

Paradise Found: The Reconfiguration of Eden in Jewish Apocalyptic Writing ; Transformations, Conflations, Parallels and Origins of the Ancient and Near Past

Whether as specific as a reference to the Book of Genesis, or as a synonym for Paradise, the idea of the Garden of Eden abstracts perfection —perfect peace, perfect harmony, perfect health— and links it to divinity. In their entirety, or in the symbolism of their discrete components, the textual precursors of the garden of Eden furnish important conceptual elements for Jewish apocalyptic end time scenarios. Not all Jewish apocalypses draw on the same biblical, historical or mythic paradise, nor do they juxtapose or conflate elements in the same way; however, through their particular use of Edenic imagery, some Jewish apocalypses are thematically related both to each other and to their ancient origins. In this essay, I will explore how Eden reconfiguredⁱ attempts to repair a perceived rupture in “the sacred canopy.”ⁱⁱ Through comparative textual analysis and scholarly analysis, it should be possible to trace particular symbols from Eden which appear in blissful end times, and understand how and why they have been reconfigured, and what of their previous associations they have retained as they serve to illustrate a new vision.

Beneath the aegis of Eden are constituents more fluid and miscellaneous in their manifestations. The references to these elements (and hence to Eden) in apocalyptic literature are ambiguous and polyvalent. The Edenic landscape imagery may function on a theological, political, literary, and mythic level simultaneously. *River/spring, 11mountain, tree, east/west/north/south, temple*, and the like —each term is a doorway to a world of allusions and interpretations which transcend time. First Enoch is one of many intertestamental texts such as The Wisdom of ben Sira, The Book of Watchersⁱⁱⁱ, the third Apocalypse of Baruch^{iv}, and the Book of Jubilees^v built out of traditions some of which preceded, others which postdated

Genesis, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The trees of Eden—the tree of life, the tree of righteousness, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—that we find in first to third century texts have their roots in the Hesperides and Elysium, in the cedars of Gilgamesh’s mountains. Holy mountains, encircling ocean, and sacred rivers appear in apocalyptic visions, pointed out to prophet-elects by heavenly guides. Some Jewish apocalyptic writers choose to link paradise with the Temple by the relocation of garden elements, such as the Tree of Life, outside Eden, in juxtaposition with other symbols.

Interestingly, it is in the apocalyptic literature that Eden gets paired with Gehenna; the issue of the origin of sin, raised for the first time in this non-canonical literature, is carried forward and developed in Christianity. Many of the powerful motifs, such as the rivers of Eden, maintain their mythic importance from their most ancient sources to their reappearance in biblical and post-biblical writing. The linguistic correspondence of the rivers of paradise to the geography of biblical lands is an example of the link between myth and history, and in that respect it is similar to Mesopotamian texts.

In the third century Book of the Watchers, (the first thirty six chapters of I Enoch,^{vi}) those essential elements of earthly geography— mountain, river, etc.— are transplanted to the heavens that Enoch encounters in his tour; his descriptions function both as labels and signposts, anticipating their incremental significance for the end times. Through a series of elaborate reiterations, Enoch’s conception of “mountain” is initiated, then developed and expanded as a symbol. The “mountain” construct is built slowly, beginning with a simple image, referencing origins, of both a people and of an eschatological agenda.

“And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven...(17: 2)

A transition statement. Darkness, like that of a primordial world, perhaps, and a mountain reaching to heaven are earthly conceptions, concrete. But the statement is allusive —we are to associate mountains as a connection, a highway to heaven, like Jacob’s ladder. (Gen 28:12) According to Himmelfarb, there is some correspondence here with Ezekiel 40, in which God promises the future restoration of the Temple and land to the people of Israel. She identifies this mountain with Mt. Zion, and cites it as an example of an adapted Canaanite myth^{vii},^{viii}, referring to the mountain of the gods,^{ix} and Ezekial-Moses’ Sinai. In En. 17:2, the darkness was separate from the mountain. Shortly after, in 17: 7, the darkness absorbs the mountains, intensifying the impact of the image.

“...I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter (17:7)

1. No longer earthly mountains, the poetic juxtaposition of darkness and winter reiterates something of ominous, frightening power. Enoch will return to these dark mountains in 18 where they wall the abyss of whoring angels. The alternating descriptions of sin and salvation symbolized through the mountain imagery foreshadow Enoch’s descriptions of the fates of men.
2. Sandwiched between the dark visions is a sharply contrasting mountain range, a more complex image both in its visual appearance and in its allusive qualities. 33

“.. a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, (18:6)

Enoch sees and twice describes this group of mountains, of which is one, “like the throne of the Lord” 18:8.^x In reference to “Isaiah 54:11 ff., Jerusalem ..[is] ...the heavenly city *come to earth.. Her walls and gates are built of precious stones...*,”^{xi} Enoch intentionally exploits the ambiguity and overlap of references by the metonymic use of the word “stones.” Himmelfarb also sees “a conflation of Eden and Zion traditions, as the gems of the mountains recall the precious stones of Eden in Genesis 2-3”^{xii} and I think intends a reference to Ezekiel 28:13 as well.^{xiii} Certainly the

precious stones recall the construction of the priestly sacred vestments in Exodus 28:12-23. In its second appearance, the mountain range is juxtaposed with the tree of life, changing its meaning as we will see shortly.

In striking opposition to the mountain vision of plenitude is the parallel image of emptiness. It is equated first with chaos, then with anxiety produced by the imminence of God's action:

1. And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither 3 a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. (21:1-2)mountain [and] of hard rock. 2 And there was in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at. 3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should 4 assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.' (22:1)

Here is the revealed combatant —the chaos monster in its elemental form—and the coming judgment. In the following verse, the mountain, (not just the mountain, but the *seventh*^{xiv} mountain, that recurrent magic number) is identified with the throne (God as king) and juxtaposed with an immortal tree:

1. a mountain range of 2 fire which burnt day and night. ... seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair ... the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them 4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: 5 and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit n resembles the dates of a palm. "(24 :1-5)

Here in verse 24 is Enoch's detailed description of his second tour. But in following verse, the angel correlates each symbol from its Edenic origin to the Temple in "the eschatological future,"^{xv} as does Ezekiel, with the righteous enjoying its bounty. Himmelfarb quotes it as well.

'This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit 4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation 5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.'^{xvi} (25:3-5)

Enoch appropriates Ezekiel's high mountain (Ez.2), which Levenson, like Himmelfarb, equates with Mt. Zion,^{xvii} as in restoration of the land, and relocates it to an end time restoration. Levenson identifies several mythic elements embedded in the mountain concept— the locus of divine presence in the form of the Temple, symbol of the people.

E.J.C. Tigchelaar comments on the universality of these mythic symbols, such as the holy mountain, and he acknowledges the difficulty of ascribing a particular origin when, sources are so similar.^{xviii} As to the origin of Enoch's mountains — do they derive from the ancient mountains of Mashu,^{xix} in Gilgamesh, the Mazdean Hara, before they took shape in the Biblical world?

Overlapping imagery is important because it is the basic mechanism for linking creation with salvation. For a concept to be credible, there needs to be a zone of commonality, a sharing of some essential elements. The mythic concept of sacred space in Enoch, Ezekial, and the Old Testament in general, is that a place is sacred because it is holy. "Both Eden and Zion share the same quality of space.places where a complete harmony exists between God and his creation."^{xx} But Childs points out an essential problem in the construction and function of myth in the Old Testament which is relevant to its use by Enoch, i.e., the conflation of the two elements. Childs describes Old Testament prophets as using the terms "Zion" and "Eden" analogously, rather than as an identity, which is how it is configured in apocalyptic literature.^{xxi}

He uses the equation “*Erzeit = Endzeit*”^{xxii} (Beginning Time = Endtime) to describe a conception of “primeval time” equivalent with “eschatological time,”^{xxiii} in which the future is a return to the past. Zion, however, was not present at the creation, but is a function of historical reality, so its foundational purpose symbolizes the interface of reality and myth.^{xxiv} This facilitates the correspondence of lived reality with the apocalyptic world view.

The Tree of Righteousness in 1 Enoch presents a similar problem as the mountain to Tigchelaar in that the sacred tree is an equally universal myth. However, its properties, while similar, will not always overlap. He notes, “According to many biblical scholars the Genesis tradition of *two* trees in the Garden of Eden presents a conflation of traditions.”^{xxv} As Enoch’s Tree of Life stands alone, he wonders whether this is part of an earlier tradition or whether “the author had the same difficulties as modern scholars.”^{xxvi} Enoch’s Garden of Righteousness is found in Chapter 32.^{xxvii}

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, 3 I and from afar off trees more numerous than I these trees and great-two trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.... the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then 6 I said: ‘How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!’ Then Raphael the holy angel,... said: ‘This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, ..., have eaten, and they learnt wisdom ... they were driven out of the garden.’^{xxviii}

Were we to rely only on this passage we would understand that in the Garden of Righteousness, Enoch’s name for the end time Eden, there are two trees, one of which is the tree of knowledge/wisdom which refers to Genesis 2:9.^{xxix} From Enoch’s discussion with the angel Raphael, it is clear that the loss of Eden, not Adam and Eve’s transgression, is the emphasis here; “tree” is a synecdoche for Eden. Implicit in the emphasis on loss is its opposite, an Eden, Paradise, restored to the righteous. From Chapter 24 to this passage, Enoch’s author has been

intertwining the themes of mountains and trees, towards the goal of reconfiguring Eden with the Temple as a restoration scenario. As in the development of the mountain imagery, he uses the same scheme of a gradual development, the sharply contrasting motifs of bountifulness and barrenness, and the transplantation of biblical imagery to an eschatological locus. In Enoch 24:4, there is a description of the seventh mountain, which is “of the earth, “ rather than heaven; fragrance adds a descriptive sensory dimension that is new and is here coupled with immortality.

(The breath of life = fragrance = eternal life/ paradise) We have seen and we have heard. Now we smell, practically taste Paradise. This seventh mountain, juxtaposed with the throne, reiterates God’s eternal dominion:

[the seventh mountain] excelled them 4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever:

Between this verse and the naming of the Garden of Righteousness four verses later, there is a dramatic intensification of the “fragrant tree” motif. 25:1” ..Enoch, why doest thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree..

25:3: .. ‘This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit 4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation 5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

The angel, in the next few lines, equates the holiness of the place of the Elect with fragrance that will be in their bones, a long life on earth, free of troubles. From earth to middle earth in Chapter 26, “1...a blessed place in which there were 2 trees with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain, ..” but here again we get the antithesis, the absence of trees. “And all the ravines were deep and narrow, (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them.” in Chapter 26:5 as the landscape of the valley of the accursed which occupies the remainder of the chapter.

With the hellish vision set forth, the ensuing images bring water out of the desert, trees and plants out of wilderness and we transition to aromatic trees, which are detailed by the names of their fragrances: frankincenses and myrrh^{xxx}, almond, mastic, and cinnamon.

As Enoch rotates his gaze, he also inhales the landscape (taking in the entire sweep of the east.) He adds nectar, aloe, stact, which he describes as sweeter than sweet when burnt^{xxxii} (a synecdoche for Jerusalem/Temple through its offerings,) nard^{xxxiii}, fragrant trees, cinnamon, again, and pepper. These are the very spices God tells Moses he must use to anoint the tent of meeting and the ark of the covenant in Exodus 30:23.^{xxxiii} Implicit in this reference is the idea of a “new covenant,” a “ new Jerusalem.”^{xxxiv}

[An] example of the qualitatively new is given in Isa. 65.17[-25] The new heavens and new earth are contrasted to the former things ...which are no longer to be rememberedAlthough the *Endzeit* is a return to the *Urzeit*, these two times cannot be simply identified. ...the altered form of the mythical pattern witnesses to a reality which appeared first in veiled form, but lastly in its full intensity.^{xxxv}

In this way, Enoch embraces and transcends Biblical history, for it is at this point in his tale that he passes beyond the summits of the mountains, reaching the apex of both the narrative and the eschatological goal, the Garden of Righteousness.

A third element in all paradises is the sacred stream/river. The “motif of the sacred stream”^{xxxvi} runs in parallel with mountain imagery in verse 17 and is more developed in verse 26, where it is also linked with the tree motif.^{xxxvii} We have already examined the conjunction of the mountain and tree imagery in Chapter 26:2. The passage continues:

...And there I saw a holy mountain, 3 and underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow 4 ravine: in it also ran a stream underneath the mountain.

In combination, Enoch 24 through 26 closely resemble the text of Ezekial 47:1-7 which continues:

8 Then said he unto me: ‘These waters issue forth toward the eastern region, and shall go down into the Arabah; and when they shall enter into the sea, into the sea of the putrid waters, the waters shall be healed. 9 And it shall come to pass, that every living creature wherewith it swarmeth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live; and there shall be a very great multitude of fish; for these waters are come thither, that all things be healed and may live whithersoever the river cometh. 12 And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow every tree for food, whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall the fruit thereof fail; it shall bring forth new fruit every month, because the waters thereof issue out of the sanctuary; and the fruit thereof shall be for food, and the leaf thereof for healing.’ Ezekial 47^{xxxviii}

Abundance, healing, and renewal flow from the mountain, the source, the Temple.^{xxxix} Levenson ascribes the origin of the sacred river idea to a “Canaanite concept of El’s abode only”^{xl} rather than an Israelite source. He feels that the river of Zion incorporates the symbolism of Isaiah in both its presentation as a “token of divine fidelity which should evoke faith on the part of the people,”^{xli} and further, as an “instrument of regeneration,”^{xlii} and transfiguration. The waters of Eden forms four great rivers. Of those, Gihon^{xliii} connects to the spring of that name, “south of

the Temple mount ...where the high Priest and the prophet anointed Solomon King (1 Kings 1:33,38,48)^{xliv} uniting Eden, Zion, history, and end time in Enoch's version. Himmelfarb makes a similar point about a Canaanite origin, but stresses that Ezekiel's eschatological configuration of Zion-Eden is nevertheless distanced from that origin; it is Ezekial who furnishes the model that Enoch follows. One curious water reference is Chapter 32: 2, the sentence before he arrives at the Garden of Righteousness. " And thence I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed above the Erythraean sea^{xlv} and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel."

There are several ancient texts which prefigured the holy mountain-fruitful tree- life-giving stream configuration of Eden. From Sumer comes the depiction of "the bright land of Dilmun, watered by the sun god, where there is an abundance of grain, where there is neither sickness or death, and the wolf is at peace with the lamb."^{xlvi} & ^{xlvii} Within the mythical Sumero-Babylonian literature is a kind of holy tree which is placed near "the river with the two mouths."^{xlviii}

In Eridu there is a black *kiskanu*-tree
growing in a pure place,
its appearance is lapis-lazuli,
erected on the *Apsu*.

Enki [the water-god, patron of the city of Eridu] when walking there, filleth Eridu with abundance,

In the foundation thereof is the place of the underworld,
in the resting-place is the chamber of Nammu [the goddess who represents primordial ocean, who gave birth to heaven and earth, Kramer]

In its holy temple there is a grove, casting its shadow,
therein no man goeth to enter.

In the midst are the Sun-god and the Sovereign of heaven,
in between the river with the two mouths.^{xlix}

While certain paradisaical themes occur in these ancient texts which are similar to Biblical text and carried over to 1 Enoch, there are nevertheless some elements significant in an

apocalyptic context which are not. Between Chapters 24 and 32¹ there is a new focus on the cartographic orientation of the new Eden.

It is especially important to note and decode the symbolic geography in order to understand how carefully and strategically Eden is being reconfigured. Enoch's author needs to use these cardinal points to carry other symbols and symbol combinations from one context to another; he depends heavily on their polyvalence. While it is true that his geographic language is frequent, it is never casual and it delineates precise symbolic categories; e.g., the west is never associated with the Temple, or the destination of the Righteous. When Enoch's vision begins in Chapter 17 and 23, he leaves fire and darkness in the west, and looks to the mountains of the east and south in Chapter 18, and 24, a stream to the east, another flowing to the south in Chapter 26:3. In the east of Chapters 30, 31 lie spices and abundance, to the mountains of the north, the spices which symbolize Zion, en route to the Garden of Righteousness in Chapter 32. In that respect he follows earlier conventions, e.g., the holy mountain, Mount Zion, in Psalm 48:1-2, lies in the far north.

An east-west axis for Eden and images of the sanctuary in Genesis is the focus of the attention of three scholars. It is in their work that the importance of the eastern direction is extensively delineated.^{li} Wenhem and Miller noted the entrance to the garden as east,^{lii} like the sanctuaries of Ezekial et al (see footnote 47) and according to Wenhem there is, in addition, a linguistic identity—the same word for God's presence in the garden as in the sanctuary.

The Greek parallel to Eden is the Garden of the Hesperides, the garden at the western end of the earth, first referred to the Hesiod's Theogony, and later, with Hesperids, apples and serpent, within the telling of the labors of Hercules. The narration is also depicted on many artifacts.^{liii} Similarly located at the ends of the Earth is Elysium, sorrowless land of Odysseus,

“...associated specifically with the West Wind....though later ...a place for dead heroes...Early concepts...treated this land as an alternative for death...though in the Classical period...a blessed afterlife.”^{liv}

Both Elysium and the Hesperides were encircled by a fresh water ocean, Okeanos, the source of all potable and agricultural water, and as such are waters of life, like the springs under the mountains of Gan Eden.^{lv} Although Hesiod describes the Elysian paradise within a discussion of the five metallic ages, for which there is a strong parallel in the metal mountains of Daniel,^{lvi} the only references to metal in 1 Enoch are in Chapter 8. There is a discussion of Azazel’s iniquities in teaching men how to make weapons, which takes place outside of the Garden of Eden. However, they do serve as examples of one of the conceptions of Eden, that of a Utopia, far from the forces of chaos. Certainly Enoch’s Garden of Righteousness is a Utopian vision, and in that respect it is similar, but it would be hard to support any further direct correlation with Greek texts.

But Enoch’s vision is not just limited to an ideal; like other Pre-Roman literature,^{lvii} especially Jubilees, it is also a vengeful vision.^{lviii} “According to I Enoch 90:19, “the sheep (=Israel) will kill the wild animals (Gentiles).”^{lix lx} Even though this quote comes from a later section of Enoch, an addendum to the Enoch corpus,^{lxi} it illustrates the kind of darker visions which are threaded through the writing; we can find a similar theme in the first thirty-six chapters as well. In contrast, evil within the biblical Eden only exists as a presentiment in Gen. 1:10— as a descriptor— the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and then again in Genesis 2:17, where the same exact phrase is reiterated. Evil is undefined in Gen: 3:5. “..for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil.” When Enoch’s author cites the etiology of human sin, he decouples evil from God and

from the garden and ascribes it, instead, to the fallen angels who have descended from heaven to Mt. Hermon.

And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: ‘Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men 3 and beget us children.’ And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: ‘I fear ye will not 4 indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.’^{lxii}

In this roundabout way, the ability to sin is “transmitted “ to humans; it is part of their *genetic* makeup. The fate of the fallen angels sets the stage for the vision of the un-righteous, and furnishes the chaotic imagery which is woven through the tapestry of darkness.

‘Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening 5 in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may 6,7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire^{lxiii}

An opening, darkness, jagged rocks, a desert eternal— the antithesis of Eden— this image is quite similar to the prison of angels in Chapter 22. The parallels here support the idea that along with the program for sin transmitted by the angels went the probable fate of eternal punishment; in other words, humans inherited the flaws of those angels and therefore they must suffer corresponding fates. To similar voids, the “hollow places,” eternal barrenness and suffering go the spirits of sinners, first to await judgment, then for eternal torment. Both debased angels and human sinners are linked in this way within the same chapter. This picture of hell is differentiated from the end time paradise only in the most general way. Enoch doesn’t furnish a specific location. It is “another place.” From the verses which follow, it is possible to get the impression that this could be at some “end of the earth,” perhaps west. This gloomy vision is juxtaposed with a tree (no longer the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, rather a “blooming tree,” such as is associated with paradise,) and with a holy mountain, but located “in the middle

of the earth.” But there is some confusion between the two visions of hell. Is the latter eternally accursed valley of the irredeemable located below paradise on earth.? Or at least middle earth? Or are we to understand that the sinning inhabitants of this hell are more contemporary to Enoch and less abstractions than the Sheol^{lxiv} of the west which contained the historical biblical sinners such as Cain^{lxv}?^{lxvi} By chapter 46, these references have become quite specific, so it does seem likely that the earlier passage may have been broadly allusive, or at the very least, a veiled reference.^{lxvii} If we consider pertinent Old Testament references such as Isaiah and Ezekial, e.g.,

Isaiah 5:14

Therefore Sheol has enlarged its throat and opened its mouth without measure;

And Jerusalem’s splendor, her multitude, her din of revelry and the jubilant within her, descend into it.

Isaiah 14:15

“Nevertheless you will be thrust down to Sheol,
To the recesses of the pit.

Ezekiel 31:16

“I made the nations quake at the sound of its fall when I made it go down to Sheol with those who go down to the pit; and all the well-watered trees of Eden, the choicest and best of Lebanon, were comforted in the earth beneath

where there temple, Eden, and “pit” coexist, it suggests the likely model for Enoch’s choice of depicting an end time with contrasting futures for the elect and the damned.

The reconfiguration, transplantation, and conflation of the Old Testament symbols are the primary means used by the author of I Enoch to legitimize his end time vision. By drawing on the potent images and language of Ezekiel and Isaiah, of Genesis, and the rest, he evokes the powerful and the covenantal as he brings ancient prophecy to life for his own times. Into those visions, he inserts himself as a credible contemporary link in the prophetic chain. Once assured that he is encased in the authority of the past, he quickly advances— each invocation of the

familiar is not merely a repetition, but an embroidery, a collage, a filleting. From Ezekiel, (Mesopotamian and Canaanite traditions) he has already obtained an identification of Mount Zion and the Garden of Eden. Levenson calls those traditions “catalysts.”^{lxviii}

“Those features ...fabulous mineral wealth, great beauty, a miraculous stream, perhaps trees of greater than botanical significance, and certainly the unmediated accessibility of Godmost important ...the motif of kingship ..temple on the mountain ...conceived as paradise.”^{lxix}

To the author of Enoch they are found objects which can be seized, fused, and anchored in new locations. The conflation of individual symbols accomplishes two things —it compounds the meaning of the symbols; and it establishes them in the new context of Enoch’s eschatological vision.

Chapters 6-36 present what R.H. Charles considers to be “the earliest and in some respects the most primitive theodicy of the second century.”^{lxx} Enoch is not so much initially concerned with the fate of individuals as that of a righteous nation.

“Chapter 10:21..... And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations 22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.”^{lxxi}

The apocalypse is written in a time of persecutions, a time of despair, to serve as a way of reconciling “undeserved calamities of the elect peopleand the belief in God’s righteousness with the suffering condition of his servants on earth.”^{lxxii} But the later additions to

The Watchers of 1 Enoch have evolved to embrace a more comprehensive conception. Charles observes a development between the former and latter chapters towards the “heavenly Jerusalem in the place of the earthly as center of the kingdom.”^{lxxiii}

Is there a vision of Eden in the so called “Parable Chapters”? There are certainly the repetitions of symbols, but the allegorical function develops in a somewhat different way. Water imagery—fountain of righteousness(En. 48:1), the metal mountains of Daniel et al in En 52:1, deep valleys and mountains as in En 55 etc., chaos monsters, are classic in terms of apocalyptic imagery, but have a different tone and function than the first thirty six chapters:

60: 7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the 8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first 9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created.

The reference in Enoch 61: 12 makes reference to the “garden of life” but there is an ambiguity about the context in which it appears, particularly in the reiterative use of the word “all”:

All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

Even though the earth has been purified of its sinners, persecutors, and political opponents, the mundane plane of existence is not sufficiently exalted for the righteous elect who are transformed “into a higher form of life.”^{lxxiv} Enoch 62: 14:

And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:

And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

The Lord of the Spirits represents a destination, not a locus; the Eden of Genesis has been supplanted. It is no longer needed.

Genesis' Eden—paradise—was the generative matrix for imagery which the author(s) of The Book of the Watchers needed. But those images, as they stood, though they represented a utopian ideal, offered little hope, comfort, or explanation for intertestamental times. This was a period in which there was a discontinuity between an overwhelmingly oppressive experiential reality and traditional solace in terms of sacred text. 17Ezekiel's vision, too, wasn't comprehensive enough. It fell short in addressing the current and historical problem of evil—of oppression, injustice, persecution for those Jews who adhered to their tradition, and the overwhelming success and power of those who were evil, unjust, and faithless—with any life guidance. Consequently, the reconfiguration of Eden was Enoch's attempt to address the perceived inadequacies of text-based Judaism. His solution maintained the conception of ultimate justice, while he added ultimate rewards for the righteous to compensate for the apparent impossibility of realizing them in an earthly realm. As Collins says, "The suffering of the present can be viewed from the perspective of ultimate transcendence.....whatever crisis

pollutes the earth, the foundations of the cosmos, its outer regions and the places of judgement remain intact...it is sufficient that there is an eventual judgement.”^{lxxv}

Apocalyptic within Judaism never developed as a mainstream idea, and in that respect, it, like 1 Enoch, never functioned as more than a patch on the sacred canopy. But individual ideas within the genre did have an impact on the development of religious thought, certainly for the development of a messianic ideas of salvation and restoration, conceptions of evil such as hell, sin, and justice. First Enoch made a significant contribution to that process by bringing forward the conception of Eden from a historical past to a conceivable future.

--Lois Whitmore

End Notes

1ⁱ Enoch, esp Chapters 1-36

2ⁱⁱ Peter Berger, “*The Sacred Canopy*” When the dominant and pervasive theological world view fails to explain lived reality, necessity compels a paradigm shift to a world view, the *sacred canopy*, which does. The apocalyptic world view is such a paradigm shift.

3 “For Peter Berger the sociologist, religion has always been a human construction, a social universe of meaning projecting a sacred cosmos. Because the supernatural is a realm set against the reality of every day life and is often seen to surround it, it can only be communicated by sacredness through religions’ collective symbolisations. Sacredness is a quality of power realised in experience and objects of life. So religion is constructed to be a canopy of sacred objects and meanings, a universe of built meaning to reflect collective and therefore project itself right into the personal beliefs of the individual and human groups. Thus there is a relationship between institutions, the forms of work and life, and both social and inner meaning.

This sacred canopy is maintained by the social order, and in turn makes the objective social order subjectively legitimated to every thinking individual. The objective institutions of society are placed into history and the very drama of unfolding life, and that history reflects the playing out of divine reality. The Church, of course, is the key institution uniting the supernatural and the progress of the world.

Furthermore, the subjective impact of this construction and reflection is in the explanation of events of significance, thus explaining the perceived good and bad of life within that order. It pervades every area of life right down to the very personal, so that sexual relationships reflect the divine to human relationship, and health and wellbeing reflect the condition of the individual in relation to the divine will.

It is a very thorough, united and unifying ideological system with sacred and supernatural support.” <http://www.change.freeuk.com/learning/sothink/berger.html>

1ⁱⁱⁱ third century BCE for Chapters 1-36. I bid.

2^{iv} roughly contemporary with 4 Ezra, end of first century C.E., Collins, p.197.

3^v Harrington quoting G.W. E. Nickelsburg suggests a date of composition in 168 B.C.E. on the basis of the apocalypse in Chap. 23 and negative attitudes toward Gentile practices, unlike Van der Kam who places it between 161 and 152. Kraft and Nickelsburg, ed. *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*. p.243

4^{vi} Himmelfarb, *The Temple and the Garden of Eden* in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces* p.66

5^{vii} “While Baal leaves for Zaphon’s summit.-

There, she” is off on her way (20)

Towards El of the Sources of the Two Floods

In the midst of the headwaters of the Two Oceans....

Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends H.L.Ginsberg, trans. <http://www.iktinos.org/archives/ Janet/3.html>

1^{viii} The “Zaphon” in the Canaanite myth is similar to the Hebrew word *sapon* for “north.” In Psalm 48:1-2, “...His holy mountain ..Mount Zion, in the far north...” <http://www.bibleandscience.com/ugaritic.htm>

2^{ix} Himmelfarb, p. 64.

3^x Himmelfarb, *The Temple and the Garden of Eden* p 69. In Genesis, the stones are linked to the rivers.

4^{xi} Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*. p 86.

5^{xii} Ibid.

6^{xiii} You were in Eden, the garden of God:

7 every precious stone was your covering,

8 arnelian, chrysolite, and moonstone,

9 beryl, onyx, and jasper,

10 sapphire, turquoise, and emerald;28:14...you were on the holy mountain of God...” (Ez 28 13-14)

11^{xiv} The number *seven* figures prominently in sacred text.” The most significant number for the ancient Mesopotamians was seven...The group of gods called the Seven were equated with the Pleiades...The god Ningirsu slew a seven-headed dragon ... [seven days of the creation], seven branches of the Menorah, and later, seven chapters of Revelation...” <http://www.marsearthconnection.com/seven.html>

12^{xv}Himmelfarb p. 69.

13^{xvi}*The Book of Enoch*. <http://wesley.nnu.edu/noncanon/ot/pseudo/enoch.h™>

14^{xvii}Levenson, *Theology of the program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-43*. p.7.

15^{xviii}Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise” in *Paradise Interpreted*. p.45

16^{xix}Epic of Gilgamesh: Tablets IX - XI

17^{xx}Childs, p. 91.

18^{xxi}Childs, p.90.

19^{xxii}Childs. p 73. It isn't clear from Child's reference whether the term originates with him or with G. van der Leeuw, whom he cites in a footnote 'Urzeit und Endzeit', *Eranos Jahrbuch*(1949), p. 31.

20^{xxiii}Ibid.

21^{xxiv}Childs places this conception of mythologizing Zion well within apocalyptic literature when he references II Baruch 4.:2-4 on page 89 of Myth and Realities...

22^{xxv}Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise” in *Paradise Interpreted* p.45

23^{xxvi}Ibid.

24^{xxvii}Tigchelaar comments that the authors of the Book of Jubilees, 3:1-35 mentioned the tree of Knowledge but not the second tree, nor the streams. *Eden and Paradise* p.49

25^{xxviii}The two- tree motif appears in other mythic forms such as the Zoroastrian. “Ahura Mazda created the Tree of Life, as he did everything else that is good in the world. He planted two trees: the Tree of Seeds, which was the source of all the other trees in the world, and the Tree of White Haoma. This male/female dualism may be reflected in Slavic myth, where the Tree of Life is referenced in one creation myth as being two oak trees.

“<http://vivisimo.com/search?query=ancient++iranian+myth+&v%3Asources=GigaBlast%2CFast%2COD%2CMSN%2CLooksmart%2CNetscape&x=51&y=15>

26^{xxix}Genesis 2:9 And the Lord God brought forth of the ground all manner of trees, fair to behold, and pleasant to eat of: the tree of life also in the midst of paradise: and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

27^{xxx}Song of Solomon 4:6 “. .I will go my way to the mountain of myrrh, And to the hill of frankincense . .”

28^{xxxi}In *The Book of Jubilees*, Adam, in a priest-like role, burns incense “at the gate of ...Eden. ‘Jubilees 3:27as a pleasing fragrance, frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices’” referring to the same passage in Exodus as in 1 Enoch. J. T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten in *Paradise Interpreted*.

29^{xxxii}nard is spikenard, see footnote 46.

30^{xxxiii}“Also take fine spices: of liquid myrrh, five hundred shekels; and of fragrant cinnamon half as much, even two hundred and fifty; and of fragrant cane, two hundred and fifty

31^{xxxiv}Van Ruiten finds the relationship between Jerusalem and Eden in many Jewish apocalyptic texts besides Jubilees and 1 Enoch, such as “the Testament of Levi 18:6, Testament of Dan 5:12, Apocalypse of Moses 29 1-6, and some Qumran texts ...(4Q174; 4Q265; 4Q421)”quoting his own book *Visions of the Temple et al, Paradise interpreted* p. 79.

32^{xxxv}Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*

33^{xxxvi}Levenson , p.11

34^{xxxvii}Epic of Gilgamesh: Tablets IX - XI”Gilgamesh mourns Enkidu and decides to visit, the only human who does not die. He goes to the mountains of Mashu and passes by the guardian scorpion-demons into the darkness. It becomes light as he enters the Garden of the Gods and he finds the Barmaid, to whom he relates his quest. She sends him to cross the waters of death and he confronts the boatman, Urshanabi. They cross and Gilgamesh speaks with Utnapishtim. Utnapishtim recounts the tale of the flood and challenges Gilgamesh to remain awake for six days and seven nights. He fails, but Utnapishtim's wife urges him to reveal to Gilgamesh a rejuvenative plant. Gilgamesh takes it, but loses it to a serpent before returning to Uruk.

35<http://members.bellatlantic.net/~vze33gpz/assyrbabyl-faq.html>

36^{xxxviii}Levenson, p. 12-13

37^{xxxix}“While the prophet is clearly alluding to the garden of Eden in the passage about the stream, he never refers to it explicitly. But elsewhere....mention[s] the garden by name(Ez 28:11-18, 31:1-18” Himmelfarb, p. 65 *The Temple and the Garden of Eden Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*

38^{xl}Levenson p. 12

39^{xli}Ibid.

40^{xlii}Ibid.

41^{xliii}Gen 2:10-14

42^{xliv}Miller, *The Western Paradise* p 110-111

43^{xlv} The sea is named from the Greek word for Red, and it is possible that Enoch’s author could have had firsthand(not just biblical) knowledge of the spice trade. The spices whose fragrances he details, such as nard,(spikenard from the Ganges,) malabathrum (cassia leaf/cinnamon) and pepper are noted as trading cargoes in the journal known as “the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,” written by a Greek merchant who made exploration southwards from Egypt about A.D. 110. “.... In the first centuries AD this region[Kerala, India] became famous among the Arabs, Greeks, and Romans for its spices (especially pepper... All during this time Arab traders plied the coast, purchasing spices. In the 1st century AD, Jewish immigrants. arrived...” *Arab Ports of Call in India* <http://nabataea.net/india2.html>

44^{xlvi}Armstrong, *The Paradise Myth*, p. 10.

45^{xlvii} In Dilmun, the paradise is watered by a mist from the ground. immortal.<http://cc.usu.edu/~fath6/hellenic-Judaism.html>

46^{xlviii}Armstrong, p. 10.

47^{xlix}Armstrong quotes S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (revised edition, 1961) and G.Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life* (Uppsala, 1951) but does not give a bibliography or end notes.

48^lArmstrong quotes S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (revised edition, 1961) and G.Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life* (Uppsala, 1951) but does not give a bibliography or end notes.

49^{li} appendix, images of the Sanctuary in Genesis; the studies referenced are by Gordon J. Wenham on sanctuary symbolism of the Eden narrative, Miller’s sanctuary arrangement, Exodus, Ezekial, Kings referencing Genesis, and Steven Holloway- Noah’s Ark as Temple, in Miller, *The Western Paradise Greek and Hebrew Traditions* p.109

50^{lii}Ibid.

51^{liii}Miller, *The Western Paradise*. p.14-19

52^{liv}Miller, p.19

53^{lv}Miller, p.20-21

54^{lvi}Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* P. 92-93

55^{lvii}Sanders, *Judaism Practice and Belief*, p. 291ff

56^{lviii}Ibid. Isaiah 60:12, “Those who do not submit will be destroyed.”

57^{lix}

58^{lix}Ibid.

59^{lx} Enoch 1: 5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the years of your destruction shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

60^{lxi}Collins,p.43, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* distinguishes five distinct fragments from different periods in different versions, around the third to second century B.C.E.

61^{lxii}Enoch 6:1-4

62^{lxiii}Enoch 10:5-7

63^{lxiv}The antithesis of the Garden of Righteousness is not named— there is some disagreement whether Sheol could mean pit, grave, hell. which are sometimes used interchangeably; sometimes one translation is favored over another depending on which Biblical translation is being used.

64^{lxv}Enoch 22: 7

65 And he answered me saying: ‘This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men. Compare Gen: 4:8.’” And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel and killed him.”

66^{lxxvi} Ibid. all quotes this paragraph

67^{lxxvii} Chapter 46:5 5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him and 46:7 And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits

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2^{lxxviii} Levenson, *Theology for the Program of Restoration in Ezekiel 40-48*. p.31

3^{lxxix} Ibid.

4^{lxxx} R. H. Charles, *Eschatology The Doctrine of a Future Life*

5^{lxxxi} Chapter 11: 21-22

6^{lxxxii} Charles p. 221

7^{lxxxiii} Ibid.

8^{lxxxiv} Charles, P. 223

9^{lxxxv} Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* p. 58

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First Enoch , “ November 2002

3 Baruch , “
