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# ETHICAL DUALISM IN ISAIAH 65–66 AND *I ENOCH*

Stefan Green

## 1. *Introduction*

In my doctoral thesis, supervised by Professor Antti Laato,<sup>1</sup> part of the discussion concerns the relationship between judgment and salvation in Isaiah 65–66, and what God will reconcile with his presence.<sup>2</sup> A dualistic world view governs this relationship of contrasts, a feature which I compared to the apocalyptic dualism in *I Enoch*. In connection with that discussion I refer *inter alia* to Joseph Blenkinsopp, who argues that Isaiah 65–66 lacks a clear dualism compared to, for example, *I Enoch*.<sup>3</sup> My position is that stark contrasts exist in Isaiah 65–66. The dualism especially stands out when it comes to the destinies of the faithful and rebellious (65.13-16) and distinguishing between the current situation in Jerusalem and the new world (65.17-25; 66.7-14a, 18-24). A key aim of this article, therefore, is to expand the dualism aspect in my dissertation by analysing some relevant texts in *I Enoch* in more detail. I want to show, among other things, that Isaiah 65–66 is one of the vital texts that *I Enoch* uses to construct its dualistic world view. I have selected *I Enoch* for this comparison with Isaiah 65–66 because of its significance for the

1. I am very grateful for the opportunity to participate in this *Festschrift* in honour of my supervisor Professor Antti Laato. His patience and encouragement throughout my struggles to complete my doctoral dissertation is a major reason for my successful defence of the thesis.

2. Stefan Green, *Toward Apocalypticism: A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2020), pp. 92-94. A digital version of the dissertation is available, see <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-765-966-6>.

3. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 19B; New York: Doubleday, 2003), p. 89.

composition of the Jewish apocalyptic genre.<sup>4</sup> There exist, of course, other apocalyptic books that would probably qualify for such a comparison, but for practical reasons I have chosen to focus only on *I Enoch* in this study of ethical dualism.

However, before entering into this comparison between a prophecy and an apocalypse I offer below a summary of my arguments for a clear dualism in Isa. 65.8-16, which also characterises the rest of Isaiah 65–66. The following four forms of dualism are found in the Isaianic text:

1. *Ethical dualism* (the righteous vs. the wicked)—65.8 gives the first explicit differentiation in Isaiah 65–66 between the rebellious as wicked (see 65.1-7) and the faithful as righteous. This differentiation continues in vv. 8-12 with salvation of the faithful (vv. 8-10) and punishment of the rebellious (vv. 13-16).
2. *Temporal dualism* (past/present, future/the old and the new age)—in 65.8 the expectation is that the rebellious will be destroyed and the faithful will survive the judgment to live in a new age (see also 65.17-25 and 66.19). Verses 13-16 account for the eschatological destinies of the faithful and the rebellious, by rapidly oscillating between the destinies of the two groups.
3. *Spatial dualism* (earth and heaven)—65.8 presents a dialogue in heaven which determines who are saved on earth. Thus, in Isaiah 65–66, God acts and calls from his heavenly temple/his holy mountain (see 65.1, 12, 24; 66.4, 6, 15).
4. *Ontological dualism* (God and humankind/Creator and creation)—this is not only present in 65.8 but throughout Isaiah 65–66, that is, God in his glory who sovereignly decides on the destinies of humankind and creation (see also 65.17-18; 66.1-2, 22-23).

It is a commonly held scholarly view that these four kinds of dualism, among others, characterise early Jewish apocalyptic thinking.<sup>5</sup> However,

4. For recent and updated introductions on *I Enoch*, see, e.g., John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 3rd edn, 2016), pp. 53-106, 220-39; Daniel M. Gurtner, *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism: Message, Content, and Significance* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2020), pp. 21-91.

5. For an introduction to different forms of dualism in connection with apocalypticism, see Jörg Frey, 'Apocalyptic Dualism', in John J. Collins (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 272 and George W.E. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of I Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press,

the visions in Isaiah 65–66 of an alternative world also contain these forms of dualism, even though they do not permeate every verse as in, for example, *1 Enoch*; that is one of the differences between a prophetic text and an apocalypse, the former is part of the development of the latter. In *1 Enoch*, temporal dualism together with spatial and ontological dualism also structures the apocalyptic world view. Furthermore, the temporal and spatial forms of dualism are directly motivated and supplemented by ethical dualism.<sup>6</sup> In the case of Isaiah 65–66, there are contrasts comparable to these apocalyptic dualisms found in the tension between the salvation of the faithful versus the judgment of the rebellious (ethical), between the contemporary condemned world and the eschatological redeemed world, between the old cosmos and the new cosmos and between the transcendence of God and earth as his footstool. The account in Isaiah 65–66 seems, however, only to deal with the present time contra the future, unlike the dualism in a historical apocalypse such as *1 Enoch*. The latter views history up to the present time as being in tension with the future: a view which also has explanatory functions. Nevertheless, in my doctoral work I highlight three aspects regarding implicit references to the past in Isaiah 65–66.<sup>7</sup> Those three aspects illustrate that the Isaianic text functions as a preliminary stage to apocalyptic dualism in a way that separates it from classical Hebrew prophetic texts:

1. The stark ethical or moral language in the Isaianic text clearly sets the contemporary time against the vision of the future in a dualistic manner.
2. The contemporary in the Isaianic text is complemented with references to the past in God's call (65.1-2, 12b; 66.4), and with implicit references/allusions to the creation in Genesis, the promises in the Abrahamic tradition and the degrading of the Davidic tradition.
3. All these allusions and implicit references in the Isaianic text are the basis for the resistance in the present against those who are regarded as enemies and the reason for the hope of a new age with a reversed situation compared to the current one.

2001), pp. 40-41; regarding ethical dualism, see also John G. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 372-85.

6. For example in the case of *ApocW*, see Anthea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), p. 320.

7. Green, *Toward Apocalypticism*, pp. 117-18.

Thus, references in Isaiah 65–66 to both the past and the present are contrasted with a vision of an imminent transformed future with the aim of resisting on ethical grounds what is regarded as wicked. Both Isaiah 65–66 and *1 Enoch* expect a different reality that would replace the current evil age with a righteous new one by revealing the destinies of the rebellious and the faithful.

## 2. *Ethical Dualism in ApocW and Isaiah 65–66*

With that introduction, a more specific restatement of my aim in this article is to present a more developed enquiry into the ways ethical dualism in *1 Enoch* and Isaiah 65–66 are comparable and incomparable. In short, how has dualism in Isaiah 65–66 influenced the ethical dualism in an apocalypse? I shall then also offer some initial suggestions as to how *1 Enoch* and Isaiah 65–66 also have temporal and spatial dualism in common because of their dependency on ethics. However, I intentionally offer no further discussion of ontological dualism in this study as it is not justified by ethical dualism to the same extent. I shall instead analyse this in a future article. Here, regarding ethical dualism, my point of departure is *The Apocalypse of Weeks* (henceforth *ApocW*). In the second part of this article, where I shall come back to temporal and spatial dualism, I will primarily have *The Animal Apocalypse* (henceforth *AnApoc*) as a starting point. I have selected these two apocalypses in *1 Enoch* for my study of comparison because of how they draw attention to Isaiah 65–66 in different ways, especially *ApocW* when it mentions in *En.* 91.16 that ‘the first heaven will pass away...and a new heaven will appear...’

### 2.1. *Presentation of ApocW and its Ethical Dualism*

Before analysing ethical dualism in *ApocW*, it is necessary to know what kind of text it is. *ApocW* (*1 En.* 93.1-10 and 91.11-17) is included in The Epistle of Enoch (*1 En.* 91–105) but is an independent literary unit in that context.<sup>8</sup> Similar to *AnApoc* (*1 En.* 85–90), it is a summary of human history from creation up until an eternal era. There are, however, clear

8. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS, 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), p. 145; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 49, 62-64.

differences between them.<sup>9</sup> The apocalypse is attributed to Enoch (93.3), and its dislocated numerical order in The Ethiopic Enoch has brought it much attention.<sup>10</sup> Regarding the latter, my analysis of passages below follows the corrected periodizing of the vision. *ApocW* is periodized into ten weeks: the first seven are historical, the last three and beyond ('weeks without number', 91.17) are eschatological with judgments and transformation.<sup>11</sup> The seventh week introduces the post-exilic period and reflects the Maccabean victories—the *Sitz im Leben* of the apocalypse—but also introduces the future, characterised by the judgment of wickedness (91.11).<sup>12</sup> Thus, a pattern of sin, judgment and salvation is detectable in the apocalypse, which culminates in the election of the righteous and their destiny.<sup>13</sup> The focus is on the eschatological finale in weeks 8–10 and beyond, and the Maccabean revolt in week 7 functions as a transition between the historical periods and the final era. In the end, the situation in the first seven weeks will be reversed and righteousness will rule again, as it did in week 1, when the cosmos is recreated in righteousness. Even if precise dating of the apocalypse remains difficult, it can be dated to events

9. According to Tiller, there is not much that connects The Epistle of Enoch with *AnApoc* in emphasis, apart from *ApocW*. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between *ApocW* and *AnApoc*, see Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993), pp. 96-98.

10. Over the course of time the verses in *ApocW* have been transmitted out of order in The Ethiopic Enoch. The apocalypse has been rearranged at some stage of translation, so that the last three weeks appear at 91.11-17 while the first seven weeks are found at 93.1-10. The earlier Aramaic fragment 4QEn<sup>a</sup> presents the weeks in their correct order. For detailed discussions of this textual problem, see J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 48, 247-48; Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or, 1 Enoch: A New English Edition With Commentary and Textual Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 287-89; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, pp. 50-52.

11. *ApocW* is structured around the numbers ten and seven. The latter is the shift between the past/present and the future. The text also reflects a periodization of seventy units (93.3; 91.15). See *1 En.* 10.11-12. The particular way of dividing history into units of weeks in *ApocW* is unique, but the duration of each week is unresolved (VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 153-58).

12. See the outline in Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, pp. 57-60.

13. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, 'The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92–105', *CBQ* 39 (1977), pp. 313-15; James C. VanderKam, 'Studies in the Apocalyptic of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17)', *CBQ* 46 (1984), pp. 518-21; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I*, pp. 438-39.

in the pre-Maccabean period which led up to Antiochus' persecution of the Jews and the following Maccabean crisis, that is about 170 BCE.<sup>14</sup>

As is the case with the ethical dualism, there is in *ApocW* a strong tension between righteousness and sin, and consequently between the righteous and the wicked. A variant of this kind of dualism is what Cook calls a 'moral dualism' where the spiritual forces are truth and injustice and which categorises people's behaviour as either good or evil (faithful or rebellious).<sup>15</sup> He exemplifies moral dualism with the help of the *Community Rule Scroll* (III.18-19) but explains that 'It is widespread in apocalyptic literature'. John G. Gammie too demonstrates that ethical dualism is predominant not only in the wisdom literature, but also that both its language and its concept are also found throughout *1 Enoch*.<sup>16</sup> Gammie argues that the dualism in texts like *1 En.* 1.1; 22; 25.4; 93.2-4; 94.1-11; 98.9-16; 101.1-9; 102.1-11; 104.6 are close enough to have 'been inherited from wisdom circles'. The small differences between passages in *1 Enoch*, for example *ApocW*, and the ethical dualism in wisdom literature, are explained by the revealing of the future rewards for the righteous and the future judgment on sinners (for example *1 En.* 22). Gammie, therefore, concludes that while the wisdom literature can become futuristic by implying the destiny of the righteous and of sinners (Prov. 11.4; Job 21.30, see *1 En.* 102.5), an apocalyptic text like *1 Enoch* explicitly describes, 'what the *eschatological destinies* of the "righteous" and "ungodly" shall be'. In that case, as Portier Young points out, the difference between the ethical dualism in *1 Enoch* and that found in the wisdom literature is the temporal dualism that characterises the former.<sup>17</sup>

R.H. Charles evaluated the apocalyptic literature as 'essentially ethical. [...and], an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God'.<sup>18</sup> One of the best examples of this essential feature in *1 Enoch* is *ApocW*, where 'righteousness' (Ar. קשׁוּט) is the key concept in the vision's periodization.<sup>19</sup>

14. VanderKam, 'Studies in the Apocalyptic of Weeks', pp. 521-23; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp. 440-41; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, pp. 60-62.

15. Stephen L. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature* (IBT; Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003), pp. 2324.

16. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 378.

17. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, p. 320 n. 25.

18. R.H. Charles (ed.), *Apocrypha* (APOT; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. ix.

19. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 441. In contrast to Gammie, Klaus Koch traces the use of קשׁוּט in *ApocW* to Iranian sources (Klaus Koch, 'History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the

It is introduced<sup>20</sup> as the main theme in 93.1-2a and reemphasised in the first week (the birth of Enoch).<sup>21</sup> Already in the second week (covering up to the flood, 93.4), the ethical dualism starts to become obvious. The situation does not change for the better, and the sinners are given a law against increasing violence.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to the plant of violence in the second week, Abraham is ‘chosen’ in the third week ‘as the plant of righteous judgment’, and his offspring Israel is described as ‘the plant of righteousness forever and ever’ (93.5). The fourth week (the exodus and the Sinai events, 93.6) and the fifth week (the building of the Solomonic temple, 93.7) are characterised as righteous. Everything is not well, however, for in the sixth week (from the end of the monarchy to the exile, 93.8) all who live during that period become morally blind. Their hearts ‘stray from (God’s) wisdom’, the temple is destroyed, and the chosen people of Abraham (the ‘root’) are dispersed. In the first week, Enoch left the earth and in the sixth week Elijah also left for heaven, both in contrast to an evil world. The ethical dualism in *ApocW* during the first six weeks is also present in the growing iniquity in the second week that did not end, despite the righteous plant in week 3. In week 6, the evilness dominates again after weeks 3–5, although deliverance to a heavenly place is perceived both in Enoch’s and in Elijah’s ascensions.

In the seventh week (up to the present and beyond, 93.9-11), the vision does not mention anything about a return from exile or the Second Temple. Instead, the dispersion in week 6 is followed by the rise of ‘a perverse generation’ whose many deeds are all ‘perverse’. Thus, as George W.E. Nickelsburg explains, ‘all the religious acts of the post-exilic

Community’, in Gabriele Boccaccini [ed.], *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), pp. 197-99). A possible Iranian/Persian influence, however, does not exclude a heritage from the Hebrew צדק about righteous behaviour, which is also Koch’s view.

20. In my view, *ApocW* begins with an introduction in 93.1-2 and v. 3a (‘And Enoch took up his discourse and said, [...]’) functions as a transfer to the main body of text that begins with the first week in v. 3b (see R.H. Charles [ed.], *Pseudepigrapha* [APOT; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913], p. 262; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 441), compare with Black, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 287-88; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (StPB; Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 106-109.).

21. ‘After this Enoch took up his discourse, saying, “Concerning the sons of righteousness, [...]” (93.1-2a); “[...] and until my [Enoch’s] time righteousness endured”’ (93.3b).

22. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 444; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, pp. 98-99.

period are apostasy'.<sup>23</sup> The response to this new evil generation is divine election 'from the everlasting plant of righteousness [Abraham]' as 'witnesses of righteousness' and future promulgators of judgment. Weeks 8–10 are set in the future age when righteousness will defeat wickedness with judgment and inherit the new age with angels. Divided up, the eighth week is a week of righteousness (91.12-13), when all the righteous will be given a sword of execution. They will also 'acquire possessions in righteousness' in connection with the construction of the eschatological temple. The ninth week is a week of revelation (91.14) of a 'righteous law' to all people on earth and wickedness shall disappear forever in *Sheol*. The language from this point on is both dualistic and inclusive: the law for sinners in the second week is exchanged for a righteous law so that 'all [surviving] humankind' will follow 'the path of everlasting righteousness'. The tenth week is a week of transformation (91.15-16) after 'the everlasting judgment'<sup>24</sup> on the watchers in the midst of angels ('the holy ones'). Ultimately, 'the first heaven will pass away [...], and a new heaven will appear' with the renewed earth in the ninth week, for an everlasting habitation for both the righteous with 'sevenfold wisdom and knowledge' (93.10) and the angels 'with sevenfold (brightness)' (91.16).<sup>25</sup>

The new age after the tenth week in *ApocW* is not periodized—'weeks without number forever' (91.17)—an everlasting age without change<sup>26</sup> for 'all the humankind' (91.14) who are willing to convert from all evil and thereafter practise only 'piety and righteousness'. The former things of sin 'will never again be mentioned' (v. 17). In my dissertation I point out a parallel here to Isa. 65.16e-f, 17b-c,<sup>27</sup> namely that sin will never happen again, not even come to mind,<sup>28</sup> which indicates that the prophetic text from Isaiah is involved in *I En.* 91.17. As I also noted, the statements in Isaiah 65 come after the dualistic speech that separates in time the destinies of the rebellious and faithful in vv. 13-15, and which come after the promise of new heavens and a new earth in v. 17a. In a similar way, the conditions in the age of 'weeks without number' are also preceded in *ApocW* by both the vision of the destinies of the righteous and the wicked, and the renewed earth in the ninth week is complemented with a new

23. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1*, p. 447.

24. The second end, see 93.4, 'the first end'.

25. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch 1*, p. 450; Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91–108*, pp. 150-51.

26. Stuckenbruck, *I Enoch 91–108*, p. 152.

27. Green, *Toward Apocalypticism*, p. 113.

28. According to Isa. 65.16e-f, 17b-c the former troubles/things are forgotten/not remembered.

heaven in the tenth week. There are, however, other examples in *ApocW* which show that ethical—and consequently temporal—dualism in Isaiah 65–66 exerted influence on the apocalyptic text. The following are worth noting:

## 2.2. *The Plant of Righteousness (1 Enoch 93.5)*<sup>29</sup>

After this <there will arise a third week,  
and at its conclusion> a man will be chosen as the plant  
of righteous judgment  
and after him will go forth the plant of righteousness forever and ever.

In this passage, Abraham is given an important role in relation to the theme in *ApocW* about his true righteous offspring. The calling in 93.5 (‘a man will be chosen’) is the divine response to the plants of deceit and violence that sprout and grow in the second week (v. 4). Thus, in the third week, a salvage process had begun with Abraham as ‘the plant of righteous judgment’, to restore God’s righteousness among the human race which was lost at the end of the first week with the ascent of Enoch.<sup>30</sup> This process of righteousness (קשוט) continues through an elect offspring of Abraham and will be fulfilled in the ninth week (91.14),<sup>31</sup> when it will include all people on earth. The word ‘plant’ (עשב) is not found in Isaiah 65–66, but ‘grass’ (דשא) is used figuratively in 66.14b to describe the flourishing limbs of blessed people who belong to the transformed Zion in a new age. Moreover, ‘offspring’ occurs three times in the Isaianic text, directly or implicitly in connection with the Abrahamic tradition (65.9a, 23c; 66.22c). Because the literal meaning of ‘offspring’ (זרע) is ‘seed’, it brings to mind the figure of a plant whose root in the Abrahamic covenant is the prerequisite for the salvation of all people. As with ‘plant’, the word righteousness (צדק) is not used in Isaiah 65–66, but there are many synonyms in the text that reflect an ethical dualism which differentiates between those who will be blessed in a new age and those who will be

29. The English translation of *1 Enoch*, which I am using in this article, is George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation: Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004). Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s translation is based upon the Ethiopic version, but prefers the MSS in group  $\alpha$  to the MSS in group  $\beta$ . It has also made use of available Greek and Aramaic MSS with the aim of getting as close to the original Aramaic version as possible.

30. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 444.

31. Although, see *1 En.* 10.3, 16; 84.6.

cursed. The many implied references to Abraham in Isaiah 65–66<sup>32</sup> give the Abrahamic tradition and its covenant a similar role as in *ApocW*, that is, to offer and sustain hope of salvation for a remnant despite the wickedness of the current world.

### 2.3. *The Chosen within Israel (1 Enoch 93.10)*

And at its conclusion, the chosen will be chosen,  
as witnesses of righteousness from the everlasting plant of righteousness,  
to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge.

*ApocW* is about the destiny of the ‘sons of righteousness, [...] the chosen of eternity, [...] the plant of truth’ (93.2a), who at the end of the important seventh week ‘will be chosen [...] from the everlasting plant of righteousness’ (v. 10a-b). They descend ‘forever and ever’ from Abraham, ‘the plant of righteous judgment’ (v. 5), but at the conclusion of the sixth week ‘the whole race of the chosen root’ is ‘dispersed’ into exile because of moral and religious blindness (v. 8b). The salvation of the chosen will come in the seventh week (93.9-11), the post-exilic period, when the divine initiative with Abraham in week 4 results in a new community within Israel in contrast to the characterisation of the seventh week as apostate (v. 9).<sup>33</sup> This election (Ar. *בְּחִיר*) is not predestined from eternity, but is rather ‘the newly constituted people of God,’<sup>34</sup> and in my understanding, a group within Israel which associates itself with the Abrahamic tradition. This affiliation is based upon both confession and obedience, as the concept of chosen is expanded in the ninth week to include all humankind who ‘will look to the path of righteousness’ (91.14). In Isaiah 65–66, the ‘chosen’ (Heb. *בְּחִיר*) is also an epithet of the faithful, used three times in Isaiah 65 and in v. 9c is closely associated with the patriarch tradition.<sup>35</sup> Isaiah 65–66 is also about the destiny of this chosen faithful group of people within Israel who will, in an eschatological future,

32. For an exegetical discussion of these allusions and implied references to Abraham in Isaiah 65–66, see my dissertation regarding e.g. ‘Mission of the Nations and Lasting Existence’ in 66.18-20, 22. Those discussions also gather together many of the other allusions to Abraham in Isaiah 65–66. See also ‘Zion as a Mother’ in 66.7-12, 13c-14b, ‘His Servants’ in 66.14c. For the theme of blessing in Isaiah 65, see vv. 15-16 and v. 23.

33. The author says, ‘the chosen (*בְּחִיר*) will be chosen (*בְּחִיר*), [...] from the everlasting plant (*נִצְבָּה*) of righteousness’ (v. 10a, see parallel in v. 5). See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 448; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 122.

34. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 448.

35. See Isa. 65.9, 15, 22.

include in a unique way all those people who confess and obey Yhwh. In *ApocW*, to be of ‘the chosen root’ (93.8b) does not provide a guarantee against punishment or indeed of salvation.<sup>36</sup> This is also the view in Isaiah 65–66 but, as in the apocalypse, those who are elected within Israel during a crisis<sup>37</sup> are confirmed as true plants/servants in a new community before God. In short, Isaiah 65–66 and the seventh week in *ApocW* are not parallel in time, but the latter is inspired by both the ethical and temporal dualism regarding the chosen in the Isaianic text and also that all repenting people will be included on equal terms.

#### 2.4. *The Commission of the Chosen (1 Enoch 93.10)*

And at its conclusion, the chosen will be chosen,  
as witnesses of righteousness from the everlasting plant of righteousness,  
to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge.

The chosen within Israel are commissioned in the seventh week to be ‘witnesses of righteousness’ (93.10).<sup>38</sup> This call stands in contrast to all those who, in the apocalypse, spread depravity through their deeds (v. 9), a behaviour of Israel from the pre-exilic sixth week on (v. 8). The chosen will be equipped for the divine call with ‘sevenfold wisdom and knowledge’ (v. 10b).<sup>39</sup> The implied correlation between Abraham and his offspring in v. 5 with the election from the plant of righteousness in v. 10 will give the chosen full (‘sevenfold’) revelation of their destiny, mission and affinity with all who are God’s chosen in creation. The commission in v. 10, therefore, is a mission of righteousness in a time of sin (vv. 12–13), or as Stuckenbruck points out, a divine response to an evil generation.<sup>40</sup> The mission is completed in the ninth week, when the revelation in the

36. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, pp. 118, 124.

37. The chosen group within Israel in TI is also similar to how the historical background of Daniel is described. See George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (HTS, 56; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 33–34.

38. This phrase in *1 En.* 93.10 is missing in the Eth. version but does appear in 4QEn<sup>g</sup> ar.

39. According to 4QEn<sup>g</sup>. Eth. reads: ‘[...] denen siebenfache Unterweisung über seine ganze Schöpfung zuteil werden soll’ (Siegbert Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch* [JSHRZ, 5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984], p. 712.; compare with Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 264; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 118) or ‘to whom shall be given sevenfold instruction concerning all his flock’ (James H. Charlesworth [ed.], *Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* [OTP; New York: Doubleday, 1983], p. 74).

40. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 123.

seventh week is expanded to a ‘righteous law’ for ‘all the sons of the whole earth’ while all wickedness will vanish (v. 14a-b). In Isaiah 65–66, the divine call or response is also a theme directed to all Israel (65.1-2, 12c-f; 66.4c-f), but is redesigned for the chosen tremblers in the community (65.24; 66.2c-e) because of wickedness in the community. Furthermore, the differentiation between God’s servants and God’s enemies in Isaiah 65–66 (66.14c-d) is an ethical dualism that separates those who will follow God’s glory after judgment (66.18-19) from those who will die because of wickedness. Isaiah 66 expands servanthood in the new epoch to include foreigners in the mission as well. In both texts, the divine commission is given in connection with the moral crises<sup>41</sup> and based on the Abrahamic covenant. The chosen are exhorted to undertake their mission as true plants/servants through their faithfulness and willingness to be witnesses (Ar. שִׁהֲדוּ) of/declare (Heb. נָגַד) the revelation about righteousness/God’s glory to all human beings. The righteous community as the receptacle of divine revelation in *ApocW* is also implied in Isa. 65.24 after the promise of Abrahamic blessings to the faithful as ‘offspring’ in v. 23.

### 2.5. Possessions through Righteousness (*1 Enoch 91.13*)

And at its conclusion, they will acquire possessions in righteousness,  
and the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be  
built in the greatness of its glory  
for all the generations of eternity.

The eschatological accomplishments and destinies of the chosen righteous and the condemned wicked in *ApocW* are also grounded in ethical dualism. In *1 En.* 91.13, the conflict between the two forces at the end of the seventh week (91.11) and in the eighth week (v. 12) will culminate in favour of the righteous. The outcome implies a reversal of the present situation where the righteous are oppressed by the wicked.<sup>42</sup> Therefore,

41. See also the historical background of Daniel (Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, pp. 33-34).

42. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 449. The Eth. expands ‘[...] to execute righteous/true judgement on all the wicked, [...]’ in 4QEn<sup>s</sup> with: ‘[...] so that judgement and righteousness will be executed on those who oppress, [...]’ (Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 131). Compare with Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch*, p. 713 and Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 219 who

the chosen will ‘acquire possessions (Ar. יקנון נכסין) in righteousness (Ar. בקשוט)<sup>43</sup> at the end of the eighth week (v. 13a). ‘Possessions’ here do not refer to sumptuous wealth, but rather to goods earned righteously, which is also a critique against those who have acquired wealth through unrighteousness.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, when righteous judgment is revealed on earth in the ninth week (v. 14) all evil deeds (and their wealth) will amount to nothing. The present situation in Isaiah 65–66 is also characterised by a conflict depicted in dualistic ethical terms, where the rebellious are criticised for their complacency and oppression. In the eschatological scenarios, which are thus temporal, the defeat of sin through divine judgment and a restored paradisiac life (65.19b-23) for the New Jerusalem agree with the visualised future in *ApocW* of a world free from evil deeds and where possessions are obtained by righteous means. This causes Stuckenbruck to observe that the expectations in *1 En.* 91.13a are ‘more in line with the enjoyment of labour-produced goods described for the future Jerusalem in Isaiah 65.21-22 and 66.12’.<sup>45</sup> Both texts, therefore, promise a reversal of the present situation in terms of a safe and comfortable life because of their faithfulness/righteousness.

## 2.6. *The Path of Righteousness (1 Enoch 91.14)*

After this there will arise a ninth week,  
 in which righteous law will be revealed to all the sons of the whole earth,  
 and all the deeds of wickedness will vanish from the  
 whole earth and descend to the everlasting pit,  
 and all humankind will look to the path of everlasting righteousness.

This last point about specific comparable aspects regarding ethical dualism in *ApocW* and Isaiah 65–66 is also somewhat related to the salvation-judgment theme. For the sake of context, I need to touch upon

translate the Eth. in 91.12 to ‘[...] damit ein gerechtes Gericht an denen vollzogen werde, die Unrecht verüben [...]’ and ‘that the righteous judgement may be executed on those who do wrong, [...]’.

43. Instead of ‘possessions’ in 4QEn<sup>g</sup>, the Eth. reads ‘great things’ (Charlesworth, *Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*, p. 73) or more commonly ‘houses’ (Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 264; Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch*, p. 713; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 219.). For details, see textual notes on *1 En.* 91.12-13 in Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 131-33.

44. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 137. See also *1 En.* 100.6.

45. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 136.

that particular subject because of the reference to ‘the path of everlasting righteousness’ at the end of the ninth week and the period of global judgment.<sup>46</sup> One of the things that will happen at the conclusion of the eighth week, in addition to the reversal of the chosen’s situation (see above ‘Possessions through Righteousness’), is that ‘the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory’. A new temple for the presence of God on earth is regarded by the author as necessary for the righteous judgment in the ninth week (91.14a) of all evil deeds on earth, so that they can be sent to Sheol (v. 14b) and thus allow all people to ‘look to the path of everlasting righteousness’ (v. 14c). This path implies three things in the apocalypse:

1. Conversion of all human beings.
2. A pilgrimage to the place of the temple, while another path for wickedness ‘descends’ to Sheol.
3. It is preparation for the everlasting period after a cosmic judgment in the tenth week (v. 15).

In the many weeks without number, ‘they [all humankind] will do piety and righteousness and from then on sin will never again be mentioned’ (v. 17). In short, the ethical dualism in the apocalypse has culminated in an eschatological temporal dualism between the righteous new age and the present evil one. As already pointed out above, in Isaiah 65–66 the vision also culminates in a new age where the former things will no longer be remembered. Although the Isaianic text is not periodized into eras, the path of salvation/righteousness for the faithful is preceded by judgment of the rebellious in the Jewish community (65.6-7, 8-12; 66.4-6, 17) and a global judgment of all flesh (66.14c-16). Furthermore, the end of the path is a new Temple City (65.18; 66.20) as a result of a cosmic transformation (65.17; 66.22), which could also imply judgment on that level too. In Isaiah 65–66, the path of salvation is also offered to all people (66.12, 18-24), and if *ApocW* implies a pilgrimage of all people then there is also an analogy to the pilgrimage of all nations to the holy mountain Jerusalem in Isa. 66.20.

46. Charles has transposed ‘[...], and all humankind will look to the path of everlasting righteousness’ to the end of the eighth week in 91.13 (Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 264). See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 434 and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, p. 141 as to why this clause should not be transposed but is the last step of eschatological global events in 91.14.

### 2.7. Summary of Ethical Dualism in Isaiah 65–66 and *ApocW*

*ApocW* and Isaiah 65–66 have a comprehensive ethical dualism in common, which is the foundation for a temporal dualism that separates the present evil age from an eschatological age of healing and peace. In both texts, a wicked generation is sorted out in contrast to the preservation of the true, chosen and righteous offspring of Abraham. The latter group also turns out to include all people who will embrace the Abrahamic faith. However, while there are many comparable aspects of ethical dualism, differences still keep the texts apart:

1. In *ApocW* the periodizing into periods/ages is the most obvious difference compared to Isaiah 65–66. It is totally absent in the Isaianic text.
2. In *ApocW* the presence of God is more implicit and transcendent than in Isaiah 65–66, where a divine voice explains what he expects and desires. One exception in the apocalypse, where God is more than an inaudible divine will, is found at the conclusion of the eighth week, which refers to ‘the Great One’ in connection with the building of the new temple (91.13b).
3. In *ApocW* the mission as witnesses of righteousness is shouldered by the chosen within Israel. In Isaiah 65–66, the mission as witnesses of God’s grace is expanded to be carried out by foreigners to bring dispersed Jews home.
4. In *ApocW* fallen angels/evil spiritual powers will be judged for their wickedness in the presence of angels who have not fallen (91.15, see also v. 16b). Explicit mentions of angels and evil spiritual powers are absent in Isaiah 65–66, although the voice in 65.8b-c (‘and one says...’ [וַאֲמַר]) and the reference to ‘his chariots’ (מַרְכָּבָתָיו) in 66.15b does imply a heavenly host.

Despite these clear differences, Isaiah 65–66 has played an important role in the composition of *ApocW* when it comes to ethical dualism. This dualism causes temporal and spatial dualism, and those latter two structure the apocalyptic world view. It is, therefore, interesting that in Isaiah 65–66 I also find equivalences of those other two dualisms in the various tensions that characterise the Isaianic text. Although the last part of this study discusses temporality and spatiality, it does so only in a preliminary way as an introduction to future articles. The discussion below, however, continues to demonstrate that while Isaiah 65–66 and *1 Enoch* are considered two different kinds of genres they should not be separated too widely.

### 3. *Temporal and Spatial Dualism in 1 Enoch and Isaiah 65–66*

As already stated above, ethical dualism in *ApocW* between the chosen righteous and the condemned wicked fuels a world view of temporal dualism. This perspective is also called eschatological dualism,<sup>47</sup> as it divides the present age from the age to come.<sup>48</sup> The pattern of sin/punishment results in opposition on a horizontal axis between the past/present and an eschatological future.<sup>49</sup> The promise is a reversal of reality where the former age will end in judgment and be followed by a new age that will bring restoration through divine intervention.<sup>50</sup> Thus, temporal dualism structures the expectation that one day the past and present age will be replaced by a different kind of everlasting new future age. The pattern of sin, for example, divides *AnApoc* (*1 En.* 85–90) into ages that contrast with a future of reconciliation in connection with a New Jerusalem (90.28-38). No matter how these ages are divided in *AnApoc*, the result is a temporal dualism between the past/present and a new age of peace. Part of the pattern in *1 Enoch* is the oppression by nations in the authors' own time, originally caused by the angelical rebellion. Portier-Young has shown, among other things, that temporal dualism in the apocalypse, grounded in ethical dualism, is an active resistance against the oppressive hegemony of the empire. It exposes and totally undermines the latter's claim and power to give meaning to the world.<sup>51</sup> In short, as Nickelsburg summarises the general picture, 'The juxtaposition of present and future is so frequent in *1 Enoch* as to be commonplace'.<sup>52</sup>

Together with ethical dualism, temporal dualism is what most clearly stands out in Isaiah 65–66. For good reasons Nickelsburg states, 'The temporal dimension in *1 Enoch* is the most obvious to the reader of biblical literature. Divine and human activity takes place in the past, present, and future'.<sup>53</sup> In Isaiah 65–66, divine and human activity is referred to in connection with all three horizontal dimensions, even though there are no explicit signs in the text that the conflicts were caused by angelic sin. As in the case of the apocalypse, in Isaiah 65–66 human actions in the past and present will also have future consequences in the form of judgment and salvation. As already pointed out above, in Isaiah 65–66 the past is

47. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 357; Frey, 'Apocalyptic Dualism', pp. 272, 274.

48. Frey, 'Apocalyptic Dualism', p. 272.

49. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 357.

50. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 41.

51. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, pp. 34-37, 44-45, 320-21.

52. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 38.

53. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 38.

brought to the fore with reminders about the deafness towards God's call (65.1-2, 12, 24; 66.4) or, for example, with allusions to the Abrahamic covenant (e.g. 65.15-16, 23; 66.18-20, 22). However, the point the author of the Isaianic text wants to make with such allusions and implicit references (in combination with explicit descriptions of the present) is how they both confirm and offer a contrast to the eschatological future (65.1-7 versus 65.17-25; 66.1-6 versus 66.18-24). Ultimately, this temporal dualism is revealed, as in *AnApoc*, in the vision of an imminent cosmic and creative transformation and a New Jerusalem for her people who oppose the current world order (65.17-25 and 66.7-14b). Furthermore, it is via God's holy mountain, Jerusalem, that the Lord will confront the present age and introduce a new one where Zion is fertile and the destination of pilgrimage for all people (Isa. 66.6, 7-14b, 18-24).

As also stated above, ethical dualism causes what scholars describe as spatial dualism. This form of dualism, as in the case of the temporal dualism, involves a transcendent reality. However, unlike the former, the latter envisions a reality separated from the created world in terms of the above and the below.<sup>54</sup> Gammie, therefore, explains spatial dualism as a type of contrast 'between heaven and earth, the mundane and the supra-mundane', and as something which is very significant for one's 'understanding of the thought-world of apocalyptic literature, [...]'.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, in the apocalypse, what happens in heaven parallels or reflects earthly realities.<sup>56</sup> In that case, the clear tension in ethical and temporal dualism is not always typical for spatial dualism. Gammie, therefore, argues, with the help of Hans Bietenhard, that temporal dualism in the apocalypse is also about 'correspondence between heaven and earth'.<sup>57</sup> For example, in *AnApoc* reality is described as dualistic,

54. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature*, p. 27; Frey, 'Apocalyptic Dualism', pp. 272, 274.

55. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 358. What motivates a label such as spatial dualism is that it identifies 'the tendency of ancient thinkers to presuppose, if not posit explicitly, the existence of a heavenly and an earthly realm' (Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 360).

56. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40. Gammie has also noticed this aspect with spatial dualism, and therefore adds to his description 'the notion that actions in the heavens affect the events which transpire on earth' (Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', p. 360).

57. Gammie cites Hans Bietenhard, who says: 'The basic thought of the ancient Near Eastern *Weltanschauung* is the teaching of the "correspondence" between heaven and earth. [...] Thus everything which happens and exists in heaven is of primary importance for the earthly. [...]' (Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism', pp. 361-62).

consisting of an earthly realm of history and a parallel heavenly sphere of angelic activity. In short, this means that what happens in heaven can have either disastrous or beneficial consequences for the earth. Both Nickelsburg and Frey also supplement the spatial dualism of *1 Enoch* with a horizontal feature which takes Enoch on ‘otherworldly journeys’ in the cosmos beyond human habitation and consciousness (*1 En.* 17–36). In those places, the destiny of the whole creation is waiting for its fulfilment in accordance with God’s will.<sup>58</sup> Thus, a generic term for both aspects of spatial dualism is cosmic dualism,<sup>59</sup> although only its vertical dimension is implied in Isaiah 65–66.

In the Hebrew Bible (especially in pre-exilic texts), the reference to ‘the heavens and the earth’ (Gen. 1.1) is used for the whole of creation, while in *1 Enoch* there is a clear division between these two identities,<sup>60</sup> but nonetheless with a correspondence. However, in connection with Isaiah 65–66, as argued in my dissertation, the passages about a ‘new heavens and a new earth’ (65.17a; 66.22a) do not only refer to a renewed creation as a whole (see *1 En.* 45.4-5; 51.1-5), but also to a renewed macro sanctuary.<sup>61</sup> By using that phrase in Isa. 65.17 and 66.22, the Isaianic author wants to ‘correspond’ the two identities with each other, the heavens with the earth, by also associating it functionally with a mountain. God’s holy abode in heaven encompasses the whole world as a temple and also implies an *Axis Mundi* between the heavens and earth. The New Jerusalem is the central place on earth for this axis, and in 66.1 the presence of God is even more specifically stated, as the same, as it keeps the heavenly separated from the earthly: ‘The heavens are my throne// and the earth is my footstool’. Thus, the author of Isaiah 65–66, as in *1 Enoch*, wants to demonstrate a ‘correspondence between heaven and earth,’<sup>62</sup> although it is much more developed in the apocalypse (e.g. 91.16-17). Furthermore, as already pointed out, it is evident from Isa. 66.6, 15a-b and 66.18-24 that heaven—in combination with

58. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 40; Frey, ‘Apocalyptic Dualism’, p. 274.

59. Unlike Nickelsburg and Frey, Gammie means that cosmic dualism is only a variation of ethical dualism. He argues that while ethical dualism is an opposition between two classes of people, cosmic dualism extends that tension ‘to the worldwide scene’ (Gammie, ‘Spatial and Ethical Dualism’, pp. 357-58).

60. Frey, ‘Apocalyptic Dualism’, pp. 273, 274.

61. Green, *Toward Apocalypticism*, pp. 125-27; Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 75-86. I am indebted to Levenson for the use of the term ‘macro-temple’ in this work.

62. Gammie, ‘Spatial and Ethical Dualism’, pp. 361-62.

the temple-city on earth—functions as the base for both the judgment of all the rebellious and the salvation of all the righteous. In short, it is therefore possible to compare the idea of spatial dualism in *1 Enoch* with the expressed dualistic spatiality in Isaiah 65–66.

The spatial dualism in Isaiah 65–66, as already pointed out, is mostly concentrated to the eschatological visions in those two chapters. In *1 Enoch*, however, the two worlds are also parallel in the past as well as in the present, as for example in *The Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 1–36, henceforth *BWatch*) and *AnApoc.*<sup>63</sup> Again, a vision of God’s abode in heaven or angelic activities which have repercussions in the present world are not explicitly reported in Isaiah 65–66. However, when God’s accessibility to the present world is revealed in 65.1-2 with a reminder of his graciousness and the grief over the lack of response to the invitation, it is more than an implied reference to a parallel spiritual world. This call, ‘to a nation that did not call on my name’, is repeated in the second half of 65.12 and thus develops the topic into an eschatological vision of divine intervention in vv. 13-25. It emphasises God’s desire to be in the present from his position in the other world through his grace. The dualism in 65.8 is not only temporal but also spatial, when the Lord announces his will to ‘act on behalf of my servants, // in order not to destroy all’. The decision is made after God was counselled not to destroy ‘the new wine [...] in the cluster [...] for there is a blessing in it’. Although there is an implied reference in 65.8 to Abraham’s intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah, the assumed dialogue in the verse can also be understood to take place in the heavenly council. In that case, a decision made in heaven will have benefits for the faithful in the present world in the form of hope and comfort (see 66.2, 5). A third example is again God’s voice from above in 66.1-2, which is both a critique and a questioning of a newly rebuilt temple in the present age. In other words, there is indeed a spatial dualism in Isaiah 65–66 that seeks to correspond this world with a transcendent reality.

#### 4. Conclusion

Ethical dualism in *1 Enoch* causes and supplements temporal dualism and spatial dualism, and the latter two structure the apocalyptic world view together with ontological aspects of dualism. In Isaiah 65–66 I find the equivalences of the first three dualisms, accounted for in my introduction above, in the tension between the faithful versus the rebellious (ethical),

63. This is pointed out by Frey in comparison with ‘the temporal sequence’ of the present world and the world to come in 4 Ezra (Frey, ‘Apocalyptic Dualism’, p. 288).

the current world and the eschatological world (temporal), and the old cosmos and the new cosmos (spatial). Thus, despite differences between the two genres, Isaiah 65–66 has played an important role in the composition of texts such as *ApocW*, *AnApoc* and *BWatch*, particularly, perhaps, when it comes to ethical dualism. The difference between spatial dualism in *1 Enoch* and Isaiah 65–66 is much more noticeable than in cases of ethical and temporal dualism. However, regarding the vertical perspective, the concept or idea of a parallel world in contrast to or corresponding with the current age is found in both texts. I have made only brief mention of *BWatch* in this article. However, even though Isaiah 65–66 is not an apocalypse, a study of *BWatch* will show that Isaiah 65–66 is part of the material which that particular apocalypse elaborates on.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, when important concepts from Isaiah 65–66 also surface in *1 En.* 25.4-6 (and more allusions are found when reading that text together with 26.1–27.5),<sup>65</sup> it shows that Isaiah 65–66 is a major biblical foundation for the vision dreams and messages in *1 Enoch*.

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64. See VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 129-30.

65. Stefan Green, ‘Jerusalem as the Centre of Blessing in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 Enoch 26:1-2’, in Antti Laato (ed.), *Understanding the Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Three Abrahamic Religions* (STCA, 6; Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 41-70.

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