

- (iv) V, 11-VI, 3 Lessons from History—observance of the torah.

Finally, the twelve precepts can also be shown to have a rhythmic structure, although it is much glossed, and may have originally been more closely tied to the subsequent (additional?) warning and blessing in VIII, 4-9 and XX, 27-34.

- (v) VI, 11-VII, 10 The twelve precepts (including blessing and curse)—

VIII, 4-9=XIX, 16-21 A further warning.

XX, 27-34 A further blessing.

These sections (22) compliment each other, and whilst they may not all have stemmed from precisely the same hand, they were composed in a similar poetical style and with a similar purpose in mind, namely as a reference for the early sectarian movement of their origin and aim. In addition to their common poetical style these poetical sections also share a couple of other common features. The first is that one particular theme is strongly present in all these poetical passages, namely *obedience*, and more specifically, *obedience to the torah*. The second is that in the original poetical text there is no reference to the *internal* strife within the sect which became so prevalent, as testified by the later redactional section of XIX, 33-XX, 27 and other redactional insertions (I, 12f, etc.). These poetical sections were therefore written for 'the community' at a time when they were still at odds with the Jewish leadership, yet later supplemented, their emphasis and direction changed, in order to deal with internal disputes that the later, larger (first century B.C.) sectarian movement faced. Yet, if as I believe, these sections were originally poetic in nature, then perhaps the most important question to consider is what implication this might have for the literary development of this document and the origin of the sect. My reply would be that these sections *could* have had an oral tradition (or, perhaps even a literary tradition) before their incorporation into this document. Yet whether this earlier literary stage represents either an early period in the development of the Qumran community, perhaps say in the liturgy of the (Annual?) covenantal festival, or a pre-Qumran community of possibly non-Palestinian origin, I will leave to others to consider. Whatever the answer however, what is clear is that these poetical sections include in their original form references to the Teacher of Righteousness.

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(22) It is hoped that these other poetical passages will appear as articles in the next couple of years.

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## THE SYMBOLICAL LANGUAGE OF THE ANIMAL APOCALYPSE OF ENOCH

(1 Enoch 85-90)

THE Animal Apocalypse figures in the fourth part of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, in the Book of Dreams. Fragments of the Aramaic original of the apocalypse were found, among other Aramaic fragments of the Enochic collection in Qumran. (1) The Animal Apocalypse was written during the Maccabean revolt, probably in 164 B.C., after the battle of Bethsur. (2) Thus our text is contemporary with the latest Danielic oracles and with the editing of the Danielic collection. On the evidence of Aramaic fragments found in Qumran, both works—the Enochic collection and the Danielic collection (which must have contained in Qumran more pieces than the Masoretic version of the Book of *Daniel*) (3)—were regarded as canonical in Qumran.

As to its form, the Animal Apocalypse is a narrative of a dream—the dream of the righteous Enoch, eponymous of the whole Enochic collection—narrated to Metushelah, son of Enoch (*1 En.* 85, 1-2).

The dream of Enoch visualizes the history of mankind from the beginnings to the age of the author of the apocalypse. According to the author's view this age will be followed by the eschatological advent of the Kingdom of God. The figures of the historical survey are symbolized by animals. The dream-form and

(1) M. A. KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. 1-2*, Oxford 1982 (edition of the Ethiopic text with English translation); J. H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments, New York 1983, Edition of the Aramaic fragments of Qumran: J. T. MILIK, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford 1986.

(2) J. T. MILIK, *The Books of Enoch*..., 44.

(3) For other Danielic fragments see J. T. MILIK, "Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel, Fragments araméens de Qumran 4", *Revue Biblique* 63 (1956), 407-415.

the use of animal symbolics are similar to those of certain Danielic oracles (*Dan.* 7, 8. 10-12). The Danielic dreams and visions are always followed by a *pesher*, that is, by an interpretation. (4) The Animal Apocalypse lacks this element; the figures of the historical survey can be identified on the basis of the Biblical books containing historical traditions (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, etc.) and also on that of earlier Enochic tradition (*1 En.* 6, the Book of the Watchers).

Needless to say, the Animal Apocalypse narrates only the events considered important by the author. This method endows the survey with a very characteristic structure which is revealed by way of the system of symbols of the narration. The symbols are changing in the course of the narrative; the appearance of a new symbol indicates the beginning of a new period in the history.

The first period of human history is characterized by the symbol of the bull. Human figures, like Adam, Eve and their children appear as bulls and cows. The colour of the animal indicates the character of the given human figure: white bulls and cows stand for the elect, like Adam (*1 En.* 85, 10-8). People considered as sinners—like Cain and his descendents—are symbolized by black bulls and cows. Red bulls stand for Abel and Ham, second son of Noah (89, 9); this colour has a neutral significance, and figures symbolized by red play no important role in the narrative.

In the story of the Fallen Angels (which is told according to the Enochic version of the tradition, see *1 En.* 6) we come across with new symbols. The children born from the union of the Watchers (symbolized by stars, *κωκβυμ*) and women (symbolized by black cows) appear as wild animals (*1 En.* 86, 4, 87, 3, 88, 2, 89, 6). This change marks the beginning of a new period in the human history. The elect—Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, forefathers of Israel—are symbolized by white bulls, the sinners (the Giants, children of the Watchers) and peoples foreign to Israel (the children of Ham; Ishmael, son of Abraham, 89, 11) by wild animals.

The third historical period is characterized by the symbol of sheep. This period begins with Jacob, father of twelve sons, ancestors of the tribes of Israel. The elect are characterized either by the colour white or by their substantial size: Moses appears as a big ram (89, 3), and Samuel and Shaul too are symbolized by rams (89, 41-44). David appears as a lamb growing into ram. God is called the Lord of the Sheep. The most important figure of this

(4) The narrative of the dream is preceded by an introductory formula: ... *WHZYWY RSK ... DNH HW'*, and followed by another formula: *DNH HLM' WPSRH N'MR*, *Dan.* 2, 28.36.

period is Elijah. According to 89, 52 the Lord of the Sheep takes a ewe, Elijah, up to Enoch, who lives in a tower (that is, in a heavenly palace). The figure of Elijah marks the end of this period.

The figures of the fourth historical period are sheep and shepherds. Sheep stand for the people of Israel, shepherds for their rulers. The shepherds are commissioned by the Lord of the Sheep; when they accomplish their work they have to give account of it to their followers. In the heaven Enoch bears witness to the shepherds' work and he will be their witness "in the end of times" too, when they will be judged, together with the Watchers.

The Animal Apocalypse mentions seventy shepherds working for seventy periods. The period of the shepherds divides into four subperiods:

A) The rule of *x* shepherds for *x* time. The shepherds deliver the sheep to wild animals—that is, to hostile peoples. The animals destroy the "house"—this is the expression for the historical event of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. This date marks the end of the first subperiod (*1 En.* 89, 65-71).

B) Further shepherds working for 12 "hours". In this epoch "three are returning to the flock" (a possible reference to Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah). They begin to build "the house" that is, the Temple. The completion of "the house" (that is, the completion of the Second Temple in the year 516 B.C.) marks the end of the subperiod (*1 En.* 89, 72-77).

C) The third subperiod—rule of 37 shepherds for *x* time. During this time the wild animals keep on ravaging the sheep. No historical event, characteristic for this age, is mentioned and the end of the period is not clear, either (*1 En.* 90, 1-4).

D) The fourth subperiod—23 shepherds tend the flock for 58 periods. During this time white lambs appear in the flock, and they begin to open the eyes of the other sheep who were blind until that time. There is also a reference made to the murder of the high priest Onijah (170 B.C.). The period ends with the events of the Maccabean revolt: some white lambs grow horns on their heads, then appears a white ram with a large horn—the figure of Judas Maccabeus (90, 5f).

The Messianic age, following the four periods of history, begins with a divine judgement. The Lord of the Sheep sits in judgement on the Watchers (*κωκβυμ*) and the Shepherds. A white bull (that is, the Messiah) appears, and the sheep change into white bulls and cows (90, 37-38).

So, human history, according to the views of the author of the Animal Apocalypse, falls into four periods; the fourth period,

lasting for seventy "times" (or "weeks") falls into four sub-periods. (5)

*Characteristics of the historical periods of the Animal Apocalypse.*

Each period is in fact a dichotomic system. The dichotomy is indicated by the contrast of the colours white-black and by the contrast of oxen-wild animals, sheep-wild animals, sheep-shepherds. These contrasts point to the contrast of elect-sinners and the contrast Israel-peoples.

Periods 1-2 and 3-4 form two larger units. The dividing lines between the first and the second period are not so strikingly marked as those between second and third period (the symbol of the bull is present after the appearance of the symbol of wild animals); the border line between the symbolics of "sheep" and "sheep and shepherd" is less stronger than the one between the symbolics of the second and third periods.

Parallelisms: the figure of Enoch (1st period) is parallel with that of Elijah (3rd period), both are brought to heaven. The Watchers (2nd period) and the shepherds (4th period) play, too, a parallel role: they are examples of sinners, who will be judged in the Messianic age.

The limits of the periods are the events of the legendary prehistory and those of the history of Israel, especially the events connected with the Temple.

The Messianic age is a return of the first historical period, without the dichotomy of it.

*The symbolics of the apocalypse.*

In the Enochic historical survey animals stand for historical (or legendary) persons and ethnical groups, similarly to the visions of the Book of Daniel (*Dan.* 7, 8). Contrary to the Danielic visions, the animal figures of the Enochic apocalypse are no fantastic beings. The fantastical nature of the Animal Apocalypse lies in

(5) The periods follow as:

- 1) The beginnings; Adam and his descendants.
- 2) The Watchers; the Flood; the patriarchs (to Isaac).
- 3) Jacob and his descendants; the monarchy of Israel; the Divided Kingdom; Elijah.
- 4) The age of the Divided Kingdom (after Elijah), Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic rules; beginnings of the Maccabean revolt.

The subperiods of the fourth historical period follow as:

- A) Divided kingdom, to 586.
- B) Babylonian and Persian rule in Israel, to 516.
- C) Persian rule after 516 and age of the Hellenistic monarchies.
- D) Seleucid kingdom, age of the Maccabean revolt (to 164).

the sudden changes of the figures: the lamb changes into ram (David [89, 45]), the bull changes into human figure (Noah [89, 9]), etc. Sudden changes of figures are nevertheless characteristic of the Danielic visions (f. ex. the growth of the horns of the fourth animal, *Dan.* 7, 8, the breaking down of the horn of the ram and the growth of four new horns, *Dan.* 8, 7-8).

The animal figures of the Animal Apocalypse have their origin, in all probability, in the prophetic literature. Poetical images, similar to the symbolics of the Animal Apocalypse, often appear in the prophetic literature of the VI-V centuries B.C. In a prophecy of Jeremiah (*Jer.* 23, 1-7) shepherds are commissioned to pasture the flock of God—that is, the people of Israel. Ezechiel (*Ez.* 34) calls the people of Israel and their kings herd and shepherds; the owner of the herd is God. The leaders of the period preceding the Babylonian exile are depicted as bad shepherds who delivered their sheep to predacious animals. In another prophecy of Ezechiel (*Ez.* 39, 17f.) wild animals prey on sheep, rams, goats and bulls—symbolizing the people of Israel.

The horn symbolizing political power or rulers is a poetical image of the prophetic literature of the Persian epoch (*Zech.* 1, 18-19, vision on the horns) and of the later Danielic visions (*Dan.* 7, 8).

*The Animal Apocalypse and the Danielic tradition.*

The similarity of form of the Animal Apocalypse with the genre "dream/vision and its interpretation", the animal symbolics and the periodization of the history (a historical epoch) into four (seventy) ages show a certain kinship of the Animal Apocalypse with the Danielic tradition. The idea of four historical periods is well-known from *Dan.* 2, the oracle on the four kingdoms (MLKW) and the messianic rule following the fourth kingdom (see *Dan.* 2, 31-45). The idea of four kingdoms is repeated in *Dan.* 7 and 8.

The other system of periodization, the idea of a period of seventy "weeks" preceding the Maccabean revolt is known from *Dan.* 9. The system of calculation of *Dan.* 9 has been made on the basis of the oracle of Jeremiah on the seventy years' long Babylonian exile (*Jer.* 25, 11-12, 29, 10). The author of *Dan.* 9 counts the beginning of this seventy-"week" period from the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem (586 B.C.), while for the author of the Animal Apocalypse the starting point is the age of the divided kingdom, a time preceding the destruction of the Temple. The idea of seventy periods ("weeks") of a historical epoch is well-known in other Enochic tradition (*En.* 10, 11-12, 4Q180-181). The division of the seventy "weeks" into four periods

is only known from the Animal Apocalypse; it may show the influence of the Danielic four-parted historical scheme.

The "clue" to the Book of *Daniel* is the dream-vision of the immense statue and the oracle on the four kingdoms (MLKW) of the ch. 2. The vision is, in all probability, one of the earliest pieces of the Danielic tradition. (6) The other visions in the Book of *Daniel* speaking about four kingdoms and containing a historical survey, must be the reinterpretations of *Dan. 2*. All of these visions and oracles respond to the same question in a common form and by using common means, but the answers are, of course, different in content.

It is generally admitted that the vision of *Dan. 2* comes from the earliest circle of the Danielic tradition. Some scholars think that the narrative is rooted in the Mesopotamian Jewish literature. (7) On the basis of certain motifs and poetical images of the narrative I tried to support in a former paper the hypothesis of the Mesopotamian origin of *Dan. 2*. (8) The form "dream and its interpretation (*pishra*)" and the motif of the "untold dream" (when the interpreter re-dreams and interprets the dream) may prove that the author of *Dan. 2* was familiar with Mesopotamian practice and methods of interpretation of dreams. The motif of the immense statue (idol) may have his roots in the prophetic literature of preexilic and exilic time (see esp. the words of Deutero-Isaiah on the collapse of the powerless idols, *Is. 46, 1-13*). (9) The oracle on the four kingdoms (more exactly, on four "rulers", MLKW) could have been originally an oracle on the reign of four kings, as BICKERMAN supposed. (10) However, the verses 40-42 in *Dan. 2* refer explicitly to political events of the age of the Hellenistic kingdoms, to the conflict of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdom in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (11) I think, these verses are interpolated in the earlier text of the oracle, and *Dan. 2*, in his actual form, is a reinterpretation of a former oracle. The optic of the interpolator reflects a Palestinian origin of the reinterpretation

(6) M. NOTH, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 98-99 (1926), 143-163; A. D. EERDMANS, *The Religion of Israel*, Leiden 1947, 227.

(7) W. VON SODEN, "Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung von Nabonid in der Danielerzählungen," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 53 (1935), 81-89; E. BICKERMAN, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, New York 1967.

(8) I. FRÖHLICH, "Sources et composition du ch. 2 du Livre de Daniel," *Annales Universitatis R. Eötvös, Sectio Classica*, tomus IX-X, Budapest 1962-65, 33-40.

(9) See also *Is. 42, 17; 44, 9f.; 45, 16-17*. For the image of powerless idols in Jewish literature see *Hos. 8, 5-6; Hab. 2, 18-20*, the apocryphal *Bēl kai drakōn* and the *Prayer of Nabonid* from Qumran.

(10) E. BICKERMAN, *Four Strange Books ...*, 62-63.

(11) K. KOCH, *Das Buch Daniel*, Darmstadt 1960 (Erträge der Forschung Bd. 144), 71.

of the oracle of *Dan. 2*. The Palestinian interpolator of the vision refers to the conflict of the two great monarchies as an epoch-marking event, as to the "end of the fourth kingdom".

The other visions of the Danielic collection, using the four-parted historical scheme (*Dan. 7, 8*) are later than *Dan. 2*. These oracles come from the 2nd century B.C., from the time of the Antiochean crisis. They can be considered as reinterpretations of the oracle on the four "rulers" of *Dan. 2*. *Dan. 7* foretells the coming of a messianic kingdom, after the fall of the "fourth kingdom". The interpretation of the four kingdoms in *Dan. 7* has given rise to much controversy; I adopt the view of K. HANHART (12) who interpreted the vision as an oracle on four contemporary states, (13) i.e. the Ptolemaic kingdom, Rome, the Parthian empire and the Seleucid kingdom. The author of *Dan. 7* foretells the fall of the Seleucid kingdom and the coming of the messianic kingdom.

The author of *Dan. 8* uses the four-parted scheme with a synchronistic meaning, too, when he writes on the Persian Empire as a result of a conquest of the lands of the four cardinal points (*Dan. 8, 8.22*) and when he writes that the empire of Alexander the Great fell into four parts. The four-parted scheme appears with a diachronistic meaning in *Dan. 10-12*, where the author mentions four consecutive Persian kings, the last being richer and more powerful than the former three (*Dan. 11, 2*).

The Animal Apocalypse of the Enochic collection gives a new answer—as compared to the dreams and visions of the Book of *Daniel*—to the questions: when will the messianic kingdom come, and which are the signs of the divine plan in human history? His answer differs from those of the Danielic visions. In the optic of the author of the Animal Apocalypse the events of the so-called world empires have no importance; the marks of historical periods are events connected with the history of the elect, with the history of Israel and with the history of the Temple of Jerusalem.

As to the form and method, the author of the Animal Apocalypse followed supposedly Danielic examples. From the point of view of the genre, the Animal Apocalypse can be considered as a subtype of the genre *pesher* (*Dan. 9*, which is the *pesher* of a prophetic text, represents another subtype; later texts, as certain parts of the *Damascus Document* and the *pesharim* of

(12) K. HANHART, "The Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision in the Night in the Light of *Rev. 13, 2*", *New Testament Studies* 27 (1981), 576-583.

(13) The meaning of the words of *Dan. 7, 3*: *w'reb' hywn rbrbn slqn mn ym' sbyn d' mn d'*, doesn't imply an interpretation on four consecutive "rulers".

Qumran continue the same tradition and show a special form of the *pesher*-tradition).

The genre of *pesher* has its roots in the Mesopotamian Jewish tradition of the VI-V centuries B.C., as the analysis of *Dan. 2* shows. Reinterpretations of the Danielic *pesher*-tradition (reinterpretations of *Dan. 2*) and later pieces of the genre are known from Palestine, from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The genre played an important role in the Qumran literary tradition. The landmarks of the way of the genre of *pesher*—so far as one can retrace it—show that the genre could have been born in Mesopotamian Jewish circles. Later bearers of the tradition (reinterpreters of *Dan. 2*) and writers of new oracles could have lived already in Palestine, from the 3rd century B.C.

Ida FRÖHLICH.

## QUMRAN ORIGINS:

### FROM THE *DORESH* TO THE *MOREH*

#### I

**I**N order to discuss intelligently and fruitfully any aspect of Qumran history, it is necessary at the outset to be aware of the assumptions and limitations of such an enterprise. My chief assumption, which is radically opposed by several recent investigators and others in the past, is that the persons involved in the Qumran community and its history were not known figures of early Christian history, e.g. John the Baptist, Jesus, James, and Paul.<sup>(1)</sup> This assumption is based, however, on a comprehensive analysis of the currently available evidence—the written and the artifactual.<sup>(2)</sup> Some of the written evidence points to a period roughly 100 years or more before the Christian movement in Israel.

*CD I, 5-10* preserves two associated chronological notes, which, because of their mere presence, are hard for the historian to ignore, if one chooses to reconstruct Qumran origins. The first one speaks of a "root of planting" that came into existence 390 years after Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem. According to the second note, God gave this group a teacher of righteousness at a point twenty years later. Taken at face-value, this group would have emerged around the end of the third and the beginning of the

(1) Barbara THIERING, *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness* (Australian and New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion; Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1981); IDEM *The Gospels and Qumran* (Australian and New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion; Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1981); IDEM *The Qumran Origins of the Christian Church* (Australian and New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion; Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1983). Robert EISENMAN, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1983); IDEM *James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). J. L. TEICHER, "The Teaching of the Pre-Pauline Church in the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 1-6 (1951-55).

(2) Phillip R. CALLAWAY, *The History of the Qumran Community An Investigation* (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988).