

Chapter 11

THE DEMISE OF THE ANTAGONIST IN THE APOCALYPTIC SCAPEGOAT TRADITION*

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Introduction

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first centuries CE, the reader encounters an eschatological reinterpretation of the chief sacerdotal event of the Jewish tradition, namely, the Yom Kippur ceremony. In particular, ch. 13 utilizes this enigmatic rite, in which the angel Yahoel, depicted as the celestial high priest, bestows the garment of sins upon the main antagonist of the story, the fallen angel Azazel, who is then sent into the lower realm.

Previous studies note that the peculiar details of this account evoke the scapegoat ritual, the annual atoning ordinance of the Jewish tradition outlined in the book of Leviticus, during which the transgressions of the Israelites were heaped upon a goat who was then banished into the wilderness.¹ According to Leviticus, in the Yom Kippur ordinance, the exile of the cultic animal into an uninhabitable realm coincided with another significant progression, namely, the entrance of the high priestly celebrant into the divine presence, that is to say, into the Holy of Holies.

By adding several nuances, the Slavonic apocalypse offers a unique apocalyptic understanding of the purifying ordinance. In this eschatological reinterpretation of Yom Kippur, the main hero of the story does not simply enter the sacred chamber of the earthly Temple made by

* It is a source of great pleasure to be able to contribute an essay for a volume honoring Professor Christopher Rowland, a scholar from whom I have learned so much.

1. A. A. Orlov, 'Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Part I. The Scapegoat Ritual', in *Symbola Caelestis. Le symbolisme liturgique et paraliturgique dans le monde chrétien* (ed. A. A. Orlov and B. Lourié; Scrinium, 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), pp.79–11.

human hands, but rather the celestial throne room, represented by the highest heaven. His ominous counterpart, on the other hand, namely, the fallen angel bearing the name of the scapegoat, is exiled to the subterranean sphere. Such refashioning ushers the enigmatic rite into an entirely new conceptual dimension. Some traces of this novel apocalyptic framework also appear in rabbinic and early Christian accounts, suggesting that later interpretations of the Yom Kippur imagery may have been shaped by, not only biblical patterns, but also early apocalyptic developments. Indeed, later rabbinic and Christian testimonies betray obvious similarities with the apocalyptic currents.

It is even possible that the determinative biblical version of the ritual may not have completely escaped the influence of the apocalyptic worldview. After all, even the early version found in Leviticus appears to deal with certain themes also found in apocalyptic literature, such as the transformation and the breaching of the boundaries of sacred realms, as well as alongside purification and atonement.

The conceptual roots of the Yom Kippur ritual are shrouded in mystery. In their attempts to clarify the origin of this enigmatic rite, scholars have often focused on Mesopotamian traditions, which are permeated by a complex apocalyptic worldview, including visions, initiations, and heavenly journeys. Although the Mesopotamian materials yield some useful information, a great deal of uncertainty remains. This uncertainty is reflected in the proposed rationale behind the ritual described in Leviticus. On one hand, it has been proposed that the ritual was developed as a dialogical reaffirmation of the practice of heavenly ascent, as the earthly complement to the visionary's eschatological entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies. On the other hand, however, the opposite approach has been articulated as well; that is to say, it has been suggested that the Levitical ritual may have arisen as a polemic against such practices, in order to discourage the praxis of the heavenly priesthood by establishing an alternative cultic framework that limits the access to the divine presence on earth to the members of certain priestly clans.²

While there are no clear answers to the questions about the account found in the book of Leviticus, it is possible that later accounts of the atoning rite, those in the Mishnah and early Christian authors, were influenced by the apocalyptic reinterpretations of Yom Kippur found in

2. With respect to the question of the rivalry between various priestly clans in the Second Temple period, see G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), and *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

early apocalyptic texts, such as the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

In this respect, it is important to note several possible ‘apocalyptic’ features of the atoning ritual that seem present in the later descriptions of the scapegoat ordinance. For instance, several enigmatic additions to the Levitical blueprint of the scapegoat ritual appear in later interpretations of the atoning rite found in mishnaic, targumic, and talmudic accounts, especially in the description of the conclusion of the scapegoat ceremony. Some of these accounts insist that in the final moments of the ritual in the wilderness the crimson band of the scapegoat was removed from him and then placed back onto the animal. The scapegoat was then pushed off the cliff by its handlers. These traditions are not attested to in the biblical description from Leviticus, yet they figure into many rabbinic and early Christian interpretations. *M. Yoma* 6.6, for example, contains this tradition:

What did he do? He divided the thread of crimson wool and tied one half to the rock and the other half between its horns, and he pushed it from behind; and it went rolling down, and before it had reached half the way down the hill it was broken in pieces. He returned and sat down beneath the last booth until nightfall. And from what time does it render his garments unclean? After he has gone outside the wall of Jerusalem. R. Simeon says: From the moment that he pushes it into the ravine.³

This account depicts the climax of the scapegoat ceremony in which the handlers of the scapegoat stripped away the infamous crimson band from the cultic animal, and then, according to the Mishnah, the band was divided into two pieces, one of which was tied to a rock, and the other to the animal’s horns. The scapegoat was finally pushed off the cliff by its handlers. Scholars have suggested that the crimson band was envisioned as an impure garment, or more specifically, as the attire of sins⁴ that the cultic animal was predestined to carry in an uninhabitable realm, in this case, the wilderness. Loosing the cultic band possibly signifies the forgiveness of the sins of the Israelites,⁵ since, in some Jewish accounts,

3. H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.170.

4. *M. Yoma* 4.2 attests to the initial ‘clothing’ of two goats of the Yom Kippur ritual in which one crimson band is tied around the horns of the scapegoat, while the other around the neck of the immolated goat; it reads: ‘He bound a thread of crimson wool on the head of the scapegoat and he turned it towards the way by which it was to be sent out; and on the he-goat that was to be slaughtered [he bound a thread] about its throat’ (Danby, *The Mishnah*, p.166).

5. Cf. R. Hiers, ‘“Binding and Loosing”: The Matthean Authorizations’, *JBL* 104 (1985), pp.233–50 (233). It also can be understood as release from the oath placed

the imagery of loosing is closely connected to the forgiveness of transgressions.

The aforementioned mishnaic passage also hints to the fact that the final destination of the scapegoat's exile was not merely the desert, but rather the underworld or abyss, a descent symbolically expressed by the pushing of the animal off the cliff.

Other Jewish and Christian sources, both preceding and contemporaneous with the aforementioned mishnaic testimony, attest to the scapegoat's dramatic descent and the ritual function of the crimson band. For instance, in *De plantatione* 61, Philo speaks about the fall of the scapegoat.⁶ Similarly, although Justin Martyr does not directly mention the act of pushing the cultic animal off the cliff, his statements regarding the scapegoat's death in *Dialogue with Trypho* hint at his knowledge of the ritual:

Likewise, the two identical goats which had to be offered during the fast (one of which was to be the scapegoat, and the other the sacrificial goat) were an announcement of the two comings of Christ: Of the first coming, in which your priests and elders send him away as a scapegoat, seizing him and putting him to death... (40.4)⁷

Further, *The Epistle of Barnabas* (7.6-11) repeats the tradition of disrobing the scapegoat by removing the cultic band, connecting the crimson thread to the messianic or sacerdotal garment of Christ.⁸ It relates a

on the cultic animal by the high priest. Some studies suggest that the meaning can be understood in terms of later rabbinic usage, namely, the authority to absolve or release a person from some sort of vow. See Hiers, 'Binding and Loosing', p.233.

6. D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (WUNT, 163; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), p.31 n.71.

7. *St. Justin Martyr. Dialogue with Trypho* (ed. M. Slusser; trans. T. F. Falls and T. P. Halton; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), p.62.

8. *Barnabas* 7.6-11 reads: 'Pay attention to what he commands: "Take two fine goats who are alike and offer them as a sacrifice; and let the priest take one of them as a whole burnt offering for sins". But what will they do with the other? "The other", he says, "is cursed". Pay attention to how the type of Jesus is revealed. "And all of you shall spit on it and pierce it and wrap a piece of scarlet wool around its head, and so let it be cast into the wilderness". When this happens, the one who takes the goat leads it into the wilderness and removes the wool, and places it on a blackberry bush, whose buds we are accustomed to eat when we find it in the countryside. (Thus the fruit of the blackberry bush alone is sweet.) And so, what does this mean? Pay attention: "The one they take to the altar, but the other is cursed", and the one that is cursed is crowned. For then they will see him in that day wearing a long scarlet robe around his flesh, and they will say, "Is this not the one

version of the ritual in which the priest wraps a piece of crimson wool around the scapegoat's head; its handler subsequently takes the goat into the wilderness and removes the wool, placing it on a blackberry bush. This depiction parallels both *m. Yoma* 4.2, in which the celebrant places a thread of crimson wool onto the head of the scapegoat, and *m. Yoma* 6.6, in which the handler of the scapegoat divides the thread of crimson wool and ties one half of it to the rock.⁹

Later rabbinic testimonies found in the targumic and talmudic literature are also cognizant of the disrobing and re-robing of the cultic animal, as well as its forced descent from the cliff into the abyss. In these rabbinic accounts, this cliff is often called the Zok (Heb. צוק).¹⁰ One such example is found at *b. Yoma* 67a:

What did he do? He divided the thread of crimson wool, and tied one half to the rock, the other half between its horns, and pushed it from behind. And it went rolling down and before it had reached half its way down hill it was dashed to pieces. He came back and sat down under the last booth until it grew dark. And from when on does it render his garments unclean? From the moment he has gone outside the wall of Jerusalem. R. Simeon says: from the moment he pushes it into the Zok.¹¹

we once crucified, despising, piercing, and spitting on him? Truly this is the one who was saying at the time that he was himself the Son of God". For how is he like that one? This is why "the goats are alike, fine, and equal", that when they see him coming at that time, they may be amazed at how much he is like the goat. See then the type of Jesus who was about to suffer. But why do they place the wool in the midst of the thorns? This is a type of Jesus established for the church, because whoever wishes to remove the scarlet wool must suffer greatly, since the thorn is a fearful thing, and a person can retrieve the wool only by experiencing pain. And so he says: those who wish to see me and touch my kingdom must take hold of me through pain and suffering' (*The Apostolic Fathers* [ed. B. D. Ehrman; LCL, 24-25; 2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003], vol. 2, pp.37-41).

9. Cf. also *y. Yoma* 6.5: 'Originally they were tying it to their windows; some of them were turning white and some turning red; these were ashamed in front of the others. They changed and tied it to the door of the Sanctuary. Some years it was turning white, in others turning red. They changed and tied it to the rock' (*The Jerusalem Talmud: Tractates Pesahim and Yoma. Edition, Translation and Commentary* [ed. H. W. Guggenheimer; SJ, 74; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013], p.566).

10. Among early sources, Zok is mentioned in both *m. Yoma* 6.4-6 and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Lev. 16.10. Isidore Epstein suggests that 'Zok means a mountain peak; it may be the special name of the mountain whence the he-goat was flung down' (I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Mo'ed* [London: Soncino, 1935-52], vol. 3, p.316).

11. See also *b. Yoma* 67b: 'Raba said: The view of him who says they are permitted is more reasonable, for the Torah did not say "Send away" to create [possibility of] offence. Our Rabbis taught: Azazel—it should be hard and rough. One

Y. *Yoma* 6.3 also contains such a motif:

...All during Simeon the Just's lifetime he [the scapegoat] did not fall down half the mountain before he dissolved into limbs; after Simeon the Just's death he fled to the desert and was eaten by the Saracens.¹²

As shown above, both the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds make reference to the high places as the animal's final destination. Both accounts also portray its violent descent, culminating in the dramatic disintegration of the scapegoat's body.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Lev. 16.21-22 provides a specific location from which the scapegoat was to be pushed, the mountains of Beth Haduri:

Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, in this fashion: his right hand upon his left. He shall confess over it all the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their rebellions, whatever their sins; he shall put them on the head of the goat with a declared and explicit oath by the great and glorious Name. And he shall let (it) go, in charge of a man who has been designated previously, to go to the desert of Soq, that is Beth Haduri. The goat shall carry on himself all their sins to a desolate place; and the man shall let the goat go into the desert of Soq, and the goat shall go up on the mountains of Beth Haduri, and the blast of wind from before the Lord will thrust him down and he will die.¹³

The intriguing reference to 'the blast of wind from before the Lord' causing the scapegoat's demise may represent a spiritual or angelic agent

might have assumed that it is to be in inhabited land, therefore the text reads: "In the wilderness". But whence do we know that it [is to be in] a Zok?—therefore the text reads: "Cut off"; *b. Yoma* 67b: 'R. Simeon says: And he that letteth go the goat for Azazel shall wash his clothes, i.e., he flings it down headlong and his garments become then unclean'; *b. Yoma* 71a: 'Raba said, Scripture says: [But the goat...for Azazel] shall be set alive. How long must it needs be set alive? Until the time of Atonement—Now when is the time of Atonement? At the time when the blood is sprinkled, not beyond it.' The tradition of pushing the scapegoat off a mountain maybe also reflected in the tradition of naming the mountain as Azazel. Regarding this, cf. *b. Yoma* 67b: 'Another [Baraita] taught: Azazel, i.e., the hardest of mountains...'

12. *The Jerusalem Talmud* (ed. Guggenheimer), p.559. Cf. also *y. Yoma* 6.5: 'What did he do? He split the shiny strip; half of it he bound on the rock and half of it he bound between its horns. Then he pushed it backwards, it rolled descending. It did not reach half of the declivity before it dissolved into limbs' (*The Jerusalem Talmud* [ed. Guggenheimer], p.565).

13. M. McNamara et al., *Targum Neofiti I, Leviticus; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Leviticus* (ArBib, 3; Colledgeville: Liturgical, 1994), p.169.

pushing the goat into the abyss, which is reminiscent of the story found in the *Book of the Watchers* where the archangel Raphael executes Asael's punishment. Indeed, as Lester Grabbe notes, although in this passage 'the goat dies, as in the Mishnah', his final demise 'is ascribed to a supernatural force rather than to the human agent'.¹⁴

These traditions—hurling the scapegoat off the cliff and the alteration of his 'attire', the crimson band, immediately before his death—are strikingly reminiscent of the eschatological re-interpretations of the scapegoat rite in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as well as other Jewish apocalyptic material. As mentioned, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* reflects the tradition of sending the scapegoat into the lower realm when Yahoel banishes Azazel first to the earthly realm and eventually into the fiery abyss of the subterranean sphere.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that, much like the scapegoat in mishnaic testimonies, the antagonist's exile in the Slavonic apocalypse coincides with his dis-robing and re-robing. The text tells that the fallen angel was first disrobed of his celestial garment and then re-clothed in the ominous attire of human sins; it reads: 'For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you'.¹⁶

Azazel's ontological garments are likely altered from angelic to demonic in order to prepare for the new conditions of his exile, indicated by the connection between his transition to the lower realm and his dis-robing and re-robing. As we see, then, such clothing metaphors in this text serve as important markers for the characters' transitions to different habitats or realms.

The traditions of the scapegoat's garments and his descent into the lower realm must now be explored in detail in the search of their possible apocalyptic roots.

14. L. L. Grabbe, 'The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation', *JSJ* 18 (1987), pp.165-79 at 159.

15. See *Apoc. Ab.* 14.5: 'May you be the fire brand of the furnace of the earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth' (A. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* [TCS, 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2004], p.21).

16. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, p.20.

The Reinterpretation of the Yom Kippur Ritual in the Jewish Apocalypticism

As noted, one of the earliest apocalyptic reinterpretations of the scapegoat ritual in Jewish tradition can be found in the *Book of the Watchers*, in which the story of the cultic gatherer of impurity receives a novel conceptual makeup. This early Enochic booklet refashions the scapegoat rite in a paradoxical angelological way incorporating details from the sacrificial ritual into the story of its main antagonist, the fallen angel Asael.

I Enoch 10.4-7 presents a striking depiction laden with the familiar sacerdotal details; it reads:

And further the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there forever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire. And restore the earth which the angels have ruined, and announce the restoration of the earth, for I shall restore the earth...'¹⁷

Several scholars have noticed numerous details of Asael's punishment that are reminiscent of the scapegoat ritual. Daniel Olson, for instance, argues that 'a comparison of *I En.* 10.4-8 with the Day of Atonement ritual (cf. Lev. 16.8-26), where we find a goat sent off "to Azazel", leaves little doubt that Asael is indeed Azazel'.¹⁸ Additionally, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra observes that 'the punishment of the demon resembles the treatment of the goat in aspects of geography, action, time and purpose'.¹⁹ Furthermore, the place of Asael's punishment designated in *I Enoch* as *Dudael* is reminiscent of the terminology used for the designation of the ravine of the scapegoat (בית הדורו/הדודו) in later rabbinic interpretations of the Yom Kippur ritual. This is reflected in, for example, *m. Yoma* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*.²⁰

17. M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), vol. 2, pp.87-8.

18. D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation. The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or I Enoch* (North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL, 2004), p.34.

19. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, p.87; Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, p.38.

20. Cf. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Lev. 16.10: 'The goat on which the lot of Azazel fell shall be set alive before the Lord to make atonement for the sinfulness of the people of the house of Soq, that is Beth Haduri'. McNamara *et al.*, *Targum*

Asael's special execution in *I Enoch* 10, especially in comparison with the undifferentiated punishment of the other leader of the fallen angels, Shemihazah, which takes place with the rest of the celestial rebels,²¹ strengthens the cultic interpretation of his punishment, perhaps envisioning him as a sort of expiatory offering for the sins of fallen angels and the giants,²² or as a sacrifice to remove the impurity and defilement caused by the celestial rebels and their offspring. Józef Tadeusz Milik draws attention to one such motif found in fragments from the *Book of Giants* (4Q203), in which Asael/Azazel seems to be an expiatory agent; it reads:²³

...and [yo]ur power [...] Blank Th[en] 'Ohyah [said] to Hahy[ah, his brother ...] Then he punished, and not us, [bu]t Aza[ze]l and made [him... the sons of] Watchers, the Giants; and n[o]ne of [their] be[loved] will be forgiven [...]...he has imprisoned us and has captured yo[u]. (4Q203, frag. 7, col. 1)²⁴

Moreover, some Qumran materials appear aware of the angelological interpretation of the scapegoat figure. In particular, they depict Azazel as the eschatological leader of the fallen angels, incorporating him into the story of the Watchers' rebellion.²⁵ All these strands of evidence demonstrate that the conceptual link between the scapegoat and the fallen angel is documented in a number of important materials across a substantial span of history.

Neofiti 1, Leviticus, p.167; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Lev 16.22: 'The goat shall carry on himself all their sins to a desolate place; and the man shall let the goat go into the desert of Soq, and the goat shall go up on the mountains of Beth Haduri, and the blast of wind from before the Lord will thrust him down and he will die'. McNamara *et al.*, *Targum Neofiti 1, Leviticus*, p.169.

21. Cf. *I En.* 10.11: 'And the Lord said to Michael: "Go, inform Semyaza and the others with him who have associated with the women to corrupt themselves with them in all their uncleanness"'; *I En.* 10.14: 'And then he (Semyaza) will be burnt and from then on destroyed with them; together they will be bound until the end of all generations' (Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, pp.89–90).

22. Cf. *I En.* 10.8: 'And the whole earth has been ruined by the teaching of the works of Azazel, and against him write down all sin' (Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.88).

23. In his comments on 4Q203, Milik suggests that 'Azazel appears here in his expiatory role (Lev. 16.8, 10, 26), for he seems to be punished for the sins of the giants' (J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], p.313).

24. F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), vol.1, p.411.

25. Cf. 4Q180 1.1-10.

Placing the Scapegoat into the Abyss

Although biblical materials are silent about the demise of the scapegoat, later rabbinic testimonies often insist on the fact that the cultic animal was pushed by his handlers off the cliff, hurtling into the abyss. The apocalyptic versions of the Yom Kippur ritual in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse*, and some other Enochic materials often contain some features of the scapegoat ritual that are absent from the Levitical description but which are present in the mishnaic testimonies. One of the important details here is the placement of the antagonist into a pit situated in the wilderness. As mentioned, in *I Enoch* 10, the Deity orders Raphael to open the pit in the desert and throw Asael into the darkness. The text further describes the celestial scapegoat's fall into the depths of the abyss. It should be noted that, although *m. Yoma* 6.6 also informs its readers about the descent of the animal from the desert cliff, this account is much later than the tradition found in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse*, and other Jewish apocalyptic works. The latter were written several centuries before the composition of the Mishnah.

The roots of the Enochic tradition of the angelic scapegoat's punishment in the abyss are shrouded in mystery. Some scholars believe that this motif may have its origin in a set of earlier developments connected with another infamous Enochic rebel, namely, Shemihazah. *I Enoch* 10.11-15²⁶ tells how the other rebellious angels, including their leader Shemihazah, will eventually be shepherded into the abyss:

Go, inform Semyaza and the others with him who have associated with the women to corrupt themselves with them in all their uncleanness. When all their sons kill each other, and when they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations under the hills of the earth until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the judgment which is for all eternity is accomplished. And in those days they will lead them to the abyss of fire; in torment and in prison they will be shut up for all eternity. And then he (Semyaza) will be burnt and from then on destroyed with them; together they will be bound until the end of all generations.²⁷

Scholars suggest that *I Enoch* 6–11 represents a fusion²⁸ of two²⁹ originally distinct traditions, one of which was associated with Shemihazah

26. See also in *I En.* 10.4-7; 12–14; 88.3; and *Jub.* 5.6.

27. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, pp.89–90.

28. Eibert Tigchelaar suggests that 'most scholars agree that the text really consists of several tales or traditional elements that have been merged into a not completely uniform story' (E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the*

and the other with Asael.³⁰ Some studies argue that the Shemihazah material may have had priority over the Asael material,³¹ suggesting that the Shemihazah narrative did not originally include the Azazel episode in 10.4-8.³² George Nickelsburg, for instance, proposes that the interpolation of material about Asael was drawn ‘largely from an independent myth about the rebellion of a single angelic figure’.³³ Some researchers attempt to explain the cultic overtones of *1 Enoch* 10 by suggesting that the tradition of Asael’s punishment arose as a conflation of Leviticus 16 and the Shemihazah narrative.³⁴ An in-depth discussion of the editorial history of *1 Enoch* 10 transcends the boundaries of the current

End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic [OS, 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996], p.166).

29. Some scholars see more than two distinctive narrative strands in *1 En.* 6–11. Cf. C. A. Newsom, ‘The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment’, *CBQ* 42 (1980), pp.310–29 (313–14); S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents* (AOAT, 322; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), pp.11–20.

30. Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), vol. 2, p.191; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, ‘Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11’, *JBL* 96 (1977), pp.383–405; P. Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11’, *JBL* 96 (1977), pp.195–233; J. Collins, ‘Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch’, *SBLSP* 13.1 (1978), pp.315–22; Newsom, ‘The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19’; C. Molenberg, ‘A Study of the Roles of Shemihazah and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11’, *JJS* 35 (1984), pp.136–46; J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS, 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), pp.122–30; Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, pp.166–7; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch: Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), pp.165–73; D. Dimant, ‘1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work’, *JJS* 53 (2002), pp.223–37; Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11*, pp.1–20.

31. Tigchelaar summarizes the scholarly consensus by saying that ‘nowadays most scholars tend to regard the Semihazah material as the first layer of the text, to which additions belonging to an Asael cycle have been added’ (Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, p.167).

32. With respect to the conflation of two separate tradition-cycles in *1 En.* 6–11, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, pp.165–73.

33. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, p.171. Nickelsburg suggests that this myth ‘was modeled after something very close to the Prometheus myth’ (p.171).

34. Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven’, p.222. For criticism of Hanson’s position, see Grabbe, ‘The Scapegoat Tradition’, pp.153–5; H. Drawnel, ‘The Punishment of Asael (1 En 10.4-8) and Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature’, *RevQ* 25 (2012), pp.369-94 (370–1).

investigation, but it is important to emphasize that the final constellation of the sacerdotal traditions reflected in ch. 10 most certainly took place before the composition of *m. Yoma*, with its peculiar understanding of the scapegoat ritual.

The incarceration of the fallen angels in the abyss is also reflected in other booklets of *1 Enoch*, which largely draw on the formative accounts found in the *Book of the Watchers*. For instance, the tradition of confining the celestial rebels to the depth of the abyss looms large in the *Animal Apocalypse*, in which the story of the fallen angels is clothed in obscure cosmological and zoomorphic imagery. Thus, *1 En.* 90.24 designates the abyss as the place of the punishment of the fallen ‘stars’:

And the judgment was held first on the stars, and they were judged and found guilty; and they went to the place of damnation, and were thrown into a deep (place), full of fire, burning and full of pillars of fire.³⁵

As in the *Book of the Watchers*, this Enochic booklet seems to pay special attention to the penalization of the leaders of the fallen angels. *1 Enoch* 88.1 further refashions the story of Asael’s punishment, shrouding it in even more esoteric imagery.³⁶ Despite the cryptic embellishments, however, the place of the demonic scapegoat’s punishment is described as a narrow, deep, dark, and desolate abyss, just as in the *Book of the Watchers*.

The book of *Jubilees*, another Second Temple Jewish text that tries to reconcile the Mosaic revelation with the Enochic tradition, contains the same motif. *Jubilees* 5.6, for instance, reads:

Against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was angry enough to uproot them from all their (positions of) authority. He told us to tie them up in the depths of the earth; now they are tied within them and are alone.³⁷

Similarly, *Jub.* 5.10 reads:

Now their fathers were watching, but afterwards they were tied up in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment when there will be condemnation on all who have corrupted their ways and their actions before the Lord.³⁸

35. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.215.

36. ‘And I saw one of those four who had come out first, how he took hold of that first star which had fallen from heaven, and bound it by its hands and its feet, and threw it into an abyss; and that abyss was narrow, and deep, and horrible, and dark’ (Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.198).

37. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO, 510–11; *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), vol. 2, p.33.

38. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, p.33.

In both passages, the condemned angels are restrained in the place of their punishment, a *topos* designated in *Jubilees* as the depth of the earth. Moreover, *Jubilees* provides another striking reinterpretation of the scapegoat symbolism relevant to our study. *Jubilees* 34.18-19, as others have noted, connects the story of Joseph and his brothers to the scapegoat ritual:

For this reason, it has been ordained regarding the Israelites that they should be distressed on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day when (the news) which made (him) lament Joseph reached his father Jacob—in order to make atonement for themselves on it with a kid—on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year—for their sins. For they had saddened their father’s (feelings of) affection for his son Joseph. This day has been ordained so that they may be saddened on it for their sins, all their transgressions, and all their errors; so that they may purify themselves on this day once a year.³⁹

Some studies even argue for the formative value of the biblical Joseph story in the development of the original account of the atoning rite.⁴⁰ It is additionally important that the biblical account of Joseph’s ordeal includes the motifs of binding the ‘human scapegoat’ and placing him in the pit.

Scholars note that besides the early Jewish pseudepigraphical works, the tradition of pushing the scapegoat off the cliff may also appear in Philo’s *De Plantatione* 6. While speaking about the scapegoat ritual, Philo mentions ‘rocky chasms’ in the wilderness. Some have suggested that such an interpretation may reflect an early Midrash on the meaning גור (“cut, split up”) in ארץ גזרה (Lev. 16.22) and/or the historical memory of the actual cliffs in the mountains of Jerusalem.⁴¹ However, although Philo’s early testimony is significant, it is not entirely novel, since the early Enochic booklets, written several centuries before the great Alexandrian author, already attempt to connect the figure of the celestial scapegoat to the motifs of ruggedness and the abyss.

It should be noted that the motif of the angelic antagonists’ exile into the subterranean pits is not confined to the Enochic currents but can also be found in Adamic lore. In these Adamic accounts we can see the formative influence of the Enochic aetiology of evil. Thus, Rev. 20.1-3, an account that some scholars believe to be patterned after the Enochic

39. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, p.229.

40. C. Carmichael, ‘The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual’, *VT* 50 (2000), pp.167–82.

41. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, p.88.

scapegoat tradition, sentences its chief antagonist, Satan, to the bottomless pit. The later Satan traditions, reflected in the *Primary Adam Books*, perpetuate the narrative of the antagonist's expulsion. It is also intriguing that, in the *Primary Adam Books*, the antagonist's demotion coincides with the use of distinctive clothing metaphors, such as the removal of the opponent's angelic garment and his re-robing into the animal skins of the Serpent and the Beast.

2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch* also elaborates on this tradition of Satan's exile into the abyss with a complex mix of Adamic and Enochic trends. 2 *Enoch* 24.4-5 reads:

But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly, above the Bottomless.⁴²

This account represents a curious intersection of the Enochic and Adamic aetiologies of evil, since the features of the chief character of one mythology of corruption are transferred to the antagonist of the other. Both conceptual developments, however, exhibit their independent, ancient roots. Besides its reliance on the familiar Enochic motifs, the tradition of Satan's fall into the pit in 2 *Enoch* 24 also seems to draw upon some early biblical themes found in Isa. 14.12-15 and Ezek. 28.1-8.

The aforementioned conceptual developments demonstrate that the early tradition of the scapegoat's exile into the wilderness found in Leviticus was enhanced by other prophetic and apocalyptic reinterpretations, which eventually led to a more complex understanding of the scapegoat's removal. This understanding grew to encompass two stages: (1) its exile into the wilderness, and (2) its fall into the subterranean realm, represented by the abyss. It is this novel and more complex understanding of the cultic animal's removal that plays a prominent role in later mishnaic and early Christian understandings of the scapegoat ritual.

42. F. Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch', in *OTP*, vol. 1, p.148. 2 *Enoch* 7 tells about the suspended 'hanging' position of the fallen angels during their punishment: 'And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment' (Andersen, '2 Enoch', vol. 1, p.112).

Clothing the Scapegoat with the Dark Garment

Another important feature absent from Leviticus but quite prominent in the rabbinic and early Christian depictions of the scapegoat ritual is the symbolism of the crimson band. Tied around the cultic animal's head, the ribbon was said to change color miraculously at the climax of the atoning ceremony in order to signify the forgiveness of Israel's sins. Early interpretations suggest that the crimson band decorating the scapegoat's head was often intended to be a garment, the attire of human sins, carried by the animal into the uninhabitable desert. There, according to Christian and mishnaic testimonies, the cultic animal was 'disrobed' by its handlers when its ribbon was either fully or partially removed.⁴³

In the search for the possible roots of this complex and ambiguous tradition, some prophetic and apocalyptic accounts that deal with the motif of the spiritual scapegoats' attire are very useful. A peculiar reinterpretation of the Yom Kippur ritual found in the book of Zechariah provides an important conceptual development that will be often used by later interpreters in their speculation about the garment of the scapegoat. Zechariah 3.1-5 gives the following description:

Then he showed me the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him. And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this man a brand plucked from the fire?' Now Joshua was dressed with filthy clothes as he stood before the angel. The angel said to those who were standing before him, 'Take off his filthy clothes'. And to him he said, 'See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel'. And I said, 'Let them put a clean turban on his head'. So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with the apparel; and the angel of the Lord was standing by.

This prophetic passage is permeated with Yom Kippur symbolism. It contains several characters that hold familiar cultic roles and attributes evocative of the atoning rite, namely, a human high priest who is re-clothed during the ceremony, a character bearing the divine Name, and an accursed antagonist.

Already, the familiar constellation of cultic motifs can be discerned here, motifs that later play a prominent role in *Apocalypse of Abraham*

43. Cf. *m. Yoma* 6.6: 'He divided the thread of crimson wool and tied one half to the rock and the other half between its horns, and he pushed it from behind' (Danby, *The Mishnah*, p.170); also, *Barn.* 7: 'When this happens, the one who takes the goat leads it into the wilderness and removes the wool, and places it on a blackberry bush, whose buds we are accustomed to eat when we find it in the countryside' (Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 2, p.39).

13. In particular, the spiritual creatures of Zechariah, like the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, are reminiscent of the two emblematic animals of the atoning rite, one of whom was endowed with the divine Name and another who was cursed. Similar too are the functions and actions of the actors of the prophetic account when compared to those of the Slavonic apocalypse. In Zechariah 3, like in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the attire of the human sacerdotal celebrant is changed from the defiled garments of sin to pure vestments. Conducting this transferral is the Angel of the divine Name. Unlike the Slavonic apocalypse, the filthy human clothes are not directly transferred to Satan in Zechariah; nonetheless, his presence during the ceremony and his cursing represent important conceptual steps toward associating the demonic scapegoat with the attire of human sins.

The antagonist in Zechariah is not clothed with the dark vestment of human sins, but it is possible that this does take place in the *Book of the Watchers*. Asael, the celestial scapegoat, appears to receive a garment of darkness in *1 Enoch* 10:

...And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there forever, and cover his face, that he may not see light...⁴⁴

The symbolism of the scapegoat's covering, enhanced by the dichotomy of light and darkness, parallels another cluster of clothing metaphors often found in Jewish apocalyptic accounts, namely, the imagery of the seer's endowment with garment of light, received upon his entrance into upper realm. Asael seems to undergo a similar, albeit reverse, transformation, when he is covered with darkness to prepare for his forced exile into the subterranean realm.

In view of these transformational correspondences, it is especially significant that Asael's *face* is covered. It appears that, here, like in the metamorphoses of Jewish patriarchs and prophets, the term 'face' serves as a *terminus technicus* for designating the character's entire 'extent'. Moreover, the ontological refashioning of the visionary's 'face' leads to his new status vis-à-vis the Deity when his face literally becomes the reflection of the glorious Face of God. Covering the antagonist's 'face' leads to the opposite metamorphosis. In this context, therefore, the covering of Asael's 'face' may suggest that he receives a new ontological garment that deprives him from access to or vision of the Deity.⁴⁵

44. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, pp.87–8.

45. The motif of throwing Asael onto jagged and sharp stones in *1 En.* 10 is also noteworthy in light of the tradition found in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, telling how,

Elsewhere in the early Enochic booklets, too, these clothing metaphors are equally important. Asael and other fallen angels are often depicted as changing their angelic celestial vestments, even before their punishment in the abyss. This theme receives special attention in the *Animal Apocalypse*, a work permeated with intense transformational patterns. The distinct zoomorphic codes found in this enigmatic apocalypse allow its readers easily to discern the change of the ontological ‘costumes’ of the main characters. Thus, in contrast with the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse* begins Asael’s story with an account of his transformation and ontological ‘re-clothing’. *I Enoch* 86.1 portrays a fallen star’s celestial form changed into earthly ‘animal garments’ upon his entrance in the lower realm:

And again I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I saw heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured amongst those bulls.⁴⁶

The same cluster of clothing metaphors permeates the portrayal of the descent of other Watchers:

And again I saw in the vision and looked at heaven, and behold, I saw many stars, how they came down and were thrown down from heaven to that first star, and amongst those heifers and bulls; they were with them, pasturing amongst them. And I looked at them and saw, and behold, all of them let out their private parts like horses and began to mount the cows of the bulls, and they all became pregnant and bore elephants and camels and asses.⁴⁷ (*I En.* 86.3-4)

As in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Animal Apocalypse* contains the familiar transformational pattern in which a change in the fallen angels’ clothes coincides with the metamorphosis of the hero’s ontological garments. The animal garments of skin into which the fallen angels are forced to change constitutes a striking contrast to the metamorphosis of Moses and Noah, who undergo the reverse process, changing their animal dress to the angelic clothes.

This Enochic tradition appears to have played a formative role in later Adamic currents, in which its antagonist also receives the animal attires.

during the ceremony of choosing the goats, their lots were thrown upon them. Thus, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Lev. 16.8 reads: ‘And Aaron shall place equal lots on the two goats, one lot (marked) “for the name of the Lord”, and the other (marked) “for Azazel”. He shall shake them in the urn, take them out, and throw them on the goats’ (McNamara *et al.*, *Targum Neofiti 1: Leviticus*, p.167).

46. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.196.

47. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.197.

Satan traditions, reflected in the *Primary Adam Books*, speak of his expulsion, which, as above, coincides with the removal of his angelic garment and his re-robing into the animal skins of the Serpent and the Beast.

The Binding of the Scapegoat

Along with his garment of darkness and exile to the abyss, *1 Enoch* 10 also speaks about the binding of Asael. Although the biblical account of the scapegoat ritual found in Leviticus does not mention any bindings for the scapegoat, it is very prominent in the mishnaic accounts, such as *m. Yoma* 4.2, in which the scapegoat is bound with the crimson thread upon his selection by the high priest. Another tradition, found in *m. Yoma* 6.6, tells that, in final moments of the ceremony, the scapegoat was unbound and then re-tied with the crimson band.⁴⁸

The features that mishnaic authors weave into the fabric of the ancient rite are intriguing, and seemingly novel. Yet it should not be forgotten that, several centuries before the composition of the Mishnah, some apocalyptic accounts already link the scapegoat ritual with the symbolism of binding, including *1 Enoch* 10.⁴⁹ In *1 Enoch* 10, the handler of the celestial scapegoat, the archangel Rafael, is instructed to bind the demon by his hands and feet immediately before throwing him into the subterranean pit. This is similar to *m. Yoma* 6.6, in which the cultic animal is bound with a crimson band *immediately* before his demise.

One interesting detail in Asael's binding is that he is bound by his hands and feet, a peculiar sacerdotal custom that hints at the fallen angel's role as a cultic animal predestined for sacrifice. Likewise, Jewish tradition attests to rituals in which animals were bound before being offered as sacrifices. Moreover, some halakhic regulations even forbid the sacrifice of animals without binding. *2 Enoch* 59.1-4, for example, heavily emphasizes the binding of the sacrificial animal before its offering. In that text, the seventh antediluvian hero warns his children not to forget to bind their sacrifices.

48. It is possible that loosing of the band at the end of the ritual signified the forgiveness of the Israelite sins. Some studies point to the connection of the formulae of loosing with the theme of forgiveness. Cf. Hiers, 'Binding and Loosing', p.234.

49. Scholars have noted that the binding motif was very prominent in the tradition of the fall of the Watchers. R. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC, 50; Waco: Word, 1983), p.53. On binding motif, see also *1 En.* 13.1; 14.5; 18.16; 21.3-6; 54.3-5; 56.1-4; 88.1; 4QEnGiants 8.14; *Jub.* 5.6; 10.7-11; *2 En.* 7.2; *2 Bar.* 56.13; *Sib. Or.* 2.289; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.52.

Besides the obvious cultic connotations, the theme of binding also seems to be connected with the exorcistic practice of ‘binding’ the unclean spirits.⁵⁰ This practice is widely attested to in early Jewish literature, including, for instance, Tob. 8.3, in which the archangel Raphael binds a demon bearing the name Asmodeus.⁵¹ An intriguing detail here is that, like in the *Book of the Watchers*, it is the archangel Raphael who binds the demon. The way of the antagonist’s binding is also similar in both accounts, namely, like Asael, Asmodeus is bound by hand and foot.

It thus appears that it is no coincidence that the practice of binding demons come to the fore in the *Book of the Watchers*, a text focused primarily on the fallen angels. Moreover, in this work, the theme of binding is not confined solely to Asael’s punishment, but includes Shemihazah and other fallen angels as well. There the familiar constellation of peculiar details can be found in conjunction with the motif of banishment into the subterranean pit:⁵²

Go, inform Semyaza and the others with him who have associated with the women to corrupt themselves with them in all their uncleanness. When all their sons kill each other, and when they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations under the hills of the earth until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the judgment which is for all eternity is accomplished. And in those days they will lead them to the abyss of fire; in torment and in prison they will be shut up for all eternity. And then he (Semyaza) will be burnt and from then on destroyed with them; *together they will be bound* until the end of all generations. (*1 En.* 10.11-15)⁵³

50. Hiers, ‘Binding and Loosing’, pp.235–39.

51. Cf. Tob. 8.3: ‘The odor of the fish so repelled the demon that he fled to the remotest parts of Egypt. But Raphael followed him, and at once bound him there hand and foot’ (NRSV).

52. The motif of the subterranean pit as the place of punishment of the fallen angels is often reiterated in the *Book of the Watchers*. *1 En.* 21.7-10 reads: ‘And from there I went to another place, more terrible than this, and I saw a terrible thing: (there was) a great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place had a cleft (reaching) to the abyss, full of great pillars of fire which were made to fall; neither its extent nor its size could I see, nor could I see its source. Then I said: “How terrible this place (is), and (how) painful to look at”. Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me. He answered me and said to me: “Enoch, why do you have such fear and terror because of this terrible place, and before this pain?” And he said to me: “This place (is) the prison of the angels, and there they will be held forever”’ (Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.108).

53. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, pp.89–90.

Paul Hanson has argued that ‘the details unique to the Azazel episode can be recognized as stemming from the expository techniques of interpreters writing from the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology as they now relate their narrative to yet another biblical text, Lev 16’.⁵⁴ Hanson traces the roots of the motif of Asael’s binding to Mesopotamian apocalyptic traditions.⁵⁵ He suggests that prophetic authors attempted to shepherd these traditions into a Jewish context by adopting the motif of binding to portray the capture of the rebel. Hanson argues that ‘Ezek 32, by combining the motifs of binding, casting into the pit, blotting out light, covering with darkness, and final healing of the earth, illustrates the important position assumed by late prophecy in mediating these archaic motifs from the ancient myths of rebellion in heaven to the writers of the Shemihazah story and the Azazel elaboration’.⁵⁶

Further, the motif of Asael’s binding appears again in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 88.1-3), in which it is mentioned that the fallen star’s hands and feet are tied. In fact, the *Animal Apocalypse* extends this tradition of sacrificial binding of the hands and the feet to all the ‘stars’ who are similar to Asael:

And I saw one of those four who had come out first, how he took hold of that first star which had fallen from heaven, and *bound it by its hands and its feet, and threw it into an abyss*; and that abyss was narrow, and deep, and horrible, and dark. And one of them drew his sword and gave (it) to those elephants and camels and asses, and they began to strike one another, and the whole earth shook because of them. And as I looked in the vision, behold, one of those four who had come out cast from heaven and gathered and took all the large stars whose private parts (were) like the private parts of horses, and *bound them all by their hands and their feet, and threw them into a chasm of the earth*.⁵⁷

Another Enochic booklet included in *1 Enoch*, the *Book of the Similitudes*, is also cognizant of the tradition of the Watchers’ binding. In particular, in *Sim.* 54.4-6, the *angelus interpretes* discloses to the seer the purpose of the chain-instruments prepared for the fallen angels:

54. Hanson suggests that ‘[t]he Azazel episode involves an elaboration of the themes of punishment and restoration in the Shemihazah narrative through the application of motifs taken from the Yom Kippur ritual, especially as that ritual was interpreted in a tradition represented by the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum. As a result of various influences, primarily inner-Jewish in provenance, the simple ritual sending a scapegoat to the rugged, rocky hill of Azazel has become a description of the punishment of another divine figure’ (Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven’, p.225).

55. Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven’, p.224.

56. Hanson, ‘Rebellion in Heaven’, pp.224–25.

57. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.198.

And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: ‘These chain-instruments—for whom are they being prepared? And he said to me: ‘These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel—these will take hold of them on that great day, and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.’⁵⁸

Other pseudepigraphical texts reflect the same motif. For instance, *Jubilees*, at 5.6 and 5.10, depicts the binding of the fallen angels in the abyss:

Against his angels whom he had sent to the earth he was angry enough to uproot them from all their (positions of) authority. He told us to tie them up in the depths of the earth; now they are tied within them and are alone. (*Jub.* 5.6)⁵⁹

Now their fathers were watching, but afterwards *they were tied up in the depths of the earth* until the great day of judgment when there will be condemnation on all who have corrupted their ways and their actions before the Lord. (*Jub.* 5.10)

Similarly, *T. Levi* 18.12 places the motif of binding in a cultic context when it portrays its antagonist bound by a high priestly figure.⁶⁰

The theme of the antagonist’s binding also appears in some NT materials, subtly revealing its formative Enochic roots. This is most obvious in the telling of the execution of angelic servants, the darkness to which they have been exiled, and their subsequent placement into the abyss. Thus, in *Rev.* 20.1-3, the antagonist’s enchaining coincides with the now familiar motif of his banishment to the subterranean pit by an angelic executor. *Jude* 6 also reveals a tradition about binding of the fallen angels; it reads:

And the angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling, he has kept in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day. (NRSV)

58. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, p.138.

59. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, vol. 2, p.33.

60. ‘And Beliar shall be bounded by him. And he shall grant to his children the authority to trample on wicked spirits’ (H. C. Kee, ‘Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs’, in *OTP*, vol. 1, p.795).

Here, too, the same elements can be found: the celestial rebels are bound and situated in the depths of darkness. 2 Peter 2.4, which draws on Jude 6, repeats this tradition of binding the fallen angels, carefully preserving motifs of darkness and abyss.⁶¹

Conclusion

Having explored the apocalyptic refashioning of the final moments of the scapegoat ritual, we return to the account of the antagonist's demotion found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. This Jewish pseudepigraphon, which was most likely written during the period in which the mishnaic descriptions of the atoning rite received their conclusive textual codification, provides us with a unique glimpse into the final stages of the ever-changing scapegoat imagery that began many centuries earlier in the Enochic booklets. Although the early traits of the Enochic apocalyptic blueprint still play a formative role in the Slavonic account,⁶² this conceptual core is now greatly enhanced by some novel developments that are essential in mishnaic and early Christian versions of the atoning ritual. Thus, the imagery of the celestial scapegoat's clothing, only vaguely alluded to in the early Enochic booklets, in the symbolism of covering the antagonist with darkness, now receives its distinctive conceptual expression as the impure vestment of human sins.

The details of the demonic scapegoat's exile into lower realms found in the Slavonic apocalypse are similarly indebted to the early Enochic blueprint. As with Asael in the Enochic tradition, the antagonist's exile in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* encompasses two movements: first, to the earth, and second to the fiery abyss of the subterranean sphere. Although early versions of the scapegoat ritual found in the book of Leviticus attest to only a one-step removal of the goat to the wilderness, the

61. 'For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgment' (NRSV).

62. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz has argued that '...the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows the tradition of *1 Enoch* 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the tradition of Gen. 6.1–4 developed according to the tradition of *1 Enoch*. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who impregnated the daughters of men. These angels are compared to the stars. Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert. Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan. All these connections show that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* drew upon the tradition of *1 Enoch*' (R. Rubinkiewicz, 'Apocalypse of Abraham', in *OTP*, vol. 1, pp.681–705 [685]).

tradition of the two-step removal plays a prominent role in later mishnaic versions of the rite in which the cultic animal will be first taken to the wilderness and then further pushed into the abyss from the cliff.

All these developments point to the paramount importance of apocalyptic patterns for the later rabbinic and early Christian understandings of the scapegoat ritual. Such influence of Second Temple apocalypticism upon the development of the scapegoat imagery is not universally recognized; scholars have more often understood the presentations of the Yom Kippur ritual found in the Mishnah as an ideal form of the cult, based solely on biblical texts.⁶³ In contrast to these studies, our investigation suggests that these mishnaic accounts were profoundly influenced by the apocalyptic reinterpretations of the atoning rite found in such early Enochic writings as the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Animal Apocalypse*, the works that led the traditional biblical imagery into a new eschatological dimension.

63. In this respect, Günter Stemberger notes that ‘...a more radical solution understands the Mishnaic descriptions as ideal forms of the cult, based exclusively on the biblical text and not at all reflecting the reality of the Second Temple period...’ (G. Stemberger, ‘Yom Kippur in Mishnah Yoma’, in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions* [ed. T. Hieke and T. Nicklas; TBN, 15; Leiden: Brill, 2012], pp.121–37 [121]).