THE CAUSE OF MAN'S SINFULNESS

ACCORDING TO THE LATE JEWISH LITERATURE
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LATE JEWISH LITERATURE

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: The purpose of this paper is to examine the Late Jewish Literature on the subject of Evil and its Causes. The Literature under consideration consists in the Rabinical and Non-canonical writings which, for the greater part, were composed between the years 200 B.C. and A.D. 100.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

Evil is a widely accepted phenomenon in the universe. It springs from a source which man is unable to explain adequately. Yet, attempts to understand the nature and source of evil have captured the minds of men in almost every age. During the late Jewish period, many explanations of evil were conceived. These were passed on to later generations by both oral and written tradition. The purpose of this paper is to examine that part of the tradition which treats the subject of evil and its causes. The late Jewish literature under consideration consists in the RABBINICAL AND NON-CANONICAL WRITINGS which, for the greater part, were composed between the years 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.

In the conclusion of this paper, there will be an attempt to delineate a thematic evolution concerning the notion of evil and its cause. Dating of composition is a necessary factor because this thematic development involves a study of writings which are both early and late. Yet, the dating of composition is not of prime importance because this paper is not making a detailed study of literary dependence. Moreover, in any rich religious culture, there is an oral tradition which prevails from an earlier period than that of the written tradition. The beginning of the oral tradition is most difficult to determine and scholars disagree on the exact dating of the written tradition. Therefore, the dates given for diverse documents from different centuries are in no way precise but are approximate dates for actual composition.

The use of Rabbinic material in this paper is valid only in so far as reliable sources were used to date this literature in that period which is under investigation. Except for the

QUMRAN MATERIAL, THE REMAINDER OF THE LITERATURE IS DATED ACCORDING TO AUTHORITIES WHO HAVE CAREFULLY EXAMINED THIS MATERIAL.

WHERE THERE ARE CONFLICTING VIEWS BETWEEN AUTHORITIES, BOTH POSSIBLE DATES AND PROBABLE DATES OF COMPOSITION WILL BE INDICATED BY PLACING THE POSSIBLE DATES IN THE NOTES AND THE MORE PROBABLE DATES IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE.

3

THE QUMRAN MATERIAL WHICH IS OF IMPORTANCE IN THIS PAPER CONSISTS IN THE FOLLOWING: THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE (1 QS), THE THANKSGIVING PSALMS (1 QH), THE WAR SCROLL (1 QM), THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT (CD), AND THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1 Q APOC.).

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5 Charles (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 521) dates this work between 50 B.C. and 10 A.D.


7 Charles (op. cit., pp. 289-290) dates the "Testaments" between 109 and 107 B.C.

8 3 Maccabees was written ca. 100 B.C. Charles, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 156-159.

9 The composition of 2 Enoch is set between 1 and 100 A.D. according to Charles (op. cit., pp. 429-430). Eissfeldt (op. cit., pp. 622-623)
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE

In early Old Testament times, evil was conceived as something merely concerned with action. That is, evil was viewed in a quasi-physical sense; not ethical, moral, or sinful. It was that which rose with material substances in the shedding of blood or in a faulty organic process such as those in the generation of birth and death. Deuteronomy speaks of happiness as the reward of virtue and suffering as the "punishment of sin." The prophets first conceived and spoke of a causal relation between sin and "suffering in life." This relationship is evident in Deuter-Isaiah who attributes evil directly to God in His divine plan of retribution.

In later Old Testament books there was a growing affirmation that sin was universal which troubled the minds of some Israelites. Job is known to have questioned Deuteronomy and the principle of Divine Retribution. He saw suffering levied against all, whether they were virtuous or not. This not only denied the principle of

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12 Yet the relation between sin and suffering is somewhat strained in Chapter 40:2, because men suffer far more than that which sin dictates.
DIVINE RETRIBUTION but said God was not the source of evil.

Moreover, Psalm 51 acknowledged that sin and evil were conceived as something contained in nature, "In sin my mother conceived me." Thus, credence should be given to the work of W. D. Davies, who maintains that reflection and self analysis at this time gave the Hebrew people a concept of innate sinfulness, of a tendency toward evil which was deeply rooted in human nature. Such a concept required an explanation of how nature came to possess this evil. It was either from God, willed by man, or from some other source.

The problem then, revolved around the notion of universal evil, as expressed in 4 Ezra, and various attempts to find the source of that evil.

The literature in the late Jewish period suggests several explanations for the cause of man's sinfulness. Such explanations can be considered under three basic theories, namely, that of the "watchers", of Adam and Eve, and of the "yetzer Hara". This paper will deal individually with each of these theories in the following chapters. First, it will treat the theory of the "watchers" by identifying them, giving reasons for their fall, and showing them as the cause of all evil. Then will follow a discussion on the


14 4 Ezra 3:35-36; 7:68.
CHAPTER II

EVIL TRACED TO THE "WATCHERS"

In late Jewish literature, the first speculation about the cause of evil in the world is based upon the mysterious legend of angels which is found in the account of Genesis 6:1-4:

When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose. Then the Lord said, "My spirit shall not abide in man forever, for he is flesh, but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years". The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterwards, when the sons of God came into the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE "WATCHERS"

The Nephilim became known as "watchers" because they were originally the "holy angels who watch" and "who sleep not above in the heavens". Initially, they were all good, residing in the "high, holy, and eternal heaven", enjoying liberty, and demonstrating beneficence to mankind. These angels or "watchers" possessed

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1 Enoch 20:1.
3 Enoch 15:3-12.
4 Baruch 56:10-16.
5 Jubilees 4:15.
LEADERSHIP UNDER THE DOMINANCE OF WHAT APPEARS AS A WHOLE HOST OF ANGELS.

THE FALL OF THE "WATCHERS"

But at least two hundred of these "watcher angels" descended upon the earth, according to 1 Enoch and 2 Baruch:

...two hundred: who descended (in the days) of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon...and all...took unto themselves wives...they began to go into them and to defile themselves with them...

Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves...

And some of them descended and mingled with the women.

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BABA BATHRA 16A: SIFRA AHARE PEREK 13. "YETZER" IS IDENTIFIED WITH SATAN, AGADOTH BERESHITH 1; GEN. R. 54D. ALSO, CF. NOTE ON 1 Enoch 69:11, CHARLES, OP. CIT., P. 233.

7 1 Enoch 6:6 - 7:1. 8 1 Enoch 15:3. 9 2 Baruch 56:10.
In so doing, the "watchers" defiled themselves and mankind by uniting the nature of spirit with that of flesh. Assuming many forms, these holy angels mixed these orders of nature through sexual intercourse and effected a change or corruption of a nature that was previously undefiled.

And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves... 10

...who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness... 11

Here stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind... 12

And have united themselves with women and commit sin with them... 13

For these had begun to unite themselves so as to be defiled with the daughters of men... 14

In like manner the watchers also changed the order of their nature whom the Lord cursed... 15

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10 Enoch 9:8.
11 Enoch 10:11.
13 Enoch 106:14.
14 Jubilees 4:22.
15 Test. Naph. 3:5.
REASONS FOR THE FALL

For various reasons these divine beings entered into an unholy union with humanity. Lust on the part of the "watchers" appears to be the most plausible answer in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Jubilees, and the Damascus Document of Qumran:

And the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, and they were beautiful to look upon...\textsuperscript{16}

And the angels, the children of heaven, saw and lusted after them...\textsuperscript{17}

And that you may not be drawn by the thoughts of the guilty inclination and by lustful eyes. For many went astray because of this...the "watchers" of heaven fell because of this...\textsuperscript{18}

Another theory, however, maintained that the "daughters of men" were responsible for the fall of the "watchers" since they plotted the seduction of the holy angels:

For evil are women...they use wiles by outward attractions...and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of adornment they deceive first their minds (of men), and by the glance of the eye instil poison, and then through the accomplished act they take them captive...For thus they allured the "watchers" who were before the flood...they lusted after them and they conceived the act in their mind...\textsuperscript{19}

Yet, the Ethiopic book of Enoch indicates that the women "became sirens" only after they are led astray by the "watchers".

\textsuperscript{16} Jubilees 5:1. \textsuperscript{17} 1 Enoch 6:2.
\textsuperscript{18} CD 2:16-18; Also, 2 Enoch 18:1 (This material could be very late and not applicable), "Three of them went down (to earth)...and saw the daughters of men how good they are."
\textsuperscript{19} Test. Reub. 5:1-6. \textsuperscript{20} 1 Enoch 18:2.
Other reasons proposed for the fall of the angels are developed with less banality and more sophistication. One theory, with common elements to both the paradise-narrative of Genesis 3 and the angel legend of Genesis 6, teaches that the "watchers" were subject to the evil supernatural leadership of Satan. Ethiopian Enoch, speaking about the judgement that will come upon the fallen angels, states:

The Lord of spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan, and leading astray those who dwell on the earth...

Again, in the books of Adam and Eve, the angels appear under the dominion of the devil. Also, in 1 Enoch 40:7 there is a vague reference to the Satans which contrasts the holy supernatural order of archangels with the "watchers".

Beneath the speculation concerning the fall of the "watchers" lies the notion that their action was a violation of law or of some commandment. The Damascus Document of Qumran explicitly stresses what is implicit in most other explanations of the fall. In speaking of the "watchers" who walked in the stubbornness of their hearts and fell from the heavens, this work gives primary consideration to the

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21 The identification of the serpent in the garden of Eden with Satan gives easy rise to the transition whereby the cause for the fall of the angels (Satan) becomes the cause (serpent) for the fall of Adam and Eve.

22 See discussion on the various names for Satan #6, Chapter II.

23 1 Enoch 54:6.

24 Vita Adae et Evae 15:1.

25 cf. CHARLES, OP. CIT., NOTE, P.211
COMMANDMENT OF GOD:

Because they walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, the watchers of heaven fell; yea, they were caught thereby because they kept not the commandments of God... Because they did their own pleasure and kept not the commandments of their Maker...26

Likewise, in the same work, great emphasis is placed upon the wicked who "loathed the precept". Also, the later work of Slavonic Enoch contains this same idea in the words, "God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will."

The pride of the "watchers" is relevant to much of the speculation concerning the transgression of God's commandment. This characteristic was definitely proposed as a cause for the fall of the angels. The Testament of Dan understands the Ethiopic book of Enoch to give this as a reason for the fall of Satan and the "spirit of wickedness":

For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire...to cause them (the sons of Levi) to sin before the Lord...29

The Damascus Document appears to offer pride as an explanation

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28 2 Enoch 7:3. This work could contain very late material. Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 622-623.
FOR THE FALL OF THE "WATCHERS" IN SPEAKING ABOUT THE "STUBBORNNESS OF HEART" IN THE FACE OF GOD'S COMMANDMENT WHICH CAUSED THEIR FALL.

Moreover, there is a brief reference in the Wisdom of Solomon concerning the perishing of proud giants. The Slavonic book of Enoch also alludes to the pride of the "watchers". It describes "Satan with his angels" as he cogitates placing his "throne higher than the clouds above the earth."

The last text, along with others, contains a controversial issue, namely, that which can be debated between the characteristics of pride and envy. That is, do these texts propose pride or envy as the cause of the angelic fall? In the book "Vita Adae et Evae" cc. 12-17, there is an explanation of why Satan and the angels fell from heaven. This passage could well be offering pride or envy as the cause of the fall. If it is envy, the object could be either that of man or of God.

Nevertheless, there are passages in late Jewish literature which unquestionably do propose envy as the chief reason for the descent of the "watchers". Moreover, this notion is contained in

32 2 Enoch 29:14-5.
33 Sanhedrin 59b; Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 13.
THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON WHICH EXPLICITLY STATES THAT, "BY THE ENVY OF THE DEVIL, DEATH ENTERED INTO THE WORLD."

"WATCHERS" AS THE CAUSE OF EVIL

The fallen angels and their leaders were considered the founders of all sin. They were spoken of in terms that equal the notion contained in the phrase, "the root of all evil". Furthermore, it appears in the "War Scrolls" of Qumran that these angels were created for the purpose of spreading evil upon the earth:

And thou didst create Belial for the Pit, the angel of hostility and repudiation, (together with) his (plan) and with his design that wicked deeds and sins might be committed...36

THE EVIL CAUSED

In the Ethiopic book of Enoch, chapters 6-10, the "watchers" are condemned for their evil deeds; they will, in time, be eradicated from the face of the earth. Here, also, set down in quite descriptive terms, is the extent of damage which the "watchers" caused. Generally speaking, all manner of evil is to be attributed to these fallen angels and to their leader Azazel: "to him ascribe all sin". The following passages indicate to what extent the "watchers" were responsible for the damage done upon earth:

37 1 Enoch 10:8
And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its ways, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and every thing that walks on the earth - all of them, corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes...

They shall be evil spirits on the earth, and evil spirits shall they be called...and the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble...

Evil results from offspring

Although the "watchers" and their leaders were considered primarily as those who initiated evil, it was emphasized in 1 Enoch and maintained in most of this literature that the offspring from the union between the "watchers" and "daughters of men" were the proximate cause of the wickedness imposed upon mankind. The Ethiopic Book of Enoch declares:

And they bore great giants...who consumed all the acquisitions of men...

And the women have born giants and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness...

40 1 Enoch 7:3.  41 1 Enoch 9:9-10.
Destroy the children of the watchers from amongst men...  

And destroy... the children of the watchers because they have wronged mankind... 

Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies because they are born from men and from the holy watchers as their beginning and primal origin: They shall be evil spirits on the earth and evil spirits shall they be called... 

The angels who have connected themselves with women and their spirits (offspring), assuming many different forms are defiling mankind... 

Angels of heaven... have begot children by them (women) ... and they shall produce on the earth giants... but according to the flesh, and there shall be great punishment upon the earth... 

Likewise, do the book of Jubilees, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Damascus Document testify to the wickedness which this progeny brought upon men. 

There are, however, some confusing elements in this literature concerning the cause of evil on the earth. For evil is attributed

1 Enoch 10:9. 1 Enoch 10:15. 1 Enoch 106:13-17. There were various names given for the offspring. Giants, 1 Enoch 6:10:15; 15:3-12; 106; 69:12; 3 Macc. 2:4. Demons, 1 Enoch 19:1-3; Jub. 10:1-8; 7:27; Unclean or evil spirits, Test. Benj. 5:2; 1 Enoch 69:4-12; 15:3-12; Angels of destruction, 1 QS 4:12; CD 2:6; Sons of Beliar, Jubilees 15:33; Spirits of his lot, of Belial, 1 QS 3:23. 


WITHIN SINGLE WORKS AND WITHIN THE LITERATURE AS A WHOLE TO MANY VARIED AND CONFLICTING SOURCES. THIS LACK OF CONSISTENCY IS UNDERSTANDABLE IN THE TOTALITY OF THE LITERATURE BECAUSE VARIOUS SPECULATIONS BY MANY DIFFERENT AUTHORS ON ANY ONE SUBJECT CAN PRODUCE SUCH A VARIABLE OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. ALSO, THE LACK OF CONSISTENCY WITHIN SINGLE PIECES OF THIS LITERATURE IS PARTIALLY EXPLAINED BECAUSE OF THE COMPOSITE NATURE OF MOST OF THESE BOOKS. YET, THESE ANSWERS DO NOT COMPLETELY RESOLVE THE REASON FOR THE MANY CONFLICTING VIEWS CONTAINED IN THIS LITERATURE. A POSSIBLE FURTHER EXPLANATION MIGHT BE SOUGHT IN THE MULTITUDE OF VARIOUS TRADITIONS FROM WHICH THESE BOOKS WERE FORMED.

EVIL RESULTS FROM WORTHLESS OR UNLAWFUL REVELATION

NEVERTHELESS, THE ETHIOPIAN BOOK OF ENOCH, ALTHOUGH MAINTAINING THAT THE GIANTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EVIL THAT EXISTS AMONGST MEN THROUGH PHYSICAL ACTION, ALSO PROPOSES THAT WICKEDNESS RESULTED MAINLY BY MEANS OF A WORTHLESS AND UNLAWFUL REVELATION. THE "WATCHERS" AND THEIR LEADERS HAVE WROUGHT HAVOC ON EARTH, THEN, BY TWO DISTINCT MEANS, IN TWO COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FORMS. THUS, THE FIRST BOOK OF ENOCH TREATS OF EVIL DEEDS OF OFFSPRING AND, IN THE FOLLOWING PASSAGES, PROCLAIMS EVIL RESULTING FROM CERTAIN DIABOLICAL TEACHINGS OF THE "WATCHERS":

...
You (THE WATCHERS) have been in heaven. But all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts, you made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth...

Azazel...because of the unrighteousness which thou has taught...and sin which thou has shown to men...

These are the angels who descended on the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men...

Through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons...

To some extent the First Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees treat the particulars of that hidden revelation. Also, in the Thanksgiving Psalms of Qumran, it is hinted that the "Watchers" conveyed worthless knowledge to men and greatly distorted the truth:

They have devisedileness against me to exchange the teaching which Thou rehearseth in my heart for smooth words...

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50 1 Enoch 16:3.
52 1 Enoch 64:1-2.
53 1 Enoch 10:7.
54 1 Enoch 69:4-12.
55 Jubilees 8:3.
56 1 QH 2:22.
57 1 QH 2:10.
PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE "WATCHERS" AND THE FLOOD

The use of the "watcher" legend to account for universal wickedness proved to be highly inadequate as an explanation for man's sinful condition. For the "watchers" were definitely the chief cause of bringing about the "deluge". This is indicated in 1 Enoch, 58 the book of Jubilees, 59 and the Testament of Naphtali. 60 Moreover, in the deluge, all wickedness was destroyed including the "watchers", the source of all evil. Such destruction is implied in the Testament 61 of Reuben, and explicitly stated in the third book of Maccabees.

Likewise, 2 Baruch 56:16 states that, "those who dwelt on the earth perished together with them (the watchers) through the waters of the deluge." In addition, 1 Enoch 10:2 predicted, "that the whole earth will be destroyed and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth and will destroy all that is on it." Thus, it could be concluded that the role of the "watchers" was introduced merely to explain 63 wickedness until the time of the "deluge". Such appears to be the intention for the "watchers" in the book of Jubilees. Or, it could be held that writers perceived difficulty in using the "watchers" to account for the evil which existed after the flood. And then, only,

58 1 Enoch 106:15. 59 Jubilees 7:21-25.
60 Test. Naph. 3:5. 61 Test. Reub. 5:6.
DID THEY DECIDE TO USE THE "WATCHERS" AS THE CHIEF CAUSE FOR THE "DELUGE". IN EITHER CASE, A PROBLEM CONCERNING THE SOURCE OF EVIL RISES WHEN ALL OF THE "WATCHERS" ARE DESTROYED IN THE FLOOD. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NOT ONLY A SHIFT OF EMPHASIS CONCERNING THE "WATCHERS" AND THEIR ROLE REGARDING UNIVERSEAL CORRUPTION, BUT THERE WAS ALSO A NECESSITY CREATED FOR AUTHORS AT THIS TIME TO SEEK AN EXPLANATION FOR EVIL IN A SOURCE OTHER THAN THE "WATCHER" LEGEND.
CHAPTER III

EVIL TRACED TO ADAM AND EVE

Effort was taken by several late Jewish writers to explain the cause of evil by means of the Paradise-narrative as found in Genesis 3. The angelic fall sufficiently explained evil leading up to the deluge. Yet, evil existing in the world after the flood needed further explanation because the "watchers" had all perished. And although there were attempts to portray the "watchers" still alive and participating in man's corruption after the deluge, these efforts were not fully accepted throughout this body of literature.

ANGELIC INFLUENCE IN THE FALL

Rather, authors, in tracing evil to the Paradise-narrative, held fast to some aspects of the "watcher" legend by maintaining angelic influence in the fall of Adam and Eve. The Apocalypse of Moses gives a detailed account from the lips of Eve concerning the devil's deception of the serpent. That is, the devil deceived the serpent into seducing Eve. Elsewhere, Eve is tempted into committing a transgression but there is no question that the tempter is one of the "fallen angels". In the Ethiopic Enoch it was Gadreel, one from the

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1 Jubilees 7:27; 10:1-5.
Leaders of the "Watchers", "who led astray Eve," and quite clearly in the books of Adam and Eve the devil is projected as the agent of Eve's deception.

However, evil is traced back to Adam and Eve with various attempts to explain the connection between Adam's sin and present evil existing in the human race. Regarding Adam's fall, there was a great deal of literature which exalted him for the apparent purpose of augmenting the tragedy which would later befall him and his progeny. Moreover, Adam's fall, an assumed fact throughout much of this late Jewish literature, is explicitly treated in its causes and consequences.

Causes of Adam's Fall

Notions concerning the cause and consequences of Adam's fall are diverse and inconsistent in this literature. (Still, the more prominent ideas will be underlined in this paper.) Among the many strange and mysterious explanations for Adam's sin, a certain importance must be given to the alliance which existed between Eve and Satan. For Adam is led to transgress through Eve because she

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4 Vita Adae et Evae 16:4; 33:2-3. Also, see Wisd. Sol. 2:24;
2 Enoch 31:4-6.
5 Scroggs, op. cit., pp.15-38; Tennant, op. cit., p. 1149;
Gen. R. 16:6; Tanhuma Bereshith 18; Pesikta R. 115a; R. Meir Pesikta 1b; Sanhedrin 59b.
was tempted by Satan. Some of the theories involved in the Satan-
Eve alliance are simple deceptions. But most of the theories are
sexual in character so that there results a tragic pollution of Eve
which is transmitted to the human race.

However, the most widely treated cause for Adam's fall is his
transgression of a divine commandment, and his uncontrolled,
inordinate desire toward evil. 2 Baruch speaks of "the transgression
wherewith Adam, the first man, transgressed" and "this transgression
is that of the commandment." 3 Baruch elucidates the essence of the
commandment and the wisdom of Solomon confirms that the cause of the
first father's fall was that of a transgression.

There was a theory which held that Adam's fall was due to
his non-repentance but this notion was slightly opposed to the
main rabbinical idea that Adam's sin was a direct revolt against
God. Very close to this concept was the idea that sin was a breach
of the law and that evil in man was caused by disobedience to the
divine precepts. This notion stemmed from the idea that Adam was
placed in the garden to study the Torah.

6 2 Baruch 56:5. 7 2 Baruch 4:3. 8 3 Baruch 4:8.
9 Wisd. Sol. 10:1. 10 Tanhuma Bereshith 38
11 Tanhuma Bereshith 23; Sifre Deut. on 32:32; Sifra Wayyikra
Perek 20; Pesikta 76a; Bereshith R. 27; Kiddushin 30b.
12 Kiddushin 30b; Berakoth 5a; Sifre Deut. on 11:18.
In 4 Ezra, Adam's disobedience and transgression against God's many statutes is stressed as the cause for the world becoming "narrow and sorrowful and painful". Yet, in another passage it is but a single command that Adam transgresses. However, the idea of transgression and disobedience is not the only proposal of 4 Ezra concerning the cause of Adam's fall. Some passages indicate that Adam's sin came about through an "evil heart" or "evil seed." Thus, Adam transgressed or was overcome by temptation because of the "evil heart" which he possessed from his birth:

For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning...  

Consequences of Adam's Fall

The consequences of Adam's transgression can be listed under three headings, namely, death, physical infirmity, and sin as spiritual corruption. 2 Baruch conceives death as an effect of Adam's foul deed. But the death which man must suffer is not essentially different from that which he would have had to suffer, if Adam had not sinned. That is, death was always the lot of mankind. What effect 2 Baruch adds to Adam's transgression is that the death which man must suffer is premature or untimely, and man

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13 4 Ezra 7:11-12  
14 4 Ezra 3:7.  
15 This idea is close to the Rabbinic notion of the "yetzer" and will be treated at greater length in the following chapter.  
17 4 Ezra 4:30.
MUST DIE BEFORE HIS APPOINTED TIME:

FOR THOUGH ADAM FIRST SINNED AND BROUGHT UNTIMELY
DEATH UPON ALL... 18

FOR WHEN HE TRANSGRESSED, UNTIMELY DEATH CAME INTO
BEING... 19

4 EZRA, HOWEVER, DOES NOT QUALIFY THE DEATH DUE TO ADAM'S
SIN AS DID THE AUTHOR OF 2 BARUCH. RATHER, HIS CLAIM IS THAT WHEN
ADAM TRANSGRESSED THE COMMAND, GOD "APPOINTEDST DEATH FOR HIM AND
FOR HIS GENERATIONS." SIMILAR THOUGHTS CONNECTING ADAM AND
DEATH EXIST AMONG RABBINICAL WRITERS AND OTHER AUTHORS OF THIS
PERIOD.

THE PHYSICAL INFIRMITY ATTRIBUTED TO ADAM IS TREATED AGAIN
IN 2 BARUCH UNDER SUCH TERMS AS GRIEF, PAIN, AND DISEASE. ELSEWHERE
THROUGHOUT RABBINICAL LITERATURE, THERE ARE VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS
OF THE PHYSICAL INFIRMITY MAN SUFFERS AS A RESULT OF ADAM'S SIN.


21 Sifre Deut. on 32:32; Sifra Wayyikra Perek 20; Pesikta 76a;
Tanhuma Bereshith 23; Bereshith R. 29; Hukkat 39; Gen R. 12:6;
Tanhuma Wayyikra 11; Bereshith R. 10.


24 Sifra Wayyikra Perek 20; R. Meir Pesikta 1b; Pesikta R. 115a;
Moreover, a certain spiritual corruption is attributed to Adam by the author of 2 Baruch when he says:

O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee? And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the Serpent? For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours....

Likewise, is there an assertion of spiritual damage resulting from Adam's transgression in the statement that "he (Adam) became a danger to his own soul." Also, in 4 Ezra, sin results among the inhabitants of the earth after Adam's fall and the fruit of Adam's evil heart is that of "ungodliness." This author certainly emphasizes that the evil on the earth after Adam's fall is more than just death and physical corruption. He states that, "the evil heart has grown up in us which has estranged us from God and brought us into destruction." Other writings, particularly those of the Rabbis, are more obvious in their explanations concerning the spiritual damage Adam's transgression had caused mankind.

Evil consequences through imitation of Adam

There remains, however, throughout the whole of this literature the enormous question concerning the precise manner in which these

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29 Sifre Deut. on 32:32; Pesikta 76a; Bereshith R. 29; Hukkat 39; Gen. R. 12:6; Tanhuma Wayyikra 11; Bereshith R. 18; also, cf 3 Baruch 4:16.
CONSEQUENCES ARE TRANSMITTED TO MANKIND. NOWHERE DOES THERE APPEAR A CLEARLY DEFINED STATEMENT REGARDING THE EXACT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADAM'S TRANSGRESSION AND ALL THE CONSEQUENCES THAT IT HAS UPON MANKIND. RATHER, THE QUESTION APPEARS TO BE ANSWERED IN SOME PASSAGES BY STRONG IMPLICATION AND IN OTHER PASSAGES THE QUESTION IS LEFT OPEN TO THE IMAGINATION OF THE READER. Thus, generally speaking, it is possible to understand that this literature proposes that the corruption due Adam's sin comes to his descendants either by men's imitating Adam's transgression or by men's inheriting the consequences of Adam's sin through physical propagation. 2 Baruch appears to teach the former in the following two passages:

FOR THOUGH ADAM FIRST SINNED AND BROUGHT UNTIMELY DEATH UPON ALL, YET OF THOSE WHO WERE BORN FROM HIM, EACH ONE OF THEM HAS PREPARED FOR HIS OWN SOUL TORMENT TO COME... 30

ADAM IS THEREFORE NOT THE CAUSE, SAVE ONLY OF HIS OWN SOUL, BUT EACH OF US HAS BEEN THE ADAM OF HIS OWN SOUL... 31

ALSO, SOME OF THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE, WITH ITS TENACIOUS HOLD ON MAN'S FREE WILL, IN THE FACE OF THE LAW, IMPLIES THAT MAN SINS BY IMITATING ADAM. MOREOVER, THE FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA HAS CERTAIN PASSAGES WHICH COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS OFFERING SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THAT OF 2 BARUCH, NAMELY, MAN IS CORRUPTED BY IMITATING ADAM.

30 2 Baruch 54:15. 31 2 Baruch 54:19; also, 18:1-2.

32 Bereshith R. 29; Hukkat 39; Berakoth 5a; Kiddushin 30b; Baba Bathra 16a; Sukkah 52b; also, see 1 OS 1:25f.

EVIL CONSEQUENCES THROUGH PHYSICAL HEREDITY

Yet, 4 Ezra taken in its totality, appears to teach something quite different than 2 Baruch teaches, regarding the transmitting of corruption from Adam to mankind. It speaks of the infirmity in man becoming inveterate and the "evil seed," sown in Adam, producing much ungodliness. This "seed" grows up in each man and is considered an innate evil. But, 4 Ezra also claims that each one clothes himself with the evil heart, which notion conflicts with his other statements, although it is consistent with the idea of imitating Adam as found in 2 Baruch.

However, 4 Ezra does conceive a closer relationship between Adam and his descendants than does 2 Baruch when he states:

"O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants..."

And there exist elsewhere statements which imply the hereditary connection between Adam's transgression and man's wicked state. The Hymn Scroll of Qumran perceives man as a creature of clay who "is in iniquity from his mother's womb." In great part, this scroll blames man's perversion and transgression upon the fact of his

\[40 \] 1 QH 4:29-30. This probably is a reflection upon Ps. 51:5.
HAVING BEEN "DEFILED BY UNCLEANESS." LIKEWISE, SLAVONIC Enoch
looks upon man as from his birth possessing an unescapable infirmity
associated with the ruin caused by Adam and Eve.

Also, the writings of the Rabbis often taught that the
whole race was contained in Adam so that there would be little
difficulty for them to associate Adam's sin with man's corruption
by means of physical propagation. However, they professed another
answer for the cause of evil in the world. This answer is given
in the form of the "Yetzer Hara" to which this study now turns its
attention.

41 41
1 QH 17:18-19. 42 Enoch 41:1.

43 Sanhedrin 4:52; Ex. R. 40:3; Tanhuma Bereshith 23; Bereshith
R. 29; Hukkat 39.
CHAPTER IV

EVIL TRACED TO THE RABBINICAL "YETZER"

The notion of the "yetzer" as a cause for evil existing in the world was conceived by the Rabbis and given further treatment by other late Jewish writers. The "yetzer," found in the book of Sirach 15:11-14, according to W. D. Davies, is a sinful desire, impulse, inclination, or urge. As a theory concerning man's sinfulness, it arose directly from an exegesis of Genesis 6:5 and 8:21. In Genesis 6:5 it appears to be something in man for which he is responsible but in 8:21 it is something given by God which resembles an inherent infirmity so that man from his youth, with a given disposition in his nature, has an excuse for his depravity. Thus, in the Rabbinic literature sin is usually viewed as emanating from the evil impulse, the "yetzer hara." And although it was a doctrine developed independently of the Adamic-fall and its consequences, it later came to be fused with such theories by both Rabbinical and Apocalyptic writers.

1 Scroggs, op. cit., p. 33.


3 Tennant, op. cit., pp. 170-175.
TERMS USED FOR THE "YETZER"

Various terms in the late Jewish literature represent the notion contained in the idea of the "yetzer." Such terms are those connected with the heart which represent the volitional and intellectual elements in man. Thus, any of those expressions indicative of intent, such as, "inclination of the soul," "evil imagination," "evil disposition," "evil impulse," "hard heartedness," or "stubbornness of the heart" often signifies the conception of the rabbinic "yetzer hara." Moreover, the "yetzer" was not only reduced to these terms, but became identified with Satan and even with sin, itself.

CAUSE OF THE "YETZER"

Still, the "yetzer" was a disposition of mind, an inherent infirmity which had its origin from the hand of God. The rabbis never doubted that God made the evil "yetzer." Such thoughts

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4 Davies, op. cit., p. 21.

5 1 Enoch 5:4-9; 4 Ezra 3:20; Sirach 15:14-20; 21:11; P.A. 4:1-2; Jus. 12:5; Tad. frag. 3:2; 4; Test. Jos. 2:6; Naph. 2:5; Asher 1:3-9; 3:2; Jud. 18:3; 1 QH 11:20; 5:6.

6 Agadoth Bereshith 1; Gen R. 54b.

7 Sukkah 52b; Berakoth 61b; Meekita Nezekin 17; Yoma 67b.

8 Tos. Berakoth 7:7; Sifre Deut. on 32:32; Berakoth 9:5; Num. R. 22:9; Berakoth 61a; R. Soma Pesikta 165a; Sifre 73a; Aboth de Rabbi Natham 47a; Kidduchin 30b; Sukkah 52b; Sifre Deut. on 11:18; Baba Bathra 16a.
ARE PREVALENT APART FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE RABBIS FOR THE BOOK OF SIRACH STATES THAT, "GOD CREATED MAN FROM THE BEGINNING AND PLACED HIM IN THE HAND OF HIS INCLINATION" 9 Also, the Testament of Naphtali testifies to the fact that, "THERE IS NO INCLINATION OR THOUGHT WHICH THE LORD KNOWETH NOT, FOR HE CREATED EVERY MAN AFTER HIS OWN IMAGE."

The longest explanation concerning God's creation of the "yetzer" is in the Testament of Asher 1:3-9. Here, God creates a double "yetzer." One is good and the other bad. This is but one theory concerning the "yetzer," namely, that there exists by the hand of God both the evil inclination (the Yetzer Hara) and the good inclination (the Yetzer Hator). These two battle one another for supremacy. They move man from one side to the other on the scale of justice. The double "yetzer" theory is in opposition to those theories which gave man a single "yetzer," a good or indifferent power badly in need of direction. Nonetheless, there did exist various combinations of both single and double "yetzer" theories which in their explanations were striving with similar means toward identical ends. 4 Ezra speaks of the "grain of evil seed" which was sown in

9 Sirach 15:14, cf., R.S.V footnote, p. 147.
10 Test. Naph. 2:5; Also, see Sirach 17:31.
11 Gen. R. 9:7; Eccles. R. on 3:11; Sanhedrin 107b.
12 Davies, op. cit., pp. 20-27.
the heart of Adam from the beginning. The teaching here is that of a single "yetzer." On the other hand, the "Hymn Scroll" of Qumran attributes the creation of both good and evil to God.

Also, the instruction on the "two spirits" as found in the "Manual of Discipline" makes God the author of all. In fact, most of the literature, including the "Testament of Asher" and the Scrolls of Qumran, attributed the creation of good and evil powers to God.

There were several fine points that were argued in Rabbinical circles concerning the "yetzer" and explanations on these points contributed greatly to an extensive amount of writing on the subject. Some of the arguments consisted in questioning whether the "yetzer" came before or after birth and whether the "yetzer hara" was older or younger than the "yetzer hatob." However, some of the theories concerning the "yetzer" involved a little more than fine points. In the Book of Jubilees there is an apparent attempt at fusion of the "yetzer" and the "watchers" for the book teaches that the "yetzer" resulted from the "watchers." Likewise, 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra explain the "yetzer" as a result of Adam's fall. For it is from Adam's sin that "passions are produced" and that the evil heart becomes

13 1 QH 4:38.
15 Sanhedrin 91b; Aboth de Rabbi Nathan 32a; Gen. R. 34:6,10; Jer. Berakoth 6d.
16 Jubilees 5:2; 7:24.
inveterate. Also, according to one theory of the Rabbis, a single "yetzer" was created in Adam and remained dormant until after the fall. Then, with increased intensity toward evil, the "yetzer" grew after the fall and a permanent ascendancy of the impulse evolved which conclusively engendered the corruptive sin of Adam into the stock of humanity. However, the aforementioned theory neglects to explain the cause of the fall itself.

"yetzer" is intrinsic to man

The "yetzer", apart from its cause, was always considered something intrinsic to man's nature. That is, the impetus to man's evil deeds did not come from without, as was proposed in the "watcher" and Adam theories, but resided within man. Sirach speaks of the "inclination of flesh and blood" and man's "natural tendency." The "Testament of Asher" places the "inclination in our breasts" and the "Testaments of Judah and Joseph" give reference to the "inclination of the soul."

19 Berakoth 5a; Kiddushin 30b; Sifre Deut. on 11:18; Baba Bathra 16a.
20 Sirach 17:31.
21 Sirach 21:11.
22 Test. Asher 1:5; Also, see Test. Gad 5:3.
THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE "YETZER" DEAL NOT
ONLY WITH ITS CAUSE OR NATURE BUT ALSO WITH ITS RELATIONSHIP TO
EVIL. THERE WERE THOSE WHO WERE SATISFIED TO ACCEPT THE EXPLANATION
THAT GOD CREATED THE "YETZER" AND, THEREFORE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE EVIL WHICH WOULD FOLLOW UPON HIS CREATION. THAT IS, EVIL WAS
directly attributed to God. But other explanations tended to
exonerate Him as a cause of evil. He remained the author of the
"YETZER," a good and necessary power, which was intended for the
propagation of the race and providing the necessities of life.

This power, however, was greatly in need of direction
and because it failed to heed this direction became the cause of
evil. Thus, man possessed a power, rooted in his soul, which
extended pressure in the direction of wickedness, if it was not
subdued. In the "Testament of Asher" there was the creation of
two "YETZERS" so that the responsibility of direction fell upon
the "YETZER HATOB" (the good inclination). In the "Testament of
Benjamin," it was the Angel of Peace who directed the "inclination"
against the power of Beliar. And in Pirke Aboth, the wisdom of

24 Berakoth 17a; Sukkah 52b; Gen. R. 34:10; Jer. Berakoth 7d;
Jer. Ta'amt 66c; Sifre Deut. on 11:18; Baba Bathra 16b; Aboth de
Rabbi Nathan 32a,b.

25 Nezekin 3; Gen. R. 9:7; Eccles. R. on 3:11; Sanhedrin 107b;
Test. Asher 1:3-9; Benj. 6:1; Pirke Aboth 4:1.

MEN IS THAT WHICH ENABLES A PERSON TO CONTROL HIS "EVIL DIS-
28
POSITION."

However, the most common notion among the Rabbis was that God gave man an evil "yetzer" and the Law or Torah by which he could control his "inclination." Sirach expresses precisely this thought in saying:

He that keepeth the law, controlleth his natural tendency...30

Also, the works of loving kindness and the contemplation of death were a remedy proposed to fight against the rebellious "yetzer."

Likewise, repentance was offered as a means whereby man could resist his evil tendency. Moreover, ascetical practices were suggested for mastery over the evil "yetzer" but such a proposal did not have any widespread acceptance. Rather, that which possibly summarizes the popular teaching concerning mastery over the "yetzer," is contained in the "Testament of Asher":

28 Pirke Aboth 4:1.

29 Kiddushin 30b; 81a; Sifre Deut. on 11:18; Berakoth 5a; Erubin 54a; Sanhedrin 107b; Sotah 47a; Abodah Zorah 5b; Baba Bathra 16a.

30 Sirach 21:11.

31 Kiddushin 30b; Sifre Deut. on 11:18; Kiddushin 81a; Abodah Zorah 5b.

32 Tanhuma Bereshith 28; Jer. Makkoth 31b; Sanhedrin 105a; Rosh ha Shannah 16b; Jer. Rosh ha Shannah 57a; Pesikta 157b-158a.

33 Ta'anith 24a.
But from wickedness flee away, destroying the evil inclination by your good works...  

But when the "yetzer" failed to heed the proper direction, it rebelled against the law and, according to the Rabbis, was the source of all sin. Yet, there are passages, apart from the writings of the Rabbis, which tend to fuse the notions of evil spirits and the "yetzer." As was treated above, the "Testament of Benjamin" sought proper direction for the "yetzer" in the "Angels of Peace." But this work also implies that the obverse effect could be given by the spirit of "Beliar." So teaches the "Testament of Asher" which proclaims that the evil inclination is "ruled by Beliar."  

Likewise, the "Scroll of the Rule" from Qumran states that the "inclination" of man can well be influenced by evil spirits. For man is "tempted by the dominion of Belial" and "sins under the dominion of Belial." Moreover, the "Scroll" while speaking about the two spirits (inclinations) in man professes:

All dominion over the sons of perversity is in the hand of the angel of darkness... and because of the angel of darkness all the sons of righteousness go astray; and all their sin and iniquities and faults, and all the rebellion of their deeds are because of his dominion...  

34 Test. Asher 3:2.  
35 Berakoth 61b; Shabboth 105b.  
36 Test. Benj. 6:1.  
37 Test. Asher 1:8.  
38 1 QS 1:18.  
39 1 QS 1:23.  
40 1 QS 3:20-22.
The effects which the evil "yetzer" had upon the world are also treated in much of this literature. Already, it has been shown in "The Scroll of the Rule" that the "yetzer," under the angel of darkness causes unrighteousness, faults, rebellions, iniquities, and sin. In the Damascus Document of Qumran, the "evil imagination" caused the "watchers" to fall, all flesh upon the earth to perish, the sons of Noah to go astray, the land to become desolate, and all children, kings, and mighty men of old to be delivered unto the sword.

Ezra explains that the "yetzer," the "evil germ" drove out all goodness, causing only evil to remain. And because of the "evil heart" the "inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things," performing "ungodly deeds innumerable." For Ezra, the effects of the evil "yetzer" is ungodliness. It has estranged men from God, brought them to destruction, and shown them the path to death and perdition. Thus, the end result of the evil "yetzer" is primarily death and some manner of general corruption

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4 Ezra 4:30  4 Ezra 7:48; 7:92.
of mankind. The "Testament of Asher," in speaking about the
two ways, very succinctly summarizes the effects by stating:

If it incline to the evil inclination, all its
actions are in wickedness... (for) even though it
work what is good, he (Beliar) perverteth it to
evil... 47

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Test. Asher 1:8-9. Also, the "Didache" 1-6 and the Epistle
of Barnabas 18-20 give a detailed description of the evil resulting
from the two ways which is based upon theories hatched much earlier
in the notions of the good and evil "yetzers."
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Thus, in this material of the late Jewish period, there are three basic and salient theories concerning the cause of man's sinfulness. First is that theory which sought the basis for evil in a contamination of the race from a fallen "order of being." This contamination was the direct result of the unnatural marriage between divine and human beings which was first narrated in the Book of Genesis 6:1-4. Evidently, the uniting of the order of flesh with that of spirit was considered a sinful action in itself. But sin also appears in the multiple reasons proposed for such a marriage. These include lust, pride, envy, the subjection of the angels to the power of Satan, and the violation of God's commandments. Those who entered into this sinful union had many names but were most commonly called "watchers." They bore evil offspring to devour the goods of men and cause them other tribulations. The "watchers" also imparted unlawful and worthless knowledge throughout the whole of humanity which in turn effected all manner of evil.

Second, is the two-fold theory which found the source of man's sinfulness in the transgression of Adam and Eve as proposed in the narrative of Genesis 3. One is based on angelic influence which perceives the corruption of mankind consequent to the seduction of Eve by the Serpent or Satan. The other is based on the fact that
Adam first sins by means of a wilful transgression against a known divine command. Thus, sin was attributed to Adam because of Satan's envy and the seduction of Eve, his own disobedience against the commandment, an evil disposition within his heart, or his non-repentance before the Lord. The effects or consequences of Adam's fall were physical and premature death, spiritual weakness, and a total corruption of nature. How Adam's sin caused such dire effects was a matter of two-fold speculation. It was proposed that the sin of Adam was one which men also committed for themselves by imitation and through this individual responsibility, men brought both physical and spiritual evil upon themselves. Thus, Adam's transgression was not hereditary. But others found in Adam's sin the cause of an inherited weakness. There were attempts to locate in Adam, at least in seed, the whole of the human race so that his fall was the fall of all men. That is, through physical generation man bears an inherited infirmity from the first transgression.

The third theory is that which involved the Rabbinical notion of the "yetzer." This idea sought the source of human depravity in the "evil impulse, imagination, or disposition" as first treated in the book of Genesis 6:5 and 8:21. It was either a given disposition or sinful habit which is intrinsic to man. Sometimes it was traced back to God and sometimes it was the result of a hereditary condition, brought about by either the fall of the "watchers" of the fall of Adam and Eve. But there is no doubt that this evil impulse,
THE "YETZER," WAS OFFERED AS A CAUSE WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THE
wretchedness in which man finds himself. If God made the "yetzer",
he alone was deemed the author of evil. But it was suggested that
God made two "yetzers" that fought a fierce battle within man, urging
him to both evil and good ends. More often, however, man was deemed
responsible for controlling his "evil tendency." In effect, the
"yetzer" was a good or neutral power that needed direction. Various
means were proposed for this purpose. The most common of these means
was the Law or Torah. Love, kindness, the contemplation of death,
repentance, and ascetical practices were all given as possibilities
to subdue the "yetzer." However, the evil inclination often re-
belled and was the source of all sin. Moreover, the "yetzer" could
be influenced by malevolent spirits who were capable of producing
the evil effects of unrighteousness, death, sin, and corruption of
the flesh.

CHANGING SPECULATIONS ON THE CAUSE OF EVIL

Judaism, then, possessed three prominent explanations con-
cerning the cause of man's sinfulness. Also, it appears that these
speculations underwent a gradual change from the earliest writings
until the latest. That is, the probable causes of man's sinfulness
conceptually moved from the "watchers" to Adam and Eve, and then to
an incorporation of the Rabbinical "yetzer" with the Adamic-fall.
The attempt to explain universal evil by an exegesis of 
Genesis 6:1–4 was the work of the earliest speculations. But the 
"watcher" theory, which came from such an exegesis, proved in-
adequate for the task because of two reasons. That is, the "watchers" 
were initially introduced only to explain evil before the flood and 
when they all perished, difficulties arose in using the "watchers" 
to explain later wickedness. Thus, writers were forced to another 
answer for the problem. They concentrated their efforts on Adam's 
fall in the paradise-narrative of Genesis 3. This new emphasis 
caused the Adam story to grow in significance as the "watcher" 
legend diminished and receded into the background. The fallen 
angels became the sole cause for the Deluge and a partial explanation 
for the sin of paradise. Adam became the explanation for evil since 
the flood.

This development was a gradual process. From 1 Enoch to 
3 Ezra both theories were interwoven with traces of two diverse 
ideas concerning the manner of sin's propagation. These diverse 
notions were that of imitation and heredity. In 1 Enoch the 
legend of the "watchers" is used to account for the cause of 
widespread corruption and the Adam story is ignored as a key to

1 Tennant, op. cit., p. 238.
2 Williams, op. cit., p. 85.
the problem of evil. But in the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," the "watchers" are not made the basis for any general problem of sin. And the book of Jubilees only uses the "watchers" story to explain degenerancy which evoked the deluge. Jubilees, then, turns to the paradise-narrative for an explanation of evil existing in the world at that time. The books of Adam and Eve appear to fuse the paradise-narrative and the "watcher" legend which brought about a confusion of the two totally distinct Biblical stories. Thus, when the paradise-narrative began to be used in terms of a universal fall, the serpent in the story became identified with Satan, betraying the previous angelic fall influence on the later speculation. But the legend of the "watchers" was almost eclipsed by the time of 2 Baruch which merely alludes to them. While, finally, in 4 Ezra the "watchers" vanish altogether.

Fusion of the Adamic-fall and "yetzer" theories

Judaism, in the time of 4 Ezra, sought the cause of sin and wickedness in both the theories of the "yetzer" and the fall of the first two parents. The latter was a hazy theory of some primitive moral catastrophe with a type of physical hereditary corruption
flowing from it. The former was a doctrine of an evil impulse planted by God in every human soul, separately and individually, causing all earthly corruption. But there were obvious attempts in Judaism during 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 to synthesize the two theories. Efforts were made by those who stressed the "yetzer" theory to incorporate into their system the fall doctrine of Adam and Eve. Likewise, there were more obvious leanings of the fall theory toward the doctrine of the "yetzer" which is contained in both 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra.

2 Baruch admits that Adam's transgression was the starting point in a long series of external and material disasters, particularly in the premature occurrence of death. These ideas are well substantiated in chapters 48:42-43 and 56:5-6 where it is stated that, "when he transgressed untimely death came into being." Also, in connection with the story of the "lustful angels," 56:10, the author of 2 Baruch gives further treatment concerning the evils that resulted through Adam's transgression. There is no obvious attempt to utilize the idea of the "yetzer" in these passages unless the "passions of parents" which was produced in 56:6 would be understood as the equivalent of the "yetzer." But the freedom granted man in imitating Adam's sin, which is contained in 54:15, is very near the doctrine professed by the Rabbis:
For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet those who were born from him, each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one has chosen for himself glories to come...

Thus, Adam's sin only introduced premature death and in no way affected his descendants freedom of choice.

The author of 4 Ezra accepts the Rabbinical doctrine of the "yetzer" and also maintains that after the "fall," the "evil tendency" was passed on to the human race. Here, definitely is a fusion of the "yetzer" with the Adam-theory. That is, at the moment of Adam's creation, the "yetzer" was planted in his heart and then, became fixed and habitual because of the fall. Also, the "yetzer" is hereditary in the human race and is communicated from Adam to his posterity by physical propagation. Four passages most ostensively containing these thoughts should be noted:

For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome; and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the law indeed was in the heart of the people, but (in conjunction) with the evil germ; so what was good departed, and the evil remained...

For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come...

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4. This opinion of 2 Baruch appears to be an attack upon and repudiation of the fall-theory as proposed in 4 Ezra. At least this teaching of 2 Baruch is controverted in 4 Ezra.

5. 4 Ezra 3:21-23. 6. 4 Ezra 4:30.
THEN SAID HE UNTO ME: EVEN SO, ALSO, IS ISRAEL'S PORTION: FOR IT WAS FOR THEIR SAKE I MADE THE WORLD; BUT WHEN ADAM TRANSGRESSED MY STATUTES, THEN WHICH HAD BEEN MADE WAS JUDGED, AND THEN THE WAYS OF THIS WORLD BECAME NARROW AND SORROWFUL AND PAINFUL AND FULL OF PERILS COUPLED WITH GREAT TOILS...

AND I ANSWERED AND SAID: THIS IS MY FIRST AND LAST WORD; BETTER HAD IT BEEN THAT THE EARTH HAD NOT PRODUCED ADAM, OR ELSE, HAVING ONCE PRODUCED HIM, (FOR THESE) TO HAVE RESTRAINED HIM FROM SINNING. FOR HOW DOES IT PROFIT US ALL THAT IN THE PRESENT WE MUST LIVE IN GRIEF AND AFTER DEATH LOOK FOR PUNISHMENT? O THOU ADAM, WHAT HAST THOU DONE! FOR THOUGH IT WAS THOU THAT SINNED, THE FALL WAS NOT THINE ALONE, BUT OURS ALSO WHO ARE THY DESCENDANTS...

THE FIRST TWO PASSAGES CLEARLY STATE THAT THE "YETZER" IS THE "EVIL HEART" AND THE "GRAIN OF EVIL SEED." THIS IS THE STARTING POINT FROM WHICH THE WORLD BECAME PAINFUL AND SORROWFUL AS STATED IN PASSAGE THREE. THERE IS NO MENTION IN THE THIRD PASSAGE CONCERNING THE TRANSMISSION OF SIN. RATHER, IT IS STATED THAT ADAM'S SIN WAS MERELY THE FIRST IN A LONG LINE OF EVILS. HOWEVER, THE FIRST AND LAST PASSAGE IMPLIES THE TRANSMISSION OF SIN FROM ADAM TO HIS DESCENDANTS.

ALTHOUGH ATTEMPTS WERE MADE ON THE PART OF SOME TO AMALGAMATE THE "YETZER" AND "FALL-THEORIES," THE COMPLEX ORGANIC FUSION OF SUCH NEVER ACHIEVED ITS FULLNESS IN JUDAISM. THE ONLY WORK WHICH APPROXIMATES A COMPLETE FUSION OF THE "YETZER" WITH THE "FALL" DOCTRINE CULMINATES IN THE EFFORTS OF 4 EZRA.

7 4 EZRA 7:11-12. 8 4 EZRA 7:116-118.
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B. PERIODICALS


