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Wisdom Scepticism and Apocalyptic Certitude; Philosophical Certitude and Apocalyptic Scepticism

It is a common assumption among scholars that the Greek invasion of Judea in the last third of the fourth century BCE, during which time the Judeans were obliged to accept another foreign rule that was stranger and more culturally aggressive than previous ones, was perceived by the Judeans as a watershed. A number of developments towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries BCE in Judean Jewish literature lead to this assumption. Firstly, biblical works composed during this period do not present themselves as contemporary, but claimed to date from a much earlier period. Secondly, compositions from the third century BCE reveal traces of scepticism, an acknowledgement that man is incapable of understanding God's conduct and rules. Scepticism appears overtly in biblical wisdom literature and covertly in the apocalyptic writings that emerge in this era.

This phenomenon of scepticism will be the focus of the current paper. I wish to point to the ambivalent relationship that both wisdom literature and apocalyptic literature have to scepticism from the third century BCE onwards. I intend to show that the expression of scepticism was accompanied by efforts to abandon it and to offer an alternative historiography and view of reality. Tracing the move from wisdom-scepticism and apocalypse-scepticism to apocalypse-certitude and wisdom-certitude will enable us to understand the ancient debate regarding the place of God in a shaky world. It will also provide us with the opportunity to observe the penetration of a new component in the intellectual "adventures" of Second Temple Judaism: Hellenistic philosophy.

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¹ On the reaction of the nations of the ancient Near East, see John Joseph Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula, MT: Scholar Press, 1977), 101–4; 191–93.

² Consequently, this point in time—the transition from the Persian to the Hellenistic period—was regarded by later generations as the end of prophecy. See Chaim Milikowsky, "The End of Prophecy and the Closure of the Biblical Canon in Rabbinic Thought" [Hebrew], *Sidra* 10 (1994): 83–94.

³ For a similar observation, see Leo G. Perdue, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic: The Case of Qoheleth," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. Florentino García Martínez (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 231–58, here 232. Perdue, however, pointed to the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Seleucid regime as the crucial moment, not the Greek invasion of Judea.

Scepticism in the Third Century BCE

Ecclesiastes, the best representative of scepticism, will be our starting point. Its author, Oohelet, maintains that the old wisdom tradition is of no use. He questions wisdom sayings, cites accepted proverbs in order to refute them,⁵ and conveys the message that the wise man should rely not on wisdom accumulated by previous generations, but on his own personal experience.⁶ This move taken by Qohelet is the result of his perception of the world. While wisdom literature maintained that man has the ability to comprehend nature and humanity because they are ordered by God or the gods in justice and reason, Oohelet is of the opinion that there is no correlation between man's conduct and God's conduct. Indeed, God is active in the world, but man is unable to fathom His deeds and His government.⁸ Man can neither comprehend his own destiny nor determine the course of his life. One need express no surprise, then, that there is no difference between the wise man and the fool (e.g., 2:14-16; 7:15-20). Ecclesiastes offers no hope: man has no choice but to accept his tragic fate and to enjoy the very few moments in life in which he can take pleasure (9:7–9). His toil through his life is worthless since the property, skills, or wisdom he obtains are all lost at his death (e.g., 2:24-26; 5:17-19; 9:7-9).

We have the right, perhaps, to admire Qohelet for his courage and his willingness to portray God as foreign to the world, abandoning man with no mercy or compassion. Yet to my mind, Qohelet was not alone, and the new genre of apoca-

⁴ Following Goff, I use "Ecclesiastes" to refer to the book and "Qohelet" to refer to the author. See Matthew Goff, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and Intertextuality: The Book of Ecclesiastes and the Sociolect of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Reading Ecclesiastes Intertextually, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 214-25, here 214 n. 1.

⁵ For a short summary, see Alexander Rofé, Introduction to Psalmody and to Wisdom Literature [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2004), 115-18. Compare: Michael V. Fox, Qohelet and His Contradictions (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), 19-28.

⁶ Michael V. Fox, A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Re-Reading of Ecclesiastes (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 75-77.

⁷ Michael V. Fox, Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 17-19; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, Proverbs: Introduction and Commentary. Volume 1: Chapters 1-9 [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Am-Oved, 2012), 50-54.

⁸ Fox, Qohelet and His Contradictions, 121; Fox, A Time to Tear Down, 85-86. Compare: Stuart Weeks, Ecclesiastes and Scepticism (New York: T&T Clark International, 2012). Weeks is of the opinion that Qohelet's ideas are not sceptical, but rather driven by the sense that "humans are missing the point." In this regard, Qohelet seeks "to steer others away from the false expectations and disappointment which he experienced himself, by opening their eyes to the reality of their situation" (169).

⁹ Tremper Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 35: "Reading Qohelet's statements about God in context leads one to side with those who characterize Qohelet's God as distant, occasionally indifferent, and sometimes cruel"; Fox, A Time to Tear Down, 137: "Qohelet's God is hard and mostly indifferent but not hostile."

lyptic literature, which emerged during the same century that Ecclesiastes was written, reveals a similar attitude.

A few compositions deserve our attention. The first half of the third century BCE presents two that are considered pre-apocalyptic, chapters 9 to 14 in the biblical book of Zechariah (labelled Deutero-Zechariah)¹⁰ and chapter 2 of the book of Daniel. Both have a national dimension. The second half of this century produced three others, two of which concentrate on the cosmos and on humanity as a whole. These are the book of the Watchers and the book of Luminaries, both in the Enochic corpus. The third work from this critical period is the Aramaic Levi Document.

Deutero-Zechariah

Scholars have observed that the unique features of Deutero-Zechariah distance this collection of chapters¹¹ from the known (and early) prophetic books, ¹² bringing it closer to apocalyptic literature. 13 Launching an attack on prophets and prophecy (13:2–6), Deutero-Zechariah allots man a very limited role in history. There is hardly any direct speech in this text, and it voices no demands from the people of Israel, nor does it point to any misdeed committed by the people. Moreover, it envisions only a minor role for the House of David (9:9–10). ¹⁴ God is the one who is expected

¹⁰ On the difficulties in dating Deutero-Zechariah, see Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, "Will the Prophetic Texts from the Hellenistic Period Stand Up, Please!" in Judah between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule (ca. 400-200 BCE), ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Oded Lipschits (London: T&T Clark International, 2011), 272-76. See, however, Michael H. Floyd, Minor Prophets, Part 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 315-16; 452-57.

¹¹ Deutero-Zechariah itself consists of the combination of a few units. See (among many) Floyd, Minor Prophets, Part 2, 313-15; Mark J. Boda, The Book of Zechariah (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 23-25.

¹² I reject the current trend of seeing Zechariah chapters 1-8 and chapters 9-14 as one unit. Thus Boda, The Book of Zechariah, 28 ("There are several pieces of evidence that suggest to me that Zechariah 1-14 should be treated as a single book") and Byron G. Curtis, Up the Steep and Stony Road: The Book of Zechariah in Social Location Trajectory Analysis (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006). Time and time again, Curtis points to the differences between chapters 1-8 and chapters 9-14 of Zechariah, yet he insists that the same author composed both sets of chapters, but in different circumstances.

¹³ Matthias Henze, "Invoking the Prophets in Zechariah and Ben Sira," in Prophets, Prophecy and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak (London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 120-34, here 125-29. The arguments I will make in what follows differ from those of Paul Hanson; see Paul Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 300-15. Stephan L. Cook's effort to declare Zechariah's first chapters apocalyptic (Stephan L. Cook, Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995]) has been rejected by John Joseph Collins: see John Joseph Collins, Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 23-33.

¹⁴ Cook's assertion that "Zechariah 9:9 depicts the future entrance into Jerusalem of the coming king" (Prophecy and Apocalypticism, 137) ignores the fact that chapter 9 portrays the coming king

to "go forth" (9:14–17), and, as in the apocalyptic literature, against an enemy who has no distinct identity. God is also expected to change the course of nature and the topography of the land (chapter 14).

My claim that Deutero-Zechariah's attitude is sceptical is rooted in the observation that its author or editor detaches himself from history and moves to meta-history (or to the "transhistorical realm," to use Mayer and Mayer's terminology¹⁵). His perception of the present and the future makes no effort to cope with reality, with the questions his period poses. No explanation is given for the course of history that his generation is witnessing. Furthermore, the author is convinced that God will intervene at the End of Days, but does not substantiate this conviction, nor does he link it to a change of heart or behaviour. The End of Days is a deus ex machina in Deutero-Zechariah, not a logical consequence of previous events.

It seems to me that if there were attempts to cope with the Hellenistic invasion of the Land of Israel and to offer an explanation for it in the first half of the third century BCE, the kind of meta-history that Deutero-Zechariah offers would be rejected or forgotten. The fact that Deutero-Zechariah entered the biblical canon indicates that a feeling of confusion and an inability to grasp the order in world history and in the fate of the Judeans was the zeitgeist of the era.

Daniel Chapter 2

The same confusion and inability to grasp the order in world history emerge in Daniel 2. Paradoxically, we deduce the feeling of disorder from the chapter's evident attempt to impose an order on past and present events. This chapter presents an idol made of four parts, each made of a different metal (gold, silver, copper, and iron mixed with clay). We learn later that the four metals represent four world empires (Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece). The fourth empire is indeed more complex and less noble than the three previous ones, hence the clay, but in essence, it is no different from them. The image of the unmovable object, presented via a very brief and general description, bears the message that the four empires followed a fixed and identical route. They are actually one unit with one fate: a great stone, representing God or the people of Israel, will crush them in one step and will then grow to become a large mountain that will fill the earth.

as helpless. See Yair Zakovitch, "Humble, Riding on a Donkey," in The Messianic Idea in Jewish Thought, ed. Yair Zakovitch [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, 1982), 7–17. See also Boda (The Book of Zechariah, 42), who, while exploring the attitude expressed towards the various leading groups in chapters 9 to 14, admits that these chapters show "a shift in Zechariah's perspective on the royal house."

¹⁵ Carol L. Meyers and Eric Mark Meyers, Zechariah 9-14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 21.

As noted by Jacob Licht, 16 one of the main features of the apocalyptic writings is the artificial framework imposed on the various details that constitute history. Thus, even though chapter 2 holds to biblical symbols (an idol that should and will be crushed) and biblical terminology (a king's dream that can be explained by a human being), the chapter presents a new way of thinking. The crucial point for our discussion is that by claiming that the four empires followed a fixed and identical route, the author frees himself from providing an explanation for the changes that he and his generation are witnessing in their own time. Like Deutero-Zechariah, Daniel 2 does not voice any demands from the people of Israel or from humanity as a whole. God has full control over history; man has no power over it, nor does he have a way of understanding God's decisions. Evidently, the fact that Daniel 2 entered the canon implies that the feeling of confusion and frustration due to the inability to understand world history and the fate of the Judeans was prominent.

The Book of the Watchers

The second half of the third century BCE yields writings that intensified the feeling of scepticism by taking the bridle from God's hands. The portrayal of a helpless God becomes central to the apocalyptic worldview of this era. This is first found in the early parts of the book(s) of Enoch. ¹⁷ Six chapters, 6–11, of the Book of the Watchers (= 1Enoch 1–36) will serve as representatives of the two earliest Enochic books, the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book (= chapters 72–82).¹⁸

Chapters 6-11 are a retelling of Genesis 6. The author uses the Urzeit catastrophe of the Flood as a tool for depicting the Endzeit. Chapter 6 expands the enigmatic verses of Gen 6:1-4, in which the sons of God have intercourse with the daughters

¹⁶ Jacob Licht, "The Attitude to Past Events in the Bible and in Apocalyptic Literature" [Hebrew], Tarbiz 60 (1990): 1-18. See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relation to the Mosaic Torah," in The Early Enoch Literature, ed. John Joseph Collins and Gabriele Boccaccini (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 81-94, here 92.

¹⁷ For the date of the earliest two Enochic books, see Józef Tadeusz Milik, ed., The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 7 ff.; 22 ff.

¹⁸ I am avoiding the term "Enochic Judaism." Popularised by Gabriele Boccaccini, this term has been an obstacle to the precise and accurate study of the Enochic corpus. The five books included in this corpus come from diverse periods and groups and should not be considered as one unit. The Book of the Parables has been dated to the first century CE by most scholars. Only the two mentioned here are from the first century of the Hellenistic era, and they were written as a reaction to this century. The other two, the Book of Dream Visions and the Epistle of Enoch, were written a century later than the first two by a group close to the Qumran community. They are reacting to a different crisis and voice a different ideology. See Menahem Kister, "Concerning the History of the Essenes" [Hebrew], Tarbiz 56 (1986): 1-18; Cana Werman, The Apocalyptic Writings of the Second Temple Period [Hebrew] (Tel-Aviv: The Broadcast University; Ministry of Defense, 2003), 68-75, and Cana Werman, "Present Eschatology, a Messiah who Came and Passed away" [Hebrew], Teudah (forthcoming).

of man. 1Enoch turns this into a story about low-ranking angels, the Watchers, who decide to leave their heavenly posts and descend to earth in order to sin with the daughters of man. In 1Enoch chapters 7 and 8, we are told that the Watchers harmed humanity in two ways. They beget Nefilim, giants with endless appetites, who first consume the crops, then devour all the cattle and animals, and finally, when no animals or crops of the field are left, they turn to consume human beings and one another. They also teach their wives and later the entire human race how to produce weapons and cosmetics, as well as the science of magic/medicine and astrology/ astronomy.

Following an appeal to God from the "good angels" Michael, Gabriel, Rafael/ Sariel, and Uriel (chapter 9), the time of revenge comes. Chapter 10 simultaneously reports the punishments of the past (the earthly flood) and the future (the cosmic flame): the son of Lamech will escape disaster; the Nefilim will kill each other; the Watchers will be imprisoned beneath the earth in the Urzeit, but will perish along with the evil spirits, other descendants of the forbidden union, in the Endzeit. The purified world will then flourish (chapter 11) and "those who escaped," such as the son of Lamech, will be there to enjoy it. Note that this transition from the past to the future and back helps the author to sustain his description concerning the End of Days.

An analysis of the Enochic chapters leads to the conclusion that their early layer consists of biblical interpretation and is intended to create a new coherent picture out of the various sections embedded in Genesis 6-8. Genesis 6 does not reveal a clear connection between the sons of God and their offspring and the Flood. The Book of the Watchers, while coating the components of Genesis 6 with myth, positions them as one continuum. 19 The union between the Watchers and the daughters of man was a rebellious act on the Watchers' part. They openly declared their plan to disobey God. This union, forbidden and regarded as fornication, produced not spiritual beings like their fathers, but Nefilim, flesh like their mothers. These giants have no option but "to corrupt"; that is, to murder and drink blood, the very acts Noah is warned about in Genesis 9. In other words, the author deduces what went wrong before the Flood from the warning after the Flood.

There is, however, a second layer in 1Enoch 6–11. This second layer moulds the early stratum and turns it into an attack on the Hellenistic era. The Book of the Watchers illustrates Hellenism, with its admiration for "Chaldean science"—that is, astrology/astronomy and its passion for medicine—as a rebellious force. In their unauthorised visit to earth, the Watchers teach these skills. Their "down to earth" operation leads the earth and its innocent creatures into chaos and decline.²⁰

¹⁹ Cana Werman, "The Story of the Flood in the Book of Jubilees" [Hebrew], Tarbiz 64 (1995): 183-

²⁰ George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," Journal of Biblical Literature 96 (1977): 383-405. Compare: Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Early Enochic Tradition and the Restoration of Humanity: The Function and Significance of 1 Enoch 10," in Judah between East and West,

It is clear that these chapters reflect the worldview of a group that despised Hellenistic culture. We can also assume that the educated elite was responsible for their composition and redaction. However, it is difficult to say more than that.²¹ We cannot assume, for example, that the writer (and his circle?) had left Jerusalem. For our discussion, the apocalyptic dimension of these chapters is the point that should be stressed. The author of 1Enoch 6–11 depicts a revolt in the higher realm. There is no human cause for the Urzeit deterioration which ended with the Flood, nor for the Endzeit one, that of the Hellenistic era. Human beings become guilty only later and only partly: their sins are the result of the forbidden knowledge brought to them by the Watchers and because of the influence of their offspring, the evil spirits (10:15). In sum, humanity is not to blame.

Why, then, did the heavenly forces have the right to act, to initiate a revolt? In its reply, 1Enoch both positions God as inferior to the heavenly creatures that He made and detaches Him from the world. God did not approve of the Watchers' actions; He stood aside, not noticing or unable to govern His world. It becomes clear, then, that 1Enoch is much more daring than Daniel 2 and Deutero-Zechariah. While the latter accept—without being able to provide an explanation or proof—the basic biblical claim that God is in control of history, 1Enoch rejects this claim.

The above analysis leads to the conclusion that 1Enoch offers a worldview that is close to the scepticism of Ecclesiastes. Qohelet's God is indifferent to man; 1Enoch's God does not willingly abandon man, but has been forced to do so. By looking at man (Qohelet) and society (1Enoch), neither author can identify God's traces and both express scepticism.

Admittedly, the conclusions we have drawn from Deutero-Zechariah, Daniel 2, and the Book of the Watchers shake the very foundations of apocalyptic literature. The central claim of apocalyptic literature is that hidden knowledge is at hand since from time to time, God decides to channel it to man through visions and angels.²² However, the very need to rely on visions and angels for knowledge about rebellious heavenly figures is an acknowledgement that from man's perspective, historical and

^{225-41.} Stuckenbruck maintains that we should not "regard the fallen angels and giants simply as a decipherable metaphor for the late fourth century BCE Diadochi [...] or wayward priests" (231), but rather as a metaphor for the influence of the Hellenistic culture and its inclusion in the Judean way of life.

²¹ On the methodological question whether it is correct to draw historical and sociological conclusions from a literary work, see Gabriele Boccaccini, "Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement," in The Early Enoch Literature, 301-27, here 302-4. As to Boccaccini's hypothesis regarding the origin of what he calls "Enochic Judaism," this hypothesis should be rejected as it depends upon mistaken assumptions and notions regarding the priestly house(s) of ancient Israel and the Second Temple period. See Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in Second Temple Period," Dead Sea Discoveries 4 (1997): 212-25; Cana Werman, "The Sons of Zadok," in The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Israel Museum), 623–30. 22 John Joseph Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypse," Semeia 14 (1979): 21–59.

personal events do not make sense. Apocalyptic visions are a mask beneath which scepticism is found.

The shared sceptical attitude, however, should not blur the gap between Ecclesiastes and apocalyptic writings. While Ecclesiastes offers no hope, Deutero-Zechariah, Daniel 2, and 1Enoch 6-11 all express the belief that at some point, God will intervene in the world. Deutero-Zechariah (and Daniel 2) cope with the question of knowledge and understanding from a national perspective and envision cosmic change from which Judea will benefit (Zechariah 14). 1Enoch, which looks at the question from a universal point of view, established justice in human destiny by adding the belief in reward and punishment after death, either through judgment after resurrection or the judgment of souls (chapters 22), to the cosmic change described in chapters 10–11. Apocalyptic literature, contrary to Ecclesiastes, expects God to be back, at the end of history.

Aramaic Levi Document

One might assume that there were Second Temple Jews/Judeans who agreed with the worldview offered in 1Enoch 6-11.²³ Yet this daring position, the presentation of God as a victim of rebellious forces and the scepticism that accompanied it, could seem too threatening to monotheistic belief. Consequently, it could stir up antagonism. We detect such antagonism in the Aramaic Levi Document (henceforth ALD), which was composed by the priestly elite²⁴ and produced, like 1Enoch, at the end of the third century BCE. A comparison between 1Enoch and the ALD makes it clear that the ALD presents a less threatening picture.

The ALD contains a prayer followed by angelic discourse, a heavenly tour, a sequence of halakhot related to sacrifices and purity, a memoir of Levi that mentions his participation in the revenge against Shechem, and a poem praising learning and wisdom. The fragmentary nature of the composition does not allow a definite conclusion, but it is clear that the surviving parts of the ALD do not include a description of revolt in the heavenly realm. Indeed, there are two hints of heavenly entities with unjust conduct in the ALD, Satan (3:9) and the kingdom of the sword (4:9), while the Testament of Levi, a later reworking of the ALD, refers to "spirits of errors" and "Belial" that are destined to be punished at the End of Days (2:3). The ALD thus evokes forces that might be defined as rebellious. However, it does not elaborate on their role, and on other occasions it draws a more nuanced picture. In Levi's prayer, the author uses terms such as דוח עויה, "unrighteous spirit," and רעיונא באיש, that is, "evil thought", which denote both metaphysical forces that

²³ See note 21.

²⁴ For the text, see Jonas Carl Greenfield, Michael Edward Stone, and Esther Eshel, The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

cause man to go astray and the human heart's own inclination to sin.²⁵ The ALD also does not hesitate to put the blame for evil on human beings. Dina's rape was not the consequence of evil spirits or their influence; the Shechemites are the guilty party. The author of the ALD sketches a complex reality, with a tribal perspective and good and evil humans as well as obedient and disobedient angels and spirits. He gives the readers the impression that it is possible for man to understand reality and make his way through it. Scepticism evaporates in the ALD. In this, it stands in contrast to 1Enoch.

Scepticism in the Second Century BCE

The hidden dialogue or disputes between the two apocalyptic writings described above might not be the only dialogue that took place circa 200 BCE. A composition dated to the first decade of the second century BCE, the Book of Ben-Sira, can be seen as a rejection of Ecclesiastes. This second-century book returns to the classic assumptions that governed wisdom literature, the ability to understand the world.²⁶ Its optimistic view is rooted in the author's political stance. Ben Sira chose not to wonder about the place of Hellenistic rule in God's plan, but to accept it. For him, the autonomy that the Hellenistic kingdoms granted to Judea is ideal. It gives the high priest, God's representative on earth ("Greatest among his kindred, the glory of his people [...] like a star shining among the clouds [...] like the sun shining on the temple of the King" [48:1, 6–7]), the right to rule. Furthermore, it prevents the "evil" House of David ("Some of them did what is right but others were extremely wicked" [48:16]) from taking over.²⁷

However, the priests whose voices we find in Ben-Sira were not able to cling to their optimistic view when things started to deteriorate at the beginning of the second quarter of the second century BCE. The confrontation between Antiochus IV and the people of Judea started at this point and continued until Antiochus's death

²⁵ Compare: "Second Temple literature alternates between two substances with which human evil is connected: an inner substance, which depends also on man's choice, and an outer substance, governed by evil and good spirits"; Menahem Kister, "Body and Purification from Evil: Prayer Formulas and Concepts in Second Temple Literature and Their Relationship to Later Rabbinic Literature" [Hebrew], Meghillot 8-9 (2010): 243-84, here 263.

²⁶ John Joseph Collins, Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age (Louisville, KY: Westminster, 1997), 81-96.

²⁷ On the preference of priests over kings in Ben-Sira's "Praise of the Fathers" section, see Martha Himmelfarb, "The Wisdom of the Scribe, the Wisdom of the Priest, and the Wisdom of the King According to Ben-Sira," in For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity. Festschrift for George W. E. Nickelsburg, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney Alan Werline (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 89-99.

in 164 BCE.²⁸ As in the situation at the end of the third century BCE, we witness a daring apocalyptic response. And likewise, we also witness a counter-response in which scepticism is denied.

Daniel 7-12

The second part of the Book of Daniel reflects on Antiochus's decrees and the defilement of the Jerusalem Temple between 167 and 164 BCE. Daniel 7-8 depicts the Hellenistic kingdom(s) and Antiochus himself as mythological forces combating God and his temple.²⁹ Chapter 7, echoing chapter 2 mentioned above, describes a vision shown to Daniel where four beasts emerge from the great sea. The features of the fourth beast refer to the Seleucid kingdom ("fearsome, dreadful and very powerful, with great iron teeth-that devoured and crushed and stamped the remains with its feet" [7:7]) in general, and to Antiochus, a small horn protruding from the beast's head ("There were eyes in this horn like those of a man and a mouth that spoke arrogantly" [7:8]), in particular. In chapter 8, a monstrous he-goat attacks "the host of heaven and it hurled some stars of the host to the ground and trampled them. It vaunted itself against the very chief of the host" [8:10-11]). God is under attack from evil angelic forces.

The presentation of Antiochus as the earthly representative of the heavenly rebels is at the same time a declaration that no finger is being pointed toward the Judeans/Jews. Besides Daniel's standard prayer in chapter 9, the aim of which is mainly to explain Daniel's presence in a foreign land, there is no call for repentance or self-examination. According to Daniel 7–12, Antiochus is not a punishment for the people's misbehaviour. God is not willingly abandoning His temple and His people: He was forced to do so, and could not resist despite the fact that the chain of events was known 490 years before it took place (chapter 9).

The above conclusion regarding 1Enoch 6-11 is thus also true here. Daniel's authors cannot identify God's traces in history; instead they express scepticism. It is no wonder, then, that when the Danielic authors bring God back into the world, it is not into history, but into the end of history. Their attention is drawn to the outof-this-world reality: the holy angels will rule in heaven and the dead will resurrect, "some to eternal life; others to reproaches to everlasting abhorrence" (12:2).³⁰

²⁸ For a summary of the events between 175 and 162 BCE, see Cana Werman, "On Religious Persecution: Studies in Ancient and Modern Historiography" [Hebrew], Zion 81 (2017): 463-96.

²⁹ See John Joseph Collins, Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 323-24; 342-43; Collins, The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel.

³⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, 393–98.

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah

An effort to offer an alternative to Daniel's rebels and scepticism was discovered in one of the scrolls found in cave 4 near the Qumran site.³¹ This is a composition written at the same time as the second part of Daniel, relating the same events and using the same time frame of 490 years (albeit counted not as seventy periods of seven weeks, but as ten jubilees).³² It has rightly been called the *Apocryphon of* Ieremiah.

According to the *Apocryphon*, on the eve of the destruction of the first temple, Jeremiah received a survey of the expected events from God:³³

- Jeremiah first learned that due to the Israelites' sins, God would hide His face from His people for 490 years. Throughout this period, the people would experience exile and suffering: "[And they will se]e[k] My pre[s]ence in their affliction, but I shall not respond to their inquiry because of the trespass [wh]ich they have trespassed [against] M[e], until the completion of ten jubilees of years; and you will be wa[l]king in ma[dness] and in blindness and bewilderment of the heart" (ll. 14-17).
- These 490 years will start with a loss of sovereignty: "And because of the sin of that generation, I shall [tear away] the kingdom from the hand of those who hold it, and [I sha]ll raise up over it others from another people, and [the in]solence will rule over all [the l]and, and the kingdom of Israel will be lost" (ll. 17-19).
- Further foreign regimes will follow: "In those days there [will] b[e a king and hle (will) be a blasphemer and he will commit abominations, and I shall tear away [his] king[dom, and] that [king will be handed over] to other kings. And My face shall be hidden from Israel and the kingdom will turn to many nations" (11. 19-22).
- God will show no mercy: "And the children of Israel will be crying out [becau]se of the heavy yoke in the lands of their captivity, and there will be none to deliver them because they spurned My statutes and abhorred My Torah, therefore I have hidden My face from [them until] they accomplish their iniquity" (ll. 22-26).
- 5. Another wave of sins is expected at the end of these 490 years: "And this is the sign to them of the requital of their iniquity [for] I shall leave the land because of their haughtiness towards Me, and they will not know [tha]t I have spurned them and they will once again do evil, and the evil will be gr[eat]er than the former evi[1] [and they will violate the covenant which I made] with Abraha[m]

³¹ Devorah Dimant, Qumran Cave 4. 21: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

³² Cana Werman, "Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature," Dead Sea Discoveries 13 (2006): 229-55.

³³ For the full text, see Elisha Qimron, ed., The Apocryphon of Jeremiah, in The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings. Volume 2: Between Bible and Mishnah [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2013), 94-100.

and wi[th I]saac and with [Jacob] [...] and I shall abandon the land in the hand of the angels of Mastemot, and I shall hide [My face from Is]rael. And this shall be the sign for them in the day when I abandon the land [in desolation] the priests of Jerusalem [will retur]n to worship other gods [and to act] according to the abominations [of the Gentiles]" (ll. 26–30; 34–38).

6. The punishment for these misdeeds will be Antiochus: "[In those days] will arise a king of the Gentiles, a blasphemer and a doer of evil and in his [days I shall remove] Israel from (being) a people. In his days I shall break the kingdom of Egypt, [and I will save] Egypt, and I shall break Israel and deliver it up to the sword [and] I [shall lay wa]ste the [l]and and I shall drive man away"; "[] the altar [those ki]lled by the sw[ord] [] be polluted []" (ll. 30–34; 45–46).

There is a clear logic to the events described here. Unlike Daniel, the *Apocryphon of* Jeremiah claims that Antiochus's decrees are the result of Israel's sins at the end of the First Temple period ("the trespass [wh]ich they have trespassed [against] M[e]"; "their iniquity"; "because they spurned my statutes and abhorred my Torah"). In response to these iniquities, God proclaimed 490 years during which He would exile Himself from Israel: "But I shall not respond to their inquiry [...] until the completion of ten jubilees of years"; "And my face shall be hidden from Israel"; "Therefore I have hidden My face from [them until] they accomplish their iniquity." At some point in that long period, the angels of Mastemot were appointed to rule the people of Israel, who in turn were again dragged into idol worship: "The priests of Jerusalem [will retur]n to worship other gods [and to act] according to the abominations [of the Gentiles]." The conflict with Antiochus, then, with its disastrous outcome ("[] the altar [...] [those killed by the sw[ord] [] be polluted []") is the direct outcome of that second sin, subjecting Israel to the same punishment it received at the end of the First Temple period, a blasphemer king, the defilement of the Jerusalem Temple, and Jerusalem lying in ruins.

First Temple Period In those days there [will] b[e a king and hle (will) be a blasphemer and he will commit abominations I shall [tear away] the kingdom from the hand of those who hold it, and [I sha] Il raise up over it others from another people, and [the in]solence will rule over all [the l]and, and the kingdom of Israel will be lost.

Second Temple Period [In those days] will arise a king of the Gentiles, a blasphemer and a doer of evil

and in his [days I shall remove] Israel from (being) a people.

Thus, while in the second part of Daniel, heavenly forces are blamed for Antiochus's deeds, according to the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*, history is not only under God's control, but also fully understandable. Only Israel's blindness, which was caused by the people's sins at the end of the First Temple period, prevents them from seeing the logic behind the course of events. Man can comprehend God's hand in the world if he correctly evaluates the sins of his generation and those of previous generations. It is no wonder that the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* accepts human agents in the promised healing: "... three priests who will not walk in the ways of [the] former [priests]. By the name of the God of Israel they will be called. And in their days will be brought down the pride of those who act wickedly against the covenant and the slaves of foreign things."

Escaping Scepticism at the End of the Second Century BCE

An evaluation of the literature written at the end of the second century BCE reveals the same tendency detected in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*: a constant effort to avoid heavenly rebels and to express scepticism. It is not that there was no crisis. On the contrary, most of the writings identified as products of this era were written by the Qumran community, a priestly group that left Jerusalem due to a halakhic dispute with the new Judean government, the Hasmonean regime.³⁴ The aim of these writings was to cope with their loss of status and power and to provide an answer to the question of how God can approve the persecution of His devotees. Yet it seems that the authors were reluctant to portray God as a victim and to accept their own inability to find logic in the world. 35 To avoid rebels and scepticism, they employed a myth that made no reference to revolt. Furthermore, they quieted the myth by adopting a new mode of thinking introduced in the Land of Israel during the third to second century: Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy.³⁶

Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy retains both the universalistic approach and the optimistic approach of the old biblical wisdom writings. It accepts man's mental ability to understand the cosmic law that God has embedded in the world and to

³⁴ Cana Werman, "Introduction" [Hebrew], in Cana Werman and Aharon Shemesh, Revealing the Hidden: Exegesis and Halakha in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2011), 9-21.

³⁵ Is this a hint that the group that composed the *Apocryphon* is the same group that founded the Qumran community? See Werman, "Present Eschatology."

³⁶ One of the earliest published scrolls, the Hodayot scroll, contains the philosophically opposed terms of "spirit" and "flesh" and the unique combination רוח בשר. Awareness of the Qumranites' use of philosophical terms and of their mixing of philosophical terms and the apocalyptic outlook has grown tremendously since the publication of 4QInstruction twenty-five years ago. See, for example, Jörg Frey, "Flesh and Spirits in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Enquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage," in The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought, ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Herman Lichtenberger (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 367–404.

conduct himself according to it. The difference between biblical wisdom and Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy is found in the use of Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy's main novelty, the response to death. Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy holds that every human who conducts himself properly, suppressing his desires and his bodily needs, will be rewarded after death; his soul will exist forever.

This novelty separates Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy from the biblical wisdom writings.³⁷ At the same time, it brings the Second Temple wisdom literature, which incorporated and adopted philosophical terms, closer to apocalyptic literature.³⁸ Furthermore, its appearance on the intellectual scene enhances the tendency we detected above, the avoidance of scepticism in the apocalyptic writings. Thus, in the Qumranic wisdom work 40Instruction, we find the term רז נהיה—"the mystery that is to be"—which denotes the divine plan governing the world from the creation to the eschatological creation. Man can apprehend דו נהיה by himself by looking at the historical events of the past and present, ³⁹ if he belongs to the "spiritual people" and not to the "fleshly spirit." This optimistic view stands in contrast to the meaning ascribed to raz in the books of Daniel (chapter 2) and Enoch (8:3; 106:19), where raz can be learnt only by disclosure from God or the angels.

In the following, I will analyse two compositions where philosophy is combined with the "no rebels" apocalyptic perspective. I will start with the Two Ways treatise, which is found in the Community Rule, and will then move to the Book of Jubilees. My intention is to show the efforts undertaken to avoid scepticism.

1QS 3-4: The Two Ways Treatise

The Two Ways treatise, an independent treatise, was used by the editors of the Community Rule⁴¹ in order to explain why the righteous experience humiliation

³⁷ John Joseph Collins, "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon," in Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 287-305, here 287. As to Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy and Ecclesiastes, see Lester L. Grabbe, "Intertextual Connections between the Wisdom of Solomon and Qoheleth," Reading Ecclesiastes Intertextually, 201-13.

³⁸ Collins, who was among the scholars who were assigned the publication of 4QInstruction, was the first to note the closing gap between the wisdom literature found in the scrolls and apocalyptic thought. See John Joseph Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered in Light of the Scrolls," Dead Sea Discoveries 4 (1997): 265-81.

³⁹ This statement contradicts the common assumption in scholarship that *raz* is imparted through supernatural revelation. See Cana Werman, "What Is the Book of Hagu?", in Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. John Joseph Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 125-40. For a summary of the common view, see, for example, Matthew Goff, ed. and trans., 4QInstruction (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 15-17.

^{40 &}quot;The 'spirit' of the 'spiritual people' denotes [...] their mental acumen and psychological bearing to meditate properly upon heavenly knowledge"; the 'spirit' of the fleshly spirit does not include this capability (Goff, 4QInstruction, 168).

⁴¹ The treatise is included in the manuscript found in cave 1. However, it is only found in one of the manuscripts discovered in cave 4.

while sinners prosper. It is a message that the Maskil, the intellectual leader, should present to the community members. An Iranian myth⁴² where evil, with its three levels—cosmic, heavenly, and earthly—is part of the created world, is the framework on which the treatise is built. The evil angel of the heavenly realm, the source of iniquity on the cosmic level, and the sons of darkness on the human level are all planned by God. The message conveyed is that the self-exiled priests' current struggle is part of an overall divine plot. No revolt is taking place, and no offence is committed against God:

From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. [...] He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His Visitation: the spirits of truth and of evil. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of evil spring from a source of darkness. All the sons of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the sons of evil are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness (1QS 3.13; 3.17-21; the translation here and below is my own).

In this account, the synonyms "truth," "light," and "righteousness" are notable. Furthermore, "truth," "light," and "righteousness" are the way in which אל דעות, the God of *knowledge*, prefers to conduct His world. The author has written an apocalyptic treatise where angels and spirits appear (the spirits of truth and of evil;⁴³ the Angel of Darkness; the Prince of Light) while maintaining the assumption that governs wisdom literature, where God's commands are directed by truth and are in full harmony with it; hence, righteousness equals truth.

The complex relationship between wisdom and the apocalyptic outlook continues in the next statement. In full accordance with the apocalyptic view and contrary to the assumption found in wisdom literature, the treatise declares that there are periods through which the righteous man, despite being aware of the path he should follow, cannot cling to God's command:

The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray and until his end, all their sins, iniquities, wickedness, and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion [...]. Every one of their chastisements, and every one of the seasons of their distress, shall be brought about by the rule of his persecution; for all his allotted spirits seek to lead the sons of light astray (1QS 3.21-24).

⁴² Shaul Shaked, "Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations," Israel Oriental Studies 2 (1972): 433-46. See a survey in John Joseph Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 152; John Joseph Collins, Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 186-88.

⁴³ Frey interprets these spirits as psychological entities: see Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 275–335.

There is no explanation as to why God allows the Angel of Darkness and his allotted spirits "to lead the sons of light astray." What the authors want to stress, and here the optimistic view of wisdom literature is evident, is that it is "in accordance with the mysteries of God." God is in full control of his creation. This fact enables the authors to have full confidence (with no need for any revelation) that this period of distress and persecution will end. Anti-scepticism is at work here.

The role of philosophy in the anti-sceptical attitude is evident at the end of the treatise, which elaborates upon the destruction of evil. While the multi-level evil demands a three-step destruction, we find only two steps at the end of the treatise. In an attempt to lessen the apocalyptic tone, the author refers to level 1, the cosmic, and level 3, the earthly while he blurs level 2. Angels are not mentioned, only spirits. Furthermore, the author expresses the expectation of freeing man from the obstacles posed by his body in his effort for spiritual achievement.

- God will first destroy evil on the cosmic level:
 - ואל ברזי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קץ להוית עולה ובמועד פקודה ישמידנה לעד. But in the mysteries of His understanding, and in His glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for the essence of evil, and at the time of the Visitation He will destroy it forever (1QS 4.18-19).
- 2. In accordance with the first paragraph, truth (a wisdom term) is triumphant: ואז תצא לנצח אמת תבל כיא התגוללה בדרכי רשע בממשלת עולה עד מועד משפט

Then truth, which has wallowed in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of evil until the appointed time of judgment, shall appear in the world forever (1QS 4.19-20).

3. Turning now to the earthly level:

God will then purify every deed of man by His truth

He will refine the human body for man's sake

Rooting out all spirit of evil from the bounds of his flesh.

Cleansing him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness;

Like purifying waters He will sprinkle upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood and of plunging in the spirit of impurity (1QS 4.20–22).

ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר

וזקק לו מבני איש

להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי בשרו

ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה

> ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה מכול תועבות שקר והתגולל ברוח נדה

The combination of purity/impurity ("purify," "refine," "cleanse," "purifying waters," "spirit of impurity"), holiness, heavenly entities ("spirit of evil," "spirit of truth"), and transgression ("wicked deeds," "abomination and falsehood") is significant. The current account goes beyond the first paragraph where heavenly enti-

ties bring man to sin; there is no blame for causing impurity there, nor for the penetration of man's body. To my mind, the new components included in the eschatological paragraph are the outcome of the writer's desire to extend his apocalyptic treatise not only towards wisdom terminology, but also towards philosophical discourse. The emphasis the author wishes to put on the spiritual state that man will achieve at the End of Days due to God's intervention is probably the reason for the inclusion of flesh and body, which goes through a transformation. The author's aim is to stress that at the End of Days, the righteous man will be able to attain knowledge (דעת) and wisdom (הכמה) through his mind because with God's help, he will be able to overcome his bodily existence:

להבין ישרים בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרך So that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behaviour (1QS 4.22).

According to the treatise, the End of Days will turn the sons of light not only into unblemished, righteous people, but also into men of philosophical facilities who understand the heavenly perspective, the world, and the entire cosmos.

Jubilees

Interestingly, even this mildly apocalyptic and philosophically oriented piece did not satisfy the author of Jubilees. The idea of God creating evil (on three levels!) might have seemed inexplicable to him. It is also possible that he did not approve of the universalistic tone of the Two Ways treatise.44 In any case, the author of Jubilees, while sharing with the Two Ways treatise a willingness to adopt philosophy into his thought-world, created an alternative apocalyptical worldview where there is no myth at all and where philosophical terms play an integral part from the beginning. 45 The following will explore Jubilees's way of presenting its apocalyptical perspective with neither rebels nor scepticism.

1. Jub 2:2 (preserved in 4Q216) includes the following list of angels: [... the angels of the presence and the angels of holi[ness] and the alngels of the *spirits* of fire; and the angels of the *spirits* of the windls; [and] the angels of the *spirits* of the clouds for fo[g and for dew]; [and the angels of the spirits of snow and hail and fr]ost; and the angels of the sound[s]; and

⁴⁴ On the reaction to the universalistic tone found in Jewish-Hellenistic writings in Jubilees, see Cana Werman, "Jubilees in the Hellenistic Context," in Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism, ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 133–58. 45 Cana Werman, "Two Creations for One Nation: Apocalyptic Worldview in Jubilees and Qumran Writings," in The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 264-83.

the angels of the spirits [of the lightnings; and the angels of the spirits of cold and] heat, of winter and summer

[and of all] the spirits of His creatures [which He created in heavens and which He created on ear]th and in every (place).

The idea of angels who are in charge of natural phenomenon is also found in the Enochic Book of the Watchers (6:7). What makes the list in Jubilees unique is the differentiation between the meteorological phenomena and their spirits, a move I would attribute to the Hellenistic dichotomy of spirit or soul vs. flesh or body.

The fact that Jubilees does not elaborate on the difference between the phenomena and their spirits leads to the conclusion that the author's main interest lies in the extremities of the list, where the three-tiered hierarchy is necessary. The list ends with a group of spirits, መንፈስ, or souls, ንፋስ, which are related to creatures, בריות. Contrary to the other items in the list, where each meteorological phenomenon contains spirits ruled by angels, here, no angel is mentioned. We find the missing angel in chapter 10: it is Mastema, the prince of the spirits (v. 8). Mastema, as we learn in the same chapter, is the appointed executive of the just conduct of humankind; that is, of bringing punishment upon those who sin. Thus, the triad of angel-spirit/soul-physical reality (Mastema-spirits of the living things—the physical world) applies to humans as well. Philosophy and apocalypse are aptly combined here.

- 2. Verse 5 of chapter 10 supplies another detail that is important for understanding Jubilees's apocalyptic worldview. Jubilees comments that Mastema, in his wish to aggravate people's sins, is assisted in his enterprise by the evil spirits, the descendants of the Watchers. The evil spirits operate on the soul (or heart) and cause men to sin. Moreover, whereas Mastema is part of the good world created by God, the evil spirits are not. Their existence is due to a revolt against God: they are the offspring of the union of the Watchers with the daughters of man. In Jubilees, however, the union is only *partly* the outcome of disobedience and revolt, since here, the Watchers descended to teach justice and only later transgressed by copulating with the daughters of man (5:1). While the Watchers disappeared in the Flood, the evil spirits are to stay, and "they neither conduct themselves properly nor fight fairly" (10:10). The rebellious forces in Jubilees are assigned a very low rank and their disobedience is minor.
- 3. The evil spirits have power over man, but only after man independently chooses to stumble (7:26–27; 10:3). Why are people likely to sin? The influence of Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy enables Jubilees's author to provide an explanation. Jubilean humans are neutral, consisting of a body and a soul (or heart). The body in Jubilees is neither good nor bad, but rather a helpless entity leaning mostly toward the wrong side.
- 4. The people of Israel, even if they are not created differently and are inclined to sin like other nations, are granted protection from Mastema and the spirits of

his dominion (15:30–32). God is their guardian and He recruits servants to assist Him in this duty. The second part of chapter 2 teaches that Israel has a heavenly counterpart in the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness (the first to be mentioned in the list above). Wishing to impose complete, firm justice on the world. Mastema keeps sending the evil spirits to tempt and harm Israel. As long as this world continues to exist, Mastema continues to cling to his assignment, while the holy angels continue to cling to theirs. In Jubilees, the heavenly struggle between the angels (an apocalyptic approach) is the outcome of man being created to consist of both a body and a soul (a philosophical view).

- Taking chapter 1 of Jubilees as well as chapters 15, 17, 18, and 49 into account, it becomes clear that only the circumcised Israel will be safe from Mastema's hands. Furthermore, in order to receive current protection (and to later enjoy eschatological bliss), they have to obey the Torah and make the Paschal sacrifice on time each and every year. This analysis could lead to the conclusion that the Jubilean division of the earthly and heavenly realms into two camps is carried out according to nationalistic considerations. A closer look, however, reveals a more complex picture. The terms of the covenant made with Israel have two facets because two Torot were given in Sinai: (a) the five books of Moses, written on the stone tablets, and (b) the law of the Qumran Community; that is, the Book of Jubilees, dictated to Moses during his forty-day sojourn on the Mount. 46 Thus, only the "righteous plant" (Jub 1:16), the chosen people (1:29), not the entire Israelite nation, holds fast to the terms of the second covenant, and consequently only they will be worthy of the second creation.
- 6. The eschaton is again a mixture of the two ways of thinking. In the eschaton, the souls of the righteous (ንፋስ) will become a holy spirit (መንፈስ):

After this they will return to Me in a fully upright manner and with all (their) minds and all (their) souls. I will cut away the foreskins of their heart and the foreskins of their descendants' heart. I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from Me from that time forever $(1: 23^{47})$.

In the promise of turning the soul into spirit, Jubilees relies on Ezekiel: "And I will provide you with a new heart and a new spirit I will place within you" (36:26). Jubilees adjusts the biblical wording to its own apocalyptic mindset: the evil spirits and Mastema will have no dominion over the holy spirits now embedded in the chosen group.

We can say, then, that the Jubilean view of creation is that it is both good and monistic. God created neither evil angels, the sons of darkness, nor sin. Adopting Hellenistic ideas, the God of Jubilees created neutral people, consisting of bodies

⁴⁶ Cana Werman, "The Torah and the Teudah Engraved on the Tablets," Dead Sea Discoveries 9 (2002): 75-103, here 93-95.

⁴⁷ James C. VanderKam, ed. and trans., The Book of Jubilees (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

and souls (or hearts). In Jubilees, sin is a result of human weakness. Evil spirits strike the sinning person and they alone are evil, but they were neither created nor ordained by creation. Jubilees offers a picture close to that of the ALD, in that man can manage his life with no need of heavenly revelation to understand it. He can have full control over his life by obeying the right law and by understanding his own fragility. This is Jubilees's contribution.

Conclusion

We began with Ecclesiastes's scepticism. As I have attempted to show, over the course of two centuries, the idea of scepticism was used as a tool for coping with disastrous reality, both in wisdom literature and in apocalyptic literature. However, in Judaism, scepticism is too risky; it can easily lead to the negation of God's kingship and even to the negation of his existence. During the second century BCE, scepticism gradually disappeared. The Qumranites made an effort to avoid it and were able to do so with the aid of a new tool: philosophy. It was the destruction of the Second Temple that brought about a return to apocalyptic scepticism. However, that is a subject for another paper.

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