted far more often by New Testament authors than was the intertestamental literature; 2) the Old Testament Canon was for most purposes was closed by the first century BC.⁷; 3) other authors quoted non canonical literature to reach their audiences.

Several of the supporters of view number one (the view that Jude did not use *I Enoch*) are also willing to support the view that Jude did use *I Enoch* but did not consider it inspired.⁸ The latest and strongest supporter of view number two is Daryl Charles. D. Charles (1993:

⁷There were books still disputed until after Jamnia in AD 90, but this involved certain books which were believed to need removal from public use not those which needed adding to the canon. See Bauckham (1990: 230); Daryl Charles (1993: 47); and Beckwith (1985: 399 - 400).

⁸Note Thompson (1931: 14); and Barnes (1959: 395).

47) accepts that Jude is distinctly Apocalyptic, but that Jude did not endorse the whole breadth of Apocalyptic. He then says that we should grant that Jude's readers and perhaps even his adversaries were in some way devoted to Apocalyptic and, therefore, open to the use of familiar literary conventions in the epistle. D. Charles (1993: 110) feels that Jude's attitude toward Jewish Pseudepigrapha was not one of high esteem at least not to the point that it eliminates any distinction between Apostolic writings and other first century literature. He allows that Jude used Apocalyptic as a literary device similar to Paul's mention of *Jannes and Jambres* in 2 Timothy (1993: 205-206). His final argument is that if Apocalyptic was so highly esteemed why are not more New Testament writers quoting Apocalyptic literature.

To these it will be argued that though it is true that New Testament writers did quote or allude to the Old Testament far more than they quoted or alluded to

Apocalyptic; New Testament writers did quote and allude to Apocalyptic and there are Old Testament books readily accepted as scripture that appear in the New Testament less than does *I Enoch*⁹. We agree that Jude was not endorsing the whole breadth of Apocalyptic or Jewish Pseudepigraphic literature, but he may well have endorsed portions of *I Enoch*. That Jude used *I Enoch* as a literary strategy is quite correct, but this does not mean that he did not consider it authoritative. He used the Old Testament as part of his literary strategy as well and it is taken for granted that he considered the Old Testament authoritative.

D. Charles (1993: 125) says that *I Enoch* has significance to Jude because of the great extent to which Jewish Apocalyptic is dependant on the Old Testament;

⁹Enoch was used by the New Testament authors more than the Song of Solomon, 2 Kings, Ruth, 1 or 2 Chronicles, and Obadiah. Enoch is clearly used in 2 Peter and Jude. Enoch 100:3 mentions blood to the horses bridles and may be alluded to in Revelation 14:19, 20.

however, Jude could have just as easily used the Old Testament as *I Enoch*. Bauckham (1990: 225-26) agrees with D. Charles's observation, but not with his conclusion. Bauckham (1990: 225-26) says that *I Enoch* 1:9 is based on the Old Testament texts of the Theophany of the divine warrior in Deuteronomy 33:2; Jeremiah 25:31; Zechariah 14:5; Isaiah 66:15-16; Daniel 7:10; 25-26 and Jude may have found *I Enoch* a convenient summary, but Jude valued *I Enoch* as authoritative in its own right. We can agree with Bauckham that though *I Enoch* may have conveniently summarized the thoughts and passages that suited Jude, he still respected *I Enoch* in its own right and for its own authority.

For the argument that the Canon was for most purposes closed by the time Jude was written D. Charles and others take us to Beckwith's work on Canon (1985: 399 - 400). The argument says that the Canon of Old Testament scripture was closed to the addition of books

by as early as one hundred BC and that the argument about books after that time had to do with their removal from the Canon not their addition to the Canon. Even Jamnia did not involve the addition of any new books. He argues that if the Canon was closed by the writing of Jude then Jude could not have used the book as Canonical and did not consider *I Enoch* as authoritative or inspired (D. Charles 1993: 156). We would disagree with this Charles. If the Canon were still open to the inclusion of books then we could look at Jude as having accepted a disputed book, but if the Canon were already more or less closed then Jude would have accepted *I Enoch* on different basis, possibly as part of a different Canon or as part of the non Canonical inspired books¹⁰. This thesis does argue for an open canon in the first century AD.

Finally Jude does not use *I Enoch* in the way that

¹⁰See view number four for an elaboration of this point. 4 *Ezra* speaks of 70 non canonical books which were for the wise.

the previous authors say that Paul uses *Jannes* and *Jambres* or the Cretan prophet or the inscription to the unknown God¹¹. These are said to be rhetorical devices to appease the audience or make some form of contact with the audience, whereas the author does not personally assign divine credibility to the works used. Jude on the other hand seems to have used the story of the Watchers in v 6 and the story of Michael in v 9 quite naturally as though they were quite true and undisputed. He then used *I Enoch* with a prophetic introduction showing not only the possibility of his audiences acceptance of the work but also his own acceptance that the work, at least the "Watchers" section, was prophetic in nature¹² and

¹¹For the view that Jude used *I Enoch* the way Paul used *Jannes* and *Jambres* see Blum, 1981: 383-93; Thompson, 1931: 14; Barnes, 1959: 395. It is beyond the scope of this thesis that Paul was using *Jannes* and *Jambres* as authoritative literature in its own right.

¹²See paragraph on Kistemacher (page 24f) to review the argument about Jude seeing *I Enoch* as prophecy; also see chapter six on New Testament quotation formulae.

therefore inspired. Jude's use of Apocalyptic particularly in verse 14, 15 is too natural and too pointed to show anything but his own reverence for the material.

The third view seems to accept Jude as seeing *I Enoch* as scripture. This view was the view of several of the Apostolic and Church Fathers; they saw Jude as using *I Enoch* as canon and some saw *I Enoch* as scripture themselves¹³ (the Apostolic and Church Fathers will be discussed at length in chapter seven). Bigg summarizes the view of *Enoch* by the fathers:

In short, at the time when Barnabas wrote,

¹³The *Epistle of Barnabas*; 4:3,16:6, Justin Martyr, 2 *Apologia*, 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 5.1.10,2; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 5, 52; Georgius Syncellus, *Chronography*; Tertullian *De cultu feminarum* 1.3.50 all allude to, or quote *I Enoch*. It should be noted that later Church Fathers began rejecting *I Enoch* and that the Bar Kochba revolt AD 132 put an end to the vogue of Apocalyptic in Jewish certain Jewish Circles. The Rabbis already showing hostility toward it after AD 70 (Sidebottom 1982: 77).

Enoch was held to be an inspired book; it retained this reputation more or less throughout the second century, and from that date onward was emphatically condemned and the ground of the condemnation was its attribution of carnal lust to heavenly beings. (1946: 309)

Scholars from the early 1900's on also accepted that Jude used *I Enoch* as scripture. Matthew Black (1985: 2) in his work on *I Enoch* simply says, "it is no wonder Jude viewed *I Enoch* as scripture."

R.H. Charles (1913: 165) said that the citations of *I Enoch* by *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *Jubilees* showed that at the close of the second century BC and during the first century BC the book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. He goes on to say that in the first century it was recognized as scripture by Jude (1913: 165). Leaney (1967: 95-96) says it is important to illustrate the state of the canon that *I*

Enoch was treated as authoritative and on the level with any book of the Old Testament. Neyrey (1993: 79-80) says that Jude cited *I Enoch* and considered it valid prophetic authority which indicates the importance of the document and its circulation apart from the sectarians at Qumran. Wolthius (1987: 27) goes to some length to show that Jude was more influenced by Jewish traditions than by the Old Testament. He says that apart from *I Enoch*, Jude also reflects some of the changes that were taking place in his time. He also says that the way Jude quoted *I Enoch* as authoritative scripture raises some very interesting and difficult questions with regard to canon (1987: 37). Wolthius (1987: 28-30) shows Jude's possible agreement with Jewish traditional sources such as *3 Maccabees* 2:5; *Wisdom of Solomon* 10:6 -7; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.11.1; Philo on *Abraham* 135; *Testament of Asher* 7:1; these show Jude's use of tradition and support his authoritative use of *I Enoch* to some extent. Wolthius (1982: 135) says that

Jude used the prophecy in the book of I Enoch and developed it with other Jewish traditional and biblical allusions as midrash and applied them to his condemned ungodly opponents.

All of these suggest that Jude uses the Apocalyptic/Pseudepigraphic material not only because his audience and possibly opponents considered the works authoritative, but also because Jude considered them authoritative.

The fourth view is possibly an extension or a clarification of the third view. Bauckham (1990) says that Jude saw *I Enoch* particularly as inspired, but did not see it as canonical. Wolthius was leading up to this position when he said that Jude's quote of *I Enoch* as authoritative scripture raises some very interesting and difficult questions with regard to canon (1987: 37). Dunnett (1988: 289) also approaches this view. Dunnett's words are a little difficult to pigeon hole. Dunnett

says that Jude clearly accepted *I Enoch* 1:9 as an inspired and an apparently historical and true utterance, but then he says that this does not place Jude's approval on the entire content of the book of *I Enoch*. The way Dunnett has approached the issue could almost put him in the camp with view number one except that he says Jews of the first century¹⁴ were accustomed to seeing rabbinical explanations or additions to scripture as having authority. Dunnett concludes his article with three points: 1) Jude affirmed some degree of continuity between generally recognized Jewish scriptures, some intertestamental writings and some Christian writings; 2) Jude was more concerned with the message and showed flexibility in his use of materials; 3) Jude allows for a distinction between "scripture" and "canon" (291). The idea of continuity in the writings and the distinction

¹⁴"Jews of the first century" is rather a vast and diverse group or series of groups to make such a statement about; he would have been better to try to be more specific, although that may have been difficult to do also.

between "scripture" and "canon" are important and are mentioned by Bauckham.

Richard Bauckham works with the conclusion that Wolthius and Dunnett lead up to. Bauckham (1990: 226) sets forth two possibilities 1) Jude saw *I Enoch* as inspired, but not canonical and 2) *I Enoch* and the *Apocryphon of Moses* were part of Jude's canon; these two suggestions are actually quite close because if Jude used these books authoritatively then they were part of his canon and if there was a recognized canon then they were not part of that canon.

Bauckham (1990: 228) shows the possibility of his view(s) by showing that Apocrypha¹⁵, though not used as often as the Hebrew canon, were used occasionally¹⁶. He

¹⁵The authors of post 1850's commentaries and articles fluctuate between the terms Apocalyptic, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Intertestamental Literature. This is partly because the literature when reviewed in general terms does not fit any one category well.

¹⁶It should also be noted that there are books in the Hebrew Canon that are not quoted often, or at all by New

lists examples from four categories in which Apocrypha are used: 1) the times when it is hard to tell when the allusions are to the Hebrew Canon or the Apocrypha (1 Cor 2:9; 15:15; James 4:5; Bar 11:9-10); 2) some are identifiable quotes (2Cl 1:2; 1Cl 46:2; Barn 12:1); 3) sometimes the apocryphal work are quoted alongside the Hebrew canon (Barn 16:6; Herm vis 2:3:4; AscenIs 4:21); and 4) cases where works are quoted with a formula normally indicating scriptural authority (James 4:5?; Barn 4:3; 12:1,2; 16:5, 16;) Bauckham says these show that Jude was not unique (1990: 228-9).

Next Bauckham says that though some books were debated, the canon was closed in the New Testament period. Books such as *I Enoch* or *Jubilees*, or the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* were not included in the prophets and the writings, but some may have considered them

Testament and other Christian writers such as Song of Solomon, 2 Kings, Ruth, 1 or 2 Chronicles, and Obadiah.

inspired. In some circles they were valued highly and in some they were not. He shows that 4 Ezra 14:45-48 mentions seventy books outside of the Hebrew canon that were considered valued even possibly above the canon (1990: 230). Bauckham (1990: 227) also makes the point that the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic writings have been preserved only by Christians.

Bauckham (1990: 231) concludes; "What kind of authority it [Enoch] had by comparison with the canon we cannot tell nor need he [Jude] have done."

There has not been any definitive work done on Jude's use of Apocalyptic as scripture. Many authors touch on the subject as part of other subjects and some like Bauckham, and Wolthus have done fairly thorough work to the extent that Jude's use of Apocalyptic has affected their particular subjects.

Having examined the four major views of how Jude used *I Enoch* it becomes necessary look specifically at

how Jude used *I Enoch*. In order to do this it is necessary to attempt to date the book of Jude because a date in the mid first century would leave more room for *The Book Of The Watchers* to be considered canonical since the hagiographa was more open to question by both some Jewish sects and by Christians in the first century. By late first century with the strengthening of the Pharisaic party the twenty-two book canon was set amongst many Jews and Christians in the eastern empire which began to follow that canonical view in the following century.

chapter four

The Date And Authorship Of Jude

The dating of the letter of Jude has been considered speculative at best and an effort in futility at worst.

We made this statement for two reasons; first, Jude wrote to an audience who he assumed understood the problems being dealt with, so he did not outline the problems specifically enough to hinge a date on; and second, he did not address his opponents or their doctrines directly and that again leaves little to go on.

Richard Bauckham (1990: 168-169) lists sixty authors from 1869 through 1984 who date the book of Jude anywhere from mid first century AD to late second century AD. There are no particular patterns for the dating; both early and late authors date the book in the first and second century AD. There are also no trends toward German scholars being decidedly different from French or British or American scholars. The only exception is that

few authors and no one after 1937 dates the book beyond AD 130. As Bauckham (1990: 169) says there seems to be no sign of scholarly convergence and as Robinson (1976: 69) says there is no indication of absolute dating. Several of the present authors on the subject do not try for a dating of Jude merely allowing that he was a "second generation" Christian (Perkins 1995: 142; Neyrey 1992: 33-34). Even with such legitimate doubts about the dating of Jude a terminus a quo and terminus ad quem should be possible.

The dating of Jude is generally attempted from information gleaned on three fronts: 1. Jude's opponents; 2. Authorship; 3. Jude's relationship to 2 Peter. The first two of these are still important for the discussion of date. The third is not necessary here since Jude is considered by most modern scholars earlier than 2 Peter and since the date of 2 Peter is quite uncertain.

Opponents

Several attempts have been made to sort out the question of who Jude's opponents were. They range from second century Gnostics to first century proto-Gnostics to a vague antinomian group such as several addressed by scriptural writers (Galatians, Collosians). The trouble lies in Jude's judgements. The judgements carry hints of Gnosticism: vv. 4, 7, 16 show antinomian characteristics, v. 4 denial of Christ as Master.; v.8 improper angelology Bigg (1901: 314) refers here to presbyters rather than angels; v.10 the opponents are compared to unreasoning animals. It was a trait of some Gnostics to put those with whom they disagreed on the same level as animals (see *The Book Of Thomas* 141:25-27.) Though these references give hints, they are not specific enough to tie them exclusively to any known group of gnostics. As Rowston (1974/75: 554) points out a refusal to see an exact identification is judicious and a definite label for the opponents seems out of the question.

The biggest problem with seeing who Jude's opponents are is that he was not arguing so much against the doctrine of the opponents as he was arguing their practice. Even more important, he was not trying to convince his opponents at all, but was convincing the church from their background that the opponent's practices were wrong and that they would be justly punished as had always happened to those who attempted such practices. Jude was using an apocalyptic argument (Charles 1993: 40-47) to convince the faithful, not the corrupted opponents; therefore, he pays little attention to the particular twists of the opponents doctrine which may have given substantial hints to their nature and time. Bauckham (1983: 12) points out that if Jude was arguing second century Gnosticism his arguments were inept, but he was not arguing such errors.

If Jude was pointing to second century Gnostics the words were too general to point to a specific group yet

there were actual people in the church v. 12 which means that his message, if it were aimed at the opponents ought to be quite specific. The mention of the way of Cain; the error of Balaam; the rebellion of Korah; and even Michael's rebuke were to convince the church of the opponent's fate not to turn the opponents from their wicked ways. The opponents were always referred to in the third person. The church knew the opponents. The angels in verse six were mentioned to convince the church that even those who appeared most holy failed and were (are) held in chains of darkness.

Sidebottom (1967: 70-71) still sees the group as as a general designation of gnostics. The problem with this is that *τινες ἄνθρωποι* (certain men) sounds fairly specific. The heresies were mentioned generally, but the opponents were not general. Sidebottom (1967: 70-71; also Julicher 1904: 180 and Pflleiderer 1911) sees the opponents as part of, or similar to the gnosticism

mentioned by Irenaeus, and Hippolytus.

Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 1.24f speaks of the doctrines of Saturnius and Basilides. Saturnius set forth an unknown father that made the angels and the angels in turn made man, but he could only wriggle on the earth until The Power (this one being the father) gave him the spark of life. Saturnius said that the saviour Christ was without body, birth or figure and that the God of the Jews was one of the angels and Christ came to destroy the God of the Jews. Saturnius said that the angels formed two types of men one good and one wicked. Saturnius claims that marriage and generation were from Satan. Basilides (*Irenaeus Against Heresies*, 24) taught that angels were born of Sophia and Dynamis who were from Phronesis, who in turn came from Logos, who was from Nous (who is Christ) who was from the Unborn Father. These angels created the first Heaven and other powers emanated from these and created the second heaven, this went on

until three hundred and sixty five (or 375 in the ordinary text) were created. The lowest heaven which is the one visible to people was ruled by the God of the Jews who set his nation above the nations of the other princes. Nous (Christ) came to deliver those who believed in him. Nous allowed Simon the Cyrene to be crucified in his place by taking on Simon's form. Basilides also taught that the practice of every kind of lust was a matter of indifference. He also sets angels and powers in charge of the imagined heavens

Of the Carpocratians, Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, 24) said that they also maintained that the world was created by angels who were inferior to the unbegotten father. They taught that Jesus was just like other men except with regard to his purity and perfect memory. The Carpocratians practised magic arts and made love potions. They abused the grace [of Christ] to hide their wickedness. They believed that souls pass from one body

to another. They maintained that things are evil or good simply by human opinion.

All three of these groups do show a connection with the opponents of Jude but there is nothing that specifically ties Jude's opponents with any one of these groups. There would need to be other connectors to make the opponents obvious members of any of these groups.

Wolthius (1982: 93-130) sees a connection between the opponents in Jude and the Simonian proto-gnosticism which he feels originated with Simon Magus. Simonian Gnosticism is mentioned in Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 1.23.1-2; Justin Martyr in *The First Apology* 26; by Clement in *Recognitions of Clement* 2.7 and in Hippolytus *Refutation of All Heresies* 6.2-15.

Ireneaus (*Against Heresies*, 23) says that Simon was the magician mentioned by Luke who was declared by the Samaritans as the power of God called great. They regarded him because of his sorceries. Simon feigned

faith and thought to buy the power of the apostles which he thought was by magic. After being rebuked by Peter he set out in earnest toward his magic arts. Simon taught that he appeared to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father and to the other nations as the Holy Spirit. He represented himself as the father over all and was pleased to be called by whatever title men would address him.

Irenaeus (*Against Heresies*, 24) said all sorts of heresies derived from Simon. In Phoenicia he picked up Helena whom he said was the first conception of his mind and who was the mother of all and through whom he conceived in his mind the forming of the angels and archangels and that by these angels the world was formed. He then said that Helena was trapped in human form and had to travel from one body to another and finally became a common prostitute. He had come to win her first and free her from slavery and to bring salvation to men.

Since the angels ruled the worlds ill, he had come to amend matters. He appeared to be a man but was not and appeared to suffer in Judea but did not. Those who trusted him and Helena could live as they pleased for they were free from those who made the world

Hippolytus' *Refutation Of All Heresies* 6.2-15 speaks of Simon Magus also. Simon tried to deify himself. He claimed to be the indefinite power which is fire that comes in two forms manifest and secret (*Refutation Of All Heresies* 6.4). In *Refutation Of All Heresies* 6.9 Hippolytus says that Simon reinterprets Moses to deify himself. In 6.13 Simon became a god to his silly followers. In 6.14 Simon mentions Helen and her beauty and that the Trojan war began on her account and that the angels caused the transference of her from one body to another. Hippolytus says that Simon did this to conceal his disgrace. His followers also indulged in sexual promiscuity and asserted that this was perfect love.

Angels in their lust improperly managed the world which they made. In *Refutation Of All Heresies* 6.15 Hippolytus mentions that Simon's disciples celebrated magic rites. Simon went to Rome where Peter often opposed him.

Justin Martyr in his *First Apology* 26 says that there were men sent by the devil who claimed to be gods and the Samaritan Simon from Gitto was one of these and during the reign of Claudius Caesar did magic in Rome. There was a statue erected on the Tigris river inscribed "Simon Dio Sancto"¹ All the Samaritans worshipped him and a former prostitute Helena who was considered his first thought went about with him. Justin mentions the deeds of Simon's followers: promiscuity and the eating of human flesh, but states that he was not aware that these accusations were true.

¹This inscription is disputed. The inscription of Justin is sometimes considered mistaken for one which was found on the island of Tiber in 1574 with the inscription "Semoni Sanco Deo" which was likely erected to the Sabine deity Samo Sancus. This is not; however, good reason to reject Justin's words (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*: 171 Fn. 4).

There is overlap in the beliefs about Simon. All the ancient authors mentioned, accept that he set himself up as a god - one who created the angels who rule ill over the world and that he was promiscuous and taught his disciples to be the same. F. F. Bruce (1977: 179; also Marshall 1980: 155 and Neil 1973: 121) is cautious that Simon the founder of the gnostic sect of the Simonians and the Simon of Acts may have been different people confused in later traditions. Marshall (1980: 155), though doubting the validity of the stories extending back to the acts of Simon Magus of Acts, does admit that we have reliable information from Justin Martyr that Simon lived in Samaria and later moved to Rome and Justin *First Apology*, 26 does tell of Simon being worshipped and of his relationship with Helen and of the promiscuity of Simon's disciples.

PHEME PERKINS (1993: 10) MENTIONS THE ABOVE EVIDENCE ABOUT SIMON AND CAUTIONS THAT BOTH TOO MUCH AND TOO

little can be made of it. She points out that claims about the historical Simon and Samaritanism cannot be made with any degree of probability. Simonianism as it appears in the second century reflects gnostic efforts to copy more successful Christian rivals. Perkins (1993: 32) notes that there was a conflict by the middle of the first century AD. Gnostic and Christian speculation are seen intertwined from the beginning.

Wayne Meeks (1971: 77-8) critiques four earlier works on Simon from the late 1950's to the early 1970's when a bit of interest in Simon grew amongst German scholars. He looks at Haenchen (1973: 267-79) who sought for a pre-Christian gnosis from Simon. Bergmeir (1972: 200-220) and Beyschlag (1971: 395-426) critique and criticise Haenchen's conclusions and show that the earliest work on Simon outside of Acts came a hundred years after him. Beyschlag correctly insists that to read myths back into the lifetime of Simon is not

justifiable. Meeks (1977: 141) concludes that Haenchen's hypothesis of Simon as evidence for pre-Christian gnosticism is untenable and the quest for the historical Simon is not promising.

There may be a fair bit about Simon and his legend that was developed by those who followed him and the historical Simon is certainly difficult to ascertain, but we are inclined to agree with Wolthus (1982: 93-130) at least to the point of saying that Simon did project some of the things that Jude was fighting against and Perkins (1993:32)² showed that gnostic trends likely existed in the mid first century AD. Of course a big problem with Simonian Gnosticism or proto-gnosticism is that Simon was a problem in Samaria and later in Rome.

Though the search for definite gnostic links has

²Robbins (1976: 171) also shows the considerable connection between the opponents in Jude and the opponents in 1 Corinthians. He says the menace arises from "a sort of gnosticizing Judaism. If 1 and 2 Corinthians are dated in the mid fifties then Jude's opponents can also be put in that time period.

proven to be inconclusive it is as easy to see Jude's opponents in the middle of the first century AD as to see them in the early to middle second century AD.

Early Catholicism

The second reason for seeing Jude as second century has been the view that Jude shows early Catholicism. Dunn (1977: ch 14) identified three major features of early Catholicism: 1) the fading of the Parousia hope; 2) increasing institutionalization; 3) the crystallization of the Faith into forms. Bauckham (1983: 8) points out that none of these appear in Jude. First, Jude 1, 14, 21, 24, and the midrash 5-19 rests on the coming Lord judging the false teachers, and 14-15 presuppose an imminent coming. On the second point Jude does not refer to Bishops as the authority figures, but to the whole community judging the opponents (Bauckham 1983: 9). Bigg while accepting an early date mentions that the δόξαι (glorious ones) are likely presbyters which would support

institutionalization, but there is little to substantiate such a claim. Nowhere in the New Testament is δόξαι used to refer to bishops and early Christian Literature does not seem to use that designation either, but δόξαι can refer to the angels (Kittel 1964: 251) which does suit Jude's line of argument in verses 6 and 9.

Finally the argument for faith being made into forms rests on Jude 3. Bauckham (1983: 9) feels that Jude 3 refers the gospel not to a formalized "rule of faith" It is particularly inappropriate to see a "rule of faith" if one sees that Jude's fight is not against orthodoxy and heresy in belief, but refers to the relation between gospel and moral responsibility. That Jude does not show indisputable signs of early Catholicism allows for an early date of Jude, particularly his view of imminent eschatological judgement argues for an early date .

Jerome Neyrey (1991: 305-30) uses the model developed by V. Robbins to get information about the

author and date of a work by sociorhetorical criticism. One of the areas, *Previous Events*, applies specifically to the dating of Jude. Jude referred to the past, but this was natural in a society which valued what was old over what was new. He cited past examples of punishment (vv 5-7) or those who had vices (v 11) He exhorted from past literary works (vv 9, 14-15) and quoted a prophecy from the recent past (vv 17-18). Two references to past events help place him in time relational to his addressees. Jude 3 τῆ ἀπαξ παραδοθείση τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστει (the faith once delivered to the saints) points to Jude not having founded the church. Paul was emphatic about his role as a founder (1 Cor 3:6, 10; 4:15; Rm 15: 20-21; 2 Cor 11:2); Church tradition also mentions the apostles as foundation stones of the church (Eph 2:20; Rv 21:14) if Jude had been a founder it would have helped his argument to mention that he was. In verse 17 he reminded his audience of what the apostles foretold. He appears to be

a second generation member of the group (Neyrey 1993: 33). This does not suggest a late date (Bauckham 1983: 103-4; Bigg 1901: 314), but that Jude was not one of the original apostles, which has more to do with the time he embraced Christianity than the time he wrote; so again this could put Jude late, but does not require a date later than mid first century AD.

Authorship

There are two main camps toward a view of authorship

1. Those who believe that Jude is a pseudonym and
2. those that feel "Jude" is the name of the author.

The possibility of Jude being a Pseudonymous work is linked to the view that his opponents were second century gnostics. If Jude were a second century document then it must be pseudonymous because of the connection between Jude and James. This again goes back to the question of opponents discussed above.

Against a second century Pseudonym is the

designation *ιούδας ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου* (Jude the brother of James). James, the brother of Jesus, the leader of the first century church of Jerusalem, was the head of the council in Acts 15, and was the only first century leader we know of that could be distinguished solely by the name James (Bauckham 1990: 172). The connection to James does give status to the author, but a second century pseudonym could have as easily mentioned that he was the brother of Jesus.

If Jude was first century then the authorship could well be authentic. Neyrey (1993: 31, 35) is one, who commits only to Jude being written by a second generation Christian and to being possibly pseudepigraphic because of the eloquence of the Greek and scribal authority. He feels that a blood relative of Jesus would be a landless artisan and therefore not have the scribal authority or the high quality Greek, which both tell of a member of the non elite urban retainer class. Neyrey's point

carries weight except that Jude does show signs of a Semitic background. He used the Jewish Greek method of the repeated article. Jude was also influenced by the construct state and omitted the article (the) judgement of (the) great day in verse 6 and in (the) love of God in verse 21 (Turner 1976: 139-40). Such things give evidence to Greek as a second language; though the evidences are not strong, they do exist. Though the quality of the Greek can possibly, as Neyrey points out, show the author to be a city dweller, the position of one such as Jude ie. responsible for a church or more likely several churches, would have enabled him to increase in his use of the Greek language. Though it is unlikely that the letter was originally written in Aramaic as Maier (1906: 171) contended, the author had a Jewish background. Seeing that the author could very well have been the brother of James and Jesus Christ the date of the book would be first century anyway.

If the author was authentically someone named Jude there have been five possibilities as to his identity: 1) he was Judas Thomas; 2) he was a second century bishop of Jerusalem called Judas; 3) he was the apostle; 4) he was Jude the brother of Jesus 5) he was an unknown "Jude".

Layton (1987: 359), Koester (1982: 247), Carr (1981: 130-32) have thought that Jude was the apostle St. Didymus Jude Thomas known from the east Syrian tradition of Edessa. Thomas was referred to as the Lord's brother and twin in the *Book of Thomas* 138:7. The identity as twin could refer to Thomas's physical likeness to Christ and brother could refer to spiritual brotherhood. At one point the Lord says to Thomas "since you are called my brother" which gives more the idea of presumed or spiritual brotherhood than physical brotherhood. The contents of the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *Book of Thomas* (said to have been written by Matthias) are considered gnostic in nature, but do not show unmistakable signs of

being gnostic (Layton 1987:360) and are definitely of an aesthetic nature and are opposed to physical licence (BTh 138: 24-30; 143:8).

A point against Thomas being the Jude of the letter of Jude is that he is never referred to as James's brother in any other writing. If the *Gospel of Thomas* refers to Thomas being an actual brother of Christ than one would expect the letter to make the connection between Jude and Christ not Jude and James. Bauckham (1990: 102) also points out that Thomas is referred to as Judas only in connection with Syria. Again in Syria, Judas Thomas was not mentioned in connection with James.

Grotius, (Grotius in Chase 1899: 804); Streeter (1929: 178-180); and Julicher (Julicher in Bigg 1902: 320) saw Jude as a second century bishop of Jerusalem. The Apostolic constitution 7.46 makes him the third bishop. Eusebius *Ecclesiastic History* 4.5 said that Judas was last after the third bishop Justus and that he

was bishop in the time of Hadrian from 132-135 A.D.

Bauckham (1990: 173) pointed out that there is not enough evidence of a bishop with that name. The other problem with the theory is that "brother of James" is an unlikely title for the bishop of Jerusalem.

If the name Jude was not a pseudonym then the author of Jude could well be Jude the brother of the Lord Jesus mentioned in Matthew 13:15; Mark 6:3 and Eusebius, *HE* 3.19.1 - 3.20.6. The connection between Jude and James makes this a very likely possibility. This view would be unlikely only if there were clear evidence to the opponents being second century and there is not indisputable evidence of that. The other evidence against this view is the quality of the Greek which seems too good for an itinerant carpenter's son, but again though the language of Jude suggests that Greek was a second language there is the possibility that Jude in the role of pastor could have learned more Greek. Ellis

(1978: 227) felt that Jude was likely not the brother of Christ because the Lord's brothers were referred to in 1 Corinthians as ὄι ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κυρίου (the brothers of the Lord) and in Galatians 1:19 James is referred to as τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου (the brother of the Lord), but that others refer to the connection of the Jesus' brothers with Jesus does not mean that they referred to themselves that way. James refers to himself as the Ἰησοῦ δοῦλου (Jesus' slave) not as ἀδελφοῦ κυριοῦ (the Lord's brother).

Bauckham (1990: 172) lists a number of scholars who saw Jude as the apostle, but this is partly due to the perceived connection by the pre nineteenth century commentator John Calvin (1972: 322) and by the Church Father Tertullian *On The Apparel of Women* 1.3 between Jude the apostle and the relative of James and Jesus in Mark 6:3. The Roman Catholic scholars Vrede (1916) and Willmering (1953) still saw Jude the apostle as the writer of Jude, but this view has been abandoned by

generally in Roman Catholic scholarship. The problem with seeing Jude as the apostle is two fold: first it is based on a misconception of Ἰούδας Ἰακωβοῦ (Jude of James) which was even translated in the Authorized Version as "Judas the brother of James"; second Jude did not call himself an apostle and in v. 17 referred to the apostles as people distinguished from himself.

Ellis (1978: 227-230) proposed the author to be Judas the church leader in Acts 15:22-35. He said that Acts 11:1,2 refer to the apostles and brothers who were Christian missionaries. Acts 11:12 supports this by referring to "these six brothers". Ellis felt that the brothers here were part of a special group connected with James and set apart for ministry. Ellis said Acts 12:17 ties the "brothers" in with James as a select group in the church; he then says that Judas of Acts 15 is referred to as one of these "brothers". This Judas would fit the criteria for the writing of Jude in that he was

charged to deliver and possibly write the council's letter to Antioch (Zahn 1909: 534 and Lightfoot 1885: 281). Ellis felt that to do this the Judas of Acts 15 would have had special fluency in Greek and working with Paul and Barnabas would have given him a knowledge of Paul's theology. The connection with James would have given him the connection with the Jewish roots.

We disagree with Ellis on three major points. First, though a special fluency in Greek may have been an asset it was not a necessity. Greek was spoken throughout the Roman Empire including Jerusalem (Gundry 1981: 4,21; Tenney 1961: 19). Also Silas went as well as Judas and there is no reference to him having a special ability with the Greek language. Second, though the term "brother" may have referred to a particular group of James' ministers, the connection is not a necessary one³. There is reference in Acts 12:17 to James and the

³ Neil does not see the term "brother" in Acts 12:17 as more than a general designation (1973: 150).

"brothers" but they are not referred to as the brothers of James. They cannot be connected to a particular group set apart because of their function in connection with James. James is centred due to his position as the head of the church, but the others are not that closely connected to James as to be called his brothers.

Wolthius (1982: 135) points out that if Jude does not have a familial meaning then it is too vague a term to be used to identify the author. There must have been other Judases known to the church. For the author to have needed to make the reference to James and his physical brother still has the best claim to that title. Even if Judas of Acts 15 considered himself a "brother" of James the designation would have caused confusion for anyone but Judas the son of Joseph and brother of James and Jesus Christ to use.

To be a bit anachronistic, if Jude used *I Enoch* and knew that the literature was pseudepigraphic and did not

believe that it was a copy of a manuscript from the Enoch, the son of Jared of Genesis chapter 5 then the author of Jude may have been perfectly comfortable writing pseudepigraphically.

The use of the expression "brother of James" could have been because of James's own popularity. It is in the area of Syria that Thomas was mentioned as being the twin of Jesus. A pseudonym is not impossible, but it still seems that Jude the brother of James the head of the Jerusalem church would be the most likely person for the writing of the epistle of Jude. With Jude the brother of Jesus as author and with no strong indication for a second century date the terminus a quo for Jude would be AD 50 and the terminus ad quem would be AD 80.

chapter five

Old Testament Canon In The First Century AD

The state of the Old Testament canon for the first century church is important to this thesis because if the canon was in flux when Jude wrote, there may be a stronger case for his authoritative use of *I Enoch* than if the Old Testament canon was set for the Church.

When considering the canon that the New Testament Church used, the main argument centres around the state of the third part of the canon - the hagiographa¹.

Beckwith (1985), Leiman (1976), and Ellis (1991) all

¹Albert Sunberg (1964) proved that the Alexandrian Canon Theory was invalid. A larger Alexandrian canon would not likely have had a great influence on Jude anyway if we are correct that he was writing from a Palestinian apocalyptic point of view. Also the shorter canon often considered to be used by Samaritans and Sadducees is not an issue here.

argue for a three part twenty-two² book canon established in the second century BC, though they do leave some room for a loose hagiographa³. The data from one hundred BC to one hundred AD suggests that there was a three part canon and that the Law and Prophets were set, but the evidence for a set hagiographa is sketchy. It appears that those with Pharisaic leanings held to a three part twenty-two book canon, but such a tight view of canon amongst Jews or Christians in general before AD seventy⁴ or ninety⁵ is difficult to substantiate.

²Some canons were twenty-four books, but this is only a difference in arrangement. The twenty-two book canon puts Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

³The Hagiographa is also known as the Writings or the Ketubim.

⁴After the fall of Jerusalem to Titus in AD 69/70 the Pharisees became the dominant and pretty much the only party in Judaism.

⁵Sundberg(1964: 114) felt that Jamnia (Jabneh) was where the Jewish (Pharisaic) Hagiographa portion of the canon was established. He then says that by this time Christian identity was sufficiently established that it was

The prologue attached to *Ben Sirach*, a Hebrew work originating in Palestine in the early second century, BC says:

My grandfather Jesus [devoted himself] to the law and prophets and other ancestral books Not only this work but even the law itself and prophecies and rest of the books differ not a little.

Ellis (1991:10) suggests that though the "other ancestral books" could show that the canon of one writer was different from that of another the parts of the canon are designated by similar expressions in *Ben Sirach*, Philo and Josephus and are well known works requiring no

not affected by the closing of the Jewish canon. Leiman (1976: 125) argues that at Jamnia canon was not discussed because it was closed. Leiman (Leiman 1976: 125; also see Newman 1976) says what was discussed at Jamnia was the inspiration of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. We feel Leiman could be correct about Jamnia, but this may only show that Jamnia itself was not a final authority amongst all, or even most Jews and that the Christian identity may have followed a different path.

enumeration. Bruce (1988:31), however, is more cautious saying that though this could refer to a three part canon, possibly only the Law and Prophets may be canonical. There is a possible reference to a tripartite canon, but the extent of it is vague. The use of other books by Jude and the later flirting that was done with the canonization of *Ben Sirach* itself makes the general acceptance of a set hagiographa less clear.⁶

Jubilees⁷ 2:23 may have mentioned 22 books^a: "there

⁶*Ben Sirach* was itself part of the uninspired canon, but was removed when Rabbi Akiba banned the reading of extra biblical literature 110 - 135 AD because of the threat of the NT and works of sectarian Judaism. Later in the Amoraic period the ban was relaxed and *Ben Sirach* was read as uninspired canon again (Leiman 1976: 135). Di Lella adds that though the rabbis, the successors of the Pharisees excluded *Ben Sirach* in the late first century AD, they continued to quote the book - even as sacred scripture (Skihan and Di Lella 1987: 20).

⁷Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Palestinian. The author was likely an Essene or a Hasidic Jew (Wintermute 1985:43). Vermes (1973: 69) points out the Hasidim (devout) were charismatics whose prayers performed miracles an example of this would be the first century saint Honi the circle drawer. We do not think the Hasidic Jews were necessarily a part of a specific sect.

were twenty-two chief men from Adam until Jacob and twenty-two kinds of works were made before the seventh day." The importance of Jubilees 2.23 is that if it mentions 22 books it agrees in number with the Pharisaic canon of the first century AD or at least with the Canon suggested by Josephus in *Against Apion* 1.8; *Jubilees* itself having a terminus a quem of 100 - 75 BC and a terminus ad quo of early second century BC. (Nickelsburg 1984a: 89)⁹. If Ellis is correct in suggesting that *Ben Sirach* and others do not number the books because there was no argument about the number then *Jubilees* numbering would give evidence to some dispute, but would also

⁸The concept of 22 books in *Jubilees* comes from uncertain evidence from Syncellus *Chronographia* 5.13-17 (see VanderKam 1989: 14).

⁹ On page 101-104 Nickelsburg (1988:101-104) discusses different dating strategies of Charles Testuz, Davenport, and James VanderKam who date the book anywhere from 200 - 100 BC.

defend an interest in 22 book canon as early as *Jubilees*.¹⁰ A problem with the *Jubilees* reference is that the author of *Jubilees* cites *I Enoch* as authoritative (Charles 1913: 165). This could show that there were books considered authoritative at a different level than canonical books or that *Jubilees* had a different canon than the later Pharisaic one. If the Pentateuch was ascribed more authority than the Prophets, then other books could have a lesser canonical status also; or *I Enoch* (at least portions of the composite book *I Enoch*) may have been part of *Jubilees* twenty-two books. In any case *Jubilees* does evidence an interest in canon though certainty about books in such a canon is somewhat doubtful. It could be argued that other literature such as some below attests to the books in the twenty - two

¹⁰It should be noted here that *The Damascus Document* 16.3-4 cites *Jubilees* as authoritative. The canon at Qumran will be discussed in a later chapter.

book canon and that most of that canon is quoted in the literature between one hundred BC and one hundred AD, but then so are several books considered non-canonical quoted in the same literature - particularly the New Testament.

Leiman (1976: 37) mentions that in the second-first centuries BC an attempt was made in Palestine to make the LXX conform to the Hebrew text¹¹ of the Bible thus an official Hebrew text must have been stabilized by the second to first centuries BC, but Leiman (1976: 132) amends this to say that stabilization was in process, which still leaves room for some fluxuation.

Philo writes¹² of the books used by the

¹¹Portions of the revision called the proto - Lucianic recension of the Greek Bible are preserved in Josephus. So far portions of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Jeremiah have been identified (Leiman 1976: 37 discusses this).

¹²Torrey Seland (1995:4) points out that dating Philo's works is no easy or even settled matter. We cannot divide Philo's life into two neat categories of a time before and after he "rediscovered his own [Jewish] culture and traditions (Dillon 1977:11). It may not be critical to this thesis for all of Philo's writings fall into the first

Therapeutae in *De Vita Contemplativa*¹³ 25 and 29:

[They take into their study rooms nothing]
but the laws, their oracles uttered by the
prophets, and hymns and other [books] that
foster and perfect knowledge and piety . . . In
addition to the Holy Scriptures, i.e. the
ancestral philosophy they have writings of men
of old, the founders of their way of thinking.

ὕμνοῦ (hymn) often refers to the Psalms in Philo¹⁴
which Beckwith considers the third part of the canon,

century and are roughly contemporary with Jude.

¹³Philo's authorship of *De Vita Contemplativa* was questioned by Gratz and Lucius in 1880, but was later successfully defended by Coneybeare and Wendland (Colson 1941: 108).

¹⁴Beckwith points out Philo had Pharisaic leanings (1985: 117).

this is probably correct¹⁵ In *De Vita Contemplativa* 80 Philo uses ὕμνοῦ (hymn) in the sense of a song to God and points merely to hymns as an edifying way to perceive God or communicate with God, but in 25 and 29 they do refer to the book of Psalms. The evidence from Philo for the authority of the Law comes from his two thousand quotations from the Pentateuch. Philo also quotes all the Prophetic literature except Ezekiel, and Lamentations (if we take it to be separate from Jeremiah) (Dunbar 1986: 304). The evidence for the ὕμνοῦ (hymn) being the writings and canonical is likely, but not conclusive, Philo does not quote from Song of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, or Daniel. Also the high regard for other books should not be dismissed too easily. Beckwith allows the high regard for "other [books]" by

¹⁵Delling points out that Philo regularly uses ὕμνοῦ for the OT Psalms and sees them as authoritative (Delling "ὕμνοῦ" in TDNT).

the Therapeutae if not Philo (1985: 117). Overall the evidence from Philo does show a high regard for the Law and the Prophets, probably a high regard for the writings, but does leave an opening for books other than the twenty-two of the Pharisaic canon.

The New Testament gives evidence of the state of the canon in Palestine. The Torah and Prophets were separate and canonical (Luke 4:17; John 1:45; Acts 13:27, 28:23) and they were read in the synagogues (Acts 13:15). Luke 24:44 attests to a tripartite canon ie. Moses. Prophets, and Psalms. Psalms could represent the entire Hagiographa¹⁶. Leiman (1976: 40) says that the Law and Prophets (Especially Jeremiah, Isaiah and the Twelve) were likely of greater significance than the Hagiographa (with the exception of the psalms). This is likely

¹⁶ Though several commentators say that "Psalms" refers to the entire Hagiographa (note Ellis 1974: 279) F.F. Bruce (1988: 32) says that Psalms might denote the entire third division of the Hebrew Old Testament, but we cannot be sure of this.

because the Law and Prophets were read in the synagogue. Note that the New Testament does not quote or allude to all of the Old Testament books, but does quote and allude to some pseudepigrapha - Jude's use of *I Enoch* for example.

Josephus¹⁷ mentions a tripartite canon of 22 books. In *Against Apion* 1.8:

For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another (as the Greeks have,) but only twenty - two books, which contain the records of all past times; which are justly

¹⁷Josephus proclaimed that he had studied the schools of thought of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and the Essenes (*Life* 11), but that at age nineteen he determined to follow the ways of the Pharisees (*Life* 12). Attridge (1984: 187) points out that such an early choice is likely contrived, but does show the choice of the Pharisaic party to be characteristic of his later writing amongst which *Against Apion* 1 and 2 can be placed (1984: 227).

believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses . . . from Moses to . . . Artaxerxes . . . thirteen books . . . the remaining four contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.¹⁸

Josephus goes on to say that the history had been written after Artaxerxes¹⁹, but it did not have the same authority because there had not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. Josephus' connection with

¹⁸This same order of books is given by the 4th c. AD father Rufinus in *exposito symboli* 35f. These books are likely: the Pentateuch (5); Joshua, Judges-Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Isaiah, Jeremiah-Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Twelve Prophets, Job (13); and Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs (4).

¹⁹ Note Ellis: "It is not certain whether Josephus is referring to Artaxerxes I (died 425 BC), Artaxerxes II (died 359 BC), or Xerxes (died 465 BC), but writings after the time of Ezra were not considered canonical." (Ellis 1991: 7 fn 25). Also note that though Josephus accepts the histories he assigns to them a lesser place than the prophets. The concept of a canon within a canon was part of his thinking also.

the Pharisees would suggest a leaning toward that parties view of the extent of the canon. If the writing is fairly late in Josephus' life then the twenty-two book canon would be more set amongst the Pharisaic party.

2 *Ezdras* (4 *Ezra* or the Vulgate's 4 *Esdras*) which was likely written about AD 100-120 from Palestine (Charlesworth, 1.520) mentions 24 books for public use, for the wise and unwise. Note that 4 *Ezra* 14:46 - 48 also mentions seventy books only for the wise, which contain a spring of understanding, fountain of wisdom, and a river of knowledge. 4 *Ezra* does still put all books as written by the time of Ezra. 4 *Ezra* here shows that by the early second century AD there was a set canon, but in some circles other books were honoured, possibly even considered as being more sacred than the twenty - four book canon, though it is also possible that the "wise" may be able to read the other books because they could filter out problems the masses may get in trouble with.

An open canon is still possible in this 4 *Ezra*.

All of these works do exhibit a knowledge of a three part canon but the extent of the hagiographa is still pretty much in doubt, except in Josephus who wrote late in the first century from a Pharisaic point of view. It could be argued that the omissions at Qumran and in the New Testament of quotations from some of the Hagiographa could show a narrower view of canon rather than a larger view; however, that both the New Testament and Qumran use books beyond the twenty-two of the Pharisaic canon shows either different canons amongst different groups or that non canonical literature could be considered authoritative. With the evidence above it will be useful to see how Jude introduces *I Enoch* to see if Jude gives evidence for seeing *I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers* as authoritative literature.

chapter six

Introduction Formulae

If there was some flux in the hagiographa during the first century AD and Jude was written during the first century (both points are the contentions of this thesis) then it becomes important to see how Jude used *I Enoch*. In particular it is important to look at Jude's introduction formula to see if it follows any normative conventions for the introduction of authoritative literature.

The introduction "προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἑβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων" (and to these ones even Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied saying) shows that Jude considered the words of Jude 14 to be authoritative and the book of *I Enoch* they came from to be authoritative. This is shown in two ways: first, Jude used an introductory formula which resembles that of several portions of the

New Testament, particularly Matthew 15:7 and Mark 7:6; second, Jude pointed to the fulfilment of a prophet's words in Jude's own time, which is also common in the New Testament writings.

Kistemacher (1987) and Guthrie (1981) argue (wrongly) that the introductory formula used in Jude 14 shows that the author did not consider the words of Jude 14 to be from a canonical work. Kistemacher (1987: 395) says, "though Jude cites an Apocryphal book, he gives no evidence that he regarded it as scripture." Kistemacher says Jude makes no appeal to scripture and omits the common introduction "it is written" used by other writers. He cites an article on inspiration by B.B. Warfield to prove his theory; however, Warfield is not as strict with the Introductory Formula: "it is written" as Kistemacher says.

B.B. Warfield (ISBE, 843-844)¹ in an article on

¹Also see Warfield's chapter "It says:" "Scripture says:" "God says:" in *The Inspiration and Authority of*

inspiration shows some of the formulae used to introduce works that were considered "scripture" by the New Testament authors. Warfield does give preference to the term "it is written", or "it is said" but is in no way bound by these terms. Often the term "it is written" is used (Mt 4:4; Mk 1:2; Lk 24:46), sometimes "according to the scriptures" is used (1 Cor 15f; Acts 8:35; 17:3; 26:22; Rm. 1:17; 3:4, 10; 4:17; 11:26; 14:11; 1 Cor 1:19; 2:9; 3:19; 15:45; Gl 3:10; 13; 4:22, 27). He also mentions "Therefore, as the Holy Spirit says, Today when you hear his voice" (Heb 3:7 quoting Psalm 95:7); and "... who by the mouth of our father David, thy servant did say by the Holy Spirit, 'why did the Gentiles rage....?'" (Acts 4:25 quoting Psalm 2:1). Sometimes "it is said" replaces "it is written" (Heb 3:15; Rm 4:18; also Lk 4:12 replaces the "it is written" of Matthew). Warfield emphasizes the "it is written" and "it is said",

the Bible 1948.

but does not try to suggest that these are the only possible formulae as his words "Accordingly it is cited by some such formula as" Warfield, therefore, correctly leaves some room here for other introductory formula and evidence to other introductory formula for inspired writings.

Following Guthrie (1981: 978) Kistemacher (1983: 396) continues to say that "to prophesy" in Jude 14 does not mean inspired prophecy. Guthrie says:

Since this is the sole instance of a formal citation in the NT from a non-canonical book, care must be taken to determine whether Jude's verb "prophesy" (propheteuo) is used to denote a canonical book. It seems most likely that he did not intend the word in this sense, but rather in the sense of "predicting" since he applies to his own day what purports to come

from the Antediluvian world. It would have been different if any normal citation-formulae had been used, for then there would have been little doubt that Jude was treating the book of Enoch as scripture. But in absence of specific formula, the presumption must be in favour of a more general use of the verb. ... It must be admitted that Jude has a more respectful view of non-canonical books than most other NT writers, but he is certainly one with them in his regard for the OT text for although he does not quote it, he makes many allusions to it and certainly treats its events and people as historical. (1981: 978-979)

It would seem that prophesying in the sense of "predicting" does not mean as Guthrie and Kistemacher contend that the words are not canonical². In Acts 2:16

²Jude also makes an allusion to *I Enoch* in v.6 which is similar to the Old Testament allusions mentioned by

Peter says "ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ προφήτου Ἰωήλ" (but this is that which was said through the prophet Joel) and then goes on to show a fulfilment of prophecy in his day³. The prophecy by Joel is used by Peter as a prediction of what would happen in his day and the words of Joel referred to are considered canonical.

It would appear also that Jude would consider Enoch and his words as historical. Bruce Metzger (1951:306)⁴ says the New Testament with a greater frequency than the Mishnah recognizes the instrumentality of human authors such as Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea,

Guthrie.

³Tobit 2:6 says, "I was reminded of what the prophet Amos said to the people". This introductory formula resembles that of Acts 2:16.

⁴Metzger (1957: 303) lists the passages where individuals are referred to by a variety of formulas.

Joel, and *Enoch*⁵. Metzger's words go with what was said earlier about introductory formulae being varied and referring to authoritative individuals as well as works, or at least referring to the individuals that the authoritative works are ascribed to. Many of these formulae use forms of λέγω (I say) which Jude also uses and which Warfield (above page 79) attests to being part of a formula for showing inspiration.

Most of the λέγω formula point to the prophet Isaiah: Ἡσαίας λέγει (Isaiah says) (Rm 10:19); ὅτι πάλιν εἶπεν Ἡσαίας (and again Isaiah said) (John 12:39); Ἡσαίας δὲ κρᾶζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (and Isaiah cried concerning Israel) (Rm 9:27); ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῆ ὃν εἶπεν (that the word of Isaiah the prophet be fulfilled which said) (John 12:38); ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ

⁵Metzger does not suggest that the Mishnah quotes *Enoch*, only that the NT refers to individuals more than the Mishnah does and that the New Testament refers to the book of *I Enoch*.

προφήτου λέγοντες (that the word through the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled saying) (Mt 4:14; 8:17; 12:17); οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθὲς διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντες (for this is the word through the prophet Isaiah saying) (Mt 3:3); τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλαλήσεν διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν λέγων (the holy spirit spoke through our father, the prophet Isaiah saying) (Acts 28:25, 26). All of these mention Isaiah, but other prophets are referred to also. Jeremiah is mentioned in Matthew 2:17, ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (the word was fulfilled through the prophet Jeremiah saying) Matthew 27:9 is interesting because it says, τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, (then was fulfilled the word through Jeremiah the prophet saying) but the reference is from Zechariah 11:12, 13. Hosea is mentioned in Romans 9:25, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾠσηὲ λέγει, (as even in Hosea he says) this refers to the book of Hosea rather than the prophet himself. Other

than this last reference individuals are mentioned for the works that are ascribed to them and most of the references point to fulfilments in the days of the New Testament writers, similar to the way Jude remarks about an individual prophet whose words are fulfilled in his day.

In a couple of instances in the New Testament the formula used to refer to a prophet from a canonical book closely resembles the wording of Jude 14. In Matthew 13:14, "καὶ ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἰσαίου ἣ λέγουσα" (and to them is being fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah which says) here the prophecy is a noun rather than a verb, but the sentiment is similar to Jude and again the prediction of Isaiah is said to be fulfilled in the people of Matthew's day. Gundry mentions that the use of ἀναπλήρουν (fulfill) suggests that there was a consciousness that the text had a meaning for Isaiah's day and as well as a meaning for the New Testament times

(Gundry 1975: 213)⁶.

Matthew 15:7 says "ὕποκριταὶ καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων" (hypocrites, as Isaiah prophesied concerning you saying) this is almost the same formula used by Jude 14, "προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ λέγων" (to these ones even Enoch the seventh from Adam prophesied saying) A parallel passage in Mark 7:6 says "ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ὡς γέγραπται" (and to these he said," just as Isaiah prophesied concerning you hypocrites as it is written") this is the same as Matthew 15:7, but adds "as it is written", both of these point to a prophecy from a canonical book, even though one has the term "as it is written" and the other uses "says". More important with the Matthew 15:7 and Mark 7:6 passages the word

⁶Walter Kaiser Jr. (1985:212-213; also 43f.) also deals with the problem of past particularity having present significance for the New Testament writers.

"prophesied" is used in a similar manner to Jude 14, so Jude's formula is not unique to him. There are a number of examples of different formulae mentioned by Warfield, and Metzger. Kistemacher and Guthrie are being much too strict to limit the formulae to "as it is written", or "as ... says". Jude uses "says" and Jude's formula is consistent with some of the New Testament's writers introduction of the predictive words of a canonical prophet, particularly Matthew 15:7 and Mark 7:6.

Though he does not think that Jude considered *I Enoch* to be canonical, Richard Bauckham (1990:225⁷) contrary to Guthrie and Kistemacher says that Jude's introductory formula indicates that he considered verse 14 as "inspired prophecy". Bauckham (1990:225) then says that calling Enoch the seventh from Adam shows both Enoch's antiquity and his special authority and that this

⁷Duane Frederick Watson (1986: 64) also says that Jude saw *I Enoch* as inspired prophecy.

alludes to a special role as a prophet and visionary which the Enoch literature accords to Enoch, "as the one to whom all manner of divine secrets were revealed for the benefit of succeeding generations....". Though Bauckham (1990:225-229) cites a number of instances where Qumran literature (4Q175; 4Q180) and Church Fathers (Barn 16:6; Herm vis 2:3:4; 1Cl 12:1,2; 11:2; 23:3; 46:2) refer to "non-canonical" works in formula often indicating scriptural authority, he still feels that these are marginal compared to the general pattern of scriptural citation in early Christianity. Our only disagreement with Bauckham here is that we do not see a vast chasm between what would be "inspired and authoritative" (1990:229) and what would be canonical, especially if by canon we mean a body of literature considered authoritative for a particular community. Bauckham (1990) suggests with Beckwith (1985) that there was already a defined body of literature recognized as

authoritative by the Jews. Here I would argue from the previous chapter on canon that "Jews" is too general a term. Such a canon was possibly recognized by the Pharisaic party who became dominant after AD seventy, but this was not the case with the Sadducees, or the Essenes⁹. While Bauckham's evidence leads him to a view of *I Enoch* being seen as non-canonical but inspired we do not think that this is a necessary step to take⁹. If a work was considered authoritative for a community we think it would then be canonical for that community¹⁰.

⁹Beckwith (1985: 359, and 359, fn84) also mentions the Essenes high regard for apocalyptic literature though he does argue that these works were considered non-canonical.

⁹Bauckham (1990: 230) does say from the evidence of 4Ezra 14:44-46 the 24 books for the unwise and 70 for the wise that some books were considered more valuable than the canonical books. If the dominant party was pushing a 22/24 book canon than it may be necessary for others to defend their canon in a manner such as this.

¹⁰For the basic argument for the effect of canon on community see *Canon and Community* by James Sanders (1984).

What Bauckham does lead to is that the formula for introduction of scripture need not be as limited as Kistemaker would like us to believe. Bruce Metzger (1951) also shows this in his article comparing the introduction formulae in the New Testament and the Mishnah. Metzger (1951: 299) mentions that in the Mishnah "it is written", or "for it is written" the translation of כִּי כָתוּב is the most often used formula with over three hundred occurrences. The expression "it is written" is also quite frequent in the New Testament, but it is by no means the only method to introduce a scriptural quotation. Metzger (1951:306) says that, "It is noticeable likewise that the New Testament makes use of a much greater variety of types of formulas than does the Mishnah. This is not surprising for the writings of the New Testament include a much greater range of literary genre than does the Mishnah."

As was shown above the New Testament writers had a

number of ways of introducing material that they considered authoritative and as Bauckham (1990: 227) mentioned, Qumran also had a number of ways of introducing such material. His example from 4Q Ages of Creation (4Q180) does show the use of pesharim on an Apocryphal work similar to the pesharim Qumran uses for other scriptural works and he says this does compare with Jude's use of peshar for an apocryphal work. Joseph Fitzmeyer in a work examining the Quotation Formulae in *The Damascus Document (CD)*; *The Manual of Discipline (1QS)*; *The War Scroll (1QM)*; and *4QFlorilegium* noted that the New Testament tended to use the formulae of fulfilment or realization, where such formula are almost non-existent at Qumran, likely because Qumran was looking forward whereas the New Testament was looking at the culmination of events in Christ. (Fitzmeyer 1960:303). As Fitzmeyer mentions, F. F. Bruce (1955:64) said "the New Testament interpretation of the Old Testament is not only

eschatological, but also Christological. Jude does this seeing the fulfilment of Enoch's words in his present day (v. 14)¹¹.

Joseph Fitzmeyer (1960: 305) then shows the use of the formula "as God has said by means of the prophet Isaiah"¹² from *The Damascus Document* 4:15 is a reference to *The Testament of Levi* in the Greek Testament of *The Twelve Patriarchs*, but concludes that the introductory formula need not make it canonical as the books that are found in later canonical lists. I agree that the formula alone may not be enough, but in the case of *I Enoch* where such a formula is combined with other evidences then the

¹¹Fitzmeyer (1960: 305) lists four types of quotations at Qumran and in the New Testament: 1. Literal or Historical; 2. Modernized; 3. Accommodation; 4. Eschatological. Jude's reference fits the Eschatological type of quote. For a series of articles which deal with the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament see *The Right Doctrine From the Wrong Texts*. ed. by G.K. Beale, 1994; also see Walter Kaiser Jr. (1985: 43-57; 212-213).

¹² Martinez (1996: 35) places the expression in CD 4.13.

case becomes much stronger.

Summary

This chapter has shown that a strict adherence to two or three introductory formula does not fit the evidence of the Mishnah, Qumran, or most importantly for our purposes, the New Testament. And there is ample evidence from the New Testament to suggest the Jude's introduction formula to the quote he attributes to Enoch fits the introductory formula that is used of several prophets which Old Testament books are ascribed to, particularly the formula of Matthew 15:7 and Mark 7:6. Furthermore to say with Kistemacher and Guthrie that Jude was using "prophecy" in a predictive manner rather than as inspired prophecy does not fit the evidence from the New Testament. The word "prophecy" is also used in the introductory formula for several prophets which Old Testament books are ascribed to and fulfilment of

prophecy being set in the time of the writers of the New Testament is fairly common. Finally Jude ends his formula with λέγων (saying) which is similar to the formula which several New Testament writers use. λέγω (say) rather than γραφή (written) is often used by New Testament writers to point to canonical prophets.

So the evidence suggests, as Bauckham and Watson claimed, that Jude intended the words of Enoch in verse 14 to be considered inspired prophecy.

If this internal evidence was all there was to make the case that Jude used *I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers* canonically it would not be convincing, but added to the external evidence the case becomes much stronger.

It would be appropriate next to see how Jubilees and the Qumran Literature saw *I Enoch* to test if others before Jude saw *I Enoch* as canonical.

chapter seven

The Use Of Enoch by Jubilees and the Qumran Literature

If the evidence from the our view of Jude's quotation formulae is correct and if there is some opening for fluxuation in the hagiographa, then the position of *I Enoch* in the communities of the second and first centuries B.C. is important. *I Enoch* appears to have had a prominent place in the literature. Here we can look at *Jubilees* and the Qumran evidence, which both attest to the authority given to the some of the Enochic corpus¹.

Jubilees was originally written in Hebrew as

¹We could also include the *Testament of Naphtali* from *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* which was possibly written about the same time as the Dead Sea Scrolls circa 150 B.C. (Kee 1983:778) which mentions the Watchers being responsible for the Flood in 3:5.

evidence from Qumran attests to.² There is no extant version in Greek, but there are a number of allusions to *Enoch* in the Latin and Greek Fathers which attest to Greek versions (VanderKam 1989a: xiii). The only complete version, as with *I Enoch*, is in Ethiopic. The Ethiopic version has been carefully preserved from the Hebrew (VanderKam 1989a:ix). Probably the best translation of *Jubilees* to date is VanderKam's 1989a work.

Several works³ have discussed the person of Enoch in the Apocalyptic Literature as well as antecedents of Enoch in other literature. Heinrich Zimern (1902) and Pierre Grelot (1958b) saw a comparison of Enoch in

²VanderKam (1989a: vi) lists authors that supported the Hebrew grundscrift for Jubliees such as A. Dillman, R.H. Charles, Z. Frankel and then points to the thirteen Hebrew texts at Qumran and paleographic dating for conclusive evidence.

³These works are critiqued in VanderKam's *Enoch And The Growth Of An Apocalyptic Tradition*, 1984.

Berossus' *Babyloniaca* circa 280 B.C. Enoch is identified with king Euedoranchos (Zimern 1902: 530 - 43). H. Ludin Jansen 1939 saw a comparison between Enoch and the Babylonian *Ea* and other figures associated with *Ea* such as Gilgamesh. VanderKam sees parallels and possible antecedents of Enoch the culture bringer with Taautos (Thought to the Egyptians, Thoth to the Alexandrians) the Phoenician culture bringer (1984:182) and supports the figure of Enoch being a Jewish version of the Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki (1984:116). The main value of these works - particularly Grelot and VanderKam is, for the purpose of this work, that they show *Jubilees* was not only dependent on the Enoch literature. What needs to be shown here is that even if *Jubilees* is not dependent completely upon the Enoch literature it is dependent to some degree and does see *I Enoch*, particularly *The Book of the Watchers*, as authoritative.

Though it is true that *Jubilees* 4:16-25 gives a portrait of Enoch that goes beyond what is found in the *Book of the Watchers*, *The Book Of Dreams*, and the *Astronomical Book of I Enoch* (VanderKam 1984: 180-3); *Jubilees* is partly dependant upon these sources and considers them authoritative⁴. *Jubilees* uses *I Enoch* in 4:16-25; 5:1-12; 7:21-22; 21:10.

Along with *Jubilees'* use of *I Enoch*, there are some passages which give Enoch credit for having written authoritative words. *Jubilees* 4:17 and 18 says that Enoch:

Was the first of mankind who were born on
the earth who learned (the art of) writing ...

⁴This is still the case even if, as VanderKam suggests, the writers of the Enochic literature had no scruples against incorporating (with modifications) pagan mythological material into their books (1984:188). There is a possibility, which there is some evidence for, that some of the Enochic literature could be survivals of things written by the Enoch himself; though such a hypothesis is quite unnecessary for this thesis.

who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky
in accord with the fixed pattern of their
months so that mankind would know the seasons
of the years according to the fixed patterns of
each of their months ... made known the days of
the years; the months he arranged, and related
the Sabbaths of the years.

These words point to *The Astronomical Book* in *I Enoch* and
tie them in with the patriarch Enoch showing the author
of *Jubilees* belief in the authority of *The Astronomical
Book*.

Jubilees 4:19 says:

While he slept he saw in a vision what has
happened and what will occur - how things will
happen for mankind during their history until
the day of judgement. He saw everything and

understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.

These words are a summary of *I Enoch* 1-36 generally and point specifically to the prooimium (pooemium) and central theme of *I Enoch* as shown in *I Enoch* 1:1-9.

Jubilees 21:10 says:

Eat its meat during that day and on the next day: but the sun is not to set on the next day until it is eaten. It is not to left over until the third day because it is not acceptable to him. For it was not pleasing and is therefore commanded. All who eat it will bring guilt upon themselves because this is the way I found (it) written in the book of my ancestors, in the words of Enoch and the words

of Noah.

These words again point to the writings of Enoch⁵ and show that the author of *Jubilees* considered these writings authoritative for herself/himself and his/her audience.

The author of *Jubilees* saw *I Enoch*, at least *The Book of the Watchers*, *The Book of Dream Visions* and *The Astronomical Book* as authoritative. If Charles's (1902:18) following of Syncellus (*Chronographia* 5.13-17) is correct that a twenty-two book canon should be mentioned in *Jubilees* 2:23 then it would be possible that parts of *I Enoch* make up one or more books of that canon; however, VanderKam (1989: 14) has argued against a twenty-two book canon being mentioned by *Jubilees* saying that Syncellus likely only referred the twenty-two

⁵"the words of Noah" may also point to the *Noah Apocryphon*.

leaders to *Jubilees* and that if Syncellus referred to *Jubilees* for the twenty-two book canon, Syncellus may have been wrong. VanderKam is likely correct that a twenty-two book canon is not mentioned in *Jubilees* since there is no manuscript evidence to support the notion of "twenty-two books" in *Jubilees* and there is no good reason for copyists to leave such a thing out; be that as it may, it is still fairly conclusive that *Jubilees* lists portions of *I Enoch* as authoritative - the three parts that pre-date *Jubilees*.

The Use of *I Enoch* At Qumran

The Qumran community saw parts of *I Enoch* as authoritative and Qumran appears to have considered *Jubilees* authoritative which saw parts of *I Enoch* authoritative. Who exactly were the Qumran people is

still a matter of some debate⁶, We agree with VanderKam (1994: 71-98) that Qumran Essenes are still the best case for the inhabitants of Qumran and for the authors of some and collectors of the works known as the dead sea scrolls.

Qumran's use of *Jubilees* is important to this study because as was mentioned earlier *Jubilees* saw *I Enoch's Book of Dreams*; *Book of the Watchers*; and possibly the *Astronomical Book* as authoritative. Fifteen copies⁷ of *Jubilees* were found in five caves at Qumran. The extent of the copies found at Qumran may give some indication as to its importance at Qumran. The number of copies alone

⁶Lawrence Schiffman (1990) suggested that the people of Qumran were Sadducees and Norman Golb (1989) suggested that the caves were not part of Qumran, but were a depository for documents hidden by people from Jerusalem escaping Romans in the First Jewish Revolt. For a critique of these views see VanderKam (1994: 92-97).

⁷VanderKam suggests that there may have been sixteen copies (1989: 153).

may not be enough to show the value of the book at Qumran, but there is enough when that evidence is added to the direct mention of *Jubilees* in the *Damascus Document*⁸ (Martinez 1996: 39) *The Damascus Document* 16.2b-4a states:

And the exact interpretation of their ages about the blindness of Israel in all these matters, behold, it is defined in the book of the divisions of the periods to their Jubilees and their weeks.

The "Book of the divisions of the Periods into their Jubilees and Weeks" is a reference to the book of

⁸VanderKam mentions that the Damascus Document 10.7-10 may also refer to *Jubilees* in the statement about the age limit for judges being sixty-five years could come from *Jubilees* 23:11 and 4Q228 "for this is the way it is written in the division of the days" which could also point to *Jubilees* (1989: 154).

Jubilees 1:1:

These are the words regarding the divisions of the times of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of the weeks of their jubilees throughout all the years of eternity as he related (them) to Mt. Moses on Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tablets - the law and the commandments

....

also, the breakdown into periods and jubilees is what *Jubilees* does.

Another point to show that Qumran saw *Jubilees* as authoritative is that the book of *Jubilees*, as VanderKam (1994: 153) says, "blatantly advertizes itself as divine revelation." Chapter 1:7 says, "now write the entire message which I am telling you today"; 1:8 says,

"then this testimony will serve as evidence." These words point to a revelation beyond the Pentateuch because they claim to be evidence to the descendants of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob after they turn and serve foreign gods. If Qumran or at least some members of that community used a book that claimed to be revelation, they must have to some degree accepted the claims of the book they allude to. VanderKam points out that there is evidence that 4Q252 shows that the *Jubilees*' chronology of the flood was not accepted by all the documents at Qumran and that some calendrical texts used a schematic lunar calendar that *Jubilees* condemned so not everyone at Qumran agreed with all the details of *Jubilees* (1994:154-5), but the evidence for the authoritative use of *Jubilees* by Qumran is still fairly good.

If the Qumran community saw *Jubilees* as authoritative and *Jubilees* used parts of *I Enoch* as authoritative then that would be at least one factor in

seeing *I Enoch* as authoritative at Qumran. If we can add the *Jubilees* information with other evidences then we may see that *I Enoch* (plus *The Book Of The Giants* less *The Similitudes*) was authoritative for Qumran.

Fragments of four books of *I Enoch*: *The Book of the Watchers*; *The Book of Dreams*; *The Astronomical Book*; *The Epistles of Enoch*; *The Similitudes (Parables)* is missing from Qumran and *The Book of The Giants* (which is not part of the extant Ethiopic book of *I Enoch*) exists in four caves at Qumran.

The following chart identifying the location of the fragments comes from Martinez (1996:467-519). Most of the Enoch fragments found at Qumran were written in Aramaic⁹, though some would argue for a Hebrew grundscrift based on antecedants to the Greek or Aramaic translations (see

⁹There were a couple of Hebrew fragments corresponding to *I Enoch* 8:4-9:4; and 106:2 found in cave I (Barthelemy and Milik 1955:84 and 152)

introduction to the Book of *I Enoch*, 11). No part of *I Enoch* was found at cave 3,5,7,8,10,11. Cave 1,2,4,6 contained parts of *I Enoch*.

The Book Of The Watchers

4Q201(4QEn^a ar) 4QEnoch^a Milik (1976b) identified remains of *I Enoch* 1:1-16; 2:1-5.6; 6:4-8:1; 8:3-9:3; 9:6-8; 10:3-4.21-11:1; 12:4-6; 14:4-6.

4Q202(4QEn^b ar) 4QEnoch^b Contained remains of *I Enoch* 5:6-6:4; 6:7-8:1; 8:2-9:4; 10:8-12.

Astronomical Book

4Q208(Enastr^a ar) 4QAstronomical Enoch^a It contains remains of the Synchronous Calender (This section is as of 1997 unpublished).

4Q209(4QEnastr^b ar) 4QAstronomical Enoch^b A copy of *The Astronomical Book*. Contains the Synchronous Calendar and *I Enoch* 76:13-77:; 78:9-12; 79:3-5 plus 78:17-79:2; 82:9-13.

4Q210(4QEnastr^c ar) 4QAstronomical Enoch^c A Copy of The
Astronomical Book. Contains remains of *I Enoch* 76:3-10;
76:13-77:4; 78:6-8.

4Q211(4QEnastr^d ar) 4QAstronomical Enoch^d contains three
columns of *I Enoch* 82:20.

Book of Dreams (Dream Visions in Black 1985)

4Q207(4QEn^f ar) 4QEnoch^f Contains a copy of the Book of
Dreams remains of *I Enoch* 86:1-3.

The Letter of Enoch(Enoch's Epistle in Black 1985)

4Q212(4QEn^g ar) 4QEnoch^g Copy of the Letter of Enoch.
Contains the remains of *I Enoch* 91:10 (possibly); 91:18-
19; 92:1-2; 92:5-93:4; 93:-10; 91:11-17; 93:11-94:2.

The Book Of Giants

1Q23(1QEnGiants^aar)1QBook of Giants^a Copy of The Book of
The Giants.

1Q24(1QEnGiants^b ar) 1QBook of Giants^b Possibly a small fragment of *The Book of Giants*.

2Q26(2QGiants ar) 2QBook of Giants a small fragment that Milik (334) identified as part of *The Book of Giants*.

4Q530(4QEnGiants^b ar) 4QGiants^b

4Q531(4QGiants^c ar) 4QGiants^c

4Q532(4QGiants^d ar) 4Q Book of Giants^d

4Q533(4QGiants^e ar?)

6Q8(6QEnGiants ar)

Multiple Books from I Enoch

4Q204(4QEn^c ar) 4QEnoch^c Contains a copy of *The Book of Watchers*; *Book of Dreams*; *Letter of Enoch*; *The Book of Giants* (4QEnGiants^a) remains of *I Enoch* 1:-5:1; 6:7; 10:3-19; 12:3; 13:6-14:16; 14:18-20; 15:11(possibly); 18:8-12; 30:1-32:1; 35; 36:1-4; 89:31-37; 104:13-106:2; 106:13-107:2.

4Q205(4QEn^d ar) 4QEnoch^d contains a copy of *The Book of the Watchers* and *The Book of Dreams* remains of *I Enoch*

22:13-24:1; 25:7-27:1; 89:11-14; 89:29-31; 89:43-44.

4Q206 (4QEn^a ar) 4QEnoch^e Contains a Copy of *The Book of Watchers Book of Dreams*, and *The Book of Giants* (possibly 4QEnGiants^e) remains of *I Enoch* 18:15 (possibly); 21:2-4; 22:3-7; 28:3-29:2; 31:2-32:3; 32:3.6; 33:3-34:1; 88:3-89:6; 89:7-16; 89:26-30.

This evidence shows that quite a number of fragments of parts *I Enoch* did exist at Qumran. Though Qumran documents do not introduce *I Enoch* in the authoritative manner that they do *Jubilees*, there are four things that make *I Enoch* appear to have had authority at Qumran: first the number of copies of sections of the book can be telling of its use when combined with the three reasons below; second, the book of *Jubilees* which was popular and appears authoritative at Qumran (see above, page 104) uses *I Enoch* as authoritative to it; third, like *Jubilees* parts of *I Enoch* claim for itself revelation through God's angels; fourth, some of the angel stories which

expand on the story of Genesis 6:1-4 found in the Qumran literature can be traced to *The Book of the Watchers*, or at least to *Jubilees* which gets its story of the angels marrying the daughters of men from *The Book of the Watchers*.

Different books in *I Enoch* show a self-consciousness of revelation. 1:1-3; 12:4; 13:7; 14:8; 15:1-2; 16:2 show a consciousness of revelation from God, or the angels. Conversations with angels and the receiving of information from angels shows a consciousness of revelation. There are conversations with Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, and Michael (who are said to be holy angels) in 21:4-10; 22:6; 23:4; 24:6; 27; 32; 33. There are places where Enoch is aware of revelatory visions. The dream visions begin with and say throughout, either "I saw", or "I looked and understood" 83:1-2; 85:1; 86:1; 87:1; 88:1; 89:2-3, 21, 51, 7; 91:1, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34, 36, 37. The letters also suggest

self-consciousness of revelation in 93:2¹⁰. There is too much evidence for the self-consciousness of authority in *I Enoch* for Jubilees or Qumran to use it without their knowing that it claimed authority for itself; and if they were willing to use it with that knowledge they must have agreed with it.

The stories at Qumran which point to *I Enoch* are found in *The Damascus Document* and *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *The Damascus Document* (CD II 16b-19¹¹ in Martinez: 1996) says:

For many wandered off for these matters;

¹⁰The *Parables* also show a self-consciousness of revelation, but since they have not been found at Qumran, they are not included here.

¹¹This portion is found at Qumran in fragments: 4Q270[4QD^a] this one is fairly broken and does not include the information about the size of the sons of the Watchers from CD.II.19.; and from 4Q267[4QD^b] which is now 4Q266[4QD^a] this fragment is very broken, but does mention "mountains" in verse 19.

brave heroes yielded on account of them from ancient times until now. For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of heaven fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not follow the precepts of God. And their sons whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains fell.

This portion of *The Damascus Document* is not word for word *I Enoch* 7.2 (Black 1985:28):

And they became pregnant by them and bore great giants of three thousand cubits; and there were [not] born upon the earth off-spring [which grew to their strength]¹²

¹²*4QEnoch** (2Q201[4QEn* ar]) does not show the size of the off-spring. *The Book of Giants* fragments at Qumran closely connect the Giants with the Nephilim, but do not mention their size.

However, the sentiment is the same in *I Enoch* 7.2 and CD.II. 16-19. The *Damascus Document* likely did not get this information from *Jubilees* since the extant accounts of *Jubilees* do not contain information on the size of the Giants. *Jubilees* 4:22 and 5:1 mentions that the Watchers sinned with the daughters of men. *Jubilees* 5:2 and 7:21-22 mentions the birth of Giants; *Jubilees* adds the names of different kinds on the earth, but does mention the size of the Nephilim. So it is probable that the information on the size of the Giants in CD.II.16-19 is a loose rendition of *I Enoch* 7:2.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20apGen ar) Column 2.1-18 tells a story about Enoch's grandson Lamech. Lamech is angry with his wife Bitenosh because she is pregnant and he fears that she has been made pregnant by the Watchers and that her son will be one of the Giants. Bitenosh swears that her she was not made pregnant by (v.16) "any

foreigner, or watcher, or son of heaven". in Column 2.18-26 Lamech has his father Methuselah seek out the advice of his father Enoch. This story is not contained in Genesis, or in *Jubilees*, but it is a fairly close rendition of *I Enoch* 106-107, except that Lamech's wife Bitenosh is mentioned only in *Jubilees* 4:28 not in *I Enoch* or the Genesis account; therefore, the story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* could be built upon both *Jubilees* 4 and *I Enoch* 106-107, which would be acceptable since both works seem to have been authoritative at Qumran.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* also mentions the written work of Enoch in (1Q20apGen ar) column 19.25 which says:

I read in front of them the [book] of the words of Enoch [...] concerning the famine which [...] and not [...] and they arrived, urging until [...] the words of [...] [...] with much eating and drinking [...] wine [...]

This fragmented text is vague and does not necessarily point to *I Enoch*, but *I Enoch* is our most likely candidate for for the words read here.

Summary

Jubilees used *I Enoch* as authoritative literature and Qumran used both *Jubilees* and some of the books of *I Enoch* authoritatively, so for at least some segments of Judaism ie., Qumran Essenes, some books of *I Enoch* were authoritative literature. There is, therefore, precedent for Jude's use of *I Enoch* as authoritative literature.¹³ Next we need to investigate how works after Jude saw *I Enoch* and Jude's use of *I Enoch*.

¹³We could add to this that several of the books in the present protestant canon are not found in the Qumran corpus. This may not suggest that Qumran did not consider these important, but it at least gives strong evidence for the authority of *I Enoch*, plus *The Book of the Giants*, less *The Parables (Similitudes)*.

chapter eight

Enoch In 2 Peter and the Church Fathers

Having seen that the internal evidence from Jude and the external evidence of the writings prior to Jude show that *I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers* was used authoritatively it becomes necessary to look at the external works which followed Jude.

2 Peter and the Apostolic and Church Fathers give evidence to the place of *I Enoch* and to the opinion of Jude's use of *I Enoch* in the first three centuries of the church. 2 Peter follows Jude in using *I Enoch* as authoritative literature. The Apostolic and Church Fathers views on *I Enoch* and Jude vary, but two things come to the fore: first, the authority of *I Enoch* was still being debated by the Church in the centuries following Jude and in at least one case *I Enoch* was

accepted as scripture partly because of Jude's use of it; second, Jude itself was being debated, sometimes because of its use of *I Enoch*. What becomes apparent is that the early Fathers and 2 Peter saw Jude as using *I Enoch* - particularly *The Book of the Watchers* - as authoritative literature.

2 Peter alludes to the book of *I Enoch* in chapter 2:4¹, by using Jude 6:

2 Peter 2:4 says:

Εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτησάντων οὐκ

ἐφείσατο ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν

¹Charles (1913: 180-181) lists a great many other portions of the NT (Revelation, Romans; Ephesians; Collossians; 1 Corinthians; 1 and 2 Thessalonians; 1 Timothy; Hebrews; Acts of the Apostles; John; Luke; and Matthew) that may borrow language from *I Enoch*, but these are all very small references and many could come from other portions of the Old Testament. Two interesting ones; however, are Revelation 14:20 "blood came out even to the horses bridles" compare *I Enoch* 100:3 "the horse hall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners." and Romans 8:38; Ephesians 1:21; Colosians 1:16, "angels ... pricipalities ... powers." compare *I Enoch* 61:10 "angels of power and ... angels of principalities."

τηρουμένους,

(For if God did not spare angels who sinned but cast them into the darkness of Tartarus to be kept for judgement.)

Jude 6 says:

ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντος τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ
ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας
δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν

(but the angels who did not keep their own domain but left their own abode He has kept unto the judgement of the great day in eternal bonds under darkness.)

2 Peter uses some of the same words and expressions as Jude 6: "the angels"; "nether darkness"; "kept"; and "until the judgement". Several modern commentators feel that the author of 2 Peter has followed Jude 6 on this (Bauckham 1983:248; Sidebottom: 68; 113; Neyrey 1993:

197).² Bauckham (1983: 246)³ says that 2 Peter is partially dependant on Jude 6, but is independently drawing on paraenetic tradition which also lies behind Jude 5-7.

The paraenetic traditions are in *Ben Sirach* 16:7-10; *Damascus Document* 2:17-3:12; *3 Maccabees* 2:4-7; *Testament of Naphtali* (From *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) 3:4-5; *Mishnah Tractate Sanhedrin* 10:3⁴. We think it is important that every one of these traditions mention the Watchers or the Giants from *I Enoch* except the *Mishna Tractate Sanhedrin* 10:3. The *Mishna Tractate Sanhedrin* comes from a Pharisaic tradition and is written

²Norman Hillyer (1992: 19) sees a common source for Jude and 2 Peter. Stott (1995: 160) sees 2 Peter as being earlier than Jude.

³*Ben Sirach* 16:18 represents the passage on which Jude is dependent (Bauckham 1983: 246).

⁴For a study of these passages see K. Berger (1970:1-47) and J. Schlosser (1973:13-36). Bauckham (1983:46) mentions that Burger's view on *Sirach* 16:6-10 is corrected by D. Luhrmann (1972: 131).

after the first century AD, even if the concepts are said to be much earlier.

Ben Sirach was written in the first quarter of the second century BC (Skehan 1987: 10). *The Damascus Document* is a work of Qumran literature which was a second century BC to first century AD Essene⁵ community. *3 Maccabees* was from the third century BC⁶. Bickerman (in Collins 1984: 347-348) says the *Testament of Naphtali* 5:8 was written before the expulsion of the Syrians in 141 BC, and the parallels with the Qumran scrolls may reflect the Hasmonean period, but there is also much paraenetic material that could come from anywhere in the Hellenistic or Roman Era.

Most of paraenetic material 2 Peter uses rely on either *Jubilees* or portions of *I Enoch* and since *Jubilees*

⁵See chapter seven on Enoch in *Jubilees* and Qumran literature for the argument that the Qumran community was Essene

⁶See Nikelsburg 1984b: 33, 80.

gets its information about the Watchers and the Giants from *I Enoch* (see chapter seven) the result is virtually the same that 2 Peter 2:4 is dependant upon Jude and possibly other traditions that find their source in *I Enoch*, *The Book of the Watchers*, and *The Book of the Giants*. If this is true then at least two New Testament books, 2 Peter and Jude use *I Enoch* as an important source for their material.

Bauckham (1983: 247) says that 2 Peter was unfamiliar with the text of *I Enoch* for the echoes of *I Enoch* in Jude 6 are lost in 2 Peter 2:4, but 2 Peter puts the story of the flood for the destruction of the ancient world and the salvation of Noah directly after the story from the Watchers which is what the book of *Jubilees* does in 5:1-11 tying the flood directly to the judgement due to the corruption of people which came from the corrupt angels (Watchers) and their sons the giants. The flood was still against mankind for the Watchers were bound in

the depths of the earth for the great judgement and the Giants killed each other.

Genesis 6:1-4 tells a similar story putting the story of the sons of God marrying the daughters of men and creating the Nephilim just before the story of the flood, but the Genesis account does not include the aspect of the Watchers being bound in the depths of the earth until the day of the great judgement which *Jubilees* 5:10; and Peter 2:4 include'. Both 2 Peter and *Jubilees* 5:1-11 are shortened versions or capsules of *I Enoch* 6-11, where the deluge of *I Enoch* 10:10 is a direct result of the activities of the Watchers corrupting mankind in *I*

⁷The *Damascus Document* 2:17-3:12 also includes the story of the Watchers just before the story of the flood.

Enoch 6-10⁸. 2 Peter's purpose was different⁹ from and was dependent on Jude, but possibly the author did know the story of the Watchers from sources other than Jude. Most importantly for our purpose *The Book of the Watchers* did underlie 2 Peter 2:4-5 just as it did Jude 6 and 14.

2 Peter 1:20,21; and 3:2 add strength to the argument of the authority of the Watcher tradition from *I Enoch*. Though the meaning of these verses is argued; it is held by most scholars that 2 Peter is referring to the words of Old Testament prophets. *I Enoch* stands alongside portions of the Old Testament in the midst of 2 Peter's argument, which relies on the authority of Old Testament prophetic words.

⁸Note that 3 *Maccabees* 2:4; and *The Testament of Naphtali* (From *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*)3:5 also connect the Watchers with the Flood.

⁹Jude's argument is against those who fell from grace or disobey God. 2 Peter's argument is for God's just judgement (Neyrey 1993: 198-199).

There is fair bit of debate as to the meaning of τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον (the prophetic word) in 2 Peter 1:19. Bauckham outlines the views as: 1. Old Testament messianic prophecy; 2. the entire Old Testament understood as messianic prophecy; 3. a specific Old Testament prophecy; 4. Old Testament and New Testament prophecies; 5. 2 Peter 1:20-2:19; and 6. the transfiguration itself as a prophecy of the parousia. Bauckham (1983: 224) likes a modified view of number two which would say that that the eschatological message is based on 1:19 which refers to Old Testament prophecy and 1:16-18 which refers to their own eyewitness mentioned in 1:16-18 . Other than Neyrey (1980: 514-516; 1993: 178-182) who holds to view number six all allow that τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον (the prophetic word) points to the Old Testament prophecies and even Neyrey allows this, in that the emphasis he makes is because the "issue is not the source of the prophecy but its interpretation" and he

allows that 3:2 points to "holy prophets" who seem to be for Neyrey also the Old Testament prophets (Neyrey 1993: 182).

Though there is some trouble with the exact interpretation of 2 Peter 1:20-21; it is clear that προφντία ψραφής (prophecy of scripture) (1:20); and προφητία ... ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησεν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι. (A prophecy . . . men of God being carried along by the Holy Spirit spoke) (1:21) point to the authoritative words of prophets; and 2 Peter 3:2, μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν (to remember the words having been previously spoken by the holy prophets) points to the words of authoritative prophets before the New Testament writers since καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπόστολων ὑμῶν (and by your apostles) distinguishes the apostles separately¹⁰.

¹⁰Sidebottom (1982: 118) would disagree and say that both prophets and apostles in 2 Peter 3:2 point to NT writers since there is no mention of OT proof texts to follow; both Bauckham (1983: 283) and Neyrey (1993: 227) counter Sidebottom saying that there is a distinction that

2 Peter 1:20, 21; and 3:2 show a view of Old Testament prophet's words being authoritative for the author of 2 Peter. Sandwiched in these verses that show a high view of the Old Testament is a portion from *The Book of the Watchers*, which is also set side by side with Old Testament stories, so it would appear that the author of 2 Peter would also have a high regard for *The Book of the Watchers* either from personal knowledge, or as Bauckham (1983:246) suggested from others like Jude 6, that showed a personal knowledge of the book.

Church Fathers

Several of the Church Fathers saw *I Enoch* as authoritative. *I Enoch* is mentioned in *The Epistle of Barnabas* 4:3; 16:5; Justin Martyr *2 Apologia* 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5.1.10; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5,

prophets refer to ancient prophets and the commandment of "our lord and saviour" point to the words of the NT apostles.

52; Tertullian *De Cultu Feminarum* 1.3.50; Didymus The Blind. Bigg summarizes the view of *I Enoch* by the Church Fathers:

In short, at the time when Barnabas wrote, Enoch was held to be an inspired book, it retained this reputation more or less throughout the second century, and from that date onward was emphatically condemned and the ground of the condemnation was its attribution of carnal lust to heavenly beings (1946: 309).

The *Epistle of Barnabas* is an anonymous work to an uncertain, likely Egyptian audience and with an uncertain date from either the first century based on the chapter 6 reference to the ten kings; or it is dated about 132 AD based on the reference to the rebuilding of the temple in chapter 16, neither of these dates is indisputable, but a date of late first or earlier second century AD is suitable (Lake 1977: 337-338; Coxe 1885: 133; Staniforth

1968: 189-90; Grant 1964: 78-79). The letter itself was quoted as scripture by Clement of Alexandria, but was not considered so highly by Jerome (Kraft 1978: 263).

The *Epistle of Barnabas* 4:3 says: "τὸ τελειὸν σκανδάλον ἤγγικεν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνοχ λέγει. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δέσποτης συντεμήκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ" (the first offence is near concerning which it is written, as Enoch said, "For unto this the master has shortened the seasons and the days.") "it is written, as Enoch said" fits very well with the New Testament introductory formula used of authoritative works.¹¹ After using the introductory formula, the epistle makes an editorial comment based loosely on Enochic writings. Kraft (1965) suggests that two weak candidates for the passage are *I Enoch* 89: 61-64; 90: 17; or *2 Enoch* 34: 1-3. It is odd but not without precedent that such a specific formula is

¹¹ See the chapter on Introductory Formulae.

followed by such a loose rendering (note Matthew 27:9, where Matthew introduces Jeremiah, but quotes Zechariah). It is also possible, though not likely, that the *Epistle of Barnabas* is quoting a portion not extant today or, somewhat more likely, a portion by an author (book) other than Enoch. What is important here; however, is the introductory formula and that the author used the name of a work, the author would have considered authoritative, similar to Matthew citing the authoritative work ascribed to Jeremiah instead of Zechariah where most feel his quote actually came from.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* 16:5 is said by Grant (1964: 77) to be a direct quote from *I Enoch* 89 which would fit nicely with the previous paragraph since it is introduced with the words, λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, (for it says in scripture) unfortunately *I Enoch* 89 though related to the symbolism of *The Epistle of Barnabas* 16:5 does not contain a direct quote. The *Epistle of Barnabas* 16:5

could be a summary of the message of *I Enoch* 89: 45-77.

There is mention of: a tower in 89: 50, 54, 67; of the Lord abandoning his sheep in 54 - 56; and of sheep of the pasture in 89:54.

Another problem though not insurmountable is that *I Enoch* 89 is not particularly eschatological; it refers to the period of the judges to the time of Alexander the Great (Black 1985: 78-80). Authors of the New Testament sometimes interpreted prophet's words for their own time, such as the use of Isaiah 7: 14 being interpreted as pointing to Jesus Christ.

It would appear, though not conclusively, that the author of *Epistle of Barnabas* was aware of the book of *Enoch* and used it as scripture.

Justin Martyr was a gentile born in Samarian about AD 114, according to the Eusebius (*HE* 4.2) he was martyred by Marcus Aurelius in AD 165. Before becoming a follower of Christ he was a disciple of Socrates and

Plato and was aware of the Stoics; though Barnard adds that "it cannot be said that he fully mastered contemporary philosophy and culture" (Coxe 1885: 159-161; Gildersleeve 1877: vii-xi; Barnard 1966: 1-6; VanWinden 1971:4-5), but his testimony to Christianity as the true philosophy is quite important (Barnard 1966: 4-5).

Justin Martyr uses the *I Enoch's* account of the angels in 2 *Apologia* 5:

οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι παραβάντες τήνδε τήν τάξιν γυναικῶν μίξειςιν
ἠττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ λέγομενοι
δαίμονες. καὶ προσέτι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος ἑαυτοῖς
ἐδούλωσαν τὰ μὲν διὰ μαγικῶν γραφῶν, τὰ δὲ διὰ φόβων καὶ
τιμωπιῶν ὧν ἐπέφερον, τὰ δὲ διὰ διδαχῆς θυμάτων καὶ
θυμμαμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν, ὡς ἐνδεεῖς γεγονάσι μετὰ τὸ
πάθεισιν ἐπιθυμιῶν δουλωθῆναι.

(The angels transgressed this order and were enticed by women and begat children, the ones

which are called demons; and enslaved the remaining human race to themselves, partly through magic writings and partly through fears and the punishment they brought, and partly through teaching them to offer sacrifices and incense and drink offerings of which they needed after they were enslaved by lustful passions.)

Where Justin got these exact words is uncertain, but they can be traced to *The Book of the Watchers*. οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἠττηθήσαν, (the angels transgressed this order and enticed by women.) points to *I Enoch* 6:1. Martyr mentions that the children were of the women and angels were δαίμονες (demons) which is not found in Jude, or 2 Peter. Justin Martyr then says that the angels subdued men by μαγικῶν ψραφῶν (magic writings) which is not quite the same as *I Enoch* 8:3 which says

Sembazah taught spell-binding ... and Hermoni taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery, and sophistry. *I Enoch* 7 mentions that the offspring of the angels devoured man, but not that the angels in particular brought fear. Martyr's account varies with his purpose, but does show a reliance on the book of *I Enoch* or on some source that relied on *I Enoch*.

Titus Flavius Clemens (Clement of Alexandria) was born about AD 150 and died just before AD 215. He was versed in Philosophy, archeology, poetry, mythology, and literature. He often used anthologies and florilegia, but knew the scriptures quoting the Old Testament fifteen hundred times and the New Testament two thousand times as well as classical literature over three hundred and sixty times (Quatsen 1964: 5-6). *Stromata* is one of Clement of Alexandria's theological writings. He mentions Enoch in *Stromata* 5.1.10, 2. Clement uses Philo as a source in *Stromata* Clement calls him a Pythagorean who proved the

antiquity of Jewish philosophy (*Stromata* 1.135.3; Grant 1988: 180-181). Clement in *Stromata* 5.1.10 says that the Philosophers were thieves taking their principle dogmas from Moses and the prophets. After this he adds a portion of *I Enoch - The Book Of The Watchers*,

To which we shall add that angels who had obtained the superior rank, having sunk into pleasures, told to the women, the secrets which had come to their knowledge; while the rest of the angels concealed them, or rather, kept them against the coming of the Lord. Thence emanated the doctrine of providence, and the revelation of high things; and prophecy having already been imparted to the philosophers of the Greeks, the treatment of dogma arose among the philosophers, sometimes true when they hit the mark, sometimes erroneous when they

comprehended not the secret of the prophetic
allegory.

Here Clement uses the words of an ancient to show that Greek philosophers retrieved their ideas from earlier prophets, presumably of which Enoch was one. Another point to show Clement's acceptance of *I Enoch* is that Photius (cod. cix) blames Clement in severe terms for adopting the account of angelic sin (Bigg 1946: 309).

Origen mentions *I Enoch* in his argument with Celsus. Origen was born in Alexandria Egypt AD 185 during the reign of Marcus Aurelius's son Commodus and died c. AD 254 (Greer 1979: 1). We have more information on Origen than any other Ante-Nicene father. Origen's life is described to a large extent by Eusebius who calls himself a follower of Origen (Eusebius *HE* book vi), also by St Gregory Thaumaturgus and Book I of Pamphilus, who was Eusebius's teacher (Couzel 1989: 1). Tertullian said "what has Athens to do with Jerusalem.", but Origen and

Clement of Alexandria would answer "Much in every way."
(Chadwick 1966: 1). Origen can likely be called a
Christian Platonist for there is always the question as
to whether he is a philosopher or churchman, but he would
argue that the truth of Plato was the truth of scripture
(Greer 1979: 4-6; Campenhausen 1955: 41, 44-5, 55).

All that is known of Celsus' *Logos alethes.*, or
"True Account" circa AD 178¹² is from Origen's lengthy
quote in *Contra Celsum* from circa AD 248 (Grant 1988:
133, 136) Celsus took some of his points straight from
the Academy - a group of Plato's successors who opposed
all Stoic doctrines - and Origen would argue the
normative Stoic doctrine, or if Celsus argued from a
Stoic position, Origen would argue using the Academy's
argument (Chadwick 1965: x-xi); so Origen was well versed
in the philosophies of his day. What is more important

¹²Chadwick (1965: xxiv-xxviii) gives the arguments for
the date of Celsus and concludes that it was written
between AD 177 -180.

for the argument of this thesis is that Origen follows some of his predecessors such as Clement,¹³ Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenagoras in using the traditional apologetic developed in the hellenistic synagogue of showing that Moses and the prophets were earlier than the Greek philosophers and therefore a source of their learning (Chadwick 1965: ix).

In *Contra Celsum* 5.52f Origen quotes Celsus's argument which includes:

If they say that he is the only one, they would be convicted of telling lies and contradicting themselves. For they say that others have also often come, and, in fact, sixty or seventy at once, who became evil and

¹³Munck contended that Origen was a pupil of Clement of Alexandria (1933: 224-9). Though Chadwick disagrees with this he does agree that Origen was influenced by Clement (1965: 9).

were punished by being cast under the earth in chains.

Origen argues in 5.54 says that, "Celsus misunderstood what was written in the book of *Enoch*." This at least tells us that Origen was familiar with a book he called the *Book of Enoch* which contained Celsus's argument from what is presently known as *The Book of The Watchers*.

Origen goes on to say, "the books entitled Enoch are not generally held to be divine by the churches." So Origen knew that many churches, of his association anyway, were inclined to disregard Enoch. "Generally" from the above quote implies that there was some argument in Origen's day as to the inspiration of *I Enoch*. Origen does not here directly give his opinion on the book, but suggests in 5.55 that he himself is uncertain as to, "the truth ... about the Sons of God who desired the daughters of men." Origen, then, leaves some doubt as to his opinion of the

the inspiration of *The Book of the Watchers* and shows that most churches were not accepting its inspiration, but does relate that there was some argument in his day.

In *De Principiis* 1.3.3 Origen shows a distinction in his view of *I Enoch* and scripture. He gives a quote from Hermas and then says, "And in a book of Enoch we also have similar descriptions. But up to the present time we have been able to find no statement in holy scripture."

In *De Principiis* 4.35 Origen to prove that all things were made by God mentions *I Enoch* 17 alongside scripture, to back up a point made in Psalms 139:16, "Enoch also in his book speaks as follows" "For it is written in the same book of Enoch 'I beheld the whole matter.'" This would fit nicely with what was said earlier that Origen and others used ancients to back up their points; however, earlier in *De Principiis* 1.3.3 Origen places *Enoch* as a book separate from scripture which suggests along with his words in *Contra Celsum* 5.

54f that he did not regard *I Enoch* on the same level as inspired scripture.

Tertullian's full name in *De Virginibus Velandis* is Septimo Tertulliano; medieval manuscripts list his name as Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (Barnes 1985: 242). He was born in Carthage AD 155, the son of a Roman centurion, he was sympathetic to Stoicism, but preferring the moral superiority of Christianity he became a Christian in AD 193, he died sometime after AD 220 (Quasten: 1964: 246-247; Barnes 1985: 1-2)¹⁴.

Tertullian mentions *I Enoch*¹⁵ in *On the Apparel of Women* 1.2; 1.3. In 1.2 Tertullian speaks at length of

¹⁴Coxe (1963: 3-5) felt that Tertullian was born AD 145 and died about AD 240.

¹⁵There are other mentions of *I Enoch* in Tertullian's writings: *Orat* 12.5; *De Cultu feminarum* 7.1-4, but these two could also point to Genesis 6:1-4. *Apol* 35.12 also mentions *I Enoch* (See Danielou 1977: 162-167), but the references given in the text above clearly state Tertullian's position on *I Enoch*.

ornaments and makeup on women being traced back to the fallen angels' dealing with women in *The Book Of The Watchers*. He mentions "those angels, to wit, who rushed from heaven on the daughters of men." and then says that they taught the women about metallurgy and eye makeup and jewelry (from the metallurgy). Because the angels were ill masters they taught lustful things. He then interprets the Watchers story to his own means saying, "women who possessed angels (as husbands) could desire nothing more;" but that they became worse for their lusts. Tertullian then said that men would judge angels because of the actions of the Watchers. There is a fair bit that could be said about Tertullian's feelings on makeup or his interpretive skills and methods, but what is important here for this thesis is that Tertullian used the Watcher story as an actual event to supports his own thesis.

In *On The Apparel of Women* 1.3 Tertullian defended

the genuineness of the prophecy of Enoch:

I am aware that the Scripture of Enoch which has assigned this order (of action) to angels is not received by some because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon either. I suppose they did not think that, having survived the deluge, it could have safely survived that world-wide calamity, the abolisher of all things. If that is their reason then let them recall to their memory that Noah, the survivor of the deluge was a great grandson of Enoch himself, and he, of course, had heard and remembered, from domestic renown and hereditary tradition, concerning his own great-grandfathers "grace in the sight of god." and concerning all his preachings since Enoch had given no other charge to Methuselah

than that he should hand on the knowledge of them to his posterity ... If Noah had not had this by so short a route there would still be this to warrant our assertion of this scripture: he could have equally renewed it under the Spirit's inspiration ... Jewish literature is generally agreed to have been restored through Ezra ... By the Jews it may now seem to have been rejected for that reason just like all the other (portions) nearly which tell of Christ ... To these contradictions is added the fact that Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude.

This portion shows the very strong sentiment by Tertullian that (for him) *I Enoch* was inspired scripture¹⁶ and was canonical. Importantly also is his

¹⁶Tertullian also makes a clear reference to *I Enoch* in *On Idolatry* 4; and 9.

belief that Jude also considered it scripture. Tertullian shows us that at the same time Origen was rejecting *I Enoch* others, like Tertullian, were strongly defending its inspiration. Origen said that *I Enoch* was "generally" not accepted by the churches as scripture, but there were those who would defend its status while recognizing that by the second century the "Jews" were rejecting it.

After the second century AD, as has been pointed out by Biggs (1946: 309) that *I Enoch* was condemned due to its position on the carnal lust of heavenly beings¹⁷. So the main reason for the decline of the use of *I Enoch* is its explicit terms about the actions of the angels in

¹⁷ Charles (1913: 184) also notes that Augustine (of Hippo) condemned the book in *CivD* 15.23.4; 18.38 and then the book is explicitly condemned in *Constit Apost* 6.16 and after that fell into disuse in the Western Church except in Georgius Syncellus' *Chronographia* which preserves fragments of it.

Genesis 6: 1-4 - a position which both Jude and 2 Peter defend. What is important to note with this is that some authors condemn Jude for its use of *I Enoch* and we think that this also proves the point that Jude used *I Enoch* as scripture, or at least that those who condemned Jude for this reason saw that he used *I Enoch* as scripture.

Controversy Over Jude

Another point to show Jude's use of *I Enoch* as scripture is that several of the Church Fathers rejected, or questioned Jude's canonicity on the basis of his use of apocryphal works.

Eusebius Pamphilus (Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine) was born in Palestine near the close of the reign of Gallienus (Boyle 1955: vi), about AD 263. He died about AD 339. His testimony is important because he lived near Palestine and gives testimony to the conditions in that area.

In *Ecclesiastic History* II.23.25 Eusebius says,

These things are recorded in regard to James who is said to be the author of the first of the so-called catholic epistles. But it is to be observed that it is disputed; at least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the epistle that bears the name of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called catholic epistles. Nevertheless we know that these also with the rest, have been read publicly in very many churches.

Eusebius says that James was spurious (*voθoς*, Liddel and Scott), because few early writers refer to it any more than to Jude's, but he admits many churches still used them regularly. So he casts doubt on James and more so on Jude, but mainly due to the lack of use of them by churches, not particularly because Jude uses *Enoch*. In

Ecclesiastical History III.25.3 Eusebius includes Jude and 2 Peter among the disputed books, yet he again does not give a reason for the dispute, and does separate them from the spurious (νοθηα) books. All Eusebius then tells us is that in Palestine Jude was doubted by some.

Didymus (The Blind) of Alexandria was born about AD 309 and died about AD 394 - 399. He was nominated by Athanasius to teach in the theological school in Alexandria and Jerome, Rufinus, Palladius, and Isidore studied under him (Schaff 1950: 922). Didymus defended Jude against those who questioned Jude because of his use of Apocryphal books (Bigg 1969: 305).

S. Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus or Jerome was probably born in AD 342 in northern Italy, from AD 379 - 382 he was in Constantinople. In 382 Jerome became the Popes secretary at Rome where he argued for monasticism¹⁸. Jerome then went to Antioch and on to

¹⁸The personality of Jerome as a brilliant man, but lacking the inner qualities of peace; a man who was self

Egypt where he attended lectures of Didymus the Blind. Jerome was involved in the controversies over Origen, his views were not completely consistent against Origen. The final years of his life were taken up on the side of Augustine opposing Pelagius. He died about AD 420 (Campenhausen 1964: 170-177).

Jerome in the *Lives of Illustrious Men (De Viris Illustribus)* VirII 4 says,

Jude the brother of James left a short epistle which is reckoned among the seven catholic epistles and in it because he quotes from the apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by many. Nevertheless by age and use it has gained authority and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures.

absorbed and loved the limelight who fervently attacked the enemies he made everywhere is shown by Hans Campenhausen (1964: 129-130).

These words show that Jude was not considered canonical by some in Jerome's day because of his obvious use of *I Enoch*. This was not the case for other works¹⁹ and it appears that the direct quote from *I Enoch* in Jude 14 may be the main cause of the problem. What this shows is that some were rejecting Jude because they felt that he was giving authority to the book we know as *I Enoch*. There is not the same evidence that Paul's use of *Jannes and Jambres*, for instance, caused Paul's work to be discredited; so there was a particular problem with Jude stemming from the perception that Jude was using *Enoch* authoritatively.

Summary

The Book of 2 Peter, Clement of Alexandria, Didymus

¹⁹Jerome does mention that 2 Peter's authenticity was in doubt due to its style, but Jerome does not mention any problem with the allusion to *I Enoch* (*Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*; this is also noted in some of the editions of the *Vulgate*).

(the Blind) of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, *The Epistle of Barnabas* all accept and use the Books of *I Enoch* - particularly *The Book Of The Watchers*. Origen uses the book, but expresses some doubt as to its inspiration. There were, then, mixed feelings about *I Enoch* as Bigg says, *I Enoch* enjoyed a reputation as an inspired book through the second century (though it was doubted even then) and after that it was condemned (Bigg 1969: 309).

Jude's use of *I Enoch* caused some of the Fathers to doubt Jude's canonicity as well²⁰. Jerome did not consider *I Enoch* inspired and showed that some did not consider Jude canonical because of his use of *I Enoch*.

²⁰It should be noted that the *Peshito (Peshitta)* does not include Jude. Bigg suggests that in Syria the extravagancies of Jewish angelology were most familiar and we should therefore find a strong reaction against them (Bigg 1969: 310). This is a good conjecture and may very well be true, but it is only speculation, since it also excludes 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and the John letters do not involve angelology. Metzger (1987: 307) mentions that Muratorian canon may have originally had a negative in the text regarding the inclusion of Jude, but again it is not possible to tell if Jude's use of *I Enoch* was a problem.

Eusebius mentions that Jude was doubted, but unfortunately does not specifically state why, so we cannot use this to clearly strengthen the argument that it was Jude's use of *I Enoch* that caused problems.

Didymus

The Blind argued for the canonicity of Jude against those who felt that it could not be considered canonical due to its use of Apocryphal literature. One Church Father, Tertullian, specifically states that Jude's use of *I Enoch* helps his argument for the designation of "scripture" for *I Enoch*.

The works of 2 Peter and the Apostolic and Church Fathers mentioned above show that *I Enoch* was argued by factions of the Church to be canonical and that most who give clear evidence felt that Jude used *I Enoch* as inspired scripture. That there was debate at all shows the prominence of the book through the first three centuries of the church and some of the debate about Jude

shows that there was a feeling that he used I *Enoch* authoritatively.

chapter nine

Essene Canon and other Arguments

It would be important at this point to review some of the arguments against Jude considering *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* to be canonical and to use the arguments as a test of this thesis. This chapter will deal with the arguments of Roger Beckwith, Daryl Charles and E. Earle Ellis.

Daryl Charles (1993: 165-166) argues that Jude did not use *I Enoch* as an authoritative, or canonical work. He argues that Jude uses *I Enoch* as part of a literary strategy which does not require an authoritative view of the book by Jude. Charles (1993: 165-166) says Jude's use of *I Enoch* and *The Assumption of Moses* as inspired is scarcely demonstratable and inconclusive at best and should be understood in the light of its illustrative function. "Jude makes 'inspired' use of an inspiring work

without in any way offering an assessment of the character of that work."

Charles (1993:44) feels that *The Book of the Watchers*, *I Enoch* 6-11 is an extrapolation of Genesis 6:1-4; and 5:24 and that the Watchers provided a "mythic paradigm to illustrate a type of situation which might reoccur at various times". Charles (1993: 46) follows P. D. Hanson (1977: 202-203) in noting that *I Enoch* probably draws upon Baylonian, Ugaritic, Hittite, and Hurrian materials to build the myth. The point of "mythic" here is to stress the imaginary nature of the Watcher story¹, which D. Charles uses as part of his argument that *I Enoch*, *The Book of the Watchers* was not considered

¹D. Charles 1993: 109-110 shows that Jude's main concern with the Watchers of *I Enoch* was not their sexual sin, but their desertion of their proper domain and their losing their place. He is quite correct in this, but the Watcher story does involve sexual acts of the Watchers as the reason for their leaving their place and being punished.

authoritative by Jude². Charles (1993: 205-206, fn 105) says that believing Jude to have accepted all of *I Enoch* 6-36 as being true would be a low estimate of apostolic discernment; this would assume that Jude's "discernment" meant that he would not accept things beyond what Charles felt to be acceptable.

Charles (1993: 47) says that Jude's apocalyptic mode is designed to counter the effects of his opponents and have an impact on his audience. He then grants that Jude's audience or even his opponents were in some way devoted to apocalyptic literature and therefore open to

²Charles does not state that the possible "imaginary" nature of myth lends to it not being considered authoritative by Jude, but it is implied here and later. Kamesar notes that fabula is used by Julian of Eclanum as equivalent for the greek term $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ that Julian of the Antiochene school accuses the work of Jerome as using a story which did not occur and could not occur (Kamesar 1994: 50), this appears to be what D. Charles had in mind by the term myth. I feel that Jude would have accepted as literal the account of the fall of the Angels in *I Enoch* 6-11, but that really is not a factor in the evidence of his use of *The Book of the Watchers* being canonical; the introductory formula and way he places his material is more telling of his opinion of the book.

Jude's use of such literature. Charles unnecessarily adds "your own" to the formula in Jude 14 " For even (your own) Enoch the seventh from Adam." suggesting that the opponents and not Jude esteemed *I Enoch* (1993: 160).

Charles implies here that Jude himself was not devoted to this literature; he says that Jude utilized apocalyptic motifs without necessarily embracing Jewish apocalyptic theology (1993: 113) and he feels that "The extent to which Jewish apocalyptic literature is dependant upon this Old Testament motif [godly-unfaithful antithesis] is exemplified by *I Enoch*, and thus has significance for Jude." (1993: 125). This is not a necessary step to take. Jude's view of the Old Testament passages he alludes to has not been questioned and there was no need for him to go beyond the Old Testament to get the illustration he uses from *I Enoch*. Also the evidence (shown in chapter three) points more directly to Jude himself, as well as his elusive audience, having considered the work from *I*

Enoch authoritative.

Charles (1993: 213, fn 12) is incorrect in his contention that because Jude did not use the "authority formula" "it is written" he did not use *I Enoch* authoritatively; he is also incorrect along with Guthrie and Kistemacher that "prophesied" in Jude 14 refers to the quote of *I Enoch* 1:9 being true and applicable and not being inspired (1993: 160). Chapter six has shown that Jude did use an acceptable formula to show the authoritative nature of *I Enoch* 1:9.

Charles (1993: 129) says that there is sufficient evidence to reflect an established Jewish canon by mid second century BC and that the New Testament authors freely quoted from it; both of these statements can be contested. Chapter five on the Old Testament canon in the first century AD has shown that there was a concept of canon by the first century AD, but neither the evidence of the early writers in general, or the New Testament writers

in particular, show the exact extent of the canon, except Josephus who comes from a Pharisaic background - which was the party that endorsed the twenty-two book canon and came into power after AD 70³ (Beckwith 1985: 91). Secondly, while it is true that the New Testament writers quote freely from the Old Testament, it is not true that they quoted from the entire Old Testament. Several Old Testament books from the twenty-two book Pharisaic canon are not mentioned at all by New Testament writers. Ruth, Esther and Song of Solomon are not mentioned (Beckwith 1985: 76) and *I Enoch* is mentioned by two books of the New Testament for sure (Jude and 2 Peter) and possibly by Revelation 14. This would then suggest that *I Enoch* has at least as good a chance as Ruth for being considered canonical by New Testament authors. This is not to

³The story of how the Pharisees came to power after AD 70 in the legend of Rabbi Yochanan is told by Rubenstein and Roth 1987: 35-37; see also see Neusner *First Century Judaism in Crisis* 1977: 145-147.

suggest that Ruth is not to be considered canonical, just that use by New Testament authors may prove canonicity and silence probably only proves that no particular rhetorical need was met by the books not mentioned, but if use is important, *I Enoch* was used.

Beckwith

The Introduction to *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* outlined the historical development of the canonical debate, mainly between the view of an open canon and a closed canon. In this, Beckwith (1985: 3) notes that there was a suspicion confirmed that there may have been a party that treated the apocryphal-pseudepigraphic writings as canonical or quasi-canonical. Qumran showed that this was true; the community cherished, studied, and followed the teaching of *I Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Beckwith (1985: 87, 367) mentions that Rabbi Akiba's ban on the reading of outside books (M. Sanhedrin 10.1) may have been directed against the apocalypses

cherished by the Essenes. He then says that even Essenes did not try to put the books forward as public canon (*I Enoch* 82: 1-3 and *Jubilees* 45:16) , but reserved them for privileged circles in which they claimed that they have been handed down from antiquity. Beckwith (1985: 87) then moderates his opinion about the Essenes not putting forth books as public canon by saying that they did not become the party of power [as the Pharisees did], so it is difficult to say what they would have done if they had the power. He says, "Although apocalyptic pseudepigrapha played a large part in the life and thought of Essenism, it would be hard to argue the same to be true of Pharisaism. Those apocalypses, therefore, not of Essene origin or outlook had a much smaller claim to be considered as having perhaps, at one time, been canonical among the Jews except in the most limited circles (Beckwith 1985: 339). Beckwith later (1985: 358-359) mentions that the Essene canon was the same twenty-two

books as the Pharisaic canon but on pages 87 and 339 he certainly intimates that these "cherished" works carried authority for the Essenes and even suggests that if they had been in power their canon may have been quite a bit larger.

Beckwith (1985: 358-359) mentions that *Jubilees*, which he considers an Essene work, numbers the Biblical books as twenty-two a number which Josephus indicates to be the books of the Hebrew Bible (also, Ellis 1991: 33, fn 105)). This cannot be accepted on two grounds: first, *Jubilees* likely did not mention twenty-two books, that assumption comes from uncertain evidence from Syncellus; second, if *Jubilees* does mention twenty-two books, it gives no evidence as to what the twenty-two books are, but uses *I Enoch* enough to show that *Jubilees* would have included it and there was enough dispute about Esther at

that time⁴ that *I Enoch* could have been in the mind of the author of *Jubilees* (see chapter seven).

Beckwith (1985: 369-360) deals with the problem of pseudepigraphy. He says there are two serious problems with the pseudepigraphic nature of the works the Essenes cherished: first, the works were attributed to "ancient" inspired writers, which involves the deceitful device of *vaticinia post eventum*; second, following R.H. Charles - if authors of these works had the assurance of being inspired they should have had the confidence to use their own names⁵. Beckwith is correct that this is a tough issue and the answer that pseudepigraphy is what the genre allowed is not sufficient in itself to be an answer.

⁴Beckwith 1985: 291-294.

⁵For this thesis the question is not whether the author(s)/ redactor(s)/composer(s) of *I Enoch - Book of the Watchers* considered themselves inspired; it is whether Jude, who is a canonical writer, considered the works authoritative.

Pointing to Daniel as being pseudepigraphic and canonical might be a good answer, unless one considers Daniel to have been written by the Babylonian exile of that name⁶. Probably the best answer would be to point to Deutero - Isaiah. If Isaiah was written in two or three parts then some of Isaiah is pseudepigraphic and therefore at least part of one canonical book is pseudepigraphic. *Jubilees* does not claim ancient authorship and *The Book of the Watchers* may, disputably, have its source in the antediluvian patriarch - Enoch; at least that was argued by one Church Father - Tertullian. Also since some Old Testament and New Testament books were pseudepigraphic, then pseudepigraphy was likely not a problem for the authors of the New Testament.

⁶Beckwith (1985: 365 -366) also argues for Daniel being a different type of literature than the Essene pseudepigraphy in that it does not just reinterpret scripture it supplements it . *The Book of the Watchers* does not just reinterpret Gen 6-4 it considerably supplements the work to a point that Milik felt that *The Book of the Watchers* was followed by Genesis and not vice versa.

Both Beckwith (1985: 399) and D. Charles who follows Beckwith (1993: 47) mention and oppose J. T. Milik's solution to the problem of Christian use of intertestamental pseudepigraphic literature. Milik (1978: 97-102) said that the early Christians accepted the Essene canon and later the church took over the Pharasaic canon. Beckwith says that the problem with Milik's proposal is that *The Assumption of Moses* - a Pharisaic work - is used by Jude and later *The Epistle of Barnabas* uses a purely Pharisaic halakic work. Beckwith (1985: 399-400) is probably correct that saying Christians used an Essene canon⁷ and then moved to a Pharisaic canon may be narrow a view, but he does in the same section note that Christianity was likely linked more broadly with prophetic and apocalyptic movements of the first century which were not formal contradictions to the cessation of prophecy

⁷Note that Beckwith also felt that the Essenes used the same canon as the Pharisees 1985: 358-366.

since they were assigned to ancients who existed before the possible cessation of prophecy. He also says that pseudonymity in apocalyptic tradition was normal.

Beckwith's statements fit with this thesis (except that he saw the canon as a closed twenty-two book canon for Essenes, Pharisees, and Christians) for if the Essenes cherished these apocalypses, there would be ample room for Christians, who were adding to the old canon anyway, to have room for such apocalypses as suited their new message and that they deemed authoritative. Their canon did not need to be either one, or the other. It could be both and if as Bauckham (1984: 8-9) said - Jude came from an early apocalyptic branch of Palestinian Christianity then his canon could have included works that others, even in Christian circles, may have avoided .

Beckwith (1985: 381) follows Ludwig Blau in noting that the absence of rabbinic disputes about the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha is very telling. An argument from

silence is often precarious, but one would expect to see some argument about such books if they were important. He says to assume like Tobias Mullen and S.M. Zarb that the Jews removed the books after the council of Trent is difficult to defend because there is no trace of such events in the Rabbinical records. This is a telling fact about Rabbinical works, but the book of *I Enoch* was fought over by Church Fathers sometimes on its own merits and sometimes on the merits of Jude's use of it. By the same reasoning that the rabbis showed that they did not consider apocrypha and pseudepigrapha canonical by their lack of interest in it, some in the Church may have thought them canonical by the amount of interest they showed. *I Enoch* was fought over by the Church because some considered it canonical and some did not (see chapter eight). The lack of interest by the Tannaitic and Amoraic rabbis is telling of the Pharisaic view, but the considerable interest by the patristic literature is

telling of the struggle over apocalyptic in the church.

If Beckwith is correct that there was a remarkably unsuspecting attitude by ancients toward pseudonymous writings and that it was not until the threat of the gnostics use of pseudonymous writings that caused Christians to be more critical of this literature; would it not be safe to think that Jude writing considerably earlier than the open gnostic threat faced by late second century fathers would have had less to fear from such writings and that it was a political/religious factor that caused the demise of such works. Such was the case amongst the Pharisees for the Book of *Ben Sirach* which was rejected by the rabbis when they were worried about Christian influence during the Tanaitic period and then later renewed in the Amoraic period when the threat subsided⁹. The same could be true about the Apostolic and

⁹*Ben Sirach* was itself part of the uninspired canon, but was removed when Rabbi Akiba banned the reading of extra biblical literature AD 110 - 135 because of the threat of the NT and works of sectarian Judaism. Later in

Church Fathers attitude toward *I Enoch*. They only feared it with the threat of outside abuse, by groups such as gnostics whose literature they deemed unworthy.

Earle Ellis

Earle Ellis (1991: 34; 1978: 156, 225) says that Jude used *I Enoch* as a midrash on a canonical book, so Jude 6, 14 becomes a midrash on a midrash. Jude then could use the material from *I Enoch* as a text without regarding it eo ipso as scripture (1978: 156); this is correct, but is really only necessary if we are certain that *I Enoch* was not authoritative in itself and the evidence from *Jubilees* and Qumran, plus Jude's explicit quotation formula in verse 14 would suggest that his opinion of the work was

the Amoraic period the ban was relaxed and Ben Sira was read as uninspired canon again (Leiman 1976: 135). Di Lella adds that though the rabbis, the successors of the Pharisees excluded *Ben Sirach* in the late first century AD, they continued to quote the book - even as sacred scripture (Skihan and Di Lella 1987: 20).

that it was authoritative. Even if it was an expansion on Genesis 6: 1-4, *The Book of the Watchers* goes beyond the contents of the Genesis passage supplying details that Genesis does not supply⁹ and Jude uses those details which are not in Genesis and which Genesis does not imply; they are from a source beyond Genesis¹⁰. *I Enoch, The Book of the Watchers* is more than midrash¹¹. Jude's use of the

⁹Such as the names of the angel who sin ch.6; the size of the giants and wickedness of the giants ch.7; the teaching people metallurgy, makeup, casting spells, astrology ch. 8; fate of the sons of the angels; eternal secrets in Ch. 9; the binding of the angels under the earth until the judgement in 10:12. All of these things point to more than commentary on Genesis 6: 1-4; they point to another source, and as such claim authority beyond the Genesis account.

¹⁰Haggadah, which is discussed in the next paragraph, can go beyond what scripture says: the *Aqedah* or Binding of Isaac, goes beyond what Genesis 22 says. In it Isaac appears as a mature man who knows he is to be a victim and allows himself to be sacrificed. (for a discussion of this haggadah see Hayward 1990: 292-306; P. R. Davies and B.D. Chilton 1980: 78-82), but *I Enoch -The Book Of The Watchers* has other factors (mentioned in the earlier chapters of this thesis) which point to its authoritative use by Jude.

¹¹ It should be noted that midrash in itself does not imply that either the midrash or the work it refers to are

portion of *The Book of the Watchers* that goes beyond Genesis helps show that he was looking to it for authoritative advice outside the scope of Genesis and was therefore using the account in *I Enoch* 1-11 as authoritative in its own right, not as simply a loan from an authoritative account. Midrash may or may not be included in haggadah (Finkelstein 1972: 16, fn 9) so what is said about midrash applies to what is said about haggadah, in part at least.

Beckwith (1985: 403-5) would argue that Jude 6 makes use of haggadah and that the Fathers did not understand haggadah which left them with a dilemma. The dilemma being that they either needed to accept *I Enoch* as scripture or reject both *I Enoch* and Jude, for they did not know that in haggadah a biblical account could be

non-canonical. 2 Chronicles 13: 22 is a midrash on the prophet Iddo and 24:27 is a midrash on the book of the kings (Ellis 1991: 91). Chronicles midrash is considered canonical.

expanded and that this expansion could be used to prove a point without making the expansion authoritative in itself¹². Charles (1993: 143) adds to what Beckwith says about Haggadah:

Z. H. Chajes (1952) has shown that narrative Haggadah does not often intend to historical and nature. It can be used for the purpose of exaggeration, persuasion, or edification. In as much as the NT writers were Jewish-Christians, one might expect that they reflect from time to time haggadic tendencies, teaching by means of characters or events that were proverbial to their respective audiences. This is all the more true for Jude who writes

¹²Haggadah can go beyond what scripture says: the Aqedah or Binding of Isaac, goes beyond what Genesis 22 says. In it Isaac appears as a mature man who knows he is to be a victim and allows himself to be sacrificed. (for a discussion of this haggadah see Hayward 1990: 292-306; P. R. Davies and B.D. Chilton 1980: 78-82)

for those whose background is Palestinian Judaism. Once the Christian message has moved to a broader, increasingly Gentile context, the understanding of the Jewish exegetical method is lost.

There are two suggestions by Beckwith and Charles that need an answer: first, that the Fathers did not understand haggadah; and second, did Jude use *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* as Haggadah and if so did that mean that the story used was not considered by him to be credible?

What Beckwith says could very well be true that some of the Apostolic and Church Fathers did not understand, or accept haggadah, as may be the case for the Antiochians (Kamesar 1994: 54, 56¹³). It is not true in the cases of Origen, and Jerome, who though sometimes criticising haggadah, appear to have both understood and

¹³Kamesar even here does not say that the Antiochians did not understand rabbinic Haggadah, just that they did not appreciate or accept it.

at times accepted and used it.

Kamesar (1994: 68-69) makes two important points: first, while there were varying attitudes as to the nature and validity of narrative haggada it can hardly be said that either the Antiochan school or the Alexandrian-Palestinian group of Church Fathers had a superficial knowledge of it; second, the Alexandrian-Palestinian group of which Jerome, Origen, in particular were a part had a much more accommodating attitude toward haggada, which was in no way naive. Kamesar (1994) backs his thesis up with a fairly detailed study of the use of Haggadah in the Greek and Latin Patristic literature. Amongst his examples he cites Origen's commentary on Matthew 21: 23-7; here Jesus is approached by the chief priests, who ask, "By what authority are you doing these things, and who gave you this authority." Origen says that they are not asking Jesus whether he was from God, but that they knew of a hierarchy of spiritual powers and were

asking Jesus a sincere question about the powers on which he was relying. "They gained this knowledge from εἴτε ἐκ παραδόσεων εἴτε καὶ ἐπιβαλλόντες εἴτε καὶ ἐξ ἀποκρύφων. (From doctrine and reflection and apocrypha) Origen does not imply that any of these are illegitimate. Kamesar (1994: 58-59) says, "it is probable that in the view of Origen the priests will have conjectured about spiritual powers on the basis of scripture rather than in a purely theoretical or philosophical manner. Whatever we think of Origen's interpretive method in this instance; it can be acknowledged that he was aware of and understood the Jewish view of haggadah.

Jerome also uses haggadah. Kamesar (1994: 65) says that Jerome probably transmits more narrative haggadic material than all the other Fathers combined; and that Jerome refers to haggadah with the formula *tradunt ... Hebraei* and then later refers to it as conjecture. There was a recognized distinction between legitimate historical

tradition and conjecture. Whether the Fathers accepted haggadah or not they appear or at least some who were arguing the validity of *Enoch* and Jude were aware of what Narrative Haggadah and other forms of haggadah were. If it was merely a case of some Fathers not understanding haggadah you might expect Jerome or others to mention the error some were making in their rejection of Jude.

The other argument is if Jude did consider *I Enoch* as haggadah and whether he would have considered it unauthoritative if he thought it to be haggadah. That *I Enoch* was strictly speaking haggadah is not certain. It is not specifically called such though authors do acknowledge that it is a rewritten and expanded version of the biblical accounts (Nickelsburg 1984a: 89, 130); this, however, may be irrelevant since Jude uses v. 6 in an authoritative manner in the midst of a series of Old Testament illustrations on judgement. Jude also uses an introductory formula and puts a fair bit of emphasis on

the words of the prophet Enoch in v. 14; so the haggadah argument really does not lessen the authoritative manner in which Jude used *I Enoch*.

Richard Bauckham mentions Jude's use of haggadah, but says this of verses 5-7, and 11. He does not mention Jude 14 specifically. Bauckham's (1990: 226-230) main point about *I Enoch* is that it is the central argument used by Jude and Bauckham who accepts Beckwith's conclusions on the state of the canon concludes that Jude must have seen *I Enoch* as inspired, but not canonical. Our disagreement with Bauckham is that the canon was not set by New Testament times and that Bauckham is being somewhat anachronistic¹⁴ because the concept of canon versus inspiration would not have been an issue in Jude's time. The use Jude makes of *I Enoch* shows it to be part of an

¹⁴It should be mentioned that Bauckham (1990: 231) says "What kind of authority it [Enoch] had by comparison with the canon we cannot tell nor need he [Jude] have done." so Bauckham does understand the issue, but the conclusion here can appear anachronistic.

authoritative work for himself and his audience and therefore it would be part of his canon.

Summary

The above authors have carefully worked on the issue of Jude's view of *I Enoch*, so as to leave the book as useful, even cherished by Jude but not part of the canon. Beckwith argued that there was a problem with the "deceit" factor with pseudepigraphic literature that specifically was ascribed to patriarchs from before the time of cessation of prophecy, but then notes that pseudepigraphy was a normal, accepted literary genre in the first century. He says that the Essene canon was closed before the first century, but says that the Essenes cherished apocalypses and that though they were not put forward as public canon they were kept for the inner circles and were considered the works of ancients. He notes that if the

Essenes had been the party of power they may have put forth a larger canon and that apocalyptic was not canon except in the smallest circles. This shows that it was at least possible and likely probable that the Qumran Essenes did have a larger canon than the Pharisees, but no power to put it forward.

Beckwith says that Christians did not at first accept an Essene canon and later turn to a Pharisaic canon, but allows that there were a number of apocalypses around in the first century, both Essene and Pharisaic and that New Testament authors had access to, so the conclusion to this is that first century Christians did use apocalyptic works and the example of this would be Jude's use of *The Book of the Watchers*.

Beckwith and D. Charles argue that Jude used *I Enoch* as hagaddah and that the patristic writers struggled with this because they did not understand the story nature of haggadah but Kamesar showed that Jerome and Origen and

other Alexandrian-Palestinian Fathers understood the use of haggadah. The Fathers struggled with Jude's use of *I Enoch* because they recognized the authoritative way he was using the material from *The Book of the Watchers*.

Charles argued that *I Enoch* was used as Myth, suggesting that it was an untrue account and was, therefore, not to be considered on the level with canonical material. Though we still feel that Jude considered the account in *The Book of the Watchers* to be accurate history; we also think the question of the accuracy of *The Book of the Watchers* is not really an issue for canonicity. Genesis 1 is poetic, and it is uncertain how accurate historically the events are, but it is canonical.

Bauckham sees the value of *I Enoch* to Jude and his argument, but accepts that there was an established canon which *I Enoch* was not part of. In Bauckham's case there are two points to make: first, we do not think that the

canon was established for all Jewish sects in the first century AD; second, it is really a matter of semantics, since Bauckham recognizes the authority of *I Enoch* for Jude we would argue that if the book was authoritative for Jude then it was part of his canon.

Jude did treat *I Enoch -The Book of the Watchers* with a great deal of respect. He placed alongside other Old Testament canonical works to stand as an equal and he quoted it with more vigour than the other Old Testament works. His attitude toward the book suggests that for him the book was canonical. The struggles the later Apostolic and Church Fathers had with the book of *I Enoch* suggests that they felt also that Jude saw the book as canonical. Whatever canon and inspiration mean for modern audiences they need to see that for Jude *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* held authority.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to show that the letter of Jude did use *I Enoch-The Book Of The Watchers* as authoritative literature, or to put it more clearly, that Jude used *I Enoch-The Book Of The Watchers* as part of his canon. To argue our thesis we first gave a general introduction to the book of *I Enoch* showing that *I Enoch* is a pentateuch and that the five sections were written by different author/redactors at substantially different times. The section that we concentrated on - *The Book Of The Watchers* - was written in the third century BC.

We then outlined the four different views of Jude's use of *I Enoch*: 1) Jude was not using *I Enoch*, but was quoting from earlier Jewish oral tradition; 2) Jude was quoting *I Enoch*, but did not consider it inspired scripture only that Jude's audience saw *I Enoch* as inspired and Jude was thus using *I Enoch* to appeal to his

audience and possibly to contradict his opponents; 3) Jude considered *I Enoch* inspired but not as canonical; and 4) That Jude saw *I Enoch* as canonical, scripture.

This thesis agrees with view four, that Jude saw *I Enoch* as scripture. The purpose of the thesis is to systematically support that view. To do this we do six things. 1) We show that Jude can with some measure of accuracy, though not with certainty, be placed in the second to third quarter of the first century AD. This is important because the canon of the Old Testament was in more flux in the first century AD than in the later centuries; 2) We show that the canon of the Old Testament was (in circles beyond the Jewish sect of the Pharisees) in flux in the first century AD.

Having showed that there was room for New Testament authors to use books other than the twenty-two/twenty-four book canon held by the Pharisees we show that 3) Jude's quotation formula in verse 14, 15 followed some

established standards for the quotation of canonical literature; we then show 4) that the writer of *Jubilees* and the Qumran community before Jude saw *I Enoch* as canonical. Having set a precedent for Jude's use of *I Enoch* we show 5) that Christian, even Biblical writers followed the same and used *I Enoch* in an authoritative manner. We also show that later Apostolic and Church Fathers sometimes accepted *I Enoch* because of Jude's use of it and some Fathers rejected Jude's letter because of his use of *I Enoch*, thus showing that those closer Jude's time believed him to have used *I Enoch* as canonical literature. After this we 6) deal with specific arguments against Jude's use of *I Enoch* as scripture.

To review this again we can see that *The Book of the Watchers* was used as authoritative literature in the book of *Jubilees*. The Qumran community used both *Jubilees* and *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers*, and other parts of *I*

Enoch as authoritative, so at least for some segments of Judaism in the first century BC and the first century AD. *The Book of the Watchers* was considered authoritative literature. This gives precedent for Jude to use *The Book of the Watchers* as authoritative literature also.

In the first century AD there was a knowledge by Jews and Christians of a three part canon. The Torah and the Prophets were established before the first century AD; the evidence of this was that both were read and used in the synagogue. The third part of the canon known as the hagiographa was known by the first century AD, but there is no specific evidence outside of Josephus - a self proclaimed Pharisee - as to the extent of the third part of the canon. Most of the evidence for a twenty-two (twenty-four) book canon comes from post first century AD rabbinic writings and since the Pharisees became the party of power after AD seventy these writings all represent a Pharisaic point of view.

The New Testament gives only scant evidence of a three part canon. Luke 24: 44 refers to the Law, Prophets and Psalms, but though possible it cannot be shown conclusively that "Psalms" refers to the entire Hagiographa and even if it does, the extent of the Hagiographa is not given. Several accepted Old Testament books from the hagiographa - Ruth, Esther and the Song of Solomon - are not mentioned in the New Testament, so there is evidence of the hagiographa in the New Testament, but there is doubt as to the extent of that section of the Old Testament - at least for parties other than Pharisees this is the case.

If the New Testament does not give conclusive evidence for the boundaries of the hagiographa and if three books later acknowledged to be part of the hagiographa are missing from New Testament quotes and allusions, then there may be room for other books to be considered canonical by New Testament writers.

Though Ruth, Esther and the Song of Solomon are not mentioned in the New Testament, *I Enoch* - the *Book of the Watchers* - is mentioned several times, by more than one author, and in an authoritative manner. 2 Peter 2:4 alludes to *The Book of the Watchers'* story about the fall of the angels in conjunction with two Old Testament allusions - the story of Noah, and the story of Sodom and Gomorrah - and the three allusions are sandwiched in warnings about the importance and inspiration of the words of Old Testament prophets.

Jude also used *The Book of the Watchers* story about the fall of the angels in conjunction with Old Testament allusions and then uses a quote from *I Enoch* 1:9 as his only formal quotation. The formal quote from *I Enoch* 1:9 is preceded by a formal introduction which attributed the quote to Enoch the seventh in the line of Adam. The introduction formula says that Enoch "prophesied saying". The word "prophesied" as part of a formal quote formula

is used by both the gospel of Matthew and Mark to introduce a prophetic word by the prophet Isaiah. Matthew, Mark, and Jude also use the word "saying" as part of the formula, which Metzger (1951) and Warfield (1982) acknowledge to be a legitimate word to replace "it is written" in an introductory formula for a quote from authoritative literature. Jude, then, both alludes to *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - and formally quoted *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers*.

Some Apostolic and Church Fathers acknowledge that Jude used *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - as authoritative literature. Some Fathers used *I Enoch* on its own merits. Some Fathers use *I Enoch* because Jude used it and some reject Jude, likely because his use of *I Enoch*. Justin Martyr, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Clement of Alexandria, and Didymus (the Blind) of Alexandria all accept *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - as scripture and Didymus argues for its canonicity

against those who doubted it. Origen uses *I Enoch*, but expresses some doubt as to its inspiration. Eusebius mentions that there was some doubt about *I Enoch*. Jerome did not consider *I Enoch* as inspired and did not consider Jude canonical because of his use of *I Enoch*. Tertullian accepts *I Enoch* amongst other reasons because of Jude's use of it. The works of the Apostolic and Church Fathers show that they felt that Jude considered *I Enoch* to be canonical.

Beckwith (1985) who argues that Jude could not have considered *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - to be canonical because of its pseudepigraphic nature admits that pseudepigraphy was an accepted part of the literary genre known as Apocalyptic. When it is argued that the aspect of pseudepigraphy that appears deceitful is the attribution of works to authors from before the time of the cessation of prophecy - Ezra's time - it is admitted that some such works as *I Enoch* were "cherished" by the

Qumran Essenes.

Though authors try to place the Qumran Essene canon at twenty-two books they admit that these same people highly respected *Jubilees* and *I Enoch*. Beckwith goes as far as to say that if the Essenes had come to power they may have had a larger canon than the twenty-two books of the Pharisaic canon. Beckwith (1985) and D. Charles (1991) while rejecting Jude's use of *I Enoch - The book of the Watchers* - as canon do mention that apocalyptic-pseudepigraphic works were available in the first century and were utilized by authors. Thus Beckwith and D. Charles do leave room for Qumran and Jude to have seen *I Enoch* as canon.

The argument that *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - was used by Jude as haggadah and therefore was not considered authoritative struggles with Jude's obvious high respect for the book, his formal quotation from the book and his aligning of the book with Old Testament

allusions.

The argument that the Apostolic and Church Fathers struggled with the canonicity of Jude because they did not understand haggadah and therefore mistakenly thought that Jude used *I Enoch* as canon when he did not, falls apart with Kasemar's (1994) study of the patristic use of haggadah. Kasemar shows that the Antiochian Fathers rejected much of haggadah as false, but the Palestinian-Alexandrian Fathers such as Jerome and Origen sometimes accepted and even used haggadah. What Kasemar proved for the purpose of this thesis is that the Fathers may not have liked haggadah, but they did understand it. Jerome who understood and sometimes used haggadah wanted to reject Jude on the basis of Jude's use of *I Enoch*. The Apostolic and Church Fathers, therefore believed that Jude used *I Enoch* as canon and this was not from a mistaken understanding of haggadah.

Jude used the story of the fall of the angels and

the quote from *I Enoch* 1:9 as authoritative scripture. He followed a canonical tradition which has also been seen at Qumran. Though we believe that Jude treated *I Enoch - the Book of the Watchers* - as actual history, this is not important. What is important is that however he saw the story from *The Book of the Watchers*; he treated the story as authoritative and if we consider that works authoritative for a community were canonical for that community, then we need to acknowledge that Jude saw *I Enoch - The Book of the Watchers* - as canonical scripture.

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