

**(Re)Visionary History:  
Historiography and Religious Identity in the Animal Apocalypse**

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## 1. Introduction

The *Animal Apocalypse* of 1 Enoch 85-90 offers a unique example of ancient historiography in the guise of a prophetic vision of the history of the people of Israel in which the players are represented by animals. By assuming the mantle of Enoch the pseudonymous author<sup>1</sup> is able to offer his comments regarding Israelite history and identity as the ultimate authoritative prophet/sage/priest living in the ancient past. I argue that the controlling metaphor of clean v. unclean is used by the author of the *Animal Apocalypse*, in concert with the figure of Enoch, to retell Israelite history, thereby establishing a religious history and identity for Jews living in Seleucid era Yehud. History thus becomes a frame in which the author sets his message of religious and militant resistance.

Some necessary questions arise when examining issues related to history writing. Likely the most important is: What is meant by “history” and “historiography”? Beeson suggests that “history” is best defined as an un-interpreted collection of “value-neutral” pieces of information; events that did take place, or are understood to have taken place, in the past. “‘Historiography’, on the other hand, is the structured narration, principally in written form...of past events in and for the author’s present. It is a story, told with an audience in mind, aiming to communicate to

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<sup>1</sup> Though I recognize that questions of authorship and redaction are relatively complicated with regards to the *Animal Apocalypse* I am concerned in this paper with a synchronic examination of the final form of the apocalypse as it has been reconstructed by modern scholarship. I will, for the sake of ease, refer to the author(s) and redactor(s) of the *Animal Apocalypse* as either “the author” or “pseudo-Enoch” throughout this paper. For an examination of authorship and redaction in relation to the *Animal Apocalypse* and the Book of Dreams generally see: Patrick Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, 61-79 (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); George Nickelsburg, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 347, 360-363.

that audience some truth, message or attitude.”<sup>2</sup> History then, for Beeson at least, is raw data while historiography is the presentation of that data in some organized narrated format.

Van Seters, however, suggests that history is intrinsically interpretive. Quoting Huizinga he suggests that “[history] is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past.”<sup>3</sup> He suggests that this rendering is also tied closely with “corporate identity” and may reflect various understandings of historical causality, including secular and religious varieties.<sup>4</sup> Van Seters’ “history” therefore seems to resemble Beeson’s “historiography.”

In his examination of various forms of historiography in the Western tradition (from ancient Greece to the modern West) Breisach suggests that historiography is related to the way that people reflect on the past.<sup>5</sup> For Breisach, then, historiography appears to be methodological; a description of the way that a historian arrives at a history. The historiography of the Homeric period placed great emphasis upon great heroes,<sup>6</sup> while Herodotus and Thucydides honor the lives and sacrifices of ordinary people.<sup>7</sup> This suggests something very like to Van Seter’s “history” and Beeson’s “historiography.” This is also what I propose to examine in this paper.

One might ask whether pursuing the historiography of an apocalypse is warranted. Rappaport suggests that apocalyptic literature has no real interest in history apart from as a springboard for a vision of the future.<sup>8</sup> Rappaport pits the historiography found in apocalyptic literature (Dan 11 in particular) against his definition of “scientific” history: “[A] wish to

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<sup>2</sup> S. Beeson, “Historiography Ancient and Modern Fact and Fiction,” in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography* (ed. G. Brooke and T. Römer; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Van Seters, *History*, 2, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>6</sup> Breisach, *Historiography*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Breisach, *Historiography*, 13.

<sup>8</sup> U. Rappaport, “Apocalyptic Vision and Preservation of Historical Memory,” JSJ 23 no. 2 (1992): 226.

understand human condition in human terms in the light of human deeds...."<sup>9</sup> Certainly neither Dan 11 nor the *Animal Apocalypse* could ever meet the requirements of such a definition, principally because the authors of these works did not understand the world in terms of human conditions, terms, or deeds. It does not follow, however, that apocalyptic literature has no interest in the past, or that it is interested only in the future. As Kaestli notes in response to Rappaport, apocalyptic literature is concerned with all realities, "spatiales et temporelles."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, as I will demonstrate below, if the *Animal Apocalypse* is more concerned about any particular point in time it is the present, and not the future.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, though we can certainly expect no adherence to modern historiographical methods,<sup>12</sup> the *Animal Apocalypse* certainly does operate within the confines of a kind of historiography, and that historiography is concerned with the past, the present, and the future.

With these definitions in mind, what I am concerned with in this paper is the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*. Consequently in what follows I will examine the text of the *Animal Apocalypse* in an attempt to uncover the function of the historical account as it is presented in the dream vision. Though this will be primarily an examination of literature, the historical milieu in which the work was likely written and redacted, Seleucid controlled Yehud somewhere between 165 and 160 BCE,<sup>13</sup> will still play a role in the discussion below. With

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<sup>9</sup> Rappaport, "Vision," 219.

<sup>10</sup> J.-D. Kaestli, "Les Rapports Entre Apocalyptique et Historiographie," in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography* (ed. G. Brooke and T. Römer; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 199.

<sup>11</sup> See also Portier-Young, "Theologies of Resistance in Daniel, the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Book of Dreams, and the Testament of Moses" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2004), 134; Tiller, *Commentary*, 15.

<sup>12</sup> As both Beeson and Breisach note, modern historiographies are historiographies nonetheless, and are founded upon ideological and methodological assumptions of their own. Cf. Beeson, "Historiography," 10; and Breisach, *Historiography*, 407-408.

<sup>13</sup> Anthea Portier-Young, "Theologies of Resistance," 131; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 161; Tiller, *Commentary*, 63-78. See Tiller especially for a more extensive discussion of the date and provenance of the *Animal Apocalypse*. He suggests the *Animal Apocalypse* was probably written closer to 165 BCE. See also Russell, *Divine Disclosure: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1992), 40. For a

regard to the events described in the animal history, as Nickelsburg has demonstrated these bear a very close resemblance to the accounts found in the Pentateuch, the Deutoronomistic History, 1 Enoch 6-11, and possibly Ezra-Nehemiah. Having said this, Nickelsburg is certainly correct to state that “[the] author of the Vision has constructed his allegory through the *creative and tendentious* use of traditional materials.<sup>14</sup> Though there are undoubtedly any number of interesting questions that might be asked regarding the relationship between source material and the *Animal Apocalypse*, my concern here is with two particular elements of the allegory itself and what these elements might tell us about the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*. The two elements to which I refer are the pseudonymous use of Enoch as the visionary, and the clean v. unclean metaphor that controls the allegory.

## 2. Enoch the (Re)Visionary

The pseudepigraphical use of a visionary figure like Enoch is not at all out of the ordinary, and represents a common form of prophetic writing during the Second Temple period. As Jassen notes, “[unlike] the classical presentation of prophets in the Hebrew Bible, the Qumran documents and related Second Temple period texts rarely introduce any particular contemporary individual with a prophetic title or identify prophetic activity as such.”<sup>15</sup> Jassen later goes on to suggest that Enoch was not considered a prophet by Second Temple authors and readers.<sup>16</sup> This does not, however, disqualify Enoch from our investigation. Indeed, the fact that he is not seen simply as a prophet is one of the more intriguing aspects of the Enoch figure. He certainly

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contrasting view see Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York, NY: Crossroads, 1982), 252.

<sup>14</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 358. Italics mine.

<sup>15</sup> Alex Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 6.

<sup>16</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 260.

fulfills the role of perfectly predictive prophet in the *Animal Apocalypse*, but clearly there is more at work in the appropriation of Enoch.

As VanderKam notes, the oldest extant Enochic compositions are the Astronomical Book, the Book of the Watchers, and the Book of Dreams (which includes the *Animal Apocalypse*).<sup>17</sup> The first two compositions have “an emphatic scientific interest” and paint a picture of Enoch as a wise sage who has an intimate knowledge of the truths of the universe.<sup>18</sup> In the Book of Dreams Enoch’s prophetic survey of all of history extends that scientific knowledge to “make his understanding of the course of history as comprehensive and insightful as his grasp of the universe.”<sup>19</sup> Enoch is the ultimate sapiential sage, equal to or possibly greater than Moses himself.<sup>20</sup>

In his discussion of the relationship between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and 1 Enoch 13, Daniel Machiela makes note of the highly influential role played by Enoch.<sup>21</sup> In both accounts the fallen angelic beings ask Enoch to make petition on their behalf to God. Enoch’s status is so great that even heavenly beings recognize his importance and authority, as well as his unique relationship to God. Machiela also makes note of the account of Noah’s legitimacy. “When asked about Noah’s legitimacy [Enoch] need not receive a vision or an angelic explanation, he simply knows the child’s future because he is fully acquainted with the divine plan. As in *1 Enoch*, the Enoch of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is the veritable embodiment of divine revelation

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<sup>17</sup> VanderKam, *Growth*, 140-141; Russell, *Divine*, 38-40.

<sup>18</sup> VanderKam, *Growth*, 141. Note also Jubilees 4:16-25 where Enoch appears as the progenitor of all knowledge and wisdom (VanderKam, *Growth*, 9-10).

<sup>19</sup> VanderKam, *Growth*, 141.

<sup>20</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 265-266.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel A. Machiela, “Genesis Revealed: The Apocalyptic Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1,” 4. With sincere thanks to Dr. Machiela for allowing me to make use of this as yet unpublished article.

– an enfleshed apocalypse.”<sup>22</sup> In an extension of this revelatory role, Enoch also plays the role of the perfect priest in both the Book of the Watchers (1 En 14:8-23) and in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En 87:3), where he is shown the heavenly Temple itself, the only human to receive this honor.

This portrait of Enoch as the ultimate sage, the ultimate prophet, and the ultimate revealer of divine revelation, is vitally important to the *Animal Apocalypse*. As Stuckenbruck suggests, framing the animal history as an Enochic vision allows pseudo-Enoch to tie the events of his own time to events in the distant, primordial past.

With respect to the *Animal Apocalypse*, the author(s) found in ‘Enoch’ a way to coordinate the inner frames of *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*: During a remote era of increasing destruction and evil, Enoch is made to recount visions that anticipate a decisive divine intervention in the Great Deluge. By analogy, a real writer, as ‘Enoch,’ was interpreting contemporary events to support his conviction that a final eradication of evil powers and the reestablishment of a new world order were imminent.<sup>23</sup>

Of particular importance is the message that the trajectory of history is about to change dramatically, just as it did at the time of the Flood.

In addition to his status as sage, prophet, priest, and revealer of mysteries, Enoch is also by extension the very definition of God’s elect. He is the ultimate example of faith and obedience, and of God’s favor. Note that in the *Animal Apocalypse* he is the only human figure who does not appear to die, and who is translated into the heavenly realm before the destruction of the earth in the Flood (87:1-4). Even Moses and Noah do not receive this honor. The very act of calling upon Enoch suggests that the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* is not only making a bid for legitimacy by aligning his work with that great and holy sage, but he is laying claim to his own status as one of God’s elect. “The future generations who will gain access to Enoch’s

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<sup>22</sup> Machiela, “Genesis,” 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> L.T. Stuckenbruck, “‘Reading the Present’ in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85-90)” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (SBLSS 30; ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 92. Cf. also Koch, “The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time, Universal History, and the Eschatological Turn in the Astronomical Book and the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch” in *The Early Enoch Literature* (SJSJ 121; ed. G. Boccaccini and J.J. Collins; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 134.

writings and thus to divine knowledge are singled out as appropriate recipients because they are deemed to be righteous.”<sup>24</sup> Simply having access to Enoch’s knowledge demonstrates the election of all who read and align themselves with the *Animal Apocalypse*. As I will demonstrate in the next sections, this focus on legitimacy and election are key to understanding the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*.

### 3. Clean and Unclean<sup>25</sup>

The central image of clean v. unclean is vitally important when reading the *Animal Apocalypse*. The clear division between Israel and the nations of the world envisaged by the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* is drawn precisely along the line of clean and unclean animal. In all cases Israel is depicted by ritually pure animals and in all cases Israel’s earthly enemies are depicted by ritually impure animals. What is more, all of the enemies of God are depicted as unclean, even when these enemies belong by nature to Israel.

The qualifier “earthly” is required because of the *Animal Apocalypse*’s modified version of the Watcher tale, which is told fully in 1 Enoch 6-16 and is one of the keystone stories of the Enochic corpus. It is notable that the fallen angel of 1 Enoch 86:1 (as well as the subsequent fallen angels) came to earth and was transformed into a great bull and “it fed and pastured among those oxen” (1 Enoch 85:1b). As we will see below, that transformation is important. The *Animal Apocalypse* offers not only a complete overview of human history but also a complete overview of the hierarchy of God’s system of election. This hierarchy is a powerful controlling metaphor that defines much of the imagery in the allegory.<sup>26</sup> It is the key piece of imagery that

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<sup>24</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 271.

<sup>25</sup> Note that significant portions of this section have been adapted from my M.A. thesis. For the original version see Colin M. Toffelmire, “White Bulls and Wild Goats: Animal Imagery in Daniel 7 and 8 and the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch” (M.A. thesis, Ambrose Seminary, 2008), esp. 59-66.

<sup>26</sup> Though I use the term “allegory” to describe the *Animal Apocalypse* it is important to note that the *Animal Apocalypse* is not an allegory in the traditional, western sense. That is to say, it is not a tale in which abstract virtues or ideas are personified (cf. Jon Whitman, “Allegory,” *PEPP* 31-35; Samuel Taylor Coleridge,

presses forward not only the message of each individual section of the *Animal Apocalypse*, but also the message of the allegory as a whole.

Just as the dietary laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy set up a hierarchy of holiness within the animal kingdom and the human community, so also the use of clean and unclean animals in the *Animal Apocalypse* sets up a hierarchy of holiness and rightness. This hierarchy exists with God at its head, followed closely by all of those characters who have taken on (and maintained) human form, followed again by the ritually clean animals that represent the majority of the people of Israel, followed finally by the ritually unclean animals that represent the nations that conspire against the people of God and continually attempt to destroy them.

Patrick Tiller, while granting that all of the animals representing the Israelites are clean and all those representing the opposing nations are unclean, suggests that though the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* did use the Levitical and Deuteronomical lists, “the ground for inclusion or exclusion from the list in the *An. Apoc.* are not necessarily related to the grounds for inclusion or exclusion from the lists of Leviticus and Deuteronomy.”<sup>27</sup> What Tiller is driving at is that, while the list of animals in the *Animal Apocalypse* does correspond precisely to the dietary restrictions, the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* did not select his animals solely on the basis of cleanness or uncleanness. Instead Tiller believes that the dichotomy between domesticated and predatory animals also strongly controls the allegory.<sup>28</sup>

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“from The Statesman’s Manual,” in *Critical Theory Since Plato*, 468). Instead it is a historical survey in which the various actors are represented (generally) as animals. When I speak in terms of a “controlling metaphor” I am attempting to describe the way in which the selection of the various images that represented humans and angels in the allegory has been made. The most important criteria for selection is not related to the level of the individual image (bull, hyrax, raven, etc.), but is related instead to the level of the entire system of images. So the fact that Adam is referred to as a bull is not primarily due to the referent Adam having bull-like qualities, but is instead due to the fact that bulls hold a particular position within pseudo-Enoch’s clean/unclean hierarchy. I will elaborate further on this hierarchy below. It should be noted that the concept of a hierarchy in the Enochic universe is not limited to the *Animal Apocalypse*. See Klaus Koch, “Astral Laws,” 124-125.

<sup>27</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 28 n. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 28-29.

This may be the case, but if so it is of secondary importance. It is not that the predatory animals listed in the *Animal Apocalypse* are dangerous to cattle and sheep; it is that they are predators or scavengers and therefore unclean that qualifies them for inclusion. The violent or dangerous nature of the animals is what places them on the lists of unclean animals in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and it is their consequent uncleanness that makes them powerful components of the allegory in the *Animal Apocalypse*. The inclusion of the clean animals, as Tiller suggests, denotes “their acceptance by God,”<sup>29</sup> and it also places them on the continuum of God’s hierarchy of creation.

One of the significant clues to the hierarchical nature of the structure of the allegory is the inclusion and the behavior of the angelic beings. The first mention of non-animal beings in the *Animal Apocalypse* is the description of the fallen star that becomes a bull. It falls to earth and becomes a participant in what occurs there. It is difficult to determine from the text whether this first fallen star is responsible for the violence of the oxen in 86:2, but it is certainly possible and probably implied by the closeness of the two events.<sup>30</sup> Regardless of the measure of culpability that can be assigned to the first star in those early acts of destruction, there is no doubt that the subsequent fallen stars of 86:3-4 are completely responsible for the production of the first unclean animals in the vision. As in the story of the Watchers found in 1 Enoch 6-16, it is these fallen stars that provide the first true division among the races.

Though evil seems to have been present in the *Animal Apocalypse*’s review of history since the time of Cain and Abel at least (85:4), the introduction of unclean animals represents the real turning point when the human race fell. This is seen most clearly in the transition between

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<sup>29</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 29.

<sup>30</sup> This first star is almost certainly Asael, who in the Book of Watchers taught humanity metallurgy and warfare (1 En 8:1) and was primarily responsible for introducing sin into the world (1 En 10:8). Cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 236; Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 372.

chapters 86 and 87, when the introduction of the new animals causes strife and violence, and this violence leads directly to more heavenly intervention.

And all the oxen feared them [the elephants, camels and asses] and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour and to gore with their horns. And they began to devour these oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee” (87:1).

And again I saw them, and they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud. (2) And I raised my eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place, and three with them” (86:5-87:2).

The introduction of the heavenly beings that become oxen and the consequent advent of the unclean animals comprise a single metaphorical system. This particular passage is important because it is the first instance of interaction between different species or types of being, represented by different kinds of creatures. The heavenly beings, are represented first by stars (86:1) and then by “white men” (87:2). These represent the highest order of creature in Enoch’s hierarchy of created beings. That these are of the highest order is demonstrated in the descent of the watchers (86) and in the promotion of Noah (89:1) and Moses (89:36) from clean animals to human forms.<sup>31</sup> After the heavenly beings come the clean animals which are represented by two sub-tiers: the bulls and oxen first, and the rams and sheep second. Finally we have the unclean animals which include both those animals that are specifically referred to by Leviticus and Deuteronomy and those animals that do not meet the criteria of clean animals. The culmination of Enoch’s vision demonstrates clearly that the unclean animals occupy the lowest place in the vision’s hierarchy and that the clean bulls are considered a higher form than the clean sheep.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Lange’s suggestion that Moses and Noah move into the heavenly realm is only accurate to a degree. Note that both Noah (89:9) and Moses (89:38) die human deaths. They are not, therefore, translated into the heavenly realm but instead move up on level in the cosmic hierarchy. Compare this with Enoch’s translation into heaven (87:3-4). Armin Lange, “Dream Visions and Apocalyptic Milieus,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 28-29.

Though all of these animals are redeemed in Enoch's new world (90:29-33), their redemption is made complete only when they are all transformed into white bulls (90:38).

Concerning Tiller's suggestion that the use of clean animals to represent Israel denotes their "acceptance by God,"<sup>32</sup> it is important to note that the type of animal used to represent a character in the vision does not, in and of itself, reliably predict whether that character will be accepted or judged harshly by God. The watchers who become bulls (the highest level of the clean animal) are, at the end of the vision, "judged and found guilty, and [taken] to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of flaming fire, and full of pillars of fire" (90:24). Likewise those sheep who were blinded (and remained so) (89:74; 90:7) are later cast into "a like abyss...and they burned" (90:26). It is clear, therefore, that judgment is not reserved for the unclean animals. Indeed the unclean animals do not suffer the judgment of the abyss, but are instead transformed into clean animals and become a part of the perfect eschatological community (90:38).

More important than the initial nature of a given group is its trajectory. Note that the stars are demoted to the tier of the bulls (86:3). Though they may have begun their existence at the highest level of God's hierarchy of election they willfully removed themselves from that standing. After that point they are no longer stars, but fallen stars (88:1). Additionally, these fallen stars have members (that is genitalia) "like horses" (86:4). It is possible that this suggests an element of defect or uncleanness, thus including the fallen stars within the realm of the unclean animals.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 29.

<sup>33</sup> Admittedly this second element is rather tenuous. Tiller suggests, quite legitimately, that this may be a proverbial reference related to lust or size of genitalia, and found in earlier biblical literature like Ezek 23:20. Tiller, *Commentary*, 240. So also Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 372.

A similar change of nature is found in the blind sheep who are cast into the abyss. Blindness is taken almost universally by scholars as a metaphor for some kind of spiritual or ethical defect in these particular sheep. Stuckenbruck sees this as a sign of a lack of discernment.<sup>34</sup> Portier-Young sees a double layer of signification in which sight indicates both right understanding and right action.<sup>35</sup> Nickelsburg provides a brief excursus on sight and blindness where he presents a similar interpretation, suggesting that blindness is related to following or not following God's law.<sup>36</sup> Tiller suggests that sight and blindness are related to the Enochic wisdom tradition.<sup>37</sup> All of these interpretations are sound, but they neglect an important component of the image of the blind sheep, namely the consequent cultic defilement of the sheep.

Blindness in a sacrificial animal makes that animal unfit for sacrifice (Lev 22:22), and the use of such an animal defiles the altar (Mal 1:6-8). It is therefore entirely reasonable to assume that the affliction of blindness upon some of the sheep pushes them into the category of "unclean," and therefore consequently pushes them out of the category of "elect."<sup>38</sup> So Portier-Young is incorrect when she suggests that the lambs of 90:6 are "continuous with the white sheep who in *Animal Apocalypse* symbolize the elect of Israel."<sup>39</sup> The opening of the eyes of the lambs indicates that, unlike their blind forebears, these new lambs are not defiled and maintain their status as part of the elect. They are not continuous with the blind sheep that immediately precede them but with pre-exilic sheep.

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<sup>34</sup> L.T. Stuckenbruck, "Reading," 99.

<sup>35</sup> Portier-Young, "Theologies," 159.

<sup>36</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 380-381.

<sup>37</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 26.

<sup>38</sup> This contra Koch who suggests that "Enoch narrates that the sheep went astray again and again and became blind, but nevertheless retained their special relation to the God of 'alam (84:54) throughout the whole history." Koch, "Astral Laws," 130-131.

<sup>39</sup> Portier-Young, "Theologies," 157.

It is interesting that both Nickelsburg<sup>40</sup> and Tiller<sup>41</sup> make note of the relationship between the defiled table of 1 En 89:73 and the condemnation of priests in Mal 1:8, but neither draw a connection between the blindness of the sheep in the allegory, the impure table in both passages, and the blindness of the sacrifice in Malachi. Though there is no way to be sure that pseudo-Enoch is referencing Mal 1:8 intentionally, the connection between ritual defilement and the clean/unclean categories of the *Animal Apocalypse* seem striking to say the least.

This is a question of particular importance because of the connection between the blind sheep of 89:73 and the lambs of 90:6-9. If, as VanderKam suggests, 90:16-17 represent the tipping point between past and future from the point of view of the author of the *Animal Apocalypse*, then the behavior of the lambs in 90:8ff represent the behavior of the author's compatriots and thus the heart of the message of the *Animal Apocalypse*. These lambs who have begun "to open their eyes" (90:6) are the first generation to do so since the pre-exilic period. They are the first of God's people to fall legitimately into the category of clean/elect for many generations. As we will see below, the relationship between the lambs and the "extremely and excessively" (90:7) blind sheep that precede them will be central in our understanding of pseudo-Enoch's view of history and election. All that I will note at the moment is that the relationship between apostasy and oppression is, in the structure of the *Animal Apocalypse*, so close as to be almost synonymous.

Returning for a moment to an earlier section of the vision, it is important to note that the introduction of unclean animals occurs at two different times. The advent of the unclean animals is clearly a result of the disobedience of the fallen stars (86:4). This re-telling of Genesis 6:1-4 indicates that the unclean animals were not a part of God's initial creation but were instead a

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<sup>40</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 395 n.18.

<sup>41</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 340.

product of the rebellious angels. If this were the moment when all of the unclean animals entered the world the formulation would be simple: unclean animals were never intended but were merely the product of disobedience. These three species that are introduced in chapter 86 are not, however, the only unclean animals that have a part in the vision. It is only after the drama of the flood that the vast majority of the animals who will play parts in this vision are introduced, and these are the offspring not of the disobedient angels, but of the sons of Noah (89:10).

There is a clear relationship in the *Animal Apocalypse* between the Watcher tale and the Flood. If the story of the fallen stars presents the introduction of evil into the world then the tale of the Flood presents the first attempt to destroy this evil. The elect are saved from this destruction through the person of Noah and the minority of his offspring, but the non-elect/unclean strain continues through the majority of his offspring. The visionary's prayer from the first dream-vision (84:5-6) is therefore realized, and a remnant is indeed left on the earth, but alongside this remnant the non-elect spring up again. "Thus the author introduces [in 86:10-12] the antagonists in the central drama in the Vision: the struggle between Israel and the Gentiles who prey on them, disperse them, and destroy them."<sup>42</sup> Here we have an indication of the relationship not only between the Watcher tale and the Flood, but between these tales and the final eschatological vision. That which was left incomplete in the time of the Flood must be finished in the eschaton.

The circumstances that surround these two groups, offer an insight into the nature of election in the Enochic system. The nations represented by the unclean animals are never thought of as unrelated to Israel, nor are they necessarily her enemies (though many of them will

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<sup>42</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 396.

become enemies over the course of time).<sup>43</sup> They are simply considered inferior by nature. The inferiority of the unclean animals is a product of being born outside of the line of election. No rationale for election is ever offered. The author simply assumes that all of those who are clearly of Israel are elect, and all others are not. Therefore it is only those descendants of Adam that make up the line of descent that will become the nation of Israel who are depicted as clean animals.

Here lies a notable and important connection between the hierarchical system of election, and the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*. This tie to the past and the unbroken line of election that leads even to the author's own time demonstrates clearly that the people of Judea are God's elect, and that they are therefore intrinsically superior. All other nations and peoples are merely the inferior offspring of the elect and as such should not rule over the elect. They are, in fact, so inferior that no Gentile leader is ever singled out or represented by a specific animal.<sup>44</sup> This is a tale only of the elect. Regarding the relationship between the elect and the non-elect note particularly 1 En 90:37-38. Here we are told that "all the wild beasts and all the birds of heaven were afraid of [the white bull] and made petition to it continually" (37). This precedes the translation of the unclean animals into "white cattle" (38). Only after giving obeisance to the great messianic/patriarchal figure,<sup>45</sup> the ultimate among the human elect, are the unclean peoples transformed and admitted into the eschatological community.

This emphasis on election and on the intrinsic superiority of the Jewish people is a keystone of the *Animal Apocalypse*'s historiography. As we will see in the next section the clean

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<sup>43</sup> As Tiller notes regarding the swine and hyrax "[their] presence in this list reminds the reader that as all of the animals listed are unclean, whether or not they are harmful to sheep, so no gentile nation is acceptable to God, whether or not it is harmful to Israel." Tiller, *Commentary*, 31.

<sup>44</sup> Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 396.

<sup>45</sup> It is unclear which term most accurately describes the great white bull. VanderKam uses both (*Enoch: A Man for All Generations* [Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1995], 84), and Nickelsburg suggests that it is a messianic figure (*Commentary*, 406).

v. unclean structure of the allegory and the figure of Enoch as the ultra-elect super-sage, combine with the type/anti-type relationship between the Watcher tale, the Flood, and the eschaton, to underpin the central aspect of the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*. This vision is, at its core, a tale of the necessity of the superiority and triumph of God's elect over their oppressors.

#### 4. Tying the Present to the Past

In this final section I will examine the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse*, particularly in light of the preceding two sections, against the background of mid-second century BCE Yehud. This will include an examination of the current, unacceptable state of affairs, the relationship between the *Animal Apocalypse* and various proposed "groups" operating at the time, and the treatment of Temple and cult in the *Animal Apocalypse*. I will then explore further the type/anti-type structure of the *Animal Apocalypse* and the expected response of the faithful elect. I will demonstrate that the historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse* is born out of a theology of election and superiority, and is designed to encourage vehement religious and militant resistance.

Though reconstructing the history of Persian period Yehud is intrinsically problematic due to the paucity of sources,<sup>46</sup> Sacchi suggests that according to some evidence there may have existed a two-part power structure in Jerusalem throughout the Persian and Greek periods, legitimized by foreign imperial power.<sup>47</sup> Regardless of whether this was the case throughout the Persian period, during the Greek period foreign powers certainly dictated much of the politics of Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> In describing the attempt by Simon of Bilgah (cf. 2 Macc 3:4-6) to gain power of the Temple by essentially bribing the Seleucids, Sacchi makes note that this suggests that the

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<sup>46</sup> Lester Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 142.

<sup>47</sup> Paolo Sacchi, *The History of the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSupp 285; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 166. See also pp. 14 and 116 n.5.

<sup>48</sup> VanderKam, *Growth*, 142.

power of the priesthood in Jerusalem was derived from external sources. “It was only because of their fidelity to the succession of kings who dominated Palestine that the priests had been able to maintain their power.”<sup>49</sup> This seems to be precisely the thing that the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* despises.

As I noted above, the concern of the *Animal Apocalypse* is with the behavior of God’s people in the present. It is, of course, necessary to ask, What is pseudo-Enoch’s present? The tipping point between past and present in the vision can be fixed quite clearly at 90:16-17.<sup>50</sup> Here history as pseudo-Enoch knew it ends, and we see the beginnings of God’s active and irrevocable intervention in the story. If the message of the *Animal Apocalypse* is concerned with the present behavior of pseudo-Enoch’s generation, then it seems advisable to reflect briefly upon the socio-cultural milieu suggested by various apocalypses, as well as the relationship between the *Animal Apocalypse* and what, for the sake of convenience, we might refer to as Jewish society at large.

There is currently a great deal of debate among scholars concerning the notion of apocalyptic groups or sects that may have been responsible for the various pieces of extant literature from the Second Temple period.<sup>51</sup> First of all, what do we mean by “group” or “sect”? Adela-Yarbro Collins suggests that “it has something to do with people who hold themselves as exclusive in some way, as those exclusively saved, righteous, or elect.”<sup>52</sup> As we have seen, the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* certainly saw himself, and likely some subset of the Jewish people, in terms like this. But is it therefore possible to identify a particular “Enoch” group or

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<sup>49</sup> Sacchi, *History*, 222; cf. also 224.

<sup>50</sup> VanderKam, *Growth*, 163.

<sup>51</sup> See Henze’s description and summary of the debate between Collins and Hengel over the so-called “Hasidim.” Matthias Henze, “Enoch’s Dream Visions and the Visions of Daniel Reexamined,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 18.

<sup>52</sup> Adela-Yarbro Collins, “The Theology of Early Enoch Literature,” in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 2002), 112.

“Book of Dreams” group that might be set against, for instance, a “Sirach” group or a “Daniel” group?<sup>53</sup> Even among specialists there is little agreement on what can or cannot be said about such groups with any certainty.<sup>54</sup> Lange suggests that it is more helpful to speak in terms of “a wider apocalyptic milieu” in order to explain the various points of similarity and difference between the Daniel and Enoch texts,<sup>55</sup> but as Davila’s response demonstrates, the similarities are so generic and the differences so pronounced that any such category loses all meaningful value.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps the most helpful suggestion at this stage is Tiller’s view:

Nothing in Daniel, Enoch, or Sirach can be taken as evidence for the existence of a community, group, or movement. There is evidence only for the existence of a class of professional sages and teachers, trained in the traditions of their aristocratic or apocalyptic wisdom, whose politically charged teachings had an impact on their own and subsequent generations.<sup>57</sup>

What we find in the *Animal Apocalypse*, then, is not the manifesto of a clearly defined sociological group, but a piece of religious literature composed for the purpose of influencing Jewish society at large.

With regard to the relationship between the message of the *Animal Apocalypse* and larger Jewish society, there are some things that can be said with relative surety, and other things that are matters of debate. Stuckenbruck summarizes three characteristics of the *Animal Apocalypse*:<sup>58</sup> it presents a divinely revealed message, it supported Judas both militarily and religiously (though perhaps with reservations), and it believed that the lines between the powers of good and evil had been clearly drawn (96). The first and third conclusions are essentially

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<sup>53</sup> See Tiller, “The Sociological Settings of the Components of 1 Enoch,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, 237-255, esp. 254.

<sup>54</sup> See Collins’ description of the panel discussion at the 2001 Enoch Seminar, “Theology,” 112.

<sup>55</sup> Armin Lange, “Dream Visions and Apocalyptic Milieus,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 34.

<sup>56</sup> James R. Davila, “The Animal Apocalypse and Daniel,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 35-38.

<sup>57</sup> Tiller, “The Sociological Context of the Dream Visions of Daniel and 1 Enoch,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 26.

<sup>58</sup> Stuckenbruck, “Reading,” 96. It should be noted that Stuckenbruck accepts the idea of a defined group behind the *Animal Apocalypse* and the Enoch literature, but even though I disagree that such a group can be designated with any confidence, his three points certainly do correspond to the message of the *Animal Apocalypse*.

certain. Regarding the second, it is clearly the case that pseudo-Enoch supported the military campaign of Judas, but as to support for Judas' Temple cleansing (cf. 1 Macc. 4:36-61; 2 Macc 10:1-8), this does not appear at all in the *Animal Apocalypse*. It seems far more likely that the author of the *Animal Apocalypse* wrote his message before Judas' cultic activity, and saw the revolt as the final sign of the very end of the age. It can clearly be seen that in 1 En 90:14-19 the revolt is brought to a conclusion when YHWH himself (that is, the Lord of the sheep) intercedes and ushers in the new age.

The question of the pseudo-Enoch's attitude toward the Temple and the cult is also a matter of significant disagreement. Some, with VanderKam, would suggest that "[it] remains a fact...that no emphasis is placed on the Mosaic law.... It simply plays no role for this writer."<sup>59</sup> Others, with Portier-Young, assert that "[the] author emphasized Torah fidelity, particularly with regard to cult."<sup>60</sup> Though 1 En 89:73 is unequivocal in its rejection of the Second Temple and its cult, Collins is certainly correct to caution against the assumption that this entails a wholesale rejection of Temple and cult.<sup>61</sup> It is much more likely that pseudo-Enoch was deeply concerned with the Temple and the cult, as the reverence for both the heavenly Temple (87:3) and the Solomonic Temple (89:50) indicate, but that there was some conflict between pseudo-Enoch and the current Temple establishment.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> VanderKam, *Man*, 80. See also Martha Himmelfarb, "Temple and Priests in the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse of Weeks," in *The Early Enoch Literature*, 232-233; Henze's summary of Boccaccini's view, and the consequent critique of Hindy Najman, "Dream Visions," 19.

<sup>60</sup> Portier-Young, "Theologies," 130. See also Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 355.

<sup>61</sup> Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination 2nd Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 69. Ellens and García Martínez suggest the same is true of the altered Enochic calendar in the Astronomical Book. J. Harold Ellens and Florentino García Martínez, "Enochians and Zadokites," in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, 148.

<sup>62</sup> Knibb suggests that this may have been another, disenfranchised, priestly group ("Temple and Cult in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Writings from before the Common Era," in *Essays on the book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* [SVTP 22; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009], 377), but Tiller counters this argument by noting that a priestly faction would likely have made room for a new Temple in the eschatological vision (Tiller, *Commentary*, 109). Of course there is no need to posit an explicit priestly group behind the *Animal Apocalypse* for this disillusionment with the Temple to be significant.

Knibb suggests that the assault on the Second Temple and its cult is part of a wider set of motifs that work together to indicate that, for pseudo-Enoch, “Judah continued in a state of exile after the return [from Babylon], a state that would only be finally brought to an end with the inauguration of the new age.”<sup>63</sup> Knibb’s insight is important, as it suggests that if the author of *Animal Apocalypse* saw the exile as ongoing, this may have been because even after the return from exile the Jews were still de-facto servants of one empire or another. What changes drastically with the advent of the eschatological age is that all other nations are subordinated to the Jews and they are finally a truly triumphant people. Tiller’s suggestion that the final eschatological reality is “universalist” is true only insofar as all nations submit universally to God’s elect people, and thus are themselves included among the elect.<sup>64</sup>

As I discussed above, one of the most important components of the imagery of the *Animal Apocalypse* is the blindness (and consequent uncleanness) of the sheep in the post-exilic period. This blindness reaches its height in the sheep that beget the lambs who will become the key contemporary protagonists for pseudo-Enoch. These sheep ignore the pleas of the lambs, and are described as “extremely and excessively blinded” (90:7). Immediately following this in 90:6-9, the young lambs revolt against the old regime by revolting against the foreign powers that stand behind it. This scene is the only explicit indication of what the blindness of the sheep means. Though, as I have noted, this is generally regarded as metaphor to indicate a lack of spiritual insight the image is a little more specific.

We can see what blindness means to pseudo-Enoch by examining what it means for the lambs to become sighted. The key factor that distinguishes the two groups is that the sighted lambs are unwilling to submit to the rule of a foreign power. What else but such a position of

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<sup>63</sup> Knibb, “Temple,” 375-376.

<sup>64</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 20.

rebellion would have provoked the wrath of the ravens (the Seleucids) in 90:7? Note also the earlier situation in 89:41 (the summary of the time of the Judges), in which the sheep vacillate between sight and blindness. In both situations blindness most likely indicates religious betrayal or apostasy, and in all cases of blindness in the *Animal Apocalypse* the apostate live under foreign rule. The two situations are so closely bound that it is difficult to see if apostasy leads to foreign rule, or if allowing foreign rule is a brand of apostasy. Likely it is a rather muddled combination of the two that is at work in the *Animal Apocalypse*. In any case this is, perhaps, the most important and fundamental division of the *Animal Apocalypse*. Those animals that are clean, that are elect, are the ones that do not countenance foreign, pagan rule.

In concert with this total rejection of foreign rule is the type/anti-type motif between the antediluvian generation and pseudo-Enoch's apostate contemporaries, as well as between the exodus from Egypt and desert wanderings, and the final eschatological judgment. As I have already noted above, in much apocalyptic literature (including the *Animal Apocalypse*), "[eschatology] and protology are in fact two sides of the same coin."<sup>65</sup>

As Stuckenbruck suggests, the final age described in the *Animal Apocalypse* (that is, the present of the author of the *Animal Apocalypse*) was seen as equal in evil and wickedness to the antediluvian age. Just as that age led to the great Flood, so this age leads inexorably to God's final intervention on behalf of his elect. "The dimensions of antediluvian evil show themselves once again, though with a different face. On this point the fictive and 'real' horizons of the present converge."<sup>66</sup> The other point of commonality between the two eras is the promise of God's salvation for the elect. Here we find a strong and important connection between the first and second dream visions. Enoch's prayer in 84:1-6 that a remnant be saved is fulfilled in 89:1-

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<sup>65</sup> Paolo Sacchi, "The Theology of Early Enochism and Apocalyptic," in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, 80.

<sup>66</sup> Stuckenbruck, "Reading," 101.

9. “The author’s own community were to self-identify as antitypes of the righteous Noah, the remnant saved from the flood, and Enoch, whose intercession helped effect that salvation.”<sup>67</sup>

Combined with this flood/final age motif is the exodus-desert/eschaton motif. The exodus and desert wanderings represent, in the *Animal Apocalypse*, “an ideal period.”<sup>68</sup> Portier-Young makes note of several points of similarity between the exodus and the God’s final intervention in the *Animal Apocalypse*. These include “themes of darkness (90:15), splitting (now the earth 90:18), sinking of the enemies (now into the earth 90:18) and covering (90:18).”<sup>69</sup> The parallel leads to the clear conclusion that this final eschatological event and the following new age are the ultimate culmination of God’s work. Here what was begun in the Flood and the exodus from Egypt will be made complete. And at the close of this strongly deterministic history,<sup>70</sup> the faithful elect, represented by the lambs, must play their part.<sup>71</sup>

This part is, more than anything else, militant, violent resistance against the pagan oppressors. The paradigms upon whom pseudo-Enoch places the most complimentary image of sighted lambs are (possibly) Onias III, and Judas Maccabeus. If the commonly used translation of 90:8 is accepted (“and seized one of those lambs”)<sup>72</sup> Onias is almost certainly the lamb who is murdered by the ravens for resisting their rule. Judas Maccabeus is the lamb who grows horns in

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<sup>67</sup> Portier-Young, “Theologies,” 140; see also VanderKam, *Growth*, 170.

<sup>68</sup> VanderKam, *Man*, 78.

<sup>69</sup> Portier-Young, “Theologies,” 182. See also Tiller, *Commentary*, 286-287; and Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, 379, 401.

<sup>70</sup> Koch, “Astral Laws,” 133. Cf. Kvanvig (“Cosmic Laws and Cosmic Imbalance,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, 158), who suggests that we find the opposite situation in the Book of the Watchers, where “the cosmos is out of divine control.”

<sup>71</sup> Henze, “Dream Visions,” 21.

<sup>72</sup> This is Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s translation, which I follow throughout this paper: Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *I Enoch*. Black renders the phrase: “and seized *the leader* of the rams” (italics original). See Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch* (SVTP; Leiden: Brill, 1985). Tiller points out the significant textual difficulties with this verse and suggests a translation of “and seized those lambs” (*Commentary*, 352-354). Even if Tiller’s translation is accurate the point remains fundamentally the same and the ravens attack those Jews who resist the program of forced Hellenization.

90:9 and leads the other sheep in a military campaign against the unclean birds that represent the pagan Greeks.<sup>73</sup> These are the paragons of election pseudo-Enoch means his readers to emulate.

In addition to this role of violent resistance, Portier-Young suggests that readers of the *Animal Apocalypse* are also encouraged to take up the prophetic mantle of Enoch in “lament and petition.”<sup>74</sup> As Enoch petitioned for a remnant from the Flood, so also pseudo-Enoch and his readers are to petition God for a remnant among the elect. As Tiller notes, “the Enochic band...was fighting the enemies of God as a prelude to the final judgment of its Jewish enemies and the establishment of justice and peace in a New Jerusalem.”<sup>75</sup> The *Animal Apocalypse* is not only about militant resistance, though this is key. It is more deeply about proclaiming that God’s elect should and will be raised above their enemies.

## 5. Conclusion: The Last are First

We have seen thus far that pseudo-Enoch feels a strong tie between himself, along with all faithful Jews, and the typological past particularly as represented by Enoch and his descendents. Just as all of the truly faithful Israelites are represented as clean animals in the *Animal Apocalypse*, so also pseudo-Enoch’s compatriots are depicted as the sighted lambs of chapter 90. What is more, these sighted lambs are particularly great and notable because they have thrown off the defiling blindness of their immediate forebears. By tracing the heritage of this group of elect lambs back through history and connecting them to all of the other elect that have come before, pseudo-Enoch has carved out a place of eminent importance for himself and his compatriots in this final age. It is their militant resistance and their clarion call that will demonstrate their loyalty and election, and help to bring about the final re-orientation of the universe.

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<sup>73</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 62-63, 355.

<sup>74</sup> Portier-Young, “Theologies,” 157.

<sup>75</sup> Tiller, *Commentary*, 126.

The historiography of the *Animal Apocalypse* depends very heavily on both the pseudonymous figure of Enoch as the perfect visionary, and on the ever present theme of election as represented by the clean/unclean division. Pseudo-Enoch takes up these two tools in order to rally his people to faithful, militant resistance to foreign rule and to the corruption of the people of God. The past becomes a message for the present, and hope for the future.