

## The Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* and the Epistle of James: A Comparative Analysis

Dorota Muszytowska

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw  
d.muszytowska@uksw.edu.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5873-382X>

**ABSTRACT:** The article deals with the problem of critical assessment of the negative behaviour of wealthy people, taken up in two different works: the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En. 92–105) and the Epistle of James. Due to the incomplete surviving Aramaic and Greek versions of the *Epistle of Enoch*, which could be a potential source for the author of the Epistle of James, diachronic research would not be fruitful. A comparative analysis in a synchronic approach was used to examine whether one can talk about the dependence or identity of the approach represented in the Epistle of James on the concept of wealth and the rich from the *Epistle of Enoch*. The conducted analyses indicate far-reaching analogies between these texts. The authors judge the rich by looking at their actions, considering the purpose of human life and the eschatological purpose. The authors are united by the concept of understanding man and his relationship with God and other people. Despite the different persuasive goals of their works, both stigmatise attitudes that oppose God's will, and their substantively rich sins catalogues can be considered convergent. Both authors point to the irrevocable judgement of God, which includes the punishment of destruction for the rich criticised in those works.

**KEYWORDS:** James 4:13–5:6, *1 Enoch*, *Epistle of Enoch*, criticism of the rich, final judgement, punishment and reward

The issue of the parallels between the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period, particularly the *First Book of Enoch*, or *1 Enoch*, and the texts of the New Testament is the subject of many studies, focusing mainly on understanding the concept of the Son of Man, the Parousia and the concept of judgement on the world.<sup>1</sup> *1 Enoch* is an important link between Jewish theological thought and early Christian concepts of eschatology and how to address eschatological reality.<sup>2</sup> The eschatological vision of history, present in

1 See A.E. Richter, *Enoch and the Gospel of Matthew* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 183; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications 2012); L.T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and Christian Tradition," *Early Christianity* 4/1 (2013) 7–40; G. Boccaccini, *Paul's Three Paths to Salvation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2020); E.F. Latifaga, *Apocalyptic Sheep and Goats in Matthew and 1 Enoch* (Atlanta, GA: SBL 2022).

2 Cf. J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. I. Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York – London – Toronto: Doubleday 1983) 9. Larger, A.E. Craig, *Non-Canonical Writings and the New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 1992).

apocalyptic texts and Jewish paraenesis, was transferred to Christian ground. It can be seen in the texts of the New Testament, including epistolography, where we often encounter a combination of motifs of Christ's Parousia and judgement on the world, as well as instructions on morality. Reminding about judgement in didactic texts is a motivating factor and draws attention to the fundamental goal of Christian life.<sup>3</sup>

The theme of judgement on the rich, present in the New Testament texts, expressed in Gospel parables, instructive exhortations or warnings, has not yet been examined in detail in the context of the analogy to *1 Enoch*. A relevant work in this area is an article by George W. E. Nickelsburg concerning the texts of the Gospel of Luke.<sup>4</sup>

The subject of this paper is a comparative synchronic analysis of two texts of the Epistle of James (4:13–17 and 5:1–6), containing an assessment of the conduct of the rich and selected texts of the criticism of the mighty contained in the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 94:6–11; *1 En.* 96:4–8; *1 En.* 97:8–10), to verify whether the assessment of the conduct of the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* can be considered a source shaping the teaching of the author of the Epistle of James, and, the potential influence of the *Epistle of Enoch* on the alleged addressees of the Epistle of James and on their interpretations of the teaching concerning the rich in the Epistle of James.<sup>5</sup> We are particularly interested in the problem of whether the adoption of an eschatological perspective results in analogous evaluations of the rich, and whether the theological teaching represented by these authors is the same.

## 1. Warnings to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

The composition of the *Epistle of Enoch* is unclear, and previous critical studies of this text indicate that this work may consist of texts from different periods and with different provenance.<sup>6</sup> Identification of the historical circumstances and potential addressees of the various calls and warnings is also unclear. Several hypotheses have been put forward, but none has gained support among most scholars, making the issue open. One theory suggests the addressees as the Pharisees (identified with the righteous and persecuted mentioned in

3 For more on this topic, see J.C. VanderKam – W. Adler (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 4; Assen – Minneapolis, MN: Van Gorcum – Fortress 1996); J. Starr – T. Engberg-Pedersen (eds.), *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (BZNTW 125; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2004); B.E. Reynolds – L.T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2017).

4 G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich, and God's Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *NTS* 25 (1978–79) 324–344.

5 Cf. P.H. Davids, "Tradition and Citation in the Epistle of James," *Scripture, Tradition, and Interpretation* (eds. W.W. Gasque – W.S. LaSor) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1978) 113–126.

6 Cf. L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2007) 187, 191–192; D. Iwański, "Księga Henocha – starożytny apokryf w świetle współczesnej wiedzy," *Teologia i Człowiek* 21/1 (2013) 123–139; G. Boccaccini, "Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement," *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini – J.J. Collins) (Leiden: Brill 2007) 301–328.

the *Epistle*) and the Sadducees (identified with the powerful, wealthy, persecuting the poor mentioned in the *Epistle*). Others propose to interpret these two opposing groups as conflicted circles within the Essene movement, between the representatives of urban Essenism and the radical community residing at Qumran, or between the group referred to as Enochians and the privileged group within Judaism.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to the consensus regarding the dating of the oldest parts of the Enochic corpus (between the third and second centuries BC),<sup>8</sup> there is no such consensus among scholars regarding the *Epistle of Enoch*. However, despite the many possible historical identifications, it is generally assumed that the work was written at the beginning of the second century BC<sup>9</sup> or at the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC.<sup>10</sup> This indicates a long enough tradition of functioning by the time of its reception by the author and recipients of the *Epistle of James*.

Regardless of the possible historical addressees of the various consolatory and condemnatory speeches in the *Epistle of Enoch*, they carry a specific message in a synchronic approach. It is in this view that they could also be interpreted, both by the primary and later recipients.

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- 7 R.H. Charles considered the conflict between the Sadducees and Pharisees under Alexander Jannai, from the period between 95–79 B.C., as the relevant historical situation (“Book of Enoch,” *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. II. *Pseudepigrapha* [ed. R.H. Charles] [Oxford: Clarendon 1913] liii–liv). This hypothesis was challenged by J.C. VanderKam, seeing rather the historical background in the period of the rise of the Maccabees (*Enoch and the Growth of Apocalyptic Tradition* [CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America 1984] 144). An even different identification of the potential audience was made by G. Boccaccini in “Enoch, Qumran, and the Essenes: The Rediscovery of a Forgotten Connection: A Response to ‘The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature’” (*George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* [eds. J. Neusner – A.J. Avery-Peck] [JSJSup 80; Leiden: Brill 2003] 127–132) and in “Qumran and the Enoch Groups: Revisiting the Enochic-Essene Hypothesis” (*The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. II. *Scripture and the Scrolls* [ed. J.H. Charlesworth] [Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2006] 51–53), considering the letter as an expression of the conflict between the Enochians and the community at Qumran, which was a reaction to what the Qumranites claimed. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature,” *JJS* 33/1–2 (1982) 333–348.
- 8 See J.H. Charlesworth, “A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books,” *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy (June 19–23, 2001)* (ed. G. Boccaccini) (Torino: Zamorani 2002) 243.
- 9 G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001) 440–441; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142–149; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. VanderKam* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 7; Leiden: Brill 1985) 288; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 60–62.
- 10 This coincides with the hypothesis put forward by J.T. Milik, who, based on comparative analyses with the Aramaic fragments found at Qumran and the problems of structural affiliation of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* to the *Epistle of Enoch*, suggested that the most likely date of the composition of the *Epistle of Enoch* is the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC. Cf. J.T. Milik [with collaboration of M. Black], *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon 1976) 255–256.

### 1.1. The Persuasive Function of Warnings to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

In the *Epistle of Enoch*, we find several passages where the author addresses exhortations and instructions to the rich directly, for example, 94:6–11; 96:4–8; 97:8–10; 102:9–103:8, and indirectly, in 98:1–3, 11. In the structure of the *Epistle of Enoch*, all these passages are found in the main body of the work.<sup>11</sup> Regardless of the differences in the proposals for the structural division of the work, the passages of interest to us, located in the main part, are independent of each other. As a result, the individual statements do not constitute a unified sequence of argumentation regarding the rich and their conduct; they do not continuously describe the thought taken up, and there is no indication that they refer each time to a specific and the same group of addressees.

G. Nickelsburg believes that the text of the work was composed in observance of the general principles of epistolography that operated in ancient Mediterranean civilisation. He also thinks it is possible to show it has typical compositional elements, such as the address, introductory greetings and prayers, an introduction to the letter's subject (revealing its purpose), the body of the letter and the final encouragements and wishes.<sup>12</sup> However, this author does not attribute a specific epistolographic genre to the *Epistle of Enoch*. Considering the much later Greek theoretical elaborations of the principles of epistolography,<sup>13</sup> this work most closely corresponds to the category of consoling letters,<sup>14</sup> but with elements of a threatening letter. Indeed, adopting the epistolary structure, one can clearly see that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* separates the addressees of the letter mentioned in the address, to whom he mainly directs words of comfort, support, encouragement to persevere, from the group of those to whom he directs words of warning and promises of punishment. This tone of speech corresponds most closely to the category of threatening letters, in which the

11 In the literature, the most widely accepted proposals for the structure of the *Epistle of Enoch* are those put forward by translators and commentators on the *1 Enoch*: G.W.E. Nickelsburg or L.T. Stuckenbruck. Nickelsburg distinguishes six thematic discourses in the body of the *Epistle of Enoch* (94:6–104:8), while Stuckenbruck divides the main part of the work (94:6–104:8) into three thematic discourses.

12 See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 416, 420–421.

13 There are no known ancient theoretical studies on the principles of writing and composing letters in the Aramaic tradition that would be analogous to the letter patterns of Pseudo Demetrius or Libanius, created in the tradition of Greek epistolography and rhetoric. Preserved artefacts of Aramaic letters, especially those written on parchment and papyrus and dated between 200 BC to AD 200, as well as literary letters and letters transmitted in literary texts (in historiographic, propaganda and sapiential texts), confirm that these traditions are not distant from each other, and most of the phenomena regarding the composition of the letter, its arrangement, style and epistolary genres are related. It also applies to letters written in Jewish circles, which show features of both epistolographic traditions. Aramaic epistolographic traditions are assumed to be as important as Greek traditions in terms of their influence on the authors of New Testament epistolography. Therefore, it can be assumed that the *Letter of Enoch* also reflects Aramaic epistolary traditions, provided that it is a work composed after the model of the addressed text. For more on Aramaic epistolography, see, for example, J.A. Fitzmyer, "Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography," *JBL* 93/2 (1974) 201–225; L. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography* (WUNT 1/298; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012).

14 In the handbook of Pseudo Demetrius *Typoi epistolikoi* 5, a consoling letter is provided for situations when something bad, unpleasant, difficult has befallen the addressee. The letter is intended to give comfort to the addressee, to assure that the sender sympathises with his pain, to give the addressee hope and to improve his mood.

sender writes to the addressee because of what the addressee has done wrong or intends to do, to show that the addressee will not escape accountability, judgement or punishment for such actions, and the addressee's guilt will be revealed.<sup>15</sup>

The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* strongly encourages his primary recipients to rejoice, the reason for which is supposed to be the conviction that a just judgement will take place, that all injustice and sin will be removed, and that the righteous will receive mercy and experience peace, goodness, and a share in wisdom. In such a context, all the announcements of eschatological judgement on the world, which run continuously through the content of the letter, for the addressees are first and foremost announcements of freedom, justice and peace and not of punishment, anguish and destruction, which will be inextricably linked to the judgement. However, these will not affect the primary addressees of this letter, but sinners, whom the author of the letter warns, reminding them of the judgement to come and retribution appropriate to their deeds. In this way, indirectly, the sinners criticised in the letter also become the addressees of this work. The author of the *Letter of Enoch* provides, as it were, instructions in the tone of threats, warnings and announcements of punishment to sinners. However, they are not mentioned in the address of the letter.<sup>16</sup>

A similar proposal for the structural division of the *Epistle of Enoch* was made by Loren Stuckenbruck.<sup>17</sup> However, he differs from Nickelsburg on several fundamental points. He notes that considering this text in terms of genres of epistolography is not obvious, and, in his opinion, it is doubtful that the work was originally a letter. He shows that calling this work a 'letter' is an anachronism. However, he does not rule out that in the process of composition, this text was given the characteristics of an 'addressed' work, which is confirmed by the presence of epistolary formulas in the compositional frame of the text.<sup>18</sup> The work, however, also comes close to sapiential texts, although it would also be difficult to classify it into a specific wisdom genre. It is considered most often as an example of a testament, a genre that combines sapiential and apocalyptic traditions, or an instructive prophetic speech.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Pseudo Demetrius, *Typoi epistolikoi* 8.

<sup>16</sup> In the letters, especially the so-called open letters, you can notice the presence of a 'hidden addressee', who is not mentioned directly in the address formula but to whom the sender often addresses the letter's content. It does not have to be a direct phrase. It may appear, for example, in the form of veiled criticism or a reference to the views of this 'hidden addressee'. So, it is a kind of secondary addressee.

<sup>17</sup> See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 193–196.

<sup>18</sup> Stuckenbruck disagrees with the opinion of Nickelsburg and Boccacini that the absence of content from the corpus of the *Epistle of Enoch* (94:6–104:8) among the Dead Sea texts is sufficient argument to consider this part of the *Epistle of Enoch* as a later composition, also later incorporated into the epistolary framework of the Epistle, already as a compositional element of *1 Enoch* ("The 'Epistle of Enoch': Genre and Authorial Presentation," *DSD. Rethinking Genre: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* 17/3 [2010] 373, n. 26; contra Boccacini, "Enoch, Qumran, and the Essenes," 123–132).

<sup>19</sup> See R.A. Argall, "Competing Wisdoms: 1 Enoch and Sirach," *Hen* 24/1–2 (2002) 169–178; J.C. Collins, "An Enochic Testament? Comments on George Nickelsburg's Hermeneia Commentary," *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective*, 373–378; M.A. Knibb, "Enoch Literature and Wisdom Literature," *Hen* 24/1–2 (2002) 197–203; Stuckenbruck, "The 'Epistle of Enoch,'" 359–361; M.A. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch in the Light of the Qumran Wisdom Literature," *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez) (Leuven: Peeters 2003) 193–210.

The structure of the *Epistle of Enoch*, as seen by Stuckenbruck, draws attention to several essential features of the work, important for the issues of interest in this article. Putting aside that the text has features of a letter and focusing on its apocalyptic aspects allows us to better explain the work's persuasive strategy, surprising to the modern reader, in which criticism and warnings against sinners dominate over words of consolation to the addressees. Indeed, such an overload of antithetical content can rightly be considered a risky move for a typical consolation letter.

In this apocalyptic reflection, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* presents the recipients with a picture of two realities. The first one appears grossly unjust, in which those who act wickedly are successful, prosper, and enjoy privileges and riches they possess even though they acquired them in a wicked manner, often enjoying impunity and rarely facing punishment during their lifetime for their iniquitous conduct. Those who are righteous, on the other hand, endure persecution, suffer poverty and experience sorrow from tribulations. The second reality is that which will come in the future, referred to by the author with a number of expressions ('in those days', 'on that day', 'on the day of judgment', 'on the day of great judgment', 'on the day of tribulation and dishonour of spirits', 'on the day of destruction', 'on the day of fulfilment'). The expected reality is related to the completion of judgement on the world, after which the existing unjust order will be destroyed, all sins annihilated, and righteousness rewarded. The texts against the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* thus belong to a set of instructions related to the eschatological perspective of the history of creation.

These types of rhetoric, both the one obtained by giving the work epistolary features and the one that is inscribed in the apocalyptic-sapiential goals of the work, integrally contribute to the persuasion of the *Epistle of Enoch*. They do not contradict each other but complement its reading.

## 1.2. Analysis of Exhortations Addressed to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

As mentioned above, in the corpus of the work, we can find several texts in which people associated with material wealth are addressed, and their conduct is criticised. Three of them are particularly close in content to the exhortations in the Epistle of James.

6 Woe to those who build iniquity and violence, and lay deceit as a foundation; for quickly they will be overthrown, and they will have no peace. 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; for from all the foundations they will be overthrown, and by the sword they will fall. And those who require gold and silver in judgment will quickly perish. 8 Woe to you, rich, for in your riches you have trusted; from your riches you will depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days in your riches. 9 You have committed blasphemy and iniquity; and you have been prepared for the day of bloodshed and the day of darkness and the day of great judgment. 10 Thus I say and make known to you: He who created you will overturn you; and for your fall there will be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction. 11 And your righteous ones in those days will be a reproach to the sinners and the wicked. (1 En. 94:6–11)

The above passage is part of the first speech against the wicked (94:6–95:2). It draws particular attention to naming the guilt of the rich. Although the direct naming of the addressees as rich appears only in verse 8, the earlier verses (94:6–7) may also refer to the same group of addressees. The semantics of the sense of the guilt of the rich is made precise by these two preceding warnings. The rich thus appear here as the same or analogous group of sinners, or a specific subgroup of them, whose faults are of the same nature as those to whom the warnings are directed earlier. The actions, therefore, attributed to these addressees, such as laying foundations out of wickedness and violence and erecting houses out of sin, can also be seen as describing the actions of the rich.<sup>20</sup> Verse 94:7b (where the coveters of gold and silver are mentioned) may be the keystone of this group of sinners with the rich (94:8–9), to whom the warning is already given directly ('Woe to you, rich...').<sup>21</sup> The meaning of verse 94:7b is uncertain.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, it could be either about the coveting and accumulating gold and silver *per se* or about the specific conditions for demanding gold and silver in a court situation. In that case, it would be tantamount to wicked judgements rendered in accordance with, gained or not, profit.<sup>23</sup> This corresponds well with the earlier warnings, explaining what the iniquity mentioned there, the wickedness on which the houses were built, would include.<sup>24</sup> The metaphor of building, used in verses 94:6–7, suggests the meaning that the reference is to those who earned their position by wicked means.<sup>25</sup> However, regardless of which meaning we take, broader or narrowed to court cases, the phrase coveting gold and silver in 94:7b is semantically related to some extent to the second warning (94:8–9), where the author is already explicitly addressing the rich.

Noteworthy, this semantic connection of the phrase 'lusting after gold and silver' with the word 'rich' in 94:8 (πλούσιοι in Greek manuscripts) indicates in the first place that what

20 The later term 'coveting gold and silver', semantically referring to material wealth, can be seen as a synonymous parallel to the earlier descriptions due to the absence of the formula 'woe'. Cf. M.M. Dewayne, *Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful: Perspectives on Wealth in the Second Temple Period and the Apocalypse of John* (Ph.D. Diss. Durham University; Durham 2010) 61.

21 In the earlier verses (6 and 7) the third person form is used, in verse 8 there is a change to the second person. Thus, the author directly addresses the rich with the warning 'woe'. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 262.

22 Some researchers consider 7b to be a later interpolation, Cf. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 296.

23 The problematic word here is 'in judgment' (*waBaKwennanē* in the Ethiopian manuscript *Lake Tana 9*), which can refer both to the action of requesting, demanding, and to the moment of eschatological judgement. A possible twofold understanding is advocated in his translation by Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 461. The meaning of the earlier verses, which may refer to bribed judgements, may be indicated by another passage, parallel to this one, from *1 En.* 99:12–13, where social injustice or slave labour is exposed. Rather, Stuckenbruck ('And [woe to] those who acquire gold and silver: in the judgment they will be quickly destroyed', *1 Enoch 91–108*, 263) is in favour of associating the word with the term eschatological judgement, in which the destruction of these covetous ones will occur 'quickly'. In his opinion, this corresponds with such expressions in the canonical prophetic texts.

24 In biblical tradition, 'building houses' often refers to the erection of the Temple, the building of residences, palaces, cities, families, dynasties, including metaphorically. See e.g. Deut 25:9; Ruth 4:11; 1 Sam 2:35; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Kgs 11:38; 1 Chron 17:10, 25; Ps 127:1; Prov 24:3; Job 22:23; Jer 18:9; 31:28.

25 Perhaps in this passage, we are dealing with conscious allusions to Jer 17:11, where reference is made to the dishonest acquisition of silver and gold, and Jer 22:13, where there is a picture of building a house on injustice, which is, among other things, labour without pay.

is meant is those possessing material wealth, but also the power or social position from riches resulting from or allowing enrichment at the expense of justice. The definition of the guilt of the rich in this warning suggests that the author need not be concerned only with riches in the material sense (although in Greek, the word usually occurred in such contexts). For the accusation portrays them as sinners against the Most High, and their riches as the cause of their disregard for Him (*1 En.* 94:8b–9). Thus, it does not relate only to the dimension of material wealth, in which the rich put their trust (*1 En.* 94:8a). That wealth (the Greek versions use the noun *πλοῦτος*) of which they will be deprived also seems to be everything that the ‘rich’ consider most important, which gives them a sense of independence, power, superiority over others, and does not necessarily imply a direct connection to the possession of material goods. However, this is not explicitly mentioned in the text. This could be an analogy: just as material wealth, in possession of which one places one’s trust, becomes an obstacle to giving the Most High his due honour and is no different from an attitude of idolatry and depriving the rich of their material possessions is a legitimate punishment, so too, placing trust in all other goods, including immaterial ones (e.g. power, fame), instead of trusting God, demands adequate action.

The author does not explain what he means by blasphemy, insults to God and forgetting God in a state of wealth (*1 En.* 94:8b–9). These charges are not directly equated with idolatry, although, in essence, it can be seen in this accusation. Understanding them becomes clearer by elaborating on the description of the punishment due in *1 En.* 94:10. God is called the Creator (‘He who created you,’ ‘your Creator’), who will be pleased by the fall and destruction of the rich. The rich are thus nothing more than creatures dependent on the Creator. Even more so, their riches *vis-à-vis* the Creator are nothing and belong to Him just as much as the people who possess them. Blasphemy and insults to God can thus be understood as denying this truth through one’s actions and words, i.e. in effect, falsifying the image of God and denying Him the status of Creator and ascribing to oneself the causal power to acquire and multiply wealth.<sup>26</sup> In the charges of lawlessness, disregard, and forgetfulness of the Most High, one can see echoes of the practical interpretation of the Torah’s injunctions related to the obligation to pay tithes due (*Deut* 14:22–29), which these wealthy did not fulfil. The generality of these accusations, however, suggests that it is not just a matter of narrowing down to cultic duties but a parallel with the attitude of ignoring God and even following other gods in the experience of abundance, success, wealth (cf. *Deut* 32:15–18), which are apparently considered factors not conducive to remembering dependence on the Creator.

It is also significant, however, that it is not clear from the text of *1 En.* 94:8 that the author considers the mere possession of wealth a fault. It is reasonable to assume that he remains consistent with the belief, clearly evident in the canonical texts, that wealth can be one of the signs of God’s endowment and blessing.<sup>27</sup> In another part of the *Epistle of Enoch*,

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 463.

<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 264.

in the complaint of the righteous experiencing suffering and persecution, this mindset also makes itself known: 'Blessed are the sinners all their days that they have seen. And now they have died with goods and wealth, and affliction and murder they have not seen in their lives' (103:5b–6). From this, we can see that the second warning deals with a different situation of wealth from that which the author called for in the warning of 94:6–7. Here, the author makes it clear that the guilt of the rich is their attitude towards the Most High, and there is no question of an unrighteous way of acquiring wealth.

So, we can speak of a kind of development of thought in these juxtaposed warnings. This is highlighted by the composition's construction of parallelisms, which dynamise the message. One level of parallelism is, of course, formed by juxtapositions of the guilt-punishment type. It is present in both warnings: 6a–6b; 7a–7a'; 7b–7b'; 8a–8b; 9a–9b. The second level of parallelism is formed by synthetic parallelism, present in both the description of the guilt of rich people and the anticipated punishment. The first element of parallelism in the presentation of the charges is the statement of building on lawlessness, violence, lies and sin; the second is the coveting of gold and silver and placing trust in wealth; and the third is ignoring God in the experience of wealth, blasphemy and wickedness. In this way, the author gives a more complete description of the guilt of the rich. When speaking of punishment, the synthetic parallelism has four elements, and the last element is a synthesis of the earlier announcements of punishment. First, there is a prediction of the overthrow, lack of peace, annihilation by the sword; then, swift annihilation at the time of judgement, deprivation of riches that are the delusion of power; further, a statement of being prepared (in the sense of a judgement that cannot be avoided) for the day of blood, the day of darkness and the day of great judgement. Therefore, in *1 En.* 94:10–11, a sentence of judgement is given, introduced with the formula 'I say and make known to you.' This judgement foreshadows being brought to destruction by the Creator, lacking mercy and suffering reproach from the righteous,<sup>28</sup> and the Creator's joy at the accomplished judgement of destruction.

A kind of progressive intensification can be seen in these parallelisms. This effect is influenced by the vocabulary used concerning punishment, revolving around deprivation, fall and destruction but also expressing the certainty of the pending judgement by God (*1 En.* 94:10).<sup>29</sup> The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* reminds us that God, making judgement, will not deliberate in the future whether these deeds of the rich deserve punishment. They are already judged. In the future, this judgement will become a reality through the

28 The translation of verse 94:11 is uncertain since the records of the Ethiopian manuscripts convey a text that is inconsistent with the context, for the reference of the phrase translated as 'your righteous ones' is unclear when we are dealing with a formula of judgement on the wickedly acting rich. It is likely that the Ethiopian versions reflect a mistranslation into Greek of the Semitic dative. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 463.

29 The idea of God preparing those who act wickedly for the judgement and sentence to be carried out over them frequently appears elsewhere in the *Epistle of Enoch*, e.g. 98:10; 99:6, and is also known from canonical texts, e.g. Isa 30:33. In the *Epistle of Enoch*, a contrasting image is that of preparing the righteous for the reward of their deeds, e.g. 103:3. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 98–108, 265.

fulfilment of judgement. The author thus indicates to the addressees of this judgement that knowing God's 'view' of the rich's conduct compounds their guilt. They understand how God sees their actions (they have not been deprived of the ability to know what pleases God and what does not), but they ignore it. Therefore, the presence at the time of the judgement of the righteous people, whose conduct is contrasted with the deeds of the rich, will additionally speak against them.

This statement is further intensified by the motif of God's rejoicing at the judgement made and its fulfilment, which in *1 En.* also appears in the *Animal Apocalypse* (89:58) and can be recognised in Deut 28:63. In the *Epistle of Enoch*, reference is made to the angels' rejoicing at the destruction of the wicked (97:2).<sup>30</sup>

A similar amplification can be seen in the parallelism in the description of guilt. The guilt of those who acquired wealth in a wicked manner and in opposition to the law of God is undoubtedly tremendous since it prepares them for the judgement of destruction. However, the guilt of those who have been enriched by God, who have experienced His blessing, who have been blessed with many goods, and who have turned this abundance into wickedness and turned away from the Giver of these goods is seen by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* as terrible, for whom a highly harsh judgement of lack of mercy is prescribed.

4 Woe to you, sinners, for your riches make you appear to be righteous, but your heart convicts you of being sinners; and this word will be testimony against you, a reminder of (your) evil deeds. 5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, and drink wine from the krater, while you tread on the lowly with your might. 6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain, for quickly you will be repaid, and cease and dry up, because you have forsaken the fountain of life. 7 Woe to you who commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy; it will be reminder against you for evil. 8 Woe to you, mighty, who with might oppress the righteous one; for the day of your destruction will come. In those days, many good days will come for the righteous – in the day of your judgment. (*1 En.* 96:4–8)

The above passage is another speech against the wicked in the *Epistle of Enoch*. In it, the author combines the issue of having wealth and power, which he stigmatises as reprehensible. From the point of view of our topic, it is most relevant to develop the description of the guilt of the rich, whom the author also addresses directly in this speech. The author outlines specific situations that he considers despicable. As stated earlier, the individual passages with warnings against the wicked are not given in a logical/contextual sequence. Thus, the situation presented here is not a continuation of the previous speech nor a typical development of one. However, it does not mean that it fails to explain what the author considers wicked in the conduct of the rich. It is difficult to assume that this speech defines in more detail the faults of the same group previously subjected (in *1 En.* 94:6–11) to criticism of the rich. It may, in some part, also characterise their guilt. Still, one should rather see in this subsequent series of 'woe' warnings also for the rich, whose guilt is different from

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 98–108*, 268.

those the author addressed earlier. Here, the addressees are not identified as in the previous speech. Still, this speech covers the same issue of the guilt of the rich. Hence, it certainly adds new categories to the definition of the misconduct of the rich.<sup>31</sup>

In this discourse, we do not have such contrasting juxtapositions of the guilt-punishment type; however, the author does not limit himself to criticising the recipients of this warning. Indeed, he repeats the characteristic phrase announcing that this warning will be a reminder of their evil deeds (*1 En.* 96:4b, 7b) and finishes the speech by stating that ‘in those days’, which he understands as days of righteous retribution, will be a day of judgement for those who act wickedly.

The thing that draws the reader’s attention is the demonstration of the duplicity of the rich, who pretend to be righteous and pious (*1 En.* 96:4). It is difficult to answer what specifically makes up this picture. It may simply be about enjoying wealth, success, prosperity, and social position, which bear the mark of God’s blessing. Other people may consider the rich, to whom the warning is addressed, as those who enjoy God’s special favour because of their righteousness. Perhaps what is meant is a situation in which the rich come across as righteous in the eyes of others, as admirable, through the actions they take due to their wealth. Their achievements may be seen as virtuous or useful, but their motivation is not the true good, and their actions are actually calculated for their own gain. Before God, they are unable to stand as righteous and upright, and their riches will not change their image before God as sinners. The addressees of this warning can thus be equated with hypocrites. The phrase about accusing through the heart (*1 En.* 96:4b) indicates that such rich people are aware of their sinful behaviour or motivations for their actions but stand in truth neither before God nor before those who believe them righteous. Moreover, they behave as if they choose to create their image before others at the expense of the truth. Continued living a lie can be considered a manifestation of their pride. Therefore, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* considers ‘this word’ as a testimony against their evil deeds. This most likely refers to the very word spoken in the hearts, being the accuser of the rich.<sup>32</sup>

From the subsequent warnings, in *1 En.* 96:5–6, new categories of guilt of the rich can be read. It is reasonable to treat these two warnings as a whole since the announcement of judgement appears only in verse six.<sup>33</sup> Here, we have two more specific expressions of guilt, which are not entirely easy to decode. These are metaphorical images, showing the consumerist lifestyle of the rich, the social injustice they commit and their abandonment of the source of life.

31 In a slightly different view, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 296. In his opinion, this speech is a detailed elaboration of what was mentioned in 94:7–8, showing what sin is, which is the foundation of the buildings erected by the rich.

32 Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 471. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 297, sees in the word that will bear witness to the reminder of sin a reference to what the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* conveys, giving instruction about judgement in the end times.

33 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 298.

The first warning indicates that the guilt of the rich is experiencing wealth, described metaphorically as access to the best food and drink while exploiting the poor.<sup>34</sup> Many commentators have attempted to explain the expressions of this passage and their possible semantic connotations in canonical texts.<sup>35</sup> It is plausible that *1 En.* 96:5 is an echo of the criticism in Am 5:11, where the prophet denounces the exploitation of the poor through excessive tributes in grain, and also in Am 6:6, where there is a picture of those living in splendour and drinking pitchers of wine, or in Am 4:1, where the prophet criticises the rich women of Samaria. They oppress the poor to fulfill their whims, encouraging their husbands to act wickedly until they get what they want. Alternatively, it could echo the criticism of the wicked shepherds of Israel in Ezek 34:2–4, 18–19, who primarily cater to their own needs and, instead of caring for those under their care, exploit them for their own gain. This supports the interpretation of verse *1 En.* 96:5 that the phrase ‘you tread on the lowly with your might’ refers to the immoderate use of wealth, including exploiting the poor and those of lower social status, which means abusing their position by the rich in social relations and contributing to social injustice.

The translation of L. Stuckenbruck, taking into account the different versions transmitted by the manuscripts in the Ethiopian and Greek versions, should be considered convincing.<sup>36</sup> He retained the recurring word *naqe*’ in v. 5 and v. 6, which can be translated as ‘fountain’ or ‘spring’, thus bringing out the tension built up in the passage; namely, the image of the rich who drink from the spring without restraint is presented first. This literalism allows us to recreate potential situations of what this source is. In the most basic sense, it can refer to a physical source of water to which they always have access, consider themselves privileged to use it, satisfy their needs first without regard for the needs of others, and perhaps control the source of water. The word can also have a metaphorical sense, like wheat, symbolising abundance, affluence, not experiencing lack and dependence or uncertainty. Then, another image is outlined with the formulation of guilt and the justification for punishment. The rich are accused of abandoning the fountain of life (‘because you have forsaken the fountain of life’). This metaphor is made easier to understand by the foreboding announcement that these sources from which the rich have drawn are temporary, transient, illusory. There is a shift here from object to subject. It is not the sources that will cease, but those who draw from them will become exhausted and shrivelled. Unequivocally, this shift indicates that what the rich draw from and feed on does not give them life; on the contrary, it leads to destruction. The juxtaposition of the noun *Häyl*, ‘strength’ (in Nickelsburg’s translation ‘might’) of the rich and the verbs describing their

<sup>34</sup> Many commentators have attempted to explain the expressions that appear in this passage.

<sup>35</sup> The discussion, translation solutions adopted by R.H. Charles, M. Knibb, M. Black, G.W.E. Nickelsburg, among others, and their critical evaluation are presented by Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 298–300.

<sup>36</sup> 96:5–6 ‘Woe to you, who devour the best of the wheat and drink the strength of the root of the fountain and trample upon the lowly with your strength. Woe to you who drink water all the time, for quickly you will become exhausted and dry up because you have forsaken the fountain of life.’ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 294–295, 300.

later 'exhausted' state (in Nickelsburg's translation 'cease'), as well as the contrast with the metaphorical 'fountain of life' emphasises the drama of their actual situation. The metaphor is familiar from canonical texts in which the term refers to God, e.g. Jer 2:13 and 17:13, God is called the 'fountain of living water' (LXX: 'fountain of life'), in Ps. 36:9 in God is the source of life. The image of drying up could no doubt also be reinforced by the memory of events known from the history of the chosen people. For example, 1 Kgs describes a prolonged drought that prevailed during the times of the prophet Elijah, preceded by the Israelites' sin of idolatry – the worship of Baal as the deity of fertility, crops and rain, and the gift of abundant rain given by God only after the judgement on the prophets of Baal and the punishment of depriving them of life. The conduct of the rich can, therefore, be seen in terms of the sin of idolatry. Consequently, the eschatological judgement foretold will reveal the tragic situation of these rich: the lack of hope for salvation because they have consistently cut themselves off from God, who is the source of life, choosing what will not provide life for them.<sup>37</sup>

This corresponds well with the falsity of the righteousness and uprightness of the rich in *1 En.* 96:4 and the lack of mercy during judgement. Although the addressees need not be the same category of people, the similarity of the sin of the two groups makes it possible to juxtapose the warnings addressed to them in a single speech. The first and second are those whose wealth leads them to a life of lies and delusion.

The last two warnings in this condemnatory speech (*1 En.* 96:7–8) are not directly addressed to the rich. The addressees that appear here as those who 'commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy' and 'mighty, [...] who oppress the righteous one' can be considered superior to those that were detailed in the first two warnings. Tying these warnings together is, in particular, an accusation against the mighty, the powerful, who persecute the righteous (*1 En.* 96:8). The rich who exploit the poor (in *1 En.* 96:5) can be recognised in this group. The guilt of the rich is treated as belonging to the category of sins of wickedness and blasphemy against God, so the punishment for their actions is also appropriate. The rich who, because of their wealth, have abandoned the source of life in *1 En.* 96:6 face destruction, as do those guilty of blasphemy, deceit and wickedness.

7 Woe to you, sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and upon the dry land; the reminder against you is evil. 8 Woe to you who acquire gold and silver unjustly and say, "We have become very wealthy, and we have gotten possessions, and we have acquired all that we have wished. 9 And now let us do what we have wished, for silver we have treasured up in our treasuries, and many goods in our houses; and as water they are poured out". 10 You err! For your wealth will not remain, but will quickly ascend from you; for you have acquired everything unjustly, and you will be delivered to a great curse. (*1 En.* 97:8–10)

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<sup>37</sup> Similarly Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 301.

Translation from Greek versions<sup>38</sup>:

(7) Woe to you, O sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and upon the dry land; there is an evil reminder against you. (8) Woe to you, who gain gold and silver without righteousness, and you will say, “We have become rich with riches and we have acquired possessions. (9) And let us do everything what we wish, for we have treasured up silver in our treasuries and many goods in our houses, and they are poured out like water.” (10) You are in error, for your wealth will not remain, but quickly (it will go away) from you because you have acquired everything unjustly, and you will be delivered over to a great curse.

Reading the next speech with the condemnation of the rich allows us to see many elements present in the earlier two speeches addressing this issue. However, this does not mean that we are dealing with mere repetitions.

As in the previous speeches, the addressees are defined in general terms at the beginning as sinners who are at sea and on land, which may imply the universality of the attitude, which the speech will describe in detail in a moment.<sup>39</sup> It is possible, however, that despite the generality of the statement, it might be a clue concerning the identity of its addressees. It could be about a particular group of the wealthy involved in commerce, for whom sea and land travel was part of their lives, or the wealthy often travelling for entertainment.<sup>40</sup>

What draws attention in this speech is the difference in expressing criticism. The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* enlivens the description of guilt, introducing elements of narration and showing the criticised in the role of an active speaking protagonist of the outlined scenes. From a rhetorical point of view, we can see here a combination of two figures: *evidentia* and imitation (*mimesis*, also known as *ethopoeia*, *sermocinatio*, *dialogos*).<sup>41</sup> Rhetorical

38 This fragment is also preserved in a Greek version, in the Chester Beatty – Michigan Papyrus collection, in a manuscript marked CB 185. See F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscript on Papyrus of the Greek Bible. VIII. Enoch and Melito* (London: Walker 1949). Translation into English by Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 316.

39 This is the understanding of Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 473.

40 Archaeological research confirms that during the Hellenistic period in the Palestinian territories, especially in the cities of the Mediterranean coast, there was an increase in the occurrence, including in Israelite homes, of gold and silverware, often imported from outside, with designs other than the native ones. See D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1960) 90–120. This may go some way to explaining the distinctive phraseology of ‘gold and silver’ found in the speech, but it also indicates the intensity of contacts and trade trips.

41 These rhetorical figures and techniques were described in ancient Greco-Roman rhetorical theories as phenomena present in narratives and characterised by their persuasiveness. We do not mean here that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* used Greek patterns of figures of speech, transposing them from rhetoric manuals into his text, written in a Semitic language. In these theoretical descriptions of methods of rhetorical expression, one can find universal phenomena of utterance construction that go beyond the features of a given language. It applies to a large part of the so-called thought figures but also to tropes that do not depend on the language’s grammar. Phenomena such as metonymy, metaphor, irony, hyperbole and others are features of linguistic communication. They are not assigned to the Greek language, although the first theoretical descriptions of these phenomena were described in this language in ancient times in rhetoric theory. The same applies to specific ways of talking about something. Creating a hero in a narrative and using direct speech, quoting the characters’ statements, creating ‘live’ dialogues and thus reflecting the characters’ behaviour can also be considered a universal means of storytelling. It can be observed in the literature of various languages, including Hebrew texts of

and literary devices are used to present the issues at hand to the readers more fully and provide a better opportunity to involve them in the message, stimulating evaluation and change of views or attitudes. Typically, *evidentia* is used to make the readers more familiar with the situation being described, putting them, for example, in the role of an eyewitness, direct viewer or participant, through an appropriate way of describing or telling so that they can, as it were, participate in what is presented. The visualisation is perfectly served by such devices as the creation of characters, into whose mouths appropriate words are put so that they express the essence of their views, attitudes, behaviour, and character (*ethopoeia*). Through their own expressions, the characters present themselves at the narrative level. Thus, the readers get to know the character directly and discover an independently related problem with the character. The author or narrator is hidden, so the author's point of view or evaluation does not influence the readers. In this way, the recipients can form their opinions based on their assessment of the words, views, and manner of speaking of the character of the situation they are getting to know.

In the case of the text of interest here, we have direct speech in *1 En.* 97:8–9, quoting the words of the rich. This device is interesting in that the author makes the narrative's protagonists the very recipients of the criticism to whom he speaks directly earlier (*1 En.* 97:8a: 'Woe to you'). They win the gold and silver in an unrighteous manner and are the main recipients of this statement. This would suggest that the author wants the wealthy under criticism to see themselves better in their behaviour. This introduces an element of hope that, with a change in conduct, the announced judgement of the court will not affect them. The author further confirms this by pointing out to the rich that they are stuck in error (*1 En.* 97:10a) and that their riches will not stand because they have achieved everything wickedly. This supposes that the addressees of this warning did not necessarily view their conduct as reprehensible. It is, therefore, impossible to clearly identify the addressees of this criticism with the addressees of *1 En.* 96:4–8, who are shown as being aware of their sinful behaviour. By far, the characterisation brings its addressees closer to the rich of *1 En.* 94:7b–9a, coveting gold and silver, who were accused of departing from God and putting their trust in their riches. The purpose of such stylisation is also to enable all audiences of the work to recognise the guilt of the criticised rich from their proper modes of expression.

We have two repetitions in this passage with the content of the determination of guilt, which was also presented in the earlier warning, in *1 En.* 94:7b. One is the designation of the addressees as 'gainers of gold and silver' (*1 En.* 97:8). The other is the prediction of the swift deprivation of these possessed riches in *1 En.* 97:10 (transl. from Gr. 'quickly it will go away from you'; transl. from Eth. 'will quickly go up from you'),<sup>42</sup> analogous to the announcement in *1 En.* 94:7b. However, we also have a thought that does not appear there explicitly. In the criticism of *1 En.* 94:7, wealth is not expressly linked to the wicked manner

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biblical narratives. Using the concept of *ethopoeia* here, we want to draw attention to the persuasive features of this method of storytelling, so named because of the use of rhetoric behind the created ethos of the characters who are the heroes of this way of storytelling.

42 The following is translated here from the Ethiopian version after Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91–108, 316.

in which it was acquired. It is possible to derive such a conclusion from earlier statements in this condemnation speech. Still, such a correlation is not expressed explicitly. In this case, on the other hand, in the speech of *1 En.* 97:7–10, both in the Greek and Ethiopic versions, the message is unambiguous. The author repeats twice that the wealth of the rich is unrighteous and achieved unjustly (*1 En.* 97:8, 10).

The criticised characteristics of the rich in this warning (*1 En.* 97:7–10) are not addressed so explicitly in the preceding speeches (*1 En.* 94:6–11 and 96:4–8). However, the connotation of possessed wealth with wickedness is implicitly written into the meaning of both preceding speeches.

How the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* understands the iniquity of the rich in this context is made clear by the rhetorical figure (*ethopoeia*) used in the quoted speech of the rich. What emerges unequivocally from it is a picture of wealth in the material sense, evident in both versions of the message (estates, houses, treasuries, silver and possessions). However, since the author previously did not consider it reprehensible to be wealthy *per se*, it would be unreasonable to assume such a sense here.<sup>43</sup> If these rich had acquired their wealth while maintaining integrity and handling it decently, it would be difficult to condemn their attitude (a positive picture of wealth is shown in *Sir* 10:30–31; 11:14; 40:25, for example).

Note that the Ethiopian version, more than the Greek text, exposes (by doubling the statement<sup>44</sup> of the rich having achieved everything they wanted and an expression of encouragement to continue such a course of action) the issue of the rich actively acquiring everything they wanted (*1 En.* 97:8b ‘and we have acquired all that we have wished’). The subtext carries the understanding that the rich did not have to reckon with anyone or anything in acquiring their wealth. Thus, their actions could often involve harming and exploiting others (an echo of the allegations in *1 En.* 96:8 can be noticed here). Moreover, the rich present themselves as proud of their deeds and see sense in continuing their conduct (*1 En.* 97:9a ‘And now let us do what we have planned’). It is these words that carry content indicating the hidden wickedness behind the actions of the rich.<sup>45</sup>

The Greek version, on the other hand, while also indicating a kind of self-indulgence in pursuits, through the absence of this repetition concerning the will of the rich, provides more of a description of wealth, i.e. the pride of the rich, and particularly the excess of the wealthy’s possessions or the extravagance in their use (‘they are poured out like water’). This allows us to infer that it is not the possession itself but this excess, the immoderation

43 Nickelsburg believes that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* undertakes an interpretation of a theme not often shown, especially in the pages of canonical wisdom literature, concerning wealth, the possession of possessions, which is treated as an expression of divine blessing, which includes the enjoyment of possessions. Although wealth is a fleeting, transient good (*Sir* 11:18–19; *Prov* 23:4–5), the inability to enjoy it is considered a misfortune (*Ecll* 6:1–2). At the same time, however, wealth in this literature is shown as leading to neglect in religious life and distancing one from the worship of God. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Revisiting the Rich and the Poor in *1 Enoch* 92–105 and the Gospel According to Luke,” *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective*, 550–551.

44 On the repetition of the phrase ‘what we want’ in the Ethiopian version or its absence in the Greek version, see the discussion in Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 318–319.

45 Similarly, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 474.

of wealth accumulation, or squandering it on useless, often immoral, things that are the criticised iniquity.<sup>46</sup>

The iniquity and injustice that the author accuses the rich of (*1 En.* 97:8a, 10a) are even more vividly described by other elements of the quoted statement of the rich (*1 En.* 97:8b–9). First, it is striking to note their boasting about their wealth and the arrogance associated with it. This statement shows them as people who think they can do whatever they want, satisfying their desires regardless of circumstances. There is not the slightest mention in this statement, for example, of the difficulties they have to overcome, the hard work involved in acquiring wealth, and the help they have received. The statement conveys a disordered attitude to the riches they have acquired and their relationships with other people, who are shown to be treated as objects in this characteristic passivity. In attaining everything they want, the rich regard themselves as more important than others. The wealth they accumulate is clearly for themselves. There is no indication of bringing any good for others in their desires. This shows immorality regarding others and an inappropriate attitude towards the objects and properties they own.

But this iniquity, which appalls the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, is exposed even more strongly when we look at this statement of the rich from the perspective of the rich's relationship to God. He is seen as superfluous, and His existence is completely ignored. This is most evident in the Greek version of the message, in the expression, 'We have become rich with riches' (πλούτω πεπλουτήκαμεν). It emphasises that they consider their possessions to be their wealth, their desire and the goal of their pursuits, and, at the same time, the means to satisfy their desires. In this utterance, it is impossible to see God at all, neither as the Giver of gifts, nor as the greatest Treasure, only worthy of all pursuits, nor as the Lawgiver who sets the measure of deeds, nor as the Judge who accounts for conduct. This statement, therefore, expresses the godlessness of the rich. Although the author does not say so explicitly, it is not difficult to perceive. To the alleged addressees of the *Epistle of Enoch*, this *ethopoeia* helped them see the true picture of the criticised rich, who could be regarded as ungodly, as to whom there was a conviction of punishment appropriate to their attitude (cf. *Sir* 41:8–11). We have already seen similar charges in *1 En.* 94:8 ('you have not remembered the Most High in the days in your riches') and in *1 En.* 96:7 ('you have forsaken the fountain of life'). Their punishment was deprivation of wealth, destruction on the day of judgement, and lack of mercy. Here, too, the author announces the deprivation of their wealth and a 'great curse', which is the antonym of blessing. It thus implies everything that is

<sup>46</sup> Occurring in the CB 185 manuscript, the word *εσχιστε* is not easy to interpret in this form and in this context; it is unclear from which verb it is derived and how it relates to the following verb *πεπλάνησθε*. For example, R. Charles, "The Book of Enoch", understands it as deceptions and translates the phrase: *καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ εσχισστε πεπλάνησθε* as 'Yea and like water your lies shall flow away.' C. Bonner understands them as an immoral, depraving possession in which they went astray (*The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1968] 33). M. Black associates the whole expression with corruption, demoralization (*Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* [PVTG 4; Leiden: Brill 1970] 37). However, it can also be taken in the sense of excess, in a negative colouring of the word. This is the option taken by L. Stuckenbruck, which he expresses in his translation from the Greek version. See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 316.

opposed to the bestowal resulting from God's blessing. In the Greek version, the expression used, *κατάραν μεγάλην παραδοθήσεσθε*, has a juridical origin, meaning an irrevocable judgment and punishment pronounced in a court of law.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the announced punishment is very severe, analogous to the punishment of destruction and lack of mercy.

### 1.3. Concluding Remarks

What emerges from the above speeches condemning the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* is a broadly drawn picture of the reality being criticised and subject to future punishment. Although the rich are the addressees of these speeches, the various orations reveal other aspects of their guilt.

One plane on which the author shows the sins of the rich is the sphere of human relations. In this sphere, the behaviours of the rich that involve mistreating another person are stigmatised. Although not always directly named by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, the sins of the rich include exploiting the poor through injustice, slave labour, treating others as objects, persecuting the poor, using their dominant social position, power or possessed talents against another person, acting unjustly towards the weak, using deception and living a lie, selfishness and disregard for the needs of others.

Another tier is marked by guilt resulting from the rich's attitude towards wealth. In this group, we can mention focusing on wealth and ways of amassing it, greed, stinginess, placing trust in possessions, immoderate and improper use of acquired wealth at the expense of the welfare of others and one's own moral good, prioritising material goods over other ones.

Among the guilt of the rich, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* also includes behaviours that directly undermine one's relationship with God. This group, of course, encompasses all of the above trespasses, which are treated as sins of wickedness that God does not condone. Above all, the references to the blasphemy and pride of the rich, who lose their sense of dependence on the Creator, who disregard God and His authority over them, who see in their actions the source of their success, that is, who put themselves and their riches above God, and who forget God in the days of their prosperity and live a lie, should be considered most significant.

## 2. Exhortations to the Rich in the Epistle of James

The theme of relating to rich people recurs several times in the Epistle of James (it is introduced in 1:9–11 and is developed in various contexts, 2:1–9, 2:14–17, 4:13–17 and 5:1–6). All of these texts are part of the rhetoric of the letter's author's teaching focused on building a community of believers characterised by friendship with God.

<sup>47</sup> One can see the connection of the expression used here with the terminology also present in the *Book of Watchers* (e.g. 5:5–7), in *Codex Panopolitanus I*, where the ultimate 'great curse' (*κατάραν μεγάλην*) is upon the ungodly (*ἀσεβείς*).

In the Epistle of James, the behaviour of rich people and the threat of complicity with evil that stems from wealth and power is a manifestation of the attitude of ‘friendship with the world’ criticised by the author, which he warns his addressees against because it excludes friendship with God (Jas 4:4). Two exhortations, concerning wealthy people found in Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6, can be considered a warning against behaviour that ruins friendship with God, both of which are very harsh in their expression. The first is an unabashedly ironic, strong criticism of the addressees’ boastful hubris linked to their business plans. The second, on the other hand, is related to the announcement to the rich of the torments their riches will bring upon them, including the torments of fire consuming their bodies in the Last Days.

### 2.1. Semantic Relationship of the Exhortations in James 4:13–17 and 5:1–6

Not all commentators on the Epistle of James agree on the consistency of these two exhortations. First, because the author himself distinguishes the addressees into λέγοντες, ‘speaking’ (Jas 4:13), and πλούσιοι, ‘rich’ (Jas 5:1 οἱ πλούσιοι). Second, because there are no clear parallels in the composition of these invocations, where the constant would be the guilt-punishment scheme. In the case of the first one, there is no explicit announcement of judgement or punishment in the end times, as there is in Jas 5:1, 3. On the contrary, there is a call to repentance missing in the second exhortation.<sup>48</sup>

Despite these apparent differences, however, it would be misguided to consider these exhortations entirely independent. Both of these passages, although they have different addressees, share the same formula of ἄγε νῦν, which opens the exhortation addressed to them. This form of an attention-getting call was popular in literary and conversational Greek.<sup>49</sup> Not only within the Epistle of James but throughout the New Testament, it is found only in these two places (Jas 4:13; 5:1), which can be considered sufficient reason for the consistent distinction of these two exhortations. Despite the dissimilarity of the represented situations in which it was used, these statements can be treated as a semantic whole. Thus, the announcement of judgement in Jas 5:1, 3 can be considered a form of instructive warning for the first group of addressees as well.<sup>50</sup>

In addition, although the addressees are described with different designators, these groups are linked by the author treating them as wealthy and acting inappropriately, even if the type of guilt incumbent on them is not the same. In social classification, these addressees may have constituted separate groups, such as merchants and landowners, and, in practice,

<sup>48</sup> Cf. R.P. Martin, *James* (WBC 48; Waco, TX: Word Books 1988) 175–176.

<sup>49</sup> We meet it, for example, in its various modifications (ἄγε and ἄγετε plus another element), in the diatribe texts of Epictetus (*Dissertationes* 1.2.20, 25; 1.6.37; 3.1.37), but also in Homer (*Iliad* 3.441), in Aeschylus (*Aeschylus, The Persian* 140). The imperative form (imperative of ἄγω) was used as an adverb, in the sense of calling out, attracting attention, so it is most often translated as ‘watch out’, ‘listen’, ‘look’, ‘come’, or more literally ‘hey!’, ‘beware!’.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. P.H. Davids, *The Epistle of James. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster 1982) 171; L.T. Johnson, *The Letter of James. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37a; New Haven, CT: Doubleday 1995) 291–292.

they differed in behaviour and wealth.<sup>51</sup> However, having the same foundation, they were characterised by erroneous conduct, mainly in relation to God, which places them in the group of enemies of God, living in friendship with the world.

## 2.2. Comparative Analysis of Exhortations to the Rich in the Epistle of James with Those in the *Epistle of Enoch*

The first exhortation of interest, from Jas 4:13–17, is an ironic criticism of the attitude of unrestrained multiplication of one's wealth in the sense of power and independence in plotting such schemes. It resembles the ironic criticism or warnings against foolishness found in sapiential instructions (cf., e.g. Prov 27:1; Prov 27:22–23; Eccl 8:7; 9:12; Luke 12:16–21) and prophetic speeches (cf., e.g. Isa 5:13; 15:34).

Undoubtedly, parallels with *1 En.* 97:8–10 can also be noticed in the passage. The similarity is striking. For it relates to the type of addressees of the exhortation (focus on acquiring and amassing wealth), the problem taken up (pride associated with possession), the stylisation of the composition of the statement (*ethopoeia*), and the assessment of the problem (wickedness) expressed by the authors of both statements.<sup>52</sup>

Let us note the analogies of composition style. The author of the Epistle of James uses the same convention of the rhetorical figure of *ethopoeia*. Those directly addressed in the passage are defined by the author of the letter as λέγοντες ('speakers') and, through the author's use of independent speech, become the 'authors' of their own speech. This choice of words should be considered symbolic, characterising the attitude of those whom the letter's author thus distinguishes from other addressees. As in the case of the warning in *1 En.* 97:8–10, those subjected to criticism are, as it were, describing themselves, their actions and attitude. However, the author of the Epistle of James, through the continuation of the *ethopoeia*, introduces an important element that can be considered a reinterpretation of the concept contained in the condemnatory oration of *1 En.* 97:8–10. The author of the Epistle of James definitely aims to make the addressees change their behaviour and gives them a clear indication of what must change. To do so, he uses the sophisticated procedure of continuing the *ethopoeia*. He further assigns to the 'speakers' a specific statement in indirect speech (Jas 4:15). This time, the author indicates what kind of utterance we should hear from them. These words 'spoken' by the addressees are the opposite of their earlier ones and contain content that, by indicating what kind of thinking they should have, exposes the total lack of such an attitude in the criticised addressees. Such correcting statements within the framework of *ethopoeia*, on the one hand, intensify the effect of irony from these business people (the author expresses irony directly in his own commentary in Jas 4:14). On the other hand, and more importantly, this unambiguously reveals the essence of the criticism,

51 Cf. P.U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books 1987) 68–98.

52 Of course, in the case of both authors, this may be a derivative of the use of this way of building expression in the narrative and does not have to indicate the technique of imitating the statements of the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* by the author of the Epistle of James.

which is not levelled at business plans and efforts made and the desire to accumulate wealth but at the boastfulness, hubris and belief in the self-determination of the addressees.<sup>53</sup>

The criticised addressees are thus similar to the rich of *1 En.* 97:8–10, convinced that they can achieve anything they desire because it depends only on them and who boast about their wealth. These recipients are accused by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* of having gained their wealth through exploitation and injustice, which is one of the reasons for the punishment foretold for them. In James' critique, no such ground of the problem can be seen in the words of this *ethopoeia*.

The addressees of the exhortation in *Jas* 4:13–17 are also similar to the rich in *1 En.* 94:8, putting their trust in their riches, forgetting the Most High because, like them, they disregard His will. The author of the Epistle of James shares the conviction, evident in many canonical texts, as well as in the *Epistle of Enoch*, that the problem is not wealth itself, the possession and multiplication of wealth, but the thinking and behaviour that can accompany those who are rich or who focus their lives, actions and wills on amassing wealth.

Unlike the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, however, the author of the Epistle of James strongly emphasises the possibility and necessity of changing one's behaviour and relegates the aspect of punishment for wicked behaviour to the background in this exhortation. He adopts a different way of speaking to the addressees. At the beginning of the exhortation, he draws their attention differently, avoiding the word 'woe' (ὄναι), which we have in the Greek version of *1 En.* 97:7,8, and which is semantically associated with the announcement of punishment. The author of the Epistle of James, like the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, is unequivocally negative about the attitude of the addressees of his statement, recognising the wickedness (*Jas* 4:16) and sinfulness of this type of behaviour (*Jas* 4:17).<sup>54</sup> However, he does not make a judgement on their conduct. It thus remains in harmony with the pre-emptive exhortation in 4:13–17 with the instruction not to judge your neighbour (*Jas* 4:11–12). In the case of the passage in *1 En.* 97:8–10, by contrast, the message of punishment is dominant. The picture outlined there exposes the guilt of injustice and wickedness associated with acquiring and using wealth, reminding us of the inevitable punishment of the curse on the Day of Judgement for such conduct. In contrast, the author of the Epistle of James does not aim to show the addressees the punishment. He has a different persuasive strategy: by demonstrating the absurdity and even ridiculousness of such a way of thinking and behaving, he wants to get the addressees to change their attitude, pointing out what they should change – the rich should be constantly aware of their dependence on God's will and be submissive to it, grateful to Him for everything they achieve (*Jas* 4:15). The fact that the author does not directly address the subject of judgement and due punishment for boastfulness, pride, or sins of the tongue in this exhortation, however, does not

<sup>53</sup> Cf. D.J. Moo, *The Letter of James* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2000) 202.

<sup>54</sup> "To the "speakers" of 4:13, he accuses them of boastfulness, also expressed in boasting in speech, includes them among the sinners in the tongue mentioned earlier in the letter, and shows them, above all, an attitude of lack of wisdom "from above", which is characteristic of "friendship with the world." Cf. Davids, *The Epistle of James*, 174.

mean that he omits such a cause-and-effect relationship. He repeatedly draws the addressees; attention to the reality of God's judgement (Jas 2:12; 3:1; 4:12; 5:7–9, 12). But this is more forcefully expressed in the gnosis (Jas 4:17), in which the letter's author sums up the entirety of the exhortation. He leaves no doubt that failure to change the addressees' thinking and behaviour will bring them punishment because the current conduct is sinful. Precisely, what earlier in the statement could have been perceived as a criticism of foolishness is here explicitly defined as sin (*ἁμαρτία*), that is, deliberately wrong in thinking and acting.<sup>55</sup> With this, the author of the Epistle of James expresses his conviction that the addressees of the call do not really lack awareness of the need to submit to God's will and do good. They are the ones who ignore it.<sup>56</sup> This sentence thus shows that the author of the Epistle of James interprets the situation of the addressees of this exhortation analogously to how the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* understood the guilt of the rich in one of his condemnatory speeches when he called the attention of the rich to their awareness of their wrongdoing but nonetheless persisting with their attitude (*1 En.* 96:4) and to whom he foretold destruction on the day of judgement (*1 En.* 96:8).

The second exhortation of interest, in Jas 5:1–6, is a prediction of end-time punishment for the rich. As in the previous exhortation, here, the author also makes the problem evident (*evidentia*) to the audience, but this time he uses a description (*ekphrasis*).<sup>57</sup> This description (Jas 5:2–3) includes the basic elements symbolising affluence in ancient times, such as wealth (land and food), robes, gold and silver.<sup>58</sup> It illustrates the wealth of addressees through a paradox. It is a thoroughly pejorative description, showing rot, tears made by vermin, and rust on bullion that is known not to rust. To be sure, this image is not what the recipients would expect when hearing about wealth and imagining accumulated wealth and luxury. However, it defines the actual value in a remarkably appropriate way, which is apparently perceived differently by the addressees of the call. This ekphrasis is further reinforced by irony (*ἔθρησαυρισάτε*), used for amplification purposes, as it emphasises both the futility of what the rich consider their treasures and the futility of their efforts (Jas 5:3: 'You have laid up treasure for the last days').

In this ekphrasis, the author simultaneously reveals the truth about the fate awaiting the rich. He begins by calling on the rich to weep, wailing over themselves (Jas 5:1) because of what is to come. There is an element of contrast to the picture of the addressees' situation that emerges from the contents of the Epistle of James: the addressees are experiencing trials and tribulations (Jas 1:2–3, 12–13), and the admonished rich, as if they did not belong to this group, on the suffering and tribulations are yet to come. Their 'treasures' providing them with abundance and good fortune are now apparent. Therefore, the author goes on

55 Cf. Davids, *The Epistle of James*, 174.

56 Cf. Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 298.

57 Ekphrasis, especially in the second sophists, was an important speech factor and, as such, was one of the preparatory elements for persuasive speeches in the *progymnasmata*. This is because accurate description (both prose and poetic) was considered a useful tool for building arguments.

58 Cf. Martin, *James*, 176.

to foretell to the rich that these ‘treasures’ will testify against them, like material evidence of guilt demanding an adequate judgement, which the author shows here as fire devouring the bodies of the rich (we also have an analogous punishment for those who sin in words and deeds, for example, *1 En.* 100:9). The treasures of the rich are thus like the fire of the end times, they are what will lead them in the final judgement to total destruction (*Jas* 5:3).<sup>59</sup> This image leaves no hope or margin for negotiation. It is powerful and emphatic in its message. In this style of speech, one can see a similarity to how the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* builds his speeches, announcing harsh judgement and sentences to the rich and relief and comfort to the righteous.

One element of the guilt of the rich is also clearly seen in this description. Their guilt is to live a life of splendour, but above all, to lose themselves in wealth and focus on material possessions, the possession and use of which becomes the principle and point of reference in their lives, which can be understood as idolatry. Although the author does not use the term, the description of the punishment in the end times points to such an understanding of their sin, analogous to that in *1 En.* 96:6. The outlined picture of the rich criticised in *Jas* 5:1–6 and the punishment awaiting them is very reminiscent of the charged in the *Epistle of Enoch* and the harsh judgement foretold. Sinful splendour is condemned in *1 En.* 97:9–10a, and putting one’s trust in one’s riches and forgetting God in *1 En.* 94:8. But we can see a much stronger degree of analogy in the juxtaposition of the text in *Jas* 5:1–6 with the passage in *1 En.* 96:4–8. The similarity is noticeable in the compositional and thematic layers.

<i>1 En.</i> 96:4–8	<i>Jas</i> 5:1–6
96:4 foreshadowing of punishment (accusation of the heart will bear witness to evil deeds)	5:1 announcement of punishment (coming torment, suffering)
96:5–8a description of guilt (splendour, violence against the weak, rejection of God, wickedness, blasphemy)	5:2–3 description of guilt (splendour, zeal for riches, ‘rejection’ of God)
96:7–8 description of judgement and punishment (destruction on judgement day)	5:2–3 description of punishment (destruction, loss of riches, punishment of fire consuming the bodies of the rich)
	5:4–6 continuation of description of guilt (wickedness, injustice, debauchery and superfluity feeding the hearts of the rich, unjust judgement, violence, murder of the righteous)

The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* begins by foreshadowing what awaits the recipients and declares that their actions will testify against them (96:4). He then describes the actions

<sup>59</sup> The comparison ‘like fire’ (ὡς πῦρ) can be semantically and syntactically attributed to the verb ‘will devour’ (ἔσθιτω) and then the comparison would show an image of bodies being eaten by fire, just as rust consumed their possessions. It could also be a reference to ‘hoarding and securing treasures’ (θησαυρίζω) and then it could be taken as an ironic image showing that their accumulated wealth is like fire in the Last Days. The scholars’ discussion is presented, for example, by Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 300–301.

of the rich, depicting the splendour in which they live and the violence they use against the poor (96:5), formulates an accusation (abandonment of the source of life, wickedness and blasphemy 96:6–7) and crowns the speech by announcing to the rich their total destruction on the day of judgement (96:8). The author of the Epistle of James almost replicates this structural pattern (although we have a break in the pattern of ‘announcement of punishment – description of guilt – description of punishment’ with the additional development of the description of guilt) and the problem of the sin of the rich taken up. After the announcement of the punishment by fire, the author of the Epistle of James continues to criticise the conduct of the rich, which reveals to the reader further proof of their guilt. These are the wicked ways of getting rich by exploiting workers and depriving them of their payment (Jas 5:4), taking pleasure in splendour, intentional superfluity, and debauchery in the face of the poverty of others (Jas 5:5)<sup>60</sup> and the unjust judgement and murder of the righteous one (Jas 5:6).

The last accusation and the crowning statement of the entire exhortation about the lack of opposition on the part of the righteous one (Jas 5:6: *κατεδικάσατε, ἐφονεύσατε τὸν δίκαιον οὐκ ἀντιτάσσεται ὑμῖν*) causes exegetes considerable problems.<sup>61</sup> The reference to the Enochic tradition helps to understand this Jamesian formulation adequately to the universal sense assumed in the diatribes. In the first place, it can be related to the phrase in the analogous passage in *1 En.* 96:8a, where there is an identical charge of violence by the powerful against the righteous. This motif also appears in *1 En.* 95:7; 99:15. ‘The righteous’ (*δικαιος*) judged and killed (Jas 5:6a) is thus an icon of any human being treated unjustly, including the taking of life, and that too in situations like a trial, which especially demand justice.<sup>62</sup>

The statement about not opposing this type of persecution (Jas 5:6b) can also be understood in the context of the entire *Epistle of Enoch*, whose author, as shown earlier, repeatedly comforts the addressees in light of the persecution they suffer while looking to the success of their persecutors, reminding them of God’s judgement in the end times when justice will be meted out. The wicked will suffer adequate punishment, and the persecuted will be rewarded. The rich, who are the addressees of this exhortation in the Epistle of James, can be certain of the response from God to their wicked conduct. God’s silence and

60 The author of the Epistle of James uses the word ‘heart’ in a biblical sense, as a symbol of the human will (Jas 1:26; 3:14; 4:18; 5:8). The juxtaposition of ‘feed the heart’ and ‘for the day of slaughter’ expands this meaning – for it brings in the context of the sacrificial ritual but also of the eschatological end, similar to this type of expression found in prophetic speech, for example Isa 34:2; Jer 12:3). Here we have an analogy to the earlier construction of Jas 5:3, where with riches the rich prepared themselves for the sentence of being executed in the fire on the day of judgement, in the same way here they prepare themselves with their choices and aspirations to be delivered to the slaughter, which expresses the deprivation of life.

61 Already, early tradition and later many commentators on the Epistle of James have historically identified the person of the righteous in 5:6 with Jesus or James. Most convincing, however, is the adoption of a more general sense, pointing to the violence and iniquity that also occurs in courts in which the rich take advantage of their privileged social position. Cf. Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 304.

62 The vocabulary used in James 5:6a, especially the term used *καταδικάζω*, ‘I convict’, has formal legal connotations, which is a strong indicator that this may not be about general judgement and figuratively sentencing someone to something, but precisely the formal situation of a pending trial before a court of law.

lack of response are only apparent. The author of the Epistle of James leaves this fact without elaborate commentary because of the obviousness of the judgement and punishment of fire, which he had already mentioned (Jas 5:3), and because he already explained that friendship with the world is enmity with God (Jas 4:4), reminding us that God opposes the proud and gives grace to the humble (Jas 4:6: ὁθεὸς ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν). Thus, the criticised attitude of the rich can be seen as one of pride and enmity with God.<sup>63</sup>

This whole sequence of guilt (Jas 5:4–6) also corresponds very well with the speech in *I En.* 94:6–11, where we have a discourse on violence, on the acquisition of wealth through injustice, on exploitation, on the fact that accumulated wealth is made the source and cause of trust, on the wickedness and blasphemy of the rich, and on the fact that all this will be subjected on the day of judgement to the punishment of deprivation of wealth, destruction and lack of mercy.<sup>64</sup> Breaking the announcement of punishment – description of guilt – description of punishment pattern by adding an element that broadens the description of the guilt of the rich can be considered a conscious reference to the two accusatory speeches of the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* (96:4–8 and 94:6–7) due to the depiction of the full spectrum of sin of the rich criticised by the author of the Epistle of James, which cannot be reduced to the possession and use of wealth.

The way adopted by the author of the Epistle of James to present the problem of the rich leaves the audience in no doubt as to what the future holds for those who lose themselves in their wealth to the point of ignoring God, defying Him, as best evidenced by their use of violence and injustice against the poor and the weak. This is a form of instruction inherent in many apocalyptic texts when directing the audience's attention to the eschatological dimension of their existence and revealing what is somehow veiled serves to assess the actual value of present actions and ways of thinking.

### 2.3. Concluding Remarks

In the passages of interest, Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6, the author directly addresses people set on acquiring wealth and already possessing it, drawing their attention to them. This means that they are indeed the addressees of his words. However, the manner of addressing the recipients is not identical to that prevalent in the Epistle of James ('my beloved brothers', ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί). In fact, it is not apparent that those whom the author calls brothers, also in the exhortations immediately adjacent to the two passages (that is, in Jas 4:11 and again in Jas 5:7), are the same addressees to whom he directs the instructions concerning

63 The connection of the term 'opposing', 'opposition' between James 4:6 and 5:6 (in the text in the form ἀντιτάσσεται) is pointed out by L.A. Schökel, "James 5:2 and 4:6," *Bib* 54/1 (1973) 73–76 (verse 5:2 is cited in the title of the article, but in the body of the text the author considers the issue of verse 5:6). The author of the objection is therefore God, as is the giver of the reward. Such an idea in the author of the Epistle of James is confirmed, as the author of the article rightly notes, by the following further (James 5:7) exhortation to the brethren to be patient for the coming of the Lord, supposing righteous judgement.

64 Cf. D.G. McCartney, *James* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2009) 237.

the attitude to wealth, namely, to the ‘speaking’ (λέγοντες in Jas 4:13) and to the ‘rich’ (πλούσιοι in Jas 5:6). Treating them as someone other than the addressees has no logical justification. This is because it is difficult to explain, apart from using the rhetorical figure of apostrophe (*apostrophe*), the legitimacy of a direct turn in the argument being made to someone who has no connection with the letter’s circle of addressees. If we assume that it is a rhetorical figure, then the actual addressees of the letter should treat these calls as a warning, as pathetically expressed examples of an attitude with which the addressees should have nothing to do.<sup>65</sup> However, it is more reasonable to consider that the letter’s author found the addressees of these specific statements (λέγοντες and πλούσιοι) in the community of believers. By addressing the statements in this way, the intention was to draw attention to reprehensible behaviour among the brethren, whom the author wishes to encourage to make an unequivocal, radical change of conduct, showing them and other members of the community of believers that the real danger is not so much material affluence, but a particular attitude of pride behind the behaviour of both the ‘talkers’, spinning boastful plans, and the ‘rich’, focused on the acquisition and use of material goods.<sup>66</sup> The failure to call the addressees brothers is intentional and underscores that with such an attitude, they exclude themselves from this group, denying friendship with God.

The eschatological context of these exhortation warnings is of particular importance here. The statements in both passages (Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6) are not in a tone of good advice or multi-faceted deliberation, as one might expect given the advisory rhetoric prevalent in the Epistle of James. Nor are they a typical paraenesis explaining to the addressees the problem of having wealth, the proper attitude towards it and its potential moral dangers.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the eschatological feature of the speech associated with these exhortations should not

65 For example, S. Laws, while not recognising here a typical rhetorical device in communicating with the addressees, considers that the addressees of this statement are not Christians, whom the author addresses in the Epistle, but are unbelievers whose conduct is wrong and will be punished, that is, by implication: the believing addressees should not imitate such behaviour (*A Commentary on the Epistle of James* [London: Black 1980] 190). Thus, this would be an identification similar to that if we assume that we are dealing with a typical apostrophe figure, in which the addressees are exemplary, antithetical, in order to show the contrast and at the same time to encourage an unambiguous choice of the right attitude, by pointing to a negative example. From a different point of view, this issue is considered by R.P. Martin (*James*, 159–160) recognising, among other things, that the historical background of the Epistle of James makes it possible to identify the addressees of 4:13 and 5:6 as violators of the idea of brotherhood: they may be referring either to Jews opposed to faith in Christ, or to those Judeo-Christians who, for the sake of business benefits, maintained contacts that were risky for the community of believers, exposing the communities of Christ’s followers to persecution by the Jews. P.H. Davids on the other hand, believes that both groups of addressees, and λέγοντες and πλούσιοι are members of the community of Christians addressed by the letter’s author (*The Epistle of James*, 171). C.F. Sleeper, expresses the belief that the addressees of these warnings are primarily unbelievers, but that some of the community of Christians addressed by the letter’s author, because of their adoption of analogous behaviour, may have identified themselves with these unbelievers (*James* [ANTS; Nashville, TN: Abingdon 1998] 117).

66 Cf. Moo, *The Letter of James*, 200.

67 Most of the instructions contained in the Epistle of James are typical of genres growing out of deliberative rhetoric, where advice is the main means of persuasion. Cf. S.K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (LEC; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1986) 91–152.

be regarded merely as a rhetorically successful way of arguing, using the emotive, amplifying functions of the judgement motif, to provide more effective forms of persuasion. However, undoubtedly, the style in these passages bears such characteristics. The eschatological perspective should be considered a skeleton on which the entire teaching in the Epistle of James is grounded.<sup>68</sup> The methods of transmitting wisdom chosen by the author of the Epistle of James seem natural to him. He is an author who grew up in this way of teaching and transmitting information. It also appears to be an ideally suited way of reaching the letter's original recipients. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact paths of distribution of this teaching method or to indicate specific environments of Judaism from the beginning of the first century because, in the Epistle of James, there are parallels not only to the texts of the Old Testament, but also to the literature of the Qumran community, to the Enochic tradition, and Hellenistic patterns of paraenesis, considering and transmitting ethical patterns.<sup>69</sup>

Both of these passages express the thinking the letter's author shares with the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*. From this perspective, the problem of the rich and their conduct is not elaborated in detail in Jas 4:13–5:6 but is condensed into short, essentially cautionary indications, whose form and the perspective of eschatological judgement adopted therein were sufficiently clear to the primary recipients of the Epistle of James.<sup>70</sup>

## Final Conclusion

This analysis of selected texts from the *Epistle of Enoch* and the Epistle of James concerning the rich and their conduct leads to several conclusions.

First, both authors evaluate the conduct of the rich, taking the criterion of God's pending judgement in the end times as important. Although similar, the persuasive goals of both authors in the criticism expressed are not the same. The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* first and foremost criticises the rich and their conduct by exposing their sinfulness to remind both them and, in the first instance, the primary addressees, that in the eschatological reality, the

<sup>68</sup> On the importance of eschatological thought for the structure and unity of the Epistle of James, which is, along with the wisdom concept, essential for a proper understanding of the letter's message, see T.C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology. Re-reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (JSNTSup 121; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1996) 121–211; also: R.W. Wall, "James as Apocalyptic Paraenesis," *ResQ* 32 (1990) 11–22.

<sup>69</sup> On the relationship to the teachings of the Qumran literature, see: D. Lockett, "The Spectrum of Wisdom and Eschatology in the Epistle of James and 4QInstruction," *TynBul* 56/2 (2005) 131–148; D. Muszytowska, "Relacje międzytekstowe Listu Jakuba i qumrańskich 4QPouczeń," *StBob* 2 (2015) 59–70. In more detail on the possible patterns and features of paraenesis in the Epistle of James, see L.G. Perdue, "Paraenesis and the Epistle of James," *ZNW* 72 (1981) 3–4, 241–256; M. Kamell Kovalishyn, "James and Apocalyptic Wisdom," *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 293–306; B. Wold, "James in the Context of Jewish Wisdom Literature," *Reading the Epistle of James* (eds. E.F. Mason – D.R. Lockett) (RBS; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2019) 73–86.

<sup>70</sup> More on the reception of Enochic traditions in New Testament texts is presented, for example, in M.A. Knibb, "Christian Adoption and Transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of 1 Enoch," *JSJ* 32 (2001) 396–415. Regarding the presence of apocalyptic motifs having their potential source in *1 Enoch*: M. Kamell Kovalishyn, *James and Apocalyptic Wisdom*, 294.

wicked await punishment and destruction and the righteous await reward. The universal didacticism of his teaching is thus geared towards giving hope to those who are persecuted, who suffer, and who endure injustice. The author of the Epistle of James also uses the theme of God's judgement in the letter to encourage his addressees to persevere and be patient in the face of afflictions suffered (Jas 1:2–4, 12–16; 5:7–11), but in the exhortations to the rich themselves this is not prominently displayed. Here, the author, focused on indications of building a community of believers to abide in friendship with God, shows the addressees those attitudes that contradict this. The motif of judgement on the world and the punishment of destruction show the truth about the purpose of human life and, above all, make the addressees of the statement change their wrong behaviour and build a relationship of friendship with God.

Second, it can be noted that despite the different persuasive purposes of these works, the adoption of the criterion of the truth about God's judgement awaiting every person in both cases, in criticising the conduct of rich people, brings analogous criticism. Such a criterion is an effective tool to show the transient value of material riches, but neither author limits himself to delivering a sapient lecture about the futility of this world's goods and their uselessness in the life to come. By invoking God's judgement, the authors of both works show their audiences that all people will be judged not by richness, but by how they acquired wealth, how and for what purpose they used it, how they treated other people, what wealth meant to them, and how they understood themselves before God. What is striking about both texts is the convergence on what pleases God, what arouses His wrath and the effect of judgement. The very perspective of eschatological judgement and its concept is certainly not the only element determining this convergence. It is also comprised of shared ideas of the understanding of human beings and their place in the work of creation, the conception of God as Creator and Lord of creation, and a similar vision of the 'end' of history.

Third, the perceived parallels between the Epistle of James and the *Epistle of Enoch* suggest that the author of the former not only referred to the same terms, similar theological concepts and traditions of their understanding as the author of the latter but referred specifically to the text of the *Epistle of Enoch*, sharing the opinion of its author on essential matters when it comes to evaluating the wickedness associated with wealth. However, it is difficult to conclude from these similarities that the author of the Epistle of James deliberately referenced the speeches in the *Epistle of Enoch* to evaluate them. Indeed, no explicit polemic is undertaken in the Epistle of James, no elaboration, no deliberate re-interpretive travesty, no semantic change in terms, etc. The differences, such as the change regarding the use of a different formula than 'woe', are certainly not a sufficient argument to infer a deliberate reinterpretation. We also do not have a quotation from the *Epistle of Enoch* in the Epistle of James, which, if there were one, would indicate a high degree of conscious reference to the text of the former. It is difficult, even based on the incomplete surviving textual versions of the *Epistle of Enoch* in Aramaic and Greek, to decide which of these versions was known to the author of the Epistle of James, which one he used, and whether they differed. The Greek version seems to be a more reliable source because of its shared language with the Epistle

of James. However, such a statement is arbitrary, and it is difficult to support it with arguments from textual evidence. The author of the Epistle of James may have known the text of the *Epistle of Enoch* in the Aramaic version. The similarities in constructing criticism of the rich and the ways of presenting it, such as showing through example or building a narrative through direct statements of the characters in this narrative, are not only a feature of Greek literature and the domain of the Greek language. It is most appropriate to consider, based on the analyses carried out, that the *Epistle of Enoch*, with its harsh criticism of the rich, was an inspiration for the author of the Epistle of James on how to speak to the addressees about the sins associated with wealth. One can easily see that the author of the Epistle of James refers to several speeches from the *Epistle of Enoch*, mixes references to them, combines some of the content and draws on what was useful to him, adapting the content to his persuasive purposes. This is somewhat reminiscent of the procedure of peshar reading, with its decontextualisation and recontextualisation. It is challenging, however, to assess unequivocally whether the author of the Epistle of James wanted the recipients of his letter to refer to the *Epistle of Enoch* and interpret the instructions given to them in such a broadening key. However, excluding such a mechanism of dependence in the reading would be a mistake, especially among the letter's alleged addressees.

Fourth, a first comparison of the two works shows a much more sparse catalogue of the rich's guilt in the Epistle of James relative to what we can find in the *Epistle of Enoch*. In fact, things are similar when we consider the spectrum of coverage of the rich's sins. This could suggest that the author of the Epistle of James, among the dangers of wealth to the addressees of his letter, recognised only some of those described in the *Epistle of Enoch*. However, a more careful comparative reading of the two works leads to the conclusion that these catalogues of guilt and their scope are very similar in substance. In the short two exhortations in the Epistle of James, we can see that the key faults of the rich are pride, idolatry and lying. That is because the most important sphere for making judgements about the conduct of the rich is the relationship to and with God. It is through this prism that the author of the Epistle of James shows the sins of the rich against other people, such as wickedness, injustice, exploitation, splendour and boasting, analogous to the *Epistle of Enoch*. Perhaps despite the generality of the style of expression in the *Epistle of Enoch*, we are dealing with criticism concerning specific audiences. In the Epistle of James, on the other hand, at the root of these exhortations are not necessarily specific groups of addressees but a kind of universalisation intended to cover in a short form the essence of the many abuses associated with wealth in general perceived by the author and considered extremely dangerous for the addressees if they persist in this kind of behaviour. The image of judgement becomes a means for the author of the Epistle of James to show the extent to which the criticised rich are hurting themselves, which is also evident in the *Epistle of Enoch* in all the warnings of deprivation and destruction on the day of retribution.

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