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**Paths of Light and Darkness:
The Two Ways Tradition in the Treatise on the Two Spirits and 2 *Enoch***
(forthcoming)

.... In the story of Adam's creation, found in the longer recension of 2 *Enoch*, one finds an intriguing tradition about choices given to the first human. From 2 *Enoch* 30:14-15, in particular, one learns that upon humanity's creation the deity opened before the protoplasts the two ways described as the paths of darkness and light:

"And I assigned to him four special" stars, and called his name Adam. And I gave him his free will; and I pointed out to him the two ways— light and darkness (две пути - свет и тъма)."¹

Scholars have noted that, here, the so-called "two ways" tradition,² a conceptual development prominent both in early Jewish and Christian materials, is conveyed through the imagery of light

¹ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152. Andersen has commented upon the two ways terminology in 2 *Enoch* 30, noting its connection with the two ways found in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. He noted that "the two ways correspond to the ethical dualism of the NT, especially that of Jn. The exact terminology is found in *EpBar* 17." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152.

² On the development of the two ways tradition see P. Prigent et R.R. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé* (SC, 172; Paris, 1971) 12-20; P. W. Rordorf, "Un chapitre d'éthique judéo-chrétienne: les deux voies," *RSR* 60 (1972) 109-28; M.J. Suggs, "The Christian Two Ways Tradition: Its Antiquity, Form and Function," in: *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature* (NTSupp., 33; ed. D.E. Aune; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 60-74; S. Brock, "The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum," in: *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (eds. P.R. Davies and R.T. White; JSOTS, 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990) 139-152; *The Didache in Modern Research* (ed. J.A. Draper; AGJU, 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 8-16; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Seeking the Origins of the Two Ways Traditions in Jewish and Christian Ethical Texts," in *A Multiform Heritage* (ed. B. Wright; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 95-108; *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (eds. H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser; Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002) 140-190.

and darkness.³ Yet, such expression is not entirely novel and appears to be based on previous developments within the two way tradition, in which light and darkness become not only identified with two alternatives for humanity but also received striking mediatorial expressions reminiscent of the Adoil⁴ and Arukhas⁵ imagery found in the Slavonic apocalypse. In order to better understand the specific mold of the two paths tradition in *2 Enoch* and its connection to the protological aeons of light and darkness, we must now consider more closely some early Jewish and Christian accounts belonging to this tradition.

Jewish Testimonies about the Two Ways Tradition

Other scholars have recognized that the initial developments of the two ways tradition can be found already in some biblical materials. Thus, for example, Deut. 30:15-19 speaks about

³ On this see, for example, Van de Sand and Flusser, *The Didache*, 153; L. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007) 248.

⁴ *2 Enoch 24-25* (longer recension): “Before anything existed at all, from the very beginning, whatever exists I created from the non-existent, and from the invisible the visible. Listen, Enoch, and pay attention to these words of mine! For not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their origin, nor my endlessness (and inconceivableness), as I devise the creatures, as I am making them known to you today. For, before any visible things had come into existence, I, the one, moved around in the invisible things, like the sun, from east to west and from west to east. But the sun has rest in himself; yet I did not find rest, because everything was not yet created. And I thought up the idea of establishing a foundation, to create a visible creation. And I commanded the lowest things: “Let one of the invisible things descend visibly!” And Adoil descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and, behold, in his belly he had a great light. And I said to him, “Disintegrate yourself, Adoil, and let what is born from you become visible.” And he disintegrated himself, and there came out a very great light. And I was in the midst of the [great] light. And light out of light is carried thus. And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create. And I saw how good it was. And I placed for myself a throne, and I sat down on it. And then to the light I spoke: “You go up higher (than the throne), and be solidified [much higher than the throne], and become the foundation of the higher things.” And there is nothing higher than the light, except nothing itself. And again I bowed myself and looked upward from my throne.” Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” 1.143-145.

⁵ *2 Enoch 26:1-3* (longer recension): “And I called out a second time into the very lowest things, and I said, 'Let one of the invisible things come out visibly, solid.' And Arkhas came out, solid and heavy and very red. And I said, 'Open yourself up, Arkhas, and let what is born from you become visible!' And he disintegrated himself. There came out an age, dark, very large, carrying the creation of all lower things. And I saw how good it was. And I said to him, 'Come down low and become solid! And become the foundation of the lowest things!' And it came about. And he came down and became solid. And he became the foundation of the lowest things. And there is nothing lower than the darkness, except nothing itself.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.144.

the ways of humanity, associating them with life and death, the very conceptual dichotomy that will become prominent in later formulations of the tradition.⁶ Jer. 21:8, likewise, speaks about the paths of life and death as two choices for human beings.⁷ The peculiar mold of the tradition found in Sirach 33:7-15 adds an important protological layer, by placing speculation about two ways in the midst of the details of the protoplast's creation.⁸ The protological character of these reflections will become a prominent trait in later developments of the two ways lore, including depictions found in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and *2 Enoch*. Another testimony found in the *Testament of Asher* 1:3-5 attempts to internalize the two ways tradition linking two paths to the dispositions found "within [humans'] breasts," a motif prominent in 1QS as well.⁹

Early Enochic materials are also cognizant of two choices of humankind, depicting them as the ways of righteousness and iniquity, and associating the latter path with the path of

⁶ "See, I have set before you today life and prosperity, death and adversity. If you obey the commandments of the Lord your God that I am commanding you today, by loving the Lord your God, walking in his ways, and observing his commandments, decrees, and ordinances, then you shall live and become numerous, and the Lord your God will bless you in the land that you are entering to possess. But if your heart turns away and you do not hear, but are led astray to bow down to other gods and serve them, I declare to you today that you shall perish; you shall not live long in the land that you are crossing the Jordan to enter and possess. I call heaven and earth to witness against you today that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life so that you and your descendants may live." (NRSV)

⁷ "And to this people you shall say: Thus says the Lord: See, I am setting before you the way of life and the way of death." (NRSV)

⁸ "Why is one day more important than another, when all the daylight in the year is from the sun? By the Lord's wisdom they were distinguished, and he appointed the different seasons and festivals. Some days he exalted and hallowed, and some he made ordinary days. All human beings come from the ground, and humankind was created out of the dust. In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them and appointed their different ways. Some he blessed and exalted, and some he made holy and brought near to himself; but some he cursed and brought low, and turned them out of their place. Like clay in the hand of the potter, to be molded as he pleases, so all are in the hand of their Maker, to be given whatever he decides. Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly. Look at all the works of the Most High; they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other." (NRSV)

⁹ "God has granted two ways to the sons of men, two mind-sets, two lines of action, two models, and two goals. Accordingly, everything is in pairs, the one over against the other. The two ways are good and evil; concerning them are two dispositions within our breasts that choose between them." H.C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-1985) 1.816-17.

destruction.¹⁰ In the Enochic passages one can already find the familiar identification of the two ways with life and death.¹¹

Certain Qumran materials also offer the reader numerous instances in which the two ways formulations are utilized.¹² One of the most important examples is found in 1QS 3:13-4:26, also known as the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. In this text, the two ways tradition, as in *2 Enoch* and some Christian materials, is conveyed through the imagery of light and darkness. 1QS 3:17-21 reads:

He created man to rule the world and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits of truth and of deceit. From the spring of light stem the generations of truth, and from the source of darkness the generations of deceit. And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness.¹³

As one can see, this text not only deals with the notions of light and darkness but also assign to these entities specific mediatorial figures whose peculiar designations include the language of light and darkness: the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness. Moreover, the respective portions of humanity are now portrayed as the sons of light and the sons of darkness, social

¹⁰ *1 Enoch* 91:18-19 reads: “And now I tell you, my children, and show you the paths of righteousness and the paths of wrongdoing; and I will show you again that you may know what is to come. And now listen, my children, and walk in the paths of righteousness, and do not walk in the paths of wrongdoing; for all those who walk in the path of iniquity will be destroyed forever.” 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) 2.221. Associating one of the ways with destruction is also found in *Jub.* 7:26: “We — I and you, my children, and everything that entered the ark with us — were left. But now I am the first to see your actions — that you have not been conducting yourselves properly because you have begun to conduct yourselves in the way of destruction, to separate from one another, to be jealous of one another, and not to be together with one another, my sons.” J. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO, 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopicici, 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2.47-48.

¹¹ *1 Enoch* 94:1-4; “And now I say to you, my children, love righteousness and walk in it; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance, but the paths of iniquity will quickly be destroyed and vanish. And to certain men from a (future) generation the paths of wrongdoing and of death will be revealed, and they will keep away from them and will not follow them. And now I say to you, the righteous: do not walk in the wicked path, nor (in) wrongdoing, nor in the paths of death, and do not draw near to them, lest you be destroyed. But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and a life that is pleasing, and walk in the paths of peace, that you may live and prosper.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2. 227. Concerning the specific mold of the two ways tradition in these Enochic passages, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 246-250.

¹² Cf., for example, 4Q420-22, 4Q473.

¹³ *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (eds. F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 75.

bodies controlled by their respective angelic leaders. The internalization of the two ways tradition is also made clear in the *Treatise* by the depiction of the two spirits fighting in the heart of each human being.¹⁴

The two ways tradition was not forgotten in later rabbinic lore and plays a prominent role in, for example, the Palestinian targumic tradition.¹⁵ Thus, in the targumic renderings of the already mentioned passage from Deut. 30, one can detect familiar echoes of the two paths of death and life.¹⁶

Christian Testimonies about the Two Ways Tradition

Jewish lore about the two ways became adopted by the Christian tradition, often constituting a core of early Christian ethical teaching. Three of the earliest Christian testimonies to the two ways traditions are the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the *Didache*. The first two witnesses are the most relevant for our investigation since both the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* associate the two ways with the imagery of light and darkness, while also assigning to them angelic mediatorial figures.

Epistle of Barnabas 18:1-2 reads:

But let us turn to another area of knowledge and teaching. There are two paths of teaching and authority, the path of light and the path of darkness. And the difference between the two paths is great. For over the one are appointed light-bearing angels of God, but the other angels of Satan. And the one is Lord from eternity past to eternity to come; but the other is the ruler over the present age of lawlessness.¹⁷

¹⁴ IQS 4:23: "Until now the spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man..." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 79.

¹⁵ Brock, "The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum," 139-152.

¹⁶ Cf. for example, *Trg. Ps.-J.* on Deut. 30:15: "See that I have arranged before you today the way of life through which is the recompense of the good reward for the righteous and the way of death through which is the retribution of the evil reward for the wicked." *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy* (ed. E.G. Clarke; AB, 5b; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998) 84. For the similar tradition, see also *Trg. Neof.* on Deut 30:19.

¹⁷ *The Apostolic Fathers* (ed. B.D. Ehrman; LCL 24-25; 2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003) 2.75.

In his analysis of this passage, Jack Suggs notes the prominence of the light-darkness contrast which, in his opinion, was central to the earliest form of the two ways tradition.¹⁸ He argues that “while the life-death dichotomy is known both to 1QS and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (20.1), the light-darkness antithesis so dominates *Barnabas*’ two ways introduction (18:1-3) that it must be regarded as a mark of primitiveness.”¹⁹ Suggs also notes the significance of the two spirits tradition in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and its connection with 1QS, arguing that “although 18:1-2 has domesticated the myth by absorbing the ‘Prince of Lights’ in ‘God,’ the mythological origins remain apparent in the plurality of angels in 18.1 and the sharply dualistic opposition of the two angelic groups.”²⁰

Another important early Christian witness to the two ways tradition is the Latin *Doctrina Apostolorum* 1:1.²¹ This text connects the two ways to light and darkness, and also ties the paths to two spiritual agents, manifesting the ancient patterns also found in 1QS and the *Epistle of Barnabas*.²² Yet, some of the conceptual constellations present in the *Doctrina*, appear to be different from ones found in 1QS and *Barnabas*. While both in 1QS and *Barnabas* the spiritual mediators are associated with light²³ and darkness, sometimes reflected in their titles (the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness), here, they are associated respectively with righteousness

¹⁸ Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition,” 70.

¹⁹ Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition,” 70.

²⁰ Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition,” 70. Sebastian Brock also notes that in the parallels between 1QS and *Barnabas* “we have both the opposition of light and darkness, and the idea of the angels of God/Satan in charge of each way, corresponding to the roles of ‘the Prince of Light’ and ‘the Angel of Darkness’ in the *Community Rule*.” Brock, “The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum,” 140.

²¹ “There are two ways in the world, one of life, the other of death, one of light, the other of darkness; upon them two angels are appointed, one of righteousness, the other of iniquity, and between the two ways there is a great difference.” Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 128.

²² Reflecting on the angelic dyad found in the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, Brock notes that “two angels also feature in Hermas, *Mandates* VI.2.1. Outside 1QS, the ‘two spirits’ are also found in *T. Judah* 20.1 and (by implication) in Philo, *Quaestiones in Exodum* 1.2 ...” Brock, “The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum,” 150.

²³ Thus, *Barnabas* 18:1 speaks about the light-bringing angels of God: “φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ.” Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2.74.

and iniquity (“... angeli duo, unis aequitatis, alter iniquitatis...”).²⁴ Suggs argues that the primitiveness of the two ways tradition found in the *Doctrina* “is guaranteed by the presence in the prologue of two angels, and by the characterization of the two ways as being ‘of light and darkness’ (although their additional characterization as ‘of life and death’ shows movement toward ethicization).”²⁵

Finally, the third important testimony to consider is a terse rendering of the two ways tradition found in the *Didache* 1:1; it reads: “There are two ways, one of life, the other of death, and between the two ways there is a great difference.”²⁶ Reflecting on the form of the two way tradition in this passage, Suggs suggests that, in comparison with the *Doctrina* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, “the *Didache* is further advanced in the history of the tradition ... the angels/spirits have disappeared from the very brief introduction. The light-darkness contrast has given way completely to that of life-death.... Relatively demythologized and ethicized, the two ways passage in the *Didache* appears better formed to serve the simple function of ethical instruction....”²⁷

To conclude this section of our study dealing with early Jewish and Christian texts about two way traditions it is crucial that we note that it is only in 1QS, *2 Enoch*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* that the two paths speculations are associated with the

²⁴ Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 114.

²⁵ Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition,” 71. Suggs’ hypothesis of the development of the two ways tradition as a progressive elimination of dualistic elements has been criticized by scholars. On this see Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 141.

²⁶ Van de Sandt and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 10.

²⁷ Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition,” 71. Sebastian Brock also sees the differences between the *Didache* on one hand and the *Doctrina* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* on the other. He notes that “whereas the *Didache* harks back more or less directly to Deut. 30:15-19, fused with Jer. 21.8 (as also witnessed in the Palestinian Targum tradition), the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* do so only indirectly, by way of the intrusion of the non-biblical moral opposition of light and dark, also to be found in 1QS.” Brock, “The Two Ways and the Palestinian Targum,” 143.

imagery of light and darkness. Scholars suggest that such a convergence might point to an early mold of the tradition. It is also important that in 1QS, the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* the two way tradition includes references to two spiritual powers, namely, the entities who stand behind the paths of light and darkness. Initially, it appears that *2 Enoch* departs from the three aforementioned texts by not mentioning the spiritual entities of darkness and light. Is it indeed the case or are mediators of the two ways still found in other parts of the Slavonic apocalypse?

The Two Ways Tradition in 2 Enoch

Adam and the Two Ways Tradition

It is time to return to the passages of the Slavonic apocalypse in which the imagery of darkness and light is associated with the two ways tradition. Although some prominent students of the Slavonic apocalypse have noted certain affinities between *2 Enoch* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*,²⁸ it appears that, conceptually, *2 Enoch*'s "two way tradition" stands closer to the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (1QS) than to its Christian counterparts, namely, the *Doctrina* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The important similarity, here, is that 1QS and *2 Enoch* both focus on the peculiar Adamic aspects that are markedly absent in *Barnabas* and the *Doctrina*. Recall that *2 Enoch* places the two ways speculation in the midst of the protoplast's story:

"And I assigned to him four special" stars, and called his name Adam. And I gave him his free will; and I pointed out to him the two ways— light and darkness (две пути - свет и тъма)."²⁹

²⁸ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152.

²⁹ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152. Reflecting on the two ways terminology in *2 Enoch* 30, Andersen notes its connection with the two ways found in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. He noted that "The two ways correspond to the

Similarly, 1QS appears to connect the two ways tradition, not only to the imagery of light and darkness, but also, to the protoplast's story. Thus, 1QS 3:17-19 conveys the following tradition: "He created man to rule the world and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits of truth and of deceit."³⁰ Although the 1QS uses the term "man" (אנוש) instead of Adam (אדם), Huub Van de Sant and David Flusser suggest that the earlier form of this tradition, which stands behind the 1QS passage, "was not about 'the human' and two spirits, but about Adam before whom God has set two opposite ways."³¹ Van de Sant and Flusser propose, therefore, that the pre-sectarian reading of the clause could have run as following: "He created Adam (אדם) for the dominion of the world, designing for him two ways in which to walk."³² John Collins also argues for the "Adamic" reading of 1QS 3:17, suggesting that "the 'enôš of the Sapiential Text is none other than the Adam of Genesis 1:27. In fact the word 'enôš is used in precisely this context in 1QS 3:17 in the Treatise on the Two Spirits: 'he created 'enôš to rule the world.'"³³

The Adamic tradition in 1QS is very similar to that found in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this respect, it is noteworthy that both in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and *2 Enoch*, the Adamic speculations contain references to Adam's dominion over the creation. Thus, for

ethical dualism of the NT, especially that of Jn. The exact terminology is found in *EpBar* 17." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.152.

³⁰ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 75.

³¹ Van de Sant and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 154.

³² Van de Sant and Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 154.

³³ J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997) 37-38. Collins later adds that "the entire passage is based, however loosely, on Genesis 2-3." Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41.

example, 1QS 3:17 relates that the deity “created man to rule the world.”³⁴ Compare this passage to 2 *Enoch* 31:12, in which the deity tells the seventh antediluvian hero about the protoplast’s dominion: “And I assigned him to be a king, to reign on the earth, and to have my wisdom.”³⁵ Note that both testimonies about the protoplast’s dominion are given right before the association of the protoplast with the two ways tradition.

If the Adamic allusions were indeed present in the early form of the tradition standing behind the speculation found in 1QS, then it is possible that 2 *Enoch*, with its more transparent presentation of the protoplast’s tradition, might stand even closer to this original makeup.

Another similarity between 1QS and 2 *Enoch* concerns the tendency for internalization of the two way tradition. Scholars have noted that in 1QS the “two ways” became not simply the humankind’s ethical options but the inclinations of the human heart. In 1QS 4:23, for instance, the two spirits fight their battle in the heart of man. Scholars have suggested that in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* the “myth of cosmic conflict has been psychologized, by locating the conflict in the human heart.”³⁶ Similar “internalization” seems to take place in the Slavonic apocalypse as well. In particular, 2 *Enoch* 30:10 reads: “From invisible and visible substances I created man. From both his natures come both death and life.”³⁷ Here the familiar imagery of death and life, used many times in aforementioned Jewish and Christian testimonies for designation of two ways, becomes two “natures” (Slav. естества) of the protoplast.

Anthropology of Darkness and Light

³⁴ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 75.

³⁵ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.152.

³⁶ Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 39.

³⁷ 2 *Enoch* 30:10 (longer recension). Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.152.

Moreover, as in 1QS in *2 Enoch*, both light and darkness, first associated with the protoplast, are then projected onto the entire human race. Although the protological crux of the anthropology of light and darkness is situated in *2 Enoch* 30:14-15, other parts of the Slavonic apocalypse also affirm light and darkness as anthropological concepts. The imagery of darkness is repeatedly used in the longer recension of the text in order to describe various fallen creatures: angelic, as well as human. Thus, for example, the theme of darkness is invoked in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 7, in which the fallen angels are depicted as dark creatures. *2 Enoch* 7:1-2 reads:

... And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long.³⁸

In this passage from the longer recension, portraying the imprisoned angels, the term darkness (Slav. тьма) is mentioned four times. It is noteworthy, however, that the shorter recension does not apply imagery of darkness in this context.³⁹ We find a similar situation in chapter 18 when Enoch recounts his encounter with the fallen angels in the second heaven; here, again, the longer recension mentions darkness⁴⁰ while the shorter recension avoids such imagery.

Moreover, in *2 Enoch*, the imagery of darkness is applied not only to the fallen angelic creatures, but also to human subjects. Thus, for example, *2 Enoch* 10, which describes the place of punishment for sinners, in both recensions, is permeated with the symbolism of darkness:

³⁸ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.112.

³⁹ *2 Enoch* 7:1-2 (the shorter recension) reads: "And those men took me up to the second heaven. And they set me down on the second heaven. And they showed me prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment. And there I saw the condemned angels weeping." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.113-115.

⁴⁰ *2 Enoch* 18:3 "And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130.

And those men carried me to the northern region; and they showed me there a very frightful place; and all kinds of torture and torment are in that place, cruel darkness and lightless gloom. And there is no light there, and a black fire blazes up perpetually, with a river of fire that comes out over the whole place, fire here, freezing ice there, and it dries up and it freezes; and very cruel places of detention and dark and merciless angels, carrying instruments of atrocities torturing without pity.⁴¹

These repeated testimonies regarding the punishment of the wicked in the dark realms evokes, for the reader, 1QS 4:12-14, which describes the punishment of those who walk in the path of darkness, at the hands of the angels of destruction, in “the fire of the dark regions” and “the abysses of darkness.”⁴²

Further, in 2 *Enoch*, the anthropological connections are made, not only with respect to the imagery of darkness, but also, with respect to the symbolism of light. While the fallen creatures are portrayed with the imagery of darkness, the uncorrupted ones are depicted with the imagery of light. Thus, the original paradisaic condition of Adam is described in the longer recension using the symbolism of light. In this regard, 2 *Enoch* 31:2 reads: “[T]he light which is never darkened was perpetually in paradise.”⁴³ The final paradisaic condition of the righteous is again described through the imagery of light. In both recension of 2 *Enoch* 65, then, the paradisaic condition of the righteous remnant is again depicted using the symbolism of light:

But they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord’s great judgment, will be collected together into the great age. And the great age will come about for the righteous, and it will be eternal. And after that there will be among them neither weariness nor sickness nor affliction nor worry nor want nor debilitation nor night nor darkness. But they will have a great light, a great indestructible light, and paradise, great and incorruptible. For everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being, and will be the shelter of the eternal residences.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.118.

⁴² García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 77.

⁴³ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.154.

⁴⁴ Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.192. The shorter recension of 2 *Enoch* 65:8-11 offers the similar description: “But they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord’s great judgment, will be collected together with the great age. And (the age) at the same time will unite with the righteous, and they will be eternal. And there will be among them neither weariness nor suffering nor affliction nor expectation of violence nor the pain of the night nor darkness. But they will have a great light for eternity, (and) an indestructible wall, and they will have a great paradise, the shelter of an eternal residence. How happy are the righteous who will escape the Lord’s great judgment, for their faces will shine forth like the sun.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.193.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the very last instance of the darkness-light dichotomy in our text appears in the connection with Enoch, who is depicted as the eschatological counterpart of the prelapsarian Adam. Thus, for example, in rendering of Enoch's earthly biography found in *2 Enoch* 68, the element of darkness is specifically mentioned.⁴⁵ Yet, the final departure of the seventh antediluvian hero from earth is then depicted in *2 Enoch* 67:1-2 as the paradoxal transformation of the darkness into light:

The Lord sent the gloom onto the earth, and it became dark and covered the men who were standing [and talking] with Enoch. And the angels hurried and grasped Enoch and carried him up to the highest heaven, where the Lord received him and made him stand in front of his face for eternity. Then the darkness departed from the earth, and it became light.⁴⁶

Such metamorphoses from darkness into light do not appear coincidental, since Enoch, who is understood in our text as the eschatological counterpart of the protoplast, transformed in heaven into the luminous celestial creature, instantiates both the former luminous nature of Adam and also luminous state of the righteous in the final aeon. Enoch's transformation recalls, also, the tradition found in 1QS 4:22-23, in which the righteous are said to inherit all the glory of Adam.⁴⁷

Mediators of Light and Darkness

Although the passage about the two ways tradition in *2 Enoch* 30 has received some attention from scholars, often it has been studied in isolation from the conceptual currents found

⁴⁵ *2 Enoch* 68:4: "And just as every person has as his nature the darkness of this present life, so also he [Enoch] has his conception and birth and departure from this life." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.196.

⁴⁶ Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.194.

⁴⁷ 1QS 4:22-23 reads: "For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam." García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 79.

in other parts of the Slavonic text. Scholars who have attempted to explore the two ways tradition in the Slavonic apocalypse, therefore, have been unable to recognize the presence of the mediatorial figures' imagery associated with the two paths, a feature prominent in 1QS, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Doctrina Apostolorum*. Yet, if we attend to other details of the protological story found in the Slavonic apocalypse, we detect two portentous mediators associated, as in the aforementioned accounts, with light and darkness, and mediated by Adoil and Arukhas, respectively.

It is time to return to 2 *Enoch*'s story about the mediatorial dyad, whose dualistic opposition is conveyed through the imagery of darkness and light.⁴⁸ In this narrative, again, we detect striking similarities with Jewish and Christian testimonies about the two ways, especially, as found in 1QS and *Barnabas*.

In this respect, it is noteworthy that in both 1QS and 2 *Enoch* the mediators of light and darkness, represented respectively by two spirits or two aeons, are under control of the deity.⁴⁹ Recall that in 1QS the spirits of light and darkness are created by the deity, and in 2 *Enoch* both aeons are summoned by the deity and disintegrated upon his command.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The fact that the categories of light and darkness serve as important dualistic device has been noted by scholars. For example, Mladen Popović notes that, in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, "light and darkness imagery illustrates and stresses the dualistic opposition between these two spirits." M. Popović, "Light and Darkness in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III 13 - IV 26) and in 4Q186," *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. G. Xeravits; LSTS, 76; London: Continuum) 148-165 at 151.

⁴⁹ As in 2 *Enoch*, in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, there is an affirmation that everything came from the deity. From 1QS 3:15 one learns that "from the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be." This statement can be compared with the deity's affirmation found in 2 *Enoch*, in which God tells the seventh patriarch that he is the only creator of everything. Thus, 2 *Enoch* 33:3-4 reads: "And now, Enoch, whatever I have told you, and whatever you have understood, and whatever you have seen in the heavens, and whatever you have seen on the earth, and whatever I have written in the books—by my supreme wisdom all these things I planned to accomplish. And I created them from the highest foundation to the lowest, and to the end. And there is no adviser and no successor to my creation." Andersen, "2 *Enoch*," 1.156. The intention of such affirmations is to assure the audience that everything is under control of the deity.

⁵⁰ In this respect, Francis Andersen observes that "the dualism of light and darkness arises from two primal beings, Adoil and Ar(u)khas. 2En does not say that God created them, but they are clearly under his control. This

It has been mentioned that in 1QS the two ways speculation is placed in the midst of the protological speculation about Adam. In view of such a connection, it is possible that the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness in 1QS, like Adoil and Arukhas in *2 Enoch*, can be interpreted as protological characters. Both mediators make their first appearance in the *Treatise* in the context of the passage about Adam's creation in which God places two spirits within the protoplast. It is not entirely clear if these spirits were created at Adam's creation or existed even earlier as preexistent entities similar to Adoil and Arukhas in *2 Enoch*. In this respect, the enigmatic phrase found in 1QS 3:15 appears to allude to some preexistent matters: "before they existed he established their entire design."⁵¹ Later in 1QS 3:25 we read that the deity "created the spirits of light and of darkness and on them established every deed." Again, it is unclear if these two spirits are understood as a sort of foundation for the rest of creation, like Adoil and Arukhas in *2 Enoch*.

Finally, the symbolism of "ages" or "aeons" present in the description of Adoil and Arukhasz also deserves our attention, since it evokes the terminology often found in the two ways speculations.⁵² Note that in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, for example, the mediator of light is associated with "ages" or "aeons."⁵³ Thus, *Barnabas* 18:1-2 tells that "the difference between the two paths is great. For over the one are appointed light-bearing angels of God, but over the other

light and darkness are cosmophysical, not spiritual or ethical. They cannot be connected with the dualism of the Bogomils." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.145.

⁵¹ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 76.

⁵² Scholars have noted that the passages dealing with "two ways traditions" sometimes contain terminology of "ages." Concerning this connection, see J. N. Rhodes, "The Two Ways Tradition in the Epistle of Barnabas: Revisiting an Old Question," *CBQ* 73 (2011) 802-803.

⁵³ "... ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας" Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2.74.

angels of Satan. And the one is Lord from eternity past to eternity to come (ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας); but the other is the ruler over the present age of lawlessness.”⁵⁴

Such formulae of ages points to terminological peculiarities found in description of mediators of light and darkness in *2 Enoch*, that is to say, Adoil and Arukhas, who are openly labeled as “ages” in the Slavonic text. It is possible that the initial allusions to the two ways tradition are present already in the description of Adoil and Arukhas as the two primordial “ages.” It is intriguing that Bart Ehrman renders the Greek phrase “ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,” found in the *Epistle of Barnabas* 18:2, in English, as “from eternity past to eternity to come.”⁵⁵ Such depiction of the mediator of the light connected with both the protological and eschatological markers evokes memory of Adoil, the protological aeon that will be restored by the efforts of the righteous at the *eschaton*.

⁵⁴ Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2.75.

⁵⁵ Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2.75.