

„FOR GOD MADE ALL THINGS GOOD IN THEIR ORDER” (TEST. NAPHT. 2:8) – THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS IN LIGHT OF THE WATCHERS TRADITION¹

ABSTRACT

The most elaborate version of the story of the Watchers is found in the *Book of Enoch*. However, it is quoted and referred to in many apocryphal documents, such as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Different texts highlight different elements of the story of the rebellious angels. The most prominent of these is the temptation to sin, the means of which is beauty and everything that may be necessary to achieve it, even by altering the order of nature. In the *Testaments* (especially in Reuben's and Naphtali's), the latter is the main theme. In my essay I study these quotations and allusions in light of 1 Enoch and some other occurrences from Qumran.

Keywords: Enoch, Watchers, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, women, sin

The *Book of Enoch* is one of the most mysterious works of the Old Testament apocrypha. Not only in terms of its content, but also in terms of its origin.² The apoca-

1 The study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship.

2 The history of research into the textual tradition associated with Enoch is fraught with numerous uncertainties and assumptions, the discussion of which goes far beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, I only summarize the points that are relevant to the text passage I have examined and the issues at hand. The most significant of these are the presumed time, place, and language of the corpus's origin. The Enochic corpus, traditionally divided into five parts, was written between the 3rd century BC and the 1st century AD, presumably in Palestine, but it certainly contains earlier elements from before the Hellenistic period. Nickelsburg, G. W. E.: *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN 2001, 7. Its original language was Aramaic, and some parts were presumably written in Hebrew (fragments were discovered at Qumran), with a known fragmentary Greek translation from the 1st century AD. However, the most complete version of the text is the Ethiopian version, dated to the 4th–7th centuries AD (the earliest manuscript is not younger than the 15th century AD). This is the only version that contains the entire corpus of 108 chapters (the translation was probably made from a Greek text variant bearing traces of Semitic influence). For more information, see: Coblentz-Bautch, K.: *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”*. Leiden: Brill, 2003, 1–10; Fröhlich I. – Dobos K. (eds.): *Henok könyvei*. Piliscsaba: PPKE, 2009, 15–17. In this study, in addition to the available Aramaic fragments, I use and quote the Ethiopian textual tradition, whose accepted notation is:

lyptic work connected to the name of Enoch (father of Methuselah, great-grandfather of Noah) is linked in many ways to the canonical traditions of the Old and New Testaments. These include, for example, the story of the fallen angels, the search for the causes of the flood, and a series of messianic prophecies. It is no coincidence that his stories appear in numerous later works, with his tradition extending even to the works of Christian writers. Its original language was probably Hebrew or Aramaic, and in addition to the Aramaic fragments discovered in the Qumran caves in the mid-20th century, we also know of Greek, Coptic, Latin, and Syriac fragments, with the most complete version surviving in the Ethiopian (Ge'ez) language. In Ethiopia, there are still groups today who consider its contents to be canonical.

The *Book of the Watchers*,³ the earliest part of the *Book of Enoch* dates to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC, and its oldest fragments have survived in Aramaic. The main theme of the book (and title story) is the narrative presented in chapters 6–11 about the rebellion instigated by the heavenly beings (the Watchers) and the consequent appearance of sin on earth and the subsequent judgment. Its most important motifs recur in the later Enochic tradition and then in the works of Jewish and Christian authors of later times.⁴ The narrative of the Watchers played a central role in the

1Enoch/1En. Critical editions of the text: Charles, R.H.: *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three Mss. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*. London 1906; and after the discovery of the Qumran fragments: Knibb, M. A.: *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. Vol. 1: *Text and Apparatus*; Vol. 2: *Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Oxford: OUP, 1978; M. Black, M.: *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition*. SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985. As for the Qumran fragments of the text, three manuscripts preserved different parts of the *Book of the Watchers*: 4QEn^c (4Q204) 18, 31–32; 4QEn^d (4Q205) 22, 25–27; 4QEn^e (4Q206) 20–22, 28–29, 31–34 (first half of the first century). Based on palaeographic evidence, these fragments can be dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC and around the beginning of our era (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 9–10).

3 The *Book of the Watchers* (celestial beings who also appear in the Bible, e.g. in the Book of Daniel) can be read in 1 Enoch chapters 1–36. The core of the story is the narrative of the rebellion and then fall of the Watchers (chapters 6–11). The story of the Watchers is the earliest layer of the Enochic tradition; according to paleographic studies, 1 En. 6–11 is included in the earliest Qumran manuscripts, with copies surviving from the end of the 3rd century BC and the very beginning of the 2nd century (in terms of the continuity of the use of the text, it should be noted that it was copied throughout the existence of the Qumran settlement) *Qumran Cave 4 – XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea*, Part 1. DJD 36. London 2000, 106. It is important to highlight that the Qumran witnesses of the tradition also contain narrative elements that are not known from either the Greek or the Ethiopic texts. Such is the case e.g. with the *Book of Giants*, which preserves the stories of the sons of the Watchers and the tradition related to them. For more information, see: Fröhlich, I.: The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch). *Henoch* 33 (2011/1), 6–26, 7.

4 In his study, Gabriele Boccaccini summarizes the Christian reception of the tradition up to the beginning of scientific research on Enoch. See further: Boccaccini, 'Enochic Traditions,' in: A. Kulik et al. (eds.): *A Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission*. Oxford 2019, 383–416; VanderKam, J. C.: *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. CBQMS 16; Washington 1984. Reed, A. Y.: *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Chapter 6: The Interpenetration

ideology of the Qumran community: it is cited in the *Book of Jubilees*⁵ and can be clearly identified in the *Damascus Document* and in 4Q180-181.⁶ Furthermore, it had a great influence on Jewish literature of later times, especially Jewish mysticism.

In my ongoing research, in search of the knowledge of nature and its motif-parallels in the Enochic tradition, I found interesting matches in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This apocrypha refers to the story of the Watchers several times. In my paper, I focus on the quotations and allusions related to the ones connected to the relationship of the Watchers/angels and earthly men and women, as we will see, all related to sin and temptation.

THE REBELLION OF ANGELS AND GEN. 6:1–4

The narrative of the angels’ rebellion is one of the most important biblical parallels in the *Book of the Watchers*. There have been many attempts to interpret the connection, the three most important directions being:⁷ first, the *Book of Enoch* interprets and further develops the Genesis story;⁸ second, the Enochic version is the complete version, from which Genesis is drawn,⁹ the third, both versions are traced back to the Mesopotamian mythical tradition and assume a parallel development.¹⁰ As with the doublet stories of Genesis, there is no uniform textual tradition in the case of the Watchers.¹¹ There are two main versions: the first, the story of 1 En. 6

of Jewish and Christian Traditions: The Exegesis of Genesis and the Marginalization of Enochic Literature.

5 Some elements of 1 En. run through the narrative of the *Book of Jubilees*, and it also quotes the work. For more information, see: Charles, R. H. (ed.): *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Oxford 1913, vol. 2, 18–19.

6 Both the *Damascus Document* (CD 2:2–3:12), and 4Q180–181 through a historical overview, it refers to the tradition of the Watchers. For more information, see: Fröhlich, Figures, Note 5.

7 See detailed: VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 23–51 and Dobos – Fröhlich, *Henok*, 26.

8 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 168–169.

9 J. T. Milik argues based on the common vocabulary of the two texts: Milik, J. T.: *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4*. London 1976, 31; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 124–125; Sacchi, P.: Henochgestalt/Henochliteratur. In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. I–XXXVI. Ed: G. Müller et al. Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1986, XV. 42–54, 43.

10 H. S. Kvanvig, ‘The Watcher Story and Genesis. An Intertextual Reading’, in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 18 (2004), 163–183, 182. Ida Fröhlich also draws our attention to the Mesopotamian connection and provides an extensive bibliography: Fröhlich, *Mesopotamian Elements*, 6–26, 8 et passim.

11 Several studies have dealt with the possible layers of origin of the book. Among them, the levels of the Watchers tradition are examined in detail. Collins, J. J.: *The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers*. *CBQ* 44 (1982), 91–111; and (with a comprehensive research history) Orlov, A. A.: *Divine Mysteries in the Enochic Tradition*. Berlin: de Gruyter 2023, 6–9.

according to which Shemihazah (שמיהזה, the name is eloquent, its meaning is: „God (ha-Shem) sees”, another interpretation is „my name has appeared”¹²) is the leader of 200 rebel angels.¹³ According to this, the angels saw and coveted the daughters of man, conspired to descend upon them, marry them and raise up offsprings who would then destroy the world. In this process, women are victims rather than perpetrators. The transmission of knowledge first appears in Chapter 7 (7.1–6) the knowledge imparted is magic, witchcraft and rhizotomy, the gathering of plants with harmful magical intent.

These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose. And they began to go in to them, and ‘to defile themselves’ through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants. And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants. And the giants begat Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born. And they were growing in accordance with their greatness. They were devouring the labor of all the sons of men, and men were not able to supply them. And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another’s flesh. And they drank the blood. Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones. (1 En. 7: 1–6)

In chapter 8, the story continues with a different protagonist, the leader of the angels is Asael (אַסַּאֵל, “Created by God”) and the list of things revealed (secret and magical) continues to grow:

Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breast-plates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led astray the holy ones. And there was much godlessness upon the earth, and they made their ways desolate. Shemihazah taught spells and the cutting of roots. Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells and magic and skill. Baraqel taught the signs of the lightning flashes. Kokabel taught the signs of the stars. Ziqel taught the signs of the shooting stars. Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth. Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun. Sahriel taught the

12 For the interpretation of the eloquent names of Shemihazah and the other angels, see: Orlov, *Divine Mysteries*, 10–13. The meaning of names is closely related to the secrets and knowledge revealed by their bearers.

13 Dobos – Fröhlich, *Henok*, 27.

signs of the moon. And they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children. (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven. (1 En. 8:1–4)

Chapter 9 explicitly highlights the main problem: the transfer of heavenly knowledge led to the emergence and spread of sin:

You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity upon the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, which the sons of men were striving to learn. And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him. They have gone in to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women. And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-producing charms. And now behold, the daughters of men have born sons from them, giants, half-breeds. And the blood of men is shed upon the earth, and the whole earth is filled with iniquity. (1 En. 9:6–9)

The main problem here is the mixing of different poles/worlds (in the Mesopotamian tradition this is not necessarily a negative thing, but here it is),¹⁴ the bringing of celestial knowledge to earth, the merging/marriage of Sons of the God and earthly women (all of these are against the divine intention). The main difference between the two traditions is therefore the origin of sin and evil on earth. According to the Shemihazah tradition, sexual sin and the violence committed by the offspring born from it are the earthly origin of sin, while in the Asael material, the revelation of forbidden knowledge is the cause of the corruption of the earth. The aforementioned biblical connection focuses on the former, the transmission of forbidden knowledge does not appear in Genesis:

When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that they were fair, and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. Then the Lord said, “My spirit shall not abide[a] in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred twenty years.” The Nephilim were on the earth in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown. Gen. 6:1–4 (NRSV)

¹⁴ For Mesopotamian parallels to the Watchers’ tradition, see: Fröhlich, I.: Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Tradition. In: Harkins et al. (eds.), *The Watchers*, 11–24.

The presence of these few sentences might be unexpected in the broader historical flow of Genesis,¹⁵ but their positioning makes it clearer: the story of Adam and Eve, then the sin of Cain (father of Enoch), then the genealogical table to Noah, then the story of the sons of the gods. The following verses pick up where chapter 5 ended: the story of Noah and the flood. We have seen before that Enoch places this different ‘type’ of sin (knowledge transfer) in a much broader context, the focus here is on how this knowledge – and the resulting sin – is present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁶

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a pseudepigrapha dated back to the Maccabean period,¹⁷ which summons the sons of Jacob and brings their symbolic last will and testament to life and to the readers, following the model of Jacob’s last words in the book of Genesis. Each of the forefathers gathers his descendants around him and looks back on his life, highlighting the positive, virtuous deeds, while not concealing the sins and mistakes committed. Moreover, sin in many cases plays a symbolic role as not only the sin of the forefather, but also as the sin of the nation of Israel. Despite all of this, most of the units conclude with a positive hope for restoration in the eschatological future.

The author(s) of the work knew the story of Enoch and the Watchers well, although the sayings attributed to Enochic writings do not always correspond to the

15 Chris Seeman’s study draws our attention to the fact that, in addition to the Hebrew text, it is also worth examining the textual variants of the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch from the perspective of the relationship between Genesis and the Enochic tradition, especially along the lines of the terminology applied to angels. Seeman, Ch.: The Watchers Traditions and Gen 6:1–4 (MT and LXX). In: Harkins et al. (eds.), *The Watchers*, 25–38.

16 It is important to note that beyond the sources examined here in several apocryphal writings (e.g. Ben Sira; see: Corley, J.: The Enochic Watchers Traditions and Deuterocanonical Literature. In: Harkins et al. (eds.), *The Watchers*, 51–68) and in the New Testament we find several references to the Enochic tradition (both in the Pauline letters and in the Catholic letters). (Jude, 1–2 Letter of Peter). Lewis, S. M.: „Because of the Angels”: Paul and the Enochic Traditions. In: Harkins et al. (eds.), *The Watchers*, 81–90; Mason, E. F.: Watchers Traditions in the Catholic Epistles. In: Harkins et al. (eds.), *The Watchers*, 69–80.

17 The text is quoted according to: H. C. Kee: The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 1. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Ed.: James H. Charlesworth. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 775–828 (on the date: 777–778). Critical edition of the text: Marinus de Jonge et al.: *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece I,2) Leiden: Brill, 1978. For a detailed commentary see: H. W. Hollander – M. de Jonge: *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary*. (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 8), Leiden: Brill, 1985.

surviving texts.¹⁸ Enoch is mentioned six, while the Watchers three times in the Testaments. The *Book of Enoch* is directly referred to, as an authentic source of heavenly knowledge about good and evil, sin and forgiveness.¹⁹ The references to the Watchers are limited to two patriarchs, Reuben and Naphtali and they use them in different aspects of interpretation, emphasizing different consequences of the deeds of the fallen angels.

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN

In Reuben’s case his own sin – his act of sleeping with his father’s concubine, Bilhah (Gen. 35:22), which also caused him to lose his birthright – and his repentance is in the focus of his admonitions to his sons: he is a model of sexual wrongdoing and warns his descendants against that. However, in addition to the guidance, we can also read a very important anthropological perspective. According to him

For seven spirits are established against mankind, and they are the sources of the deeds of youth. (*Test. Reuben* 2:2–3)

Among these seven spirits the last, the power of procreation and sexual intercourse is the most dangerous:

The seventh is the spirit of procreation and intercourse, with which come sins through fondness for pleasure. For this reason, it was the last in the creation, and the first in youth, because it is filled with ignorance, it leads the young person like a blind man into a ditch, and like an animal over a cliff. (*Test. Reuben* 2:8–9)

Besides these seven, the “spirits of error” also endanger mankind. After this list come the admonitions from the wise forefather:

Do not devote your attention to a woman’s looks, nor live with a woman who is already married, nor become involved in affairs with women. (*Test. Reuben* 3:10)

18 Anette Yoshiko Reed considers the Testament to be an example of continuous transmission of Enochic texts, a very “Second Temple Judaism” base layer of the text while also emphasizing the significance of a later Christian redaction. She also notes that there is continuity between the Jewish layer and the Christian additions. Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 112.

19 *Test. Dan* 5.6; *Test. Levi* 10.5; *Test. Simeon* 5.4; *Test. Naphtali* 4.1; *Test. Benjamin* 9.1 and 10.6. The last verse referred to is not quoting the Book itself but lists Enoch before the other Jewish patriarchs in their glorious ranks. We can even find references to the “Book of Enoch” and the “scripture of Enoch”. See detailed in Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 112–113.

According to the text, the main reason of Reuben's sin is that he saw Bilhah bathing naked, but the author does not stop there, and continues to search for more causes, in the next paragraph the beauty of the women turns up. He warns against fornication, considering it the most dangerous sin, leading to ruin.

for the sin of promiscuity is the pitfall of life, separating man from God and leading on toward idolatry, because it is the deceiver of the mind and the perceptions, and leads youths down to hell before their time. (*Test. Reuben* 4:6–7)

The shifting of responsibility for committing crimes onto women appears in the following section:

For women are evil, my children; and by reason of their lacking authority or power over man, they scheme treacherously how they might entice him to themselves by means of their looks. And whomever they cannot enchant by their appearance they conquer by a stratagem. Indeed, the angel of the Lord told me and instructed me that women are more easily overcome by their spirit of promiscuity than are men. They contrive in their hearts against men, then by decking themselves out they lead men's mind astray, by a look they implant their poison, and finally in the act itself they take them captive. (*Test. Reuben* 5:1–4)

One means of committing a crime is making women look beautiful themselves:

order your wives and your daughters, not to adorn their heads and their appearances so as to deceive men's sound minds. For every woman who schemes in these ways is destined eternal punishment. (*Test. Reuben* 5:5–6)

And this is where the Watchers appear in the story: they were seduced by women even before the flood and their actions led to unforeseeable consequences.²⁰ Women's self-adornment is a means of seducing men and also the angels.²¹ How could sons of men resist female seduction if even the heavenly ones failed to do so? The deeds of the Watchers are well-suited to the purpose of author of the Testament, who wants to reduce Reuben's responsibility for his actions.

It is interesting, that the author does not mention who taught all the techniques of make-up and ornamentations to the women. In the *Testament of Reuben*, the

20 Loader notes that the author of the Testaments „demythologized” the original story while stating that the angels turned themselves to be humans and appeared in that form for the women. See further: Loader, *Myths on the Margins*, 40–41.

21 Scott M. Lewis, S.J. parallels to this the reasoning of the importance of the covering of the head of women in 1Cor. 11. For the detailed discussion see: ‘Because of the Angels’: Paul and the Enochic Traditions”. In: Harkins et al. (eds.): *The Watchers*, 81–90, 88 and also in Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 178.

Watchers are depicted as victims of female seduction. However, the above quoted story of Asael and his fellow angels – who in some versions of the text correspond to the Watchers – regarding the transfer of heavenly knowledge is missing from the *Testaments*. Specifically, the tradition concerning the knowledge of “antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes” is entirely absent. Although not mentioned here, in later Christian tradition it is emphasized, e.g. Tertullian in his *De cultu Feminarum* discusses this inner contradiction widely.²² Other exegetes (e.g. Justin) even stress the importance of the active role played by the Watchers in promulgating bad habits and sin on Earth.²³ In my view, the author of the *Testament* wanted to maintain the highest possible moral potential for the Watchers in the eyes of his readers, so that he could better support the seductive power of earthly women’s vanity in order to reduce the severity of his own sin.

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI

According to tradition, Naphtali is a much less divisive son than Reuben. His testament begins with a long genealogical table of his mother, Bilhah. It is supplemented by numerous etymological explanations of his and his relatives’ names. The biographical data are much less prominent than in the other testaments.²⁴ An important detail of the text is the explanation of the determinism and immutability of creation. As I quoted in the title of my paper:

„For God made all things good in their order,” (*Test. Napht.* 2:8)

And later on:

Sun, moon and stars do not alter their order; thus, you should not alter the law of God by the disorder of your actions. (*Test. Napht.* 3:2-3)

The *Testament* is rich in moral and ethical elements that have made it popular and easily accessible to followers of many religions.²⁵ The author brings the example of the gentiles who turned away from the Lord, took a different path, and thereby changed the Lord’s plans and the order of the world. Then the author turns to the Watchers:

22 For a detailed comparison see: Dávid, Nóra: The Sin of the Angels and Female Ornamentation – Parallels of the Book of the Watchers and Terullian *De cultu feminarum*. (in Hungarian) In: Székely, M. – Dávid, N.: *Hösnők, papnők, királynők. Női szerepek az ó- és középkorban*. (Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Suppl. XVII.) Szeged: Hungaria, 2025, 5–15.

23 Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 164, referring to Justin’s 2 *Apology* 5.

24 Hollander – de Jonge, *Testaments*, 295.

25 *Ibid.*, 296.

Likewise, the Watchers departed from nature's order; the Lord pronounced a curse on them at the Flood. On their account he ordered that the earth be without dweller or produce. (*Test. Napht.* 3:5)

They are the origo of sin and the reason of the Flood, which halted the natural cycle of the world order. However, changing their natural form is not only the result of their actions, but also a means to an end, since in order to seduce women, they had to transform themselves. This transformation is described in 1 Enoch as well, in the so-called *Animal Apocalypse* (1En. 86:4).

As in the *Testament of Reuben*, reference is again made to the Enochic writings, prediction of falling into sin and returning, then falling again. The later told narrated vision (what starts with a real change of the nature: the Sun and the Moon stops and is followed by several unnatural elements) predicts Israel's future: not only the story of the twelve sons of Jacob, but also the nation's captivity and release. The apocalyptic vision reveals "how everything shall come to pass in Israel." (*Test. Napht.* 8:1–2)

The importance of choices and decisions is obviously phrased in the text, all of which clearly demonstrates the authors' dualistic worldview:

The commandments of the Lord are double, and they are to be fulfilled with regularity. (*Test. Napht.* 8:7)

and then two lines later:

And there are two commandments: unless they are performed in proper sequence, they leave one open to the greatest sin. It is the same with the other commandments. So be wise in the Lord and discerning, knowing the order of his commandments, what is ordained for every act, so that the Lord will love you. (*Test. Napht.* 8:9-10)

The relationship of the fallen angels and women also changed the order of nature, resulting not only in the birth of the *gibborim* but also in punishment, the flood and its consequences.²⁶ Changing the order of nature also plays a central role in Tertullian's concept of the origin of sin: angels brought the dangerous knowledge to light (*De cult. fem.* I.2.2). For Tertullian, the origin of sin is forbidden marriage, the mixing of different worlds, and what he believes to be the cause and perpetuator of this in the world: the vanity of women. However, the tools of vanity were introduced to them by heavenly beings, and the world created by God is influenced by knowledge of heavenly origin. This influence is the driving force behind this vicious

²⁶ As a parallel the author brings the Sodomites, who also change the order of their nature and were involved in prohibited sexual relationships. Loader, *Myths*, 41.

circle, and its maintainers are largely impressionable women, who then influence others themselves.²⁷ Anette Yoshiko Reed²⁸ calls our attention to that the motive of the Watchers departed from the nature’s order, can be traced in the *Epistle of Jude*, which calls them “the angels who did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling”, in the *Book of Jubilees* and also present in the demonology of the Qumran community.

CONCLUSIONS

In connection with the theme of the Conference, I examined two apocryphal works that are organically linked to two Old Testament passages. Although we have travelled centuries in time in terms of when the works were created, we have not actually left the world of Genesis: in searching for the origin of sin and the cause of the flood, the authors went back to the story of the Watchers.

It is important to note that when we examine an even earlier tradition in early apocrypha, we do not necessarily have to look for intermediaries and demonstrate the earlier tradition in the later one. Rather, it may be more expedient to examine the later tradition in light of the earlier one, since for the people of a given age, their own past and tradition are a natural environment and a familiar system, rather than a body of knowledge to be acquired.

In both apocryphal texts the appearance of the Watchers can be connected to very important teachings and features of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, e.g. cosmology, angelology, eschatology and ethics. All of these are deeply permeated and guided by a dualistic worldview. The choice between good and evil, committing a crime or not, the spirits of truth and the spirits of error, the possibility of choice between the ‘Two Ways’. This is mirrored cosmically between heaven and earth with their beings, namely, the good angels and the angels of Beliar. And finally, being the most crucial one: in contrast to women, men are basically pure in mind (*Test. Reuben* 6:2).²⁹ All these notions were also central in the worldview of the Qumran community, together with Enoch and the story of the Watchers. Among the supposed fragments of the *Testaments* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the ones connected to the *Testament of Naphtali* (4Q215) are of crucial importance.³⁰ This

²⁷ Dávid, *The Sin of the Angels*, 13–14.

²⁸ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 163–164.

²⁹ Kee, *Testaments*, 779.

³⁰ de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha*, 113–117; Stone, M. E.: *Testament of Naphtali*. In: VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4*, 73–82. Also, in: García Martínez, F. – Tigchelaar, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, I. Leiden: Brill, 1999, 454–457. Preliminary edition in Stone, M. E.: “The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali,” *JJS* 47 (1996): 311–332, and Stone, M. E.: “Some Further Readings in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali,” *JJS* 49 (1998): 346–347.

text, as we could see, also reflects all these important ideas, while hints of them are interweaving several other texts from Qumran, such as e.g. the *Jubilees*. However, female weakness allowed otherworldly teachings to enter the earth, and armed with their newly acquired knowledge of seduction, they became capable of seducing both men and even heavenly beings. The extent to which men were weak, unable to resist everything, is lost in the mists of time.

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