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Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ:

1 Peter 3:18-22 in Its Tradition-Historical and Literary

Context

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Theology
University of Durham
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Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ:

1 Peter 3:18-22 in Its Tradition-Historical and Literary Context

Abstract

By

Chad T. Pierce

1 Peter 3:18-22 records Christ's proclamation to the "imprisoned spirits." Interpreting this passage has challenged even the most competent exegetes. Earliest interpretations understood these imprisoned spirits as the souls of humans to whom Christ preached during his "harrowing of Hades" between his death and resurrection. Augustine identified them as the humans living prior to the flood who were heralded to by the pre-existent Christ through the person of Noah. Scholars from the beginning of the twentieth century through the present have read these verses through the lens of the fall of the watchers tradition first recorded in the *Book of Watchers*, thus reckoning these spirits as imprisoned angels. Yet contemporary scholarship has failed to acknowledge the development, conflation, and even multiplicity of the fallen angel sin and punishment myths that are found throughout much of early Jewish and Christian literature. This thesis traces the major developments of the fallen angel, giant, evil spirit, and human sin and punishment traditions throughout *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, Dead Sea Scroll material, and other relevant works that may have played a role in the formative history of 1 Peter 3:18-22. This thesis also attempts, based upon the conflation of previous traditions, to ascertain the identity of imprisoned spirits, the content of Christ's proclamation, and the relevance of these questions to the original readers. Finally, this work attempts to ascertain the relationship between baptism in verse 22 and the warding off of evil spirits.

Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material covered has previously been submitted by myself for a degree in this or any other University. Where material has been generated through joint work, the work of others has been indicated.

Chad T. Pierce
Durham, October 27, 2009

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Abbreviations

AA	<i>Animal Apocalypse</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
ACR	<i>Australasian Record</i>
ATLAMS	American Theological Library Association Manuscript Series
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
Ant.	<i>Josephus, Jewish Antiquities</i>
Ap. Ab.	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 Vols. Oxford, 1913
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
b.	Babylonian Talmud
2, 3 Bar	2, 3 <i>Baruch</i>
B. Bat	<i>Tractate Baba Bathra</i>
B.C.E.	Before Common Era
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BG	<i>Book of Giants</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BJ	<i>Josephus, Jewish War</i>
BJS	Brown Judaica Studies
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BW	<i>Book of Watchers</i>
ca.	circa, about
CBQ	<i>Catholic Bible Quarterly</i>
CD	Cairo Genizah Damascus Document
C.E.	Common Era
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish and Christian Literature
cf.	compare
chap(s).	chapter(s)
1 Clem	1 <i>Clement</i>
col(s).	column(s)
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament
1, 2 Cor	1, 2 Corinthians
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorium Christianorum orientalium
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
CSS	Cursus Sacrae Scripturae
Dan	Daniel
Deut	Deuteronomy
diss.	dissertation
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ed(s).	editor(s), edition

<i>1, 2, 3 En</i>	<i>1, 2, 3 Enoch</i>
Eph	Ephesians
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios Bíblicos</i>
<i>EtB</i>	<i>Études Bibliques</i>
Eth.	Ethiopic
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>4 Ez</i>	<i>4 Ezra</i>
Ezek	Ezekiel
f.	following
fasc.	fascicle
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
frag(s)	fragment(s)
FTS	Freiburger Theologische Studien
Gal	Galatians
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
Gen	Genesis
<i>Greg</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i>
Gr.	Greek
G ^{Pan}	Codex Panopolitanus
G ^{Sync}	Codex Syncellus
HB	Hebrew Bible
Heb	Hebrews
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
Hos	Hosea
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Manuscripts
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ibid.	in the same place as the previous citation(s)
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Isa	Isaiah
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBW</i>	<i>Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft</i>
Jdt	Judith
Jer	Jeremiah
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
Jn	John
1 Jn	1 John
Josh	Joshua
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal of the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal of the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplemental Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

<i>Jub</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
Judg	Judges
<i>JZWL</i>	<i>Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
Lam	Lamentations
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lev	Leviticus
<i>Liv. Pro.</i>	<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>
Lk	Luke
LXX	Septuagint (Greek O.T.)
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
2, 3 Macc	2, 3 Maccabees
<i>Mart. Is.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Isaiah</i>
Matt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
MS(S).	Manuscript(s)
n.	note
NCB	New Century Bible
NIBCNT	New International Biblical Commentary on the New Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplement to Novum Testamentum
<i>NRTh</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
NT	New Testament
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
Num	Numbers
OT	Old Testament
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , Charlesworth Edition
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings from the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
PC	Proclamation Commentaries
1, 2 Pet	1, 2 Peter
PG	Patrologia Graeca
Phil	Philippians
Philo of Alexandria	
<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De Gigantibus</i>
<i>QG</i>	<i>Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somniis</i>
PL	Patrologia Latina
P(s)	Psalm(s)
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
repr.	reprinted
<i>Rev</i>	<i>Revelation</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
Rom	Romans

<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
<i>T. Job</i>	<i>Testament of job</i>
1, 2 Thess	1, 2 Thessalonians
1, 2 Tim	1 Timothy
<i>T12P</i>	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
<i>T. Asher</i>	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Judah</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Napht.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Reub.</i>	<i>Testament of Rueben</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>TBT</i>	<i>The Bible Today</i>
<i>TD</i>	<i>Theology Digest</i>
THNTC	Two Horizons New Testament Commentary
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
Tg(s).	Targum(s)
1, 2 Thess	1, 2 Thessalonians
Tob	Tobit
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
vol(s).	volume(s)
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentaries
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
<i>WTS</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WW</i>	<i>Words and Worlds</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
Zeph	Zepheniah
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

1 Pet 3:18-22 contains numerous intriguing yet beguiling statements that have generated interest and questions from scholars from the second century C.E. to the present. Debate has arisen as to the recipients of Christ's message, what he said, when he said it, what impact it had, its relationship to Christian baptism, and how this passage coheres with the letter as a whole. The answers to these and other questions arising from the text have often been based on theological principles rather from the text itself. Whether this passage describes Christ's harrowing of hell, the work of the pre-existent Christ, or Jesus' announcement of victory, theologians have looked to 1 Peter to lend support to their own particular views.

This passage, though small, provides insight into early Christian thoughts, or at least a branch of early Christian thoughts, on Christology, angeology, demonology, ouranology, cosmology, and eschatology. Thus, it reflects an important development in the history of Christian tradition. Varying exegetes of these verses expound very different images of Christ, the activities upon his death and resurrection, the role of evil in the world, theophany, and the eschatological hope for the righteous. Therefore, it is beneficial to interpret this passage with much care.

The past fifty years have witnessed a resurgence in the study of early Jewish literature including the "Dead Sea Scrolls" and Jewish pseudepigraphal literature. The themes, theology, and development of literary traditions in these works have been carefully studied for their own right as well as for illuminating later Jewish and Christian ideas. The study of 1 Peter has not escaped this trend. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, but more so in the last five decades, most scholars have interpreted 1 Pet 3:18-22 in light of earlier Jewish and Christian works. Yet, while many acknowledge the importance of these works in the tradition history of 1 Peter, there has not been an in-depth look into the sin and punishment traditions and their potential impact on the epistle. While a discussion of the history of research, provided below, illustrates how various scholarship has or has not used the fallen angel myths in their exegesis, it also demonstrates that no work to date has yet wrestled with either the complexity of the relevant traditions or the nature of conflation that appears to be taking place in the use of these stories. The aim of this thesis is to catalogue and

discuss the development of early Jewish and Christian literature regarding cosmic and human sin and punishment traditions to determine how they may illuminate the understanding of 1 Pet 3:18-22.

1.2 The History of Research

1.2.1 Introduction

The difficulty in presenting a detailed yet coherent history of interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 derives from the argumentative nature of its historical exegesis. Since the first explanations of 1 Pet 3:18-22 were documented in the second century C.E., others have primarily written to counteract the various theological claims which resulted from a specific exegesis of these verses rather than being concerned with an independent, focused study of the particular passage itself. John Elliott¹, William Dalton², and Bo Reicke³ have presented the most recent and thorough critiques of the history of the interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22.⁴ Dalton's work divides the many interpretations of 3:19 into three main categories. Elliott, who summarizes and expands on Dalton's work, divides the history of research of 1 Pet 3:18-22 into four primary divisions. Other scholars have suggested that five or six different understandings exist and even these contain sub-groupings. While containing a number of sub-categories, this work divides the history of interpretation into three broad lines of thought: 1) Christ's proclamation to human souls between his death and resurrection, 2) the proclamation of the pre-existent Christ through the person of Noah, and 3) Christ's proclamation to fallen angels or giants.

1.2.2 Three Influential Lines of Interpretation

1.2.2.1 *Christ's Proclamation to Human Souls between his Death and Resurrection*

A portion of scholarship from the late second through the mid-twentieth century C.E. has maintained that 1 Pet 3:18-22 records the actions of Christ during the

¹ John H. Elliott, *1 Peter: New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37b; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 648-51.

² William J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18-4:6* (2nd ed. AnBib 23; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989), 17-66.

³ Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter III.19 and Its Context* (ASNU 13; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1946), 7-51.

⁴ See also Wayne A. Grudem, *The First Epistle of Peter* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 203-39. For earlier overviews see Urbanus Holzmeister, *Commentarius in Epistulas SS. Petri and Iudae. Epistula Prima S. Petri* (CSS 3/13; Paris: Lethiellux, 1937), 306-51.

triduum mortis, the time between his death and resurrection. Using this passage as evidence of the *descensus*, many of the early church fathers proposed that upon his death, Christ's spirit descended to Hades and proclaimed a message to humans imprisoned in the underworld.⁵ Within this interpretation, three main views have emerged.⁶

First, some have claimed that in 1 Pet 3:19, Christ's spirit traveled to the underworld and offered salvation to the sinners of Noah's generation who had perished in the flood. This interpretation was first postulated by the Alexandrian school already ca. 200 C.E. Clement of Alexandria was one of the earliest to exegete 1 Pet 3:19 in such a manner. Linking 1 Pet 3:19 to the descent of Christ, Clement proposed that while some form of virtuous preparation in the earthly life was needed, true salvation could only occur through Christ. For those who lived before the incarnation, whether gentile or faithful Jew, Christ went and offered them salvation during the *triduum mortis*.⁷ Clement also described the punishment of the flood, referenced in 1 Pet 3:19-20, as a therapeutic tool used by God to prepare sinners for salvation. Arguing that evil flesh impairs humanity's ability to accept Christ, Clement claimed that by releasing the souls of humans from their bodies through the flood, God actually made their potential conversion easier.⁸

Writing concurrent to Clement, Origen interpreted 1 Pet 3:18-22 in a similar manner. In his *De Principiis*, Origen argued against Gnostics who had claimed that the Old Testament (OT) God and the New Testament (NT) Jesus were, in fact, not the same God. These Gnostics had contrasted the OT God of the law who was primarily just with the NT Christ who was primarily good. In an attempt to portray the OT God of the law and the NT Jesus as one God who is both just and good, Origen quoted 1

⁵ The term *descensus* is used to describe Christ's descent to the underworld between his death and resurrection.

⁶ While 1 Pet 3:19 has been linked with the *descensus* since the second century C.E., it should be noted that this was not the case prior to Clement of Alexandria. Early exegetes, such as Irenaeus, a strong supporter of the *descensus* never references 1 Pet 3:19 in his discussions on the doctrine, see Irenaeus, *Adversus Omnes Haereses* 4.22.1; 4.27.2; and 5.33.1. 7 (PG 1046C; 1058B, C; 1208C-1209A). Therefore, it is not certain that 1 Pet 3:18-22 was originally linked with the *descensus* in its earliest interpretations.

⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.6:38-53 (GCS 15:453-55). Another example of Clement interpreting this passage as referring to the descent can be found in his *Adumbrationes* on 1 Peter (GCS 17:205). Holzmeister, *Commentarius in Epistulas*, 337-38 has argued that the Clement was really not a supporter of this understanding. However, it is generally accepted that Clement viewed 1 Pet 3:19 as Jesus preaching to the human spirits in the underworld with the goal of conversion.

⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.6:42-43 (GCS 15:453-54). Clement also argued that Jesus' disciples, following their teacher, also went and offered salvation to the human souls imprisoned in the underworld. See *Stromateis* 6.6: 37-38 (GCS 15:453-54).

Pet 3:19, proposing, like Clement, that the flood was sent as a therapeutic punishment for the purpose of human improvement. Therefore, within this understanding, 1 Pet 3:18-22 describes the salvation offered by Christ during the *triduum mortis* even to those wicked individuals who perished in the flood.⁹

Cyril of Alexandria was another supporter of the *descensus* as the setting for Christ's heralding.¹⁰ In his *Commentarium in Joannem* from the early fifth century C.E., Cyril cites 1 Pet 3:19 to describe Christ's proclamation of liberation both to those on earth and to those who were already dead.¹¹ While examining the writings of Clement, Origen, and Cyril, it appears that a majority of the Alexandrian view of 1 Pet 3:19 was that Christ, during the *triduum mortis*, proclaimed a message of salvation to human souls imprisoned in the underworld.

However, the Alexandrian school of thought was not the only group which interpreted these verses in this manner. Some other early Greek fathers also cited 1 Pet 3:18-22 when describing Christ's offering of salvation to human souls in the underworld. John Damascene alluded to 1 Pet 3:19 in reference to the *descensus*, contending that Christ's proclamation to the spirits in Hades reflected his earthly proclamation of liberation. Jesus' heralding in Hades would give an opportunity for salvation to those beings imprisoned there as well as bring all things there under his subjugation.¹² However, in John Damascene's work, there is no reference made as to whether this proclamation was made to the OT faithful, others who had repented prior to their death, or if all who had lived before Christ were given the opportunity to repent in the next life. Therefore, while the earliest church leaders might not have linked these verses with the *descensus*, this view of Christ's proclamation to the spirits was widely held from the time of Clement until Augustine.

⁹ Origen, *De Principiis* 2.5 (GCS 22:136). Origen appears to reference this passage again in his debate with Celsus. Responding to Celsus' claim that Christ preached to those in Hades because he had no success on earth, Origen argued that it was in fact due to the triumph of Christ's earthly proclamation that he was crucified, after which he went as a soul and preached to the other bodiless souls. Therefore, Christ's preaching in Hades mirrored his proclamation while alive on earth. See Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2:43 (GCS 23:166). For other examples of Origen's understanding of this passage see: *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Mattaeum* 132 (PG 13:1780D) and *Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis* (PG 14:260B).

¹⁰ St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Homilia Paschalis* 8 (PG, 77:552A). In this message, he describes Jesus, after his death, traveling to the underworld, opening the gates of Hades, and completely emptying it.

¹¹ *Commentarium in Joannem* 16:16 74 (PG 456A). In his *Commentarius in Lucam* 4:18, Cyril also references 1 Peter while implying the salvation of those sinners in the underworld, see (PG 72:537D).

¹² St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa* 3.29 (PG 94:1101A). Reicke notes that his ideas parallel that of Clement of Alexandria, Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 33. While not discussing Christ's role in the underworld, St. Athanasius, citing 1 Peter, claims that while Christ's body was in the tomb, the Word proclaimed to the spirits who were in prison, *Epistola ad Epictetum* 5-6 (PG 26: 1060A, B).

Despite Augustinian and later influences against this interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22, which will be discussed below, some scholars from the past century have continued to understand Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison as referring to the activity of Christ during the *triduum mortis* to the human souls in the underworld with the hope of conversion.¹³ In his commentary from 1947, F. W. Beare claimed that despite alternative interpretations, both ancient and modern, that have been proposed concerning Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison, "it is more natural to take it as referring to His activity in the underworld in the interval between His death and His resurrection."¹⁴ In 1982, A. Hanson still maintained that these verses refer to the activity of Christ during his *descensus*. He proposed that, between his death and resurrection, Christ offered salvation to those imprisoned in the underworld. It must be noted, however, that Hanson claims it is not clear whether the spirits in prison refers to humans, angels, or possibly both.¹⁵

Many scholars since 1900 who maintain this interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 connect these verses with 1 Pet 4:6. In his 1978 commentary on 1 Peter published posthumously, L. Goppelt linked Christ's preaching to the dead in 1 Peter 4:6 with the πνεύματα in 3:19. While acknowledging that the term πνεύματα in verse 19 could potentially be taken as a reference to fallen angels, Goppelt claimed that humans, and not fallen angels, are more likely the recipients of the "saving proclamation of Christ." Goppelt utilized 1 Pet 4:6 in order to interpret the proclamation recorded in 3:19 as one of salvation; a method which will be debated below.¹⁶ Furthermore, Goppelt claimed that by maintaining that Christ preached to the most evil generation of humans, the author of 1 Peter encouraged his readers to follow Christ's example by proclaiming the Gospel, even to their oppressors.¹⁷ However, as will be demonstrated later, this reading regarding the fallen angels in verse 20 ignores the link between the

¹³ Despite Augustinian influence, there were a number of scholars in the Middle Ages who continued to support the idea of 1 Pet 3:19-4:6 referring to the *descensus*, see Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thaliassium* 7 (PG 90:284C) and Joannes Zonaras, *Epistolarum* 10 (PG 76:1124A-C).

¹⁴ Francis W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), 144-45.

¹⁵ Anthony T. Hanson, "Salvation Proclaimed, 1 Peter 3:18-22," *ExpTim* 93 (1981-1982): 100-12. For other scholars since 1900 who maintain this interpretation, see: Sherman E. Johnson, "The Preaching to the Dead," *JBL* 79 (1960): 48-51; Johannes Schneider, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, und Johannes* (NTD 10 9th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Karl H. Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief* (HTKNT 13/2 3rd ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1976); Jean Galot, "le descente du Christ aux enfers (1 P 3:18-20)," *NRT* 83 (1961): 471-91 and "Christ's Descent into Hell," *TD* 13 (1965): 89-94.

¹⁶ Leonhard Goppelt, *1 Peter* (ed. F. Halon; trans. J. Alsup; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 257-59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 258-59.

myth recorded in Gen. 6:1-4 and the flood tradition in many early Jewish and Christian works.

Charles E. B. Cranfield also fused together 1 Pet 3:18-22 and 4:6 to claim that Christ's proclamation was directed to the souls of humans who perished in the flood. He contended that Christ offered salvation to those human spirits and that this proclamation occurred during the *triduum mortis*.¹⁸ It is evident, therefore, that some have interpreted 1 Pet 3:18-22 as referring to Christ's offer of salvation to human spirits imprisoned in the underworld, to varying degrees, from the second century C.E. through the present.

A second understanding of 1 Pet 3:18-22 within this broad line of thought of Christ's proclamation of salvation to humans between his death and resurrection is that this offer was only available to those of Noah's contemporaries who had repented of their sins prior to their demise. This interpretation is often then extended to include the potential salvation to all of the OT faithful imprisoned in the underworld.

One of the earliest works that locates Christ's proclamation to faithful OT souls within the time between his death and resurrection is the Jeremiah logion. While the logion's disputed origins are not relevant to this study, its use by Justin Martyr dates the saying to the mid-second century C.E. The pertinent passage reads: ἐμνήσθη δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ (*The Lord God remembered the dead from Israel who lay in the graves, and he went down to them to preach to them his salvation*).¹⁹ The logion reflects an early theology of the *descensus*, and specific mention is made as to the recipients and the content of Christ's heralding. Christ went to the place of the dead to proclaim his salvation to his people Israel. Those who support this reading of 1 Pet 3:18-22 contend that the logion demonstrates that Christ's offer of salvation to the OT faithful was an idea accepted in the mid-second century. However, the similarities between the 1 Peter and the logion are dependent upon this particular exegesis of 1 Pet 3:19 rather than independently supporting one another.

¹⁸ Charles E. B. Cranfield, "The Interpretation of 1 Peter III.19 and IV.6" *ExpTim* 69 (1957/58): 369-72.

¹⁹ See Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 72 (PG 6:645AB). While the translation in PG is often cited, it should be noted that the individuals referenced here are not in graves but merely described as in the "ground." Irenaeus quotes the logion six times in his works, inconsistently claiming its origins in Jeremiah and Isaiah; see: *Adversus Omnes Haereses* 3.20.4; 4.22.1; 4.33.1; 4.33.12; and 5.31.1.

Linguistically there are notable differences between 1 Peter and the Jeremiah logion. The recipients of Christ's proclamation in the logion are specifically referred to as τῶν νεκρῶν τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος rather than the more vague description of ἐν φυλακῇ πνευμασίῳ in 1 Peter. Second, the Lord's descent is made certain by the use of the word κατέβη in the logion, whereas the use of the word πορευθεῖς in 1 Peter merely records the fact that Christ actually "went somewhere." Furthermore, whereas the logion uses ἀναγγελίσασθαι to describe Christ's proclamation, the writer of 1 Peter records Jesus as having "proclaimed" (ἐκηρύξεν) to the spirits. Thus, while the content of Christ's proclamation in 1 Peter is left to be assumed, the Jeremiah logion specifically describes Christ's preaching as offering salvation (ἀναγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ). Therefore, if a connection between the logion and 1 Peter is assumed, one does elucidate the other. However, there does not appear to be a strong linguistic connection between the texts. The recipients, the location, and the message of Christ's proclamation are portrayed differently in the two works.

Similar to the Jeremiah logion, the *Gospel of Peter*, which focuses on the death and resurrection of Jesus and is often dated to the mid-second century C.E., is cited by those who contend that it lends support to the theory that Christ's proclamation in 1 Peter was given to converted or faithful souls imprisoned in the underworld.²⁰ In this gospel, the soldiers who were guarding Jesus' tomb witness two angels descending and the stone of the sepulcher being rolled away. The gospel writer continues the story:

*And while they were relating what they had seen, they saw again three men come out from the sepulcher, and two of them sustaining the other, and a cross following them, and the heads of the two reaching to heaven, but that of him whom they led by the hand overpassing the heavens. And they heard a voice out of heaven crying, 'Have you preached to those who had fallen asleep?,' and from the cross there was heard the answer: 'Yes.'*²¹

²⁰ This proposed date for the composition of the *Gospel of Peter* is due to its dependence upon traditional gospel material and its first citation by Serapion of Antioch in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.12.1-6 in the late second century C.E., in which the Bishop declares that parts of the work are Docetic. This discovery of POxy 2949 confirms the work was composed towards the end of the second century at the latest, see: Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (trans. B. McNeil; New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 82-83. Léon Vaganay has dated the work between 120 and 130 C.E.; see *L'Évangile de Pierre* (Paris: Gabalda, 1930), 147-63.

²¹ *Gospel of Peter* 10:1-4; for the English translation, see Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; trans. R. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 179-87.

Both Dalton and Elliott acknowledge the similarities of the gospel's phrase ἐκηρύξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις with events of 1 Pet 3:19. However, they also maintain that the agreements end there, as no tangible connection between the two works has been made.²² In addition, unlike the Jeremiah logion which describes Christ's proclamation as one of salvation, the *Gospel of Peter* gives no indication about either the content of his preaching or the identification of the spirits. Christ's heralding could be one of destruction or salvation, and the recipients could be all those who were imprisoned in the underworld or only the righteous. Therefore, while the *Gospel of Peter* does clearly have the *descensus* in view, it contains little or no support for Christ's proclamation of salvation to converted or faithful souls during the *triduum mortis*.

A final piece of early literature which some have used to support this interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 comes from the *Easter Homily* of Hippolytus. In that homily, Hippolytus appears to allude to 1 Pet 3:19 when describing the "harrowing of hell" by Jesus as a soul among souls.²³ Dalton correctly notes that this passage weaves together the harrowing of hell and the announcement of salvation to the holy souls. Though, admittedly, he also points out the difficulty in interpreting this passage in light of it being a homily that strings together a number of verses concerning the *descensus*.

Origen, who spent time in Rome as a disciple of Hippolytus, also used the phrase "a soul among souls" to describe Jesus' experience in the underworld with regard to 1 Pet 3:19. Dalton argues that Hippolytus' understanding of 1 Pet 3:19 would probably have been similar to that of Origen, described above, and not a different understanding of the text in which the souls are converted before death. Therefore, Dalton argues that Hippolytus should not be seen as advocating an interpretation that requires human conversion before death to be the recipients of Jesus' preaching.²⁴ However, Reicke noted that Hippolytus must have believed that the souls to whom Christ preached had already converted before they met Christ during his descent because he refers to these souls as "holy souls."²⁵ Thus, it appears,

²² Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 35, 36; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 661-62.

²³ The "harrowing of hell" is a term used to describe the activity of Christ during the period between his death and resurrection. Since certain Christian theologians, as will be described below, understood salvation as possible only through belief in Christ, the faithful Jews of the OT still were imprisoned in Sheol/Hades. Upon his death, Christ traveled to the underworld and freed these individuals and escorted them to heaven.

²⁴ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 37.

²⁵ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 27. For a detailed commentary on Hippolytus' work, see Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 23-27. The Syriac fragment of Hippolytus' *Easter Homily* can be found in Joannes

despite Dalton's claims contrary, there is at least a possibility that Hippolytus interpreted 1 Pet 3:19 as referring to humans who had converted either before their deaths or at least before they encountered Christ in the underworld.

The Assyrian church also followed this interpretation. J. N. D. Kelly has demonstrated that the doctrine of the *descensus* was widely accepted within this church.²⁶ As opposed to previous church fathers like Irenaeus, it appears that 1 Pet 3:19 was cited to support the theology of the *descensus* within Syriac speaking regions. The *Peshitta* translation of verses 19-20a ("And he preached to the souls who were shut up in Sheol, those who had before been disobedient in the days of Noah") includes a number of illuminating details. The writer translates "prison" as "Sheol" indicating that the prison was in fact the place of the dead. Reicke notes that that the translator's rendering of ποτέ emphasizes that past sinfulness of the human souls gives the impression that they had already been converted prior to Christ's proclamation to them.²⁷

This interpretation, albeit not very popular, persisted during the Middle Ages and the Reformation through the mid-nineteenth century.²⁸ John Calvin, in the sixteenth century, adopted a similar exegesis of 1 Pet 3:18-22. In his commentary on 1 Peter, Calvin linked 3:19 with 4:6 and agreed that the πνεύματα referred to in verse 19 pertain to the spirits of the physically dead. Yet, because of theological considerations, he dismissed the possibility for release from sin after death. Calvin was not comfortable theologically with the notion that 1 Peter referenced humans who had repented shortly before they perished in the flood. Rather, he proposed that the spirits to whom Christ preached were the faithful characters of the Hebrew Bible. Thus, in Calvin's estimation, the unbelieving spirits in verse 20 and the spirits to whom God preached in verse 19 were not the same. Consequently, while imprisoned with unbelievers, the OT faithful still needed Christ's proclamation in order to be saved. For this interpretation Calvin draws upon φυλακή in 3:19. While acknowledging that this could refer to the faithful spirits being imprisoned with the sinners, he also proposed an alternate reading where the faithful spirits are watching

Baptista Cardinal Pitra, *Analecta sacra* (Spicilegio Solesmensi parata iv Patres antenicaeni; Paris, 1883), 55.

²⁶ John Kelly, *The Early Christian Creeds* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), 378-83.

²⁷ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 34-35.

²⁸ For other early Church and Middle Age church fathers who hold this interpretation, see, Theophylactus, *Expositio in Epistolas catholicas: Jacobi* (PG 125:1232) and Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiasticat* 1.31 (PG 145:724f).

or waiting for the coming of Jesus. Therefore, God did proclaim salvation to the righteous, but these souls were the OT righteous and not last-minute converts before the flood.²⁹

In the late-sixteenth century Robert Bellarmine, one of the first Roman Catholics to challenge Augustine's understanding of Christ's proclamation to the spirits, sought to link 1 Pet 3:19-20 with the *descensus* without allowing for the possibility of conversion after death. This was an attempt to promote the doctrine of Christ's descent against mounting criticism from Protestants, such as Calvin, while still acknowledging Augustine's theory that salvation could not occur in the realm of the dead. Therefore, he maintained that the souls to whom Christ preached during the descent had converted prior to, not as a result of, the proclamation of Christ. It appears that Bellarmine interpreted the prison of the spirits as purgatory and not Hades or Sheol. This would allow for a reading of 1 Peter as a reference to the descent without challenging traditional soteriological theology.³⁰

Within the past fifty years, S. Johnson is one scholar who has continued to support this reading of 1 Pet 3:18-22. Again, linking this passage with 4:6, Johnson contends that the writer of 1 Peter is using a chiasmic structure from 3:18-4:6 in order to describe both the judgment and salvation offered by the proclamation of Christ. Sinners are judged, but the OT faithful are recipients of Christ's redemptive work. According to Johnson, this "deals with comprehensive work of Christ in saving all who will respond to the proclaimed word. This embraces all who died under the old covenant."³¹ There remain few who continue to maintain this understanding of the passage.³²

The final interpretation within this first broad line of thought regards Christ's proclamation as one of condemnation to the unrepentant sinners of Noah's generation. During the *triduum mortis* Christ proclaimed victory over human spirits who had sinned in the days of Noah. This interpretation was pioneered by seventeenth-century Lutheran orthodoxy. Again, those who originally presented such a view did so based

²⁹ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Letter of Peter* (Calvin's Commentaries 22; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 113-15. However, Calvin goes on to allegorize his interpretation, arguing that the author is encouraging his readers to stand firm and remain faithful even though they may be surrounded by unbelievers. Many of the early reformers dealt with the difficulty of this passage by allegorizing it.

³⁰ Robertus Bellarminus, *Disputationes Roberti Bellarmini de controversiis christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos* (6 vols.; Naples: Josephum Giuliano, 1856-62), 280-84.

³¹ Johnson, "Preaching to the Dead," 48-51

³² Heinrich J. Vogels, *Christi Abstieg ins Totenreich und das Läuterungsgericht an den Toten* (FTS 102; Freiburg: Herder, 1976), 88-141.

upon theological considerations rather than upon a strict interpretation of the text. First, this understanding of the text would undermine Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory presented by Bellarmine described above. Christ went to Hades, not purgatory, to make his proclamation. Additionally, these Lutherans were also reacting against what they deemed to be an over-allegorical approach to 1 Peter taken by the early reformers. This proposed view would allow for a *descensus*, as described in the Apostles' Creed, without the possibility for a post-death conversion.³³ Overshadowed by strong support for Bellarmine's understanding, this interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 was not able to post a serious challenge to the dominant views, nor is it currently held in contemporary scholarship.³⁴

1.2.2.2 *The Proclamation of the Pre-existent Christ through Noah*

A portion of previous scholarship has viewed 1 Pet 3:18-22 without any mention of the *triduum mortis* or other cosmic journey of Christ. The predominant interpretation of the Western Church from Augustine up to the Reformation understood verse 19 as a projection of Christ back to the days of Noah. Christ's spirit, at work in the person of Noah, preached to the sinners of Noah's generation. The pre-existent Christ heralded a message of repentance to humans who were metaphorically bound by sin. Thus, the spirits to whom Christ proclaimed were not spirits of the dead, but rather those of humans who were still alive at the time of Noah.

Augustine, already in the fifth century, proposed this understanding as an extension of his own theological criticisms regarding earlier interpretations of 1 Peter 3. Evodius, a bishop who corresponded with Augustine in a series of letters concerning Christ's activity during the *descensus*, had already drawn attention to theological difficulties in the then predominant interpretation discussed above.³⁵ Having agreed with Evodius, Augustine thus articulated an alternative understanding. First, while he supported the theology of the *descensus*, in his estimation, 1 Pet 3:18-22 does not refer to that event. Augustine denied the possibility of conversion after

³³ For proponents of this view see Daniel Cramer, *De descensu Jesu Christi ad inferos exegema* (Stettin: Typis Samuelis Kelneri, sumptibus Davidis Reichardi, 1615); and Henricus Eckhard, *Tractatus de descensu Christi ad inferos, Et aliis nonnullis maximè controversis quaestionibus* (Leipzig: Henningus Grobuis iunior Haeredes, 1623) as cited by Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 44-45. See also Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 41.

³⁴ For a more detailed description of the history of this interpretation see Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 44-46.

³⁵ Evodius, *Evodius ad Augustino* 163 (PL 33:708-709).

death and articulated the difficulties in reading 1 Pet 3:19-20 as describing the “harrowing of hell.” Similarly, he noted a second problem in that only the sinners from Noah’s generation were singled out for Christ’s offer of salvation. Did the writer of 1 Peter pass over the others, or did Christ really only preach to a select few sinners?

Augustine further contended that there were similarities between the days before the flood and his own present situation. He viewed the flood event as corresponding to the future (*esse similes*) in that those who rejected the teachings of Noah were a likeness in form (*simili forma*) to those who would later reject the proclamation of the Gospel. Humans who were not saved by the protection of the ark during the deluge foreshadowed those who continue to reject the salvation offered by the church. And those who were saved through the water in the ark (*qui tunc in eadem arca salvi facti sunt per aquam*) are now saved through baptism by the church.³⁶ Therefore, in Augustine’s view, the spirits are to be understood as human souls imprisoned in the flesh and in the darkness of ignorance.³⁷ Augustine argued the fact that Christ had not yet come in the flesh in the days of Noah posed no obstacle to this view since Christ already existed in Spirit.³⁸ For Augustine, the pre-existent Christ’s proclamation through Noah to his sinful generation served as a forerunner to the role of the church as herald to its own generation.

This interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 dominated the Western church until the sixteenth century. While some in the Middle Ages retained the idea of Christ’s proclamation occurring during his descent, others followed Augustine’s more allegorical understanding.³⁹ Writing in the thirteenth century, Aquinas, following Augustine, argued that Christ never offered salvation to infidels in the hell of the lost, but only to those who had been bound in purgatory.⁴⁰ He agreed with Augustine that 1 Pet 3:19 does not refer to Christ’s descent following the crucifixion, but most likely to “the divine activity proper to Christ from the beginning of the world,” who “came preaching to those who were shut up in prison, that is, to those who were living in a

³⁶ Augustine, *Augustinus ad Evodio* 164 (PL 33: 715, 717).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 717.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 717-18.

³⁹ Beda Venerabilis, *Expos. in Prim. epist. Petri* (PL 93:58f.); Walafriid Strabo, *Glossa ordinaria* (PL 114:686A); and Martinus Legionensis, *Expos. I B. Petri, ad loc* (PL 209:235B).

⁴⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Q52 Art 2; vol. 54; London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965), 157.

mortal body, which is a kind of prison for the soul.”⁴¹ While this view has been largely rejected by more recent scholars, there are still a few who hold this interpretation.⁴²

Wayne Grudem continues to support a similar explanation of 1 Pet 3:18-22. Like Augustine, Grudem understands the proclamation to have been made by the pre-existent Christ at work in the person of Noah to sinful humans. Grudem diverges, however, by challenging Augustine’s over-allegorical interpretation of the prison of these spirits. Augustine, as noted above, viewed the φυλακή as the metaphorical prison of sin, rather than as an actual place of punishment. Grudem dismisses this concept by claiming that the prison mentioned in verse 19 is an actual place or state. The thrust of Grudem’s claim hinges on his opinion that the spirits to whom Christ preached were not in prison at the time of the proclamation. Rather, Christ, through Noah, preached to human spirits while they were still alive on earth prior to the flood; now, however, having been destroyed in the flood, they have been placed in prison.⁴³

Grudem cites evidence from within the passage itself and from 1 Peter as a whole to support his ideas. Looking at parallel usages in the New Testament, as well as in early Jewish literature, he claims that the πνεύματα mentioned in verse 19 could refer to human spirits. In his opinion, this interpretation more fully corresponds to the more popular understanding of the story of Noah and the flood found in Genesis 6.⁴⁴ He notes that Genesis 6 is primarily concerned with the human sin that resulted in God bringing the flood upon the earth rather than with other cosmic figures. Grudem contends that even if Gen 6:1-4 is describing angels, the surrounding verses focus on humans and their sin. Therefore, by referencing Noah, the writer of 1 Peter would more likely be focusing on humans and not angels.⁴⁵ Grudem’s argument appears to fall short here as it fails to take into account the popularity of linking the fallen angel tradition with the flood story in early Judaism and Christianity. 1 Peter

⁴¹ Ibid., 161. However, one should take note that while Augustine claimed that the pre-existent Christ preached through the person of Noah, Aquinas argues that “He preached to those who turned a deaf ear to Noah’s preaching.”

⁴² For more recent scholars who still follow Augustine’s interpretation 1 Pet 3:19, see John Feinberg, “1 Peter 3:18-20, Ancient Mythology, and the Intermediate State,” *WTJ* 48 (1986): 303-36 and John Skilton, “A Glance at Some Old Problems in 1 Peter,” *WTJ* 58 (1996): 1-9.

⁴³ Similarly, Wayne Grudem, in *1 Peter*, 209, 210, contends that in 1 Peter 4:6, when the gospel is “preached to the dead,” the recipients of the proclamation were not dead at the time of the preaching, but rather were now deceased at the time of 1 Peter’s composition. See also, Wayne A. Grudem, “Christ Preaching Through Noah: 1 Peter 3:19-20 in Light of Dominant Themes in Jewish Literature,” *TJ NS* (1986): 3-31.

⁴⁴ For Grudem’s grammatical ideas on the use of πνεύμασιν, see Grudem, *Christ Preaching*, 6-8.

⁴⁵ Grudem, *1 Peter*, 215.

cannot be elucidated based upon Genesis 6 as much as by how Genesis 6 and subsequent traditions were being interpreted during the time of 1 Peter's composition.

In addition, Grudem points to the "widespread testimony to Noah's efforts as a preacher of righteousness."⁴⁶ Most prominently, he cites 2 Pet 2:5 which refers to Noah's activity as such (δικαιοσύνης κηρύκα). He also references a number of texts from contemporary Jewish and later rabbinic sources, emphasizing that the notion of Noah preaching to the sinful humans of his generation was widespread at the time.⁴⁷ He further cites other literature that specifically describes Noah as proclaiming a message of repentance to all people.⁴⁸ Therefore, Grudem maintains that 1 Pet 3:18-22 is best understood as referring to Christ's activity through the person of Noah to his contemporaries.⁴⁹

One of the more convincing ideas behind this view is the existence of passages in the New Testament that describe Christ or the Spirit of Christ working through various people in Jewish scriptures (e.g. 1 Cor 10:4-9). Even Dalton, who would dismiss the thrust of Grudem's argument, agrees that the idea of a proclaiming pre-existent Christ *per se* is at least plausible.⁵⁰ Dalton acknowledges that it is not uncommon for the pre-existent Christ to be seen working in former ages, and even admits that the writer of 1 Pet 1:10-11 is familiar with this concept:

The Prophets who prophesied of the grace which was to be yours searched and inquired about this salvation: they inquired what person or time was indicated by the Spirit of Christ within them when predicting the suffering of Christ and the subsequent glory.

This text suggests that Christ is at work in his divine nature through the prophets of the Old Testament. However, Dalton argues that describing the spirits in prison as contemporaries of Noah cannot work "without indulging in an unreal allegorization

⁴⁶ Grudem, *Christ Preaching*, 15.

⁴⁷ Grudem, in *Christ Preaching*, 15-16, cites the following examples of Noah as a preacher to his people: *Sibylline Oracles* 1:150-198; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.74; *Genesis Rabbah* 30.7; *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 9:14 section 1; *b. Sanh.* 108a-b; and *1 Clement* 7.6; 9.4.

⁴⁸ For further description of this view and list of passages Grudem cites, see Grudem, *Christ Preaching*, 12-16.

⁴⁹ Grudem argues that the idea of the writer of 1 Peter's audience having been familiar with *1 Enoch* cannot be assumed. He claims that "no one has ever demonstrated that *1 Enoch* was that widely known or even familiar to the great majority of churches to which Peter was writing." Furthermore, Grudem also questions the hermeneutical and even theological idea that writings in the NT would require its audience to be familiar with a specific piece of extra-biblical material in order to understand its meaning. For his ideas on 1 Peter's dependence upon *1 Enoch*, see Grudem, *Christ Preaching*, 16-18.

⁵⁰ More of Grudem's specific claims will be explained and challenged as other views are explained.

foreign to the thought of 1 Peter.”⁵¹ It should also be noted that one cannot simply conclude that because the writer of 1 Peter describes the pre-existent Christ at work in the prophets that he is also saying this about Noah in 3:18-22. Ultimately, Grudem is driven to adopt this interpretation because, in his opinion, it better represents the overall message of 1 Peter, which is to encourage its readers to witness boldly in the midst of hostile unbelievers and to reassure its readers of their salvation and the coming judgment.⁵² Therefore, the patience of God described in 1 Pet 3:20 refers to God’s desire for humans to repent, and that the proclamation is one of salvation and hope.⁵³ Grudem’s assumptions, however, as to the main purpose of 1 Peter are not widely accepted. Further discussion will demonstrate that a commitment to bold witnessing was not the intended purpose of the letter.

1.2.2.3 *Christ’s Proclamation to Fallen Angels and/or Giants*

In the third broad interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22, Christ’s proclamation to the spirits is a message given not to living or deceased humans but to fallen angels stemming from the primordial story found in Gen 6:1-4. According to this view, the “spirits in prison” are regarded as the sinful angelic spirits of Genesis 6, and subsequent traditions, who came to earth and whose sin instigated the evil which resulted in the deluge. This interpretation, first proposed by Friedrich Spitta in 1890, placed 1 Pet 3:18-22 within the broader understanding of the Israelite flood tradition with a particular emphasis on the fallen angel myth found in *1 Enoch*. Spitta retained the Augustinian idea in that it was the pre-existent Christ, through the person of Noah, who preached. However, he proposed that Christ’s intended audience was the fallen angels and giants of Genesis 6 rather than humans, and the message was one of condemnation, not salvation.⁵⁴ Thus, the spirits were not in prison at the time of Christ’s proclamation to them. Although many scholars have since rejected Spitta’s understanding of the pre-existent Christ proclaiming through Noah, his work is pioneering in its inclusion of other Jewish literature and traditions as background to an interpretation of 1 Pet 3:19.

⁵¹ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 44.

⁵² Grudem, *Christ Preaching*, 30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 14, 18-21.

⁵⁴ Friedrich Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister (1 Petr. 3,19ff.): Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1890), 21-22.

Expanding upon the more accepted views of Spitta, some scholars since 1900 have advanced the interpretation that 1 Pet 3:18-22 refers to Christ's activity during the *triduum mortis* to cosmic beings. Between his death and resurrection, Christ went to the place of punishment and pronounced condemnation, salvation, or at least his victory to the spirits of the fallen angels/giants who are being held until the Great Day of Judgment. Edward Selwyn, in 1947, advocated that the recipients of Christ's proclamation were most likely the fallen angels referenced in Gen 6:1-4, although the possibility of giants is not denied.⁵⁵ He further postulated that the content of the heralding was not one of offering repentance or salvation. Rather, in pronouncing his redemptive work on the cross, Christ's preaching was intended to bring the spirits under subjugation.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Selwyn challenged Spitta's opinion of the pre-existent Christ, postulating that these events occurred during the *descensus*. While acknowledging that the word πορευθείς used in verse 19 is associated in the NT to describe Jesus' ascension, he proposed that in this context the emphases should be placed more on the physical "going" of Christ to a real location, namely Hades, in order to preach to the spirits.⁵⁷

While Selwyn was forming his interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22, Reicke's study was reaching similar conclusions. Like Selwyn, Reicke contended that the "spirits in prison" most likely refer to the fallen angels from Genesis 6, but the possibility of humans is not abandoned. Reicke advanced this possibility by referring to various works of early Judaism that note the connection between the watchers and at least some of evil humanity (i.e. kings of the earth). However, he envisioned the fallen angels as the source not only of their giant progeny but also of the principles behind the human sinfulness. Therefore, Reicke understood the spirits in prison to be the fallen angels.⁵⁸ While Reicke successfully noted the relationship between cosmic beings such as fallen angels and giants with humans, he limited that connection only to specific passages which overtly mention both groups. However, with further study, it appears that the conflation of humans and angels, which will be discussed below, exists in many works of early Jewish and Christian literature even though humans and angels may not overtly be referred to together.

⁵⁵ Edward G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of Peter* (London: Macmillan, 1947), 199.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 200. Selwyn sees the judgment of the fallen angels in a similar fashion to the judgment of the prince of the world in Jn 12:31.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁸ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 91. For Reicke's use of early Jewish literature pertaining to his exegesis of the spirits in prison, see pp. 52-92.

In addition to the recipients of Christ's proclamation, Reicke also proposed new interpretations as to the timing and content of the preaching. Reicke stated that the sequence of motifs found in 3:19 would seem to favor the view that Christ's proclamation occurred during his ascent into heaven. Yet he was quick to demonstrate that "a strict, deliberate chronological order in the text must not be assumed."⁵⁹ Citing principles used in Jewish Haggadah and New Testament literature, Reicke demonstrated that shifts in chronological order often occur, especially in eschatological traditions, in order to create a desired effect. Reicke assumed that the writer of 1 Peter is using this method and preferred to view Christ's proclamation as occurring during the *descensus* rather than during his ascent to heaven.⁶⁰ As to the content of Christ's proclamation, Reicke suggested a number of possibilities but ultimately stated that the writer of 1 Peter purposely leaves the content vague. Whether it is the message of salvation or a message of condemnation, 1 Peter's purpose was merely to state that Christ proclaimed a message to the spirits, and the spirits learned the messianic secret. The result of this preaching, if any, is either not known or not important to the author of 1 Peter.⁶¹

The second broad group who maintain that 1 Pet 3:19 refers to Christ's announcement to the fallen angels from Genesis 6 claim that this proclamation occurred during his ascension rather than during the *triduum mortis*. This idea was pioneered by Gschwind, who criticized earlier interpretations of the *triduum mortis* theory and provided an alternate explanation as to the content and timing of Christ's proclamation to the spirits.⁶² Gschwind's main argument understands the phrase ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ πνεύματι in 3:18 as a reference to Christ's resurrection. Christ's πορευθεῖς in 3:19 would then refer to his ascension. It would be on that occasion that he preached to the spirits. Thus, Jesus' proclamation was one of victory over the fallen angels as he made his way to heaven.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 117-18.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁶¹ Ibid., 121. For other scholars who hold that Christ's proclamation to the spirits, who are fallen angels, occurred during the *triduum mortis*, see: Rudolf Knopf, *Die Briefe Petri und Judae* (KEK 12 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1912); Herman Gunkel, *Der erste Brief des Petrus* (Vols. 2-3 of *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917); Ernest Best, *1 Peter* (NCB London: Oliphants/Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971); and Wolfgang Schrage and Horst Balz, *Die "Katholischen" Briefe: Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Johannes, und Judas* (NTD 10 11th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 59-117.

⁶² Karl Gschwind, *Die Niederfahrt Christi in die Unterwelt. Ein Beitrag zur Exegese des Neuen Testaments und zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols* (NTAbh 2/3-5; Munster: Aschendorff, 1911), 24-111.

While a number of individuals in the early twentieth century applied the fallen angel tradition to 1 Pet 3:19,⁶³ Dalton, whose thorough work has dominated scholarship since it was first published in 1964, was instrumental in the development of this interpretation.⁶⁴ Like Spitta, Selwyn, and Reicke, Dalton claims that the spirits in prison refer to the watchers. Dalton's primary support for this interpretation arises from its relationship to early Jewish literature such as *I Enoch*.⁶⁵ Behind the simple proclamation to the spirits in 3:19 lies a rich tradition of the fallen angel myths relating to the time of the flood. By examining the various Jewish traditions on this subject, Dalton argues that the angels could have been the recipients of Christ's proclamation because they, as well as humans, are often thought to have sinned and been punished by God in the flood.⁶⁶

One of Dalton's main contentions is that Christ's proclamation to the spirits occurred during his ascent to heaven rather than during his descent to the dead. Citing much of the same literature as Reicke, his readings result in a different conclusion. Dalton first argues that Christ's proclamation occurred after his resurrection and on the occasion of his ascension. He understands the ἐν ᾧ from 1 Pet 3:18 to refer to the activity of the risen Christ, the one who was "made alive in the spirit."⁶⁷ Dalton also shifts the location of Christ's proclamation from the underworld to another setting. He contends that the location of the angelic imprisonment varied in Jewish tradition from under the earth, to a place removed from earth or heaven, to the surface of the earth, or even to within heaven itself.⁶⁸ Due in part to emerging Greek concepts of the earth, Dalton notes that the abode for the spirits, both angelic and human, in early Judaism and Christianity was often located between the divine and human worlds. Based upon

⁶³ Rudolf Bultmann, "Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbrief," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* (Lund) 11 (1947): 1-14 and *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols.; trans. K. Grobel; New York, Scribner, vol. 1 1951, vol. 2 1955), 1:176, 2:153, 156.

⁶⁴ William Dalton has written a number of books and articles on 1 Pet 3:18-4:6. In addition to works previously cited see: "Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits (1 Peter 3:19)," *ACR* 41 (1964): 322-27; "Christ's Victory over the Devil and the Evil Spirits," *TBT* 2 (1965): 1195-1200; "Interpretation and Tradition: An Example from 1 Peter," *Greg* 49 (1968):11-37; "The Interpretation of 1 Peter 3,19 and 4,6: Light from 2 Peter," *Bib* 60 (1979): 547-55; and "1 Peter 3:19 Reconsidered." in *The New Testament Age* (vol. 1; ed. W. C. Weinrich; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984), 96-106.

⁶⁵ While Grudem argues that one cannot assume 1 Peter's audience was familiar with works like *I Enoch*, Barnabas Lindars argues in "Enoch and Christology," *ExpT* 92 (1981): 299, that 1 Peter portrays Jesus as an exalted figure performing the functions traditionally associated with Enoch.

⁶⁶ See Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 165-76 for Dalton's ideas on *I Enoch's* influence on 1 Peter 3:18-22.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁶⁸ Dalton demonstrates that even within the book of *I Enoch* there are a number of locations for the place of imprisonment of the fallen angels. See Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 179 and *I Enoch* 14:15; 22; 54.

these ideas, the doctrine or doctrines of the seven heavens began to develop.⁶⁹ Wicked humans and angels were now located in the lower spheres of heaven, not in the lower world. One example of this is found in *2 Enoch* where Enoch is given a tour of the seven heavens and witnesses the fallen angels located in the second and fifth heavens.⁷⁰ Dalton draws from these traditions to conclude that the author of 1 Peter was using the story from *2 Enoch*, or one common to it, to suggest that Christ's proclamation to the spirits occurred on his ascent to heaven.⁷¹

As to the content of Christ's proclamation, Dalton has reexamined his previous conclusions. Whereas he originally argued that Christ's message was one of condemnation, he later proposed that the proclamation is neither one of salvation nor one of condemnation. Dalton claims that the content of the proclamation and the angelic response are beyond the scope of 1 Peter's intentions. The author of 1 Peter is concerned about human salvation, and this passage informs his readers that the evil spirits are now powerless to harm the Christian believer. The preaching serves to rescue humans from evil angelic powers; its point is not to offer the spirits salvation but to bring them under subjugation.⁷²

Dalton has used many grammatical, theological, structural, and other methods in order to reach his conclusions. However, he also claims that viewing 1 Pet 3:19 as Christ's proclamation to fallen angels best coheres with what he views as the overall plan and purpose of the epistle. Dalton understands 1 Peter as a letter which is meant to instruct and encourage its readers on the persecution and suffering they will face for doing what is right. The author of 1 Peter portrays Jesus as an example of someone who suffered unjustly but whom God vindicated. Thus, he encourages his readers that if they stand firm in their suffering, God will vindicate them as well. In Dalton's opinion, Christ's proclamation coheres with this theme if the proclamation is viewed as an announcement of victory over fallen angels or evil spirits. Furthermore, Dalton argues that the possibility of conversion after death hardly seems to cohere with a message of hope in suffering. Regardless of what Christ's proclamation was, the important point for 1 Peter's audience was not that their persecutors would have

⁶⁹ For the development of the "seven heavens" in early Jewish and Christian literature, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2000). This concept will be dealt with in greater detail in chaps. 3 and 4 of this work.

⁷⁰ *2 En* 7:1-3; 18:3-6.

⁷¹ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 179-81.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 185-86. This would stand in contrast to *2 Enoch's* message of condemnation to the fallen angels.

an opportunity for salvation later in life, but that Christ had already won them victory over their persecutors and sin through his death and resurrection.⁷³

Dalton's study of 1 Pet 3:18-22 has dominated scholarship since 1964. Following the publication of his first work, a number of scholars have supported and expanded upon his original conclusions.⁷⁴ John Elliott has advanced studies in the interpretation of this passage utilizing the watcher traditions. He contends that the "spirits in prison" are best taken as the disobedient angels from Genesis 6. This story is used by the writer of 1 Peter as a "prototypical example of God's condemnation of evil and salvation of the righteous."⁷⁵ Elliott also expands upon Dalton's assumption that Christ's proclamation occurred during his ascension. The word *πορευθείς* in verse 19, he argues, has no indication of directional movement. Rather, this must be determined by the context. However, due to its clear reference to ascension in 1 Peter 3:22b, as well as in other NT passages, *πορευθείς* appears to be describing the ascension in 3:19.⁷⁶ Elliott also supports the ascension interpretation by claiming that "the focus of vv 19-22 is not the *mode* of Christ's going ('in the Spirit') but on events involved with the *occasion* of his going, namely his resurrection (vv 18e, 21d) and ascension into heaven (v 22)."⁷⁷ Therefore, Elliott understands the *ἐν ᾧ* in verse 19 to be a temporal or circumstantial conjunction used to link "Christ's 'going' and what follows with the foregoing event of his 'having been made alive.'"⁷⁸

As to the content of Christ's preaching, Elliott continues to draw from the Enochic traditions for the basis of his interpretation. He proposes that *ἐκηρύξεν* refers to Christ's proclamation of doom and condemnation to the fallen angelic spirits. This then serves as a warning for present human behavior.⁷⁹

While drawing from early Jewish and Christian literature, J. Ramsey Michaels, in 1988, interprets the recipients of Christ's proclamation differently from

⁷³ For Dalton's understanding of the overall plan and unity of 1 Peter, see Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 93-108.

⁷⁴ See Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 175-76 and Peter H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 140-41.

⁷⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 655-56. Elliott cites Heb 1:14; Rev 1:4; 3:1; 4:5; and 5:6 as examples of *πνεύματα* used for unclean spirits or demons as opposed to only one reference, Heb 12:23, for humans.

⁷⁶ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 653. Elliott also cites Jn 14:2, 3, 12, 28; and 16:7, 28 as examples of NT references to *πορευθείς* referencing the ascension of Christ. He further contends that this word never has the sense of descend in the NT.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 652.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 652. Elliott cites 1:6; 2:12; 3:16; and 4:4 as examples of this type of conjunction clause used by the writer of 1 Peter within the letter.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 660-61.

Dalton and Elliott.⁸⁰ First, unlike many scholars as noted above, he asserts that 1 Pet 3:18-22 must first be studied on its own before linking it with 4:6 or any other NT passage.⁸¹ While Michaels agrees with Dalton and Elliott in placing Christ's proclamation during his ascension rather than during the *triduum mortis*, he argues that πνεύματα, without a genitive qualification, most often refers to cosmic rather than human beings.⁸² He further claims that spirits in *1 Enoch* are usually qualified linguistically or by context. However, unlike Dalton, Michaels finds little evidence in *1 Enoch* where an unqualified spirits is used for fallen angels as well. Rather he cites *1 En* 15:8-10 to support his assertion that "spirits" refers to the evil spirits that survived the bodily destruction of the giants and not to either humans or angels.⁸³ Therefore, while Michaels does read 1 Peter in light of the watcher myth from *1 Enoch*, he does not take the reception and conflation of those myths (e.g. 1QM; 1QS), in which the angels are described as spirits, into account. As will be discussed in chaps. 3 and 4 of this work, fallen angels are in fact referred to as spirits.

As to the content of Christ's proclamation, Michaels continues to diverge from Elliott and Dalton. The basis for Michael's opinion comes from a unique reading of φυλακή in verse 19. Whereas most have interpreted φυλακή as a place of imprisonment or punishment, Michaels understands it to mean a place of refuge. Therefore, the spirits of the giants have been imprisoned for their own security rather than as a punishment. And it is to these spirits, whom Michaels links with the evil spirits responsible for demon possession in the gospels, that Christ preaches. Christ's message to these spirits informs them that because of his death and resurrection, the security (φυλακή) from God's wrath they have enjoyed has come to an end. They too must now submit to the sovereignty of God.⁸⁴ Since Michaels understands the prison to be a state of being of rather than a location for the evil spirits of the giants, he disregards attempts to locate the place of Christ's proclamation. Rather, "the point is simply that Christ went and announced his sovereignty to these spirits *wherever they might be*, in every place where they thought that they were secure against their ancient divine Enemy."⁸⁵ Michaels' use of the giant as well as watcher traditions

⁸⁰ J. Ramsey Michaels, *1 Peter* (WBC 49; Waco: Word, 1988), 205-11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 203-04.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 209-10.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 210.

from early Jewish and Christian literature is an improvement over previous interpretations. However, further research, which will be discussed below, demonstrates that the traditions concerning watchers, giants, and even humans were conflated by the time they might have been utilized by the writer of 1 Peter. Additionally, Michaels' understanding of prison as a state of security for the evil spirits finds little support in the primary sources nor is this theory of the "spirits in refuge" widely accepted today.

1.3 Aims and Purpose of this Work

This thesis attempts to modify view III described above. View I, Christ's proclamation of salvation to humans, has found little support since Augustine seriously challenged the proposal in the fifth century C.E. In addition, the possibility of conversion after death seems to contradict the overall message of 1 Peter. Therefore, there is little value in pursuing this reading of 1 Pet 3:18-22. View II, the proclamation of a pre-existent Christ to the sinners of Noah's generation, appears to have been developed as a response to theological difficulties with view I rather than based upon the text itself. Grudem, one of the few who still supports such a reading, continues to be more concerned with dismissing view III than with his ability to demonstrate clear support for his own approach. As will be demonstrated below, his dismissal of the Enochic material cannot be supported by the overwhelming evidence contrary to his claim concerning the punishment motifs of angels, giants, and humans found from the third century B.C.E. through the second century C.E.

Additionally, this work supports the generally accepted conclusion that the writer of 1 Pet 3:18-22 is utilizing the traditions recorded in *1 Enoch* and other literature in order to comfort and support a persecuted church. Recently, as noted above, Dalton has developed the most comprehensive study of this passage while Elliot and Michaels have also added to our understanding of it in their respective commentaries. Dalton has correctly noted the rich fallen angel traditions which underlie 1 Peter, and has also demonstrated that *1 Enoch* plays a large role in the growth and development of these traditions. His view on the background of 1 Peter has made a contribution that has served as the basis for further work in this area since 1964.

However, despite the significant progress that has been made in the interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 over the last century, additional work is needed to

understand more fully the formative history and exegetical implications of the passage. First, advances have occurred in the study and analysis of traditions with which Dalton was concerned since the initial publication and re-edition of his book. J.T. Milik's publication of early Enochic Aramaic fragments in 1976 has opened up new trajectories for the study of Enoch traditions composed during the Second Temple Period.⁸⁶ In addition, scholars are continuing to advance in the interpretation of early Enochic traditions through symposia and publications on the Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic manuscripts.⁸⁷ The diversity and wide reception of these traditions during the Graeco-Roman period is also coming to the attention of scholars.⁸⁸ This new evidence concerning the Enochic traditions and a more developed understanding of the diversity within Judaism and conflation of traditions have yet to be applied to which formative traditions may have contributed to the writing of 1 Peter. Therefore, Dalton's work can no longer provide the determinant basis for the exegetical analysis of 1 Peter 3 insofar as its formative tradition is concerned.

While Dalton acknowledges the existence of a wider reception of Enochic literature in Early Judaism, he uses little of it in his work. On the contrary, a study of the punishment traditions reveals multiple layers, conflation, and a synthesizing of ideas that span hundreds of years. There is no "fallen angel tradition." Rather, there are multiple traditions that changed over time. These alterations and differences will need to be examined to ascertain the degree to which the writer of 1 Peter was influenced positively or negatively by them. Similarly, Dalton's reading of 1 Peter does not bring one closer to an identification of the spirits in prison. In fact surprisingly little of Dalton's work deals with the giants who, alongside the fallen

⁸⁶ Josef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

⁸⁷ See Matthew Black, *Apocalypse Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3 Leiden: Brill, 1970); Michael A. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978); and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions Related to *1 Enoch* from the Dead Sea Scrolls: an Overview and Assessment," *The Early Enoch Literature* (JSJSup 121; ed. G. Boccaccini and J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41-63.

⁸⁸ See George Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2001); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: Interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4 in the Second and Third Centuries BCE," *Fall of the Angels* (TBN 6; ed. Christopher Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 86-118; James VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT III.4; ed. J. VanderKam and W. Adler; Assen.: van Gorcum, 1996); and Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

angels, are openly referred to as “spirits” in *1 Enoch*, Jubilees, and other texts. As demonstrated above, both Elliott and Michaels elaborate on some of Dalton’s work. However, they do so in commentaries that in themselves provide no forum for a more in-depth study of 1 Peter’s formative background.

Additionally, more research is needed to understand the relationship between 1 Pet 3:18-22 and the letter as a whole. 1 Peter’s genre, intended audience, and purpose are vital questions that can both shape an interpretation of 3:18-22 as well as be, in part, formed by it. While a specific study of the formative traditions of 1 Peter is necessary, placing this passage within the broader context of the writer of 1 Peter’s Christology, eschatology, and views on unjust suffering will be beneficial for a more developed understanding of 1 Pet 3:18-22 as well as the complete letter.

1.4 Approach and Method

Based upon the problems described above, the research presented here will be concerned with exploring the new developments in the study early Jewish and Christian literature dating from the third century B.C.E. through the mid-second century C.E. that reference or expand upon the בני־האֵל הַיָּם and the הַנְּפִלִים first mentioned in Gen 6:1-4. As mentioned above, a more comprehensive understanding of the watcher and giant traditions is necessary to determine what role, if any, they played in the formative traditions of 1 Peter. Therefore, one of the primary aims of this study is to examine how the variations of this myth were recorded in early Jewish and Christian literature. Particular emphasis has been placed on the questions of who is being punished, the relationship between any punishment and the flood, as well as the result of any punishment. In addition to documenting the various traditions of the watchers and giants, this study will demonstrate the fluidity of these traditions as they developed from the third century B.C.E. through the second century C.E. Due to the conflation of these myths throughout the Second Temple Period, this work will attempt to place 1 Pet 3:18-22 within the flow and expansion of the fallen angel and giant traditions more than endeavoring to link it with any specific reference to fallen angels, giants, or humans in a particular early Jewish or Christian work.

First, this research will focus on the relevant myths concerning fallen angels, giants, and humans found in the corpus now known as *1 Enoch*. Within this work, attention will be given to references that focus on the expansion of Gen 6:1-4. The

composite nature of *1 Enoch*, which will be discussed below, allows for additional study of the development of these stories. Changes, additions, and conflation occur not only within the major books which make up the work of *1 Enoch*, but also even within the different sources which have been compiled to make up those major sections. The dynamic nature of these traditions already within *1 Enoch* will be studied for their value concerning the formative history of 1 Peter. In addition to the changes within the different works of *1 Enoch*, any alterations that might have occurred during its transmission history will also be noted. Therefore, this work will begin its focus on the fragments of *1 Enoch* found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and expand from there to other useful manuscripts.

Additionally, pertinent references to these various myths, as well as any possible conflation of them, found in the Dead Sea Scrolls will be noted for their potential contribution to the background of 1 Peter. Similar to *1 Enoch*, the *Book of Giants* contains a number of important pieces of information on the fallen angel and giant myths which will be studied for their potential value to this work. A multiplicity of fragments of varying types of literature found near Qumran demonstrates the popularity and diversity of the myth(s) stemming from Gen 6:1-4 already formulated by the turn of the Common Era.

In order to ascertain the role that the stories of the watchers and giants played in the formative history of 1 Peter, it is imperative to understand not only how these traditions developed in the Enochic corpus and in the Dead Sea Scrolls but also how the fallen angel and giant myths were received into other early Jewish and Christian works written prior to or current with 1 Peter. Therefore, this work will also study how the earliest interpretations of Gen 6:1-4 were accepted and utilized by later Jewish and Christian authors with primary emphasis placed upon how these later works altered prior exegesis to fit their own purposes.

Second, after documenting the widespread and diverse nature of interpretations of Gen 6:1-4 in early Jewish and Christian literature, this thesis attempts to explore a reading of 1 Peter in light of an apocalyptic interpretation of Gen 6:1-4. By understanding not only the various punishment myths recorded throughout early Jewish and Christian literature but also the way in which these traditions were conflated and recast over time, a more precise exegesis might be achieved. This history will be used to further elucidate many of the questions that have been asked concerning Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison in 1 Pet

3:18-22 such as: the identity of the spirits, the timing of Christ's proclamation, and the content of his message based upon the role of suffering and eschatology in the epistle as a whole.

Finally, this work will study the role of Christian baptism in this passage. Linking baptism described in 1 Pet 3:18-22 to other passages in the letter as well as to apotropaic prayers and other examples of warding off cosmic entities in early Jewish and Christian literature, the present study will contemplate the relationship between the rite of baptism, rebirth, and pledge to faithfulness and the community's protection from cosmic and human evil entities.

CHAPTER 2

THE BOOK OF WATCHERS

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 A Potential Background for 1 Peter 3:18-22

Discovering all the possible traditions containing the punishment of angels, giants, and humans found in early Jewish and Christian literature which might underlie 1 Pet 3:19-20 is a complicated process. References to the fall of the watchers, the birth of the giants, as well as each of their respective sins, punishments, and the results of those punishments are scattered throughout many genres of literature and are used for various purposes. Additionally, there are difficulties in the textual traditions in most of the literature being dealt within this thesis. Therefore, before these works can be of value for understanding 1 Pet 3:19-20, one must begin to comprehend their respective textual histories, including issues of date, author, provenance, and probably most important for this study, where in literature each of these works is preserved. In pursuing the watcher and giant traditions which may have been drawn upon by the author of 1 Peter, it is beneficial to look at relevant Jewish and Christian works composed during the third century B.C.E. through the first century C.E. To the extent that is possible due to factors such as the fragmentary state of the evidence, as well as the limited content of some documents, the following questions will be addressed with as much depth as possible:

1. How does the work use the term spirits?
2. Who (watchers, giants, and/or humans) is being punished and what sin has been committed?
3. When does this punishment occur? Does it coincide with the flood? Is the flood carried out in stages?
4. What forms do the punishments take? Are the beings annihilated or imprisoned?
5. Who or what kind of figure is announcing or carrying out their punishment?
6. What, if any, are the consequences or results of their punishment?

These questions are valuable for determining the potential tradition-history of 1 Pet 3:18-22.

First, to discern whether the writer of 1 Peter utilized any of the various punishment myths, it is necessary to evaluate the different aspects of these motifs

found in early Jewish and Christian literature. In order to postulate an identity for 1 Peter's "spirits in prison," it is imperative that they be compared to the totality of ways in which the fallen angel and giant narratives are extant in the relevant literature, thus determining or negating any cohesion with the epistle. More importantly, a careful examination of the preceding questions will reveal a lack of consistency with regard to virtually every aspect of angel, giant, and human punishment traditions both among and even within the pertinent texts. *1 Enoch* appears to contain a number of traditions which are blended together, or allowed to simply stand in contradiction to one another, concerning the questions proposed above. However, rather than regarding such apparent inconsistency as a problem, we may draw attention to the composite nature of the punishment material that will be most beneficial for understanding the relationship these traditions may have had with the writer of 1 Peter. In fact, a picture that suggests these punishment motifs are only recorded within a process of blending or conflation would, if established, be as valuable as any single reference to angelic, giant, or human punishment.

Any work attempting to identify the reception history of the fallen angel and giant material must begin with the *Book of Watchers* (hereafter *BW*) recorded in chaps. 1-36 of what is now commonly referred to as the book of *1 Enoch*. After briefly outlining the textual evidence for the book of *1 Enoch* as a whole, this chapter will focus on the development of the fallen angel, giant, and human punishment traditions found in the various sections of *BW*, as it is in this work that they are first recorded. A thorough evaluation of the relevant stories will demonstrate that separate myths concerning the sins leading up to the flood and subsequent punishments for both supernatural and human beings were already in the process of being conflated in the earliest sources. After focusing on their conflation and development within *BW*, the following chapter will explore the reception history of these myths in the rest of the Enochic corpus as well as in other early Jewish and Christian literature.

Apocalyptic writings and related works from early Jewish and Christian literature contain much material relevant to the proposed questions. Traditions concerning the fall and punishment of the watchers and giants are most developed in the Enochic corpus. Early sections of *1 Enoch*, then, became the basis for many later works which utilized these ideas. Currently, the compilation of works in *1 Enoch* is

thought to have been written primarily in Aramaic, or possibly Hebrew, over a period of time from at least the third century B.C.E. to the first century B.C.E.⁸⁹

2.1.2 The *Book of Watchers* and the Enochic Corpus

The Book of Watchers (*BW*), the oldest parts of which Nickelsburg dates to the middle of the third century B.C.E., contains the most original form of, and places the most emphasis on, the fall of the watchers, their giant offspring, and both of their subsequent punishments. Chapters 6-11 describe the rebellious activities of the angels in heaven that lead to evil on earth. The narratives found in chaps. 6-11 are then interpreted in chaps. 12-16. *1 Enoch* 17-19 gives an account of Enoch's heavenly commissioning to pronounce judgment on the watchers and giants. Chapters 20-36 describe Enoch's cosmic journeys, some of which include tours of places of angelic punishment.⁹⁰ Finally, chapters 1-5 appear to be an introduction written in order to synthesize *BW*, although the precise makeup of the work at the time of the introduction's composition is not known. Therefore, it is evident that not only are the traditions of the watchers and giants developing in *1 Enoch*, but they are in flux even within *BW*.

⁸⁹ For the most recent discussion on the dating of *1 Enoch*, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 9-11. Traditionally *1 Enoch* is divided into a number of works: *The Book of Watchers* (*BW*) (1-36); *The Book of Parables* (37-71); *The Book of Luminaries* (71-82); *The Dream Visions* (83-90); *The Epistle of Enoch* (91-105); *The Birth of Noah* (106-107); and *Another Book of Enoch* (108). In early discussions of these divisions, the last two sections were combined. This led to discussion of an "Enochic Pentateuch" first proposed by Robert H. Charles in, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), xlvi and lxiv and expanded upon by Josef Milik in *The Books of Enoch*, 4, 58, 77-78, and 183-86 Milik who suggested that the *Similitudes* was a later replacement of the *Book of Giants*. See also Gregory H. Dix, "The Enochic Pentateuch," *JTS* 27 (1925-26): 29-42. These theories have been challenged by Devorah Dimant, "The Biography of 1 Enoch and the Books of Enoch," *VT* 33 (1983): 14-29; Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70:1-2 (1977): 51-65; and George Nickelsburg, review of J. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, *CBQ* 40 (1978): 411-19. More recently, Nickelsburg has proposed three major divisions within *1 Enoch* and argues that much of the work was originally structured as a testament, *1 Enoch 1*, 25. Klaus Beyer, in his work, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Fribourg: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984), 229-30, proposes, *contra* Milik, that Hebraisms in the text of *1 Enoch* indicate an original composition in Hebrew, which was later translated into Aramaic. This theory has been challenged by Pierre Grelot in his review of K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, *RB* 92 (1985): 441-48, and has not been widely accepted in current scholarship. See also the recent discussion on the development of the Early Enoch Tradition in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (CEJL; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 5-16.

⁹⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7. *The Book of Watchers*, as noted by James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 110, as well Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Books of Enoch (1 Enoch) and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 131-46 also appears to be a compilation of previous works. While arguments over the potential divisions within the *Book of Watchers* are beyond the scope of this work, a discussion on this topic is found in Kelley Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17-23.

Ascertaining the social context of the *BW* has not reached scholarly consensus. Some have attempted to find specific historical contexts that may underlie this work. Nickelsburg has argued that the angelic descent in *BW* is a description of and a response to the wars of the Diadochi.⁹¹ Suter claims, rather, that the fall of the angels is a metaphor for impure priests.⁹² However, given the conflated nature of the angelic descent and punishment traditions within *BW*, it seems that the work does not represent one specific crisis. Rather, the redacted *BW* “provides a lens through which any crisis can be viewed.”⁹³ Thus, *BW* belongs to a genre of apocalypses commonly referred to as “ascent apocalypses.” These apocalypses from the Second Temple period “are not dominated by the historical and eschatological concerns,” but “embody an apocalyptic epistemology that celebrates the didactic dimension of cosmological, geographical, and ouranographical knowledge.”⁹⁴ If this is correct, it will be beneficial for this study to determine how the author of 1 Peter might be using traditions found in *BW* within his/her own social context.

In addition to *BW*, several sections of the later Enochic corpus are relevant to the study of 1 Peter’s “spirits in prison.” The *Book of Dream Visions* (*1 Enoch* 83-90), the final redaction of which Nickelsburg dates to sometime prior to the mid-second century B.C.E., also describes the punishments of the watchers and giants.⁹⁵ References to these traditions are found both in Enoch’s *First Dream Vision* (*1 Enoch* 83-84), as well as in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85-90). Similarly, the story of the *Birth of Noah* (*1 Enoch* 106-107), dating from the middle of the first century B.C.E. is familiar with the watcher myths.⁹⁶ Finally, the book of *Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37-71), which most current scholars conclude to be the latest work in the present Enochic corpus (ca. turn of the era), also utilizes the punishment motif involving the watchers and giants.⁹⁷

Therefore, it is evident that the majority of the authors and editors of *1 Enoch* were familiar with some version of the punishment motif concerning the watchers,

⁹¹ George Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 390-91, 396-97.

⁹² David Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16,” *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115-35.

⁹³ John Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 59.

⁹⁴ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 62.

⁹⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 8.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7. Chapter three of this present work will address these works regarding their potential role in the tradition-history of 1 Peter.

giants, and humans. Although these works in *1 Enoch* might not have all received or utilized the same traditions, they are an invaluable resource for studying the potential cosmological and eschatological background of 1 Peter.

2.2 Textual History of *1 Enoch*

The textual history of *1 Enoch* is long and varied. While scholars had previously relied on Ethiopic manuscripts from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries C.E., the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has aided their study and understanding of this composite work. *1 Enoch* is known to modern readers through Aramaic fragments from Qumran, Greek translations from the Aramaic original, as well as excerpts and quotes from Latin, Coptic, and Syriac sources. However, “the corpus that we know as *1 Enoch* (chaps. 1-108) is extant in its entirety only in an Ethiopic (Ge‘ez) version that was translated from a Greek translation of the Aramaic original between the fourth and sixth centuries.”⁹⁸

As with the Hebrew Bible, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls had a monumental impact on the textual-historical study of the book of *1 Enoch*. 4Q201 (sections of chaps 1-10 and possibly 12), 4Q202 (sections of chapters 5-10 and 14), 4Q204 (sections of *Book of Watchers*, *Animal Apocalypse*, *Epistle of Enoch*, and *Birth of Noah*), 4Q206 (*Book of Watchers* and *Animal Apocalypse*), 4Q207 (*Animal Apocalypse*), and 4Q212 (*Epistle of Enoch* and *Apocalypse of Weeks*) all contain material from the sections of *1 Enoch* in which the punishment of the watchers is mentioned. Additionally, 7Q8, which might preserve *1 En* 103:7-8, records the punishment of humans.⁹⁹ Due to the fragmentary nature of these documents, however, not all of these scrolls preserve the actual stories in the work that pertain to the fall

⁹⁸ Ibid., 15. For the textual history of 1 Enoch see, Michael A. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:1-6, 21-37, and Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5/6; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1984), 470-91. See also Loren Stuckenbruck, “The Early Enochic Traditions,” 41-63.

⁹⁹ G. Wilhelm Nebe, “7Q4-Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 629-33; Émil Puech, “Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105,” *RB* 103 (1996): 592-600; “Sept fragments grecs de la Lettre d’ Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103, et 105) dans la Grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7Q Héngre),” *RevQ* 19 (1997-98): 313-23; Earnest A. Muro, “The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3-4, 7-8) *RevQ* 70 (1997): 307-12; and Peter W. Flint, “That’s NO Gospel, It’s Enoch! Identification of Dead Sea Scrolls Challenged,” *BR* 19 (2003): 37-40, 52 all claim that 7Q8 contains material from *1 Enoch*. George Nickelsburg however, doubts these fragments’ association with *1 Enoch* in “The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7: An Unproven Identification,” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 631-34, claiming that the fragment is too small for a certain identification. Stuckenbruck, in *1 Enoch 91-108*, 513, 529-530 n. 900, also argues against reading 7Q12 as preserving *1 En* 103:5-6.

and punishment of the watchers and giants. Therefore, it will be vital to become familiar with these primary sources since they provide the oldest readings.¹⁰⁰

In addition to the Aramaic fragments from Qumran, nearly 28 percent of *I Enoch* has been preserved in a Greek translation of the Aramaic.¹⁰¹ The Greek versions relevant to this study include: *The Akhmim Manuscript* or *Codex Panopolitanus* (G^{Pan}), a work dating from the fifth or sixth century C.E. which includes a large section of *BW* (1:1-32:6a)¹⁰²; *The Chronography of George Syncellus* (G^{Sync}), a ninth century C.E. work based upon the fifth century chronographic works by Pandorus and Annianus, also contains fragments of *BW* (6:1-11:4; 8:4-10:14; and 15:8-16:1)¹⁰³; two fragments of *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2069*, dating from the fourth century C.E., contain material from the *Animal Apocalypse* (77:7-78:1 and 78:8 from the *Astronomical Book* as well as 85:10-86:2 and 87:1-3 from the *Book of Dream Visions*)¹⁰⁴; *Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1809*, an eleventh-century C.E. tachygraphic manuscript (89:42-49)¹⁰⁵; and the *Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus*, a fourth-century C.E. document consisting of four leaves from the Chester Beatty collection and two leaves at the University of Michigan, contain material from *The Epistle of Enoch* as well as *The Birth of Noah* (97:6-107:3).¹⁰⁶ In addition to the Greek versions, parts of

¹⁰⁰ See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*. One Greek manuscript from Qumran, 7QEnoch, was also discovered. See, Maurice Baillet, in Maurice Baillet, Josef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 144-45 + pl. XXX.

¹⁰¹ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 12.

¹⁰² Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 273-304; Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*; Urbain Bouriant, "Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch," *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Claire* (9/1; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 91-147; published with the plates and some corrections by Adolphe Lods, "L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre, publiés pour la Ire fois, d'après les photographes de Gizéh, avec un appendice sur les rectifications à apporter au texte grec du Livre d'Énoch (publié par M. Bouriant)," *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Claire* (9/3; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893), 217-35 + pls. XI-XXXIII.

¹⁰³ K. Wilhelm Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus* (CSHB, 20-21; Bonn, 1829); reprinted in Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 273-304; Alden A. Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984); and William Adler and Paul Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation, Translated with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁴ Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XVII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1927), 6-8.

¹⁰⁵ For an edition with the photograph, see Michael Gitlbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse 28/2; Vienna: Gerold, 1878), 16, 32, 55-7, 92-3 + pl. XI.

¹⁰⁶ Campbell Bonner and Herbert C. Youtie, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968, repr. from 1937), with comparative notes by George Nickelsburg in, "Enoch 97-104: a Study of the Greek and Ethiopic Texts," *Armenian and Biblical Studies* (ed. Michael Stone; Jerusalem: St. James, 1976), 90-156.

I Enoch have been preserved in Latin quotations, a Coptic fragment, and a Syriac excerpt.¹⁰⁷

As noted above, *I Enoch* (1-108) is only extant in its entirety in Ethiopic. Nickelsburg postulates that this text-tradition was translated from a Greek translation of the Aramaic original between the fourth and sixth centuries C.E.¹⁰⁸ Of the 49 Ethiopic manuscripts of *I Enoch* listed in Nickelsburg's commentary, only seven can be dated to the sixteenth century or earlier (Nickelsburg's g/g', q, u, T⁹, 1768, and 2080).¹⁰⁹ Since Flemming's edition of the Ethiopic texts in 1902, scholarly consensus has divided the manuscripts into two groups, designated either I and II or α and β .¹¹⁰ Because of its preservation in Ethiopic, a careful study of the relevant Ethiopic manuscript evidence will be foundational for a proper understanding of what role the literary traditions contained *I Enoch* or even *I Enoch* itself had in 1 Pet 3:19-20.

2.3 Sin in The *Book of Watchers*

The Enochic corpus describes the sin, judgment, and punishment of the watchers, their offspring the giants, as well as humans. Descriptions of the fallen angels' sins and punishments can be found throughout most sections of *I Enoch*. However, many of these references are anchored in the material recorded in the *Book of Watchers*. While discerning what role punishment traditions in the *Book of Watchers* might have played in the development of 1 Peter, it is important to make reference to the recipients of divine punishment, the nature of their sins, and tales of their respective sentences. Section 2.3 both catalogues those being penalized in *BW*, and describes the reason for their punishments. Section 2.4 records a description of the various punishments.

¹⁰⁷ For a list of these relevant references, quotations, fragments, and excerpts, see Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 14-15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 16. The textual histories noted above provide a detailed understanding of the Ethiopic manuscript traditions and families. More recently, Nickelsburg briefly lists and describes the Ethiopic manuscripts of *I Enoch* in *I Enoch* 1, 15-17.

¹¹⁰ Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (=TU n.s. 7.1/22.1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902); and Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xvii-xxiv. For a summary of the textual history of the Ethiopic mss. of *I Enoch*, see Uhlig, *Henoch*, 488-90; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 15-16; and Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch* 91-108, 16-28

a. Fallen Angels

In *BW*, the sins of the angels are generally two-fold: improper relations with human women resulting in the birth of the giants, and the revelation of sins and heavenly secrets to humanity. In *I En* 10:11, Shemihaza, who is often depicted as the leader of the watchers who defiled themselves with women, and his companions are punished for their improper union with human women depicted in chapters 6 and 7.¹¹¹ Asael, usually implicated in the revelation of hidden secrets, is first punished in chapter 10:4-8 for sins catalogued in 8:1-4.¹¹² More often though, specific names of those being punished are not given, and instead, groups of angels are on the receiving end of God's judgment.¹¹³ Bands or armies of angels, often because of their illicit union with humans or for their revelation of hidden things, are imprisoned or punished. *I En* 10:11; 12:3-6; 15:1-11 and 19:1 all describe the act or place of punishment for the rebel angels who mingled with women. It can be assumed that in these instances the watchers being punished are equivalent to the list of Shemihaza, his chiefs, and the rest of the watchers listed in 6:7-8. The binding of Asael is mentioned in 10:4-8 without noting any companions. Yet in 13:1-3, Enoch is sent to announce Asael's punishment, at which time, those (angels) with Asael are afraid. While again they are unnamed, the fallen angels associated with Asael and improper instruction (8:1-3) are probably in view. *I En* 21:10 describes "the prison house" of angels without indicating whether the Shemihaza or Asael (or both) traditions are in view.

The two-fold nature of angelic sin recorded in *I Enoch* 6-11 is often thought of representing two and possibly even three separate pre-Enochic traditions found in *BW* that have been compiled by the writer/editor of chapters 6-11. These traditions include:

1. The oath and deed of Shemihaza and his followers, resulting in their illicit union with human women, the birth of the giants, and their ensuing destruction on earth (6:1-7:6).

¹¹¹ These sins are first found in *I En* 6:1-7:6 and 8:1-4 respectively. For Shemihaza traditions concerning the illicit union, see 4Q201 *iii* 1-6 and 4Q202 *ii* 2-7. For Shemihaza's punishment, see 4Q204 frg. 1 v 1.

¹¹² See 4Q201 frg. 1 v 5. Punishment of Asael is also depicted in *I En* 13:1 and 55:3. The armies of Asael are punished in *I Enoch* 54. Asael's sinful teaching can be found in 4Q202 frg. 1 *ii* 26-29.

¹¹³ This is opposed to later traditions such as *I Enoch* 69 which lists the names of the angels as well as *I Enoch* 53 and 54, both of which mention Satan as the one being punished.

2. The improper instruction of Shemihaza and his followers (7:1; 8:3; 9:8; and 10:7).
3. The Asael instruction motif (8:1-2).

Scholarly consensus on this topic has been limited to the author's use of multiple traditions of angelic rebellion. There is not, however, agreement on the order of these different strands, whether they were blended prior to the original composition of *I Enoch* 6-11, or if some of the myths should be viewed as added interpolations to a more original form of these chapters.

John Collins has argued that performing source criticism on *I Enoch* 6-11 or even on *BW* as a whole, is speculative at best. First, he contends that while it may appear that chaps. 6-11 represent a self-contained narrative that circulated independently, there is no evidence to date that this was actually the case. He further postulates that "The evidence from Qumran shows that these chapters were integrated with the rest of the *Book of Watchers* in the early second century BCE – the earliest stage for which we actually have documentary evidence."¹¹⁴ However, while Collins suggests that *I Enoch* 6-11 could be viewed as part of the larger work of *I Enoch* 1-36, he admits chaps. 6-11 can also be read as a distinct literary unit when deriving the sources of the watchers myth.¹¹⁵ Regarding the possibility of multiple watcher traditions within chaps 6-11, Collins, following R. H. Charles, continues to be more cautious than others in his employment of source criticism on the text. While acknowledging a cluster of motifs in *I Enoch* 6-11, including the Shemihaza and Asael traditions, he claims that there is no evidence of a Shemihaza tradition existing apart from the Asael story. Therefore, as opposed to other arguments discussed below, Collins maintains that all the motifs in 6-11 must be studied as a whole rather than the Asael myth as a later interpolation into the Shemihaza story.¹¹⁶

Collins' suggestions have been most recently echoed by Annette Yoshiko Reed who states that since "we have no evidence that the Shemihaza and Asael material in *I En.* 6-11 ever circulated independently, we must take seriously their

¹¹⁴ John Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of *I Enoch*: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1978 (2 vols.; SBLSP 18; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978): 1:315-22.

¹¹⁵ Collins, "Methodological Issues," 315.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 315, 316. See also Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 13, 14 in which he argues that *I Enoch* 6-11 comes from the *Book of Noah* and was already combined in its present form within *BW* by the time they were drawn upon by the writer of *I Enoch* 88-89.

combination in the present form in these chapters.”¹¹⁷ She further contends that “Even as the redactors preserve a range of different approaches to the fallen angels, the arrangement of these traditions functions to communicate a coherent message.”¹¹⁸ While acknowledging the conflation of traditions that have taken place, Reed’s work has attempted to ascertain how the redactor of *BW* has interwoven these various traditions into a meaningful whole.

Despite Collins’ insightful warnings, there are some who have proposed a method for understanding the development of angelic sin and punishment traditions in *1 Enoch* 6-11. Nickelsburg has argued that the work originally consisted of the revolt of Shemihaza and his angelic cohorts. These legends were written as a response to vast bloodshed being experienced by the author and its readers, probably during the wars of the Diadochi in 323-302 B.C.E.¹¹⁹ Later, an author/editor of *BW* added the Asael material to explain other evils existing in the world as well as to place at least partial blame on humans for the role of sin in the world.¹²⁰ Finally, intending to synthesize these two traditions, the rebellion myth was combined with story of Asael’s improper instruction to form a larger tradition about improper instruction associated with Shemihaza.¹²¹

Devorah Dimant has proposed a slightly different literary analysis of *1 Enoch* 6-11. She agrees with Nickelsburg that the myth of sinful angelic union of Shemihaza and his companions was written first. She also notes that humanity is portrayed as passive victims in this story which does not coincide with the flood narrative in Genesis where humanity is destroyed because of the sinfulness on earth. Therefore, she concludes that this strand of the Shemihaza tradition developed independently of

¹¹⁷ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 29.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹⁹ Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic Myth,” 391-95, 404. Collins has challenged Nickelsburg’s understanding concerning the historical context of the Shemihaza tradition, claiming that this reference to the Diadochi wars “suffers from the lack of any explicit reference to these particular rulers, or indeed to any political events at all.” Collins, “Methodological Issues,” 321.

¹²⁰ Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic Myth,” 397-403. Nickelsburg has postulated that the Asael myth derives from the *Prometheus Myth*, a point which will be discussed below. Most relevant for the potential background of *1 Peter*, however, is Nickelsburg’s contention that the Asael material represents a fundamental shift in the understanding of the nature of sin in the world. In the Shemihaza rebellion story, humanity is victimized by angelic sin. However, the Asael tradition places at least partial blame for sin with humans. Asael may have taught them improper things such as metallurgy and improper beautification techniques, but it is humanity who makes weapons and lead others to sin. This possibility, as well as its potential influence on *1 Peter*, will be discussed below. See, George Nickelsburg, “Reflections Upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins’ ‘Methodological Issues,’” *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1978 (2 vols. SBLSP 18; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978): 1:311-12.

¹²¹ Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic Myth,” 403-04.

the flood motif.¹²² Next, according to Dimant, the traditions concerning angelic instruction, apart from Asael, were added to the illicit union material. The concept of sinful angelic instruction allows for humanity to become recipients of the sinful situation described in Genesis 6. Therefore, the instruction motif coincides better with the flood story. The combination of these two traditions would allow for the concept of a suffering humanity (illicit union), while at the same time acknowledging human wickedness necessitating a punishment (improper instruction). Finally, after the addition of instruction to the Shemihaza myth, the Asael material was added into *BW*. Dimant contends that the Asael material does not share a common source with the other angelic instruction stories; the instructors and the instruction are different. Asael instructs humanity on making arms, metals, and cosmetics, rather than sorcery as in the Shemihaza tradition.¹²³

Carol Newsom has argued that while many uncertainties in the development of *BW* remain, *1 Enoch* 6-11 originally contained only the Shemihaza tradition of the watchers union with human women. She contends that this myth was initially independent of the Enochic tradition and was later utilized within the Enochic corpus with its own particular emphasis, and later expanded upon in chapters 12-19.¹²⁴ Newsom claims that the Asael material, for reasons that still remain unclear, was added to *1 Enoch* 6-11, possibly stemming from Enoch's reputation role as a revealer of special wisdom. Finally, the Shemihaza instruction motif was inserted into the early section of *BW* as a way of expanding the Shemihaza tradition more than combining or altering any Asael material.¹²⁵

It is beyond the scope of this work to evaluate the various proposed source critical theories of chaps. 6-11. Yet, vital for this study is the argument, which will be

¹²² Devorah Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11: A Methodological Perspective," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1978 (2 vols. SBLSP 18; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978): 1:326-29.

¹²³ Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11," 326-27. Corrie Molenberg also postulates that the Asael material was a latter addition to the Shemihaza story. However, Molenberg contends that the original Shemihaza material contained both the illicit union and the improper instruction motif, thus supporting a two rather than three-stage development reflected in *BW*. See, Corrie Molenberg, "A Study of the Roles of Shemihaza and Asael in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JJS* 35 (1984): 145.

¹²⁴ Carol Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 312-13.

¹²⁵ Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-11," 319-21. Paul Hanson, in "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 222, also argues that the Shemihaza and Asael myths originated separately. However, he suggests that rather than being two distinct traditions compiled by a later editor, the Asael material was added and used by the author of *BW* as an "interpretive elaboration growing organically out of the Shemihaza narrative." Thus, Hanson concludes, contra the previous scholars cited, that the Asael material was not circulated independently from *BW*, but rather was an addition to the Shemihaza tradition from the author.

discussed below and is agreed upon by Collins, Nickelsburg, Dimant, and Newsom, that the earliest forms of the fallen angel and giant traditions recorded in *BW* already exist in a conflated state. However these myths developed or distinct they might have been, the previous discussions demonstrate that, at a very early stage, they were being associated with one another and blended together into a running narrative that already exists in *1 Enoch* 6-11.

b. Giants

In addition to fallen angels, *BW* describes the sins and of the giants, the progeny of the angelic-human union. The giants are either punished for simply being the embodiment of something diabolical, namely a forbidden union, or they are punished for the violent deeds they committed on the earth. *1 En* 7:2-5 describes the giants devouring human produce and eventually humanity itself when people are no longer able to supply their gluttonous appetites. Furthermore, the giants are accused of sinning against birds, beasts, creeping things, and fish (cf. also *BG* 4Q531 frg.1 1-8). Therefore, the giants have violently sinned against the earth, the animal kingdom, as well as humanity. Finally, *1 En* 7:5 records the giants turning on each other, devouring one another and drinking each other's blood, which is an abomination in Judaism. Thus, the author of this section of *BW* records at least part of the giants' sin as breaking Levitical laws concerning blood.¹²⁶ In verse 6, the earth brings accusation against them.¹²⁷

The *Book of Watchers* also records giants as the recipients of punishment in two different commissionings in chap. 10. *1 En* 10:9 records God's commissioning of Gabriel to destroy the giants by means of a war in which the giants ultimately destroy each other. No mention is made of why they are to be destroyed, but it can be assumed it is for the sins recorded in chap. 7:1-5. *1 En* 10:15 includes Michael's commissioning to destroy sons of the watchers. In these verses, their destruction is the due to their mistreatment of humankind.

¹²⁶ Based upon Gen 9:5-6, the murder and/or the consumption of another creatures blood within Judaism are/is a violation of God's created life. See also Lev 3:17; 7:26, 27; 17:10, 12, 14; and 19:26. The prohibition against consuming blood is explicitly stated in *1 En* 98:11 and is expanded upon in *Jub* 7:27-34 and 21:18-20.

¹²⁷ *1 En* 9:9-10 also recounts the giants causing bloodshed upon earth resulting in humanity making suit to heaven For the punishment of the giants see *1 En* 10:9-10, 15; 12:3-6; 14:1-7; and 15:1-11. See also 4Q202 frg. 1 iv 5-8 and frg. 1 vi 8-10; 4Q204 frg. 1 vi 15-17. These will be discussed further below.

c. Humans

As demonstrated above, the recipients of divine punishment in *BW* begin with the watchers but are expanded to include both the giants and humans. The expansion of these punishments could reflect a developing understanding concerning the responsibility for sin in the world. Already in *1 Enoch* 6-11, as mentioned above, the culpability for evil has evolved. Shemihaza and his companions' illicit union with women portrays humans as passive if not innocent victims of angelic and giant sin. The watchers take the women for themselves, and then both humanity and creation are plagued by the destructive behavior of their giant offspring.

However, regardless of the order in which these traditions developed and were included in *BW*, the later Asael and Shemihaza instruction motifs, while perpetuating cosmic culpability, expand responsibility for evil to humans as well. In *1 En* 8:1-2, Asael is responsible for instructing humans in the arts of metallurgy and beautification. In this tradition though, the men are responsible for the actual making of these items. Additionally, in their intercession on behalf of creation, the archangels claim that while Asael has taught humankind iniquity on the earth and revealed the mysteries of heaven, this was information that humanity was striving to learn. Here Asael is only aiding humanity in their quest of evil as opposed to the illicit union which involved a cosmic rebellion. *1 En* 19:2 reports the wives of the fallen angels will become Sirens.¹²⁸ Chapter 22:18-33 describes sinful humanity as the companions of the lawless. Finally, *1 En* 32:6 includes a brief account of Adam and Eve's sin and their subsequent expulsion from the garden. Thus, while certainly not abdicating cosmic culpability, *BW* already has begun to expand the responsibility for evil to humans as well as cosmic beings. This expansion of ideas already in the third century B.C.E. might help explain the conflation of punishment stories in early Jewish literature as well as in 1 Peter.

2.4 Descriptions of Punishment

2.4.1 Timing of Punishment

¹²⁸ G^{Pan} reads καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων εἰς σειρήνας γενήσονται. The Ethiopic, however, does not name these women as Sirens. For a discussion on this verse, and its impact on the understanding of women in *BW* as a whole, see Kelley Coblenz-Bautch, "What Became of Angels' 'Wives'? A Text-Critical Study of *1 Enoch* 19:2," *JBL* 125/4 (2006): 766-80. Bautch's reconstruction of the text suggests that this verse is actually predicting the destruction of these women (p. 779). However, while Bautch's reconstruction is plausible, the women in this verse, whether they become Sirens or are destroyed, are not portrayed as mere victims of angelic lust.

In addition to identifying the recipients of and the sins responsible for the punishment myths surrounding Gen 6:1-4, understanding the timing of these stories in the *Book of Watchers* in relation to the flood might aid in a more developed understanding of the possible formative traditions that underlie 1 Pet 3:18-22, which clearly associates the spirits with the sin leading up to the deluge. While these stories of cosmic and human judgment and punishment are often associated with the flood narrative, early Jewish and Christian writings do not always link the two. There are references in *BW* where angels, giants, and humans are being judged and punished without any mention of when it is occurring. For example, in Enoch's second commissioning to announce the sentence of the watchers and giants, the heavenly response to the watchers' petition indicates that they would be imprisoned and their progeny destroyed, but no specific reference to the flood is included.¹²⁹ However, in the first reference to the punishment of both the angels and the giants in *BW* (10:4-15), the judgment against them is placed between God's announcement to Sariel about the coming flood (10:1-3) and the actual deluge which will destroy all perversity (10:16-11:2).¹³⁰ Therefore, in *BW*, while the flood is often associated with the imprisonment and/or destruction of cosmic and human beings, it is never described as the actual means of punishment.

2.4.2 Descriptions of Punishment

a. Angelic Punishment

Another aspect of the punishment traditions portrayed in *BW* that potentially sheds light on the formative history of 1 Peter is the nature of the sentence leveled against the watchers, giants, and humans. The watchers, including both the Shemihaza and Asael myths as well as the broader group of fallen angels, are all incarcerated for their sins. In *I En* 10:4-8, God sends Raphael to bind Asael hand and foot and cast him into darkness. Raphael is to make an opening in the wilderness, which is in Doudael, a place of sharp and jagged stones. Asael is to be placed upon them, covered in darkness, and is made to dwell there forever.¹³¹ However, in 10:6 his

¹²⁹ *I En* 14:24-16:4. This potentially lends support to Dimant's theory, described above, that the Shemihaza tradition originally circulated independent of the flood myth.

¹³⁰ See 4Q201 frg. 1 vi 4-6; 4Q202 frg. 1 iv 5-11; and 4Q204 frg. 1 v 1-20.

¹³¹ *I En* 10:5.

imprisonment in the wilderness does appear to be temporary, as on the great Day of Judgment he is to be led away to the great burning conflagration.¹³²

Much has been written concerning Doudael as the place of Asael's imprisonment, especially with regard to its association with the scapegoat traditions from Leviticus 16. Yet, the exact place of his imprisonment is far from certain.¹³³ However, what is most pertinent for this study is the temporary nature of Asael's imprisonment. Asael, as well as Shemihaza in *1 En* 10:11-13, is incarcerated as a form of detainment until the announcement and implementation of his final punishment which will occur on the Day of Great Judgment. Asael's final place of punishment is portrayed as one of fire and burning, a common scene of punishment in *1 Enoch*.

A similar motif is found in *1 En* 10:11-15, where Michael is commissioned to carry out God's decree against some of the watchers. Shemihaza and his companions are bound for seventy generations. While not as specific as to the location as Asael's noted above, this punishment account describes the angels as bound in the valleys of the earth.¹³⁴ Like the Asael tradition, this incarceration is temporary in nature, serving as a detention center until the Day of Judgment. This section of *BW* provides more detail concerning the final punishment of the watchers. Torture is added to what awaits Shemihaza and his followers in the fiery abyss after the Day of Judgment. Also significant, and a point that will be discussed later, is the writer's use of the word "prison" (δεσμωτήριον) to describe the final place of punishment for the watchers as

¹³² See 4Q201 frg. 1 v 5.

¹³³ Charles, *Books of Enoch*, 1912, 22f., following G^{Sync} (δουδαήλ) and the Eth. (*dudā'ēl*), suggested that this was a translation of בֵּית הַדָּוֵדִים, a description of the place where the goat for Azazel was led (c.f. *Targum Ps. Jonathan* on Leviticus 16:21f). Knibb, in *Enoch*, 87 states that the name of this place also occurs as בֵּית הַדָּוֵדִים. See also Abraham Geiger, "Einige Worte über das Buch Henoch," *JZWL* 3 (1864): 200-01. *M. Yoma* 6:8 also mentions this toponym and locates it three miles outside of Jerusalem. At one time Milik accepted this reading, claiming that it evolved from אֶל־הַדָּוֵדִים (the jagged mountains of God) in "Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of the Book of Enoch," *Bib* 32 (1951): 395. See also, Georg Beer, "Das Buch Enoch," *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; ed. Emil Kautzsch; Tübingen: Mohr, 1900), 242. This is an attractive option, especially with the close association between אֶל־הַדָּוֵדִים (the place for the goat) and אֶל־הַדָּוֵדִים (the Aramaic for the name of the angel) as well as the location of Asael's punishment being described as a place of sharp and jagged stones (*1 En* 10:5). Later, Milik in *Books of Enoch*, 29-30, following G^{Pan} (δαδουήλ), argued that this reference to the location of Asael's punishment derived from the Aramaic אֶל־הַדָּוֵדִים (breast), a reference to the two mountain peaks identified with the breast of 'El. For further discussion on δαδουήλ and its possible relationship with *dendayn* from *1 En* 60:8 stemming from Babylonian myths, see Coblentz Bautch, *Study of the Geography* 139-41.

¹³⁴ *1 En* 10:12.

opposed to the period and place of their detention until the Day of Judgment.¹³⁵ Additionally, this section of *BW* (*I En* 10:12) adds to the punishment that before the watchers' imprisonment is carried out, they will be forced to watch the destruction of their giant offspring.

Later sections of *BW* already begin to reflect changes and conflation concerning some of the watcher punishment stories. *I En* 14:1-7 describes Enoch's second commissioning to preach to the watchers. Similar to the earlier segments of *BW*, the fallen angels are to be bound, and they are to watch the destruction of their children. However, these lines add that the watchers will no longer be able to ascend to heaven. More important for this study is the description of the place of the angelic imprisonment. The watchers, who appear to be Shemihazah and his companions although they are not named, are to be bound in bonds in the earth for all the days of eternity.¹³⁶ There is no mention of any temporal nature to the angelic incarceration, nor is there any reference to an additional punishment or great Day of Judgment. It appears as if the two distinct phases of punishment found in 10:4-6 and 10:11-15 have been incorporated into a single event in 14:5.

Chapters 18 and 19 continue to expand upon the punishment story of Shemihazah and his companions mentioned above. While not as concerned with the process of imprisonment, these lines focus on the description of the place of imprisonment. As opposed to simply being portrayed as a place on earth or even as a place in the wilderness, the location of the angelic bondage is placed at the ends of earth and heaven. The watchers stand in punishment in what appears to be a bottomless pit marked by fiery pillars (*I En* 18:11). The description of the location of watchers' punishment is closely related to the prison of the Titans from Hesiod's *Theogony*, demonstrating a plausible direct or indirect link with the Greek tradition.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ *I En* 10:11-13. See also 4Q202 frg. 1 iv 9-11 and 4Q204 frg. 1 v 1-3.

¹³⁶ *I En* 14:5. This translation follows Nickelsburg's emendation, first suggested by Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 32. G^{Pan} reads: καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς γῆς ("and in the bonds of the earth"), while the Eth. omits "the bonds of." Milik, *Enoch*, 193, again following Charles' suggestion in *Book of Enoch*, 32, amends it to read: δεσμίοις τῆς γῆς ("among the prisoners of the earth"). See also 4Q202 frg. 1 vi 5-7 and 4Q204 frg. 1 vi 13-15.

¹³⁷ The possible link between the descent of angels, improper instruction, and their subsequent punishment recorded in *BW* and primitive Greco-Roman mythological traditions has already been debated. In addition to the *Theogony*, many have called attention to similar motifs found in *Prometheus Bound*. Rüdiger Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt* (ATANT, Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1979), 161-66; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 399, 403; and Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: studies in their encounter in Palestine during the early Hellenistic period* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1974), 190 have all implied that *Prometheus Bound* had a direct impact on the development of the Asael instruction tradition. Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 39 notes that both rebel

In the *Theogony*, similar to the place of incarceration in *1 Enoch* 18, *Tartarus*, the prison for the Titans, is located “at the ends of the huge earth” (πελώρης ἔσχαται γαίης) and consists of “a great gulf” (χάσμα μέγα).¹³⁸ But this place of punishment seems to cohere better with the eternal place of punishment for the watchers rather than the temporary one described in chapter 10. The angels will remain there until the Day of Great Judgment when they will be judged with finality.¹³⁹ Building upon the connection in *1 En* 18:11 and 19:1-2, which also describes a place comparable with *Tartarus* described above, Bautch interprets 19:1-2 as a prison for the infamous watchers.¹⁴⁰ Thus, Bautch links *1 En* 18:11 with 19:1-2.

The place of angelic punishment is referenced again in Enoch’s journey eastward found in 21:7-10, which appears to be dependent either upon *1 Enoch* 17-19 or a tradition common to it.¹⁴¹ Similar to 18:10, these lines describe a location claimed to be the prison for the angels. However, it appears to be unclear whether the prison being envisioned is the temporary one used prior to the great Day of Judgment, the permanent one that will be used after it, or if the writer is even distinguishing between the two. There are some similarities that indicate it is being associated with the prison from 18:10 and 19:1, including a deep cleft marked with pillars of fire. However, other of the prison’s characteristics potentially link this place of bondage with earlier descriptions of the final place of punishment, the abyss, recorded in chapter 10. Whereas Enoch’s journey to the Northwest describes the watchers as

against God, introduce skills to mankind, teach metallurgy, divination, and art, and both are bound as punishment. For more theories on the Greek mythology’s possible connection with *BW*, see Paul Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven,” 195-233; Suter, “Fallen Angel,” 115; 132-35; Richard Bauckham, “The Fall of the Angels as the Source of Philosophy in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria,” *VC* 39 (1985): 319-30; and Fritz Graf, “Mythical Production: Aspects of Myth and Technology in Antiquity,” *From Myth to Reason? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought* (ed. R. Buxton; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 317-328. It should be noted that Hanson claims that there are vital points in the Prometheus myth that are not included within *BW*. Therefore the similarities between the two works would be better explained by a shared tradition rather than one’s direct dependence upon the other.

¹³⁸ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 713-48. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 286-87.

¹³⁹ *1 En* 18:10; and 19:1.

¹⁴⁰ Coblenz Bautch, *Study of the Geography*, 134 cites 2 Peter 2:4, which names the prison for the watchers *Tartarus*.

¹⁴¹ Most commentators support the idea that chaps 17-19 reflect earlier traditions than those then duplicated in chaps 21-36. Some have suggested, for a variety of reasons that chaps 21-36 are dependent upon chaps 17-19. See, Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. VanderKam* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 16; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 290; and Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 25. Eibert Tigchelaar claims that instead of a strict literary dependence on chaps 17-19, *1 Enoch* 21-36 stems from a common written or oral tradition, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and the Apocalyptic* (OtSt 35 Leiden: Brill, 1996), 159-60. For further discussion, see Bautch, *Study of the Geography*, 19-22.

already standing in punishment, this vision portrays Enoch as viewing the place where the fallen angels will be confined forever. The deep cleft of the prison extends to the abyss, the location of the final angelic incarceration. Finally, as opposed to a place of sharp rocks in the wilderness or merely a deep pit in the earth, the location of punishment described in *1 En* 21:7 contains flames and fire, characteristics that had been previously used in *BW*, as noted above, for the eternal prison after the day of great judgment. Therefore, there appears to be insufficient evidence to determine whether the writer of this section in *BW* is adjusting earlier ideas of the temporary prison, giving a vision of the final place of angelic punishment, or merging the two together.

b. Giant Punishment

In addition to angelic punishment, the *Book of Watchers* describes the punishment that awaits their offspring, namely the giants. In *1 En* 10:9, Gabriel is commissioned to destroy the bastards, the half-breeds, and the sons of fornication. The command is then clarified that the giants are to fight against each other in a war of destruction. In *1 En* 10:10, the quantity of years the giants are going to live is numbered, an apparent alteration of the limited lifespan given to humans in Genesis 6. In the very next lines of *BW*, 10:11-12, during Michael's commission to bind Shemihaza, the archangel is also commanded to destroy the giants. However, in this instance the method of the destruction is not given.¹⁴² Therefore, already within the same section of *BW* there is evidence of a plurality of traditions concerning the punishment of the giants.

First, two different angels (Gabriel and Michael) are commissioned to destroy them. Second, the method for the giants' destruction is not consistent even within *1 Enoch* 10. Gabriel appears to be responsible for overseeing a war in which the giants are to destroy each other. Michael is given the responsibility of destroying the giants, although no mention is made of how this destruction would occur.¹⁴³ Finally, Michael is commanded in chap 10:15 to destroy the "spirits of the half-breeds and the sons of the watchers," which does not appear to cohere with later traditions in *1 Enoch* (i.e. 16:1) that refer to the survival of the spirits of the giants. In a later section of *BW*,

¹⁴² In *1 En* 10:15 Michael is commanded to destroy the spirits of the giants. The phrase "spirits of the half-breeds" being destroyed is significant to this study and will be discussed below.

¹⁴³ The slaughter of the giants is also referenced in *1 En* 12:6.

during Enoch's second commissioning to speak to the watchers, it is reaffirmed that the giants are going to be destroyed. In this story, it is added that the destruction will occur by sword. However, there is no mention of whether the giants are going to destroy themselves or fall at the hands of other cosmic beings.¹⁴⁴

While at times it may appear that they are punished directly by the angels (*I En* 10:15), the potential of the giants' destruction at their own hand is worth exploring. Nickelsburg has suggested that the war among the giants is an illusion to the wars of the Diadochi (323-302 B.C.E.). These two decades resulted in much bloodshed as Alexander's generals battled for power. The nation of Israel felt the result of this turmoil as power shifted in the region seven times in twenty-one years. Thus, Nickelsburg claims that the wars of the giants in *I Enoch* 10 correspond to the battles among the Macedonian generals.¹⁴⁵ Additionally, it has been suggested that at least some of the Diadochi were the children of gods.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, Nickelsburg argues that the "giant myth" would serve as a parody to the story of the Diadochi who had been rumored to have divine heritage. The message for its readers would be that these generals' fathers were divine, but were angels who had rebelled against God rather than gods themselves. The enigmatic story from Gen 6:1-4 would provide a natural starting point for "these blasphemous claims."¹⁴⁷ The myth of the giants' punishment of self-destruction would accurately reflect the historical reality of the wars of the Diadochi while theologically dismissing their divine heritage. While Nickelsburg's claims regarding the literary association between the giants and Alexander's generals appear to be valid, Collins has urged caution when attempting to ascertain a specific historical reference for the watcher and giant myths.¹⁴⁸ Although Collins acknowledges the possibility of *BW* written during a period of warfare, it is not a necessity. Rather than limiting the scope of the watchers and giants to the Diadochi, it seems more advisable to understand the theme of these myths to be the power and providence of God during times of crisis (including war, persecution, or

¹⁴⁴ *I En* 14:6. Further mention of the destruction of giants, at least their physical being, is found in *I En* 16:1.

¹⁴⁵ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 170.

¹⁴⁶ For the claim that Seleucus I being the son of Apollo, see Elias Bickerman, *Institutions des Seleucides* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 26; Paris: Geuthner, 1938), 244. For Demetrius being the son of Poseidon, see Fritz Taeger, *Charisma* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1957-60), 1:271. For Antigonus and Demetrius as descendents of Heracles, see Charles F. Edson Jr., "The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea," *HSCP* 45 (1934): 221-22.

¹⁴⁷ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 170.

¹⁴⁸ See John Collins, "The Apocalyptic technique: Settings and Functions in the Book of Watchers," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 31.

any social marginalization). Whether the calamities the readers are facing are due to the influence of Hellenistic culture or not (not all the sins listed in *1 Enoch* 7 and 8 are particular to the Hellenistic culture), the punishment of the giants articulates a worldview intended to bring hope regardless of specific circumstance. While this view of the potential historical references in *BW* convoluted attempts to accurately date the work, it does allow *BW* to provide a message to many different audiences in within early Judaism who are facing a variety of trials.

In addition to the possible historical references involved in the punishment of the giants, the method of the giants' destruction is also worth noting regarding potential insights into the author's understanding of both the nature of punishment and the eradication of evil. As mentioned above, while the giants are sometimes destroyed in *BW* by war or at the hands of angels. *1 En* 10:9 records the giants eliminating each other in a war of destruction. Regardless of who is actually punishing the giants, their destruction seems to cohere with the injunction from Lev 17:14, which states that whoever eats the blood of another creature will be "cut off" (נכרת) from the people. The giants, accused of eating (drinking) blood of animals (*1En* 7:9), are ultimately cut off from the earth by their destruction. The extermination of the giants by their own hands (*1 En* 10:9) is a direct result of their specific sins. Since they are being punished for their violence towards produce, animals, humanity and each other, God punishes the giants by simply allowing them to continue in their destructive behavior. This punishment appears support the principle that evil tends to undermine itself. In this example, God has created the cosmos in such a way that any deviation from God's intended order would eventually bring itself to destruction.¹⁴⁹ Thus, while the giants do eventually destroy themselves, this would still fall under divine punishment, as it is God who had set the cosmos up to run in such a fashion.

c. Human Punishment

Specific references to human punishment in *BW* are relatively few. While it is evident that *BW* alters the biblical accounts of evil found in Genesis 6, shifting primary responsibility for sin from people to angels and giants, it does not completely abdicate human liability. Therefore, at least some of humanity will be punished for the evil that exists on earth, and their sentence comes in two different forms. First,

¹⁴⁹ This theme is also found in Rom 1:24-25 where God's punishment for sinners is to hand them over to their lusts.

human destruction can be assumed in the many statements in *BW* concerning the coming judgment against the earth, which often occurs in the form of the deluge. *I En* 10:1-3 describes the flood that is coming that will destroy everything on the earth. Noah is singled out as receiving special knowledge which will apparently save him from the coming destruction, and from him a righteous seed will be planted. This appears to mirror the biblical account of the flood narrative in which humanity is destroyed for their role in the evil that existed on the earth in those days. However, in lines 10:16-11:2 Michael is commissioned to renovate the earth. He too is commanded to destroy all perversity from the earth. In this section though, unlike the biblical account, Noah is replaced with “all the righteous” as the ones who will escape the coming judgment.¹⁵⁰ And although all the earth is to be cleansed from its impurity, lawlessness, and sin, “all the sons of men” will become righteous.¹⁵¹

There appears to be some discrepancy as to whether it will just be Noah and his family who escape the deluge, or if “all the sons of men” and “all the righteous” ones refer to a greater number of faithful Jews, or even all people, including gentiles. It is plausible that in this section of *BW*, Noah is serving as a type for those righteous who had remained loyal to God. And thus, he is an example to the intended audience of *BW* concerning the future reward for those who hold fast to their faith. However, it is at least certain that in *I Enoch* 10, evil humanity will be destroyed in the great deluge.

The pronouncement of destruction is not the only sentence leveled against humanity in *BW*. As noted above, *I En* 22:1-14 describes a place of imprisonment for the souls of humanity. Whether altering or expanding the mere declaration of death of evil humanity in chapter 10, this section of *BW* broadens the earlier statement of human punishment. Whereas *I Enoch* 10 appears to divide all of humanity into two camps, the righteous and the wicked, chapter 22 separates humanity into three or four divisions, which are represented by different caves that are located in the mountain of the dead. The literary difficulties of *I Enoch* 22 have been noted by Wacker.¹⁵² For this study the most pertinent difficulty pertains to the number of hollow places reserved for humans. Verse 2 describes 4 hollow places, three dark (apparently for spirits who will be punished) and one illuminated (apparently for those waiting for

¹⁵⁰ *I En* 10:17.

¹⁵¹ *I En* 10:21.

¹⁵² Marie-Theres Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu I Henoch 22* (FB 45; Würzburg: Echter, 1982), 35-131.

reward). Verse 9 then records that there are only three hollow places, but then appears to separate human spirits into 4 distinct categories, cohering better with verse 2.

Before analyzing the individual hollow places and their inhabitants, we may note that all four caves represent cells for the confinement of human spirits. Chap. 22:3-4 clearly states that these cells are only temporary residences, as all human spirits are awaiting some form of eschatological judgment. Thus, most pertinent for understanding the potential background of 1 Pet 3:18-22, *BW* contains material which could provide the basis for imprisoned human spirits awaiting a future sentence of either salvation or punishment.

Regarding the individual hollow places, the first pit is reserved for “the spirits of the righteous.” This title along with traditional images of light and water represent the presence of God.¹⁵³ The rest of the hollow places, described as dark, are reserved for different categories of sinful spirits. The second hollow place has been created for those human spirits whose sins had gone unpunished on earth. While escaping judgment on earth, these spirits are tormented there until the great Day of Judgment, at which time they will be bound forever.¹⁵⁴ This appears to replicate the judgments given to Shemihaza and Asael described above, and potentially represents a conflation of earlier angelic punishment traditions onto humanity. However, whereas Asael is bound during his temporary incarceration, the human spirits appear to be bound after their eschatological judgment. As Nickelsburg correctly notes, there are two different locations of punishment in *1 En* 22:10-11. There is the “here” (ὧδὲ), where the spirits are separated for torment, and there is the “there” (ἐκεῖ), the final place of punishment where these same sprits will experience torture. While the exact location of the second phase of punishment is not described in *1 Enoch* 22, it is possible to infer that this final place of punishment is the abyss mentioned in *1 En* 21:1-7.¹⁵⁵ The third hollow space is reserved for spirits who “make suit, who make disclosure about their destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the

¹⁵³ *1 En* 22:9. The imagery of light in this place could signify God’s presence with the dead (contra. traditional concepts of *Sheol* from Isa 38:10-20. Nickelsburg, in *1 Enoch* 1, 282, 307, suggests that the added presence of water in this cell represents life, even though it is the realm of the dead. The combining of water and light representing life can be found in Ps 36:10 (9), “For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we shall see light.” The notion of a life-giving fountain in the underworld is also attested in Orphic sources, which may have influenced this verse. See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 49; Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 217, 233, 288; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 307.

¹⁵⁴ *1 En* 22:10.

¹⁵⁵ Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 197-99; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 308. This could expand upon the notion described earlier in *1 En* 10:13-14 where all those who are condemned (including humans?) will be thrown into the abyss with the rebel angels.

sinner.”¹⁵⁶ This verse itself does not imply that these spirits are evil, nor does it record their specific sins. Yet to fit within the three dark holding places from 22:2, it can be assumed that they are awaiting future punishment.¹⁵⁷ The final holding cell houses spirits of sinful humans who are godless and associated with the lawless. Unlike the spirits from the previous two dark caves, these spirits will not be participants in a future punishment. Rather, those sinners will remain in that prison forever, neither being judged on the great Day of Judgment, nor being raised from that place.¹⁵⁸ Wacker suggests that these spirits represent humans whose sinfulness had already been judged on the earth through the flood, and thus, they do not require a future eschatological punishment.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, similar to the punishment motifs of angels and giants, penalties for human sin are not coherent within *BW*. Yet *1 Enoch* 22 clearly poses a possible source for the Christ’s proclamation to the imprisoned spirits in 1 Peter. It is evident that even within *BW*, the types of sentences being leveled against angels, giants, and humans are already in flux by the time *BW* was compiled in its current state.

2.5 Agents of Punishment

In order to understand better Christ’s proclamation to the spirits in 1 Peter 3:19, it will also be beneficial to study who is carrying out angelic, giant, and human punishment in the *Book of Watchers*. This, in turn, will help determine whether or not the agent or announcer of punishments in this work played any role in the background of Christ’s announcement to the imprisoned spirits. The judgments of God often are implemented by his angels. It often appears that there is a relationship between the name of the agent carrying out the sentence of God and the actual punishment itself. In *1 En* 10:4-8, Raphael, as noted above, is sent to bind Asael and cast him into a pit

¹⁵⁶ *1 En* 22:12.

¹⁵⁷ Others have noted the difficulty with identifying the nature of the spirits in the third hollow place. On the one hand it appears that these spirits are murder victims awaiting vengeance similar to Abel in the previous verses (*1 En* 22:5-7). Yet it does not seem appropriate, if this follows the pattern of four caves mentioned in verse 2, that innocent murder victims would not receive the blessings of light and water (symbolizing God’s presence) as they awaited future justice. This dilemma is solved if verses 12 and 13 are combined, which would: 1) allow for verses 10-13 to better cohere with the three caves mentioned in *1 En* 22:9 (contra 22:2), and 2) unquestionably make the identity of these spirits evil. In *1 Enoch* 1, 308, Nickelsburg argues against the combination of these verses, citing the formula that introduces each of these verses. Additionally, Wacker claims that these spirits are confined for continually seeking vengeance upon their murderers, *Weltordnung*, 184-90.

¹⁵⁸ *1 En* 22:14. Later, in 27:1-5, humanity also appears to be being described as being imprisoned in an accursed valley. Those incarcerated there are sentenced forever. This is the final place of punishment, even after the great judgment, for those who have spoken against the Lord.

¹⁵⁹ Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 193-95.

in the wilderness. רפאל, which means “God has healed,” might refer to the healing taking place in the world due to the incarceration of Asael. Since Asael and his subsequent teachings are viewed as part of the cause of the deluge, his binding would be understood as part of the earth’s healing process (10:8). Similarly, in 10:7 Raphael is commanded to heal the earth which has been desolated by the watchers.

In *1 En* 10:9-10, Gabriel is commissioned to destroy the giants, or at least he is the one to oversee their annihilation. גבריאל is often translated “God is my hero/warrior.” Thus, it is God’s warrior who comes to defeat those who were causing destruction on the earth.

1 En 10:11-15 describes Michael’s commissioning to imprison Shemihaza and destroy the giants. First, Michael is commanded to bind Shemihaza and those who sinned with him by defiling themselves with women. מיכאל, “who is like God” is well-known in later Jewish and Christian literature. “Michael emerges as the angelic patron of Israel, and, related to that role, as the victorious judicial and military antagonist of the satanic power behind the enemies of Israel and their god.”¹⁶⁰ While the wordplay on Michael’s name does not appear to be evident in *BW* like in Daniel, “Michael’s function here does parallel that in Daniel. He is the angelic opponent of the rebel angelic chieftain, whom he disposes of.”¹⁶¹ Michael is also commanded to destroy the giants because they have wronged men.¹⁶² Additionally, this chapter depicts Michael as being the agent responsible for the destruction of humanity. His commissioning to “Destroy all perversity from the face of the earth,” (*1 En* 10:16) and to “Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all wrong” (*1 En* 10:20) implies that Michael is the one in charge of bringing the deluge upon the earth, and with it the destruction of evil humanity. Later punishment traditions in *BW* such as those found in 14:1-7 and 15:1-16:4 do not reference the one(s) responsible for carrying out the judgments of God.

¹⁶⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 224-25. The earliest of these references can be found in Daniel 10:13, 21; and 12:1 in which Michael appears to be combating the divine-like aspirations of Antiochus Epiphanes. For Michael’s role in the Daniel, see John Collins, *Daniel: a Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 374-76. In *1 En* 20:5 Michael is placed in charge of “the good ones of the people” which could be an early example of Michael’s role as Israel’s angel, although it is unclear whether he serves all of Israel or only the righteous of the nation.

¹⁶¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 225. Michael also functions in this capacity in Rev 12:7-17; 20:1-3, 7-10 in which he disposes of Satan and his principals.

¹⁶² *1 En* 10:15. This is the second commissioning to destroy the giants within the same chapter. Nickelsburg argues that Michael’s charge is the more original than Gabriel’s commissioning, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 225. Gabriel’s earlier commissioning (*1 En* 10:9-10) appears to be a more developed theological attempt to adjust the limitation of human life in Gen 6:3 to the giants.

Finally, in chapters 17-19 **לשׁוֹרֵר**, (“Light” or “Fire of God”) guides Enoch and describes the punishment of the angels who had mingled with women. He describes their imprisonment as well as the coming final judgment.¹⁶³ In *I En* 20:2 (G^{Pan} and Eth. BM 485, Berl, and Tana 9), Uriel is named the angel in charge of Tartarus (τάρταρος). Thus, it is appropriate that Uriel is associated with a place of judgment and punishment like Tartarus.¹⁶⁴

2.6 Results of Punishment

a. Results of Angelic Punishment

Finally, *BW* contains traditions concerning the results of the various punishments leveled against the watchers, giants, and humans. There are instances in *BW* where the fallen angels, who are described as stars, are imprisoned forever. For example, in *I En* 14:4-6 the watchers are simply bound forever with no reference to any final judgment. However, as mentioned above, the majority of occurrences in *I Enoch* describe the angelic imprisonment as a temporary state, either until their sentence is fulfilled or until a final judgment where a new phase of punishment will begin. In *I En* 10:4-8 Asael is bound in the wilderness until a final judgment, at which time he will be led away to a place of burning.¹⁶⁵ In verses 11-15 Shemihaza and his companions are bound for 70 generations until the final judgment, and they too are then led to a place of eternal burning in the fiery abyss.¹⁶⁶ In *I En* 18:12-14, stars are imprisoned for 10,000 years. The previous two examples demonstrate the multiple function of the concept of prison used in *I Enoch*. Nickelsburg has noted that “In ancient times, imprisonment served less as a punishment than as a detention until trial.”¹⁶⁷ There have been numerous examples above demonstrating that the angelic, giant, and human imprisonments are temporary in nature while anticipating some future judgment and/or punishment. Yet, others, such as *I En* 14:4-6, have included no hint of incarceration as a mere holding until a final sentence.

A similar disclaimer can be made concerning the specific use of the term “prison” in *I Enoch*. While often indicating a temporary holding facility or state, the term “prison” is also utilized for the final place of angelic punishment. *I En* 10:13

¹⁶³ *I En* 19:1.

¹⁶⁴ For further discussion, see Bautch, *Study of the Geography*, 133-34.

¹⁶⁵ See also *I Enoch* 54.

¹⁶⁶ 4Q202 frg. 1 iv 9-11.

¹⁶⁷ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 222.

uses the word prison (δεσμωτήριον) to describe the final place of punishment for Shemihaza and his associates where “they will be confined forever.” Later, 21:7-10 depicts a terrible place of fire, different from where the fallen angels had previously been held, as the location of the angelic prison where the watchers will be confined forever. This will become important when attempting to ascertain the nature of the prison found in 1 Pet 3:18-22. A distinction must be made, if possible, as to whether the spirits are incarcerated awaiting a future pronouncement of judgment or if they are already imprisoned in their final state. The state of punishment not only would be relevant for the timing of Christ’s proclamation, but could also potentially shed light in its content.

b. Results of the Giants’ Punishment

Punishment of the giants is most often portrayed as annihilation either by war, sword, or the flood. Usually, there is no incarceration or other punishment; they are simply destroyed.¹⁶⁸ However, chaps. 15 and 16 contain a tradition concerning the giants’ punishment unlike that in the previous sections of *BW*. In 16:1 the bodies of the giants are destroyed but the spirits of the giants survive and flee their bodies. Apparently, since the giants are semi-angelic, they cannot be completely destroyed. These spirits continue to make desolate without any fear of incurring judgment. They will continue to do so until the great Day of Judgment. Later, verse 15 reiterates this idea. Here the spirits are described as leading astray, committing violence, and rising up against men and women from which they come. *I En* 19:1 states that these spirits who lead astray will do so until the final judgment.

c. Results of Human Punishment

Most references to human punishment in *I Enoch* result in the death of wicked humanity in the flood.¹⁶⁹ However, again as noted earlier, there are passages which describe humans as being held in captivity either for eternity or until a final judgment.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, human punishment traditions exist already within *BW* that allow for there to be a contingent of imprisoned human spirits to whom Christ could

¹⁶⁸ *I En* 10:9-10 (4Q202 frg. 1 iv 5-8); 14:6 (4Q202 frg. 1 vi 10; and 4Q204 frg. 1 vi 15-17).

¹⁶⁹ *I En* 10:16-11:2.

¹⁷⁰ *I En* 10:14; 22:1-14; 26-27.

make a proclamation. And there is no reason to eliminate these references as potentially playing a role in the formative history of 1 Peter.

2.7 Sinful Spirits in the *Book of Watchers*

2.7.1 Introduction

Before concluding this section on the angel, giant, and human punishment traditions found in the *Book of Watchers*, two issues remain which pertain to the identification of the “spirits in prison” mentioned in 1 Pet 3:19. First, the beings to whom Christ made proclamation are classified as “spirits” (πνεύματα). A careful study of the incarcerated entities within *BW* must take into account whether or not any of them are also referred to as spirits. Therefore, a search of the Aramaic ܩܪܝܢܐ from the Dead Sea fragments, the Greek πνεύματα from both codices G^{Pan} and G^{Sync}, and *manfasāt*, *manāfest*¹⁷¹ from the Ethiopic recensions will aid in determining both the nature of the imprisoned beings in *BW*, as well as how the stories about them evolved throughout early Jewish and Christian literature. This might aid in understanding its use by the writer of 1 Peter. Second, when attempting to ascertain how these punishment traditions were potentially used by the writer of 1 Peter, it is also vital to demonstrate what role watchers, giants, and humans played both in the sin on earth necessitating the deluge and the continued iniquity present after the Flood. The “spirits” of 1 Peter should be associated with those “who sinned in the days of Noah” as well as with continued evil requiring a positive or negative message from Christ.

2.7.2 Identifying “Spirits” in the *Book of Watchers*

Any attempt to discern the identification of the “spirits in prison” from 1 Peter 3:19 must begin with a study of the word πνεύματα both from the epistle itself and from the literature utilized by the letter’s author. A careful study of πνεύματα in 1 Peter and other relevant literature is needed to determine if this term can be exclusively associated with angels, giants, or humans.

A search of the word πνεύματα within 1 Peter alone is beneficial but not sufficient for potentially identifying the Petrine “spirits.” As noted above, a study of

¹⁷¹ While it is possible to translate *nafsāt* as both “souls” and “spirits,” this work, following Knibb, will generally translate *nafsāt* as “souls” and *manfasāt/manāfest* as “spirits.” See Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:101. However, there are instances when it seems best to translate *nafsāt* as “spirits,” and such cases will be noted. This distinction between “souls” and “spirits” appears to be important when contemplating the 1 Peter’s use of πνεύματα as opposed to ψύχα in 3:19.

the word πνεύματα, along with its Aramaic and Ethiopic equivalents, within the *Book of Watchers* will aid in determining how this term was being used within the framework of the angelic and giant punishment traditions. Although complicated by such factors as the fragmentary nature of the Aramaic documents and the different recensions of both the Greek and Ethiopic manuscripts, the investigation into the use of “spirits” within *BW* appears to conclude that the term is already being used for angels, giants, and humans already in the third century B.C.E.

a. Angels as Spirits

There are a number of instances when the author/redactor of the *Book of Watchers* uses the word “spirits” when referencing fallen angels. First, in *1 En* 13:6 there is a potential reference to fallen angels as spirits. In this verse Enoch is commissioned to record the watchers’ petition to God. Knibb suggests that these requests are made “in regard to their spirits.” Nickelsburg renders the same phrase “concerning themselves.”¹⁷² There is an important distinction to be made here as to whether the watchers’ petition at this point is being made for themselves or their offspring. Therefore, this verse contains at least a plausible reference to fallen angels as spirits. *1 En* 15:4 also describes the watchers as “spirits” or “spiritual ones” who live forever.¹⁷³ The same phrase is used again in 15:6. Similarly, *1 En* 15:7 refers to the watchers as either “spirits” (G^{Pan} πνεύμα) or “spiritual ones” (Eth. *manfasāwiāna*). Verse 8 continues to portray the fallen angels as “spirits” in that the giants are begotten from an improper mixture of “spirits” and “flesh.”¹⁷⁴

While lacking clarity and a consensus, the Ethiopic version of *1 En* 19:1 potentially refers to the fallen angels as spirits. Knibb translates the verse, “The spirits

¹⁷² See Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:93 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 237. G^{Pan} reads περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων and the Eth. *bāenta manfasomu*, lending support to Knibb’s reading. Nickelsburg adheres to Charles, however, who suggests that the term “spirits” is an inaccurate rendering of נַפְשֵׁי הַרוּחַ, *Book of Enoch*, 30. Additional support for Nickelsburg comes from Milik’s reconstruction of 4Q204 frg. 1 vi 1 נַפְשֵׁי הַרוּחַ עַל כֻּלָּם (“concerning all of their souls”), which can also plausibly be translated as “concerning all of themselves.”

¹⁷³ G^{Pan} reads: καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε ἅγιοι καὶ πνεύματα ζῶντα αἰώνια; G^{Sync} reads: καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅγιοι πνευματικοὶ ζῶντα ζωὴν αἰώνιον, and the Ethiopic recensions agree on the reading: *waāntemusa qeddusān manfasāwiyān heyāwāna hewyat zala ālam*. While this verse does not include “spirits” per se, it does describe the watchers as “spiritual ones/beings.”

¹⁷⁴ The Grk. mss. contain γεννηθέντες ἀπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ σαρκὸς πνεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. This reading is followed by both Charles and Nickelsburg. Knibb reads “body and flesh” from the Eth. Charles suggested that the word *’emnafesat* “from the body”, used by Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 101, is a corruption of the original *’emnafesāt* “from spirits”. It appears that Charles and Nickelsburg offer the better reading.

of the angels who were promiscuous with women will stand here; and they, having assumed many forms, made men unclean and will lead men astray.”¹⁷⁵ Important for this study is the potential tradition of angels, even after their imprisonment, continuing to influence humanity through their spirits.¹⁷⁶ However, this reading is not supported by the G^{Pan}: ‘Ενθάδε οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναίξιν στήσονται καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν, πολύμορφα γενόμενα, λυμαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πλανήσει αὐτούς. In this version, the spirits are not necessarily linked with the angels, but could reference the watchers’ giant offspring. Black, even while following G^{Pan}, still claims that it is the spirits of the angels who continue to lead humanity astray; a role he concedes is reserved for the giants in *I En* 15:8-16. Therefore, if Black is correct, the watchers would have to have undergone a similar separation within themselves as the giants. While the angels’ bodies would be imprisoned, their spirits would somehow be free to roam the earth.¹⁷⁷ This concept is not found elsewhere within the Enochic corpus. Nickelsburg contends that these spirits in 19:1 should be “interpreted as functionally equivalent if not identical with ‘the evil spirits’ that went forth from the bodies of the dead giants, according to 15:8-12.”¹⁷⁸ Thus, while most references to fallen angels as spirits do lack clarity and consensus, there at least appears to be a tradition of naming the watchers’ spirits that may have played a role in the formative history of 1 Peter.

b. Giants as Spirits

While references to fallen angels as spirits do occur in *BW*, its author/redactor frequently uses “spirits” to describe the giants. Nowhere in the Enochic corpus is there a more profound example of a lack of preciseness regarding the identities of “spirits” than in *I En* 15:6-16:1. Whereas the fallen angels are described as “spirits” in 15:6, 7, and 8, the term is also used for their giant offspring in 15:8, 9, 10 (potentially), 11, 12, and 16:1. Even within a single verse (8), the author/redactor of *BW* uses “spirits” to refer to both the watchers and the giants. In *I En* 15:8b, the giants are described as “evil spirits.”¹⁷⁹ Additionally, verse 9 uses the term three times regarding the giants, twice referring to them as evil and once with no qualification.

¹⁷⁵ Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:106.

¹⁷⁶ This reading of fallen angels as spirits who continue to lead humanity astray is supported by Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 50.

¹⁷⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 105-06.

¹⁷⁸ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1*, 287.

¹⁷⁹ “Evil” is found in the Ethiopic as well as in G^{SynC} (πονερά), whereas G^{Pan} reads “strong” (ἰσχυρά).

The “spirits of the giants” are mentioned in 15:11, while these illegitimate offspring are named unqualified spirits in 15:12 and 16:1.¹⁸⁰

Traditionally, early Jewish and Christian writings assign the aetiology of “evil spirits” to the emanations that came from the giants after their physical bodies were destroyed. Most recently, Archie Wright has summarized the traditions within *BW* that originate such a theory.¹⁸¹ Wright has articulated the accepted understanding that at least some sections of *BW* portray one of the results of the illicit union between the watchers and human women as the combination of the divine and human properties which lead to a violent group of offspring. As a punishment, the giants’ bodies are destroyed, yet their spirits, which are of angelic origin, continue to exist as evil spirits upon the earth.

This theory of the origins of evil spirits has been challenged by Dimant, who disagrees with the majority of current scholarship that the destruction of the giants resulted the emanation of evil spirits. She supports her theory with two basic conclusions. First, if the giants’ spirits are allowed to exist and continue to lead humanity astray, then their physical punishment was ultimately in vain. Second, if post-deluge evil is a result of the pre-flood giants, then Gabriel and Michael’s commissioning to rid the world of all evil from *1 Enoch* 10 is also not fulfilled. Dimant views the birth of the giants as consisting of two distinct traditions: (1) women giving birth to physical giants that begin to destroy humanity and (2) women giving birth to evil spirits that lead humanity astray.¹⁸² Therefore, evil spirits are born directly from women and are not the result of the destruction of the giants’ bodies.

Wright counters by suggesting that the physical punishment of the giants is meant to save humanity from the cannibalistic violence of the giants rather than an attempt to eradicate all evil from the world. Second, he claims that the punishment of the “spirits of the giants” in chap 10:16 refers to a future eschatological punishment and thus is not incompatible with his understanding of the aetiology of evil spirits.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ The references to the giants in 15:8 and 16:1 have been translated by Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 84-85 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267 as “spirits” following the Greek. Knibb, based upon the Ethiopic also refers to the giants as “spirits” even though he more frequently translates the Ethiopic here (*nafes*) as “souls.” However he states that in certain contexts require a translation of “spirit.” See Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:101.

¹⁸¹ Archie Wright, *The Origins of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1-4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 152-60.

¹⁸² Dimant, “Fallen Angels,” 62-63.

¹⁸³ Wright, *Evil Spirits*, 152-53. See also John Collins, “Methodological Issues,” 318-19 where he suggests that *1 En* 10:16 could refer to a future eschatological punishment as suggested in 16:1. See

c. Humans as Spirits

The *Book of Watchers* also uses the term “spirits” when referencing humans. Again, given the composite nature of these texts, certainty of original readings often remains elusive. The first reference to humans as spirits comes from *1 En* 9:3. While both Knibb and Nickelsburg translate the phrase as “souls of men” (αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) based upon G^{Pan} and the Eth. G^{Sync} reads “the spirits and souls of men (τὰ πνεύματα καὶ ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων).”¹⁸⁴ A similar mention of humans as spirits occurs in *1 En* 9:10. G^{Pan} and Eth. read “souls of the dead” (αἱ ψυχὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων) rather than spirits. However, G^{Sync} records “the spirits of the souls of the dead” (τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀνθρώπων).¹⁸⁵ The second section describing humans as spirits occurs in *1 En* 20:3, 6. In verse three, Raphael is said to be in charge of the “spirits of men.” Additionally, verse 6 recounts that Sariel (Eth. *sarāqā`ēl*) is in charge of the “spirits who sin against the spirit.”¹⁸⁶ Finally, *BW* uses spirits to refer to humans in *1 Enoch* 22. When recording Enoch’s vision of the hollow areas of judgment, the writer/redactor refers to deceased humans as the “spirits of the souls of the dead.”¹⁸⁷ In verse 5, amidst the same vision, the word spirit is used for a human or humans. Based upon the Ethiopic, Knibb describes Enoch viewing “the spirits of the sons of men who were dead” (*manāfesta welud sab`'enza mutān we`etomu*). Nickelsburg renders this as “the spirit of a dead man” as found in 4Q206 frg. 1 xxii 3-4 (תַּרְנֶמֶת אִישׁ מֵת).¹⁸⁸ Finally, *1 En* 22: 6-7 contains the word “spirit” when referring to Abel.

The author/redactor of *BW* clearly utilizes “spirits” to refer to angels (both good and evil), giants, and humans. While much of the confusion within the preceding verses is a result of multiple traditions and recensions of *1 Enoch* from three different languages, there appears to be sufficient evidence to make the claim

also Paolo Sacci, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; trans. William J. Short; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 54, in which he also posits a realized as well as future eschatology theme common in early Judaism.

¹⁸⁴ Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:85 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 202.

¹⁸⁵ Against Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:87, Nickelsburg suggests that G^{Sync} is the better reading, although the “spirits of” may be a secondary addition, *1 Enoch* 1, 205, n.10a.

¹⁸⁶ The Ethiopic adds that these are spirits “of the sons of men” (*’egwala`emmaḥeyāw*).

¹⁸⁷ G^{Pan}; G^{Sync}; and Eth. agree.

¹⁸⁸ Similar to the Ethiopic, G^{Pan} also describes the spirits referring to “dead men” (ἀνθρώπους νεκρούς). Despite the plural reading of spirits by G and the Eth., G refers back to only one spirit, that is of Abel, in vs. 5b-7. This caused Charles to state that “this verse is defective and corrupt in the Gk. and Eth.” Following M. Lods’ emendation of the text, Charles has altered the Greek to read πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ. See Charles, *Books of Enoch*, 360; Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:109; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 301. For notes on the Aramaic, see Milik, *Book of Enoch*, 229.

that in *BW*, all three entities were originally named “spirits.” Therefore, a careful examination of πνεύματα and its Aramaic and Ethiopic equivalents alone brings a reader no closer to an identification of the imprisoned spirits of 1 Peter among the three aforementioned types of beings.

2.7.3 Sinful Agents Responsible for the Flood

In addition to being named “spirits” in 1 Pet 3:19, the recipients of Christ’s proclamation are also described as having sinned in the days of Noah. If the writer of 1 Peter is using *BW*, or a tradition common to it, then an identification of the beings responsible for the evil which necessitated the flood in *BW* might aid in a more precise classification of the sinful spirits in 3:19. And again, as with the study of the word πνεύματα above, angels, giants, and humans are all held responsible for the iniquities that precipitated the deluge.

a. Angels

Prior to the flood, *1 En* 10:4-8 records God’s commissioning to imprison Asael for improper instruction claiming “all the earth was made desolate by the deeds of the teaching of Asael. And over him write all sins.” This line places responsibility for the sin prior to the earth’s cleansing on the evil instruction of the watchers. Similarly other passages in *BW*, like 7:2-6 and 9:9-10 describe sins of the giants, but primary blame for the flood still is placed upon the watchers since it was their illicit union that caused these improper beings to come into the world. Therefore, *BW* clearly presupposes angelic culpability in the days before the flood, allowing for the possibility that they could be described as spirits who had sinned in the days of Noah.

b. Giants

The Book of Watchers does not implicate the angels alone for responsibility for sin prior to the flood. Other lines clearly incriminate the giants as well. *1 En* 7:3-5 describes improper actions of the giants including: devouring all the labor of the sons of men, killing men, eating men, eating each other and drinking blood. Similarly, in Michael’s commissioning to destroy the giants found in *1 En* 10:15, the reason stated for their destruction is that the giants have wronged men. So the author/redactor of *BW* associates the giants with the sin leading up to the flood, which again would

allow for the giants to be the recipients of Christ's proclamation to the spirits who sinned in the days of Noah.

c. Humans

Human culpability for sin prior to the flood is without question found in the Genesis account. But even though the *Book of Watchers* often attempts to place liability for sin upon supernatural beings, human responsibility for the deluge is not completely neglected. Although *1 En* 9:6 implicates Asael for teaching iniquity to humanity, it also states it was instruction that humans were striving to learn. Similarly while Asael was responsible for teaching humanity how to make weapons and jewelry, *1 En* 8:1 indicates that the men actually made the weapons and items of adornment for themselves and their wives. Finally, the fact that in the punishment commissioning and pronouncements in *1 Enoch* 10 Noah and his family are singled out for salvation implicates the rest of unrighteous humanity as at least partly responsible for the deluge that was at hand. In *BW*, humanity, as well as angels and giants are not only seen as imprisoned spirits, but all bear the responsibility of sinning in the days of Noah as well. Therefore, again it appears that all three entities fit within the description of the recipients of Christ's proclamation in 1 Pet 3:19.

2.8 Conclusion

It is evident that, already in *BW*, different traditions are being conflated, changed, and added in the development of the punishment motifs found in *1 Enoch*. Ideas concerning the recipients of punishment, the agents of punishment, the location and method of punishments, as well as the results of punishments of both cosmic and human beings are already conflated by the redactor of *BW*. Previous work on 1 Peter has not grappled with the complexities of these traditions. For while, as Dalton suggests, the author of 1 Peter is clearly drawing from the angelic punishment traditions found in *1 Enoch*, the same work by no means excludes giants and/or humans as the recipients of Christ's message.

The previous study of angelic, giant, and human punishment traditions within the *Book of Watchers* illustrates the complex nature of primordial sin and punishment at least within a segment of early Judaism. Angelic punishment stories, including the various Shemihaza and Asael myths are already conflated in their earliest forms, and this blending of traditions continues to evolve throughout the work. Separate stories

of angelic sin, whether it be an illicit union or improper instruction, are woven together. The places of incarceration for the angels are not consistent. The timing of angelic punishment is also not consistent in *BW*. At times their imprisonment appears to be forever, while at others it is only temporary, as these angels await a further Day of Judgment. Finally, the results of angelic punishment vary, as to whether the fallen angels are able to continue to be an evil influence on the earth, or if they are now bound and powerless.

Similar conflation of traditions also occur within *BW* regarding the sin and punishment of the giants. Sins and punishments that the Gen. 6 account attributes to humans are shifted to the giants in *BW*. Regarding the giants' punishment, some accounts within *BW* clearly imply the giants ultimately destroy themselves in a war orchestrated by God's angels. At other times, however, it is possible that angels are responsible for destroying the giants. Regarding these angelic executioners, *BW* also blends at least two traditions together as both Michael and Gabriel are commissioned to punish the giants. The results of the giants' punishments are also varied. At times in *BW*, the giants are destroyed and nothing more is stated. Other descriptions indicate that while giants' bodies are destroyed, their spirits continue to exist and cause evil on the earth. They will do so until a final Day of Judgment.

Finally, while human punishment stories are more scarce in *BW*, the few that are preserved are inconsistent. Certain sections of *BW* portray humans as merely passive victims of cosmic sin. At other times humans are play a more active role in the evil that lead to the flood. Regarding human punishment, most of *BW* implies evil humanity being destroyed in the deluge. There is one instance where human spirits are imprisoned in caves similar to are even the same as the fallen angels.

Therefore, this study of *BW* already has demonstrated that the term "spirits," those who sinned in the days of Noah, and those who are imprisoned could refer to both cosmic and human beings. Additionally, even *BW* contains the various punishment myths in a conflated state. Stories about angels, giants, and humans, regarding both their sins and punishments, are already blending and changing in the third century B.C.E.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, this conflation will be a trend that continues and is expanded upon over the next three centuries until the composition of 1 Peter. These stories of human and cosmic punishment surrounding the flood continue to emerge and develop within the corpus of *1 Enoch* as well by the

work's use in later Jewish and Christian literature composed prior to the first century C.E. And, as will be demonstrated, it is this changing of traditions, rather than in any one of them in particular, that needs to be explored in order to more fully understand what lies behind 1 Pet 3:18-22.

CHAPTER 3

RECEPTION AND RECASTING OF SIN AND PUNISHMENT TRADITIONS IN EARLY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has demonstrated the complexity of the sin, judgment, and punishment traditions already recorded in the *Book of Watchers*. Numerous myths have been combined, altered, conflated, and redacted to form what appear to be incoherent stories of angelic, giant, and human sin, judgment, and punishment. These stories, already edited within *BW*, continue to be altered and conflated in later Jewish and Christian works. This chapter looks at the remaining sections of *1 Enoch* as well as other early Jewish and Christian literature to demonstrate how the sin and punishment traditions concerning angels, giants, and humans have developed and what, if any, lessons might be valuable for the study of 1 Peter. Not only are the stories found in chap. 3 of this work valuable for study by themselves, but noting the shifts in these myths from their predecessors, recorded in *BW*, will prove to be important for understanding how the writer of 1 Peter might have received and utilized these traditions.

3.2 The Enochic Corpus

3.2.1 The *Book of Dream Visions* (*1 Enoch* 83-90)

In addition to *BW*, the *Book of Dream Visions* contains a number of references to the punishment myths relevant for the study of the potential traditions drawn upon by the author of 1 Pet 3:18-22. Acknowledging the dynamic nature of the punishment stories in early Jewish literature already within the Enochic corpus itself betrays “the angelic punishment tradition” used by Dalton and others when describing the role of early Jewish literature in the development of 1 Peter.

3.2.1.1 *The Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85-90)

The *Animal Apocalypse*, which Nickelsburg dates to the later years of the third century B.C.E., continues to elaborate on the fall of the watchers, the sins of humans and giants, as well as their respective punishments.¹⁸⁹ Prior to the elucidation of Gen 6:1-4, the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* recounts Abel’s murder at the hand of his

¹⁸⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 360-62.

brother Cain, who is represented as a black bull (85:3-9). The “blackness” of Cain and his descendants are contrasted with the white bulls that symbolize Seth and his offspring. Important for this study is the fact that human sin (even murder) existed prior to the descent of the watchers. Therefore, the fallen angel myth cannot be the source of evil for the apocalypse. This order of sin, namely human and then angelic, appears to reflect the emphases on human sin and punishment in *AA* as opposed to angelic and giant sin in *BW*.

I En 86:1-6 records the fall of the watchers and the evil that resulted from the birth of the giants. The version of these events in the *Animal Apocalypse* appears to draw from a tradition contained in the *Book of Watchers*, especially chapters 6-8, but the apocalypse also expands upon the story as found in *BW*. First, in recounting the fall of the angels, *AA* singles out a single star who began the process of sin on earth. This star appears to be identified with Asael from *I En* 8:1 who is said to be responsible for all sin. Additionally, the punishment of this rebel star in *I En* 88:1 closely resembles Asael’s punishment in *I En* 10:4-5.¹⁹⁰ After the first star fell, *I En* 86:1-2 records that humanity, represented by large black cattle, exchange their pens, their pasture, and their calves.¹⁹¹ While the text itself gives no indication that this “exchanging” is sinful, it has been traditionally interpreted as such.¹⁹² Vital to this study is the understanding that, according to *AA*, the fall of the watchers and the birth of the giants (Shemihaza and his companions in *I Enoch* 6) occurs after Asael has rebelled and instructed humanity to sin. While no angelic instruction of sin to humanity is clearly mentioned in *AA*, the fact that humanity is destroyed in the flood

¹⁹⁰ Thus it appears that *AA* is drawing from sources that understand Asael rather than Shemihaza as the first fallen angel. This pattern of evil instruction preceding the illicit union is found in sections of *BW*, mentioned above, as well as in *Jubilees* 4-5.

¹⁹¹ For a discussion on the translation of ‘*abiyāna wasalimāna* (large, black vs. large and black) see Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 237.

¹⁹² See Black, *Book of Enoch*, 259. Scholars have generally argued that the large black cattle refer to the Cainites, as opposed to the white oxen used to describe the Sethites. Charles, in *Book of Enoch*, 187, held that the evil “exchanging” in 86:2 described the intermarriage between the Sethites and the Cainites. Nickelsburg also suggests a similar interpretation in that the Sethites have now been corrupted through intermarriage with the Cainites; thus their near extermination through the flood is recorded in *I En* 89:1-6. See Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 373. Tiller agrees that the large black cattle refer to the Cainites. However, he does not juxtapose them with the Sethites. Rather, Tiller concludes that the “exchanging” signifies that the Cainites have corrupted their homes, changed their dietary laws and possibly consumed blood, and they have begun to commit violence against one another, presumably due to the teachings of Asael represented by the first fallen star. See Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 237-39. Regardless of the specific identification of “exchanging,” it does appear that most scholars view this as a sinful activity of the part of humanity after the fall of the first star but prior to the descent of the others.

in 89:1-6 implies that humans are more than passive victims of sin, but are somehow at least partly responsible for the deluge.

Following the proposed sin of the first fallen star, *I En* 88:3-5 records the rebellion of the watchers who become like humans and have intercourse with women (*I En* 6:4-6). As in *BW* (7:1-2), this illicit union results in the birth of the giants, who are represented in *AA* as elephants, camels, and asses.¹⁹³ The birth of the giants in 86:5-6 (as in *BW* 7:3-5) elicits tremendous fear among all of humanity. The giants are battling and consuming the inhabitants of the earth, causing them to tremble and flee.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, *AA* preserves the basic pattern of angelic sin of evil instruction and illicit union recorded in *BW*, with the possible exception that the author of *AA* has changed the order of angelic sin in relation to *BW*.

The sins of the giants in *AA* (causing fear and destruction) are similar to those found in *BW*. The most notable difference between *AA* and earlier sections of *BW* is the continued shift of responsibility for sin placed upon humans. While angelic and giant sin is prevalent, the stories of murder (*I En* 85:3-8) as well as the seemingly unholy activity of exchanging in *I En* 86:2, all point to the theme of human sinfulness prior to the deluge.

In addition to recording the sins of the watchers, giants, and humans, the *Animal Apocalypse* also details their respective punishments. Building upon the traditions portrayed in *BW* (10:1-22), *AA* (88:1-89:1) records the punishment of the

¹⁹³ The use of the tri-fold elephants, camels and asses in *I En* 86:4, as well as in 89:6 is noteworthy for this study. As Tiller notes, these three beasts correspond to those found in *Jub* 7:22 (giants, Naphil, and Elyo). Additionally, G^{Sync} records (οἱ δὲ Γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν Ἐλιούδ) “and the Giants begat Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born Elioud.” 4Q206 frg. 4 i 21 (*I En* 89:6) places the elephants last. See Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse* 240, and Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 373. It is possible that the writer of *AA* is utilizing the tradition from *Jub* 7:22, or one common to it, further complicating these punishment traditions. In *Jubilees*, the Naphidim are the collective sons of the Watchers. These group of Naphidim are separated into three different classes: the giants, who kill the Naphil, the Naphil who destroyed the Eyo, who are responsible for the deaths of humankind. However, G^{Sync} of *I En* 7:2 portrays three distinct generations angelic offspring: the Γίγαντες, who begat the Ναφηλείμ who begat the Ἐλιούδ. Therefore, the Nephilim have become a generic name for the sons of the watchers as well as a one of the specific subgroups. In *Jubilees* the giants, Naphil, and Elyo are different types of Naphidim. This further demonstrates the complex and conflated nature of these traditions as they continue to develop. For a detailed analysis of these offspring, see Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 342-43.

¹⁹⁴ In *I En* 86:6, the author of *AA* shifts his language from humans as cattle, to “all the sons of the earth quaked and fled.” Robert H. Charles, in *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Dillmann’s Ethiopic text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 229, argued that sons of the earth was used to distinguish those of pure human descent compared with the half-breed children of the humans and watchers. Nickelsburg suggests it could simply be a slip of the pen, *I Enoch* 1, 374. Tiller suggests that the switch to human imagery might expand those who are afraid of the giants to all the creatures of the earth, not just people (cf. *I En* 7.5).

watchers, giants, and humans at the hands of four angels. These four angels, though all are unnamed in *AA*, appear to correspond with those mentioned in *BW*. *1 En* 88:1 describes an angel binding the first fallen star by his hands and feet and casting him into the dark abyss, which corresponds with Raphael's binding of Asael in *1 En* 10:4-8.¹⁹⁵ In *1 En* 88:2 an angel gives the giants (elephants, camels, and asses) swords in order to destroy each other, again corresponding to Gabriel's punishment of the giants in 10:9-10.¹⁹⁶ *1 En* 88:3 describes an angel binding the rest of the fallen angels and throwing them into the abyss of the earth. This correlates to Michael's imprisonment of Shemihaza and his followers in 10:11-15, although the reference to Michael's destruction of the giants in 10:15 is not picked up in *AA*. *1 En* 90:21, 24 records the final judgment of the watchers and their fate in the fiery abyss.¹⁹⁷

While *AA* does utilize *BW*, at least chapters 6-11, regarding the fall and punishment of both the angels and giants, it does diverge from its source when portraying the flood. The writer of *AA* has altered the placement of the angelic instruction to Noah regarding the building of the ark due to the coming deluge. While the teachings are given by the first of the four angels in *BW* 10:1-3, *AA* places the instruction with the last of the four (89:1), presumably to closer associate it with the flood which immediately follows. In both *BW* and *AA*, the flood will be or is sent to destroy humans deemed sinful while the righteous Noah, and his family are spared.¹⁹⁸

However, *AA* adds that the giants, represented by camels, elephants, and asses, also perish in the flood. As noted above, *BW* clearly records the giants' punishment by means of the sword just prior to the deluge. *AA*, in *1 En* 88:2, also recounts the giants' destruction by means of the sword.¹⁹⁹ Although the Aramaic fragment of this passage contains challenges, the Ethiopic reveals that *AA* (*1 En* 89:6) describes the

¹⁹⁵ The Eth. reads *wagara* with no mention of the projectiles. Nickelsburg, in *1 Enoch 1*, 374-75 suggests that no mention of Michael hurling stones is found in the angelic punishment of Shemihaza found in *1 En* 10:9-12 but does occur in Hesiod's account of the *Titanomachia* in *Theogony* 675, 713-26. However, the binding hand and foot better coheres with the punishment of Asael in *1 En* 10:4-8, which also includes the presence of sharp, jagged stones upon which Asael is to be placed.

¹⁹⁶ The punishment of the giants is further developed in *1 En* 14:4-7. However, *AA* does not recount this version.

¹⁹⁷ For more discussion of *AA*'s use of *BW* regarding punishment, see Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 84-85; 252-55.

¹⁹⁸ See *1 En* 89:2-9. *AA* does not give specific reference to humans perishing in the flood. However, 89:6 describes "all the other animals" perishing in the flood in addition to those representing the giants. It is unclear if the other animals refer to the general population of humans or if the writer has temporarily abandoned his allegory and is referring to actual animals, See Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 264.

¹⁹⁹ See *1 En* 10:9-10 and 16:1 which indicates that the giants were slaughtered.

giants perishing in the flood itself, a stark change from *BW*.²⁰⁰ It is evident that between *BW* and *AA*, subtle but significant shifts have already begun to take place within the angelic, giant, and human punishment traditions. First, responsibility for evil appears to be further shared with cosmic beings and humans. Second, the flood, which is the method of punishment for humans in *BW*, has also become the cause of the demise for the giants in one section of *AA*. In fact, the two distinct punishments of the giants (88:2 and 89:6) are allowed to coexist. Thus, in *AA*, it is evident that certain punishment traditions are continuing to conflate.

3.2.1.2 *Enoch's First Dream Vision (1 Enoch 83-84)*

While only one verse in these chapters records an early Jewish punishment myth, it is an important line which demonstrates the conflation of traditions that had already begun by the mid-second century B.C.E.²⁰¹ *1 En* 84:4 states, “And now the angels of your heavens are doing wrong, and upon human flesh is your wrath until the great Day of Judgment.” Here is an awkward link where humanity is held liable and punished for the sins of the watchers. This represents the continued shift within the Enochic corpus of assigning at least some responsibility of sin to humans. If one accepts the claim proposed by Dimant, Nickelsburg, and Newsome that the Shemihazah and Asael traditions from *BW* developed independently, it becomes evident that this verse in the *First Dream Vision* of Enoch expands upon a conflation that already had begun in *BW*.²⁰² This vision could be seen as a continuation of a movement within early Judaism to view both humans and supernatural entities, as responsible for the evil prior to the deluge. While angelic sin is still part of the writer’s tradition (84:4), there is no doubt that the punishment of the flood is mainly directed against humans and their sin.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ The Ethiopic records the giants (elephants, camels, and asses) and the rest of the animals sinking to the earth (*wakwellomu 'almemt wanagayāt wa 'agmāl wa 'a 'dug tsaṣṣmu diba medr*) and perishing in the depths (*watasatmu westa qalāy*). For the most recent discussion on the Aramaic of this passage, see Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 264-65. The difficulties revolve around to main issues. First, elephants, which appear first in the Ethiopic and better correspond with the three types of giants, are placed last in *1 En* 89:6 and the camels and asses are in a lacuna. Second, it is debated whether or not these animals were cast or merely sank into the sea.

²⁰¹ Nickelsburg dates this section of *1 Enoch* to sometime after 169-163 B.C.E., basing that date upon its dependence upon the *Animal Apocalypse*. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 347, 360-61.

²⁰² See chapter 2 above.

²⁰³ *1 En* 84:4-6.

3.2.2 *I Enoch* 91-108

3.2.2.1 *Introduction*

The final chapters of *I Enoch*, according to Loren Stuckenbruck, are composed of the following five independent literary units: *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93:1-10; 91:11-17), *Exhortation* (91:1-10, 18-19), *Epistle* (92:1-5; 93:11-105:2), *Birth of Noah* (106:1-107:3), and *Eschatological Admonition* (108:1-15). Stuckenbruck dates the first four of these units to the second century B.C.E., all of which were first composed independent of the Enochic corpus and were later edited into what is now referred to as *I Enoch*. The final chapter (*I Enoch* 108) was appended to the end of this collection in the later part of the first century C.E.²⁰⁴

While a detailed analysis of these literary units of *I Enoch* is beyond the scope of this work, there are a number of themes that are important for the study of the potential reception of punishment traditions in 1 Peter. First, it will be apparent that each of the works that make up this section of *I Enoch* is familiar with, and makes use of, the sin and punishment traditions as recorded in the *Book of Watchers*. Second, the respective authors of these units reshaped and reapplied these myths from *BW* to fit their own circumstances and agendas. Thus, preserving the traditions of the fallen angels, giants and humans, was not their aim. Rather, these stories provided the base from which these writers could articulate their own message.

3.2.2.2 *The Apocalypse of Weeks (I Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17)*

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* was originally an independent work composed in the second century B.C.E. that divides history into ten periods (represented by weeks) from the birth of Enoch to the eternal judgment. In addition to the Ethiopic, parts of this literary unit are preserved in Aramaic in 4QEn^g (4Q212).²⁰⁵

The writer of this apocalypse associates the presence of evil in his own day with the wickedness found on earth before the flood. In the “second week,” evil arises and deceit “sprouts up.” Even though it appears Noah is rescued, iniquity is predicted to increase after the flood (*I En* 93:4). Those responsible for evil are not identified, however Stuckenbruck suggests that the word “sprout up” (Aram. צמח) might refer

²⁰⁴ Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91-108*, 1.

²⁰⁵ For the most recent critical discussion regarding the date, manuscript evidence, as well as the difficulties in its sequence, see Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91-108*, 49-57. See also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 245-72 + pls. XXI-XXIV; Daniel C. Olson, “Rediscovering the Original Sequence of *I Enoch* 91-93,” *JSP* 11 (1993): 69-91; and Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1*, 414-15.

to illicit sexual activity of the angels and the subsequent birth of their giant offspring.²⁰⁶

Having set the scene with the evil surrounding the flood, the writer then moves on, in “weeks 7-10,” to describe the presence of evil in his own time as well as the judgment and punishment that would follow. In “week 7,” *I En* 93:9 records the rising of a “wicked and perverse generation.” “Weeks 7 and 8” describe the punishment of wicked humans. A group of elect are given swords, which they use to destroy the evil ones (93:10; 91:11-12). Important here is the mention of humans being destroyed by the sword, a punishment associated with the giants in *BW* (10:9; 16:1) and *AA* (88:1). Furthermore, the humans awaiting punishment are not mere sinners, but are labeled “oppressors,” which will be a theme developed later in the *Similitudes* (91:11-12). Unlike *BW* and *AA*, a segment of elect humans carry out punishment against other humans rather than angelic beings. This destruction is followed by a revelation of judgment for the entire world in “week 9” (*I En* 91:14). Finally, “week 10” elucidates the judgment of the watchers (*I En* 91:15). Thus, the judgment of the watchers takes place after that of humanity. Additionally, a shift is seen within the *Apocalypse of Weeks* where traditions previously attributed to the punishment of giants are reapplied to humans.²⁰⁷

3.2.2.3 *The Exhortation* (*I Enoch* 91:1-10, 18-19)

The *Exhortation* contains a description of the punishment of evil on the earth, which is followed by a resurgence of evil, and culminates in an eschatological destruction of humanity. The two-fold punishment consisting of the days of Noah as an archetype for the eschatological judgment is again utilized (*I En* 91:5-10). Similar to *I En* 91:14 mentioned above, it is iniquity itself, rather than those who commit sin, that will be destroyed. At the final judgment, the Lord himself executes judgment on the earth. Again, he cuts down evil and oppression. In this eschatological judgment however, either all of the idols of the gentiles, or possibly the gentile nations themselves, will be judged by fire (*I En* 91:7-9).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91-108*, 93. See also Nickelburg, *I Enoch 1*, 443.

²⁰⁷ Despite the focus of humanity as the recipients of divine punishment, the departing of the “works” from the earth rather than those humans responsible for the evil could represent a judgment against the evil spirits who are held responsible for the evil of humanity. For a discussion of this possibility see, Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91-108*, 142-43.

²⁰⁸ Knibb contends that this judgment will be directed against the gentile nations, *Book of Enoch*, 2:218. Nickelsburg, in *I Enoch 1*, 413, and Stuckenbruck, in *I Enoch 91-108*, 180, argue that the idols

3.2.2.4 *The Epistle of Enoch* (92:1-5; 93:11-14; 94:1-105:2)

The *Epistle of Enoch*, extant in Ethiopic, Greek, and two Aramaic fragments (4Q204 and 4Q212), contains three discourses in which the wicked are often condemned, and the righteous are promised ultimate vindication.²⁰⁹ Stuckenbruck has noted the dependence of the *Epistle* on the *Book of Watchers*. Moreover, he has articulated the important fact that the writer of the *Epistle* has used fallen angel mythology from *BW* and has recast this imagery and language towards humans, who are the focus of the work.²¹⁰ More specifically, the *Epistle* not only continues the shift in imagery from cosmic beings to humans seen above in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (91:11-12), wealthy and powerful humans are especially singled out for judgment.

Human wickedness is expanded upon in the *Epistle*. Throughout this literary unit, humans are accused of general iniquity (94:6, 7; 98:12). More specific sins are also recorded, including: deceit (94:6; 95:6; 98:15; 99:1, 2, 12; 104:10); blasphemy (94:8; 95:7); maltreatment of neighbors (95:5; 99:11, 15); hard heartedness (98:11); idolatry (99:7); and murder (100:1-3). Humans are also accused of eating blood, a sin traditionally associated with the giants in *Book of Watchers* (7:5). Furthermore, the “sinners” are persecuting the righteous (95:7; 98:11-14). Most often, this persecution takes the form of excessive wealth, which is used by the sinners to oppress the righteous (94:7, 8; 96:4-8; 97:8-10; 98:1-2, 11; 99:13; 102:9; 103:5, 6). This charge of oppressive wealth, more than any other sin, is leveled against evil humanity.

In addition to human iniquity, the *Epistle* also records various punishments that will be enacted upon sinful people, again, at times, reapplying previous imagery from *BW* towards humanity. Though, as will be noted, human punishment takes a variety of forms in this section, it often involves a reversal of fortunes between the wealthy sinners of this world and the righteous who will prosper in the world to come. Many times, the *Epistle* merely states that evil (either the deed itself or the human responsible for it) will be destroyed (92:5; 94:1-3, 7-9; 95:6; 96:1; 97:1; 98:3, 9-10, 16; 99:1-4, 9; 100:1-3; 103:4). In other instances, evil will be punished through delivery to a great curse (98:4; 102:3). One interesting shift in the *Epistle* is the inclusion of humanity as enactors of punishment. Sinful humans are killed by the

of the gentile nations are the recipients of God’s fiery judgment. Most important for this study is the punishment (or at least their deeds) with fire.

²⁰⁹For the most recent critical discussion of the manuscript evidence and dating for the *Epistle*, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 185-87.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, 206-11.

righteous in *I En* 98:12. *I En* 95:3 also records that righteous humans are allowed to enact punishment against their sinful counterparts according to their own desires.

The *Epistle* contains a number of punishments for humanity that appear to be drawn, both linguistically and conceptually, from the *Book of Watchers*. Regarding their punishment, humans are informed a number of times (94:6; 98:11, 16; 99:13, 14; 101:3; 102:3; 103:8) “you will have no peace” (*‘albotu salām*). Stuckenbruck has correctly demonstrated that this announcement is reminiscent of the pronouncement of judgment in *I En* 5:4.²¹¹ It is also a possibility that the petition of Asael for mercy, as well as the reply that he will have no peace from *I En* 13:1, is being reapplied to sinful humans in the *Epistle*. A second potential shift in human punishment previously associated with the watchers is the mention of being thrown into the abyss or being punished by fire. *I En* 98:3 claims that the spirits of evil humans would eventually be thrown into a fiery furnace. In another reference, the flesh of sinful humans will burn in a blazing fire (100:3).

The writer of the *Epistle* also appears to have used *I Enoch* 22 in his description of human punishment; again adapting earlier Enochic traditions for his own purpose. *I Enoch* 102 and 103 give a number of references, though not consistent, to the punishment of human spirits in Sheol. *I En* 103:6-8 records human spirits being led to Sheol where they would be punished. Stuckenbruck has pointed out that the language used in 103:6 is almost identical with the second cavern found in *I En* 22:10, mentioned above, in which the sinners who had not been punished on earth are held. This group is considered to be the worst of sinners. Interesting for this study is the fact that the writer of the *Epistle* is using traditional imagery from *BW* and applying it to his own opponents.²¹² However, it is unclear whether wicked humanity is punished in Sheol immediately upon their deaths, or if their punishment begins at a later date. It is possible that the writer of the *Epistle* envisions a “compartmentalized Sheol” similar to that found in *I Enoch* 22.²¹³ Yet Stuckenbruck suggests that the writer is more likely describing a two-fold state of Sheol (or afterlife) for the wicked. If this understanding is correct, the righteous and wicked descend to Sheol without any distinction between the two (102:6-11). Subsequently, the righteous are

²¹¹ Ibid., 261-62. He further proposes (pp. 475-76) that sinners’ lack of success while begging for mercy in their petition should be juxtaposed with the efficacy of the petitions of the righteous in *I En* 99:3.

²¹² Ibid., 534-35.

²¹³ This would be similar to the punishment found in *I En* 99:11 as well as reminiscent of the burning of the seventy shepherds in the fiery abyss in *I En* 90:22-27.

resurrected in *1 En* 103:4. It is only then, after the righteous are raised, that the wicked receive punishment.²¹⁴

3.2.2.5 *The Birth of Noah* (106-107)

The Birth of Noah, an appendage to the Enochic corpus, attempts to conclude the work by describing the events leading up to God's judgment as well as the salvation that lay beyond it. While composed apart from the rest of the work, it is dependent upon earlier Noahic traditions.²¹⁵ The general plot of this section consists of the birth of Noah and Lamech's questions about his conception; namely whether Noah is Lamech's son or whether an angel conceived him. Lamech's inquiry derives from Noah's appearance, which includes skin whiter than snow, hair white like wool, and eyes like sunshine.²¹⁶ Lamech brings his questions to Methuselah, who, in turn, makes query to his own father Enoch. *1 En* 106:4-12 is familiar with the story Gen 6:1-4 and at least some of the traditions that developed concerning the watchers. Enoch's response to Methuselah (*1 En* 106:13-107:2) recounts the fallen angel myth and punishment in more detail.

While Enoch ultimately assures Methuselah that Noah is in fact human, he begins his response to his son by recounting the fall of the watchers. Similar to *BW*, the angels sin by mingling with women, marrying them, and begetting children. For this study it is valuable to note that Enoch describes these children of the watchers (presumably the giants) as fleshy and not spirits.²¹⁷ While this adheres with earlier ideas of the giants containing flesh, such as described above in *BW*, it refers to the angels as spirits, as opposed to giants or humans. However, this section makes no specific reference to the giants' post-punishment state, which is when these beings would generally be referred to as spirits. Enoch then foretells the God's punishment, which includes the destruction of the earth through the flood. Even though no human

²¹⁴ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 209, 534-35. See also Émil Puech *Qumrân grotte 4 XXII Textes Araméens* (DJD 31; Oxford: Calrendon, 2001), 102-03. A further conflation of traditions is also found in *1 En* 94:7 and 99:16 where sinful humans are punished by means of a sword: a punishment traditionally reserved for giants in *BW* (10:15; see also 93:10; 91:11; 91:12; 108:3 for other examples of the shifting of this tradition).

²¹⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 539-42; and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 608-14.

²¹⁶ There is a supernatural quality to this appearance is similar descriptions are given for the "Son of Man" figure in Dan 7:9 and Rev 2:14.

²¹⁷ *1 En* 106:14. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 537-39, following Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 267 places the giants being flesh not spirits between vv. 14 and 15 based upon Gr^{CB}. Knibb, *Books of Enoch*, 2:246, following the Ethiopic, places it between vv. 16 and 17. The actual placement of this line is not important for this study. However, it is worth noting that in this passage refers to the giants as fleshy rather than as spiritual beings as found in *1 En* 15:6.

sin is recorded in this section, it is humanity (“when all men on earth die” *1 En* 106:16), except Noah and his family, who is eliminated in the flood. Similarly, there is no mention of any angelic or giant punishment, although the destruction of the giants could be inferred from the placement of the flood immediately following the description of the watchers’ sin and the subsequent birth of the giants. Again, there is a conflation present between heavenly rebellion and earthly punishment.

Potentially important for the study of 1 Peter is *The Birth of Noah’s* larger construct of a two-fold cyclic pattern of sin and judgment, with the flood serving as a prototype for the eschatological judgment.²¹⁸ In addition to destroying humanity, the flood cleanses the earth from all corruption allowing Noah and his remnant to live on an earth where all iniquities have been consummated.²¹⁹ While not specifically referencing judgment, this second period of evil ends with the coming of righteous generations. At that time evil and wickedness will end, violence will cease, and good things will come upon the earth.²²⁰ For this study of 1 Peter 3, it is important to note the occurrence of angelic sin being cleansed and righteous humanity being saved, through the waters of the flood. Yet despite this cleansing salvation, evil continued to exist in the post-deluge world. In this short work it is also possible that one finds the prototype of the salvation from evil spirits through Christian baptism which will be discussed in chapter four of this work.²²¹

3.2.2.6 A Final Book by Enoch (*1 Enoch* 108)

Chapter 108 of *1 Enoch*, which Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck date to the first century C.E., contains a summary of God’s judgment against the wicked and exaltation of the righteous.²²² While angelic or giant punishment is not mentioned in the closing chapter, the description of final human judgment and punishment might be

²¹⁸ A similar pattern has been noted in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93:4). However, in this instance angelic sin, which is punished through the flood, will be followed by more iniquity (106:19).

²¹⁹ *1 En* 106:17-18.

²²⁰ *1 En* 107:1.

²²¹ A similar myth is recorded in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20), which is dated from the third through first centuries B.C.E. Traditionally it has been accepted that the *Apocryphon* was dependent upon *1 Enoch* 106-07, however Dan Machiela has raised questions about, while not completely denying the possibility of, this assumption. *Cols.* 1-3 record a similar discussion regarding the birth of Noah and Lamech’s concern about the role of the watchers in his conception. The work mentions both the illicit union (1Q20 ii 1) and improper instruction (1Q20 i 9) common to the fallen angel myth from *BW*. For the most recent discussion on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see Daniel Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2007), 19-41.

²²² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 554; and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91-108, 690-94.

beneficial for understanding the potential background of 1 Peter 3.²²³ *1 En* 108:2-3 details the apparent eschatological punishments of humanity, although the actual penalties are not coherent. First, when referring to sinful humans²²⁴, *1 En* 108:2 states that their names will be stricken from the book of life as well as the book of the holy ones.²²⁵ Second, the seed of the humans will perish forever. While this might ultimately refer to the destruction of sin from the earth, it is reminiscent of earlier proclamations to the watchers within *1 En* (10:9, 12), namely that the fallen angels would observe the destruction of their children.²²⁶ Third, the spirits, still referring to humans, will be slaughtered. Destruction of human spirits, and spirits in general, is unique to *1 En* 108:3 and further complicates any potential coherence regarding human punishment. Slaughter as a punishment has generally been reserved for the giants, (*1 En* 10:15).²²⁷ Thus, there are two potential conflation in which methods of punishment reserved for giants earlier in *1 Enoch* have now evolved to describe the “future” of sinful humans.

Finally, even though human spirits are described as having been slaughtered in *1 En* 108:2, verse 3 suggests that this destruction of human spirits is not exhaustive or final. This verse claims that these human spirits will “cry out and groan in a desolate, unseen place, and in fire they will burn, for there is no earth there.” Similar to the *Epistle* (98:3; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8), human spirits will be punished through fire. *1 En* 108:4-7 goes on to describe a fiery cavern filled with weeping, groaning and pain. This is the final place of punishment of the spirits of the sinners, blasphemers, and those who do evil. Thus, it is apparent that the writer of *1 Enoch* 108 continues the practice seen elsewhere in this Enochic tradition of borrowing imagery from the *Book of Watchers* and reapplying it to human sinners. In this case the place of punishment

²²³ George Nickelsburg, in *1 Enoch 1*, 560 notes the relationship between 1 Peter and *1 Enoch*. He suggests that *1 Enoch* 108 could be part of 1 Peter’s “theological repertoire.” While this last point may be inconclusive, the parallels he notes lend further support to the probability of the epistle’s use of the watcher tradition in 1 Pet 3:18-22.

²²⁴ These disobedient humans described as those “who do evil” (*yegabberu ’ekuya*) as well as sinners.

²²⁵ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 553 n. 3a for a discussion of the textual difficulties regarding the “book of life” or “book of the living.” The theme of removing sinful names from a heavenly book is found in various places with the Hebrew Bible (Ps 69:29 and Dan 12:1), in *1 Enoch* (103:2), as well as the New Testament (Rev 3:5).

²²⁶ Stuckenbruck, in *1 Enoch 91-108*, 703, also notes that the combination of “crying out” and the obliteration of the descendants of evil humans is drawing from the reference to Abel and the obliteration of his offspring from *1 En* 22:7. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 555.

²²⁷ *1 Enoch* 10:15 specifically records the destruction of “the spirits of the half-breeds.” However, as noted above, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93:10; 91:11; 91:12) and the *Epistle* (94:7 and 99:16) have also reshaped this tradition. See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 475-76.

for human sinners is being drawn from the location of punishment associated with the stars in *1 Enoch* 18 and 21.²²⁸

3.2.3 The *Book of Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 37-71)

3.2.3.1 Introduction

The *Book of Similitudes* or *Parables* was originally a separate work apart from the Enochic corpus, currently dated loosely to the turn of the era from non-Christian Jews.²²⁹ The *Similitudes* consist of an introduction (chap 37); three distinct parables (chaps 38-44; 45-57; and 58-69); and a conclusion (chaps 70-71).²³⁰ In addition to being one of the last works to make up what is now referred to as *1 Enoch*, scholars generally agree that the *Book of Parables* is itself composite in nature. For example, chapters 70 and 71 are generally considered to be later additions to the original work.²³¹ While opinions vary as to their frequency and locations, there is also

²²⁸ See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 703 and Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?* (2 vols.; EtB NS 21; Paris: Lecoffre/Gabalda, 1993), 2:707. For other examples from Enochic tradition, see *1 En* 22:13; 98:3; 99:11.

²²⁹ George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2004), 6. Josef T. Milik, in “Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 375-78, originally suggested that the *Book of Parables* is a Christian work dating from the third century C.E. Christopher Mearns, in “The Parables of Enoch—Origin and Date,” *ExpTim* 89 (1978):118-19, suggests a Jewish-Christian origin for the work based upon similarities between Enoch and Jesus and the title “Son of Man.” However, the majority of current scholarship now agrees this work is a Jewish composition. See David Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 11-33 and “Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of Parables,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 415-43; Gabriele Boccaccini, “Finding a Place for the Parables of Enoch within Second Temple Jewish Literature,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 263-89; and Darrell D. Hannah, “The Book of Noah, the Death of Herod, and the Date of the Parables of Enoch,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 469-77. Further discussion on provenance can be in the *Parables*’ use of “Son of Man” below.

²³⁰ This common index of the *Book of Parables* describes the work in its final form. Loren Stuckenbruck, in “The Parables of Enoch According to Nickelsburg and Knibb: A Summary and Discussion of Some Remaining Questions,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 65-71 (esp. 70), has suggested that *1 Enoch* 37-71, which now makes up the *Book of Parables* was a blend of Enochic and Noahic traditions that redactors have woven together. This work, however, assumes that the *Book of Parables* was more-or-less in its final state by the composition of 1 Peter.

²³¹ Some scholars suggest that chapters 70 and 71 or at least 70:3-71 were later additions to the original *Book of Parables* due to such evidence as: the phrase “this is the third parable of Enoch” from chap 69 could be viewed as the end of the work; the shift in third person singular to first person singular within chapter 70; the identification of Enoch as the Son of Man seems to contradict earlier commentary in the Parables where these two figures are clearly separate figures. See Michael Knibb, “The Structure and Composition of the Parables of Enoch,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 62-63; and George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Discerning the Structure(s) of the Enochic Book of Parables,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 42-47.

scholarly consensus regarding the presence of Noahic interpolations within the *Book of Parables*.²³²

The *Book of Parables* is important for the study of the history of traditions that may have played a role in the formative history of Christ's proclamation to the imprisoned spirits of 1 Peter. The content of the *Parables* helps identify areas of fallen angel, giant, and human sin and punishment traditions that have been further conflated already within the Enochic corpus. Furthermore, it demonstrates how later writers used legends from earlier traditions and reapplied them to their own contexts. But, before any study of the relevance of content can be applied, identifying the date of the *Parables* is necessary to determine if it, or a tradition common to it, could have influenced the composition of the epistle. If *Parables* was composed prior to 1 Peter, then it may have been used by the Petrine author. If 1 Peter and the *Parables* were composed at a common time, it may reflect a tradition of material known to both writers or at least formed part of a cluster of thought popular during that period. If however, *Parables* was composed long after 1 Peter, than this section of *1 Enoch* could not have played a role in the formative history of Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison.²³³ Therefore, this work will give more attention to both the date and content to the *Book of Parables*.

3.2 3.2 Date

For the past fifty years, debate has arisen concerning the dating of the *Book of Parables* as well as its relationship with early Christianity.²³⁴ Proposed dates for this work have spanned four hundred years. Charles originally dated the *Book of Parables* to 94-64 B.C.E. during the Hasmonean rule of Palestine.²³⁵ Proposing the other extreme, J.T. Milik dates the work to the second half of the third century C.E., claiming that it was a Christian work written in Greek that replaced the *Book of*

²³² Hannah, "Book of Noah," 469-77; and Nickelsburg, "Discerning the Structure(s)," 45-46.

²³³ Even if the *Similitudes* was composed after 1 Peter, it is possible that it reflects a common tradition or thought from which 1 Peter and the *Similitudes* could be drawing from.

²³⁴ For a summary of approaches to dating the *Parables* prior to 1984, see Uhlig, *Das äthioppische Henochbuch*, 574-75.

²³⁵ Primary to Charles' dating is the reference to the kings and the mighty from *1 En* 47:1-4, which he argues references the Hasmonean princes and their Sadducean supporters. Additionally, he thought the *Book of Parables* was written by a Pharisee (excluding 79-70 B.C.E. as compositional possibilities) and contained pre-Christian Son of Man sayings. See Robert H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:171.

Giants in what he describes as an “Enochic Pentateuch.”²³⁶ Rejecting both of these two extremes, current scholarship currently dates the *Book of Parables* to the mid-first century B.C.E. through the first century C.E. However, debate continues within these parameters. David Suter has recently noted a number of criteria upon which various dates for the *Book of Parables* have been proposed:

1. *The absence of the Parables from Qumran.*
2. *Is 1 En 56:5-8 an historical reference or an apocalyptic myth?*
3. *Does 1 En 67:1 require a date prior to the destruction of Jerusalem?*
4. *Are the hot springs in 1 En 67:4-13 a reference to Herod the Great at Callirrhoe?*
5. *The identity of the kings and the mighty.*
6. *The implications of social context for the question of date.*
7. *The affinity of Parables to other literature.*
8. *The influence of the Parables upon the New Testament.*
9. *Identifying and dating traditions behind the Parables.*²³⁷

In 1984, Gillian Bampfylde dated the *Book of Parables* to ca. 50 B.C.E. Rejecting previous arguments that the lack *Parables* at Qumran requires a late date, she postulates that the references the “kings and mighty ones” throughout the work point to the Medes and the Persians, requiring a date after 164 B.C.E.²³⁸ However, whereas the majority of current scholarship understands *1 En 56:5-8* as an allusion to the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40-39 B.C.E., Bampfylde dismisses this theory claiming rather, that it describes the first Parthian invasion into Roman territory in 51-50 B.C.E.²³⁹ Additionally, she asserts that the reference to the lack of destruction of the “city of my righteous ones” from *1 En 56:7* points to the Parthian cavalry’s inability to successfully attack walled cities in the mid-first century B.C.E.²⁴⁰ Therefore, Bampfylde dates the *Book of Parables* to the late Hasmonean period.

Paolo Sacchi has dated the *Book of Parables* to 30 B.C.E. Like Bampfylde, Sacchi argues that the absence from Qumran does not demand a later date. Rather, he notes that no Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha written after 100 B.C.E. are found at

²³⁶ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 89-98 and “Problèmes,” 333-78. Milik’s theory of an “Enochic Pentateuch” has been widely criticized.

²³⁷ Suter, “Enoch in Sheol,” 416-17.

²³⁸ Gillian Bampfylde, “The Similitudes of Enoch: Historical Illusions,” *JSJ* 15 (1984): 10.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16, 22-28. She rejects the 40-39 B.C.E. invasion of Jerusalem because at the time the Parthians were welcomed by the Jews.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-25. Additionally, Bampfylde postulates that *1 En 67:4-13* does indeed refer to Herod’s trip to Callirrhoe for healing. However, he contends that this is a later interpolation inserted at the end of Herod’s life in 4 B.C.E.

Qumran.²⁴¹ He, along with Gabriele Boccaccini, articulates that the *Parables*' absence from Qumran is not mere chance, but rather is the result of ideological differences between the work and the community.²⁴² He also claims that the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. is too important to have been passed over by the *Parables*' author. Additionally, Sacchi finds historical allusions in *1 En* 56:5-8. Like others, he understands these verses as a reference to the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40-39 B.C.E. and the civil war experienced in Palestine after the attack. Where Sacchi diverges from others is in his contention that *Parables* was composed around 30 B.C.E., following the Parthian attack, while its consequences were well-remembered. Finally, Sacchi adheres to this early date because of his understanding of the relationship between the *Parables* and New Testament literature. Written in 30 B.C.E., Sacchi suggests that the influence of the *Parables* can be found throughout the New Testament. Most prominently, he claims that the work represents an intermediate step in the development of the Son of Man traditions between Daniel 7 and the Gospel of Mark.²⁴³

The majority of current scholarship dates the *Book of Parables* from the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. The evidence seems to best support this range of dates, yet scholars have interpreted the data differently resulting in various theories within this two century window. James Charlesworth, citing much of the same evidence references above, proposes that the *Parables*' composition falls on the early side of this range, during the reign of Herod the Great (40-4 B.C.E.).²⁴⁴ Charlesworth's unique contribution to the dating of *Parables* comes from his interpretation of "kings" and "mighty" along with those who "possess the land" (*1 En*

²⁴¹ Paolo Sacchi, "Qumran e la datazione del Libro delle Parabole di Enoc," *Hen* 25 (2003): 166.

²⁴² Both Sacchi and Boccaccini argue that *Parables*' absence from Qumran can best be explained by the schism between Qumran Essianism and Enochic Judaism. See, *Ibid.*, 160-62 and Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: the Parting of Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 144-49. While Boccaccini agrees with many of Sacchi's claims, he prefers date the *Parables* to the turn of the era primarily citing what deems to be a scholarly consensus. See. Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 144.

²⁴³ Sacchi, "Qumran e la datazione," 157-64.

²⁴⁴ James Charlesworth, "Can We Discern the Composition Date of the Parables of Enoch?," *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 450-68. Charlesworth suggests that the lack of *Parables* at Qumran does not necessitate a late first century C.E. date. First, he resists dating the work based upon an argument from silence, noting that only ten to twenty percent of the documents in the Qumran caves are currently available for study. Second, he suggests the possibility that if *Parables* was written in Galilee, it might not have been known in Qumran by 68 C.E. Finally, he repeats the claim that ideological differences might have kept the work from being included in the Qumran library (pp. 456-57). Charlesworth also agrees with Paolo Sacchi, interpreting *1 En* 56:5-8 as a reference to the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40-39 B.C.E. (p. 458).

38:4, 5; 45:5; 46:4; 48:8; 54:1, 2; and 62:2-6). By linking those who “possess the land” with the “kings” and “mighty,” Charlesworth identifies them as Herod the Great and his administration who confiscated Hasmonean property. The *Parables* would then speak about the coming divine judgment against Herod and his supporters. Thus, while acknowledging the possibility of a compositional date in the first decades of the Common Era, Charlesworth suggests that a date during Herod’s life is more probable.²⁴⁵ Proposals for a compositional date for the *Book of Parables* ranging from the late first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. are numerous and rely on much of the same evidence that has already been discussed. Differences in proposed dates rest primarily on subjective interpretation of the evidence.²⁴⁶

There are a number of scholars who, despite growing support for a date close to the turn of the era, continue to propose a composition for the *Book of Parables* towards the end of the first century C.E. While claiming that *Parables* was written prior to the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., David Suter contends it was composed as close to that event as possible.²⁴⁷ According to Suter, the work is of Jewish provenance and is an early example of the Jewish *hekhalot* tradition.²⁴⁸ Unlike others noted above, Suter understands *I En* 56:5-8 as an apocalyptic myth and argues that it does not reference a specific Parthian invasion.²⁴⁹ Rather than referencing Herod, the Hasmoneans, or the Parthians, Suter views the kings and mighty as the Romans. More specifically, while acknowledging it is mere speculation, he suggests that *I En* 46:4-8 and 63:4 could reference Caligula’s attempt to place a statue of himself in the temple, which would necessitate a later date.²⁵⁰ Therefore, regarding *Parables*’ relationship with the New Testament, Suter’s later date would make the

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 459-65. Darrell Hannah also adheres to a date shortly after the death of Herod. Hannah interprets *I Enoch* 67 as Herod’s visit to the springs at Callirrhoe. However, he understands this reference to be one of a number of “Noahic interpolations” that can be found throughout the work. He claims that the interpolation of Herod’s trip would be most effective shortly after his death. Therefore, if later interpolations were inserted into the *Book of Parables* soon after Herod’s demise, then a more original form of the work must have existed prior to his death. See, Darrell Hannah, “Book of Noah,” 469-77.

²⁴⁶ For example, Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone were pioneers in challenging Milik’s dating of the *Parables*, arguing that the work is from the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. Greenfield and Stone agree that its absence from Qumran could be explained ideologically. They also agree that *I Enoch* 56 does refer to the Parthian invasion of 40-39 B.C.E. However, they do not believe the work was written until the first century C.E. See Greenfield and Stone, “The Enochic Pentateuch,” 51-65.

²⁴⁷ See Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 11-33 and “Enoch in Sheol,” 415-43

²⁴⁸ Suter, *Traditions and Composition*, 14-23.

²⁴⁹ Suter, “Enoch in Sheol,” 422.

²⁵⁰ Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 23-32.

work parallel with New Testament ideas of the Son of Man and Christology rather than being a potential source for them.²⁵¹

Loren Stuckenbruck also dates the *Parables* to the end of the first century C.E. He does so based upon the form and language of the *Book of Watchers* used by the *Parables*' author. Stuckenbruck points out that if Nickelsburg's dating of the *Parables* composition to the first century B.C.E. is correct, "there would have been a greater likelihood (than for example at the end of the first century C.E.) that the author was depending on an Aramaic version of the Book of Watchers."²⁵² However, based upon linguistic analysis of the *Parables*, such as the use of introductory phrases, as well as active transitives, it is more likely that its author "was already aware of a Greek translation tradition," making a date in the later first century C.E. more preferable.²⁵³

Despite Suter's suggestion to the contrary, there appears to be a growing consensus that the *Parables* not only predates the writing of most New Testament works but also plays a role on the development of NT (with the potential exception of Revelation's) ideas on the Son of Man.

Excursus 1: The Son of Man as Eschatological Judge in the *Book of Parables* and the New Testament

The title "Son of Man" has played important roles in the development of early Judaism and Christianity. Originally, the "son of man" was not a specific title but was used throughout the Hebrew Bible as well as other Jewish literature to refer simply to humankind. The Hebrew phrase **בן אדם** occurs fourteen times in the Hebrew Bible and is often synonymous with the simple noun **אדם** meaning "man."²⁵⁴ Ps 144:3 also uses **בן אנוש** for similar purposes. Many times, "son of man" is used within the literary device of parallelism with a more generic word for humanity, for example in Ps 88:5: "What is man/humankind (**אנוש**) that you are mindful of him, the son of man

²⁵¹ Another supporter of a late date for the *Parables* is Michael Knibb, who suggests the work was written in the mid-second century C.E. However, more recently, while still supporting a late date, Knibb has conceded that a mid-first century C.E. composition is possible. Despite acknowledging the lack of reference to the fall of Jerusalem as well as potential dependence upon the *Parables* by the writer of Matt 19:28 and 25:37, Knibb still maintains a later date for a number of reasons including: the absence of the work at Qumran; *I Enoch* 56 does not refer to the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40-39 B.C.E. but rather could refer to anytime in the first century while the Parthians were a threat to Rome; and that Messianic ideas from the *Book of Parables* are similar to post-70 C.E. works like *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*. See, Michael Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," *NTS* 25 (1979): 345-59 and "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 165-84. See also, J. Clifford Hindley, "Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: An Historical Approach," *NTS* 14 (1968): 551-65.

²⁵² Stuckenbruck, "Parables of Enoch," 67.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 68-72.

²⁵⁴ Num 23:19; Jer 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Isa 51:12; 56:2; Ps 8:5; 80:18; 146:3; Job 16:21; 25:6; 35:8; and Dan 8:17. For a similar use in later Jewish tradition, see *1QS xi* 20-21.

(בן אדם) that you care for him?” בן אדם occurs ninety-three times in Ezekiel in what Fitzmeyer refers to as a “quasi-vocative.”²⁵⁵ While not yet referring to an angelic or messianic figure, the term no longer is a generic phrase for humanity.²⁵⁶

The use of the “Son of Man” in the Hebrew Bible changed most dramatically in the book of Daniel. Instead of referring to humanity or a single prophet, the title shifted to represent a heavenly figure. The Son of Man is first used to describe, at least potentially, a heavenly figure in Dan 7:9-14.²⁵⁷ In this vision Daniel sees someone “like a human being” (כְּאִישׁ אֲנוּשׁ), alongside of the Ancient of Days (God). Traditional interpretation of the identity of the Son of Man in Dan 7:13 has generally fallen into three broad categories, which include: 1) an exalted human being; 2) a collective symbol; 3) a heavenly being.²⁵⁸ The first interpretation was widely held by scholars until the nineteenth century but finds few supporters in current scholarship.²⁵⁹ The second interpretation, which saw the “one like a human being” as a corporate reference to the Jewish people, was most popular at the end of the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ The final, and most accepted by current scholarship, category of interpretation understands the “one like a human being” as an individual angelic being rather than a human messiah. The well-established use of human figures to represent angels in biblical as well as early Jewish literature strengthens this interpretation.²⁶¹ Most often, this angelic figure is identified as the archangel

²⁵⁵ Joseph Fitzmeyer, “The New Testament Title ‘Son of Man’ Philologically Considered,” in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (ed. J. Fitzmeyer; SBLMS 25; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 146.

²⁵⁶ Similar uses of this form of “son of man” can be found of Enoch in *1 En* 60:10 and of Elijah in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* 1:1.

²⁵⁷ Sabino Chialà suggests that the reference to the son of man in Dan 7:9-14 is merely a communal name given to the holy people of God Israel. Thus, he distinguishes the son of man from Dan 7:9-14 and the figure portrayed in Dan 10:1-19, the later, in his estimation is an angelic figure, see “The Son of Man: The Evolution of an Expression,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 156-58. John Collins, in “Enoch and the Son of Man: A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 216-17, refutes Chialà’s claims of a development of the identity of the son of man within Daniel, preferring to view both Daniel 7 and 10 as a reference to the archangel Michael, the heavenly representative of Israel.

²⁵⁸ Although a brief summary will be given in this work, a more detailed history of interpretations of the Son of Man in Daniel 7 can be found in Collins, *Daniel*, 308-10.

²⁵⁹ For traditional supporters of this view, see Georg Behrmann, *Das Buch Daniel* (HKAT 3/3, 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894), 48. More recently, see George R. Beasley-Murray, “The Interpretation of Daniel 7,” *CBQ* 45 (1983): 44-58.

²⁶⁰ Collins notes in *Daniel*, 309 that “There is no doubt that the exaltation of the ‘one like a son of man’ represents in some way the triumph of the Jewish people. The question is whether the collective interpretation does justice to the apocalyptic symbolism with which this triumph is portrayed.” Collins also records lists of old commentators and scholars who supported this now primarily abandoned opinion in *Daniel*, 309.

²⁶¹ See Gen 18:2; Josh 5:13; Judg 13:6, 8, 16; Ezek 1:26 (here it is a deity in a human form); 8:2; 9-10; Zech 1:8; 2:5. These passages, according to Collins in *Daniel*, 306, have influenced the interpretation of the Son of Man in Daniel 8-12. For angels portrayed as humans in early Jewish literature, see *1 En* 87:2; 90:14, 17, 22. In addition to angels being portrayed as humans, early Jewish literature also contains traditions in which human heroes are given angelic status (i.e. Moses *1 En* 89:6); see James H. Charlesworth, “The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel,” *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (SBLDS 12; ed. G. Nickelsburg and J. Collins; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 135-51. Similarly, in the *Animal Apocalypse*, the description that Noah and Moses became men is actually a way of expression of their transition to angelic status.

Michael.²⁶² This hypothesis has been strengthened since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.²⁶³

Significant developments regarding of the nature and role of the Son of Man occur between the composition of Daniel and the *Parables* of *1 Enoch*. Most noteworthy is the identification of Enoch as the Son of Man in *1 En* 71:9-14.²⁶⁴ Chialà notes that the Son of Man figure in the *Parables* takes on new functions, the primary of which consists of enacting judgment.²⁶⁵ Whereas the son of man figure in Daniel 7 enters the heavenly courtroom scene only after the Ancient of Days has pronounced judgment, the *Parables* (*1 En* 46:1-4) envision him involved in the punishment of the kings and the mighty.²⁶⁶ Additionally, the description of the Son of Man both as being present before creation and being a light of the gentiles (*1 En* 47:3-48:6) demonstrates the shifts within certain schools of thought concerning the Son of Man within Judaism that are reshaped by some NT writers as they applied this title to Jesus.

The Synoptic Gospels, similar to identification of the Son of Man in *Parables* as Enoch, name the Son of Man as the historical figure Jesus. The Gospels do not portray a coherent view of Jesus as the Son of Man. Mark often associates the title of Son of Man with the suffering and death of Jesus (2:10; 10:45).²⁶⁷ However, Chialà notes that Mark does use the title in reference to Jesus' eschatological role. In Mark, the Son of Man: will come "in his Father's glory with the angels" (Mk 8:38 cf. *1 En* 61:8); will be "coming in the clouds, and...send his angels" (Mk 13:26-27); and will "be seated at the right hand of power" (Mk 14:61-64).²⁶⁸ The eschatological nature of the Son of Man is expanded upon in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 9:26; 12:8; 12:40; 17:20-18:8; 21:25-36; 22:69). Luke also records Jesus linking the coming of the Son of Man with the days of Noah and the flood (17:26, 27). The Gospel of Matthew continues to expand the eschatological role of the Son of Man. Most important for this study is that the Son of Man is explicitly given the role of eschatological judge as well as being the

²⁶² The identification of Michael as the "son of man" was first proposed in 1900 by Nathaniel Schmidt, "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 19 (1900): 22-28.

²⁶³ See John A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery," *JTS* 9 (1958): 242; Ulrich Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes* (SNT 6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1972), 28; Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 144; and John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 172. While Michael is regarded by most as the "son of man," a number of other theories have been proposed. Ziony Zevit, in both "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7," *ZAW* 80 (1968): 394-96 and "The Exegetical Implications of Daniel vii 1, ix 21," *VT* 28 (1978): 488-92 contends that the "son of man" is the archangel Gabriel. Chrys Caragounis, in *The Son of Man* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1986), argues that the figure is a divine rather than an angelic figure.

²⁶⁴ The status of *1 En* 71:9-14 and Enoch's identification as the Son of Man has been a topic of great discussion, both concerning the translation of *walda be'esi*, as well as the nature of chaps. 70-71 in relation to the original composition of the *Parables*: see Sabino Chialà, *Il libro delle Parabole di Enoch* (Brescia: Paideia, 1997), 134-38, 281-85; Helge Kvanvig, "The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 197-210. For this study, however, the precise identity of the Son of Man is less important than an understanding of the growing roles and functions associated with the figure.

²⁶⁵ Chialà, "The Son of Man," 159-63.

²⁶⁶ For a discussion on the Son of Man as a heavenly judge, see Kvanvig, *The Son of Man*, 189-93; and Collins, *Enoch and the Son of Man*, 221-27.

²⁶⁷ While Luke and Matthew also refer to the Son of Man's suffering, this theme is less important for the writers of these gospels.

²⁶⁸ Chialà, *The Son of Man*, 163-65. See also Leslie W. Walck, "The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and the Gospels," *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 324-30.

one who will exercise judgment (13:41-42; 16:27; 19:28; 25:31-32). While Chialà claims this demonstrates the dependence of Mathew on the *Parables*, it is also possible that they are both dependent upon a common tradition or cluster of thought concerning the Son of Man.²⁶⁹

Later New Testament and other early Christian literature contain fewer instances of the title Son of Man. In the thirteen instances of the Son of Man in Gospel of John, only one describes him as judge (5:27). Jn 12:24 explicitly links the Son of Man with the Messiah. Revelation's use of the Son of Man figure is more reminiscent of Daniel than the Synoptic Gospels. However, rather than depicting an angelic figure, the Son of Man in Revelation is identified as the risen Christ (Rev 1:13-15; 14:14).

Therefore, it is evident that both the *Parables* and the Synoptic Gospels continue a tradition of identifying the Son of Man as the eschatological judge. However, there seems to be a movement away from the title of Son Man for Jesus in the later sections of the NT. At the same time, these NT writers continue to associate Jesus with the apocalyptic imagery previously associated with the Son of Man.²⁷⁰

3.2.3.3 *The First Parable (1 Enoch 38-44)*

The first parable of Enoch provides few new details regarding angelic and giant punishment traditions. This section only contains one reference to the fall of the watchers and their giant offspring are never mentioned. *1 En* 39:1 records angelic sin: namely the decent of the watchers whose seed was becoming "one with the sons of men." However, it gives no account of any potential angelic punishment.

Human punishment is more prominent in the first parable. The opening chapter (*1 Enoch* 38) begins with a brief description of the judgment and punishment of human sinners. They are driven away from the presence of the righteous, and the chosen and will no longer be able to look upon the face of God (*1 En* 38:3-4). The first parable contains a major development in the human sin and punishment tradition in that more specific identities are given to the human sinners. Verse 4 stipulates that the mighty will no longer possess the earth. Similarly, verse 5 claims that the kings and the mighty will perish. This is the first instance within the *Book of Parables* where sinners are equated specifically with the kings and the mighty. Divine charges against the powerful will become an important theme not only for this section of *1 Enoch* but potentially for the "spirits in prison" from 1 Peter as well. Both of these statements imply that sinners had once experienced power on earth, and God's

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 167-68. He also notes that both Luke and Matthew share more in common with the Son of Man figure described in the *Parables* than in the book of Daniel.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 176-78.

impending judgment would remove it. Verses 5 and 6 describe these sinners as being punished at the hands of the righteous and holy and their lives come to an end.

1 En 41:1-2 contains another account that anticipates the judgment and punishment of human sinners. After Enoch envisions the dwelling places of the “chosen” and the “holy ones,” he is told that the sinners will be removed from their presence. This appears to imply that the righteous and sinners coexist for a period before they are separated at the judgment.²⁷¹

3.2.3.4 *The Second Parable (1 Enoch 45-57)*

The second parable of 1 Enoch’s *Book of Parables* contains a significant shift in the fallen angel, giant, and human punishment traditions pertaining to the flood. Some of these adaptations may prove beneficial to 1 Pet 3:18-22. Much less, if any, attention is placed upon the sin and punishment of the angels and giants. Instead, human sinners are marked for discipline in these chapters. More specifically, the “kings and the mighty” are the targets of God’s wrath. This shift from cosmic culpability and punishment to human, especially the ruling class, may provide a clue to the complicated tradition-history of Christ’s proclamation to the spirits in prison found in 1 Peter.

The second parable contains no reference to specific angelic sin. However, there are a few references to their punishment. The descriptions of angelic punishment primarily mirror those already found in the *Book of Watchers*. *1 En* 54:4-5 foretells the punishment of the Azazel (i.e. Asael from earlier traditions) and his angelic cohorts. The hosts of Azazel will be bound in chains and cast into the “abyss of complete judgment,” and their jaws will be covered with jagged stones. These two aspects of angelic punishment: bound and cast into the abyss, along with being covered with jagged rocks, are derived from *BW* 10:4-6. However, in *BW* it is obvious that this rock covered abyss, as noted in chap. 2 of this work, is the temporary holding cell for the watchers until the “great Day of Judgment” in which they would be cast into the fiery abyss as their final resting place. Additionally, and again similar to *BW*, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel cast Azazel and his angelic cohorts into a burning furnace. However, the timing of this punishment remains more elusive in the

²⁷¹ It is possible that this reference could be read in light of the separating the good and evil spirits being separated in Sheol from *1 Enoch* 102; 103; 108:3. See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 261-62, 475-76, and 703.

parable than in *BW*. *1 En* 10:4-6 denotes two distinct phases of angelic punishment: the temporary opening in the wilderness and the final fiery abyss on the great Day of Judgment. In the second parable, distinct phases of angelic incarceration may be implied from earlier sections of *1 Enoch* but are not apparent in the parable itself.²⁷²

Nickelsburg argues that *1 En* 54:2, “And they brought the kings and the mighty and threw them into the deep valley” has been displaced. He places it at the end of *1 En* 53:7 concluding a section he labels *The Valley of Punishment for the Kings and the Mighty*.²⁷³ He contends that the kings belong in the valley described in 53:5 rather than the one for fallen angels in 54:5.²⁷⁴ Knibb prefers to keep *1 En* 54:2 in the text as it now stands location between 54:1 and 54:3.²⁷⁵ If Knibb is correct, this is another example of human and angelic punishment being conflated. Even if Nickelsburg’s restructuring is correct, the manuscript evidence demonstrates that these ideas were being conflated at some point, although the timing of this conflation compared with composition of 1 Peter is impossible to ascertain.

The writer of *Parables* continues to associate this angelic punishment with the flood. *1 En* 54:7-55:2 records the great deluge. This story interrupts discussion concerning the judgment and punishment of cosmic evil.

No specific reference to the sins or punishment of the giants is recorded in the second parable. One potential reference can be found in *1 En* 55:3-56:4. In this section, which VanderKam and Nickelsburg entitle “*The Punishment of the Angels (continued)*,” the “mighty kings” are forced to watch the Chosen One sit on his throne and judge Azazel and all his associates.²⁷⁶ What follows next demonstrates the conflated nature of the punishment traditions by the turn of the Common Era. Enoch envisions the angels of punishment holding chains and asking:

“To whom are these who are holding (the chains) going?” And he said to me, “To their chosen and beloved ones, that they may be thrown into the chasm of the abyss of the valley. Then that valley will be filled with their chosen and beloved ones, and the days of their life will be at an end, and the days of their leading astray will henceforth not be reckoned.” (1 En 56:2-4)

²⁷² The judgment and potential punishment of Azazel are also recorded *1 En* 55:3-56:4. This is a convoluted passage that will be discussed in greater detail below.

²⁷³ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 68-69.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 69. See also Nickelsburg, “Discerning the Structure(s),” 31.

²⁷⁵ See Knibb, “Structure and Composition,” 57, in which he explicitly states that the valley mentioned in *1 En* 54:2-5 is the local for both human and angelic imprisonment.

²⁷⁶ *1 En* 55:4.

There are a number of interesting components to these verses. First, many of the details of sin and punishment, based upon earlier sections of *1 Enoch* with which the writer was familiar, make it appear as though angelic recipients are in view. As noted, this passage immediately follows the judgment of Azazel. Second, the mention of chains has previously been used in the second parable for Azazel and his companions.²⁷⁷ Additionally, the place of imprisonment is a valley, which is reminiscent of the watchers both in *BW* and in the *Parables*.²⁷⁸ Finally, the recipients of punishment are accused of leading humans astray. Although, as noted in chapter 2 above, different angels have been accused of improper instruction to humans, the primary tradition revolves around Asael. Thus, there are a number of elements that make an angelic identity possible.

However, two main difficulties impede an angelic identification of those being punished. First, the writer of *Parables* names the punished as “their chosen and beloved ones.” Nowhere in *1 Enoch* are angels referred to by this title. Most often, the angels are the “parent figures” of the giants, with the “chosen and beloved ones” referring to the angelic offspring. Second, these verses claim that the days of their lives will come to an end. Throughout *1 Enoch*, angels are incarcerated, either once or twice, for all eternity. And nowhere throughout the work are the days of the angels numbered or limited.²⁷⁹

It is also possible that the writer of *Parables* is referring to the giants in this passage.²⁸⁰ It is important to note that the giants are not mentioned in the second parable, nor are they named in these verses. Yet it is within reason to read the second parable in light of earlier Enochic works.²⁸¹ Thus, while not specifically mentioning the giants, the writer could reasonably assume that his readers would be familiar with them. First, the title “their chosen and beloved ones” is reminiscent of the “beloved ones” used to identify the giants in *1 En* 10:12. Moreover, the verdict that “the days of their lives will come to an end” from *1 En* 56:4 appears to echo Gabriel’s

²⁷⁷ *1 En* 54:4-5.

²⁷⁸ See *1 En* 10:4-6 (Asael), 12-13 (Shemihaza); and *1 En* 54:5

²⁷⁹ *1 En* 15:4-6 describes the watchers as spirits who live forever.

²⁸⁰ Knibb identifies these “beloved ones” as the offspring of the Watchers in “Structure and Composition,” 57. Nickelburg agrees, “Discovering the Structure(s),” 34, although he notes the infrequency of the giants in the *Parables*.

²⁸¹ The use and reshaping of material found in the *Book of Watchers* by the writer of the *Parables* has been noted and discussed both by Nickelburg, “Discovering the Structures,” 25-43; and Knibb, “Structure and Composition,” 64.

commissioning in *1 En* 10:9 in which God announces that the giants will no longer have “length of days.”

As with the angels, there are a number of difficulties in the text that prevent a certain identification of the “chosen and beloved ones” with the giants. First, as noted, the giants are never named in this parable. Furthermore, being chained and thrown into the abyss greatly differs from the usual method of punishment for the giants, which often includes the destruction of at least their physical bodies. Thus, if this interpretation holds, the watchers would actually witness their giant offspring receive a punishment that is traditionally given to the angels themselves elsewhere in the Enochic corpus (10:4-6, 12; 21:7; 88:1). Finally, the charge of leading humans astray is generally reserved for the angels, while the giants are more often accused of destruction.²⁸²

Finally, it is at least plausible that “the chosen and beloved ones” here could refer to the kings and the mighty. The limiting of human life could be an interpretation of Gen 6:3. However, for this identification to be possible, the argument has to be made that the giants from the rest of *1 Enoch* are being replaced with humans in this parable. In this instance, kings have become the beloved ones of the watchers.²⁸³

This passage represents the drawing of traditional imagery from the *Book of Watchers* by the *Parables*. Yet, this “more traditional” material is being reshaped and reapplied in the later works of *1 Enoch*. For example, *1 En* 10:12 records the watchers having to watch the destruction of their beloved ones. In *Parables* it is the kings and the mighty who are forced to witness the destruction of the watchers. It is obvious from the above discussion that *1 En* 55:3-56:4 has blended previous traditions about sin and punishment concerning angels, giants, and humans and has altered them to the point where precise identities are impossible to ascertain due to the conflation. Regarding the previous passage, a number of questions remain. Are the angels being disciplined with some aspects that had previously been associated with the giants? Are the giants in view even though the writer utilizes punishment traditions earlier coupled with the angels and does not mention the offspring in the immediate context? Have humans (the kings and mighty) replaced the giants as the beloved ones of the

²⁸² See *1 En* 7:1-6.

²⁸³ Suter, in *Traditions and Composition*, 52-55, argues, based upon what he perceives to be a Midrash on Isa 24:17-23, that humans have replaced the giants as the elect and beloved ones of the watchers. See also *1 En* 64:1-68:1.

watchers? Or could the passage even be read as the watchers are the beloved ones of the kings and mighty who, like the fallen angels in *BW*, are recorded here as watching the judgment of Azazel? Regardless of the precise identity of those being punished in these verses, significant for this study is that this shared imagery within *1 Enoch* has gone through drastic changes, developments, and conflation by the time of *Parables'* composition.

Far more than previous sections of *1 Enoch*, the *Book of Parables* focuses on the sins and punishments of humans alongside, and sometimes instead of, cosmic figures. Conflation appears to be apparent in human punishment as well. The second parable begins with a judgment against sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits. Their exact identity is not mentioned but the context supports human sinners. *1 En* 45:1-6 records the Chosen One sitting on a throne judging human works. Those who pass the judgment are allowed to live on the transformed earth. But those who sin will not set foot on it (*1 En* 45:5). Verse 6 continues that sinners will be destroyed from the face of the earth. This punishment is similar to that of both humans and giants from earlier sections of *1 Enoch*. Similarly verse 2 articulates that those punished are being kept for affliction and tribulation, which is found concerning angels, giants, and humans.²⁸⁴ However, regarding the sinners, this verse also states that, “to heaven they will not ascend, and on earth they will not come.” This line is reminiscent of *1 En* 15:1-11 in which Enoch articulates to the watchers the distinction between heavenly and earthly beings and their respective places of residence.

The punishment of sinful humanity is found sporadically throughout other places in the second parable. *1 Enoch* 50 describes the punishments at the end of time. Verses 2 and 3 mention the possible repentance for sinners and their subsequent honoring by the “Lord of the Spirits.” However, verses 4 and 5 report that the unrepentant will be unable to stand in God’s presence, they will not receive any mercy, and will ultimately be destroyed. *1 En* 54:7-55:2 foretells of the coming flood. Initially the passage states that the waters will destroy all of humanity, presumably because of sin.²⁸⁵ However, *1 En* 54:10 claims that “And when they (sinful humanity) have recognized their iniquities that they have done on the earth, then by these they

²⁸⁴ The two-fold nature of angelic punishment has been discussed previously in chapter two of this work. See *1 En* 10:4-6, 11-12 for examples. For giants, see *1 En* 15:11-16:1. In this case the first phase of their punishment is bodily destruction. The second phase will result in their ultimate demise. For humans see *1 En* 10:13-14 and 22:1-3, 10-14.

²⁸⁵ *1 En* 54:9.

will punish.” This could be an illusion to *BW* where the giants are punished, through angels, by means of their own sins.²⁸⁶

Most striking in the second parable is the naming of the humans to be punished as the kings and mighty on earth. Whereas the Enochic corpus contains human punishment throughout, in this parable human leaders are identified and receive especially harsh treatment from God and his holy ones. After using language of the Ancient of Days and the chosen Son of Man reminiscent of Daniel 7 and 10, *I En* 46:4-8 records the sins and punishment of the kings and mighty on earth. In this case though, it is the Son of Man, not angels, who is responsible for executing their punishment. He will raise kings and the mighty from their couches and the strong from their thrones, loosen the reigns of the strong, crush the teeth of sinners, and overturn kings from their thrones and kingdoms. Additionally, these sinners do not praise God or humbly acknowledge that their kingdoms come from him (*I En* 46:4-5). They are accused of judging the stars, raising their hand against the most high, treading upon the earth and those who dwell upon it, using their wealth for power, idolatry, denying God, and persecuting the righteous (*I En* 46:7-8). Therefore the Son of Man will turn aside the face of the strong; darkness will be their dwelling and worms their couch; and they will have no hope to rise from their couches (v. 6). It is obvious that the primary sins of these kings and wealthy are abuses of power in their positions. They have used their god-given status for self-glorifying purposes and to trample on the poor. Thus, their primary punishment usually involves their power being taken away. However, verse 6 also indicates that they will experience some sort of punishment consisting of burial and removal from God’s presence.

Finally, important to note for this study is that one of the charges leveled against the kings and the mighty is the trampling of the earth and its inhabitants, a sin previously attributed to the giants in *I En* 7:3 and 9:9. Therefore, it is possible that traditions previously involving the giants are now being placed upon humans (kings) in the *Parables*. This potential conflation or evolution of traditions from giants to human kings is found in a number of places in this parable and further supports the

²⁸⁶ For example, *I En* 7:3 records the giants’ sins as violence (against creation, humanity and each other). As a punishment, God allows their violence to continue to the point of their own destruction (*I Enoch* 10:9). Stuckenbruck, as noted above in *I Enoch 91-108*, 209, articulates that the writer of the *Epistle* has reshaped Enochic tradition. One such way is the “reapplication of motifs associated with the fallen angels and giants to ‘the sinners.’” While the *Epistle* appears to reshape the mythical punishment traditions to humans, the *Similitudes* follow a similar reapplication of myths toward human sinners, while at the same time, still allowing for cosmic culpability.

theory that these punishment traditions continue to expand and change throughout the Enochic corpus.

Similar imagery regarding the sin and punishment of the kings and the strong is located in *1 En* 48:8-10. In these verses the strong are again accused of possessing the earth because of the deeds of their hands (v. 8), and because they have denied the Lord's name (v. 10). Consequently, they will experience a tribulation from which they will be unable to save themselves. They will be thrown into the hands of the chosen ones, and they will burn before the face of the holy. Finally, they will sink before the face of the righteous and no trace of them will be found. This sinking could be equated with the concept of Sheol swallowing up human sinners found elsewhere in the *Parables*.²⁸⁷

However, this is also reminiscent of a punishment motif involving the giants from the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En* 89:3-6). While the *Parables*' dependence on AA is less secure than the *Book Watchers*, this passage contains an important commonality with AA that is worth noting. In addition to the reference to the "kings and mighty" committing sins traditionally associated with the giants in *BW* (mentioned above), this passage also posits a punishment for these important humans similar to that of the giants in AA. As noted above, *1 En* 89:6 records the giants (represented by camels, elephants, and asses) perishing by sinking in the flood. They descend to the point that they are no longer visible to Enoch. Similarly, *1 En* 48:9 describes the "kings and mighty" sinking before the face of the righteous until no trace of them is found. Thus, the passage contains another potentially important blending of traditions concerning previous legends of the giants being reapplied the elevated humans.²⁸⁸

Continued conflation of traditions regarding human sin and punishment can be found in *1 En* 53:1-6. This passage offers intriguing insights into the potential blending of traditions between the human sinners and the giants. Those who are to be punished are initially referred to as "the sinners," making a positive identification impossible. Even though the term is most often used for human sinners in *1 Enoch* (*1 En* 56:2, 3), the various sins and punishments described in these verses echo traditions previously attributed to angels, giants, and humans. Certain statements pertaining to the "sinners" make it appear that the giants are in view. They are accused of

²⁸⁷ See *1 En* 56:8.

²⁸⁸ It must be pointed out that in this instance, it cannot be demonstrated that the *Parables* is indeed using the *Animal Apocalypse* directly. AA casts this story in the flood narrative, while *Parables* speaks of the punished being burned before the face of the mighty.

committing lawless acts with their hands as well as lawlessly devouring everything the righteous labor over. This last reference echoes the charge against the giants in *1 En* 7:3 where the illicit offspring are accused of, among other things, devouring the labors of the sons of men.²⁸⁹ Similarly, *1 En* 53:2 records that the iniquitous will be taken from before the Lord of Spirits and from the face of the earth, and they will perish. This is reminiscent of the giants who perish from the face of the earth in *1 En* 10:12.²⁹⁰ Yet while the language of this passage would make it appear that the “sinners” are the giants, *1 En* 53:5 identifies those who will be punished with the “chains of Satan” as the kings and the mighty on earth. Similarly this verse records that these humans will perish by these chains rather than merely being held by them. Therefore, if *1 En* 53:5 is to be read with verses 1-4, the context and language infer that the author is referencing human sinners. More specifically, the kings and the mighty of earth have assumed both the sins and punishments previously attributed to the giants. This is potentially a significant shift in the angelic, giant, and human punishment motif.

If these verses were not convoluted enough, if one accepts Nickelsburg’s argument that *1 En* 54:2 was displaced in earlier texts and belongs immediately after 53:7, human punishment in this passage becomes more difficult.²⁹¹ *1 En* 54:2 reports that the kings and the mighty are thrown into a deep valley. This, of course, does not cohere with the concept of humans perishing previously mentioned in *1 En* 53:2. While this could be an allusion to humanity being thrown into the fiery abyss, along with the watchers, as in *1 En* 10:14, or the mountain of the dead from chapter 22, the Enochic corpus generally reserves that punishment for fallen angels, not humans.²⁹² Thus, it is possible that *1 En* 53:1-7 and 54:2, when taken together, result in the welding of various punishment traditions concerning angels, humans, and giants into one story focusing on the sinfulness and destruction of humanity. Interestingly, it does so with no regard for the apparent contradictions within the passage itself let alone the Enochic corpus as a whole. However, as Knibb has noted, if 54:2 is kept in the

²⁸⁹ Following the proposed reading of עַמַּל כָּל בְּנֵי אַנְשֵׁי from 4Q201 frg. 1 vi 3 as opposed to G^{Pan} (τοὺς κόπους τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

²⁹⁰ This readings is taken from perish] בַּדָּן from 4Q202 frg. 1 iv 10 (Milik, *Enoch*, 175). G^{Sync/Pan} and the Ethiopic read “are slaughtered” (κατασφαγῶσιν/*yetrāggazu*).

²⁹¹ Nickelsburg, “Discerning the Structure(s),” 32. Knibb keeps 54:2 in the place (following 54:1) as received by the Ethiopic, “Structure and Composition,” 57.

²⁹² See *1 En* 10:4-8; 18:10; 21:7; and 67:4 for examples of fallen angels being punished in valleys or earthly/cosmic depressions. However, *1 En* 22:7 does record a valley of punishment for humans who have been cursed forever.

received placement, then there is an association between the place of punishment for the kings and the mighty with that of the hosts of Azazel (54:5) and could indicate a shared location of confinement.²⁹³

The motif of human punishment continues in *1 En* 54:7-55:2. This passage contains a brief interlude on the flood. The Enochic account is similar to Genesis in that humans, not giants, are the victims of God's wrath (as in the *Animal Apocalypse*).²⁹⁴

The final passage of the second parable pertaining to human punishment (*1 En* 56:5-8) continues the conflation of traditions between the kings of the earth and the giants. In the setting of the eschatological war, verse 5 records the angelic attack against the Parthians and the Medes. More specifically, the kings will rise from their thrones, break out like lions from their lairs, and be like hungry wolves among sheep. Verse 6, as well as earlier sections of this parable, charges humans with sins previously attached to the giants; namely they are accused of sinning against creation through the trampling of the land.²⁹⁵ In addition to the similarities of sins between these two groups, this passage of *1 Enoch* also conflates their punishment. In verses 6-7, humans punish each other through mutual destruction similar to the giants' annihilation from *1 En* 10:9. *1 En* 56:7 describes the kings unleashing a mutual war against each other that will last until "the number of corpses will be enough due to their slaughter." While not a total annihilation of humanity, this appears to be a borrowed concept from earlier giant punishment traditions. Finally, verse 8 records that these sinners will descend into Sheol in order to put their destructive behavior to an end.²⁹⁶ Therefore, it is evident that the second parable contains significant shifts within the angel, giant, and human sin/punishment motifs.

3.2.3.5 *The Third Parable* (1 Enoch 58-69)

The third parable of *1 Enoch's Book of Parables* continues to focus on human sin and punishment. The giants are not mentioned in this section, and there are only a few, but potentially important, references to the fallen angels. If Nickelsburg's editing of the text is correct, placing *1 En* 60:11-23 before verses 1-10, then *1 En* 60:1-10,

²⁹³ Knibb, "Structure and Composition," 57.

²⁹⁴ For reference to human destruction in the flood, see *1 En* 54: 9, 10; 55:1.

²⁹⁵ *1 En* 7:3.

²⁹⁶ It is unclear if this refers to the kings, those who survived the eschatological war, or the spirits of all the unrighteous.

24-25, which are then placed together, tells the story of human punishment.²⁹⁷ These verses record the flood and final judgment of humanity. The angel Michael instructs Enoch on the coming judgment which the “Lord of Spirits” has prepared for those who “do not²⁹⁸ worship the righteous <judge>, and for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take his name in vain...” (*1 En* 60:6).²⁹⁹ Verses 24 and 25 describe the result of punishment as the death of humans where “children will be killed with their mothers, and the children with their fathers.” This punishment will be followed by the merciful judgment of the righteous.

1 En 62:1-12 describes the judgment and punishment of the kings and the mighty, continuing the indictment from the previous parable. Verse 2 suggests that either the Lord of the spirits or the Chosen One will sit on the throne and preside over the judgment and punishment of sinners. The Ethiopic, followed by Knibb, reads “And the Lord of the Spirits sat (*wanabara*) on the throne of his glory.”³⁰⁰ Nickelsburg has emended the Ethiopic to read, “And the Lord of Spirits seated him (*wa³anbaro*) upon the throne of his glory.” Nickelsburg has altered his reading based upon two main issues. First, he contends that the spirit of righteousness that was poured out upon the one sitting on the throne in the following verse is more reasonably associated with the Chosen One than with God. Second, he notes other areas within the parables that reference the Chosen One sitting on the throne (*1 En* 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; and 69:29).³⁰¹ Thus, it is unclear whether or not the one carrying out the punishment against humans in this passage is either God or the Chosen One.

While the identity of the judge is not certain, these verses exhibit clarity regarding the recipients of divine judgment and punishment. Verse 2 claims that sinners will be slain by the words of the mouth of the one sitting on the throne, and that the unrighteous will perish from his presence. Verses 3-12 elaborate that these

²⁹⁷ For a brief explanation of this proposal, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 72. A more detailed analysis will no doubt be put forth in the forthcoming second volume of Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s commentary on *1 Enoch*. However, for this work, the actual placement of these verses does not greatly impact the study of human sin and punishment. Therefore while this work accepts Nickelsburg’s hypothesis, based upon what little evidence he currently gives, the impact of a reversal of this editing would not affect the overall claims. Similarly, Nickelsburg’s proposal that *1 En* 60:7-24a are an interpolation that breaks up a continuous narrative of *1 En* 60:1-6, and 24b-25 is also interesting but of little value for this work since they do not describe cosmic or human sin and punishment. See also Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:144.

²⁹⁸ See Knibb, *Book Enoch*, 2:143

²⁹⁹ Nickelsburg has emended “judge” from “judgment,” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 76. Acceptance or rejection of this emendation is not important for this work. For further discussion, see Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:143.

³⁰⁰ Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:150.

³⁰¹ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 79.

sinner are the kings and the mighty of earth. Kings will stand before the one seated on the throne and experience pain as if they were women in labor, they will cast down their faces, and they will then exalt and bless this ruler (*1 En* 62:4-6). Despite their repentance, verses 9-12 record that the kings and the mighty will be handed over to the angels for punishment and the righteous will watch and rejoice in their punishment. Verse 11 claims that these individuals will be punished in accordance with their iniquities. Verse 12 states that “his sword was drunk with them.” Therefore it appears here that the kings are punished with the sword, which could again potentially be a conflation of the giants who are typically punished by the sword in earlier Enochic literature.³⁰²

1 Enoch 63 includes the petitioning of the kings and mighty to God for some respite from their punishment. This is reminiscent of the watchers’ unsuccessful petitioning to God for reprieve from their punishment from *1 En* 13:1-14:7. However, unlike the fallen angels, these kings do not employ Enoch to intercede for them, and the angels are attempting to avoid punishment rather than receiving respite from it. Similar to the fallen angels, the pleas of the kings do not change God’s decision. Within the petition, despite the mention of a sword in the previous chapter, the kings refer to the “flame of the torture of Sheol” (*1 En* 63:10).³⁰³ Yet verse 11 claims that these individuals will be driven from the Son of Man’s presence and that a “sword will abide before him in their midst.” This makes little sense if the kings had already experienced the sword prior to their experience in Sheol. Rather it may simply be a blending of two punishment traditions woven together throughout *1 Enoch* of punishment by sword and by fire.

1 Enoch 64 contains the first reference in the third parable to the fallen angels. For this study, though these lines are brief, they are vital. Enoch, in the same place where the kings and the mighty are being punished, witnesses the fallen angels who had descended upon earth, given improper instruction, and caused humanity to sin. These verses clearly imply that sinful humans, namely the kings and the mighty, and fallen angels are being imprisoned/punished in the same location. Therefore, it is

³⁰² As noted above, punishment by means of the sword was originally reserved for the giants in the *Book of Watchers* (10:9) and in the *Animal Apocalypse* (88:2). This form of punishment, as already noted in nts. 25, has shifted from the giants to sinful humans in the *Epistle* (91:12; 94:7; 98:12; 99:16). For further discussion, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 128-31; 134-36; 262-63; 369-70; 424-25.

³⁰³ As noted above in note 212, Stuckenbruck has demonstrated that the writer of the *Epistle* has used the “petition motif” previously associated with the fallen angels in the *Book of Watchers* (13:4-6) and reapplied it to sinful humans (see *1 Enoch 91-108*, 475-76).

possible that the writer of 1 Peter was familiar with a tradition, whether it be directly from the *Book of Parables* or one common/similar to it, where cosmic and human sinners are held in the same place. This opens the possibility that Christ's proclamation to the "spirits in prison" could have been made to angelic and human sinners at the same time.

The author/editor of the *Parables*, after this brief angelic interlude, resumes his focus on human sin and punishment. The remaining chapters of the *Book of Parables* contain a number of apparent Noahic fragments in which Noah, rather than Enoch, is the main character.³⁰⁴ As Nickelsburg notes, it is difficult to ascertain the relationship between these fragments and the rest of the *Book of Parables*.³⁰⁵ *1 Enoch* 65 begins with a harsh account of human iniquity. However, in doing so it elaborates on previous traditions of sinful angelic instruction. Verse 6 states that humanity is going to be punished because of what they had learned from the fallen angels. Here the emphasis is placed on the instruction of metallurgy, sorcery, and spells (v. 6-8).³⁰⁶ Interestingly, the primary judgment is against humans, despite earlier traditions from *BW* where the angels are punished for their improper instruction.³⁰⁷ Chap. 65 diverges from earlier accounts in the notion that humans would be punished because they learned the violence of the "satans." First, humans are accused of having learned violence instead of being victims of it. Second, although it is unclear who these beings are in verse 6, "satans" appear to have replaced the giants in association with violence on earth. Chapters 66-67 portray a vision of the coming flood, which is directed against unrighteous humans.

While this Noahic section, as well as the third parable as a whole, primarily focuses on human sin and punishment, chapters 67-69 rekindle earlier stories of angelic judgment. *1 En* 67:4-12 records a convoluted judgment scene that incorporates both fallen angels and humans. This passage begins with Noah,

³⁰⁴ For further discussion on the Noahic fragments in the *Parables*, see Hannah, "The Book of Noah," 469-77. This work deals with the Noahic fragments as part of the received edition of the *Parables*.

³⁰⁵ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 84 include discussion on the Noahic fragments. Although chapters 65-69 are considered part of the third parable, I have dealt with them apart from the rest of the parable due to their focus on Noah rather than Enoch.

³⁰⁶ Verses 10-11 reiterate God's punishment against humanity. In this case, the writer of the *Parables* echoes traditions from *BW* that describe humans striving to achieve improper instruction from the angels (*1 En* 9:6). In verse 10, humans are specifically portrayed as striving to learn sorcery. The term sorcery is emendation by Nickelsburg in his translation, following Knibb, of the Ethiopic, which reads "months." Nickelsburg agrees with earlier scholars that the change came from the Ethiopic translator's misreading of the Aramaic (...months) instead of (...sorcery). For further discussions, see Knibb, *Book of Enoch*, 2:155.

³⁰⁷ See *1 En* 10:4-8 and 13:1-3.

envisioning the fiery valley that held the imprisoned angels as previously seen by his great-grandfather Enoch. Those incarcerated there are the angels who led humanity astray: presumably Asael and his companions from *1 En* 10:4-8. However, moving beyond previous descriptions of a burning valley, chap. 67:5-7 goes on to describe the prison of the angels as a place “of fiery molten metal,” where “the smell of sulfur was generated,” and where “angels were burning beneath the ground.” Moreover, verse 7 records the presence of rivers of fire, which will begin a confusing series of verses mixing fire and water along with angels and humans. After recounting the place of the fallen angels, verse 8 abruptly switches to the kings of the earth. The waters, previously mentioned in v. 6 having mixed with the fire, are now described as healing the flesh but judging their spirits.³⁰⁸

As noted above, this passage is convoluted and is difficult to form a coherent picture of what actually taking place. For this work, it is interesting to note the blending of a variety of traditions. First, the combination of both water and fire for punishment further connects the flood with eschatological punishment. Second, and more important for this study, this passage combines the punishment of cosmic beings and humans. While it is difficult to navigate the intricacies of what is actually being envisioned, the fallen angels and the “kings and the mighty” are punished together.³⁰⁹

1 En 69:2-12 contains two lists of fallen angels reminiscent of the two lists recorded in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En* 6:7 and 8:1-3). Like the previous lists, the first one contains only a list of names, while the second records the actual functions of some angels. The first list corresponds to *1 En* 6:7 except that there is no corresponding thirteenth name in *BW* thus resulting in twenty-one names in *Parables*. The second list provides more detail regarding each of the angels’ sins than found in *1 En* 8:1-3. Additionally, the names and specific sins recorded in *1 En* 69:4-12 are different than those listed in *1 En* 8:1-3, further evidencing a multiplicity or developing of traditions concerning the fallen angels and their sins. Verse 6, for the

³⁰⁸ Nickelsburg reads flesh. Knibb, following the majority of Ethiopic mss., reads “soul and body.” See *Book of Enoch*, 2:157.

³⁰⁹ This may be reminiscent of human spirits, both good and evil, being held in Sheol, before the righteous are resurrected and the evil are left to be punished. See previous section 3.2.2.4 of this work in which Stuckenbruck and Nickelsburg have demonstrated the dependence of the *Epistle* on *1 En* 22 from the *Book of Watchers* (91:7-9; 103:6-8). The *Parables* continues this tradition of punishing humans with fire but reapplies the judgment to angels as well.

first time in the Enochic corpus, blends the tradition of the fallen angels with later interpretations of Genesis 3.³¹⁰

The third parable ends with a judgment scene. The identities of those being punished are ambiguous. *1 En 69:27* records that sinners will “vanish and perish from the face of the earth.” While no description is given as to the nature of these sinners, the context appears to refer to sinful humans. More problematic is the identity of those “who led the world astray” in verse 28. Does this refer to the traditions concerning the fallen angels or is it describing the kings and the mighty? Whoever is being described here, they are bound in chains and are confined to the place of their destruction.³¹¹

Furthermore, this passage is valuable for a study of 1 Peter regarding the agent of punishment. *1 En 69:26-29* records the Son of Man as the figure who sits upon the throne and pronounces judgment against the wicked. When the Son of Man sits on the throne, all evil vanishes from his presence. This continues a significant shift in these punishment traditions. Rather than God, this Son of Man figure is given authority by God to judge. Again, this continues to open the possibility of understanding Christ’s proclamation of judgment against the “spirits in prison” in 1 Peter 3 within the framework of broader Enochic tradition and reception.

One of the most unique aspects of the second and third parables is the inclusion of the figure of Satan or “satans,” who have not previously been mentioned in the work. *1 En 53:3-5* describes the angels of punishment preparing the “chains of Satan” for the kings and the mighty on earth. Therefore, the chains of Satan are being prepared by what appears to be angels of the Lord, making Satan’s role in this scene difficult to ascertain. *1 En 54:4-6* depicts Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel grabbing Azazel and his angelic companions and throwing them into a burning furnace because they had become servants of Satan. This denotes a significant change in the work. While earlier traditions portray Azazel as a leader of rebel angels, this passage claims that he is actually a servant of Satan, who apparently is introduced as a leader of evil angelic forces. The third parable contains no reference to a “Satan.” Rather *1 En 65:6* records the violence of the “satans.” While the giants and the kings

³¹⁰ The writer of the *Parables* is not the first in *1 Enoch* to reference the “fall” from Genesis 3. *1 En 32:6* records the sin of eating from the tree of wisdom by Adam and Eve.

³¹¹ Traditions concerning the binding and incarceration of fallen angels, as demonstrated, can be found throughout the Enochic corpus including the *Parables*. However *1 En 53:5* also records the binding and incarceration of the kings and the mighty.

have been accused of causing violence in the *Parables*, this reference is cast in the midst of accusations against fallen angels.

3.2.4 Conclusion

Overall, a number of important issues that may help illuminate the identity of the “spirits in prison” from 1 Pet 3:19 can be found throughout the Enochic corpus. While the *Book of Watchers*, as noted in chapter 2 of this work, plays a pivotal role in the development of cosmic and human eschatological punishment traditions, the rest of *1 Enoch* records how these traditions were received and reapplied for the purposes of each writer. One of the most valuable themes of the later Enochic literature is the use of traditional mythical material in different ways in different sections of *1 Enoch*. The *Epistle* reapplies sins and punishments previously associated with giants to sinful humans. Additionally, the identification of human sinners as those in positions of power and wealth appears first in the *Epistle*. The *Parables* continue the shifts already witnessed in the *Epistle*. Interestingly, while *Parables* also reapplies mythical punishment imagery towards humans, it also reemphasizes the role and punishment of fallen angels, even mixing the two. Finally, the identification of human sinners as those in power (kings and mighty etc.) is also further developed in the *Parables*. This is the first example in which characteristics and activities previously attributed to cosmic beings are reworked against humans in authority. This tendency will continue in other works, which may also be at work against the Roman authorities in 1 Peter.

3.3 The *Book of Giants*

3.3.1 Introduction

The *Book of Giants* (*BG*), previously known to scholars through its circulation among the Manichaeans, was proved to be a Jewish composition with the discovery of *BG* fragments at Qumran.³¹² Dating anywhere from the third century B.C.E. to 100

³¹² For a discussion and analysis of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, see John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore and Manichaean Cosmology. Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992). The Dead Sea fragments are officially published in Émil Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens première partie* (DJD 31; Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2001). In 1971 and 1976 Josef T. Milik drew attention to the *Book of Giants* in his *Books of Enoch*, 4, 6-7, 57-58, 230, 236-38. He first proposed that some of the Qumran fragments (4Q203, 4Q206, 4Q530, 4Q531) belonged to the lost *Book of Giants*. He further speculated that *BG* originally was incorporated into *1 Enoch* and was later replaced by the *Similitudes*. Subsequently this theory has been largely rejected. See Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997), 3 (fn. 8) for

B.C.E., this work provides further insights into how previous traditional material from the *Book of Watchers* was being reapplied in later writings.³¹³ A complete understanding of the *Book of Giants* is difficult due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence.³¹⁴ Yet, there are a number of elements regarding the punishment of the giants that might aid an understanding to Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison.

It is evident that the *Book of Giants* is dependent upon early Enochic literature such as the *Book of Watchers*. Despite the vast differences between the works, discussed below, sections of *BG* follow the traditional pattern of evil found in *BW* including: the fall of the watchers due to their illicit union with human women (4Q531 frg. 1 1-3) and improper instruction (4Q203 frg. 7a 6), the birth and sins of the giants, as well as the divine punishment often associated with the flood. Similarly, the phrase associated with both angelic and giant offspring in *1 Enoch* of having "no peace" is also present in *BG*.³¹⁵ Despite these similarities in overall structure, *BG* focuses primarily on the giant offspring of the fallen watchers. Unlike *1 Enoch*, the giants in *BG* are given names ('*Ohyah*, *Hahyah*, *Gilgamesh*, *Mahaway* etc.), and are given more developed and specific roles within the tradition.

3.3.2 The Role of Giants in *The Book of Giants*

Before researching the sin and punishment of the giants in *BG*, it is important to note how the roles of these angelic offspring have changed in this work as compared with earlier Enochic traditions. The differences are most pronounced regarding the relationship between the giants and the figure of Enoch.

a list of scholars who do not accept Milik's theory. Other significant works in the history of research on *BG* include: Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 155-58; Joseph A Fitzmeyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manuel of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978), 68-79; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), and his *Ergänzungsband* to this work (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 119-24; Florentino García Martínez, "Estudios qumránicos (1975-1985): Panorama critico (I)", *EstBib* 45 (1987): 175-92; John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*; Robert Eisenman and James Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols., Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1991); Emmanuel Tov with Stephen Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1993); Robert Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992), 94-96.

³¹³ Milik dates *BG* to between 128-100 B.C.E., *Book of Enoch*, 58. Beyer dates it to the later part of the third century B.C.E., *Die aramäischen Texte*, 259. Stuckenbruck more cautiously dates the work between the late third century and 164 B.C.E., *Book of Giants*, 31.

³¹⁴ For the sequencing of the fragments of *BG* from Qumran, see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 20-24.

³¹⁵ See 1 Q24 frg. 8 2 and 4Q203 frg. 13 3.

In *I Enoch*, the figure of Enoch experiences dreams, which are subsequently interpreted by an angelic mediator.³¹⁶ The *Book of Giants* includes a notable shift in that dreams and visions are experienced by the giants (4Q530 frgs. 1, 8 *ii* 7-12; frgs. 7, 8 *ii* 16-20; and possibly 2Q26). These dreams are then interpreted and/or mediated by either Enoch (4Q530 frgs. 7, 8 and 2 *ii* 20-*iii* 3 in which *Mahaway* is summoned to locate Enoch and ask him to interpret the giants' dreams) or by a subgroup of giants (4Q203 frgs. 3, 4, 7, 8; 4Q531 frgs. 13, 14). Therefore, *BG* associates activities traditionally attributed to Enoch with the giants.

Furthermore, *BG* continues to depart from the traditional storyline concerning the fall of the watchers and the birth of their giant offspring found in *I Enoch* in that it envisions certain giants announcing God's judgment upon other giants. In addition to being given names, *BG* is the first work to record the giants' speech. 4Q203 frgs. 4, 7 and 6Q8 frg.1 all record 'Ohyah's announcement to Hahyah and possibly other giants.³¹⁷ Moreover, 4Q530 frg. 2 *ii* records 'Ohyah announcing what was reported to him by Gilgamesh.

3.3.3 The Sins of the Giants

In addition to expanding the nature and role of the giants originally set forth in *I Enoch*, the *Book of Giants* also continues to conflate more traditional ideas concerning the sins of the watchers, giants, and humans. In some sections of *BG* the giant offspring of the watchers are accused of committing violence and destruction on earth. 4Q203 frg. 5 2 (חמם אנוּן) and 4Q531 frg. 14 1 (חמם שניא ב) both record the giants' violent ways.³¹⁸ Additionally, the combination of 1Q23 frgs. 9+14+15 4 (ה וקמלו לשניאין) appears to discuss the murderous activities of the giants.³¹⁹ 4Q532 frg. 2 *i* 9 portrays the acts of the giants (presumably) committing injustice on the earth (חבל רב חנבלו בארעא). Therefore, it is evident that *BG* reflects similar traditions regarding the sins of the giants from *BW*.

³¹⁶ See *I Enoch* 13-14.

³¹⁷ In addition to the examples listed in this paragraph, certain manuscripts, due to their fragmentary nature, make a positive identification of who is speaking impossible. 4Q203 frgs. 3, 8 and 4Q531 frg. 13 record statements made either by watchers or giants.

³¹⁸ Cf. *I En* 7:3-5; 9:1; 10:15 for earlier enochic traditions recording the destructive behavior of the giants.

³¹⁹ The combination of fragments 1Q23 9+14+15 was first proposed by Milik in *Books of Enoch*, 302. For further discussion see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 58-59.

3.3.4 Punishment Traditions in the Book of Giants

While mention of human punishment is limited in *BG*, numerous fragments contain punishment accounts of both the fallen angels and their giant offspring.³²⁰ Regarding the giants, their punishments seem to cohere with those discussed previously in other Enochic tradition. Most often *BG* records the giants' punishment through destruction. 4Q530 frg. 1 *i* 2-6 appears to describe the pending destruction of the giants. This punishment is the result of the petitionary prayers offered by human victims who have presumably been murdered by the giants.³²¹ 4Q531 frg. 7 1-7 recounts previous destruction of both watchers and giants by the sword. First, this is unique in that some watchers are killed through violence. Second, if Stuckenbruck's assessment of Beyer's reconstruction is correct, then the violent destruction of the giants took place in stages. Thus, 'Ohyah's dream in 4Q530 frg. 2 *ii* would be meant to remove all hope from the giants who had previously been spared destruction. This may prove beneficial in understanding the potential message of Christ to the imprisoned spirits from 1 Peter 3.³²²

The punishment of the giants in *BG* continues the pattern of reshaping traditions seen elsewhere in the Enochic corpus. First, similar to *1 En* 15:8-12, the punishment of the giants in *BG* includes an altering of their state. 4Q531 frg. 19 3, 4 records a giant, referencing himself and his companions, as “[neither] bones nor flesh” (ל[א] גרמין אנהנא ולא בשר). Line 3 continues that he expects himself and the other giants to be “blotted out from their form” (ב[ב]שר וגתמחה מן צורתנא). Thus, in the post-diluvian period the giants' existence is a spiritualized one. Stuckenbruck suggests that this should be construed as a defeated form of existence.³²³ A new tradition develops in *BG* in that not all of the giants are punished together. The reconstruction of 4 Q530 frg. 2 *ii* 3 makes it appear that some of the watchers' offspring rejoice at the news that other giants are about to be punished, thus dividing the giants in a way previously unknown in the tradition.³²⁴ Finally, similar to

³²⁰ 4Q530 frg. 2 *ii* 19, using imagery similar to Daniel 7, potentially mentions the judgment of human flesh on earth.

³²¹ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 137.

³²² See Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 121; and Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 148-49. Other fragments include entities receiving a punishment of destruction although whether they are watchers or giants remains uncertain (4Q531 frg. 3 2; 4Q531 frg. 13 2-4).

³²³ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 160.

³²⁴ Beyer's reconstruction in *Die aramäischen Texte*, 120-21 is based on Milik's reading in *Book of Enoch*, 304, 313. For this study it is important to note that Gilgamesh reassures the giants in line 2 by

other traditions found in *1 Enoch*, *BG* associates punishment with imagery from the biblical flood. 4Q203 frg. 8 12; 4Q530 cols. *i-ii*; 4Q531 frg. 18 1-5; and 4Q556 6 all at least infer the flood as a means of God's judgment. This last fragment's association with the flood, though considered suspect by Stuckenbruck, makes it at least plausible that *BG* contains a reference to the flood as judgment of God directly due to the misdeeds of the giants.³²⁵

Despite the similarities regarding the punishment of the giants between *BG* and other Enochic literature, there are also some subtle but striking differences that may affect an understanding of 1 Pet 3:18-22. The primary way in which *BG* diverges from other traditions is the emphases placed on the story from the giants' point of view. While the reconstruction of the fragment is debated, 4Q203 frg. 7B *i* 4 appears to mention the imprisonment of the giants and the ultimate defeat of the watchers (ל[לה עגננא ותקף לכנה]).³²⁶ The context (lines 1-3) makes it appear that a giant is speaking, meaning that imprisonment has been reserved for the angelic offspring. This is significant for the study of 1 Peter in that it contains a reference to the giants as "imprisoned," a punishment typically reserved for the watchers in *1 Enoch*.

The second diversion involves the potential destruction of the watchers through the Noahic deluge. 4Q203 frg. 8 3-5 contains the second tablet written by Enoch to Shemihaza and his companions announcing the judgment against the watchers. Stuckenbruck suggests that the reference to Rafael, along with the mention of destruction, indicates that the great flood is in view even though it is not specifically mentioned.³²⁷ This could correspond to 4Q530 frg. 2 *ii* 7-12 where water and fire appear to be used as a punishment in the garden as a result of the watchers'

saying that Great One has cursed the princes" (רַוִּי). This could refer to human princess, but Stuckenbruck suggests, in *Book of Giants* 107, that it is more likely that a different segment of giants are in view. However, this at least potentially gives insight into the development of human rulers replacing the giants as sinners causing violence on earth and receiving divine punishment already seen in the *Parables* above.

³²⁵ After line 2 which appears to speak about the sins of the giants, Milik, *Book of Enoch*, 237-38 followed by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 260; Florentino Garcia Martinez *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 105; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 119-20 read על ארענא מכול in line 3, making it appear as though the flood is sent as a response to the evil activities of the giants. However, Stuckenbruck in *Book of Giants*, 189-90 notes that the visible trace of the first letter is not consistent with a מ but better corresponds to a ל and thus read על ארענא ל removing any association of the flood with the misdeeds of the giants. While Stuckenbruck's reading appears to be preferred Milik's at least raises the possibility of the flood being specifically associated with the sins of the giants.

³²⁶ For a discussion of this fragment see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 77-87.

³²⁷ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 93.

improper union with human women.³²⁸ The use of the flood imagery in *BG* is used both to portray evil spirits (emanations from the giants) as defeated powers as well as to predict their ultimate fate.

3.3.5 Conclusion

The *Book of Giants* participates in the development of punishment traditions seen throughout Enochic literature. Depending on the date assigned to the work, *BG* either has not yet applied these traditions to humans (as seen in the *Similitudes*) or it has reverted them back onto cosmic beings. In either case, it again demonstrates a tradition in flux.

Stuckenbruck suggests that the main punishment motifs in *BG* (4Q203 frg. 7B *i* and 4Q203 frg. 8) contain distinctions between the forces of evil that may “have provided the literary way of underscoring the inevitable and gradual breakdown of evil while acknowledging its continued presence in the world of human experience.”³²⁹ This may provide the potential background regarding what the content of Christ’s proclamation to the imprisoned spirits entailed as well as its importance for 1 Peter’s audience.

Overall the myths of *BG* cohere with other punishment traditions discussed above. The few exceptions, namely the increased role given to the giants, the division of the giants, the punishment of the watchers in the flood, and the reference to “imprisoned” giants are all important for the study of Christ’s proclamation to the “spirits in prison” in 1 Peter 3. Once again, *BG*, like many other works as has been demonstrated above, adopts traditional punishment material concerning the watchers

³²⁸ Milik understood the “gardeners” in line 7 as good angelic beings, *Book of Enoch*, 304. Stuckenbruck, in *Book of Giants*, 114-15, has argued that they refer to the watchers and their “watering” (משקי) that produces “great [shoo]ts” (שרשין רברבין 1.8) is a metaphor for the illicit union that resulted in the birth of the giant offspring. John Reeves, based upon the dream about the “garden” in *Midrash Shemhazai and ‘Aza’el*, has proposed linking this fragment with the dream in 6Q8 2. When read together, these fragments would describe the dream of the watchers (gardeners) impregnating human women who give birth to giants (great shoots). The angels then punish all the earth for the sins of the watchers with fire and water (4Q530 *ii* 7-10). This judgment destroys everything except for one tree bearing three branches representing Noah and his sons (6Q8 2, 1). See Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95-96 and Puech, *DJD*, 31, 33; and “Les fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre des Géants* de la grotte 6 (*pap6Q8*) *RevQ* 74 (1999): 232-38. Despite thematic similarities, Stuckenbruck, in *Book of Giants*, 115, argues against this combination based upon the physical evidence of the manuscripts. While discerning the original relationship of these fragments is beyond the scope of this work, this at least raises the possibility that *BG* contains an additional reference to the flood being sent as a punishment for the sins of the watchers. No mention is given here though whether the watchers themselves are destroyed in the flood, but it remains a possibility.

³²⁹ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 91.

and giants, and then reshapes it to serve its own purpose. This continues to make any attempt to isolate a particular punishment tradition that may have been part of the formative history of 1 Peter speculative at best.

3.4 *Pseudo-Eupolemus*

3.4.1 Introduction

Pseudo-Eupolemus consists of two fragments preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (9.17.2-9 and 9.18.2) who cites the historiographer Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112-30 B.C.E.) who cites two separate sources concerning the γίγαντες.³³⁰ These fragments, which date as early as the mid-second century B.C.E., are primarily interested in the giants around the time of the flood and their role in the spread of culture.³³¹ For this study, it should be noted that these fragments are most often concerned with the survival of the giants rather than their sin and punishment, which is itself noteworthy when compared with earlier Enochic literature. Additionally, similar to the *Epistle* and *Parables* noted above, both fragments appear to use and reapply biblical and early Enochic traditions, along with other relevant literature, to facilitate their own respective agendas.

Numerous attempts have been made to read and interpret these two fragments in light of a single author (Pseudo-Eupolemus).³³² More recently, others have argued that these two fragments are best understood as stemming from two different authors. Alexander Polyhistor assigns these fragments to different traditions: the first to “Eupolemus” and the second to an anonymous source. Additionally, the identity of

³³⁰ For discussion concerning this work within its Eusebian context, see Guy Shroeder and Édouard des Places, *Eusébe de Césarée: La Préparation Évangélique* (Sources Chrétiennes 369; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1991), 235-41. Cf. Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Graeca* (PVTG 4; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 197-98 and Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (SBLTT 20; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 1:157-87.

³³¹ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 33.

³³² Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke: Hellenistische Studien* (Breslau: Skutsch, 1875), 90-92; Ben Zion Wacholder, “Pseudo-Eupolemus’ Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham,” *HUCA* 34 (1963): 83-113 (who then retracted this opinion in *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati/New York/Los Angeles/Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974), 287 n. 12; John C. Reeves, “Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 110-15 whose interpretation depends of the combining of these fragments (p. 112); and Holladay, *Fragments*, 159 and 163 (n. 18), who declares the union of these fragments a “scholarly consensus.” See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 33 for further discussion.

“Belos” is different in each of these fragments.³³³ This work will treat the fragments separately.

3.4.2 The First Fragment (9.17.2-9)

The first fragment, despite Alexander Polyhistor’s attribution to Eupolemus, was most likely written by an unknown Samaritan.³³⁴ Stuckenbruck notes that this fragment combines the biblical narrative (Genesis 6-14), with Jewish midrash (connecting Enoch with astrology), Babylonian Chronology (Belos genealogy), and Hellenistic tradition (the association of Atlas, who equals Enoch, with astrology).³³⁵

The first fragment attempts to elevate the status of Babylon over that of Phoenicia and Egypt. In doing so it ascribes to giants a number of traits and activities traditionally associated with humans in the biblical account as well as in early Enochic literature. First, the city of Babylon is said founded in 9.17.2 by γίγαντες who had escaped the flood (οἱ διασωθέντοι ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ). Second, this same line implicates the giants in the construction of the famed tower, and it is these beings, not humans, who are scattered as a punishment by God.³³⁶

Further differences between the first fragment and Enochic tradition can also be noted. Unlike the Enochic traditions discussed above, Abraham appears to be the focus of this work. Although not explicitly stated, it is implied that he is a descendent of the giants (9.17.3). In this fragment, Abraham strives for and learns astrology. He then is able to instruct both the Phoenicians and the Egyptians in the science (9.17.3; 9.17.8). Abraham attributes his knowledge of astrology to Enoch, who learned everything from the angels of God. Furthermore, Enoch is equated with the Atlas, whom the Greeks claim discovered astrology (9.17.8-9). While it is possible that “Pseudo-Eupolemus” is drawing from previous works like *I En* 106:1-12 or *IQApgen ii* 19-21, or traditions common to them regarding Enoch’s dwelling with

³³³ Ronald V. Huggins, “Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves,” *JBL* 114 (1995): 104-07. For further discussion on the division of these two fragments see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 33 (n. 127).

³³⁴ Despite Robert Doran’s assertion in “Pseudo-Eupolemus,” *OTP* (2 vols.; ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-85), 2:874-76, that this fragment was written by the actual Eupolemus, most argue for Samaritan authorship based upon a Samaritan bias exhibited in the fragment. Abraham’s encounter with Melchizedek occurs on Mt. Ἀργαράζιν (Gerazim) rather than in Jerusalem in 9.17.5-6. For further discussion see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 34.

³³⁵ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 35; see also Wacholder, “Pseudo-Eupolemus,” 96 nts. 82-83; Holladay, *Fragments*, 1:185-87; Doran, “Pseudo-Eupolemus,” 876-78; and Huggins, “Noah and the Giants,” 105-06.

³³⁶ Loren Stuckenbruck, “Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition,” *The Fall of the Angels* (TBN 6; ed. C. Auffarth and L. Stuckenbruck; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97.

and potential instruction from the angels, it diverges from earlier Enochic traditions in which angelic revelations of heavenly secrets, including astrology, are deemed evil (*I En* 8:3).

3.4.3 The Second Fragment (9.18.2)

The second fragment, attributed by Alexander Polyhistor to an anonymous source, overtly links Abraham's ancestry with the giants who dwelled in Babylon.³³⁷ Similar to the first fragment, the giants are punished by God. However, in this fragment the giants are punished prior the building of the tower. These beings are described as being killed by the gods because of their impiety, which adheres more closely with earlier Enochic accounts. However, one of the giants, Belos, escapes and built the famed tower. In the second fragment, this construction is not deemed a sinful act.

3.4.4 Conclusion

These small fragments indicate significant variations in the watcher, giant, and human punishment traditions already in the second century B.C.E. First, the giants, whether represented by Belos or not, are not necessarily deemed evil in the first fragment.³³⁸ Additionally, the first fragment ascribes to giants those activities (and individuals) the biblical account associates with humans (escaping the flood, building the tower, being scattered, as well as the implied identity of Abraham). Third, the reception of astrology by angels is portrayed in a positive light. Yet the second fragment retains a tradition of giants being punished for impiety. However, the continued existence of the giants rests in at least one of their kind escaping divine punishment as opposed to the continued defeated spiritual existence of the giants from *I En* 15:8-11 and *BG* 4Q531 frg. 19 4.

3.5 *Jubilees*

3.5.1 Introduction

The use and reshaping of human, angelic, and giant sin and punishment traditions first recorded in the *Book of Watchers* persisted outside of the broader

³³⁷ Fragment 1 does implicitly link Abraham with the giants. Additionally, fragment 2 describes Abraham as someone who has learned astrology.

³³⁸ For a discussion of Belos as a giant or human, see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 34-35. Additionally, there is no mention that the sins of the giants brought about the deluge.

Enochic corpus. The author of *Jubilees* also adopts these myths but recasts them to cohere better with his overall purpose. This next layer in the development of these stories continues to be important in understanding how they may have impacted the author of 1 Pet 3:18-22.

The book of *Jubilees* is a retelling of Genesis and Exodus from the creation of the world to the covenant at Mt. Sinai in Exodus 19-24.³³⁹ Considered “Rewritten Bible,” *Jubilees* does not merely reproduce biblical stories, but it is a “rewriting or retelling of them from a particular standpoint and with definite purposes.”³⁴⁰ The author reshapes the familiar stories in order to give his readers insight into how to properly interpret the biblical accounts in their own context. Additionally, the writer elaborates on many of the biblical stories adding material not found in the canonical accounts. Important for this study is how the author of *Jubilees* has utilized the watcher and giant traditions from *1 Enoch* and reapplied them for his own audience.³⁴¹

Similar to *1 Enoch*, the book of *Jubilees* has a complicated textual history. Although originally thought to be written in Greek, current scholarly consensus, dating as far back as Dillman in 1850, advocates that the original work was composed in Hebrew.³⁴² The more recent discovery of at least fourteen fragments from Qumran, all in Hebrew, attests not only to its popularity in the community but also to its probable original language.³⁴³ Although no direct Greek manuscripts have been

³³⁹ In this work I will base my readings on the text James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, A Critical Text* (CSCO 510; Louvain: Peeters, 1989) and his English translation *The Book of Jubilees; Translated* (CSCO 511; Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

³⁴⁰ James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 11.

³⁴¹ Details concerning how *Jubilees* utilizes these traditions will be discussed below.

³⁴² See James C. VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees,” *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. (eds. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 12-17; *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula: Scholar’s Press, 1977), 3, 4 for arguments of a Greek composition. Since this theory has been almost universally reject since the late nineteenth century, it need not be elaborated on here. While a Hebraic original was first proposed by August Dillman in “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder kleine Genesis,” *JBW* 3 (1851): 89-90 and “Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes,” *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1883), 1, 324. The classic case was proposed by Robert H. Charles in *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), xxxii-xxxiii.

³⁴³ The following mss. from Qumran contain material from *Jubilees*: 1Q17 (*Jub* 27:19-20); 1Q18 (35:8-10); 2Q19 (23:7-8); 2Q20 (46:1-3); 3Q5 frg. 1 (23:12-13); 3Q5 frg. 3 (23:6-7); 4Q176 frgs. 19, 20 (23:21-23); 4Q221 (21:22-24); 11QJub 1 (4:7-11); 11QJub M2 (4:13-14); 11QJub M3 (4:16-17); 11QJub 2 (4:29-30); 11QJub 3 (5:1-2); 11QJub 4 (12:15-17); 11QJub 5,8 (12:28-29), see James C. VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition,” 3-12; “Jubilees, the Book of,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols. ed. L Schiffman, and J. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:434-38, 435; and James C. VanderKam and Josef T. Milik, “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII Parabiblical Texts Part I* (DJD 13; ed. Harold Attridge et al.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 1-185. For

found, the existence of a Greek translation of *Jubilees* cannot be doubted.³⁴⁴ *Jubilees* was also translated into Syriac from the Hebrew and into Latin from the Greek.³⁴⁵ Similar to *1 Enoch*, the only version preserving the complete text of *Jubilees* is the Ethiopic. Although *Jubilees* was part of the Abyssinian church, *Jubilees* was first made known to the Western world in 1854 when H. Ewald published a description of the Ethiopic text which had been brought to Tübingen.³⁴⁶ Currently there are 27 identified Ethiopic manuscripts of *Jubilees*.³⁴⁷

The book of *Jubilees* is dated to the mid-second century B.C.E. Dating the work is complicated by the fact that the book itself gives no indication of the timing of its composition. Further complexities in the date arise if *Jubilees* is a composite work. Scholarship has almost universally treated *Jubilees* as the work of a single author.³⁴⁸ Most recently, Michael Segal has argued for the composite nature of *Jubilees*, claiming that an editor has added his own legal material to already reworked sources.³⁴⁹ Since its discovery by the West, numerous dates of composition have been proposed ranging from the fifth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E.³⁵⁰ In 1902, R.H. Charles formulated the standard position that it was written in the second century B.C.E.³⁵¹ Since then opinions have primarily diverged on more specific identifications within the second century B.C.E., focusing on potential historical

additional information on the Hebrew version of *Jubilees*, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, vi-xi and *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 448-61.

³⁴⁴ Although no Greek fragments have been found, the existence of a Greek version of *Jubilees* is derived both from collections of Greek quotes closely resembling *Jubilees* as well as from the Latin and Ethiopic versions, which are translated from the Greek. The most recent collection of the Greek texts have been compiled, with an introduction, by Albert-Marie Denis in *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum*, 70-102; and *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 150-62. For a discussion of the Greek citations, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, xi-xiv.

³⁴⁵ For a discussion of the Syriac and Latin versions, see VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition," 10-17; *Textual and Historical Studies*, 8-10.

³⁴⁶ Heinrich Ewald, "Über die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen," *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1854): 176-79.

³⁴⁷ For a description of the history of publication and manuscript evidence of the Ethiopic, see VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition," 17-20; *Jubilees Translated*, xix-xxxi.

³⁴⁸ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 17-18.

³⁴⁹ Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology, and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007). While Segal has raised serious questions, debate concerning literary unity is beyond the scope of this work. If the writer of 1 Peter used *Jubilees* or traditions common to it, they were already redacted in *Jubilees* by the time of the letter's composition, as evidenced by its presence at Qumran.

³⁵⁰ For a survey of proposed dates, see VanderKam, *Textual Evidence*, 207-13.

³⁵¹ Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 2:6. More specifically Charles proposed that the book was written between 135-96 B.C.E., more precisely between 109-105 B.C.E. based upon historical allusions, or lack thereof, in the text.

allusions within the text (*Jub* 23:9-32). Nickelsburg and Jonathan Goldstein both date the work sometime between the Hellenizing influence of Jerusalem and the decrees of Antiochus IV outlawing Judaism in 167 B.C.E.³⁵² VanderKam however, arguing that *Jubilees* is familiar with the *Book of Dream Visions* (*1 Enoch* 83-90) written in 164 B.C.E., proposes a later date of 160-150 B.C.E.³⁵³ Kister and Segal argue that *Jub* 23:9-32 better represents an inner-Jewish polemic, similar to the one found between the Qumran sectarians and the temple establishment, rather than an argument against Hellenization.³⁵⁴ While discerning the exact date of the work is beyond the scope of this work, dating *Jubilees* to the second century B.C.E. is important in that it demonstrates how later authors were using and reshaping the watcher traditions to fit their own agendas. This, of course, may help illumine how the same process might have occurred in 1 Peter.

There is no doubt that *Jubilees* draws upon sections of *1 Enoch*. While the specific examples of how the former used and altered the latter will be discussed in sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3., it should be noted more generally that *Jubilees* appears to have been influenced by the *Astronomical Book*, *Book of Watchers*, and *Book of Dream Visions*.³⁵⁵ VanderKam further asserts that *Jubilees* is dependent upon sections of the *Epistle of Enoch* as well.³⁵⁶

3.5.2 Sin in the Book of *Jubilees*

Jubilees, like *1 Enoch*, records the sins of humans, angels, and the giants. As will be demonstrated, *Jubilees* continues the process of conflation concerning the stories of sin that already began in the Enochic literature. Before more in-depth

³⁵² George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 78, 79; and Jonathan Goldstein, "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *PAAJR* 50 (1983): 63-86.

³⁵³ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 17-21.

³⁵⁴ Menahem Kister, "Concerning the History of the Essenes: a Study of the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and the *Damascus Covenant*," *Tarbiz* 56 (1986) (Heb.) 5-9; and Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 319-22.

³⁵⁵ R. H. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, xlv; lxviii-lxxi; see also Josef Milik who follows Charles in, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique," 340, 341, 345, 355.

³⁵⁶ VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions," 309-26. See also Michael Knibb, "Which Parts of *1 Enoch* were known to *Jubilees*? A Note on the Interpretation of *Jubilees* 4.16-25," *Reading From Right to Left: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of David J.A. Clines* (JSOTSup 373; ed. J. C. Exum and H. Williamson; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 254-62; Jacques van Ruiten, "A Literary Dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch," *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 90-93; and "A Literary Dependency of Jubilees on 1 Enoch: Reassessment of a Thesis of J. C. VanderKam," *Hen* 26 (2004): 205-09. Stuckenbruck, in *1 Enoch 91-108*, 211-15, also suggests that *Jubilees* is dependent upon the *Epistle of Enoch*.

garden.³⁶¹ Therefore, the watchers, who descend in 5:1, enter into a world already influenced by sin.

Recently Segal has argued for an alternate source of evil portrayed in *Jubilees*. He notes that *Jubilees* retains both the watcher myth, which attributes evil in the world to an outside source, and a tradition that resembles the Adam and Eve account from Genesis 3. This last story blames the origin of sin in the world on humanity. Recognizing the discrepancy, Segal suggests a third possibility. In addition to describing sin as committed by outside evil forces as well as humanity, Segal proposes that *Jubilees* allows for the possibility that evil finds its origin in the beginning of God's creation. God created a dualistic system with good powers governing good nations and evil divine powers rule over wicked humanity. According to this theory, the angel Mastema was created on the first day and was placed in charge of the evil spirits (*Jub* 2:2; 17).³⁶² All three of these ideas of evil's beginning stand in tension within *Jubilees*. While Segal's theory might need further study, he at least raises the possibility of further confusion in the origin of evil and the angel traditions already noted in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*.

The second major shift in *Jubilees* from the fallen angel account recorded in *BW*, is the lack of emphasis on evil instruction in *Jubilees*. At no time is angelic instruction directly associated with the flood. Angelic instruction in *Jubilees* is meant for good (4:16), and the direct revelation of heavenly secrets by celestial beings is ignored in the rest of the work. However, *Jub* 8:1-4 records the story of Kainan who discovered an inscription which the ancients had inscribed on rock. He read and copied the inscription which contained the astrological teachings of the watchers. These teachings lead Kainan to sin, apparently because the teachings were improper for humans. Thus, while *Jubilees* does not record the event of the improper instructions of the watchers, it is familiar with the tradition.³⁶³

³⁶¹ For a description of the different sources for *Jubilees*' version of these events, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Translated*, 18-19.

³⁶² For further explanation of Segal's theory, see *Book of Jubilees*, 100-01.

³⁶³ Stuckenbruck has noted the distinguishing characteristics of angelic instruction in *Jubilees* compared with both *1 Enoch* and *Pseudo-Eupolemus*. In *Pseudo-Eupolemus* fragment 1 (9.17.9) a link is made between angelic instruction and Enoch without concern as to whether the angels are good or evil. While *Jubilees*, although first describing the angelic descent as good, makes it clear that since their sin with human women, the watchers' instructions concerning the heavenly bodies is to be rejected. Thus, *Jubilees* makes a sharp distinction between correct knowledge of the heavenly bodies from which agricultural cycles and the calendar could be derived and the sinister astrological knowledge taught by the watchers, see "Evil and Apocalyptic Tradition," 113-14.

Finally, *Jubilees* contains two more nuances to the fallen watchers myth that are potentially important for a study of 1 Peter 3. First, before looking at the punishment traditions themselves, it must be noted that *Jubilees* makes a distinction between angels and spirits in both the singular and the plural (*Jub* 15:32). While the context of these is not fallen angels or evil spirits, it does appear that *Jubilees* differentiates between angels and spirits and could have an impact on interpretation of Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison in that, at least in *Jubilees*, a proclamation to spirits would not involve fallen angels.

Additionally, the story of the fall of the watchers in *Jubilees* is quickly associated with the evil of humanity, which brings about the deluge. Thus, while *Jubilees* does retain the rebel angel myth, it utilizes the myth to further its own purpose of promoting correct human conduct. This trend is most vivid in the description of angelic intercourse with humans as "unclean." The document has Noah exhorting his children to refrain from "fornication" and "pollution" both qualities which the watchers had spread to humanity with their illicit unions (*Jub* 7:22-24).³⁶⁴ *Jubilees*, therefore, retains watcher tradition only to the extent that it serves the author's primary purpose, namely to serve as a negative example and warning to humans who would act in a similar fashion.

b. Sins of the Giants

In addition to the sins of the watchers, *Jubilees* preserves and adapts previous traditions concerning the iniquity of the giant angelic offspring. Before assessing the sins of these beings, it is first necessary to understand how *Jubilees* portrays them. Similar to previous traditions, *Jubilees* describes the giants as the offspring of the improper union between the watchers and human women (5:1). Regarding these giants, *Jubilees* adopts a more developed "giantology." Three distinct categories or generations of the offspring of the angels are described: *gibborim*, *nephi(l)im*³⁶⁵, and *Elyo*.³⁶⁶ Thus, *Jubilees* retains at least some form of the giant tradition from *1 Enoch*.

Jubilees contains only sparse references to the giant offspring of the fallen watchers in their embodied state. As in *1 Enoch*, the giants are judged for their violent

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 115.

³⁶⁵ James VanderKam suggests that the *Nephidim* in 7:22 is a corruption of the *Nephilim* based upon a confusion of the Greek Δ and Λ. The correct form is used later in the verse, *Jubilees Translated*, 47.

³⁶⁶ These three names are reminiscent of the γίγαντας μεγάλους, Ναφηλείμ, and Ἐλούδ from G^{Sync} of *1 En* 7:1-2. Since these are not found in the Aramaic or Ethiopic, it is possible that the Syncellus version of *1 Enoch* borrowed this from *Jubilees* despite the latter's usual dependence upon the former.

behavior. However, as Stuckenbruck notes, the giants are primarily involved in intramural violence in which the *gibborim* kill the *Nephilim*, the *Nephilim* kill the *'Elyo*, who in turn devour humans (*Jub* 7:23).³⁶⁷ Thus, it does not appear that the deluge is sent as a direct response to the sins of the giants. However, the violence of the giants is used by *Jubilees* to serve as a negative example of humans concerning their behavior in two ways. First, the violent behavior of the giants is said to be at least partly the result of being dissimilar (from one another) (*Jub* 7:22). *Jubilees* retains a tradition concerning the giants, in part, to discourage humans from leaving their order in general (5:2) and improper intermarriages in particular (25:1; 30:7).³⁶⁸

Second, and more important for the author of *Jubilees*, the giant story is retained to serve as example for humans concerning violent behavior. The sin primarily attributed to the giants is murder. *Jub* 7:22 describes the giants “devouring” one another and, as noted above, each group of giants killing off another. The violence of the giants often quickly turns to warnings for humans to not commit such violence, especially the shedding and drinking of blood (7:23). *I En* 7:3 records the giants consuming produce, people, animals and even each other, and it is likely that the author of *Jubilees* is assuming this tradition while continuing to focus on human iniquity.³⁶⁹

While *Jubilees* is not primarily concerned with the giant offspring of the watchers, it does place significant emphasis on the role of the spirits that emanated from the giants, especially concerning how they interact with humans. Unlike *I Enoch* 15, *Jubilees* never directly states that evil spirits are the beings that emanated from the giants upon their mutual destruction. However, if *Jub* 5:1, which states that the watchers are the fathers of the giants is combined with 10:5, which names the watchers as the father of evil spirits, it appears that *Jubilees* assumes the aetiology of evil spirits from the *Book of Watchers*.³⁷⁰ One main difference, however, is that the

³⁶⁷ Stuckenbruck, “Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition,” 111.

³⁶⁸ For a discussion on intermarriage in the book of *Jubilees*, see Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 155-96.

³⁶⁹ Devorah Dimant notes that it appears that the charge of cannibalism associated with the giants in the *Book of Watchers* is being shifted to humans in *Jubilees*. See, “‘The Fallen Angels’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Relate to Them” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974) (Heb.), 95.

³⁷⁰ Segal, in *Book of Jubilees*, 149-54 argues that different redactors of *Jubilees* have given two distinct accounts concerning the relationship between the giants and evil spirits. *Jubilees* 5 records the destruction of the giants by the sword and does not mention spirits emanating from them similar to *I Enoch* 6-11. *Jubilees* 7 describes the watchers as the fathers of the spirits. Finally, *Jubilees* 10, according to Segal, speaks about the watchers as the direct fathers of the spirits without any reference

giants seem to have assumed their disembodied state and begun their leading astray prior to the flood (5:8-9; 7:5).³⁷¹

Similar to earlier traditions, the role of evil spirits in *Jubilees* is to lead humanity astray. Numerous passages throughout the work describe either the iniquitous work of the spirits or at least the prediction of such behavior (7:26-28; 10:1-14; 11:4-5; 12:20; 15:26; 19:28). More specifically in *Jub* 10:1, “impure demons began to mislead” (*'axazu 'agānent rekusān yāšetewwomu*) Noah’s grandchildren, to make them act foolishly (*yā'bedewwomu*), and to destroy them (*yāḥg^welewwomu*). Noah’s sons inform their father that these demons are leading astray (*yāseḥḥetu*), blinding (*yeṣēlelu*), and killing (*yaqattelu*) his grandchildren (10:2). While this last charge of murder against the evil spirits is unique in that the violent behavior of the giants has continued beyond their initial punishment, the majority of offenses leveled at evil spirits has to do with the negative impact they have on human behavior. Furthermore, unlike previous traditions, evil spirits in *Jubilees* are under the command of Mastemah, the prince of demons.³⁷²

Jubilees contends that evil spirits lead humans astray in two distinct areas: the shedding and consumption of blood as well as the threat of syncretism with the nations and idolatry. The sins of the evil spirits have a direct impact on human behavior. VanderKam has noted the author’s use and expansion of Genesis 9-10, the time between the flood and the Abram stories, for his teachings on the demons. Both of the aforementioned themes can be found in these chapters. Gen 9:1, 7 contains the

to the giants. Thus, it appears that *Jubilees*, similar to *1 Enoch* could contain multiple traditions concerning the origin and activities of the giants and spirits. These various could originate from different redactors of *Jubilees*. However, it is also possible that the writer(s) of *Jubilees* is reading *1 Enoch* 10 and 15 in a conflated way and expects his readers to do the same. However, it is beyond dispute that the giant myths do exist in multiple forms. In addition to the various traditions recorded in *1 Enoch* 10; 15; and *Jubilees* 5; 7; 10 other versions of the myth such as the one previously discussed in the *Book of Giants* record the evil of the giants and their existence in a defeated state without ever mentioning spirits. *BG* could be a mediating tradition between the one in *BW* and those found in *Jubilees*. However, what is most important for this study is to understand that each work (*1 Enoch*, *BG*, and *Jubilees*) is shaping the story of the giants and/or spirits to fit its own agenda. *1 Enoch* is attempting to understand the origin of evil in the world. *BG* primarily is concerned with the destructive activities of the giants in their embodied state. *Jubilees* appears to utilize the giant tradition in order to serve as a warning to humans to not follow their example. Thus, not only are the multiple forms of these stories, as has been noted, but each one is altered in order to fit the author’s purpose. This will be helpful when attempting to understand the potential background these stories have had in 1 Pet 3:18-22.

³⁷¹ Stuckenbruck, “Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition,” 112.

³⁷² While Mastemah is in charge of evil spirits in *Jubilees*, it is unclear whether he performs this duty as an agent of God or as his enemy. For a more detailed description of Mastemah, see section 4.6.3.1.1 of this work.

divine blessing for Noah and his sons to be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth. Both verses include instructions concerning the consumption of blood in food. VanderKam claims that the emphases of shedding and consuming blood and the command to procreate—“clearly served the author of *Jubilees* as he set forth his teachings about demons.” The demons are the ones charged with causing bloodshed, with inciting people to kill each other or even killing people themselves; through murders in the line of Noah they placed roadblocks in fulfilling the divine mandate to repopulate the earth (10:1-2; 11:2-5).³⁷³

In addition to the shedding and consumption of blood, *Jubilees* also links the demons with foreign nations and idolatry. *Jub* 1:7-8 predicts that Israel will turn to foreign gods. The passage continues by predicting that Israel would also fashion carved images. Verse 11 then states, “They will sacrifice their children to demons.” Thus, from the beginning, *Jubilees* links demons with idolatry and with foreign religious practices that might seduce the Israelites. Using Deuteronomy 32, the writer of *Jubilees* appears to be arguing that God has separated the peoples, and every nation other than Israel is led by demons, while the Lord retained Israel for himself. Using the Psalms (96; 106), the writer continues to link demons with idols. VanderKam argues that *Jubilees* combines these two themes to continue to read demons into the post-diluvian stories even though they are not found in Genesis.³⁷⁴

c. Human Sin

While *Jubilees* has many affinities with the previous traditions, it places more of an emphasis on human sin as well as heavenly purity.³⁷⁵ The most vivid example of this is *Jubilees*' inclusion of the Genesis 3 story, which is almost absent from its Enochic predecessor. Therefore, primary emphasis on sin in *Jubilees* is placed on human sin both prior to and after the deluge. These two categories, however, are not mutually exclusive. The sins committed prior to the judgment flood serve as a warning and an example for *Jubilees*' intended audience. Sin in *Jubilees* is generally

³⁷³ James C. VanderKam, “The Demons in the Book of Jubilees,” *Die Dämonen/Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K. F. D. Römhald: Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 351. For an additional reference in *Jubilees* to the demons' attempt to cause human bloodshed, see *Jub* 7:27.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 352-54. The association of evil spirits and idolatry is also found in *1 En* 99:6-9. The Greek text especially supports the idea that those who worship idols are actually worshipping cosmic forces of evil. For further discussions, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 398-407.

³⁷⁵ VanderKam, “Enoch Traditions,” 329.

characterized by the breaking of a divinely prescribed course. And this rebellion is manifested in a number of ways.

First, similar to the Hebrew Bible, Israel is repeatedly accused of breaking their covenant with God. Whereas the context of the flood in the *Book of Watchers* is a response to human outcry concerning the illicit union of the watchers and the destruction wrought by their giant offspring (*I En* 7:1-8:3; 9:1-10; and 10:1-3), *Jubilees* describes the flood as being a punishment for human sin, even though these sinful activities have been fueled by wayward angels (*Jub.* 5:3-5; 7:20-25).³⁷⁶ *Jubilees*, being more closely tied to Genesis 5 and 6, continues a process already seen in the Enochic corpus of assigning more responsibility on humans for the presence of evil in the world rather than seeing them as victims of cosmic iniquity.³⁷⁷

Jubilees both narrates human sin and issues warnings encouraging Israel not to disobey. Humans are accused of committing various types of sins. Already in chap. 1, *Jubilees* catalogues human sin. People are either accused of or predicted to: forget commandments, follow gentiles, and serve their gods (1:9); forsake God's commandments, ordinances, feasts, covenant, and sacred place (1:10); and to make new high places, idols, and sacrifice their children to demons (1:11).³⁷⁸ Additionally, they will kill the prophets and neglect the law (1:12). *Jubilees* also records the "fall" of Adam and Eve (3:17-25) and the murder of Abel (4:1-6) prior to the recording of the fall of the watchers.³⁷⁹ Human sin continues to be a theme throughout the rest of the work. Israel is told they will abandon circumcision (15:33-34); commit sexual sins (16:5-6); intermarry with foreigners (25:1 and 36:1); and commit violence (11:1-6).

As noted above, human iniquity is often associated with corruption by evil spirits. Often human sin is correlated to previous evil committed by the giants. *Jub* 11:1-6 describes Noah's sons attempting to kill one another, spill and eat blood, set up their own kingdoms in order to go to war, and create idols. Evil spirits, at the direction of Mastema, were assisting them and leading them astray (v. 5). This is

³⁷⁶ Stuckenbruck, "Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition," 111. *Jub* 7:21b-24a does recount the improper union of the watchers and the destructive activities of their giant progeny as the context of the flood, but these are not punished through the flood itself.

³⁷⁷ *I Enoch* is not consistent in its blame for evil. As noted in chap 2 of this work, the Shemihazah and Asael myths assign different levels of responsibility to humans, later Enochic writings also continue to accuse both humans and watchers of bringing evil upon the earth (*I En* 98:4-5; 100:4). See VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions," 329-30. As noted above *Jub* 1:17 contains the "Adam and Eve" story allowing for human sin before the descent of the watchers.

³⁷⁸ Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 117.

³⁷⁹ *Jub* 10:18-26 also retells the tower of Babel story from Genesis 11.

reminiscent of the sins attributed to the giants. In fact, *Jubilees* goes as far to imply that the murdering of innocents by people, rather than by the giants alone, was part of the injustice that led to the flood (7:22-23).³⁸⁰ Since *Jubilees* discusses human iniquity far more than the sins of cosmic beings, it can be assumed that the author's primary concern was on human behavior rather than cataloguing the sins of the watchers and giants.³⁸¹ Furthermore, it appears that one of the author's main reasons for retaining the watcher and giant traditions was to use them as examples in order to shape human conduct rather than merely to catalogue early history. If, as has been argued, the author of *Jubilees* was familiar with the *Epistle of Enoch*, he continues the shift of applying cosmic myths towards humans, though he also retains more of the cosmic elements than the *Epistle*. Thus, further study should be given as to whether the author of 1 Peter is appropriating the fallen angel tradition in a similar manner.

3.5.3 Punishment Traditions in *Jubilees*

In addition to the sins of the angels, giants, and humans in *Jubilees*, the various punishment traditions concerning each of these groups are also relevant to the study of 1 Pet 3:18-22. *Jubilees* has diverged from its predecessors regarding the penalties for cosmic and human sin. These alterations, written before the composition of 1 Peter, continue to cast doubt on the possibility of positively identifying the recipients of Christ's preaching based solely upon early Jewish traditions.

a. Angelic Punishment

Angelic punishment in the book of *Jubilees* does not play an important role and remains consistent with earlier traditions from *1 Enoch*. For their iniquity, God removes the watchers from their positions of authority. Additionally, the angels are forced to watch their sons kill each other until all of them are destroyed before being bound themselves in the depths of the earth.³⁸² Similar to earlier traditions, this incarceration is only temporary as the angels, along with all other sinners, will eventually be condemned at a final judgment (*Jub* 5:6, 10).

³⁸⁰ For a more detailed description of the association between the sins of the giants and human iniquity, see section 3.5.2 *b* (*Sins of the Giants*) above.

³⁸¹ For a lengthy discussion of human sin in *Jubilees*, see Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 113-305.

³⁸² See *1 En* 10:12.

b. Punishment of the Giants

While *Jubilees* is consistent with the early Enochic corpus regarding angelic punishment, it does deviate, at times, from previous traditions regarding the penalties for the giants. Regarding these giants, *Jubilees* continues the tradition that God punished the angelic offspring by sending his sword among them, causing them to kill one another (5:9). Additionally, the limiting of human life to 120 years from Gen 6:3 is reapplied to the giants in *Jub* 5:8. Both of these events occur prior to the flood.

The major shift in the tradition occurs concerning *Jubilees*' recording of the punishment of the spirits that emanated from the giants. As noted above, myths concerning the evil spirits in *1 Enoch* portray these emanations as being given freedom to cause human to sin until the great Day of Judgment. *Jubilees* retains, adapts, and alters these stories concerning the spirits of the giants.³⁸³

In *Jub* 10:2, Noah's sons come to him complaining that impure demons had been misleading their children. Noah responds by praying to God and asking him to imprison these spirits in a place of judgment (10:5).³⁸⁴ God appears to give an affirmative response to Noah's request commanding that each evil spirit be bound (10:7). Mastemah, the leader of these spirits (*mal'aka manāfest*), objected to the imprisonment of all the spirits claiming that it was a challenge to his own mandate:

*"leave some of them before me; let them listen to me and do everything that I tell them, because if none of them is left for me I shall not be able to exercise the authority of my will among mankind. For they are meant for (the purposes of) destroying ('amāseno) and misleading ('ašeto) before my punishment because the evil of mankind is great" (10:8).*³⁸⁵

God relents and allows one tenth of the evil spirits to remain before Mastemah while the other nine parts would descend to the place of judgment (10:9).³⁸⁶

The punishment of evil spirits in *Jubilees* is potentially important for the study of 1 Peter for two reasons. First, it departs dramatically from its source, the *Book of*

³⁸³ The difficulties in the consistent relationship between the watchers, giants, and evil spirits have already been noted. This work assumes that the readers would have understood *Jubilees* as a whole and read it in a conflated state alongside of previous traditions such as those found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Thus, it is likely that readers would understand the spirits as emanating from the bodies of the giants.

³⁸⁴ Armin Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23; ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 383, calls Noah's prayer a "hymnic exorcism."

³⁸⁵ See also 1QM xiii 11.

³⁸⁶ *Jub* 10:11 records the punishment of the evil spirits. It appears that Mastema and satan are used interchangeably in this part of *Jubilees*. Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (StPB 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 86 finds in *Jub* 10:9 a warning concerning the ten percent of spirits who remain.

Watchers, which does not record a reduction in the number of evil spirits. This demonstrates the continued fluidity of these sin and punishment traditions throughout early Jewish literature. Second, and more specifically, *Jubilees* contends that evil spirits are imprisoned, making them at least a plausible possibility for the recipients of Christ's proclamation in 1 Pet 3:18. Whereas imprisonment is generally reserved for fallen angels, in *Jubilees* both the watchers and the spirits are bound and imprisoned. This represents a further conflation or altering of the punishment traditions.

c. Human Punishment

Similar to human sin, human punishment plays a large role in *Jubilees*. As with cosmic and human iniquity, the author of *Jubilees* retains some of the material from previous traditions, but he also reshapes it for his own purpose. The punishment of the giants is raised when discussing the sentence of humans, demonstrating again that *Jubilees* retains cosmic punishment for the purpose of altering human behavior.

The flood in *Jubilees* is only associated with humans and their wickedness. Anticipating the flood, Enoch is taken to the Garden of Eden where he is to write down the condemnation and judgment of the world (through the flood) and all the wickedness of humankind (4:23). The description of the flood itself, recorded in *Jub* 5:10-6:4, only catalogues human iniquity, while both the watchers and the giants are absent from the account. A second reference to the destruction of the world comes in 23:15ff., in which God informs Moses that the world will again be destroyed because of human wickedness (23:18). Here, the punishment of the reduction of human life, which *Jubilees* has already shifted to the giants from Gen 6:3, is now reverted back to humans in *Jub* 23:15.³⁸⁷

Human punishment in *Jubilees* is often associated with sexual sins including impurity and intermarriage. Both of these charges have previously been leveled against the watchers. And yet the punishment for these offenses more closely represents those given to the giants. *Jub* 16:5 records the punishment of Sodom and Gomorrah. They were burned with fire and annihilated. This event, combined with the punishment of the giants, is used by the author to encourage proper human behavior. In *Jub* 20:4, any woman who commits a sexual offense, including intermarriage, is to be burned with fire. The punishments of Sodom as well as the

³⁸⁷ See *Jub* 5:8.

giants are recounted to serve as a warning to humans. The author claims that both the residents of Sodom and the giants were destroyed because of their sinfulness: namely their wickedness, sexual impurity, uncleanness, and corruption.³⁸⁸ Specifically, they are destroyed due to their sexual impurity (20:5). Interesting here is that the giants are accused of sexual impurity rather than violence or the shedding of blood. Traditionally, the watchers are the beings charged with sexual impurity and intermarriage. The author appears to combine angelic sin with the punishment of the giants in order to alter human behavior.³⁸⁹

Finally, in addition to the links with the watchers and giants noted above, *Jubilees* also potentially conflates the location of human punishment. Whereas most traditions portray the watchers as being imprisoned awaiting final punishment, it has already been noted that one reference in *Jubilees* describes the incarceration of the spirits of the giants (10:9). However, in *Jub* 22:22, people who worship idols will descend to Sheol and to the place of judgment. Again, the punishment of Sodom is used as an example, even though the biblical account does not indicate the residents were sent to any place of judgment but merely destroyed. This at least contains echoes of punishments generally reserved for watchers and giants.³⁹⁰

3.5.4 Conclusion

Rather than clearing up previous inconsistencies in the sin and punishment myths of angels, giants, and humans, *Jubilees* reflects a further divergence of traditions making a coherent and unified understanding of these stories more improbable. What is most beneficial for the study of 1 Pet 3:18-22 is how the writer of *Jubilees*, similar to later sections of *1 Enoch*, retains the fallen angel and giant traditions only to the extent that they advance the author's particular focus. Rather

³⁸⁸ The story of the destruction of Sodom and Gommorah is found in Gen 19:4-11. Among other charges, the inhabitants were annihilated due to their sexual immorality. This myth served as the example of divine judgement thought biblical and other early Jewish and Christian literature (Deut 29:23; Isa 1:9; 13:19; Jer 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Lam 4:6; Hos 11:8; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9; Ben Sira 16:8; 3 Macc 2:5; *Jub* 16:6, 9; 20:5; 22:22; 36:10; *T. Ashur* 7:1; Philo, *QG*, 4:51; Josephus, *BJ*, 5.566; Matt 10:15; Mk 6:11; and Lk 10:12; 17:29).

³⁸⁹ Additional examples of human punishment, primarily by the sword, reserved for humans who commit sexual impurity can be found in *Jub* 30:5-10, which retells and reshapes the rape of Dinah from Genesis 34, as well as *Jub* 33:10. Sodom's demise has been interpreted as God's judgment against homosexuality (Philo, *Abr.* 135-36); their lack of hospitality (Wis 19:14-15; Josephus, *Ant.* 1:194); their pride (Ezek 16:49-50; 3 Macc 2:5); and general sexual immorality (*Jub* 16:5-6; 20:5; *T. Levi* 14:6; *T. Ben.* 9:1). However, Jude 9 and *T. Naph.* 3:4-5, which will be discussed below, link the Sodom and Gomorah story with the fall of the angels. In these works the sin appears to include the breaking of God's divine order through improper sexual relations between human and angelic beings.

³⁹⁰ With the notable exception of *1 Enoch* 22 which places humans in caves of punishment.

than recording the origin of evil, *Jubilees* reworks these traditions primarily to serve as a warning concerning human behavior and God's judgment that would follow. These mythical stories are told alongside of other accounts of God's judgments against humans (i.e. Sodom) in order to encourage readers to refrain from making similar mistakes. The stories of the fallen angels and giants are kept because, in the mind of the author of *Jubilees*, the sins recorded in these myths (idolatry, violence, and sexual impurity) are relevant to, indeed paradigmatic for, his contemporary audience. This may help in understanding how the writer of 1 Peter might have utilized these traditions, and reshaped them, to fit his agenda.

3.6 Other Apocalyptic Works

3.6.1 2 Baruch/The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch

The book of 2 *Baruch*, or *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, is a Jewish apocalypse consisting of 87 chapters and made up of two distinct genres: an apocalypse (1-77) and an epistle (78-87).³⁹¹ While the epistle was included in the Syriac Bible, the apocalypse was lost until a sixth century manuscript was discovered by A. M. Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan.³⁹² The document claims to be translated from the Greek, and some, like Charles, have argued for a Hebrew original.³⁹³ An Arabic manuscript (MS Ar 589 of Mt. Sinai) has also been found which appears to be a loose translation of a Syriac ms.³⁹⁴ Traditionally 2 *Baruch* is dated to the late first or early second century C.E.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Pierre Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch, introduction, traduction du syriaque et commentaire* (2 vols.; SC, 144-45; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1969); Robert. H. Charles, "2 Baruch, or The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," (*APOT*; 2 vols.; Oxford, 1913); Albertus F. J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," (*OTP*; 2 vols. ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985); and "Recent Developments in the Study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch" *JSP* 4 (1989): 3-17. Frederick J. Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch* (SBLDS, 78; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); Mark F. Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message* (JSPSup, 42; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003); cf. Gwendolyn B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984).

³⁹² Sven E. Dederling, *Apocalypse of Baruch* (Peshitta Institute, The Old Testament in Syriac, Part IV, Fasc. 3; Leiden: Brill, 1973).

³⁹³ Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 3; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), 4-7. Charles argued in *APOT*, 2:472-74, that the Greek translation came from a Hebrew original. Bogaert, in *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1:378-80, contends that 2 *Baruch* was originally composed in Greek. For the most recent history of research on 2 *Baruch*, see George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 277-85.

³⁹⁴ Geert J. H. van Gelder, Albertus F. J. Klijn, and Fred Leemhuis, *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

³⁹⁵ Scholarly consensus dates 2 *Baruch* between the destruction of the second temple and the Bar Kochba revolt, generally between the last decade of the first century and the first two decades of the second century. More recently Nicolae Roddy argues that 2 *Baruch* was composed between 84-95 C.E.

The apocalypse is set in Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians but was written after the destruction of the second temple by Rome in 70 C.E. The apocalypse contains visions in which Baruch, Jeremiah's associate, is shown how God would eventually redeem Israel and judge the nations (Rome) despite Israel's present circumstances. While the date of *2 Baruch* does not allow the possibility for it being a source for 1 Peter, it is still beneficial to study for two reasons. First, it further exemplifies how the watcher tradition is being used by later writers. Second, the eschatology of *2 Baruch* and 1 Peter is similar and may reflect how this tradition was being used under Roman marginalization/persecution.

The watcher story does not play a prominent role in *2 Baruch* and the giants are not mentioned. Human sin is the focus of the work and the origin of evil is attributed numerous times to Adam.³⁹⁶ The one brief reference to the fallen angel story in *2 Baruch* occurs in the midst of an explanation of the vision Baruch receives concerning alternating periods of evil and good in Israel's history (*2 Bar* 55:1-16). The fall of Adam allowed for the possibility of the fall of the angels (56:10). The angels were given freedom and some chose to mingle with women. Their punishment is that they are tormented in chains (56:12-13). However, there is no mention of a final judgment of the angels. The fall of the angels is thus intertwined with the sin of Adam in that they are jointly named the "first black waters" or period of evil in the world (56:16).

More relevant for the study of 1 Peter is the purpose of *2 Baruch*, demonstrated in the vision of the waters, which is to comfort and exhort Israel in the midst of Roman occupation. *2 Baruch* 53 contains a vision and its explanation (55-56) consisting of 14 different periods of alternating black and light waters reflecting evil and good periods throughout Israel's history. Lester Grabbe has articulated that this periodization of time in *2 Baruch* conveys that God is on control of history. Despite

with an expectation of the end of the age in 99 C.E. in "Two Parts, Weeks of Seven Weeks': The End of the Age as Terminus ad Quem for 2 Baruch" *JSP* 14 (1996): 3-14. Antti Laato, rejecting Roddy's arguments, dates *2 Baruch* closer to, or immediately following, the Bar Kochba revolt (132 C.E.) in "The Apocalypse of the Syriac Baruch and the Date of the End" *JSP* 18 (1998): 39-46.

³⁹⁶ *2 Baruch* accuses Adam of being the cause of all ills in the world (17:3; 23:4; 54:15; 56:6) and the cause of all theological dissidence (18:1-2; 48:42-48). For more on the role of Adam in *2 Baruch*, see John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup 1, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 129-44.

being in the darkest period of Israel's history (Roman occupation), God was still in control. Israel would receive their reward (resurrection) in a world to come.³⁹⁷

As Gwen Saylor notes, this vision moves from grief to consolation in order to both vindicate God as just and powerful in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem and to promote the survival of Jewish community after the destruction. *2 Baruch* calls people to endure suffering (52:6-7) while allowing God to judge the Romans (12:19-20; 82:1-2). Jews need only to concern themselves with the final judgment while allowing the messiah to overthrow Rome.³⁹⁸ The eschatology of *2 Baruch* was meant to offer hope and help to those who were struggling with problem of evil, in part by envisioning a coming messiah who would rule from Jerusalem and restore the kingdom.³⁹⁹ Finally, *2 Baruch* encourages its readers to prepare for the final judgment by remaining righteous before God. In the context of *2 Baruch*, this is achieved primarily through the continued study of Torah.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, there exists in the first/second century C.E. a Jewish work that mixes the story of the watchers with the expectation of the defeat of Rome in a future judgment. Additionally, there are some literary features shared between *2 Baruch* and 1 Peter. Both are concerned with Rome and their abuse of those deemed righteous. Both works also portray the evil as being done by the Babylonians rather than by the Romans. This, along with previous works, continues to shed light on the potential background of 1 Peter.

3.6.2 *3 Baruch*

The apocalypse known as *3 Baruch* contains an other-worldly journey in which Baruch, lamenting the destruction of the Jewish temple by the Babylonians, is given a tour of the five heavens by an angel in order to show him the "mysteries of God." *3 Baruch* is extant both in Slavonic and Greek. The first Slavonic manuscript of *3 Baruch* was published by St. Novakovič in 1886.⁴⁰¹ Two Greek manuscripts were

³⁹⁷ Lester L. Grabbe, "Chronography in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 20 (1981), 54. For the role of resurrection in *2 Baruch* (23:4-5; 30:1-5; 42:7; and 50:1-52:7), see Tom W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra* (JSJSup 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).

³⁹⁸ See Frederick J. Murphy, "2 Baruch and the Romans," *JBL* 104/4 (1985): 663-69 as well as "The Temple in the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*," *JBL* 106/4 (1987): 671-83 in which Murphy suggests from *2 Bar* 32:2-4 that the possibility exists that the writer awaited the building of a third temple by God. This could be similar to the idea of God building the Christian community referred to as a temple in 1 Pet 2:5.

³⁹⁹ Willit, *Eschatology*, 118.

⁴⁰⁰ J. Edward Wright, "The Social Setting of the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*," *JSP* 16 (1997): 86.

⁴⁰¹ St. Novakovič, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," *Starine* 18 (1886): 203-09.

discovered and published a decade later.⁴⁰² The work is thought to have been originally composed in Greek and later translated into Slavonic. Dan Harlow, who has published the most recent and thorough work on *3 Baruch*, concludes that the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* is “a product of Hellenistic Judaism within a half century or so of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.”⁴⁰³ Thus, Harlow argues that *3 Baruch* was originally a Jewish work that was later redacted to a Christian composition.⁴⁰⁴ Since there does not appear to be a direct dependence on *3 Baruch* by the author of 1 Peter, the exact form and timing of the Christianization of the work is not vital for this study. Rather, *3 Baruch* is beneficial for studying 1 Pet 3:18-22 in as much as it provides an additional example of how both Jews and Christians were using and adapting the fallen angel and giant myths for their own purposes.⁴⁰⁵

As Baruch is given a tour of the five heavens, a number of insights regarding the sin and punishment of humans and giants can be observed.⁴⁰⁶ Before looking at the specific references to fallen angels, giants, and humans, it is important to note the more unique aspects regarding the cosmology of *3 Baruch*. This work portrays the places of punishment for sinful humans, and possibly cosmic beings, in heaven. While most of the literature noted above describes punishment as located in caves in the ground or in locations apart from heaven, *3 Baruch* places both sinful and righteous humans in different levels of heaven. The first two levels of heaven are

⁴⁰² Montague R. James, “The Apocalypse of Baruch,” *Apocrypha Anecdota II* (ed. J. A. Robinson; TextsS 5/1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), li-lxxi and 83-94. A third Greek manuscript of *3 Baruch* was published by Jean-Claude Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* (PVTG 2; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 61-96. The textual relationships among the three Greek mss. of *3 Baruch* (A, B, and 46) do not appear significant for the scope of this work. For additional reading on the textual histories on both the Greek and Slavonic *3 Baruch*, see Daniel Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 2-10. This work will utilize the translations offered by Harry E. Gaylor in “3 Baruch” (*OTP* 2 vols.; ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-85), 1:653-79.

⁴⁰³ Harlow, *3 Baruch*, 206.

⁴⁰⁴ *3 Baruch* contains three overt Christian interpolations (4:15; 13:4; and 15:4). Additionally, there are numerous other passages within *3 Baruch* that echo NT passages (see Harlow, *3 Baruch*, 78-80 for a detailed list and discussion).

⁴⁰⁵ Due to the inability to concretely date either the Greek Slavonic translations of additional Greek mss., the present work will look at both the Greek and Slavonic material as it relates to the conflation of traditions regarding the giants. This work will start with the Greek text and add relevant Slavonic material when appropriate.

⁴⁰⁶ Some have questioned the cosmology of *3 Baruch*, claiming that the original ending of the work would have contained visions of two more heavens including a final throne room vision. Harlow, however, suggests that while a cosmology of seven heavens is assumed, the lack of ascent to the throne of God was an intentional literary device. For a discussion on the integrity of the ending of *3 Baruch*, see Harlow, *3 Baruch*, 34-76.

inhabited by those who attempted to build the tower of Babel (*3 Bar* 2:7; 3:5-8).⁴⁰⁷ A significant difference between the Greek and Slavonic mss. can be observed in relation to the name of the second heaven. While in the Greek, the angel shows Baruch a plain in which reside the sinners who plotted to build the tower, the Slavonic describes this area as a great prison (*3 Bar* 3:3).⁴⁰⁸ If this preserves an early reading, then the potential exists for the imprisonment of sinful (human) beings in heaven.

In the third heaven, Baruch envisions a serpent who appears to be stone and Hades.⁴⁰⁹ The role of the serpent/dragon is to devour the “bodies of those who pass through their lives badly” (*3 Bar* 4:5). Additionally, the tree/vine from which Adam ate and sinned is also located in this heaven (4:8). The fourth heaven contains the souls of the righteous (*3 Bar* 10:1, 5). Thus, it is apparent that the cosmology of Greek *3 Baruch* places both sinners and the righteous in heaven, albeit in different levels.

Harlow has noted the similarities and differences in the postmortem fates of human beings in the Greek and Slavonic versions of *3 Baruch*. While the Greek locates Hades in the third heaven (4:3, 6; 5:3), the Slavonic does not. Additionally, in the Greek, the bodies of wicked humans are devoured in the third heaven (4:5), while the Slavonic does not record this. Third, the Greek mentions the “eternal fire” that awaits the abusers of the vine (4:16), There is no reference to eternal fire in the Slavonic. The Greek portrays the souls of righteous humans around a celestial lake in the fourth heaven (10:5), whereas the Slavonic does not mention the souls of the righteous. Finally, Greek *3 Baruch* contains no inference of righteous or wicked humans located beyond the fifth heaven. The Slavonic, however, makes it appear that Baruch will yet see, apparently further on the journey, both the righteous and wicked

⁴⁰⁷ The sinners in the first heaven are those who attempted to build the tower. The inhabitants of the second were those who planned and oversaw the construction. This is an apparent expansion of Genesis 11 (cf. *b. Sanh* 109a for a similar expansion). There also appear to be hints regarding the sins of the Egyptians and subsequent plagues, especially the ninth (Ex 10:21-23), conflated into the tradition tower of Babel material. While there are discrepancies between the Slavonic and Greek here in content, they do not affect the cosmology.

⁴⁰⁸ Richard Bauckham, in “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” *JTS* 41/2 (1990): 372, suggests that the two groups of people punished in the first and second heavens for building and planning of the tower may be substitutes in *3 Baruch* for the two groups of watchers from *2 Enoch* 7 and 18.

⁴⁰⁹ The work does not specifically state that Baruch has traveled into the third heaven. In fact *3 Bar* 10:1, states that it was then that he entered the third heaven. However, it appears that this is mistake and 10:1 actually refers to the tour of the fourth heaven (see also 7:2). This is not found in the Slavonic. Also there is some discrepancy here in that the serpent and Hades are portrayed as two distinct beings in 4:3. However, 5:2-3 indicates that Hades is actually the stomach of the serpent.

dead (16:4-8).⁴¹⁰ Thus, the Slavonic potentially places the human dead in a different location of the fifth heaven, in a higher heaven (the potential sixth and seventh heavens?), or in regions beyond the highest heaven.⁴¹¹

While the focus of *3 Baruch* is primarily human sin, angels and giants are also accounted for in the work. Regarding the angels, there are no references to the watchers who had intercourse with humans. Nor are there any references to improper instruction on the part of angels as noted above. However, the Greek version of *3 Baruch* does contain the account of an angel leading humanity astray. The angel *Samael*, who is later described as the devil, plants the vine that ultimately led to Adam's demise (4:8).⁴¹² Because of Samael's actions, God cursed the vine as well as the angel. Yet, no description of the angelic punishment is given. The Slavonic version indicates that it was *Satanael* who planted the vine (4:7). Although the text does perceive a change in Samael's status, there is no mention of his actual punishment (4:7). However, in the Slavonic the entity associated with deceiving Adam and Eve switches from *Satanael* (the angel) to the serpent (4:8). Is *Satanael* the serpent? And is the serpent mentioned in 4:8 the same one whose is eating the bodies of sinful humans in the third heaven (5:2)? If so, there could be an indication that *Satanael* is "imprisoned" in the third heaven consuming sinful human bodies as his punishment. However, there is no clear evidence for this.⁴¹³

Similar to angels, the giants do not play a large role in *3 Baruch*. In the third heaven, amidst the description of the sin of Adam and Eve, the angel recounts to Baruch the destruction of the giants in the flood. According to the Greek, 409,000 giants perished in the deluge. The Slavonic records the number of giants killed at 104,000.⁴¹⁴ There is no mention of any spiritual entities surviving this punishment. The giants, combined with sinful humanity, are simply destroyed. Again, this appears

⁴¹⁰ Harlow, *3 Baruch*, 150.

⁴¹¹ Bauckham, "Visions of Hell," 371-74.

⁴¹² The actual name in Greek reads Samuel. Gaylord, in *3 Baruch*, 667 argues that this was a mistake for Samael, the chief of the evil angels in rabbinic literature and appears in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 7:9 and *Targum Jonathan* on Gen 3:6.

⁴¹³ For a discussion of the angelic role in planting the garden, see Andrei Orlov, "The Flooded Arboretums: The Garden Traditions in the Slavonic Version of *3 Baruch* and the *Book of Giants*," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 191-95

⁴¹⁴ Gideon Bohak, in "Greek-Hebrew Gematrias in *3 Baruch* and Revelation," *JSP* 7 (1990): 19-21, suggests that the number of the giants who perished in the flood in the Greek mss. (409,000) is based on a Greek-Hebrew gematria, which consists of adding the numerical value of the Hebrew letters of a word after transposing it into Hebrew. The number of giants is associate with the word κατακλουσμός/קטקלום=409.

to be an alteration from early giant traditions in *BW* in that the giants are destroyed in the flood rather than by the sword prior to the deluge.

Although brief mention is made concerning angels and giants, the focus of *3 Baruch* is on human iniquity. While the primordial paradise and the sin of Adam is mentioned, the focal point of human iniquity in *3 Baruch* appears to be the building of the tower.⁴¹⁵ The sins committed by humans are similar to those found in other early Jewish and Christian literature including: murder, adultery, perjury, theft, idolatry, divination, and excessive drinking (*3 Bar* 4:17; 13:4). Apparently, human sin is so great that the angels overseeing these humans request to be transferred to new assignments (13:3).

Similar to human sin, *3 Baruch* also emphasizes human punishment. As noted above, the individuals described as being punished in the first and second heavens are humans, namely those who built or planned the tower (2:7; 3:5). The bodies of unrighteous humans are devoured in the third heaven (4:5). In addition to these punishments, *3 Baruch* asserts that the flood was intended to destroy evil humanity as well as the giants, again suggesting a conflated tradition (4:10).

The conclusion of Baruch's vision, found in chap. 16, represents another shift in punishment traditions. Michael has ascended to God, bringing the transfer request on behalf of the angels who oversee sinful humanity. Upon returning, Michael informs the angels that their request has been denied. However, he instructs them to bring punishment to the sinful humans under their charge. Since these humans have angered God, Michael commands the angels to provoke humanity to anger (*3 Bar* 16:2). Furthermore, the angels are told to bring plagues upon the earth. However, most interesting for this study are the final two orders Michael gives to the angels (16:3). First they are told to punish sinful humanity with sword and death. This echoes the traditional punishment of the giants from *BW* in which the giants, because of the violence they are causing on earth, are annihilated with swords (*1 En* 10:9). Second, the angels are to punish the children of sinful humanity by plaguing them with demons. Here, rather than being evil entities with their own agenda, demons are controlled by angels (and ultimately God), and are thus agents of God rather than part of a separate force of evil.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Harlow, *3 Baruch*, 60.

⁴¹⁶ In addition to angels, giants, and humans, *3 Bar* 9:1-8 also references the iniquitous role the moon played in the sin of Adam as well as its subsequent punishment.

3 *Baruch* also contains a different eschatology than has been discussed previously. While most early Jewish and Christian works contain a “final judgment” scene or prophecy, 3 *Baruch* never envisions such an event. “Instead, human beings receive rewards and punishments during their earthly lives and immediately after death.”⁴¹⁷ Therefore, there is no temporary state of punishment or reward in this work.

It is evident that 3 *Baruch* represents another stage in the development of the tradition-history of the fallen angel, giant, and human sin and punishment traditions. Similar to 2 *Baruch*, this book appears to diminish the importance of the Jerusalem and the temple. The hope of Judaism now primarily is placed on individual piety rather than on sacrifice. The concepts mentioned above help in understanding how (again) later writers use and change previous traditions to suit their own agendas.

3.6.3 *Apocalypse of Abraham*

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* (*Ap. Ab.*) contains two main parts: an aggadic section (chaps 1-8) and an apocalypse (chaps 9-32). The work recounts Abraham’s fleeing from the idolatrous ways of his father, who is ultimately destroyed by God through the angel *Yahoel* (*Ap. Ab.* 10:12). Having disavowed idols and escaped punishment, God takes Abraham, guided by the angel *Yehoel*, on an other-worldly journey. Abraham is then given a vision of the fate of sinful humanity upon their deaths. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* is extant only in the Slavonic.⁴¹⁸ The work appears to have been composed as a Jewish document in Palestine during the first few centuries of the Common Era.⁴¹⁹

The *Apocalypse of Abraham*, like 3 *Baruch*, is important for the study of 1 Peter in that it provides another example of how the watcher tradition was being

⁴¹⁷ Harlow, 3 *Baruch*, 68.

⁴¹⁸ The East Slavonic mss date from the fourteenth century onwards. These appear to go back to a South Slavonic text (translated from the Greek) that could date to the tenth or eleventh centuries, see Horace G. Lunt, “On the Language of the Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham,” *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 7 (1985): 55-62. Alexander Kulik proposes that the work may have been originally composed in Hebrew or (less likely) Palestinian Aramaic, see *Retroverting the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁴¹⁹ For discussion on the dating of *Apocalypse of Abraham*., see George H. Box and Joseph I. Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918), XV-XIX; Belkis Philonenko-Sayar and Marc Philonenko, *L’Apocalypse d’Abraham*. (Semitica 31 Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1981), 34-35; Ryszard Rubinkiewicz, “The Apocalypse of Abraham” Revised and noted by H. G. Lunt (*OTP*; 2 vols.; ed. J. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday 1983-1985), 2:683; Ryszard Rubinkiewicz, *L’Apocalypse d’Abraham en vieux slave* (Lublin: Société des Lettres et des Sciences de l’Université Catholique de Lublin, 1987), 70-73. For a bibliography on the history of Scholarship on *Ap. Ab.*, see Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic*, 3-4.

utilized in later writings. The work continues to emphasize the role of human sin. It contains a lengthy narrative about Terah and the sinfulness of idol worship (chaps. 1-8). It also contains the Adam and Eve story (*Ap. Ab.* 24). Finally, it records God's words to Abraham that he is about to "announce what will happen to those who have done evil," which is generally understood as humanity.⁴²⁰ Yet while human iniquity is recounted, *Ap. Ab.* appears to revert to earlier traditions in which human sin is influenced, or even caused, by spiritual forces of evil.

The chief force of evil in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is the angel Azazel. This being appears to cohere with Asael from the *Book of Watchers*. While the story of his descent is not told in detail, there are echoes of previous traditions found in the work. The evil angel first appears to Abraham as he is about to offer the sacrifice ratifying the covenant found in Genesis 15. He does so in the form of an unclean bird attempting to interrupt the ceremony (13:3). Abraham questions his angelic guide as to the nature of this bird. Yahoel informs him that the bird is Azazel, who forsook his place in heaven for earth: the place of his sin (13:7-8). This echoes aforementioned traditions regarding the descent of the watchers. Additionally, Azazel is associated with stars and with men born from the clouds, which could be a reference to the traditional watcher material from *BW*. Finally, Azazel is accused of scattering the secrets of heaven upon the earth, a possible reference to *I En* 8:1-4.

While the *Apocalypse of Abraham* retains traditional features regarding human and angelic sin, it also continues the conflation of these myths in that Azazel is directly linked with sinful human behavior in a number of ways. First, it appears that Azazel controls evil spirits as well as the wrath and trials that befall humanity (13:9). However, in *Ap. Ab.*, Azazel is not allowed to lead all of humanity astray. Rather, he is limited by God to plague unrighteous humanity who have been apportioned for him. God has not given Azazel permission to tempt the righteous (13:10-12). Therefore, in this scenario, Azazel serves as an agent of God, controlling the unrighteous who have been given to him by God. This limited dominion of Azazel is further demonstrated in his participation in the original sin of humankind. *Ap. Ab.* 23:7-11 names Azazel as the dragon who stood between Adam and Eve and caused

⁴²⁰ *Ap. Ab.* 9:10. An additional list of human sins can be found in *Ap. Ab.* 24:6-9.

the first couple to sin. Due to Azazel's iniquitous role in the story, God gives him dominion over humans who choose evil (23:13).⁴²¹

Also significant in this work is the relationship between righteous humanity and Azazel. First, it appears that Abraham has the ability to rebuke the angel, since Azazel has no right to control the righteous (14:5-6). Similarly, ungodliness is destroyed through the actions of the righteous (13:10). Furthermore, it appears that the roles of Azazel and Abraham are reversed. *Ap. Ab.* claims that Abraham's portion is in heaven, while Azazel's is on the earth (13:7). More direct, Abraham is told that the heavenly garment that had previously set aside for Azazel will be given to Abraham, and that the corruption previously laid upon Abraham will be placed upon him as well (13:14).

Regarding punishment, *Ap. Ab.* envisions a time when sinful humanity will be punished for their actions. When the time for evil that God has allowed comes to pass, he will enact judgment on the unrighteous. He will accomplish this through the sending of ten plagues (29:15). Sinful humanity will experience such torment as sorrow, famine, hail, earthquakes, and destruction by the sword.⁴²² While the ten plagues cause destruction of many evil people on the earth, *Ap. Ab.* describes further human punishment after the ten plagues. It is uncertain whether this is a separate tradition, if this punishment is for humans spared from the plagues, or if this is a secondary punishment that some might receive after the plagues. *Ap. Ab.* suggests that those who have mocked and persecuted God's people will be burned with fire and become food for the fire of Hades. Rather than being completely destroyed, the unrighteous will soar ceaselessly in the wormy belly of the underworld (31:1-3). Most interesting is that the worm whose belly these souls reside is named Azazel. And these humans will be burned by Azazel's tongue (31:5). Thus, Azazel becomes the agent of God's punishment against sinful humanity. However, it is also possible that the punishing of unrighteous humans could, in fact, be Azazel's punishment.

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* continues the use, shaping, and conflating of previous traditions concerning angels and humans. In this case the giants are not mentioned. However, the Asael tradition from *BW* is retained and changed by merging the revealer of heavenly secrets with the traditional "satan" from Genesis 3.

⁴²¹ *Ap. Ab.* 24:5 later reports that an adversary not only led Adam and Eve to sin, but he also caused Cain to break the law and murder his brother.

⁴²² See *Ap. Ab.* 30:4-8 for a full list of these plagues.

This provides further evidence of the widespread nature of the fallen angel myths as well as the freedom with which later writers used and shaped these traditions.

3.7 Qumran Literature

3.7.1 Introduction

The literature discovered in the caves at *Khirbet Qumran* provides further insight into both the popularity of the fallen angel and giant traditions as well as their continued conflation. Fragments consisting of literature already discussed in this work (i.e. *1 Enoch*, *Book of Giants*, *Jubilees* etc.) have already been cited. While not discussed here, the evidence of these larger works being known to and received by the Qumran Community is itself important, demonstrating the group's familiarity with the various punishment traditions existing in multiple forms. This section will look at the discoveries from Qumran, whether sectarian or not, that do not belong to these aforementioned works.

Previous scholarship has attempted to make generalizations regarding both angels, giants and evil spirits at Qumran.⁴²³ This endeavor is complicated both by the fragmentary nature of the literature as well as the composite nature of the body of work found at Qumran. The community associated with this literature was able to utilize documents that contained differing and even opposing views on the fallen angel and giant traditions. While such literature has been helpful in categorizing main themes found among the Dead Sea literature, this work will look at the documents individually so as to demonstrate the widespread nature of these myths in early Jewish literature as well as to understand of these myths were being used and conflated. The literature discussed below will move from Aramaic to Hebrew texts, looking at more general literature to sectarian works.

3.7.2 *4QInstruction* (1Q26; 4Q415-418, 423)

4QInstruction (also previously known as *Sapiential Work A* and *Musar Le-Mevin*) is the longest wisdom text discovered at Qumran.⁴²⁴ The work is written from

⁴²³ Philip Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331-53; Lange, "Magic and Divination," 377-435; and Maxwell Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108, and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

⁴²⁴ John Strugnell and Daniel Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4 .XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsa-r Le' Me-vîn): 4Q15ff. With a re-edition of 1Q26* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon,

a teacher to a student and contains practical information on topics such as payment of debts and marriage. These mss. resemble biblical wisdom literature, and yet Matthew Goff notes that *4QInstruction* differs from traditional wisdom in a number of ways. First, wisdom in *4QInstruction* comes from supernatural revelation (רזו נהיה) “the mystery that is to be.” Additionally, the work contains apocalyptic elements such as eschatological judgment. Thus, Goff concludes that *4QInstruction* “can be considered the best example of a wisdom text with an apocalyptic worldview.”⁴²⁵

Due to the nature of the Herodian script, the mss. making up *4QInstruction* are often dated from the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E.⁴²⁶ Thus, this work provides a further example of how previous punishment traditions are being used in later writings. While the study of *4QInstruction* in regards to both wisdom and apocalyptic literature is important, this work will focus on its use, if any, of the watcher tradition, the identity of the spirits, and the relationship between humans and angels.⁴²⁷

One of the interesting aspects of *4QInstruction* for the study of 1 Peter 3:18-22 is the fragment dealing with the “vision of Hagu” (4Q417 frg. 1 i 13-18). This vision is part of a larger “book of remembrance,” which appears to be a heavenly book that, in part, describes the judgment of the wicked.⁴²⁸ These visions are potentially important for the study of 1 Peter in two ways. First, the vision itself describes eschatological punishment. Second, the identity of the recipients of this vision is helpful for understanding how “spirits” is being used by at least some works at Qumran.

1999) provides the official publication. All translations will be based upon this text unless otherwise noted.

⁴²⁵ Matthew Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: the Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 10. See also John Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Collins, G. Sterling, and R. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 49-65.

⁴²⁶ According to Cross’ dating of scripts from Qumran, the various manuscripts date from 50 B.C.E. to 50 C.E. See *DJD* 34, 76; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 1; and Frank M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. G. E. Wright; New York: Doubleday, 1961), 133-202.

⁴²⁷ For the most recent discussion on the history of scholarship of *4QInstruction*, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 6-27; and *Discerning Wisdom*, 9.

⁴²⁸ The vision of Hagu and this fragment has been the primary focus of scholarship on *4QInstruction*. The various theories surrounding the nature and content of this vision can be found in Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 80-83. See also Cana Werman “What is the *Book of Hagu*?” *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20-22 May 2001* (ed. J. Collins, G. Sterling, and R. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125-40. The vision is also mentioned in 1QS*a* i 7 and CD*x* 6.

As noted, the vision of Hagu appears to be part of a larger “book of remembrance,” a heavenly book upon which is inscribed the judgment against the “sons of S(h)eth” (בְּנֵי שֵׁת). Beyond dispute is the fact that judgment against the evil ones has been foreordained by God. Scholars have debated the identity of the recipients of this judgment. Armin Lange suggests that the שֵׁת should be read as the son of Adam and the בְּנֵי שֵׁת is a reference to the myth of the fallen watchers and the first evil generation. These evil groups are associated in Jewish literature to the “generation of Enosh.”⁴²⁹ Goff has recently refuted this interpretation, suggesting that the fallen angel myth is not in view of the author of *4QInstruction*. He argues that whereas the fallen angels are often judged prior to the flood in the previously discussed literature, the בְּנֵי שֵׁת of *4QInstruction* have yet to be judged.⁴³⁰ Goff does not acknowledge that the judgment described could refer to the second and final Day of Judgment awaiting the angels in many punishment traditions. Goff does make a compelling argument, however, that the בְּנֵי שֵׁת reference the Shethites from Num 24:17.⁴³¹ Interesting for this study, though not discussed by Goff, is the mention of Korah’s judgment from Numbers 16 in 4Q423 frg. 5 1-2. The punishment of fallen angels is associated with Korah’s rebellion in Jude 6, 11. Thus, there is at least a possibility that *4QInstruction* refers to the punishment of angels.

More useful for this study is the way in which *4QInstruction* uses the term spirits. The work does not refer to unqualified spirits but uses the term in two distinct ways. The author, in 4Q417 frg. 1 i 16-17 compares “spiritual people” (עַם רוּחַ) with the “spirit of flesh” (רוּחַ בֶּשֶׂר). While the specific delineation of who belongs in what camp is debated, it does appear that both of these terms refer to separate groups of humans who either have received the revelation of *Hagu* and those who have not.⁴³² Furthermore, it is important to note that both the “spiritual people” and the

⁴²⁹ 4Q417 frg. 1 i 15-16.

⁴³⁰ Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 90.

⁴³¹ Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 30-31.

⁴³² John Collins, in “Eschatologizing of Wisdom,” 54-55, suggests that these two categories of spirits represent the two different versions of Adam; namely the one created in God’s image from Gen 1:27 and the one in Genesis 2-3 who is unable to distinguish between good and evil. Despite the dualistic nature of those receiving the divine mysteries and those who do not, *4QInstruction* does not yet share the light and dark imagery of 1QS iii 13-iv 26. See also Eibert Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 196-203 and Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 33. Cf. 4Q418 frg. 81 1-2.

addressee are described similar to the angels of God.⁴³³ Here again is a blending of angels and righteous humans. However, no connection is made between the “fleshy spirits” and cosmic forces of evil.

4QInstruction contains two fragments that describe an eschatological judgment. While neither directly appears to influence or share influence with 1 Peter, there is one possible noteworthy motif.⁴³⁴ 4Q416 frg. 1 10-13 describes God’s judgment over wickedness. In this passage, every “fleshy spirit” spirit will be laid bare (תערערו כל רוח בשר). Here it appears that the “fleshy spirit” is going to be destroyed. However, 4Q416 frg. 69 ii 6-9 describes the “foolish of heart who will be destroyed (ישמדו כול אוילי לב), but it also portrays some recipient of judgment as returning to the eternal pit (לשחת עולם).⁴³⁵ Goff notes that eschatological punishment in this work is intended to foster ethical conduct.⁴³⁶

3.7.3 *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299-301)

The *Book of Mysteries* is another work from Qumran that gives insight into punishment traditions in early Judaism. 1Q27 was officially published in 1955.⁴³⁷ 4Q299-4Q301 were published by Schiffman in 1997.⁴³⁸ The work is difficult to categorize due to its fragmentary nature, and yet it has been the topic of much recent study.⁴³⁹ The *Book of Mysteries* is commonly dated to the second century B.C.E. A

⁴³³ 4Q417 frg. 1 i 17-18; 4Q418 frg. 81 1-5.

⁴³⁴ For more on eschatological judgment in *4QInstruction*, see Torleif Elgvin, “Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation According to Sapiential Work A,” *Current Research and Theological Development on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 126-65; Collins, “Eschatologizing of Wisdom,” 49-65; and Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 44-47.

⁴³⁵ The fragmentary nature of these lines makes the identity of those being returned to the pit impossible to ascertain.

⁴³⁶ Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 47.

⁴³⁷ Dominique Barthelémy and Josef Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 102-07.

⁴³⁸ Torleif Elgvin, Menahem Kister, Timothy Lim, Bilha Nitzan, Stephen Pfann, Elisha Qimron, Lawrence Schiffman, and Annette Steudel, *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 31-123. For further resources on the publication of the *Book of Mysteries*, see Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 69-70. It is debated whether or not 4Q301 should be included within the *Book of Mysteries*. Eibert Tigchelaar, following Milik, understands 4Q301 as part of the *Book of Mysteries* in “Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1-4QMysteries,” *Wisdom and Apocalypticism and the Dead Seas Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2003), 70-73. Schiffman disagrees and claims that it is unlikely that 4Q301 belongs to the same composition as 1Q27 and 4Q299-4Q300 in *DJD 20*, 113.

⁴³⁹ Torleif Elgvin, “Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20-22 May 2001* (STDJ 51; ed. J. Collins, G. Sterling, and R. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 67-87; Mathew Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 69-103; Menahem

more precise time of composition is both speculative due to the fragmentary nature of the documents and beyond the scope of this work.⁴⁴⁰ Although alternatives have been offered, The *Book of Mysteries* is currently understood within the broader definition of Sapiential literature.⁴⁴¹ However, similar to the aforementioned *4QInstruction*, the *Book of Mysteries* also contains references to apocalyptic thought and final judgment.

The theme of human sin and judgment is found throughout the fragmentary evidence of the *Book of Mysteries*. Human sin is recorded in 4Q299 including vanity (הבל) in frg. 64 3 and works of anger (מע[שׂה אף) in 4Q300 frg. 1a i 4. Additionally, 4Q300 frg. 7 1-4 states that nothing is more poisonous for a human than taking vengeance by bearing an unjust grudge, and nothing is more evil than hating. 4Q301 frg. 1 3 describes people who act foolishly, “those who walk in simplicity as well as those who are devious in every activity of the deeds of [humanity ...] (הֹלֵל כִּי פוֹתֵי אָנָשִׁי מֵהִשְׁבַּת לְכוּל עֲבוֹדַת מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם).⁴⁴² Most often in the *Book of Mysteries*, those accused of sinning and needing judgment, as opposed to the righteous, are those who do not know or do not have access to the secrets or mysteries of God. Similar to *4QInstruction* mentioned above, this occasionally refers to the רָזוּ נְהִיָּה.⁴⁴³

The *Book of Mysteries* also speaks about the coming judgment of the wicked. 4Q299 frg. 10 1-11 appears to describe God, along with his mighty warriors, who will judge the nations.⁴⁴⁴ 4Q299 frg. 53 1-12 portrays the coming judgment in which God

Kister, “Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries,” *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20-22 May 2001* (STDJ 51; ed. J. Collins, G. Sterling, and R. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13-47; Mathew Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 13-47; Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly,” 69-88; Giovanni Ibba, “Il ‘Libro dei Misteri’ (1Q27, f.1): testo escatologico,” *Hen* 21 (1999): 73-84; and Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 93-120.

⁴⁴⁰ Elgvin, “Priestly Sages,” 84 and Armin Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel,” *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (BETL 136; ed. A. Schoors; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1998), 157 argue for a date no later than the mid-second century B.C.E. based upon Maccabean allusions. Goff claims that a second century B.C.E. date appears likely with the potential for a composition in the middle to late decades of this century due to possible familiarity with Daniel, *Discerning Wisdom*, 100.

⁴⁴¹ Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 93-99; Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 70-73 both identify these works as wisdom texts. Geza Vermes lists it as a “Historical and Apocalyptic Work,” *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 408-09.

⁴⁴² See also 4Q299 frg. 70 1-4 and 4Q301 frg. 7 3.

⁴⁴³ 1Q27 frg. 1 i 1-12; 4Q299 frg. 3a ii 2-8; frg. 3c 2-6; frg. 4 2; frg. 8 5-10; frg. 43 2; 4Q300 frg. 1a ii 1-6; frg. 8 1-8; frg. 9 1-3; and 4Q301 frg. 4 2.

⁴⁴⁴ Fitzmeyer, *DJD* 20, 52.

comes to exact vengeance possibly against the strong.⁴⁴⁵ After judgment, line 11 suggests that God will announce something (] אַשְׁמִיעַ). This could reference the restored creation, which will be discussed below.⁴⁴⁶ The judgment of evil is predetermined in the *Book of Mysteries*. 4Q300 frg. 3a ii-b 10-13. The term “mystery” (רִי) in line 11 is used in conjunction with “plan” (מַחְשְׁבָה) from lines 10, 11, and 13. This determinism is used to instruct readers that the fate of individuals has been foreordained (מ[מ]חשבת בית מולדים)⁴⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that on two occasions the *Book of Mysteries* does refer to spirits. However, the fragments are such that not much can be drawn from them. 4Q299 frg. 6 ii 7 mentions the “spirit of” (] רִיחָׁ). Col. ii appears to mention God’s creation but gives no indication of the identity of this spirit. Similarly, 4Q301 frg. 9 2 also mentions “the spirit of” (] רִיחָ סִי), but the fragmentary evidence makes a positive identification elusive.

Perhaps most important for this study is the depiction of the final judgment found in the reconstructed text of 1Q27 frg. 1 i 1-12; 4Q299 frg. 1 1-9; and 4Q300 frg. 3 1-6. According to these fragments, humans were given wisdom and should have been able to discern between good and evil. The wicked were not able to perceive the events of the past and thus, they are not able to discern the impending signs of judgment. The author assures his readers that the end of days is near. As a sign that the end is coming 1 Q27 frg. 1 i 5-6 describes those “begotten of unrighteousness [who] are delivered up, and wickedness is removed from before righteousness, as darkness is removed from before light.” While the context of the text appears to be referencing humans, it does so in language that reflects Enochic traditions regarding the giants: namely as those begotten of unrighteousness (*I En* 10:9-11). Furthermore, while Fitzmyer has rendered בַּהֲסָגָר in line 5 as “delivered up,” Milik supports a translation where those begotten of iniquity will be “locked up.” He suggests that this is a reference to “l’emprisonnement dans l’Enfer.”⁴⁴⁸ This could potentially describe an

⁴⁴⁵ See especially 4Q299 frg. 53 7-8.

⁴⁴⁶ For additional references to judgment, see 4Q299 frg. 55 1-6; frg. 56 2-3; frg. 59 1-7; frg. 81 2; 4Q300 frg. 5 1-5; frg. 10 2-3; and 4Q301 frg. 3 a-b 4-8 (if these two fragments are joined, see Fitzmyer, *DJD* 20, 117-18).

⁴⁴⁷ 4Q299 3a ii 13. For a more developed predeterminism at Qumran, see the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* in 1QS iii 15-16. For a discussion on whether this determinism is based upon the time of an individual’s birth, see Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 81-82.

⁴⁴⁸ See Fitzmyer, *DJD* 20, 36 and Milik *DJD* 20, 104.

imprisoned fate for wicked humans in Qumran literature similar to that referencing the fate of Asael from *I En* 10:4-5.⁴⁴⁹ Therefore, the *Book of Mysteries* includes language/ideas from *I Enoch* regarding both the giants (“those begotten of iniquity”) and angels (imprisoned punishment) and applies them to wicked humanity. A final similarity between this text and *I Enoch* 10 involves the restoration of creation after the punishment of the giants and fallen angels. In both cases, the punishment of evil results in a new and glorious age.

According to 1Q27 frg.1 i 5-7, this new age is marked by the defeat of evil in which wickedness and darkness are removed from the world. All the “adherents of the mysteries of [Belial] will be no more...and folly shall nevermore be there” (1Q27 frg. 1 i 7-8). This is similar to the description of wickedness being removed from the world from *I En* 10:14-22, which describes the curtailing of evil once the fallen angels have been imprisoned, the giants have been destroyed, and humans have been bound with the angels. Furthermore, both the *Book of Mysteries* and *I Enoch* 10 go on to describe a new and glorious existence. *I En* 10:14-22 uses flood imagery to describe the cleansing of the earth. The post-deluge earth is primarily described as a place where righteousness covers the earth (*I En* 10:16-18, 21). Specifically, *I En* 10:16 envisions this restored creation as a place where “the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore. Following a similar tradition, 1Q27 frg. 1 i 7-8 portrays a new world in which righteousness is revealed throughout creation and knowledge fills the world. Thus, it appears that the *Book of Mysteries* utilizes eschatological punishment and restoration traditions from the Enochic corpus and reframes it for its own agenda regarding human instruction.

3.7.4 4QPesher on the Periods/Ages of Creation A and B (4Q180-181)

4Q180-181 are Hebrew mss. that were originally named *Ages of Creation* by their first modern editor, John Allegro.⁴⁵⁰ Strugnell made a number of revisions to

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. 4Q418 frg. 126 ii 6-7.

⁴⁵⁰ John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4, I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 77-79. For subsequent studies on 4Q180-181, see Devorah Dimant, “The ‘Pesher on the Periods’ (4Q180 and 4Q181),” *IOS* 9 (1979), 77-102; “Ages of Creation,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:11-13; Josef Milik, “Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 109-24; *Books of Enoch*, 248-52; Jimmy Roberts, “Wicked and Holy (4Q180-181),” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume II* (PTSDSSP 2; ed. J. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995),

Allegro's work, one of which was the date. Strugnell suggested that the 4Q180 is written in a late Herodian script and 4Q181 is early to middle Herodian. Thus, he concluded that 4Q180 might be a commentary on 4Q181 and that 4Q180 fragment 2 should be placed earlier than fragment 1.⁴⁵¹ Building on Strugnell's observations, Milik argued that 4Q180 and 4Q181 were two copies of the same text.⁴⁵² Devorah Dimant argues against this hypothesis, suggesting that 4Q180 and 4Q181 have "distinct subject matter and literary structure and forms." And thus, the two fragments should be treated as copies of two distinct works. She further asserts that fragment 1 should precede fragment 2 in order.⁴⁵³

4Q180 frg. 1 *i* 1 characterizes the work as a commentary on the periods of world history ("An interpretation concerning the ages [הַקְּצִיִּים] which God made"). These fragments primarily articulate the periodization of history and assert that God has preordained history and has engraved it upon heavenly tablets (4Q180 frg. 1 *i* 2-3). Following this material, the remaining lines of the work contain a *peshet* on various episodes of Israel's history recorded in Genesis including: the sins of the angels (4Q180 frg. 1 *i* 7-8 from Gen 6:1-4; the change of Abraham's name (4Q180 frgs. 2-3 *i* 3-5 from Gen 17:3-5); the visit of the three angels (4Q180 frgs. 2-3 *ii* 3-4 from Gen 18:2); and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (4Q180 frgs. 2-3 *ii* 5-7 from Gen 18:20-21).

As noted, 4Q180 frg. 1 *i* 7-8 describes the sins of the fallen angels. These lines contain a brief and fragmentary reference to the Azazel. Line 7 reads "a commentary concerning Azazel and the angels wh[]" (פֶּשֶׁר עַל עֲזַזְאֵל וְהַמְּלָאכִים אֲשֶׁר []). Line 8 appears to describe the birth of the giants (וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם גְּבֵרִים). When combined, these two lines represent a break from the Enochic material in that it is Azazel, rather than Shemihazah, who appears to lead the rebel angels who impregnate human women resulting in the birth of the giants. This represents another conflation in which Azazel is named as the leader of those who committed the illicit union rather than the usual charge of being responsible for improper instruction (c.f. *I En* 8:1-9). Human sin is

204-13; and John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* (1970): 252-54.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 252, 254.

⁴⁵² He further proposed that 11Q13 was a third copy of this text in "Milkî-s.edek et Milkî-reša'," 110-12. The theory of 11Q13 belonging to the same commentary as 4Q180-181 was rejected by Émile Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit de l1QMelkîsédeq," *RevQ* 48 (1987): 508-09.

⁴⁵³ Dimant, *Ages of Creation*, 12-13.

also described in regards to Sodom and Gomorrah (4Q180 frags. 2-3 *ii* 5-7). Regarding punishment, 4Q180 frags. 2-3 *ii* 7 records God's deliberation on whether or not a certain group's actions deserve annihilation. However, the recipients of this potential sentence are not available. It is interesting that annihilation is used here as a punishment for wayward humans.

Regarding 4Q181, there are a few miniscule references to sin and punishment. 4Q181 frg. 1 *i* 1 appears to describe those wallowing in the sins of the sons of Adam (ל[התגול]ל בחטאת בני אדם). Line 2 records the wickedness and turning aside of the sons of heaven and earth for a community of wickedness (ליחד רשעה). Regarding human punishment, line 1 mentions great judgments and grievous illnesses (משפתיים גדולים ומחלים רעים). 4Q181 frg. 2 2, which may be an overlap of 4Q180 frg. 1 *ii* 5-7, mentions the daughters of humankind and the birth of the mighty ones ([בנות] האדם וילדו]ן להמה גבורים). Line 4 describes those (humans?) who love deceit and possess guilt (ואוהבי עולה ומנחילי אשמה). Thus, 4Q180 and 181 reference the sin and judgment of angels, giants, and humans. However, no mention is made of an imprisoned existence for any of these entities.

3.7.5 *4QSongs of the Sage* (4Q510-511)

4Q510 and 511 appear to be two versions of the same composition consisting of apotropaic prayers dating from the first century B.C.E.⁴⁵⁴ According to David Flusser, apotropaic prayers and hymns generally contain knowledge of God and his law, a plea for protection against sin, a request for forgiveness, and a plea for purification.⁴⁵⁵ More specifically for this study, there is a request or expectation of a deliverance from evil spirits.

In the fragments of 4Q510-511, the author uses the term “spirits” in a variety of settings. Often the limited material does not allow for a precise identification of the spirits. “Spirits” are found in 4Q510 frg. 2 3 (כול רוחי) and 4Q511 frg 60 *iv* 2 (כולכם רוחי). In both instances the “spirits” are written in the construct form, implying further description originally existed. The “wicked spirits” (רוחי רשע)

⁴⁵⁴ Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 215-62 (official publication). See also Johann Maier, “Songs of the Sage,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; ed. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:889-90.

⁴⁵⁵ David Flusser, “Qumran and Jewish Apotropaic Prayers,” *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194-205.

from 4Q511 frg. 1 *i* 6-7 appear to describe humans.⁴⁵⁶ Other references include the “spirits of its domain” (רוחות ממשלתה, 4Q511 frg. 1 3); and “spirits of destruction” (רוחי חבל, 4Q511 frg. 43 6). Throughout 4Q510-511 there are references to the “spirits of the bastards” (רוחות ממזרים), 4Q510 frg. 1 5; 4Q511 frg. 35 7 (רוחי ממזרים); and frgs. 48 49+51 2 ([כול רוחות] ממזרים), which appear to reference the emanations from the giants discussed above in *1 En* 15:1-12.⁴⁵⁷ Regarding the angels, Belial is mentioned once in 4Q511 frg. 103 4. More interesting for this study is the phrase “spirits of the angels” from 4Q510 frg. 1 5. The praises of humans that are offered to God are said to terrify the “spirits of the angels of destruction, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, howlers and [yelpers]” ([כול רוחי מל אכי חבל רוחות ממזרים שד אים לילית אחים ו] ציים...).⁴⁵⁸

The fundamental question in this line of text is the identity of the “spirits of the angels of destruction.” Alexander suggests that מל אכי חבל should be read in apposition to רוחות and thus translated, “agents of destruction.” He contends that the angels of destruction, similar to 1QM *xiii* 10-12⁴⁵⁹ should also be viewed as demons.⁴⁶⁰ Yet the possibility exists that certain early Jewish traditions, through confluences of previous myths, understood fallen angels (or at least their spirits) as continuing to cause harm to humans after their imprisonment. Additionally, one would have to at least posit a hypothesis of what the difference might be between a “spirit of” and an “agent of” destruction, a term not used elsewhere in the work, a spirit of a bastard, and a demon. While Alexander’s reading is definitely possible, an angelic spirit cannot be completely ruled out.

⁴⁵⁶ Alexander, “Demonology” 332 contra Baillet *DJD* 7, 220 who understands these spirits to be demons.

⁴⁵⁷ 4Q511 frg. 2 *ii* 3 mentions the “congregation of the bastards” (ועדת ממזרים).

⁴⁵⁸ Maurice Baillet suggest reading the two words (שד אים) together as the plural for “demon.” However, he also notes the possibility of reading שד אים (fearsome demon), *DJD* 7, 216-17; see also Philip Alexander, “Demonology,” 333 n. 7. Another textual difficulty is אחים ו] ציים. Alexander, in “Demonology,” 334-35 follows Bilha Nitzan in reading “howlers and yelpers” *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 240. Florentino García Martínez reads, “owls and jackals” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 371.

⁴⁵⁹ See discussion on 1QM *xiii* 10-12 and *1 En* 19:1 for potential references to the spirits of angels.

⁴⁶⁰ Alexander, “Demonology,” 334. See also, Andy M. Reimer, “Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran,” *DSD* 7/3 (2000): 338-40.

4Q*Songs of the Sage* contains a number of references to the punishment of evil.⁴⁶¹ Again, the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts does not allow for precise comments on either the punishment itself or on the identity the recipients. Yet there are a number of ideas presented that are relevant for this study. God punishes wickedness (4Q511 frg. 35 1); God punishes the spirits of the bastards (4Q511 frg. 35 1). Most often the punishment appears to include some sort of imprisonment. 4Q510 frg. 2 3-4 mentions eternal fire (שׁ[א] עלמים) and burning (בוערת) for a certain set of unidentified spirits (רוח]. Since “spirits” generally refer to the emanations from the giants in this work, then it is possible this is a reference to spirits being imprisoned in fire, although this point is far from certain. A second example of imprisonment is found in 4Q511 frg. 30 1-3:

1 חתמתה] [א --] ריץ ג' [--]
 2 ויעמקו] השמים ושמי ה[שמים ותהומות ומח[שכי ארץ -- .
 3 אתה אל' חתמתה בעד כולם ואין פותח ולאשר[--] אענה

Translation

- 1 You sealed [...]and [...]
- 2 and they are deep [... the] heavens and the deeps and the dar[k places of the earth ...]
- 3 You, my God, have sealed all of them forever, and there is none to open. And to who[m ...]

While not enough text is left to determine who is being imprisoned, some entity/entities are being sealed up in the dark places of the earth (potentially) forever. Frg. 60, of which little is remaining, contains “all the spirits” (כולכם רוח]) in line 2 and “prison” (כלא) in line 3. Like previous traditions, the punishment of evil appears to usher in a new era. 4Q511 frg. 36 2-3 contains the words “cleansing” (טהרם) and “redeem” (לפדויים), potentially echoing the post-flood imagery of the earth being cleansed from evil (cf. *1 En* 10:18-22).

Finally, 4Q510-511 discusses methods for removing the presence of evil spirits/demons from humans. This removal of evil spirits will be beneficial for the role of baptism and “salvation” discussed below in chapter four. Like most traditional

⁴⁶¹ The fragments do not focus on the sins of humans, demons, and/or angels. Some beings are accused of leading certain humans astray (4Q510 frg. 1 6; being unclean and impure (4Q511 frg. 2 ii 8); and causing terror (4Q510 frg. 1 4; 4Q511 frg. 8 4).

apotropaic prayers, this work includes praises to God. A noticeable difference is that the praise is not followed by any plea to God for help against evil spirits. Rather, it appears that the praise of God itself is what wards off the spirits (4Q510 frg. 1 4-8 || 4Q511 frg. 10 1-6; frg. 10 11-12; frg. 35 1-2). 4Q511 frgs. 48-49+51 *ii* 2 states that “praise of his righteousness w° [...]’*h* and through my mouth he threatens [all] bastard [spirits]” (הודות צדק וּ ם [...] עה ובפיּ יִפּחד [כּאל רוחות] מּמזרים). There is no record of the one praying ever directly referencing the spirits themselves. This seems to imply that evil is seen under the subjugation of God and the evil spirits are ultimately under his command.⁴⁶²

3.7.6 4QIncantation (4Q444)

Like 4Q510-511, 4Q444 includes advice on how to keep spirits at bay.⁴⁶³ Many similar terms are used in this relatively small document including warring spirits (רוחי ריב), evil spirits (ורוח התמאה), unclean spirits (רוחי אמת), and bastards (מּמזרים) in 4Q444 frg. 1 2, 4, 8. Additionally, Esther Eshel suggests that the opening line of 4Q444 (אני מיראי אל) should be translated “I exorcise by the name of God,” indicating that this text was composed specifically for the exorcism of evil spirits. Eshel labels this fragment an apotropaic prayer rather than an incantation.⁴⁶⁴

Regarding safety from evil spirits, 4Q444 frg. 1 4 instructs the community to “[...] Be strong in the statutes of God so as to battle evil spirits, and so as not [to ...]” ([--] וּה ותתחזק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה ולואּ ם [--]). Thus, unlike 4Q510-511 in which praise to God is needed to keep demons at bay, this work suggests that following the law exorcises demons. This also may help illuminate the role of baptism in 1 Pet 3:22.

⁴⁶² Lange, “Magic and Divination,” 431-33. Bilha Nitzan, in *Qumran Prayer*, 238, suggests that 4Q510-511 are hymns with apocalyptic characteristics similar to 1QH.

⁴⁶³ Esther Chazon, “Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2,” (*DJD* 29, Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 367-78.

⁴⁶⁴ Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January 2000* (STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 80-81. This alters Chazon’s reading of “and as for me, because of my fearing God.” See also *DJD* 29, 374.

3.7.7 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11)

A second example of songs against demons is 11Q11. This manuscript is made up of at least three songs, the last of which is a version of Psalm 91.⁴⁶⁵ Whereas 4Q510-511 are generally considered apotropaic prayers, Eshel argues that 11Q11 is actually a collection of incantations. Whereas apotropaic prayers beseech God to remove the threat of evil entities, incantations address the evil beings directly.⁴⁶⁶ The work consists of six manuscripts consisting of a late Herodian script (55-70 C.E.)⁴⁶⁷ Similar to 4Q510-511, 11Q11 is useful for the study of 1 Pet 3:18-22 in so far as it mentions evil spirits/demons and angels as well as how it was believed people could be protected from evil entities.

Before observing what happens to evil entities in 11Q11, it is important to understand how the author uses terms like spirits and demons. 11Q11 frg. 4 *ii* 3 appears to mention both spirits and the demons (הרו[ח]ות [] והשרים). This could either be a parallel structure, or the author could be envisioning spirits and demons as two entities. Line 4 also references the demons as well as, potentially, the p[rin]ce of enmi]ty (אשר המשט[מ]ה).⁴⁶⁸ 11Q11 frg. 4 *v* 6 possibly references the giants or their emanations, “Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of seed of the ho[ly one]s?” (מי אתה [הילוד מ] אדם ומזרע הקד[ו]ש[ים]).

11Q11 focuses on the future judgment of demons as well exorcising them in the present. Regarding the latter, 11Q11 frg. 4 *i* 7, 9 appears to mention the exorcising (משב[ו]ע) of the demon (השר). However this is very fragmentary and little, if any, information can be drawn from it. Line 11 only contains the word שׁב which could reference the human, presumably where or how he might live after being freed from the demon, but it could also describe the location the demon would inhabit after being exorcised.

11Q11 also provides a description of punishments given to cosmic beings. First, as just noted, there is at least a possibility of demons being sent to the abyss in 11Q11 frg. 4 *i* 7-10. 11Q11 frg. 4 *iii* contains a heavenly judgment scene in which God assembles his angels and holy seed as witnesses. Although those about to be

⁴⁶⁵ 11Q11 is officially published in Florentino García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar, and Adam Van Der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11, II* (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31) (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 181-205.

⁴⁶⁶ Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 69.

⁴⁶⁷ García Martínez, *DJD* 23, 184.

⁴⁶⁸ This is a tentative reconstruction by Puech. See García Martínez, *DJD* 23, 191.

punished are not identified, due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript, they are accused of sinning against humanity, potentially not following the secrets of God, and killing.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, it is possible, that the giants are in view, but human against human sin cannot be ruled out.

Perhaps the most striking shift in 11Q11 regarding the punishment of giants/spirits and demons is their being sent to the abyss or Sheol. 11Q11 frg. 4 *iv* 4-6 contains a judgment against evil entities in which YHWH, perhaps through an angel, will destroy them. However, lines 7-12 describe the punishment as bringing the guilty down to the great abyss.

[] על כול אלה אשר [יורידו]ך לתהום רבה ⁴⁶⁹	7
[ולשאול] התחתיה ומי ⁴⁷⁰ [] כב וחשך	8
[בתהום ר]בה מואדה [לוא] ע[וד בארץ	9
[] עד עולם וא[] בקללת האב[רון]	10
[] חרון אף ⁴⁷⁰ [הוה] ב[חושך בכ]ול []	11
[תעודות]תעניות [] מתנתך	12

Translation

- 7 [] over all these, who [will bring] you [down] to the great abyss
 8 [and to] the deepest [Sheol.] And [], and it will be very dark
 9 [in the gr]eat [abyss. No any]more on the earth
 10 [] forever and [] by the curse of Ab[addon]
 11 [] the fury of Y[HWH in] darkness for a[l]
 12 [periods of] humiliation [] your gift⁴⁷⁰

Thus, some evil entity will be taken to the abyss/Sheol. This appears to reflect earlier traditions in *BW* that describe angelic punishment as a dark place (cf. *1 En* 10:5). However, since the majority of 11Q11 appears to describe the sin and punishment of evil spirits/demons, it is at least a possibility here that either the giants or their spiritual emanations are in view. If this is the case, then it is an important example for understanding evil spirits as “imprisoned” in the abyss/Sheol.

Giving further support to this possibility is 11Q11 frg. 4 *v*, which, as noted above, refers to the giants or their emanations (the offspring of man and the seed of the holy ones from line 6). Regarding these giants/spirits, lines 8-9 describe the imprisonment of these beings:

[] יהוה יוריד[ך]	8
[ושאול]ל תחתית [ויסגור דל]תי נחושת ב[אלה לו]א	9

⁴⁶⁹ See 11Q11 frg. 4 *iii* 3-9.

⁴⁷⁰ For the possibilities on various reconstructions of this text, see García Martínez, *DJD* 23, 195-98.

Translation

- 8 ...YHWH [will bring] you [down]
 9 [to the] deepest [Sheo]l, [and he will shut the] two bronze [ga]tes th[rough
 which n]o
 10 light [penetrates,] and [the] sun [will] not [shine for you] tha[t rises]

Thus, it appears that 11Q11 contains a significant shift in that the giants, either in the bodily form or their spiritual emanations, are imprisoned in a dark place behind a closed gate. It is quite probable that traditions concerning angelic punishment had shifted to spirits within Judaism prior to the composition of 1 Peter.

3.7.8 *War Scroll* (1QM; 1Q33; 4Q491-496)

The community at Qumran kept a number of “War Texts” describing the eschatological battle between the Sons of Light belonging to God, and the Sons of Darkness, led by Belial. The most extensive War Text is the *War Scroll*, which includes: 1QM; 1Q33; and 4Q491-496.⁴⁷¹ Since 1QM contains the most continuous text, it is often the starting point for investigations concerning composition history. First, all War Texts that have been discovered at Qumran appear to be written in Hebrew. The majority of current scholarship contends that 1QM is the result of literary development and that the cave 4 fragments represent an earlier version of the *War Scroll*.⁴⁷² Dating the work is complicated, but it assumed to have been composed between 164 B.C.E. due to 1QM’s dependence on Daniel 11-12 and, based upon the paleography of the manuscript, and the mid-first century B.C.E. While a precise date is elusive, two main theories are popular. First, the *War Scroll* was composed in the Hellenistic period. In this understanding, its composition would be shortly after

⁴⁷¹ 1QM was officially published in Eliezer L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press [Hebrew, 1954] 1955), 1-19 + pl. 16-34, 47. 1Q33 was officially published in Barthélemy and Milik, *DJD* 1, 135-36. Fragments from the *War Scroll* found in Cave 4 (4Q491-496) were officially published in Baillet, *DJD* 7, 12-72. Other War Texts from Qumran include 4Q497 (*War Scroll-Like Text A*); 4Q471 (*War Scroll-Like Text B*); 4Q285 (*Sefer ha-Milhama*); and 11Q14 (*Sefer ha-Milhama*). For a discussion of the various manuscripts making up the War Texts, see Jean Duhaime, “War Scroll,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls, II. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Fragments with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDDSP 3; ed. J. Charlesworth; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 80-83; *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 12-43. Previous major works on the *War Scroll* include: Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [Hebrew 1955] 1967); and Philip Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BibOr, 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977).

⁴⁷² For a discussion on the literary development of 1QM including theories of the work being a unified composition, see Duhaime, *War Texts*, 53-61. Since the edition of the *War Scroll* found in 1QM was written prior to the composition of 1 Peter, the question of literary development is not vital.

Daniel 11-12 and the *Kittim* would refer to the Greeks.⁴⁷³ Second, the work is from the early to mid-first century B.C.E. The *Kittim* would describe the Romans, and Daniel 11-12 would be re-interpreted to fit the Roman context.⁴⁷⁴

According to Jean Duhaime, the *War Scroll* provides three kinds of material pertaining to war: 1) regulations for preparation and execution of the war; 2) prayers and blessings to be cited during the war; 3) a description of the sequence of the war against the *Kittim*.⁴⁷⁵ The war is between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. Important for this study is the concept of the angelic/cosmic entities who lie behind and participate in the battle. The eschatological war ends when God himself intervenes and the entire army of Belial is destroyed.

Supernatural beings in the *War Scroll*, like humans, are portrayed in dualistic terms. On the one hand there are the good angels, who reside with God in heaven. They are governed by the “commander of light” and participate in the eschatological battle (1QM *i* 10-11; *vii* 6; *xxii* 1; *xv* 14; 4Q491 frgs. 1-3 *i* 3).⁴⁷⁶ 1QM *xii* 1, 4-5 and *xviii* 2 make it appear that these angels participate in the battle and take an active role in the destruction of evil. Conversely, evil angels exist under the command of Belial. In the *War Scroll*, Belial is the commander of his angelic army. There is no record in 1QM of an angelic rebellion. Given the predeterminism present at Qumran, it appears that God created Belial and his cohorts for the purpose of ruling over the Sons of Darkness (1QM *xiii* 10-11). Belial is accompanied by his followers in his war against God and the Sons of Light. For this study it is important to note that 1QM refers to Belial’s followers as his “spirits.”

The term “spirits” in 1QM appears to be used for humans and angels. No angelic offspring or emanations appear in this work. Most often the identification of the “spirits” is not explicitly stated but must be deduced from its context. The spirits from 1QM *xi* 10 appear to be human, since it comes in the context of God’s punishment of Israel’s human enemies in the past. Other times it could reference either human or angelic beings. The “spirits of truth” (רִחוּי אֱמֶת) from 1QM *xiii* 10 are under the control of the commander of light. This could refer to humans under the control of the chief angel of God or to the angels under his command. This ambiguity

⁴⁷³ If the early date is accepted, Roman examples of military weaponry and strategy would be taken from those already known in the Hellenistic period.

⁴⁷⁴ For a more in-depth discussion on the dating of the *War Scroll*, see Duhaime, *War Texts*, 64-102.

⁴⁷⁵ Duhaime, *War Scroll*, 80.

⁴⁷⁶ The angels Michael, Gabriel, Sarial, and Raphael are also named in the work (1QM *xiv* 15-16).

also occurs for the spirits under the control of Belial. In 1QM *xiii* 1-2, “Be[li]al and all the spirits of his lot” (בְּלִיַעַל וְאֵת כּוֹל רוּחֵי גּוֹרְלוֹ) are denounced without indicating who these beings are.⁴⁷⁷ However, a line found later in column *xiii* potentially helps to identify these spirits of Belial. 1QM *xiii* 11-12 states that “all the spirits of his lot, angels of destruction, are behaving according to the statues of darkness” (וְכוֹל רוּחֵי גּוֹרְלוֹ מֵאֲכֵי חֶבֶל בַּחוּקֵי חוֹשֶׁךְ יִתְהַלְכוּ).⁴⁷⁸ Here it is evident that the spirits of Belial, at least in some instances, are evil angels. Column *xiv* 10 records God driving out Belial’s spirits. This is immediately followed by a description of the “me]n of his dominion.” It is not certain that these refer to the same entities, but it raises the possibility that Belial’s spirits are human. While the actual term “spirits of Belial” does seem to imply angelic beings, the human Sons of Darkness are still under Belial’s leadership.⁴⁷⁹

Both humans and angels are accused of sinning against God. There is no attempt to stop disobedient behavior. Rather, the sins are recorded so as to give support for the eschatological battle. Humans are described as vain (1QM *xi* 8-9; *xiv* 12). In this last reference, nobles and mighty men are singled out for destruction similar to the stories found in the *Similitudes* described above. Belial and his angels are primarily accused of hostile and wicked plans against God and the Sons of Light (1QM *xiii* 4).

Regarding the punishment of evil, the most common form in the *War Scroll* is destruction. There are lines which make it appear both humans and angels will be destroyed (1QM *i* 10-11, 16; *iv* 2; *xiv* 3). More specifically, the Sons of Darkness will be killed with the sword (1QM *vi* 3; *xii* 11-12; *xv* 1-3; *xvi* 1). While the Sons of Light participate in battle, it is often acknowledged that their assurance of victory comes from God rather than from military strength (1QM *xi* 1-12; *xi* 13-*xii* 6; *xiii* 14; *xiv* 4-15). At other times, the *War Scroll* suggests that God himself will participate in the destruction of Belial and his followers (1QM *iii* 8-9; *xi* 11-12; *xv* 2-3, 13; *xviii* 1; *xiv* 10, 14-15; *xvii* 5-6; *xviii* 3; *xix* 4, 11). God also fights through the use of an angel named the commander of light (1QM *xiii* 10; *xvii* 6).

⁴⁷⁷ See also 1QM *xiii* 4 in which Belial is cursed for his hostile plan, and the spirits of his lot for their wicked plan.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. 4Q495 frg. 2.

⁴⁷⁹ See 1QM *i* 1; *iv* 2; *xi* 8-9; *xiv* 17; *xv* 1-3.

However, while the *War Scroll* does refer to the destruction of evil, there are two references in which a future “otherworldly” punishment is noted. A possible reading of 1QM *xiii* 16 could be, “to an everlasting place, for the destruction of all the Sons of Darkness” (למעמד עולמים לבלות כול בני חושך). The immediate context of line 15 references God’s bringing low the darkness and elevating the light. The text then breaks off. Therefore, the destruction of the Sons of Darkness might result in their being imprisoned in an everlasting place. 1QM *xiv* 17-18, also a fragmentary text, may describe the Sons of Darkness burning in the fire of Sheol.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, it is possible that the *War Scroll* envisions a future punishment for the Sons of Darkness. There is no reference in the work, however, to angelic imprisonment.

3.7.9 *Damascus Document* (CD MS A; B; 4Q266; 4Q269; 4Q272-273)

The *Damascus Document* is unique among the Qumran texts in that the main two texts (MS A and MS B) were discovered in Cairo and date from the tenth and twelfth centuries C.E., respectively. When fragments were discovered in caves 4, 5, and 6 that contained lines from the text, it became evident that CD should be designated as part of the Qumran corpus. While the fragments from Qumran have attested the authenticity of CD (particularly MS A), it is not a completely preserved text and any finds regarding spirits not corroborated either in the fragments from Qumran or other works associated with the community should be used with caution.⁴⁸¹ The fragments from Qumran date from the first half or middle of the first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E.⁴⁸²

Similar to previous works from Qumran, CD uses the term “spirits” in a variety of ways. First, “spirits” is used to describe humans. Each member of the community is warned not to defile his “holy spirit” (רוח קדשיו, CD MS A *vii* 3-4).

⁴⁸⁰ See Dehuime, *War Scroll*, 126, 127 for her reconstruction which is based on 4Q491 frgs. 8-10 *i* 14-15.

⁴⁸¹ Joseph Baumgarten and Daniel Schwartz, “Damascus Document,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls, II. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 3; ed. J. Charlesworth, F. Cross, and H. Rietz; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 4-57; Joseph Baumgarten and Michael Davis, “Cave IV, V, VI Fragments Related to the Damascus Document,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls, II. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 3; ed. J. Charlesworth, F. Cross, and H. Rietz; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 59-63; Joseph Baumgarten et. Al. “Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls, III. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6; ed. J. Charlesworth; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 1-185.

⁴⁸² Baumgarten, “Damascus Document II,” 1, 2.

Similarly, the community is reminded when sinful Israel defiled their “holy spirits” (רוח קדשים, CD MS A v 11). Additionally, each member of the community will be judged according to his spirit (CD MS B xx 24; cf. 4Q266 frg.5 i 13). However, “spirits” also appears to be used for cosmic forces. CD xii 2-3 describes how humans are being lead astray by the “spirits of Belial” (רוחות בל יעל). Furthermore, in CD MS A xii 3, humans are accused of trying to communicate with ghosts and familiar spirits.⁴⁸³ This implies that at least some at Qumran might have thought humans continued to exist as spirits after death. Finally, fragments from Cave 4 suggest that skin disease is caused by spirits (4Q266 6; 4Q272 i 7; 4Q273 11). These appear to be contrasted with the “spirit of life” (blood) from 4Q266 frg. 6 i 12 and 4Q272 ii 1. Thus, as found in other Qumran literature, spirits can refer to both human and otherworldly beings.

In addition to the spirits, the story of the watchers from *1 Enoch* is also recounted. In CD the watchers rebel because they followed their hearts and did not keep God’s ordinances. The giants, described as the sons of the watchers, are mentioned in the same context (CD MS A ii 17-20; cf. 4Q266 frg. 2 ii 18-21; 4Q270 frg. 1 i 3). This myth appears to be used as an example of God’s judgment in the past in order to alter current human behavior. Most interesting for this study is the fact that the giants appear to be killed without reference to any survival of spiritual emanations. CD MS A ii 19-20 suggests that the giants’ corpses were like mountains “for they died and were as if they had not been” (כי גוע ויהיו בלא היו). It does not appear that CD understands the “spirits of Belial” to be the remnants of the watchers’ offspring. The watchers are not the only angels mentioned in this work. Belial again appears to be the leader of evil spirits who attempt to lead humanity astray.⁴⁸⁴ Mastemah is also mentioned in CD, but his role in the work appears only to enact judgment upon humanity on behalf of God.⁴⁸⁵

Although the *Damascus Document* contains a great deal of material regarding human sin, most of it is directed toward the community and is not relevant for this study. Humans are accused of ignoring the statutes of God (MS A viii 2; MS B xix 14); entertaining prostitutes, achieving wicked wealth, avenging and bearing grudges,

⁴⁸³ Cf. 4Q267 frg. 4 11-12; 4Q270 frg. 2 i 10; 4Q271 frg. 5 i 18.

⁴⁸⁴ CD MS A iv 13, 15; v 18-19; xii 2-3.

⁴⁸⁵ The role of Mastema and Belial in God’s judgment against humanity will be discussed below.

ignoring neighbors, incest, and following their own desires (MS A *viii* 5-9; MS B *xix* 16-35). Similar to previous traditions from Qumran, Belial's sin is leading humanity astray. CD MS A *iv* 13-18 suggests that Belial uses three "nets" to entrap humans: fornication (הזנות); wealth/arrogance (ה'י); as well as the defilement of the temple (טמא המקדש). Additionally, Belial raised up "Johne and his brother" in his plotting, indicating that Belial used humans to lead others astray.⁴⁸⁶ Finally, CD MS A *xii* 2 indicates that humans are ruled by the "spirits of Belial." Thus, it is evident that CD envisions evil spirits/angels corrupting human behavior.

The *Damascus Document* also includes limited information on the judgment and punishment of humans (CD MS B *xx* 9-11, 24-26). The lines concerning judgment found in CD MS A *viii* 1-4, and expanded parallel lines from MS B *xix* 10-16, include a number of insights pertinent to this study. First, humans who sin are handed over to the sword at the time of God's judgment (MS A *viii* 1 and MS B *xix* 13; cf. 4Q266 frg. 3 *iii* 23). This judgment is carried out by angels. Humans will perish at the hands of the angels of destruction (CD MS A *ii* 5-7). It also appears as though Belial, who led humanity astray, will be the one who destroys them. Humans who do not keep God's command "will be visited unto destruction by the hand of Belial" (לפוקדם לכלה ביד בליעל).⁴⁸⁷ While the destruction by the hand of Belial could refer to his responsibility for human destruction due to leading humanity astray, it is possible that Belial himself participates in human destruction. Additionally, drawing from his destructive role in the Passover in *Jub* 49:2, Mastema is described as leaving humans who return to the Torah of Moses (CD MS A *xvi* 4-5). This implies Mastema will be involved in the punishment of those humans who do not heed God's commands. Finally, MS B *xix* 10-11 articulates that humanity will be punished when the Messiah comes. Thus, the judgment of humankind is associated with the Messiah. CD contains no reference to the punishment of either Belial or the spirits under his command.

3.7.10 *Rule of the Community* (1QS; 4Q255-264)

The *Rule of the Community* (1QS) contains the laws and instructions for life in the community prior to the final eschatological battle. 1QS is the first of three related

⁴⁸⁶ CD MS A *v* 18-19; cf. 4Q266 frg. 3 *ii* 6; 4Q267 frg. 2 2.

⁴⁸⁷ CD MS A *viii* 2; cf. MS B *xix* 14.

works found on the same scroll.⁴⁸⁸ In addition to the scroll from Cave 1, 10 additional mss. were discovered in Cave 4 (4Q255-264)⁴⁸⁹ and 1 in Cave 5 (5Q11).⁴⁹⁰ All the fragments point to an original composition in Hebrew dating from the late second to the early first century B.C.E.⁴⁹¹

Similar to other apocalyptic works composed by the sect, the *Rule of the Community* uses the term “spirits” to reference human and cosmic entities. Regarding humans, the writer uses “spirits” to describe the good and evil nature of the individual. Within every human, God has created and implanted two natures/spirits: one of truth (אמת) and a spirit of deceit (עול).⁴⁹² Each human then is to examine himself to determine what proportion of his life is being governed by each of these spirits (1QS v 20-21; 4Q256 frg. 5 13 ; vi 17). Within the community, members were ranked according to the nature of their spirit (1QS ii 20). Additionally, humanity will be judged according to his spirit: namely if he has followed the spirit of truth or the spirit of deceit (1QS ii 14; vii 18, 23-24).

The use of the term “spirits” for cosmic entities in the *Rule of the Community* must be understood within the context of evil angels. As noted, God has allowed evil to exist for a time under the authority of Belial and/or the Angel of Darkness.⁴⁹³ It appears that Belial has been given control over the non-elect. Two passages describe the “reign of Belial” (ממשלת בל יעל).⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, it appears that Belial has been given dominion over spirits (either other angels or demons) in order to rule over

⁴⁸⁸ The aforementioned scroll included 1QS. M. Burrows, J.C. Trevor, W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of Saint Mark's Monastery. Volume II: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951); 1QSa (*The Rule of the Congregation*); and 1QSB (*Blessings*) DJD 1. For a discussion on the textual history of 1QS; 1QSa; and 1QSB, see Robert Gagnon, “How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain Its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research,” *JSP* 10 (1992): 61-79; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁴⁸⁹ Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerakhHa-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

⁴⁹⁰ Josef T. Milik, “Textes de la grotte 5Q,” in *Les “Petites Grottes” de Qumrân (Textes)* (ed. M. Baillet, J. Milik, and R. de Vaux; DJD 3 Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 180-83.

⁴⁹¹ 1QS is dated to 100-75 B.C.E. with the cave 4 fragments dated to the mid-second century B.C.E. For dating of these fragments, Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 169-71; “Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls, I. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6; ed. J. Charlesworth and F. Cross; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 57; and Josef Milik, “Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran,” *RB* 63 (1956): 61.

⁴⁹² 1QS iii 14; iv 9, 15.

⁴⁹³ These two figures appear to be the same individual in 1QS.

⁴⁹⁴ 1QS i 18, ii 19.

evil humanity and cause them to stumble (1QS *iii* 24). This is most clearly illustrated in 1QS *iii* 20-25:

ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך	20
חושך כול ממשלת בני עול ובדרכי חושך יתהלכו ובמלאך חושך תעות	21
כול בני צדק וכול חטאתם ועוונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלתם	22
לפי רזי אל עד קצו וכול נגועיהם ומועדי צרותם בממשלת משטמתו	23
וכול רוחי גורלו להבשיל בני אור ואל ישראל ומלאך אמתו עזר לכול	24
בני אור והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושך ועליהון יסד כול מעשה	25

Translation

20 In the hand of the Prince of Lights (is) the dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. But in the hand of the Angel of
21 Darkness (is) the dominion of the Sons of Deceit; and in the ways of darkness they walk. By the Angel of Darkness comes the aberration of
22 all the Sons of Righteousness; and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt and their iniquitous works (are caused) by his dominion,
23 according to God's mysteries, until his end. And all their afflictions and the appointed times of their suffering (are caused) by the dominion of his hostility.
24 And all the spirits of his lot cause to stumble the Sons of Light; but the God of Israel and his Angel of Truth help all
25 the Sons of Light. He created the spirits of light and darkness, and upon them he founded every work.

Thus, combining the various references to evil angels, spirits, and humans, the *Rule of the Community* suggests that even though God has planted a spirit of truth and deceit in every human, he has destined some to belong to the Sons of Light and others to the Sons of Darkness. Those individuals not part of the community have been placed under the dominion of the Angel of Darkness (Belial), who, along with the spirits under his command, cause humanity to forsake God's commands and are responsible for all sin.

Sin and punishment in the *Rule of the Community* is limited to humans. Although caused by Angelic and spiritual forces, humans are deemed culpable for iniquity and are also the recipients of God's judgment. Nowhere in 1QS are the angels or the spirits held accountable for leading humans astray, nor is there any indication that their doing so is considered sinful. This work does provide insights in the development of human punishment.

God is ultimately responsible for the judgment of humanity (1QS *i* 10-11; *ii* 6; *iv* 19; *v* 12-13, 19; *x* 18). While God stands behind the punishment of the wicked, the actual sentence is carried out by others. 1QS *ii* 4-5 states that the Levites curse the men of Belial's lot indicating that humans participate in the judgment in some way.

Punishment of the wicked comes at the hand of angels. Evildoers will suffer affliction by the “Angel of Punishment” (1QS *iv* 12). Finally, the *Rule of the Community* indicates that the wicked will be given up to terror by their avengers (נִקְמֵי נִקְמָם), and they will be destroyed by those who take revenge (מִשְׁלֵמי גְמוּלָיִם).⁴⁹⁵ However, the identity of these avengers is not disclosed.

The *Rule of the Community* also contains information regarding the types of punishment awaiting the Sons of Darkness. There are a number of examples articulating that evil humans will be destroyed or that that evil will be eradicated (1QS *iv* 19; *v* 12-13, 19). However, two references within the work imply a punished state of existence for humans after death. The wicked are to be damned in an everlasting murky fire (וְזַעֲמוֹ אֶתְהָ בְּאֵפֶלֶת אֵשׁ עוֹלָמִים).⁴⁹⁶ Similarly, in 1QS *iv* 12-13 the punishment of evil humanity includes “eternal perdition,” “everlasting terror,” “everlasting shame,” and “annihilation in the fire of the dark region” (עַם כְּלֵמַת כְּלָה בְּאֵשׁ מַחֲשָׁכִים).⁴⁹⁷ Humans are also told they they will have “no peace” (וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לָכֶּה שְׁלוֹם בְּפִי כּוֹל אוֹחוּזֵי אֲבוֹת) in 1QS *ii* 9, which is reminiscent of the punishment of the watchers from *I En* 12:6. Finally, the punishment of humanity is also said to be an act of purging the world from evil, which will result in the purification of the earth (1QS *iv* 19-20). Thus, while the *Rule of the Community* contains no references to angelic or demonic punishment, the use of dark and fiery abysses appears to demonstrate the continued shift of angelic places of punishment on to humanity.

3.7.11 Conclusion

Therefore, it is evident that the community at Qumran both held on to and expanded upon the practice of retaining and recasting myths concerning angels, giants, spirits, and humans. Qumran literature tends to conflate angels and humans as participants in Belial’s army often referred to as the spirits of Belial. Additionally, some of the literature uses spiritual identities to name the community’s earthly foes. Furthermore, rather than stemming from a cosmic rebellion, evil in this literature has often been pre-ordained by, and been ultimately under the control of, God through the

⁴⁹⁵ 1QS *ii* 6-7.

⁴⁹⁶ 1QS *ii* 7-8.

⁴⁹⁷ 1QS *v* 12-13. Furthermore, line 13 again suggests that wicked generations will suffer bitter misery in a “dark” (חֹשֶׁךְ) (place?).

agent of Belial. Those who remain part of the community by following God's ordinances cannot be harmed by Belial. These are all important ideas and thus become vital for a critical examination of Christ's proclamation to the spirits in 1 Peter.

3.8 Tobit

Set in Nineveh during Israel's captivity, this work tells the story of Tobit, a faithful Jew, and the journey of his son Tobiah. Carey Moore describes the book of Tobit as a Jewish Romance.⁴⁹⁸ The discovery of one Hebrew (4Q200) and four Aramaic fragments (4Q196-199) of the book at Qumran makes a Semitic original probable. While Aramaic is currently considered the original language of Tobit, Hebrew cannot be ruled out.⁴⁹⁹ A specific dating of Tobit is beyond the scope of this work, but most scholars currently date the work from the third century B.C.E. to early second century B.C.E.⁵⁰⁰

Tobit contains no reference to the watcher tradition or the giants. However, two related passages are important for the study of 1 Pet 3:18-22. Both reference the binding of a cosmic being. In the first passage, Raphael the angel, disguised as a human named Azariah, is hired to guide Tobias on his journey to Media (Tob 5:1-6:1). While bathing his feet on the journey, a fish jumps out of the water and attempts to eat Tobias' foot. Azariah instructs Tobias to catch the fish, cut it open, and save its gall, heart, and liver. While the gall will be used to clear his father's blindness, the heart and liver are to be burned in the presence of a person inflicted by a demon or evil spirit. The affliction will leave the person immediately and not return (Tob 6:3-9). Azariah further instructs Tobias to burn the fish's liver and heart when he enters the bridal chamber with his wife-to-be Sarah who apparently has a demon (Asmodeus) causing her seven previous suitors to have perished before their marriage

⁴⁹⁸ Carey Moore, *Tobit* (AB 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996), 17-21.

⁴⁹⁹ For those supporting an Aramaic original, see: Jozef Milik, "La patrie de Tobie," *RB* 73 (1966): 522-30; George Nickelsburg, "Tobit," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; ed. M. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 40-46; Joseph Fitzmeyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655-75; *Tobit* (CEJL Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 18-28; Michael Wise, "A Note on 4Q196 (papTob Ar^a and Tobit I 22)," *VT* 43/4 (1993): 566-70.

⁵⁰⁰ For a discussion on the different theories for dating Tobit, see Fitzmeyer, *Tobit*, 50-54; and Carey, *Tobit*, 40-42. The textual history of *Tobit* is beyond the scope of this work except where directly related to relevant passages. For the manuscripts, and English translation, see Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole, and Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions: With Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 3; Berlin; de Gruyter, 2004); and Joseph Fitzmeyer, *Tobit*, respectively.

was consummated (Tob 3:7-10).⁵⁰¹ Asmodeus has killed the suitors because he loved (φιλέω) Sarah (Tob 3:15).

The second passage regarding the punishment of a demon, Tob 8:1-3, records the actual punishment of Asmodeus. As Tobias and Sarah are about to consummate their marriage, he remembers the words of Azariah and burns the liver and heart of the fish. The smoke of the burning fish entrails becomes a stench for Asmodeus who flees to Egypt. Raphael pursued him and bound him (Tob 8:3).⁵⁰² Previously God had informed Raphael that, through Tobias, he would “loose” (λύσαι) the demon from Sarah. This appears to be a term used for exorcism. Thus, by means of ritual magic, Asmodeus is exorcised from Sarah through being bound by Raphael.⁵⁰³ The demon is not heard from again in the work. Loren Stuckenbruck has noted that in two Greek recensions of Tobit (Codex Sinaiticus and Ferrara 1871), the punishment of Asmodeus is followed by a prayer of protection offered by Tobias and Sarah. He further notes that this prayer is problematic in that it is not clear why Tobias and Sarah would pray for protection in 8:4 from a demon that had already been banished in 8:1-3. First, it appears that the prayer is a praise to God for his response to Sarah’s original dilemma and prayer in 3:7-15. Second, Stuckenbruck suggests it is a prayer for deliverance *post eventum*. Rather than really being fearful of Asmodeus’ return, Tobias’s prayer articulates what the burning of the fish heart and liver has already accomplished.⁵⁰⁴

Two aspects of Tobit are important for understanding the conflation/diversity of the role and punishment of evil spirits. This work appears to blend both the role and punishment of demons and evil spirits. Asmodeus is labeled a demon in Tobit, although what exactly the author means by that term is not explicitly stated. On the

⁵⁰¹ The precise nature of Asmodeus is unclear as to whether he is an angel, evil spirit etc. For a discussion of possibilities, see Fitzmeier, *Tobit*, 150-51. Medieval tradition describes him as the “king of demons.” See Loren Stuckenbruck, “Prayers of Deliverance from the Demonic,” *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity: Presented to James H. Charlesworth on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (JSRZ; ed. I. Henderson and G. Oegema; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), 161, who articulates that later tradition saw Asmodeus as an offspring of the fallen angels.

⁵⁰² Many translations including that by Carey, *Tobit*, 237, add that Asmodeus was bound hand and foot. While no text includes “arms and legs,” Carey argues that the binding (𐤒𐤓𐤌) is a technical Aramaic term referring to the incapacitating of demons.

⁵⁰³ Carey, in *Tobit* 158, suggests that this λύω is a technical term for the exorcism of demons (c.f. the Greek version of Dan 5:17). Paul E. Dion, in “Raphaël l’Exorciste,” *Bib* 57 (1976): 399-413 identifies λύω as being used for the Aramaic 𐤒𐤓𐤌, which is cited in both religious exorcisms as well as secular Babylonian divorce documents. Thus, it appears that Raphael is exorcising Asmodeus by divorcing him from Sarah. This argument is further supported in Tob 3:15, which states that the demon loved Sarah.

⁵⁰⁴ Stuckenbruck, “Prayers of Deliverance,” 159-63.

one hand, Asmodeus takes on the role of an evil spirit in that he indwells and afflicts people similar to demon possession found in other early Jewish and Christian literature (Tob 3:17; 6:8). Yet the demon functions similar to the fallen angels in other literature. Like the watchers from Enochic tradition, the demon falls in love with a human woman. Therefore, it is evident that there is some overlap between evil spirits and fallen angels in Tobit's use of the term demon in that Asmodeus assumes the characteristics of both.

Similarly, there is also conflation in the punishment of Asmodeus in Tobit. On the one hand, the demon is something that needs to be exorcised using a ritual. This appears frequently in the casting out of evil spirits. However, as noted above, Asmodeus is captured by Raphael and bound. This is more reminiscent of the punishments given to the watchers (Shemihazah and Asael) in *1 Enoch*. In this case, there could be an example of an evil spirit being bound which might have an impact on the identification of 1 Peter's imprisoned spirits. Therefore, whether the demon in Tobit is viewed as an angelic leader of evil spirits (i.e. Belial) or as an evil spirit himself, there is inconsistency with which Tobit is utilizing previous traditions.

3.9 Wisdom Literature

3.9.1 The Wisdom of Ben Sira or Sirach

The Wisdom of Ben Sira, or Sirach as it is known in Greek, belongs to the genre of Jewish Wisdom literature similar to the biblical books of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, as well as some of the Psalms. The book contains a number of poems praising God and Wisdom as well as a series of exhortations to the wise. Thus, as Alexander Di Lella notes, Ben Sira provides “a kind of handbook for moral behavior or code of ethics that a Jew of the early second century B.C.E. was expected to observe.”⁵⁰⁵ Originally written Hebrew, the work is often dated to the second century B.C.E.⁵⁰⁶

As noted, Ben Sira is a piece of Wisdom literature, the aim of which is to shape human behavior. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the few references

⁵⁰⁵ Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 4.

⁵⁰⁶ Ben Sira is extant in Hebrew (including 2Q18 and 11QPs^a) as well as the more prominent Geniza mss., Greek, Syriac, Latin. The textual history is quite complicated with numerous recensions existing in each language. It is beyond the scope of this work to wrestle with these complexities other than where it directly relates to the specific passages dealt with in this section. For a discussion on the textual histories of Ben Sira, see Patrick Skehan and Alexander Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 51-62.

relevant to this study, Ben Sira focuses on human sin and punishment. As usual in Wisdom literature, readers are encouraged to fear the Lord in order to keep sin at bay (Ben Sira 1:21). Additionally true wisdom comes from keeping God's commandments (Ben Sira 1:26). Unlike the dualistic worldview presented in documents like 1QS in which God created people either children of light or darkness, Ben Sira suggests that all humans must choose between the ways of death or life (15:15, 17; 18:18).

In addition to human sin, Ben Sira also focuses on the punishment of humanity with no reference to cosmic beings. God is responsible for judging evil humanity (Ben Sira 16:11-15; 35:22-26). Often God punishes humans with fire. Ben Sira 5:7-8 indicates that the unconverted will experience the fire of God's wrath of God's vengeance and will ultimately be destroyed. Additionally, fire is said to be kindled against sinners and flames will go forth against the godless (Ben Sira 16:6). Finally, Ben Sira 21:9 records that criminals will end up in a blazing fire. However, even though 21:9 claims that the criminals will be destroyed in fire, verse 10 states that the path of sinners will end in the depths of the netherworld (cf. 14:16; 17:27; 22:11). While it appears that the netherworld is used in Ben Sira to refer to the Hebrew concept of Sheol, namely a place for all souls, both righteous and unrighteous, there is the potential here of understanding the netherworld as a place of punishment for evil humans. Thus, it provides another example of a tradition in which Christ could be speaking to imprisoned human spirits.

The verse linking Ben Sira to the watcher and giant tradition is found in 16:7. In this verse God is said to have not "forgiven the princes of old who were rebellious in their might." This appears to reference the fallen angel and giant tradition from Gen 6:1-4. First, this example of sin and punishment is placed in the context of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the rebellion against Moses in the desert (Ben Sira 16:5-10) similar to that seen in Jude 6. More importantly, the LXX versions of Ben Sira 16:7 (both Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus) describe these sinners as the ἀρχαίων γιγάντων, which links them with the giants from Genesis 6 and Enochic tradition. However, the Hebrew Geniza mss. A and B do not include ἀρχαίων γιγάντων, but rather label the sinners the שׁוֹרְקֵי קֶדֶם instead of the usual נְפִלִים. Thus, at least in some of the Hebrew traditions of Ben Sira, it appears that there as been an effort to disassociate the sinners from Gen 6:1-4 with the cosmic

giants and to focus on human evil. This altering of the Genesis myth has already been noted in the Enochic corpus, both in the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En 91:11-12; 94:6; 98:11, 16; 99:13, 14; 101:3; 102:3; 103:8) and the *Similitudes* (1 En 38:5; 46:4-8; 53:1-7; 54:2; 55:3-56:4), the latter of which emphasizes the punishment of the “kings and the mighty.” Ben Sira appears to belong to a tradition that borrowed the storyline of the watchers and giants and then shifted the evildoers from cosmic beings to humans in order to correct human behavior.

3.9.2 Wisdom of Solomon

The Wisdom of Solomon contains exhortatory discourse, was composed in Greek, and dates from anywhere between 250 B.C.E. and 50 C.E.⁵⁰⁷ The one relevant passage for the study of 1 Pet 3:18-22 is found in Wis 14:1-11 in which God saved Noah in the ark while the giants were perishing in the flood (14:6). Here it is specifically noted that the giants are killed in the flood itself. This occurs in a setting against idolatry. Additionally, there is a link here between the giants perishing in the flood as opposed to Noah’s salvation in the ark. While not directly stated, it could be inferred that the flood was sent to destroy the giants, thus being a therapeutic agent of salvation for Noah and his family. Here it appears that the flood was sent to rid the world of human sin as well as the assumed (destructive?) behavior of the giants.

3.9.3 Sibylline Oracles

The *Sibylline Oracles* contain fourteen separate books or oracles that often predict the disasters that await humanity similar to the prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Sibyls were often portrayed as aged women who would give prophecies in ecstatic states. John Collins suggests that the earliest references to a “Sibyl” date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., and appear to be the proper name of a prophetess.⁵⁰⁸ Oracles were popular in Greece but were also common in Asia. Dating the *Sibylline Oracles* is an impossible task due to the composite nature of the material (second century B.C.E – seventh century C.E.). Current scholarship primarily understands the

⁵⁰⁷ This present work will not deal heavily with the Wisdom of Solomon, and all questions of authorship of date, unity, and purpose are beyond the scope of this work. For a discussion on all of these topics, see David Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; New York: Doubleday, 1979), 3-69.

⁵⁰⁸ John Collins, “Sibylline Oracles,” (*OTP* 2 vols.; ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-85), 1:317. All English translations will be taken from this work.

oracles to be Jewish in origin and redacted by Christians.⁵⁰⁹ The oracles, while often supporting a particular political agenda, also contain two themes that have been found throughout the various literature studied in this present work: eschatology and moral exhortation.⁵¹⁰

The primary reference to the watcher and giant traditions in the *Sibyllene Oracles* can be found in Book 1. Books 1 and 2 appear on the same ms. and are intended to be read together as one unit.⁵¹¹ These books are Jewish in origin with a lengthy Christian redaction. The oracle structures humanity into ten generations. Generations one through seven are preserved without an interpolation (1:1-323). This is followed by a Christian redaction on the incarnation and career of Christ (1:324-400). After a transitional passage in 2:1-5, the sequence of generations is resumed (2:6-33). However, due the text being lost, there is no report on the eight or ninth generations. The remainder of Book 2 (2:34-347) contains an account of an eschatological crisis and the last judgment.⁵¹² Collins dates the original Jewish composition to the turn of the era and the Christian redaction to the mid second century C.E. at the latest.⁵¹³ Following the typical *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology, the first five generations are described as exceedingly evil and are destroyed in the flood.⁵¹⁴ Generations six – ten appear to follow the same pattern and will ultimately be destroyed in the eschatological punishment of fire.

These books focus on the sin and punishment of humanity. The watcher and giants are reshaped to describe wicked humanity itself rather than referencing cosmic beings. Book 1 begins with the creation of the world (Book 1:1-37) and then moves directly to Adam and Eve's sin (Book 1:38-64). Thus, the work is assigns culpability of sin to humans. The second evil generation is also accused of sinning against God.

⁵⁰⁹ Torleif Elgvin, "Jewish Christian Editing of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries* (ed. O. Skarsuane and R. Hvalvik; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 278-304.

⁵¹⁰ For an additional text and translation, see Johannes Geffken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902). Studies on the *Sibylline Oracles*, which have tended to focus on Book 3 include: John Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1974); "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *ANRW* 2.20:421-29; "The Third Sibyl Revisited," *Things Revealed: Studies in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E. Chazon and D. Satran; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 3-19; Erich Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 268-91; and Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and Its Social Setting: With and Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (SVTP 17; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁵¹¹ Alfons Kurfess, "Oracula Sibyllina I/II," *ZNW* 40 (1941): 151-65.

⁵¹² Collins, "Sibylline Oracles, 1983," 330.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 331-32.

⁵¹⁴ The division of humanity into five sections prior to an eschatological judgment appears to be taken from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 109-74.

Their iniquities include being too shrewd in human wisdom. This resulted in the discovery of inventions including: the plow, astronomy, divination, magic, and medicine (1:89-96). Verse 98 describes these humans as watchers. The sins of humanity recorded in the oracle compare to the improper instruction offered by Asael in *1 En* 8:1-4. Therefore, it appears as if the writer of this oracle is utilizing the watcher tradition from *BW* and applying it to wicked humanity. Furthermore, the author has also reassigned the title of these cosmic beings to humans.

Similarly, the third and fourth generations describe violent humans. The third generation was “mighty in spirit” (1:104). Humans in the fourth generation are described as bloodthirsty, neither fearing God nor men (1:109-15). The fifth generation is described as even more insolent than the giants (1:123). The iniquities committed by the fourth generation are most similar to the typical sin of violence associated with the gigantic sons of the watchers in *BW*. Thus, it appears that the fourth generation of humanity might be the giants referred to in *Sib. Or.* 1:123. If this is the case, then not only has the author shifted the title of watchers to humans, but giants are now a section of humanity as well.

In addition to the sins and titles of the watchers and giants, their punishments have also been conflated. The watchers (humans) are sent to the dreaded house of Tartarus guarded by unbreakable bonds. This appears to be associated with a fiery Gehenna as well (1:100-03). Thus, the oracles contain a reference to humans imprisoned in Tartarus, a typical punishment associated with angels throughout the Enochic corpus. The third generation of humans kills itself off in a war (1:107, 108). This is reminiscent of the giants’ punishment in *1 En* 10:9 in which they are given swords in order to annihilate each other in a war of destruction. The punishment of the fourth generation is further conflated in that war and slaughter send some of evil humanity to the netherworld, whereas others are sent to Tartarus by God himself (1:115-19). Therefore, it appears that the writer of this oracle is blending traditions common to *1 Enoch* and Hesiod’s *Theogony* to describe the punishment of sinful humanity. This description of evil humanity is then followed by the flood (1:125-260). It should also be noted that the seventh generation (the second generation after

the flood) consists of the Titans who ultimately rebel against God and are destroyed (1:307-23).⁵¹⁵

The final judgment scene in Book 2 of the *Sibylline Oracles* also records event pertinent to the study of 1 Peter 3. In the final judgment, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel, lead human souls out of murky dark where God joins them with their bodies through resurrection (2:214-26). Uriel is then sent to break the bolts on the gates of Hades in order to bring “all the mournful forms” to judgment. These forms include ancient phantoms, Titans, the Giants, and such as the flood destroyed. Thus, there appears to be a final judgment in which spirits, Titans, Giants, and evil humans are all judged together (2:227-34). In an obvious Christian interpolation, Christ then comes, takes his seat at the right hand of God, and participates in the final judgment (2:240-44). Ultimately, the wicked are thrown into a fiery Gehenna where they will seek death but not find it (2:283-313).

Book 3 also contains interesting material relevant to the study of 1 Peter 3. First, Beliar is introduced. He is able to perform many miracles, including the raising of the dead. By his powers he will lead men astray. Yet it is quickly stated that he, and his human followers will ultimately be burned by God’s judgment (3:63-74). Book 3:110-61 records the story of the Titans (Titan, Cronos, and their descendents). While it appears as though the author of the oracles is drawing from Hesiod’s *Theogony* 421ff., the details of the story are altered and the narrative is being interpreted euhemeristically to refer to human beings.⁵¹⁶ They are included in a list of human kingdoms that will be punished by God. Thus again, the writer is familiar with ancient myths, but alters them for his own agenda. Books 2 and 3 use mythical terminology within sections of their descriptions of judgment of previous and contemporary earthly kingdoms. The goal of this eschatological discourse is, at least in part, to encourage proper human behavior including faithfulness to God.

3.10 New Testament Literature

3.10.1 Mark

⁵¹⁵ In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, 618-885, the Titans are the children of heaven and earth (similar to the giants in *1 Enoch*). In the *Theogony*, 687-735, the Titans are destroyed by a thunderbolt of Zeus. Thus, it again appears that the *Sibylline Oracles* ascribe to humanity those titles and stories previously attributed to cosmic/semi-divine beings in both early Jewish and Greek literature.

⁵¹⁶ Collins, “Sibylline Oracles, 1983,” 364-65.

The Synoptic Gospels (Mk 5:1-20; Matt 8:28-34; Lk 8:26-39) contain the story of the “Gerasene” Demoniac.⁵¹⁷ After crossing the Kinneret to the Decapolis region, Jesus encounters a man possessed by an unclean spirit (πνεῦμα ἄκάθαρτον).⁵¹⁸ This story demonstrates Jesus’ power over evil spirits. Jesus’ interaction with these spirits might also give insight into his proclamation to the spirits from 1 Pet 3:18-22. Since Mark is commonly thought of as the first gospel to be composed (roughly 70 C.E.), this work will focus on the Markan account and will utilize the versions of Matthew and Luke where appropriate.⁵¹⁹ While there are many interesting discussions regarding Jesus’ interaction with the possessed man, this work will focus primarily on the punishment of the spirits as well as the connection, if any, between the evil spirits and Rome.

First, it should be noted that there is a possibility that the understanding of the origin of evil spirits, previously recorded in *1 Enoch*, is assumed by Mark’s author. Others have suggested that since the man is living among the tombs, he is possessed by the spirits of those humans who faced violent or untimely deaths.⁵²⁰ However, other than inhabiting tombs, the description of the spirits fits the emanations of the giants in *1 Enoch* as well. The Markan account, whether intentional or not, links evil spirits and chains in that the evil spirits are apparently indwelling a human who is unsuccessfully being bound with chains (5:4).

When Jesus interacts with the demon, there is irony in that the demon knows Jesus’ name but not vice-versa.⁵²¹ The Markan account (5:7) reads “What have I to do with you, son of the most high God?” (τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ

⁵¹⁷ The location of this story has been disputed among scholars. For a discussion of the Greek mss. and possibilities, See Adela Yarbo Collins, *Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2007), 263-64.

⁵¹⁸ Unclean or evil spirits are common characters in early Jewish and Christian literature. Their identities, purposes, origin, and association with Gen 6:1-4 have been noted throughout chapters 2 and 3 of this work. For examples of evil spirits, see: *1 Enoch* 6-11; 15:34; *Jub* 7:21; 10:1; 11Q5 frg. 19 15; 4Q444 frg. 1 i 8. See also Clinton Wahlen, *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels* (WUNT 2.185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 24-59.

⁵¹⁹ Scholars debate as to whether Mark was written prior to or after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. A specific date for Mark is beyond the scope of this work. For a recent discussion on the date of Mark, see Collins, *Mark*, 11-14.

⁵²⁰ Douglass Geyer, *Fear, Anomaly, and Uncertainty in the Gospel of Mark* (ATLAMS 47; London: Scarecrow, 2002), 132-35 and Sarah Iles Johnston, *Restless Dead, Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

⁵²¹ Collins, in *Mark*, 268, suggests that naming Jesus was the demons’ attempt to ward off or resist Jesus by pronouncing his name and knowing his identity. It was common for exorcists to name the demons they were casting out as well.

ὑψίστου);⁵²² However, here the Matthean account adds something important. In Matt 8:29, the evil spirits ask Jesus, “Have you come to torment us before the time?” (ἤλθετε ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;). The demons are not surprised that they are being tormented by Jesus, but rather only by the timing of it. Therefore, there was the expectation that Christ would eventually torment the spirits. It is possible Christ’s proclamation to the imprisoned spirits in the Petrine tradition was the event these evil entities had envisioned.

In addition to the initial interaction, Jesus’ exorcisms of demons are beneficial for the study of 1 Peter in two ways. First, the demons ask Jesus to send him into a herd of pigs that were in the area (Mk 5:12). It appears that these demons desire a human form in which to dwell. Jesus grants their request, the spirits enter them, and the pigs then rush into the sea. In some ways, this simply represents Jesus outwitting the demons who did not foresee that the pigs would drown.⁵²³ However, it is also reminiscent of the destruction of the giants in the waters of the flood described in *1 En* 89:6.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, it is also possible that Jesus, by casting the demons into the sea, is sending them to their proper dwelling place since the sea was often associated with the abyss or Sheol.⁵²⁵ Understood in this manner, Christ’s proclamation to the spirits in 1 Peter could be viewed as a second example of his power over evil spirits similar to that described in Mark 5, or it could be seen as the second and final banishment of evil forces as Jesus now proclaims to them as the risen and exalted Christ.

Additionally, there are hints of political overtones in this story that link cosmic evil with Rome. When asked of their name, the demons respond, “Legion” (λεγιών). This could be a reference to the Legio X Fretensis (Legion of the Sea Straights) that was stationed in Cyrrhus from 17-66 C.E. This Roman legion, founded by Octavian, contained the image of a boar on its standards.⁵²⁶ Thus, some have read the destruction of the boars as an anti-Roman sentiment in the gospel.⁵²⁷ Since there is

⁵²² Cf. Mk 1:24.

⁵²³ Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt* (2nd ed.; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1909), 39.

⁵²⁴ The drowning of the pigs as also been associated with the narrative of Pharaoh and his army perishing in the Red Sea from Exodus 14-15, cf. *1 En* 89:27. See Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 348.

⁵²⁵ Cf. 11Q11 ii 198-200; v 8, 9; 4Q510 frg. 1 4-5; 4Q511 frg. 35 6-7.

⁵²⁶ Hendrik van der Loos, *Miracles* (NovTSup 9; Leiden: Brill, 1965).

⁵²⁷ Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark’s Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988), 191-92.

no opposition to Rome found in Mark, Collins suggests that the earliest audience would have understood the story in connection with the theme of the battle between Jesus and Satan. Here, one of Satan's evil legions has possessed the man.⁵²⁸ However, Collins also admits that books like Daniel and Revelation correlate heavenly armies with earthly events.⁵²⁹ It is possible that the readers of Mark would have linked Rome with the cosmic armies of Satan. Thus, similar to the shifting of watcher and giant imagery to humans, the blurring of celestial and human boundaries is also found in linking celestial armies with Rome. This conflation between Rome and supernatural evil might also be in view in 1 Peter 3.

3.10.2 Jude

The epistle of Jude is generally considered a "catholic letter" composed in Greek dating from the mid to late first century C.E.⁵³⁰ The letter appears to have been written in order to instruct a church or group of churches who were being lead astray by antinomians. Jude's opponents were arguing that, because of the new freedom found in Christ, followers of Jesus were now exempt from both Mosaic Law as well as the law of Christ. The epistle soundly criticizes this group and encourages its readers to remain faithful to the laws of Christ.⁵³¹ Part of Jude's argument includes examples of Israel's past where righteous people/beings were punished by God when their behavior was improper. Jude accomplishes by utilizing familiar traditions about humanity and the fallen angels. There is, however, no mention of the giants or evil spirits.

One of Jude's examples is the fallen angels from Gen 6:1-4. Inbetween references to the Israelites who were punished in the wilderness and those destroyed in Sodom and Gomorrah, Jude describes the watchers. Jude 6 mentions "the angels, too, who did not keep their own position, but abandoned their proper home, he has kept in eternal chains in the nether darkness, until the judgment of the great day" (ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ

⁵²⁸ Collins, *Mark*, 269, 270. Cf. Matt 26:53 where Jesus uses the word λεγιῶνες to refer to God's angelic army.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁵³⁰ The date of Jude is dependent upon whether or not one argues for authorship by Jude, the brother of Jesus, or if the work is written pseudonymously, which would indicate a death after his death. However, since it is unclear when Jude died, it is difficult to pinpoint a date of composition. The exact date is not vital to the scope of this work. For a discussion on the date of Jude, See Richard Bauckham, *Jude/2 Peter* (WBC 50; Waco: Word, 1983), 13-16.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 11-13.

ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν).⁵³² This reference appears to be based upon the traditions recorded in *I Enoch* 6-19. More specifically, the abandoning of heaven is similar to *I En* 12:4; 15:3. The mention of a great Day of Judgment is reminiscent of *I En* 10:6; 84:4; 94:9; 98:10; 99:15; 104:5. The combination of chains and imprisonment is found in *I En* 54:7. Similarly the association of binding and darkness can be compared to *I En* 10:4, 12.

As noted above, examples of human sin are found throughout the short letter (Jude 4, 5, 7, 10-15). However, verse 6 appears to recount the fall of *Shemihaza* and his companions first recorded in *I En* 6:1-6.⁵³³ The accusations of not keeping their own positions and abandoning their proper home are reminiscent of *I En* 15:1-7, which also charges the watchers with abandoning their proper dwelling in heaven. The punishment of binding these angels in chains in darkness awaiting a final judgment appears to be drawn from *I En* 10:1-8. This imprisonment, like *I En* 10:12-14, appears to be temporary as they will apparently meet a different fate on a great Day of Judgment.

The use of this myth by the writer of Jude is meant to warn his audience of God's future judgment against them if they follow the antinomian heresies of Jude's opponents. Unlike *I Enoch*, Jude does not use the story to explain the origin of evil, but rather it is meant to instill proper behavior among the readers. Therefore, human punishment can be intertwined with previous traditions associated with cosmic beings. He likens the false teachers to the fallen angels suggesting that they will meet a similar fate. Jude 13 also references the wandering stars that will be cast into darkness. This appears to be drawn from *I En* 80:6; 88:1, 3. Similar to the stars from *I Enoch*, the false teachers will experience punishment of darkness. Furthermore, Jude 23 describes those who stop another member from following the antinomians as

⁵³² 2 Pet 2:4 uses this example as well. However he alters Jude's place of imprisonment by describing the angels as being cast into Tartarus (τάρταρος). As noted above this links the punishment story with the mythic Titans who were compared to the giants mentioned in Gen 6:1-4 (*Ant.* 1.73; Ben Sira 16:7). However, the angels are called titans in Judith 16:6 and *Sib.Or.* 2:231)

⁵³³ The link between Jude 6 and the enochic tradition is solidified by the reference to the "prophet" and the loose quotation/paraphrase of *I En* 1:9 found in Jude 14 as well as the punishment of wandering stars in darkness from *I En* 80:6; 88:1, 3. For a discussion on Jude's use of *I En* 1:9, see Bauckham, *Jude/2Peter*, 94-96 in which he argues that Jude was familiar with the Greek version but appears to have made his own translation from the Aramaic.

saving others by “snatching them from the fire” (ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες), which indicates a fiery punishment after death.

Finally, Jude 14-15 indicates that the punishment of evil humanity will be carried out by Jesus (the Lord) with ten thousand of his holy ones. This quote/paraphrase from *1 En* 1:9 appears to be a gloss in which Jude applies the coming of God in *1 Enoch* with Christ. Jesus is accompanied by a heavenly army to condemn and punish all ungodly humanity. Jude has adapted *1 En* 1:9 “to the new historicized situation in view of his eschatological purpose and his Christological understandings.”⁵³⁴ Therefore, Jude, like previous authors discussed above, has utilized the punishment traditions found in *1 Enoch* and reshapes it for his own agenda.

3.10.3 Revelation

The book of Revelation is also an apocalyptic work dating from the end of the first century C.E. Similar to 1 Peter, debate has arisen as to the nature of persecution being experienced by the recipients of this letter.⁵³⁵ While not containing references to the flood or watcher tradition, this work is important for the study of 1 Peter in two ways. First, it unites human and cosmic evil. Second, it describes the punishment of both cosmic and human agents of evil.

Revelation promotes a view of reality in which earthly realities are mirrored by cosmic ones. For this study the most relevant of those cosmic-earthly relationships is the naming of evil powers in the world. Revelation 12 and 13 introduces readers to the Dragon, the Beast of the Sea, and the Beast of the Land. The Dragon (δράκων) is associated with Satan or the Devil (Rev 12:9). Rev 12:3 describes the dragon as wearing diadems, indicating its rule over something. Unlike previous myths in which disobedient angels either rebel in heaven or are enticed by sinful women, Rev 12:9 portrays Satan and his angels as being cast to earth by Michael the archangel.⁵³⁶ Upset

⁵³⁴ Caroll D. Osburn, “The Christological Use of 1 Enoch i. 9 in Jude 14, 15,” *NTS* 23 (1976-77): 334-41.

⁵³⁵ For a discussion on the date of Revelation, which most scholars attribute to the end of the first century C.E. during the reign of Domitian, see David Aune, *Revelation* (3 vols. WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1997), 1:lvi-lxx.

⁵³⁶ This story echoes Combat Myths that have been found throughout Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian literature. See Adela Yarbo Collins, *The Combat Myth and the Book of Revelation* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

at his heavenly defeat, the dragon then turned to make war on God's faithful (12:13-17).

In his destructive war against righteous humanity, the devil (dragon) raised up a beast out of the sea (Rev 13:1). Similar to the dragon, this beast also wears crowns on his seven heads (13:1). A beast rising out of the sea may be an illusion to the Leviathan, a female sea monster separated from Behemoth on the fifth day of creation and assigned to the sea.⁵³⁷ The beast from the sea is often associated with one of two human entities: the Roman proconsul, who would have arrived in Ephesus by sea, or the Roman state, which was lead by the emperor.⁵³⁸ Thus, the Roman government is being described with terms previously used for a cosmic entity. The association between Rome and cosmic forces is strengthened in that the beast from the sea is said to have received its power and authority directly from the dragon/Satan (Rev 13:2). Thus, Rome has become an agent of Satan. This enthronization of Rome has a parallel in 1QM xv 2, 3 in which the "king of the Kittim" is connected closely with Satan.⁵³⁹ Furthermore, the beast is also connected with the personified goddess of Rome (*Dea Roma*) in Rev 17:1-18. Rome herself is depicted as a goddess.⁵⁴⁰ She rides on top of the beast. Again there is a combination and conflation of earthly and spiritual entities. Finally, similar to 1 Peter, Rev 17:5 claims that the name Babylon is written on her forehead. Similar to Daniel's use of the term for the Antiochan kingdom, Revelation and 1 Peter both use this historical enemy, which was also represented by cosmic entities, to refer to a current human threat.⁵⁴¹ Babylon (Rome) is accused of being a dwelling place of demons and foul spirits, again linking an earthly enemy to cosmic forces of evil (Rev 18:2). Rev 18:1-9 includes the kings of the earth as evildoers and recipients of God's eschatological punishment.

In addition to the blending of earthly and cosmic enemies, Revelation is also helpful for understanding the potential background of 1 Pet 3:18-22 due to its description of the punishment of earthly kings and their cosmic cohorts. There are references to the upcoming judgment of humans found throughout Revelation. First, one like the Son of Man will use his sickle to reap the earth. An angel uses his sickle

⁵³⁷ 1 En 60:7-11, 24; 4 Ez 6:47-52; 2 Bar 29:4; b. B. Bat 74b-75a.

⁵³⁸ Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in early Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 431-32.

⁵³⁹ See also *Asc. Isa.* 2.4; Lk 4:1-13; and 2 Thess 2:9 for Satan offering his power to human figures.

⁵⁴⁰ Aune, *Revelation*, 920-23.

⁵⁴¹ Revelation uses Babylon for Rome six times (16:19; 17:6; 18:2, 10, 21). See Aune, *Revelation*, 829-32.

to gather sinful humanity into the winepress of God's wrath where they will be trampled upon (Rev 14:14-20). Rev 19:11-16 depicts the rider on a white horse who will come and strike down the nations. Yet Rev 14:9-11 also describe punishment by eternal fire for those who have succumbed to Rome's temptations. Rev 20:11-15 depicts a final judgment scene. It appears that all humanity will be resurrected, including those currently residing in Hades, to experience a final judgment of Christ. At this judgment, all sinful humanity will be thrown into the lake of fire.

More specifically, Rome is often the recipient of God's judgment. Rev 14:8 depicts an angel predicting the fall of Babylon for causing others to drink of her fornication. Thus, Rome is accused of leading other nations astray.⁵⁴² Additionally, Revelation 18 depicts the punishment of Babylon and those nations who have fornicated with her (18:2, 3, 21-24). In this case the punishment is carried out through fire in that the city will be burned (18:9-19). Further depictions of Rome's doom are linked to the punishment of the beast from the sea (Rev 19:17-21). The author of Revelation does not mind the inconsistency of multiple punishments for Rome or the spiritual entities behind it. In an eschatological war the beast and his armies battle against the rider on the white horse (Christ) and his armies. The beast and the false prophet are captured and thrown into a lake of fire. The rest of the evil army is killed by the sword. Therefore, while not always consistent in method, Revelation is clear that the Roman Empire will be destroyed in an eschatological battle.

Revelation also details the punishment of the spiritual powers behind Rome. First, *Dea Roma*, the goddess of Rome personified who rides on top of the beast, is destroyed. As happens in other early Jewish and Christian literature, she is ultimately destroyed by Rome itself (Rev 17:15-18). God punishes this evil entity by allowing Rome to continue along its destructive path.⁵⁴³

Perhaps most relevant to for the study of 1 Peter is the punishment of Satan in Revelation. Similar to *BW*, Satan's punishment in Revelation occurs in two distinct phases. First, Satan is bound in chains and locked in a pit for a period of time (Rev 20:1-3). After the "thousand years" is complete, Satan is then released from his prison. Unlike the Enochic tradition, Satan is allowed to continue his destructive

⁵⁴² Cf. Rev 18:3.

⁵⁴³ Aune, in *Revelation*, 957, suggests that this could be a reference to the return of Nero from the East with the Parthians to destroy Rome.

behavior once freed. However, after a time, Satan is then cast into the lake of fire (Rev 20:7-10).

Thus, it appears that the writer of Revelation is utilizing the fallen angel punishment myths from early Jewish and Christian literature but shapes them for his own purpose. In Revelation, there is no mention of punishment for evil spirits. Only Satan is incarcerated, and his prison refers to his situation prior to the last judgment. Humans though are said to held in Hades until they are thrown into the fire. Therefore, Revelation suggests that eventually fallen angels and humans will cohabitate in the lake of fire.

3.11 Philo

The writings of Philo provide a unique understanding of the watcher and giant traditions in early Judaism.⁵⁴⁴ Josephus, in *Ant.* 18. 259, describes Philo as a leading Jewish citizen in the late first century B.C.E. and the early first century C.E. Current scholarship is not certain of Josephus' claim and questions the prominence of both Philo and his work.⁵⁴⁵ Archie Wright suggests that Philo was a Jewish exegete who used Greek philosophy as a medium to illuminate the biblical text.⁵⁴⁶ While the actual popularity of Philo is beyond the scope of this work, since it is not hypothesized that 1 Peter is drawing from Philo, his work is important in that it represents yet another adaptation of the watcher myth. Stuckenbruck has demonstrated that it is not possible to ascertain whether or not Philo is familiar with the fallen angel myth from *1 Enoch*.⁵⁴⁷ It is plausible that he is familiar with others who interpret Gen 6:1-4 using mythical beings, but Philo is against such a reading. He contends in his *De Gigantibus*

⁵⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion on the Philo's use of the watcher and giant traditions, see Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 191-219.

⁵⁴⁵ A discussion of Philo's lack of popularity in later Judaism can be found in Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 191-95. See also David T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey* (CRINT III.3 Assen.: VanGorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 17. Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for his Time* (NovTSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁵⁴⁶ Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 195; see also Samuel Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956), 5-10.

⁵⁴⁷ Loren T Stuckenbruck, "To What Extent Did Philo's Treatment of Enoch and the Giants Presuppose A Knowledge Of the Enochic And Other Sources Preserved In The Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 19 (2007): 131-42 (esp. 139). See also John Dillon, "Philo's Doctrine of Angels," *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria* (BJS 25; ed. D. Winston and J. Dillon; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 204. Dillon argues that Philo may be familiar with a tradition upon which *1 Enoch* depends. If, however, Philo was familiar with the theory of the origin of evil spirits, he soundly rejected it.

that Gen 6:1-4 should not be associated with “the myths of the poets” (58-60), which Stuckenbruck reads as a possible allusion to Hesiod’s *Theogony*.⁵⁴⁸

It is soon apparent that Philo interprets Gen 6:1-4 far differently than other early Jewish and Christian exegetes. While there is no reference to the punishment of supernatural beings in Philo, there are a number of insights relevant to this study. Following the LXX version of Genesis 6, Philo reads the **בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים** from Gen 6:2 as “the angels of God.” However, this is where the similarities between Philo and other early Jewish literature end. For Philo, there is no distinction between angels, spirits, and demons. In *De Gigantibus* he contends that while souls, demons, and angels are different in name, they are identical in reality (16). As Wright suggests, it must be assumed that all of these refer to human souls. Therefore, Philo interprets Gen 6:1-4 allegorically describing different types of humans. Philo, in the midst of his discussion in *De Gigantibus* on the reference to giants in Gen 6:1-4, describes three types of humans: the earth-born; the heaven-born; and the God-born (60-61).

Before further analyzing Philo’s understanding of the giants, a quick introduction is needed in his understanding of ψυχή. Philo describes two different types of ψυχά. There are the immortal souls who live in the air. These souls cannot be comprehended by humans since they abode in the divine realm.⁵⁴⁹ Additionally, there are human souls. These souls, although having their source from the same divine breath, are markedly different from their heavenly counterparts in that they are a mixed existence between good and evil (*Gig.* 56-57). Humans are not inherently good or evil, but rather they are endowed with a soul that should strive for virtue but can be tempted to go astray after fleshy desires.

For Philo, the fallen angels and, more importantly, their giant offspring “represent the complete absorption of souls into an existence dominated by somatic appetites.”⁵⁵⁰ This is further exemplified in Philo’s *QG* 1.92. Here, Philo contends that the giants are the embodiment of souls that have been completely overtaken by humans/fleshy desire. Thus, as Stuckenbruck notes, the giants “exemplify a mixture gone irretrievably wrong.”⁵⁵¹ Humans, however, have not been so corrupted. They are still capable of virtue and thus are “better off” than the giants. Their souls can temper

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 132. See also Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 106.

⁵⁴⁹ *Gig* 7 and *Somn* 1, 134-36.

⁵⁵⁰ Stuckenbruck, “Philo’s Treatment,” 134.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 134.

the desires of the flesh. Therefore, for Philo the myth of the giants serves as a warning for humans to oppose somatic vice and strive for virtue.

The example of the giants being completely overtaken by earthly desire is continued in Philo through the example of Nimrod. Gen 10:8 describes Nimrod as someone who “began to be a giant in those days.” For Philo, Nimrod, the giant, exemplified humans who turned their minds from reason to the lifeless and inert (ἄψυχος καὶ ἀκίνητος) nature of the flesh (*Gig*, 66). Therefore, the heavenly-born versus earthly-born examples in Philo do not represent different beings but rather the struggle between the soul and flesh found in every human. The giants represent those who have completely succumbed to the temptations of the flesh. Unlike the giants or their spiritual emanations found in the *Book of Watchers*, which are external spiritual beings that cause humans to stumble, Philo’s giants are part of human nature itself.⁵⁵²

Again, it is not possible to determine a direct relationship either between *I Enoch* and Philo or Philo and 1 Peter. However, understanding Philo’s use of the watcher and giant myth is helpful in contemplating the Petrine spirits. First, Philo demonstrates a further evolution in the conflation of angels, giants, spirits, and humans in early Jewish literature. In this case, angels, giants, and demons are all used to describe a state of humanity. Second, the focus of the “spiritual myth” has shifted towards human morality. That is, the spiritual myth is reinterpreted to adjust human behavior.

3.12 Final Jewish/Christian Literature

3.12.1 *2 Enoch* (Slavonic *Enoch*)

The book of *2 Enoch* is an apocalyptic work that focuses on the seventh antediluvian hero. While it was suggested that *2 Enoch* was a Christian work, current scholarship is convinced of a Jewish origin, possibly in Egypt.⁵⁵³ *2 Enoch* is often divided into three parts. The first part (chaps. 1-37), which Nickelsburg argues

⁵⁵² Stuckenbruck has noted that despite the general use of giants to refer to those who have succumbed to their somatic desires, there are occasions (*Gig* 35) in which Philo speaks of vices as foes who need to be gotten rid of, “Philo’s Treatment,” 140.

⁵⁵³ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature* (2005), 221-25 and Andrei Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 148. The text of *2 Enoch* consists of a longer recension (mss. R, J, and P represent the longer recension, while U, A, B, V, N, B², and L represent the shorter recension. MSS. P², Tr, Syn, Rum, MPr, TSS 253, TSS 489, TSS682, G, Chr, Chr², I, and K represent either the longer or the shorter. On the manuscripts of *2 Enoch*, see the discussion in Francis I. Anderson, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” (*OTP* 2 vols.; ed. J. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday; 1993), 1:92-94; and Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 148-49. The original language of the work is also disputed, see Anderson, “2 Enoch,” 1:94

corresponds to *1 Enoch* 12-36, describes Enoch's ascent to heaven, his transformation, and his commissioning to instruct humanity. The second part (chaps. 38-67, and perhaps 71), which Nickelsburg corresponds to *1 Enoch* 81, 91-105, describes Enoch's return to earth and the instruction to his sons. Finally, the third part (chaps. 68-73), which Nickelsburg corresponds to *1 Enoch* 106-107, describes the priestly functions of Enoch's family and the miraculous birth of Melchizedek.⁵⁵⁴

As has been the case in much of the aforementioned literature, *2 Enoch* recounts human and angelic sin and punishment for the purpose of correcting errant human behavior. *2 Enoch* 41 briefly describes the son of Adam and Eve. Thus, it is familiar with that tradition regarding human sin and its impact on humanity. Furthermore, human sin that leads to divine judgment is recorded in *2 En* 10:4-5. These iniquities include: not glorifying God, pedophilia, witchcraft, divinations, trafficking with demons, idolatry, coveting, fornication, murder, and trampling the poor among others. Many of these sins are reminiscent of those previously ascribed to both humans and giants. Additionally, human sin is also specifically mentioned as causing the deluge on the earth (*2 En* 34:1-3).

Angelic sin is also recorded. In *2 En* 18:1-9, Enoch is given a tour of the fifth heaven, which is a prison for the fallen angels.⁵⁵⁵ Incarcerated here are the 200 angels with their Prince (Satanael) who are being punished for turning aside from the Lord, descending to Mt. Hermon, and for taking wives for themselves among the daughters of men (*2 En* 18:4). This verse also claims that it was the earth that was defiled by their deeds. Verse 5 describes the birth of the giants and great monsters. However, although implied, no actual description of evil deeds on the part of the giants is given. It is interesting that although the punishment of this group is alluded to, *2 En* 7:1-5 does not record their actual punishment. Furthermore, verse 9 records their continued worship before God. *2 En* 7:1-5 also describes angels who have sinned. While their exact sin is never mentioned, these 200 angels, along with their leader Satanael, are described as turning from the Lord and plotting with the angels imprisoned in the fifth heaven.

Regarding their punishment, both angels and humans are imprisoned in different levels of heaven. While it is not clear why the angels have been split up, they are located in both the second and fifth heavens. *2 En* 7:1 describes the fallen angels

⁵⁵⁴ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature* (2005), 221; and Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 149.

⁵⁵⁵ *2 En* 18:1 leaves the term "Grigori" (watcher) untranslated.

as prisoners who are under guard and await a final judgment.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, angels are specifically mentioned as imprisoned beings who are awaiting a final judgment. Similarly, humans are punished in the third heaven. Their punishment occurs in a dark place where black fire and rivers of fire turn into ice (cf. *1 En 22*). Here, sinners are punished and tortured by angels. Verse 6 articulates that sinful humanity will be punished and tortured in this third heaven as their eternal reward. Thus, there is not mention of any future judgment.

Therefore, as with *2 Baruch*, *2 Enoch* has a more developed ouranology. Here there are ten heavens, three of which appear to be places of punishment (the second and fifth for angels and the third for humans). These stories appear to be drawn primarily from *1 Enoch*, but there is a more developed description of eternal human punishment. No mention is made concerning the sins or punishments of the giants. It is noteworthy for this study that it is the angels who are specifically named as imprisoned in their respective heavens. While humans are limited to the third heaven for punishment, the angels in the second heaven are described as incarcerated there until the final judgment. This is potentially important since the spirits in 1 Pet 3:19 are also described as imprisoned. Neither the human or angelic sins are associated with the flood in *2 Enoch*. However, it is possible that the writer assumes the timing given in *1 Enoch*. As mentioned earlier, these stories appear to be used in *2 Enoch* to influence human behavior as noted by Enoch's instructions to his sons.

Finally, *2 Enoch*, also notes an important shift in Enoch's role within the work. This change in status contains a number of elements attributed to Jesus in 1 Peter and may prove beneficial for understanding Christ's proclamation. Traces concerning the shift in the role of Enoch, from mediator between God and the watchers in *1 Enoch* to the supreme angelic Metatron figure found in *3 Enoch*, can be found in *2 Enoch*. These character developments have been thoroughly noted by Andrei Orlov.⁵⁵⁷ Three specific titles or attributes that Orlov notes for Enoch in *2 Enoch* relevant for this study are "prince/governor of the world," "God's Vice-Regent," and "redeemer."

⁵⁵⁶ For a description of the various manuscripts and their various words for "prisoners," see Anderson, "2 Enoch," 112-13. None of the variations have an impact on description here of imprisoned fallen angels who are awaiting a final judgment.

⁵⁵⁷ Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 121-45.

First, Enoch is described as the “governor” of the earth.⁵⁵⁸ The shorter recension of 2 *Enoch* 43 reads:

*And Behold my children, I am the Governor of the earth, p(r)ometaya, I wrote (them) down. And the whole year I combined, and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured; and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded...I will put down the doings of each person, and no one will hide; because the Lord is the one who pays, and he will be the avenger on the great judgment day.*⁵⁵⁹

Thus, Enoch has become the mediator of divine judgment. Second, Orlov discusses the possibility of Enoch being designated as God’s vice-regent in 2 *Enoch*.⁵⁶⁰ While he admits that this role for Enoch is highly speculative, there is at least an idea presented in the work that may prove beneficial to 1 Peter 3. 2 *En* 22:10-24:4 records God’s command to an archangel Vrevoil to instruct Enoch in the mysteries of God. In 24:1 God instructs Enoch to come and sit at his left with Gabriel.⁵⁶¹ Debate has arisen as to whether or not this is a glorification of Enoch to angelic status in 2 *Enoch*. This is beyond the scope of this work. But Enoch’s role as governor of the world and sitting next to the Deity are similar to the descriptions of Christ in 1 Pet 3:22. In this verse, Jesus is given power over all earthly authorities, and he is seated at God’s right hand.

2 *Enoch* also portrays the antediluvian hero as a redeemer of humanity. 2 *En* 64:5 describes Enoch as “the one who carried away the sin of the world.” Orlov describes Enoch’s role as redeemer when he states that:

*in 2 Enoch 64 the elders of the earth define Enoch not as the one who will carry away the sin of humankind, but as the one who has already carried away this sin. The emphases on the already accomplished redemptive act provides an important clue to understanding the kind of sin that Enoch was able to erase. The focus here is not on the individual sins of Enoch’s descendents, but on the primeval sin of humankind...They (the sins) pertain to the sin of the protoplast which the patriarch was able to carry away by his righteousness, ascension, and transformation...Humanity has been redeemed in him, and this redemption gives hope to other righteous ones, who will later attain the paradisaal condition.*⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁸ Slavonic *krumstvuemaya*. For a discussion on this term, see Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 159-61.

⁵⁵⁹ Translation comes from Anderson, “2 Enoch,” 217-19.

⁵⁶⁰ Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 162-65.

⁵⁶¹ The shorter recension (A), records that Enoch is seated closer to God than Gabriel.

⁵⁶² Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 233.

Here, redemption of the human condition is given through the figure of Enoch based upon his transformation and ascension. 1 Pet 3:19 also speaks about the redemption of the righteous through Christ. Here it is based upon Jesus' suffering and death. But this passage (1 Pet 3:18-22) also associates this redemption with the ascension of Christ, his sitting at God's right hand, and his authority over the earth. 1 Peter claims that humans now have access to this God through the waters of baptism.

3.12.2 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Testaments of Reuben and Naphtali)*

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* contain the final speeches by the twelve sons of Jacob. There has been little agreement among scholarship for the past century regarding issues of author, language, date, provenance, or whether the work was originally a Jewish or Christian composition.⁵⁶³ Despite the arguments over the historical and literary features of the work, all of the testaments consist of the same broad outline. The patriarch recalls past events, instructs the author's present audience, and predicts the future. For this study, the watcher myth is used in two of the testaments with the goal of correcting human behavior. Before engaging the texts, it is important to note that the *Testament of Reuben (T. Reub.)*, at 2:1-3:8, like previous works, describes humanity as being made up of eight spirits, one of which is evil. Therefore, spirits are associated with humans in that people are made up of good and evil spirits that compete for human loyalty.

The *Testament of Reuben* contains one reference to the watchers in a broader section dealing with the sinfulness of women. While the author does not believe women have strength over men, they are said to use their craftiness to lead men astray (*T. Reub.* 5:1-3). As an example of their cunning, the watcher story from *1 Enoch* appears to be recounted, but it is shifted in significant ways. The women are accused

⁵⁶³ The relative date, its original language, or even whether the work is a Christian or Jewish composition is not relevant for this study since no direct dependence upon the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* or vice-versa is being proposed. Rather, it simply is being used to demonstrate further confluences and adaptations of the watcher myth. For additional studies on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, see: Robert H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908); Marinus De Jonge (ed.), *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975); *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (NovTSup; Leiden: Brill, 1991); John J. Collins, "Testaments," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT II.2; ed. M. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 89-156; Harm W. Hollender and Marinus De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden Brill, 1985); Robert A. Kugler, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

of bewitching (θέλωγειν) the watchers prior to the flood (*T. Reub.* 6-7). This is reminiscent of *1 En* 8:1 where Asael teaches women to use cosmetics and jewelry that cause the watchers to lust after them. The birth of the giants is mentioned in verse 7, but their actions are not described. However, the tone of this section against the evil of women, particularly regarding their use of promiscuity, shows how the original myth is being reshaped for an exemplary purpose. In this case the watchers appear to be the victims of human sin rather than the cause of it from *1 Enoch*. Thus, no mention is made of angelic or giant punishment.

The *Testament of Naphtali* (*T. Naph.*) also references the watcher tradition, although for much different purposes. In this case, similar to the *Testament of Reuben*, the text is meant to correct human behavior. However, the specific instruction is encouraging humanity to follow the laws of God. Just as the sun and stars who follow God's order, humans are to keep the statutes of God (*T. Naph.* 3:2). The author then gives examples of people who have not followed God's law. Gentiles are accused changing their order and following the spirits of deceit, and the inhabitants of Sodom are also accused of changing the order of its nature (3:3). After those two examples, in verse 5 the watchers are cited as further examples and accused of changing the order of their nature. Furthermore, it claims that the flood was sent because of the watchers' actions. Thus, no mention is made of the destructive nature of the giants or human iniquity.

The *Testament of Naphtali* 3 also records a method of keeping evil at bay, which is also relevant to the role of baptism in 1 Peter. *T. Naph.* 3:1 records that holding fast to the will of God (following the law) casts away the will of the devil. Therefore, morality is the basis for exorcism or at least keeping evil at bay. 1 Pet 3:21 also records baptism as providing the way into a new life of good conscience before God. Thus, in the *Testament of Naphtali*, there is a narrative association with the watcher story and keeping evil at bay which is potentially similar to 1 Peter.

CHAPTER 4

1 PETER AND CHRIST'S PROCLAMATION TO THE IMPRISONED SPIRITS

4.1 Introduction

After examining the vast amount of references to angelic, giant, and human sin and punishment found throughout early Jewish and Christian literature, we are in a better position to determine what potential role any of these traditions played in the formative history of 1 Pet 3:18-22. While no direct quote or link can be found, it does appear the 1 Peter is drawing from a common tradition regarding the popular sin and judgment myths referenced above. And similar to later works, the writer has taken the freedom to conflate and shape these stories in order to cohere with his overall purpose. This final chapter, after giving a brief summary of the date and genre of 1 Peter, will closely examine relevant parts of the text of 1 Pet 3:18-22 while paying particular attention to how the text of 1 Peter is similar and different from sin and punishment traditions recorded in other earlier Jewish and Christian literature. Second, while no direct link with a specific early Jewish or Christian tradition can be found, it will provide a possible method for using these earlier myths for understanding 1 Pet 3:18-22. Finally, this chapter will articulate, based upon the identification of the imprisoned spirits, the purpose of these verses within the letter as a whole.

4.2 Author, Date and Genre

Numerous propositions have been articulated by scholars regarding the author, date, audience, and genre of 1 Peter. While these are important discussions, they fall outside of the scope of this work. As has been demonstrated above, angelic, giant, and human sin and punishment traditions date from the third century B.C.E. through the first century C.E. and are found in a variety of genres including: apocalypse, rewritten Bible, wisdom literature, and epistles. Therefore, detailing an exact date and/or genre is not vital for this study as it would be if these myths were more limited in time or style. This work will provide the basic arguments for the various historical-critical issues as is useful for understanding 1 Pet 3:18-22 without exhausting unnecessary arguments.

4.2.1 *Author*

Ideas pertaining to the authorship of 1 Peter usually fall within two categories. Either 1 Peter was written by the apostle Peter, or it is a pseudonym written in his name. The authorship debate is not itself vital for understanding the identity of the Petrine imprisoned spirits, except that the dating of the work is somewhat dependent on whether or not the work is a pseudepigraphon. Throughout the vast majority of Christian history, 1 Peter was thought to be the work of Peter, the disciple of Jesus. While this is no longer the majority opinion of scholarship, there are a number who retain this view.⁵⁶⁴ Yet, as recent as 2004, Richard states that “modern scholarship, employing linguistic, social, and theological factors, is virtually unanimous in arguing for pseudonymity.”⁵⁶⁵

4.2.2 *Date*

Since there is no evidence for the date of 1 Peter in the letter itself, the date assigned to the work is primarily dependent upon whether or not one views the epistle as a Petrine work or if it was composed pseudonymously. For those arguing for apostolic authorship, the letter must have been written prior to Peter’s martyrdom, assumed to have taken place under Nero ca. 65 C.E.⁵⁶⁶ The majority of contemporary scholarship agrees that the epistle was composed sometime after the death of Peter. Elliot, articulating the impossibility of providing a specific time for the composition,

⁵⁶⁴ Since 1975, those retaining Petrine authorship include: William Barclay, *The Letters of James and Peter* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), 163; Allan Stibbs, *The First Epistle General of Peter* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 23; Simon Kistemaker, *Peter and Jude* (NTC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987), 9; Grudem, *1 Peter*, 37; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 10; I. Howard Marshall, *1 Peter* (IVP New Testament Commentary Series; Downer’s Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 20; Norman Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter, Jude* (NIBCNT; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992); Scott McKnight, *1 Peter* (NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996) Additionally, John Michaels, in *1 Peter*, lxii-lxvii, also finds fault in the pseudonym arguments. He contends that there is no compelling evidence to discard completely Petrine authorship. Yet he does allow for a pseudonymous composition from the Roman church not long after Peter’s death. Karen Jobes, in *1 Peter* (ECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 14-19 is also sympathetic to Petrine authorship. Support for traditional authorship appears to be most common among evangelical scholars. See also Joel B. Green, *1 Peter* (THNTC; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2007), 6-8.

⁵⁶⁵ Earl Richard, “Honorable Conduct Among the Gentiles – A Study of Social Thought of 1 Peter,” *WW* 24 (2004): 413. Other scholars who support pseudonymity include: Raymond Brown and John Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 130; Paul Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on 1 Peter* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 43; Richard Bechtler, *Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community, and Christology in 1 Peter* (SBLDS 162; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 46; David Horrell, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude* (Epworth Commentary Series; Peterborough: Epworth, 1998), 2; Eugene Boring, *1 Peter* (Abingdon New Testament Commentaries; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 30; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 118-30. For a more thorough list of scholars supporting pseudonymity, see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 125 n. 38.

⁵⁶⁶ Green, *1 Peter*, 8.

has suggested a date between 70 C.E. (the *terminus a quo* for the use of Babylon as a substitute Rome) and 92 C.E. (based upon a quotation by Pliny, in *Ep.* 10.96).⁵⁶⁷ This work, along with scholarly consensus, attributes 1 Peter to a pseudonymous writer some time between 70 and 92 C.E. A more precise date is not relevant for this work.

4.2.3 Genre

Similar to the author and date of the epistle, a precise detailing of the genre of 1 Peter is not fundamentally relevant for understanding Christ's proclamation to imprisoned spirits. As has been demonstrated in chaps. 2 and 3 of this work, the fallen angel, giant, and human sin and punishment traditions both exist and are conflated across all literary dates and genres. Additionally, there appears to be little consistency in how each type of genre adapts and conflates the relevant myths. Rather, the various authors, regardless of literary style, utilize and reshape common earlier traditions to cohere with their respective agendas. Yet, the genre debate of 1 Peter can be briefly summarized as follows.

4.2.3.1 1 Peter as a Baptismal Homily

In the closing years of the nineteenth century Harnack proposed that 1 Peter was not originally a letter but a baptismal homily which had been inserted into the framework of a letter.⁵⁶⁸ While Harnack's view of 1 Peter as a sermon became popular, the specifics of his theory were quickly altered. Richard Perdelwitz formed an opinion that 1:3-4:11 was a baptismal homily. At a later time, the author wrote some instruction to the newly baptized Christians which is contained in the rest of the text of 1 Peter (1:1-2 and 4:12-5:14). Over time these two sections were fused into a single document.⁵⁶⁹ Defending Harnack's claims, Bornemann claimed that 1 Peter was a sermon given by Silvanus based upon a Christian interpretation of Psalm 34.

⁵⁶⁷ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 134-38. Pliny states, regarding Christians in Pontus ca. 111-12 C.E., that some of them had renounced their faith "twenty years ago" (91-92 C.E.). The fact that 1 Peter does not mention such an important event (Christian defections) within a letter warning against such behavior, makes it appear that the epistle was composed before this event occurred.

⁵⁶⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897), 451.

⁵⁶⁹ E. Richard Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 11/3; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911). This idea was further developed by Burnett H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London: Macmillan, 1929), 115.

This sermon can be found in 1:3-5:11. The additions were written to give 1 Peter the appearance of an apostolic letter.⁵⁷⁰

More recently, Beare has advocated 1 Pet 1:3-4:11 was originally a baptismal homily. Initially, Beare utilizes the theme of persecution to support his hypothesis. He claims that while the possibility of persecution is mentioned throughout 1 Peter, it is only the section from 4:12 to the end where the writer speaks in specific terms of a persecution that is actually occurring.⁵⁷¹ He further argues that 1:3-4:11 is neither epistolary in form nor content. It contains no local or personal reference, and there is not a line to suggest that the people to whom it was written are facing persecution. This section of 1 Peter is complete in itself and has the appearance of a separate composition which leads Beare to declare, “it is not a letter but a sermon,” and “In short, it is a baptismal discourse, addressed to a group of recent converts.”⁵⁷² However, the section immediately following the baptismal discourse (4:12ff) is entirely different. Beare argues that this later section was written in a different style with a quick and nervous language of a letter written in haste to a community that is experiencing actual persecution.⁵⁷³ This later section, like 1:1-2 and its closing (5:12-14), is truly epistolary in form and content. And it is into this framework that the baptismal discourse was inserted.⁵⁷⁴

Gerhard Krodel, writing in 1977, is the most current to espouse such a view of the compilation of 1 Peter. Like his predecessors, Krodel cites the apparent divergences in persecution from possible in 1:3-4:11 to actually occurring in 4:12-5:11.⁵⁷⁵ Krodel goes on to claim that the two sections contain a different eschatology. In the baptismal homily, the end is believed to be near (eg. 1:5; 4:5, 7). However, in 4:17 the writer claims that the *καίριος* of judgment is already beginning.⁵⁷⁶ Finally, Krodel argues that allusions to baptism only occur in the first part of the work (1:3-

⁵⁷⁰ Wilhelm Bornemann, “Der erste Petrusbrief—eine Taufrede des Silvanus,” *ZNW* 10 (1919/20): 143-65.

⁵⁷¹ Beare, *1 Peter*, 6.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁷⁵ Gerhard Krodel, *Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, Revelation* (PC; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 61.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

4:11) and are absent from the later section. This evidence leads Krodel to make the claim that 1 Peter consists of a baptismal homily and a later epistle.⁵⁷⁷

4.2.3.2 *1 Peter as Baptismal Liturgy*

Windisch, in his commentary on 1 Peter from the mid twentieth century, had agreed with Perdelwitz that 1 Peter was probably a baptismal sermon. However, in the third edition of Windisch's commentary, Preisker developed Windisch's ideas into an elaborate theory. Instead of understanding 1:3-4:11 as a homily, Preisker argued this passage originated as a baptismal liturgy. He concluded that 1:3-4:11 was the actual baptismal liturgy, while 4:12-5:11 was the concluding liturgical service for the entire congregation. The rest of 1 Peter (1:1-2 and 5:12-14) were added later to form an epistle which could be sent from Rome to the churches in Asia Minor in order to console and strengthen them during a time of persecution.⁵⁷⁸

Frank L. Cross, in 1954, developed previous theories of 1 Peter as a baptismal liturgy and claimed that 1 Peter was used at an Easter baptismal service. 1 Pet 1:3-4:11 represents the part of the celebrant on what Cross calls the "most solemn act of liturgical worship in the year."⁵⁷⁹ Cross' hypothesis stems from linking *paschein*, the Greek word for suffering, with the Hebrew *pascha*. Citing sermons from Melito and Hippolytus, he contends that "in early times, not only was the supposition that *pascha* derived from $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omega$ a widely accepted etymological tenet, but also a regular theme of Easter preaching."⁵⁸⁰ Best, however, has argued that the etymology supposed by Cross is incorrect. He also questions why persecuted Christians in Asia Minor would be in need of a baptismal liturgy. Best finally demonstrates that Cross' theory only accounts for 1 Pet 1:3-4:11 and provides no comments on why the rest of the letter was written.⁵⁸¹ This has led virtually all of current scholarship to reject this theory.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 63 cites 1:3, 15-16, 22-23; 2:1-2, 9-10, 24b-25; 3:21 and 4:1 as the exhaustive list of baptismal references in 1 Peter.

⁵⁷⁸ Hans Windisch, *Die Katholischen Briefe* (3rd ed.; rev. and ed. H. Preisker; HNT; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1951), 156-62. For a detailed account of Preisker's liturgical structure see Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 70-71.

⁵⁷⁹ Frank L. Cross, *1 Peter: A Paschal Liturgy* (London: Mowbary, 1953), 38. For a specific breakdown of Cross' understanding of the liturgy see pp. 37-39.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 16-17.

⁵⁸¹ Best, *1 Peter*, 22.

⁵⁸² One scholar who attempted to refine Cross' hypothesis is Alfred R. C. Leaney, "1 Peter and the Passover: An Interpretation," *NTS* 10 (1964): 238-51. However, this theory has not been accepted. For a detailed critique of Cross' hypothesis, see Timothy C. G. Thornton, "1 Peter, a Paschal Liturgy?" *JTS* 12 (1961): 14-26.

4.2.3.3 *1 Peter as a Letter*

4.2.3.3.1 *1 Peter as a Composite Letter*

C.F.D. Moule, in 1956, has developed yet another theory on the composite nature of 1 Peter. While he does maintain that all of 1 Peter is epistolary in form and content and was composed by a singular author, Moule theorized that the writer of 1 Peter sent two forms of the epistle. One form was intended for those not yet under the duress of persecution and one for those already experiencing it. The messengers sent to read the letter would then select what part of the letter was appropriate for each audience. So, while on paper 1 Peter is one letter, its original audiences would have only heard pieces of it that were considered relevant to them.⁵⁸³ There appears to be no scholar who maintains this understanding of 1 Peter's form.

4.2.3.3.2 *1 Peter as a Coherent Letter*

Despite the numerous theories concerning the composite nature of 1 Peter, the vast majority of scholarship over the past 50 years continues to view as the work one cohesive literary unit. While Eugene Boring admits that 1 Peter contains a large portion of traditional parenetic materials including baptismal imagery and illusions, which gave rise to the compilation hypotheses, he argues that the book was written all at once as a letter. He further asserts that the letter is not part of some "fictive literary world projected by the pseudonymous document; 1 Peter is a real letter to real churches."⁵⁸⁴ Grudem, who disagrees with Boring's assessment of the interpretation of 3:18-22, agrees with him stating, "The thesis that 1 Peter was originally a liturgy or perhaps a sermon at a baptism remains unconvincing and provides an unsatisfactory setting for the composition of the letter. It is far better to understand the letter is written by Peter to distant Christians in genuine need of its teaching and encouragement."⁵⁸⁵

E. Best, in his critique of a composite hypothesis, has argued that there are positive arguments for the unity of 1 Peter as a letter. First, Best argues that the style of all of 1 Peter: the author's love of concrete imagery rather than theological arguments, his use of compound rather than simple forms, and the way he expresses thoughts both positively and negatively can be found throughout the letter and point

⁵⁸³ Charles Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of 1 Peter," *NTS* 3 (1955-56): 7.

⁵⁸⁴ Boring, *1 Peter*, 38.

⁵⁸⁵ Grudem, *1 Peter*, 41. For other scholars who view 1 Peter as a unified document, see Best, *1 Peter*, 20-24; Dalton, *Christ's Preaching*, 72-75; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 15-16; and Michaels, *1 Peter*, xxxix.

to a singular author. The use of traditional material and OT references can also be found in both 1:3-4:11 and 4:12-5:11. Best also argues that no sound evidence has been given concerning why a persecuted church in Asia Minor could benefit from a baptismal homily from Rome. Best notes that the theme of “glory” which appears in 4:11 is taken up again in 4:13, and the “eschatological pressure visible in 4:12-19 and 5:6-9 was already present in 4:7a.”⁵⁸⁶ Ultimately, Best argues that the theory of 1 Peter as a baptismal homily is not needed if its baptismal allusions can be accounted for by the author’s use of traditional material, creeds, hymns and catechisms.⁵⁸⁷ Satisfactory critiques of the baptismal homily-liturgy theory have been proposed by a number of scholars who now claim the 1 Peter was originally composed as a unified letter.⁵⁸⁸

4.3 1 Peter’s Use of Early Jewish and Christian Literature

4.3.1 Introduction

Having surveyed early Jewish and Christian literature concerning the fallen angels, giants, spirits, and human sin and punishment traditions, we may now examine closely the language of 1 Peter in order to ascertain what role, if any, these myths may have played in 1 Pet 3:18-22. However, it appears that the language of 1 Peter does not allow for precise identification of the imprisoned spirits to whom Christ made proclamation. As will be demonstrated below, the multiplicity of traditions surrounding these myths make identifying the Petrine spirits impossible through a study of early Jewish and Christian literature alone. 1 Pet 3:18-22 reads:

(18) ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθε,

δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων,

ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ,

θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί,

ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι·

(19) ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, (20) ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγαι, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι’ ὕδατος. (21) ὁ ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν, δι’

⁵⁸⁶ Best, *1 Peter*, 27.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁵⁸⁸ See Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 60-62; Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe*, 5; Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 15-20; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 18; and Dalton, *Christ’s Preaching*, 72-75. For more detailed descriptions of the literary genre of 1 Peter, see Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 58-62; Dalton, *Christ’s Preaching*, 69-75; Best, *1 Peter*, 20-28; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 7-12.

ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, (22) ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.

Three pieces of evidence arise from these verses, which pertain to the identification of the recipients of Christ's proclamation: 1) they are spirits; 2) they are imprisoned; and 3) they sinned in the days of Noah. This three-fold description of the recipients of Christ's proclamation does not definitively identify them. In general, "spirits" refer to the emanations from the giants; imprisonment, however, is a punishment most often associated with the fallen angels; and humans are most commonly described as committing the sins that preceded the deluge. Therefore, it is necessary to review and synthesize, if possible, how the relevant traditions from early Jewish and Christian literature have used and recast the material involving these three points. Only then can it be possible to determine if the author of 1 Peter might be utilizing any or all of these myths.

4.3.2 The Use of πνεύματα in Early Jewish and Christian Literature

A study of the word πνεύματα and its Aramaic and Ethiopic equivalents, by itself in *I Enoch* and other literature, does not bring clarity concerning the identity of the Petrine spirits as the term is used to describe both humans and supernatural beings. Beginning with the *Book of Watchers*, there is no consistency in the use of πνεύματα. As was noted in section 2.7.1, πνεύματα is used to describe angels (*I En* 13:6; 15:4, 6, 7; 19:1 the emanations from their giant offspring (*I En* 15:8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 16:1), as well as humans (*I En* 9:3; 20:3, 6; 22:5, 6, 7).⁵⁸⁹

4.3.2.1 Humans as Spirits

The varied use of "spirits" for human and cosmic beings continues throughout later early Jewish and Christian literature. As a reference to humans, πνεύματα is used in *I En* 103:8. This is an important passage in which human spirits are being led away into darkness and chains and a burning flame. Here, like 1 Pet 3:19, is a verse that mentions humans as spirits receiving punishments most often associated with angels. *I En* 108:2, 3, also describes the "spirits of the sinners." In the *Book of Parables*, immediately following a description of the fiery prison awaiting the fallen angels, the author switches his attention to humans (kings of the earth) whose spirits

⁵⁸⁹ As noted above, some of these references contain difficulties in their readings. See section 2.7.1 for a detailed analysis of the use of πνευμάτα in *BW*.

will be judged by the water mixing with fire (*1 En* 67:7). Furthermore, *Syb. Or.* 1:104 describes humans as mighty in spirit. *T. Reub.* articulates that humans are composed of eight spirits, one of which is evil (2:1-3:8).

The literature from Qumran also describes humans as spirits. However, many of the references in this corpus do not directly name humanity as spirits. Rather, more often humans are described as having spirits (CD MS A v 11), being possessed by two spirits, truth and/or deceit (1QS ii 14, 20; iii 14; iv 5, 9; v 20, 21; vi 17; vii 18, 23, 24; 4Q256 frg. 5 13; CD MS B xx 24; 4Q266 frg. 5 i 13), or as having a holy spirit (CD MS A v 11). 4Q417 frg. 1 i 16-17 contrasts the “spiritual people” against the “spirits of flesh,” both of who refer to humans.⁵⁹⁰ Interestingly, the author of this fragment surrounds these references to spiritual humans in language more reminiscent of angels. Yet there are a number of references to humans as spirits within the Qumran fragments. 4Q511 frg. 1 i 6, 7 claims that “wicked spirits” do not walk among the community. The context for these wicked spirits appears to be human. Finally, CD MS A xii 3 potentially refers to human spirits existing after death.⁵⁹¹ Thus, while not extremely popular in early Jewish and Christian literature, there exists a link between spirits and humans that could have been drawn upon by the author of 1 Peter.

4.3.2.2 *Angels as Spirits*

In addition to humans, early Jewish and Christian literature uses the term spirits for angels as well. However, most of these references contain difficulties making the angelic identification of the spirits speculative at best. *1 En* 106:14 describes the giants as “fleshy, not spirit,” potentially implying that the angels are the spiritual ones. 4Q510 frg. 1 5 refers to the “spirits of the angels of destruction,” which could reference angels.⁵⁹² 1QM xiii 11-12 names the spirits of Belial as the angels of destruction. However, *Jub* 15:32 differentiates between angels and spirits. Therefore, despite many scholars’ claims that that the spirits in 1 Peter refer to the fallen angels, the use of πνεύματα for angels is rather limited in early Jewish and Christian literature.

⁵⁹⁰ See also 4Q416 frg. 1 10-13.

⁵⁹¹ See also 4Q267 frg. 4 11, 12; 4Q270 frg. 2 i 10; 4Q271 frg. 5 i 18.

⁵⁹² These entities could also refer to the gigantic angelic offspring. See pp. 180-81 of this work for a discussion of these spirits.

4.3.2.3 Other Cosmic Beings as Spirits

As noted above, *BW* often portrays the emanations of the giants as spirits. This classification continues in other early Jewish and Christian works. *Jubilees* names the watchers the fathers of both the giants (5:1) and evil spirits (10:5). When combined, these infer that the evil spirits in *Jubilees* are the spiritual remnants of the giants.⁵⁹³ In *Tobit* the nature of Asmodeus, who is named a demon, is uncertain. However, in later traditions he is described as a child of the watchers, which links him with the giants.⁵⁹⁴

Qumran literature also links evil spirits with the giants. 4Q531 frg. 14 2 articulates that the spirits are neither bone nor flesh, implying a spiritual existence. References made at Qumran concerning the giants most often describe the “spirits of the bastards (4Q510 frg. 1 5; 4Q510 frg. 35 7; frgs. 48 49 + 51 2, 3; 4Q444 frg. 1 8).⁵⁹⁵ Finally, 11Q11 could also refer to the giants. Frg. 4 *ii* 3 refers to the spirits and demons without distinguishing the nature of these entities. However, frg. 4 *v* 6 could be describing the giants and their emanations, thus linking the spirits with the giants.

However, there are many instances throughout early Jewish and Christian literature where spirits are recorded without a clarification of their identity. This is sometimes the result of the fragmentary nature of relevant texts (4Q299 frg. 6 *ii* 7; 4Q301 frg. 9 2; 4Q510 frg. 2 3; 4Q511 frg. 60 *iv* 2). However, the majority of times, spirits are simply portrayed as entities themselves rather than as a reference to other beings. *3 Bar* 16:3 suggests that angels should plague humanity with demons. *Ap. Ab.* 13:9 details that Azazel controls evil spirits. *Mark* 5 describes the man possessed by evil spirits who are ultimately cast into the sea. As noted above, the figure of Asmodeus, though later associated with the giants, was originally portrayed simply as an evil spirit. 4Q444 frg. 1 2, 4 mentions warring, unclean, and evil spirits as cosmic entities. Furthermore, the “spirits of Belial” in *CD xiii* 2, 3 are not given identification as to whether or not they are angels or a separate class of cosmic beings.

It is evident that throughout early Jewish and Christian literature, πνεύματα is used for angels, giants, humans, as well as other cosmic entities. Therefore, the reference to the recipients of Christ’s proclamation in *1 Pet* 3:19 as spirits does not, in itself, aid in their positive identification.

⁵⁹³ See also *Jub* 7:26-28; 10:1-14; 11:4-5; 12:20; 15:26; 19:28.

⁵⁹⁴ Stuckenbruck, “Prayers of Deliverance,” 161.

⁵⁹⁵ As mentioned above it is also possible that the “spirits of the angels of destruction” in 4Q510 frg. 1 5 refers to the giants.

4.3.3 Imprisoned Entities in Early Jewish and Christian Literature

The Petrine spirits, however, are not merely spirits, but are further described as imprisoned. Therefore, understanding the punishment traditions found in *1 Enoch* and other early Jewish and Christian literature might aid in an identification of the recipients of Christ's proclamation. But this search also bears little fruit, or too much fruit, for a definitive identity of the spirits to be established. First, as has been noted throughout chapters 2 and 3 of this work, punishment traditions concerning annihilation (possibly by sword), incarceration, or other form of otherworldly punishment have been articulated for watchers, giants, spirits/demons, humans, and even combinations of the aforementioned beings. Therefore, like the actual term "spirits," the multiplicity and conflation of the stories which make up the various punishment traditions in the relevant literature do not permit a precise identification. While the various conflations of stories have been noted previously, this section will be limited to beings in early Jewish and Christian literature who are presented as having experienced some sort of incarceration as a punishment. While the term prison is not always used, angels, giants, and humans bound or held in a space against their will are assumed to be imprisoned.

4.3.3.1 *Imprisoned Angels*

The incarceration of fallen angels is found in the earliest traditions of these punishment stories. While not consistent in detail, imprisoned angels can be found throughout early Jewish and Christian literature. Often angelic incarceration takes place in two stages. First, angels are thrown into a temporary holding place, which limits their continued evil impact on humanity. Asael, in *1 En* 10:4-6 is bound hand and foot and cast into darkness. *1 En* 10:11-15 records the Shemihazah and his companions are bound for seventy generations. Later works also described a temporary angelic imprisonment. *1 En* 88:1-3 records the watchers being bound and cast into a dark abyss. Similarly, *Jub* 5: 6, 10 describes the fallen angels being bound in the depths of the earth until the final judgment. Jude 6 portrays the watchers as imprisoned in darkness awaiting a final judgment. In *Rev* 20:1-3, Satan is bound in chains and imprisoned until he is to be set loose. Finally, *2 En* 7:1 describes the fallen angels as under guard until the final judgment.

For those traditions in which the angels are experiencing temporary incarceration, the final punishment usually entails being cast into a fiery abyss. *1 En*

10:6 records that the imprisoned watchers will be lead away to burning on the great Day of Judgment. Similarly, Shemihaza in *1 En* 10:11-15 is described as being imprisoned as his final punishment state. *1 En* 90:21, 24 also describes the final judgment and punishment of the watchers in the abyss. Finally, Rev 20:7-10 depicts Satan cast into a lake of fire.

Additional punishment stories include one of these two states of punishment, or a conflation of them with record of separate phases of incarceration. In *1 En* 14:1-7, the angels are bound in the earth for all eternity. *1 En* 18:11; 19:1-2 describes the angels being bound in *Tartarus*, at the ends of earth and heaven. Chapter 21:7-10 mentions a prison house for the angels. *1 En* 54:4, 5; 64: 1, 2; and 67:4-12 all describe prison houses for the watchers either as an abyss of judgment or as a fiery valley. *2 Bar* 56:12, 13 portrays the fallen angels as tormented in chains. Therefore, whether it be an intermediate state or a final punishment, it is clear that some early Jewish and Christian traditions understood fallen angels as imprisoned beings.

4.3.3.2 *Imprisoned Giants and/or Spirits*

In addition to angels, other early Jewish and Christian works describe giants, or their emanations as being imprisoned. While the majority of punishment narratives concerning the giants involve their destruction, some forms of these myths include an otherworldly punishment for the giants and their spirits. However, as noted in the more in-depth treatment of the relevant passages in chapter 3 of this work, many of the references to the incarceration of the giants contain difficulties. As noted above, the chosen and beloved ones from *1 En* 56:2-4 could refer to the giants. Here, these beloved ones will be cast into the chasm of the valley of the abyss. In the *Book of Giants*, 4Q203 frg. 7B *i* 4 appears to describe the imprisonment of the giants and the destruction of the watchers: a reversal form earlier Enochic traditions. Similarly, *Jub* 10:7-9 records that nine-tenths of the spirits led by Mastema are bound and sent to the place of judgment. This is a significant shift from *1 Enoch*. Much of the literature discovered at Qumran contains imagery that possibly describes the incarceration of giants and/or their spirits. However, due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts, the identity of the spirits cannot be certain. 4Q510 frg. 2 3, 4 describes a place of eternal fire and burning for spirits. While not specifically detailed here, the work generally refers to spirits as the remnants of the giants. Therefore, it is possible that this fragment envisions a fiery punishment for the spirits of the giants. Similarly, in

11Q11 frg. 4 *iii* 7-10, it is possible that demons are sent to the abyss. Column *iv* 4-6 also mentions an abyss and column *v* 8-9 describes the deepest Sheol with gates. While the precise identity of the inhabitants of these places is not recorded, the work itself focuses on the punishment of demons. Therefore, while some of the texts do contain challenges, there were traditions circulating that understood evil spirits to be imprisoned.

4.3.3.3 *Imprisoned Humans*

Upon their deaths, much of early Jewish and Christian writings portray humans as experiencing an otherworldly punishment through incarcerations. The imprisonment of humans can be found throughout the *1 Enoch*. *1 En* 22:1-14 describes the four hollow into which human souls are divided. Specifically verses 3 and 4 contend that humans are imprisoned in these caves awaiting a final judgment. At times humans are sent to a place of fire (*1 En* 98:3; 100:3; 108:3). Later traditions (*Sib. Or.* 2:283-313, which links Gehenna with chains and fire; *Jude* 23, which implies that some humans will be snatched from the fire indicating the author expects at least some to be sent there; and *Rev* 14:9-11; 20:11-5) also record humans being punished by fire in the after life. In other descriptions, humans are sent to Sheol (*1 En* 102:6-11; 103:6-8). Sheol is also the place for imprisoned humans in *Jub* 22:22. In *1 En* 53:5, human spirits are punished with the chains of Satan. *Ap. Ab.* 21:3-5 articulates that humans will be tormented in the abyss. And Ben Sira suggests that human sinners will inhabit the depths of the netherworld (14:16; 17:27; 21:10; 22:11).

The literature from Qumran also describes human punishment in the afterlife. Both 1 Q27 frg. 1 *i* 5, 6 and 4Q416 frg. 69 *ii* 6-9 indicate that some of humanity will be locked up or sent to eternal punishment. As with other early Jewish and Christian literature, the punishment of humanity often includes a place of fire. 1QM *xiii* 16 contends that the Sons of Darkness will be sent to an everlasting place for destruction. However 1QM *xiv* 17-18 further indicates that these wicked humans will reside in the burning fire of Sheol. 1QS *ii* 7-8 and *iv* 12-13 both describe the eternal place of punishment for wicked humanity as filled with darkness and fire.

Finally, there are a small number of passages that indicate that fallen angels and humans are going to be imprisoned together. *1 En* 10:13, 14 suggests that human sinners will be bound and cast into the final punishment of fire along with Shemihazah and his companions. This is also found in *1 En* 64:1, 2 and 67:4-12 in which the

angels are punished in the same valleys as the kings and mighty of the earth. Similarly, Revelation records that the Beast of the Sea (19:20), Satan (20:1-10), and the resurrected sinful humanity (20:15) are all cast into the lake of fire. Just as the term “spirits” was used for angels, giants, and humans, traditions emerge in early Jewish and Christian literature in which all of these entities are imprisoned as well. Therefore, no positive identification of the recipients of Christ’s proclamation can be drawn from the Petrine description of their punishment.

4.3.4 Sin and Punishment Traditions Involving the “Days of Noah”

As has been noted in chapters 2 and 3 of this study, traditions regarding the sin of angels, giants, spirits, and humans are conflated in various ways throughout early Jewish and Christian literature. Primarily, it was observed that sins committed by angels and giants in the earlier myths were later attributed to humans. Many of these stories are at least indirectly associated with Noah and the deluge. Therefore, some of these occurrences are of particular importance when attempting to ascertain the identity of the recipients of Christ’s proclamation since 1 Pet 3:20 records that the spirits sinned while God waited patiently in the days of Noah. And, as is the case with the term “spirits” and the punishment of incarceration, those responsible for sinning in the days of Noah also include both cosmic and human beings. While not many of these traditions actually associate specific sins with the actual flood, many of their settings surround the days of Noah and the expected deluge.

4.3.4.1 *Angelic Traditions in the Days of Noah*

Stories of angelic sin surrounding the deluge are found in the earliest flood traditions beginning with the biblical narrative itself. Gen 6:1-4 records the Sons of God impregnating human women. While not directly linking this event to the divine judgment, its position just before the flood narrative (Genesis 7-8) contributed to the linking of these two events in later traditions. Stories associating angelic sin with the days of Noah center around their illicit sexual union, with the addition of improper instruction, drawn from Gen 6:1-4. In *BW*, the fall of the angels involving their affair with human women is told in 6:1-7:6. Later Enochic literature retells similar

traditions (*1 En* 86:1-6; 88:3; 106:4).⁵⁹⁶ Outside of *1 Enoch*, angelic sin associated with the flood can be found in *Jub* 4:15; 5:1; *Jude* 6; *2 En* 18:4; *T. Reub.* 5:1-3; *T. Naph.* 3:5, the last text of which specifically states that the flood was sent in response to angelic sin. Finally, the literature from Qumran also records angelic sin in stories associated with the Noahic flood. Both 4Q180-181 and CD MS A ii 17-20 retell the story of the fall of the angels and the birth of the giants.⁵⁹⁷ Therefore it is evident that, in some cases, angelic sin was associated with the deluge.

4.3.4.2 Giant and Spirit Traditions in the Days of Noah

Certain sin and punishment traditions concerning the giants and evil spirits are also recorded with inferences to Noah's generation. The *Book of Watchers* was the first to associate the *Nephilim* of Gen 6:3 with evil giants whose ravenous appetites and violent behavior lead to the flood (*1 En* 7:2-5). The theme of violent and destructive behavior is used in later sections of *1 Enoch*. *1 En* 86:6 describes the giants' consumption of humanity, and chapter 89:6 actually records that the flood itself destroyed the giants. Finally *1 En* 106:4-12 retells the birth of the giants in the section dealing with the questionable birth of Noah and relates it to Noah's flood in vv. 13-17 (though textually problematic).⁵⁹⁸ In *Jubilees*, the sin of the giants (violence) is also associated with the flood (7:23). Additionally, *Jub* 5:8 shifts the limiting of human lifespan in Gen 6:3 onto the giants. However, the work also reports the evil activity of the spirits leading humanity, including Noah's grandchildren and others, astray (7:26-28; 10:1-14; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:26; 19:28. *Pseudo-Eupolemus* 9.17.2 claims that the giants sinned at the time of the deluge by building the tower. The *Book of Giants*, like other literature found at Qumran, also retains the link between the sins of the giants and the flood (4Q203 frg. 5 2; 4Qfrg. 14 1; and 1Q23 frgs. 9+14+15 4, which describe the violence of the giants, and 4Q532 frg. 2 i 9 which blames the giants for injustice on the earth). Similarly, *BG* also portrays the flood as a punishment for the evil on the earth (4Q203 8; 4Q530 i-ii; 4Q531, 14, 18; 4Q556 6). *1 En* 89:2-9, *3 Bar* 4:10, and *Wis. Sol.* 10:3-4 contend that the giants

⁵⁹⁶ Some works in *1 Enoch* include punishment narratives of the angels in close proximity to references to Noah, see *1 En* 88:1-89:1; 54:4, 5; 67:4-12. However, these references do not indicate the specific sins of the watchers.

⁵⁹⁷ 4Q417 frg. 1 i 13-18 potentially references the fallen angels as well. See section 3.7.2 of this work for a more thorough discussion.

⁵⁹⁸ For a discussion on the textual difficulties with these verses, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 655-63.

perished in the flood itself. Thus, as with the angels, early Jewish and Christian literature associates the sins of the giants with the Noahic deluge.

4.3.4.3 *Traditions about Human Sinners in the Days of Noah*

Finally, beginning with the biblical account in Genesis 6-8, human sin has always been associated with the flood. In Gen 6:5-8, God specifically declares that he is going to destroy the earth because of the evil of humanity. This idea is carried over into *BW* even though the thrust of this work focuses on angelic sin. *1 En* 8:1; 9:6; 10:1-3, 16-11:1; 19:1; 22:8-13; 32:6 all describe the sins of humanity leading up to or surrounding the flood narrative. Later sections of *1 Enoch* continue this association (85:3-8; 86:2; 88:1-89:1; 93:9; 91:5-10; 106:16, all which specifically names humans as being destroyed in the flood; and 54:2; 54:7-55:2; 65:6-8, which describes human punishment due to the angel's improper instructions). The link between human sin and the flood is retained in other early Jewish and Christian literature. *Jub* 5:3-5, 8; 7:20-25 report human sin and the deluge that was to come because of it. Similarly, *3 Bar* 4:10; Ben Sira 16:7; 4Q299 frg. 53 1-12; *Gig* 16, 60, 61; *2 En* 10:4, 5; 34:1-3; and *T. Reub.* 6, 7 all describe human sin in association with the deluge. As has been demonstrated, many traditions existed from a variety of genres dating from the biblical account through the composition of 1 Peter that link human sinfulness to the days of Noah.

Therefore, it is evident that there is no consensus in early Jewish and Christian literature regarding the identity of evil spirits, those who experience incarceration as a form of punishment, or those responsible for sinning in the days of Noah. Angels, giants, spirits, and humans are all referred to as spirits. All of these entities are incarcerated in some works. Finally, all have been held responsible for the Noahic deluge. As such, it is impossible to pinpoint which tradition, if any, the author of 1 Peter was using in his composition. Nor do the vast array of stories, as well as their alterations and confluents, make it pertinent to guess at which one of these many traditions, at the expense of others, might lie behind the recipients of Christ's proclamation in 1 Peter. As noted in the introduction, previous works which have attempted to identify Christ's audience simply by choosing one or a few of the sin and punishment stories described in chapters 2 and 3 of this work, have not wrestled with the complexity of the many stories. Nor have they articulated why some should be selected over others. Therefore, this methodology is not complete, and these early

Jewish and Christian myths, as important as they might be, do not of themselves provide any precise insight into the identity of 1 Peter's spirits in prison.

4.4 Recasting the Watcher and Giants Traditions in Early Jewish and Christian Literature

However, possibly more important than which early Jewish and/or Christian tradition the author of 1 Peter might have used in 3:18-22 is how he might be employing the relevant myths. As has been demonstrated in chapters 2 and 3 of this work, later literature did not feel bound to preserve the original form of this story. Rather, from its first appearance in the *Book of Watchers*, the fallen angel myth was altered and shaped to fit the individual purpose of each author. Therefore, the present discussion will attempt to determine the way in which many early Jewish and Christian works utilized early cosmic and human sin and punishment traditions in order to strengthen their own agendas. Then, 1 Peter itself will be evaluated to determine how its author might be using the fallen angel/giant myth to support his purpose.

4.4.1 The *Book of Watchers*

The original inclusion of the fallen angel stories in the *Book of Watchers* was meant to articulate the aetiology of evil. The dual sins of the angels recorded in the earliest sections of *BW* (chaps. 6-11) including the illicit union between Shemihaza and his companions with human women (*1 En* 6:1-7:6), and the improper instruction of both Shemihaza (*1 En* 7:1; 8:3; 9:8; 10:7) and Asael (*1 En* 8:1, 2) along with the birth and destructive activity of the giants (*1 En* 7:2-5), all point to cosmic culpability for the coming deluge.⁵⁹⁹

4.4.2 Other Enochic Literature

As has been demonstrated by Reed, later Enochic literature, as well as other early Jewish and Christian works, have retained parts of the fallen angel motif even

⁵⁹⁹ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 166-68 who suggests that these early stories in *1 Enoch* are intended to stress the helplessness of the human race at the hands of the cosmic forces of evil. Here, the cause of evil occurs in the divine sphere rather than on earth. However, as has been noted, Nickelsburg, in "Apocalyptic Myth," 391-95, 401, and Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11," 326-27 both suggest that the Shemihaza and Asael traditions found in *1 Enoch* 6-11 are already a composite in nature. While they do not agree on the order of the literary history, they do share the opinion that the inclusion of some of the Asael material was added to place partial blame for the flood on humans.

while rejecting its purpose. Rather than being a source for evil in the world, the fallen angel motif is used as a typological treatment of human sin and punishment. Thus, the fallen angels are not viewed as the corrupters of humankind “but as examples of sinful creatures akin to the human wicked.”⁶⁰⁰

This use of the fallen angel and giant traditions as examples of and warnings against evil behavior, which is being given to correct human conduct, is prevalent in the later works of the Enochic corpus. The *Animal Apocalypse* contains much of the relevant material from *BW*. The fall of a star, representing the lead angel, and the subsequent birth and destructive behavior of the giants found in *1 En* 86:1-6 replicates the fall of Shemihaza from *1 En* 7:1, 2. Similarly the angelic intercourse with human women portrayed in 88:3-5 appears to be drawn from *1 En* 6:4-7:1. The punishment of angels, giants, and humans in *AA* also appears to be molded after those from *BW*. The punishment of the rebel star in *1 En* 88:1 is taken from Asael’s punishment in *1 En* 10:4, 5. More broadly the punishments of angels, giants, and humans portrayed in *1 En* 88:1-89:1 resemble those of *1 En* 10:1-22. However, while it is apparent that the author of *AA* uses traditional material from *BW*, he does not retain the latter’s motive. The inclusion of Abel’s murder at the hands of Cain (*1 En* 85:3-9) denotes human sin prior to the fall of the angels. Thus, unlike in *BW*, the watcher myth in *AA* is not being as the aetiology of evil. Rather, it appears as though the author of *AA* has retained the stories of cosmic iniquity but includes those narratives while shifting the emphases on human culpability for the flood.⁶⁰¹

The remaining works that make up *1 Enoch* use the images found in cosmic and human sin and punishment traditions to serve as a type for the wickedness in the contemporary situations being experienced by each writer. In the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the writer associates the evil in his own day with the wickedness that existed on earth prior to the flood. Thus, he at least potentially describes the sins of the angels in *1 En* 93:4 as well as angelic punishment in 91:15. However, the author focuses on human sin (93: 9-10) and punishment (91:11-12). The punishment assigned to this wicked generation is destruction by the sword: the same punishment previously leveled against the giants in *1 En* 10:9; 16:1). Similarly, the *Exhortation on the Flood* uses the sinfulness in the days of Noah as an archetype for his own sinful generation

⁶⁰⁰ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 80-81.

⁶⁰¹ Although the *First Dream Vision* does not contain as much material concerning the fallen angels and giants, it also shifts the emphases from angels too humanity to the point where, in *1 En* 84:4, humans are punished for the sins of the watchers.

(*I En* 91:5-10). Finally, the *Book of Noah* also combines Noahic flood imagery with eschatological judgment. In a quest to determine whether or not Noah is himself a child of the watchers, angelic sin is recounted in *I En* 106:13-107:2, which results in the earth being cleansed by the deluge in 106:17, 18. Humans are singled out for punishment in two different ways. *I En* 108:3 records that human spirits will be slaughtered, which appears to be drawn from the giant punishment traditions from *BW* (10:9). However, verses 4-7 proceed to describe humans crying out from a desolate place of fire, which appears to cohere with the fiery place of Asael's final place of punishment recorded in *I En* 10:6.

The *Epistle of Enoch* continues the practice of retaining sin and punishment material and reshaping it for a different purpose. As already noted, Stuckenbruck has demonstrated the epistle's dependence upon *BW*. Furthermore, he has articulated that the author of this Enochic section has recast the fallen angel imagery towards humans.⁶⁰² Human sin in the epistle often involves the excessive wealth of some being used to oppress the righteous (*I En* 94:7, 8; 96:4-8; 97:8-10; 98: 1, 2, 11; 99:13; 103:9; 103:5, 6). However, interwoven within some of these accusations are charges of eating blood and persecuting the righteous (95:17; 98:11-14). Consumption of blood is a charge leveled against the giants in *I En* 7:5. Human punishment in the epistle also appears to be drawn from cosmic punishments recorded in *BW*. First many times, humans are told that they will have "no peace" (94:6; 98:11, 16; 99:13, 14; 101:3; 102:3; 103:8), which is first used by *BW* in Enoch's response to the watchers' petition (16:3). Additionally, Stuckenbruck has noted that the punishment of human spirits in 103:8 is taken from *I En* 22:10 but has been reapplied to describe the author's opponents.⁶⁰³ The *Epistle* has moved beyond previous adaptations of these myths in that it begins to narrow the reapplication of those myths to a particular segment of humanity.

This reapplication of cosmic stories to specific segments of humanity is further developed in the *Parables of Enoch*. The *Parables* contain a number of references to the fallen angels that appeared to be borrowed from *BW* (*I En* 54:4, 5; 67:4-7 from 10:4-6; and 69:2-12 from 6:7; 8:1-3). However, the work is primarily concerned with the evil being committed by certain "kings and mighty" of the earth (*I En* 38:4; 54:2; 46:4-8; 48:9; 53:1-6; 62:12; 63, 64; 67:8). Thus, many of the traditions

⁶⁰² Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91-108*, 206-11.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 534-35.

involving the punishment of the angels and giants in *BW* are specifically tied to these humans. Immediately prior to discussion the imprisonment of fallen angles (*I En* 54:4, 5), verse 2 references the kings and mighty being thrown into the abyss.⁶⁰⁴ Additionally, *I En* 45:2 records that human sinners will not be able to ascend to heaven which appears to be a reapplication of an aspect of the watchers' punishment from *I En* 15:1-11. In chapter 63, the kings and the mighty's petition for respite from the punishment is reminiscent of the pleas of the angels in 13:1-14:7.

Similarly, the *Parables* also utilize traditions previously associated with the giants from *BW* and reapply them to the kings and the mighty. Humans with positions of power and authority are accused of trampling the earth (*I En* 46:7, 8 from 7:3; 9:9) as well as committing lawless acts including devouring the work of the righteous (*I En* 53:1-6 from 7:3). Just as the sins of the giants have shifted to humans, the punishments of these cosmic beings have also been recast to fit the kings and the mighty. At times these powerful humans are destroyed in a war or by the sword or by war (*I En* 53:2; 56:1-4; 62:12 from 10:9, 12). In *I En* 48:9, the writer describes human punishment in terms previously associated with the giants' perishing in the flood from the *AA* in 89:6. Although it is a difficult passage to interpret, it is possible that the *Parables* (56:2-4) recasts the kings and the mighty as the chosen and beloved ones of the watchers.⁶⁰⁵ Also potentially significant for 1 Peter, is that in midst of a work reapplying cosmic sin and punishment to humans, the *Parables* introduces the Son of Man figure as the punisher of the kings and the mighty by overturning their kingdoms.

4.4.3 Continued Conflation in other Early Jewish and Christian Works

Outside of *I Enoch*, other writers continued to reshape the fallen angel myths based upon their own motives. Similar to the second century B.C.E. and later works of *I Enoch*, *Jubilees* appears to mix the biblical account of the fall of the angels with the stories found in *I Enoch* 6-11. These stories serve both as a moral example for humanity in order to prevent intermarriages and as a basis for the legal inferences found in the work.⁶⁰⁶ *Jubilees* utilizes the watcher and evil spirit myths in four

⁶⁰⁴ For a discussion on the placement of this verse and whether or not humans and angels are being cast into the same abyss, see section 3.2.3.4 of this work. See also *I Enoch* 64.

⁶⁰⁵ For a discussion on the difficulties of this passage, see section 3.2.3.4 of this work.

⁶⁰⁶ James VanderKam, in "The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E Chazon and M. Stone;

contexts: the retelling of Genesis 5-6 (*Jubilees* 4-5), Noah's testament (*Jub* 7:20-39), Kainan's discovery of divinatory writings (*Jub* 8:2-4), and the punishment of evil spirits (*Jubilees* 10). Like the later Enochic literature, *Jubilees* moves the origin of sin to humanity rather than cosmic beings. The writer does this by including more detail on the fall of Adam and Eve (*Jubilees* 3) and the omission of Asael's evil instruction recorded in *1 En* 8:1-3.⁶⁰⁷ Additionally, the removal of the angelic rebellion from heaven, the mention of angelic instruction as good (*Jub* 4:15), and the shift to a succumbing to temptation with human women on earth (4:22) allows for the angels to be seen similar to weak, disobedient, and wayward men rather than the cause of evil.⁶⁰⁸ However, stories concerning the imprisonment of the watchers and the destruction of humans in the flood are told side-by-side in order to demonstrate that God punishes evil in all its forms (*Jub* 5:13-18). This narrative on punishment ends with a reference to repentance on Yom Kippur (vv. 17, 18). Thus, the fallen angel punishment narrative is used in order to serve as motivation for Israel to turn from its wicked ways. While it may be too late for the angels to repent, the recipients of *Jubilees* can still return to God. Similarly, the intermarriage of angels and humans (*Jub* 5:1; 7:21) is meant to dissuade Jews from marrying whomever they choose but to keep their genealogical lines pure.⁶⁰⁹ The subsequent violence of the giants is thought to be from their being born of a unholy union (7:22). Therefore, humans are also dissuaded from intermarriage (25:1; 30:7).

The sins of the giants and their emanations are also recast to correct human behavior. The giants are accused of devouring each other and humans (7:23). As noted in chapter 3 of this work, the destructive behavior of the giants often quickly turns into warning to not commit such violence such as the shedding and drinking of blood (7:23). Furthermore, evil spirits in the book of *Jubilees* attempt to lead humans astray by getting them to shed and consume blood (10:1, 2; 11:1-5). Thus, the giant story is retained, with emendations, insofar as it can be used to correct human

Leiden: Brill, 1999), 169-70) demonstrates that although *Jubilees* reshapes earlier traditions, it is dependent upon the *Book of Watchers*. See also, Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 89.

⁶⁰⁷ John Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 291; VanderKam, "Angel Story," 169-70.

⁶⁰⁸ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 90.

⁶⁰⁹ Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 147-59. Cf. *Jub* 7:20-39, which states that the evil that existed prior to the deluge was the result of intermarriage.

behavior. Again the punishment of these beings in 5:2 and 10:8, 9 serve as an example to the audience of *Jubilees* that God will punish all who commit sin.

Throughout much of the later early Jewish and Christian literature, the allusions to the watcher and giant traditions are most commonly used to assure the righteous of God's judgment against the wicked, to encourage proper human behavior through repentance or continued obedience, or a combination of the above. The brief mention of the fall of the watchers in 2 *Bar* 56:10-13 is placed within an eschatological vision of alternating good and evil periods of history (2 *Baruch* 53, 55, 56). Angelic sin is placed alongside of human iniquity only to demonstrate that God was in control of all of history. The examples of God's providence throughout Israel's history was meant to encourage the readers of 2 *Baruch* that God was in control and would eventually punish Rome, currently responsible for their occupation, as well. Furthermore, the pericope of the Gerasene Demoniac in Mark 5 potentially infers that Christ not only has power over evil spirits, but also it insures its readers that Christ will achieve victory over Rome as well.⁶¹⁰ Therefore, some early Jewish and Christian works retain some aspects of the fallen angels, giants, and evil spirits sin and punishment traditions and recast them to give faithful humanity hope, that God would eventually judge human enemies.

In addition to assurance of divine judgment, aspects of the watcher and giant traditions are also retained and recast by later writers in order to urge their audiences to return to or continue with righteous lifestyles. Often this literature encourages its readers that faithful behavior will be rewarded but also exhorts them that sinful behavior will not go unpunished. This use of the watcher and giant traditions can be found throughout Qumran literature. The *Damascus Document* contains a warning to the community to reject their evil inclination and follow God's decrees (CD MS A ii 15-17). The text follows with the story of the fall of the watchers as the first example of many sinners who have followed their guilty inclination and went against God's order (CD MS A ii 17-19). The rest of the examples of those who have done evil are humans from Israel's past. The watchers are lumped together with human evil doers who have fallen victim to their sinful desires, and thus serve as an exemplary warning to the current members of the Qumran community to reject their evil inclination.⁶¹¹

⁶¹⁰ This is the case if the reference to the name of the demons "Legion" from Mk 5:9 refers to the Tenth Roman Legion stationed nearby. See section 3.10.1 of this work for further discussion.

⁶¹¹ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 98-99.

Furthermore, other Qumran literature continues to use the watcher and giant traditions to assure readers that evil would be destroyed and to encourage them to remain obedient to God (4Q299 frg. 6 *ii*; 4Q180 frg. *i* 7, 8; 4Q181 frg. 2 2; and possibly 4Q417 frg. 1 *i* 17, 18; 4Q18 frg. 81 1-5). Therefore, it is evident that at Qumran, as noted in chapter 3 of this work, a correct retention of the fallen angel and giant myth is not a primary concern, but rather, its objective is to reshape these stories to give readers hope and assurance of God's justice as well as to encourage right behavior.

In addition to Qumran literature, other later Jewish and Christian works continue to recast the earlier watcher myths to correct human behavior. This utilization can be found throughout different types of genres as well. The Wisdom of Ben Sira mentions the fallen angels (16:7) in the context of correcting human behavior. Additionally the New Testament utilizes the punishment of the watchers, along with other human examples, to warn Christians that they too could be punished if they disobey God (Jude 6). In the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, T. Naph.* 3:2 similarly uses cosmic evil as an example of previous sinful beings, including humans, who have been punished by God. *T. Reub* 6-7 goes farther in that it overtly states that the women are accused of bewitching the watchers prior to the flood. This myth is being reinterpreted to dissuade women from promiscuity in the writer's own time.⁶¹²

Finally, *Sib. Or.* 1:104, 109-15, 123 all describe humanity's sin in terms similar to those previously attributed to giants. Verse 123 in particular even names humans as the giants. Again, the purpose appears to be to correct human behavior. Similarly, although in a unique way, Philo describes angels, giants, and humans as various examples of human souls (*Gig.* 16). Here too Philo reinterprets Gen 6:1-4 to adjust human behavior. Therefore, as has been demonstrated, authors manipulated earlier traditions concerning the fallen angels, giants and humans in order to cohere and support their own particular agendas. Hence, the identity of the imprisoned spirits in 1 Peter can best be found not by looking back to earlier traditions but to within the letter itself to ascertain who these spirits need to be to best support the aim of the Petrine Epistle. Furthermore, the question of identity becomes of secondary importance to the larger question of the purpose of its use. Who these spirits are is not so much the issue as how they are being used?

⁶¹² *Ap. Ab.* 13:9-12; 23:7-13 also uses the fallen angel tradition. In this instance, Azazel is given authority to rule over all humanity that had been allotted to him. However, he is unable to harm those humans who belong to God. Therefore its purpose is to offer hope that evil cannot harm the righteous and to give encouragement to remain faithful to God.

4.5 The Historical and Theological Contexts of 1 Peter

4.5.1 The Historical Situation

Understanding 1 Peter as a unified letter, it is now possible to attempt to understand 1 Pet 3:18-22 in relation to the purpose and themes of the letter as a whole. First, the letter itself explains to whom it was written: to the five Roman Provinces of Asia Minor (1 Pet 1:1). Having been controlled by Persians, Greeks, and Romans, this area of the world was culturally diverse. And by 100 C.E. there were over 80,000 Christians in Asia Minor, consisting of both Jews and Gentiles.⁶¹³ Therefore, it is evident that the author of 1 Peter was writing to a large and diverse group of Christians, over a broad geographical area.

Despite the broad intended recipients of the letter, the majority of scholars over the past 50 years have agreed on a number of themes in, and the general purpose of, the letter.⁶¹⁴ The Christians in Asia Minor found themselves in a hostile situation, and 1 Peter was written to comfort those facing marginalization and persecution as well as to instruct its readers on how to live faithfully in a non-Christians society that often misunderstands and abuses them.⁶¹⁵ The titles “strangers” (παροίκους) and “pilgrims” (παρεπιδήμους) used to describe 1 Peter’s readers would indicate that their political, legal, and social situation was a precarious one (1 Pet 2:11).⁶¹⁶ These Christians in Asia Minor, who apparently fit into the category of strangers, had different languages, clothing, customs, and religious traditions from the official citizens of Rome, which exposed them to suspicion and hostility on the part of the native population and to charges of wrongdoing. These charges were a major cause of the readers’ suffering.⁶¹⁷ It is also possible that the suffering on the part of the readers stemmed from a shift in lifestyle on the part of those who used to blend in with the dominant pagan society, but because of their conversion, were now living new lives

⁶¹³ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 89.

⁶¹⁴ See Beare, *First Epistle of Peter*, 6-8; Cranfield, “Interpretation of 1 Peter iii.19,” 15; Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 1-24; Best, *1 Peter*, 13-64; Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 95-106; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 84-116; Boring, *1 Peter*, 28-47.

⁶¹⁵ Boring, *1 Peter*, 19.

⁶¹⁶ Strangers were often people from abroad whose land was annexed by expanding cities, or they could be traveling merchants or missionaries who had taken up residence in a city for more than 30 days. These strangers could not vote, own land, or hold high civic office, and enjoyed only a limited form of legal protection. Strangers were also restricted in regard to intermarriage, commerce, and land tenure. They could be forced into military service and were susceptible to more severe forms of civil punishment. They were allowed limited participation in cultic rites but were excluded from priestly offices. However, they did share full responsibility with actual citizens for the financial burdens of the city. See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 94.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

which marginalized their status in the community. Society at large began to consider Christianity to be an unwelcome and even dangerous movement, which resulted in various forms of abuse.⁶¹⁸

4.5.2 The Nature of Persecution/Marginalization in 1 Peter

A number of views have been explored concerning the nature of the persecution experienced by 1 Peter's readers. Prior to the mid-1970s, many commentators understood the persecution to be an official policy of Rome beginning with Nero ca. 60 C.E. This persecution continued under Domitian and Trajan, and those who held such an understanding of the persecution placed the writing of 1 Peter during the reign of one of these three emperors.⁶¹⁹ Since the mid 1970's scholars have abandoned this understanding of the persecution described in 1 Peter. Currently the majority of scholarship is united in its interpretation that the persecution described in 1 Peter is a universal persecution of social discrimination rather than a political one in which Christians were persecuted as enemies of the Empire. Elliott correctly notes that 1 Peter addresses a persecution being experienced in all five provinces of Asia. He also demonstrates that while official persecution of Christians by Rome occurred sporadically, the universal persecution of Christians did not begin until the mid-third century.⁶²⁰ Boring states that society at large considered Christianity to be an unwelcome and even sectarian movement. This resulted in various forms of abuse, primarily verbal in nature.⁶²¹ Therefore, 1 Peter was written to Christians who were experiencing various forms and types of unofficial persecution as a result of their allegiance to Christ and the lifestyle it entailed.

Writing to Christians facing persecution, the author of 1 Peter wrote primarily to give comfort to those experiencing suffering and to encourage them to remain steadfast in their faith and lifestyle. Kelly claims that 1 Peter is meant to encourage Christians who are now bewildered by the cruel treatment they are currently experiencing. 1 Peter reminds them that their sufferings are temporary and the end is at hand when their enemies will be destroyed.⁶²² Similarly, Beare contends that 1 Peter was sent to help its recipients meet the demoralizing shock of persecution and to

⁶¹⁸ Boring, *1 Peter*, 43-44.

⁶¹⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 98

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 100. See pages 98-100 for a description of the sporadic persecution Christians faced at the hands of Rome.

⁶²¹ Boring, *1 Peter*, 43-44.

⁶²² Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 1.

encourage Christians in such a situation to remain faithful.⁶²³ Elliott claims that 1 Peter uses the word πάσχω more than any other book in the NT. And the theme of suffering pervades the entire letter. The suffering the readers are either expecting or experiencing is undeserved and is at the hands of the unjust. In this way the readers' sufferings are linked with the innocent suffering of Christ.⁶²⁴

4.5.3 Christ as Exemplar in Enduring Suffering

In linking the suffering of 1 Peter's readers with the suffering of Christ, recent commentators have viewed the author's intentions of Jesus being the exemplar of a godly life in the midst of innocent suffering. Despite suffering to the point of death, Christ remained steadfast in his obedience to God. And because he remained faithful to the point of death, God vindicated him and raised him to glory. Likewise, Christians, for a little while, are called to share in Christ's suffering, so that at the revelation of Jesus, they may share in his glory.⁶²⁵ When referring to 1 Pet 3:18-22, McKnight agrees that this passage should be viewed in light of its context and the overall theme of vindication. Jesus remained faithful, he suffered, and he was vindicated. If the church remains faithful in suffering, it too will be vindicated.⁶²⁶ Thus, Christians are called to follow the example by Christ and remain faithful to God in the midst of suffering. Constant suffering, if ignored, could "have lead to discouragement, despair, and possible defection from the Christian community, for it would have undermined the confidence, cohesion, and commitment of its members."⁶²⁷ Therefore, the church in Rome, from where the letter of 1 Peter originated and the place of the persecution of Peter and Paul, appears to have regarded itself as having an ongoing responsibility to encourage and instruct its daughter churches.⁶²⁸ Boring notes that Christians facing persecution who desired to remain steadfast in their faith could have also responded by intensifying its sectarian and survival instincts. To these believers, 1 Peter is written to give instruction on living faithfully in their current situation.⁶²⁹ Thus, 1 Peter was written to encourage its

⁶²³ Beare, *First Epistle of Peter*, 6.

⁶²⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 100.

⁶²⁵ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 96.

⁶²⁶ McKnight, *1 Peter*, 217.

⁶²⁷ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 103.

⁶²⁸ Boring, *1 Peter*, 37, 43.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

readers to remain faithful in the midst of persecution as well as to instruct Christians concerning how they should live in the midst of suffering.

In addition to understanding Christ as exemplar in suffering, some have claimed 1 Peter presents Christ as the basis for the confidence that Christians can have in the midst of persecution. Dalton refers to this idea as the *Christianus alter Christus*. Christ's victory over the powers of evil is what assures Christians of their own victory over those same powers and their earthly representatives.⁶³⁰ For those interpreting 1 Pet 3:18-22 as referring to Christ's proclamation to the fallen angels, this passage plays an important role in understanding one of the main purposes of the entire letter. Namely, it is Christ's announcement of victory over the powers of evil described in 1 Peter 3:18-22, that would give Christians confidence in the midst of the evil they were currently enduring. According to Dalton, it is precisely this passage (1 Pet 3:18-22) that gives its readers the doctrinal justification of confidence in the face of persecution. He claims "seeing that the whole point of the letter is to encourage Christians in the face of persecution, it follows that our text, which gives the basis for the confidence in persecution is fundamentally important for the strategy of the letter." Dalton also argues that "the Christian, entering into a new covenant which involves a struggle with the powers of evil and their earthly representatives, is already sure of victory because of the resurrection of the Lord."⁶³¹ Kelly claims that 1 Peter 3:18-22 plays a central role in the overall purpose of 1 Peter. It is only because of Christ's victory over the powers of evil and subsequent pronouncement of doom spells out the future and approaching judgment that awaits the Christians' opponents.⁶³²

4.5.4 The Apocalyptic Nature of 1 Peter

The whole of 1 Peter may be characterized as eschatological, even apocalyptic in thought. Peter Davids contends that it is "impossible to understand the work without appreciating this focus."⁶³³ Similar to other early Jewish and Christian works that contain apocalyptic material, 1 Peter concerns itself with primordial events and paradigmatically uses them to give hope for a future judgment of the wicked as well

⁶³⁰ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 105.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

⁶³² Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 24.

⁶³³ Davids, *Epistle of Peter*, 15. The most thorough discussion of the apocalyptic nature of 1 Peter can be found in Robert Webb, "The Apocalyptic Perspective of First Peter" (Th.M. thesis, Regent College, 1986).

as to encourage his present readers. Similarly, the writer anticipates a future salvation through eschatological judgment for which their suffering is leading towards (2:12; 3:16; 4:4, 5, 17, 18). Additionally, the author of 1 Peter is familiar with and uses concepts concerning otherworldly regions and beings. He mentions heaven (1:4, 12; 3:22) and a place of punishment (3:19). Additionally, he references angels (1:12); spirits (3:19); angels, authorities, and powers (3:22); and the devil (5:8, 9). While he does not develop a theology of these entities, their use is found scattered throughout the work. Therefore, it appears that the author of 1 Peter understands the marginalization and persecution his audience is experiencing as an eschatological crisis and uses primordial imagery in order to assure his readers that Christ has already achieved some sort of victory over evil at his death and resurrection and to exhort his audience to follow the example of suffering offered by Christ.

4.6 The identity of 1 Peter's Spirits in Prison

4.6.1 Introduction

Having discussed the ways in which the watcher tradition was shaped in later literature as well as the situation and purpose found in 1 Peter, we may now attempt to identify the spirits to whom Christ made proclamation. Again, this is best accomplished through ascertaining who these entities need to be in order to best cohere with the overall message of 1 Peter rather than by attempting to locate their identity through the selection of a specific tradition. However, the identity of the spirits is also dependent upon the message of Christ's proclamation as well as the timing of his message.

4.6.2 What Did Christ Preach?

4.6.2.1 Christ Proclaimed a Message of Salvation

1 Pet 3:19 indicates that Christ went and made a proclamation (ἐκήρυξεν) to the imprisoned spirits. There has been much speculation as to the content of Christ's message. Supporters of the first broad interpretation of 1 Pet 3:18-22 from chapter 1 of this work, that Christ offered repentance to human sinners during the *triduum mortis*, have argued that the substance of Christ's proclamation was an offering of the good news of salvation. Those who propose such a reading may look to the NT for

support.⁶³⁴ The verb ἐκήρυξεν is often associated in the NT with the verb εὐαγγέλιζω or the noun εὐαγγέλιον, linking preaching with the gospel.⁶³⁵ However, in each of these cases, the connection between the proclamation and the good news is explicitly stated. There are, however, other instances within the NT in which ἐκήρυξεν is used in a more general or neutral sense of making an announcement.⁶³⁶ Therefore the verb ἐκήρυξεν does not necessarily involve preaching the good news.

Proponents of the first broad interpretation argue that the connection between ἐκήρυξεν and εὐαγγέλιζω is made in 1 Peter when 3:19 is interpreted along side of the good news (εὐηγγελίσθη) that was proclaimed to the dead in 4:6.⁶³⁷ However, there is no reason to link the human dead (νεκροῖς) from 4:6 with the spirits in prison from 3:19. Nor can it be assumed, as Elliott notes, that those being “judged in the flesh according to human standards” from 4:6b is describing the fate of the evil spirits in 3:19-20 who, according to the flood tradition, were condemned by God rather than by human standards.⁶³⁸ Thus, it cannot be assumed that Christ’s heralding offers salvation.

Furthermore, the concept of offering salvation to the spirits of deceased humans has no parallel in the NT. Similarly, it would appear to be against rabbinic teaching concerning the condemnation of the flood generation (*m. Sanh.* 10:3). However, most damaging for this theory is that the potential conversion of wicked humanity would seem to contradict one of the primary messages of 1 Peter. The epistle appears to have been composed in part to assure its readers that those responsible for their marginalization/persecution, whether human or cosmic, would eventually be judged and punished. 1 Peter predicts divine judgment based upon one’s deeds (1:17; 4:17, 18) as well as condemnation for the disobedient (2:7, 8; 4:17, 18). If the Noahic deluge is serving as a prototype for the epistle’s current evil generation, then the possibility of conversion of the sinful humanity responsible for

⁶³⁴ Goppelt, in *1 Peter*, 257-60, is the most recent to articulate such a reading.

⁶³⁵ See Matt 24:14; Mk 1:14; 13:10; 14:9; Lk 8:1; 1 Cor 1:23; 1 Thess 2:9.

⁶³⁶ Lk 12:3; Rom 2:21; Rev 5:2.

⁶³⁷ Gunkel, *Der erste Brief des Petrus*, 284; Cranfield, “Interpretation of 1 Peter iii.19,” 110; Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe*, 116; Vogels, *Christi Abstieg*, 81, 142-59; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 289.

⁶³⁸ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 660; See also Spitta, *Christi Predigt*, 63-66; Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter*, 337-39; Best, *1 Peter*, 144; Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 154-59.

evil experienced by the audience of 1 Peter would hardly be comforting and defeat the primary purpose of the letter.⁶³⁹

4.6.2.2 *Christ Proclaimed a Message of Victory and Subjugation*

Rather, many of the punishment myths associating the watchers and giants with the flood, particularly the Enochic traditions, contain a proclamation of impending doom for those who have transgressed the ways of God. The *Book of Watchers* contains numerous examples in which Enoch is sent to pronounce impending doom and condemnation to the angels and their offspring. After petitioning God on behalf of the fallen angels, God directs Enoch to inform these angels that their requests have been denied and that they will be imprisoned after watching the destruction of their gigantic offspring.⁶⁴⁰ Further examples of messages of impending condemnation and doom can be found in the *Book of Giants*. Here, however, one group of giants pronounces judgment upon another, but the message is still one of impending doom. For example, 4Q203 frgs. 4, 7 and 6Q8 frg.1 all record 'Ohyah's announcement to Hahyah and possibly other giants.⁶⁴¹ Moreover, 4Q530 *col ii* records 'Ohyah announcing what was reported to him by Gilgamesh.

⁶³⁹ While it has been demonstrated that κήρυσσω is used in the NT and other literature as a neutral proclamation. There is the possibility that Christ's heralding was ultimately a message of good news. However, the beneficiaries of the benign message would not have been the imprisoned spirits. Rather, by proclamation a message of victory over evil spirits, Christ was also envisioning a new era in which the world was freed from the power of these beings who were leading the righteous astray. *1 Clem* 9:4 records that "Noah was found faithful in his service, in announcing (ἐκήρυξεν) a new beginning to the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures which in concord entered the ark." Here Noah's heralding proclaimed a new earth and a new period of history in which the righteous were informed of a new beginning. Throughout much of the literature of chapters 2 and 3 of this work, announcements of judgment to evil beings, whether cosmic or human, are told in a context of the earth being restored through the destruction of evil in the flood. This is most evident in *1 En* 10:16-22 in which the flood, and the destruction of evil beings associated with it, will bring a new period of righteousness upon the earth. See also 4Q299 frg. 53 1-12. Additionally, throughout early Jewish and Christian literature the flood has served as a type for the eschatological judgment, which also ushers in period of righteousness following the punishment of the wicked. Supporters of the theory that Christ offered a message of salvation have attempted to use 2 Pet 2:5, which describes Noah as a "herald of righteousness" (δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα), to better understand the content of Christ's proclamation to the imprisoned spirits in 3:19. Dalton, in *Disobedient Spirits*, 157-58, has demonstrated that the Greek could also be translated as "righteous herald," and thus, δικαιοσύνης could be describing the person rather than content of Noah's message. Therefore, according to Dalton, Christ's mere presence to the evil spirits is a proclamation of his victory. While this is possible, the potential also exists for Christ's proclamation of doom to the imprisoned spirits to be understood as an announcement of salvation for a world that had been controlled by evil similar to that of Noah's heralding in *1 Clem* 9:4.

⁶⁴⁰ See *1 En* 12:4-6; 13:1-10; 14:1-7; 15:1-16:3. *1 Enoch* also records righteous angels pronouncing judgment upon the watchers and giants (10:4 [G^{Sync}], 11; 12:4; 13:1, 3; 15:2. See also *2 Enoch* 7.

⁶⁴¹ In addition to the examples listed in this paragraph, certain mss., due to their fragmentary nature, make a positive identification of who is speaking impossible. 4Q203 frgs. 3, 8 and 4Q531 frg. 13 record statements made either by watchers or giants.

However, if Christ's proclamation in 1 Pet 3:19 is utilizing these Enochic predecessors, it does so with one significant variation. *1 Enoch*, *Book of Giants*, and *2 Enoch* all record a message of punishment that awaits the fallen angels and giants. In the Petrine passage, Christ's proclamation to the spirits was made after their imprisonment had occurred (similar to the post-exorcism apotropaic prayer in Tob 8:5-8). Therefore, his message would either contain an explanation for the spirits' incarceration or a prediction of an additional future punishment. Despite this discrepancy, Christ's proclamation to the imprisoned spirits coheres better with previous traditions than with an offering of salvation to the spirits of deceased humans, a claim found nowhere else in the New Testament or in any other story regarding the deluge.

Regarding the content of a negative announcement for the recipients, many have speculated that Christ's message primarily involved a proclamation of victory over evil. First proposed by scholars in the early twentieth century, Peter Davids continues to support the notion that Christ, upon his death and resurrection, proclaimed a message against the fallen angels "sealing their doom as he triumphed over sin and death and hell, redeeming human beings."⁶⁴² Dalton suggests that Christ's proclamation announces a subjugation of evil based upon the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Therefore, evil forces, which had been given freedom by God (presumably at the sin of Adam and Even in Genesis 3) were now placed under Christ's authority.⁶⁴³ Elliott has correctly noted that there is little difference between an announcement of subjugation, victory, or condemnation. "All of these would point to the complete containment and control over these angelic spirits."⁶⁴⁴ However, given 1 Peter's association with the flood tradition, Elliott prefers an announcement of condemnation.

Elliott's assessment appears to be correct in that the announcements given to the fallen angels and giants either by Enoch, angels, or other giants generally involve their forthcoming judgment and punishment. Again it is significant that in this case, Christ's proclamation appears to have occurred after the spirits' imprisonment. It is possible that the imprisoned state of the spirits is merely descriptive and does not

⁶⁴² Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 141. For earlier proponents of this theory, see Gschwind, *Christi in die Unterwelt*, 125; Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter*, 200; Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 156.

⁶⁴³ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 158-59. Dalton strengthens this assertion by association Christ's proclamation to the evil spirits parallels his subjugation of angels, principalities, and powers (116-20), a point which will be discussed further below.

⁶⁴⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 661.

reference the timing of Christ's proclamation to them. Christ could have made the announcement to the spirits prior to their incarceration. Yet, it is also possible that it was the actions of Christ, namely his death, resurrection, and ascension, that subjugated, conquered, and condemned these beings. Jesus' announcement could have been an explanation of what the spirits had already experienced. However, given the state of flux that occurred in the sin and punishment traditions discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of this work, care should be given to identifying specifically each part of the type from which the Petrine author appears to be drawing.

Based on the methodology described above, a positive identification of the imprisoned spirits in 1 Peter must take into account the intended purposes of the epistle's author. Furthermore, it appears that the message portrayed in 1 Pet 3:19 is one of victory given by the risen Christ.⁶⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to ascertain the nature of the recipients of Christ's announcement, it is necessary to determine what group of beings, angels, giants, or humans, would most likely, according to 1 Peter, need to be condemned or subjugated by the risen Christ. Based upon the passage itself, the situation of the letter as a whole, and the general trend being developed in the punishment traditions originally surrounding the flood narratives, the Petrine spirits appear to incorporate both cosmic and human entities. More specifically, the author appears to be uniting cosmic forces of evil with the Roman Imperial government or at least the Roman culture. As discussed individually above, the watcher and giant traditions were often recast in early Jewish literature to describe human iniquity and punishment. Additionally, it appears most likely that the recipients of 1 Peter would have understood both cosmic and human agents as responsible for their current marginalization and/or persecution. Thus, already in 1946, Bo Reicke correctly understood the basic nature of the imprisoned spirits when he stated that "it must be quite probable that πνεύματα in 1 Pet iii.19 can be both Angels and souls of human beings at the same time without any distinction."⁶⁴⁶

4.6.3 The Identity of the Imprisoned Spirits

4.6.3.1 *Cosmic Beings*

4.6.3.1.1 Fallen Angels

⁶⁴⁵ The timing of Christ's proclamation, whether during the descent or upon his ascension, will be discussed below.

⁶⁴⁶ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 59.

As has been noted by Reicke, Dalton, Elliott, and others, the connection between 1 Peter and *1 Enoch*, as well as other early Jewish and Christian literature, makes angelic recipients of Christ's proclamation the most probable choice.⁶⁴⁷ Although Reicke's work was pioneering in its understanding of the blurred nature of the imprisoned spirits, his work lacks depth in two areas. First, his scope is limited in that he primarily uses the watcher tradition as portrayed in *1 Enoch*. Occasionally, he uses *Jubilees* and other works to support his hypothesis, but the vast majority of his argument stems from *BW* and the *Parables*. Second, Reicke does not articulate the developing nature of these traditions. He describes *1 Enoch* without mention of developing traditions within *BW* let alone the work (including *Parables*) as a whole. While the combination of "going" and "preaching" best coheres with *1 Enoch*, these traditions, as has been demonstrated, exist in such multiple and conflated forms that it is best to understand 1 Peter drawing from a shared tradition rather than from *1 Enoch* in particular.

Therefore, the spirits in 1 Peter might better be understood simply as cosmic beings including: fallen angels, the spirits of the giants, and other evil spirits. Using the tradition of the fallen angels found in *BW*, the writer of 1 Peter, like other early Jewish and Christian writers, recast those myths to cohere with his understanding of what cosmic realities were responsible for the suffering experienced by the righteous.

It is apparent from early Jewish and Christian literature, the NT, and 1 Peter itself that fallen angels were still understood as causing distress for the righteous. As demonstrated above, while the majority of angelic punishment traditions indicate that these beings are imprisoned or, at times, even destroyed for their illicit union or improper instruction, there are a few examples that depict further evil caused by these beings. Most common, the illicit union between the angels and human women resulted in the birth of the giants whose emanations continue to lead humanity astray. Thus, the angels through their wickedness, were the original cause of the present evil. As noted in chapter 2, *1 En* 19:1 possibly reflects a tradition in which the spirits of the angels continue to plague humanity:

There stand the angels who mingled with the women. And their spirits—having assumed many forms—bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods until the day of the great judgment, in which they will be judged with finality.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 69.

While this probably reflects the giant offspring of the fallen angels, it is a possibility that the fallen angels continue to lead humanity astray.

More common in early Jewish and Christian literature, a particular fallen angel is portrayed as leading a group of evil spirits whose are responsible for enticing humans to sin. While the specific nature and roles of these entities are not named or consistent in every work, it appears that some understood figures like Belial, Mastemah, and Satan/the Devil, as fallen angels who either directly or indirectly encourage human sin. One example is *Ap. Ab.* 9:10 in which Azazel is allowed to control those spirits apportioned to him. References to Belial as God's evil enemy are well attested at Qumran, especially in 1QH; 1QS; and 1QM. Belial is described as an evil angel and the prince of wickedness (cf. 1QM *xiii* 11, which also states that God appointed Belial to corrupt the children of light; *xvii*:5-6). The later title implies that Belial is now considered a leader of evil forces (the lot of Belial) who opposes God and his people. He is typically associated with the forces of darkness waging war against the sons of light and combating the sons of God (1QM *i* 1; *xiii* 12; 1QS *ii* 2), often by leading God's people astray (CD *v* 18; 1QS *iii* 21). The earthly conflicts between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness are represented by the heavenly struggle between Belial and Michael.⁶⁴⁸ At Qumran, the word Belial is used for the leader of God's cosmic enemies more often than any other name.

In addition to Qumran, the proper name Belial (and its Greek form Beliar) is used throughout other early Jewish and Christian pseudepigraphic works. As at Qumran, Belial is described as an angel of wickedness (*Mart. Is.* 2:4); his angels battle against the angels of the Lord (*T. Ash.* 6:4); he is the master of the spirits of error (*T. Jud.* 25:3); he is the head of demonic powers (*Mart. Is.* 1:8); and he attempts to lead God's people astray (*T. Reu.* 4:7; *Liv. Pro.* 4:6). Despite its use throughout early Jewish and Christian literature for God's celestial enemy (see also *Sib. Or.* 2:67; 3:63, 73), the proper name of Belial did not retain its popularity in either tradition.

The New Testament contains only one reference to Beliar, 2 Cor 6:15, stating "what agreement does Christ have with Beliar?" The context of this verse also contrasts righteousness vs. lawlessness and light vs. darkness, making it probable that Paul is also utilizing common traditions about Belial in his writing.

⁶⁴⁸ Lawrence Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 50.

Like Belial, **מַשְׁטֵמָה** evolved from a general meaning of “hostility” that became associated with an evil angel (Belial) into the personification of hostility and the proper name of an evil angel (Mastemah). Mastemah as a proper name is found most prominently in the book of Jubilees, where he is described as the chief of the evil spirits and appears to be equated with Satan (*Jub* 10:8, 11). He beseeches God to spare one tenth of evil spirits who, under his command, will continue to fulfill their created task of leading humanity astray (*Jub* 10:8). Similar to Satan’s role in Job 1, 2, *Jub* 17:15-18, records Mastemah encouraging God to direct Abraham to sacrifice his son in order to test his faith, although again the motives for doing so remain unclear. Prince Mastemah stands as an adversary to Moses, both trying to kill him (*Jub* 48:1-4) and assisting the Egyptian magicians so that Moses might fall into Pharaoh’s hand (*Jub* 48:9-10). Mastemah stirred the Egyptian army to pursue the sojourning Israelites until God defeated them (*Jub* 48:12). While Mastemah often stands as an adversary against Moses and the Israelites, the powers of Mastemah are also the ones responsible for executing God’s judgments against the first-born Egyptians on the night of Passover (*Jub* 49:2). This continues to reflect the struggle between viewing an evil figure as acting against or within the will of God.

The actual name “Satan” occurs relatively sparsely in early Jewish literature in which names like Belial and Mastemah are more common (1QH 4:6; 45:3; 1QSb 1:8; *T. Job.* 3:6; 6:1-8:3 as exceptions). Satan as a proper name for God’s evil enemy is used 35 times throughout the New Testament. Similar to names like Belial and Mastemah noted above, the New Testament writers often use a variety of terms for God’s celestial enemy interchangeably, including: “Beelzebul” (*beelzebul*), “prince of demons” (Mrk 3:22; Matt 12:24-27; Lk 11:15-19); “the Evil One” (Matt 5:37; 13:19, 38; Jn 17:15; Eph 6:16; 2 Thess 3:3; 1 Jn 2:13,14); “the Tempter” (Matt 4:3); “the Enemy” (Matt 13:39); and “Ruler of this World” (John 16:11). Aside from Satan, the name for God’s enemy used most often in the New Testament is “the Devil” (ὁ διάβολος, 32 times).

Satan is generally characterized as the ruler of a kingdom of darkness and the adversary of God. Similar to Belial at Qumran, he controls a certain lot of demons and evil spirits who afflict the world with illness (Lk 13:16) and lead humanity astray (1 Cor 7:5). At times Satan’s demons “possess” humans, causing both physical and

psychological impairment (Matt 15:22). John 13:27 records that it was Satan who entered into Judas and caused him to betray Jesus.

Satan's activities often place him at odds with Jesus. The gospels portray Satan and his demons experiencing some sort of defeat at the hand of Jesus. Christ's incarnation, representing the inauguration of the kingdom of God, begins the overthrow of Satan's kingdom and the victory of God's (Lk 10:18). Jesus' authority is reflected in his ability to cure these illnesses and cast out demons (Lk 11:20; Matt 12:28). Despite the apparent overthrow of the kingdom of darkness in the gospels, the rest of the New Testament continues to portray Satan, as God's adversary, leading the righteous astray, practicing deceit, and causing illness (Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 7:5; 2 Cor 12:7).

Even though Satan is portrayed as the enemy of God in the New Testament, there are still echoes of him acting within the will of God. Satan is used by God to test Jesus (Matt 4:1). In humans, he destroys the flesh so that the spirit can be saved (1 Cor 5:1-5). He also appears to help sinners by putting an end to their blasphemy (1 Tim 1:20).

The word Devil is an English translation of the Greek word δίαβολος, meaning 'adversary', 'accuser', or 'slanderer'. The LXX uses δίαβολος to translate יָבוֹשׁ in the Hebrew Bible. Comparable to the noun יָבוֹשׁ in the Hebrew Bible, of the 21 occurrences of devil in the LXX only four do not possess the definite article. In Greek literature δίαβολος is most often used as an adjective describing a human slanderer. Δίαβολος is also used as a noun or adjective in the context of encouraging God's people not to be slanderous (1 Tim 3:11; 2 Tim 3:3; Titus 2:3). In the *Testament of Naphtali* 3, instructions are given on how to keep the devil at bay, implying he attempts to cause problems among humanity.

Most often in the New Testament, as well as some early Christian and Jewish literature, the noun δίαβολος is used to reference the proper name "Devil," the supernatural enemy of God. The names Satan and Devil appear to be used interchangeably. Thus, the aliases for Satan mentioned above are also used for the Devil. Additionally, the Devil is associated with both the great dragon and the serpent, an apparent reference to the deceiver and tempter of Eve in Gen 3 (Rev 12:9). He is also called a murderer and a liar (Jn 8:44; Rev 12:9). Whereas יָבוֹשׁ is an angel

of God in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament claims that the Devil merely disguises himself as an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14).

The New Testament portrays the Devil displaying two main functions. First, he is the ruler of the kingdom of darkness, which includes both powerful evil angels and evil spirits who possess individuals, causing disease and insanity (Mk 9:25). Thus, he is given the title of the “ruler of the power of the air” (Eph 2:2). Second, the Devil is responsible for attempting to sever the connection between God and his people by endeavoring to lead humanity, and even Jesus, astray through trial and temptation (Lk 8:12; Matt 4:1; Jn 13:2).

Therefore, the Devil becomes known as the ruler or god of this world (Jn 12:31; 14:30; 2 Cor 4:4). He rules over the earth and its inhabitants who have yet to acknowledge the true God (Acts 28:16; Col 1:13). Those under his power are called his children (Acts 13:10; 1 Jn 3:10). He keeps the gospel from unbelievers (Lk 8:12) and oppresses humanity (Acts 10:38). True to his name, the Devil is an adversary to humanity, trapping them in sin (1 Pet 5:8). This last example is particularly important in that the epistle itself envisions a figure traditionally associated with a fallen angel as leading the righteous sin. In this context the Devil appears to be tempting the righteous to apostasy through the persecutions that are being carried out against the epistle’s audience. It is clear that fallen angels are still seen as a problem for the audience of 1 Peter. Therefore, it would fit the author’s agenda to have Christ proclaiming a message of victory over these powers of evil.

4.6.3.1.2 Evil Spirits

Additionally, as has been demonstrated throughout chapters 2 and 3 of this work, many examples can be found in early Jewish and Christian literature in which evil spirits continue to torment humans. At times these spirits are the emanations of the giants. *1 En* 15:8-12 records:

But now the giants who were begotten by the spirits and flesh—they will call them evil spirits upon the earth, for their dwelling will be upon the earth. The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits, for from humans they came into being, and from the holy watchers was the origin of their creation. Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and evil spirits they will be called. The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten in the earth, on earth is their dwelling. And the spirits of the giants <lead astray>, do violence, make desolate, and attack and wrestle and hurl

*upon the earth and <cause illness>. These spirits will rise up against the sons of men and against women, for they have come forth from them.*⁶⁴⁹

The tradition of these evil spirits causing continued havoc on humanity is not found in later sections of the Enochic corpus. It is, however, picked up and reshaped by other early Jewish and Christian writings. Although the method of punishment is different, *Jubilees* emphasizes the role of evil spirits in leading humanity astray (7:26-28; 19:1-14; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:26; 19:28). However, in this case Mastemah, the leader of these spirits, suggests that these spirits were created for the purpose of leading humanity astray. Interestingly, the two sins the spirits encourage in these passages are idolatry and murder, two sins either potentially inflicted upon or encouraged by Rome to the recipients of Peter's epistle.

The literature from Qumran also portrays evil spirits, often under the direction of Belial, as encouraging sin upon the earth. At times the spirits of the giants are in view but references to these spirits are often contained in lists that include a variety of evil spirits. Thus, it appears that there exists in Qumran literature evil spirits not associated with the giants. 4Q510 frg. 1 5 (possibly) and 4Q511 frg. 35 7 reference the spirits of the bastards within a list of other spirits who appear to cause destruction upon the earth (4Q511 frg. 1 3; frg 43 6. Similarly 4Q444 also mention the "bastards" within a list of other evil spirits (4Q444 frg. 1 2, 4, 8) who need to be excised from humans. 11Q11 frg 4 i 7, 9; ii 3; and iv 7-12 mention spirits and demons although it is not clear whether or not the author of this fragments distinguishes between these two types of beings. The last of these references describe their imprisonment. Additionally frg. 4 v 6 appears to portray the emanations of the giants. Again, the need for the community to excise these evil spirits belies the fact that they were currently causing evil within the community. CD MS A xii 2, 3 describes how humans are being lead astray by the "spirits of Belial." Additionally, 1QS iii 20-25 records that Belial is given charge over a group of spirits who either describe angels or demons.

4.6.3.1.3 A Blending of Cosmic Evil

This last example is important in that it demonstrates a lack of clarity in early Jewish and Christian works between angelic and other cosmic forces of evil. Overlaps

⁶⁴⁹ See also *1 En* 19:1. In *Pseudo-Eupolemus* 9.17.2 the giants themselves escape the flood and continue to sin through the building of the tower. God punishes them by scattering them. Thus, it is possible that these beings could continue to cause sin on earth.

and conflations begin to appear as to the precise identities of evil celestial beings. Similarly, in Tobit, the demon Asmodeus has characteristics of a fallen angel in that he appears to be in love with a woman (Tob 3:15), and he is punished like an angel (being bound and cast away) in 8:1-3. Yet Asmodeus seems to plague people (Sarah) in manners similar to an evil spirit (Tob 6:3-9), and he appears to be excised like them as well (8:3). Therefore, some works did not necessarily differentiate among evil cosmic forms but were more concerned with the revealing that evil in the world was caused, in part, by celestial beings, and that they would be subjugated or defeated in the future.

Additionally, the NT contains numerous examples of evil spirits indwelling humans and causing them to sin. These cosmic evils forces are known as demons, which occur over sixty times throughout the NT. Other times the word πνεῦμα is used without any modifier to reference evil spirits (Matt 8:16; Lk 9:39; 10:20). The title πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον is also used frequently. Other titles include πνεύματα πονερότερα (Matt 12:45; Lk 7:21; 8:2; 11:26; Acts 19:12-16) and πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκάθαρτου (Lk 4:33). These demons or spirits are the cause of physical affliction (Matt 8:28; 9:32; 12:22; 17:15; Mk 5:1-5; 9:25; Lk 9:39). In other instances humans are merely possessed by an evil demon or demons Mk 5:1-20; Acts 16:16-18).

Therefore, it is apparent that traditions existed in which both fallen angels lead humanity astray and cause harm to humans. It would seem then, in the setting of 1 Peter, that both groups would need to be subjugated or defeated by Christ in order to comfort those who were experiencing marginalization. It has also been demonstrated that various myths concerning angels and evil spirits are conflated or altered in later literature to the point where a title like “demon” can refer to an angel or a spirit. Thus, rather than attempting to determine whether the imprisoned spirits from 1 Pet 3:19 are angels or evil spirits, it seems more prudent, and better cohering with the message of the epistle, that Christ proclaimed a message of victory over all the cosmic forces of evil. Drawing from a common tradition of the fallen angel myth, the writer of 1 Peter has continued the process of recasting these myths to assure all of his readers that he has achieved victory over the spiritual cause of their affliction.

4.6.3.2 *Cosmic and Human Opressors*

4.6.3.2.1 The Shift in Early Jewish and Christian Literature

However, while the audience of 1 Peter could take some solace in the message that cosmic powers had been subjugated by Christ, the marginalization they were experiencing was more immediately being caused by the Romans rather than some otherworldly figures. So it appears that if Christ's proclamation of victory was intended offer comfort to a marginalized people, the recipients of proclamation would need to include the Roman Empire as well. In this way, Christ's message of victory was intended to subjugate evil in all of its forms, both cosmic and human. The basis for this argument comes from two main themes. First, as has been demonstrated above, the recasting of these fallen angel myths in later Jewish and Christian literature tended to retain some of the storyline concerning the watchers while replacing cosmic figures with earthly ones. Both Philo (*Gig*, 66) and *Sib. Or.* 1:109-23 alter the identities of the giants to refer to humans. In other works, cosmic evil is included in a list of examples of human sin (Jude 5-13; 2 Pet 2:1-21; 2 Bar 55:1-16; Ben Sira 16:5-10) in order to demonstrate God's judgment of wickedness in general. At Qumran, Belial's army is made up both of evil angels and sinful humans simultaneously.⁶⁵⁰ This shift has already been demonstrated earlier in the chapter. In addition to focusing more on humanity as a whole, works like the *Parables* focus responsibility for evil on the earth to a certain group within humanity, namely those possessing power. In the case of 1 Peter, this group would no doubt be understood as the Roman government.

4.6.3.2.2 The Relationship Between Cosmic and Human Evil

Second, some writings, especially works that contain apocalyptic imagery, describe an inextricable bond between sinful human agents and/or kingdoms and their cosmic counterparts. A number of early Jewish and Christian works exist in which human enemies of the righteous are often linked to spiritual forces of evil. In Dan 10:13, God's angels (Gabriel and Michael) battled with the Prince of the kingdom of Persia (שר מלכות פרס). Collins identifies this being as the patron angel of Persia.⁶⁵¹ Already in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 32:8, 9; 2 Kgs 18:35), a notion had developed that each nation was allotted to different gods or cosmic beings who

⁶⁵⁰ 1Q27 frg. 1 i 7, 8; 1QM xi 10; xiii 10-12

⁶⁵¹ Collins, *Daniel*, 374. See also William H. Shea, "Wrestling with the Price of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 235.

together made up the divine council.⁶⁵² This notion is also found in *1 En* 89:59 and Ben Sira 17:17. Additionally, 1QM *xvii* 5, 6 describes a “prince of the dominion of wickedness” (רשעה שר ממשלת) who governs the evil people on earth. 1QM *i* 5-8; 13-15 understands the Kittim to be under the reign of Belial will ultimately be destroyed by the sons of light. Thus, Qumran understood human armies to be under the rule of spiritual forces.⁶⁵³

The book of Revelation, which shares a number of similarities with 1 Peter such as the use of Babylon for Rome (1 Pet 5:13; Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21), also links the Roman Empire with cosmic forces of evil. In this apocalypse, Rome, represented by the beast from the sea (Rev 12:18-13:10) and their client kings, represented as the beast from the land (Rev 13:11-18), are both ultimately given their power and authority by the dragon (the devil) who had been cast down from heaven (Rev 12:13-18). Thus, according to Revelation, Rome is given its authority by the devil and carries out the devil’s will in persecuting Christians. Similarly, Revelation 17-18 portrays a deified goddess Roma who oversees the Roman Empire. These forces, both human and cosmic are sent to wage war against the lamb (Rev 17:13, 14; 19:19). While this goddess is ultimately destroyed by Rome itself (Rev 17:15-18) both evil humanity (Rome) and the devil (dragon) are cast into a lake of fire (Rev 19:20; 20:7-10). Thus, in Revelation, cosmic evil represented by the devil and the kingdom of Rome are viewed as a common enemy. In order for evil to be eradicated both evil entities need to be judged and punished. The same would be true for the audience of 1 Peter. The ultimate hope for the recipients of the epistle would be that Christ had been victorious and subjugated all types of evil, including human and cosmic, under his authority.

4.6.4 The Interpretation of 1 Pet 3:22

Christ’s proclamation to spiritual and human agents of evil also coheres better with the statement in 1 Pet 3:22 that Christ “who is at the right hand of God, having gone into heaven, angels, authorities, and powers having been made subject to him” (ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ

⁶⁵² Theodore Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 202-03.

⁶⁵³ James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: their significance for understanding the Bible, Judaism and Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2004), 219-21.

ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων). Numerous people have linked verse 22 with verse 19. Dalton has detailed a number of scholars who suggest that, taken together, these verses include some sort of early Christian hymn or creed.⁶⁵⁴ For this study, verse 22 potentially gives insight into two aspects of Christ's proclamation including: the timing and occasion of Christ's announcement and the recipients of the message. Both of these arguments depend on the word πορεύομαι which occurs in both verses. The timing of Christ's proclamation, as well as the relevance of this verse to it, will be discussed below. Here it is important to note the connection between Christ's goings (πορεύθεις) in 3:19 and 22.

Both Dalton and Elliott have already articulated that Christ's going and proclaiming to the spirits in prison should be read in light of his going and subjugating the angels, authorities, and powers.⁶⁵⁵ While this specific triad is not found anywhere else in the NT, it is reminiscent of other triads of evil from 1 Cor 15:24-28 and Eph 1:20-22.⁶⁵⁶ A later Christian work, *Asc. Is.* 1:3 does describe the "prince of this world and his angels and his authorities and his powers." These instances appear to draw from Psalms 2, 8, and 110. All of these Psalms reflect the elevation of the Davidic dynasty and include the subjugation of Israel's earthly enemies. Certain Christological passages in the NT reinterpret these verses and apply them to the resurrected Christ. Heb 2:6-9 quotes Ps 8:5-7 (LXX) and recasts it in light of the resurrected Christ.⁶⁵⁷ Psalms 2 and 110, which describe David's enthronement as well as the subjugation of his enemies, are also retold and reapplied to the risen Christ. Like David, Christ has been exalted, sits at the right hand of God, and subjugates his enemies. Both Dalton and Elliott correctly understand these enemies to be cosmic powers.⁶⁵⁸ However, it seems as though earthly powers, which were the original enemies of the Psalms, could still be in view as well. While Christ's death and resurrection did not overthrow the Roman empire, he did defeat Rome through

⁶⁵⁴ For a discussion on the hymnic qualities of these verses, see Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 109-19.

⁶⁵⁵ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 215-18; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 686-89.

⁶⁵⁶ Elliott in *1 Peter*, 687, has noted that cosmic forces of evil are given a variety of names in the NT including: "the rulers of this age" (1 Cor 2:6, 8); "demons" (1 Cor 10:20-22); "angels, principalities...powers" (Rom 8:38); "elemental spirits of the universe" (Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20; 2 Pet 3:10, 12); "rule, authority, and power" (1 Cor 15:24); "thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities" (Col 1:16); "rule, authority, power, dominion" (Eph 1:21), "the prince of the powers of the air" (Eph 2:2), "principalities and powers in the heavenly places" (Eph 3:10); "principalities, powers, world rulers of this present darkness...spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph 6:12) can be found throughout the NT.

⁶⁵⁷ See also 1 Cor 15:25; Eph 1:20; Heb 10:12, 13; Rev 3:21.

⁶⁵⁸ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 217-18; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 687-88.

his obedient suffering so that the Empire's ultimate power was taken away. If Jesus has subjugated the cosmic powers of evil, he has achieved victory over their human representatives as well.

Therefore, as has been demonstrated on the basis of early Jewish and early Christian literature, people in the first century C.E., including the recipients of the Petrine epistle, understood angels, spirits, and human (especially Rome) as active forces of evil in the world and responsible for the leading astray of and the cause of suffering for the righteous. Furthermore, it is apparent that there occurs a general shift in the literature in which sins, punishments, terms, and even the identities of themselves of cosmic beings are recast onto humans. At other times the distinction between cosmic and earthly sinners is so blurred they cannot be distinguished. It appears that the author of 1 Pet 3:18-22 has left the recipients of Christ message purposefully vague so as to include all forms of evil beings. The spirits in prison are thus all the forces of evil which have now been subjugated and defeated by Christ.

4.6.5 The Occasion of Christ's Proclamation

4.6.5.1 *Introduction*

Given that Christ's proclamation is one of the defeat and subjugation of evil powers, the most likely occasion for his message would have been after his death, resurrection, and ascension. This seems apparent from the text itself as well as from other early Jewish and Christian traditions, especially the one described above in the third *Parable of Enoch*. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that some early Jewish and Christian cosmologies would allow for such a proclamation from the risen Christ on the occasion of his ascent.

Already in 1946, Reicke suggested that Christ's proclamation was casting Jesus as a new Enoch.⁶⁵⁹ Rather than viewing Christ as a replacement of the Enoch figure or a fulfillment of that tradition, it is more beneficial to understand the Petrine author as borrowing from earlier Enochic traditions of the antediluvian hero and his announcement of the condemnation of the watchers and recasting them on Christ. Thus, similar to the flood narrative for eschatological judgment, Enoch's pronouncement to evil entities serves as a type for the proclamation of the risen Christ.

⁶⁵⁹ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 100-03.

4.6.5.2 *The Meaning of ἐν ᾧ*

Debate concerning the timing of Christ's proclamation centers around the phrase ἐν ᾧ found in 1 Pet 3:19.⁶⁶⁰ Dalton has suggested that this is a relative clause dependent upon the adverbial dative πνεύματι which precedes it.⁶⁶¹ This understanding construes verse 18 to suggest that Christ was put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit, and that it was in the sphere of the spirit that he went and made his proclamation. Thus, for Dalton, Christ's heralding "in the spirit" refers to his resurrected state, and he makes the proclamation as the risen Lord. Interestingly, Grudem also suggests that the clause ἐν ᾧ is an adverbial dative. However, he contends that Christ's proclamation "in the spirit" refers to the spiritual realm and has the pre-existent Christ in view.⁶⁶²

According to another line of interpretation, Reicke suggested that the ἐν ᾧ in verse 19 should be understood as a relative adverb which serves as a temporal conjunction and should thus be translated "at which time" or "on this occasion." He demonstrates that all five occurrences of ἐν ᾧ in 1 Peter are relative adverbs which function as conjunctions. In 1 Pet 2:12 and 16 the clause is used as a temporal conjunction, similar to 3:19, while in 1 Pet 1:6 and 4:4 it is used as a causal conjunction. Furthermore, ἐν ᾧ also functions as a temporal clause in Mk 2:19; Lk 5:34; 19:13; Jn 5:7; and Rom 2:1. Thus, Reicke claims that it is more likely that 1 Peter is using clause as a conjunction rather than as a relative to the adverbial dative.⁶⁶³ For Reicke, the temporal conjunction refers back to verse 18 (θανάτωθεῖς μὲν σαρκί, ζῶσποιοθηεῖς δὲ πνεύματι). However, Reicke only applies the temporal conjunction to Christ's "having been put do death in the flesh" and not to his "having been made alive in the spirit." He contends that the latter phrase should not be included due to its parenthetical nature. Thus, for Reicke, ἐν ᾧ describes the timing of Christ's preaching ("at which time"), an event which would have occurred between his death and resurrection. During the *triduum mortis*, Christ went to the underworld and proclaimed a message of victory over cosmic and human evil.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶⁰ The tempting arguments proposing that the that the text ἐν ᾧ καὶ originally read Enoch's name have been thoroughly discussed and dismissed by all of modern scholarship. See Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 143-44 and Elliott, *1 Peter*, 652 for the history of this hypothesis and its subsequent abandonment.

⁶⁶¹ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 144-46; See also Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 153.

⁶⁶² Grudem, *1 Peter*, 226-30.

⁶⁶³ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 103-13.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 113

Elliott, citing much of the same evidence as Reicke, also understands the ἐν ᾧ̂ as a temporal or circumstantial conjunction. However, he suggests that the καί (also) which follows connects the participle “having gone” to both of the preceding participles “having been put to death” and “having been made alive.” Thus, for Elliott, the ἐν ᾧ̂ refers to the occasion of Christ’s preaching which would have occurred after he had been put to death in the flesh and made alive in the spirit. Christ preached a message of condemnation to the fallen angels on the occasion of his ascension.⁶⁶⁵ It appears, based upon grammatical considerations as well as other early Jewish and Christian “proclamation traditions,” which will be discussed below, that Elliott has offered the most satisfactory explanation for the timing of Christ’s proclamation.

4.6.5.3 *The Meaning of πορευθείς*

Those who understand Christ’s proclamation to have occurred either during the *triduum mortis* or at the time of his ascension have also studied the use of πορευθείς in 1 Pet 3:19, 22. The verb πορεύομαι is neutral with regard to direction of movement. However, whereas it is used to describe Christ’s ascension in the NT (Jn 14:2, 12, 28; 16:7, 28; Acts 1:10, 11), it never indicates the notion of descent. Furthermore, the verb’s occurrence in the same passage (1 Pet 3:22) to describe Christ’s ascent and status in heaven (πορευθείς εἰς οὐρανόν, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ̂ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων) has led Dalton and Elliott to argue that both instances of Christ’s πορευθείς should be interpreted together.⁶⁶⁶ Bultmann, however, contended that the πορευθείς in v. 19 contrasts from the one in v.22: the former marking his descent and proclamation, and the latter describing his ascent and subjugation of evil forces.⁶⁶⁷ Yet, as will become clear below, there is no reason that such an argument is necessary.

⁶⁶⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 651-52. For examples of others who understand ἐν ᾧ̂ to be a temporal conjunction, see Gschwind, *Christi in die Unterwelt*, 118; Selwyn, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, 197, 315; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 206; Goppelt, *Commentary on 1 Peter*, 255-56.

⁶⁶⁶ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 161-63; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 653.

⁶⁶⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, “Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbrief,” *Coniectanea Neotestamentica in Honorem Antonii Fridrichsen* (ConBNT 11; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1947), 5. Reicke, in *Disobedient Spirits*, 64-66, makes a similar argument.

As Elliott has noted, the direction of Christ's movement in 3:19 must be determined by context.⁶⁶⁸ The context appears to be the ascension of Christ. This is supported by forms of πορεύομαι being used to describe Enoch's going and proclaiming to the fallen angelic spirits in *1 En* 12:4-6; 13:1-10; 14:1-7; 15:1-16:3. Reicke suggests that the Enochic literature would support a proclamation during the *descensus* since that is where the fallen angels are eventually imprisoned. However, all of these Enochic descriptions occur during the antediluvian visionary's ascent.

4.6.5.4 Cosmology and Christ's Proclamation

The cosmology depicted in early Jewish and Christian literature also allows for a proclamation given either during the descent of Christ or on the occasion of his ascension. The relevant material contains numerous examples of fallen angels, spirits, and humans being imprisoned either in a remote part of the world or the underworld (*1 En* 10:4-8, 11-15; 14:1-7; 18-19 [fiery pit at the ends of earth and heaven]; 22:1-14 [neither in earth nor heaven]; 27:1-5; 46:4-8; 54:2; 67:1-13; 88:3; 103:6 [Sheol]; *Jub* 5:6; 4Q511 frg. 30 1-3; 11Q11 frg. 4 iv 7-12; frg. 4 v 8-10; 1QM xiv 17, 18; Tob 8:3; Ben Sira 14:16; 17:27; 21:10; 22:11; *Sib. Or.* 1:100-03, 115-19; Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4). Often the locations of the imprisonment, whether temporary or permanent, are mentioned but not described (*1 En* 10:11-15 [fiery abyss]; 21:7-10 [fire]; 56:2-4 [abyss in a valley]; 88:1 [dark abyss]; 98:3; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8 [fire]; 108:1-7 [wilderness of fire]; *Jub* 10:5 [imprisoned with no mention of location]; 1QS ii 7, 8; v 12, 13; 2:283-313 [fiery final place of punishment]; Rev 14:9-11; 18:9-19; 19:17-21 [eternal fire], 20:1-3 [Satan bound and imprisoned], 7-10 [lake of fire]). While Reicke does not cite all these traditions, he makes the general claim that most often early Jewish and Christian works portray the location of eternal punishment either below the earth or in a nether/underworld.⁶⁶⁹

However, as has been noted by Dalton and Elliott, as Jewish literature was influenced by Hellenistic ideas, the location of the realm of the dead began to shift from an underworld to the levels of heaven.⁶⁷⁰ Attestations of multiple heavens can be found in *Testament of Levi* 2 and 3; *1 En* 71:1; *Apoc. Ab.* 9-32; *2 Enoch* 3-19, *Asc. Is.*

⁶⁶⁸ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 653.

⁶⁶⁹ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 115-18.

⁶⁷⁰ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 177-79 and Elliott, *1 Peter*, 654-55. For a detailed discussion on the levels of heaven in early Jewish and Christian literature, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (JSJSup 50; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 21-54.

7:9-17; 2 *Baruch* 2; 3 *Baruch* 3-10. The *Testament of Levi* envisions Levi traveling through the lower heavens to reach the uppermost heaven (3:4). Furthermore, 2 *Enoch* 7, 18 reports that fallen angels are imprisoned in the second and fifth heavens. 3 *Bar* 2:2-7 place those who built the tower of Babel as being punished in the heavenly realm. The *Ascension of Isaiah* is also important for this study. First, the Isaianic seer is shown a vision in the first heaven of Sammael, the equivalent of Satan, who, along with his angels, reside in the first heaven. Isaiah is informed that whatever happens in this firmament also happens on earth (7:9-12). This again demonstrates the conflation of cosmic and earthly realms. Furthermore, the resurrected Christ is depicted as having traveled through the six heavens (3:13-4:2; 9:6-18; 10:7-11:33) and being enthroned at God's right hand in the seventh heaven (7:17; 10:14; 11:33). Therefore, it is clear that some later traditions began to develop a cosmology in which the location for the place of punishment was a level of heaven. It is thus possible to conceive of Christ proclaiming a message of victory in 1 Pet 3:19 during his ascent to the highest heaven.

Finally, with regard to the occasion of Christ's proclamation, traditions concerning the Son of Man terminology used for Enoch and Jesus in early Jewish and Christian literature potentially give insight into the timing of his announcement. 1 Peter does not utilize the "Son of Man" title for Jesus, yet understanding Christ's message of victory or judgment of human and cosmic evil in light of the judgment announced by various Son of Man figures point to Christ making his announcement on the occasion of his ascent. As noted in Excursus 1 in chapter 3 above, significant shifts in "the Son of Man" motif occur between the book of Daniel and the *Parables of Enoch*. In Daniel 7, the Son of Man figure enters the heavenly courtroom scene only after the Ancient of Days has cast judgment. In the *Parables*, the Son of Man, identified as Enoch in *1 En* 71:9-14, is portrayed as an eschatological judge in 46:1-4.⁶⁷¹ In this vision, the Son of Man is seen in heaven, near the One God. *1 En* 55:1 records the "Elect One" sitting on his throne of glory and judging Azazel and his companions. Matt 13:41, 42; 16:47; 19:28; 25:31, 32 all portray Jesus as the Son of Man emphasizing his role as eschatological judge. Although these passages make it appear that the risen Christ announces judgment, Matt 19:28 and 25:31, 32 specifically place Jesus in heaven on his throne during the judgment. Rev 14:14

⁶⁷¹ For a discussion on the Son of Man as a heavenly judge, see Kvanvig, "The Son of Man," 189-93 and Collins, "Enoch and the Son of Man," 221-27.

describes Jesus as the Son of Man in heaven in a passage that pronounces the fall of Babylon (Rome). While the Son of Man figure is not mentioned, Phil 2:8-11 records that it is after the death of Jesus and his resurrection that God “exalts him and gives him the name that is above every name, so at the name of Jesus every knee should bow in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord....” Thus, earthly and cosmic powers are only subjugated to Christ at the time of his ascension.

Therefore, a number of factors all point to Christ’s proclamation being made to evil in all of its forms on the occasion of his ascent and exaltation at the right hand of God in heaven. Grammatical considerations such as the use of ἐν ᾧ and πορεύομαι as well as the cosmology of the places of punishment for evil beings in Hellenistic Jewish and Christian literature suggest such a reading. Additionally, the blending of Enochic, Son of Man, and Christological judgment roles and announcements also support this interpretation. There is no reason to view Christ’s going in 3:19 to be read apart from his “going” and exaltation in 3:22. Furthermore, a message of victory on the occasion of Christ’s glorified state would better cohere with the overall message and purpose of this passage within the letter as a whole.

4.6.6 1 Pet 3:18-22 Within the Context of the Letter

4.6.6.1 *Introduction*

As mentioned in section 4.5.2 of this chapter, the overall purpose of 1 Peter was to comfort a marginalized and/or persecuted church and to exhort its readers to remain steadfast in their faith despite their present circumstances. This is a common theme in works that contain apocalyptic elements, and it appears that 1 Peter is no different. The content, the recipients, and the occasion of Christ’s proclamation to the spirits in prison must all work toward the overall message of the letter. The suggestions for these three areas provided above seem to best cohere with the purpose of 1 Peter.

4.6.6.2 *A Message of Hope*

Christ’s pronouncement of his subjugation of evil entities offers hope to the epistle’s audience that the powers of evil have in some way been curtailed. Other suggestions, such as the harrowing of hell or the proclamations of the pre-existent

Christ, would offer little encouragement to those righteous who were undergoing marginalization/persecution. The first broad line of historical interpretation – in which Christ offered salvation to those humans who had repented prior to the flood, or to all of humanity who had not yet accepted Christ – would not have benefited the readers of 1 Peter. In fact such an emphasis would have given the impression that salvation was offered in the world to come. If that was the case, then one could make the argument that there was no reason for the letter’s readers to continue in their present suffering.

Grudem, as briefly noted in section 1.2.2.2 of this work, contends that Christ’s preexistent proclamation through Noah serves as a type for the readers of 1 Peter in a number of ways including: Noah boldly proclaimed a message of salvation to a large number of people hostile to his message; he was a righteous man in the midst of a wicked world; Christ worked through Noah and continues to work in the spiritual realm; judgment was imminent; and that both Noah’s and the readers’ proclamation would be effective because of God’s patience.⁶⁷² Yet the evangelization of Rome does not appear to be the main focus of 1 Peter or the particular passage.⁶⁷³ Rather the focus is on Christ’s suffering and ultimate vindication as an example of the recipients’ suffering and their assurance of reward even in the midst of present hostilities. Therefore, it seems that a message of victory over and subjugation of evil best coheres with the purpose of 1 Peter.

The whole message of the letter, as noted by Dalton, can be found in 1 Pet 5:12, which reads, “This is the true grace of God; stand fast in it.”⁶⁷⁴ The readers are being encouraged to stand firm in their faith in the midst of growing opposition. Christ’s message is both one of victory and exhortation. On the one hand, the readers are to take comfort because Christ has achieved some sort of victory over evil. On the other hand, this victory expresses itself over cosmic forces of evil, who are viewed throughout much of early Jewish and Christian literature as the ultimate source of evil. At his death, resurrection, and ascension, Christ has subjected all of evil under his command. While their final defeat is assured, it has not yet taken place. Thus, evil still exists in the world, but it does so now in a defeated state as they await final judgment. This coincides with the many different examples within the literature

⁶⁷² Grudem, *1 Peter*, 160-61.

⁶⁷³ The one certain reference to the conversion of unbelievers can be found in 1 Pet 3:1.

⁶⁷⁴ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 187.

discussed above in which evil beings, whether angelic or giant, are allowed to exist in a defeated state.

In *1 Enoch* 15, the giants are destroyed but their spirits continue to continue to live and cause others to sin. The *Book of Giants* also indicates that the giants are allowed to exist after some sort of punishment in a defeated state (4Q531 frg. 14 2). Furthermore, *Jub* 10:11 records that ninety percent of evil spirits were imprisoned while ten percent were allowed to lead humanity astray. Thus, there are a number of examples which describe the punishment of cosmic beings while allowing for the continued existents of evil. While 1 Peter suggests evil will persist, (1 Pet 5:8-9), it does so in a defeated state having been subjugated to Christ. As Elliott notes, evil spirits no longer have the ability to rule over humans since Christ has now taken away their power to control human lives.⁶⁷⁵ 1 Pet 5:8-9 states,

Discipline yourselves, keep alert. Like a roaring lion your adversary the devil prowls around, looking for someone to devour. Resist him steadfast in your faith, for you know that your brothers and sisters in all the world are undergoing the same kinds of suffering.

Therefore, the victory that Christ achieved through his death, resurrection, and ascension assures believers that they have the ability to resist the cosmic forces of evil.

However, as noted above, there was a strong link between these spiritual forces and their human counterparts. The Petrine Christians were most immediately faced with human marginalization and persecution at the hands of Rome, even if spiritual powers were ultimately behind them.⁶⁷⁶ Christ's victory over evil does not assure the recipients of the letter that their persecution would end. In fact, the opposite message appears to be insinuated. But, the marginalization and persecution of the Petrine audience should not be understood as their defeat. Rather, Christ's victory assured the readers that Rome would never be able to ultimately harm God's people.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 689.

⁶⁷⁶ The notion of spiritual forces working through human agents can be found in 1 Cor 2:6-9; 2 Cor 6:15; Eph 2:2. See also Rev 13:1-18 in which the devil specifically empowers the Roman Empire.

⁶⁷⁷ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 200-01.

4.6.6.3 *An Exhortation to Faithfulness*

Not only did Christ's victory assure 1 Peter's audience of the final victory of Christ, and thus themselves, the letter also calls Christians to follow Christ in suffering. The Petrine community is often called to remain constant in their faith and to trust and hope in God (1:3, 5, 7, 9, 13, 21; 3:10-12, 15; 5:5-7, 10). The basis for this hope is given in 3:18-22. In 1 Pet 3:8-17, the writer calls for Christians to suffer for doing right. They are told to live within the Roman empire, even honoring the emperor (2:13-17), because that was the example given to them by Christ (2:21-25). Thus, chaps. 2 and 3 give an alternating account of a call for humans to remain faithful in the midst of suffering and the example that Christ had set. 1 Pet 3:18-22 plays a key role in this Christ-Christian parallel in that it gives the readers their ultimate hope in following the example of Christ. Because Christ suffered to the point of death (1 Pet 3:18), God vindicated him through his resurrection and ascension (3:19-22). This is meant to assure the believers that if they suffer as Christ suffered, they will ultimately be vindicated and exalted as Christ was exalted (1 Pet 5:9-11).⁶⁷⁸

It is apparent then that Christ's proclamation over evil in all of its forms was meant to assure the believers that new cosmological reality had occurred in that Christ was now at the right hand of God and had subjected evil powers. This hope and example coheres best with a proclamation on the occasion of Christ's ascension. The overall message of 1 Peter was not only to remind its readers of Christ death, but it also served to give them hope because of his resurrection as ascension. Just as Christ's suffering served as an example for their own suffering, so Christ's resurrection and ascension assures the readers of their own resurrection and exaltation (5:4, 11). A message during the *triduum mortis*, when Christ was "dead" would not provide the ultimate message of victory and hope needed by a marginalized community.

Excursus 2: The Relationship Between 1 Pet 3:18-22 and 4:1-6

Questions concerning the literary relationship between 1 Pet 3:18-22 and 4:1-6 have been debated among scholarship with no consensus. This debate manifests itself most pointedly on whether the imprisoned spirits to whom Christ made a proclamation are synonymous with the dead (*νεκροῖς*) who received the proclamation of the gospel in 4:6. As noted in chapter 1, many who argue that Christ offered

⁶⁷⁸ For further discussion on the parallels of Christ and Christian suffering, see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 107-08.

salvation to those imprisoned in Hades during his *decensus* do so by linking the imprisoned spirits with these deceased humans from chapter 4.⁶⁷⁹ Others have contended that, while the two passages might be related in a broad context regarding suffering, the recipients and content of the proclamations should not be joined.⁶⁸⁰ Dalton has summarized the four historical interpretations of 1 Pet 4:6. (1) The verse explains that Christ, during the *triduum mortis*, descended to the dead and offered salvation to all those who had lived before Christ. (2) The text deals with the message of salvation offered to the OT faithful during Christ's descent to the dead. (3) The text refers to Christ's proclamation to the "spiritually dead," meaning those who were dead to sin (unbelievers). (4) The dead reference Christians who, while being alive when the gospel was preached, have subsequently died before the composition of the epistle.⁶⁸¹

Elliott, along with Dalton, has noted a number of significant objections to the first three hypotheses and the link between the identities of the beings and the content of the proclamation in 3:19 and 4:16. First, the verbs of 3:19 (ἐκήρυξεν) and 4:6 (εὐηγγελίσθη) are not inherently synonymous as has been previously noted. They contain different voice and a different subject and therefore the message in 4:6 does not need to cohere with the proclamation of 3:19. Second, the indirect objects of these verbs in 3:19 (πνεύμασιν) and 4:6 (νεκροῖς) do not need to be understood as the same. Rather, while the "living" as well as the "dead" in 4:5 refers to all human deceased, the word never denotes spiritual beings. Thus, these nouns are not interchangeable. Third, there is no structural correspondence between 3:19 and 4:6. "In actuality, 3:19 and 4:6 belong to different and independent circumscribed units of thought."⁶⁸²

The theme uniting these different stories is the announcement of hope for those who remain faithful to Christ in the midst of their present circumstances. These units appear to fit within the pattern of exhortation to remain faithful for Christians and the example of Christ's suffering mentioned above. 1 Pet 2:11-17 calls people to obedience. 1 Pet 2:18-25 describes the unjust suffering of Christ. Chap. 3:1-17 encourages readers to suffer for doing what is right. Chapter 3:18-22 describes death and vindication in which state he proclaims victory over evil. 1 Pet 4:1-6 resumes the call for Christian faithfulness in the midst of hostility. As a response to what Christ has done and the union believers can have with Christ through baptism (described in 3:18-22), examples are given of previous converts who remained true to their faith who have died. These righteous individuals were judged in the flesh (ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκί) by humans, but they now live in the spirit (ζῶσι δὲ

⁶⁷⁹ For scholars who have held such an interpretation, see Gunkel, *Der erste Brief des Petrus*, 284; Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 204-10; Cranfield, "Interpretation of 1 Peter," 110; Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe*, 116; Vogels, *Christi Abstieg*, 81; 142-59; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 289.

⁶⁸⁰ Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*, 63-66; Selwyn, *First Epistle of Peter*, 214, 337; Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 173; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 235-38; Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 57-60; 149-50; 225-26; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 1990; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 730-40.

⁶⁸¹ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 51-66; 225-41.

⁶⁸² Elliott, *1 Peter*, 730-31. David Horrell, in "Who are 'The Dead' and When was the Gospel Preached to Them?: The Interpretation of 1 Pet 4.6" *NTS* 49 (2003): 70-89, has challenged Dalton and Elliott's understanding of Christ's proclamation to the dead in 1 Pet 4:6. His argument also separates 1 Pet 3:18-22 from 4:6. Agreeing with Dalton, Horrell suggests (p. 88) that Christ's proclamation to the entities in the spiritual realm in chapter 3 allows for the possibility of Christ to be preaching outside of the living human realm in 4:6. If Christ can make a proclamation to evil spirits in 1 Pet 3:18-22, then he can also preach to the human dead in 1 Pet 4:6. Therefore Horrell's argument continues to strengthen this approach which views these two passages as related but not referencing the same entities.

κατὰ Θεὸν πνεύματι). In this case, σαρκί refers to people while alive on earth and the ἄνθρώπους who are the gentiles marginalizing the righteous. These humans, who have since died, followed the faithful model prepared for them and exemplified by Christ in 3:18-22 and, as a result, have also been exalted. This is meant to encourage the readers of 1 Peter to do the same. The ones who ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν πνεύματι reflect those who have been resurrected, similar to Christ, who was made alive in the spirit in 3:18 (ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι).

Thus, 1 Pet 3:18-22 and 4:1-6 are related based upon the theme of suffering. It is the suffering of Christ and his vindication that paves the way and exemplifies the faithfulness deemed necessary for the Petrine audience. 1 Pet 4:1-6 gives examples of Christians who remained faithful until death and assures the current audience that these humans, though now dead on earth, have also been exalted by God through resurrection. These two passages are not repetitions of the same proclamation of Christ. The content, recipients, and purposes of 1 Pet 3:18-22 and 4:6 are different. For 1 Peter, the latter is only possible because of the former. Therefore, this work has not used 1 Pet 4:1-6 to elucidate the identity of the spirits, the occasion of the proclamation, or the content of Christ's message in 1 Pet 3:18-22.⁶⁸³

4.7 The use of the Noahic Flood Imagery and Christian Baptism

4.7.1 Introduction

Finally, the Petrine author utilizes the Noahic flood story along with Christian baptism to support his message. The inclusion of the flood narrative appears to serve two main purposes. First, as has already been noted throughout chapters 2 and 3, the deluge is used as a type for the coming eschatological judgment. Furthermore, the result of the deluge, as recorded by *1 En* 10:19-22, is that unrighteousness would be cleansed from the earth. The use of this myth links the spirits in prison with the fallen angels, giants, and spirits associated with this story in early Jewish and Christian literature. The certainty and magnitude of God's judgment in the flood serves as a prototype for the judgment of fire that is to come at the end of time. The use of this familiar story would give the readers hope that God would eventually purify the world again.

However, the Noahic flood tradition is also linked with Christian baptism in 1 Pet 3:20-21. Again, baptism in this context serves a number of functions. First, the rite of baptism is linked with the saving waters of the flood. Those who God saved in the flood (ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος) serve as a type

⁶⁸³ For further discussion, see Elliott, *1 Peter*, 730-40.

for the recipients of the letter who have been saved through the waters of baptism (ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ σώζει βάπτισμα).

4.7.2 The Meaning of διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος

Regarding the flood, specific attention has been focused on the phrase that eight people were “saved through water” (διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος).⁶⁸⁴ As Elliott has noted, the verb διεσώζω serves as a synonym for σώζω meaning to “save” or “rescue from a perilous situation” (2 Macc 1:25; 2:17; Matt 14:36; Lk 7:3; Acts 23:24; 27:43, 44; 28:1, 4).⁶⁸⁵ The primary question posed is the meaning of salvation “through water (δι' ὕδατος). The Greek preposition is either being used with a locative or instrumental purpose. The locative aspect, favored by Elliott, would merely suggest that Noah and his family were saved “while passing through water.”⁶⁸⁶ The idea of Noah and his family being saved while passing through water is found in Wis 14:1-7 (esp. 5). Dalton, who suggests that the text could be taken both instrumentally and locally, prefers the former.⁶⁸⁷ He bases his argument on the link with the saving waters of baptism from verse 20.⁶⁸⁸ Thus, whether accurate or not, the writer literarily describes the water of the flood as the means in which God saved Noah and his family similar to the way the waters of baptism saves Christians.

Elliott, who argues against this reading but concedes that both senses of the preposition could have intended, contends that the “idea that Noah and his family could have been saved ‘by’ water runs contrary to the entire Flood tradition, which stresses a rescue *from* the destructive effect of the Flood.”⁶⁸⁹ While the concept of Noah and his family being spared from the destructive effects of the flood cannot be doubted, Elliott presses his argument too far. In those traditions in which human lives were being lost to the destructive behavior of the giants, the flood occasionally served as an agent of salvation to rescue humanity from the cannibalistic appetites of the

⁶⁸⁴ The eight ψυχᾶί refer to Noah and his family who were saved in the ark from Gen 6:18; 7:7, 13; 8:16, 18. See also *1 En* 10:2; 65:2; 67:2; 89:1; *Jub* 5:19; *Sib. Or.* 1:280-81.

⁶⁸⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 666.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 667.

⁶⁸⁷ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 195. Both Selwyn, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, 202-03 and Kelley, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 159 argue that the writer might have left this phrase purposefully vague in order to fit with either sense.

⁶⁸⁸ Michaels, in *1 Peter*, 213 also argues for the instrumental use of the preposition in this case in which the water is the means of salvation.

⁶⁸⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 667. He also notes that both *Jub* 7:34 and 10:3 indicate that Noah and his sons were saved from the flood.

giants.⁶⁹⁰ Furthermore as noted above, the flood was often viewed as a cleansing act which renewed the earth for righteousness. The flood waters were salvific in that they destroyed evil and cleansed the world, as well as Noah's family from unrighteousness. Thus, it appears the dative could be being used instrumentally, but the locative sense is still plausible.

Regardless of the method of salvation (from or by means of the water), the link between baptism and the flood continues the overall message of comfort offered by the epistle. As noted in the above discussions concerning the parallels between the sufferings of Christ and those being experienced by the audience of 1 Peter, Christ's victory over all forms of evil at his death, resurrection, and ascension gave hope to 1 Peter's readers in that they too would one day be glorified, even if they were currently experiencing marginalization. However, Christ's suffering and exaltation do not merely provide an example for humans to follow, but Christ's work actually, in some form, defeated cosmic forces of evil. The readers of the epistle would be the benefactors of that victory if they were made part of the community through baptism.

4.7.3 The Meaning of ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ σώζει βάπτισμα

The relationship between baptism and the flood involves one notable textual variant. The question is whether the initial pronoun in ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ σώζει βάπτισμα should be read in the nominative (ὁ) or the dative (ᾧ). Due to its wide attestation and being the more difficult reading, the nominative is generally preferred.⁶⁹¹ There are some who argue for the dative since it provides a better reading and better relates to the rest of the verse.⁶⁹²

The use of the pronoun is related to syntactical function of ἀντίτυπον. This word corresponds to "type" (τύπος) having the basic meaning of "copy." The word is used in one of two ways. First, it can refer to an "archetype" or "model" in which a superior reality is first modeled by something inferior.⁶⁹³ Second, the "type" is

⁶⁹⁰ 1 En 89:6.

⁶⁹¹ The nominative ὁ is attested in \aleph^c A B C K P Υ 33 81 and the majority of manuscripts. The dative ᾧ is attested in 69 206 216 241 630 1518. Due to its difficulty, the pronoun is omitted in P⁷² \aleph^* 255 436. See Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (New York: American Bible Society, 1994), 623-24. See also Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 196.

⁶⁹² Those supporting the reading with the dative include: Fenton J.A. Hort, *The First Epistle of Peter 1.1-2.17* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 102; Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 148; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 668.

⁶⁹³ See Acts 7:44 and Heb 8:5 which refer to Ex 25:40. In this case, the heavenly sanctuary in which Christ ministers serves as the "type" or superior reality upon which the inferior earthly tabernacle was modeled or built.

something inferior but is part of a movement of history which is moving toward something superior. In the Bible, this often is comprised of an OT person or even serving as the inferior “type” of something greater or its fulfillment in the NT. In Rom 5:14 Paul suggests that Adam is the “type” of Christ. Israel’s crossing of the Red Sea serves as the “type” for Christian baptism in 1 Cor 10:6.

As Elliott notes, “In general, *typos* and *antitypon* were employed by the early Christians to signal some perceived correspondence between events of the sacred past and the present and some assured continuity between God’s acting in the past, present, and future.”⁶⁹⁴ The “antitype” is determined by its relationship to the “type.” The “antitype” can then either reference the inferior person or reality modeled after the “type,” or it is used to describe the superior reality in the NT that has been prefigured in the OT.⁶⁹⁵ Therefore, some aspect of the flood narrative is being linked, probably as an inferior OT type, to the superior antitype of Christian baptism. However, what exactly the antitype prefigures is difficult to ascertain.

Some commentators have understood ἀντίτυπον as a predicate noun. Selwyn identifies ἀντίτυπον as a noun referring back to ὑμᾶς. According to this understanding, the audience of the epistle who have been saved by baptism through Christ’s resurrection are the “antitypes” of Noah and his family who were saved through the flood.⁶⁹⁶ Goppelt also understands ἀντίτυπον as a noun. However, he contends that it is a substantive that stands in opposition to βάπτισμα, along with the nominative ὅ referring to the entire phrase ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ σώζει βάπτισμα.⁶⁹⁷ Elliott has noted however, that this forces Goppelt to add words not in the text, has no Greek precedent, and translates then ὅ as a dative even though he makes the case for the nominative.⁶⁹⁸

Others view ἀντίτυπον as a predicate adjective. Kelly, Dalton, and Michaels propose that the “antitype” used with the nominative ὅ refers to the “water” from verse 19 and has “baptism” as appositional to it. Kelly’s translation of “which thus prefigured now saves you to [I mean] baptism,” is a difficult reading of what he refers

⁶⁹⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 670.

⁶⁹⁵ For an in-depth discussion on the use of types, see Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation in the New Testament* (trans. D. Madvig; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981).

⁶⁹⁶ Selwyn, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, 298.

⁶⁹⁷ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 247.

⁶⁹⁸ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 671.

to as a “clumsy construction.”⁶⁹⁹ Michaels also understand the “antitype” to link baptism to the water of the flood. Correcting a potential problem with Kelly’s translation, Michaels contends that it is not the same water of the flood that now saves people through baptism, but rather something corresponding to it.⁷⁰⁰ Elliott has demonstrated the grammatical faults of the translations provided by both Kelly and Michaels.⁷⁰¹ Dalton also understands the adjectival use of the “antitype” which corresponds to the water of 3:20. Thus, his translation reads “in which a few, that is eight persons were saved through water. Water which corresponds to this now saves you also in the form of baptism through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”⁷⁰² This reading contains tensions in that it requires the additional “Water” not found in the text.

Reicke has suggested in a lengthy argument that word βάπτισμα is in apposition to the previous sentence drawn into the relevant clause and that ἀντίτυπον is an adjectival attribute to βάπτισμα. Thus, after the mention of the flood, Reicke’s translation reads, “Which antitypical baptism now saves you.”⁷⁰³ In this understanding Noah and his family experienced an antitypical baptism that prefigured and modeled the real baptism of Christianity. However, as Dalton notes, this translation appears to be forced and artificial, and “while it avoids the apparent difficulty of ascribing salvation to water, it raises so many new problems as to lose real probability.”⁷⁰⁴

Elliott understands ἀντίτυπον as an adjective modifying βάπτισμα along with the dative ᾧ instead of the nominative ὃ. Thus, Elliott’s translation would read, “in which a few—that is eight—persons were saved through water. Corresponding to this baptism now saves you too.”⁷⁰⁵ In his view, the salvation offered to the readers through baptism corresponds to the salvation of Noah and his family through the waters of the flood. While this reading is dependent upon a less attested dative pronoun (ᾧ), it does provide the most coherent message of the text. It could be argued that this is exactly why the pronoun should remain in the nominative since it

⁶⁹⁹ Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 160-61.

⁷⁰⁰ Michaels, *1 Peter*, 214.

⁷⁰¹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 671.

⁷⁰² Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 196.

⁷⁰³ Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, 145. For his argument concerning the use of the appositional antecedent incorporated into a relative clause, see pages 149-72.

⁷⁰⁴ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 199.

⁷⁰⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 671.

would make more sense for ὄ to be altered to ὤ for the sake of clarity. However, Elliott contends it is also possible that ὄ replaced ὤ simply because they are close in sight and sound.⁷⁰⁶

While it is still possible that the nominative was the original reading, it appears that Elliott's reading of ἀντίτυπον in which the salvation through water in the flood served as the antitype for later salvation through Christian baptism is preferred. Either Elliott is correct in his estimation of the original dative pronoun, or it was an awkwardly written nominative. Either way, the message is linking the proto-logical salvation and eschatological salvation through water.

4.7.4 The Efficacy of Baptism\

This salvation by God through the instrument of baptism serves two main purposes in 1 Peter.⁷⁰⁷ First, baptism involved the individual and communal transformation in the life of the believer. Those who had formerly lived in ignorance (1:14, 18; 2:11; 4:3, 4) were now welcomed, through baptism, into a new community (1:2; 1:3-2:10; 2:17; 5:9). This new life involved a new moral code of obedience which is spelled out throughout the letter. The efficacy of baptism, according to verse 21, is due to the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Baptism is what identifies the individual as belonging to Christ.⁷⁰⁸ This is described in 1 Peter as having new birth (1:3, 23; 2:2; Jn 3:1-6; Titus 3:5). Through baptism, people become children of God (1:14). Therefore, as people who had be reborn into a new community, welcomed into a new household (2:4-10), and became children of God (1:14) through baptism, they now shared in the sufferings and glories of Christ. Furthermore, Christ, as the example, served to offer hope for those who were initiated into his new community.

4.7.4.1 *Baptism as the Initiation into a New Community*

There appears to be a relationship between 1 Pet 3:21 and 1:3-7. They are connected through the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. The salvation offered in

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 671-72.

⁷⁰⁷ Much has been written concerning the meaning of baptism in 1 Peter. In addition to deciphering the Noahic antitype, others have attempted to discern what is meant by baptism saving people. οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν. This work, however, only focuses on baptism and its relationship to the Noahic deluge and Christ's proclamation. For a detailed discussion on baptism in 1 Peter, see Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 191-214 and Elliott, *1 Peter*, 668-82.

⁷⁰⁸ See Rom 6:4-11, Col 2:12. However, one should not necessarily read Paul's understandings of baptism into 1 Peter.

baptism echoes the message that Christians have been born again through Christ's resurrection (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἑπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν, δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The imagery of rebirth/baptism and Christ's resurrection allow for other promises for new believers to be evaluated as a benefit of baptism as well. First, the readers are assured of an imperishable, undefiled, and unfading inheritance that is kept in heaven for them (κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμόραντον, τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς). In this verse, those who have been baptized into the community and experienced rebirth in Christ are promised an eschatological reward. This coheres with the theme of comfort in the midst of suffering found throughout the letter.

4.7.3.2 *Baptism as Protection From Evil*

However, the righteous are also promised another benefit of their rebirth, one that will protect them in this world. 1 Pet 1:5 says of the reborn that they will be well guarded by God's power through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time (τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ φρουρούμενους διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐτοιμῆν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἔσχάτῳ). Important here is the use of the present participle φρουρούμενους from φρουρέω meaning "to keep" or "guard," indicating that the recipients are currently being protected from something. What they are being protected from comes into view in 1 Pet 3:18-22. Reading 1 Pet 3:18-22 in light of 1 Pet 1:3-7 makes it appear that, according to 1 Peter, Christians who are baptized are protected from cosmic forces of evil.

The warding off or exorcism of evil spirits can be found in a number of early Jewish and Christian works. Each of these instances has been discussed in depth in chapters 2 and 3 of this work. Here it is enough to review the different ways in which evil spirits were kept at bay in the above noted literature. *Jub* 10:8 records that God imprisons ninety percent of evil spirits to keep them from leading all of humanity astray. In *4QSongs of the Sage*, evil spirits are warded off by offering praise to God (4Q510 frg. 1 4-8; 4Q511 frg. 10-1-6; 4Q511 frg. 10:1-6, 11, 12; frg. 35 1, 2). Furthermore the imprisonment of the spirits in this work is also used in the context of "cleansing" and "redemptive," themes often associated with the deluge. *4QIncantation* hints that evil spirits are kept away by following the statutes of God (4Q444 frg. 1 4). Following the law also protects the righteous from evil in *T. Naph.*

3:1. This coheres with 1 Peter 3:21, which states that baptism is a pledge to a good conscience to God (ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἑπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν). 11Q11 focuses on the future punishment of demons as well as exorcising them in the present life of the community. Ultimately evil spirits are imprisoned in Sheol (11Q11 frg. 4 iv 4-6; frg. 4 v 8-9), but before their final punishment the fragmentary material implies the warding off of these evil spirits in the present (11Q11 frg. 4 i 7, 9). This implies that good is able to overcome evil in the present and assures the community that evil will one day be eradicated. In 1 Peter it is the imprisoned nature of these evil entities which allows for their warding off in the present. The book of Tobit describes a magical ritual that leads to the exorcising and binding of a demon (8:3). In the NT, Jesus has the ability to cast out evil spirits (Mark 5). *Ap.Ab.* 13:10-12 indicates that the spirits controlled by Azazel are only allowed to control the unrighteous given to them by God. In this last example God has ultimate control over who is and is not potentially overtaken by evil. The righteous are assured that the evil spirits do not have the power to overtake them. In 1 Peter, because of Christ's death and resurrection and their subsequent initiation into the Christian community through baptism, the righteous are free from the complete control of evil forces.

The notion of being protected from cosmic evil is also found within the epistle itself. 1 Pet 5:8 indicates that the devil is prowling around looking for someone to devour (νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε· ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίειν). Therefore, it appears that baptism in 1 Peter not only assures its readers of an eschatological reward modeled by Christ, but it offers protection in the present from cosmic forces of evil, who were the ultimate cause behind their current suffering. However, it does not appear that baptism is understood as a mere magical rite in that the ceremony alone drives away evil spirits, rather it appears that a godly lifestyle is how evil is kept at bay. 1 Pet 3:21, as noted above, indicates that people in the community are baptized into an appeal to God for a good conscience (ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἑπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν).

The verb ἑπερώτημα can mean appeal or pledge. Elliott has noted that the use of this word as a verb or a noun as part of a legal formula "involving a formal question followed by an acknowledgment of consent." While ἑπερώτημα is often used of the question in this context he also indicates that it can be used to identify the

transaction as a whole similar to the Latin *stipulatio*.⁷⁰⁹ In the Petrine composition, ἑπερώτημα probably refers to a pledge made during the rite of baptism. This would be similar to the pledge taken by those members entering into the community at Qumran. 1QS v 8-10; CD xv 6-11; xvi 1-5 all record the description of the stipulations placed upon the member of the sect and his allegiance to adhere to them.⁷¹⁰ Hill contends that 1 Pet 3:21 should “be interpreted as a response or assent to a covenant obligation, an agreement to maintain righteousness, through obedience, in the future.”⁷¹¹ Elliott argues that the objective genitive (συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἑπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν) indicates that the baptismal initiates were made mindful of God’s will through the instruction given to them before the rite. In this those who pledged to be mindful of God’s will “stand in stark contrast to the ‘disobedient spirits’ of 3:19.”⁷¹²

While Elliott is correct in his reading and assessment, it is possible to carry the argument further. Not only are the initiates opposite from the imprisoned spirits, but through baptism the new believers also entered into a new life in which they would be safe from those evil spirits. While it is not mentioned in the NT, early church traditions indicate that a pledge to God was given at the time of baptism. This pledge often included a commitment to holy living. Often it would also specifically indicate a promise to resist the devil and his works.⁷¹³ This association between baptism and the renunciation and sheltering from evil spirits is strengthened in 1 Pet 5:8 where the readers are encouraged to resist the devil. Resistance occurs in the form of remaining faithful in the face of persecution. Therefore, Baptism here is not a magic rite in and of itself, but rather it initiates the believer into a new existence and community in which Christ has subjugated the powers of evil. As long as the new believers keep God’s commands they will remain free from the devil’s control.

The relationship between baptism and the warding off of evil spirits is strengthened by its connection to 1 Pet 3:19. This also more fully develops the relationship of the ἀντίτυπον between the salvation of Noah through the deluge and

⁷⁰⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 680. See POxy. 6.905; 10.1273 for examples of the use of ἑπερώτημα in a contract setting.

⁷¹⁰ Cf. 1QS i 20, 24; ii 10, 18, 19.

⁷¹¹ David Hill, “On Suffering and Baptism in 1 Peter,” *NovT* 18 (1976): 188.

⁷¹² Elliott, *1 Peter*, 681.

⁷¹³ For examples of making a pledge to God and renouncing Satan, see Hippolytus’ *Apostolic Tradition*, 21:9; John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, 2.20; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catecheses*, 1:49.

the Christians through the waters of baptism. The destruction of evil in the flood lead to a new and purified existence for Noah and his family, one that was free from evil angels and the destruction of the giants. However, evil spirits remained. Similarly, those receiving baptism are also “saved” or delivered from the threat of evil forces in that they are no longer able to devour the hearts and minds of believers. Like the righteous in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the children of light from 1QS, 1QM, and CD, Christ’s resurrection and defeat of evil has made those who are part of the new community through baptism safe from all evil powers. Rome can no longer harm them because suffering will only lead to their exaltation. Cosmic evil cannot control the readers because these entities have been subjugated by Christ. This benefit of baptism coheres with the overall message and purpose of the difficult passage as well as the letter as a whole. It comforts the believers by assuring them of Christ’s victory over evil in all of its forms, and it exhorts Christians to remain faithful in the midst of their current suffering.

4.8 Conclusion

Having looked at the many sin and punishment traditions concerning angels, giants, spirits, and humans, the present study finds that, individually, none of them provide the background to 1 Pet 3:18-22. Rather, the stories of angelic sin and punishment, the birth of the giants, the presence of evil spirits, the examples of human evil, and the proclamations made to them exist in such multiple and conflated forms from the third century B.C.E. to the composition of 1 Peter that it is impossible to specify a single tradition-historical explanation behind this passage in 1 Peter.

Another avenue of inquiry into the identity of the imprisoned spirits understands the conflation of the fallen angel and evil spirit traditions found in early Judaism and Christianity to be an asset rather than a liability. As is evident throughout this literature, the most consistent quality of these myths is the inconsistency with which they are used. Sins committed by angels and giants (improper sexual behavior and violence respectively) are retold with humans as the culprits. Each writer, either drawing from BW or another common tradition edits, changes, and shapes this story to fit the author’s intended purpose. *BW* focuses on the origin of evil in the world, which he blames on the watchers, and thus focuses on them. However, throughout later literature there appears to be a trend of using the fallen angel and giant stories to describe or correct human behavior. *Jubilees* retells the sinfulness of the giants and

evil spirits in order to correct human behavior. This is most clearly demonstrated in the *Similitudes* of Enoch in which sins and punishments previously reserved for watchers and giants are anticipated by humans. For example, *1 En* 54:2 describes the kings and the mighty of earth punished by being thrown into a deep valley, a punishment traditionally associated with the angels. Similarly sins attributed to the giants such as the trampling of the earth in *1 En* 7:3 and 9:9 are now leveled against the kings and the mighty in the *Similitudes*. In fact, it appears that the *Similitudes* has replaced the giants with humans who are in authority.

As suggested in the outset of this work, if the writers of later literature felt free to adapt the earlier traditions in order to fit their agendas, then the answer to the identity of 1 Peter's spirits in prison might be easier located within the letter itself rather than by isolating which tradition might be being used. If in fact the proclamation to the spirits is one of condemnation meant to give comfort and assurance to a Christian community facing marginalization or even social persecution, then who do the spirits need to be to achieve that goal?

First, it appears that evil cosmic powers are in view. Distinguishing between fallen angels and evil spirits is beyond the scope of the Petrine composition. It is safe to say that in some ways, the spirits represent the devil, and presumably his companions, who are attempting to lead the recipients of the epistle away by using marginalization to urge the abandonment of faith. Christ, upon his death, resurrection, and ascent proclaimed a message of victory over these evil spirits. Cosmic forces of evil could no longer control the lives of God's elect (1 Pet 1:1).

However, like the *Similitudes*, it is possible that the writer of 1 Peter has used a tradition from the *Book of Watchers* regarding angelic punishment and reformulated it to give comfort to the community's more immediate problem, Rome. Through his death and resurrection, Jesus has achieved some sort of eschatological victory over Rome. And while Rome is allowed to continue to exist, it does so now in an imprisoned state. *2 Baruch*, which also draws on the watcher tradition, encourages Jews/Christians to endure suffering (52:6-7) and to remain faithful to God. The messiah would eventually overthrow Rome at the final judgment (12:19-20; 82:1-2).

Yet, to jump too quickly to either spiritual forces or Rome would seem premature. 1 Peter's reference to Rome as Babylon makes it appear that the author is at least familiar with apocalyptic works that ascribe the name Babylon to Greece and/or Rome. If one reads 1 Peter in light of apocalyptic works such as Daniel and

Revelation, then 1 Peter could have a cosmology in which an evil spiritual entity lies behind the Roman dominion and thus marginalization.

Christ's proclamation in 1 Peter could in fact be purposefully vague enough that evil in all of its forms have now begun to exist in a defeated state based upon the actions of Christ. Thus, 1 Pet 3:18-22 represents a realized eschatology in which evil has been subjugated under the lordship of Jesus, both Rome and the spiritual powers and angels that are behind it. Further evidence for this understanding can be found in 1 Pet 3:21, which suggests that just as Noah and his family were saved through the flood, so now baptism saves the righteous. If this salvation is meant as deliverance from evil spirits through the initiation into a new life in God's eschatological plan, then it coheres with a message of victory over the forces of evil through the work of Jesus on the cross and at his resurrection.

Thus, 1 Pet 3:18-22 offers comfort to a marginalized community: because of the victorious resurrection of Christ, all forces of evil, both human and cosmic, are now under the lordship of Christ. These verses offered hope for the eschatological salvation of those who remained faithful. Finally, they entail an exhortation to keep the pledge made for living a godly life in the face of persecution. If, like Christ, the readers suffer for their faithfulness to God, they will also share in his exaltation and participate in the eschatological future.

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