

BOOK OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ. 11-12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom'. This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic writings was very widespread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity.¹ But our book contained much of a questionable character, and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom till over a century ago, when an Ethiopic version of the work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three MSS. of it, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch. It was not, however, till recent years that the Book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own owing to their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward. In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.

From what has been already said it is clear that no unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated. This Book of Noah clearly embraced chapters vi-xi, liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.²

¹ Nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas. The authors of the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra, laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book.

² Portions have been preserved in Jubilees vii. 20-39, x. 1-15, but the date of this Noachic literature is at latest pre-Maccabean.

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As regards the Enoch elements, the oldest portions of it are likewise pre-Maccabean, i.e. xii-xxxvi, and probably xc. 1-10, xci. 12-17, i.e. the Apocalypse of Weeks. The Dream Visions, i.e. lxxxiii-xc, were in all probability written when Judas the Maccabee was still warring, 165-161 B.C., lxxii-lxxxii before 110 B.C., the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi and xci-civ, 105-64 B.C.

The authors of all the sections belong to the Chasids or their successors the Pharisees.

Conflicting views are advanced on the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, the origin of sin, Sheol, the final judgement, the resurrection, and the nature of the future life. There is an elaborate angelology and demonology, and much space is devoted to the calendar, and the heavenly bodies and their movements. Babylonian influences are here manifest and in a slight degree Greek.

The Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was written originally partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. From an Aramaic original is derived vi-xxxvi, and possibly lxxxiii-xc, while the rest of the book comes from a Hebrew original. To determine these questions categorically is a task of no little difficulty, seeing that for four-fifths of the text we have only a translation of a translation, and that such close affinities exist between Hebrew and Aramaic. For the resemblances between the two languages are so great that frequently retranslation from the Ethiopic into either is sufficient to explain corruptions in the former. There has accordingly been great divergence of opinion on this question, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has spent considerable time on the problem, the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the view above stated.

In the course of his studies it suddenly dawned upon the writer that much of the text was originally written in verse. This discovery has frequently proved helpful in the criticism of difficult passages, and the recovery of the original in a multitude of cases.

§ 2. THE TITLE.

Our book appears under various titles, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1°. *Enoch*. Jude 14 ἐπρόφητευσεν . . . ἔβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων.

Ep. Barn. ix. 3 ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.

Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dindorf iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδόξων τῷ Ἐνὼχ: also in iii. 474.

Origen, *In Ioannem* vi. 25 ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται: *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γεγραμμένων.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* ii. 20 'ut Enoch refert'; *De Idol.* iv 'Enoch praedicens' xv; 'Spiritus . . . praececinat per . . . Enoch.'

Anatolius of Laodicea (cited by Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 19 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα).

2°. *The Books of Enoch*. This is probably the oldest title. The fifth section of the book itself opens with the words: xcii. 1 'The book written by Enoch'. cviii. 1 begins: 'Another book which Enoch wrote.' In lxxii. 1 Enoch says to Methuselah: 'All these things I am recounting to thee . . . and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve . . . the books from thy father's hands.' xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness'. The third section, i.e. lxxii. 1, begins 'The book of the courses of the luminaries'. These passages imply a plurality of books.

But though apparently the oldest title, it has not the oldest independent attestation. It is found in the following works:

T. Jud. xviii. 1 (β A S¹) ἐν βιβλοῖς Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

T. Lev. x. 5 (A) = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλοῖς Ἐνὼχ.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία: *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2 'In libellis qui appellantur Enoch'.

Pistis Sophia 'ea in secundo libro teu, quae scripsit Enoch'.

Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind.), i. 19 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ Ἐνὼχ. The same phrase recurs in i. 20, 48. Cf. i. 42 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου Ἐνὼχ. Here and in the preceding work the division of Enoch into books is clearly recognized. There were five such divisions or books; see § 6.

3°. *Book of Enoch*. This title is found in:

T. Levi x. 5 (a, deg) καθὼς περιέχει ἡ (> a b f) βιβλος Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

Origen, *De Princ.* i. 3. 3 'In Enoch libro': iv. 35 'in libro suo Enoch ita ait'.

Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3 'Fertur id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat'.

Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* iv 'De libro Enoch qui apocryphus est'.

Syncellus, *op. cit.* i. 60 ὡς ἐν τῇ βιβλῷ αὐτοῦ Ἐνὼχ φέρεται. But this title may refer merely to one of the books of Enoch, and so come under 2°.

3°. *Words of Enoch*. This title has the oldest external attestation. Jub. xxi. 10, 'For thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.'

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T. Benj. ix. 1 ἀπὸ λόγιων (= λόγων β-δ) Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου. This title finds some justification in 1 Enoch i. 1 'words of the blessing of Enoch'; xiv. 1 'book of the words of righteousness.'

4°. Writing of Enoch:

T. Lev. xiv. 1 (β A), ξγνων ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνώχ. See also in T. Sim. v. 4, T. Naph. iv. 1.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicavit.'

§ 3. ITS CANONICITY.

The citations of Enoch by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and by the Book of Jubilees shows that at the close of the second century B.C., and during the first century B.C., this book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. When we come down to the first century A.D., we find that it is recognized as Scripture by Jude. See under § 2, 1°. In the next century this recognition is given amply in the Ep. Barnabas xvi. 5 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; by Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 24 ἀ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται (referring to Enoch); in the third century by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Prophet.* ii, see § 2, 1°; by Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 'Enoch . . . placens Deo . . . legatione ad angelos fungebatur'; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3, *De Idol.* xv, see § 2, 1°; by Zosimus of Panopolis, quoted in Syncellus (Dind. i. 24) τοῦτο οὖν ἔφασαν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ὅτι ἄγγελοι τινες ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν γυναικῶν. After the third century the Book of Enoch fell into discredit and gradually passed out of circulation.

§ 4. THE MSS.

- a. Bodley, No. 4. Large quarto. 40 foll. 3 cols. 105 chapters. Latter half of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- b. Bodley, No. 5. Large quarto. 141 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century (?). Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Daniel.
- c. Frankfurt MS. Rüpp. II. 1. 34 x 30 cm. 181 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century. In several hands. Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Octateuch.
- d. Curzon MS. Quarto. 91 foll. 2 cols. Enoch (102 chapters), Job, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Sirach.
- e. Curzon MS. Small quarto. 101 foll. 2 cols. Marginal notes from another hand. Enoch (98 chapters?), Samuel, Kings, and Apocryphal book.
- f. British Museum. Add. 24185 (Wright's Catalogue, 1877, No. 5). 2 cols. of 23 lines. Nineteenth century. Enoch only. 106 chapters.
- g. Brit. Mus. Orient. 485 (Wright, No. 6). 190 foll. 23 x 19 cm. 2 cols. of 23 or 24 lines. First half of sixteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Book of Jubilees. On foll. 168^a-177^a a duplicate of chapters xcvi. 6^b-cviii. 10 is inserted from another MS. akin to g. See next MS.
- g. This MS. consists only of xcvi. 6^b-cviii. 10, and is found in foll. 168^a-177^a of g. It is inserted between the last word and the last but one of xci. 6. It is written by the same scribe, but the text though belonging to the best type differs from g.
- h. Brit. Mus. Orient. 484 (Wright, No. 7). 3 cols. of 50 or 51 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, 1-4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Sirach.
- i. Brit. Mus. Orient. 486 (Wright, No. 8). 3 cols. of 29 lines. Eighteenth century. Chapters i-lx. 13^a missing. Nos. of remaining chapters erased. Enoch, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Sirach.
- k. Brit. Mus. Orient. 490 (Wright, No. 12). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- l. Brit. Mus. 24990 (Wright, No. 13). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (divided into chapters, but no numbers supplied), Job, Books ascribed to Solomon, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel.
- m. Brit. Mus. Orient. 491 (Wright, No. 15). 219 foll. 40 x 32 cm. 3 cols. of 27 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Job, Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.
- n. Brit. Mus. Orient. 492 (Wright, No. 16). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (87 chapters), Books ascribed to Solomon, Jeremiah, 1 Ezra, Canticles, Sirach, Judith, Esther, Tobit.
- o. Brit. Mus. Orient. 499 (Wright, No. 23). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- p. Formerly in the possession of Lord Crawford—now in the Rylands Collection. 67 foll. 39 x 33 cm. 3 cols. Seventeenth century. Enoch and other books.
- q. Berlin MS. Peterm. II. Nachtr. No. 29 (Dillmann's Cat. 1). 167 foll. 17 x 14 cm. 2 cols. of 13 to 14 lines. Sixteenth century. Without division into chapters. Enoch only.
- r. Abbadianus 16 (vid. *Cat. raison. de mss. éthiop. appartenant à A. d'Abbadie*, Paris, 1859). Nineteenth century. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. This is a poor MS., but it exhibits a few good readings.
- s. Abbadianus 30. Eighteenth century. Enoch and other works. This is a poor MS., but has some notably good readings.

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- l. Abbadianus 35. 40 × 35 cm. 3 cols. of 38 to 39 lines. Seventeenth century. There are many erasures and corrections and marginal notes. The latter belong to the later type of text, and are designated as t². The division into chapters is marked in the margin on the first few folios. Enoch, Job, Samuel 1 and 2, Kings, Chronicles, Books ascribed to Solomon, Prophets, Sirach, 1-4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther.
- u. Abbadianus 55. 191 foll. 51 × 39 cm. 3 cols. of 48 to 50 lines. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters) and other works. Text of Enoch much abbreviated after chapter lxxxiii.
- v. Abbadianus 99. 70 foll. 23 × 17 cm. 2 cols. Nineteenth century. Copy made for M. d'Abbadie from a MS. in high estimation among the native scholars. This MS. has all the bad characteristics of the later type of text, but has some excellent readings. Enoch only.
- w. Abbadianus 197. 157 foll. 26 × 23 cm. 3 cols. of 29 lines. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works.
- x. Vatican MS. 71 (cf. Mai, *Script. veterum nova collectio*, Romae, 1831, tom. v. 2, p. 100). 27 foll. 3 cols. of 32 lines. Seventeenth century. Enoch only. 98 chapters.
- y. Munich MS. 30. 61 foll. 25 × 15 cm. 2 cols. of 20 to 28 lines. Seventeenth century. Division into chapters only at the beginning. Enoch only.
- z. Paris MS. 50 (see Zotenberg's Cat.). Seventeenth century. Enoch (division into chapters only at the beginning) and other works.
- z^b. Paris MS. 49. Eighteenth century. Copy of b.
- 1a. Garrett MS. 17 × 12 cm. 2 cols. of 22 lines. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- 1b. Westenholz MS. 71 foll., of which first and last two are empty. 2 cols. of 24 lines. Eighteenth century. 106 chapters. Enoch only.

Relations of the Ethiopic MSS.

(a) There are two forms of text, α , β , of which β is late and secondary. α is represented by *g₁gmqtu* (and in some degree by *n*), while β , which owes its origin to native scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is represented by all the remaining MSS. The result of their labours has been on the whole disastrous, as these revisers had neither the knowledge of the subject-matter nor yet critical materials to guide them as to the true form of the text. The attestation, however, of neither group is uniform; especially is this so with α , which only once perhaps in twenty cases is undivided in its testimony. Thus it appears that the recension was not the work of a few years, but was rather a process which culminated in such a text as we find in β , and particularly in the MS. *v*.

(b) β or groups in β at times preserve the original text, where α is secondary.

(c) *The character and affinities of the chief MSS.*

g. Of the MSS. of α , *g* is decidedly the best all-round MS. It has been made the basis, so far as any single MS. can, of my text. It, however, exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar.

1*g*. This MS. (already described under *Ethiopic MSS.*) shows certain idiosyncrasies in ciii. 9-15, where it uses the first person over against the third in the other MSS. On the whole it is most nearly related to *g*.

m. This MS. is in some respects the weakest of the older group. It attaches itself so closely to *g*, that we must assume its having come under its influence. In the majority of its unique readings 1*g* is unaccompanied by *m*, which, however, has many affinities with it.

q. Though teeming with errors in the way of additions, corruptions, and omissions, this MS. contains a larger number of unique original readings than any other used in our text. It approximates more closely to *g₁gm* than to *tu*.

t. This is a most interesting MS. as it gives the older type of reading in the text, and the later either over erasures or in the margin with the rejected words in the text bracketed. The corrector has not, however, done his work thoroughly. Moreover, in some cases the correction represents a return to the older text. *t* is closely connected with *u*.

u. This is a good MS. but very imperfect after lxxxiii. The omissions are capriciously made; sometimes words, sometimes phrases, sometimes whole sentences and paragraphs are excised to the entire destruction of the sense. Still, as *u* is a valuable MS. I faithfully record its omissions and changes.

n. Of the β class of MSS. *n* is by far the best. Indeed, though embodying in the main the second type of text, it attests more unique and original readings in i-xxxii than *m* or *t* or *u*. Also, at times, it alone of the β class supports various MSS. of the first class in the true reading.

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§ 5. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE GREEK VERSIONS.

The Greek Versions have only in part been preserved. Chapters i-xxxii. 6 and xix. 3-xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered in 1886-7 at Akhmîm by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published by M. Bouriant in 1892. They are designated G^a, and as G^{a1} and G^{a2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Large fragments have been preserved in Syncellus—vi-x. 14, xv. 8-xvi. 1; and viii. 4-ix. 4 in a duplicate form. These are designated G^a, and as G^{a1}, G^{a2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Another fragment is found in a Vatican Greek MS., No. 1809, written in tachygraphic characters. For Greek quotations from 1 *Enoch*, see § 10 (b, c).

The relations of the G^a and G^s to each other and to E (the Ethiopic Version).

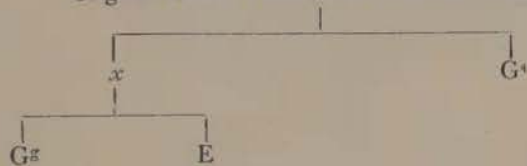
(a) G^s is more original than G^e. Though closely related these two fragments exhibit marks of independence. G^s has in several passages a different and undoubtedly better order of text. Thus it rightly places vii. 3-5 of G^e (or rather its equivalent of vii. 3-5) after viii. 3 of G^e. Again in viii. 3 G^e is very defective compared with G^s. The additional matter in G^s could not have been written by a Greek, as in every instance the office constitutes when translated into Aramaic a play on the name of the angel who discharges the office. Similarly in vi. 7 the order of the angels' names is different, and G^s is here again preferable to G^e E. Moreover, in viii. 4; ix. 9; x. 2, 4, G^s has a fuller and more original reading than G^e E. Finally G^s preserves several right readings over against G^e E. See x. 11, 14.

(b) Relations of G^a and G^s to E. E and G^s are more closely related than E and G^a, or G^a and G^s. They have the same corruptions over against the reading of G^a in x. 7, 11, 14; xiv. 8, 18; xv. 9; xviii. 5; xxii. 4; xxv. 5; xxviii. 2.

On the other hand, E preserves certain original readings lost by G⁸ and vice versa.

(c) From the above facts it follows that G^s and E spring from a common ancestor which we may designate *x*, and that this *x* and G^a proceed ultimately from the same original, the first Greek translation of the *Book of Enoch*, though the evidence postulates the existence of duplicate renderings in this translation, *x* adopting one rendering and G^a the other. In some cases *x* adopted both, which were reproduced respectively by G^s and E. In some cases there may have been variants in the Semitic original. Hence the genealogy of the above documents might be represented thus:

Original Greek Translation from the Semitic



THE LATIN VERSION.

The Latin Fragment, which constitutes a very imperfect reproduction of cvi. 1-18, was discovered in 1893 in the British Museum by Dr. James. In the same year he issued it in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, II, No. 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 146-50. This MS. seems to point to a Latin translation of Enoch, and shows no signs of being an excerpt from a collection of excerpts.

For *Latin quotations* see under § 10 (c).

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.

The Ethiopic Version has been preserved in twenty-nine MSS. of which fifteen are to be found in England, eight in France, four in Germany, one in Italy, and one in America. Of these MSS. there are only three of which my knowledge is indirect and slight, *p* and *s*, *s*^b. Of these *s*^b is of no account as it is an exact transcript of *b*.

The division of Enoch into chapters was made apparently in the sixteenth century. The division into 108 chapters was made by Dillmann without MS. authority, and has been followed by all subsequent scholars. This division is indeed found in one MS., i.e. *h*, but it was unknown to Dillmann when he made his text. Moreover, the chapters in *h* vary frequently in length from those in Dillmann's text.

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§ 6. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works. These consist of i-xxxvi, xxxvii-lxxi, lxxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xci-cviii. Behind this apparently artificial division lies a real difference as to authorship, system of thought, and date. When I edited my first edition of Enoch in 1893 it was necessary for me to go at great length into the differentiae marking these divisions, since the accepted criticism of the day regarded i-xxxvi, lxxii-civ as forming the groundwork, and proceeding from one and the same author. Since that date this impossible hypothesis has vanished from the field of criticism. My task here is, therefore, no longer of a polemical nature, but simply to determine so far as possible the extent, character, and date of the various independent writings embodied in this work. The various sections will now be dealt with in the order of their occurrence.

Fragments of the Book of Noah. But before we enter on the criticism of the various elements in the book, we should observe first of all that it contains fragments of an earlier work—entitled the Book of Noah. Of the existence of this book we know independently from the Book of Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10, and later sources. But even if we had possessed no independent reference to such a book, we could have had no doubt as to its existence; for the contents of chapters lx, lxx-lxix. 25 prove conclusively that they are from this source; also cvi-cvii. Furthermore, vi-xi¹ are derived from the same work. These latter chapters never refer to Enoch, but to Noah. Moreover, where the author of Jubilees in vii. 20-25 describes the laws laid down by Noah for his children, and Noah's accounts of the evils that had brought the Flood upon the earth, he borrows not only the ideas, but at times the very phraseology of these chapters. Finally, we may observe that chapters lxxxviii-lxxxix. 1 presuppose a minute acquaintance with chapter x. liv. 7-lv. 2 probably belong to the same source. *The Noachic fragments preserved in this book are thus:* vi-xi, liv-lv. 2, lx, lxx-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.

These facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up on the debris of the former.

Having now disposed of the earlier materials utilized by the writers of the different Sections of Enoch, we shall now proceed to deal with the five Sections or Books in the order of their occurrence.

SECTION I. i-xxxvi. We have already seen that vi-xi belonged originally to the Book of Noah; xii-xvi, on the other hand, are a vision or visions of Enoch in which he intercedes on behalf of Azazel and the Watchers. These visions are preserved in a fragmentary form, and not in their original order—a fact which is most probably due to the editor of the whole work, since the same dislocation of the text recurs in lxxviii-lxxx and xci-xciii. The original order of xii-xvi was, so far as the present fragmentary text goes: xiv. 1 . . . xiii. 1-2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2, xii. 4-6 || xvi. 3-4. xii. 1-2 is an editorial introduction.

This portion of our text began obviously with the words: xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers'. Then came a request on the part of Azazel that Enoch should intercede for him. This request was acceded to on the part of Enoch, who in a vision received God's judgement on Azazel. But both the request and the vision are lost. In xiii. 1-2, however, the answer to Azazel's request is given in the divine doom announced by Enoch. Next Enoch is besought by the Watchers to intercede for them, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-7. Thereupon Enoch has a vision regarding them, xiii. 8, which he recounts to them, xiii. 9-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2. Finally the section closes with the message of doom, which Enoch is bidden to take to the Watchers, xvi. 3-4. Of xvi. 3-4 there is a doublet, xii. 4-6, which is more original than xvi. 3-4.

xvii-xix stand by themselves, exhibiting, as they do, strong traces of Greek influences in their description of the underworld, and yet showing a close affinity to xx-xxxvi, since xviii. 6-9 is a doublet of xxiv. 1-3, xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10, xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; xix. 2, moreover, reflects the same view as x. 14.

xx-xxxvi come apparently from one and the same author: the functions ascribed to the archangels in xx are tolerably borne out in xxi-xxxvi. But since only four of the seven archangels mentioned in xx are dealt with in xxi-xxxvi, it is possible that a considerable passage was early lost.

¹ Even these chapters are composite; for they are a conflation of two distinct cycles of myths relating respectively to Semjaza and Azazel (see my second edition, pp. 13-14 notes), and this conflation was anterior to the date of the Dream Visions, which presuppose the existence of these chapters in their present form, or at all events of chapter x.

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i-v now call for treatment. These chapters are connected in phraseology with every section of the book save lxxii-lxxxii. (See my edition, p. 2 sq.) Thus the phrase 'he took up his parable', i. 2, suggests a connexion with xxxvii-lxxi, but this may be a mere coincidence, since the writer is here consciously influenced by Num. xxiii-xxiv, where the phrase recurs several times. These chapters, moreover, appear to be of composite origin. ii-v seem to be a unity. But I see no satisfactory solution of the problem.

To sum up. i-xxxvi may be analysed into the following independent elements, i-v, v-xi, xii-xvi, xvii-xix, xx-xxxvi. When the Book of Jubilees was written we shall see that vi-xxxvi had already been put together.

SECTION II. xxxvii-lxxi. As all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, I will simply refer the reader here to my edition, pp. 65 sq., for some of the grounds for this conclusion.

xxxvii-lxxi have been handed down in a fragmentary condition, and many of the problems they suggest can only be tentatively solved or merely stated.

xxxvii-lxxi consist in the main of three Parables, xxxviii-xliv, xlv-lvii, lviii-lxix. These are introduced by xxxvii and concluded by lxx, which describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah. lxxi, which contains two visions received in his lifetime, belongs to one of the three Parables. We have already seen that liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, are interpolated from the ancient Book of Noah.

Behind the Parables there appear to lie two sources, as Beer suggested though he did not work out his suggestion. The one was the 'Son of Man' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel who went with me': i.e. xl. 3-7, xlvii-xlviii. 7, lii. 3-4, lxi. 3-4, lxii. 2-lxiii, lxix. 26-9, lxx-lxxi, and the other 'the Elect One' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel of peace': i.e. xxxviii-xxxix, xl. 1-2, 8-10, xli. 1-2, 9, xlv, xlviii. 8-10, l-liv. 1-2, 5-9, liii-liv. 6, lv. 3-lvii, lxi. 1-2, 5-13, lxii. 1. See my edition, pp. 64-5.

SECTION III. lxxii-lxxxii. Chapter lxxii introduces a scientific treatise. In this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances in the O.T. regarding physical phenomena into one system. The sole aim of his book is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object he pursues undeviatingly to lxxix. 1, where it is said that his treatise is finished. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author's interest is scientific, and, like the author of Jubilees in vi. 32-6, he upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time, lxxiv. 12. And this order is inflexible and will not change till the new creation, lxxii. 1. But in lxxx. 2-8 the interest is ethical and nothing else, and though it recognizes an order of nature, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance. lxxx. 2-8 appears then to be an addition. Nor, again, can lxxxii belong to lxxii-lxxxii. Whereas the blessing of lxxii-lxxix, lxxxii is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years, the blessing of lxxxii. 4 is for the man 'who dies in righteousness'. lxxxii is of the nature of a mosaic and may come from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. Finally lxxxii stood originally before lxxix. 6 'Such is the . . . sketch of every luminary which Uriel . . . showed unto me'. After the long disquisition on the stars in lxxxii, the first words in lxxix. 1 come in most appropriately: 'I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.' If lxxxii did not precede, these words could not be justified. For like dislocations cf. xii-xvi, xci-xciii.

Thus the original order of this Section was: lxxii-lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix. For a full discussion of this Section and its independence of i-xxxvi and the knowledge it implies of the Calendar, see my edition, pp. 147-50.

SECTION IV. lxxxiii-xc. This is the most complete and self-consistent of all the Sections, and has suffered least from the hand of the interpolator. For passages that have suffered in the course of transmission see xc. 19, which I have restored before xc. 14: also lxxxix. 48. In xc, vv. 13-15 are a doublet of vv. 16-18.

lxxxiii-xc is of different authorship to vi-xxxvi. (1) The descent of the Watchers in lxxxvi. 1-3 differs from that in vi. (2) The throne of judgement is in Palestine in xc. 20-6, but in the N.W. in the midst of the Seven Mountains in xviii. 8, xxv. 3. (3) The scene of the kingdom in lxxxiii-xc is the New Jerusalem set up by God Himself: in i-xxxvi it is Jerusalem and the earth *unchanged* though purified, x. 18, 20. (4) lxxxiii-xc are only visions assigned to Enoch's earlier and unwedded life: vi-xxxvi are accounts of actual bodily translations and are assigned to his later life. If these two Sections were from one and the same author, and that an ascetic, exactly the converse would have been the case. For other grounds see my edition, pp. 179 sq.

Identity of authorship appears, therefore, to be impossible; but the similarities in phraseology and idea (see *op. cit.*) prove that one of the authors had the work of the other before him. Of the two Sections there is no room for doubt that lxxxiii-xc is the later.

SECTION V. xci-civ. *Critical Structure.* This Section is in the main complete and self-consistent. It has, however, suffered at the hands of the editor of the entire work in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. We have already seen his handiwork in the case of xii-xvi and lxxviii-lxxxii. The dislocations of the text are a remarkable feature in this Section, and I cannot see any adequate explanation. The editor incorporated an earlier work—the Apocalypse of Weeks—into his text, xciii. 1-10, xci. 13-17, the former part dealing with the first seven weeks of the world's history and the latter with the last three. Taken together these form an independent whole. But this is not all. Since this Section is of different authorship to the other Sections of the book it is obvious that it began originally with xcii. 1, 'Written by Enoch the scribe,' &c. On xcii follows xci. 1-10, 18-19 as a natural sequel, where Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks: xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. Thus the original order of the book is xcii, xci. 1-10, 18-19, xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17, xciv.

Relation to vi-xxxvi. At first sight the evidence for the unity of authorship of these two Sections is very great. They have many phrases in common. In each there are references to the law, the eating of blood, and to the regularity of nature. There is no hint of a Messiah in either. There are other resemblances but they are seeming and not real. On the other hand, in vi-xxxvi the Messianic kingdom is eternal, in xci-civ it is temporary, if the Apocalypse of Weeks is taken to be a constituent part of xci-civ. In the former the final judgement is held before the establishment of the kingdom, x. 12, xvi. 1, in the latter at the close of the temporary kingdom (xciii. 1-10, xci. 1-10). Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation to a temporary blessedness, x. 17, xxv. 5, in the latter it is not to the temporary kingdom spoken of in xci. 13, 14, xcvi. 8, but to one of eternal blessedness subsequent to the final judgement, c. 4, 5. Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation in a physical body, in xci-civ it is a resurrection in a spiritual body, xcii. 3, 4, civ. 2, 6. In the latter there is a resurrection of the righteous only: not so in the former. For other grounds see my edition, 219 sq.

Relation to lxxxiii-xc. In xci-civ the Messianic kingdom is temporary in duration but not so in lxxxiii-xc: in the former the final judgement is consummated at the close of the kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. In xci-civ there is a resurrection of the righteous only; in lxxxiii-xc of the righteous and the apostate Jews. The kingdom to which the righteous rise in xci-civ is not the temporary kingdom on the earth but the new heaven, but in lxxxiii-xc it is the Messianic kingdom on the earth.

cv. This chapter appears to be an independent fragment.

cvi-cvii. These chapters have already been dealt with as part of the Book of Noah.

cviii. This chapter forms an appendix to the entire work added not by the editor but by a subsequent writer to confirm the righteous in the face of repeated disappointment in their expectations.

§ 7. DATES OF THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.

I will here deal with these elements in the order of their age.

Book of Noah. This book was, as we have seen already, laid under contribution by the author of the Book of Jubilees and by the general editor of Enoch. Part of it is embodied in vi-xxxvi, and this part is presupposed as already existing by lxxxiii-xc. Now, since lxxxiii-xc cannot be later than 161 B. C., it follows that we have here the *terminus ad quem* of this work.

vi-xxxvi. Since vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi were known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (see my edition, p. lxix) this Section must have been written before the latter half of the second century B. C. Since, further, lxxxiii-xc, written before 161 B. C., show a minute acquaintance with x, the date of vi-xi must be put back to the first third of that century. Many other points in lxxxiii-xc (see my edition, p. 179) point to the acquaintance of the author of lxxxiii-xc with vi-xxxvi. Again, since vi-xxxvi makes no reference to the persecution of Antiochus, the *terminus ad quem* is thus fixed at 170 B. C. The fact that vi-xxxvi were written in Aramaic is in favour of pre-Maccabean date; for when once a nation recovers, or is trying to recover, its independence, we know from history that it seeks to revive its national language.

lxxxiii-xc. The fourth and last of the four periods into which lxxxiii-xc divide history between the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom began about 200 B. C. (see my edition, pp. 180 sq., 206 sq.), and marks the transition of supremacy over Israel from the Graeco-Egyptians to the Graeco-Syrians, as well as the rise of the Chasids. The

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Chasids, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep, xc. 6, are already an organized party in the Maccabean revolt. But certain of these lambs became horned, i.e. the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabaeus, xc. 9. As this great horn is still warring at the close of the rule of the shepherds, xc. 16, this section must have been written before the death of Judas, 161 B.C.

xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. This—the Apocalypse of Weeks—may have been written before the Maccabean revolt. There is no reference in it to the persecution of Antiochus. But the date is wholly doubtful.

lxxii-lxxxii. This section is referred to in Jubilees iv. 17, 21, where the author tells how Enoch wrote a book of the order of the months, the seasons of the years, and the rule of the sun. Hence the *terminus ad quem* is 110 B.C. or thereabouts.

xci-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the Maccabees were the religious champions of the nation and the friends of the Chasidim. Here they are leagued with the Sadducees and are the foes of the Pharisaic party. This section was written, therefore, after 109 B.C., when (?) the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees took place. But a later date must be assumed according to the literal interpretation of ciii. 14, 15, where the rulers are said to uphold the Sadducean oppressors and to share in the murder of the righteous. This charge is not justified before 95 B.C. As for the later limit, the Herodian princes cannot be the rulers here mentioned; for the Sadducees were irrevocably opposed to these as aliens and usurpers. The date, therefore, may be either 95-79 B.C. or 70-64 B.C., during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees. In my edition of Jubilees, pp. lxix-lxxi, I have given various grounds for regarding xci-civ as dependent on Jubilees.

xxxvii-lxxi. From a full review of the evidence, which is given and discussed in the notes of my edition on xxxviii. 5, it appears that the kings and the mighty so often denounced in the Parables are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters—the later Maccabean princes, on the one hand, and not the earlier; for the blood of the righteous was not shed as the writer complains (xlvi. 1, 2, 4) before 95 B.C.: the later Maccabean princes, on the other hand, and not the Herodians; for (1) the Sadducees were not supporters of the latter, and (2) Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers—a fact which necessitates an earlier date than 64 B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea. Thus the date of the Similitudes could not have been earlier than 94 B.C. or later than 64 B.C. But it is possible to define the date more precisely. As the Pharisees enjoyed unbroken power and prosperity under Alexandra 79-70 B.C., the Parables must be assigned either to the years 94-79 or 70-64.

§ 8. THE POETICAL ELEMENT IN 1 ENOCH.

In the course of editing the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch I was fortunate enough to discover that no small proportion of it was written originally in verse. But the full extent of the poetical element was not recognized till the completion of the present edition. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book, but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connexions of wrongly disjoined clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Our recognition of this fact enables us to recognize the genuineness of verses which had hitherto been regarded as interpolations, and to excise others which were often in themselves unmeaning or at variance with their contexts. The very first chapter is the best witness in these respects. There we find that i. 6-9 consists of nine stanzas of three lines each. E had lost two of the lines of stanza seven, but happily these had been preserved by G^s. Again, in vi. 4-9 we have eight stanzas of four lines each. The order of the lines has been disarranged as will be seen in vi. 6-7, but here the parallelism enables us to effect their restoration. Ch. 51 would without a recognition of the poetical character be in many respects inexplicable. In other passages it enables us to recognize certain lines as ditto-graphs: cf. lix. 6^a, lxxi. 3^c, lxxx. 7^c, lxxxii. 2^b, xciv. 7^d.

§ 9. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF CHAPTERS VI-XXXVI—ARAMAIC; OF I-V, XXXVII-CIV—HEBREW.

That 1 Enoch was originally written in a Semitic language is now universally admitted. But what that language is still, as regards portions of the book, a question of dispute. In the past, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles (formerly), Littmann, and Martin have advocated a Hebrew original, while at various times an Aramaic original has been maintained by De Sacy, Lévi, Eerdmans, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Praetorius. Ewald, Dillmann

Lods, Flemming could not come to a decision between Hebrew and Aramaic. But of the above scholars only three have really grappled with the subject, i.e. Halévy, Charles, and Schmidt, and three different theses are advanced by them. While Halévy maintains a Hebrew original, and Schmidt an Aramaic, the present writer, as a result of his studies in editing the Ethiopic text and the translation and commentary based upon it, is convinced that neither view can be established, but that each appears to be true in part.¹ In other words, like the Book of Daniel, part of 1 Enoch was written originally in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The proofs of this thesis amount in certain sections almost to demonstration: in the case of others only to a high probability. The results of the present study of this problem tend to show that chapters vi-xxxvi were originally written in Aramaic, and xxxvii-civ, and probably i-v in Hebrew.

Chapters i-v. Probably from a Hebrew original. These chapters, as we have shown elsewhere, do not come from the same author or period as vi-xxxvi.

i. 1. In E the text = ἐξάραι πάντας τοὺς πονηροὺς whereas G^s has ἐξάραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς. The former, as the context shows, as well as Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (see note on p. 4 of the Commentary), is original, the latter not. Now the former = בל-הרעים, the latter = בל-הצרים, a corruption of the former. The same corruption is found in the LXX of Prov. xx. 22. Since E and G^s are in the main derived from the same Greek translation, this fact, unless due to a sheer blunder of a copyist, points to the presence of alternative readings in the margin of the Hebrew archetype, which were reproduced by the Greek translator. Other facts point in the same direction: see note on v. 9^b below.

i. 9. In 'He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones' the text reproduces the Massoretic of Deut. xxxiii. 2 in reading אֲנִי = ἔρχεται, whereas the three Targums, the Syriac and Vulgate read אֲנִי = μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here the LXX diverges wholly. The reading אֲנִי is recognized as original. The writer of i-v therefore used the Hebrew text and presumably wrote in Hebrew.

v. 6^b. ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσσονται πάντες οἱ καταρώμενοι = בנכס ילללו בל-המקללים is, so far as I am aware, a Hebrew idiom, and not an Aramaic. See note on p. 12 of my Commentary.

v. 9^b. Here G^s reads ἀμαρτωσιν, but E = κριθήσονται = אֲשָׁמִי (cf. Prov. xxx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 6; Jer. ii. 3, &c.). Here the parallelism shows that G^s is right. Here, as in i. 1 above, we can explain the double rendering by assuming that one of these readings stood in the text and the other in the margin.

Since none of the evidence favours an Aramaic original, and whatever linguistic evidence there is makes for a Hebrew, we may provisionally conclude in favour of the latter.

Chapters vi-xxxvi. The evidence in favour of an Aramaic original of these chapters is practically conclusive.

(a) *Aramaic words transliterated in the Greek or Ethiopic.* Amongst the many Semitic words transliterated in these versions the following are Aramaic and Aramaic only: in G^s φονκά, xviii. 8, i.e. פונכא, מανδο-βαρά, xxviii. 1, and βαβδηρά, xxix. 1, i.e. מדברא. Another Aramaic form is χερουβίν, xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, but this form is indecisive as it is found not infrequently in the LXX. In E manzerân² for manzerîn, x. 9, i.e. מנזרין: 'alwâ, xxxi. 2 (see note in loc.) = אלהא. The Hebrew form is אלהים.

Other transliterations are βάτους, x. 19, i.e. בת, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic: χαλβάνη, xxxi. 1, i.e. חלבנה Hebrew or חלבנא Aramaic. On the other hand there are two Hebrew words transliterated: thus σαρράν, xxxi. 1 = צִרְיָ, which is not found in Aramaic but which is rendered in Aramaic by קטף: and γῆ, xxvii. 2 = גֵּיא = 'valley', which is a pure Hebrew word, the Aramaic being חילא. These last two cases are somewhat strange, but, since גֵּיא is here used as a proper name, its use in an Aramaic document may be justified.

(b) *Aramaic constructions.* In xix. 2 we have the peculiar Greek αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων. This is a literal reproduction of the Aramaic idiom נשיהן די מלאכיא די חטו. The same construction recurs in E ix. 8 which = συνεκοιμήθισων μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν = שכיבו עמהן עם נשיא. Here G^s, it is true, has omitted μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν. This omission was probably due to the unintelligibility of the construction to a Greek scribe. G^s, however, preserves the missing clause but wrongly connects it with the following verb—this change being due no doubt to an attempt to normalize the Greek. Thus G^s reads συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμίανθησαν. Here the καὶ should be restored after θηλείαις. In vi. 8 we have a third instance of this idiom, though in a corrupt form: οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεκά(δων) = ראשיהן דעשריתא. This Aramaic idiom has found its way into the O.T. as in Cant. iii. 7.

(c) *Some of the proper names with which paronomasias are connected postulate an Aramaic original.* Thus in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now the ὁ τρίτος in vi. 7 is Ἀρακὺλ = אַרְקִיאַל, where אַרְקִיאַל is Aramaic for 'earth'. Thus this angel naturally taught the signs of the earth: אַרְקִיאַל יֵאֵלְהֵי אַרְקִיאַל. Again in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ εἰκοστός ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, where ὁ εἰκοστός according to G^s vi. 7 is Σαμὺλ = סַהֲרִיאַל. Here סַהֲרִיאַל is Aramaic for 'moon'. Again in viii. 3 the ὁ ὄγδοος in ὁ ὄγδοος

¹ This view was first advanced in my edition of the Ethiopic text, pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

² Here G^s has μαζήρεους and cannot account for E. Hence E here, as in i. 1, v. 9^b above, presupposes another reading than that in G^s, this reading being in the text or margin of the Greek translation.

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ἐδίδαξε ἀεροσκοπίαν is in G^s vi. 7 Ἐξεκλήλ (G^s Ζακήλ) = שַׁחֲקִיאֵל. פֶּשֶׁ (= אֵהָר), it is true, is Hebrew as well as Aramaic.

In xiii. 7 it is said that 'the angels were mourning in Abilene', i.e. אַבְיִלִין בְּאַבְיִלִין. In G^s vi. 7 the play on Hermon is possible both in Aramaic and Hebrew (see note *in loc.*), but the play on Jared in the same verse is only possible in Hebrew. Whence we may infer that this paronomasia originated in Hebrew and is only reproduced in this Aramaic document. Finally in E G^s x. 7 the command is given to Raphael: ἰασαί τὴν γῆν = רַפִּי הָאָרֶעָ, in which there is an obvious play on Raphael's name. But though Nöldeke states that 'רפא' is 'gemeinsemitisch' (ZDMG, 1886, xl. 723, quoted by Schmidt) it is not found in the Targums and later rabbinical literature. Here, therefore, the play may be due to a pre-existing Hebrew document or myth, just as we are obliged to make the same presupposition in the case of 'Jared' above.

(d) *Text restored through retranslation into Aramaic.* In this section there are many corrupt passages, as might be expected, which can be restored through retranslation either into Aramaic or Hebrew, owing to the close affinities of these languages. This may be the case in ix. 4 מַלְכִּיָּא (i.e. τῶν βασιλέων E) corrupt for עַלְמִיָּא = τῶν αἰώνων, or מַלְכִּיָּא for עַלְמִיָּא: similarly in x. 7 ἐπάταξαν E G^s = אַבְדּוּ, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, and corrupt for אַמְרוּ = εἶπον G^s.¹ In x. 17 τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν = שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, wrongly vocalized for שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, or = שַׁבְּתָם corrupt for שַׁבְּתָם. xiv. 8 κατασπούδαζον καὶ ἐθορύβαζον†. Here the second verb is impossible. The clause in Aramaic = יוֹחוֹן וַיְבַחֵלּוּ. Now the pael יְבַחֵלּוּ = ἐθορύβαζον, ταρασσειν, or συνταράσσειν in Dan. iv. 2, 16; v. 9, 10; vii. 15, 28, and is rendered by Theodotion by the latter two verbs. On the other hand, the LXX renders the same Aramaic verb by κατασπύδειν in iv. 16; v. 6. Thus the translator of the LXX, who, as we know from the rest of his translation of the Aramaic section of Daniel, was very familiar with Aramaic, assigns to the part of the Aramaic verb the same meaning as the piel and hiphil of the Hebrew בָּחַל. Hence we may assume that the pael in Aramaic could mean κατασπύδειν or ἐθορύβαζον. Thus we could explain ἐθορύβαζον as a mistranslation in this context of יְבַחֵלּוּ. It is also possible that the two verbs are alternative renderings of one and the same verb in the Aramaic. This would have been possible also if the original had been Hebrew; for יְבַחֵלּוּ pointed as a piel would mean κατασπούδαζον and ἐθορύβαζον as a niphel. In xiii. 2; xv. 4, 11; xxix. 2 also the text can be restored by either language. (See notes *in loc.*)

But there are other passages that apparently defy restoration save through retranslation into Aramaic. In ix. 10 ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμός αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελεῖν†, the ἐξελεῖν is meaningless, but by retranslation we discover the origin of the corruption. ἐξελεῖν = לִמְנַח corrupt for לִמְנַח = 'cease'. The lamentations 'cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth'.

In x. 7 (where see note) the variations of the versions can be explained through the Aramaic, where E has twice 'earth' (= γῆ), G^s has once γῆ and once πλεγγή, and G^s πλεγγή both times. The variations could, of course, have originated in G, but γῆ and πλεγγή can be readily accounted for as renderings of אֶרֶץ, which, punctuated as אֶרֶץ = γῆ, and as אֶרֶץ = πλεγγή.

In xvii. 7 E = τὰ ὅρη τῶν γνόφων = מוֹרֵי קְבֵלָא. The phrase was derived most probably from Jer. xiii. 16 הָרִי נִשְׁפָּה. But G^s reads ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων = מוֹרֵי קְבֵלָא. Here, as we have seen several times already, the Greek translator appears to have found מוֹרֵי in the text and רוחֵי in the margin (or vice versa), and to have rendered both, one of which was preserved by G^s and the other by the Greek ancestor of E.

In xviii. 2 the text ἰδὼν τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα (G^s E) is quite impossible. The winds do not bear the earth. By retranslation into Aramaic we see that τὴν γῆν arose in the Aramaic through a dittography. The clause = מוֹרֵי אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ, where אֶרֶץ is a dittograph of אֶרֶץ. The winds bear the firmament, not the earth.

In xxviii. 2 πλήρης δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων. It would be absurd to speak of a plain as being 'full of trees and seeds'. Here ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων = מוֹרֵי, corrupt for מוֹרֵי (cf. Dan. i. 12, 16; Mishna, Kil. ii. 2; iii. 2) = καὶ τῶν φντενμάτων. Or the wrong phrase may be due to a wrong punctuation of the Aramaic word by the Greek translator. See note *in loc.*

In xxxi. 3 ὅταν τριβῶσιν refer to certain fragrant trees mentioned in the preceding verse. These trees yielded a fragrant odour when burnt. (See note *in loc.*) Hence I assume that יִרְקָן (= τριβῶσιν) is corrupt for יִדְלָקִין = καύσων.

Chapters xxxvii-lxxi from a Hebrew original. In support of this view Halévy (*op. cit.* pp. 364 sqq.) criticized over a dozen of passages from the Parables and the interpolations with a view to showing that the meaning of the text could not be recovered unless by retranslation from a Hebrew original. Unhappily Halévy based his work on the corrupt text of Dillmann, and most of his conclusions have thereby been invalidated. Some, however, are of permanent value. On the other hand Schmidt (*O.T. and Semitic Studies*, ii. 336-43) strongly contests this view, and maintains the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I have studied carefully his ingenious essay, but this study has served to confirm me in the belief in a Hebrew original, which I assumed in my edition of 1893, and supported by arguments in my text of 1908. The preparation of my new edition has served to bring fresh evidence on this question to light.

¹ Here again the two readings in the Greek versions can be best explained by variants in the margin of the Semitic original. See footnote p. 173, and the paragraphs on xiv. 8 (*ad fin.*), xvii. 7.

First of all I will give (a) a list of passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original; (b) passages which are believed to presuppose an Aramaic only; and (c) passages which postulate a Hebrew original.

(a) *Passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.* xxxvii. 4 'Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits.' Here the Ethiopic has 'emqēdma = ἐκ προσώπου or ἐμπροσθεν = מִלְפָּנַי, 'from before,' or practically 'by', as I have rendered it. This late use of מִלְפָּנַי is found in Esther i. 19; iv. 8; 1 Chron. xxix. 12. The same idiom is found in Aramaic, i.e. מִן־קֶדֶם: cf. Dan. vi. 27 (|| iii. 29 מִנִּי). The same idiom recurs in lxv. 10, and possibly in xlvi. 2, 3, 6.

xl. 9. The play on the names of Raphael and Gabriel is found in Hebrew; it is possible in Aramaic in the case of Gabriel, but a play on Raphael has never been found in Aramaic. In fact, רפא is not found in the Targums.

xl. 3. 'Shall try their works.' For 'try' the text reads 'choose'. Now, as I pointed out in 1908, this = יבחר, corrupt for יבחר; or, if the original had been Aramaic, we had to suppose that the translator followed the wrong meaning of יבחר. Schmidt accepts the latter supposition.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Shall raise up† the kings . . . from their seats.' A dittograph of this verse reappears in xlvi. 5^a 'shall put down the kings from their thrones'. Here 'raise up' = יטול is corrupt for יטיל = 'put down'. This restoration is possible either in Hebrew or Aramaic.

liv. 10. 'And when.' Here the text reads 'and because', but the context requires 'when'. The wrong rendering can be explained either from Hebrew or Aramaic (see note in loc.).

lv. 3. In my note I have restored the text by means of Hebrew: but it is possible also through Aramaic, since מִן־קֶדֶם can also mean 'because of'.

lxv. 11. See note in loc.

lxvi. 2. Here the text reads 'hands' הַיָּדִים or יָדָא corrupt for הַמַּיִם or יָמָא.

lxviii. 2. Text reads 'provokes me' = ירגיזני or ירגיזני.

lxix. 1. As in lxviii. 2.

lxix. 4. The corruption can be explained either by Hebrew or Aramaic.

lxix. 13. Task. Here 'number' = מִנָּן (or מִנִּינָא as Schmidt points out) which seems corrupt for עֲנִין (or עֲנִינָא) = 'task'.

lxxi. 1. Same corruption as in lxix. 4.

(b) *Phrases and passages which are adduced by Schmidt in support of an Aramaic original.* Some of these have been dealt with already under (a), i.e. xxxvii. 4; xl. 9; xlv. 3; lxv. 11; lxviii. 2; lxix. 13, in which cases Schmidt suggests that the corrupt passages in question can be best explained by an Aramaic original, though possible also by a Hebrew original. His suggestions on li. 3, xli. 5 are unnecessary, as the corruptions are native to E, and that on lii. 9, as we shall see later, is untenable, and his transformation of xxxviii. 2 'whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits' into 'whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits' is wholly uncalled for, since there is no difficulty in the phrase which recurs twice in xl. 5, xlvi. 8, and has a parallel in Judith viii. 24. The plurals Sūrāfēn, Kīrūbēn, Afnīn in lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 are certainly Aramaic in form, but σαραφέιν which occurs only twice in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. vi. 2, 6, appears both times in the oldest MSS. of the LXX. A of the LXX in this form, in Isa. vi. 2 and in B in vi. 6. The Aramaic form χερουβεῖν is often found in the LXX. Hence this evidence for an Aramaic original is without weight.

But 'the most convincing evidence . . . of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term "Son of Man"'. They are walda sab'ē xlv. 2, 3, 4; xlvi. 2; lx. 10; walda b'ēš lxi. 5; lxix. 29^{a, b}; lxxi. 14; and walda 'ēguāla 'ēma hējāw lxii. 7, 9, 14; lxiii. 11; lxix. 26, 27; lxx. 1; lxxi. 17. . . . Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally it means 'the son of the offspring of the mother of the living' . . . and is a rendering of οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων and especially of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. Schmidt then proceeds to emphasize the importance of these different renderings in the Parables, whereas in the N.T. it is the last that is uniformly used as a rendering of υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and observes: 'before lxii he uses no other term than walda sab'ē, the equivalent of the Aramaic בֶּרֶךְ נִשָּׂא. Later he employs four times the phrase walda b'ēš which corresponds to the Aramaic בֶּרֶךְ דִּנְבְּרָא. . . . This title is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Sinaitic text'. From the above evidence Schmidt concludes that, if the translator had 'a Greek text before him in which the N.T. title υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was uniformly used', it would be scarcely conceivable that he would have used three distinct Ethiopic expressions to render it, and 'these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to the three different Ethiopic terms'. He holds, therefore, that 'the conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. . . . General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the Parables of Enoch were translated from a Greek text one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it or a reference to it in early Christian literature'. But Schmidt can find none.

The last argument I will answer first. The reader has only to refer to the list of parallels between the N.T. books and the Parables on pp. 180 sq. in order to learn that the Parables did influence, and that directly, the writers of the N.T. Further, Tertullian's words, when discussing the authenticity of 1 Enoch, cannot be adequately explained, unless as bearing on passages in the Parables referring to the Son of Man: 'Cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicavit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere quae sonant Christum' (De Cultu

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Fem. i. 3). The Noah Apocalypse, moreover, which is interpolated in the Parables, is referred to in Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 52 οὗς (i.e. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) γενέσθαι κακοὺς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς υποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα (1 En. lxvii. 6, 11, 12). This evidence necessitates the existence of a Greek Version of the Parables.

Let us turn now to the next argument. The Ethiopic must have been made direct from the Aramaic because of the three forms in which the title 'Son of Man' is given in the Ethiopic, since these, according to Schmidt, correspond exactly to the three forms in Aramaic. But here I must join issue. We have, unless I have failed wholly in this study, seen that the evidence adduced by Schmidt for an Aramaic original is quite inconclusive, and that on the contrary the evidence so far points, though not conclusively, to a Hebrew original. For this conclusion other evidence will be adduced later. We are not, therefore, predisposed to accept such an extraordinary thesis as that the Ethiopic must have been made directly from the Aramaic. Before dealing directly with the titles in question we might point to two facts which render this thesis not merely improbable, but incredible. 1^o. No known Ethiopic version has been made directly from the Aramaic. 2^o. The Book of Enoch, by its artificial division into five books, like the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of the Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five books in Proverbs, in Ecclesiasticus, the five divisions in the Pirke Aboth, and the five books of the Maccabean wars by Jason of Cyrene (see Hawkins², *Horae Synopticae*, p. 164), was after its kind a carefully edited work in which the fragments of a literature were put together with just as much fitness and insight as that of the Proverbs or the Pirke Aboth. This five-fold division was thus a well-known Jewish device, and, since according to the use of the book made by the N.T. writers it existed in its completed form in the first half of the first century A.D., if not nearly a century earlier, we cannot understand how an Ethiopic translator in the sixth or seventh century A.D. could have used the Greek version for the four books of Enoch, i-xxxvi, lxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xc-cviii, and an Aramaic for the fifth, i.e. the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi. It is very probable that the entire book was translated early in the first century of the Christian era into Greek. That the Semitic original was early lost is to be inferred from the fact that no evidence of any kind testifies to its existence after the birth of Christianity, whereas multitudinous evidence attests the existence of the Greek version.

We may, therefore, safely relegate to the limbo of impossibilities the hypothesis that chapters xxxvii-lxxi of the Ethiopic version were translated directly from the Aramaic.

We have now to consider what Schmidt terms 'the most convincing evidence of an Aramaic original', i.e. the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man'. The Ethiopic translation was made, as we have just seen, from the Greek. Hence whatever explanation we give of the three forms must be justified by a Greek retranslation. This fact at once discounts any attempt to find a Greek prototype for 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw 'offspring of the mother of the living'. This Ethiopic phrase is used indifferently as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἄνθρωποι, υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνήρ. And the full form walda 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Dan. vii. 13, Ps. lxxix. 18, in Ezekiel about ninety times, Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and in the Gospels always = υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In itself the Ethiopic phrase can mean 'son of man' or 'the Son of Man'. But if the translator wished to make it clear that the latter title was used, he could do so by prefixing a demonstrative pronoun as a rendering of the Greek article ὁ. This is done in every instance in the Parables save three. In the course of eight verses in lxxxix. 42-9 the Greek article is so rendered eleven times.

Let us now examine the other two titles walda sab'ē and walda b'ēš. sab'ē distinctively = ἄνθρωπος (though in a few cases it = ἀνήρ). Thus walda sab'ē = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. It can also = υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but to make this unmistakable the translator could prefix the demonstrative pronoun as the equivalent of ὁ.

Next comes walda b'ēš. b'ēš = ἀνήρ generally, but as Dillmann (*Lex.* 519) puts it, it stands *creberrime* for ἄνθρωπος. In fact in the Ethiopic Version of our book it is used as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος in i. 2, xv. 1. If more of the Greek version had survived we should no doubt find many other instances.

The result of the above examination comes to this. The above three renderings do not presuppose three different forms in the Greek. They most probably presuppose merely one, i.e. υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but walda b'ēš may presuppose υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός. But I think the latter improbable. In lxii. 5; lxix. 29 (*bis*); lxxi. 14 b'ēš may be a rendering of ἀνθρώπου as in i. 2; xv. 1.

This change of rendering may seem surprising, but we have a perfect parallel in the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions of the Syriac N.T.¹ Thus whereas in the Peshitto b'reh dē-našā (ברה דנאשא) occurs uniformly as a rendering of υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in the Curetonian version we have b'reh de-gabrā (ברה דגברא) in Luke vii. 34; ix. 26; xxii. 48, and in the Sinaitic version b'reh de-gabrā in Mark viii. 38; Luke vii. 34; John xiii. 31, and elsewhere in both these versions b'reh dē-našā. In the Palestinian Lectionary there is still another way of rendering the phrase, but this does not concern us here. We have, however, learnt from these versions that differences in the manner of rendering the title 'Son of Man' in these versions does not imply any difference in the original Greek. Similarly we conclude that the three renderings of this title in the Parables do not presuppose corresponding variations in the Greek, but are due to the translator.

If, then, these variations in the Parables are due to the translator or translators it follows that these translators were Aramaic-speaking Jews, since the phrases walda b'ēš and walda sab'ē are respectively equivalents of b'reh de-gabrā and b'reh dē-našā.²

On the above grounds we conclude that υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου stood in all cases in the Greek version of the

¹ See Schmidt in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4714.

² The Aramaisms in the Ethiopic version of the O.T. are probably due to Aramaean missionaries.

Parables.¹ That this Greek *phrase* represents the Hebrew בְּהַאֲדָרָם, we shall further conclude from the evidence given in the next section.

(c) *Passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

xxxix. 7^b. 'The righteous . . . shall +be strong+ (α-μ: 'be beautiful' m, β) as fiery lights'. Neither reading is satisfactory. α-μ = יְהָרִי which may be corrupt for יִהְיֶה = 'shine': cf. Dan. xii. 3 כְּכֹכְבִּים . . . יִהְיֶה.

xlvi. 7. 'These are they who +judge+ the stars of heaven.' Here, as I have shown, the text appears to be based on Dan. viii. 10, and should be read (see my note *in loc.*) as follows:—

'These are they who raise their hands against the Most High,
And cast down the stars of heaven,
And tread them upon the earth.'

Thus 'judge' = יָדִינוּ which the context shows to be corrupt for יִרְדּוּ = 'cast down'.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**.' As the context shows (see my note *in loc.*) these words mean that the number of the righteous, i.e. the martyrs, is complete: cf. Rev. vi. 10, 11. Now α reads qarēba = ἤγγικε = קָרַב, which in Mishnaic Hebrew = 'has been offered'. This meaning is not found in the qal of this verb in Aramaic.

lii. 9. 'All these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth.' Here there were two alternative Greek renderings of יִכָּחֲדוּ. One was originally in the text, and the other in the margin, but subsequently both were incorporated into the text. Or the dittograph was native to the Hebrew, i.e. יִכָּחֲדוּ and יִכָּחֲדוּ. Schmidt attempts to explain the corruption from an Aramaic basis by assuming that יִתְרַמְּאוּ stood in the original, and that this received the two renderings in the text. But רַמָּא does not mean 'to destroy'. Moreover, the Ethiopic word kēhēda here, which means 'to deny', occurs again in xlv. 1; xlv. 7; xlviii. 10, in which three passages Schmidt says it goes back to the Aramaic כִּפַּר. Thus his proposal is satisfactory in no respect.

lx. 6. I have followed α in the text, but the parallelism is in favour of regarding the text as corrupt in the word 'worship'. This word is wholly unsatisfactory. It = יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, which may be corrupt (or יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה = 'pervert' or 'corrupt'). Thus we recover an excellent parallelism:—

'For those who corrupt the righteous law,
And for those who deny the righteous judgement,
And for those who take His name in vain.'

lxv. 10^a. 'Their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by me for ever.'

For 'withheld' the text reads οὐ λογισθήσεται or ἀρῆμύσεται. The Ethiopic word can mean either. The former rendering (as in lii. 8^d) is generally followed here. It is, however, unsatisfactory. The true reading, as I pointed out in my text, can be recovered by retranslation into Hebrew. οὐ λογισθήσεται = לֹא יִחְשַׁב, corrupt for לֹא יִשָּׁחֲטָה = 'shall not be withheld'. Here Schmidt follows the other possible meaning of the Ethiopic word ἀρῆμύσεται = יִתְמַנֶּה—a corruption of יִתְמַנֶּה.

lxv. 10^b. 'Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' Instead of 'sorceries' the Ethiopic reads 'months' = חֳרָשִׁים, which Halévy rightly recognized as a corruption of חֲרָשִׁים = 'sorceries'. It is true that on an exceptional occasion Aramaic-speaking Jews used חֲרָשִׁים instead of their own word יִרְחָא. Hence the evidence for a Hebrew original is slightly weakened here.

The text of this passage as known to Halévy and originally to myself was corrupt, and Schmidt rightly objected to this text even when emended as follows: 'because of the sorceries which they have searched out and (through which) they know that the earth . . . will be destroyed.' Schmidt observes that it 'is a strange idea that the terrible judgement of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed.' This observation is just, but the remedy lies in the MSS. *gtu*, which omit the 'that'. The omission of this word restores the meaning of the whole verse. See note on p. 131 of my second edition of Enoch.

From the above evidence we infer a Hebrew original. As in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel, so here there were possibly many Aramaisms.

Chapters lxxii–lxxxii. From a Hebrew original.

lxxvi. 1, 14. Here the word in the text 'winds' = רִיחוֹת, which should have been rendered 'quarters'. This restoration is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

lxxvii. 1. In this verse there is a play on the four quarters of the earth. It is possible to recover this play by retranslation into either Hebrew or Aramaic in the case of the 'east' and 'north': קָדָם or קְדָיִם and צָפוֹן or צִפּוֹן.

But this is not so in the case of the south and west. As regards the first the text reads 'the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea there . . . will He . . . descend' = יֵרֵד פִּי יְיָ שָׁם. This is possible only in Hebrew.

lxxvii. 2. 'And the west quarter is named (lit. 'its name') diminished because there all the luminaries wane.' וְהָרָח הַמַּעֲרִיבִית שְׁמוֹ אֲחֵרָן כִּי שָׁם יֵאָחֲזוּ כָּל-הַמְּאֹרוֹת.

¹ There is just a possibility that two forms stood in the Greek version, i.e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, and that these were due to the translators, who in this case also would be Aramaic-speaking Jews, but this is highly improbable.

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lxxviii. 1. Of the two names of the sun which are transliterated, though corruptly, in this verse, one is Hebrew and not Aramaic; i. e. Orjares = אור הָרָם. The other, Tômās, i. e. תֹּמָס, is Hebrew and Aramaic; but if it is corrupt from תֹּמָה, as Halévy conjectures, it is Hebrew.

lxxviii. 2. Of the four names of the moon which are here transliterated, three are Hebrew only, Asônjâ, i. e. אֲסֹנְיָה, Eblâ, i. e. אֵבְלָה, and Benâsê, i. e. בְּנֵאֲשֵׁה.

lxxx. 5. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 10. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 15. 'Tamâinî and Sun.' These two names are one, i. e. שֶׁמֶשׁ תַּמְיִנִּי 'the southern sun'. This is Hebrew, and not Aramaic.

Chapters lxxxiii–xc. From a Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original.

lxxxix. 44. The emendation suggested here is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

xc. 13^a, 16^a. In the duplicate version which we have of these verses, 'shepherds' in xc. 13 corresponds to 'ravens' in xc. 16. The latter is right. The corruption can be explained from a Hebrew background, רָעִים, corrupt for עֲרֵבִים, or from an Aramaic רַעִין, corrupt for עֲרֵבִין.

xc. 13^b, 16^b. In the former 'cried to' corresponds to 'were gathered together' in the latter. Now the former = ἐκράζον = יִצְעֲקוּ or יִצְעֲקִי, and the latter יִצְעֲקִי or יִצְעֲקִי in Hebrew. But this explanation is impossible in Aramaic; for though יִצְעֲק and יִצְעֲקִי occur in the sense of 'to cry', no mood of this verb is used in the sense of 'to assemble'. For this word they use כִּנֵּשׁ.

xc. 18. **covered them.** The Ethiopic expression here is not good Ethiopic, but reproduces the Greek ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, which in turn is a literal rendering of כָּסָה עֲלֵיהֶם (Hebrew), or כָּסִי עֲלֵיהֶן (or כָּסִי) in Aramaic.

xc. 27. 'I saw those sheep +burning and their bones burning+.' This clause is obviously corrupt. In 'bones' there appears to be a mistranslation of the late Hebrew עֲצָם or the Aramaic גֵּרָם, which literally mean 'bone' or 'bones', but which when compounded with a suffix = 'self' or 'selves'. The participle is then a doublet. Hence we have וָאֵרָא הַצֹּאן הַזֶּה עֲצָמָה בֹּעֶרֶת = 'I saw these very sheep burning.' This is possible also in Aramaic.

xc. 38. 'The first among them became the **lamb**.' 'The lamb' = הַמְלָה, which was corrupted into הַמְלֶה, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, whence the Ethiopic text 'the word'. This explanation is possible also in Aramaic.

Chapters xci–civ. From a Hebrew original.

xciii. 5. Text reads 'after him' = אַחֲרָיו, which I take to be corrupt for אַחֲרֵיתוֹ = 'his posterity'.

xciii. 8^b. The Ethiopic has a peculiar form, and = ἀσεβήσουσιν καρδιαί πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας, which is pure Hebrew = מִכְמָמָה כָּל־לֵב יִרְשָׁע. Cf. Ps. xviii. 22, מִכְמָמָה יִרְשָׁעִי.

xcv. 1^a. 'Oh, that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters.' The bracketed word is either an intrusion and = עֵנָן, a dittograph of עֵינַי = 'eyes', or עֵנָן is corrupt for עֵינַי = 'fount', the corruption being due to the occurrence of the phrase 'cloud of waters' in xcv. 1^a. Hence 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters'. This is possible also in Aramaic.

xcvi. 5. 'Who devour the finest of the wheat

And drink **wine in large bowls**.'

For the emended phrase E has here the extraordinary words 'strength of the root of the fountain' = ἰσχυρὸς ῥιζῆς πηγῆς = עֵץ עֵץ, corrupt for עֵץ עֵץ (Amos vi. 6). See my note *in loc.*

xcvii. 6^a. **From every fountain.** E reads 'at every time' = בְּכָל־עֵת, corrupt for מְכָל־עֵין.

xcvii. 8^b–9. We have here a remarkable series of rhyming verses which arise on retranslation into Hebrew.

8	עֵשֶׂר עֲשָׂרֵינוּ	9 ^a	וְנַעֲשֶׂה שְׁחָשְׁבֵנוּ
	וְכָרַשׁ לָנוּ	b	כִּי כִסַּף אִסְפָנוּ
	וְכָל קִנְיָנוּ	d	וְרַבִּים אִכְרִי בְתִינוּ
	וְאֶשֶׁר אֲנִינוּ	c	וְזֵלֵאִים כְּמִים אֲצִירֵנוּ

xcviii. 4^{ab}. See note *in loc.*

xcix. 6. Here E = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀδιαλείπτου, but in Tertullian (*De Idol.* iv) the phrase appears as 'in diem sanguinis perditionis' = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀπωλείας = לְיוֹם דָּם לְאִיד, where לְאִיד is corrupt for לְעֵד = ἀδιαλείπτου.

xcix. 16. E (gβ) reads 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוּחַ אַפּוֹ, corrupt for חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ = 'His fierce indignation'.

c. 6^a. See note *in loc.*

ci. 4. E reads 'kings' = מְלָכִי, corrupt for מַלְחִי, 'sailors'. This is also possible in Aramaic.

§ 10. (a) INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON JEWISH LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, written before 105 B.C., the older Sections of 1 *Enoch* are drawn upon, but in the later Sections the converse relation may be assumed:—

Jubilees.

- i. 11. 'sacrifice . . . to demons'.
- 16. 'the plant of uprightness'.

1 *Enoch.*

- xix. 1. 'sacrificing to demons as gods'.
- xciii. 2. 'the plant of uprightness'.

Jubilees.

29. 'the heavens . . . shall be renewed . . . the powers of the heaven . . . the luminaries be renewed'.
 ii. 2. 'the spirit . . . of snow . . . of hoar-frost'.
 iii. 10. 'the heavenly tablets', and *passim*.
 iv. 15. 'Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth'.
 'the Watchers'. Cf. x. 5.
 20. 'he took to himself a wife . . . Edna'.
 22. 'testified to the Watchers'.
 'unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men'.
 23. 'we conducted him into the Garden of Eden'.
 26. 'the Mount of the East'.
 v. 1. 'they bare . . . giants'.
 6. 'He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth'. Cf. v. 10, x. 7.
 9. 'that each should slay his neighbour'.
 10. 'And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation when judgement is executed', &c.
 11, 12. 'He †destroyed† all . . . And He †made† . . . a new and righteous nature', &c.
 29. 'the (i.e. the seven) floodgates of heaven were restrained; and . . . all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below'.
 vii. 22. The Giants, the Nāphîl, the Eljô.
 'they devoured one another'. Cf. v. 2, 9.
 23. 'shed much blood . . . the earth was filled with iniquity'.
 29. 'into Sheol shall they go, and into the place of condemnation shall they descend, and into the darkness'. Cf. xxii. 22.
 39. 'the seventh in his generation'.
 viii. 12. 'the middle of the earth' (Shem's lot).
 x. 1. 'the unclean demons began to lead astray . . . and destroy them'.
 xii. 2. 'What help and profit have we from those idols?'
 4. 'who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth'.
 xv. 32. 'But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit for He alone is their ruler'. Contrast 1 En. lxxxix. 59.
 'He will . . . require them at the hands of His angels'.
 xvi. 26. 'plant of righteousness'.
 xxii. 17. 'worship evil spirits'.
 xxx. 22. 'the book of life'. Cf. xxxvi. 10.
 xxxii. 18, 19. Jacob's seed are to rule and judge.
 xxxvii. 20. 'the boar' (= Esau).

1 Enoch.

- xc. 16. 'a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light'.
 lx. 18. 'the spirit of the snow'.
 17. 'the spirit of the hoar-frost'.
 lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2. 'the heavenly tablets'.
 vi. 6. (the angels) 'descended in the days of Jared'.
 i. 5, xii. 2-4. 'the Watchers'.
 lxxv. 3. 'Before I took . . . Edna'.
 xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-10, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq.
 x. 11. 'united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them'. Cf. xv. 3, 4.
 lx. 8. ' . . . the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'.
 xviii. 7, 8. Cf. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3.
 vii. 2. 'they bare great giants'.
 x. 12. 'bind them fast . . . in the valleys (*emended*) of the earth'.
 x. 9. 'that they may destroy each other in battle'.
 x. 12. 'And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated'.
 x. 15, 16. 'destroy all . . . and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear', &c.
 lxxxix. 7. 'those (i.e. the seven) water torrents were removed from that high roof and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these', &c.
 vii. 1. (*Syncellus' Greek Version*). The Giants, Nephilim, the Eliud.
 lxxxvii. 1. 'devour each other'. Cf. vii. 5, x. 9, 12.
 ix. 1. 'much blood being shed . . . all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth'.
 ciii. 7, 8. 'their souls shall be made to descend into Sheol . . . and into darkness . . . and a burning flame . . . grievous judgement'.
 xciii. 3. 'the seventh in the first week'.
 xxvi. 1. 'the middle of the earth' (Palestine).
 xix. 1. 'their (i.e. the angels') spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray'. Cf. also xv. 8, 11; xvi. 1.
 xcix. 7. 'shall get no manner of help from them'.
 ci. 2. 'withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth'.
 lxxxix. 59. 'And He called seventy shepherds and cast those sheep to them'.
 xc. 17, 22.
 x. 16. 'plant of righteousness'.
 xcix. 7. 'worship impure spirits and demons'.
 xlvii. 3. 'the books of the living'.
 xc. 3; xcvi. 1. The righteous rule and judge.
 lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 66. 'wild boar', 'wild boars' (= Edom).

INTRODUCTION

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written between 109 and 105 B. C., there are nine direct references to Enoch.

T. Lev. x. 5. 'the house which the Lord shall choose . . . as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous'.

xvi. 1. 'I have learned (+ 'in the book of Enoch' $\beta A^B S$) . . . for seventy weeks,' &c.

xiv. 1. 'I have learned ('from the writing of Enoch' $\beta A^B S^1$), &c.'

The other six, *T. Sim.* v. 4; *T. Jud.* xviii. 1 ($\beta A S^1$); *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 (βS^1); *T. Dan.* v. 6; *T. Naph.* iv. 1; *T. Benj.* ix. 1, cannot be traced directly to any passage in 1 En. In *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 a reads 'Moses' for 'Enoch' in βS^1 .

There are also parallels in the *Testaments* to 1 *Enoch*, e. g.:

T. Reub. v. 6, 7. The Watchers, the women, and the giants.

T. Lev. iii. 4. 'the Great Glory' ($\alpha \beta A^B S^1$).
xvi. 2. 'make void the law and set at naught . . . by evil perverseness'.

xviii. 5. 'The heavens shall exult in his days
And the earth shall be glad . . .
And the angels of the glory of the presence of
the Lord shall be glad in him'.

T. Naph. iii. 5. 'the Watchers also changed the order of their nature'.

Possibly 1 *Enoch* was used by the author of the *Assumption of Moses*, written between A. D. 7 and 30.

Ass. Mos.

x. 3. 'He will go forth from His holy habitation,
4. And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall
it be shaken: And the high mountains shall be made
low, and the hills (*emended*) shall be shaken and fall'.

The affinities of 2 *Baruch* with 1 *Enoch* are more numerous.

2 *Bar.*

x. 8. 'Sirens'.
xiii. 8. 'the judgement . . . no respect of persons'.
xxiv. 1. 'the books shall be opened'.
xxix. 4. Myth of Behemoth and Leviathan.
5. 'the earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold'.

xxxv. 2. Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye,
mine eyelids, a fount of tears'.
li. 10. 'they shall be made like unto the angels,
and be made equal to the stars'.
liv. 2. 'For whom nothing is too hard'.
lv. 3. Ramiel.
lvi. 12-13.
lix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

In 4 *Ezra*, written between A. D. 81-96, we find an apparent use of 1 *Enoch*, particularly of the Parables.

4 *Ezra.*

vi. 49-52. Leviathan and Behemoth.

vii. 32, 33. 'Et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et
pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria red-
dent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et reve-
labitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii.'

37.
85, 95.
125. 'nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigrae'.

1 *En.* lxxxix. 50. 'the house for the Lord', &c.

lxxxix. 59 sqq. 'seventy shepherds'.

xc. 6, 7.

1 *En.* vi-ix. 2.

xiv. 20; cii. 3.

xcix. 2, 14; civ. 9, 10.

li. 4. 'And in those days shall the mountains leap
like rams,

And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied
with milk,

And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall
be lighted up with joy'.

vi.-ix. 2.

1 *Enoch.*

i. 4. 'will come forth from His dwelling'.
i. 5, 6. ' . . . unto the ends of the earth. The
high mountains shall be shaken And the high hills . . .
made low'.

1 *Enoch.*

xix. 2. 'Sirens'.
lxiii. 8. 'His judgements have no respect of persons'.
xc. 20. 'opened those books'.
lx. 7-9, 24. Myth of Leviathan and Behemoth
(earliest form).
x. 19. 'Each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand'.
xcv. 1. 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters',
&c.
civ. 2, 4. 'ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . .
have great joy as the angels'.
lxxxiv. 3. 'nothing is too hard for Thee'.
xx. 7. 'Remiel' (G^2).
vi-x.
xcix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

1 *Enoch.*

lx. 7-9, 24. Leviathan and Behemoth (earliest form
of myth).
li. 1, 3. 'and in those days shall the earth also give
back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol
also shall give back that which it has received, And
hell shall give back that which it owes . . . And the
Elect one shall . . . sit on My throne'.
lxii. 1: lx. 6.
c. 5.
lxii. 10. 'the darkness shall grow deeper on their
faces'.

BOOK OF ENOCH

From the second century A.D. onwards all knowledge of the *Book of Enoch* vanishes from Jewish literature with the exception of a few references that are given by Jellinek in the *Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1853, p. 249.

(b) THE INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1 *Enoch* has had more influence on the *New Testament* than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. A few examples will clearly illustrate this.

New Testament.

(a) *General Epistles.*

Jude 6. 'the angels which left their own habitation . . . reserved . . . great day'.

14. 'the seventh from Adam'.

14, 15.

1 *John* i. 7. 'walk in the light'.

ii. 8. 'the darkness is past'.

15. 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world'.

(b) *Revelation.*

ii. 7. 'the tree of life'. Cf. xxii. 2, 14, 19.

iii. 5. 'clothed in white raiment'.

10. 'them that dwell upon the earth'.

17. 'I am rich and increased with goods'.

20. 'I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me'.

iv. 6. 'round about the throne were four living creatures'.

8. 'they rest not . . . saying'.

vi. 10. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.

15, 16. Compare the fear of the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, when they see 'the face of him that sitteth on the throne'.

vii. 1. Angels of the winds.

15. 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them'.

ix. 1. 'I saw a star from heaven fallen to the earth'.

20. 'worship demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood'.

xiii. 14. 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth'.

xiv. 9, 10. 'tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels . . . '.

10. 'holy angels'.

20. 'blood came out . . . even to the horses' bridles'.

xvii. 14. 'Lord of lords and King of kings'.

xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead . . . and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them'.

15. 'cast into the lake of fire'.

xxii. 3. 'no more curse'. Cf. xxi. 4.

(c) *Epistles of St. Paul.*

Rom. viii. 38. 'angels . . . principalities . . . powers'. Cf. *Eph.* i. 21; *Col.* i. 16.

ix. 5. 'God blessed for ever'. Cf. xi. 31.

1 *Cor.* vi. 11. 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus'.

1 *Enoch.*

xii. 4. 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven' . . .

x. 4-6, 11, 12. 'Bind . . . darkness . . . judgement'.

lx. 8. 'the seventh from Adam'.

i. 9. Cf. v. 4; xxvii. 2.

xcii. 4. 'walk in eternal light'.

lviii. 5. 'the darkness is past'.

cviii. 8. 'love . . . nor any of the good things which are in the world'.

xxv. 4-6. The tree of life.

xc. 31. 'clothed in white'.

xxxvii. 5. 'those that dwell on the earth'.

xcvii. 8. 'We have become rich with riches and have possessions'.

lxii. 14. 'and with that Son of Man shall they (i.e. the righteous) eat and lie down and rise up'.

xl. 2. 'On the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four presences'.

xxxix. 13. 'who sleep not . . . and say'.

xlvi. 2. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.

lxii. 3. 'the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted

5. . . shall be terrified . . . and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.

lxix. 22. 'spirits . . . of the winds'.

xl. 4. 'I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them'.

lxxxvi. 1. 'And I saw . . . and behold a star fell from heaven'.

xcix. 7. 'worship stones, and grave images of gold, and silver, and wood, (and stone) and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons'.

liv. 6. 'leading astray those who dwell on the earth'.

xlvi. 9. 'burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous'.

xx. 1 and *passim*. 'holy angels'.

c. 3. 'the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners'.

ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

li. 1. 'in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back . . . and hell shall give back . . . '.

xc. 26. 'cast into this fiery abyss'.

xxv. 6. 'no sorrow or plague or torment or calamity'.

1 *Enoch.*

lxi. 10. 'angels of power and . . . angels of principalities'.

lxxvii. 1. 'He who is blessed for ever'.

xlvi. 7. 'in his (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

INTRODUCTION

New Testament.

2 Cor. iv. 6. 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.

Eph. i. 9. 'according to His good pleasure'.

v. 8. 'children of light'. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 5.

Col. ii. 3. 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'.

1 Thess. v. 3. 'then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child'.

2 Thess. i. 7. 'the angels of His power'.

1 Tim. i. 9. 'law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless', &c.

i. 15. 'worthy of all acceptance'. Cf. iv. 9.

v. 21. 'the elect angels'.

vi. 15. 'King of kings and Lord of lords'.

(d) *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

iv. 13. 'there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do'.

xi. 5. 'Enoch was translated', &c.

xii. 9. 'Father of Spirits'.

(e) *Acts of the Apostles.*

iii. 14. 'the Righteous One' (= Christ).

iv. 12. 'none other name . . . whereby we must be saved'.

x. 4. 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God'.

xvii. 31. 'He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained'.

(f) *The Gospels.*

John v. 22. 'He hath committed all judgement unto the Son'.

xii. 36. 'sons of light'. Cf. Luke xvi. 8.

xiv. 2. 'mansions'.

Luke i. 52. 'He hath put down princes from their thrones'.

ix. 35. 'This is My Son, the Elect One'.

xviii. 7. 'Shall not God avenge His elect which cry unto Him day and night'. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9.

xxi. 28. 'your redemption draweth nigh'.

xxiii. 35. 'the Christ of God, the Elect One'.

Matt. xix. 28. 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory'.

'ye also shall sit on twelve thrones'.

xix. 29. 'inherit eternal life'.

xxv. 41. 'prepared for the devil and his angels'.

xxvi. 24. 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born'.

(c) THE INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

Epistle of Barnabas (soon after A. D. 70).

xvi. 4 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.

1 Enoch.

xxxviii. 4. 'the Lord of Spirits has **caused His light to appear** (*emended*) on the face of the holy, righteous and elect'.

xl. 4. 'according to His good pleasure'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xlvi. 3. 'the Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden'.

lxii. 4. 'Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'.

lxi. 10. 'the angels of power'.

xciii. 4. 'a law shall be made for the sinners'.

xciv. 1. 'worthy of acceptance'.

xxxix. 1. 'elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven'.

ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

1 Enoch.

ix. 5. 'all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee'.

xv. 1; lxx. 1-4.

xxxvii. 2. 'Lord of Spirits' (and *passim* in Parables).

1 Enoch.

lii. 6. 'the Righteous and Elect One' (= Messiah).

xlvi. 7. 'in His (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

xcix. 3. 'raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High'.

xli. 9. 'He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him'.

1 Enoch.

lxix. 27. 'the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xxxix. 4. 'dwelling places of the holy', &c.

xlvi. 4. 'shall raise up (Read 'put down') the kings . . . from their thrones'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One' (i.e. the Messiah). Cf. xlv. 3, 4 'Mine Elect One'; xlix. 2, 4.

xlvi. 1, 2. 'the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them', &c.

li. 2. 'the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One'.

lxii. 5. 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.

cviii. 12. 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour'.

xl. 9. 'inherit eternal life'.

liv. 4, 5. 'chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl'.

xxxviii. 2. 'It had been good for them if they had not been born'.

1 Enoch.

lxxxix. 56. 'He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them (i.e. 'those sheep') all into the hands of the lions, to . . . devour them. 66. . . . devoured. . . those sheep . . . and they burnt that tower and demolished that house'.

Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Robinson and James, 1892).

2. τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, &c.
3. σώματα . . . λευκότερα πάσης χιῶνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερα παντὸς ῥόδου.
5. μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμονν.
6. οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι.
8. ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

Justin Martyr.

Apol. ii. 5 οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι . . . γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἱ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες . . . καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας . . . καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἐσπειραν. Cf. i. 5.

Tatian (flor. A. D. 160).

Oratio adv. Graecos, 8.
20.

Athenagoras (about A. D. 170).

Legatio pro Christianis, 24, 25 οἱ τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, . . . οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερ-ουράνια ὑπερκύβαι δυνάμενοι· καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαί, οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες.

Minucius Felix.

xxvi 'Isti igitur spiritus, posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae . . . perdiderunt . . . non desinunt perditam iam perdere . . . et alienati a Deo, inductis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemones esse poetae sciunt . . .'

Irenaeus (ob. circa A. D. 202).

- i. 15. 6 . . . Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν.
- iv. 16. 2 (ed. Stieren) 'Sed et Enoch . . . cum esset homo, legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis iudicii Dei, quoniam angeli quidam transgressi deciderunt in terram in iudicium.'
- iv. 36. 4.
- v. 28. 2 ' . . . daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciet signa, in quibus seducat habitantes super terram.'

Tertullian, writing between A. D. 197 and 223, regards Enoch as scripture.

Apol. xxii.

De Cultu Fem. i. 2.

ii. 10.

De Idol. iv.

De Idol. ix; *De Virg. Veland.* vii.

Clement of Alexandria (circa A. D. 150-210).

Eclogae Prophet. (ed. Dindorf), iii. 456.

iii. 474.

Strom. iii. 9.

Julius Africanus (ob. circa A. D. 237).

Chronographia. . . . ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρας ἀνθρώπων συνήλθον. 'Εν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὖρον 'οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τοὺς, τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἐτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδοκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὓς τῆς κακίας ἐπιγενομένης . . .

i *Enoch.*

cviii. 7-9.

cvi. 2, 10.

lxi. 9-11. 'one voice . . . bless', &c.
liii. 3, &c. 'angels of punishment'.

ix. 8, 9; xv. 8, 9.

viii. 3. 'astrology'.

vi. 6; xv. 8, 9.

vi; vii; xiii. 5; xv. 8, 10.

viii; xv. 8-12; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

viii. 1. Cf. also x. 8.

xii. 4-6; xiii; xiv. 3-7; xv; xvi.

x. 2, 'a deluge,' &c.

xcix. 7.

xix. 1.

i *En.* xv. 8, 9.

viii. 1. 3.

viii. 1.

xix. 1; xcix. 6, 7.

vi; xiv. 5.

xix. 3.

viii. 2, 3.

viii; xvi. 3.

vii. 1; viii, &c.

INTRODUCTION

Origen (A. D. 185-254) does not regard Enoch as inspired, and yet he does not wholly reject it. Cf. *Contra Celsum*, v. 52-4; *In Ioannem*, vi. 25; *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2; *De Princip.* i. 3. 3; iv. 35.

Acta SS. Perpet. et Felic. (ed. Robinson, p. 72 sqq.).
vii.
xii.

Commodianus (flor. A. D. 250), *Instructiones* (ed. Migne, P. L. v. 203-4).

i. 3. (Deus) Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam,
Legitima cuius spreverunt illi dimissi,
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quae flecteret illos,
Ut coinquinati non possent caelo redire.
Rebelles ex illo contra Deum verba misere.
Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illos
De semine quorum gigantes nati feruntur.
Ab ipsis in terra artes prolatae fuere,
Et tingere lanas docuerunt et quaeque geruntur,
Mortales et illi mortuos simulacro ponebant.
Omnipotens autem, quod essent de semine pravo,
Non censuit illos recipi defunctos e morte.
Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa
Maxime quos hodie colitis et deos oratis.

Cyprian (flor. A. D. 250).

De Hab. Virg. 14 (ed. Hartel, i. p. 197) 'Neque
Deus . . . tinguere . . . docuit . . . lapillis aut mar-
garitis . . . quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli
suis artibus prodiderunt . . . oculos circumducto
nigrore fucare . . .'

Pseudo-Cyprian (third century A. D.).

Ad Novatianum (ed. Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67)
'Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum
facere iudicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios
et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum
quae fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis quae de
Deo locuti sunt peccatores.'

Hippolytus (flor. A. D. 220).

Or. adv. Graecos (ed. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-
Nicaena*, i. 393). . . . "Αἰδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ
δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων . . . Ὁ "Αιδης τόπος ἐστὶν . . .
ἀκατασκέυαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ
ἐπιλάμπει

Zosimus of Panopolis (third century), quoted in *Syn-
cellus* (Dindorf, i. 1829, p. 24).

Clementine Homilies (fourth century?).
viii. 12 sqq.

The *Clementine Recognitions* has a parallel but independent passage, iv. 26, 27.

Lactantius (flor. A. D. 320) in his *Instit.* ii. 14 (Migne, P. L. vi. 330-2; Brandt and Laubmann, i. p. 162 sqq.)
gives quite a long passage which for its main features is indebted to 1 *Enoch* xiv. 5-7; lxix. 4; vii. 1;
liv. 6; xv. 8-11; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

Inst. iv. 27; v. 18.

vii. 7.
vii. 16.
vii. 19.
vii. 24.
vii. 26.

Cassianus (A. D. 360-435).

Collatio viii. 21 ' . . . illa opinio vulgi, qua credunt
angelos vel maleficia vel diversas artes hominibus
tradidisse.'

1 *Enoch*.

xxii. 9.
xiv. 9-17.

(Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15).

vi. 1, 2.
xiv. 5.
i. 9; xiii. 2.
x. 4 sq.; xii. sq.
vii. 2.

viii. 1.
xix. 1.

xv. 6.
xix. 1.

1 *En.* viii. 1, &c.

i. 9.

xxii. 3. 'all the souls of the children of men'.
xxi. 1. 'where things were chaotic' . . . 'a place
chaotic'.

vi-viii.

vi. 1-xix. 1.

xix. 1.
xxii.
lxxx. 2.
xc. 19; xci. 12.
x. 17 sq.
xlviii. 9.

viii. 1.

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Thenceforward 1 *Enoch* fails to secure a single favourable notice. See Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3; Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* iv, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum* i. 12; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, 4, xviii. 38. The book is finally condemned in explicit terms in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16. From this period the book fell into disuse and became lost to the Western Church, except in the fragments preserved by Syncellus in his *Chronography*, pp. 20-3; 42-7 (ed. Dindorf, 1829). These fragments are vi-ix. 4; viii. 4-x. 14; xv. 8-xvi. 1 and another.

There are also, as might be expected, many parallels in *Gnostic and Apocryphal Literature* to 1 *Enoch*.

Pistis Sophia (third century?) ed. Schwartz, 1851-3.

p. 245.

p. 354.

Acts of Thomas (Tisch. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*).

p. 218, ch. xxxii.

Acts of 'the Disputation of Archelaus with Manes'
(perhaps early in fourth century).

ch. xxxii (Routh, *Reliquiae*, iv. p. 211).

1 *En.* xxxii. 3, 6.

vii. 1; viii. 3.

vi. 6; lxxxvi. 3; vii. 2, 4.

lxxxvi. 1, 3; vii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 11, 12.

The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea (date uncertain) has a close parallel to 1 *Enoch*.

iii. 3 (ed. Tisch. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed.,
Lipsiae, 1876, p. 465).

c. 10, 12.

The Apocalypse of Paul has a similar idea.

4 sqq. (Tisch. *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 36).

c. 10, 12.

The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan, 1882).

ii. 8.

ii. 19.

ii. 22.

iii. 4.

xxvi. 1; xc. 26.

vi. 6; viii. 1.

xxxix. 4, 6, 7.

vi-x.

(For the above details in Patristic and Apocryphal Literature I owe much to Dr. Lawlor in *Journal of Philology*, xxv (1897) 164-225.)

§ 11. INFLUENCE ON NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE.

B. Doctrines in *Enoch* which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines, or are at all events necessary to the comprehension of the latter.

(a) The nature of the Messianic kingdom and of the future life.

(b) The Messiah.

(c) Sheol and the Resurrection.

(d) Demonology.

(a) *The Kingdom.* We shall only deal with one incident coming under this head; it is found in the three Synoptists: Matt. xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-36. This incident can only be rightly understood from *Enoch*. When the Sadducees said, 'Whose wife shall she be of them; for the seven had her to wife,' they are arguing from the sensuous conception of the Messianic kingdom—and this was no doubt the popular one—given in 1 *Enoch* i-xxxvi, according to which its members, including the risen righteous, were to enjoy every good thing of earth, and to have each a thousand children. The Sadducees thought thereby to place this young prophet on the horns of a dilemma, and oblige Him to confess either that there was no resurrection of the dead, or else that polygamy or polyandry would be practised in the coming kingdom. But the dilemma proves invalid; and the conception of the future life portrayed in our Lord's reply tallies almost exactly in thought, and partially in word, with that described in 1 *En.* xci-civ, according to which there is to be a resurrection indeed, but a resurrection of the spirit, and the risen righteous are to rejoice 'as the angels of heaven' (1 *En.* civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25), being 'companions of the hosts of heaven' (1 *En.* civ. 6).

(b) *The Messiah.* The Messiah is referred to in xc. 37, 38. He is represented as the head of the Messianic community out of which he proceeds, but he has no special rôle to fulfil, and his presence in that description seems due merely to literary reminiscence. This Messiah-reference exercised no influence on New Testament conceptions. But with regard to the Messiah described in the Parables the case is very different. Four titles applied for the first time in literature to the

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personal Messiah in the Parables are afterwards reproduced in the New Testament. These are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Elect One', and 'the Son of Man'.

Christ or the Anointed One. This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlviii. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David.

The Righteous One. This title, which occurs in Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14 (cp. 1 John ii. 1), first appears in 1 Enoch as a Messianic designation; see 1 En. xxxviii. 2; liii. 6. Righteousness is one of the leading characteristics of the Messiah, xlv. 3.

The Elect One. This title likewise appearing first in 1 En. xl. 5; xlv. 3-4; xlix. 2, 4; li. 3, 5, &c., passes over into the New Testament, Luke ix. 35; xxiii. 35, 'The Christ, the Elect One.' In the Old Testament we find 'Mine Elect', Isa. xlii. 1, but not 'the Elect One'.

The Son of Man. This definite title (see notes on xlv. 2, 3) is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents. For an account of the relations between the Enochic and New Testament uses of this title, we must refer to the Appendix on 'The Son of Man' at the close of the book.

(c) *Sheol.* If we except the Psalms we have in 1 Enoch the first instances in which this word is found in its New Testament signification. For the history of this word and its meanings, see note on lxii. 10. Observe that x. 6, 13 refers to an abyss of fire prepared for Semjaza and his angels (cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 4, 13-15).

It is further interesting to note that the writer of xci-civ delivers himself of a sustained polemic in cii. 4-civ. 9 against the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol, and the fact that this writer in xci. 4 borrows Sirach i. 25 makes it probable that the immediate book he had in view is Sirach, which enforces dogmatically and repeatedly the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

The Resurrection. This doctrine, which is first taught beyond possibility of doubt in Dan. xii, though a true exegesis will find many intimations of the doctrine in earlier books, was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch. For the various forms this doctrine assumed, see note on li. 1.

(d) *The Demonology* of 1 Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament.

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, are the angelic Watchers who fell from lusting after the daughters of men, and whose fall and punishment are recounted in 1 En. vi-xvi. They have always been imprisoned in darkness from the time of their fall.

(β) Demons. These are, according to 1 En. xvi. 1, the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. These demons were to work moral ruin on the earth without hindrance till the final judgement as disembodied spirits.

So in the New Testament. The demons are disembodied spirits, Matt. xii. 43-5; Luke xi. 24-6. They are not punished till the final judgement: Matt. viii. 29, 'Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?' They are subject to Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8.

(γ) Satan appears in Enoch as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil, yet a kingdom subject to the Lord of Spirits. He led astray the angels and made them his subjects, liv. 6; lxix. 5. A Satan also led astray Eve, lxix. 6. The Satans (as in Job) can still appear in heaven, xl. 7. The functions of the Satans are threefold: they tempted to evil, lxix. 4, 6; they accused the fallen, xl. 7; they punished the condemned as angels of punishment, liii. 3; lvi. 1.

So in the New Testament there is the counter-kingdom of sin, Matt. xii. 26; Luke xi. 18; 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?' Satan led astray the angels, Rev. xii. 4, and led astray man, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The demons are subjects of Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8. The functions of Satan are tempting, Matt. iv. 1-12; Luke xxii. 31; accusing, Rev. xii. 10; punishing, 1 Cor. v. 5, where impenitent sinners are delivered over to Satan for punishment.

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§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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ii. EDITIONS OF THE VERSIONS.

Editions of the Greek Versions.

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 FLEMMING. *Das Buch Henoch: Aethiopischer Text herausgegeben von Joh. Flemming (= Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge, vii. 1)*. Leipzig, 1902. Dr. Flemming's text is based on fifteen MSS., *abcdeg₁g, m p q t u v w y*. This editor had been at no little pains in the preparation of the text. His collations of *gm q*, however, are inaccurate and defective.

(b) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

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 In 1860, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 1), vol. xii. 308-10, he recognized the separate authorship of xxxvii-lxxi, and its priority to the rest of the book.
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- FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1901.
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(c) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

See under Translations, § 12 (a) i.

LAURENCE. DILLMANN. SCHODDE. CHARLES.	BEER. FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. MARTIN. CHARLES.
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§ 13. ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH.

a, b, c, d, &c., denote the Ethiopic MSS.

a denotes the earlier Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *g₁ g m q t u*.

β denotes the later Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *a b c d, &c.* (i. e. from *a* to *z₁ a₁ b*, with the exception of the earlier MSS.).

E denotes the Ethiopic Version.

G^g denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of *g^b-g^b* there are two forms of the text, *G^{g1} G^{g2}*.

G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmim, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.

Two special brackets are used in the translation of 1 Enoch:

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in *G^g* but not in *E*.

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in *E* but not in *G^g* or *G^{g1}*.

BOOK OF ENOCH

SECTION I. CHAPTERS I—XXXVI

INTRODUCTION

I-V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

- 1 ¹ The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect ² and ³ righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked ⁴ and godless ⁵ are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, ⁶ which ⁷ the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up ⁸ my ⁹ parable concerning them:

- The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai,
[And appear from His camp]
And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven ¹⁰ of heavens ¹¹.
5 And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.
6 And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

1. 1. **The blessing of Enoch.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1, 'the blessing of Moses.'
the elect and righteous. This phrase is found also in xxxviii. 2, 3, 4, xxxix. 6, 7, xlviii. 1, lviii. 1, 2, lx. 13, lxiii. 12, 13, 15, lxx. 3.
day . . . removed. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (a citation?).
all the wicked. Here Gk. reads πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς = כל־הרעים corrupt for בל־הרעים. So E.
removed + 'and the righteous will be saved' Gs.
2. took up his parable, &c. So Gs. Cf. Num. xxiv. 3, 4, whence also 'eyes were opened' (of Balaam).
saw. 'had' Gs, corrupt.
the Holy One. See verse 3. The change from the first to the third person, as here, is frequent in this book.
Cf. xii. 1-3, xxxvii. 1, 2, lxx. 1, 3, lxxi. 5, xcii. 1, and esp. xci-civ.
to come + 'do I speak' Gs.
3. the elect. This designation belongs mainly to the Parables. It occurs in i. 8, v. 7, xxv. 5, xl. 5, xli. 2, xlviii. 1, 9, li. 5, lvi. 6, 8, lviii. 3, lxi. 4, 12, lxii. 7, 8, 11, xciii. 2.
3^b-9. A poem consisting of tristichs. The discovery of this structure is helpful in the restoration of the text, especially in stanzas 1 and 7.
Holy Great One. So Gs, E always has 'Holy and Great One'. Also in x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 6, civ. 9. God is called simply 'The Holy One' in i. 2, xciii. 11; and 'The Great One' in xiv. 2, ciii. 4, civ. 1 (twice).
come forth from His dwelling. Mic. i. 3, Isa. xxvi. 21, Ass. Mos. x. 3.
the eternal God = אלהי העולם, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος. Cf. Gen. xxi. 33, Isa. xl. 28, Rom. xvi. 26. This could also be translated 'God of the world'. Cf. lviii. 4, lxxi. 10, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2; also xii. 3, lxxi. 3 ('Lord, King . . . of the world').
4. Sinai, where the law was given, will be the place of future judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 17. Verses 4-9 all deal with the final judgement.
upon the earth Gs, 'thence' E.
[And appear from His camp]. So Gs, a needless repetition after 'from his dwelling'. It spoils the parallelism. E has 'and appear with His hosts'.
5. Watchers. Here and in x. 9, 15, xii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xci. 15 = fallen angels. In xii. 2, 3, xx. 1, xxxix. 12, 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12, lxxi. 7 = archangels. The name first occurs in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23. The Greek here inaptly inserts the singing of the Watchers (see 2 En. xviii).
quake E, 'believe' Gs.
6. Cf. O.T.; e.g. Ps. xcvi. 5, Mic. i. 4, and Ass. Mos. x. 4.
shaken + 'shall fall and be dissolved' Gs.
made low + 'so that the mountains shall waste away' Gs.

7 And the earth shall be 'wholly' rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8 But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall 'all' be blessed.

'And He will help them all',
And light shall appear unto them,
'And He will make peace with them'.

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

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

2¹ Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, 'and' the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, 'how steadfast they are', how 'none of the things upon earth' change, 'but' all the works of God appear 'to you'. Behold the summer and the winter, 'how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.'

3 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees 'seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5¹ Observe ye² how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed 'and know' with regard to all 'His works', and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

2 And 'all' His works go on 'thus' from year to year 'for ever', and all the tasks which they

8. will make peace. See v. 4 (note).

the righteous. i. 7, 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxviii. 3, xxxix. 4, xlii. 4, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, xlviii. 1, 7, 9, l. 2, liii. 7, lvi. 7, lviii. 3, 5, lx. 2, lxi. 3, lxii. 3, lxxxii. 4, xciv. 3, 11, xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 1, 8, xcvi. 1, 3, 5, xcvi. 12-14, xcix. 3, c. 5, 7, 10, cii. 4, 10, ciii. 1, civ. 1, 6, 12, 13.

will protect, &c. So E. G⁸ has ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις. Cf. Wisd. iv. 15.

they shall be prospered. τὴν τεύδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς G⁸, corrupt for εὐδοκίαν as in Sir. xliii. 26.

light. Cf. xxxviii. 4. This 7th stanza is restored from the Greek. E omits two clauses of the tristich.

9. Quoted by St. Jude 14, 15; Pseudo-Cyprian (ed. Hartel iii. 67); Pseudo-Vigilius (Migne lxii. col. 363). The Greek supplies the defects in the Ethiopic, i.e. 'His', 'all', 'of their ungodliness' and hard words which 'have spoken'. Cf. v. 4, xxvii. 2, ci. 3. For a full discussion of the literary problem see my edition of Enoch in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part xi, pages 5 and 7. The Greek, however, has ὅτι wrongly for ἰδοὺ, and a dittograph in the last clause of stanza 9.

Ten thousands of His holy ones. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. vii. 10. The angels are so called in xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxxi. 5, ciii. 2, cvi. 19, as already in Job v. 1, xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13. They are called 'holy angels' in xx. 1-7, xxi. 5, 9, xxii. 3, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 2, xxxii. 6, lxxi. 8, xciii. 2. And 'holy ones of heaven' in ix. 3. For other names see vi. 2 (note).

II. In ii-v. 3 the order of nature is contrasted with the disorder of man's world. In Test. Naph. iii. 2, 3, men are told to observe God's law as sun, moon, and stars observe their appointed order, and the Watchers who left their natural order are held up as a warning. Cf. Sirach xvi. 26-28, Pss. Sol. xviii. 12-14.

2. steadfast: 'corruptible' G⁸, possibly a misreading of נכנים as נבלים.

3. The Hebrews had two seasons only, Summer and Winter. Cf. Gen. viii. 22, Isa. xviii. 6, Zech. xiv. 8.

III. On the fourteen evergreen trees see Geoponica xi. 1. The twelve trees (see my Greek Verss. of Test. of xii Patr., pp. 248, 249) for use with sacrifices have nothing to do with this list here. The Greek has lost iii. 1^b-v. 1^a through homoeoteleuton.

V. 2. all the tasks . . . change not 'all His works serve Him and change not' E.

- accomplish for Him, and 'their tasks' change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.
- 3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and 'change not' their tasks 'from His commandments'.
- 4 But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.
- 5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the 'years of your destruction' shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.
- 6a In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,
b And by you shall 'all' who curse, curse,
'And all' the sinners 'and godless' shall imprecate by you,
7c And for you the godless there shall be a curse.
- 6d 'And all the . . . shall rejoice,
e And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
f And every mercy and peace and forbearance:
g There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.
i And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,
j But on you all shall abide a curse'.
- 7a But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,
b And they shall inherit the earth.
- 8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride:
But they who are wise shall be humble.
- 9 And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.
- And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

4. the commandments of the Lord. Cf. xcix. 2 'the eternal law' of the Lord: 'His' G⁸.
proud and hard words. See i. 9, note, and Cf. Ps. xii. 4; Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20. The charge of blasphemy is frequent in xci-civ, e.g. xci. 7, 11.
greatness + 'for ye have spoken with your lies' G⁸, a gloss.
hard-hearted. Cf. xcvi. 11, c. 8 'obstinate of heart'.
ye shall find no peace. This phrase occurs only in i-xxxvi and xci-civ, v. 4, xii. 5, xiii. 1, xvi. 4, xciv. 6, xcvi. 11, 15, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, and cf. i. 8. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21.
5. shall perish G⁸. 'ye shall destroy' E, corruptly.
6. ye shall make your names E (lit. 'give'). 'your names shall be' G⁸. Read perhaps 'ye shall leave', &c., as in Isa. lxxv. 15.
by you . . . curse G⁸. 'you shall the sinners curse' E, wrongly. For G⁸ cf. Ps. cii. 9. G⁸ adds five lines, of which one or two only can be original. I have transferred 7c, so as to give three parallel tetrastichs in 6, 7.
7. The temporal blessings promised in the O.T., cf. Ps. xxxvii. 11, are here renewed, but the writer has forsaken O.T. ground on the question of Sheol and the Resurrection.
joy E, 'grace' G⁸.
8. bestowed upon the elect wisdom. See xlii. 1, 2. G⁸ adds in this verse doublets from 7^{ae} 8^a. wise . . . humble seems suspicious. G⁸ adds largely, and omits 'humble'.
9. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 20, 22, Zech. viii. 4; 1 En. xxv. 4, 5 (note).
Sin G⁸. 'be judged' E, another meaning of ~~שפוט~~.
increased, multiplied. Cf. Gen. i. 22, &c., but here of spiritual expansion.

VI-XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralization of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom—* (a Noah fragment).

- 6¹ And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto
 2 them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted
 after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men
 3 and beget us children.' And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not
 4 indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they
 all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations
 5 not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then sware they all together and bound themselves
 6 by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended 'in the days'
 of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn
 7 and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders:
 Samîazâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabiêl, Tâmiêl, Râmiêl, Dânel, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjal,
 8 Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârel, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêel, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâel, Sariel. These are
 their chiefs of tens.

VI-XI. These chapters are abruptly introduced. See introduction. vi. 3-8, viii. 1-3, ix. 7, x. 11 belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As in lxix. 2 he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form when lxxxviii-lxxxix. 1 were written. Again, x. 1-3 belongs to an Apocalypse of Noah, many fragments of which occur in Enoch. Syncellus gives an additional fragment of it after x. 3. Indeed, vi-xi is all Noachic; cf. Jub. vii. 21-25, and my edition of Jubilees lxxi seq., 264. xii-xvi, however, belong to the Book of Enoch.

VI. 2. *children of the heaven.* Cf. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xxxix. 1. See xv. 1-7. Cf. 'sons of the holy angels' lxxi. 1, and note.

The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1-4: 'the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men.' This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian (?) myth to the effect that before Zoroaster's coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women (Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 382, 560). The original LXX rendering for 'sons of God' was ἀγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, as in Philo, *de Gigantibus*, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. 5, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose. On the myths see Grünbaum in *ZDMG* xxxi. 225 ff., and for statements dependent on this account in Enoch, or harmonizing with it, cf. Jub. iv. 15, v. 1 seqq.; Test. Reub. v. 6, 7, Test. Naph. iii. 5, 2 En. vii, xviii, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Joseph, *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Philo, *de Gigantibus*; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 5; Ps. Clement, *Hom.* viii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 10; Tert. *de Virg. Veland.* vii; *Adv. Marcion.* v. 18; *De Idol.* ix; Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15; Commodian, *Instruct.* i. 3. In the *De Civ. Dei* xv. 23 Augustine combats this view and denies the inspiration of Enoch which Tertullian had upheld.

saw and >G^a.

4. And they >G^a.

and said >G^a.

6. in the days of Jared see cvi. 13. So the Greek; the Ethiopic is corrupt. We thus get two paronomasiae in the Hebrew: Jared, and ירד 'descend', and Hermon and הרם 'a curse'. For the tradition cf. Orig. *Comment. in Ioann.* tom. viii, p. 132, ed. Huet.; Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 4, ed. Petav., tom. i, p. 4; Hilary, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3.

The reasons for the angels' descent in the Book of Jubilees differ from those given in this chapter. There in iv and v it is said that the Watchers were sent to earth by God 'to instruct the children of men to do judgement and uprightness', and that when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men. Cf. Test. Reub. v. 6. In 1 Enoch the angels are said to have descended because of their lust, and the same reason is given in Jalkut Shim. *Beresh.* 44. See Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 253.

The Book of Jubilees has an implicit polemic against this and other statements of Enoch. In later tradition Azazel could not return to heaven because he had outstayed the seven days' limit assigned to angelic visitants to earth.

7. This list is incomplete, as a name has been lost after Tûrêl.

Samîazâz: possibly שמעזאי or שמעזאי (cf. Shamchazai in Targ. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3).

Râmêêl: probably corrupt for Arakiêl as in G^a. In viii. 3 G^a says of Arakiêl, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now in Aramaic ערק = 'earth', and thus his duties are reflected in his name. He is mentioned as unfallen in Sib. Or. ii, 215-217.

Kôkabiêl = 'star of God'.

Tâmiêl = 'perfection of God'.

Râmiêl: see 2 Bar. iv. 3, Sib. Or. ii, 215-217.

Êzêqêêl: in viii. 3 G^a says ὁ δὲ ὀγδοὺς ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν; thus his name describes his function, as רשׁ = ἀήρ (2 Kings xxii. 12).

Barâqîjal = 'lightning of God'.

Armârôs or Pharmaros (G^a), Arearôs (G^a). In viii. 3 G^a says he ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἐπασιδός . . . καὶ ἐπασιδὼν λυτήριον; the name thus may come from חרר, a spell or incantation, and be Abarôs or something similar.

Samsâpêel. G^a in viii. 3 assigns to the 7th τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου. So the name should be Shamshiel. For the sun-god Shamash see *K.A.T.* 367-370.

Tûrêl = 'rock of God'.

Jômjâel = 'day of God'.

Sariel, 'Arâzjâl (E), Esdrêl (viii. 3). G^a (viii. 3) assigns him τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, so these forms are corrupt for Sariel (G^a) סרר = 'moon'. G^a gives Sariel in viii. 3 but Atriel here.

8. chiefs of tens. G^a has ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν αἱ δέκα, an Aramaic construction = our text. Cf. xix. 2 G.

- 7¹ And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms² and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they³ became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed⁴ all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against⁵ them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and⁶ fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.
- 8¹ And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals (of the earth) and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they² were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, 'Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqijâl (taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the constellations, Êzêqêêl the knowledge of the clouds, (Araqiêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs of the sun), and Sariêl the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven . . .
- Q. Sariêl 9¹ And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another: 'The earth made †without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings† up to the gates of heaven. 3 "And now to you, the holy ones of heaven", the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause

VII. The Ethiopic and Greek vary considerably in this and the eighth chapter. The notes of time in the Greek are due to later hands.

1. charms and enchantments. Cf. Wisdom xii. 4, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5.
2. great giants. For further references to these cf. Wisdom xiv. 6, Tob. vi. 14, Sir. xvi. 7, 1 Bar. iii. 26, 3 Macc. ii. 4, Jubilees vii. 22, 23.
- three thousand ells. Syncellus omits the height, and the misdeeds of the giants (verses 3–6), but adds 'And they bare unto them three kinds (of offspring); first, great giants. And the giants †begot the Naphilim and to the Naphilim were† born the Eliud. And they grew according to their greatness'. The Eth. and the Gk. have lost this from the original. Jub. vii. 21–22 is based on this passage and enables us to correct 'begot' and 'were born' to 'slew'. Also in vii. 24 Jub. quotes most of viii. 5. Cf. E and G^s (omitted by G^s). Thus both lines of text E G^s and G^s are here defective. The three classes of giants go back to Gen. vi. 4; cf., too, 1 En. lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2 and Jub. vii. 21, 22 (Giants, Nâphil, Eljô).
5. drink the blood. With the Jews a great crime. Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32–34; Acts xv. 20; Jub. vii. 28, xxi. 6, 1 En. xcvi. 11.
- one another's flesh. One class of giants destroyed another. Cf. Jub. vii. 22.

VIII. 1. Azâzêl. See note on vi–xi, also x. 4 note. The origin of the name is unknown. See *Encyc. Bib. in loc.* Azâzêl here is first in order and tenth in command according to Syncellus, who alone adds a number. He calls Semjâzâ the πρῶταρχος in verse 3.

metals . . . antimony, &c. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2; ii. 10 ('ut Enoch refert'), where he follows this passage closely. Cf., too, Test. Reub. v. 5, 6; Isa. iii. 16–24. The Ethiopic misread μέταλλα (G^s) as μετ' αὐτά, G^s as μεγάλα. the metals of the earth G^s. So E on repeating the phrase in a doublet. G^s ends this verse: 'And the children of men made (them) for themselves and their daughters and transgressed and led astray the holy ones.' This contradicts our Noachic text, and agrees with Jub. and Test. xii Patr. where the women by these arts seduce the angels.

- 2–3. The variations between the Eth. and G^s are here numerous.
 2. and they committed . . . astray > G^s.
 3. resolving of enchantments. Dan. v. 12; cf. 1 En. xcv. 4 'anathemas that cannot be resolved'.
 - astrology. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* Dind. iii. 474 'Ενώχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάτας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.
- Several of these names correspond to the functions. See vi. 7 (notes). G^s alone gives us the complete list, and he gives their numbers not their names, according to their order in vi. 7.
- Êzêqêêl. E reads Tâmiêl wrongly here (See vi. 7, note), G^s has Sathêl, and G^s E ἀστεροσκοπίαν for ἀεροσκοπίαν. After viii. 3 G^s introduces 'after this the giants began to devour men's flesh', and this leads up to viii. 4, the cry of men.

4. to heaven + 'saying Bring our cause before the Most High and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in greatness' G^s. Cf. ix. 3.

IX. 1. And then (E), 'then' G^s, + 'the four great archangels hearing' G^s 12. The Eth. has Surjan and Urjan, i.e. Suriel and Uriel. For Suriel the Greek has Raphael, thus giving us the usual four archangels. See xl. 2 (note).

- looked down from heaven. Ps. xiv. 2.
2. the earth . . . heaven: 'the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven' G^s.
- without inhabitant. Cf. lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5; Test. Naph. iii. 5.
3. and now . . . heaven. Lost in G^s 12 through hmt.
- holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

4 before the Most High." And they said to the Lord of the ages: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, (and God of the ages), the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the 5 ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all 6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which 7 men were striving to learn: And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over 8 his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the 9 women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have 10 borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are 11 wrought on the earth. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.'

10 1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, 2 and said to him: ('Go to Noah and) tell him in my name "Hide thyself!" and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come 3 upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape 4 and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.' And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening 5 in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged

Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

4. The angels' prayer is fuller in G^a, and a still more rhetorical form of it occurs in lxxxiv. 2, 3. For angelic intercession see v. 10 note.

Lord of the ages. So G^{a1}. Lord of the kings E, >G^{a2}. (<and God of the ages) G^{a12}.

5. **power over all things** EG^a, 'all power' G^a. and nothing... seest. Lost in G^a through hmt.

6. **revealed... to learn**, G^a. E corrupt, but easily emended to our text. For ἔγνωσαν G^a we read γινῶναι as G^a suggests. G^a 'revealed to the world the things which are (preserved) in heaven. And the children of men are practising his practices in order to know the mysteries'.

the eternal secrets, &c. What these are is not told.

7. (<and) G^a. Semjâzâ is the leader in this verse, as Azazel in verse 6. See note on vi-xi.

8-9. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι—γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἱ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες—καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας—καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἐσπούσαν.

8. **with the women** >G^a.

The Eth. contains an Aramaism μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν which has led G^a to add a verb ἐμίανθησαν, and G^a to omit μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν.

all kinds of sins + 'and have taught them to make hate-producing charms' G^a, or reading μισητίαν for μίσσηται, 'to practise lewdness'.

9. **Giants.** τῖτᾶνας G^a, γίγαντας G^a.

10. **cannot cease, &c.** ἐξελθεῖν, E G^a=רַחֵם corrupt for רַחֵם= 'cease'.

The angels' intercession on men's behalf, as in this chapter and also in xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 1, is an O.T. doctrine; cf. Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23; Zech. i. 12. It was evidently a popular doctrine. Cf. Tobit xii. 12 (contrast Acts x. 4), xii. 15; Rev. viii. 3; Test. Levi iii. 5 and v. 6, 7 (see my full note on doctrine 200 B.C.-A.D. 100, T. Levi iii. 5).

11. **seest** G^a, 'knowest' E.

suffer them. So Greek texts, misread by E τὰ εἰς for ἐγὼ.

X. 1 (<said) >E.

the Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

the Holy and Great One (E). See i. 3 (note). 'And the Great Holy One' G^a.

Uriel. So G^a, G^a has Istraël. E is corrupt.

son of Lamech, i.e. Noah.

2. (<Go to Noah and) G^a; original, as each command begins with 'Go'. Cf. x. 4, 9, 11 in G^a.

Hide thyself; i.e. to receive further disclosures from the angel. Cf. xii. 1, 2.

3. G^a is much fuller. 'Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, from the son of Lamech, and he will preserve his soul unto life and escape through the world, and from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world.'

of the world G^a n >E-n.

4-8. Raphael's task—to remove Azazel and heal the earth; Uriel's task is given in 1-3, Gabriel's in 9-10, Michael's in 11-12.

4. Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in v. 11, Semjâzâ), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda (Joma, vi. 8). This Beth Chaduda (= 'Dudael' of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Cf. Lev. xvi. 10, 22. On Semjâzâ and Azazel see Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3, where both names occur and the myth is given. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

5. **upon him, 'under him'** Gk. wrongly. Cf. liv. 5.

- rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may
 6, 7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the
 earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal
 the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the
 8 Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted
 9 through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' And to Gabriel said the
 Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication:
 and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and
 cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in
 10 battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make
 of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and
 11 that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, bind
 Semjâzâ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves
 12 with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have
 seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys
 of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is
 13 for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: (and)
 14 to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be
 condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all
 15 generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because
 16 they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work
 come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: 'and it shall prove a blessing;
 the works of righteousness and truth¹ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.
 17 And then shall all the righteous escape,
 And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
 And all the days of their youth and their old age
 Shall they complete in peace.

for ever, i.e. *eis tòn aiōna*, may denote various periods, according to the context in which it is used. Here it equals seventy generations (cf. v. 12); in v. 10 five hundred years; elsewhere again an unending period.

For verses 5 and 12 cf. Jude 6.

6. day of the great judgement G^s, 'great day of judgement' E. See xlv. 2 (note). This judgement inaugurates the final judgement of the angels.

the fire. See xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10; 2 Bar. xlv. 15, xlviii. 39, lix. 2.

7. Raphael's name suggests 'healing'. Cf. Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14.

healing of the earth E G^s, 'healing of the plague' G^a.

the plague G^s, 'the earth' E.

disclosed G^a, 'smitten' E G^s.

8. Note how all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels.

works that were taught G^s, 'teaching of the works' E.

9, 10. Gabriel to destroy the giants. The account here is closely followed by Jubilees v. 6-11. The giants slay one another in the presence of their parents; cf. xiv. 6, and v. 12 here. The parents are then bound in the earth's abysses, and their power of hurting the earth is at an end; cf. xiv. 5. But it is not so with the spirits of the giants. They enjoy an impunity in wrong-doing until the final judgement. See xv. 11-xvi. 1.

9. [the children ... and] >G^s, dittograph in E.

[and cause ... forth] dittograph in E of 'send'.

send ... battle, 'send ... war' G^s.

10. an eternal life, i.e. five hundred years. See v. 5 (note). As to the prayer of the fallen angels, cf. xii. 6, xiii. 4-6, xiv. 7.

11. This verse describes Michael's task, which is distinct from that of Gabriel. Cf. lxxxviii. 3 which is distinct from lxxxviii. 2.

the Lord >G^s.

bind. So G^a, 'show' G^s and E, i.e. *δηλώσον* for *δησον*.

united ... with them. Jub. iv. 22.

12. their sons: 'all these sons' E, 'all' being corrupt as often in E for def. art.

The binding of the angels in the valleys has been altered in E to 'in the hills' as in the Greek myths of the Titans. For the valley see lxvii. 4 sqq. and cf. Jub. v. 10 'in the depths of the earth', and Jude 6 *ὑπὸ ζόφον*.

seventy generations. This period has no connexion with the Apocalypse of Weeks.

13. abyss of fire, i.e. the same as that mentioned in v. 6, xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24. Cf. Rev. xx. 10, 14, 15 'lake of fire', and Matt. xxv. 41.

14. condemned G^a. *κατακρινθῇ* G^s E corrupt for *κατακριθῇ*.

all generations E, 'the ('their') G^a generation' G^s. Here G^a ends.

15. Gabriel is given this charge in v. 9.

16. plant of righteousness, i.e. Israel. Israel springs from a seed that 'is sown' by God, lxii. 8: hence it is established as 'a plant of the seed for ever', lxxxiv. 6; is called 'the plant of uprightness', xciii. 2; the plant of righteousness, xciii. 5; the eternal plant of righteousness, xciii. 10; and 'the plant of righteous judgement', xciii. 5.

17. The writer wanders off to a very sensuous picture of Messianic bliss; cf. xxv. 4 (note).

old age. The reading (E and G^s) 'Sabbath' is due to a corruption in the original Aramaic or Hebrew.

- 18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and
 19 be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it:
 and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which
 is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield
 20 ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness,
 and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth
 21 destroy from off the earth. 'And all the children of men shall become righteous', and all nations
 22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed
 from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will
 never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.
 11 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send
 2 them down 'upon the earth' over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace
 shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations
 of men.'

XII-XVI. *Dream-Vision of Enoch: his Intercession for Azazel and the fallen Angels: and
 his Announcement of their first and final Doom.*

- 12 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was
 2 hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the
 Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.
 3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of **majesty** and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers
 4 called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me: 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare†
 to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled
 themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves

18. shall all be planted with trees E, 'and a tree shall be planted in it' G⁸.

18, 19. Cf. O.T. prophecies, Amos ix. 13, 14; Hos. ii. 22, 23; Jer. xxxi. 5; Isa. xxv. 6; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 26, 27.
 19. G⁸ corrupt.

each measure shall bear. Contrast Isa. v. 10, and cf. the chiliastic expectations of Papias in Iren. *adv.*
Haer. v. 33. Cf., too, 2 Bar. xxix. 5.

20. The cleansing is by the Messianic kingdom probably, not by the deluge.

oppression E, 'impurity' G⁸.

20, 21. from off . . . righteous E > G⁸.

21. The conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. xc. 30 (note), xci. 14.

22. the earth E, 'all the earth' G⁸.

XI. concludes an account of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 12.

upon the earth > G⁸.

2. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 10; Isa. xxxii. 17.

of men G⁸, αἰώνων E †for ἀνθρώπων.

XII-XVI. The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. Cf. lxxviii-lxxx, xci-xciv. As Enoch
 can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in x is not yet carried out. The original order was: Enoch was
 asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in xiii. 1-2; then to intercede for the Watchers, xiii. 3, xii. 3,
 xiii. 4-7, vision in xiii. 8, answer to the Watchers xiii. 9-10. This second vision is given at length, with God's
 revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom, xiv. 2-xvi. 2. The closing message of doom for the Watchers
 in xvi. 3-4 is a duplicate of xii. 4-6, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Thus the original
 order would be xiv. 1 . . . , xiii. 1-2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2, xii. 4-6 || xvi. 3-4. xii. 1-2 is an editorial
 introduction. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels: in the Noah section angels intercede
 for men (ix. 3, 4), but not for angels (lxviii. 3, Noachic).

XII. 1. Before these things, before the angels' intercession for men (ix) and God's doom (x) on the Watchers.
 was hidden E, 'was taken' G⁸, to receive the following revelation. Cf. x. 2. Enoch is still living, and not finally
 translated from earth as yet. As man he writes the petition for the fallen angels (xiii. 6); receives a vision in sleep,
 and is transported in spirit unto heaven (xiv. 2); speaks with a tongue of flesh (xiv. 2); and is terrified, like a mortal
 man, at the presence of God (xiv. 24).

2. holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

Watchers. See i. 5 (note).

3. of majesty G⁸. So E by the slightest change.

King of the ages. See i. 3 (note). Watchers E, + 'of the Holy Great one' G.

called. Enoch is really asked to intercede. So read this verse after xiii. 3.

the scribe. Cf. xcii. 1. Enoch is further called the scribe of righteousness (xii. 4, xv. 1), because he is himself
 a righteous man (xv. 1, lxxi. 14-16) and also declares the righteous judgement that is coming (xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xxxi. 6,
 lxxxii. 1, &c.).

4-6. Really the close of xii-xvi. See note above.

4. Cf. Jude 6. † declare E, G⁸ 'and say', correctly. Cf. xvi. 4.

have left. Cf. xv. 3.

the holy eternal place E, 'the holiness of the eternal place' G⁸.

5 wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgive-
6 ness of sin: and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in† their† children, The murder of †their†
beloved ones shall† they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall† they† lament, and
shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."

- 13** 1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azâzêl, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth
2 against thee to put thee in bonds: And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee,
because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness
3 and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.' Then I went and spoke to them all
4 together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to
draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence
5 of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their
6 eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their
petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their
7 requests that they should have forgiveness and length†. And I went off and sat down at the waters
of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell
8 asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of
chastisement, 'and a voice came bidding (me)' to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.
9 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in
10 'Abelsjâil, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. And I recounted before
them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and
to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

- 14** 1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance
2 with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with
a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to
3 converse therewith and understand with the heart. As He has created and given 'to man the power of
understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given 'me the power of reprimanding
4 the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus,
that your petition will not be granted unto you 'throughout all the days of eternity, and that judge-

Ye have G^g, 'and have' E.

5. And ye G^g, 'and they' E.

no peace. Cf. v. 4, xiii. 1.

5, 6. †they, †their. Read 'ye', 'your'.

6. Cf. x. 10, 12, xiv. 6.

XIII. 1. Azazel addressed in conformity with x. 4. Message of his doom. See xii-xvi (note).

went and said E, 'said "Go"' G^g.

no peace xvi. 4, v. 4.

bonds x. 4.

2. †request. Read 'rest'.

4, 5. As the angels could not address God nor lift up their eyes to heaven, Enoch is besought to become their intercessor. As a scribe, he draws up their petition in writing, and does not present it by word of mouth.

4. read G^g, 'take up' E.

6. †in regard to . . . length†. For 'length' read 'length of days', x. 9, 10.

7. waters of Dan. This river, called also the Little Jordan (Joseph, *Ant.* v. 3. 1, viii. 8. 4) is a tributary of the Jordan. This place (from דן, to judge) is chosen because of the significance of its name here—judgement.

the west of Hermon E, 'Hermon of the West' G^g.

8. to tell . . . and reprimand E, 'Tell . . . to reprimand' G^g.

sons of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).

9. 'Abelsjâil, perhaps Abilene אבילין, with a play on אבלין, 'mourning'.

10. Sênêsêr—Senir, a name of Hermon—Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8.

recounted G^g, 'spake' E.

reprimand, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'judge angels'.

heavenly Watchers. See i. 5 (note). The vision follows in xiv. 2-xvi. 2.

XIV. 1. A title for the section xii-xvi.

The book of the words G^g, 'This book is the word' E (rest of MSS.).

eternal, lit. 'who are from eternity', in the loose sense of that word. See x. 5 (note).

Holy Great one G^g, 'Holy and Great one' E. See i. 3 (note).

XIV. 2.-XVI. 2.—the Vision.

2, 3. God has created man with a tongue for speech and a faculty of understanding, and so has created Enoch with a power of reprimanding the eternal watchers.

tongue of flesh. Cf. lxxxiv. 1.

the Great One. Cf. ciii. 4, civ. 1.

and understand with the heart E, 'with understanding of the heart' G^g.

3. to man . . . and given >G^g, through hmt.

children of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).

4-7. Enoch's reprimand to the Watchers.

BOOK OF ENOCH 14. 5-24

5 ment has been finally passed upon you: yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you⁷. And from henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and 'in bonds' of the earth the decree 6 has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And (that) previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before 7 you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own: even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have 8 written. And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in 9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright 10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was 11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its 12 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice: there 13 were no delights of life therein: fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater 14 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to 15 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path 16 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw 'therein' a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of 17 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and 18 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason 19 of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times 20 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counsellor. And the most holy ones who were 21 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither,

5. Cf. xiii. 5. Also Athenagoras' *Apology*, xxv. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52. in bonds of the earth G^s, 'on the earth' E. Read 'in bonds on the earth' or (cf. Lam. iii. 34) 'as prisoners of the earth'.

6. Cf. x. 9, xii. 6.

pleasure in them. Cf. xii. 6. So G^s. E has 'ye shall not possess them'.

7. **speak all the words**. I have emended μή into μὴ in G^s καὶ μὴν λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα (Cf. converse in x. 7 G^s). If we accept the negative and read λαχόντες for λαλοῦντες, we can take the phrase as an apodosis—'ye are not to be granted a single request', &c.

Iren. iv. 16. 2 refers to this passage and to Enoch's *legatio ad angelos*.

8. **clouds invited me**. The expression is peculiar. Cf. perhaps Matt. xvii. 5. We should expect, however, some such idea as in Ps. xviii. 10, 11, civ. 3.

sped E, κατεσπείδαζον G^s. Cf. *Passio Perpetuae* xi.

hastened ἐθορύβαζον G^sE. But הָרַב in Heb. and Aram. means also 'hasten', cf. Dan. iv. 5.

caused me to fly E=ἀνεπύρωσαν, G^s=ἐξεπύρασεν. Perhaps read ἐξεπύρασεν, cf. Num. xi. 31.

9-13. Enoch is carried up into heaven and passes within the outer court of God's palace.

10. **crystals**=hailstones. Cf. Isa. xxx. 30. (made) of crystals E. G^s has 'and they were all of snow'.

13. **delights**=τρυφή. τρυφή G^s.

14. Cf. lx. 3, lxxi. 11; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, 18.

15. The doors are open so that Enoch can describe what is within. G^s is corrupt.

18-22. The writer draws on Isa. vi: Ezek. i. x.; Dan. vii. 9, 10. This passage is used by the author of lxxi. 5-8.

18. **therein** > G^s.

a lofty throne: Ezek. i. 26; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ass. Mos. iv. 2; Test. Levi v. 1; Rev. iv. 2. **vision**. So I emend. E has 'voice' (ὁπός). G^s has *opos* corrupt for *ὁπός*.

19. Dan. vii. 10.

streams of flaming fire E, 'flaming streams of fire' G^s.

20. **the Great Glory**. Cf. cii. 3; Test. Lev. iii. 4.

whiter than, &c. Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Ps. civ. 2; Jam. i. 17; Rev. iv. 3.

21. **enter** + 'into this house' G^s.

by reason of the magnificence and glory G^s, 'of the Magnificent and Glorious One' E (cf. ciii. 1), but this seems corrupt.

22. **could draw nigh**. Cf. 3 Macc. ii. 15; 1 Tim. vi. 16.

He needed no counsellor. Cf. Sir. xlii. 21, and 2 En. xxxiii. 4. E, with a slight change, gives our text. G^s has πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐργον. Cf. 2 En. xxxiii. 4.

23. **the most holy ones** G^s, 'the holiness of the holy ones' E^s.

'did not leave'. Contrast lxxi. 8.

24. **prostrate** G^s. E is corrupt. Cf. Dan. viii. 17; 2 En. xxi. 2; Luke xxiv. 5.

- 25 Enoch, and hear my word.' 'And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me', and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.
- 15 ¹ And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to "the Watchers of heaven", who have sent thee to intercede "for them": "You should intercede" for men, and not men for you: Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those "also" do who die and perish. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were "formerly" spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men "and" from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded "from them".
- 16 ¹ From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death "of the giants", from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great "judgement" in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." And now as

hear my word G^s, 'to my holy word' E (ἀγίου for ἁκουσον).

25. bowed: so G^s, 'looked' E corruptly.

XV. 1. scribe of righteousness. See xii. 3 (note).

2. Watchers of heaven >G^s.

intercede. See ix. 10 (note).

for them...intercede >G^s through hmt.

3. Cf. xii. 4; Jude 6.

4-7. For mortal man upon earth wedlock is appointed, to continue the race; but for immortal angels in heaven it involves pollution and guilt. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30, no marriage in heaven.

4. spiritual, living the eternal life E, 'and spirits, living, eternal' G^s.

as the children of men, 'with the blood of men' G^s E, i.e. כְּבָרִים for כְּבָנִי.

lusted after + 'and made' E.

5. nothing...to them. Est corrupt.

6. spiritual, &c. G^s as in v. 4.

8-9. The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, i.e. demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5; Tert. *Apol.* xxii. Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15 regards the demons as wicked angels and no more.

8. shall be called evil spirits E G^s; πνεύματα ἰσχυρά G^s, defective and corrupt.

9. from men G^s, 'from those above' G^s E.

beginning E + 'of their creation' G^s.

they shall be...earth E G^s. >G^s.

10. G^s omits. The verse is only a repetition of 7, 8.

of the earth E, 'on the earth' G^s.

11. afflict: 'laying waste' G^s, 'clouds' E G^s, i.e. עָנָן corrupt for מַעֲנִין = 'afflict'. The demons' evil activities will continue on the earth.

trouble E; δρόμους G^s, corrupt for τρόμους (?).

but nevertheless hunger G^s. >E + καὶ φάσματα ποιούντα G^s, perhaps rightly.

cause offences G^s, also E, easily corrected.

12. against the women E, 'of the women' G^s.

XVI. 1. The demons will not be punished until the final judgement, whereas the watchers are punished before and again at that judgement. This doctrine also appears in Jubilees x. 5-11, and in the N.T. Cf. Matt. viii. 29, 'to torment us before the time.'

of the giants E G^s >G^s + Ναφθαλείμ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνομαστοὶ G^s. Cf. Gen. vi. 4.

from the souls of whose flesh E^{eny} G^s. All texts are here corrupt, though ^{eny} are best.

consummation. See xlv. 2 (note).

2. Here we might read a quotation in Syncellus ending—'and these are from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers'. It limits the age of man to 120 years and so perhaps does belong to the lost Apocalypse of Noah. See my forthcoming Commentary on Enoch, pp. 14, 15.

to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been 'aforetime in heaven', (say 3 to them): "You have been in heaven, but 'all' the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."
4 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."

XVII-XXXVI. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII-XIX. *The First Journey.*

17¹ And they took 'and brought' me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, 2 and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and 3 to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries 'and the treasures of the stars' and of the thunder, 'and' in the uttermost depths, where were 4 a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, 'and a fiery sword' and all the lightnings. And they took 5 me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards 6 the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great 'river and to the great' darkness, and went 7 to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place 8 whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

18¹ I saw the treasures of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation 2 and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four 3 winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. 'And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven', and have their station between heaven and earth: 'these are the pillars

aforetime E > G^s.

3. E wrongly inserts 'and now' at the beginning of 3.

all G^s > E.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ed. Dindorf. iii. 9 is based on this statement.

4. no peace. See v. 4 (note).

XVII-XIX. These chapters are foreign to the rest of this section. They are full of Greek elements, e.g. Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus (xvii. 5, 6); the Ocean Stream (xvii. 5, 7, 8; xviii. 10); Hades in the West (xvii. 6).

Again xviii. 6-9 is a duplicate account of xxiv. 1-3; xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; and xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10.

Again xix. 1 contradicts x. 11-14; xiv. 5. How could the imprisoned angels (xv. 12-xvi) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

XVII. 1. and brought supplied from G^s.

like flaming fire. Cf. Ps. civ. 4.

appeared as men. Cf. xix. 1, 'assuming many different forms', and 2 Cor. xi. 14.

2. of darkness G^s ζοφώδη, 'of whirlwind' E = γροφώδη. Cf. Job xxxvii. 9.

the point of E > G^s.

3. places of the luminaries: perhaps the chambers of the sun and moon cf. xli. 5.

and the treasures of the stars supplied from G^s.

of the thunder. Cf. xli. 3, xlv. lix, lx. 13-15 and notes.

in the uttermost depths. E is thus easily emended. G^s has εἰς τὰ ἀποβαθῆ.

fiery bow, with which the lightnings are shot. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Hab. iii. 9; Lam. ii. 4, iii. 12.

arrows, i.e. lightnings. Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 17, 18.

and a fiery sword E. > G^s. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 41.

4. took E, 'brought' G^s.

The living waters G^s, 'waters of life' E. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; and esp. Rev. xxii. 17.

fire of the west. See xxiii. (notes). This fire is not Gehenna as Enoch does not place that in the west.

receives E, παρέχον G^s.

5. river of fire. The Pyriphlegethon.

great sea. Ὠκεανός.

towards the west E, 'of the west' G^s.

6. I saw G^s, 'and I saw' E, also in verses 7 and 8, &c. The omission of the copula suits the Aramaic idiom.

the great rivers. Are these the Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus?

river and to the great supplied from G^s.

no flesh G^s, 'all flesh' E.

7. the mountains of the darkness E. 'the winds of the darkness' G^s.

8. The mouths, &c., i.e. Oceanus. Cf. 'the springs of the great deep' in Babylonian cosmogony: they are at the ends of the earth, and the mountains (cf. v. 7) are near by.

XVIII. 1. treasures of all the winds. See xxxiv-xxxvi, xli. 4 (note), lx. 11, 12.

foundations of the earth. Cf. O.T. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 15.

2. corner-stone. Job xxxviii. 6.

the earth and G^s E, but a dittograph of ארבע 'four' in the Aramaic seems probable, misread ארעא 'earth'.

3. And I saw . . . heaven E, > G^s through hmt.

These are . . . heaven > G^s through hmt.

pillars of the heaven. Cf. Job. xxvi. 11 for the words but not the idea.

- 4 of the heaven⁷. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and
 5 all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw⁸ the paths
 6 of the angels. I saw⁹ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. And I proceeded
 and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones,
 7 three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, (one) was
 of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth, and those towards the south of red stone.
 8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the
 9 throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains is a region the
 10 end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns¹¹ of
 heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns¹² of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards
 12 the height and towards the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament
 of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no
 13 birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,
 14 and to me, when I inquired regarding them, The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and
 15 earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll
 over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of
 16 their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them,
 and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even)¹⁷ for ten thousand years¹⁸.'
- 19 And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women,
 and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray
 into sacrificing to demons¹⁹ as gods²⁰, (here shall they stand,) till²¹ the day of²² the great judgement in

4. winds which turn . . . the sun. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
 bring . . . to . . . setting. = *δύνοντας* (Active). *διανέοντας* G^s which Dillmann emends to *διανέοντας*, 'whirling'.
 5. carrying the clouds (4, β only) explains the difficulties in Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 16. *G^s gmg^u* read 'in the cloud'.
 at the end of the earth the firmament. The firmament's ends rest on the earth's ends, cf. xxxiii. 2, while its
 vault is supported by the winds, xviii. 2, 3.
 6-9. For the seven mountains see the other account in xxiv. 1-3. Also cf. Jubilees viii. 22.
 6. proceeded + 'to the south' E. This addition is obviously wrong. The mountains are in the NW., lxxvii. 3,
 lxx. 3. Moreover, as three are towards the east and three towards the south, this *v.* (6) implies that the corner one
 must be in the NW.
 and saw a place G^s > E which seems to have read *εἰς τὸν νότον* for *εἶδον τόπον*.
 seven mountains. The Garden lies to the east of them xxxii. 1-2 and like them is in the NW. lxx. 3. Cf. too
 xxiv. 1-3 (the mountains), xxiv. sqq. (the Garden or at least the tree of life). See further lxxvii. 3, lx. 22, 23, lx. 8,
 xxxii. 1-3 for the Garden's position. For the number 'seven' cf. 4 Ezra vi. 42, 1 En. lxxvii. 5, 8. See full note in my
 new Comm. on 1 En. xviii. 6. With the mountains cf. those in lii. 2, liii. 7.
 three¹⁹ E, > G^s.
 7. jacinth (?) *ιάσως* E, corrupt for (?) *ιάσπιδος*, 'jasper'. But G^s has *ραθεν*. So *ιακίνθου* or *ιανθίνου* is more probably
 original. We can neither be sure of identifying the stones or discovering the source of the ideas in our text. But cf.
 Ezek. xxviii. 13.
 8. like the throne of God. In xxv. 3 it is the throne of God. God's mountain is in the north in Isa. xiv. 13. Cf.
 Ezek. i. 4; Job xxxvii. 22. Cf. 'the holy mountain of God', Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.
 alabaster. *φουκα* G^s = *נכסד*.
 sapphire. Ezek. i. 26.
 9. a flaming fire. Cf. xxiv. 1.
 And beyond these G^s. E attests, but here as always misrenders, as *ἐπὶ ἐκείνων* for *ἐπέκεινα* (G^s). Cf. ver. 12.
 10. Cf. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2.
 11. Is this the final place of punishment for the fallen angels? If so, cf. x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24.
 of heavenly fire . . . columns > G^s. Cf. Gen. xix. 24; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.
 height . . . depth E. ∞ G^s.
 12-16. The place of punishment for the disobedient stars, already occupied. Cf. xxi. 1-6.
 13-16. The stars are regarded as conscious, and therefore punished. Cf. Jude 13 *ἀστέρες πλανῆται*.
 13. and to me . . . them G^s, E corrupt.
 14. host of heaven. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21.
 15. the Lord G^s, 'God' E.
 rising + *ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστίν* G^s—a gloss on *v.* 12.
 16. till the time = ten thousand years, xxi. 6.
 ten thousand years G^s, *ἐνιαντὴ μυστηρίων* E corrupt.

XIX. This chapter disagrees with xv. 12-xvi, as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice
 to demons. In fact the fallen angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the
 demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix belongs to x-xvi, then xix is defective. 'Their
 spirits' should be followed by 'of the giants', which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek
 translator.

1. sacrificing to demons as gods. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Bar. iv. 7. This passage and xcix. 7 are the
 source of Tert. *De Idol.* iv.
 as gods E > G^s.
 the day of E > G^s.
 the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

² which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who
³ went astray shall become sirens.' And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and
 no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.

20 ^{1, 2} And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is
³ over the world and over Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.
^{4, 5} Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. Michael, one
⁶ of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind †and† over chaos. Saraqâel,
⁷ one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy
⁸ angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels,
 whom God set over those who rise.

XXI—XXXVI. The Second Journey of Enoch.

XXI. Preliminary and final Place of Punishment of the fallen Angels (stars).

21 ^{1, 2} And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither
³ a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw
⁴ seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then
⁵ I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then
 said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why
⁶ dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars †of heaven†,
 which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years,
⁷ the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' And from thence I went to another place, which
 was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt
 and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of
⁸ fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: 'How

² the women . . . of the angels G⁸, 'lit. their women . . . of the angels'. An Aramaic idiom. E is corrupt.
 will become sirens. So G⁸. E is corrupt *ὡς εἰρηναῖαι*. For sirens cf. Apoc. Bar. x. 8. *σειρήν* in the LXX renders
 נָחַשׁ e.g. Mic. i. 8.

³ the ends of all things. Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) as *ὅλας πάσας* and Origen, *De Princ.*
 iv. 35, as 'universas materias'.

XX. There are seven archangels in this chapter, but only four are mentioned in i-xix, cf. xxi-xxxvi. See lxxxi. 5.
 Other discrepancies, however, are reduced by the evidence of G⁸.

¹ G⁸^{1,2} are defective, G⁸² omits and G⁸¹ reads only 'angels of the powers'. Both, however, in v. 8 end *ὀνόματα*
 ζ' ἀρχαγγέλων.

who watch. See i. 5, xii. 2.

² Uriel's province here explains, e.g. xix, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 1, where he is overseer of
 the world.

Tartarus G⁸^{1,2}. E = *τρόμον*, corrupt.

³ Raphael. See x. 4, 7. His province here suits admirably in xxii. 3, 6. In xxxii. 6, however, his province seems
 that assigned to Gabriel in xx. 7.

⁴ Raguel. There seems to be no connexion between name and function. Cf. xxxiii. 4.

†takes vengeance on.† See xxxiii. 4 (note).

world of G⁸^{1,2}. 'world and' E.

⁵ Michael is Israel's guardian angel, as in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, and elsewhere. Cf. xxiv. 6.

(and) over chaos G⁸^{1,2}. *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ* E.

⁶ Saraqâel E, 'Sariel' G⁸^{1,2}.

spirits + 'of mankind' E.

⁷ Gabriel, not Raphael, should be the speaker in xxxii, according to this verse.

⁸ Remiel. This clause (only in G⁸²) completes the *seven*, which number G⁸¹ also mentions. For Remiel cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36.

XXI. 1-6. Cf. xviii. 12-16. The place where the disobedient stars are punished.

¹ Origen cites in *De Princ.* iv. 35 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum.'

chaotic. So G⁸^{1,2}, and E is easily so emended.

² together E. 'and cast down' G⁸^{1,2}.

⁵ chief over them G⁸^{1,2}. 'chief over me' E.

why art thou eager for the truth G⁸^{1,2}. The Aramaic original = Dan. vii. 16 (cf. 19), and the Greek text
 used by E, had *ἀκρίβειαν*, not *ἀλήθειαν*.

⁶ of heaven G⁸^{1,2}. > E.

the Lord G⁸^{1,2} but late MSS. read 'Most High God', a title not found in Enoch, though 'Most High' occurs
 in all the sections. E has 'God'. See xcix. 3 (note).

ten thousand years G⁸^{1,2}. 'ten thousand ages' E, i.e. 'alam for 'am.

the time G⁸^{1,2}. 'the number of the days' E.

⁷⁻¹⁰ Another place. Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of xviii. 11, 12, which was below
 the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already. For this final prison, cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, liv. 6, xc. 24-5.

⁷ conjecture. E^{mu} G⁸^{1,2}. All E MSS. prefix a gloss 'to look upon'.

- 9 fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon! Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And
 10 I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said
 'unto me': 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. Sheol or the Underworld.

- 22 1 And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west 'another' great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

E

- 2 And there was in it †four† hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at.

Gg

And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep² and very smooth: †three† of them were dark and one bright and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: '†How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'

- 3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should
 4 assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

E

- 5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven
 6 and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit—whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?'

Gg

I saw (the spirit of) a dead man making suit, 5 and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was 6 with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?'

- 7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8. terrible, δεινός, 'terrible' G⁸ 12. E = ὀδυνηρός.

9. Uriel E > G⁸ 1, 2.

and I answered G⁸ 1, 2. > E which inserts 'and he answered me' after 'with me'.
 the spectacle of the pain E (ὀδυνηρός), 'the terrible (δεινός) spectacle' G⁸.

10. unto me E > G⁸.

for ever G⁸ gives a doublet.

XXII. This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already fullgrown. The departed have conscious existence, and moral, not social distinctions are observed in Sheol. See lxiii. 10, for the history of this doctrine. Cf. Dan. xii.

1. [and] > G⁸.

2. †four†, three are gloomy and one bright, according to our text, but vii. 8 and 9 show that there are three in all, not four (G⁸). E has there inserted 'regarding it and' to avoid the inconsistency.

†four†. . . †three†. Read 'three . . . two'.

hollow. καλοί E for κοῖλοι. So too in ver. 3.

†how†. Read 'why' to suit the reply 'for this very purpose' in v. 3. hollow places²⁰. So G. E has κυκλώματα.
 deep and dark. This seems to suit only the places of punishment. Contrast 'one bright' and v. 9.

3. Raphael has the same rôle in Tobit.

created E. ἐκρίθησαν G⁸ corruptly.

the spirits of the souls of the dead, G⁸ E⁸, E rest of MSS. corrupt. Cf. ix. 10.

4. been made. So I emend G⁸ E, which corruptly read 'made'.

to receive them. Cf. promptuaria of 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 95, 1 En. c. 4, 5 (note).

[till the period appointed.] A dittograph.

5-7. Formerly thought to describe the first division of Sheol, which contains the souls of the righteous, who in their life were persecuted, and suffered a violent and undeserved death. The idea of the righteous or of the angels crying for vengeance on the wicked occurs in all the sections of Enoch. Cf. ix. 1-3, 10, 11, xxii. 5-8, xlvii. 1, 2, lxxxix. 76, xcvi. 3, 5, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3. Cf. also Rev. vi. 10; 4 Ezra iv. 35. But really these verses describe not a division of Sheol, but the sight of a soul demanding vengeance.

5. spirits . . . dead. E. ἀνθρώπων νεκρῶν ἐν τυχάνοντος G⁸ defective and corrupt. Note the singular in v. 6.

6, 7. Abel's soul cries for vengeance. Gen. iv. 10.

6. which maketh suit > E.

answered + 'and said to me' E, a doublet of 'saying'.

E

8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the hollow places: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made (for) the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of
10 water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their
11 lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There
12 He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days
13 of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

G^s

Then I asked regarding all the hollow places: 8
'Why is one separated from the other?'

And he answered me saying: 'These three 9 have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And this division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And this 10 has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great 11 pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, so that (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And this 12 division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And this has been 13 made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 14
'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world.'

XXIII. *The fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

23 1, 2 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning
3 fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. And

8. The three divisions of Sheol are now given.

hollow places. κριμάτων E, κυλωμάτων G^s, both corrupt for κοιλωμάτων.

9. The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue even after death, despite 5-7. 'The bright spring' seems to refer to an existing tradition. For the phrase 'water of life' in Babylonian literature see *K.A.T.*³ 523 seqq.

spirits π. Rest of MSS. read 'souls', but 'nafs' often = 'spirits'. Cf. xv. 12, lxix. 12, xcix. 7.

bright. E has 'brightness'.

10. The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honourable burial, having escaped punishment in life.

this. G^s corruptly reads 'thus'.

11. **great pain.** Cf. ciii. 7, 8; Luke xvi. 23-5.

great day of judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

the accursed = τῶν καταραμένων, which E wrongly takes actively.

so that, &c., emended by Radermacher.

for ever, in Greek, 'till the age', i.e. till the final judgement.

12. The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.

13. **their spirits shall not be slain.** There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be 'the slaying of the spirit', but even this did not imply annihilation. See cviii. 3 (note), also xcix. 11.

their spirits + 'because those who suffer affliction here are punished less' G^s, a gloss.

shall not be punished G^s. 'shall not be slain' E.

nor shall they be raised. The sinners in the second division will rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.

14. After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology. Cf. xxv. 7, xxvii. 5, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9-13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv. xc. 40.

Lord of glory. See xxv. 3 (note).

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xc. 49, cvi. 3.

XXIII. 1, 2. Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire. xvii. 4 seems to deal with the same subject.

1. **west of the ends** G^s. E = 'west, to the ends'.

2. **burning** E. > G^s.

but ran regularly E. G^s = ἄμα (corrupt for ἀλλά) διαμένον.

4 I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?' Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me: 'This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.'

XXIV—XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

24 1 'And from thence I went to another place of the earth', and he showed me a mountain range of
2 fire which burnt day and night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all
differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent
as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: 'three towards the east, one founded on the
other, and three towards the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which
3 joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them
4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst
them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like
it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever:
5 and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: 'How beautiful
is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance.'
6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honoured angels who was with me, and was their
leader.

25 1 And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree,
2 and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?' Then I answered him saying: 'I wish to
3 know about everything, but especially about this tree.' And he answered saying: 'This high
mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the
Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit
4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the
great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation

4. And said unto me E. > G.
of fire G. > E.
which thou hast seen E. > G.
†persecutes† ἐκδιώκων G (E supports) corrupt for ἐκδικῶν.

XXIV. Enoch has been in the extreme West in xxiii: now he goes to the NW. First he sees a mountain range of fire, and then the seven great mountains, one of which is the throne of God.

1. And from thence . . . of the earth E. > G.
day and E. > G.
 2. beyond it. ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν. E = 'towards it': cf. xviii. 9.
and beautiful E. 'in beauty' G.
three towards¹⁰ E. > G.
one^{10 20} E. > G.
rough G. 'crooked' E.
 3. excelled them in height *hoi b.* G omits 'them'. All other MSS. of E read 'their height'.
resembling G. E easily emended.
fragrant E. 'of goodly appearance' G = εὐειδῆ for εὐώδη.
 4. The tree of life. Cf. xxv. 4-6.
neither was any amongst them E. 'and no one else had enjoyed them' G.
is beautiful and its fruit E. > G through hmt.
 5. How G. > E.
fragrant G. E = 'of goodly appearance'.
its blooms G. E corrupt.
very E. > G.
 6. Michael, Israel's patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From xx. 7, we should expect Gabriel here.
and honoured E. > G.
- XXV. 1. ask + 'and why didst thou marvel' G.
why²⁰ G. > E.
wish to learn the truth G, 'enquire accurately to learn' E.
2. Then I + 'Enoch' α-γ,β. > G.
saying E. > G.
 3. This high mountain, i.e. the middle one of the seven. Cf. xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3. It is not Sinai, but the throne of God when He descends to bless the earth. Cf. lxxvii. 1.
which thou hast seen E. > G.
the Holy Great One . . . Glory E. G = 'the Great Lord the Holy One of Glory'.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
Lord of Glory. Cf. xxii. 14, (xxv. 7), xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxxiii. 8.
Eternal King. Cf. vv. 5, 7, xxvii. 3; only found in i-xxxvi.
He shall come down. This mountain is in the north-west. In lxxvii, God will descend in the south.
 4. great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
 - 4, 5. This is the tree of life. After the final judgement men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life—not eternal life. Cf. v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7; lxxiv. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later, e.g. 4 Ezra viii. 52; ? Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14.

5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:
And in their days shall no 'sorrow' or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

XXVI. *Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.*

26 ¹ And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place 'in which there were
² trees' with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain,
³ 'and' underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And
I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow
⁴ ravine: in it also ran a stream 'underneath' the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another
mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine 'deep and dry' between
⁵ them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three 'mountains'. And all
the ravines were deep 'and narrow', (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon
⁶ them. And I marvelled 'at the rocks, and I marvelled' at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

27 ¹ Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this
² accursed valley 'between'?' 'Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and
said:

5. then G^g, E = 'this'.

holy G^g, 'humble' E.

Its fruit . . . to the elect. So G. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12. E is very corrupt.

elect. See i. 3 (note).

transplanted, i.e. the tree of life was moved from the earthly Eden to the Garden of Righteousness, and will
thence be moved to Jerusalem.

to the holy place, i.e. Jerusalem when purified. For the divine New Jerusalem see xc. 29.

6. In this verse I have followed G^g. E differs in lines 2 and 3, where *gy, o, b* read for 'shall . . . bones' 'and they
shall draw the fragrance thereof into their bones,' i.e. into themselves. If we accept this, we might read 'Then shall
they rejoice with joy And be glad in the holy place', &c.

no sorrow or plague. Cf. Isa. lxi. 19, 20. torment . . . touch them cf. Wisd. iii. 1.

7. For doxology cf. xxii. 14 (note).

who, G. E = 'because'.

created them, G^g, 'created such things', E.

XXVI. Enoch visits Jerusalem and its vicinity.

1. the middle of the earth—Jerusalem. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's
ὀμφαλός or navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks. In i En. xc. 26, Gehenna is 'in the midst of the earth'.

blessed place, all MSS. of E except *g* read 'blessed planted place'. Cf. xxvii. 1, lxxxix. 40; Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45.
branches abiding and blooming. Cf. the blessing of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22; also John xv. 5.

2. a holy mountain, Zion.

and ²⁰ > G^g.

a stream, the brook of Siloah.

flowed E, G^g has *δύσω* for *ρύσω*.

3. another mountain, the Mount of Olives.

between them E. 'between it' G.

a ravine, the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat.

underneath G^g, 'towards' or 'alongside' E.

4. another mountain, i.e. the Mount of Offence.

a ravine, i.e. the valley of Hinnom.

deep and dry G^g, 'underneath it' E.

XXVII. 1. and this accursed valley between E. G^g = 'and (why is) this valley accursed?' i.e. G^g has lost *ἡ*.
Gehenna was early associated with the worship of Moloch, repressed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and cursed by
Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 2, 6, xxxii. 35). In Isa. lxvi. 24, the rebellious and apostate Jews suffer by fire there, in
the presence of the righteous, as here. There are two stages in the growth of the idea. (1) In i Enoch xlviii. 9, liv.
1, 2, lxii. 12, 13, xc. 26, 27, the apostate Jews are there corporally and spiritually punished for ever. In xxxvii–lxx, the
wicked are to be swept away after awhile. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12, 13. (2) It is a place of spiritual punishment only, for
apostate Jews xci–civ. Cf. xcvi. 3. In the N. T. (e.g. Matt. v. 29, 30) Gehenna is for the wicked generally.
Later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the purgatory of faithless Jews, and the place of eternal perdition for the
Gentiles. Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 341 sqq.

2. Then Uriel . . . said: This E. > G^g.

'This¹ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all 'the accursed' be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

E

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

G^s

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. In the last times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the godly bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them (their lot).¹ Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His 'glory' and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII—XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

- 28¹ And thence I went 'towards the east', into the midst 'of the mountain range' of the desert, and
 2 I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. 'And' water gushed forth from
 3 above. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused clouds
 and dew to ascend on every side.
- 29¹ And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain
 2 range. And 'there' I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the
 trees also were similar to the almond tree.
- 30^{1, 2} And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. And
 3 therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of
 those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.
- 31¹ And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were 'groves of' trees, and there flowed forth from
 2 them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another

valley. G^s has γῆ—a transliteration of 'א as in Neh. xi. 35, &c.

the accursed > E.

unseemly words. Cf. v. 4 (note).

habitation G^s. 'judgement' E.

2-3. The text differs, according as we follow G^s or E.

3. spectacle E. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12.

the godly=εὐσεβείς emended from ἀσεβείς. E corrupt: ? emend to 'those who have obtained mercy'.

Lord of glory. See xxv. 3.

Eternal King. See xxv. 3 (note).

5. His 'glory' G^s. > 'glory' E. lauded G^s. 'remembered' E, zakarkû for zamarkû.

XXVIII. The Wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan according to Ezek. xlvii. 8, 12 was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.

1. towards the east > G^s.

of the mountain range > G^s.

and plants. E > 'and'. Both G^s and E misrender the Aramaic original as 'seeds'.

2. and > G^s.

3. rushing G^s. E φαινόμενον corrupt for φερόμενον.

which flowed. Added in E.

caused . . . to ascend G^s. E so emended by change of a vowel point.

clouds. G^s E read ὕδωρ, i. e. מַיִם for עָנָן.

XXIX. 1. Enoch goes further East to the region of fragrant trees.

and thence, E transposes before + 'water' (= 'clouds') in preceding verse.

2. there > G^s.

aromatic. A corruption in the Aramaic leads to a false reading—'of judgement'.

exhaling G^s. E=πλέον for πνέοντα.

almond tree G^s. > E, but after πλέον in line before has kuaskuas= ? καρύαις (G^s).

XXX. 1. beyond G^s. See xviii. 9 note.

went G^s. 'mountains' E.

afar G^s. 'not afar' E.

another + 'great' G^s.

water + 'like that which fails not' E—a gloss?

2. therein was a tree G^s. 'I saw a beautiful tree' E.

the colour G^s. 'like' E.

3. beyond. See xviii. 9 (note).

XXXI. 1. groves G^s. > E.

nectar. E prefixes 'as it were'.

sarara E. σαρραν G^s, a transliteration of 'אֲרָר a kind of balsam.

mountain 'to the east of the ends of the earth', 'whereon were aloe-trees', and all the trees were full
3 of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

E

32¹ And after these fragrant odours, as I looked
towards the north over the mountains I saw
seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant
trees and cinnamon and pepper.

Gg

To the north-east I beheld seven mountains¹
full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon
and pepper.

2 And thence I went over the summits of 'all' these mountains, far towards the east 'of the earth',
and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over 'the angel' Zotiél.

E

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness,
and saw beyond those trees many large trees
growing there and of goodly fragrance, large,
very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of
wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.

Gg

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness,³
and from afar off trees more numerous than
these trees and great—†two† trees there, very
great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent,
and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they
eat and know great wisdom.

4 'That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are¹ like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit
5 is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then
6 I said: 'How¹ beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel,
who was with me, answered me 'and said': 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old
(in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their
eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

2. to the east of the ends of the earth G^s. >E.

whereon were aloe trees E. >G^s. This aloe is the modern eagle wood. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 120-1.

all G^s. E corrupt.

of stacte i.e. στακτήs emended from G εξ αυτης, and E=σπερεός.

3. burnt τριβωσιν G. E=λάβωσιν, probably corrupted from G's reading. G in turn follows a misreading of
פלל 'burn' as פלל 'pound'.

it G^s reads διό corrupt for αὐτό. E=τὸν καρπὸν.

smelt sweeter G^s. 'was better' E.

XXXII. The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.

1. and after . . . odours >G^s through hmt.

To the north-east G^s, 'towards the North' E. That G^s is right appears from *v.* 2 'far towards the East'
in both G^s and E. So the Garden of Righteousness in lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3 in the NW. is distinct from the primitive
earthly Garden of Righteousness or Eden in the NE. mentioned here. Also the seven mountains here in the NE.
must be distinct from the seven mountains, one being God's throne, in the NW. in xviii. 6, xxiv. 2 seqq. The garden
here seems not to be the abode of the departed righteous, unlike the garden in lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxx. 2, lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3.
Instead their souls have a division in Sheol. xxii. 9.

2. Erythraean sea. The Persian and Indian Oceans. Cf. lxxvii. 6, 7.

went G^s. E corrupt.

far from it E. G^s corrupt.

the angel E. >G^s.

Zotiél. Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to Paradise.

3. Garden of Righteousness. Cf. lxxvii. 3; also lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, with notes. This garden is in the East; that
in lxxvii. 3 in a part of the North; in lxx. 3 in the NW.

In xxxvii-lxx, as well as in the Noachic fragments, this garden is the abode of the departed righteous; while
in i-xxxvi a special division in Sheol is assigned to their spirits. Can this division and the garden be the same place?
Both are in the West lxx. 3, 4 and xxii. 1. See my Commentary *in loc.*

beyond. So E which wrongly makes μακρόθεν govern the following words.

growing E (= φυτόμενα). G^s reads δύο μέν, which would require 'the tree of life' before 'and the tree of wisdom'.
But the tree of life is near the chief of the Seven Mountains in the NW. See xxxii. 1, xxv. 5, xviii. 9 (notes).

4. That tree . . . its leaves are G^s. >E through hmt.

the fragrance . . . afar E in *q*, but *gm* add, after 'penetrates', 'proceeds', while *lβ* add 'and proceeds'. G^s
reads 'its fragrance penetrates afar from the tree'.

5. Then G^s. 'and' E. G^s preserves the Aramaic idiom. Cf. ix. 1, &c.

How G^s, ὥς. >E as in xxiv. 5.

the tree G^s. 'this tree' E.

and how G^s *q* + 'beautiful and' E.

6. Adam and Eve here seem to be still alive. If x. 1 belongs to this section the Samaritan chronology is followed.
See lxx. 2 (note). Note that Adam's sin is not regarded as the cause of man's fall.

Then G^s. 'and' E.

Raphael. xx. 7 leads us to expect Gabriel here.

and said E. >G^s.

thy father. G^s breaks off with 'thy father ate'.

- 33** ¹ And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven ² rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and ³ I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their ⁴ times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV—XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

- 34** ¹ And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and ² glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, ³ snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, [†]it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence. [†]
35 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the [†]east[†], the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

- 36** ¹ And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals ² of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, [†]and wind[†]. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals ³ above them. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course ⁴ to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

SECTION II. CHAPTERS XXXVII—LXXI.

THE PARABLES.

- 37** ¹ The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son ² of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy

XXXIII. 2. **whereon the heaven rests.** See xviii. 5 (note).

3. The portals of the stars are described at length in lxxii–lxxxii.

4. Uriel here writes down the accounts, but in v. 3 it is Enoch who writes. **companies**, or 'companions'. So Ea. Eβ reads 'functions.'

XXXIV. The portals of the North winds, and the nature of those winds. Cf. lxxvi. For the winds of the four quarters cf. Rev. vii. 1.

1. **device** (a-m) 'wonder' *mt²β*.

2. **and > q.** north winds. So apparently *gm*, β and also *t¹l²u*. 'winds through the north' *q*.

XXXV, XXXVI. Portals of the West and South and East winds.

XXXV. **the †east†.** Read the North. Or, better, transpose this chapter after xxxvi. 3.

XXXVI. 1. **come** + 'the south wind' *a-q*, β. 'from the south' *u*.

†And wind†. Meaningless. But cf. xxxiv. 2. Perhaps these stood originally 'and from thence come the south winds, and when they blow there is dew and rain'.

2, 3. Above the winds' portals are the stars' portals in the East.

4. **to spirits and to men** *gqu¹* (but *gg* read *naḥsātā*, *u naḥsātā*), other MSS. 'to the spirits of men'.

the work of His might. *q* reads 'the might of His work'.

XXXVII. 1. This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work.

The second vision. The first seems to be i. 2.

2. **beginning.** The Ethiopic word used here and in v. 3 may also = 'sum'.

and say. 'Say', *a-m*, *dy, a*.

men of old time, including Cainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, according to the LXX chronology, followed in the Parables. See liv. 7 (note), lxx. 4 (note).

words of the Holy One *gmt, fv, b*. Other MSS. 'holy words'.

- 3 One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.
 4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of
 5 eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII—XLIV. The First Parable.

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

38. 1 The first Parable.

- When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
 And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
 And shall be driven from the face of the earth :
 2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
 Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
 And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,
 Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
 And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits ?
 It had been good for them if they had not been born.
 3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
 And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
 4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted :

Lord of Spirits. Only in 2 Macc. iii. 24 in contemporary or earlier writings, yet cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. In Enoch it occurs in xxxvii. 4 (twice), xxxviii. 2 (twice), 4, 6, xxxix. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12, xl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, xli. 2 (twice), 6, 7, xliii. 4 (twice), xlv. 1, 2, xlvi. 3 (twice), 6, 7, 8, xlvii. 1, 2 (twice), 4, xlviii. 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10 (twice); xlix. 2, 4, 1, 2, 3 (twice), 5, li. 3, lii. 5, 9, liii. 6, liv. 5, 7, lv. 3, 4, lvii. 3, lviii. 4, 6 (twice), lix. 1, 2, lx. 6, 8, 24, 25 (twice), lxi. 3, 5, 8, 9 (thrice), 11, 13 (twice), lxii. 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 (twice), lxiii. 1, 2 (twice), 7, 12 (twice), lxv. 9, 11, lxvi. 2, lxvii. 8, 9, lxviii. 4 (twice), lxix. 24 (twice), 29, lxx. 1, lxxi. 2, 17. We find it in all 104 times, and 28 of these at least in the Interpolations. In the genuine portions it fits the context most closely: cf. xxxix. 12, xl. 1-10, xlv. 3-8, &c.: but in the Interpolations it is never so appropriate: cf. xli. 6, 7, lix. 1, 2 (context = natural phenomena).

3. to the men of old time. For 'ēllū I read la'ēlla.

4. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2; also 1 En. xciii. 10 seqq.

by i.e. 'emqēdma = מלפני.

the lot of eternal life. Cf. xl. 9, lviii. 3, lxii. 14. The life of a member of the Messianic kingdom is eternal in xxxvii-lxx; in i-xxxvi it is limited in duration, v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6, in the Dream Visions, lxxxiii-lxxxix, its duration is uncertain. The kingdom itself is temporary in xci-civ, and the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic kingdom and the final judgement.

5. **Parables.** Cf. Num. xxxii. 7, 18, Job xxvii. 1 = elaborate discourses, in the form of a vision, a prophecy, or a poem.

those that dwell on the earth. This phrase has a good ethical sense in the genuine portions of this section, as xxxvii. 2, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5. So Rev. xiv. 6. In the Interpolations it has a bad sense in liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and doubtful or merely geographical elsewhere, never good. In the Rev. it always has the bad sense except in xiv. 6.

XXXVIII. The time of requital is coming. When righteousness appears, and the light of the Lord of Spirits shines on the face of the righteous and elect, where will the sinners and deniers dwell?

1. **the congregation of the righteous.** Peculiar to the Parables, and explained by xxxviii. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 8. Cf. Ps. i. 5, cxlix. 1, Pss. Sol. xvii. 18.

driven from the face of the earth. Cf. Ps. i. 4, and 1 En. i. 1, xxxviii. 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 6, xlvi. 8, xlviii. 9, 10, liii. 2.

2. **the Righteous One** mβ. a-m read 'righteousness' i.e. šēdēq for šādēq cf. liii. 6. For other titles of the Messiah cf. xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, 10.

works q prefixes 'hope and'.

hang upon the Lord of Spirits. Cf. Judith viii. 24.

denied the Lord of Spirits, a frequent charge against the sinners: in fact their chief offence. Cf. xli. 2, xlv. 2, xlvi. 7, xlviii. 10, lxiii. 7. Cf. Jude 4. They deny too the heavenly world xlv. 1, the Messiah, xlviii. 10, the spirit of God lxvii. 10, the righteous judgement, lx. 6, while the righteous believe in the name of the Lord xliii. 4. The phrase is borrowed by the Interpolations, lxvii. 8, 10.

denied 'outraged' q.

It had been good, &c., cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

3. **the secrets of the righteous revealed.** The blessings in store for them are still hidden, lviii. 5, as also the Messiah, lxii. 7.

and the sinners q. Other MSS. omit 'and' and so make 'the sinners, &c.' the apodosis.

4. The supremacy and oppression of the earth's great ones are drawing speedily to a close. This is the Parables' constant theme, xlv. 4-8, xlviii. 8-10, liii. 5, lxii. 1-12, lxiii; borrowed too by the Interpolations lxvii. 8-13. It distinguishes xxxvii-lxx from xci-civ.

From that time. MSS. prefix 'and', i.e. waw introducing the apodosis.

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

- 5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

- 39¹ [And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the
2 high heaven, and their seed† will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch
received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]
And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.
4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.
5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.
And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,
And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.
6a And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7a And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6b And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

the holy and righteous and elect, xlviii. 1.

has caused . . . to appear. MSS. read 'is seen' but *a*, *d* have 'the Lord of Spirits' in the nom. and *q* has 'His light' in the acc.

His light, transfigures His saints. Light is the blessing of the kingdom. See v. 7, i. 8, xlv. 4, xxxviii. 2, i. 1, lviii. 3, xxxviii. 4, lviii. 3-6.

The idea is still further developed in xci-cviii, e.g. xcii. 4, civ. 2, cviii. 11, 12, 13.

5. Then *q*. 'and then' other MSS.

the kings and the mighty *a*. 'the mighty kings' *l*²*β*. Cf. lxii. 1, 3, 6, 9, lxiii. 1, 2, 12, lxvii. 8, 12. They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anointed (xlviii. 10), and a heavenly world (xlv. 1), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlv. 7 seems to point to heathen rulers 'their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,' but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes (cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, xvii. 17), e.g. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.

perish and *> q*.

given into the hands of the righteous. Cf. xlviii. 9, also xli. 2, lxii. 11. This seems to imply that the judgement is not catastrophic.

righteous and holy. xlviii. 1, 4, 7, li. 2 (lxv. 12). In the former passages it is used of members of the kingdom.

6. The time for mercy is past, i. 5.

thenceforward. *q* reads 'there'.

for themselves *a*, *cor*, *b*.

XXXIX, 1, 2^a. Interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older Book of Enoch such as we find in vi-xxxvi. The tenses should be past and not future.

elect and holy children, &c. *q* reads 'holy and elect'. Cf. cvi. 13. For 'elect' cf. 1 Tim. v. 21.

2. Enoch received, i.e. did not write himself.

zeal and wrath 'wrath and zeal' *q*.

3. A real translation here, like Elijah's, and no dream as in xiv. 8, 9.

4. dwelling-places, or 'dwellings' or 'abiding places'. See xxxix. 7, 8, xli. 2; 2 En. lxix. 2; John xiv. 2, a vision of the future Messianic kingdom under the protection of the Lord of Spirits. The unities of time and place are curiously neglected.

5. His righteous angels *a*. 'the angels' *β*.

water and dew = abundance. Cf. xlix. 1, Amos v. 24.

6-7. The text is slightly out of order.

6. that place *a-m*. 'those days' *m*, *l*²*β*.

the Elect One *a-q*, 'the place of the elect' *q*, *β-ax*.

the Elect One of righteousness and of faith. See xlv. 3 (note).

7^a. his *gm*. 'their' *qtu*, *β*.

6^b. his days *a*. 'their days' *l*²*β*.

- 7b And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,
And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]
- 8 There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:
And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.
- 9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of
10 Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying:
11 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him
there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from
12 generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless,
praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with
13 spirits." ' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say:
14 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' And my face was changed;
for I could no longer behold.

XL—XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

- 40 1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude
2 beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the
Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names:
for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.
- 3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.
- 4 5 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard
pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord
8 of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went
with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have
9 seen and whose words I have heard and written down?' And he said to me: 'This first is Michael,
the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds

7b. be †strong† *a-m* = נִשְׁתָּרָם which may be corrupt for נִשְׁתָּרָם = 'shine'. *mt*²β-*a* read 'be beautiful'.
fiery lights = stars, cf. Dan. xii. 3.

[and uprightness, &c.], a dittography.

8. Enoch predestined to a place in the kingdom. Cf. lxxi. 14–17, xc. 31; Dan. xii. 1.
and there *q.m.* Other MSS. 'there'.

9. As in xxxvii. 4 we have the free grace of God brought forward, though in that passage 'according to my insight' occurs as well.

12. Those who sleep not. Cf. xxxix. 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12 (and Interpolations lxxi. 7).
Lord of Spirits. 'Lord of Hosts' in the Trisagion, Isa. vi. 3.

13. all + 'the wakeful ones' *q.*

14. Cf. Ascensio Isaiae vii. 25. Here Enoch is 'blinded by excess of light.'
for *a.* 'till' *l*²β-*e.*

XL. 1. thousands, &c., Dan. vii. 10. (Interpolations lx. 1, lxxi. 8).

2. The angels of the presence come from Isa. lxiii. 9. This list is taken over by the Interpolations, lxxi. 9. For the chiefs' names contrast ix. 1, xx.

those that sleep not *a-m*, 'those that stand' *l*²β.

the angel that went with me. Cf. xliii. 3, &c., and 'the angel of peace' xl. 8, &c.

4. Michael 'who is like God?' in *v.* 9, is 'the merciful'.

5. Raphael is the 'healer' in *v.* 9. (Cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14.)

the Elect One, Isa. xlii. 1. Used only in the Parables (see xlvi. 3) and Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35.
and the elect ones, 'of the elect ones' *q.*

6. Gabriel here intercedes, but in *v.* 9 is set over the powers.

pray and intercede . . . supplicate. These verbs are in the plural in all MSS. but *d.*

7. Phanuel is set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (*v.* 9), and here restrains the Satans. These are ruled by a chief, Satan (liii. 3) to whom the Watchers became subject and so fell (liv. 6). They had access into heaven, xl. 7 (cf. Job i. 6). They tempted to evil (lxix. 4, 6), they accused (xl. 7), they punished, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1. (Interpolations lxvi. 1.)

The Talmud confuses the Satans and the fallen angels, as does lxix. N.T. Demonology resembles that of Enoch.

8. angel of peace. Cf. xl. 2, Test. xii Patr. Dan vi. 5, also *Asher* vi. 6.
hidden + 'I said unto him' *abcdex*.

9. Michael *a.* 'the holy Michael' β.

- of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'
- 10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.
- 41 1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the
2 actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3-9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

- 3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there
4 I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the
5 beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they
6 are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the command-
7 ment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.
- And they give thanks and praise and rest not;
For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
- 8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous
And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
And divided the spirits of men,
And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
In the name of His righteousness.

Gabriel α , 'the holy Gabriel' β .

repentance unto hope α - q and many β MSS. 'repentance unto repentance' q , 'repentance and hope' $\alpha\beta\epsilon\epsilon\chi$. For our text cf. Acts xi. 18; 2 Cor. vii. 10.

is named α , 'is' β .

10. Lord of Spirits α , 'Most High God' β .

XLI. 1. What kingdom can this be? Is it the Messianic Kingdom, or the kingdom of this world, or a division (into seven parts) of heaven?

actions of men are weighed. Cf. lxi. 8; Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2; Ps. lxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. The Talmud materializes this conception.

2. and 1° q . > α - q , β .

driven thence, xxxviii. 1.

deny, &c., xxxviii. 2.

3-8. This section is alien to the context. It may, however, belong to the Parables. Cf. Job, &c. It belongs certainly in character and detail to xliii. 1, 2, xlii, lix, lxix. 13-25. See xliii.

3. Lightning and thunder are often treated of. Cf. xvii. 3.

secrets of the winds. On the wind's functions cf. xviii. 1-5, xxxiv-xxxvi, lxxvi.

dusty earth gt^1u , 'dust of the earth' $mt^2\beta$.

4. And there $mt\beta$, 'there' gu .

the chamber, &c. Based on Job xxxviii. 22.

and winds. > 'and' β - hov , b .

and of the clouds > gu^2 .

5. for the sun and moon see further lxxii. 5.

the oath. Sun, moon, and stars seem conscious; they are subject only to God, xli. 6; they praise and rest not, xli. 7. Cf. lxix. 24, xliii. 1, 2.

by which they are bound together. So k alone, probably a fortunate conjecture.

6. traverses, 'returns' gc .

7. hidden... path of the moon, i.e. when the moon is invisible. See lxxiii-lxxiv.

before + 'the glory of' mt^1u .

8. Note the doctrine of predestination.

the sun αpy , 'the shining sun' $mt^2\beta$ - py .

- 9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

- 42 1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.
2 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:
Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.
3 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,
As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII—XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

- 43 1 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their
2 names and they hearkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance
according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing,
and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the
3 number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went
4 with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord
of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable'): these are the names
of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'
44 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and
become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV—LVII. *The Second Parable.*

XLV. *The Lot of the Apostates: the New Heaven and the New Earth.*

- 45 1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy
ones and the Lord of Spirits.
2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:
Such shall be the lot of the sinners

9. The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after xli. 2. Cf. Acts xvii. 31.
no angel hinders and no power *mq²u* β-γ. 'neither angel nor power' *gt²y*.
He appoints. So *g* only.
a judge *a* only has the acc. The rest of the MSS. read 'the judge sees them all'.

XLII. A fragment out of connexion with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know.

1. 2. A favourite theme—the praise of wisdom. She dwelt in heaven, lxxxiv. 3; Job xxviii. 12–14, 20–4; Baruch iii. 29; Sirach xxiv. 4: came down among men, Prov. i. 20, viii. ix. 1–10: no place was found for her, 1 En. xciv. 5. She will return in Messianic times, v. 8, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 3, xci. 10; 2 Bar. xlv. 14; 4 Ezra viii. 52.

2. went forth *a*, 'came' *abce^x*.

3. The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.

XLIII, XLIV. This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at once. Cf. Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context in this work.

XLIII. 1. by their names. Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.

2. weighed, &c. Cf. xli. 5.

how their revolution produces lightning *gq²l(mu)*. 'and revolution: how one flash of lightning produces another' *l²β*.

3. Cf. xlv. 2.

3. 4. The stars represent the holy: cf. Dan. viii. 10. See too civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43. For the stars as angels cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Deut. iv. 19.

4. holy *a*, 'righteous' *β*.

believe. Cf. 'faith' in xxxix. 6, lviii. 5, lxi. 4, 11, and 'denial' xxxviii. 2.

XLIV. Shooting stars. Cf. xliii. 2.

XLV. 1. The Second Parable begins.

deny the name of the dwelling, i. e. the Sadducees. Cf. xxxviii. 2, and note.
and the Lord *a*, 'and of the Lord' *β*.

2. and ¹⁰ *a-l*. > *lβ*.

The transformed earth (*v*. 5) will be for the righteous only.

- Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.
- 3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.
And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:
- 4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light:
- 5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.
- 6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me:
But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

- 46 1 And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.
- 2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
3 Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he
answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

denied the name . . . of the Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
day of suffering and tribulation. Also called 'that great day', liv. 6, 'day of judgement and consummation',
x. 12, 'of destruction', xcvi. 10, 'of darkness', xciv. 9. See my Commentary further *in loc.*

The phrase refers to (1) the Deluge in x. 4, 5, 12^b, liv. 5, 7-10, xci. 5, xciii. 4, (2) final world-judgement at the
beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, x. 6, 12^a, xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, xxv. 4, xlv. 2, liv. 6, lv. 4, xc. 20-7. (3)
Judgement of the sword by the righteous, also at the Messianic Kingdom's beginning, l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1,
xcviii. 12. (4) Final world judgement at its close, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, c. 4, ciii. 8, civ. 5. In xlviii. 8-10 (2) and (3)
seem to be combined, and in xcix. 9, 15 (3) and (4).

3. Mine Elect One, *a-m*. 'the Elect One', *mt^aβ*. See xl. 5.
throne of glory. Cf. lv. 4, lxii. 3, 5. Also lxi. 8, lxii. 2, lxix. 27, 39 (as judge). The throne is that of the Head
of Days, xlvii. 3, li. 3.

try. The translator read יבחר for יבחן or if the original was in Aramaic he followed the wrong meaning of יבחר.

And their places of rest, &c. This comes better in v. 5 or 6.

souls, *a*, 'spirits' *β*. See xxii.

elect ones, *a-m*. 'Elect One' *m*, *abcfhoxy*.

glorious *a*. 'holy and glorious' *l^aβ*.

4. Elect One, *mt^aβ-c*. 'elect ones', *gguncy*.

4, 5. After the judgement the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (xlv. 4, li. 4) and earth (xli. 2,
xlv. 5), with angels and men as members xxxix. 4 (note). Isa. lxxv. 17 and lxxvi. 22, have the idea, but without the
logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75.

6. destroy them . . . earth. Cf. lxix. 27.

XLVI. 1. Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, 'Head of Days' i.e. 'The
Everlasting', occurs in xlvi. 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, and in the Interpolations lv. 1, lx. 2, lxxi. 10-14, but not so appropriately.

2. the angel. The MSS. wrongly read 'one of the angels'. See note on xl. 2.

that Son of Man. Cf. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 2, lxii. 9, 14, lxiii. 11, lxix. 26, 27, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, in all of which passages the
demonstrative occurs; it is missing only in lxii. 7. But, 'that' and 'this' in our translator are usually renderings
of the Greek article, and so here. Thus in Enoch this title is the distinct designation of the personal Messiah, and
the Greek equivalent must have been *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and not *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*.

3. The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the
righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness (xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, liii. 6, and here. Cf. Ps. xlv. 4-7, lxxii. 1; Isa. xi.
3-5), wisdom (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), and power (xlix. 3, lxii. 6). As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds
of righteousness and sin, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, and raise the dead, li. 1, lxi. 5, and judge all, li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3,
lxix. 27. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous, xxxix. 7, xlviii. 4, 7, li. 5, liii. 6, lxii. 7,
8, 14, 15.

who hath righteousness. Cf. Isa. ix. 6-7, xi. 3 seqq.; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 seqq.
hath chosen him. Hence he is called the Elect one, xxxviii. 2, xl. 4.

And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

- 4 | And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.
- 5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
- 6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 7 And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
- 8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*

- 47 1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.
- 2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

hath the pre-eminence, *aeḥh'k*. 'hath surpassed everything' *l²β-efh'k*.

- 4, 6. Cf. O.T. e.g. Isa. xiv. 9, 11; Ps. iii. 7, lviii. 6; Lam. iii. 16.
4. †raise up†. Read 'put down' as in the dittograph in *v*. 5.
4. mighty from their seats. Cf. Luke i. 52 (a quotation?). *v*. 5 is a dittograph of this.
- break the teeth, &c. Cf. Ps. iii. 7.
5. whence the kingdom. Cf. Wisdom vi. 23; Rom. xiii. 1.
6. worms . . . their bed. Hardly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' death in 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, but to burial in general.
- cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. Acts xii. 23 has a strangely similar connexion of thought to 'because they do not extol'.
7. This verse is an echo of Dan. viii. 10. We may reconstruct it thus:
'And these are they who cast down the stars of heaven
And tread to the earth those who dwell upon it.'

We require a distich here, and the title 'Most High' does not occur elsewhere in the Parables.

†judge† = ירינו corrupt perhaps for יורינו 'cast down'.

the stars, here = the righteous, as in Dan. viii. 10.

tread. Cf. 'stamped upon them' in Dan. viii. 10. So read 'to the earth'.

and dwell upon it possibly = יושבו בה corrupt for יושבין.

manifest a-g. > *q₃b*. 'and manifest' *l²abcox*.

unrighteousness + 'their ('and all their' *gm*) works are unrighteousness' all MSS. except *qu₁en₁b*.

their power rests upon their riches. Cf. Ps. xlix. 6, lii. 7; En. xciv. 8 (note).

their faith, &c. A strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court. See xxxviii. 5 (note).

8. persecute *gt*, 'are driven forth' *mqu₁β*.

the houses *gmt'u*, 'from the houses' *q₃l²β*. Cf. liii. 6.

XLVII. 1. The judgement follows the dethronement of the mighty.

the righteous. Here in the plural, but in the next line in the singular (collective).

the blood, &c. Alex. Jannaeus was the first to shed the blood of the righteous, 95 B.C. See xxxviii. 5 (note).

2. On the angels' intercession. See xv. 2 (note).

the prayer of the righteous. Cf. Rev. vi. 10; En. xcvi. 5 (note).

- 3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness: the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous: Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 48¹ And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.
2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.
6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

3. **books of the living.** In O.T. these are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, &c.; Ps. lxxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; also Jubilees xxx. 20, 22. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. Cf. N.T. Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, &c., and the idea in Luke x. 20; Heb. xii. 23. Cf. too Enoch ciii. 4, 'the memorial of the righteous.'

There were also books recording good and evil deeds. Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Jubilees xxx. 22; also Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22, and in Enoch evil deeds only (as Isa. lxxv. 6), lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–77, xc. 17, 20, xcvi. 7, 8, civ. 7; also 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

Further there were the heavenly tablets of God's plans. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Dan. x. 21. Also in Enoch lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 1–3, ciii. 2, 3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1, cviii. 7 ('books of the holy ones' as ciii. 2). See my Commentary *in loc.*

4. **the number of the righteous had been offered.** Cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36; Rev. vi. 10, 11. **the righteous m.** Other MSS. read 'righteousness'. **been offered,** a late sense of קָרַב misrendered 'drawn nigh' here.

XLVIII. 1. **And q^t.β. > gmu.**

fountains of wisdom. Cf. xlii. 1, 2 (note). Cf. Isa. lv. 1.

2. **at that hour,** i. e. when Enoch was beholding these visions.

The Parables assert the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man. See vv. 3 and 6, xli. 1, 2, xlix. 2, lxii. 7. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 26.

3. **the signs, of the Zodiac,** מַזְלֵי, Job xxxviii. 32. See also viii. 3, lxii. 13, 19.

4. **righteous + 'and to the holy' β.**

whereon to stay themselves. Cf. lxi. 3.

the light of the Gentiles. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6. He will become their light through his future coming and character being made known to them.

troubled of heart. Cf. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

5. **All shall fall down,** even his deniers, lxii. 6, 9, lxiii. xc. 37. Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9, 11; Phil. ii. 10.

praise and bless a, ∞ q, β.

the Lord a-m, 'the name of the Lord', m, β.

6. **and q, β. > a-g.**

hidden. 4 Ezra xiii. 52.

before Him. q reads after 'for evermore'.

7. **revealed,** through O.T. prophecy. Cf. lxii. 7.

holy and righteous ∞ tu, l.

preserved the lot, &c., i. e. guard their future inheritance.

Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits:

For in his name they are saved,

And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

- 8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.

- 9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.

- 10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again:
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

- 49¹ For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.
2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.
3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.
4 And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

hated and despised this world, &c. Cf. cviii. 8-10; Gal. i. 4.

in his name they are saved. Cf. I Cor. vi. 11; Acts iv. 12.

according to his good pleasure . . . life *g*: 'his good pleasure hath been for their life' *owyb*; 'he is the avenger of their life' *mtu,β-owyb*; *q* is corrupt: *g* = *bafaqādū*: *mtu* = *faqādē*.

8. day of their anguish. See xlv. 2 (note).

9. into the hands. Cf. xxxviii. 5 (note).

As straw . . . as lead. Cf. Exod. xv. 7, 10.

Gehenna is here visible to the righteous, cf. xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27; 4 Ezra vi. 1, but not so in En. lxii. 12, 13; Rev. xx. 14; or in the last clause here—'no trace'. Really the Parables transform the conception of Gehenna, and the spectacle is only temporary in this verse.

before the face of the righteous *a*, 'before . . . holy' *β*.

10. rest. Cf. liii. 7.

And before them (> 'and' *q*) *a*, 'and before him' *β*.

fall and not rise again. Ps. xxxvi. 12.

the Lord . . . and His Anointed. Ps. ii. 2. In O.T. Messiah is not an exact technical term, but is used of the Davidic kings, and even Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1). It is first found in the later sense in the Parables here, xlviii. 10, lii. 4: then in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8; 4 Ezra vii. 29, xii. 32; 2 Bar. xxix. 3, &c.

XLIX. The Messiah's acts follow from his attributes. Cf. Isa. xi.

1. wisdom. Cf. Isa. xi. 9.

2. Cf. xlv. 2 (note).

disappear as a shadow, &c. Job xiv. 2.

continuance, lit. 'standing-ground'.

glory . . . for ever. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7; Mic. v. 2.

3. which gives *gqtu*. 'Of Him who gives' *m,β*.

the spirit of those, &c. He perfectly realizes the eschatological hopes of those who in the past were faithful.

4. Cf. v. 2, xliii. 3 (note).

a lying word. Cf. lxii. 3, lxvii. 9.

Elect One. Cf. xlviii. 6.

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

- 50¹ And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.
And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this)
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.
3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4 And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

- 51¹ And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.
5a For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,

L. Interpolated or at least containing incongruous details due to literary reminiscence. As in lxxxiii-xc and xci-civ the judgement of the sword precedes the Messianic kingdom which comes gradually together with the conversion of the heathen, and the final judgement follows. But in xxxvii-lxx the Son of Man suddenly appears and begins his reign with the resurrection and final judgement, with no place of repentance or time for conversion; cf. lxii, lxiii.

1. A gradual change from the night of oppression to the light of glory and honour; cf. lviii. 5, 6.

holy and elect; cf. lxii. 8.

2. For the period of the sword; cf. xc. 19, 34, xci. 12.

On the day a: β prefixes 'and'.

day of affliction; cf. xlvi. 10, xlv. 2 (note).

on which *gmt.* > *qu*, β .

evil *g* wrongly in acc.

shall have been *gg*, 'shall be' β -*fy*, 'is' *ut*?

repent. Cf. the Gentiles' conversion in xc. 30-4, xci. 14.

3. They are saved without honour.

through the name of a, 'before' β .

4, 5. The final judgement. The unrepentant perish. Cf. lx. 5, 25; also 4 Ezra vii. 33-4; 2 Bar. lxxxv. 12.

LI. 1. There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan. xii. 2; 1 En. i-xxxvi (except xxii. 13), xxxvii-lxx, lxxxiii-xc; Ps. lxxv (title) in LXX; 2 Macc. vii. 9, &c.; 2 Bar. i-li. 6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; Ps. xvi. 10, 11, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxxxiii. 24-7; Job xiv. 13-15, xix. 26-7; 1 En. xci-civ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16, xiii. 9, xiv. 7, xv. 15; 2 Bar. xxx; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37; Test. 12 Patr. Benj. x. 6-8.

Some Jews believed the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. Wisdom of Sol. iii. 1, &c., iv. 7, v. 16, viii. 20 (compared with ix. 15, xv. 8); Jubilees xxiii. 30.

the earth also... received. So *g* save that it substitutes a gloss 'those who are treasured up in it'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 32. *tu* are defective: 'Sheol shall give back that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received.' β conflates *g* and *tu*.

The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together, according to Sanh. 91^a.

Sheol and hell here = the intermediate state. See lxiii. 10 (note).

hell = destruction or Abaddon, Job xxvi. 6; Rev. ix. 10. Here the body rises, cf. lxii. 15, i-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc. Also 2 Macc. vii. 9 seqq.; 2 Bar. xxx, i-li. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37. In xci-civ the soul and spirit rise. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, &c. 2-5. These verses are out of order. The 'he' in v. 2 refers to the Elect One in v. 3 or v. 5. If we bring 5^a before 2 we get five stanzas of three lines each, and the first four begin with 'in those days'.

2. choose. Cf. Matt. xxv. 32.

the day has drawn nigh, &c. Cf. Luke xxi. 28.

3. Cf. xlvi. 1, xlix. 3, lxi. 7, 11, also xlii. 2 (note).

the Elect One *gm*, β , 'Mine Elect One' *q*¹.

My throne a, 'His throne' β .

And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

- 4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.
- 5^b And the earth shall rejoice,
^c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
^d And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

- 52 ¹ And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for
² I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—There mine eyes saw
all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and
a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.
³ And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in
⁴ secret?' And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion
of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'
⁵ And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto
thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.
⁶ And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
⁷ And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
⁸ And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

his . . . counsel. Emended. q, β = 'all the secrets of wisdom shall go forth from the counsel of his mouth'.
^{a-g} put 'all the secrets' in the acc. and gu insert 'and' after 'wisdom'.
4. mountains leap. Cf. Ps. cxiv. 4, 6; and for the whole verse cf. Test. 12 Patr. Levi xviii. 5.
angels . . . joy. Cf. Luke xv. 10. We can translate either 'the angels . . . as to their faces' or 'the angels—their faces'.

[all] Omit, and read 'ellû for kuëllû, as often.

5. Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 29, 34.

walk q , 'go' mtu , 'go and walk' β (and g over an erasure).

LII. The mountains, and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31-45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom.

This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In verses 1-4 the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in 5-9 they are destroyed before his presence. Again, verse 4 and verse 5 give two independent answers to verse 3. Of the two sources suggested by Beer for the Parables, verses 3-4 thus belong to the Son of Man source, verses 5-9 the Elect One source. Verses 1-2 are common to both sources.

1. in that place, i.e. in heaven, xxxix. 3.

2. lead. We expect seven mountains here. Five are given in lxvii. 4, and tin is added in lii. 8. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22 for the gates of the seven metals in the mysteries of Mithra.

4. These world powers show the Messiah's might by melting before him, as metals before the fire.

5. that angel. Here 'that' = Greek article.

a little + 'and thou shalt see' β .

surround the Lord of Spirits $a-m$: 'the Lord of Spirits has established' $m, t^2 \beta$.

6-9. No metal will avail as ransom or weapon.

6. wax before the fire, Ps. xcvi. 5; 1 En. i. 6; Mic. i. 3, 4, where also 'water' and 'streams down'.
streams down + 'upon those mountains' MSS.

7. Zeph. i. 18; cf. Isa. xiii. 17.

8. Cf. Hos. ii. 18.

nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate (or 'coat of mail'). So q , but u, β = 'garment for a coat of mail' (or 'breastplate'). In $a-u$ there is a dittograph.

[shall be . . . and]. A dittograph.

and shall not be esteemed $> q$.

- 9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII—LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

- 53 1 There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.
2 And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.
3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
5 And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.'
6 And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'
- 54 1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning
2 fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
3 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.'
5 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance
be [denied] and destroyed. Two alternative renderings, cf. יִכָּהֶר.

LIII. The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles, Joel iii. 2, 12. In Joel Theodotion renders τῇ χάραν τῆς κρίσεως and the Targ. Jon. 'plain of the decision of judgement'. The Midrash Mishle 68^d holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2353.

1. there *a-g*, 'and there' *qβ*.
deep valley with open mouths *mgtu,β-n*. 'open and deep-mouthed valley' *g*.
not become full. This seems inexplicable.
1, 2. The presents and homage of the mighty ones avail not, as they are sinners and oppressors, and therefore torments await them.
2. whom they lawlessly oppress. I emend *jēšāmēwū* 'produce' into *jēšāmawū* 'oppress', cf. *v.* 7.
shall perish. All MSS. insert a negative.
3. angels of punishment. See xl. 7 (note), also cf. liv. 3-5.
abiding *mgt(gu)*. Other MSS. 'going'.
5. these *> qu, nx*.
prepare *β*. *> a*.
this earth: 'this' = Greek article.
6. house of his congregation. See xxxviii. 1 (note) = synagogue. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 8.
7. Cf. lii. 6, and Isa. lxiv. 3; Zech. iv. 7. There is a return to the figurative language of lii, where the mountains = the kingdoms of the earth.
his righteousness *a-g*. 'His face' *q, β-n*.

LIV. The writer passes from the valley of judgement and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

1. a deep valley, Gehenna. See xlviii. 9 (note), and cf. lvi. 3, 4. This valley of Hinnom lay to the south of Jerusalem.
3-5. The first judgement of the Watchers, cf. x-xvi. The 'abyss' here is only the preliminary place of punishment, cf. x. 5, 12.
4. chains, 'chains of (' and ' *qt*) instruments' *mgt, β-dn*.
5. and they shall cover. *q* reads 'to cover'.
6. Their second judgement.
on that great day. See xlv. 2 (note).
Note that in the Parables the guilt of the Watchers lay in becoming subject to Satan. Cf. xl. 7; Jubilees x. 8 seqq. and *50 > q, abcde*.
cast them *tu, β*. *> gmq*.
furnace *a-g*, 'fire' *q, y*, 'furnace of fire' *β-y*. Cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24, 25. Not Gehenna.

on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

- 7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.
8 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine,
9 and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell
10 on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.'
- 55 1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell
2 on the earth.' And He swore by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

LV. 3.—LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azazel, the Watchers and their children.*

- 3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of this**, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith
4 God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye† mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azazel, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'
- 56 1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains
2 of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are
3 these who hold the scourges going?' And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.
4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,
And the days of their lives shall be at an end,
And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. Interpolated. A digression on the first world-judgement—the Deluge and so a Noachic fragment. Cf. xxxix. 1, 2^a, liv. 7—lv. 2, lx, lxx—lxxix. 25. These all (1) disturb the context; (2) claim to be by Noah lx. 7—11, 24, 25, lxxv—lxxviii. 1; (3) misunderstand the Parables, e.g. combine lii. 1, 2 with liv. 1; (4) give a definite date, lx. 1; (5) in lxxviii. 2—5 contradict liv. 4—6, lv. 3, 4; (6) confuse the Satans and the fallen angels, lxix, and make Semjaza the leader, not Azazel; (7) misuse borrowed technical terms and phrases, lx. 11, 24, lxxvii. 8, 10; also liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 10, lxxvi. 1; (8) use the Samaritan chronology, not that of the LXX, see lxx. 2 (note).

Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10 mention a Book of Noah, whence these passages were interpolated to supply Enoch's silence about the Flood.

7. **above the heavens.** All MSS. but ¹ wrongly add 'and in addition to the fountains which are beneath the heavens'.

8. In primitive Babylonian cosmology water = the primitive element or the original male and female elements.

9. **all who dwell**, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

10. **And > q.**

when, emended: 'inasmuch as' ^{tu, ew.} 'on this account' ^{gmql²β-ew.} The translator misread פִּי (Heb.) or אֲרִי (Aramaic). Yet 'on this account' may be right, but requires 'shall recognize'.

LV. 1. **the Head of Days**, inappropriately introduced by interpolator.
repented. Cf. Gen. viii. 21.

2. **so q, t²β.** > ^{gmql²u, x.}

this is in accordance with My command ^{gt.} 'this is My command' ^{m.} 'this command is according to My desire' ^{q.} 'after this according to My command' ^{ut²β.}

3. resumes liv. 6.

day of tribulation and pain. See xlv. 2 (note).

because of this. Text = 'before this'.

I will cause ... to abide ^{a-qu.} 'shall abide' ^{q, β-d.}

chastisement ... wrath ^{a, ∞ β.}

4. The kings have to witness Azazel's judgement, and thence infer their own. Perhaps we should read 'Ye kings and mighty'.

of glory ^{a-q.} 'of My glory' ^{qβ.}

LVI. 1—4. The Watchers and the demons are now judged. The demons, or 'beloved' (x. 12, xiv. 6), at last fill the valley. See liii. 1.

1. **they held** ^{gq, β.} > ^{mtu.}

scourges and ^{g.} > ^{qt, β:} ^{mu} read 'and'.

2. **these who** ^{gt².} 'these' ^{mq²u.} 'who' ^{β-n.}

the scourges ^{g.} > ^{a-gβ.}

3. **chasm of** > ^{q.}

4. **and** ^{1^o} > ^{q.}

reckoned, i. e. continued.

LVI. 5-8. *Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel.*

- 5 And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes :
They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,
That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.
- 6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,
[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway :]
- 7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.
And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,
And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,
Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.
- 8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,
And their destruction shall be at an end ;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

- 57¹ And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and
2 coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons
was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars
of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven
3 to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this
is the end of the second Parable.

5-LVII. 3^a. Another section from the 'Elect One' source (see p. 169) which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit lxxxiii-xc or xci-civ, but not xxxvii-lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C. : while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the Elect One Source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100-64 B.C.

5. The Gentiles are stirred up, not by God directly as in Ezek. xxxviii. 14-17, but by angels, as in Dan. x. 13 seqq.
return *gm'q*, 'assemble' *m'tu,β*.
6. His elect ones ¹⁹ *gqt*. 'their elect ones' *mu,β-e*.
[And . . . highway]. The construction is against the insertion of these words.
threshing-floor. Cf. Isa. xxi. 10.
7. The attack fails, Zech. xii. 2, 3 ; the invaders disagree, Ezek. xxxviii. 21 ; Zech. xiv. 13 ; Hag. ii. 22, and destroy one another. Cf. c. 1-3.
But *tu,β*. > *gmq*.
his brother *a*, 'his neighbour and his brother' *β*.
no number . . . slaughter. *q* reads 'for their number through their death and chastisement shall be corpses and it shall not be in vain'. In fact only a scribe in *z* inserts a negative. Possibly then we should restore 'till the number of the corpses be more than myriads', supposing ממותם corrupt for מרבות.
8. in *a-q*, 'and in' *q,β*.
Sheol shall open its jaws. Cf. Num. xvi. 31-3 ; Isa. v. 14. See lxiii. 10.
shall be at an end *g*. > *t,β*, 'shall not end' *q*, 'has sunk down' *m*, 'has been destroyed' *u*.
- LVII. Dispersed Israel returns from east and west. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13, xliii. 5, 6, xlix. 12, 22, 23.
1. on the winds. Perhaps read 'like the winds'.
from the west. 'to the west' *q*.
2. was heard *gq,β*, 'was' *mtu*.
the pillars . . . moved. Cf. Hag. ii. 6, 7 ; Joel iii. 16.
one end . . . other *a-q*, 'the end of the earth to the end of the heaven' *β*.

LVIII—LXXI. The Third Parable.

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

- 58¹ And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.
 2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
 For glorious shall be your lot.
 3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
 And the elect in the light of eternal life:
 The days of their life shall be unending,
 And the days of the holy without number.
 4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits:
 There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.
 5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
 That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith:
 For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
 And the darkness is past.
 6 And there shall be a light that never endeth,
 And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
 For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
 [And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
 And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

- 59¹ [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. 'their judgement'): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.
 3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

Book of Noah—a Fragment.

LX. *Quaking of the Heaven: Behemoth and Leviathan: the Elements.*

- 60¹ In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were

LVIII. The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces lviii, lxi–lxiv, lxix. 26–9. The main theme is the final judgement by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

2. your lot, preserved for them by the Messiah xlvi. 7.
3. light of the sun. See xxxviii. 4 (note), and verse 4 here.
- eternal life. See xxxvii. 4 (note). Cf. Dan. xii. 2; Pss. Sol. iii. 16.
4. the Eternal Lord or 'Lord of the ages'. See lxxxi. 10. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lxxii. 7, lxxiv. 2.
5. secrets of righteousness, i.e. their hidden recompense, as in xxxviii. 3, and xlvi. 7. They must still 'seek', and so their life is progressive.

heritage of faith. Cf. xxxix. 6, lxi. 4, 11.

6. never endeth, emended for MSS. 'cannot be numbered'.

[And . . . Spirits]. Dittograph of following line.

LIX. An intrusion of the same class as xli. 3–8, xliii, xlv, probably from a Noah-Apocalypse.

1. Cf. Job xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 5, 13, xxxviii. 24–7, for their ethical ends.

In α, 'and in' β.

of the lights α, ev, 'the lights' β–ev.

a blessing or a curse. Cf. xli. 8; Job xxxvi. 31.

2. Cf. lx. 13–15.

he caused α–u, 'they caused' αβδovx, α, β.

judgements. Text has read οικήματα for κρίματα.

on the earth. All MSS. but u add 'and the voice of the thunder'.

3. Job xxxviii. 24–7.

LX. One of the Noachic fragments. See liv. 7 (note), also notes on lx. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, &c.

1. the year 500. This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch; so for 'Enoch' read 'Noah'.

in the seventh month, &c., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.

In that Parable, unsuitable to the words 'I saw', and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Read 'in that vision'.

host of the Most High, &c. Cf. i. 6, 7, 9, for the theophany, also for the host xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13.

- 2 disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.
- 3 And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.
- 4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.'
- 25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'
- 7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the 8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first 9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses 10 of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: 'Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

2. **Head of Days.** See xlvi. 1 (note); liv. 7 (note).
the righteous could hardly have been before God's throne before the Deluge, as few if any righteous had as yet died.

3. Cf. xiv. 14, 24.

loins gave way. Ps. lxi. 23; Isa. xlv. 1.

dissolved. All MSS. but *u, dy* add 'and'. Hence *β* supplies an extra verb 'melted' to 'reins.'

4. Cf. Dan. v. 6, viii. 17, x. 9, 10. Michael as chief archangel (xl. 4, 9) sends 'the angel of peace' (v. 24).

5. Michael *a*. 'the holy Michael' *β*.

merciful and long-suffering. Cf. lx. 25, l. 3, 5, lxi. 13.

6. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 37. The Deluge has here features belonging properly to the Messianic judgement of the Parables. Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).

worship not. Only *u* has the negative. If we omit it, we might restore 'corrupt' instead of 'worship'.

law. Text = 'judgement'. Heb. *שִׁפְטָה* has both meanings.

25. punishment... rest. Cf. lxii. 12.

Afterwards... according to His mercy, i.e. after the Deluge. Cf. Gen. viii. 21, 22; En. lx. 5 (note).

There is a dittograph preceding this verse 'in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be (*bcx*: 'may not come' *e*; all other MSS. omit negative and verb) in vain and may slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers'. Before the last sentence 'Afterwards, &c.' all MSS. insert another dittograph 'when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon these'.

7-10. A fragment dealing with Creation myths.

7. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl, xli, but Jewish expounders find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. l. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1. See 4 Ezra vi. 49-52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4, where these monsters are to be the food of the righteous in the Messianic age. See too Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 202, 389, 402.

that day, i.e. Creation.

fountains of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; En. lxxxix. 7.

8. †Dûidâin† *u*, Dûnadâin *g*, 'Dûndâin' *t*, Dêndâin *m, β-eh*, Dêin (?) *h*. Cf. 'land of Nod' Gen. iv. 16. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 39.

the garden. See xxxii. 3 (note). Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in xxxii. 3-6, and the righteous dead are in the West xxii; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, lxi. 12, lx. 8, 23: of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, lxx. 2-4; of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, lxxxix. 52; of Enoch in lxxv. 2 (see note), and here. This passage (lx. 8) and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise. Cf. Latin version of Sir. xlv. 16, Ethiopic of Gen. v. 24. See Weber, *L.d.T.* 251.

seventh from Adam. Cf. xciii. 3; Jude 14; Jubilees vii. 39.

7-9, 24. Both 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and 2 Bar. xxix. 4 seem to have drawn on our text.

9. the other angel, see vii. 4 and 11. For the answer see v. 24. *g, β-n* read 'that' for 'the'.

10. Thou son of man, = Noah. Cf. Ezekiel's use of the phrase, and contrast the use in the Parables xlv. 1-3 (note).

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the 12 heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions 13 are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey. 14 For the thunder has [†]places of rest[†] (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together 15 through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth. 16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains 17 of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good 18 angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength—There is a 19 special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is [†]glorious[†] both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel. 20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the 21 mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on 22 the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, 23 and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous. 24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

61.1 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

- 11–13. A long account about physical secrets. The answer to *v.* 9 comes in *v.* 24 and is given by the angel of peace.
 11. the other angel, &c. Borrowed from *xlvi.* 2. Cf. *xlili.* 3.
 12. The powers of nature are personified or regarded as conscious intelligences. Cf. *Jubilees ii.* 2 'angels of the spirit of fire', &c.; *Rev. vii.* 1, 2, *xiv.* 18, *xix.* 17; *Asc. Isa.* *iv.* 18.
 chambers. All MSS. but *g* read 'in the chambers'.
 how they are weighed. Cf. *xlili.* 2, *Job.* *xxviii.* 25.
 portals. So Flemming emends.
 lights of the moon. Its various phases.
 13. Cf. *Job xxxvii.* 1–5.
 16. The ebb and flow of the sea, which is also supposed to supply the springs in the mountains.
 17. a good angel. Hail often hurts, but yet is not in charge of a demon.
 19. Unlike the previous phenomena, mist appears in all seasons, and by night and by day.
 is glorious. Text may = ככר. If so, it should have been rendered 'is oppressive'.
 in its chamber is an angel *tu*, 'its chamber is an angel' *gmq*, 'in its chamber is light and its angel' *β*.
 20. The dew dwells at the ends of the heaven. Cf. *xxxiv.* 1, 2; *xxxvi.* 1 and *lxxv.* 5.
 21. The rain is so important for the well-being of man (*Job xxxvii.* 12, 13) that its spirit is not independent, but subordinated to the angels. Cf. *Job xxviii.* 26, *xxxviii.* 25–8.
 and ¹⁹ > *gg*.
 And whensoever . . . on the earth *a-g* (*u* omits 'with the water on the earth').
 22. for *mt.* *β-doyb.* > *u.* *g.doyb.* read 'from the place of'. *g* = a corruption of *mt.*
 23. the Garden. See *v.* 8 (note). Note that the seas and the Garden adjoin as in *lxxvii.* 3, 4.
 24. goes back to *v.* 9. The angel of peace is out of place here. See *vv.* 4, 9, 11.
 LXI. 1. The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.
 those angels. The reference may be lost. *g* reads 'the two angels'.
 wings, only assigned to angels in the latest books of the O. T. cf. 1 *Chron.* *xxi.* 16.
 towards the north, perhaps Paradise. See *xxxii.* 3 (note); *lxx.* 3.

- 2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?' And he said unto me: 'They have gone to measure.'
- 3 And the angel who went with me said unto me:
'These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.
- 4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.
- 5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.
- 6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.
- 7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.
- 8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.
- 9 And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God,

- . the angel of peace, in the Elect One sections.
- the cords *a.* 'the long cords' *β.*
- have gone *> mud.* to measure (*q*)*tuβ.* 'to begin' *gm.*
- 3-5. The measures and ropes seem to represent the nature of the ideal community of the righteous living and departed, and the union and communion of such with one another and with the Lord of Spirits.
- 3-4. Belong to Son of Man source, as 'the angel who went with me' interprets.
- 3. to the righteous *qtu, n.* *> m. β-n.*
- stay themselves on. Cf. *xlvi.* 4, *lxi.* 5.
- 4. righteousness *a.* *β* prefixes 'the voice of'.
- 5. The righteous alone rise here; in *li.* 1, 2 all Israel.
- devoured ¹⁰. *q* omits next nine words through *hmt.*
- by the beasts *tu.* 'by the treasures' *gm.* *β-n* reads 'and by the beasts' after 'of the sea', omitting 'and .. devoured'.
- 6. all who dwell above in the heaven, i.e. the angels as in *vv.* 8, 10, 12, ix. 3, *xlvi.* 2.
- one voice. Cf. 2 Bar. xxx. 2 'in one assemblage of one thought'.
- 7. that One = the Lord of Spirits, or else the Elect One, *v.* 5. Or better, for *la* read *ba* and render 'with their first words they blessed'.
- 8. See *xl.* 3 (note): cf. Ps. cx. 1.
- glory *a.* 'His glory' *β.*
- the holy, i.e. the angels. Cf. *lxi.* 6. But *q* reads 'the righteous'.
- shall their deeds be weighed *mqu, β.* 'they ('he' *i, abcdefhkl*) shall weigh their deeds' *g.* See *xli.* 1 (note).
- 9. ways, 'cause' *t.*
- the word of the name, or 'command of the name'.
- Lord of Spirits ²⁰ *a.* 'Most High God' *β.*
- sanctify *a, n.* 'praise' *β-n.*
- 10. He will summon. Or if *jesêw'ê* is a misrendering of *βοήσῃ*, render 'the host ... shall cry out'.
- Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin. Cf. *xiv.* 11, 18, *xx.* 7, *lxxi.* 7. The Cherubim were primarily symbolic figures, the means of revealing or concealing God's presence, but here = an order of angels. Cf. Rev. v. 6; 2 En. xix. 6, *xx.* 1. The Seraphim served in His immediate presence. They are not classed together in O. T. The Ophannim (i.e. wheels) come from Ezek. i. 15. The Talmud classes them with Cherubim and Seraphim, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 168, 205.

the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

12 All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty: Blessedness of the Righteous.*

62 1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said:

'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'

2 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.
3 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

4 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

5 And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,

angels of power and . . . of principalities. Cf. Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Test. 12 Patr. Levi iii. 8. the other powers on the earth, i.e. the lower angel-powers over nature.

11. The seven virtues of the praising angels. Cf. xlix. 3.

glorify + 'and praise' β.

exalt > γ.

in the spirit of patience *il*₁α. 'in patience' other MSS.

Blessed is He, &c. Cf. xxxix. 10; and Rev. iv. 9, 11, v. 13.

12. who sleep not. See i. 5 (note).

the holy ones α, *brxy*: 'His holy ones' β-*brxy*.

garden of life. See ix. 8 (note). The LXX chronology is followed here as in all the Parables. Cf. liv. 7 (note).

spirit of light, i.e. good spirit, human or angelic. Cf. cviii. 11; Luke xvi. 8.

blessed α. 'holy' β.

13. mercy. See ix. 5 (note).

LXII. A long account of the judgement, esp. of the kings and mighty. Short accounts occur in xlv. 4-8, xlviii. 8-10, liii-liv. 3. They behold the Messiah with anguish, and pray for mercy, but are carried off to torment. The righteous are glorified.

1. the kings, &c. See xxxviii. 5.

lift up your horns. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4.

2. seated him. So Dillmann emends for MSS. 'sat'. Cf. Isa. xi. 4.

word of his mouth. The judgement is forensic.

all the sinners, cf. lxix. 27 (note).

from before α. 'and from before' β.

3. righteousness α. 'the righteous in righteousness' β-*no*, β, 'the righteous' *no*, β.

no lying word. xlix. 4.

4. Cf. Isa. xlii. 8, xxi. 3, xxvi. 17.

[and . . . forth] dittograph of line 4.

5. one portion, &c. Isa. xlii. 8. Cf. Wisdom v. 1 seqq.

- And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.
- 6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him
who rules over all, who was hidden.
- 7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.
- 8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.
- 9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.
- 10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.
- 11 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect
- 12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect:
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.
- 13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.
- 14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.
- 15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
- And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

- Son of Man *a-m*, 'Son of the woman' *m,β*. See xlv. 2 (note).
Sitting on the throne of his glory. Cf. Matt. xxv. 31.
6. the kings and the mighty *a-u*. 'the mighty Kings' *u,β*.
rules over all. Dan. vii. 14.
who was hidden, or 'that was hidden', i.e. the unseen universe.
- 6, 7. hidden. Cf. xlviii. 6, 7. Revealed by the Lord of Spirits to the elect, who thus became a congregation,
the plant of righteousness of x. 16.
7. from the beginning. So *mgt, β-1a*.
8. congregation. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
elect and holy *a*, 'holy and elect' *β*.
10. shame, and darkness. Cf. xlv. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 55. grow deeper *gt, β-f*. Cf. Nah. ii. 10.
11. He will deliver them to, &c. So Flemming emends. *mβ* read 'the angels of punishment shall take
them in charge'.
angels for punishment. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liii. 3—liv. 2.
12. spectacle. See xlviii. 9 (note).
sword, used figuratively as in lxiii. 11.
drunk. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6.
13. saved, cf. xlviii. 7.
14. God Himself (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Zeph. iii. 15-17) and the Messiah (xxxix. 6, 7, xlv. 4) will dwell with the
righteous and elect for ever.
eat: 'abide and eat' *β-n¹*.
eat and lie down. Zeph. iii. 13.
- 15, 16. garments of glory . . . of life. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra
ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, also 1 En. cviii. 12.
15. of glory *a,in*. 'of life' *β-in*.

- 16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits :
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 63¹ In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them
a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall
2 down, and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. And they shall
bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say :
'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever :
Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.
4 We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'
5 And they shall say :
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory !
6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not :
We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not :
And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever :
7 For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]
But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.
8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession
That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice,
And His judgements have no respect of persons.
9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

garments of life *qβ*, *a-q* prefix 'your garments'.
from *a-l¹*, *l²*, 'with' *β*.
not grow old; cf. Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5.

LXIII. A last despairing appeal by the kings and mighty. They justify God's judgement. Cf. Wisdom v. 3-8.

1. the mighty and the kings *a*, 'kings' *aehknvw*, 'mighty kings' *bcdfilopxy₁a₁b*.
His angels *a-tu β*, 'the angels' *l,q²*.

2. They confess what before they denied, xlvi. 5.

3. Cf. xlix. 2.

splendid . . . power *a-mu*, 'every secret thing is lighted up and Thy power' *β*.

5. glorify and give thanks *a-q*. 'glorify Him and thank Him' *q,β* (+ 'and bless Him' *β*).

6. And now *q,β*. 'now' *a-q*.

follow hard upon *gt¹b*. > *u,i*. 'are driven away' *mq*, *l²β-i₁a₁b*.

obtain, &c. : *q* reads 'obtain not light; it has', &c.

darkness is our dwelling-place. Cf. xlvi. 6.

7. believed or 'confessed'.

of spirits *gq*, *efv*. 'of lords' *m*. 'of kings' *tu*, *β-efv*.

[our Lord] *a*, 'the Lord in all His work' *β*.

sceptre *gm*, *io₁a₁b*. 'throne' *tu*, *fv*. 'sceptre of the throne' *q,dhkl_n*.

8. No place of repentance when the final judgement has come.

our Lord is true, &c. Cf. Jub. iv. 21.

- 10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the \dagger burden \dagger of Sheol.'
- 11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.
- 12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

- 64^{1, 2} And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

- 65^{1, 2} And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch:
3 and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight
4 and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?' And thereupon there was a great commotion
5 on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?'
6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those

10. Riches avail not to save them. Cf. lii. 7, liii. 1, 2; Ps. xlix. 7–12.

unrighteous gain. Cf. Luke xvi. 9, 11; Sir. v. 8.

from the midst thereof *gqu*. 'from the flame thereof' *mt*, β -*b*.

into the \dagger burden \dagger . Possibly $\beta\alpha\pi\nu$ = 'stronghold' was misread as $\beta\alpha\pi\sigma$, 'burden'. Or we might read 'into the burden of the flame of Sheol'.

Sheol. See my Commentary for a full discussion of this word's history. (1) The oldest view occurs in e.g. Job xxx. 23; Num. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Cf. the Homeric Hades. (2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (cf. li. 1). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (lxiii. 10, xcix. 11). See Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life*,—*passim*.

11. Bousset suggests that this verse is an interpolation. It resembles lxii. 10.

darkness and shame. Cf. xlv. 6, lxii. 10.

12. Thus *a-g*, 'as' *g*, 'and thus' β .

LXIV. A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable, liv. 3, &c., lv. 3, 4. It is out of the context here, as 'that place' in *v*. 1 cannot be Sheol referred to in lxiii. 10.

2. I heard, 'and I heard' *m*, *vx*.

angel, 'angels' *m*.

descended + 'from heaven' *t*, β .

LXV—LXIX. 25. Professedly part of a Noah Apocalypse (see liv. 7), giving here three accounts (1) lxv. 1–lxvii. 3, the coming Flood and Noah's escape; (2) lxvii. 4–lxix. 1, the fallen angels' punishment, and that of the kings and the mighty; (3) lxix. 2–25, the angels' fall and the secrets they disclosed.

LXV. 1. Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in lx. 1.

and *g*, β . > *a-g*.

Noah. 'I Noah' *t*, and so in first person for verses 1 and 2.

2. the ends of the earth, i.e. where the entrance to heaven is. Cf. cvi. 8.

grandfather, really great-grandfather. Cf. lx. 8.

3. I said *a*, *v*: 'he said' *t* β -*iv*.

4. a voice, the command of verse 6.

6–10^a. Text out of order. Clearer if verses 9–10^a followed at once on verse 5.

6. those who dwell on the earth, borrowed from the Parables. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

have learnt all the secrets, &c. Cf. vii, viii, lxix.

all their powers—the most secret ones *gt*, 'their secret powers' β -*an*, 'the powers of their most secret secrets' *m*. 'their powers' *qu*.

who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images
 7 for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal
 8 originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain
 9 that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.' And after that my
 grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have
 10 asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: "Because
 of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by
 Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those
 11 who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these—they have no place of repentance for ever,
 because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my
 son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.
 12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
 And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
 And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
 And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

66 1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose
 all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruc-
 2 tion on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to
 the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them
 3 in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence
 of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

67 1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come
 2 up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making
 a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and
 preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the
 3 earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever,
 and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be unfruitful on the face of the earth,
 but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'
 4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley

the power of witchcraft. Cf. vii. 1, viii. 3. The Deluge is due to the corruption wrought through the angels.

8. from the earth > q.

is pre-eminent. So t. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit*.

9. my hand *gg*. 'his hand' *mtu*, β.

10. withheld. Text = 'reckoned', i.e. *חשב* corrupt for *יחשב* in Hebrew, or *יחמנע* for *יחמנע* in Aramaic.

sorceries. So Halévy *חרישים* for *חרישים* = 'months' in text. This emendation is possible in Aramaic as well as Hebrew. Or *יחיא* might be corrupt in Aramaic for *סחריא* = 'secrets'.

11. place of repentance. Text = 'return'. In Hebrew *תשובה* and in Aramaic *תשובה* mean both 'repentance' and 'return'.

12. Noah is to found a new and righteous generation.

thy righteous seed *gmu(g)*, 'thy seed in righteousness' β.

both for kingship *g(t)*, 'both for kings' β, 'both kings' *gmu*.

fountain. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 26.

LXVI. 1. angels of punishment. They deal solely with the second judgement in the Parables. Here they wrongly are said to be the agents of the Deluge, and angels over the power of the waters. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liv. 7 and lx. 16. Cf. Rev. xvi. 5.

[abide and]. A dittograph > q: *u*, *bx* omit 'and dwell'.

2. the waters. Text corruptly reads 'the hands'.

The angels are to pause that the ark may be built. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.

LXVII. 1. Cf. Gen. vi. 9.

2. In lxxxix. 1, Noah himself makes the ark.

have completed *t*. So *a-t* in a corrupt form. 'have gone' β.

3. Cf. lxv. 12.

it shall not be unfruitful. Emended. > *bdoxy* β. Or we might emend to 'they shall not tempt (thy seed)'.

LXVII. 4—LXIX. 1. This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second judgement are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, e.g. the burning valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (lxvii. 4), while in liv. 1 it is in 'another part of the earth'.

4. The Deluge and the judgement of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in x. 2, 4, but here (1) the prison is the burning valley (= the Gehenna of liv, though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and (2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold
 5 and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great con-
 6 vulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal
 and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was
 7 connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned
 who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.
 8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those
 who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their
 spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits
 9 and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning
 of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever;
 10 for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgement shall come upon them,
 11 because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same
 waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters,
 these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the
 12 springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judge-
 ment wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the
 13 earth.' Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the
 lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change
 and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonished at the Severity of the Judgement.*

68¹ And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the
 Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book
 2 of the Parables. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit
 transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the
 judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before

in the west, borrowed from lii. 1. It increases the geographical confusion.

5, 6. Features of the Deluge, and volcanic disturbances are combined, the latter connected with the angels' punishment.

6. burned beneath that land. A subterranean fire was believed to exist under the Gehenna valley. Cf. xxvii. 1 (note). Cf. too the fate of Sodom.

8. The hot springs result from the meeting of the water and fire underground by which the angels were punished. Herod the Great resorted to such a spring, Callirhoe to the east of the Dead Sea, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5. Cf. the hot springs of Machaerus, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 3.

in those days—those of the writer.

healing of the body *gm, bx*, 'healing of the soul and body' *qtu, β-bx*.

punishment of the spirit i.e. in the final judgement.

punished in their body. At present the sin of their spirit entails suffering on the body only, which is healed by the waters, but in Gehenna spirit and body alike will suffer.

denied the Lord of Spirits. Cf. xxxviii. 2 (note), liv. 7 (note).

see their punishment daily, i.e. can read their future torments in the present ones of the angels.

9. The kings will repent under torment, but without avail.

an idle word. Cf. xlix. 4 (note).

10. deny the Spirit of the Lord. This phrase is unique in Enoch.

11. With the angel's departure the waters cool. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in these waters *a*, 'in those days' *β-v*.

12. Michael *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

13. The waters heal now, and their healing virtue blinds the kings to the fire below which is reserved for their future torment. Cf. v. 8.

kings. Text = 'angels' i.e. מַלְאָכִים for מְלָכִים.

lust *m*, 'desire' *gqtu*, 'death' *β-y*.

LXVIII. 1. Note that the Parables already exist as a complete work in the hands of the redactor, who confesses to combining them with the Noah fragments. The meaning of this chapter is far from clear.

words of the book. 'book of the words' *g*.

2. This dialogue of Michael and Raphael sets forth the severity of the judgement over the fallen angels, or rather the Satans.

The power of the spirit. A strange phrase. Halévy suggests that 'power' here = כֹּחַ in the sense of 'punishment'.

makes me to tremble. Text = 'provokes me' = יִאֲרִיזֵנִי.

because of *a-g*, 'and because of' *g, β*.

judgement of the secrets. Perhaps the penalty for the secrets divulged by the Satans.

of the angels *gβ*. > *a-g*.

executed + 'and abides' *β*.

3 which they melt away? And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?' And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

- 69 1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and make them to tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.
- 2 And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Sîmâpêsiêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl, the twentieth †Rûmâêl†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].
- 4 The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power

3. Michael *a.* 'the holy Michael' *β.* So too in *v.* 4. answered + 'me' *gqu.* is not softened *β.* 'is not convicted' *a.* word of judgement (that) has gone forth *gq.* 'word: judgement &c.' *mtu, β.* because of those who have thus led them out, i. e. the Satans who seduced these angels.
4. do as if they were the Lord. Cf. Isa. xiv. 11–13.
5. all that is hidden *a.* 'the hidden judgement' *β.* neither angel nor man suffers their torments, but these fallen angels alone.

LXIX. 1. make them to tremble. Text = 'irritate them' = יִרְעוּן which has both meanings.

2, 3. I have bracketed 3 and most of 2 as an intrusion. These angels are those who fell in the days of Jared, but in *v.* 4 seqq. we have Satans. So perhaps read in 2 'behold the names of those Satans,' and go on to 4.

2. The thirteenth is superfluous and not in *vi.* 7, where see note.

4. In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished. The latter fell in the days of Jared in i–xxxvi, and xci–civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused. Azazel causes all sin in i–xxxvi (x. 8), and Semjaza in *vi.* 3, ix. 7.

- Jeqôn *a-u,* Jeqûn *β,* i. e. 'inciter'.
the sons of God. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7. Emended for text 'the sons of the angels', i. e. מַלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים was misread as מַלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים.
t, bcd, &c., add 'holy', which may go with 'sons' or 'angels'.
5. Asbeêl 'deserter from God' or (Schmidt) 'thought of God'.
6. Gâdreêl, a Satan, as he led astray Eve. In *viii.* 1 it is Azazel that makes weapons of war. In Aramaic Gadreel = 'God is my helper' עֲדֵרֵי אֱלֹהִים.
[the weapons . . . men] dittograph from end of verse.
8. Pênêmûe. Cf. פְּנִימִי 'the inside'.
- 9–10. The art of writing is a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.
11. Man was originally righteous and immortal. Cf. Wisdom, i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24. Cf. Talmud, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 215, 216, 222, 248. He lost his uprightness and immortality through the devil's envy, Wisdom ii. 24; the evil knowledge introduced by the Satans or angels, 1 En. lxix. 11; his own evil act, 1 En. xcvi. 4.
pure and righteous *a-g,* 'pure and holy' *g,* 'righteous and pure' *β.*

- 12 †it is consuming me†. And the fifth was named Kāsdejā: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smittings of spirits and demons, and the smittings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smittings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smittings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabā'ēt. And this is the †task† of Kāsbeël, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqā. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akāe in the hand of Michael.
- 16 And these are the secrets of this oath . . .
And they are strong through his oath:
And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And for ever.
- 17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.
- 18 And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.
- 19 And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
- 20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.
- 21 And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.
- 22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths
23 from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light
of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-
24 frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe
and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food
is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits
for ever and ever.]
- 25 And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

†it is consuming me†. Perhaps read 'they are being consumed'.

12. Cf. Ps. xci. 5, 6, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on these verses.

Tabā'ēt, unknown name. Schmidt, *O.T. and Semitic Studies*, p. 341, conjecturally restores the lost clause of 12 and all 13.

13. task = טַקַּם emended from text = 'number' = מִנִּין. I cannot interpret this verse.

14. this α, 'and this' β.

show him α-γ, 'show them' β.

the hidden name that + 'they might enunciate that (+ 'evil and' μ) hidden name' μν: + 'they might see that hidden name and' β.

16. heaven was suspended. Cf. Job xxvi. 7.

17. earth . . . water. Cf. Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6.

from . . . mountains . . . waters. Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 13.

beautiful waters α-υ, αεφhikp. 'beautiful (>u,ly,a) waters for the living' u,βclxy,α.

18. †as its foundation† seemingly corrupt for 'to limit it'.

the sand. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9.

19. depths made fast. Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

20. to eternity γ,β. > α-γ.

21. calls them by their names. Cf. xliii. 1 (note).

22-24. An interpolation.

22. quarters. So I render with Flemming, otherwise 'bands'.

23. the voices of the thunder α. β prefixes 'chambers of'.

chambers of the hail. Cf. lx. 11, 19-21. This verse seems to be an interpolation within an interpolation.

24. Cf. xli. 7.

25. Resumes the 'oath' of verses 14-21.

Close of the Third Parable.

- 26 And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.
- 27 And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.
- 28 With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
- 29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;
For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.
This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. The final Translation of Enoch.

- 70¹ And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of
2 Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft
3 on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no
longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the
4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And
there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. Two earlier Visions of Enoch.

- 71¹ And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the holy sons of God.

26–29. These verses form the conclusion of the third Parable; we have returned to its main theme.

26. the name of that Son of Man had been revealed. Cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12. See also 1 En. xlviii. 7, lxii. 7.

27. on the throne of his glory. See xlv. 3 (note).

the sum, i. e. all judgement. Cf. John v. 22, 27. For 'sum' cf. שָׁמַיִם in Ps. cxxxix. 17.

the sinners, esp. the mighty ones in the Parables, though in general also, cf. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 5, 6,

[1. 2] lxii. 2, 7, lxii. 2, 13.

and be destroyed > q.

from off the face of the earth. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).

28. Cf. lxii–lvi.

29. Summarizes, e. g. xlix.

the word of *t*, *bēh^hnx*: 'they shall say to' *a-t df*, &c.

LXX. The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this chapter is in keeping with the Parables.

1. Son of Man. Note the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man here. Cf. xlviii. 2 (note), and xlv. 2 (note)

and to the Lord *gqt*, 'to the Lord' *mu, β*.

those who dwell, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

2. he was raised. 'his name was raised' *t*.

chariots. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11. For Enoch's translation cf. lxxxvii. 3, 4, lxxxix. 52.

his name *mqt*, 'the name' *gu, β*. his name, i. e. his person.

3. numbered *gqt, i*. 'dragged' *m, β-i*.

between the North and the West. See xviii. 6 (note), xxiv. 1–3 (notes), lx. 8 (note) and lxvii. 4.

the cords. Cf. lxi. 1 seqq.

4. Paradise already contains his righteous forefathers. Cf. lxi. 12.

LXXI. Seems to belong to the Parables. There are two visions in this chapter: (1) verses 1–4. Enoch is translated in spirit to the heavens, has a vision of God, and is shown by Michael the secrets of the spiritual and physical worlds. (2) verses 5–17. Again Enoch is translated in spirit to the heaven of heavens and has a vision of God's house, without Michael's guidance. Both visions should come before lxx, which describes the translation of 'his name', i. e. his final translation.

1–4. The first vision.

1. translated: 'hidden' E, as always. See xii. 1 (note).

holy sons of God. Text has 'sons of the holy angels'. See lxix. 4 (note), 5, cvi. 5. The expression 'sons of Elohim' in Gen. vi. is the source of this phrase.

They were stepping on flames of fire :
 Their garments were white [and their raiment],
 And their faces shone like snow.

- 2 And I saw two streams of fire,
 And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
 And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.
- 3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
 And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
 And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.
- 4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
 And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
 Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.
- 5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
 And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
 And between those crystals tongues of living fire.
- 6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
 And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
 And they girt that house.
- 7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin :
 And these are they who sleep not
 And guard the throne of His glory.
- 8 And I saw angels who could not be counted,
 A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
 Encircling that house.
 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
 And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
 Go in and out of that house.
- 9 And they came forth from that house,
 And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
 And many holy angels without number.
- 10 And with them the Head of Days,
 His head white and pure as wool,
 And His raiment indescribable.
- 11 And I fell on my face,
 And my whole body became relaxed,
 And my spirit was transfigured ;

[and their raiment] a duplicate rendering.

2. streams of fire. Cf. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, also vv. 1, 5, 6 here.
3. and he showed. All MSS. but *u* prefix 'and he showed me all (> β) the secrets of mercy'. As 'mercy' is an alternative rendering for 'righteousness', this is a dittography.
4. Physical secrets here as in xli. 3-8, xliii, xliv occur in contexts of an entirely ethical character.
- 5-17. The second vision.
- 5, 6. Cf. xiv. 9-17.
5. he translated my spirit *a*. 'a spirit translated him' β .
 there. MSS. add a gloss 'in the midst of that light'.
6. the girdle *a-g*. 'a girdle' *g, \beta*.
7. Cf. lxi. 10, 12, also xxxix. 13, xl. 2.
 and ²⁰ *a*, > β .
8. a thousand, &c. Cf. xiv. 22, xl. 1.
 Michael, &c. See xl. 4-7.
 go in and out, not so in xiv. 23.
9. and ²⁰ *a-t*. > t , β .
10. Head of Days. See xlv. 1 (note); Dan. vii. 9.
11. and I fell . . . relaxed. Cf. lx. 3.
 spirit was transfigured. Contrast xxxix. 14; and cf. Asc. Isa. vii. 25.

And I cried with a loud voice,
 . . . with the spirit of power,
 And blessed and glorified and extolled.

- 12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of
 13 Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands
 and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch
 asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

- 14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me :
 ' This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness,
 And righteousness abides over him,
 And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not.'
 15 And he said unto me :
 ' He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come ;
 For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
 And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.
 16 And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh him :
 With him will be their dwelling-places, and with him their heritage,
 And they shall not be separated from him for ever and ever and ever.
 17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
 And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
 In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

SECTION III.

CHAPTERS LXXII-LXXXII. THE BOOK OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINARIES.

LXXII. *The Sun.*

- 72 1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their
 classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according
 to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me ; and he
 showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world
 2 and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the
 first law of the luminaries : the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven,
 3 and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and

spirit of power. Cf. lxi. 11. Some words seem lost before this phrase.

14-16. Owing to the loss of a reference to the Son of Man, some scribe has altered third to second persons in 14, 16,
 but not in 17, or 15.

14. Cf. xlvi. 3.

he *gmt.* >u. 'that angel' *qβ*.

This is . . . is restored for text 'Thou art . . . art'.

unto *gtu, abcf, &c.* 'in' *mq, deh, &c.*

righteousness. See xlvi. 3 (note) for this attribute of the Son of Man.

him restored for 'thee'. So in v. 16 *passim*.

15. proclaims unto thee peace. Cf. Mic. iii. 5 ; Zech. ix. 10 ; Isa. lvii. 7.

the world to come—the Messianic kingdom. Earliest use of the phrase. See Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 120 seqq.

16. all + 'shall be and' *β-al, b.*

dwelling-places. Cf. xxxix. 4, 7.

17. length of days : i.e. an eternity ; contrast v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6.

an upright way *m.* 'his upright way' *β.* *gtu* support *m.* + 'to the righteous' all MSS.

Note on 14-17. I do not hold, as Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 348, Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 200, that our text elevates
 Enoch to the dignity of the Messiah. Bousset quotes 2 En. xxii. 6, lxvii. 2 ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. v. 24 ; Ps. Clem. *Hom.*
 xviii. 13 ; *Recog.* ii. 47.

LXXII. 1. dominion. Cf. lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8-20.

names. Cf. lxxviii. 1, 2.

origin i.e. rising.

the new creation. Cf. xlv. 4, xci. 15, 16 ; Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1 ; also the Yasts xiii.
 57-58 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 194).

2. Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and
 decrease of the days and nights.

portals. See Babylonian *Creation Epos* v. 9 ; *K.A.T.* 619, 630. Cf. xxxiii-xxxvi for portals of winds and stars.
 In lxxii-lxxxii, sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in xxxiii-xxxvi the stars' portals are small, while
 in lxxii. 6 one of the sun's portals is called 'great'.

six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than

leaders of the stars. See lxxv. 1 (note).

windows. Cf. v. 7, lxxv. 7.

right and left=south and north.

4. Cf. xli. 5-7.

circumference, a disk or a sphere. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 3, also xviii. 4, lxxiii. 4.

5. The chariot. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, 8; driven by the wind xviii. 4, lxxviii. 2.

returns through the north. Cf. xli. 5.

is so guided, possibly by an angel. The sun is not, as the heavenly bodies are in i-xxxvi, semi-conscious.

6. the first month, of the Hebrews, i.e. Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.

6, 7. the great portal, so distinguished from the twelve window-openings of each portal (lxxii. 3, lxxv. 7), with their heat-giving flames.

8. The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals, cf. the 'chamber' of Ps. xix. 5. Though well aware of a solar year of 365½ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being 'on account of the sign', i.e. that of the equinoxes or solstices. Cf. lxxii. 13, 19. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49°.

10. on a-*t*, 'and on' *t*, β.

a ninth part, i.e. of the whole day, *gqu*. >*mt*, β. All MSS. wrongly insert 'twice as much' after 'longer', exactly *a*. >β.

11. in the fourth + 'portal' *q, β-bcdx₁a*.

12. and 1°. >*bcdlopxy₁a₁b*.

†two†. Read 'one'.

13. it returns *a*. 'the sun returns' β.

portal 1°. >*a-t*.

its sign, i.e. the summer solstice here, cf. v. 19, lxxv. 3, lxxviii. 7.

14. on a-*g*. 'and on' *g*² β.

15. mounts up, to start on his return journey to the first portal.

18. †two†. Read 'one'.

19. its sign + 'in the fourth portal (>*u*) in the east' *a*

20. [and . . . length], a duplicate rendering.

22. and night becomes longer than night, *a-m*. 'till the thirtieth morning' β.

day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight
 23 parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns
 to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets
 24 in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven
 25 parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets
 in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty
 26 mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes
 longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and
 27 the day to six. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again
 on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west
 28 opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a $\frac{1}{9}$ part, and the night
 29 has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the
 second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising
 30 and setting. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts
 31 and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns
 to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.
 32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night
 33 is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length
 of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course
 34 of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. 'they are separated'). So it comes that its course becomes
 35 daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his
 return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun,
 36 for ever and ever. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to
 37 its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and
 rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but
 as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

73¹ And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.
 2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides
 3 is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. And her rising and setting
 change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform
 4 (i.e. full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first
 phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and
 constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the
 5 portal where the sun rises. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole

morning, *a-q, cf. In.* > *q.* 'day' *abcd*, &c.

25. into the first portal *β-a*, 'in it on the first day (?)' *gq*, 'in the sixth portal' *m*, 'on that day' *tu*.

27. that portal *m, β*, 'all the portals' *a-m*.

28. on that night, *gq, f.* 'on that day' *mt*, *β-f*.

a $\frac{1}{9}$ ninth part *gqu*. > *m*. 'one part' *t*, *β-a*. 'ninth' should be 'eighteenth', as in 16. Or for 'decreased in length' we might emend to 'grown shorter than the day'.

31. that portal *a-t*. 'that second portal' *t, β*.

35. he returns *a-m*. 'he returns, he returns' *m, β*.

sixty times, i.e. two months in each portal, one month on his northward and one month on his southward journey. The author disregards for the time being the extra day in the first, third, fourth, and sixth portals.

luminary *a*. 'eternal luminary' *β*.

37. as he rises, so he sets *g*, 'so he rises and (+ 'so' *qt*) he sets' *mqt*, 'and so he sets' *u*, 'and so he rises and sets' *β-ann*.

day and night + 'in his chariot' *t², β*.

sevenfold brighter. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 4. Also cf. Isa. xxx. 26.

as regards size . . . equal. So Lucretius believed, *De Rer. Nat.* v. 564-91.

LXXIII. This chapter and LXXIV treat of the moon's course.

2. the heaven *a-m, bcdilo*, 'the sun' *m, aefhknpu*.

3. her rising and setting, i.e. the place of her rising and setting.

4. her first phase lit. 'her beginning', i.e. the new moon in the popular sense, on the first day of her visible reappearance.

thirtieth morning, of the solar month.

5-8. The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days alternately, and is divided into two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, i.e. each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the

circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the fourteenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. *The Lunar Year.*

- 74¹ And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And the sun and the stars bring in all

moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part. Verses 5, 6 suppose the period from new to full moon to be 14 days, verse 7 supposes it to be 15 days.

5. goes forth, MSS. read *rehûq* = *êḫḫor*, which is used of the sun's rising or appearing. It in turn may render *ny*, which is used of the rising of the sun and stars. Flemming proposes to emend the text to *re'ûj* = 'visible'.

one-seventh part *gqtu, abc*, &c. Other MSS. corrupt.

(and) the fourteenth part *gqu*. 'of the fourteenth part' *mt, β*. + 'of half' *g*, needlessly, as the fractions are fractions of half in this verse and the next.

6. one-seventh part *gmgqu, d*. 'the thirteenth part' *t, l*. 'the fourteenth part' *β-dklo*. Apparently $\frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{14}$ of $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{8}$ of the whole moon are lighted the first day when there are only 14 days to the full moon.

7. half of one part of light, i.e. one twenty-eighth. When the waxing takes 15 days, the moon only receives one twenty-eighth part, and so is practically invisible, the first morning: on the second day she attains to one-fourteenth, and becomes visible.

fourteen *gu, abc*, &c. 'thirteen' *mgt, il, b*.

8. thirteen *a, n*. 'fourteen' *β-n*.

LXXIV. This chapter deals with the moon's waxing and waning, her monthly change of position with regard to the signs and the sun, and the difference between lunar and solar years.

2. of them all, i.e. the moon's phases.

fifteen days, i.e. between conjunction and full moon.

3. Cf. lxxiii and lxxviii.

and in single seventh . . . darkness *>a, an*.

4. peculiar course, independent of the sun.

5, 6. During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. In verse 6 the moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, i.e. the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

6. and accomplishes. 'and in that accomplishes' *t², β*.

9. how the moons rose and the sun set *a-g*. 'according to the order of their moons the sun rising and setting' *q, β*.

10, 11. The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see lxxviii. 15). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (lxxiv. 10, 12). In verses 10^a and 11 these intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

11. the moon *t², β*: *a* has transposed the word to the next sentence, as subject to 'bring in'.

12. Accuracy of the solar and sidereal time-division. Jubilees vi. 32-6 protests against the use of the lunar year.

and the sun. So *gmt* except that they prefix 'from' before 'the sun', *>qu, β*.

and the stars *u*, 'and from the stars' *gmt, >t², β*. Here all MSS. add 'and (>*n*) the moon', following the lead of *a*.

the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.] And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun) rises and sets 30 days.

75 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun, moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. [And for the winds and the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] As for the twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, There are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding (as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them, and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

but **complete** = ἀλλὰ τελῶσιν, corrupted into ἀλλὰ ττοῦσιν, whence the Ethiopic text.

13–16. Merely seem to assert that the solar year of 364 days exceeds the lunar of 354 by 10 days. But why should eight years be referred to? The author seems to have in mind the eight-year cycle or octaetris, which, however, allowed for 365½ days in the solar year. See special Introduction to lxxii–lxxxii, p. 150 in my new Commentary.

14. The totals for 3 and 5 years are added together to give the total for 8 years. (1062 + 1770 = 2832.)

The brackets indicate a marginal gloss.

(1000 and) found only in the margin of c.

16. [] a doublet.

17. their world-stations *a-m*, 'their stations' *m*, *β*.

LXXV. The intercalary days, the stars, and the sun.

1. The four intercalary days are under charge of the highest stars, the leaders of the heads of ten thousands. See lxxxii. 11, 12.

and ¹⁰ *g*, *β*. > *a-g*.

their office *m*. 'its (>*g*) office' *a-m*. 'their position' *l²β*.

the reckoning ¹⁰ *a*: *β* prefixes 'all'.

are not reckoned. The popular reckoning was 360 days to the year. Cf. lxxxii. 5.

2. Men reckon wrongly, by omitting these intercalary days, lxxxii. 4–6.

the exactness of the year *g*: 'in exactness the world' *g*: 'the exactness of the world' *mtu*, *β*. In Ethiopic 'ām = 'year', and 'alam = 'world'.

is accomplished *gm*, *β*: 'accomplishes' *qtu* (taking 'the exactness' as object).

3. These days are, however, real. Uriel showed them to Enoch. Cf. lxxii. 1.

signs, i.e. of the Zodiac, lxxii. 13, 19.

Lord of glory *a-g*: 'Lord of Spirits' *g*: 'Eternal Lord of glory' *β-l*. See lxxxiv. 2 (note). Cf. 'the great Lord, the King of glory', lxxxii. 3.

chariots of the heaven. Cf. lxxii. 5; *g* reads 'troops of the heaven'.

4. The variation in the sun's heat is explained by the twelve openings in the disk of the sun.

doors Uriel showed me, open (*mtu*, *afhkn*: 'open' *g*: 'doors and Uriel showed me' *g*).

5. An intrusion. The first clause is unintelligible, the second 'when they' &c. seems to be a dittograph of the last clause in 4 and the first in 5.

opened *a-g*. + 'in the seasons' *l²β*.

6, 7. Adjoining each one of the sun's twelve portals are twelve windows open to the left and right of them. Cf. lxxii. 3, 7. These diffuse warmth over the earth, one being open at a time, and all differing in heating power.

6. This verse begins in *a* with a dittograph 'when they are opened' from *v*. 4. *β* inserts 'I saw', thus altering 'twelve portals' from a *nominativus pendens* into the acc. But Enoch had been viewing them since lxxii.

8. above + 'and below' *bcd*, &c.

9. one is larger. Perhaps the Great Bear.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

- 76¹ And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the quarters (of the heaven), from
 2 which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east)
 3 of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and
 4 three on the left (i.e. the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the
 5 north, and three [after those on the left] of the south, and three of the west. Through four of these
 6 come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are
 7 sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon,
 8 and on everything which is in the water and on the land.
 9 And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal
 10 which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat,
 11 and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from
 12 it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which
 13 lies toward the north come cold and drought.
 14 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of
 15 them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there
 16 come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third
 17 portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.
 18 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts
 19 and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew
 20 and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and
 21 rain, and dew and locusts.
 22 And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth
 23 dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and
 24 rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth
 25 drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four quarters
 of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their bene-
 factions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

- 77¹ And the first quarter is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because
 2 the Most High will descend there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever
 3 descend. And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the
 4 heaven wane and go down. And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts:

LXXVI. A detailed account of the twelve portals of the winds and the nature of the winds which issue therefrom.
 Cf. xxxiii-xxxvi.

1. the quarters. The text wrongly renders רוח as 'wind'. See lxxvii. 1 (note).
2. right . . . left, cf. lxxii. 3.
3. and ¹⁰ >gmt. The words 'north' and 'south' are in the wrong order.
4. Through the four portals come beneficial winds, i.e. the middle of the three in each quarter. For the hurtful winds cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.
- 5-6. Winds from the east, i.e. ESE., E., ENE.
6. what is fitting or 'advantageous' or 'right'. Text = rēt'ē; cf. rēt'ēt in v. 11 rendered 'in a direct direction'.
- 7-9. Winds from the south, i.e. SES., S., SWS.
7. through the first qu: gmt, β prefix 'the first'.
- 10-11. NEN., N., NWN. winds.
10. north winds: MSS. adds a gloss 'which is named the sea and which came forth', in the east + 'towards the south' gtu: + 'which inclines towards the south' m, β-0₁a.
11. in a direct direction. Read perhaps 'what is fitting'. See v. 6 (note).
 health and rain and dew a. β puts 'health' last.
 in the west: MSS. add 'which inclines to the north'.
- 12-13. WNW., W., WSW. winds.
12. dew + 'and rain' β.
14. quarters, MSS. read 'portals' corruptly.
 all ²⁰ >qu.
 all ³⁰ >q, β-shi.
 my son Methuselah. Cf. lxxxii. 1.

LXXVII. 1-3. The four quarters, and the meaning of their names. They are each explained from the Hebrew. The East קֶדֶם is first or foremost קֶדְמִי. The South יָרֵד is where the Most High descends יָרַד רָם. Cf. xxv. 3. The West מִזְרֵיחַ (not existing in Aramaic). The North צָפוֹן is divided into three parts: one for men, one for waters (צֶפֶת an overflowing), and clouds and darkness (צֶפֶת to conceal), while one contains Paradise (צֶפֶת to reserve).

1. quarter. Here and in verses 2, 3 the text = 'wind' i.e. רוח as in Ezek. xlii. 20.

the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and thence
5 comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth
larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea.
6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the
7 east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, (two of them to)
the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say:
8 into the desert]. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland
and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon: the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

78 1, 2 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. And the
moon has four names: the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth
3 Erâe. These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the
4 heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are
seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is
5 transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals
of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals
6 on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven:
7 [the light becomes full in her]: on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts
of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to
the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth
8 parts. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on
the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to
ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the
tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the four-
9 tenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And

the garden of righteousness. See lx. 8 (note), lxx. 3 (note).

4. Note recurrence of the number seven in this book, as in Jewish writers generally. Cf. xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, lxi. 11, lxxii. 37, xci. 16, xciii. 10.

seven high mountains, not those of xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, though originally they are derived from the same source.

pass + 'and go' q, β.

5. seven β. >u.

from the †west†, seemingly the Nile. If so 'arab (= 'west') should be a transliteration of עֲרַבָה 'desert' or 'steppe'.
the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. Num. xxxiv. 6, 7.

6. The Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Erythraean Sea, a general name for the Arabian, Persian, and Indian seas.

7. (two of them to) must be supplied.

[and some say . . .]. A gloss.

8. two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea *bedfiloxy*, a, b: > 'in the mainland' *aehkn*: 'seven, and two in
the Red Sea' a-m: 'two in the mainland and five in the Red Sea' m. For the 'five great islands' cf. Jub. viii. 29, and
for the number 'seven' see K.A.T.³ 618.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. The relations of the sun and moon are again described as well as the waxing and waning
of the moon.

LXXVIII. 1. For Halévy's interpretations of the names see my Commentary *in loc.* He connects the two names
of the sun with the two seasons, cold and hot, in Palestine, and the four names of the moon with its phases.

and 1^o a-g, chl. >g, β-chl.

3. Cf. lxxii. 4, 37, lxxiii. 2.

the size of the circumference a: 'the size' β: + 'like the circumference of the heaven' a-u, a dittography.

4. In lxxii. 37 and lxxiii. 3 we are told that the sun's light is seven times that of the moon: in lxxiii. 2 that light is
added to the moon in due measure. Here we are further told that one-seventh of the sun's light is gradually
transferred to the moon, till the moon is full.

5. by the north. Cf. lxxii. 5.

6-17. The waxing and waning of the moon, the length of the months, &c.

6. See lxxiii. 5, 6 (notes) for the case of fourteen days' waxing.

[the light becomes full in her] a-u. A duplicate of 'accomplishes her light'. u is partly untranslatable.
β reads in this verse 'and when the moon rises, she appears in the heaven, and has a fourteen:h part of her light,
and on the fourteenth day she accomplishes all her light'.

7. See lxxiii. 7, 8 (notes) for the fifteen days' waxing.

8. As the moon wanes, her light decreases each day by one-fourteenth part: on the fifteenth the remainder, i.e. one
twenty-eighth, vanishes.

half of a seventh t, β: 'half and to a seventh' a-t.

10 in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by 11 the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven], 12 and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first 13 day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against 14 the sun. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of 15 light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first 16 portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for 17 three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

- 79¹ And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is 2 completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month 3 and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this 4 sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: (And the waning) which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven 5 days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when 6 this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.
- 80¹ And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

9. twenty-nine days. Cf. lxxiv. 10–17, lxxviii. 15–17.

once twenty-eight, a reference to the cycle of Callippus, in which the last month in seventy-six years had only 28 days. See my Commentary *in loc.*, and cf. lxxiv. 13–16 for a reference to the octaetris.

11. The moon waxes over against the sun on the side turned to the sun, i.e. the western side.

[her light . . . heaven]¹⁰ β: > 'in the heaven' α. Bracketed as a dittograph.

13. A true observation.

She becomes. γ, β prefix 'and'.

15. and ²⁰ α: > β.

at her time + 'when she is accomplishing her waning' *gmt*, and *qu* originally.

the first period of time, i.e. the first half-year. The author recognizes only two seasons in the year; cf. iii. iv.

As often as the moon is in the first portal during the first half-year, she is waning; cf. lxxix. 3, 4.

16. the time of her going out, i.e. the second half of the year.

17. like a man, i.e. a human face. Hence perhaps the name Asōnjā in v. 2 (Halévy).

LXXIX. 1. my son + 'Methuselah' *t*, β.

the law of all α-*u*: 'all the laws of' *u*, β.

2. of bearing rule α-*u*: 'for every power' β.

3. of the waning α: 'of the month and of the waning' β.

4. (And the waning). Restored. So also Flemming and Martin.

5. She falls behind α-*t*: *u* prefixes 'and': *t*, β prefix 'and how'.

and the order. So emended for 'and (> *mq*) according to the order of'. Our text here identifies the solar and sidereal systems, as in lxxiv. 12.

one period, i.e. half-year. See lxxiv. 10–17.

LXXX. An interpolation. As soon as we pass from lxxix we enter into a world of new conceptions; the whole interest is ethical and nothing else. There is no fixity at all in natural phenomena: their laws and uniformities are always dependent on the moral action of men. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1–13.

1. the angel *gmt*: > *qu*, β.

I have shown *mq*, β: 'I will show' *gtu*.

leaders of the stars. Cf. lxxii. 3, lxxv. 2, 3.

those who turn them, probably the winds. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.

and times + 'and they turn them' *gmt*.

LXXX. 2-8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

- 2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time:
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
- 3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
- 4 And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
- 5 [And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening †on the extremity
of the great chariot in †the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
- 6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
- 7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
- 8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

- 81 1 And he said unto me:
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'
- 2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh
- 3 that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world,

2-8. Note the tristichs.

2. Cf. Jer. iii. 3, v. 25.

shall alter β (intransitive): α - u give transitive form, and ϵ supplies 'its ways'.

withhold m , β . 'stand still' $gqtu$ (by change of a vowel point).

4. Cf. Joel ii. 10; Amos viii. 9; 4 Ezra v. 4.

5. The first two lines are corrupt and out of the context. If we remove them, verses 4-5 form a tristich relating to the moon.

the sun. Text has 'the heaven' (mq , β : 'in the heaven' gtu), i.e. שמים שמיים.

and he shall journey in the evening. Text has 'and hunger shall come', i.e. רעב 'hunger' corrupt for ערב 'evening'. For יראה 'shall be seen' we might read ירד 'shall rise' (cf. 4 Ezra v. 4), and for בקץ 'on the extremity' read מציק, 'causing distress' and make 'shall come (or 'journey')' refer to the 'chariot'. Then we have: 'And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening, || And his great chariot shall journey to the west, causing distress.' These emendations are possible in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic.

6. chiefs of the stars. Cf. v. 1 (note). The MSS. read: 'chiefs of the stars of the order shall transgress.' transgress the order. Cf. xviii. 15, xxi. 6.

7. shall be concealed. Contrast lxxv. 2, and cf. lxxxii. 4-6.

those on the earth, here in the same sense as in the interpolations in the Parables. See xxxvii. 5 (note).

[And they . . . ways]. Intrusion, possibly a doublet of 6^b.

take them to be gods. Cf. xix. 1. Acts vii. 42.

8. all α : 'them all' β .

LXXXI. Also an interpolation. is a sort of mosaic, and came probably from the editor of the complete Enoch. 'Those seven holy ones' in lxxxi. 5 are taken from lxxxvii. 3: 'the heavenly tablets' in lxxxi. 1, 2 from xciii. 2, ciii. 2: 'the books of judgement' from lxxxix. 61, 64: while lxxxii. 5, 6 refer to lxxxii. 1, 2 and xci. 1.

1. these heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note). β - n prefixes 'the writing of'.

2. the book of mt : 'the book' gu : 'the book and all that was written therein' q , β .

3. Cf. xxii. 14 for a like doxology.

the great Lord α : 'the Lord' β .

the King of glory for ever α : 'the Eternal King of glory' β - bc .

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4 And after that I said :

'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house,
and said to me : 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no
6 flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with
thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record (it)
for them, and testify to all thy children ; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

7 Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good ;

The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'

10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the
world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch : the four Intercalary Days : the Stars which lead the
Seasons and the Months.*

82 1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee,
and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these : so preserve,
my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the
generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

children of men *a*, *filioy*, *a*, *b* : 'children of the world' *β-fli*, &c.

4. Contrast the blessing of lxxii-lxxix and lxxxii. 4, which is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years.
day of judgement *gmw*. 'unrighteousness' *q*, *l*², *β*. Can this mean that there is no judgement for the
righteous?

shall be found *a-m* : 'has been found' *m*, *l*², *β*.

5. those seven holy ones, probably the seven Watchers, cf. xx : *β* reads 'three' for 'seven'. See lxxxvii. 2, xc. 21, 22.
no flesh is righteous. Cf. Job ix. 2 ; Ps. xiv. 1.

Creator. Cf. xciv. 10.

5, 6. These verses are inserted to serve as an introduction to xci-civ.

6. thy son *a* : 'thy sons' *β*.

till. The MSS. add 'again', a dittograph of *ny* but read with a different pointing.

givest thy (last) commands, i.e. the idiomatic meaning of *ny*. So *mt* (*g*), *β-cde* : 'comfortest' *q* : 'greatest
strong' *cde*.

8. go down, i.e. into Gehenna.

9. The righteous die, yet they are taken away to the abodes of the blessed. The phrase is borrowed from Isa. lvii. 1,
'The righteous is taken away out of the way of (or 'because of') the evil.' Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20 ; Wisdom iv. 7-14. The
Hebrew word 'take away' occurs in e.g. Num. xx. 26 ; Ps. civ. 29.

10. Lord of the world, or 'Eternal Lord' *a-q* : 'Lord of the ages' *q*, *β*. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lviii. 4, lxxxi. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

LXXXII. Conclusion of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

1. In xxxiii. 4 Uriel writes down everything for Enoch ; but in this book, cf. lxxii. 1, lxxiv. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxix. 2-6, lxxxii. 1,
Uriel only shows the hidden things to Enoch, whereas Enoch writes them down.

deliver them to the generations of the world, i.e. to all, and not only to the far distant generations as in
i-xxxvi. See i. 2. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'Cum Enoch filio suo Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam
eorum posteris suis traderet.'

2. wisdom, i.e. the revelations. Cf. xxxvii. 4, xcii. 1, xciii. 10-14.

to thee and to thy children *mqw*, *β* : 'to thy son' *l*. *g* is corrupt. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. As Lamech is thus
already born, the Samaritan or Massoretic reckoning is followed.

[And thy ...]. Interpolation.

- 3 And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.
- 4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin
not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering
into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the
stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which
5 lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon
them in the **whole reckoning of the year**: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accur-
6 ately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one
in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year
is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.
- 7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries,
and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the
8 Lord of the whole creation of the world hath **subjected** the host of heaven. And he has power
over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars,
9 and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders
of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.
- 10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they enter** at their times,
in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.
- 11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders
of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over
thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder
12 the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and
13 leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. And these are the names of the
leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Milki'el, Hel'emmêlek, and Mël'êjal,
14 and Nârêl. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'el, and Ijâsûsa'el, and 'Elômê'el—these
three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders
which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.
- 15 In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âini and sun,† and
16 all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of
the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms;
and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the
rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season
17 become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'el, Zêlebs'el,

3. better than good food. Cf. Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 103.
4. **blessed are all those** $t, \beta - y: > gu, y$: 'blessed (+ 'moreover' q): are all (+ 'the righteous' m) mq .
The four intercalary days introduced by four leaders. Cf. v. 11, lxxv. 1, 2.
divide $qt, \beta - no, \delta$, cf. lxxxii. 11: 'are divided' gmu, no, δ .
5. Cf. lxxv. 2.
whole reckoning of the year. So with Beer I emend 'in the reckoning of the whole world'.
6. On the four intercalary days and their portals see lxxv.
the year is completed in three hundred, &c. β : 'the year of three hundred . . . is completed' $a-gmu$.
7. **to whom . . . hath subjected**. Emended from $a-q, \beta$ 'whom He hath commanded for me'.
Lord of the whole creation of the world. Here only; cf. lxxxiv. 2.
- 9-20. An account of the stars as promised in lxxii. 1, and declared to be given in lxxix. 1.
10. **who watch that they enter**. MSS. read 'who watch and they enter'—? a Hebrew idiom preserved.
times + 'who lead them in their places' (> 'in their places' u) a .
11. The leaders of the four intercalary days, the twelve months, and the 365 days.
for $> q$.
... **sixty (days) there are heads** $gqu(m)$: '... sixty-four (days) with the heads' z, β .
12. Not clear.
a station. 'his station' q, a .
13. Milkiel is an inversion of Helemmek. These four are over the four seasons of the year, and each has three
under him, one for every month.
14. Not clear. The latter part of the verse seems to defy explanation.
- 15-17. The period from spring to summer = 91 days is under the dominion of Melkejal or Milkiel. He is named
'the southern sun', as Goldschmidt and Beer point out 'Tam'âini' and 'sun' should be read together, i. e. שמש תמיני.
15. **of the year** m, β : $> a-m$.
16. **calms** u : 'anxiety' $a-u$.
the rose-flowers, not in O.T., except in English version of Isa. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1.
which come forth $a-m$: 'bloom' β : $> m$.
17. The subordinate leaders are those of the months, three to the quarter.

and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilûjâsêph: and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18 The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days
19 of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth: glowing heat
and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep
pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is
20 in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are
the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl,
and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl: and the days of his dominion
are at an end.

SECTION IV.

CHAPTERS LXXXIII—XC. THE DREAM-VISIONS.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

83 ¹ And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting
² them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other:
the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible
³ vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grand-
father Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to
⁴ the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss,
and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent
⁵ from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth,
6 and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said: 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather
Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why
⁷ dost thou make such lamentation?' And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen,
and he said unto me: 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-
vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with
⁸ a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou
art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole
⁹ earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great
¹⁰ destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer
11 for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when
I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting
in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as†He had known†it in the beginning,

Hilûjâsêph. Note play on חספס 'is added'.

18–20. Summer to autumn.

19. the signs of (his) days β. 'the days of his sign' gmt (qu).

20. This verse is confused. The three names are those of the leaders of the three months. The fourth, Asfâ'êl, is an inversion of Hilûjâsêph (verse 17), and belongs to the first triad. There is no account of the remaining six months. The redactor may have omitted them.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. The first Dream-Vision deals with the Deluge or first world-judgement.

LXXXIII. 1. my visions α-t. 'visions' t, β.

2. Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna, 1 En. lxxxv. 3, cf. Jubilees iv. 19, where these Dream-Visions are referred to. Note that lxxxiii–xc are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on ascetic grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.

3. Mahalalel. 'Malâl'êl' in text.

5. lifted up (my voice) mqu, β-n. 'arose' g. 'began' t, n.

7. secrets of all the sin (tu) β. 'sin of all the sin' gm. 'sin of all' q.

8. Lord of glory. xxv. 3, 7, xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxv. 3.

and that He . . . earth t, β. > α-t through hmt (?).

9. from heaven, i. e. ordained of God.

10. The prayer is given in lxxxiv. 2–6.

and besought α-g. > q, β.

my prayer mt, β. 'I prayed and' g. > qu.

11. the whole earth gmq, cdfiloy, α, b. > t, abekknx.

as †He had known† it. Read 'as I had known it,' or 'as He had made (or 'established') it'.

then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

84 ¹ And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

² 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion;
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

³ For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne,
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].

⁴ And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.

⁵ And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.

⁶ And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

Lord of judgement. Here only.

windows. Never used of the sun in i-xxxvi nor in lxxii-lxxxii, where 'portal' is the word. For 'windows' see lxxii. 3 (note).

† and he ascended. Read 'so that he ascended', i. e. ^{לַעֲלֹה} for ^{לַעֲלֹה}.

LXXXIV. Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.

1. The Holy and Great One. See i. 3 (note).

tongue of flesh. See xiv. 2.

children of the flesh of men *gmt, abcfhiknx*. 'children of men' (+ 'of flesh' *q*) *qu, de, &c.*

2. Cf. ix. 4 sqq.

Lord of the whole creation of the heaven. Here only. Cf. lxxxii. 7; also lviii. 4 (note).

King of kings. ix. 4.

God of the whole world. Here only. Cf. i. 3 (note).

All the heavens are Thy throne. Isa. lxvi. 1.

3. nothing is too hard for Thee. Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where the LXX render 'is hidden from thee'. The MSS. here add a dittograph 'and nothing' (or 'no').

Wisdom departs not from . . . Thy throne. Cf. Wisdom ix. 4, also Prov. viii. 30 in the LXX version ^{ἐμμαν} ^{παρ'} ^{ἀντὶ} ^{αὐτῶ}, and Sirach i. 1.

departs not *g*. Other MSS. 'departs not from Thee.'

from the place of Thy throne, nor turns away. Text = 'nor turns away (*gqm* corrupt) from her life (*>qu*) (+ 'from' *mq*) Thy throne and'. So transpose 'nor turns away', and read 'from the place' ('*ēmmanbārāta*) for 'from her life' ('*ēmmanbartā*).

[for Thou . . .] A dittograph from the line before.

4. upon the flesh of men. Cf. verses 1, 5; Job. xii. 10.

great day of judgement. Most MSS. read 'day of the great judgement'. See my text. See xlv. 2 (note). Here = the Deluge, but in xix. 1 the final judgement, and so always in xci-civ.

5. Great King. xci. 13.

6. a plant of the eternal seed. See x. 16 (note). Cf. lxii. 8; xciii. 2, 5, 10.

LXXXV-XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch: the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

- 85^{1, 2} And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: 'To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.
- 9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

- 86¹ And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXV-XC. The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgement, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, e.g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17; the fallen Watchers by stars; unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the O.T., but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

- LXXXV. 2. Cf. Prov. v. 1.
 3. Edna. Cf. lxxxiii. 2.
 I saw, &c. Cf. Dan. iv. 10.
 on my bed *q*, *β*. 'of my bed' *gmt*. *u* corrupt.
 white is the colour symbolizing righteousness throughout this vision. Cf. lxxxv. 8, lxxxvii. 2, &c., and Isa. i. 18, Ps. li. 7, Rev. vii. 14.
 a heifer = Eve.
 two bulls. Cain, black with his sin; Abel, red as a martyr.
 5. that heifer = Cain's wife; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.
 him ³⁵ *q*, *β*. 'them' *gmt*.
 6. Eve seeks Abel.
 lamentation, i.e. אבול, a play on Abel, i.e. אבל.
 over him *q*. 'with regard to him' *g*. 'thereupon' *mt*, *β*.
 8. another white bull, i.e. Seth. So *mt*, *β*. 'a pair of white oxen' *gqu*, i.e. Seth and a sister. See Jub. iv. 8, 11.
 9. Seth and his descendants are righteous.
 many *gmt*. > *β*.
 LXXXVI. 1. a star, i.e. Azazel, cf. lxxxviii. 1; x. 4. In vi all the angels descend together, cf. Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253).
 2. And after that *β*. 'and these' *mq*. 'and in the midst' *t*. 'and' *u*. > *g*.
 Are the 'large' oxen Sethites?
 to live with each other. 'to lament one to ('with' *β*) another' *a-g*, *β*. 'to live to one another' *g*.
 3. Fall of the rest of the angels.
 became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them *a*. 'were amongst those cattle and bulls, pasturing with them' *β*.
 4. elephants, camels, and asses, represent the three classes of giants. See vii. 2 (note).
 6. children of the earth. The symbolism is dropped for a moment.
 from them *gm*. > other MSS.

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

- 87¹ And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth
² began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold
there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place
³ and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took
me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me
⁴ a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me: 'Remain
here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the
oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

- 88¹ And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had
fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was
² narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those
elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked
³ because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth
stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were
like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1-9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

- 89¹ And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being
terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon;
² and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine
eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents
³ flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened
on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface,
⁴ and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness,
and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above
the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.
⁵ And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were
⁶ swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen
and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer

- LXXXVII. 1. The conflict of the bulls and giants.
² The unfallen angels are symbolized by men, as men by animals.
and I saw in the vision > qu.
four a. 'one' β.
four . . . and three with them. See lxxxviii. 1 for the 'four'. The 'three angels' are found again in xc. 31.
For the seven archangels, cf. lxxxi. 5, xci. 21, 22, xx.
with them m. 'with him' a-m, β.
³, ⁴. This tower seems to be Paradise, and thus we have in lxxxiii-xc a conception of its locality and inhabitants
quite different from any that has preceded. See lx. 8 (note).
³. all the hills were lower t, β. 'it was built all the hills' (sic) a-t.
⁴. one said a-q, cefhik. 'they said' q, β-cefhik.
oxen, and all of them a-u. 'and all the oxen' u, β.

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX. 1. Closely connected with x. 1-14, but the variations are too many to presuppose it in quite
its present form. Azazel is the only leader here.

LXXXVIII. 1. Cf. x. 4-8, where Raphael binds Azazel.

2. In x. 9, 10 Gabriel performs this task.

and camels t, β. > a-t.

3. In x. 12-14 Michael binds and imprisons the Watchers. Semjaza is not mentioned here.

come forth . . . stoned (them) from heaven. Read 'descended' for 'stoned', or with n read 'hurled a sword'.

gathered and took t, β in sing., u reads 'gathered' in sing., m reads 'took' in sing.

an abyss of the earth. In x. 12 'under the hills'.

LXXXIX. 1-9. The Deluge, and Noah's deliverance.

1. Cf. x. 1-3 where Uriel visits Noah for the same end. To build the ark, Noah becomes a man.

that white bull m. 'those white bulls' a-m, β.

without his being terrified gqu, 'terrified as he was' m, β.

three bulls—his three sons.

covered in, cf. Gen. vii. 16; 1 En. lxvii. 2.

2. seven. Cf. lxxvii. 4 (note).

3, 4. The Deluge.

3. saw ²⁰ u. 'caused it not to be seen' t, β.

6. with all the animals, i. e. the real animals.

7 see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms 8 of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness 9 retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10-27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, 11 eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the 12 wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white 13 sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep 14 to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many 15 flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to 16 cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended 17 at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should 18 admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together 19 into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceed- 20 ingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became 21 quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep 22 with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep 23 followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves 24 began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between

7. the chasms of the earth. The writer conceives the flood as caused by a cleaving of the depths of the earth, and stayed by their closing up. Cf. Jub. vi. 26; Prayer of Manasses 3.

9. and one black β . > α .

that white bull departed, i.e. Noah died.

10. The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17.

different genera. Here 'ahzâb means races of animals as well as of men.

a white bull. Abraham.

11. A wild ass. Ishmael. In verses 15, 16 the Arabs or Midianites are called the 'wild asses', not inaptly. Cf. Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the 'white bull'.

the wild asses α , $\alpha\beta$, &c.: 'the wild ass' $\alpha\epsilon\phi\eta$.

12. A black wild boar. Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested. Cf. verses 42, 43, 49, 66. In 72 it is used of the Samaritans.

A white sheep. Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

13. one of them, i.e. Joseph.

the asses. Midianites (ν , 11).

the wolves, the Egyptians.

16. a sheep which had been saved, i.e. Moses.

Lord of the sheep. The usual title in this and the following chapters.

18. another sheep, Aaron.

met it α - ι . 'met that sheep' ι , β - d .

went and gmq . > ιu , β .

20-27. The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

20. they began α - m : 'He began' m , β .

22. glorious and terrible to behold gmt : 'terrible to behold' qu : 'His appearance was terrible and glorious' β - α .

24. led them u . Other MSS. 'leading them' (we must excise 'and' in the latter case).

25 them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.
 26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered
 27 those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28-40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep
 29 pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that
 30 sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And
 31 after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and
 32 terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all
 33 feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst
 34 them]: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led
 35 them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander
 36 from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the
 37 sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from
 38 the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen
 39 away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their
 40 folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away,
 and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those
 36 sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep
 became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.
 37 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till
 all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and
 38 approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew
 39 from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw
 till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep
 as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep and led
 40 them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw
 till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

28-40. Journeyings through the wilderness, the lawgiving on Sinai, and the occupation of Palestine.

28. began to open their eyes, i.e. to recover their spiritual vision and return to God. Cf. lxxxix. 32, 33, 41,
 44, 54. xc. 6, 9, 10, 35.
 and to see *mtu*, *β*. 'and they saw' *gq*.
 29. Moses ascends Sinai, and returns to Israel. Exod. xix.
 30. great and *a*. > *β-v*.
 31. that sheep with them = Aaron.
 with them *gmq*. 'with him' *t*, *β*.
 [which was amongst them] *gu*. A dittograph. 'the other sheep which was among ('with' *q*) them' *mqd*, *β*.
 32. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 sqq., xxxii.
 again ascended, or 'returned and ascended'.
 33. fallen away + 'from His path' *β*.
 34. it, i.e. Moses.
 return to their folds = give up their errors.
 35. Exod. xxxii. 26-9.
 and ³⁰ + 'after that' *t*, *β*.
 36. Moses becomes a man to build the tabernacle. Cf. verses 1, 9.
 in this vision *a-u*. 'there a vision' *β*.
 placed . . . in that house, i.e. made the tabernacle the centre of their worship.
 37. Death of Aaron and of all the generation that had gone out of Egypt.
 that sheep *t*, *β*. So *g*, but corrupt. *mu* defective. > *q*.
 led them *a*. 'led the sheep' *β*.
 a stream, Jordan with a pasture to the east of it.
 38. Moses dies. Cf. Deut. xxxiv.
 39. the two sheep. Joshua and Caleb. I emend *kuëllômû* = 'all' to *këll'êhômû* = 'the two'.
 40. glorious land. Palestine. Cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41.

LXXXIX. 41-50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them [†]all[†]. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it [†]forsook its glory[†] and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had [†]forsoaken its glory[†]. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram. And that second ram arose and led the [little] sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of ought. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

Greek fragment from Vatican MS., published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, t. ii, deciphered by Gildemeister, in ZDMG, 1855, pp. 621, 622.

Ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνὸς βιβλίου χρήσις.

Καὶ οἱ κύνες ἤρξαντο κατεσθίειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ 42
ῥες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες κατήσθιον αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ ἡγείρεν
ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων κριὸν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων.
Καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν 43
τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ῥας καὶ ἀπόλεσεν ῥας πολλοὺς
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς . . . τοὺς κύνας. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα 44
ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοήγησαν ἐθεάσοντο τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς προβάτοις, ὥς οὐ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι ἄνοδιᾳ. Καὶ ὁ κύριος τῶν προ- 45
βάτων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄρνα τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἄρνα ἕτερον
τοῦ στήσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν προβάτων
ἀντὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ ἀφέντος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ 46
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ σιγῇ κατὰ
μόνας καὶ ἡγείρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ
εἰς ἡγουμένον τῶν προβάτων καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τούτοις ἐθλίβον τὰ πρόβατα. [Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις 47
γέγραπται ὅτι] ὁ κριὸς ὁ πρῶτος τὸν κριὸν τὸν δεύτερον
ἐπεδίωκεν καὶ ἐφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· εἰτ'
ἐθεώρουν, [φησὶν], τὸν κριὸν τὸν πρῶτον ὥς οὐ
ἔπαισεν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν κυνῶν. Καὶ ὁ κριὸς ὁ δεύ- 48
τερος ἀναπηδήσας ἀφηγήσατο τῶν προβάτων. Καὶ 49
τὰ πρόβατα ἠυξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν καὶ πάντες
οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες ἐφυγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφο-
βοῦντο αὐτόν.

50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: (and) a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower

41-50. The times of the Judges and Kings till the Temple is built.

Of 42-9 a fragment of the Greek version survives. Note the *ἐξῆς* in v. 47 and also the *φησὶν* showing quotation from some catena of excerpts from Enoch.

42. The dogs are the Philistines (46, 47). The foxes are the Ammonites (55), and the wild boars are the Edomites (12, 43, 49, 66).

till the Lord of the sheep raised up, &c. *gn.* Cf. Gk. Other MSS. give 'till another sheep, the Lord of the sheep, arose'.

43. that ram. Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all. The Greek has πολλοὺς. Note the Greek article = Ethiopic demonstrative 'those'.

44. That sheep whose eyes were opened, i.e. Samuel, who alone was seer when there had been no 'open' vision. Cf. i. 2; 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21. The Greek has 'sheep' in the plural.

till. MSS. have *ὥς* corrupt for *ἔως*. See Gk.

its glory[†], 'his way' Gk. For *רַחֵם* restore *רַחֵם* 'the way of the Lord'.

45, 46. David anointed king. Both Samuel and David (until king) are lambs, as Solomon previous to coronation is a little sheep (v. 48b).

45. lamb Gk. 'sheep' Eth. MSS.

that ram Gk. 'that ram, sheep' *d.* 'that sheep' other MSS.

46. during Eth. 'in addition to' Gk., i.e. another sense of *ἐν* (Dative not Gen.).

48. led the sheep. So Gk., but Eth. MSS. give 'led the little sheep', pointlessly.

48b. And that ram begat . . . leader of those sheep, should follow v. 49, which suits best the reign of David. Gk. omits, as it ended with v. 49.

50. That house = Jerusalem. So Test. Levi x. 4 (quoting this passage). The 'tower' is the Temple. 'A full table' refers to the offerings and sacrifices.

it was built . . . on the house *gmt, ilno, a, b* (*mt, in* have 'that' before 'house'); 'it was built for those sheep (and) a high tower on the house' *β-ilno, a, b*; 'it was built for those sheep (and) a lofty tower was built' *g*; *m, ilno, a, b* add a dittograph after 'tower'—'lofty on that house and a tower'.

was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

[LXXXIX. 51-67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, 52 but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from 53 the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent 54 to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until 55 those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild 56 beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, 57 into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured 58 by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts. 59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep 60 henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye.' And 61 He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than 62 I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he 63 effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my

51-67. Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.

51. forsook . . . their house. True only of the Ten Tribes.

that their house, 'that' in Eth. = *rov* in Gk.

called . . . and sent, i.e. the prophets.

slay. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 4.

52. Elijah's escape and translation. Cf. xciii. 8.

from the sheep *gm*. Other MSS. 'from the hands of the sheep'.

54. the Lord + 'of the sheep' *β*.

invited that slaughter and betrayed His place, called in the heathen to help them and so betrayed Jerusalem. Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

55. The fall of the two kingdoms, and their oppressors' names.

lions and tigers. Assyrians and Babylonians. In 56, 65 the 'lions' are the Babylonians. The 'wolves' are Egyptians, and perhaps the 'hyenas' are the Ethiopians.

56. God forsakes His city and people. Ep. Barn. xvi. 5 refers to this verse.

57. Lord of the sheep. 'Lord of the lions' *gmq*.

the wild beasts > *g*.

59. seventy *β*. 'seven' *α*. The 'seventy shepherds' raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together, lxxxix. 59. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they cannot be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He withdraws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of lxxxix. 61 is called 'another'. (6) In the judgement they are classed with the fallen angels, xc. 21-25. (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.

60. The number to be destroyed was a definite one.

61. another, in xc. 14, 22 an archangel and Israel's guardian angel, i.e. Michael. This task devolves on Enoch in xii. 3, xv. 1, xcii. 1; in 4 Ezra xiv. 22-26 on Ezra, in 2 En. xxii. 11 on Vretil. See *K. A. T.* 400 sq.

63. destroy + 'of their own caprice' *bceflmpx*.

comprehend, emended by very slight change.

64 command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which 65 the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered 66 those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished 67 that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68-71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other 69 in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many 70 more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep—(even) everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made 71 away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72-77. *Second Period—from the Time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that 73 house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruc- 75 tion, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the 76 beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings 77 of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1-5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

90 1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep),

64. No interference allowed with the shepherds, but only a record of their evil deeds.

65, 66. The lions are the Babylonians, who destroy the 'tower' and the 'house'. Thus the shepherds begin about 590, or if the Assyrians are meant, about 720. For the 'wild boars', or Edomites, cf. Obad. 10-12; Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 sqq.; Isa. lxiii. 1-14; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

68. was written *u*. 'should write' *g*. 'wrote' other MSS.

69. lament + 'very much' *β*.

70. The first period ends. It lasts twelve hours (*v.* 72), i.e. twelve shepherds' reigns. The periods are divided thus: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12.

71. from his hand *gmt*. 'in His hand' *β*.

72. three of those sheep, Zerubbabel, Joshua, and either Ezra or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these = three tribes, Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. T. Joseph xix. 3. wild boars. Here = Samaritans, not Edomites, as *v.* 66.

73. named + 'as before' *g*.

The bread... was polluted. Cf. Mal. i. 7 'polluted bread,' i.e. unclean offerings because of the unworthy and heathenized people and priesthood. Cf. Ass. Mosis. iv. 8.

75. The Dispersion.

76. before the Lord *g*. 'in the mansions of ('before' *β*) the Lord' *mgtu*, *β*.

the shepherds *gmq*. 'their shepherds' *l*, *β*.

gave testimony *mt*, *β*. 'it was heard' *gg*.

77. The second period ends with the fall of the Persian power, which lasts twenty-three hours.

XC. 1. Thirty-five. All the MSS. are corrupt. *qt*, *β*-*ky* read 'thirty-seven' (corrupted further in *qu*). In xc. 5 at the close of the third period the three periods are summed up as (12 + 23 + 23 = 58).

and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6-12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt.*

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it looked at them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

as . . . the first. As the twelve had fulfilled their times, so did the rest of the thirty-five.

others received them. Here we have the transition to the Greek period, i. e. from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330-200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule from 200 till about 140 or 130.

2. The new world power—of the Greeks, is represented by a new order—birds of prey. The 'eagles' are the Greeks or Macedonians. The 'ravens' are the Syrians under the Seleucidae (*viii*, 8, 9, 12). The 'vultures' and 'kites' must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.

2-4. The Graeco-Egyptian domination.

3. was being devoured *a-u*. 'was devoured' *u*, *β*.

I looked *gqu*. 'I saw' *m*. 'I cried out' *t*, *β*.

4. the dogs, i. e. Philistines (*lxxxix*. 42, 46, 47).

neither flesh nor skin. *Mic*. iii. 2, 3.

5. twenty-three + 'shepherds' *t*, *β*.

6-17. The fourth and last period of heathen supremacy, the Graeco-Syrian domination over Israel, from 200 to 140 or 130 B.C. See Commentary *in loc*.

6. behold *a*. 'little' *β*.

began to open their eyes: rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. See 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13, and 1 En. xc. 9. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgement, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (*lxxxix*. 73). For this writer the Chasid aims—the re-establishment of the Theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom—are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date *lxxxiii-xc* before 153 B.C.

6-7. The Chasids or 'lambs' appeal in vain to the nation, owing to foreign oppression.

7. Yea, they cried to them *g*, i. e. the lambs cried to the sheep: 'but they (i. e. the sheep) did not cry to them' *g*: 'but they oppressed them' *m*: 'but they did not hear them' *t*: 'but the sheep did not cry to them' *β-ino*.

8. one of those lambs. Onias III, put to death by the Syrians in 171 B.C. See 2 Macc. iv. 33-35.

9. of one *g*. 'one' other MSS.

The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas' death in 160 B.C. See my Commentary for further notes.

eyes were opened. Unlike the Chasids, the Maccabees do not appeal in vain.

opened + 'and their eyes saw' *gmt*.

10. †looked at†. For *r'ēja* 'looked at' read *r'ēja* 'pastured with'.

it cried *m*, *β-in*. 'they cried' *a-m*.

rams, a different word here from that in *lxxxix*. 42-44.

11, 12. Syria uses every effort against Judas but in vain.

12. with it: 'with them' *g*, *eh*.

its horn: 'their horn' *q*.

XC. 13-19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where vv. 13-15 and 16-18 are doublets).

- 13 And I saw till the †shepherds and †eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come. All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.
- 19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face. And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.
- 14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram]. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

13-19. As early as 1893 I read v. 19 before v. 16, and bracketed 15 as a doublet of 18. Martin suggests that 13-15, and 16-18 are doublets. I have gone further as the text shows. Ver. 19 follows 13 (=16), and many emendations are still required.

13. The symbolism becomes looser here, and the 'vultures' and 'kites' are no longer restricted to the Graeco-Egyptians as in v. 2. See v. 16, and compare the varying reference of boars in lxxxix. 66 and 72. So perhaps here the vultures and kites are Ammon and Moab.

†shepherds and† (g omits 'and') i.e. עֲרֵבִים corrupt for עֲרֵבִים 'ravens', probably due to a dittography in 13. See v. 16.

†they cried† i.e. יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) for יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) 'were gathered together'. See v. 16 again. The LXX thus mistranslates יִצְעֲקוּ in Judges vi. 34, 35, xviii. 22, Jos. viii. 16, 1 Sam. xiv. 20. So I read 'and I saw till the ravens and eagles and vultures and kites were gathered together,' &c.

16. All¹⁰. 'and' u.

ravens and kites ∞ m.

came¹⁰ gq. 'brought' mtu, β.

all the sheep—in the nom. g, in the accus. mgt, β.

19. The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in xci. 12 the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgement of oppression and sin.

14. The text is corrupt.

carried up has no object, but requires 'the book' as in v. 17.

opened in v. 17 can hardly be right as the books are opened later in v. 20. In any case the book would be carried up first. Cf. lxxxix. 70, 76. So I read here in v. 14 'and I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds, carried up (the book) into the presence of the Lord of the sheep'.

[came and helped . . . ram.] An intrusion. There is no intervention needed to save Israel which triumphs over Gog in v. 19. This clause, whether added in the Hebrew or the Greek, has a clear reference to the help which Michael gave to Judas Maccabaeus. See 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. Michael is Israel's patron, as well as the heavenly scribe in these chapters.

helped it + 'and saved it' g.

for the help g. Other MSS. 'a help.'

17. till he opened . . . destruction: 'for it was opened by the command of the Lord concerning the destruction' g. before the Lord of the sheep m, β. 'formerly. 18. And the Lord of the sheep' gtu.

15. 18. God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Num. xvi. 31 sqq. This is the first act of the final judgement; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

15. the Lord a-g. 'that Lord' g, β.

†into His shadow† i.e. בְּצֵלָו corrupt for בְּצֵלָו 'from among the sheep'. gm read 'into the shadow'.

18. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep ('of the sheep' > m) came unto them m, β. > g through hmt. 'and the Lord of the sheep I saw till He came to those sheep (till the Lord of the sheep came unto them) †gt, and the Lord of the sheep came unto them' u.

staff and smote the earth recall Num. xx. 11, while the earth clave asunder recalls Num. xvi. 31-33.

it covered them. The Ethiopic = ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς—a Hebraism. g is corrupt. > u.

XC. 20-27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

- 20 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.
 21 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members
 22 were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more
 23 than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.
 24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full
 25 of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast
 26 into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and
 27 cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning† and their bones burning†.

XC. 28-41. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah. Enoch awakes and weeps.*

- 28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried
 29 it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.
 30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying
 31 them in every thing. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they

20. the pleasant land, i.e. Palestine, cf. lxxxix. 40 and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem (vv. 28, 29). The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. See xlvi. 3 (note). The Messiah does not appear till after the judgement in lxxxiii-xc.

the other. Text has 'all' kuēllō for kāl'ū, and so reads 'and He took all the sealed books'.

21. men a. > β.

the seven qtu, β. 'and seven' m. > g.

seven first white ones. For these seven archangels cf. the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, and Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2. See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* pp. 281, 282, &c.; *Jewish Encycl.* i. 590.

bring gm, β. 'come' qtu.

before Him. > gu, d.

star. See lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

all the stars, &c. So I emended in 1893, with Dillmann.

horses + ' and the first star which went out (g; other MSS. 'fell') first'—a dittograph.

22-25. The shepherds are judged along with the fallen Watchers.

22. said unto him mtu, β-hox, b. 'said unto them' gq, hox, b.

23. g has only 'And behold they were all bound before Him'.

24. an abyss full of fire. Their final prison, as in x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, liv. 6. Contrast xviii. 12.

flaming and full of: 'flaming with' g.

26. The Apostates are cast into Gehenna, south of Jerusalem ('to the right', &c.).

27. The Apostates suffer in view of the blessed Jerusalem. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24, 1 En. xlviii. 9 (note).

and their bones. Read 'yea their very selves'—a Hebrew idiom; עצמם = 'self'.

28, 29. The old Jerusalem removed and the new set up. Cf. O.T. prophecy: Ezek. xl-xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12; lx; Hagg. ii. 7-9; Zech. ii. 6-13. A New Jerusalem descending from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 26; xiii. 36; 2 Bar. xxxii. 2; Rev. xxi. 2, 10.

28. folded up, nfy(y): 'submerged' gqtu, β-nfy.

29. and (>g) all the sheep were within it a-m, addiklo, a, b. 'and (>m) the Lord of the sheep was within it' m, beshnpvx. The omission of 'and' in gm suggests that we should read 'from which He had sent forth all the sheep', by reading 'abāg'a for 'abāg'ē and prefixing 'ē to mā'ēkalā.

30. Conversion of the surviving Gentiles and their spontaneous submission to Israel. Cf. Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21, &c. Contrast the later Jewish view, Weber *Jud. Theol.* 384-387, 395.

and obeying them mt, β. >ggu.

in every thing, lit. 'in every word'.

31. those three, &c. see lxxxvii. 2, 3.

that ram, seemingly Elijah, lxxxix. 52.

32 took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgement took place. And those
 33 sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed
 and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house,
 and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to
 34 His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they
 brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep
 35 were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they
 36 saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was
 large and broad and very full.
 37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the
 38 birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations
 were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and
 that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep
 39 rejoiced over it and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.
 40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and
 41 gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer
 endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and
 42 be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered
 the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

SECTION V. XCI—CIV (i.e. XCII, XCI. 1-10, 18-19, XCIII. 1-10, XCI. 12-17, XCIV—CIV).

A BOOK OF EXHORTATION AND PROMISED BLESSING FOR THE RIGHTEOUS
 AND OF MALEDICTION AND WOE FOR THE SINNERS.

XCII, XCI. 1-10, 18-19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

92.1 The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

before the judgement took place. These words are awkward here.

32. white = righteous; abundant and clean wool = righteousness in large measure. Cf. Isa. i. 26; iv. 3; lx. 21.

33. The righteous dead will rise to share in the kingdom. Cf. li. 1. Also the dispersion are gathered into it. Cf. Mic. iv. 6, 7.

rejoiced. Cf. Isa. lxii. 3-5; lxv. 19.

34. Israel's sword sealed and preserved as a memorial.

into the house *g.* 'into His house' *mqt, β.*

were invited *g.* Other MSS. 'were enclosed'.

it held them not. Cf. Isa. xlix. 19-21; Zech. ii. 4; x. 10.

37. a white bull. The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgement. The Messiah-hope was practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the O.T. Messiah, the Son of David as in Pss. Solomon (70-40 B.C.), others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94-70 B.C.).

38. All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now apparently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, i.e. Adam was a white bull.

a lamb. The text corruptly runs 'the first became among them (*α-υ, αικη*: 'among them became' *bedlox, α, δ*) a word and that word became a great animal'. I no longer consider that the corruption arose in the Greek, i.e. *βημα* for *ρημα* a transliteration of *רִמָּה*, but follow Goldschmidt (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 91) in tracing it to the Hebrew, i.e. *מִלֶּחֶם* 'word' for *מִלֶּחֶם* 'lamb'. This correction is supported by Test. Joseph xix. 3-9, where the three harts first become three lambs, and then with the other nine harts become twelve sheep. Again there in *2/21*. 5-9 the bull-calf (= Judas Maccabaeus) becomes a lamb, and yet as a lamb overcomes and destroys the beasts and reptiles who attack him. The lamb, or rather the horned lamb, is the nation's head, indeed its Messianic head. Here the Testaments seem to be dependent on 1 Enoch.

great *a.* 'great and' *β.*

black seems wrong here.

40. Cf. xxii. 14.

XCII-XCIV. I have rearranged these chapters in what was apparently their original order (see above) and treated the Apocalypse of Weeks, i.e. xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17, as an earlier fragment incorporated by the author of xci-civ or the editor of the whole book. Beer, however, taking xci. 1-11, 18-19 as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, rearranges the order as xci. 1-11, 18-19, xciii, xci. 12-17, xcii, xciv.

XCII. The beginning of the new book composed of xci-civ. The original order was xcii, xci. 1-10, 18-19, xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17, xciv, as printed here.

1. The book . . . indeed wrote (*g.*). Other MSS. 'written by Enoch the scribe'. For 'scribe' cf. xii. 3, 4. [Enoch indeed . . . all the earth]. An interpolation.

this complete doctrine of wisdom (which is) praised, *α-τ.* *τ* reads 'of the' for 'this'. *β-γ* read 'is praised' after 'wisdom'.

a judge of all the earth. For wisdom as God's assessor see lxxxiv. 3 (note).

- 2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times ;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.
- 3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.
- 4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.
- 5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

XCI. 1-10, 18-19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

- 91 1 ' And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother ;
For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'
- 2 And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.
- 3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said :
- ' Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth ;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved :
- 4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.
- 5 For I know that violence must increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end :
- Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

2. The times though evil are ordained of God.
the Holy and Great One *gq, el₁a* : 'the Holy Great One' *mt, β-el₁a*. See i. 3 (note).

3. the righteous one. Used collectively as in xci. 10.

the righteous one . . . sleep, [shall arise]. *g* reads 'and wisdom shall arise'.

4. the righteous *tu, β* : *gq* = 'righteousness'.
power. Uprightness and power will no longer be dissevered.
he shall *mt, β*. 'they shall' *gqu*.
in eternal light. See xxxviii. 4 (note).

5. Cf. x. 16, 20.

XCI. 1. Enoch calls his sons together. Cf. lxxxi. 5, 6.

all thy brothers . . . all the sons of thy mother ∞ *g*.
all the sons. Their names are given in 2 En. i. 10, lvii. 2.

3. unto all the children of righteousness *gq, y₁b*. 'to all (> *u*, + 'his children' *i*) concerning his (> *β-ehny₁a₁b*)
righteousness' *mtu, β-ehny₁a₁b*.
beloved *a-u*. 'my beloved' *β*.

4. love uprightness, &c. Cf. xciv. 1.

draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart. Cf. Sir. i. 25. Cf. Ps. xii. 2 ; Jas. i. 8.
associate not, &c. > *gu* through *hmt*. Cf. xciv. 2, 3, civ. 6.
in righteousness, my sons. 'in uprightness and righteousness' *g*.
good paths. Perhaps a reference to the Two Ways. Cf. vi. 19.

5. The Deluge.

violence must increase. Emended easily from text which = 'the state of violence shall increase.'
cut off from its roots, cf. vii. 8, 11.

- 6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.
- 7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.
- 8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.
- 9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,
And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.
- 10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.
- 11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed
by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan
violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]
- 18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
- 19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCIII, XCI. 12-17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

93 1, 2 And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

- 7, 8. This fresh development of wickedness will call forth the final judgement.
7. in all *a-q*. 'and all' *q, β*.
and transgression *> gtu*.
from heaven *> g*.
And *> gmt*.
Lord + 'upon earth' *g*.
8. And the roots *mtu, β*. *> gq*. Cf. *vv*. 5, 11.
And (*> u, bcflhp*) they shall be destroyed *mtu, β*. *> gq*.
9. The absolute rejection of the heathen seems to be taught here, the prevailing, though not the universal, belief of later Judaism. Contrast *v*. 14.
10. the righteous. The singular used collectively, as in *xcii*. 3. In *xcii-civ* only the righteous attain to the Resurrection. See *li*. 1 (note).
their sleep *gmq, x*. 'his sleep' *tu, β-x*.
wisdom. See *xlii*. 1, 2 (note).
11. This verse is an interpolation by the final editor, added to introduce *vv*. 12-17, which originally followed *xciii*.
1-10. Judgement has already been consummated in *xcii*. 7-9, and the resurrection attained *xcii*. 10. Verse 11 reverts to the period of the sword—which precedes the Resurrection (*xc*. 19, *xcii*. 12; cf. *c*. 4, 5).
12-17. I read these verses after *xciii*. 14.
18. will show *m, β*. 'have shown' *gqt*. *> u*.
19. hearken unto me *qtu*. 'hearken' *β*. *> g*.
And *20* *> g*.
paths of righteousness . . . paths of violence. For 'paths' cf. *xciv*. 1, 2, 4. This is one of the earliest non-canonical references to the Two Ways. See Test. Ash. i. 3, 5; 2 En. xxx. 15 (note).

XCIII. 1-10. An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks of *xcii*. 12-17 belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, *lxxxiii-xc*, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially towards its close, by some great event, e.g.

- 'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons :
According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'
- 3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said :
'I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.
- 4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up ;
And in it there shall be the first end.
And in it a man shall be saved ;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.
- 5 And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.
- 6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.
- 7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.
- 8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.
And in it a man shall ascend ;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

the first by Enoch's birth, the third by Abraham's call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch's writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgement in xci. 15 is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

1. †gave† *a-mt.* 'was' *t, β.* I cannot explain this corruption.
and began. > *a-g.*
the books. Cf. xxxiii. 3, 4, xl. 8, lxxiv. 2, lxxxi. 1, 2.
2. These disclosures are for the children of righteousness. Cf. xcii. 1.
the elect of the world. Here only in Enoch.
the plant of uprightness. See x. 16 (note).
uprightness *a-g.* 'righteousness' (+ 'and uprightness' *β*) *q, β.*
will declare *gq, β.* 'have declared' *mtu.*
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).
3. Enoch > *mqt.*
seventh in the first week. Cf. 'seventh from Adam', Jude 14; also Gen. v. 24 where he is the seventh of the patriarchs. This does not imply that each week = exactly seven generations, as the sixth and seventh must = fourteen or more.
still endured. i.e. goodness still prevailed. Or we may render 'were still held back', i.e. the Deluge was not yet.
4. great wickedness. This growth of wickedness should belong to Jared's days as in vi. 6 and cvi. 13. The Deluge and the covenant with Noah (a law for the sinners) occur in this week.
a law shall be made *q, n.* Also *gmu* read 'law' in the nom., cf. v. 6. *t, β-n* read 'He will make a law'.
5. Abraham and his seed are chosen to reveal God's righteous judgements. Cf. x. 16 (note) and xciii. 2, 10.
his posterity shall become. Text reads 'after him (or 'it') it shall come' (or 'become').
6. Visions. Divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt.
Visions of the holy and righteous *mq, β.* *u* omits 'and righteous'. *g* reads 'visions . . . righteousness'. *t =* 'holy and righteous visions'.
- a law, given on Sinai, binding for all time. Cf. xcix. 2.
an enclosure, i.e. Palestine. Cf. lxxxix. 2.
7. The Temple will stand for ever, though one form of it may give place to another. In xci-civ proper, there appears to be no Temple after the final judgement. The risen righteous enjoy a purely spiritual existence like the angels. Cf. Jub. and possibly Pss. Sol.
8. The divided kingdoms, Elijah (lxxxix. 52), the Temple's fall and the Captivity.
chosen root *g, β.* 'root of might' *mqt.*

- 9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.
- 10 And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.
- 11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without
being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works
12 of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could
understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see
13 all their ends and think them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what
is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?
14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon
what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12-17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

- 91 12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.
- 13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
- 14^d And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.
- 14^a And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
^b And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
^c And the world shall be written down for destruction.
- 15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

9. From the captivity to the author's time an apostate period. Cf. lxxxix. 73-75.
apostate ¹⁰ > *gm*.

10. The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of the seventh week. For the extravagant claims he makes cf. Sir. xxiv. 28-32.

shall be elected *a, acfhikn*: 'shall be recompensed' *bdlopxy, a, b*.

The elect righteous *q, abefhikx*. Cf. i. 1 Greek Version. *t* supports this *g, dloy, a, b* read 'the elect of righteousness'. *m* 'the righteous'. *u* 'the elect'. These alone will receive the revelations. Cf. c. 6, civ. 12, 13.

XCIII. 11-14. These verses are quite out of place in their present context, and suit rather the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries lxxii-lxxix, lxxxii; but are foreign to the whole tone of this book, xci-civ.

11. the voice of the Holy One, i.e. the thunder. Cf. Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix.

think His thoughts. Cf. Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxviii. 33; Ps. xl. 5, xcii. 5; Eccles. xi. 5.

12. a soul *gmq, bxy*: 'His breath' *t, β-bxy*.

a spirit *mtu, bxy* (*gy* corrupt): 'His spirit' *β-bxy*.

Enoch's journey through heaven and Hades is referred to.

their ends, i.e. of the things of heaven. But the text may be corrupt for 'their causes'.

13. Not given in Enoch. Cf. Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

14. Not given in Enoch. Jer. xxxi. 37; Job xi. 8.

founded. Cf. xviii. 2, 3.

XCI. 12-17. These verses giving an account of the last three weeks of the world's history are here restored to their place after xciii. 1-10, the account of the first seven weeks.

12. The eighth week sees the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, and the first act of the final judgement—the period of the sword (xc. 19), when the wicked are given into the hand of the righteous. Cf. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12, xcix. 4, 6, also xxxviii. 5.

13. After strife will follow rest and quiet possession of the earth. Cf. Isa. lx. 21, 22, lxx. 20-23.

a house . . . for the Great King. The temple, and also Jerusalem. *g* reads 'the house of the Great King shall be built'.

14. This verse may refer to the conversion of the Gentiles, as l. 2-5, xc. 30, 33, 35, cf. 14^d. Or it may refer to the open punishment by God of the wicked. Cf. 14^c.

the works of the godless shall vanish. Cf. x. 16, 20, 21.

the world . . . for destruction *m, β*: 'He shall write down (i.e. decree) the destruction of the world' *g*: 'He shall write down the world for destruction' *t*: > *u*: *q* = a corruption of *g* (?). This is to take place in the end of the tenth week.

15. There shall be . . . angels *a-t*. The structure of the stanza supports this text. *t, β-in* insert a gloss and read 'There shall be the eternal judgement. And it shall be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven, The great (judgement) in which He will execute vengeance among the angels.'

- 16 And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.
- 17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1-5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

- 94 1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.
- 2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.
- 3 And now I say unto you the righteous:
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.
- 4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.
- 5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts;
For I know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may minish.

XCIV. 6-11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

- 6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.
- 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

16. a new heaven (cf. Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; Ps. cii. 26), but no new earth. Cf. civ. 2 (note). For a new creation, cf. xlv. 4, lxxii. 1 (note).

sevenfold. Isa. xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20.

light. *mg* t, *β-akk* add 'for ever'.

17. End of Apocalypse of Weeks.

And all *g*. > other MSS.

XCIV. Introduces the practical part of this section.

1. love righteousness. Cf. xci. 3.

worthy of acceptation *t, β* (cf. 1 Tim. i. 15): 'worthy and acceptable' *gmq*: 'worthy' *u*.

paths of unrighteousness... destroyed. Cf. Ps. i. 6. On the 'Two Ways' see xci. 19 (note).

2. The revelations through Moses and the Prophets.

paths... of death. Cf. Prov. xiv. 12; Jer. xxi. 8.

3. paths *gmt, bx*: 'path' *β-bx*.

wickedness + 'and of violence' *β*.

draw not nigh. Cf. xci. 4, civ. 6.

4. But seek. *g* reads 'as those who seek evil' and connects with preceding verse.

And ye shall *gmq*. 'that ye may' *t, β*.

5. to **evilly-entreat**. Text = 'to make... evil' = *κακοποιεῖν*.

no place. Cf. xlii. 1.

6-10. Woes, cf. Isa. v. 8-25; Matt. xxiii. 13-33, &c.

6. build. Cf. xci. 5 ('structure').

have no peace. Cf. xcvi. 11, 16, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, also v. 4 (note).

7. build their houses with sin: from Jer. xxii. 13. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 13.

[And those... perish]. The subject of 'riches' comes in the next verse, and this clause spoils the stanza here.

- 8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.
- 9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.
- 10 Thus I speak and declare unto you :
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.
- 11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

- 95 1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud †of waters† :
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart !
- 2 †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness ?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†
- 3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous ;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.
- 4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed :
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.
- 5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil ;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 6 Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.
- 7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous ;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

9. day of slaughter, &c. See xlv. 2 (note). Cf. James v. 1-5.

And the day of darkness. > *g*, *a*.

10. your Creator will rejoice, &c. Contrast Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11, and cf. Ps. ii. 3, 4; xxxvii. 12, 13;

1 En. lxxxix. 58 and xcvi. 2.

11. This stanza is imperfect.

XCV. 1. Oh that, &c. From Jer. ix. 1. Quoted by 2 Bar. xxxv. 2.

[a cloud of] i.e. עין a doublet for עיני 'my eyes' or a corruption of עין 'a spring'.

cloud †of waters†. Read 'cloud (pours) rain', i.e. זרם 'rainstorm' for מים 'waters'.

2. †Who has permitted you *g*, *β* (= מי נתנכם). But *a-g* read, and possibly rightly, 'Oh that ye were' (= מי יתנכם). Then, either omitting with *g* 'to practise', or emending it to 'become', and adopting the subjunctive in the next line with *β*, and not the indicative in *a*, we have:

Oh that ye were become a reproach and an evil,
And that so judgement might overtake you, sinners.

3. again, as in the first Maccabean victories. Though now even the Maccabean princes are Sadducees, the righteous will again prevail.

into your hands. Cf. xci. 12.

4. Cf. viii. 3. Magical practices and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.

which cannot be reversed *m*. For 'cannot' *gg* reads 'can': 'which you cannot reverse' *t*, *β*.

5. requite . . . with evil. Cf. Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 29; Rom. xii. 17.

requited according to your works. Cf. c. 7; Judges i. 7.

7. ye shall be delivered up *g*. 'Ye shall deliver up' other MSS.

and persecuted *a-gt*, *β-a*. 'and shall persecute' *gt*, *a*.

its yoke *gmq*. 'their yoke' *t*, *β*.

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous: Woes for the Wicked.*

- 96 ¹ Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.
- ² [And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you—and weep.]
- ³ Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.
- ⁴ Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.
- ⁵ Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink **wine in large bowls**,
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.
- ⁶ Woe to you who drink water **from every fountain**,
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.
- ⁷ Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.
- ⁸ Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.
- In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of Unrighteous Wealth.*

- 97 ¹ Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.
- ² Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

XCVI. The righteous are to hope for the coming Messianic kingdom.

1. **lordship.** Cf. xci. 12 (note), xcvi. 3, 7, xcvi. 12.

2. Interpolation. The wicked will hide themselves, not the righteous, in the coming time; xcvi. 3, c. 4, cii. 1, civ. 5. But the first three lines may be original.

tribulation of the sinners. Is it suffered or caused by the sinners?

mount and rise. From Isa. xl. 31.

higher than the vultures. Cf. Jer. xlix. 16.

enter the crevices, &c. Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, from the presence of the Lord, not as here 'before the unrighteous'—a clumsy insertion.

the sirens: 'as the sirens' *qt*, β . These may be satyrs or sirens—by the same word the Eth. version renders *σενήρες* in Isa. xlii. 21, Jer. xxvii. (l.) 39.

3. **a bright light.** See xxxviii. 4 (note).

4. Prosperity was a mark of righteousness, in the O.T. doctrine of retribution.

5. **The finest of the wheat.** Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14.

wine in large bowls, i.e. not in ordinary wine-cups. Cf. the flagons of the magnates in Samaria, Amos vi. 6. The text is corrupt = 'the strength of the root of the fountain' = *כח עֵשֶׂר עֵץ* which I emend to *בְּמִזְרְקֵי* = the phrase in Amos.

6. The self-indulgent life will fail, for want of the fountain of true life. Cf. Jer. ii. 13; Ps. xxxvi. 9.

drink water from every fountain. Text corruptly reads *כָּל־עֵץ* for *כָּל־עֵץ*.

shall ye be consumed *mqd*. 'shall ye be requited and consumed' β , γ . > *u* (defective).

forsaken. Cf. Jer. ii. 13.

7. Cf. xci. 8, xciv. 6, 9.

8. **many and good days:** a temporary Messianic kingdom, in which the righteous then alive will share.

XCVII. Woes of the wicked.

1. **the day of unrighteousness,** i.e. the judgement day. See xlv. 2 (note).

2. **angels . . . rejoice, &c.** Cf. xciv. 10 and contrast Luke xv. 10. **angels of heaven** α - η . 'angels' β - η .

- 3 What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?
- 4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."
- 5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgement shall come.
- 6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.
- 7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.
- 8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have possessions;
And have acquired everything we have desired.
- 9 And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
9^c And many are the husbandmen in our houses."
9^d And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,
10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you;
For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin originated by Man: all Sin recorded in Heaven
Woes for the Sinners.*

- 98¹ And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.
- 2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3. prayer of the righteous. Cf. v. 5, and xlvii. 2, xcvii. 3, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3, and Rev. vi. 10.
4. shall fare *ggu*. *mt*, β read 'shall not fare'.
Against whom *g*. 'for against you' *t*. 'ye against whom' *mq*, β .
this word. Cf. xcvi. 4. Note the Pharisaic idea of separateness from the unrighteous.
5. righteous *a-g*, β -*afhikpv*. 'holy' *g*, *afhikpv*.
6. all the words of *mq*, β -*a*. 'all' *g*.
shall be read out, from the books. See xlvii. 3 (note). Cf. Matt. xii. 36.
Great Holy One, *g₁gmq*, *n*. 'Great and Holy One' *tu*, β -*n₁a*. See i. 3 (note), xcii. 2 (note).
covered with shame. Cf. xlv. 6, lxii. 10, lxiii. 11.
He will reject every work *gqt*. 'every work shall be rejected' *mu*, β .
7. remembrance. Cf. c. 10, 11, civ. 8.
8. Cf. xciv. 7, 8 (note); also Sir. xi. 19; Luke xii. 19.
with riches *mq*, β . *>gu*.
9. And many *g₁g*, *1b*. 'many' *qt*, β -*1b*.
as with water *1g*. Other MSS. prefix 'and'. Note the rejoinder in 10^a.
10. A rejoinder to the boasting of the sinners.
your riches *u*. 'riches with you' *a-u*, β .
riches shall . . . ascend, &c. Prov. xxiii. 5.
all *gmt*, β -*n*. *>1ggu*.

XCVIII. A new division begins, xcvi-cii. 3, a denunciation of the sinners' errors in life and doctrine. Their coming judgement.

1. I swear. Here first, but frequently after, in verses 4, 6, xcix. 6, &c.
wise and . . . foolish. xcvi-cii. 3 to the foolish; cii. 4-civ to the wise.
to the foolish *mu*, β : 'not to the foolish' *g₁gqt*.
2. Their personality will be lost in their possessions, as water is lost in the earth. Cf. Ps. xxii. 14 for the phrase.

- 3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.
- 4 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.
- 5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.
- 6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.
- 7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see
8 that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth
ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of
your judgement.
- 9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise,
10 and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day
of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know
no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and
great shame for your spirits.
- 11 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood:
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which
the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.
- 12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto
yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut
13 off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation
14 of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at nought the words of
15 the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless
words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their)
16 neighbour. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

3. Their spirits: cf. verse 10, ciii. 8. As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of punishment.
into the furnace of fire *g₁g*, *β*. > *mqtu*.

4. Sin is of man's own devising. See lxix. 11 (note). Contrast c. 4. It is not original or unavoidable, but
voluntary, and therefore punished. Cf. 2 Baruch xviii. 2, liv. 15.

mountain, *ר*, is masc. in Heb. while *גבעה* = 'hill' is feminine.

5. The instance is an illustration of the general law. Cf. Hos. ix. 14.

barrenness *tu*, *β*-*n*¹: 'simulation', or 'excuse' *g₁gm*, *n*¹.

6-8. God does concern Himself with men's deeds. Cf. Job xxii. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 11.

6. Holy Great One, *ggtu*. 'Holy and Great One' *g₁gm*, *β*.

7. recorded. Cf. xcvi. 6, xcvi. 8, c. 10, civ. 7, 8.

8. From henceforth, after the publication of Enoch's book.

9. transgress against *g₁g*: 'know not' *m*: 'tend not' *q*: 'hearken not to' *t*, *β*.

10. prepared. xciv. 9.

no ransom. Ps. xlix. 7, 8, 9.

for ye *g*, *β*: 'and ye' *q*: 'ye' *mqt*.

day of the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

for your spirits, see verse 3.

11. obstinate of heart: c. 8.

who work: 2nd sing. in *t*, *β*: 3rd sing. in *g₁gm*. But only *β* has 'eat' in 2nd sing.

eat blood. Cf. vii. 5; Jubilees vii. 28-32, xxi. 6; Acts xv. 29.

the Lord *a-m*. 'our Lord' *m*, *β*.

no peace. See v. 4 (note), also v. 16 below.

12. into the hands of the righteous. See xci. 12 (note).

13. No burial. Cf. Jer. viii. 2, xxii. 19.

shall be dug for you, 'of yours shall be seen' *g₁g*.

14. no hope of life, &c. Cf. xcvi. 10.

15. Cf. civ. 10. Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.

act godlessly towards *ggtu*. *β* inserts a negative and this necessitates a change of rendering, 'not forget'.

neighbour *a*. 'folly' *β*.

16. a sudden death. Cf. xciv. 1, 6, 7, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 1, 6.

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Lawbreakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the Last Days: further Woes.*

- 99¹ Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.
- 2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.
- 3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.
- 4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.
- 5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.
- 6, 7 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And
they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood (and stone) and clay, and
those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge,
shall get no manner of help from them.
- 8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts
And through visions in their dreams.
- 9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.
- 10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

- XCIX. 1. Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 15.
to you *a-g*. 'to them' *is*, *β*. MSS. constantly confuses 2nd and 3rd person.
2. to them *g₁gm*. 'to you' *qtu*, *β*.
the eternal law, i.e. of Moses. Cf. v. 4, xcix. 14.
transform themselves, adopt Gentile customs, become apostates, and possibly undergo the operation mentioned
in Ass. Mos. viii. 3.
[into sinners]. A gloss.
3. your prayers. See xcvi. 3 (note).
place them... before the angels. For angelic mediation cf. ix. 2-11, and in O.T. Job v. 1; Zech. i. 12; in N.T.
only Rev. viii. 3, 4. See too my notes in T. Levi iii. 5; T. Dan vi. 2.
- place them *a*. 'ye have placed them' *β*.
the Most High, in all sections of the book; ix. 3, x. 1, xlv. 7, lx. 1, 22, lxii. 7, lxxvii. 1, xciv. 8, xcvi. 2, xcvi. 7, 11,
xcix. 3, 10, ci. 1, 6, 9.
4. Wars, tumults, and the period of the sword. Cf. xc. 19, &c.
shall be *t*, *β*. 'are' *a-gt*.
shall arise *t*, *β*. 'shall raise up' *a-mt*.
5. abandon them *a*. 'abandon their children' *β*.
6-C. 6. Denunciation of idolatry.
day of unceasing bloodshed. See xci. 12 (note), xlv. 2 (note). Quoted by Tertullian *De Idol.* iv. See my
Comm. on 1 En. *in loc.*
7. (and stone) inserted from Tertullian.
impure *β*. 'evil' *a*.
demons. Cf. xvi. 1, xix. 1, also Rev. ix. 20.
not according to knowledge, *ggt(gu)*, Tert.: 'in idols' temples' *β*.
8. Idolaters go from bad to worse. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 12, 27; Rom. i. 21.
10. Salvation is for those who accept the true wisdom.
of His righteousness *a-u*. 'of righteousness' *u*, *β*.

- 11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.
- 12 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.
- 13 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.
- 14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.
- 15 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,
And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.
- 16 For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. The Sinners destroy each other : Judgement of the Fallen Angels : the Safety of the Righteous : further Woes for the Sinners.

- 100 1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten
And brothers one with another shall fall in death
Till the streams flow with their blood.
- 2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother :
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.
- 3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.
- 4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

11. slain in Sheol. Cf. cviii. 3—the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Cf. xxii. 13. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment. See lxiii. 10 (note).
12. measures *a-mt, i*¹. 'foundations' *t, β-i*.
cause bitterness *mt, β*. 'know' *gg*. tempt' *1g*.
13. build . . . toil of others. Cf. Jer. xxii. 13; also 1 En. xciv. 7, xcvi. 8.
14. the measure and eternal heritage, the Mosaic law. Cf. v. 2.
whose souls follow after *1gm*. 'and follow after the souls of' *guqt*. 'who cause their souls to follow after' *β*.
have no rest. Cf. the sufferings of the righteous, ciii. 13; also 'no peace', xciv. 6.
15. to them *1gu, β*. 'to you' *gmqt*.
day of the great judgement. See xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, also xlv. 2 (note).
16. His fierce indignation. *1gβ* read 'the spirit of His indignation' = *אפן רוח* corrupt for *אפן רוחן*: *gmqt* read 'His indignation and His spirit'. 'His spirit' is nom. in *qt*. + 'into your hands' *g*.
holy and righteous *g1gmq*. ∞ *t, β*.
remember your sins, and so hasten your destruction. See xcvi. 5 (note).
- C. 1. brothers one with another shall fall *β*. *a* inserts 'and' after 'another'.
streams flow with their blood. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 3, 7; Ps. lviii. 10.
2. his sons' sons *β*. 'his son's son' *gmt*. *1gq* corrupt. + 'in compassion' *tβ*.
the sinner *t, β*. 'as for the sinner, he' *g, gmq*.
his honoured brother. Aristobulus slew his beloved brother Antigonus (Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 11. 1, 2). On the internecine strife that was to initiate the kingdom cf. lvi. 7, xcix. 5, 6; Zech. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Hag. ii. 22; Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 21, 34, 35, xxiv. 10, &c.
3. up to the breast. Cf. Rev. xiv. 20.
to its height *m, β*. 'to the day of its (>_{1g}) height' (a dittograph of 'day'). 'it shall be filled to its height' *t*.
4. The fallen angels who brought down sin will be gathered from 'the secret places'.
the angels shall descend, &c. Cf. Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49.
brought down sin *a-t*. 'helped sin' *t, β*.
of judgement *a-tu*. > *tu, β*.
amongst *1gmqu*. 'and amongst' *g*. 'on all the' *t, β*.

- 5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.
- 6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise in security,
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.
- 7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire :
Ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness :
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.
- 9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.
- 10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun
and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute
11 judgement on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist
and dew and rain ; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they
12 shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descend-
ing upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.
13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues
fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

5. The righteous souls in the place of the departed are guarded. Cf. the promptuaria of 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95 ; also 4 Ezra iv. 32, 40, vii. 32 ; 2 Bar. xxx. 2.

all ¹. > *g₁u*.

the apple of an eye. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10 ; Ps. xvii. 8.

He makes an end of all *g₁gm²*. 'all has been made an end of' *q¹tu,β*.

the righteous sleep a long sleep. The writer of xci-civ did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The 'long sleep' seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in xci-civ follows the final judgement.

6. I have transposed 'the children of the earth' from the second line to the first, and with *g₁g²* taken 'the wise' in the acc. and not in the nom. as *gm¹t, β*. 'The wicked see the bliss of the wise.' Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 85 ; Wisdom iv. 17, &c. children of the earth, cf. cii. 3 : the counterpart of 'the children of heaven' or the righteous, ci. 1.

in security. Text = *πρωτόν* or *πρωτοβότα*—a wrong rendering of *ΠΩΩ* used pregnantly = dwelling in security. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

7. on the day of strong anguish. The MSS. wrongly transpose this into the next clause.

Ye who. MSS. read *sōba* = 'when', corrupt for 'ēlla.

burn them with fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vii.

according to your works. Cf. xcv. 5.

8. obstinate of heart *a*. 'perverse of heart' *β*. Cf. xcvi. 11.

watch. Cf. Isa. xxix. 20.

9. sinners + 'for' *g₁g², β*.

which your godlessness has wrought *gm¹u* : 'because of the work of your godlessness' *t* : 'which are the work

of your godlessness' *q* : 'which as a work ye have godlessly committed' *β*.

in blazing flames . . . burn. Here *a-g¹* > 'shall ye burn', and *g₁g², β* > 'burning'. The two texts seem to be

complementary.

10. All the heavenly powers which witness the sins of the wicked testify against them. Cf. xcvi. 6-8, also xcvi. 7,

civ. 1. Cf. the witness of stones and beams in their houses against the wicked, Hab. ii. 11.

in heaven. 'from heaven' *g* + 'and' *a-u*.

execute judgement on = *ποιεῖν κρίσιν μετὰ* (so *gm¹q¹t*)—a Hebraism.

11. All the natural powers which minister to the earth's fruitfulness will testify against sinners, as they are withheld on account of their sins. Cf. lxxx (interpolation in lxii-lxxxii) : cf. Jer. iii. 3.

they shall be mindful *a-m¹t*. 'shall they not be mindful' *mt, β* (*t, β* 'watchful').

12. Ironically spoken.

that it may descend *g₁gt, bilopxy, a, b*. 'that it should not descend' *mq. > u, β-bilopxy, a, b*.

13. Even the punishment by the elements will be irresistible.

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him but not the Sinners.*

- 101 1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him
2 and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and
3 the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends
His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent
4 words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the **sailors** of
the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are
5 in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea
with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will
6 perish therein. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most
7 High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His
reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are
8 on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?
Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?
9 Do not the **sailors** of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

- 102 1 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you
Will you not be affrighted and fear?
2 And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.
3 And all the **†angels** shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.
4 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

CI. 1. The same subject continued, but verse 1 contains an aside to the righteous.

- children of heaven, equivalent to 'sons of God' i. e. righteous Israelites. See Test. Lev. iv. 2 (note); Wisd. ii. 13, 18. For 'children of heaven' cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 22.
2. Address to the wicked resumed, c. 11, 12.
If *gt*, *β-enx*: 'for', *igu, ex*: 'when' *mq, n*.
windows of heaven. Gen. vii. 11.
3. if *gi,gtu, β*: 'when' *mq*,
because of (+ 'all' *ig*) your deeds *gm*: 'and upon (+ 'all' *β*) your deeds' *t, β*: 'your deeds' *gy*.
proud and insolent words: v. 4 (note); xxvii. 2. Cf. xcvi. 7, 8, cii. 6.
4-7. Sailors fear the sea: how much more should men fear God, of whom the sea is sore afraid. Cf. Ps. cvii. 23-27.
4. **sailors**. Text = 'kings', i. e. מלכִּי corrupt for מלִּי.
6, 7. The sea is in the hand of God. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvii. 10, xxxviii. 8-11; Ps. lxxxix. 9, civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29.
has He not set limits to its doings *e* (but it reads 'aqama for 'aqama): *y* preserves the verb: *β-y* alter it to
hatama = 'has sealed': *gmgt* read 'its doings and waters' (i. e. wamajā, perhaps corrupt for 'aqama).
at His reproof . . . dries up. Isa. i. 2.
is afraid and dries up *a-ig, x*: 'dries up and is afraid' *β-x*.
9. A pregnant summing up.
sailors. See v. 4 (note).

CII. 1-3. Whither they will flee on the terrible day of the Lord, when heaven and earth will be aghast and the very angels seek to hide themselves?

1. a grievous fire, i. e. hell. Cf. xcix. 11.
His word, i. e. of judgement.
3. **†angels . . . commands†**. Corrupt: for 'angels' read kings. Cf. Rev. vi. 15.
execute their commands. I cannot emend.
3. the Great Glory *a*. 'the Great in Glory' *β*. Cf. xiv. 10.
children of earth. Cf. c. 6.
have no peace. Cf. xciv. 6 (note).
4-CIV. 9. Discussion and condemnation of Sadducean views of the future life.
4, 5. The righteous are to be of good cheer, though their life and death be in grief.
4. ye that have died *m, cf hikhla, a*: 'they who have died' *ggtu*: 'the day of your death' *abdeox, b*: 'the souls of those who have died' *ig*: *q* adds 'ye who have died in righteousness' after 'grieve not' in the next line.

- 5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.
- 6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you :
" As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds ?
- 7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we ?
From henceforth we are equal.
- 8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever ?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."
- 9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and
10 acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner
11 of violence is found in them till their death ? " Nevertheless they perished and became as though
they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners : fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

- 103 ¹ Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and
² Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.
I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them :
- 3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

5. Strong in the belief in a blessed future for the righteous, the writer can concede the apparent equality of righteous and wicked in life and death.

if *g*₁*g*. Other MSS. 'that' or 'because'.

soul + 'into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and' *t*, *β*.

Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note).

wait for. Here I emend *ēnka ba* (= 'moreover on') into *šenhū la* = 'wait for'. Cf. cviii. 2.

judgement of sinners. Text = 'ye became sinners'. The next line requires this emendation here.

day of . . . chastisement. Hos. v. 9.

6-8. The Sadducean argument—the O.T. view of the retribution of the righteous in this life was interpreted as implying that men could be judged by their fortunes in this life, and that where there is no difference in this life there will be none in the next. Cf. Wisdom ii. 1-5, iii. 2-4; Eccles. ii. 14-16, iii. 19-21, &c.

7. in grief and darkness. The O.T. view of Sheol, lxiii. 10 (note).

8. what will they receive *mt*, *β*: 'how will they rise' *g*₁*g**g*.

Behold *a*-*g*. 'For behold' *g*₁*g*, *β*.

9-10. Answer of the writer. The distinction of righteous and wicked is not an outward, but a religious and ethical one. The wicked man's life is moulded by material and temporal aims only.

9. see good days. So LXX of Ps. xxxiv. 12.

10. falls out *a*. 'is peace' *β*.

death *a*-*g*. 'day of their death' *g*₁*g*, *β*.

11. The wicked rejoice that Death awaits both alike.

spirits *a*-*g*. 'souls' *g*₁*g*, *β*.

CIII. 1-4. The writer turns to the righteous, and assures them from the heavenly tablets and the holy books that every good thing is in store for them.

1. A more solemn oath than in xcvi. 1, 4, 6, &c.

by the glory . . . dominion *g* and almost *g*: 'by His great glory ('by the glory of the Great One' *gt*) and by His honoured kingdom' *mt*: 'by His great glory and honour and by His honoured kingdom' *β*-*y*.

2. a mystery *a*-*t*. 'this mystery' *t*, *β*.

read *g**g**u*. 'read in' *mt*, *β*.

the holy books *g**gt*. 'books of the holy ones' *g*₁*gm*, *β*. Cf. cviii. 7, xlvii. 3. See also cviii. 3.

3. Where are these blessings to be enjoyed, in Sheol, or in the spiritual theocracy set up after the final judgement? There seems to be only a resurrection of the spirit.

for them *g*₁*g*, *β*. > *a*-*g*.

the spirits of those who *mt*, *β*: 'your spirits which' *g**g*.

manifold good *g*₁*gm*. 'things manifold and good' *gt*. 'with manifold good' *β*.

- 4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely.
- 5 Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you:
"Blessed are the sinners: they have seen all their days.
- 6 And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life;
And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."
- 7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.
- 8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your
spirits enter;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.
- 9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life:
"In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.
- 10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word:
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.
- 11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail:
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.
- 12 They have had dominion over us that hated us† and smote us;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks
But they pitied us not.

4. spirits of you *g₁gq*, β: 'spirits of them' *mt*.
who have died (2nd sing. in *1g*, *t²β*). 'who have died' (3rd sing.) *a-1g*.
rejoice + 'and be glad' *g₁gm*, β.
And their spirits shall not perish, nor *a*. 'their spirits and' β.
- 5-8. The wicked are not at an end after death. Darkness, chains and a burning fire await them.
5. when ye have died *a-u*. > β.
the wealth of *a-q*. > *q*, β.
7. Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note). Here, unlike in cii. 5, 11, it is the final place of punishment. Our text is a development of Jub. vii. 29, as it adds to Sheol one of the characteristics of Gehenna. See v. 8a.
8. of the world *a*. 'unto eternity' β.
have no peace. See v. 4 (note); xciv. 6 (note).
- 9-15. An ironical description of the lot of the righteous. Cf. the Sadducean view in cii. 6, 7.
9. From this verse to the end of the chapter *1g* stands frequently alone, exhibiting nearly sixty variations, mostly between 1st and 3rd plurals. The MSS. evidence goes to prove that the 3rd person was original, for whereas *1g* gives the 3rd person in all but seven instances (these are confined to vv. 14 and 15), all other MSS. with few exceptions give the 1st person. Thus the wicked assume the rôle of the righteous and speak in their person in ciii. 9-15. Yet in civ. 1-6 the author addresses his reply not directly to the sinners who have just spoken but to the righteous (cf. ciii. 1), and returns to the sinners in civ. 7-9.
- our troubled days *t²*, β: 'their troubled days' *gqt¹u*: 'the days of their life with their troublous toil' *1g*.
we. 'they' *1g*, and so on except in 14-15.
been consumed: 'they have suffered from disease' *1g*.
become few. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 62.
our spirit small. Not 'humble' but 'poor-spirited'.
10. we . . . have not found any to help us even with a word *a-1gt*. So *1g* but with a change of persons. 'There has been none to help us in word or deed: we are powerless and have found nothing' *t*, β.
11. We hoped *a*. 'and we hoped' β.
to be the head. Deut. xxviii. 13.
laid their yoke, &c. Deut. xxviii. 48.
12. had dominion . . . hated us. Cf. Esther ix. 1.
to those that hated us. I think this is a dittograph from the line before, and 'that smote us' belongs to this line. Thus we have: 'They have had dominion over us that hated us, And to those that smote us we have bowed our necks, But they pitied us not.'

- 13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.
- 14 And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us,
But they did not attend to our cries
And would not hearken to our voice.
- 15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they
concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us
and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they
had lifted up their hands against us.

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous: Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of
the Words of Uprightness.*

- 104 I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great
One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for aforesaid
ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your
cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the
rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope;
for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not
have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal
judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous,
when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them,
but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And,
although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless

13. we desired $a-1g$. $1g\beta$ prefix 'and'.

14. cried out + 'and made lamentation' g ; $1g$ inserts this clause before 'in our tribulation'.

14, 15. These verses help to fix the date of xci-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. 'Dispersed' and 'murdered' point to Jannaeus, and the date 94-79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70-64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.

15. they helped $1g\beta$; 'you have helped' gmt : 'thou hast helped' q .
the yoke of those that g_1gm , &c. 'their yoke but' qt , &c.

CIV. Again the writer replies, not to the wicked, but to the righteous, as in ciii. 1. The righteous have indeed no hope in this life, but must look for the blessed future awaiting them in heaven.

1. unto you + 'ye righteous' $t^2\beta$.

the angels remember you. For angelic mediation cf. xv. 2 (note), xl. 5-7, xlvii. 2, lxxxix. 76.

and a, i . $> \beta$ -ei.

names are written: xlvii. 3 (note). The Great One: xiv. 2, ciii. 4.

2. now: used here of the impending future.

shine as the lights. Cf. Dan. xii. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.

ye shall shine $2^o a$. $> \beta$.

portals of heaven. For the open gates cf. Rev. xxi. 25. There is no hope of a new earth. Cf. xci. 16 (note).

3. Their demand for justice, unheard on earth, ciii. 14, 15, will one day be satisfied. Cf. for the cry of the righteous xcvi. 3, 5 (note), xcix. 3, 16.

the rulers. Cf. ciii. 14, 15 (note).

4. as the angels of heaven. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30; 1 En. civ. 6.

5. what shall ye . . . do $a-4, e$. 'as for what ye shall . . . do' $t, \beta-e$.

day of the great judgement. Cf. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 4, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, xcix. 15.

the eternal judgement. Cf. xci. 15, also xlv. 2 (note). This verse seems to imply no judgement for the righteous.

Contrast li. 2.

6. in their ways g_1gmt . 'in their lusts' β .

Note Pharisaic exclusiveness. Cf. xci. 3, 4. The hope of the righteous can be realized in heaven alone. The Messianic kingdom falls into the background.

be not a . 'and be not' β .

companions, &c.; cf. civ. 2, 4. In 2 Bar. li. 5, 10, 12 the righteous attain and even transcend the glory of the angels.

hosts. So β , reading $harâ$. Cf. Luke ii. 13; Rev. xix. 14; gmt read $hêrâna = \tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ (corrupt for $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu$, Fleming).

7, 8. He warns the wicked that, though they know it not, their sins are recorded daily.

7. All our sins . . . out. So Beer and n . Other MSS. read 'ye shall not search out all our sins'. t, β give 'all our sins' in nom.; g_1gmq in acc.

be written down t, β . 'they ('he' $1sg$; 'ye' mu) shall write' g_1gmqu .

8 they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness,
 9 day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words
 of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your
 10 idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And
 now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many
 ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning
 11 their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not
 change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified
 12 concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the
 13 wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books
 be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who
 have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man*

105 ¹ In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning
 their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.
² For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and
 ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

8. For the witness of natural powers cf. c. 10 (note).

9-13. Disclosures and directions regarding his own book.

9. The wicked are bidden not to alter or misinterpret the O.T. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 14, xcix. 2.

Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).

take account of *g₁g₂*. 'praise' *mt*, *β*.

your idols. Cf. xcix. 7-9, 14.

10. A time will come when the words of revelation will be perverted, and books be written enforcing wicked and
 heathen doctrine.

sinners . . . in many ways *g₁gmt*. 'many sinners' *q*, *β*.

books *t*, *β*. 'my books' *g₁gmq*.

11. But the writings of Enoch will counteract these heathen teachings. The writer speaks here from Enoch's stand-
 point.

my words *tu*, *β*. 'words' *g₁gmq*.

their languages, i.e. Greek and Aramaic.

12. At last a righteous and wise generation will receive and understand his works (cf. i. 2). Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9, 10.

13. recompensed: i.e. find their reward in these books (xciii. 10, c. 6, civ. 12, 13, cv. 1), or perhaps in the Messianic
 kingdom thereupon set up.

CV. This chapter does not seem to belong to xci-civ. (1) Children of earth is used in a good sense. Contrast c. 6.
 (2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in xci-civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an
 idea of i-xxxvi), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in xci-civ.

1. In those *a-m*. 'and in those' *m β*.

and testify *> m*.

recompense. Cf. civ. 13.

2. I and My Son, i.e. the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29, xiii. 32, 37, 52, xiv. 9. The righteous are God's children,
 and pre-eminently so the Messiah. Cf. the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii, also 1 En. lxii. 14; John xiv. 23.

in their lives, thus finite.

ye shall have peace. Contrast the curse of the wicked, xciv. 6 (note).

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH

106 ¹ And after some days my son Methuselah took
a wife for his son Lamech, and she became
² pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body
was white as snow and red as the blooming of
a rose, and the hair of his head and his long
locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful.
And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the
whole house like the sun, and the whole house
³ was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the
hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and
†conversed with† the Lord of righteousness.
⁴ And his father Lamech was afraid of him and
⁵ fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And
he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange
son, diverse from and unlike man, and resem-
bling the sons of the God of heaven; and his
nature is different and he is not like us, and his
eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his coun-
⁶ tenance is glorious. And it seems to me that
he is not sprung from me but from the angels,
and I fear that in his days a wonder may be
⁷ wrought on the earth. And now, my father,
I am here to petition thee and implore thee that
thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn
from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is
⁸ amongst the angels.' And when Methuselah
heard the words of his son, he came to me to the
ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was
there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice
and I came to him. And I said unto him:
'Behold, here am I, my son, **wherefore** hast
⁹ thou come to me?' And he answered and said:
'Because of a great cause of anxiety have
I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision
¹⁰ have I approached. And now, my father, hear
me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born
a son, the like of whom there is none, and his
nature is not like man's nature, and the colour

LATIN FRAGMENT.

Factum est autem [cum esset Lamech annorum ¹
trientorum quinquaginta] natus est ei filiu(s)
cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli autem eius ²
candi(d)iores in septies niue corpori autem eius
nemo hominum potest intueri.

et surrexit inter manus obstetricis suae et ³
adoravit dominum uiuentem in secula [laudauit].

et timuit Lamech. ⁴
et uenit ad patrem suum Mathusalem et ⁵
narravit illi omnia.

ne non ex eo natus esset nisi nontius dei. ⁶

dixit Mathusalem: Ego autem non possum ⁷
scire nisi eamus ad patrem nostrum Enoc.

quum autem uidit Enoc filium suum Mathu- ⁸
salem uenientem ad se [et] ait. quid est quod
uenisti ad me nate?

dixit: ⁹

quod natus est filio suo [nomine] Lamech cui ¹⁰
oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli[s] eius candidiores
septies niue, corpori autem eius nemo hominum
potest intueri

CVI—CVII. A fragment of a Noah Apocalypse. Part of this section has been preserved in a Latin Version which
I print side by side with the text.

2. and his long locks . . . beautiful. The Latin does not mention these 'long locks', and the Eth. is easily emended
into 'was white . . . and his eyes were like the rays of the sun'. Cf. the Eth. version in v. 5, and v. 10. In the Latin
(v. 2) *septies* seems corrupt for *capitis*. Cf. v. 10.
as wool. Cf. xlv. 1.

3. And thereupon ^{1g}. Other MSS. 'and when'.
opened his mouth. Cf. v. 11. Latin defective here.
†conversed with†. Here *tanagara* is corrupt for *taganaja* = 'praised' = [*laudauit*] in the Latin, where, however,
adoravit also occurs. See my Comm. *in loc*.

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xxii. 14, xc. 40.

5. and ^{2g} *g_{1g}* > other MSS.

sons of the God of heaven. Cf. lxix. 4, 5, also lxxi. 1 (note).

6. but from the angels. The Lat. gives a different idea. *Nontius* = *ἄγγελος*. The Lat. of 6 follows 'Lamech'
in v. 4.

7. Latin corrupt; observe *eamus*.

amongst the angels, i.e. at the ends of the earth, as in lxx. 2.

8. wherefore. So Latin *quid est quod* = *διὰ τί*. But Eth. = *διότι*, a corruption.

9. cause of anxiety *g_{1gmt}*. 'matter' β.

10. And now + 'hear me' *g_{1gm}*.

colour of his body ^{1g}. Other MSS. = 'his colour'. But *corpori* in the next clause in the Lat. and *σώματα* in
Apoc. Petri support ^{1g}.

of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and
 11 thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened
 12 his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayst make known to me the truth.
 13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the **angels** of heaven
 14 transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them,
 17 and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the
 15 earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and
 16 a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth
 18 shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.
 19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae eadem 11
 hora, qua *procidit* de utero matris suae. orauit
dominum uiuentem in secula et laudauit.
 et timuit Lamech. 12

et dixit Enoc: nuntiaturum est mihi fili quia 13
 post quingentos annos

mittet deus cataclismum aquae ut debeat 15
 omnem creaturam [XL.] ostendit oculis nostris.

et erunt illi . III . filii [et erunt nomina filiorum 16
 eius . Sem . Cham . Iafeth]

et ipse uocabitur Noe qui *interpretatur* requies 18
 quia requiem prestabit in archam.

the colour . . . rose, eyes . . . sun. Borrowed by Apoc. Petri.

11. Lord of heaven. Here only in Enoch. But note Lat. = 'dominum uiuentem in saecula.' Also cf. v. 1.

13. do a new thing. Num. xvi. 30; Isa. xliii. 19.

in the generation of . . . Jared. Cf. vi. 6.

some of the angels. Easily emended from Eth. = 'some from the heights'. *n* reads 'angels'.

14. transgress the law—of spiritual beings. Cf. xv.

17. I have restored this verse to its original place.

And *qt, x.* > *β-x.* *g₁g* are defective through hmt. here.

15. one year. Cf. Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14.

16. and *10 g₁gq.* > other MSS.

[he and his sons shall be saved] > *g₁gq.* It is a repetition of the clause in v. 18.

18. unrighteousness which shall *mt, β:* *g₁gq* read 'unrighteousness of apostasy (which) shall'.

19. the mysteries of the holy ones. Either the secrets known to the angels, or the secrets relating to the righteous in the future.

heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

- 107¹ And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.
- 108¹ Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they burn; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets—even the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners,

CVII. 1. The fresh growth of sin after the Deluge: its destruction and the advent of the Messianic kingdom.
till: *t, β*: 'that' *g₁gmq*.

3. The meaning of the name Noah given in Gen. v. 29 is here repeated.

everything in secret *a*: 'every secret thing' *β*.

returned and showed *m*. So *g* (but omits two letters through hmt.): 'returned after having seen' *t₁abcdloxy₁b*: *>₁gqu*.

CVIII. This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with i-xxxvi and xci-civ, or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with i-xxxvi is very inaccurate. What in chapters xviii and xxi was the place of punishment for the disobedient stars becomes in cviii. 3-6 practically Gehenna. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honour paid to asceticism, the scorn of silver and gold in 8-10, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness so prominent in 11-14.

This chapter is more akin to xci-civ than any other in the book. Its object is to encourage the righteous still to hope on despite the long delay in the coming of the kingdom.

1. keep the law. Contrast 'fall away from the law', xcix. 2.

2. The faithful are exhorted to further patience.

good *g₁g*. *>* other MSS.

shall wait *g₁gmq*. 'and are waiting' *t, β*.

3. And ¹⁰ *a*. *>* *β*.

blotted out of the book of life. Cf. xlvii. 3 (note).

out of the book of life and *g₁g*: 'out of the books of the living', *g, x*: 'out of the book and' *mt*.

holy books, *mqt, e₁b* (cf. ciii. 2). 'book of the Holy One' *g*. 'books of the holy ones' *β-ex₁b*. These contain the roll of the members of the kingdom. Cf. ciii. 2, 3.

spirits shall be slain. Cf. xxii. 13; xcix. 11 (note). It does not imply annihilation as the victims still 'cry and make lamentation'.

in a place. This chaotic flaming hell beyond the limits of the earth is the place of punishment for the angels in xviii. 12-16; xxi. 1-7.

chaotic. Eth.=*âôparos*, the LXX rendering of תהו in Gen. i. 2.

in the fire shall they burn. So after xxi. 3 I emend the Eth.= 'in fire they have burnt' (*g₁gmqt, β-abcx*): 'in fire they shall burn' (*abcx*)—a different form of the verb.

4. Further description of this hell and its inhabitants in terms borrowed from xviii. 13; xxi. 3.

† look over †. We might emend to 'behold its height' or 'tell its circuit' (or 'size').

of fire *g₁gu*: other MSS.= 'of its fire'.

5. one of the holy angels. This phrase is borrowed from i-xxxvi: cf. xxvii. 2.

voice, &c. Cf. xviii. 13.

weeping and crying *a*: *∞ β*.

6. This hell which is outside the earth is the final place of punishment for sinners and blasphemers and perverters of God's revelation through the prophets. In *vv.* 3-6 the writer has confounded places (i.e. Gehenna, and the hell of the disobedient stars) that are most carefully distinguished in i-xxxvi, and yet he has borrowed the phraseology of that section.

blasphemers. Cf. xci. 7.

spoken *mtu, β*: 'done' *g₁gy*.

the prophets. Here only expressly mentioned in Enoch.

7. written and inscribed—refers to the heavenly tablets. Cf. xlvii. 3. These records are also called the books of the holy ones, for their purpose is to let the angels know of the future: cf. ciii. 2. See also Asc. Isa. vii. 27.

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH 108. 7-15

and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed
 8 by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither
 gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to
 9 torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything
 as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were
 10 found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have
 recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been
 found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden
 under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame,
 11 yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation
 of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed
 12 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who
 13 have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. And they shall be
 resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful
 14 He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were
 15 born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall
 cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed
 for them.'

7-9. the humble. The עניי and עניי of the Psalms. They constitute the true Israel as opposed to the proud,
 the selfish and the paganizers. Cf. Cheyne on Ps. ix. 13.

those who have afflicted their bodies... loved neither gold nor silver... longed not after earthly
 food. These phrases would apply well to the Essene party. Cf. xlvi. 7, cii. 5. These marks of the righteous have
 their counterpart in those of the wicked: cf. xvi. 5-7, xcvii. 8-10, xcvi. 2.

8. loved *a*, *β*-*cdnoy*, *b*: 'love' *1g*, *cdnoy*, *b*.

9. Who, *gg* (*gmt* slightly corrupt): 'and' *u*: 'and who' *β*.

everything *u*. 'their bodies' *1g*. 'themselves' *gmt*, *β*. 'Bodies' is unsuitable, and 'themselves' would read
 better if the sinners were speaking: cf. Wisdom ii. 2-4. Cf. Job vii. 7, 8.

the Lord tried them much, &c. Cf. Wisdom iii. 5.

10. Enoch speaks, and refers his hearers and readers to his books.

their life in the world. Cf. xlvi. 7.

11. Verses 11 and 12 are spoken by God.

generation of light. Cf. lxi. 12 (note), xxxviii. 4 (note).

who were born in darkness. Of those who are born in darkness, i.e. heathenism, the faithful who were not
 recompensed with honour are transformed: but those who remain in their darkness are cast therein as their
 condemnation. Cf. v. 14.

were not recompensed with *a-gu*, *β*: 'did not seek' *g*.

12. in shining light, i.e. clad in it. Cf. Matt. vii. 15. Or we might render 'into shining light'. Cf. 2 En. xxii.
 8-10, the garments of the blessed are composed of God's glory. In 1 En. lxii. 16, they are 'garments of life'. Really
 they are the spiritual bodies of the blessed. Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, &c.; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Asc. Isa. iv. 16, vii. 22, viii. 14.

throne of his honour *a,u*. 'throne of honour, of his honour' *β-n*. Cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. iii. 21, iv. 4; Asc.
 Isa. ix. 10, 18.

13. Enoch again speaks.

resplendent, &c.: cf. xxxix. 7, civ. 2, cviii. 14.

the habitation of upright paths *l*, *β*: 'the habitation and (> *g*) upright paths' *gg*: 'the habitation and
 uprightness' *m*: 'the upright paths' *u*.

14. born in darkness. See v. 11 (note).

led into darkness. Cf. ciii. 8.

led *gmq*. Cf. ciii. 8. 'cast' *l*, *β*.

15. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, 3.

resplendent *a*. 'shining' *β*.