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THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF  
THE EPISTLE OF JUDE

Short Title

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THE BACKGROUND OF JUDE

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Exegetical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

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Short Title

THE BACKGROUND OF JUDE

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ed. E. Theodore Bachmann and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), XXXV, 397-398.  
 William Barclay, *The Letters of John and Jude* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p. 195.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Jude, a short epistle in the New Testament, has, in common usage, been disregarded for the most part. Among the reasons that this letter has been slighted through the course of history is its apparent use of material which does not come from what has been accepted as the Old Testament canon.<sup>1</sup> William Barclay relates that "it is in Jerome that we find one of the great reasons for the hesitation which was felt towards Jude."<sup>2</sup> The reason which Jerome gave is the citation of extra-canonical books. In fact, Jude, for its length, abounds in references which require more than a knowledge of the Old Testament for a proper understanding. In the words of Johann Michl, "Keine Schrift des NT entnimmt auf so engem Raume so viel Stoff aus den in den spätjüdischen Apokryphen enthaltenen Legenden wie dieser

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Martin Luther, "Preface to the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude," Word and Sacrament I, in Luther's Works, ed. E. Theodore Bachmann and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960), XXXV, 397-398.

<sup>2</sup>William Barclay, The Letters of John and Jude (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p. 196.

Brief."<sup>3</sup> The problem, then, is this: What sources did Jude use, and how did Jude and his readers understand the content of these sources? The purpose of this paper is to investigate the possible sources for the epistle of Jude and to determine the probable literary background for this epistle.

This writer felt that this study was necessary and worthwhile for two reasons. First, he desired to reach some reasonable conclusion for the problem stated above on the basis of an objective scrutiny of the material, influenced neither by preconceived conclusions about the problem nor by emotional concerns which would have, and often have, answered the question without a fair study. This latter concern arises from the fact that many commentators have argued against Jude's use of apocryphal literature on the basis of their view of inspiration, revelation, and canonicity rather than on the basis of an objective handling of the various documents. Secondly, this writer is very much interested in the use which the New Testament writers made of the Old Testament and, hence, other literature and found here a possibility to study the influence of the Old Testament on one book

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<sup>3</sup>Johann Michl, "Der Judasbrief," Das Neue Testament, ed. Alfred Wikenhauser and Otto Kusz (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1953), VIII, 187.

of the New Testament. This study was of value because it helped this writer to appreciate more fully the little letter of Jude as well as realize the tremendous network of Jewish background--Old Testament, Jewish literature, tradition, and rabbinic literature and tradition--which forms a major context for all of the New Testament writings.

As already alluded to, this discussion is concerned only with studying the literary background of the epistle of Jude. There will be no attempt to discuss problems relating to inspiration. This is another whole area which would require separate treatment. Nor is this paper concerned with isogogical questions such as date and authorship. "Jude" is used to refer to the author without indicating a decision as to the actual author. It should be pointed out that in the process of discussing the material, divisions have been made in the following chapters which coincide with present day divisions of the material. This was not intended to designate degrees of importance or varying attitudes by Jude over against the various groups. The divisions serve mainly as means of presenting all the material in an organized fashion. In like manner, the terms "apocrypha" and "pseudepigrapha" are meant to be neutral terms designating all of the material which is considered by us as non-canonical but

pre-Christian. No attempt was made to classify works under one or the other title. Sometimes both are included under the general term, "Jewish writings."

By the word "source" is meant the broader definition of all which Jude may have used. This would include material which influenced the content of the epistle of Jude as well as verbal quotations. Since the Old Testament is generally recognized and accepted by scholars as showing influence throughout the New Testament, no effort was made to show a verbal dependence by Jude upon the Old Testament before showing his dependence on the content of the Old Testament. His knowledge and acceptance of the Old Testament is assumed. Where the question is more open concerning Jude's possible dependence on a document, a direct connection is sought (a verbal quotation or the probable borrowing of a story) before accepting the probability of Jude's dependence on that document for other material. In all other cases, parallels in word and content are accepted only as illuminating material or as possible sources with no sure proof of dependence.

The material is divided into two main groups. The first, and larger, part tries to determine just what material was used by Jude. Under this heading are included the Old Testament, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, rabbinic literature



and later Jewish writings, and the New Testament and other possible sources. The second, and smaller, part looks at the sources which were determined as probably used by Jude and endeavors to examine their contents to see how Jude, and his readers, understood the examples which Jude gives.

From the investigation which is related on the following pages it was concluded that Jude was a son of his age, using material from a whole matrix of religious sources. Much of his material, especially his examples, hark back to the Old Testament. But many of these ideas were influenced by traditions which grew up around significant incidents and personages of the Old Testament. A perusal of Jewish writings gives us a clearer picture of the way in which Jude and his readers viewed these persons and events. It is also concluded that Jude did make use of apocryphal literature as a source of direct quotation, using especially the Book of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses. Jude also made use of "Christian tradition" in citing the words of the apostles in Jude 17-18.

## CHAPTER II

### SOURCES AND PARALLELS OF JUDE'S MATERIAL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the short span of twenty-five verses the Epistle of Jude exhibits a considerable number of references or allusions to earlier material. Our first task will be to point out these dependent portions of the epistle and to give the actual, or probable, source of Jude's references or allusions. Those verses, or portions of verses, which show dependence on some earlier source are: Jude 4, "For admission has been secretly gained by some who long ago were designated for this condemnation. . . ."<sup>1</sup> (this writer's italics); Jude 5,

Now I desire to remind you, though you were once for all fully informed, that he who saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those who did not believe;

Jude 6,

And the angels that did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling have been kept by him in eternal chains in the nether gloom until the judgment of the great day;

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<sup>1</sup>All biblical quotations in English are taken from the Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise noted.

Jude 7,

Just as Sodom and Gomorrah and the surrounding cities, which likewise acted immorally and indulged in unnatural lust, serve as an example by undergoing a punishment of eternal fire;

Jude 9,

But when the archangel Michael, contending with the devil, disputed about the body of Moses, he did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment upon him, but said, "The Lord rebuke you";

Jude 11, "For they walk in the way of Cain, and abandon themselves for the sake of gain to Balaam's error, and perish in Korah's rebellion"; Jude 13, "Wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever"; Jude 14 and 15,

It was of these also that Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam prophesied, saying, "Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgment on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him";

Jude 17 and 18,

But you must remember, beloved, the predictions of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; they said to you, "In the last time there will be scoffers, following their own ungodly passions";

Jude 23, "Save some, by snatching them out of the fire. . . ."

There are some other instances in which individual words seem to show dependence on a source, but these will be

handled in their proper settings.

One of the more interesting observations to be noted is that Jude makes no acknowledged quotation from the Old Testament. He either cites examples or uses words without appeal to their original setting as part of the Scriptures (for example, Jude 23, which will be discussed later). Friedrich Hauck has made this same observation: "Er entschuldigt sich, wenn er diese Beispiele bringt; sie dienen nur Erinnerung. Denn an sich ist ihnen ja die ganze christliche Erkenntnis bereits zu eigen."<sup>2</sup> But that Jude uses the Old Testament cannot be doubted. As Donald Guthrie points out, Jude is quite at home with the Old Testament:

Jude's language is influenced by his familiarity with the Old Testament. . . . Certainly Jude's mind is full of Old Testament allusions although he does not directly cite from it. It is a fair assumption that he was well acquainted with its text, since it served as the Scriptures of the early Church.<sup>3</sup>

Bo Reicke indicates that Jude's use of the Old Testament as "Erinnerung" or reminder also indicates a knowledge on the part of his readers:

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<sup>2</sup>Friedrich Hauck, "Der Brief des Judas," Das Neue Testament Deutsch, Paul Althaus and Johannes Behm (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), X, 107.

<sup>3</sup>Donald Guthrie, Hebrews to Revelation: New Testament Introduction (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962), p. 248.

When in vs. 5a the author proceeds to give some illustrations from ancient history . . . he asserts that he does this only as a reminder to his readers who are obviously acquainted with these facts. It is difficult to ascertain whether Jude assumes a general knowledge of biblical history on the part of the readers, or refers to specific instruction that they have received in these matters.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we can tentatively conclude that Jude, although he makes no direct reference to, nor makes any citation of, the Old Testament, is quite familiar with those books which the early Christian Church accepted as their Scripture.

It is not as safe, however, to determine in what form the Old Testament was known to Jude. Frederic Henry Chase has the rather definite opinion that

The writer is steeped in the language of the LXX. In this short Ep. occur several words and phrases derived from the LXX which are not used independently by other NT writers. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Charles Bigg cautions against such a definite conclusion since Jude has not made any direct quotation:

Biblical words are used, and the facts of the ancient history are known, but there is no direct quotation. Dr. Chase goes too far when he says that the writer is

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<sup>4</sup>Bo Reicke, The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude in The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), XXXVII, 198.

<sup>5</sup>Frederic Henry Chase, "Jude, Epistle of," A Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), II, 800.

steeped in the language of the LXX . . . θαυμάζειν πρόσωπα and λαλεῖν ὑπέρογκα [two of the examples which Chase gave as illustration of his argument] are probably taken from the Assumption of Moses [to be discussed in greater detail later].<sup>6</sup>

Jude, and his readers, knew their history, but it is difficult for us to determine the linguistic form of their textbook.

### Historical Books

We have already mentioned that the first passage in which Jude makes reference to an earlier document is Jude 4, "For admission has been secretly gained by some who long ago were designated for this condemnation. . . ." And disagreement among scholars also begins here. Several conclusions have been reached as to the location of the condemnation which was given "long ago." Some scholars have suggested the Book of Enoch, some 2 Peter, and some the Old Testament. The first two suggestions will be considered at the appropriate places later. Those who feel that Jude refers to the Old Testament think that he does so in a general manner, for they give no references to specific Old Testament passages.

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<sup>6</sup>Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), XLII, 311.

Bernhard Weiss, for instance, says that "οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι in ver. 4 cannot possibly refer to a recently composed Apostolic writing, but only to Old Testament scripture. . . ."7

Bigg indicates that this interpretation is most natural, although he, a proponent of the argument that 2 Peter preceded Jude and was used by Jude, opts for a reference to 2 Peter: "Πάλαι is most naturally taken to mean in the Old Testament, in the many denunciations of false prophets. . . . Nevertheless we have here a reference to 2 Peter 2:3."8

Robert Robertson gives a more convincing argument for a general reference to the Old Testament:

The word [προγράψω] is used by Paul in Rom. 15:4 with reference to things written in the Old Testament, and is to be understood here as having a similar reference. In this instance Jude is thinking of the condemnation pronounced against men who live as the false brethren live. The meaning is not that these men were "fore-ordained" or "elected" to condemnation, but that the condemnation which such men would bring on themselves had been ordained and even written down long before. It was written down in exemplary events as much as in formal declarations.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Bernhard Weiss, "The Epistle of Jude," A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament, tr. A. J. K. Davidson (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888), p. 120, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Bigg, p. 326.

<sup>9</sup>Robert Robertson, "The General Epistle of Jude," The New Bible Commentary, ed. F. Davidson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1953), p. 1162.

Throughout the remainder of his letter Jude makes reference to historical events which are recorded, for the most part, in the Old Testament. But there are some events referred to by Jude which are difficult to locate in the Old Testament, and most of the events which can be distinguished are not purely Old Testament in character. In other words, Jude seems to be referring to the Old Testament on a number of occasions, but the incidents which he cites have gathered about them a stream of tradition by New Testament times. Jude seems to refer to various historical incidents as they are understood with the addition of the various traditional material. Johann Michl points this out:

Der Verfasser lebt ganz in der Welt des AT; er verschmäh't es auch nicht, spätjüdische Legenden zu benützen und zu zitieren (V. 6. 9. 14f; vgl. 7. 11. 13), eine Eigenart, die ihn unter den ntl Schriftstellern kennzeichnet.<sup>10</sup>

The discussion to be presented here is intended to designate the Old Testament source of the historical incidents referred to by Jude. The handling of these incidents in Jewish and rabbinic literature will be discussed in the next chapter.

The first block of material is Jude 5-7, where "Three scriptural illustrations establish God's condemnation of per-

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<sup>10</sup>Johann Michl, "Der Judasbrief," Das Neue Testament, ed. Alfred Wikenhauser and Otto Kusz (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1953), VIII, 176.



sons once spiritually privileged who lapse into sin."<sup>11</sup>

R. Brook describes these three examples as

the faithless Israelites in the wilderness, who were destroyed; the fallen angels, who are kept in bonds under darkness until the Judgment Day; and the Cities of the Plain, which suffered the punishment of eternal fire.<sup>12</sup>

The first example shows that "divine punishment will surely overtake sinners, even though they belong to the chosen people of God once so highly favored as to have been conducted out of bondage in Egypt."<sup>13</sup> But scholars have been generally stymied in their attempts to locate the origin of this reference. The best conjecture is that the reference is to the murmuring of the Israelites following the report of the twelve men who spied out the land of Canaan and the resultant judgment of the Lord that no adult in that company, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, should see the promised land (Num. 14:1-38; 23:63-65; cf. 1 Cor. 10:1-11;

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<sup>11</sup>Albert E. Barnett, "The Epistle of Jude," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1957), XII, 326.

<sup>12</sup>R. Brook, "Jude," A Commentary on the Bible, ed. Arthur S. Peake (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), p. 924.

<sup>13</sup>Shirley Jackson Case, "Jude," The Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Carl Eiselen, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1929), p. 1362.

Heb. 3:16-4:2.<sup>14</sup>

The second example, that of the fallen angels in Jude 6, is an even better example of Jude's use of an Old Testament incident after it has grown through the addition of traditional material. The Old Testament source is more difficult to locate while the additions are all the more obvious.

Scholars generally concur that we have in Jude 6 traditional material which has developed from two Old Testament sources.

The first source is the incident of the sons of God desiring the daughters of men described in Gen. 6:1-4. According to this tradition, the angels fell because of sinful lust.<sup>15</sup>

The second strand goes back to Deut. 32:8, "When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of men, he fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God." The tradition connected with this verse indicate that the angels fell because of pride or disobedience.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Barnett, p. 326; Case, p. 1362; George H. Boobyer, "Jude," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 1042.

<sup>15</sup>Barnett, p. 326; Brook, p. 924; Bigg, p. 329.

<sup>16</sup>Barnett, p. 326; Brook, p. 924; Bigg, pp. 328-329.

"The fate that overcame Sodom and Gomorrah because of the people's sin is a further reminder of God's vengeance."<sup>17</sup> This third example is the easiest to locate in the Old Testament. It refers to the destruction of the cities on the southeastern edge of the Dead Sea as described in Gen. 19. But here, too, there were traditional elements added as this incident became for the Israelites one of the great examples of God's wrath. These elements will be discussed later.

The dispute between Michael and the devil over the body of Moses is one of the more interesting references which Jude uses (Jude 9). This incident is filled with traditional and speculative material. Most scholars feel that the source for this tradition is Deut. 34:5-6:

So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord, and he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab opposite Beth-peor; but no man knows the place of his burial to this day.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Case, p. 1362 (Case's italics).

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Joseph Reuss, "Der Brief des Judas," Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung: Das Neue Testament, ed. Karl Staab (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1952), III, 134; Karl Hermann Schelkle, "Der Judasbrief," Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. Alfred Wikenhauser and Anton Vögtle (Freiburg: Herder, 1961), XIII, ii, 158; A. R. Fausset, "The General Epistle of Jude," A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, n.d.), VI, lx.

Alfred Plummer describes how this passage became the source of a tradition which developed to the extent which we have it in Jude 9:

These words excited the curiosity of the Jews; and as history told them nothing beyond the statement in Deuteronomy, they fell back upon imagination as a substitute, and the mysterious words of Scripture became a centre round which a series of legends in process of time clustered.<sup>19</sup>

It is possible that in this case, more than those previously mentioned, Jude may not even have the Old Testament source in mind when he makes reference to this particular element of tradition.

As was the case in Jude 5-7 and 9, Jude 11 again presents us with examples which are based on Old Testament personages about which tradition has grown. Here, for the present, we again give only the relevant Old Testament background. We note that Jude makes passing reference to three men, trusting his readers' knowledge of them and their wrongdoings to grasp the point he is putting across. As Case describes it: "Cain and Balaam and Korah are other prototypes from whose punishments faithful Christians may deduce the certainty

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<sup>19</sup>Alfred Plummer, The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, in The Expositor's Bible, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (Toronto: Willard Tract Depository and Bible Depot, 1891), XLVI, 420.

of judgment that threatens these more recent sinners."<sup>20</sup>

The basis for the tradition which developed about Cain is Gen. 4:1-16. Much of the tradition is based upon a comparison of Cain and his brother Abel, whom he killed.

As with the fallen angels in Jude 6, the Balaam tradition has two strands. Karl Georg Kuhn summarizes the findings:

The OT gives us two different accounts of Balaam. The first is in Num. 22-24 (J and E); Jos. 24:9-10; Mi. 6:5; also Dt. 23:5-6 (quoted in Neh. 13:2). Balak the king of Moab summons him to curse Israel. Instead, he blesses the people according to the command of God. The emphasis of the story is on the blessing of the people. Balaam himself is simply an instrument of the will of God. No question of personal merit or personal guilt arises. The second is in Nu. 31:16 (P). On the advice of Balaam the Midianite women (or Moabite in Nu. 25:1) entice the Israelites into licentiousness and therefore into apostasy from Yahweh to Baal Peor. Because of this, Balaam is killed in the campaign of revenge against the Midianites (Nu. 31:8=Jos. 13:22).<sup>21</sup>

Kuhn gives us a further note on how the second strand of tradition might have risen:

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<sup>20</sup>Case, p. 1362 (Case's italics).

<sup>21</sup>Karl Georg Kuhn, "Βάλααμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), I, 524; cf. William Barclay, The Letters of John and Jude (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), pp. 224-225; C. E. B. Cranfield, I & II Peter and Jude (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 162.

This story of P [Nu. 31:16] perhaps arose out of the fact that in J and E the account of licentiousness and idolatry immediately follows the Balaam story (Nu. 25:1ff.), so that an inner connection was sought between the two.<sup>22</sup>

This would seem to be a suitable and adequate explanation for the rise of a differing strand of tradition.

Korah is mentioned in Num. 16:1-35, where we are told that "Korah and his fellows were mutineers against Moses and arrogated to themselves the rights of the priests."<sup>23</sup> Barclay gives a more complete description of Korah's rebellion:

The sin of Korah was that he rebelled against the guidance of Moses when the sons of Aaron and the tribe of Levi were made the priests of the nation. That was a decision which Korah was not willing to accept; he wished to exercise a function which he had no right to exercise; and when he did so he perished terribly, and all his companions in wickedness with him.<sup>24</sup>

The reader will recall that the terrible judgment meted out to Korah and his companions was that "the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up, with their households and all the men that belonged to Korah and all their goods" (Num. 16:32).

Jude 14 is a case similar to Jude 9; the barest mention

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<sup>22</sup>Kuhn, p. 524.

<sup>23</sup>Cranfield, p. 163.

<sup>24</sup>Barclay, p. 225; cf. Barnett, p. 332.

of an item or person in the Old Testament has become the basis for later tradition building. In this verse Enoch, "in the seventh generation from Adam," is credited with a prophecy which Jude then quotes. As a matter of fact, the Old Testament, in its brief description of Enoch, does not credit him with a single spoken word. There is merely one brief notice, Gen. 5:18, 21-24:

When Jared had lived a hundred and sixty-two years he became the father of Enoch. . . . When Enoch had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Methuselah. Enoch walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years. Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him.

This is the only mention of the man whose name was to be taken to cover one of the most important of later Jewish writings, The Book of Enoch. W. H. Bennett sees one other point of reference to the Old Testament in Jude 14. Part of the quotation credited to Enoch states: "The Lord came with his holy myriads." Bennett feels that this was borrowed from Deut. 33:2: "He came from the ten thousands of holy ones."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>W. H. Bennett, "The General Epistle of Jude," The Century Bible, ed. W. F. Adeney (London: Caxton Publishing Company, n.d.), XXXIII, 339.

But Bennett does not make clear who quotes from Deuteronomy, Enoch or Jude. He does recognize that Enoch was used by Jude in this section of his letter. It is worth noting that the editors of the Nestle Greek Testament also see an allusion here to Deut. 33:2, although they do not place Jude's words in the dark print of a quotation.<sup>26</sup>

Before completing this section on Jude's use of the historical books of the Old Testament, there are a couple of minor points of reference or parallels. In Jude 16 the writer calls the false teachers "grumblers" or "murmurers," using the word *γογγυσταί*. This is the only occurrence of this word in the New Testament,<sup>27</sup> but both Barclay and Bigg point out that the related verbs, *γογγύσειν* and *διαγογγύσειν* are used to describe the murmurings of the Israelites during their wanderings in the desert (Ex. 15:24; 17:3; Num. 14:29).<sup>28</sup> Added understanding is given to "the garment spotted by the flesh" in Jude 23 when it is viewed with

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<sup>26</sup>Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece (24th ed.; Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1960), p. 611.

<sup>27</sup>W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, A Concordance to the Greek Testament (4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), p. 174; cf. Robert Morgenthaler, Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes (Zürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, c.1958), p. 85.

<sup>28</sup>Barclay, p. 232; Bigg, p. 336.



Barclay against the background of the Levitic law concerning garments worn by leprous persons (Lev. 13:47-52)<sup>29</sup> or with Joseph B. Mayor against the background of the garment on which semen comes (Lev. 15:17).<sup>30</sup> These are the sources and parallels of Jude's material which are found in the historical books of the Old Testament.

#### Prophetical Books

When we turn to the prophetical books of the Old Testament, we face a somewhat different set of problems. Jude's more obvious verbal similarities with the Old Testament are contained in the prophetical books, and it is in the prophetical books that some of the traditions, whose sources we found in the historical books, begin to develop.

An example of the latter point, as Schelkle points out,<sup>31</sup> is the reference in prophetic literature to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Jeremiah (23:14) speaks of the "prophets of Jerusalem . . . [who] have become like Sodom to me, and its inhabitants like Gomorrah." Ezekiel also gives an

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<sup>29</sup>Barclay, p. 243.

<sup>30</sup>Joseph B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. 51.

<sup>31</sup>Schelkle, p. 155.

explanation for the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (16:48-50):

As I live, says the Lord God, your sister Sodom and her daughters have not done as you and your daughters have done. Behold, this was the guilt of your sister Sodom: she and her daughters had pride, surfeit of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy. They were haughty, and did abominable things before me; therefore I removed them, when I saw it.

Jude 9 presents an interesting reference. Jude reads:

Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος. The Septuagint of Zech. 3:2 has a very similar reading: Ἐπιτιμήσαι κύριος ἐν σοί. The main item of interest is that we have here a verbal similarity, as well as a few points of comparison, between Jude and Zechariah. But the differences, as well as the context of Jude, raise questions, and there are as many answers as there are commentators. Reicke states: "This expression is quoted from Zech. 3:2, where a similar verbal encounter takes place between an angel and the devil about the high priest Joshua . . . ." <sup>32</sup> Chase takes a similar position, saying that Jude's phrase "is clearly taken" from Zechariah "(perhaps through the medium of the Assumptio Moysi [sic])." <sup>33</sup> Henry Alford prefers tradition to a written source: "St. Jude took the

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<sup>32</sup>Reicke, p. 202.

<sup>33</sup>Chase, p. 801.

incident from primitive tradition, which tradition slightly modified, is also given by the prophet Zechariah."<sup>34</sup> Cranfield is slightly more cautious in remarking that "Michael mildly rebuked him in the words of Zech. 3:2."<sup>35</sup> Albert Barnes presents a thorough discussion of the various points and concludes that Jude was not using the prophet Zechariah. His argument runs in part as follows:

This verse has given more perplexity to expositors than any other part of the epistle; and in fact the difficulties in regard to it have been so great that some have been led to regard the epistle as spurious. The difficulty has arisen from these two circumstances: (1.) Ignorance of the origin of what is said here of Michael the archangel, nothing of this kind being found in the Old Testament; and (2.) The improbability of the story itself, which looks like a mere Jewish fable. . . . Some have supposed that the reference is to the passage in Zechariah, ch. 3:1, seq. . . . But the objections to this are very obvious: (1.) There is no similarity between the two, except the expression, "the Lord rebuke thee." (2.) The name Michael does not occur at all in the passage in Zechariah. (3.) There is no mention made of the "body of Moses" there, and no allusion to it whatever. (4.) There is no intimation that there was any such contention about this body. There is a mere mention that Satan resisted the angel of the Lord, as seen in the vision, but no intimation that the controversy had any reference to Moses in any way. (5.) The reason of the resistance which Satan offered to the angel in the vision as seen by Zechariah is stated. It was in regard to the consecration of Joshua to the office

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<sup>34</sup>Henry Alford, "Jude," The Greek Testament, revised Everett F. Harrison (Chicago: Moody Press, c.1958), IV, 535.

<sup>35</sup>Cranfield, p. 162.

of highpriest, implying a return of prosperity to Jerusalem, and the restoration of the worship of God there in its purity. Zech. 3:2. To this Satan was of course opposed, and the vision represents him as resisting the angel in his purpose thus to set him apart to that office. These reasons seem to me to make it clear that Jude did not refer to the passage in Zechariah, nor is there any other place in the Old Testament to which it can be supposed he had reference.<sup>36</sup>

For much the same reasons Plummer comes to a similar conclusion:

We may safely decide that St. Jude is not alluding to anything contained in the Bible. More probably he is referring to some well-known Jewish story respecting the death and burial of Moses--in other words, to apocryphal literature.<sup>37</sup>

And the piece of apocryphal literature which is generally accepted as the source of this material is The Assumption of Moses, which will be considered shortly in greater detail.

The picture images which the writer uses in Jude 13 have caused some commentators to see similarities to the prophetic literature of the Old Testament. Jude speaks of the "wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever." Bigg states: "We find an allusion to the sin of the planets also in Isa. 14:12, where

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<sup>36</sup>Albert Barnes, Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, revised ed. John Cumming (London: G. Routledge & Co., 1856), pp. 436-437.

<sup>37</sup>Plummer, p. 420.

the king of Babylon is compared to the Day-star, son of the morning, who fell through pride."<sup>38</sup> Barnett essentially agrees: "Instead of a place of fire as the 'prison for the stars,' Jude has the nether gloom of darkness--an alteration probably made under the influence of Isa. 14:9-15."<sup>39</sup> Also, with reference to Jude's "wild waves of the sea, casting up the foam of their own shame," Barnett states: "Jude's analogy is essentially that of Isa. 57:20."<sup>40</sup> Isaiah is describing the wicked who are "like the tossing sea; for it cannot rest, and its waters toss up mire and dirt." It is difficult to determine whether Jude actually had these passages in mind when he wrote, but his known affinity for the Old Testament and Jewish tradition makes such a possibility likely.

We would have reason to doubt Jude's use of the prophetic literature on the basis of our previous discussion, but there are further allusions in Jude 23 which make the argument for Jude's dependence on this source more probable. Again, the allusions are neither extensive nor conclusive. But the big item in their favor is that Jude 23 alludes to

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<sup>38</sup>Bigg, pp. 335-336. *Myer, p. 51; Chase, p. 301.*

<sup>39</sup>Barnett, p. 334 (Barnett's italics). *Epistles of St.*

<sup>40</sup>Ibid. *C. E. Rieu (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), p. 220.*

material which is similar to that used in Jude 7 and 9.<sup>41</sup> The more interesting phrase is *ἐκ πυρός ἀράζοντες*. Amos 4:11 reads: *ἐξεσπασμένος ἐκ πυρός*. Zech. 3:2 has the same wording as Amos. The Amos reference, which may have come to Jude's mind in connection with his reference in Jude 7 to Sodom and Gomorrah, reads: "I overthrew some of you, as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and you were as a brand plucked out of the burning." The variation between Amos and Jude in the verb, however, might indicate that Jude did not use either this passage or Zech. 3:2. The Zechariah passage is the same verse which was possibly quoted in Jude 9. The following verse, Zech. 3:3, also has a reference to filthy garments, reminiscent of Jude's reference to "the garment spotted by the flesh." These added considerations make it possible that Jude may have been cognizant of the terminology of the prophetic literature, at least in the case of Zechariah 3, though they are in no way conclusive<sup>42</sup> and cannot be used as an argument against Jude's possible use of apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature.

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<sup>41</sup>Cf. Bigg, p. 342; Mayor, p. 51; Chase, p. 801.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. J. W. C. Wand, "Jude," The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, in Westminster Commentaries, ed. Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), p. 220.

That Jude made use of the poetical and wisdom literature is quite unlikely, although there are a couple of parallels that might be pointed out. The dispute of Michael and the devil reminds us of the role of Satan in the heavenly council in Job 1,<sup>43</sup> and the picture of the "waterless clouds, carried along by winds" brings to mind the analogy of Prov. 25:14, "Like clouds and winds without rain is a man who boasts of a gift he does not give." Barnett explains: "The point of the figure in Jude and Proverbs is that because clouds are waterless, they are carried along by winds and leave the earth parched."<sup>44</sup>

#### Summary

In this chapter we have endeavored to illustrate the possible Old Testament sources which Jude used in writing his epistle. Although Jude does not seem to intentionally quote from it verbatim, the influence of the Old Testament is present. This is particularly evident in the number of allusions which he makes to incidents in Israel's history

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<sup>43</sup>Joseph Angus, "Jude," The International Illustrated Commentary on the New Testament, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), IV, 8.

<sup>44</sup>Barnett, p. 333; cf. Chase, p. 801.

and pre-history, incidents which, by the time they reached Jude, had taken on additional elements by the development of traditions about them. The only verbal similarities between Jude and the Old Testament appear in the latter in the prophetic books of Zechariah and Amos. Most of the remaining parallels can be explained by their reference to incidents already taken from Israelite history. But it is also true that these two verbal parallels came to Jude's mind because of their applicability to other references which he had made in relation to Michael and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.



## CHAPTER III

### OTHER SOURCES AND PARALLELS OF JUDE'S MATERIAL

#### Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

One of the great problems that has plagued all who deal with the Epistle of Jude has been his apparent use of literature which is considered by us, and has been considered by many in the church since the early centuries, to be non-canonical. It is not our purpose to go into the questions of canonicity and inspiration in this discussion, but merely to determine with probability whether or not Jude made use of these materials. Some of the arguments presented, however, will have relevance for the questions of canonicity and inspiration, for many persons have reached conclusions on the basis of these questions rather than on the basis of an examination of the facts. This procedure has led these persons to impose their own views on the letter of Jude.

The first book of the pseudepigrapha of concern to us is the book of Enoch. In the words of Henry Alford,

The book consists of revelations purporting to have been given to Enoch and to Noah: and its object is, to vindicate the ways of Divine Providence: to set forth the terrible retribution reserved for sinners, whether angelic or human: and to "repeat in every form the great

principle that the world, natural, moral and spiritual, is under the immediate government of God."<sup>1</sup>

The many questions connected with the authorship, unity, and time of this writing were subject to much debate during the nineteenth century, and the conclusions reached were more often than not the result of imagination, wild hypotheses, or the scholars' preconceived ideas on the subject. Then R. H. Charles came on the scene. His conclusions on these matters have been generally, although not always, accepted. In his various descriptions of this work he presents the following conclusions:

No unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated.<sup>2</sup>

Later he adds: "The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Alford, "Jude," The Greek Testament, revised Everett F. Harrison (Chicago: Moody Press, c.1958), IV, 195.

<sup>2</sup>R. H. Charles, "1 Enoch," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 163.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

These different parts have different dates, as W. O. E. Oesterley notes: "There is thus some diversity of opinion as to the date of the book among leading authorities. That it is, as a whole, pre-Christian, may be regarded as definitely established."<sup>4</sup> This dating by Charles has been accepted as part of the working knowledge of those who deal with this work.

It is now becoming increasingly recognized that this work had a great influence in the first century of our era. Charles may have been stretching the point when he states, "All the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction,"<sup>5</sup> but that Enoch had a wide influence cannot be denied.

G. Beer points out that the Book of Enoch,

known in whole or in part to the author of Jubilees and mentioned in the Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, enjoyed a popularity little less than canonical in the ancient Church until the time of Jerome, and even beyond

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<sup>4</sup>R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch, with an introduction by W. O. E. Oesterley (London: S. P. C. K., 1962), p. xv; for a detailed breakdown of the various parts and their dates, cf. p. xiv. Although these sections are in the introduction by Oesterley, they indicate the results and conclusions reached by Charles.

<sup>5</sup>R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), p. 1.

that was treasured in the Greek, particularly the Alexandrian Church.<sup>6</sup>

Charles Bigg gives us some added information:

In short, at the time when Barnabas wrote, Enoch was held to be an inspired book; it retained this reputation more or less throughout the second century, and from that date onwards was more or less emphatically condemned. And the ground of condemnation was its attribution of carnal lust to heavenly beings.<sup>7</sup>

If Jude did not regard the Book of Enoch as inspired Scripture,<sup>8</sup> he nevertheless "would regard the book with high respect,"<sup>9</sup> because Enoch was "a very popular Jewish book, which every pious Jew would know and read."<sup>10</sup> We must reach the tentative conclusion at this point that if Jude did make use of the Book of Enoch, he was not departing from the general view and attitude held and expressed by his fellow countrymen and

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<sup>6</sup>G. Beer, "Pseudepigrapha, Old Testament," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950), IX, 335.

<sup>7</sup>Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), XLII, 309.

<sup>8</sup>Charles, "1 Enoch," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II, 165.

<sup>9</sup>Bigg, p. 309.

<sup>10</sup>William Barclay, The Letters of John and Jude (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p. 231.

his fellow believers. It now remains to determine if he actually did make use of this writing.

The verses in Jude which have received the greatest attention have been Jude 14-15, which contain one of the three actual quotations given by Jude (the other two are in Jude 9 and 18):

It was of these also that Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam prophesied, saying, "Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgment on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

Many scholars see a number of verses in Enoch as sources of these two verses. Enoch 60:8 speaks of Enoch as "the seventh from Adam."<sup>11</sup> The actual quotation is recognized as coming from Enoch 1:9:

And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy  
ones  
To execute judgement upon all,  
And to destroy all the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh  
Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have  
ungodly committed,  
And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have  
spoken against Him.

There is a parallel idea in Enoch 27:2:

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<sup>11</sup>All quotations from the Book of Enoch are those of R. H. Charles.

"This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things. . . ."

In view of the discussion above which indicated an acceptance of a pre-Christian dating for the Book of Enoch, we can rule out any arguments against Jude's use of this work which are based on the acceptance of a date which would fall after the writing of the Epistle of Jude.<sup>12</sup>

The range of opinion on other bases, however, is considerable. Montague Rhodes James states: "The use made by Jude of Enoch is considerable in proportion to the length of his Epistle."<sup>13</sup> James, who prints Enoch 1:9 in Greek, clearly demonstrates that Jude 14b-15 and Enoch 1:9 are very similar. Although Jude does not use the entire passage from Enoch, he uses a major portion and duplicates these portions exactly, adding a phrase of his own in the process.<sup>14</sup> Many commentators simply accept Jude's use of Enoch, as does, for

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<sup>12</sup>Cf. Francis Garden, "Epistle of Jude," Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. H. B. Hackett (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), II, 1507; cf. Alford, p. 196.

<sup>13</sup>Montague Rhodes James, The Second Epistle General of Peter and the General Epistle of Jude, in Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges, ed. R. St. John Parry (Cambridge: University Press, 1912), XVII, xlvi.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

example, Hans Windisch: "Unser Äthiop.-griech. Henochbuch hat dem Verf. ungefähr in seiner heutigen Gestalt vorgelegen, er zitiert es 15 als echt und inspiriert."<sup>15</sup> There are those who don't even distinguish Jude's use of Enoch from the use made of the Old Testament prophets by many of the other New Testament writers. Barclay writes: "In verses 14 and 15 Jude confirms and cements his argument with a quotation from prophecy, as, indeed, is the habit of all the New Testament writers. . . ."<sup>16</sup> Thomas Barns holds a similar view, stating that the "references to Enoch have . . . a prophetic character."<sup>17</sup>

Although Joseph Reuss, too, recognizes that Jude cites Enoch, he does not think that Jude used Enoch as an inspired book: "Damit wird jedoch das Buch Henoch in keiner Weise von Judas als kononische, inspirierte Schrift betrachtet."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Hans Windisch, "Der Judasbrief," Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 3rd ed. by Herbert Preisker, ed. Hans Lietzmann and Günther Bornkamm (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), XV, 45.

<sup>16</sup>Barclay, p. 196.

<sup>17</sup>Thomas Barns, "The Epistle of St. Jude: A Study in the Marcosian Heresy," The Journal of Theological Studies, VI (April 1905), 395.

<sup>18</sup>Joseph Reuss, "Der Brief des Judas," Die Heilige Schrift in Deutscher Übersetzung: Das Neue Testament, ed. Karl Staab (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1952), III, 134.

Barclay demonstrates that Jude held the Book of Enoch in high regard, without entering into the question of inspiration:

The fact is that Jude, a pious Jew, knew and loved the Book of Enoch and had grown up in a circle and sphere where the Book of Enoch was regarded with respect, and even reverence; and he takes his quotation from it perfectly naturally, knowing that his readers would recognize it, and that they would respect it. Jude is simply doing what all the New Testament writers do, and which every writer must do in every age, he is speaking to men in language which they recognized and understood.<sup>19</sup>

Hugo Odeberg also claims that "the seventh from Adam" in Jude 14 is a literal quotation from Enoch.<sup>20</sup> Alfred Plummer agrees with this argument:

And the way in which the prophecy is introduced makes us still more clear as to the source from which St. Jude derived it: "Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied." Nowhere in the Old Testament, and nowhere in the New, is Enoch said to be "the seventh from Adam."<sup>21</sup>

Reicke uses both of the preceding arguments to uphold Jude's use of Enoch:

Officially, the Book of Enoch was not accepted by the Jews or the Christians as a canonical scripture. Yet

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<sup>19</sup>Barclay, p. 231.

<sup>20</sup>Hugo Odeberg, "Ἐνώχ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, c.1964), II, 559.

<sup>21</sup>Alfred Plummer, The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, in The Expositor's Bible, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (Toronto: Willard Tract Depository and Bible Depot, 1891), XLVI, 434.



it is clear that Jude regarded this writing as inspired. In fact, due to its presumed antiquity, First Enoch is placed on an even higher level than the Old Testament prophets. For it is said to contain prophecies of the patriarch Enoch dating from the antediluvian age. As "the seventh from Adam," Enoch was not only of awesome age, but summed up in himself the entire super-holy line of patriarchs, since "seven" was regarded as the number of perfection. The author of Jude therefore does not hesitate to cite I Enoch 1:9 in support of his warnings, since he regards the quotation from Enoch as an ancient prophecy of the destruction of these same teachers of heresy.<sup>22</sup>

Even a man as cautious as Donald Guthrie accepts the fact that Jude uses Enoch, although he is not sure that Jude held Enoch to be inspired: "If it cannot be demonstrated that Jude regards Enoch as Scripture, he clearly holds it in high esteem and considers it legitimate to cite it in support of his argument."<sup>23</sup>

But there are those who will not accept this answer, that Jude uses Enoch. Joseph Angus declares:

The book [Enoch] contains many absurdities . . . ; and it differs in several particulars from Jude's statements. There is therefore no reason to suppose that Jude quotes it, though the prophecy of Enoch is found (with some important variations, however) in both. Every phrase in the prophecy has its parallel passage in the canonical

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<sup>22</sup>Bo Reicke, The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude, in The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), XXXVII, 209-210.

<sup>23</sup>Donald Guthrie, Hebrews to Revelation: New Testament Introduction (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962), p. 238.

Scriptures; and this fact may explain the facility and accuracy with which the tradition was transmitted. All, in fact, that is new in the prophecy is that he, Enoch, delivered it--a thing in itself highly probable.<sup>24</sup>

Angus is one in a number of voices who prefer to see Jude quote from a tradition rather than a written source. This writer, however, has trouble seeing the cogency of this argument. It has already been pointed out that Jude is very close to the passage in Enoch--the variations consist of portions of Enoch not used by Jude, while practically the whole substance of Jude 14 and 15 is found in Enoch 1:9 and in the same order.<sup>25</sup> In addition, Angus does not list the passages in the canonical Scriptures which Jude might have used, nor how they may have come together in tradition. Furthermore, it doesn't seem that we have solved the problem if we say that Jude used oral rather than written tradition, unless we feel that oral material could not be inspired,

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<sup>24</sup>Joseph Angus, "Jude," The International Illustrated Commentary on the New Testament, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), IV, 9.

<sup>25</sup>For further remarks on the comparison of the texts of Jude and Enoch, cf. William J. Hassold, "An Interpretation of the Epistle of St. Jude" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1949), p. 82. It is to be noted, as a caution to Hassold's suggestion that Jude translated from the Hebrew, that Jude and the Greek of Enoch are very close.

which, in turn, raises even greater problems in order to explain why Jude may have used it. Plummer supports this line of reasoning:

It is of course possible that both the author of this book and St. Jude independently make use of a traditional saying attributed to Enoch. But seeing that the work was in existence when St. Jude wrote, was probably well known to his readers, and contains most of the passage which he quotes; and seeing that elsewhere in his Epistle he seems to refer to other parts of the book, far the more reasonable view is that he quotes directly from it. . . . St. Jude probably believed the prophecy to be a genuine revelation respecting the visible and invisible world; but even if he knew its apocryphal character, its appositeness to the subject of which he is so full might easily lead him to quote it to persons who would be familiar with it.<sup>26</sup>

Besides feeling that "it is far more likely that both the writer of the Book of Enoch and Jude made use of the same Jewish tradition," already shown to be an argument presenting as many problems as it pretends to solve, Revere F. Weidner also argues that there is a remarkable difference between the two passages in Jude and Enoch, "especially in Jude's reiterated use of the word ungodly as noun, adjective, verb, and adverb."<sup>27</sup> It is very interesting to note that this

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<sup>26</sup>Plummer, p. 436.

<sup>27</sup>Revere F. Weidner, "The General Epistle of Jude," Annotations on the General Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, in The Lutheran Commentary, ed. Henry Eyster Jacobs (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897), XI, 372.

latter argument is the very one which W. H. Bennett uses to help support his argument that Jude used Enoch: "Notice how the Book of Enoch harps upon the word 'ungodly,' and thus suggested it to Jude as a suitable epithet for those whom he is denouncing."<sup>28</sup> By actual count Jude uses a form of "ungodly" four times, while Enoch uses it three times.

The following quotation from M'Clintock and Strong might serve as a summary of the argumentation in the preceding paragraphs:

Did Jude really quote the Book of Enoch?--A simple comparison of the language of the apostle and that found in the corresponding passage of the extant book seems to settle this question conclusively in the affirmative, especially as the Scripture citation is prefaced with the direct acknowledgment of quotation: "And Enoch, also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying," etc.<sup>29</sup>

That Jude used Enoch in verses 14 and 15 is a conclusion which is held by a large number of scholars, and they have brought forward a number of sound and weighty arguments to support their position. An objective analysis of all the

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<sup>28</sup>W. H. Bennett, "The General Epistle of Jude," The Century Bible, ed. W. F. Adeney (London: Caxton Publishing Company, n.d.), XXXIII, 339.

<sup>29</sup>"Enoch, Book of," Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, prepared by John M'Clintock and James Strong (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891), III, 229.

data would surely seem to indicate that Jude was knowingly making use of Enoch in verses 14 and 15 as part of his argument and presentation to his readers.

This acceptance of Enoch as the source for Jude 14 and 15 has made it possible for many scholars to throw some light on the enigmatic reference in Jude 6: "And the angels that did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling have been kept by him in eternal chains in the nether gloom until the judgment of the great day." Thus Karl Schelkle remarks: "Jud [sic] und das Buch Henoch berühren sich wiederholt, ja Jud zitiert 14f das Buch Henoch ausdrücklich. So wird man annehmen, dass der Brief auch hier Henoch folgt."<sup>30</sup> Shirley Jackson Case expands on this:

But the writer does not restrict himself to the O.T. for examples of God's dealings with the Jews. His readers are supposed to know the story of the rebellious angels as described in certain Jewish apocryphal writings, particularly the Book of Enoch. . . . There a vivid picture was painted of the manner in which the sinning angels had been ejected from heaven and cast down to the abyss, where they were enchained until the Day of Judgment (see Enoch, chs. 5-16, 21f., 54, 64, 67f.).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Karl Hermann Schelkle, "Der Judasbrief," Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. Alfred Wikenhauser and Anton Vögtle (Freiburg: Herder, 1961), XIII, ii, 155.

<sup>31</sup>Shirley Jackson Case, "Jude," The Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Carl Eiselen, et al. (New York:

James lists some of the particulars which indicate a knowledge of Enoch on the part of Jude:

The story of these angels, who came to earth and mingled with the daughters of men, occupies a large place in the early chapters of Enoch, and besides the general allusion, Jude is debtor to Enoch for some phrases: En. 12:4 speaks of the angels "who have abandoned the high heaven and the holy eternal place": in 10:5 are the words, "Cover him (i.e., Azazel, one of the principal offenders among the angels) with darkness, and let him dwell there for ever": 10:12 "Bind them . . . until the day of their judgment": 22:11 "unto the great day of judgment." And in 54:3 sqq. the immense chains prepared for the hosts of Azazel are shown to Enoch.<sup>32</sup>

Hassold, too, feels that "this verse contains reminiscences of the language found in the Book of Enoch."<sup>33</sup> He concludes: "The similarity in phraseology between Enoch and Jude seems to me to be conclusive proof that Jude was well acquainted with the Book of Enoch."<sup>34</sup>

These commentators who point out Jude's dependence on Enoch at this point also demonstrate that Enoch's doctrine

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Abingdon Press, 1929), p. 1362. For a thorough listing of passages which demonstrate Enoch's view of the fall of the angels through lust or parallels to particular phrases in Jude, cf. Frederick Chase, "Jude, Epistle of," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), II, 801.

<sup>32</sup>James, p. xlvii (James' italics).

<sup>33</sup>Hassold, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

of the fallen angels has been taken from the tradition developed from the exegesis, or, perhaps, the improper exegesis, of Gen. 6:1-4. For instance, Albert Barnett states: "The original story of the disobedient angels occurs in Gen. 6:1-4. The highly embellished account of the book of Enoch, however, led Jude to use it. . . ." <sup>35</sup> Hassold remarks: "The incorrect exegesis of this passage in Genesis to which we have already referred forms the basis for the elaboration of this incident in the Book of Enoch." <sup>36</sup> Plummer gives a more detailed account:

It may be regarded as certain that this passage does not refer to the original rebellion of the angels, and their fall from being heavenly powers to being spirits of evil and of darkness. Nor is it a direct reference to the Rabbinic interpretation of the "sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose" . . . . Much more probably it is a reference to a topic which is very prominent in the Book of Enoch, which, however, in this particular is based upon the common interpretation of the passage in Genesis. <sup>37</sup>

In agreement with this conclusion is J. B. Mayor,

This account of the Fall of the Angels is taken directly from the book of Enoch, which is itself an expansion

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<sup>35</sup>Albert E. Barnett, "The Epistle of Jude," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1957), XII, 327.

<sup>36</sup>Hassold, pp. 51-52.

<sup>37</sup>Plummer, p. 409 (Plummer's italics).

from Jewish and Gentile sources of the strange narrative contained in Gen. 6:14. . . .<sup>38</sup>

Plummer also points out the similarity between Jude and Enoch with regard to their concept of judgment:

It is specially worthy of remark that it is in these older portions of the Book of Enoch that we meet for the first time in Jewish literature with the distinct conception of a general judgment. The idea is very frequent, and is expressed in a great variety of ways. Thus, what St. Jude calls "the Judgment of the Great Day" . . . , a phrase which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, is called in the Book of Enoch "the Great Day of Judgment" (10, 9), "the Day of the Great Judgment" (93, 8; 97, 15; 104, 3), "the Day of the Great Trouble" (99, 5), "the General Judgment" (22, 9). St. Jude of course need not have derived this idea from the Book of Enoch; but the fact that it is so very frequent there, especially in connexion [sic] with the sin of the impure angels, may have influenced him in writing the passage before us. At any rate all these numerous details will not leave us in much doubt as to the origin of St. Jude's statement . . . .<sup>39</sup>

There are still those, however, who do not accept any dependence on Enoch by Jude. Angus holds:

Who they [the angels] were and how they sinned has been much questioned. The notion that they are "the sons of God" mentioned in Gen. 6:4, and that they fell through fleshly desires, is affirmed in the Book of Enoch; and some have thought this explanation to be the meaning of the passage in Genesis. But it is very doubtful whether

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<sup>38</sup>Joseph B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. clviii.

<sup>39</sup>Plummer, pp. 412-413.



Jude quotes the Book of Enoch; and if it does, he certainly differs not unfrequently from its teaching. The passage in Genesis, moreover, refers rather to the intermarriage of the descendents of Seth and of Cain. Further, this interpretation is inconsistent with what is said by our Lord of the angelic nature, mentioned in the next verse. Probably, therefore, the verse points to a sin of another kind, and to an earlier time.<sup>40</sup>

Whether we accept these facts and exegesis of Angus or not, they still do not refute the evidence which has been presented to demonstrate Jude's dependence on Enoch, nor do the arguments presented by Alford:

That the particulars related in . . . our Epistle of the fallen angels are found also in the book of Enoch, is again no proof that the [writer of this epistle] took them from that book. Three other solutions are possible: 1, that the apocryphal writer took them from our [epistle]: 2, that their source in each case was ancient tradition: 3, that the book of Enoch itself consists of separate portions written at different times.<sup>41</sup>

We agree with the third conclusion; we have shown previously that acceptance of the second alternative does not solve any problems for those who are troubled by inspiration and canonicity, nor does it account for the great similarity between Jude and Enoch; and we have previously demonstrated that Enoch precedes Jude in point of time. The evidence continues

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<sup>40</sup>Angus, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup>Alford, p. 198

to mount in favor of a literary dependence upon Enoch by our author.

A comparison of the imagery of Jude 12 and 13 with Enoch provides further evidence for Jude's probable use of Enoch. Barns states:

The terms in which the inconstancy and instability of the evil-doers is set forth in Jude 12-13 are also to some extent coloured [sic] by the language of the Book of Enoch. . . . They destroy by their antinomian principles the order of the universe. . . . The evil-doers, therefore, like wandering stars, like clouds without water, like trees without fruit, are out of harmony with God's unvarying order in the universe. Therefore the blackness of darkness is reserved for them (Jude 13) as for the rebel angels. . . .<sup>42</sup>

Moulton and Milligan, discussing the word *πλανήτης*, remark that "the imagery is clearly derived from Enoch (especially 18:14f.), and the reference is to 'wandering stars,' stars which have left their appointed orbits. . . ."<sup>43</sup> James gives a detailed analysis of the sources of Jude's imagery:

Passing over other less striking resemblances to Enoch . . . we have a third clear instance of quotation in v. 13, "wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever." *Ἄστῆρες πλανῆται*, be it noted, in this verse, does not mean planets in our sense

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<sup>42</sup>Barns, pp. 395-396. Barns refers to Enoch 2, 1-3; 10, 4,6; 14, 4-6.

<sup>43</sup>James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), p. 516.

of the word, but stars which have deserted their appointed orbits. Compare En. xviii 14, where Enoch is shown "the prison of the stars and the powers of heaven; and the stars that are rolling in the fire are those which have transgressed the precept of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, for they went not forth in their season, and He was wroth with them and bound them until the season of the accomplishment of their sin, ten thousand years." And 21:2 sqq., "I beheld . . . a place of disorder . . . and terrible . . . and there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound . . . . These are those of the stars of heaven which transgressed the command of the Lord, and were bound here until they fulfil ten thousand years." In later chapters (80, 86, 88, 90) are allusions to the sin and punishment of stars (which, however, here represent the sinful angels): they are bound in an abyss which is narrow, deep, horrible and dark.<sup>44</sup>

Plummer indicates that there may even be a logical connection between the use of Enoch here and the quotation from Enoch in Jude 14 and 15, discussed above: "After this return to the ideas contained in the Book of Enoch, the quotation of the prophecy comes quite naturally . . . ." <sup>45</sup>

We might add here that Bigg sees one more possible verbal reference to Enoch, this in Jude 21, "Wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." Enoch 27:3-4 has the reading:

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<sup>44</sup>James, pp. xlvii-xlviii. For a further discussion of these and similar passages in Enoch cf. Mayor, p. 43, and Plummer, pp. 433-434; cf. also Barnett, p. 334.

<sup>45</sup>Plummer, p. 434.

In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King. In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them (their lot).

The point to which Bigg makes reference is τὸ ἔλεος.<sup>46</sup> If it has been proven that Jude was acquainted with Enoch, we can accept the possibility of a parallel here, if not an actual citation.

The recognition of Jude's probable use of Enoch has led some scholars to see in Jude 4, the reference to "long ago" discussed above, not a reference to the Old Testament but to the Book of Enoch. One who does is Mayor.<sup>47</sup> In the words of Reicke:

The remark that the seducers had of old been designated by scriptures for judgment is probably based on a statement in some sacred writing. The author may have in mind the prophecy in First Enoch mentioned in vs. 14  
 . . . .<sup>48</sup>

Some have seen other possibilities of reference. Bennett thinks "possibly Jude has in mind" Enoch 67:10: "For the judgement shall come upon them, because they believe in the

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<sup>46</sup>Bigg, p. 340.

<sup>47</sup>Mayor, p. 24; cf. pp. 25-26.

<sup>48</sup>Reicke, p. 196.

lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord."<sup>49</sup>

Charles points out Enoch 48:10, "For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed."<sup>50</sup> Some men have found numerous other similarities between Enoch and Jude. Such a one is Chase who has listed many "coincidences of thought and language."<sup>51</sup> But, as Guthrie points out, "many of the parallels are very slight and have weight only on the prior assumption that Jude definitely used the book as a basis."<sup>52</sup> We have demonstrated, however, that there is a high degree of probability that this is the case. James says:

It may be remarked that this bringing together within the limits of a short Epistle of so many passages from different parts of Enoch argues that Jude must have known the book very intimately and regarded it with great veneration.<sup>53</sup>

The difficulties which are raised by adopting the view here espoused have not been removed, nor can they be overlooked. But they are not so great that they should hinder

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<sup>49</sup>Bennett, p. 331.

<sup>50</sup>Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford), p. 42; cf. Odeberg, p. 559.

<sup>51</sup>Chase, pp. 801-802.

<sup>52</sup>Guthrie, p. 239.

<sup>53</sup>James, p. xlviiii.

the proposed conclusion. Bennett explains:

The use made of the Book of Enoch in this Epistle raises a difficulty as to the canon, or contents of the Bible. It has been argued that because Jude recognizes the Book of Enoch, either the latter should be included in, or the former excluded from, the Bible. But the fact is simply part of the evidence which shews [sic] that the Canon of the O.T. was not fixed by the N.T., but, like the canon of the N.T. itself, by the Christian Church.<sup>54</sup>

Bigg summarizes the problem very succinctly: "Again, the offence of Jude was not so much that he made use of Enoch, as that he actually quoted the book by name."<sup>55</sup> The attitude which the reformers had concerning some of the questions raised has been forgotten by many. Martin Luther stated:

This language of Enoch is nowhere to be found in Scripture. For this reason some of the Fathers did not receive this Epistle, although there is not a sufficient reason for rejecting a book on this account. For St. Paul, also, in 2 Tim. 3, makes mention of two that opposed Moses, Jannes and Jambres, names that are not even to be found in the Scriptures. But be this as it will, we let it pass.<sup>56</sup>

And John Calvin, who thought Jude quoted an unwritten prophecy rather than an apocryphal book, held: "But I have said that this prophecy was known to the Jews by being

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<sup>54</sup>Bennett, p. 339.

<sup>55</sup>Bigg, p. 310.

<sup>56</sup>Martin Luther, The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, tr. E. H. Gillett (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1859), p. 329.

reported; but if any one thinks otherwise, I will not contend with him . . . ."57

The other pseudepigraphal writing commonly held to be a literary source for the epistle of Jude is The Assumption of Moses. The primary verse for consideration here is Jude 9: "But when the archangel Michael, contending with the devil, disputed about the body of Moses, he did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment upon him, but said, 'The Lord rebuke you.'" The similarity of the last words with Zechariah was discussed above. But the whole incident of a dispute between Michael and the devil has no parallel in the Old Testament. A large number of scholars agree with Case, who says, "Again the author turns to an apocryphal Jewish book, the Assumption of Moses, for a further illustration of proper respect for authority . . . ."58

This solution is not without its problems, however. We quote William John Ferrar:

The book before us provides a problem for scholars. It is called "The Assumption of Moses," but the portion remaining, which ends in the middle of a sentence, does

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<sup>57</sup>John Calvin, "Commentaries on the Epistle of Jude," Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles, tr. and ed. John Owen (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1948), p. 443.

<sup>58</sup>Case, p. 1362.

not contain an account of the Assumption, nor the incidents quoted in St. Jude and elsewhere. The book from which these were taken, containing the dispute about the body of Moses, seems to have been concerned only with Moses himself, whereas our "Assumption" is mainly his prophecy of the vicissitudes of the chosen people.<sup>59</sup>

R. H. Charles presents his conclusions about this work, conclusions generally accepted by the scholarly world today:

The Assumption of Moses was in all probability a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between A.D. 7 and 29, and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A.D. Of this a few phrases and sentences appear to have been preserved in Acts 7:36, Jude 9, 16, 18, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers.<sup>60</sup>

Charles points out as part of his argument that in the lists of apocryphal books there is mention of a Testament of Moses followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses.<sup>61</sup> He feels that Jude and the other writers mentioned above used the separate tract, The Assumption of Moses. This was later joined to the Testament of Moses, and the combined book took

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<sup>59</sup>John William Ferrar, The Assumption of Moses (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), p. 5.

<sup>60</sup>R. H. Charles, "The Assumption of Moses," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 407.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 407-408.



on the name of the former. At some later date, the portion of the book which Jude used, part of the original Assumption of Moses, became lost.<sup>62</sup> Ferrar agrees generally with what Charles has presented, but he feels that the best date is closer to A.D. 7 than A.D. 29, the termini of the possible date for writing proposed by Charles.<sup>63</sup>

We notice that the possible range of dates coincides with the maturity of Christ. Charles has observed this:

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry, and that its conception of spiritual religion as opposed to an alliance of religion with politics generally or with any specific school of politics was essentially one with His.<sup>64</sup>

This work, then, is early enough to accurately reflect the views current during the ministeries of Jesus and his disciples. It is definitely early enough to be used as a literary source by Jude. This is one of the considerations which has led many scholars to accept Jude's use of the Assumption of

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<sup>62</sup>R. H. Charles, The Assumption of Moses (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897), p. xlvii.

<sup>63</sup>Ferrar, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup>R. H. Charles, "The Assumption of Moses," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II, 407; cf. Ferrar, pp. 10-11.

Moses, including commentators such as Bigg<sup>65</sup> and Martin Rist.<sup>66</sup>

But there are several other considerations which strengthen this position. Many scholars accept the probable influence of The Assumption of Moses on other portions of Jude's epistle. Barns notes the similarity between the false teachers of Jude and some of the terms of the Assumption of Moses:

The evil-doers of Jude are complainers . . . , the "quaerulosi" of Assumpt. Mos. 7:7. "They walk after their own lust, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words": and in this they agree with the evil-doers of the Assumption: . . . [7:9]. They shew [sic] respect of persons for the sake of advantage as do those of the Assumption: . . . [5:5]. The "mockers" of Jude 18 may be the "homines pestilentios" of Assumpt. Mos. 7:3, and the "ungodly" of Jude the "impii" of Assumpt. Mos. 7:3,7.<sup>67</sup>

The actual verbal dependence which many scholars find, most of them following Charles, overlaps somewhat with the passages mentioned by Barns. Charles notes the following close similarities:

St. Jude 9 is derived from the [Assumption of Moses]  
 . . . . From this indubitable case of borrowing we

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<sup>65</sup>Bigg, p. 331.

<sup>66</sup>Martin Rist, "Moses, Assumption of," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1962), III, 450.

<sup>67</sup>Barns, pp. 394-395 (Barn's abbreviations and italics).

proceed to deal with another, for which the evidence is very strong. St. Jude 16 is composed of several clauses which agree verbally or in substance with 5:5; 7:7, 9 of our Latin text [as the Assumption exists today]-- the original Testament of Moses.<sup>68</sup>

Charles proceeds to cite the parallels in Greek and Latin.

We shall content ourselves to give the English equivalents.

Jude 16 reads: "These are grumblers, malcontents, following their own passions, loud-mouthed boasters, flattering people to gain advantage." The passages from the Assumption of Moses cited by Charles are the following: 5:5 "And many in those times will respect the persons of the rich and receive gifts, and wrest judgment [on receiving presents]"; 7:7 "complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognised, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset"; 7:9 "And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet their mouth will speak great things . . . ." <sup>69</sup> The argument is particularly strengthened by the fact that two words in the first phrase of Jude's text are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. γογγυστής is found in the Septuagint, but not in the books contained

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<sup>68</sup> Charles, The Assumption of Moses, p. lxii; cf. James, p. xlv.

<sup>69</sup> All translations from the Assumption of Moses are those of R. H. Charles.

in the Hebrew canon.<sup>70</sup> We did note, however, that cognates were used in the Old Testament to describe the grumbling of the Israelites in the wilderness. The second word, *μεμψιμοίρος*, is not found in the New Testament or the Septuagint.<sup>71</sup> Moulton and Milligan point to the Assumption of Moses as a possible source:

With *μεμψιμοίρος*, "complainers," in Jude 16, cf. the *querulosi* of Assumption of Moses 7:7, occurring in a passage which seems largely to have influenced Jude's language. . . .<sup>72</sup>

The fact that these words are hapax legomena enhances the likelihood that Jude was using the Assumption of Moses in a Greek version now lost.

Other parallels have been advanced between Jude and the Assumption of Moses. Charles points out the fact that the "ungodly men," *ἀσεβεις*, appear as "impii" in the Assumption of Moses, 7:3,7, and he adds this remark: "Now, lest the full force of these parallels should escape us, we should observe that the accounts in both books are actually or

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<sup>70</sup>W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, A Concordance to the Greek Testament (4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), p. 174; Robert Morgenthaler, Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes (Zürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, c.1958), p. 85.

<sup>71</sup>Moulton and Geden, p. 625; Morgenthaler, p. 119.

<sup>72</sup>Moulton and Milligan, p. 396; cf. James, p. xlv.

nominally prophetic."<sup>73</sup> Charles also points out that the classes of evildoers are those who shall appear "in the last time," according to Jude 18, and "when the times are ended" in the Assumption 7:1.<sup>74</sup> In addition to these similarities cited by Charles, James believes he has another:

Further (and this point has not, I think, been noticed before) in Jude 19 we have the words Οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἀποδολίψοντες . . . . In the verse of the Assumption . . . (7:7) the word querulosi is immediately preceded by exterminatores, which has usually been taken as meaning "destroyers," but which, I think, is probably a too-literal rendering into Latin of the same Greek word ἀποδολίψοντες that is used by Jude; or at the least, of a word of similar sense.<sup>75</sup>

But even if we disregard such borderline cases as this, there is substantial evidence on the basis of probable contents of the Assumption of Moses and of verbal parallels and similarities to accept the probability that this work was a second non-canonical (by our standards) literary source for the epistle of Jude.

A further argument for Jude's use of this work is the witness of the early church fathers. According to James,

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<sup>73</sup>Charles, The Assumption of Moses, pp. lxii-lxiii; cf. Charles, "The Assumption of Moses," The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II, 412.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>James, p. xlv.

Now that this illustration [v. 9] is drawn from the Assumption of Moses is expressly attested by several writers of early date who knew that book, namely Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Didymus. Quotations from the same book are made by the first two of these three writers, and by others of later date.<sup>76</sup>

In his Comments on the Epistle of Jude, Clement of Alexandria, after quoting Jude 9, relates this incident to the Assumption of Moses, "hic confirmat Assumptionem Moysis."<sup>77</sup> And Origen, in his On the Principles (III. 2. 1), gives the Assumption of Moses as the source of Jude's reference.<sup>78</sup>

With Chase we can say:

There is every reason to believe the assertion of Clement, Origen, and other Patristic writers . . . , that the writer derived the legend referred to in v. 9 from a document called The Assumption of Moses.<sup>79</sup>

There are those, however, who do not agree with this conclusion. Weidner states:

There is no reason for supposing that Jude here refers to the Apocryphal Book entitled "The Assumption of

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<sup>76</sup>James, p. xliii.

<sup>77</sup>Rist, p. 450; J. B. Mayor, "The General Epistle of Jude," The Expositor's Greek Testament, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, n.d.), V, 234; cf. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, p. 35.

<sup>78</sup>Rist, p. 450; Beer, p. 336; cf. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, p. 35.

<sup>79</sup>Chase, p. 802.

Moses," for both Jude and the writer of this Apocryphal Book evidently made use of the same Jewish tradition.<sup>80</sup>

And A. Camerlynck remarks that "it is evident that Jude does not quote the 'Assumption' as a written authority, and still less as a canonical book."<sup>81</sup> It is unfortunate, however, that neither one of these men give any evidence to support their claim that it is "evident" that Jude did not use such a source. Their claim seems to be based on previously held convictions. Guthrie, on the other hand, is not so definite. He leaves the question open:

But since Clement, Origen and Didymus all assume that Jude used such a book, it is quite possible that he quoted it. He may, on the other hand, be citing a traditional story, which was the basis of the apocryphal book.<sup>82</sup>

The argument presented in connection with the Book of Enoch still stands here, however. By accepting Jude's use of tradition rather than the Assumption of Moses, one does not solve any problems of canonicity and inspiration (a problem which is of concern to Weidner and Camerlynck in particular,

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<sup>80</sup>Weidner, p. 368; cf. Alford, p. 197.

<sup>81</sup>A. Camerlynck, "Epistle of Saint Jude," The Catholic Encyclopedia, ed. Charles G. Herbermann, et al. (New York: Robert Appleton, 1910), VIII, 543.

<sup>82</sup>Guthrie, p. 239.

but also for Guthrie). Nor does an argument for special revelation satisfy us sufficiently. Hassold states:

The text itself is against the supposition that Jude received a special revelation on this matter, for the illustration is introduced as if it were familiar to Jude's readers. We may therefore rest satisfied that the Assumption of Moses is the prime source for Jude's illustration. We are strengthened in this conviction by the fact that Jude indubitably quotes the Book of Enoch in v. 14.<sup>83</sup>

Plummer, after a thorough discussion, concludes:

We know that there were legends connecting Michael and the evil one with the death of Moses [to be mentioned later]. We know that The Assumption of Moses contained similar material. Above all, we know that the incident mentioned by St. Jude is not in the canonical Scriptures, and therefore must have come from some apocryphal source, and that elsewhere in his Epistle St. Jude makes use of apocryphal literature. We are not, therefore, creating a difficulty by adopting the all but certain conclusion that this apocryphal work is the source from which St. Jude draws. Even if we reject this highly probable conclusion, the difficulty, such as it is, will still remain.<sup>84</sup>

We think that these last words are important: "Even if we reject this highly probable conclusion, the difficulty, such as it is, will still remain." The possibility that Jude used Zechariah was discussed under the Old Testament, and we concluded that Jude did not make Zechariah his primary source.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Hassold, pp. 67-68; cf. Plummer, p. 420.

<sup>84</sup>Plummer, p. 423.

<sup>85</sup>Supra, pp. 22-24.



Although we have considered most of the objections which have been raised against the possibility of Jude using Enoch and the Assumption of Moses, we should consider these arguments briefly as a group. Barclay points out that this is not a recent problem:

It is in Jerome that we find one of the great reasons for the hesitation which was felt towards Jude. The strange thing about Jude is the way in which it quotes as authorities books which are outside the Old Testament. Jude uses as Scripture certain apocryphal books which were written between the Old and the New Testaments, and which were never generally regarded as scripture.<sup>86</sup>

Weidner and Fausset again appeal to the argument that Jude used a tradition, much the same way that Paul uses a tradition in speaking of Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. 3:8) or heathen writers such as Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander.<sup>87</sup> Their concern is that we must be careful about what is inspired and what is not. They point to a special revelation in which Jude "was directed by the Spirit to take the one inspired gem out of the mass of earth that surrounded it, and set it in the gold of the inspired volume."<sup>88</sup> In spite

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<sup>86</sup>Barclay, p. 196.

<sup>87</sup>Weidner, p. 355.

<sup>88</sup>A. R. Fausset, "The General Epistle of Jude," A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, n.d.), VI, lx.

of the charming metaphor, this approach does not solve any of the problems which face us, nor does it nullify the arguments advanced in favor of Jude's use of these apocryphal works. George Salmon, who struggled with this problem, reaches this solution:

We can feel no surprise that an Apostle should be acquainted with the Jewish literature current in his age; but it is, no doubt, natural to us to think that God would supernaturally enlighten him so as to prevent his being deceived by a falsely ascribed book, and that if he referred to such a book at all he would take care to make it plain to his readers that he attributed to it no authority. Yet we follow a very unsafe method if we begin by deciding in what way it seems to us most fitting that God should guide His Church, and then try to wrest facts into conformity with our preconceptions.<sup>89</sup>

We feel that this warning is important. This problem cannot be approached with preconceived notions, nor can we approach it by imposing on Jude concepts of inspiration and canonicity which did not exist, or may not have existed, at his time. It is in this vein that Guthrie remarks that objections to Jude's use of Enoch "could hardly have arisen apart from a desire to shield Jude from doing what was considered impossible for an inspired writer."<sup>90</sup> It is from previously held

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<sup>89</sup>George Salmon, "The Epistle of St. Jude," A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament (London: John Murray, 1894), pp. 479-480.

<sup>90</sup>Guthrie, p. 239.

ideas that Joh. Huther feels that "the admixture of apocryphal traits can, on an unprejudiced consideration, only serve to strengthen the conviction that the Epistle does not proceed from an apostle."<sup>91</sup>

Martin H. Franzmann takes a more moderate position, pointing out that Jude used these examples with a purpose:

It may be that such apocalyptic writings were being used by the false teachers and that Jude in quoting these writings is meeting them on their own ground. It is noteworthy that he uses these writings only insofar as they serve to enforce the call to repentance, that is, as warnings against any proud self-assertion of man.<sup>92</sup>

This seems to be a sane approach, to observe what Jude is doing rather than being concerned with what we think Jude should be doing. Such writings as the Book of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses were popular reading among the Jews of Jesus time. Jude could refer to them because of their familiarity to his readers.<sup>93</sup> Mayor points out that this

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<sup>91</sup>Joh. Ed. Huther, "The Epistle of Jude," Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, tr. from the 3rd German edition by Paton J. Gloag, et al. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1887), p. 662.

<sup>92</sup>Martin H. Franzmann, The Word of the Lord Grows: A First Historical Introduction to the New Testament (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), p. 236.

<sup>93</sup>Barclay, p. 220; James, p. xli; Georg Hollmann, "Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus," Die

was prevalent in the New Testament:

Thus St. Paul accepts the story of the Rock which followed the Israelites in their wanderings (1 Cor. 10:4); gives the names of the magicians who withstood Moses before Pharoah (2 Tim. 3:8), recognizes the instrumentality of angels in the giving of the Law (Gal. 3:19, cf. Heb. 2:2, Acts 7:53). So, too, Stephen speaks of Moses as learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts 7:22), the author of the ep. [sic] to the Hebrews (11:37) alludes to the tradition as to the death of Isaiah . . . , and James (5:17) limits the drought predicted by Elijah to 3½ years.<sup>94</sup>

Plummer thinks that such literary activity is natural:

St. Jude probably believed the story about the dispute between Michael and Satan to be true; but even if he knew it to be a myth, he might nevertheless readily use it as an illustrative argument, seeing that it was so familiar to his readers. If an inspired writer were living now, would it be quite incredible that he should make use of Dante's Purgatory, or Shakespeare's King Lear?<sup>95</sup>

Such literary devices are natural, and Jude's use of such writings as the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Enoch is also quite natural, for they express the "prophetic point of view from which he [Jude] looked at the judgements which he knew were laid up for those who were in error in the Church."<sup>96</sup>

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Schriften des Neuen Testaments, ed. Johannes Weisz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), II, 65.

<sup>94</sup>Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, pp. clvi-clvii; cf. James, p. xli.

<sup>95</sup>Plummer, p. 424.

<sup>96</sup>Barns, p. 396.

We feel that the evidence cited above and the arguments advanced give every indication that Jude very probably was dependent on the pseudepigraphal works, the Book of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses.

This highly probable fact that Jude used at least two pseudepigraphal works opens up the possibility that he was acquainted with a number of other apocryphal tracts now available to us. Since very few commentators feel that Jude actually has in mind specific passages from these works, we will merely give some indication of parallels and similarities here. Some of these references will be mentioned more specifically in the next chapter.

Jude 4 speaks of ungodly men who have gained admittance to the congregation, even as was foretold. We have noted that commentators differ on the place of the foretelling, whether it be the Old Testament or the Book of Enoch. But similarities of this type of writing exist in several places. The Testament of Asher 7:5 speaks of the action of ungodly men corrupted through wickedness. The Testament of Levi 14:1 speaks of a foreknowledge of transgression which will be done against the Lord, and some of the manuscripts even say that this was "learnt from the writing of Enoch"! The Apocalypse of Baruch 24:1 mentions the opening of the books

in which are written the sins of all sinners. Similar references are to be found in Enoch 108:7 and 106:19.<sup>97</sup>

One of the more important contributions which the study of the apocryphal writings makes is a better understanding of the views on angelology held during the time of Christ and Jude (see verse 6). Besides the many references in the Book of Enoch there is an important section in Jubilees 5 which starts with the obvious reference to Gen. 6:1-4 and adds some embellishments, definitely stating that the beings dealt with here are angels. A similar, but shorter, account of the same incident is given in the Apocalypse of Baruch 56:12-13, while the Testament of Reuben 5:3 has a little discourse stating "that women are overcome with the spirit of fornication more than men."<sup>98</sup> This evidence has led Cranfield to conclude: "The writer is here appealing confidently to non-canonical tradition" (speaking of Jude's angelology in

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<sup>97</sup>Cf. Windisch, p. 39; Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, pp. 25-26.

<sup>98</sup>Cf. Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 8; Schelkle, p. 155; George H. Boobyer, "Jude," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 1042; C. E. B. Cranfield, I & II Peter and Jude (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 159.

Jude 6).<sup>99</sup>

Sodom and Gomorrah, referred to in Jude 7, became a classic example for many of these writings. Mayor feels that "there seems to be more than a casual coincidence between" the Testament of Naphtali 3 and the Testament of Asher 7 on the one hand and Jude 6, 7, and 13 on the other.<sup>100</sup> These passages connect the sin of the Watchers (angels mentioned also in the Book of Enoch) with that of Sodom. More specifically, Naphtali 3:4-5 and Asher 7:1 urge the reader to "become not as Sodom." Naphtali 4:1 again refers to Enoch, where it is written that "ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom." Judgments on the giants (reflecting Gen. 6:1-4) and the men of Sodom (Gen. 19) are cited as examples "to those who should come after" in 3 Maccabees 2:4-5. The Wisdom of Solomon 10:6-8 gives Sodom as an illustration of

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<sup>99</sup>Cranfield, p. 159. A discussion of these passages is found in Paul Billerbeck, "Der Brief Judä," Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 2nd ed., by Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck (München: C. H. Beck, 1954), III, 780-781, 784.

<sup>100</sup>Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, p. clv.

what happened to those who "passed wisdom by." Verse 7 also bears a resemblance to Jude 12 when it describes "plants bearing fruit that does not ripen."<sup>101</sup>

Another item developed in the apocryphal literature is the sin of Cain and his subsequent punishment, as in Jubilees 4:1-5, the Testament of Benjamin 7:3-5, and the Wisdom of Solomon 10:3.<sup>102</sup>

Although we cannot demonstrate any actual dependence upon these works on the part of Jude, we can safely assume that he was familiar with them and their teaching, for it has been demonstrated that he probably used some of the books which express many of the same ideas and teachings. Jude, and quite possibly his readers, was quite at home with this way of thinking.

#### Later Jewish Writings and Rabbinic Literature

The material to be listed in this section cannot be considered as source material for Jude, since it cannot be

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<sup>101</sup>Cf. Windisch, p. 41; Schelkle, p. 155; Boobyer, p. 1042; Barnett, p. 326; Billerbeck, p. 786.

<sup>102</sup>Cf. Barnett, p. 330; Bigg, p. 332.



demonstrated that Jude knew or used such material. But these writings do contain material which sheds more light on the traditions which developed in Jewish circles and thus possibly give a better understanding of the views held by Jude and his readers.

The Jewish writer most often cited by commentators is Philo, an Alexandrian Jew contemporary with Christ. Although his exact life-span is not known, the terminal dates of his life are generally given as ca. 20 B.C.-40 A.D. Several of his writings strike us immediately by their titles: On the Life of Moses, On the Cherubim, and the Flaming Sword, and Cain the First Man Created out of Man, On the Birth of Abel and the Sacrifices Offered by Him and by His Brother, and On the Posterity of Cain and His Exile. Within these and other writings of Philo there are a number of more specific references which scholars point out. On Abraham XXVI-XXVII (par. 133-141) gives a description of the destruction of Sodom. Par. 140-141 are particularly interesting in that they give a description of the land following the destruction of the consuming flame, which resembles the reference cited earlier in Wisdom of Solomon 10:7 (cf. Jude 12). On the Life of Moses II, 56, also has a reference to the consumption of the cities of the plain. The angels of God and the daughters

of men is the subject of On Giants, 6.<sup>103</sup>

Turning to Cain, On the Cherubim, XX, pictures Cain as a type of the person desirous of possessions. Other references to Cain, the killing of Abel, and the sign of Cain are found throughout the works mentioned above, but special note can be taken of the accounts in That the Worse is Wont to Attack the Better, X, XIV, XLVIII; The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain, IV, 14; and The Posterity and Exile of Cain, XI-XII.<sup>104</sup> Balaam also receives some attention in The Life of Moses I, XLVIII-LIV (par. 263-299), and The Migration of Abraham, 113-115.<sup>105</sup> Both of these men are depicted as evil men, full of pride, avarice, and love of self. Although Jude may have been acquainted with Philo's works (Philo's dates would allow this), there is no substantial evidence for Jude's actual use of Philo.

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<sup>103</sup>Cf. Boobyer, p. 1042; Schelkle, p. 155; Billerbeck, p. 780.

<sup>104</sup>Karl Georg Kuhn, "Αβελ-Κάιν," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), I, 7; Boobyer, p. 1042; Kaufmann Kohler, "Cain--In Rabbinical Literature," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Isidore Singer, et al. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, c.1912), III, 494.

<sup>105</sup>Cf. Karl Georg Kuhn, "Βαλαάμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 524; Bauer, p. 130.

Another Jewish writer who is sometimes cited is Josephus, the historian who lived from 37/38 A.D. to sometime after 100. The writing usually referred to is The Antiquities of the Jews (about 93-94). Book I, Chapter II gives an account of Cain and Abel with the usual Jewish types being used-- Abel represents the faithful and Cain the ungodly.<sup>106</sup> Chapter III, dealing with the flood, makes reference to the angels of God consorting with women.<sup>107</sup> Book IV, Chapter II discusses the sedition of Korah, and Chapter VI deals with Balaam.<sup>108</sup> Again in Book I, Chapter XI tells of God overthrowing the Sodomites because of His wrath over their sins.<sup>109</sup>

Another source of material which sheds light on developing Jewish tradition is the Targums (third to fifth centuries after Christ), the Aramaic interpretive paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible. Commentators have pointed to two passages which help us see the development of certain traditions from

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<sup>106</sup>Cf. Kuhn, "Ἀβελ-Κάϊν," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 6.

<sup>107</sup>Cf. Schelkle, p. 155.

<sup>108</sup>Cf. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, p. 39; Bauer, p. 130; Kuhn, "Βαλαάμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 524.

<sup>109</sup>Billerbeck, p. 785.

certain Old Testament passages. The Jerusalem Targum on Gen. 4:7 imputes to Cain not only murder, but also the further sins of selfishness, unbelief, and opposition to God.<sup>110</sup>

The Targum of Jonathan on Deut. 34:6 states that the grave of Moses was entrusted to the special care of the archangel Michael.<sup>111</sup> These ideas relate closely to similar items mentioned above under several headings.

Similarities and parallels can be found for our material in many other places in rabbinic literature, also, but we shall limit ourselves to items which have been noted by a number of commentators as shedding special light on traditions connected with our epistle. Although written considerably later than Jude, the rabbinic material is included to give some idea of the oral tradition that might have been present at the time in which Jude wrote. Billerbeck has a wealth of material from Jewish writings, and we would refer the interested reader to that source.<sup>112</sup> Otherwise, the references mentioned by scholars deal with the archangel Michael in Jude 9 and the men in Jude 11.

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<sup>110</sup>Boobyer, p. 1042.

<sup>111</sup>Plummer, p. 420; Angus, p. 8; Alford, p. 534.

<sup>112</sup>Billerbeck, pp. 780-788.

The Midrash on Deut. 34:6 states that Sammael, chief of the evil spirits, was impatient for the death of Moses. He looked forward to the time when he could possess the soul of Moses, a time when he would laugh and Michael would weep. Michael responded with the words of Mic. 7:8: "Rejoice not over me, O my enemy; when I fall, I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord will be a light to me."<sup>113</sup> This Midrash contains another legend in which the soul of Moses prays that it not be removed from the body, and that it should not be delivered over to the angel of death, Sammael.<sup>114</sup> Adam Clarke also cites a Jewish maxim, "It is not lawful for man to prefer ignominious reproaches, even against wicked spirits."<sup>115</sup> This is reminiscent of Michael's mild "The Lord rebuke you," spoken to the devil in Jude 9. Theodore H. Gaster refers to another mention of Michael in Midrash Petirath Mōseh.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>Plummer, pp. 420-421; cf. Adam Clarke, "The General Epistle of Jude," Clarke's Commentary (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, n.d.); II, 952.

<sup>114</sup>Plummer, p. 421.

<sup>115</sup>Clarke, p. 953.

<sup>116</sup>Theodore H. Gaster, "Michael," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1962), III, 373.

On the three examples of evil men in Jude 11, Geza

Vermes quotes T. Soṭa, iv. 19;

Thus we find (that the principle "whoever desires an object which he is not destined to possess, will not only not obtain it, but will even lose what he already possesses", [sic] applies to) Cain, Korah, Balaam . . . . They desired objects not intended for them; yet what they sought, they did not obtain, and what they possessed, (the prophetic spirit in the case of Balaam) was taken from them.<sup>117</sup>

Among the citations which Kohler gives is the following:

While the pious men all descended from Seth, there sprang from Cain all the wicked ones who rebelled against God and whose perverseness and corruption brought on the flood: they committed all abominations and incestuous crimes in public without shame. The daughters of Cain were those "fair daughters of men" who by their lasciviousness caused the fall of the "sons of God" (Gen. 6:1-4; Pirke R. El. xxii. . .).<sup>118</sup>

It is Balaam of these three who seems to draw the greatest amount of fire. In Vermes is quoted:

Four men saddled (their mounts) with joy: Abraham (Gen. 22:3), Balaam (Num. 22:21), Joseph (Gen. 46:29) and Pharoah (Ex. 14:6). Follow the saddling of Abraham our father, who worked to do the will of his Creator. Avoid the saddling of Balaam the Villain, who worked to go and curse Israel.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 134; cf. Kuhn, "Ἀβελ-Κάιν," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 6.

<sup>118</sup>Kohler, p. 494. On p. 493 Kohler also gives the following references: Midr. Leḳaḥ Ṭob and Sanh. 101b.

<sup>119</sup>Mekh. on Ex. 14:6, I. 199, quoted in Vermes, p. 135.

Another interesting item is this:

Every man who has three things is a disciple of Abraham our father. Has he three other things, he is a disciple of Balaam the Villain. A good eye, a humble soul, and a lowly spirit, belong to the disciple of Abraham; an evil eye, a proud soul, and a haughty spirit, to the disciple of Balaam.<sup>120</sup>

H. M. Speaker gives quite a list of qualities accredited to Balaam in rabbinical literature. Balaam is the wicked one (Ber. 7a; Ta'anit 20a; Num. R. 20:14), and he is blind in one eye and lame in one foot (San. 105a).<sup>121</sup> This potpourri of quotations should illustrate the type of traditions which developed around Michael, Cain, Balaam, and others, giving some illumination to the traditions as they might have existed at the time of Jude.

#### New Testament

#### and Other Possible Sources

There are yet two passages, mentioned in the listing at the beginning of this chapter, which must be considered in a

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<sup>120</sup>Pirke Aboth 5, 22, quoted in Vermes, p. 172; cf. Bauer, p. 130.

<sup>121</sup>H. M. Speaker, "Balaam--In Rabbinical Literature," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Isidore Singer, et al. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, c.1912), II, 467. Also cf. Kuhn "Βελαάμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 524-525, for other references.

little more detail. These are Jude 4, "some who long ago were designated for this condemnation," and Jude 17-18, "But you must remember, beloved, the predictions of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; they said to you, 'In the last time there will be scoffers, following their own ungodly passions.'" Accepting, at least for the present, the conclusion reached by a number of scholars that Jude was not dependent on 2 Peter, we can assume that Bigg and others are incorrect in concluding that *πάλαι* in Jude 4 refers to 2 Peter 2:3 or that Jude 17-18 harks back to 2 Peter 3:3.<sup>122</sup> Mayor definitely feels that *πάλαι* must refer back to a writing of greater antiquity, his choice being the quotation from Enoch in Jude 14 and 15, as noted earlier.<sup>123</sup> Mayor's suggestion is plausible. If this is not acceptable, Jude is probably referring to some other passage of a similar nature, or he might just be making a general statement which his readers know to be true, based on the whole background of the Old Testament and apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature.

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<sup>122</sup>Bigg, pp. 326, 337. The discussion for and against the priority of Jude or 2 Peter can be gleaned from any good New Testament introduction.

<sup>123</sup>Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, p. 24.



There are three possible solutions to which "predictions of the apostles" are referred to in Jude 17-18:

Jude may be doing any one of three things. He may be quoting some apostolic book which has gone lost, and which we no longer possess. He may be quoting, not any book at all, but some oral tradition of the apostolic preaching, which has been handed down, or even some sermon which he himself had heard from the apostles. He may be giving the general sense of a passage like 1 Timothy 4:1-3.<sup>124</sup>

Cranfield, too, thinks that a quotation from a lost writing is conceivable.<sup>125</sup> The majority, and probable, opinion is that the reference is to an oral teaching previously heard by Jude's readers,<sup>126</sup> this quotation possibly being a "summary of more detailed teaching often repeated."<sup>127</sup> The passages elsewhere in the New Testament which contain similar material are probably not the source for Jude's quotation, but would indicate similar warnings, for example, Paul's

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<sup>124</sup>Barclay, p. 234 (Barclay's italics).

<sup>125</sup>Cranfield, p. 166.

<sup>126</sup>Mayor, "The General Epistle of Jude," p. 224; J. W. C. Wand, "Jude," The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, in Westminster Commentaries, ed. Walter Lock and D. C. Simpson (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), LIII, 216; Bernhard Weiss, A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament, tr. A. J. K. Davidson (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1888), p. 120, n. 1; James, p. 41; Plummer, p. 446.

<sup>127</sup>Bennett, p. 339.

warning at Miletus, Acts 20:29-30; the warning of Paul to the Thessalonians, 2 Thess. 2:3-12; and the prediction of apostasy in 1 Tim. 4:1-3.<sup>128</sup>

As would be expected, Jude seems to show evidence of vocabulary which is peculiarly Christian. Chase sees an "obvious Christian element" in Jude's vocabulary:

A Christian dialect has arisen. Certain words, e.g. κλητοί, σωτηρία, πίστις, have attained, largely through the teaching and writings of St. Paul . . . , a fixed and recognized meaning among Greek-speaking Christians.<sup>129</sup>

In Jude 19, Bigg notes the use of ψυχικός in opposition to πνευματικός as a "Pauline phrase resting on the peculiar Pauline psychology . . . ." <sup>130</sup> Chase gives a number of verbal coincidences and parallels with the Pauline writings and concludes: "There can be no doubt that the writer was acquainted with and influenced in language and thought by St. Paul's Epistles."<sup>131</sup> Benjamin Bacon also sees in Jude "the free use of the Pauline Epistles. . . ." <sup>132</sup> But caution

<sup>128</sup>Cf. Boobyer, p. 1042; Cranfield, p. 166.

<sup>129</sup>Chase, p. 800.

<sup>130</sup>Bigg, p. 339.

<sup>131</sup>Chase, p. 802.

<sup>132</sup>Benjamin Wisner Bacon, "Jude, Epistle of," Encyclopaedia

must be expressed in relating similarity to dependence, as

Guthrie points out:

It is not certain that the author was acquainted with Paul's writings, although some scholars have confidently asserted this. Literary dependence is difficult to establish on the basis of isolated phrases, which after all might be no more than language common among Christians. At any rate no certain conclusion can be reached over this.<sup>133</sup>

That Jude was dependent on Paul cannot be definitely established; rather it is probable that there had developed by Jude's time a "Christian vocabulary." Jude's familiarity with apostolic teaching, as evidenced in Jude 17-18, would make it probable that he knew apostolic words--without saying that he needed to use apostolic writings to get them. Chase also points out a "large stock of stately, sonorous, sometimes poetical words" which have counterparts in pagan Greek literature, which have "a true Greek ring about them," and which cause Chase to conclude:

The vocabulary then of the Ep. proves that the author, though a Jew, was yet a man of some culture and, as it would seem, not without acquaintance with Greek writers. Writers, however, of the "common" dialect, embodying

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Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., c.1961), XV, 168A.

<sup>133</sup>Guthrie, p. 249.

older strata of the language, would suffice to supply him with his vocabulary.<sup>134</sup>

The warning expressed by Guthrie in relation to Jude's possible use of Pauline literature is applicable here also.

One cannot show dependence by the use of isolated words when there are no other means available to show possible dependence, as was the case with the Assumption of Moses. The fact that Jude wrote in Greek shows that he knew Greek words, and to know these words he would have to learn them. He may have read some of the Greek authors, but this would not mean dependence on them, no more than words we have learned by reading various authors would mean dependence on them in writing this paper.

Very little research has been done in connection with the Qumran writings and their possible influence on Jude. Only a few scholars have noted any possible parallels between Jude and the Qumran material. Reicke, discussing Jude 4, points to a description of the judgment awaiting the spirit of falsehood in The Manual of Discipline (IV, 9-14) which concludes: "the times of all their generations shall be spent in sorrowful mourning and in bitter misery and in

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<sup>134</sup>Chase, pp. 800-801.

calamities of darkness until they are destroyed without remnant or survivor."<sup>135</sup> According to Reicke, this reference suggests "the existence of a certain tradition behind Jude's allusions."<sup>136</sup> In addition to this, Barnett has discovered a couple of references which may shed some light on Jewish beliefs concerning Michael (see Jude 9).<sup>137</sup> Both are located in The War Between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The first (IX, 16) designates that "Michael" shall be written on the shield of the first tower in the square battle order.<sup>138</sup> The second (XVII, 6-7) speaks of deliverance in which the God of Israel "will send eternal succor to the company of His redeemed by the might of the princely Angel of the kingdom of Michael."<sup>139</sup> These references, however, do not give us much help in our study of the sources of Jude. This is an area in which much work remains to be done.

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<sup>135</sup> G[eza] Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 77.

<sup>136</sup> Reicke, p. 197.

<sup>137</sup> Albert E. Barnett, The New Testament: Its Making and Meaning (New York: Abingdon, c.1958), p. 266.

<sup>138</sup> Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, p. 136.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

## Summary

In this chapter we have endeavored to illustrate the possible non-canonical sources which Jude used in writing his epistle. We have reached the conclusion that Jude, with all probability, made use of the Book of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses. The similarities of both thought and words seem to us to be too much to deny. Other, alternative suggestions have not been proven to answer as many questions as the acceptance of Jude's use of these apocryphal books. That Jude used these books makes it quite probable that he was familiar with a number of other books of a similar nature, but a direct dependence here cannot be demonstrated.

Later Jewish and rabbinic literature was briefly introduced to give an indication of the development of some of the traditions which Jude probably knew. No attempt was made to show that Jude definitely knew these traditions, but their similarity with what we know from other sources makes it possible that these later writings help give a fuller picture of the traditions as known by Jude. Similarities were also noted between Jude and other parts of the New Testament, and it was concluded that there is not enough evidence to show dependence by Jude on the other parts of the New

Testament, but that he did have at his command a growing body of "traditional" Christian terms and phrases. The Qumran literature was discussed briefly, but sufficient work has not been done in this area for any assured results.

Now that we have seen the parallels of the content of the... more closely at the... recitals, illustrations, and... ing observations that... this fact, that Jude makes a... and creates an illustration... that God visits the wicked... gent. In making these... pend on them sufficiently to... looked upon these persons... ing to turn to his literary... covered the general Jewish... the intricate background of the... and pseudepigrapha, rabbinic literature, and other Jewish writings we can gain a general... Jude probably possessed over... of angels, Moses, Enoch, Cain, Belshazzar, Sodom, and Gomorrah.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONTENT OF JUDE'S SOURCES AND PARALLELS

Now that we have determined the probable sources and parallels of the content of the epistle of Jude, we can look more closely at the material from which Jude draws his quotations, illustrations, and allusions. One of the interesting observations that can be made in studying Jude is just this fact, that Jude makes a number of allusions to persons and events as illustrations of the point that he is making--that God visits the wicked, disobedient, and false with judgment. In making these allusions, however, he does not expand on them sufficiently to aid us in understanding how he looked upon these persons and events. Thus it is enlightening to turn to his literary sources, for herein can be discovered the general Jewish outlook on these topics. Out of the intricate background of the Old Testament, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, rabbinic literature, and other Jewish writings we can gain a general impression of the attitude which Jude probably possessed over against such persons and events as angels, Moses, Enoch, Cain, Balaam, Korah, and Sodom and Gomorrah.



## Angelology

The references which Jude makes to angels are, to say the least, interesting. Jude 6 makes mention of "the angels that did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling." In Jude 9 is the well-known incident of "the archangel Michael, contending with the devil" and disputing "about the body of Moses." Some also view Jude 13 as containing a reference which coincides with Jude's view of angels: "Wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever."

As noted in the previous chapter, in the words of Shirley Jackson Case,

the writer does not restrict himself to the O. T. for examples of God's dealings with the Jews. His readers are supposed to know the story of the rebellious angels as described in certain Jewish apocryphal writings, particularly the Book of Enoch.<sup>1</sup>

This tradition about the rebellious angels in Jude 6 finds its roots in the Old Testament which seems to indicate two streams of material: Deut. 32:8 being the source of the tradition which ascribes the fall of the angels to pride or

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<sup>1</sup>Shirley Jackson Case, "Jude," The Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Carl Eiselen, et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1929), p. 1362 (Case's italics).

disobedience, and Gen. 6:1-4 being the source of the tradition which ascribes the fall of the angels to lust. Charles Bigg seems to attribute the confusion of these two streams of tradition to Jude:

St. Jude is not content with a passing allusion; he develops and confuses it. When he says that the angels forsook their proper habitation (came down from heaven to earth), he is thinking of Gen. 6; when he says that they kept not their own principality, of Deut. 32:8.<sup>2</sup>

Most scholars, however, feel that the confusion took place before the tradition came to Jude, and he was using an interpretation already in existence. William Hassold, for instance, notes that "the narrative is built upon a false exegesis of Gen. 6:1ff. . . . The rabbis were uncertain as to the correct explanation to be given to the passage in question."<sup>3</sup> He then points out: "The incorrect exegesis of this passage in Genesis to which we have already referred forms the basis for the elaboration of this incident in the Book of Enoch."<sup>4</sup> R. Brook traces this double stream through

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<sup>2</sup>Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, in the International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), XLII, 329.

<sup>3</sup>William J. Hassold, "An Interpretation of the Epistle of St. Jude" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1949), p. 51.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.

the Book of Enoch, also:

The sin of the angels was twofold: (a) "they kept not their own principality," the sphere allotted to them by God (Dt. 32:8; Enoch 18:13; 21:3)--the sin of pride or disobedience; (b) "they came down to earth (Gen. 6:1-4; Enoch passim)--the sin of lust; the fall of the angels through lust is one of the main subjects in Enoch. The tradition as to their punishment is derived from Enoch (cf. 10:4, 12; 54:3).<sup>5</sup>

The angelology which Jude uses, then, is one which stems from Old Testament passages but which has been reinterpreted through the ages by Jewish exegetes until it appeared in the form contained in the Book of Enoch.

Several commentators have given summaries of the angelology in the Book of Enoch. A review of a few of these should give ample indication of the beliefs which Jude and his readers entertained about angels. H. H. Rowley stresses the connection of the fallen angels with evil in the world:

In . . . [Enoch] chapters vi-xxxvi we find that evil is traced to the fallen angels and their lust for the daughters of men (1 En. vi f.). This myth is an ancient one, appearing first in Gen. vi. 1 ff., but here it is developed in the thought that though the Deluge had destroyed the children of these unions, their spirits still infest the earth as demons, and prove themselves to be the source of every kind of corruption (1 En. xv. 8 ff.). A great world judgment is awaited, where the

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<sup>5</sup>R. Brook, "Jude," A Commentary on the Bible, ed. Arthur S. Peake (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), p. 924.

fallen angels, demons, and men should receive the recompense of their deeds (1 En. x. 6; xvi. 1; xix. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Joseph B. Mayor's summary helps give a more complete picture of the fall of the evil angels. He relates how two hundred angels, under the leadership of Semjaza, also known as Azazel, descended to earth during the days of Jared, Enoch's father (En. 6). These angels married human wives, taught them magic, and begot giants, who in turn begot the Nephilim (cf. En. 8). When the people living on earth complained about the sin and misery brought into the world by these angels, Raphael was sent to bind Azazel hand and foot and cast him into darkness until the judgment, and Gabriel was sent to slay the giants.<sup>7</sup>

Albert E. Barnett presents the following detailed summary of the fall of the angels:

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<sup>6</sup>H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (3rd ed.; London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), pp. 55-56. Cf. Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 8, where he gives an interesting explanation which has been advanced to resolve the problem of women wearing veils in 1 Cor. 11:10: "some conclude that angels were subject to erotic desires; this is held to explain the regulation that women are to wear a veil in the church services, since angels are present . . . 1 Cor. 11:10."

<sup>7</sup>Joseph B. Mayor, The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. clx.

The original story of the disobedient angels occurs in Gen. 6:1-4. The highly embellished account of the book of Enoch, however, led Jude to use it . . . . Enoch gives an elaborate and dramatic account of these angels: (a) They were bound "hand and foot" and cast "into the darkness," with "rough and jagged rocks" piled upon them. They must suffer thus forever, or at least until "the day of the great judgment," when they "shall be cast into the fire" (10:4-6, 11-12). When they are cast "into the abyss of complete condemnation," they will be bound with "iron chains of immeasurable weight" (54:3-5). (b) The offense of the angels consisted in abandonment of their proper "domain" in heaven. They can expect "no peace nor forgiveness of sin." Never will they attain mercy and peace, even though they "make supplication unto eternity," because they "left the high heaven, holy eternal place; and . . . defiled themselves with women" (12:4-6). (c) God did not give the angels wives because they were "holy, spiritual, living the eternal life . . . and immortal for all generations of the world" (15:4-6). The "position" for which the angels were responsible was that of "watchers." Their proper dwelling was the high heaven (cf. 2 Cor. 5:1-2). The story of their abandonment of these privileges to satisfy their lust reinforces Jude's warning of the possible loss by professing Christians of their privileged spiritual status and the punishment that must follow.<sup>8</sup>

These summaries indicate the angelology accepted by Jude and his readers and aid the understanding of Jude 6. The fallen angels held in chains until "the judgment of the great day" serve as an excellent example of the judgment which will befall all ungodly persons. Jude's readers knew

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<sup>8</sup>Albert E. Barnett, "The Epistle of Jude," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1957), XII, 327.

and accepted this tradition and thus understood perfectly well the point that he was trying to make.

If Jude's readers did truly understand this illustration, and knew that this was a basic theme of the Book of Enoch, they were probably able to understand the allusion to "wandering stars" in Jude 13. According to Alfred Plummer,

Much more probably St. Jude means "falling stars," or "shooting stars," which seem to leave their place in the heavens, where they are beautiful and useful, and to wander away into the darkness, to the confusion and dismay of those who observe them.<sup>9</sup>

Although the association is not absolutely clear, there appears to be a connection between these stars and angels.

William Barclay states that Jude 13

is a picture directly taken from the Book of Enoch. In that book the stars and the angels are sometimes identified; and there is a picture of the fate of the stars who were disobedient to God, and who left their appointed place and orbit and who were destroyed.<sup>10</sup>

Plummer, too, expands on this identification of the angels with stars:

Angels, like stars, have a path to keep, and those who keep it not are punished. . . ([Enoch] 18:6, 7, 13-16).

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<sup>9</sup> Alfred Plummer, The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, in The Expositor's Bible, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (Toronto: Willard Tract Depository and Bible Depot, 1891), XLVI, 433.

<sup>10</sup> William Barclay, The Letters of John and Jude (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p. 230.

In another terrible place [Enoch] sees stars bound together, and is told that these are "the stars which have transgressed," and that "this is the prison of the angels," in which "they are kept for ever" (21:2, 3, 5, 6). These extracts make it highly probable that when St. Jude compares the ungodly to "wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever," he is thinking once more of the "angels which left their proper habitation," who are "kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (ver. 6).<sup>11</sup>

It would seem that there was at the time of Jude a highly developed "mythology" concerning the angels. Since these views were common among the people, Jude was able to make use of them to illustrate his argument and to add to the literary interest of his epistle.

Not only does Jude mention angels as a group, but he also points to individual angels. The archangel Michael is mentioned in Jude 9. Again Enoch gives some background, as Barnett mentions:

Enoch names the seven archangels as Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqael, Gabriel, and Remiel. To each of them, he says, God assigned a province (Enoch 20:1-8). Michael is described as having been "set over the best part of mankind and over chaos."<sup>12</sup>

Bauer gives the added information that in Jewish theology Michael "was the special patron and protector of the Jewish

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<sup>11</sup>Plummer, pp. 433-434.

<sup>12</sup>Barnett, p. 329.

nation" (Dan. 12:1).<sup>13</sup> Adam Clarke quotes Shemoth Rabba (sec. ii., fol. 104, 3): "Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh says: Wherever Michael is said to appear, the glory of the Divine Majesty is always to be understood."<sup>14</sup> It appears that Michael held a special significance for the Jewish nation, and the use of the archangel by Jude as an illustration would carry special weight.

It seems, too, that Michael was a personification of "Good" as opposed to a personified "Bad" in the form of Satan or some specific evil angel (see Rev. 12:7-8). Mayor gives indication of this:

St. Jude's allusion to this story is merely parenthetical, to illustrate the law of judgment. He appears not to recognize any connexion [sic] between the Fallen Angels and Satan. The former are suffering imprisonment in darkness till the final judgment: the latter was apparently able to confront the archangel on equal terms, when contending for the body of Moses.<sup>15</sup>

Clarke pictures two great hosts who are opposed to each other. In all that they do they are under two great leaders-- Michael, the archangel, is the head of the angelic orders,

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<sup>13</sup>Bauer, p. 526.

<sup>14</sup>Adam Clarke, "The General Epistle of Jude," Clarke's Commentary (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, n.d.), II, 952 (Clarke's italics).

<sup>15</sup>Mayor, pp. clxii-clxiii.



and Satan, also known as the great dragon or the devil, is the head of the diabolic orders.<sup>16</sup> Clarke also mentions verbal altercations which took place between Michael and Sammael (quoted in Chapter II of this paper)<sup>17</sup> and between Michael and Satan when the angel of the Lord called to Abraham, who was about to sacrifice Isaac (Yalcut Rubeni, fol. 43, 3):

At the time in which Isaac was bound there was a contention between Michael and Satan. Michael brought a ram, that Isaac might be liberated; but Satan endeavoured [sic] to carry off the ram, that Isaac might be slain.<sup>18</sup>

Michael was held in high regard by the Jewish people. Stories of which he is the "hero" would have some meaning. The point, then, that Jude would make in verse 9 is that not even the archangel Michael spoke evilly with the devil, and yet these false teachers "revile whatever they do not understand" (Jude 10). Barclay, who thinks that the evil being pointed out here is that the false teachers deny and insult

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<sup>16</sup>Clarke, p. 952.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. Cf. Theodore H. Gaster, "Michael," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1962), III, 373.

<sup>18</sup>Clarke, p. 953. Cf. also the quotations from the Midrash in Chapter II which are cited by Plummer, pp. 420-421.

the angels, makes this application:

If Michael, the archangel, on such an occasion said nothing against an angel, who is the prince of the evil angels, then clearly no man can speak evil of the angels.<sup>19</sup>

Bo Reicke makes a similar point by stating that "the angel committed the judgment to God."<sup>20</sup>

#### Moses

In a sense, the mention of Moses is almost incidental. Jude is setting the scene in which he quotes the words of Michael against the devil. But in another sense, the mention of Moses falls into place. In the first place, as Frederic Henry Chase states,

In view of Jude's use of this Mosaic literature [with reference to The Assumption of Moses] the number of allusions in so short an Epistle to matters connected with Moses is noteworthy: the deliverance and punishment of Israel (v. 5), the murmuring (v. 16, cf. 1 Cor. 10:10), the episodes of Balaam and of Korah (v. 11).<sup>21</sup>

The great event of Israelite history was the Exodus, of which

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<sup>19</sup>Barclay, pp. 194-195.

<sup>20</sup>Bo Reicke, The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude, in The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1964), 37, 202.

<sup>21</sup>Frederic Henry Chase, "Jude, Epistle of," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), II, 802.

Moses was the leader. Secondly, because of their high regard for Moses, the Jews would naturally be interested in every detail of his life and death. It is this interest that would give rise to a legend which was known well enough for Jude to cite as an illustration. Plummer has this in mind when he says that the words of Deut. 34:5, 6

excited the curiosity of the Jews; and as history told them nothing beyond the statement in Deuteronomy, they fell back upon imagination as a substitute, and the mysterious words of Scripture became a centre [sic] round which a series of legends in process of time clustered.<sup>22</sup>

After his quotations from the Midrash, Plummer remarks:

These legends bring us a little nearer to the illustration used by St. Jude, for they bring Michael and the evil spirit into connexion [sic] with what is related respecting the death and burial of Moses.<sup>23</sup>

Why the dispute over the body of Moses? According to Clarke,

Some think the devil wished to show the Israelites where Moses was buried, knowing that they would then adore his body; and that Michael was sent to resist his discovery.<sup>24</sup>

C. E. B. Cranfield gives a different cause, stating that

when God had commissioned Michael to bury the body of Moses, the devil opposed the burial on the grounds that

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<sup>22</sup>Plummer, p. 420.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 421.

<sup>24</sup>Clarke, p. 953 (Clarke's italics).

the body was material and therefore belonged by right to him as the lord of matter and that Moses was a murderer (cf. Ex. 2:12). . . .<sup>25</sup>

Both legends could exist side by side without conflict, the first giving the real reason (an effort to lead the Israelites into idolatry) and the second giving the reason which the devil used in arguing with Michael (indicating a possible gnosticizing tendency by distinguishing between matter and spirit). Or they could exist separately as two separate strands of legendary material. But they do aid us in better understanding how and why a story such as Jude used could arise and be well known to his readers.

#### Enoch

There was an extended discussion in the previous chapter concerning Jude's use of the Book of Enoch. Why did Jude use this writing, rather than some reference from what Judaism and Christianity has accepted as the canonical Old Testament? Accepting the probability that the Book of Enoch was actually regarded as a record of the visions and words of Enoch, there seem to be two answers to this question.

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<sup>25</sup>C. E. B. Cranfield, I & II Peter and Jude (London: SCM Press, 1960), p. 162.

First, the words of Enoch would actually be accepted as prophetic in character: "It is as a prophet that Enoch is quoted."<sup>26</sup> Secondly, citing Enoch would lend antiquity to the argument of Jude. John Calvin states that Jude

wished to repeat from the oldest antiquity what the Spirit had pronounced respecting them: and this is what the words intimate; for he says expressly that he was the seventh from Adam, in order to commend the antiquity of the prophecy, because it existed in the world before the flood.<sup>27</sup>

Reicke gives a more detailed account:

Officially, the book of Enoch was not accepted by the Jews or Christians as a canonical scripture. Yet it is clear that Jude regarded this writing as inspired. In fact, due to its presumed antiquity, First Enoch is placed on an even higher level than the Old Testament prophets. For it is said to contain prophecies of the patriarch Enoch dating from the antediluvian age. As "the seventh from Adam," Enoch was not only of awesome age, but summed up in himself the entire superholy line of patriarchs, since "seven" was regarded as the number of perfection.<sup>28</sup>

Although Reicke gives no support for his contention that Jude exalted the Book of Enoch over the Old Testament prophets,

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<sup>26</sup>Thomas Barns, "The Epistle of St. Jude: A Study in the Marcosian Heresy," The Journal of Theological Studies, VI (April 1905), 395.

<sup>27</sup>John Calvin, "Commentaries on the Epistle of Jude," Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles, tr. and ed. John Owen (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1948), p. 443 (Calvin's italics).

<sup>28</sup>Reicke, pp. 209-210.

it is true that Jude did quote from the book, and he probably did appeal to it because of the antiquity connected with the person and words of this ancient patriarch. There would be a natural interest in a person who "walked with God; and he was not, for God took him." (Gen. 5:24)

### Cain

The three men mentioned in Jude 11 as examples of evil men who were destroyed give a good demonstration of how Jude and his readers accepted not only what the Old Testament said about certain persons and events, but these examples also illustrate that Jude and his readers were acquainted with the traditions which grew up around them. G. H. Boobyer states:

The extent to which Jude operates with extra-biblical Jewish tradition in the rest of his epistle (cf. 6, 7, 9 and 14) makes it virtually certain that, in verse eleven, he has in mind not only the O. T. accounts of Cain, Balaam and Korah, but also the use made of these men in subsequent Jewish tradition.<sup>29</sup>

Boobyer then makes the following observations:

It will suffice to call attention to two points. First, this non-biblical evidence attributes more sins to Cain, Balaam and Korah than does the O. T.--and especially to

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<sup>29</sup>G. H. Boobyer, "The Verbs in Jude 11," New Testament Studies, V (1958-1959); 46.

Cain and Balaam. All three have in fact become representative leaders in wickedness with followers in their reprobate ways. Secondly, and more important for our immediate purpose, is the prominence given to the destruction which God brought upon all of them and their followers as punishment for their iniquities.<sup>30</sup>

Boobyer expands on this theme of destruction, pointing out that this is a primary purpose for Jude's use of these traditions:

So much specific tradition to the effect that God visited Cain, Balaam, Korah and their adherents with destruction must surely mean that when Jude describes the "ungodly men" in the Church as in the succession of these O. T. characters, the fate of Cain, Balaam, Korah and their earlier followers will have been just as much a point of comparison as their sins.<sup>31</sup>

It is probable that Jude's readers looked upon these men as they were pictured in tradition, not just as they appeared in the Old Testament.

How did they view Cain? Bigg states: "The name Cain, standing as it does without qualification, must mean Cain the murderer."<sup>32</sup> Most commentators, however, do not share this narrow view. Rather, Cain the murderer is overshadowed by other "qualities." Case remarks: "Cain's crime had been murder (Gen. 4), but probably it is his godlessness in

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>32</sup>Bigg, p. 332.

general that constitutes his likeness to the wicked persons in the church."<sup>33</sup> Cranfield is more definite: "Cain is not mentioned here as the first murderer (as in 1 John 3:12), but rather as the type of sensual, unspiritual humanity, which he is in the writings of Philo."<sup>34</sup> Barclay gives more detail:

He was the first murderer in the world's history . . . .  
 But in Hebrew tradition and teaching Cain came to stand for something more than that. In Philo, he stands for selfishness and self-love. In the Rabbinic teaching Cain is the type of the cynical and sceptical man. . . .  
 To the Hebrew thinkers Cain was the cynical, sceptical, atheistic, materialistic unbeliever, who believed neither in God or the moral order of the world, and who, therefore, did exactly as he liked.<sup>35</sup>

In general, then, Philo, the Targums, the early Church fathers, the rabbis, and others considered Cain as the type of "treachery, lust, avarice, self-indulgence. . . ." <sup>36</sup> Reicke

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<sup>33</sup>Case, p. 1362.

<sup>34</sup>Cranfield, p. 162.

<sup>35</sup>Barclay, pp. 223-224.

<sup>36</sup>Barnett, p. 330; cf. Boobyer, "Jude," p. 1042; Kaufmann Kohler, "Cain--In Rabbinical Literature," The Jewish Encyclopedia; ed. Isidore Singer, et al. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, c.1912), III, 494; Karl Hermann Schelkle, "Der Judasbrief," Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. Alfred Wikenhauser and Anton Vögtle (Freiburg: Herder, 1961), XIII, ii, 160; Hans Windisch, "Der Judasbrief," Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 3rd ed. by Herbert Preisker, ed. Hans Lietzmann and Günther Bornkamm (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1951), XV, 43.



mentions a reference to Cain in 1 Clement:

He is emphatically presented as the archetype of those who through zeal, envy, social dissatisfaction, and hostility to society, drive their brethren in the faith to death (1 Clem 4:1-7).<sup>37</sup>

Cain stood as the forerunner of all evil men.

This trait is particularly noticeable among some Jewish and Christian writers who contrasted Cain with Abel or with both Abel and Seth. Barnett cites Irenaeus:

Irenaeus says that certain Gnostic sects divided mankind into three classes, represented respectively by Cain, the physical or earthly man; Abel, the psychical man; and Seth, the spiritual man.<sup>38</sup>

Although not too much can be made of this development with respect to Jude's understanding of Cain, it does indicate that a development took place which was probably in existence for some time and can be attested to in other sources. Karl Georg Kuhn gives a further description:

The account of Cain's murder of Abel in Gn. 4:3ff. contains no hint of any difference in the piety or moral conduct of the two brothers. It simply says that God accepted Abel's sacrifice and not Cain's, and that Cain was so angry that he slew his brother. Nevertheless later Jewish exegesis always understood the story in terms of some such distinction, Abel being regarded as religious and Cain as ungodly. The story is thus

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<sup>37</sup>Reicke, pp. 205-206.

<sup>38</sup>Barnett, p. 330.

brought into the dominant dualistic schema of later Judaism . . . .<sup>39</sup>

This indicates the dominant understanding of Cain in the New Testament, according to Kuhn:

In accordance with the Jewish understanding, Mt. 23:35 and par., in which there is reference to the righteous Abel, conceive of the contrast in purely ethical terms, the brothers being *δίκαιος* or *πονηρός* in virtue of their works. The same is true of Jd. 11. . . .<sup>40</sup>

Kohler describes a strand of tradition which even traces all sin and evil back to Cain:

While the pious men all descended from Seth, there sprang from Cain all the wicked ones who rebelled against God and whose perverseness and corruption brought on the flood: they committed all abominations and incestuous crimes in public without shame. The daughters of Cain were those "fair daughters of men" who by their lasciviousness caused the fall of the "sons of God" (Gen. 6:1-4 . . .).<sup>41</sup>

Jude had a great deal of tradition to back him up when he cited Cain as an example of evil men who will be destroyed in judgment, for he "is the first of those who have no share in the world to come . . . ."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Karl Georg Kuhn, "*Ἀβελ-Κάϊν*," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), I, 6.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>41</sup>Kohler, p. 494.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 493.

## Balaam

The view which Jude and his readers held concerning Balaam was in line with the tradition developed from several Old Testament sources. Cranfield summarizes:

In the Old Testament there are two different traditions about Balaam. According to one of them (Num. 22-24, Josh. 24:9f., Micah 6:5) Balaam is simply the instrument by which God's will is realized, without personal merit but also free of special guilt; according to the other (Num. 31:16) he advised the Midianites to cause the children of Israel to sin against God. Later Judaism seized on Num. 31:16, and interpreted the earlier tradition in its light, representing Balaam as the one who contrived to seduce Israel into unchastity and idolatry . . . .<sup>43</sup>

According to Barclay,

Out of this composite story Balaam stands for two things. (a) He stands for the covetous man, who was prepared to sin in order to gain reward. (b) He stands for the evil man, who was guilty of the greatest of all sins--the sin of teaching others to sin.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Cranfield, p. 162; cf. Karl Georg Kuhn, "Βαλαάμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), I, 524; Barclay, pp. 224-225. Kuhn, p. 524, tries to give an explanation for the rise of a double tradition when he states that the story contained in Num. 31:16 "perhaps arose out of the fact that in J and E the account of licentiousness and idolatry immediately follows the Balaam story (Num. 25:1ff.), so that an inner connection was sought between the two."

<sup>44</sup>Barclay, p. 225; cf. Windisch, p. 43; Mayor, p. 39.

From this inauspicious beginning the infamy of Balaam grew through the centuries. Kuhn cites many examples from the rabbinic literature, among them being the following:

What he said to the angel who stopped him in the way (Nu. 22:34) was hypocrisy and deceit which marked him as thoroughly bad . . . he is expressly numbered among those who have no part in the future world.<sup>45</sup>

H. M. Speaker points out that "it is significant that in rabbinical literature the epithet 'rasha'" (the wicked one) is often attached to the name of Balaam . . . ."<sup>46</sup> Thus, Balaam became "a typical deceiver and false prophet. . . ."<sup>47</sup> He "is the great example of those who taught Israel to sin"<sup>48</sup> and the false teacher who misled youth.<sup>49</sup>

In the words of Donald Guthrie, "Balaam appears to have been an all-inclusive symbol of heretical doctrine and practice."<sup>50</sup> It was much in this sense that Jude and his readers

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<sup>45</sup>Kuhn, "Βαλαάμ," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I, 524.

<sup>46</sup>H. M. Speaker, "Balaam--In Rabbinical Literature," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Isidore Singer, et al. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, c.1912), II, 467.

<sup>47</sup>Bauer, p. 130.

<sup>48</sup>Barclay, p. 224.

<sup>49</sup>Barnett, p. 331.

<sup>50</sup>Donald Guthrie, Hebrews to Revelation: New Testament Introduction (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962), p. 235.

pictured Balaam. As Barnett describes it:

In spite of divine warnings, Balaam obdurately went ahead as Balak's partner. The errorists have likewise been warned, but they have been headstrong in continuing their iniquitous course, "following their own passions, . . . flattering people to gain advantage" (vs. 16). By diluting the moral demands of religion on the authority of "their dreamings," they have apparently made money for themselves. They are well paid for convincing people that the immoral indulgence of their physical appetites does not violate the demands of religion.<sup>51</sup>

Kuhn describes the false teachers as those who, like Balaam, "carry on their destructive activity out of covetousness and for gain."<sup>52</sup> Mayor expands on this thought:

So these false teachers use their prophetic gifts for purposes of self-aggrandisement and endeavour to make their services attractive by excluding from religion all that is strenuous and difficult, and opening the door to every kind of indulgence.<sup>53</sup>

This may appear to be attaching a considerable amount of meaning to one phrase, but the attitude which the Jews held toward Balaam is consistent throughout their literature, and we can expect that Jude and his readers were no exception.

Therefore,

It may be seen that in early Christian polemics Balaam, the dreadful example, became a catch-word and stock

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<sup>51</sup>Barnett, pp. 331-332.

<sup>52</sup>Kuhn, "Baladu," p. 525.

<sup>53</sup>Mayor, p. 39. Cf. Cranfield, p. 162; Reicke, p. 206; Clarke, p. 953; Calvin, p. 440; Case, p. 1362.

comparison. The comparison did not have to be worked out in detail; it was enough simply to make it, as in Jd. 11.<sup>54</sup>

### Korah

The biblical incident which is the basis for the Korah tradition is summarized by Barclay:

The story of Korah and his company is in Numbers 16:1-35. The sin of Korah was that he rebelled against the guidance of Moses when the sons of Aaron and the tribe of Levi were made the priests of the nation. That was a decision which Korah was not willing to accept; he wished to exercise a function which he had no right to exercise; and when he did so he perished terribly, and all his companions in wickedness with him.<sup>55</sup>

Boobyer indicates how the destruction of Korah and his companions was especially heightened in tradition:

Subsequent tradition then elaborated and stressed the finality of this destruction, generally denying to both evil doers [Balaam and Korah] and their associates a place in the world to come.<sup>56</sup>

Jude's phrase, they "perish in Korah's rebellion," seems to depend on this finality of Korah's destruction. But the cause of Korah's rebellion, his unwillingness to accept the established order, is also accepted by many commentators as

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<sup>54</sup>Kuhn, "Βαλαάμ," p. 524.

<sup>55</sup>Barclay, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup>Boobyer, p. 46; cf. Cranfield, p. 163.

an indication of one of the sins of the false teachers.

This is the thought which Windisch expresses:

Korah war der typische Häretiker, der gegen Moses' Leitung sich empörte und sich die Rechte der Priester anmassen wollte Num. 16; ebenso sind auch die Irrlehrer widerspenstig gegen die Ordnungen und Ordner der Gemeinde.<sup>57</sup>

This can be stated also in the words of Barclay, "So Korah stands for the man who refuses to accept authority, and who reaches out for things which he has no right to take, and no right to have,"<sup>58</sup> and Case, who notes that in the false teachers' "rebellious attitude toward Christian leaders they are guilty of Korah's sin of disobedience (Num. 16)."<sup>59</sup>

Barnett, in describing Korah, also presents an adequate summary of Jude 11, where Cain, Balaam, and Korah are mentioned together:

The conclusion he [Jude] desires to drive home is that the outcome of heresy is utter destruction. Pride, greed, rebellion, are the trilogy of sins that constitute the iniquity of the "ungodly persons" who menace the spiritual health of the church. They bring annihilation in any age to those who practice them.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Windisch, p. 43.

<sup>58</sup>Barclay, p. 225.

<sup>59</sup>Case, p. 1362. Cf. also Calvin, pp. 440-441; Reicke, p. 206.

<sup>60</sup>Barnett, p. 332 (Barnett's italics).

## Sodom and Gomorrah

Sodom and Gomorrah stand out as prime examples of God's judgment as Barclay has pointed out: "Sodom and Gomorrah are time and time again used in Scripture as the examples par excellence of the sin of man and of the judgment of God . . . ." <sup>61</sup> Schelkle notes that Sodom and Gomorrah are also cited for the same reasons in apocryphal and Jewish literature. <sup>62</sup> But the development which this story takes in this literature elaborates on the sins of the Sodomites to a somewhat greater extent than does the biblical record. There is indeed the insistence of the Sodomites that Lot forego his responsibility as host to allow them to satisfy their perverted sexual desire. <sup>63</sup> But many commentators, like Boobyer, see a connection between Jude 7 and Jude 6, which tells of the fall of the angels:

The angels of 6 cohabited with women and the men of Sodom attempted sexual relationships with the angels (Gen. 19:5-8). Both examples relate to copulation

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<sup>61</sup>Barclay, p. 217.

<sup>62</sup>Schelkle, p. 155; cf. Mayor, p. clv.

<sup>63</sup>Cf. Friedrich Hauck, "Der Brief des Judas," Das Neue Testament Deutsch, ed. Paul Althaus and Johannes Behm (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), X, 107-108.



between divine and human orders of flesh and therefore exemplify "unnatural lust."<sup>64</sup>

Although this tradition seems to connect the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah with this particular sin rather than realizing that God had already doomed the cities to destruction, it is the tradition which seems to be at least partially behind Jude's usage, as Case notes:

The sinners in the church are not unlike the wicked people of the ancient cities in their vice. In their very dreams they defile themselves with their evil minds, and in their waking moments they brazenly throw off the restraint which Christ would impose upon them.<sup>65</sup>

Sodom and Gomorrah, too, "serve as an example" of the doom which awaits the false teachers against whom Jude writes.

#### Summary

Accepting the probability that Jude made use not only of our canonical Old Testament, but that he also relied upon apocryphal literature which gives an indication of traditional developments of Old Testament stories, we have endeavored to demonstrate what Jude and his readers might have

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<sup>64</sup>George H. Boobyer, "Jude," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 1042.

<sup>65</sup>Case, p. 1362.

understood and believed concerning the various persons and events which Jude cites as examples of destruction due to evil. Jude demonstrates an angelology which has developed well beyond Old Testament discussions of the subject. His brief references to Moses and Enoch likewise indicate traditions connected with these men. In citing Cain, Balaam, and Korah as men who were destroyed for their sins, Jude was depending on his readers' knowing the sins and eternal destruction which tradition had attributed to them. Much the same is true of the example of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The perusal of these traditional elements which lie behind Jude's epistle thus aid us in understanding and interpreting his letter today. By the use of these examples, Jude indicated the judgment which awaits those who oppose the Lord. His readers are thus encouraged to oppose false teaching and to remove from their midst those who espouse such false teaching. They are to "wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." (Jude 21)

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have looked at one of the problems which has plagued scholars and commentators through the centuries: Did Jude actually use as sources writings which today are not accepted as part of the biblical canon? We have been forced by an examination of the evidence to answer, "Yes." It definitely appears that Jude made use of the Book of Enoch in the one passage (Jude 14-15) in which he is citing prophecy. Jude does this in a manner in which he seems to attach authority to his source. The only other direct quotation, that of the words of Michael in Jude 9, probably comes from a missing portion of the Assumption of Moses. We are led to accept this probability by the evidence of the early fathers, as well as the knowledge that Jude did make use of apocryphal literature.

This is not to say that Jude used only apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature as his literary sources. Throughout his epistle there is evidence of the knowledge of the Old Testament and its contents. But even these stories have been colored by tradition. These traditions become clear by looking at Jewish and rabbinic literature for

parallels. By this method, we were able to attain some idea of the probable beliefs which Jude and his readers entertained concerning the various Old Testament persons and events mentioned by Jude. With a better knowledge of these beliefs, we are better able to read and understand the message of Jude's epistle.

It was also pointed out in the body of this paper that Jude appealed also to words which his readers had heard more recently, such as those of the apostles recorded in Jude 17-18. Jude, then, made use of all the material at his disposal to make his point, including the Old Testament, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, Jewish tradition, and the words of the apostles. His concern was to bring a message to his readers and to make the point that there were evil men in their midst who were doomed to destruction, men whom they must remove from their midst.

These conclusions indicate that there remain many questions yet to be fully answered about this brief epistle. The purpose of this paper was to investigate possible sources which Jude used. It was not concerned with Jude's view about the inspired status of these works, nor our views concerning inspiration. Thus some of the questions yet to be studied and answered would include the following: What

was Jude's understanding of inspired Scripture? How are we to understand Jude's use of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in light of present day doctrines of inspiration? What problems does Jude's use of this literature raise concerning both the Old Testament and New Testament canon, and what might be possible solutions to these problems?

Other questions which have been raised in the mind of this writer are: Why did Jude use these examples of destruction rather than others, such as the flood and, if written after 70 A.D., the fall of Jerusalem? Did Jude actually know well, and use, the complete Old Testament as we have it, or are some of the possible parallels and allusions to prophetic and poetical literature merely accidental? How might the realization of Jude's use of apocryphal literature help us better understand Jude so that this epistle, accepted as part of the New Testament but lost in actual usage, might aid in bringing the good news of salvation to today's world? An area which should be thoroughly investigated is the Qumran writings to determine if its material and teachings might have had any influence on Jude and his readers.

These are the conclusions and questions for further study which have come from this investigation.

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