THE BOOKS OF Enoch
ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS OF
QUMRÂN CAVE 4

EDITED BY
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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
MATTHEW BLACK

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The year 1971 was the 150th anniversary of the first complete translation of the Ethiopic Enoch into a European language: *Mashafa Henok Nabiy*, The Book of Enoch the prophet. An Apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia; and now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library, by Richard Laurence, LL.D., Oxford, at the University Press for the Author, 1821. It was followed in 1838 by the publication of the Ethiopic text by the same author: *Mashafa Henok Nabiy*, Libri Enoch prophetae versio Aethiopica. Laurence’s manuscript was Oxford, Bodleian MS. 4, one of the three codices which the English traveller J. Bruce brought back from Abyssinia to Europe in 1773.

The existence of a book of Enoch kept by the Abyssinian Church among the sacred books of their Bible had been known in Europe, in a vague way, since the end of the fifteenth century. But of the work itself only portions had been available, and at second hand. There were substantial extracts quoted in Greek in the Chronography of George Syncellus, written in the years 808–10 and accessible from the beginning of the seventeenth century in the edition by J. J. Scaliger. Several quotations, allusions, and reminiscences in the works of Greek and Latin writers of the first four centuries were carefully gathered together by J. A. Fabricius, beginning in 1703. In 1800 S. de Sacy published in a Latin translation large extracts from En. 1: 1–32: 6.

In the course of the last one and a half centuries, however, new editions of the Ethiopic text have appeared (A. Dillmann 1851, J. Flemming 1902, R. H. Charles 1906), several translations into European languages, and a
very great number of critical studies. In the same period the textual foundation of Enochic literature was broadened by the finding at Akhmîm (Pano­polis) in 1886/7 of a Greek parchment codex of the sixth, if not the end of the fifth century, which contains almost in full the first section of the Ethiopic book (preceded by a fragment of a second copy); by the edition of a large part of the fifth section in Greek, from a papyrus codex of the fourth century acquired around 1930 by the Chester Beatty and Michigan University collections of papyri; and by the publication of various pieces of early versions of the books of Enoch: Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac.

At the beginning of September 1952 I was thrilled to identify the first Aramaic fragment of Enoch, which was found among a heterogeneous mass of tiny fragments unearthed by the Ta'amrê Bedouins in a cave hollowed out of the marl bank above which rise the ruins of Ḥirbet Qumrân. Towards the end of the same month I had the satisfaction of recognizing other fragments, while I was personally digging them out of the earth which filled Cave 4 and before they had been properly cleaned and unrolled. In the course of the years which followed, successive purchases progressively enriched this precious Enochic material, with the result that I was able to recognize in it seven manuscripts identifiable with the first, fourth, and fifth sections of the Ethiopic text, and four other manuscripts corresponding approximately to the third, astronomical, section. Towards the end of the month of April 1970 I succeeded in identifying various ‘pseudo-Enochic’ manuscripts of 4Q (one entrusted to me for editing, the remainder to J. Starcky), as also several fragments published previously among the manuscripts of Caves 1, 2, and 6 of Qumrân, as forming part of an important Enochic work, the Book of Giants. In an Eastern Aramaic adaptation, made by Mani himself, this book was admitted to the Manichaean canon of sacred books and translated into numerous languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The Aramaic fragments of the Enochic books were assigned to me for editing, together with other material from Qumrân Cave 4 which will be published in a volume of the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. The purpose of the present work is to provide a comparative textual and literary study of the Aramaic Enoch with its early versions, on a scale that would be incompatible with the editorial principles laid down for DJD. Moreover, I decided to restore the Aramaic text of the passages known in ancient translations with which the fragments of 4Q overlap in varying degrees, ranging from a few words to an almost continuous text. These restorations are enclosed within brackets, so that the reader will see at a glance what is
effectively preserved of the actual fragments of the Qumrân manuscripts. The commentary supports the choice of text from among divergent readings, if there are any, and poses problems of detail which the fresh information provided by 4QEnoch raises or allows to be resolved. Similarly I have tried to restore the position of the fragments of 4QEn in the columns and on the lines of the original scrolls; such a numeration obviously has only an approximate value.

The reader can check my decipherment on the Plates, which contain all fragments published here, and on the diplomatic transcriptions appended to this volume.

This monograph could not have come into being without the constant encouragement of the late Père R. de Vaux, O.P., and the friendly collaboration of Professor Matthew Black of the University of St. Andrews. The latter arranged to have an English translation made of my French manuscript. He also prepared the first draft of the English version of the Aramaic sections, and I owe to him several corrections, observations, and valuable suggestions. I am grateful, too, for his help in checking the proofs.

I should also like to thank Professor Joseph Trinquet of the Catholic Institute, Paris, for his continuous help in the reading of the Ge’ez text of the Ethiopic Enoch; Professor Gérard Garitte of the University of Louvain, who undertook on my behalf the Latin translation of the Coptic fragments relating to Enoch; M. Jean Starcky and Mr. John Strugnell, my co-editors of the manuscripts from Qumrân Cave 4 for the loan of photographs and for their transcriptions of the texts of 4Q which are directly or indirectly linked with the subjects of this work; Professor G. Vajda for information on Jewish medieval literature; and the late Professor Nougayrol for references to the Babylonian cosmology. I thank most especially my wife, Yolanta Zaluska, for day-to-day encouragement, for help in the preparation of the typescript, and for information on the person of Enoch in iconography and in medieval Latin literature; and I should like finally to acknowledge the assistance given by the staffs of the publishing and printing divisions of the Oxford University Press.

JÓZEF T. MILIK

Paris, September 1974
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ABBREVIATIONS


Charles II The Book of Enoch or I Enoch translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text, Oxford 1912.

CIS ii Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, ii (Aramaic inscriptions), Paris.


GSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain–Washington.

GSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna.


Dillmann A. Dillmann, Liber Henoch Aethiopice ad quinque codicum fidem editus, Leipzig 1851; cf. id. 1853 (translation and commentary).


DJD i Qumrān Cave 1, 1955, by D. Barthélemy (iQ1–13, 28a, 71, 72) and J. T. Milik (iQ14–28, 28b–70, 19bis, 34bis, 70bis).

DJD ii Les Grottes de Murabba‘at, 1961, by P. Benoit (Greek and Latin texts), J. T. Milik (Hebrew and Aramaic texts, Mur 1–88) and R. de Vaux.
ABBREVIATIONS

**DJD iii**
Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise, Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, Le rouleau de cuivre, 1962, by M. Baillet, Milik (texts of Cave 5Q, the copper scroll from Cave 3Q: 3Q15; two inscribed jars from a cave of Qumrân) and R. de Vaux.

**DJD iv**

**DJD v**

**E**

**Ea, Eb, etc.**
Ethiopic manuscripts of the Charles edition (see below, pp. 83–5); E° and Eθ = first and second group of Ethiopic MSS.

**Ena, Enb, etc.**
First, second, etc., copy of the books of Enoch from Qumrân Cave 4.

**Enastr, etc.**
Astronomical Book of Enoch, first copy, etc., same provenance.

**EnGiants**

**Flemming–Radermacher**
J. Flemming and L. Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch (GCS 5)*, 1901.

**GCS**
*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte*, Berlin.

**Inv.**

**Kutscher**

**Lods**

**Martin**

**Milik, Recherches**

**Milik, Ten Years**

**Mur**

**PG**

**PL**
*Patrologia Latina* by the same editor, Paris 1844–64.

**Q**
texts of Qumrân.

**RB**
*Revue Biblique*, Paris 1892–.

**RES**
*Répertoire d’épigraphie sémitique*, Paris 1900.

**S**

**S’**
duplicate of the quotation from En 8:4–9:4 in Syncellus, locc. cit."
ABBREVIATIONS

SC  Sources chrétiennes, Paris.

1Q to 11Q texts from the caves at Qumrān, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., 11.


1QM Manual of War (*serek ha-milhamah*) from 1Q. Sukenik and Avigad, loc. cit. (*sub* 1QH), pls. 35–58.


4QEn*, etc. En*, etc. = 4Q201, etc., in the future edition of *DJD*.

4QTestLevi, unpublished MSS. from Qumrān.

4Q Tob, etc.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this edition is to present, in transcription (with restorations), and with translation and notes, all the fragments identified among the manuscripts of Qumrân Cave 4 as forming part of different Books of Enoch. In the Introduction the importance of this discovery is first briefly indicated; then an attempt is made to resolve the familiar problems of literary criticism concerning the Enochic literature in the light of the fresh data furnished by the specimens of the original text; the character of the Greek version and of other ancient translations dependent on it is evaluated; and finally a description is given, in rapid outline, of works attributed to Enoch from Roman times down to the late Middle Ages, with emphasis on the profound gap which separates these later writings from the Judaeo-Aramaic documents; a delicate problem is that of the origin and dating of the Book of Parables, which forms the second section of the Ethiopic Enoch.
CHAPTER I

ARAMAIC BOOKS OF ENOCH IN PERSIAN AND HELLENISTIC TIMES

The fragments of leather scrolls belonging to the Books of Enoch which come from Cave 4 of Qumrân represent eleven manuscripts, seven of which have been given the sigla En^ to En^, while the other four, of the Astronomical Book alone, are denoted Enastr^ to Enastr^d. No single manuscript fragment which might correspond in any way to the second section of the Ethiopic Enoch, chapters 37–71 (Book of Parables), has been identified in the countless mass of fragments of 4Q or in the less extensive collections of manuscripts from ten other Qumrân caves. This negative, but very eloquent pointer, in terms of the calculation of probabilities, to the post-Qumrân dating of this work, will be further reinforced by considerations of a literary nature. On the other hand, I have been able to identify quite recently a very important Enochic document entitled the Book of Giants which, in the third century A.D., was ‘canonized’ by the Manichaeans. I have located about ten, if not some twelve, of the manuscripts of this book among the Qumrân fragments, both published and unpublished; of these only 4QEnGiants^ is edited in full here. We shall inquire later on (below, pp. 59–69) whether the authorship of other Qumrân texts, in particular a beautiful fragment of an Aramaic apocalypse and several astronomical and calendrical documents, may be attributed to the antediluvian sage.

But, whatever the truth about that may be, the Qumrân Enochic corpus was composed essentially of five Aramaic literary works: the Astronomical Book, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. An analysis of the Book of Watchers will allow us to distinguish the very archaic Enochic document which was probably entitled Visions of Enoch. At the beginning of the first century B.C. there existed in all probability the Pentateuch of Enoch, which was copied on two separate scrolls, containing respectively the Astronomical Book and the four other works. This pentateuchal collection was to be altered during the Christian era by the elimination of the Book of Giants and the insertion of the Book of Parables.
The destruction wrought by Roman soldiers, by rodents, by insects, and above all by the ravages of the centuries on the treasures of the central library of the Essene settlement at Ḥirbet Qumrān, hidden in Cave 4 in the summer of the year 68, has had a merciless effect on our Enochic manuscripts. Scarcely any fragments offer continuous, or almost continuous, passages of the text. The majority are reduced to tiny pieces, in truth minute crumbs, whose identification, direct and indirect association, and combination into a restored text, demanded great reserves of patience and ingenuity. To quote a novelist: 'Il se mit à étudier le rouleau avec la patience frénétique qui caractérise ce genre de savants, capables de perdre la vue en étudiant pendant vingt ans un fragment des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte.'

Fig. 1 tabulates the fragments of 4QEn in relation to the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch.

If we compare the sections represented by our fragments of 4QEn (including the restored text) with the Ethiopic text, the balance appears fairly satisfactory. For the first book of Enoch, the Book of Watchers, we can calculate that exactly 50 per cent of the text is covered by the Aramaic fragments; for the third, the Astronomical Book, 30 per cent; for the fourth, the Book of Dreams, 26 per cent; for the fifth, the Epistle of Enoch, 18 per cent.

Fig. 1 also makes clear the 'codicological status' of the scrolls of 4QEnoch. It can be seen that En^ brought together in the same volume three of the documents attributed to the antediluvian patriarch, the first, the fourth, and the fifth; to these should be added, in all probability, the Book of Giants, which came after the Book of Watchers. En^ and En^ each contained the first and the fourth book; both were perhaps originally tetralogies. The scribes of En^ and En^ probably transcribed only the Book of Watchers, whilst the scribe of En^ copied only the Epistle. The special case of the Astronomical Book will be discussed presently.

The dates of the 4QEn manuscripts are spread over the second and first centuries B.C.: En^ was written in the first half, En^ in the middle, and En^ (represented by only one fragment, written by the same copyist as that of 4QTestLevi^) in the third quarter of the second century; En^ was written in the first half, En^ in the middle, and En^ (of which En^ seems to be a more or less contemporary copy) in the last third of the first century. However approximate these dates may be (and I would be the first to

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### Books of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4

#### Book of Watchers [En.1-36], Book of Dreams [En.83-90], Epistle of Enoch [En.91-107]

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<th>4Q</th>
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<th>Enb</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>1:1-6</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>2:1-5:6</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>5:9-6:4; 6:7-8:1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>6:4-8:1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>8:3-9:3; 6-8</td>
<td>iii</td>
<td>8:2-9:4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>10:3-4</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>10:8-12</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>10:21-11:1; 12:4-6</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>vii</td>
<td>14:4-6</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>14:18-20; 15:11</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>18:8-12</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>18:15(?)</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>20:24</td>
<td>xxvi</td>
<td>20:3-29; 2:31-2-32:3</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>22:1-24</td>
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<td>32:3-6; 33:4-34:1</td>
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#### Astronomical Book of Enoch [En.72-82]

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<td>1-36</td>
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<td>cf. 82:20</td>
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<td>1-</td>
<td>-22</td>
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<td></td>
<td>23 76:13-77:4</td>
<td>27 82:2(?)</td>
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<td>24 76:8</td>
<td>28 82:9 13</td>
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<td>25 76:9-12</td>
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<td>26 79:2-79:2</td>
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<td>27 82:2(?)</td>
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<td>28 82:9 13</td>
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#### Book of Giants [En.91-107]

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<td>86:1-3</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>89:11-14</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>89:29-31</td>
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<td>89:31-37</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>89:43-44</td>
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#### End

**FIG. 1. Table of identified fragments of 4QEnoch**
acknowledge that there is a fairly wide margin of error), it is significant in every respect that, apart from one manuscript of the Astronomical Book (Enastr\textsuperscript{b}) and some copies of the Book of Giants, no manuscript of 4QEn has been found in the beautiful ‘classical’ writing of the Herodian era or from the last period of the Essene occupation of Ḥīrbet Qumrān. Qumrān scribes and readers must have gradually lost interest in the literary compositions attributed to Enoch, just as happened, though more rapidly and more drastically, in Pharisaic circles. We should note likewise that an early scroll, En\textsuperscript{a}, had already been withdrawn from circulation and its detached leaves used for other purposes—for example, the verso of the first leaf for a schoolboy’s exercise. Equally significant, finally, is the absence of the Books of Enoch from other caves at Qumrān, whose stores formed private libraries. Our copies of 4QEn were no doubt covered with dust on the shelves, in the chests, or in the earthenware jars of the main library, and only a small number of Essene readers consulted and borrowed them, particularly during the first century A.D.

Enochic literature was to have a full-blown renaissance in the early Christian communities, but this would come about through the medium of Greek translations.

**THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK**

(En. 72–82)

The four copies of the Aramaic astronomical document attributed to Enoch cover a period of more than two hundred years: Enastr\textsuperscript{a} dates from the end of the third or the beginning of the second century; Enastr\textsuperscript{e} is from the middle and Enastr\textsuperscript{d} from the second half of the first century; Enastr\textsuperscript{b} is copied in classical Herodian writing and thus belongs to the early years A.D. The majority of the fragments, those of Enastr\textsuperscript{a} in their entirety and the great majority of those of Enastr\textsuperscript{b}, belong to an elaborately detailed and monotonous calendar in which the phases of the moon, day by day, were synchronized with the movements of the sun in the framework of a year of 364 days; the calendar also described the movements of the two heavenly bodies from one ‘gate’ of the sky to another. This part of the work no longer exists in the Ethiopic version. Enastr\textsuperscript{b} and Enastr\textsuperscript{e} contain passages which correspond to various paragraphs of the third section of the Ethiopic, but in
a much more developed form. Enastr provides remains of the final part of the work, a part which is also lost in the Ethiopic tradition. The complete text of this book in Aramaic was, accordingly, very long, so that copies of it filled voluminous scrolls, and this explains why it was never included with the other Enochic writings on the same strip of parchment.

This work, in which the essentially astronomical and calendrical content was enriched by cosmographic information and moral considerations, seems to me to be the oldest Jewish document attributed to Enoch. An indirect allusion is already to be found in Gen. 5: 23, where the writer, having fixed the age of the patriarch at 365 years, implies, in guarded terms, the existence of astronomical works circulating under the name of Enoch. It is highly likely, indeed, that the whole chronology of the Bible, in particular that of the Mosaic Pentateuch, was elaborated by priestly redactors of the Persian era, taking as their point of departure the calendar with fixed days and festivals composed of 364 days.¹

The origination of this calendar may have been attributed by its anonymous inventor to Enoch, as the antediluvian sage par excellence. In the Persian period this reckoning was of a strictly theoretical nature, suitable as a framework for the distant events of sacred history and nothing more. It was only the Essenes who introduced it effectively into their liturgical life, during the second half of the second century, without, it would seem, taking account of its inevitable discrepancy with the solar year of 365 ¼ days. It was precisely through anxiety to find a more concrete reference to the year of 365 days, employed widely in Persian and Hellenistic times, that the age of the patriarch was corrected from 364 to 365 years in Gen. 5: 23.

An obvious allusion, as it seems to me, to the Astronomical Book of Enoch occurs in the Hellenistic Jewish historian Eupolemos,² whose History of the Jews was completed in the year 158 B.C. In the first extract from this work quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea (Praeparatio Evangelica, ix. 17. 2–9)³ Eupolemos gives a detailed account of Abraham as the inventor of astrology


² Probably to be identified with Eupolemos, son of John, a member of the priestly family of ha-Qôṣ, ambassador of Judas Maccabaeus to Rome in 161 B.C. (1 Macc. 8: 17; 2 Macc. 4: 11).

³ K. Mras, GCS 43. 1 (1954), 502–3. The immediate source of this quotation in Eusebius was Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek compiler of the first century B.C.
(τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ Χαλδαίκην εὑρεῖν) who teaches the Phoenicians ‘the evolutions of the sun and of the moon and all other things’ (τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα). In Egypt, he initiates the priests of Heliopolis in astrology and in other sciences, revealing to them that ‘the invention of these (sciences) goes back to Enoch, and it was he who was the first to invent astrology, not the Egyptians’ (τὴν δὲ εὑρέσειν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἑνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὑρήκεναι τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Ἁλιγυπτίους). The Greeks claim that Atlas invented astrology, but Atlas is none other than Enoch; Enoch had a son Methuselah, and he learned all these things through the angels of God: Ἐλλῆνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἀτλαντα εὑρήκεναι ἀστρολογίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Ἑνώχ· τοῦ δὲ Ἑνώχ γενέσθαι νῦν Μαθούσαλαν <...> δὲ πάντα δι’ ἀγγέλων θεοῦ γνώναι. At the end of this passage we must take it that there is a clumsy abridgement, and that the last phrase refers to Enoch and not to his son. Eupolemos thus gives us a concise summary of the Astronomical Book of Enoch: an astrological treatise describing the path of the sun and of the moon and other matters, learned by means of angelic instruction, and passed on to Methuselah.

Given the undeniably Samaritan character of this narrative (the primordial role of Abraham as against that assigned to Moses in the Judaean tradition; the allusion to the temple of Argarizin named the mountain of the Most High, § 5), an anonymous Samaritan source may be seen in it, the same source as that from which the extract ἀδέσποτος of Praep. ev. ix. 18. 2 is derived, which, moreover, is simply a résumé of the first extract from Eupolemos.1 However, it seems to me more likely that Eupolemos used the Samaritan work and copied it without great changes. The short extract is derived directly from it, and it differs in at least one detail (Abraham’s descent from the Giants) from the text of Eupolemos. The Samaritan history used by the latter may well date from fairly far back in the third century, since one of its objectives was the exaltation of the temple of Gerizim, founded in the time of Alexander.2

This first reference to the Astronomical Book of Enoch, a reference coming from a Samaritan historian, obliges us to rethink the problem of the priestly milieu in which our document was written. The invention of the calendar of 364 days, its application to Biblical chronology, and the composition of the astronomical work attributed to Enoch could have been effected just as

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2 Josephus, Ant. xii. 257-64.
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easily by the Samaritan priests of Sichem as by the Judaean priests of Jerusalem. Other early Aramaic works, such as the book of Tobias or the Testament of Levi, seem likewise to have been written by Samaritan writers; it was only subsequently that they were ‘adapted’ by the Jewish scribes of Judaea.¹

Less decisive, and this for textual reasons, is the evidence offered by Ecclesiasticus, composed in the first third of the second century and translated into Greek by the grandson of the author around 116 B.C.² The Greek text begins the eulogy of the Fathers with:

*Ενώς εὐρήστησεν Κυρίω καὶ μετετέθη
υπόδειγμα μετανοιας ταῖς γενεάις (Sir. 44: 16).

The identical text, apart from the addition, by dittography, of two words taken from the following verse (which concerns Noah), is to be found in MS. B of the Cairo Genizah:

noch (נמא תמע עלותה עם יוההוגלוקה
אות דרת לדור דורר.

However, this passage is missing from the large fragment of Ecclesiasticus found in the excavations at Masada, which dates from the first half of the first century B.C. There the series of the Fathers begins with Noah:

[... ]a an xsai pns mi

The editor of the Masada scroll develops a suggestion made by G. Bickell (1882) and states: ‘The Scroll now clearly indicates that Ben Sira began the history of the “Fathers of old” with Noah, and not with Enoch.’ He suggests that ‘at an early period an attempt had been made to artificially expunge a portion of Ben Sira’s observations on Enoch in the concluding verses [sc. in 49: 14], and to insert them in their chronological order, i.e. before Noah’.³ But this ‘early period’ predates the translation by Ben Sira’s grandson who, as he emigrated to Egypt in 133–132, carried in his baggage what must certainly have been a very faithful copy of the Hebrew work of his grandfather. In the omission of the Masada scroll (just as in an analogous omission in the Syriac version) there is perhaps evidence of the theological scruple which grew stronger and stronger with regard to Enochic literature. Be that

² For this exact detail of chronology see Y. Yadin, The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada, 1965, p. 38.
as it may, it is sufficient for our immediate aim to indicate that the expression נסخت, whether it was found originally in Sir. 44: 16 or in 49: 14, certainly refers to astronomy, a ‘Chaldaean’ science *par excellence*—but does not refer to it exclusively. For the function of Enoch in his role as ‘sign of knowledge for all generations’ was to be formulated by the author of the Book of Jubilees as follows: ‘because he was sent down there [to the earth after his removal] as the sign that he might witness against all the children of men and foretell every work of the generations until the day of judgement’ (4: 24). This legendary framework certainly corresponds to the situation described in En. 81 and in the Book of Watchers, En. 1–36. This suggests that both the author of Jubilees in the last quarter of the second century and Ben Sira at the beginning of the same century were thinking as much of the Book of Watchers as of the Astronomical Book, when they designated the patriarch ‘Sign of science’, that is, of natural and apocalyptic knowledge. The grandson of Ben Sira must have been thinking above all of the contents of the Book of Watchers when he translated נסخت by μετάνοια. A pairing of Enoch and Noah, similar to that in Ecclesiasticus, is found in Jub. 10: 17: ‘(Noah) during his life on earth surpassed the children of men by his perfect justice, with the exception of Enoch. For the work of Enoch was created as a testimony for the generations of the world, in which he recounted to all generations their actions up to the day of judgement.’

The scientific part of the astronomical Enoch, i.e. the calendar which occupied the major part of the Aramaic document, is mentioned explicitly in Jub. 4: 17: ‘(Enoch) was the first among the children of men, born of the earth, who had learned writing, science, and wisdom, and he described in a book the signs of heaven according to the order of their months, that the children of men might know the periods of the year according to the order of all their particular months.’ The first part of the following verse refers no doubt to En. 80–2, which have an ethical and apocalyptic content: ‘He was also the first to write a testimony, and he gave this testimony to the children of men from among the generations of the earth.’ But the text of verse 18b goes far beyond the content of our astronomical document: ‘he had given notice of the weeks of years of the jubilees, made known the reckoning of the years, placed in order the months, and proclaimed the sabbaths of years, (all) that we [the angels] had taught him.’ I see in this a reference to various astronomical and calendrical texts, calculated on the cycles of three, six, seven, and forty-nine years, copies of which exist among the manuscripts of Cave 4 of Qumrân (see below, pp. 61–9).
Information analogous to that of Jub. 4: 17–24 is found in a Hebrew fragment from Qumran, 4Q227. This fragment preserves the upper left-hand corner of one sheet of a scroll:

margin

The Nun of the last word of line 1 was added by a different hand. The letter in line 2 which is not transcribed is final: perhaps read [ד']; cf. below, p. 25.

It is the angels who are speaking here, ‘we have taught him’ (line 1), just as in the book of Jubilees (cf. Jub. 4: 18 and 23). Enoch spent ‘six jubilees of years’ (l. 2) with the angels (Jub. 4: 21; equivalent to 300 years of walking with God, Gen. 5: 22) and then he came back on to the ‘earth amongst the sons of men and he witnessed against all of them [. . .], and also against the Watchers, and he described all [. . .]’ (ll. 3–4 = Jub. 4: 21). Thus we have an excellent résumé of the first section of the Ethiopic Enoch. The patriarch also described ‘the sky and the paths of its hosts and the months [. . .] so that the just do not go astray . . .’ (ll. 5–6 = Jub. 4: 17). Line 6 of our fragment takes up some phrases of En. 80: 7 (‘. . . the sinners . . . will err’), of 82: 4 (‘. . . the just . . . do not sin in the reckoning of all their days, during which the sun travels in the skies’), of 82: 5 (‘men err, and they do not take account of the reckoning of all time’), of 82: 7 (‘for Uriel has shown me the lights, and the months, and the festivals, and the years, and the days, and he has breathed on me what the Lord of every creature of the world has commanded him for me concerning the army of heaven’).

This seems the place to emphasize the archaic features of the literary and scientific content of the Astronomical Book of Enoch.

First, the actual legend of the patriarch has not yet taken on the complex form which it possesses in other Enochic books and especially in Jub. 4: 17–25; 10: 17; 7: 38–9; 21: 10 (according to the last two passages, even the knowledge of ritual of Noah and Abraham goes back to the ‘words of Enoch’).
The origin of the science of Enoch is certainly heavenly, for it is the angel 'Uri'el ('Light of God') who instructs him on the luminaries of heaven, in accordance with the express order of the Lord (72: 1; 74: 4; 78: 10; 79: 2 and 6; 80: 1; 82: 7). However, it is during his earthly life, certainly as a creature of flesh and blood, and not as a redivivus on leave from his sojourn in Paradise, that the patriarch Enoch explains orally, as father to son or master to disciple, and draws up in writing his scientific and religious teachings, his moral exhortations, and his revelations concerning the future, in short, antediluvian 'wisdom' in all its forms. Methuselah has to transmit to his descendants and to the generations of the world to come 'this wisdom which is beyond their thoughts' (76: 14; 79: 1; 82: 1).

These mythological details remind us of a Sumerian and Babylonian literary genre, namely the epistles with sapiential and other contents, which the antediluvian sages (there were reckoned to be seven of them, as Enoch was the seventh starting from Adam: Jub. 7: 39) addressed to the kings, their contemporaries (from eight to ten in number, the last having been the hero of the flood, Ziusudra, Atra-šasīs, Utnapištim, just as Noah was the tenth starting from Adam). The most striking parallel is the 'Teachings of Šuruppak to his son Ziusudra', a fairly popular collection of counsels of wisdom known to us through Sumerian and Akkadian copies dating from between 2500 B.C. and the middle Assyrian epoch.¹ A second striking coincidence is that Šuruppak is the name of an antediluvian hero and at the same time that of a town (modern Fara), the home of the hero of the flood story. Now, Enoch son of Cain saw his father erect 'a town which he named with the name of his son Enoch' (Gen. 4: 17). Enoch, the first citizen, is thus the inventor of urban civilization, sciences and techniques included. An apocryphal letter in Middle Assyrian is addressed to the first antediluvian king: 'To Alulu speak: "Thus said Adapa the sage ..."'.²

The text of En. 81 contrasts strongly with the relative simplicity of the Enochic legend in the Astronomical Book. The moral considerations of 81: 7–9 do not contain any calendrical references like those of chapters 80 and 82. Enoch receives his instruction from the angels at the time of his sojourn in Paradise (this is implied). Then the three angels (v. 5) lead him back to earth and arrange for him an interval of one year for the instruction


of his son and of his grandsons, after which he will again be withdrawn from amongst them.¹ Now, the three angels are the appointed guides of Enoch according to the Book of Dreams. In 87: 3–4 ‘these three . . . carried me off . . . and brought me up to a high place’ (in order to behold the generation of the flood); in 90: 31 ‘these three . . . those who had first carried me off . . . made me sit in the midst of the ewes’ (for judgement). The first passage is preceded by a reference to the four white men who come from heaven and the three (others) with them (87: 2). This clearly refers to the list of seven archangels of En. 20, in which to the four archangels of 9: 1 (Mika’el, Šari’el, Rafa’el, and Gabri’el; cf. ch. 10 = ch. 88 and 89: 1) are added ’Ūri’el, Ra’û’el, and Remiel. En. 81 is accordingly later than the year 164, the date of the composition of the Book of Dreams; but it is earlier than the date of Jubilees, where, in 4: 24 (and also in the Hebrew fragment of 4Q which depends on it), we have called attention to the chronology of the teachings of Enoch to Methuselah as it is reflected in En. 81.

In spite of his discreet monotheism (‘the sinners . . . will look upon the stars as gods’, 80: 7), the author of the astronomical Enoch is not very far removed from the religious concepts of his age when he has the stars guided and the days and the months presided over, in the Egyptian and Phoenician manner, by the angels, as minor celestial beings. The level of his knowledge of astronomy was very severely criticized by O. Neugebauer.² It is true that this ‘extremely primitive level of astronomy’, as revealed in the descriptions of the phases of the moon and the doorways of heaven (Neugebauer, pp. 51–8), and in the ratio 2: 1 for the length of days and nights (En. 72), scarcely allows of conclusions on the relative archaism of this type of observation or on mutual influences. But the division of the horizon into 360 degrees, and even the ratio 2: 1, certainly seem to come from a scholarly Babylonian milieu which popularized some elements of astronomical observations, of arithmetic and geometry—in short the Chaldaica of which Eupolemos speaks (above, p. 9). The essential interest of the author of Enastr is centred, however, on the ideal calendar, with days of weeks and festivals fixed in relation to the days of the months. He admires the beauty of his sacred arithmetic so much that he accuses the peoples and even the chiefs of the stars (En. 80: 6) of not following this reckoning of heavenly origin.

¹ In v. 5 we must certainly read ‘and these three saints (brought me and set me down on the earth in front of the door of my house)’, with the second group of Ethiopic manuscripts and not ‘and these seven saints’. ² Orientalia, 1964, pp. 58–61 (‘The Astronomy of the Book of Enoch’); see below, p. 277.
On the other hand, the description of the terrestrial orb in En. 77 leads us, with complete certainty, to the Mesopotamian centres of scholarship. The original wording of 77: 3b, preserved in large part by Enastra\textsuperscript{b} 23 8–9 (below, p. 289) is as follows: ‘[And I saw the three circle]s(?) of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men on it; and one of them was for all [the seas and the rivers; and one of them] was for the deserts and for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness.’ In the same way as the plural of מְדַבְּרֵי מִדְגֵּדֶן in this passage expresses only the nuance of spatial greatness, since ‘the deserts’ is equivalent to מְדַבְּרֵי רֵבָה, ‘the great desert’, of the Book of Giants (below, p. 306), so ‘the rivers’, מְדַבְּרֵי נְחָלָה, must here signify ‘the great river’, in other words the Ocean which surrounds the earth. The term מְדַבְּרֵי מַכְבָּשָׁה ‘seven, the seven’ denotes the regions situated beyond the circular Ocean, which float in the dark emptiness, שְׁלֹשֶׁת מְדַבְּרֵי רֵבָה in the Book of Giants, מְדַבְּרֵי נְחָלָה in En 1 xxvi 21 (En. 32: 2).\textsuperscript{1}

This picture of the world is remarkably similar to that in the Babylonian map compiled some time after the ninth century (the surviving copy dates from the late Babylonian Period, ca. 600 B.C.).\textsuperscript{2} In this map the earth is represented by a circle surrounded by the ‘Bitter River’ (or ‘Circular River’), nāru marratum, beyond which seven triangular regions (nagū, ’region, district, island’) appear (see our Fig. 2). In one of these distant corners of the universe is the dwelling-place of Utnapistim (text, obv., line 10), the hero of the flood according to tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} For the substantival use of cardinal numbers cf. the Assyrian \textit{sibittu} ‘Seven (gods), Seven (as the name of a god)’; ‘the seven’, the four’ (אַרְבָּעָה in En 4 i 13), ‘the three angels in the Book of Dreams; ‘seven from among them (sc. the angels’), בְּשֵׁשׁ (קְנֶשֶׁת בְּשֵׁשׁ in the Bodleian fragment of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, col. a 9; cf. the Syriac ṣib’āyē ‘the seven planets’, etc.


\textsuperscript{3} Weidner (loc. cit., pp. 90 and 91 n. 2) supposed that the text mentioned \textit{eight} regions, and suggested the restoration of eight triangles...
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It is significant that the Jewish author of our astronomical treatise is not explicit about the exact location of Paradise, his casualness in this respect being quite the reverse of the interest shown by the author of the Book of Watchers and by a later redactor (Greek Jewish or Christian? Abyssinian?) of the same passage in En. 77: 3.

The information provided by En. 77: 4–8 already points to real, not mythological geography, though highly schematized and lacking any toponymy, in marked contrast to the profusion of angels’ names in the astrological part of the work. No precise details are given of the site of the seven mountains permanently covered with snow (v. 4). Of the seven great rivers, on the other hand, described in verses 5–7, three are identifiable: the Nile, western tributary of the Mediterranean, which is ‘the great sea’ (יָם רָבָא), the Tigris, and the Euphrates, north-eastern tributaries of the Red Sea (יָם הָרָקִיע). Of the seven islands (v. 8) two are in the ‘Red Sea’: perhaps the semi-legendary Babylonian countries of Dilmun (Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf) and Magan (Arabia and Ethiopia). Five others are in the Mediterranean: Cyprus, Crete, the Peloponnesian islands, etc. (See Fig. 3.)

on the map (only four are preserved). In my opinion he was quite wrong. On rev., line 23, one reads a-na 7⁴ na-gu-ū a-šar tal-la-ku 7 bēri [ . . .], ‘to the seventh district, where you go, 7 double hours [ . . .]’. Weidner corrected 7⁴ to 8⁴ on the ground that the seventh region had already been described in line 20 [a-na si-bi]-i na-gu-ū a-šar tal-la-ku [ . . .]. He failed, however, to notice that yet another mention of the same region occurs in the description of the fifth district, [a-na ḥa-an]-šu na-gu-ū a-šar tal-laku 7 bēri [ . . .], line 10; [a-na 5⁴ na-gu-ū a-šar t]a-al-la-ku 7 [ . . .], line 15. As for the map, one cannot restore eight triangles; on such a supposition, the alternate ‘regions’ would lie at right angles, which is certainly not the case. The fact is that the text mentions, and the map represents, only seven nagā, as is admitted by several other scholars.

Moreover, subsequent scholars have rejected Weidner’s proposed identification of our text as a recension of the epos šar tamḥāri (‘King of the battle’), describing the exploits of Sargon I of Akkad; it follows that his interpretation of the map as ‘ein spätbabylonischer Versuch, das Weltreich Sargons graphisch darzustellen’ (p. 92) must also be rejected. Consequently, the mention of [din]gir Ut-napištim may stand, as against Weidner’s reading [din]gir Šamaš napištim, ‘Šamaš das Leben’, obv., 10, where it appears beside Šarru-kīn u Nūr-Dagan. Following H.-G. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), 22, one has to understand this passage as meaning ‘dass ausser Ut-napištim, Sargon und Nūr-Dagan niemand die im Vorhergehenden beschriebenen Gegenden gesehen hat’; cf. H. Hirsch, AfO xx (1963), 7a (‘eine allgemeine Wendung, dass niemand ausser den genannten Sagenhelden die fernen Gebiete gesehen hatte’); W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, Atra-Hasîs, 1969, p. 137 (‘. . . the Babylonian Mappa Mundi, where under the name Ut-napištim the flood hero is described as living in a remote corner of the universe’).

¹ On four northern rivers see my paper in Chronique d’Égypte, 1971, no. 92, 335–6; compare also the four rivers of Paradise in Gen. 2: 10–14, as interpreted by G. Hölscher, Drei Erdkarten, pp. 35–44 and Fig. 1.
The geographical horizons of the author are astonishingly wide, and they correspond well with the boundaries of the enormous Persian empire, with those of the Hellenistic empire less well. The cartographic information at his disposal is in remarkable contrast to that reflected in the Babylonian map of the world, going back to an original from the beginning of the first
millennium. In that map Babylon is at the centre; the northern horizon does not go beyond the mountains in which the Euphrates has its source, nor the southern horizon beyond the Persian Gulf; the towns or countries cited by name all belong to Mesopotamia or to neighbouring territories.
The character of the Greek version of the Astronomical Book may be gleaned from the Ethiopic adaptation. It can be seen clearly now that the Egyptian Jews responsible for the translation from Aramaic were at pains to shorten the voluminous, prolix, and terribly monotonous original. The lunisolar calendar, which occupied the major part of the book, was transposed into simple tables, one of which, containing the distribution of the 'doorways' of the moon by days of the months of the solar year of 364 days, is given below. The introduction and the remainder of the work were freely adapted, in an attempt not only to abridge it, but also to bring it up to date here and there, in relation to the state of astronomical knowledge in the Hellenistic world. As ill luck would have it, the Greek translators were not able to procure a complete copy of the Aramaic, and had to use one from which a good part of the final section of the work was missing. This suggests that there were only very few copies of the Astronomical Book in circulation among the Egyptian Jews of the Graeco-Roman era. (Alternatively, it was the Ethiopic translator who could not find a complete copy of the Greek version, and the scarcity of the work was among the Christians of the Byzantine period.)

Until recently there were no known samples of the Greek text of this book. However, I have now identified two small scraps of a Greek papyrus, Oxy. 2069, fragment 3" and 3", as being parts of En. 77: 7-78: 1 and 78: 8. Otherwise there exist merely an allusion to Μάθηματα Ἠνώχ (the Greek title of the Astronomical Book of Enoch) made by Anatolius the Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea in 269 (Eus., Hist. Eccl. vii. 32. 19), and a brief summary preserved in the Chronography of Syncellus, drawn no doubt from the chronicles of the Alexandrian monks, Panodorus and Anianus (ca. A.D. 400):


2. 'Εν τούτῳ (Anno Mundi 1286) γὰρ κατ’ ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστρων ἀρχαγγελος Οὐρήλ· ἐμήνυε τῷ Ἔνωχ· τὶ ἔστι μὴν καὶ τροπή· καὶ ἐναυτός. ὥσ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἔνωχ φέρεται καὶ τὸ ἐξειν τὸν ἐναυτόν νβ′ (in Barb. ηβ′, corrected in margin to νβ") ἐβδομάδας . . . (in the year 956 before the Flood) ἐγνωρισθη τῶν Ἔνωχ. καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δ

1 Cf. Charles's notes to 78: 15-16 and to 79: 5.  
2 See below, p. 75, and my paper in Chronique d'Égypte, 1971, no. 92, 333-41.
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3. This passage of Syncellus has been summarized by George Cedrenus:

A clear reference to the last section of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which lists many names of angels, presiding stars, seasons, and days (probably continuing to the end of the book, which is missing in the Ethiopic version), is given by Origen in the homily to Num. 28: 2 (ed. W. A. Bachrens, GCS 30 (1921), 282, 1–7, Rufinus’ translation): ‘fortasse et in coelestibus regionibus erunt locorum differentiae non minimae, videris quibus vel appellationibus vocabulisque distinctae, et nomina non solum plagarum coeli, sed etiam omnium stellarum siderumque signata. “Qui enim fecit multitidinem stellarum”—ut ait propheta—“omnibus iis nomina vocat.” De quibus nominibus [names of stars and seasons, En. 75: 3 and 82: 10–20; names of heaven-quarters, En. 77: 1–3] plurima quidem in libellis, qui appellantur Enoch, secreta continentur et arcana.’

For an allusion to En. 80: 2 in the Epistle of Barnabas, see p. 74. The passage in Syncellus on the role of the angel Kokab’el, ‘Star of God’ (quoted below, p. 319), also refers no doubt to the final part of the astronomical document which described the movements of the stars; see Enastr below, pp. 296–7.

On the other hand, we must eliminate the Latin allusions which were thought to have been found in Tertullian (Martin, p. 187, note to 81: 1) and Lactantius (ibid., p. cxxxi, and Charles, p. xc). The first is in De cultu feminarum, i. 3 (A. Kroyman, CSEL 70 (1942), 63): ‘cum Enoch filio suo Mathusalae nihil aliud mandaverit, quam ut notitiam earum [that is, sermons on the fallen angels] posteris sui traderet.’ This statement remains very vague, and since Tertullian knew the Epistle of Enoch very well—he gives a very faithful quotation of 99: 6–7 in De idololatria 4—the reference must
surely be to the mention of Methesulah and his descendants in the Epistle.
In the *Divine Institutions*, vii. 16 (S. Brandt, *CSEL* 19 (1890), 636), Lactantius, describing the end of the world, employs several phrases which recall En. 80: 2–6: ‘nec terra homini dabit fructum; non seges quicquam, non arbor, non vitis feret . . .; luna . . . meatus extraordinarios peraget, ut non sit homini promptum aut siderum cursus aut rationem temporum agnoscere . . .; tunc annus breviabitur et mensis minueretur et dies in angustum coartabitur.’ But the principal source for this part of his work is the Sibylline Oracles, and it is to the anonymous authors, Jewish and Christian, of these Oracles (who were certainly influenced by Enochic literature) that we must assign the direct borrowing of the apocalyptic texts that reappear in Lactantius.

The Astronomical Book of Enoch was well known in Eastern and Western Christian iconography. The Octateuch illustration of three manuscripts, at least, contains a miniature where, on the right, Enoch is standing with an unrolled scroll; to the left of him Death is cowering and flinching from him (an allusion to Enoch’s immortality); open tombs in the lower left part of the miniature represent the Resurrection (prefigured by Enoch’s assumption to heaven). The upper left is occupied by twelve busts and the attributes of twelve months, and the upper right by busts of Sun and Moon in the starry heaven.

In the famous Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius 11) the lower part of the picture on p. 51 represents Enoch (in text: *Enos*), son of Cain, together with his wife holding a child, standing inside the City of Enoch. He is, however, confused here with his homonym, the seventh just Patriarch, as above him appears the symbol of Aries, the sign of the first month of the year. This picture is quite independent of the Anglo-Saxon text, where no mention of astrology occurs.

In the Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Abyssinia the Astronomical Book was to become the indirect object of a festival, that of ‘the archangel

1 In particular book VIII (cf. lines 178–81 and 214–15) which has many lacunae; J. Geffcken, *GCS* (1902), 150 ff.


Uriel who showed Enoch the revolutions of the celestial luminaries' celebrated on 28 July (21 Hamle).¹ A sermon for this feast, published by A. Caquot,² was evidently well known and appreciated, for a long passage of it is quoted in a 'Life' of an Abyssinian Saint.³

**THE BOOK OF WATCHERS**

(En. 1–36)

We give this convenient title to the first section of the Ethiopic Enoch, drawing on Syncellus' ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτου βιβλίου (or λόγου) 'Ἐνωκ περὶ τῶν ἐγγέγραμων; it corresponds well with the theme of the section (and matches the title of the Book of Giants from Cave 4 of Qumrán), the fragments of which, with their Aramaic context restored, overlap with half of the Ethiopic text: En. i: 1–6; i: 9–5: 6; 5: 9–9: 4; 10: 8–19; 12: 3; 13: 6–14, 16; 14: 18–20; 15: 11 (?); 18: 8–12; 18: 15 (?); 21: 2–4; 22: 3–7; 22: 13–24: 1; 25: 7–27: 1; 28: 3–32: 1; 32: 3, 6; 33: 4–34: 1; 35: 1–36: 4. The first copy, 4QEn⁴ dates from the first half of the second century B.C. It was, therefore, like the second copy, En⁵ (mid second century), brought to Qumrán from elsewhere. Both of them probably contained only the Book of Watchers, whilst the three others—copied in the scriptorium of Qumrán in the course of the first century A.D.—formed part of the Enochic collection, in particular En⁶, the original scroll of which brought together in all probability the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. The practice of copying into the same volume at the very least the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams called for recensional alterations, which are quite obvious if one compares the passages common to En⁴ and to En⁶ (see the notes to En⁶ i i, below, pp. 186–8). The Greek version was to follow this more recent recension.

The orthography of En⁴ is very striking: on the one hand archaistic, as in מים or ים 'fish'; on the other, 'popular' and phonetic in character (e.g.

² 'L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersâna Urâ'êl)' in Annales d'Ethiopie, i (1955), 61–88.
⁴ On Uriel in iconography (and in magic) see P. Perdrizet, 'L'archange Ouriel' in Seminarium Kondakovianum, 2 (1928), 241–76; and S. Der Nersessian, Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIᵉ, XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Méthhitaristes de Venise, 1936, pp. 95–6.
"many"), with the article of the singular and the plural marked by the He and with the Aphel causative. This 'popular' orthography was to remain in use among the Samaritans up to the present time, whilst in Judaea from the Hasmonaean era onwards archaistic orthography with the Aleph for the article and the Haphel for the verbal causative form was gradually introduced. The more recent copies of 4QEn follow this style of writing without entirely doing away with forms peculiar to the archetype, in particular the use of the Aphel, which is preserved in all five manuscripts (with a few exceptions in En). En dates from the last third of the first century B.C., but it was copied from a manuscript of about the year 100 B.C., written in orthography identical with that of 1QIs and 1QS. En served in turn as a model for En.

The earliest allusion to the Book of Watchers is found in Aramaic in 4QTestLevi 8 iii 6–7. The context of the column mentioned is that of chapter 14 of the Greek Testament of Levi, but with phrases which are encountered again in chapters 15 and 16; all this part of the Testament contains invectives against the Israelite priesthood. Lines 2b–8a of Test Levi 8 iii read:

\[
\text{σμασσα αυτην ναρκαβαί } \\
\text{μή [ } \\
\text{ύλλα αρέσε τηλα άντον ονείρον σμασσα οικ [ } \\
\text{την άντον άνθρωπον [βραχε Μα άνεβοι κεIL } \\
\text{την άντον άνθρωπον [δέ [ } \\
\text{νην άντον άνθρωπον δέβοι } \\
\text{άλα κεβλ νυκ [ュ[ } \\
\text{άλα κεβλ νυκ [ュ[ } \\
\text{άλα κεβλ νυκ [ュ[ }
\]

1 This manuscript dates from the second century. I have published an important fragment from it in RB liii (1955), 328–406.
2 Cf. Test. Levi, 14: 3–4:
2. και γαρ αυτόν ώς φωστήρες εισάν ώς ο ήλιος και η σελήνη και έναν ύμεις σκοτισθήτε, τι ποιήσαυι πάντα τά έδην: υπέρ τη άσεβεία ήμων επάξετε κατάραν επί το γένος ήμων υπέρ άν (οσ fa) το φώς του κόσμου και τον νόμο του δοθεν ήμων και παντί άνθρωπω εις φωτισμον: MS. d (Rome, Vat. Gr. 1238 III, f. 357v, 20–4).
3. ου γαρ έστιν ο ήλιος καθαρός ένωπιον κυρίου επί την γην ουτω και ύμεις έστε. οι φωστήρες του Ισραήλ: παρά πάντα τα έδην.
"... the sun], the moon, and the stars [. . . . shine] above [the earth. Do you not shine as the sun and as] the moon? [If] your light is obscured [through impiety, what will all] the [peoples do]? Did not Enoch accuse [. . .]? And with whom will the blame lie, [if] not with me and with you, my sons?"

The restoration at line 4 is given only exempli gratia.

At lines 6–7 of this passage there was certainly an allusion to the accusations made by the patriarch against the Watchers (En. 13–16), who were responsible for the evil which had spread among men (En. 13: 2 and 16: 3). The priests are likened to the angels, both groups being upholders of wisdom and of the true cult of God; the corruption of man is due to the corruption of the two groups. The word at the beginning of line 7 was made up of five letters אַבָּדָד, or else בַּלְּחָל, for I think I detect on the edge of the rent the joining of the Beth to the Nun (but it could just as easily be a Nun, the hook of which forms a pointed angle); at the end of line 6 only one word is missing. In the context we need an expression like '(to accuse) those who cause perdition (or ruin)', or else 'those who are doomed to perdition', בַּלְּחָל אָבָדָד.

This is not the place to discuss the references to the Books of Enoch in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, even those in the Testament of Levi, at 14: 1, for instance. This difficult task falls to the editors of the Greek work, which certainly dates from the Christian era. In a future edition of the original Testament of Levi (based on the Aramaic fragments of 1Q, 4Q and the Cairo Genizah, and the Greek fragments of the Koutloumous MS. 39) I shall try to prove that it is Samaritan in origin and was composed in the course of the third century, if not towards the end of the fourth. For the moment we will maintain that its attestation of the Book of Watchers (or more precisely of the Visions of Enoch, chs. 6–19) dates from towards the end of the third century. The altogether incontestable terminus ante quem falls in the year 164 B.C., the date of the composition of the Book of Dreams, which is closely dependent on the Book of Watchers (see below, pp. 43–5).

The Book of Watchers is plainly quoted by the book of Jubilees, 4: 21–2: '(Enoch) had spent six jubilees of years with the angels of God and they..."
showed him all that is on the earth and in heaven {the dominion of the sun}, and he described all (that). He witnessed against the Watchers who were sinning with the daughters of men. For they had begun to go unto the daughters of men, so that they became impure, and Enoch witnessed against them all.' This is a clear reference to the two parts of the Book of Watchers: angelological (En. 6–16) and cosmographical (En. 17–36). The text of the Hebrew fragment (quoted above, p. 12), lines 1–4, is even more detailed: ‘... Enoch, after we had instructed him [in all that concerns the ear][th] [and the sky], during six jubilees of years, [came back to the] earth in the midst of the sons of men, and he witnessed against them all [because of their sins?] and also against the Watchers.' The witnessing against men is the initial part of the work (En. 1–5).

In any case, the dates of our manuscripts of 4Q allow us to establish that from the first half of the second century B.C. onwards the Book of Watchers had essentially the same form as that in which it is known through the Greek and Ethiopic versions. All the laborious critical 'vivisection' of our document by 'many hands' (Charles, p. 1) accomplished during the last century and a half is shown to be useless and mistaken.

We can accept as obvious, however, the fact that the author of the Book of Watchers used an early written source which he incorporated without any great changes in his own work (En. 6–19). While treating his venerable model with due respect, he judged it opportune to complete and revise it in terms of his own preoccupations. For the four archangels mentioned in 9: 1 and 10: 1, 4, and 11 he substituted seven (En. 20), one of which, namely Uriel, was already to be found in the Astronomical Book. The description of the western journey of the patriarch, the only one mentioned in his source (En. 17–19), was reworked in chapters 21–5, mainly from the eschatological point of view—with descriptions of the places of abode, on the one hand, of God and the blessed, and on the other, of sinners, the wicked angels, and the stars.

The rest of the work, En. 1–5 and 26–36, is to be attributed exclusively to the author of the existing book. The most original part of his literary composition, that which describes the surroundings of Jerusalem and the lands of spices (En. 26–32), reveals some details about the actual person of the author and the approximate date of his work. He was certainly a Judaean, since he looks upon Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, and the hill of the temple of Jerusalem as 'the sacred mountain' par excellence (26: 1–2).^2

^1 A Greek or Ethiopic addition? mountain of the Most High, in the Samaritan
^2 Cf. the reference to the temple of Gerizim, source of the historian Eupolemos (above p. 9).
He was perhaps himself a Jerusalemite, for he has an excellent knowledge of the environs of the Holy City (26: 2–27: 1); at the very least he must have travelled there frequently (see below, p. 36). His information about the aromatics and their botanical habitats—obviously gained from hearsay—suggests fairly clearly, in my opinion, that he was engaged, in his role as a modest official, in the perfume and spice trade. This hypothesis is confirmed by his reference to a second town which he must have known de visu, namely Petra, the capital of the Nabataeans. He admires above all the aqueduct of the city, impressive remains of which can still be seen today in the es-Siq gorge of the Wàdi Mûsa.

The Nabataeans were already fully engaged in transcontinental trade during the fourth century B.C.; their merchant caravans—according to Diodorus Siculus (Bibl. Hist. xix. 94. 5)—'carried as far as the [Mediterranean] Sea, incense, myrrh, and the most precious aromatics, which were delivered to them by convoys from the so-called Arabia Felix'. By the year 312 B.C. the fame of the riches which they had accumulated, thanks to this trade, was such that it gave rise to two abortive expeditions sent by Antigonus, who controlled a large part of Alexander's empire. But at the time when the author of the Book of Watchers was living Petra was already a fully constituted town. This development took place gradually only in the course of the third century, and still on quite a modest scale, as has been shown by the soundings (since 1929) and the systematic excavations undertaken by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and by the British School of Jerusalem from 1954 onwards. These excavations unearthed the pavement of the cardo maximus of the Roman town of Petra, along the Wàdi Mûsa (the place where the canal admired by our Jewish writer flowed). Underneath, several streets were recognized, one on top of the other, of simple stone, covering two levels of buildings: the oldest, flush with the virgin soil, showed the remains of partitioned habitations, with walls made of shingle and clay, the latter also forming the floor. The fragments of pottery collected in these modest houses enable us to attribute them to the Nabataeans of the second and even the third century. 'There is evidence, in the shape of Hellenistic pottery and coins of the third century B.C. [the currency of coastal Phoenician towns of the third century], of settlement in Petra by that date.'

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1 רִקָּע וּנְאָדֹּא in Aramaic; rqmw in a Nabataean inscription, RB lxxii (1965), 95–7 (En. 28: 1–29: 1); see the notes to En xxvi 3–5 (below p. 233).

We can readily imagine that the Judaean author of the Book of Watchers accompanied the Nabataean caravans from Petra to Gaza across the desert of Idumaea. We can familiarize ourselves in concrete detail with the age in which our trader and writer was living, and bring it to life in imagination, by examining the enormous mass of papyri from the archives of Zenon of Philadelphia, who was the agent of Apollonios, the minister of finance (διοικητής) of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.¹

At the very least forty documents from the Zenon archives directly concern Syria–Palestine and Transjordan, in particular those which refer to the journey in Palestine and Jordan made by Zenon in 259–258 B.C., the 27th and 26th years of Ptolemy Philadelphos. The Nabataeans are specifically mentioned as living in the neighbourhood of Auranitide in western Syria (PSI iv. 406).²

During his tour in the east of Jordan, in the summer of 259 B.C. Zenon assigned deliveries of corn ‘to the people of Rabb‘el’, τοῖς παρὰ 'Ραββηθλοῦν.³ This expression is analogous to τοῖς παρὰ Τουβιοῦν, ‘to the people of Tobias’, Tobyah being the Jewish head of an important district situated in the west of Amman. Rabb‘el cannot be other than a Nabataean ethnarch resident in Petra; this is a Nabataean dynastic name par excellence. The trade in aromatics was dependent on the royal monopoly, and the convoys had to pay a heavy tax at the Gaza customs, which was gathered by the official δ ἐπὶ τῆς λιβανωτικῆς (PSI 628. 2–3). In the Zenon papyri there are numerous invoices for aromatics, several of which are also mentioned in our Book of Watchers—for example ζύμωρη (or σμύρνη), λίβανος (Minaean and Gerrhaean), νάρδους, κυνάμωμον, κασία.⁴ The Gerrhaean incense⁵ arrived at Gaza with other


² PCZ 59008 III 25 and 33 refers to the same mission of Zenon and his companions εἰς Αὕρανα in 259.

³ PCZ 59004, 28–9 Περιτο[υ...], τοῖς παρὰ 'Ρ[αιβηθ]λοῦν δλεύρων ἄρ(τάβας) α' and 46–7 (γ', sc. the third Xandikos, τοῖς παρὰ 'Ραββηθλοῦν σεμιδάλων ἄρ. η); cf. CPY i. 2, pp. 121–2.

⁴ PSI 628 and 678, PCZ 59009, 59011, 59069, 59536, etc.; cf. En ε i xii and En ε i xxvi and the botanical notes in RB lxv (1958), 72–5.

⁵ PCZ 59009 f i 5–7 and 59536, 11–12: λιβανου Μιναου τά(λαντα) δ καὶ Γερραίου τά(λαντα) α' (the year 261).
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exotic merchandise from Gerrha, an important commercial town situated on the Persian Gulf, whose caravan merchants and traders could naturally tell stories about the Far Eastern countries from which the perfumes and the spices such as nard, mastic resin, cardamom, and pepper were obtained (En. 32: 1).

The commercial convoys of Zenon also plied the coastal routes of Palestine and Phoenicia, from Gaza towards Jaffa, Tower of Straton (later Caesarea), Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli; from these ports his representatives ventured towards the interior, to Galilee, Hauran, Lebanon.

The author of the Book of Watchers must have drawn on itineraries such as Zenon's according to the needs of his profession as a trader, for he seems to be well acquainted, perhaps through a personal visit, with the lake and marshlands of 'Ain el-Ǧarr in Lebanon, where the sweet reed and calamus grew (En. 30: 1–3). For every Jew, however, whatever his actual dwelling-place might be, the holy city of Jerusalem was invested with particular importance. Jerusalem, for instance, was where the people of Tobias awaited Zenon’s caravan before accompanying him in his tour of Transjordan: '[Ierōsolo]mous ἄλευρ (ων) ἄρ(τάβας) α'; [τοῖς πα]ρὰ Τουβιου ἄρ(τάβας) α'.

We may conclude that it was in Palestine under Lagid hegemony, towards the middle of the third century B.C., at the height of the intensive commercial and cultural exchanges between East and West, that the Judaean author of the Enochic Book of Watchers lived and prospered, as a merchant and a writer.

But the problem of the date and literary connections of the source incorporated by this author into his work at En. 6–19, is much more delicate. Let us analyse briefly the angelological content of this document, En. 6–16. The religious thinker reflects here on the problem of the evil existing in the world and sees the origin of it in the union of the sons of heaven with the daughters of men. The basic theme, which he develops in his own way, is the celestial provenance of human technique and sciences. This myth, like that of the universal flood, occurs in the religions of all peoples up to the primitive tribes of the present time. So among the Indians in the interior of Brazil: 'A man, the first that they [the two sisters] had ever seen except in dreams, came down from the sky and taught them agriculture, cookery, weaving, and all the arts of civilization'; 'In an aquatic dwelling-place which he has created the Father invents the finery and the adornments which are thus taught

1 PCZ 59009, 6–7. The itinerary of 59004 refers to the same journey, mentioning 'Ierōsolo-
λύμ[οις] in col. i 3. 2 For Enoch's journey to the West (En. 17–19, see below, pp. 38–9.
to men'; 'Moon (male) gave to men the cultivated plants . . . and instructed in all these arts a young girl whom he finally married.'

The book of Jubilees presents a more archaic form of this myth: the Watchers, angels of the Lord, come down to the earth to instruct the children of men and to bring about justice and equity on the earth (4: 15); it is not until later that the corruption and punishment of the Watchers and their children will occur (5: 1–10). According to the author of En. 6 ff., on the contrary, sexual appetite dominates the angels from the beginning (6: 1–6 and 7: 1), and the sciences they teach are all turned to wicked ends (7: 1 and 8: 1–3). The writer imagines two chiefs of the fallen angels, a king (Semi-hazah) and a sage ('Ašå'el), each presiding over about ten Watchers (and each of these ten presiding over about ten anonymous angels), thus drawing on the Babylonian model of antediluvian kings and sages. With these two chiefs of demons must be contrasted two chiefs of men, the king Son-of-Lamech (a rather passive figure, just like his angelic partner) and the sage Enoch, who is at least as active as his celestial counterpart, 'Ašå'el. The names of the twenty principal Watchers (En. 6: 7), of which the fragments of 4Q give the correct form (with the exception of the name of the fifth), are for the most part derived from astronomical, meteorological, and geographical terms. The eleventh, Heronî, takes his name from mount Hermon (6: 6), whilst Dan'el is none other than the Canaanite hero Dan'el whose wisdom is sung in Ugaritic poems and mentioned in Ezek. 28: 3 and 14: 14, 20. His position in the seventh place on the list is highly significant, for it corresponds exactly to the position of Enoch in the list of antediluvian patriarchs. According to Jub. 4: 20 Enoch marries the daughter of Dan’el.

If we are to judge by the reference to Dan’el alongside Noah in Ezek. 14, the former could be the protagonist in the Phoenician history of the flood, a role comparable with the Babylonian 'Most-wise', Atra-ḥasis. The dethronement of the Phoenician wise man to the rank of the wicked angels was to be copied by the author of the Book of Giants, who included in his list of giants one ‘Ahîram,2 one Gilgamesh,3 who visited Utnapištim, the hero of the flood, in his ultra-terrestrial retreat, and one Hôbabîš,4 without doubt the giant Ḥumbaba, guardian of the cedar-forest and adversary of Gilgamesh.

Another extremely archaic Babylonian feature is retained in the name of the prison of ‘Ašå’el. He is to be thrown into the darkness and hurled down

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2 דִּיוֹנִא in a fragment of 4QEnGiants; a king-type of Tyre (cf. Ezek. 28).
3 Below, p. 313.
4 Below, p. 311.
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into a gulf which will open up in the desert which is in (or between) Dadouel, τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὐδαν ἐν τῷ Δαδουὲλ (10: 4).1 Daddu‘el ‘the (two) breasts of ‘El’ is the exact replica of the Akkadian Mašu, ‘twin mountains’, the mountain which ‘looks upon the sun at its setting and at its rising’ (Gilgamesh, ix. ii. 9). From the third millennium Mesopotamian cylinders represent the star-god appearing between these twin summits. The gloomy desert which stretches between the mountains of the West and the East, according to En. 10: 4, is identical with the ἔρημος of En. 18: 12, the מִלּוּבְדִי of En. 77: 3 (4QEnastr b 23 9), and the נְבָאִים of the Book of Giants (see below, p. 306). The prison of ‘Aša‘el is thus situated in the extreme North, just like the prison of the seven erring stars and of the fallen angels in En. 18–19. In Christian times the author of the Book of Parables was to place in the same region the male monster with the name Behemoth, ‘who occupies with his breast the immense desert, named Dëndëain’, situated to the east of Paradise (En. 60: 8; and for the north-western position of Paradise, 70: 3). The place-name is obviously deddaine, ‘twin breasts’.2 The punishment of the wicked angels and of their progeny is synchronized by the author of En. 6–19 with the destruction of humanity by the flood, both these happenings being predicted by Enoch and carried out by the four archangels, Mīk’a‘el, Sārī‘el, Rafa‘el, and Gabr‘el (En. 9–10).3

The crucial problem of En. 6–19 is its literary relationship to Gen. 6: 1–4, as well as to other elements of the antediluvian history of Gen. 4–8. In his excellent study ‘La légende d’Henoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: son origine et signification’,4 P. Grelot finds ‘une référence immédiate de l’Henoch juif à ses modèles mésopotamiens’ (p. 24), making explicit two mountains which are designated by the term Mašo‘l Boppâ, Ûbera Aquilonis. See, e.g., A. R. Anderson, Alexander’s Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Enclosed Nations, 1932, passim in particular p. 43 (an explanation, in my opinion inexact, of this term).

1 The reading of C must be kept, as against Δουδαὲλ in Syncellus and the Greek model of the Ethiopic version, for Νησί, pronounced daddè, signifies in Aramaic ‘breast’.

2 By a strange coincidence the Babylonian name for ‘twin mountains’, Mašu, reappears in the Greek Romance of Alexander, with the same meaning as in Aramaic. This new Gilgamesh too will visit the mountain of the west, called Masis or Musas. An alternative transcription of Mašu would be Mašos (cf. ‘Aša‘el > Ασαὲλ in Enoch; Μαρεσα and Μαρεζα, for Marishah, in the Zenon papyri). Now, when Alexander, having arrived in the far North wishes to construct a doorway to enclose the northern tribes, he asks the god to bring together the

3 The fragment 4QEn b i iii 7 gives the exact form of the name of the second angel, מַיְרִים (cf. also IQM ix 15–16: Mīk’a‘el, Gabr‘el, Sārī‘el, Rafa‘el). The inattentiveness of a Greek copyist was to change it to Oυριῆλ, the form which it henceforth retained in Christian and Jewish tradition.

that ‘la tradition juive avait bloqué sur le personnage d’Hénoch deux sortes de renseignements puisés dans la legende mésopotamienne: le rôle d’Enmeduranki [seventh or eighth antediluvian king] comme initiateur de la civilisation et celui de Xisouthros comme transmetteur de la sagesse antédiluvienne par ses livres, les seuls qui aient survécu à la catastrophe’ (p. 25). He assumes that ‘le cadre de la captivité babylonienne constitue le Sitz im Leben où la légende en cause trouve sa place idoine et où son origine s’explique au mieux’ (p. 195). However, in his opinion, it was at first just haggadic, anonymous tradition, transmitted orally, and the earliest written version was not made until the fifth century, by the redactors of the Pentateuch in their sacred priestly history (source P) represented by the current text of Genesis.

The very close interdependence of En. 6–19 and Gen. 6: 1–4 is perfectly obvious; the same phrases and analogous expressions are repeated in the two texts. The table which follows on p. 32 shows this clearly.

The ineluctable solution, it seems to me, is that it is the text of Gen. 6: 1–4, which, by its abridged and allusive formulation, deliberately refers back to our Enochic document, two or three phrases of which it quotes verbatim. We should recall that this kind of stylistic usage was quite widespread in early times. In the same brief and recapitulatory way the author of the Book of Watchers refers, in his last chapters, to the Astronomical Book of Enoch; similarly, the author of the Epistle of Enoch summarizes in En. 106–7 a more detailed account of the birth of Noah. If my hypothesis is correct, the work incorporated in En. 6–19 is earlier than the definitive version of the first chapters of Genesis. It is thus contemporary with, if not older than, the calendrical document attributed to Enoch, which was also exploited thoroughly by the final redactors of the Pentateuch. Both are perhaps of Samaritan origin.

We should note in addition that the ideas of the author of En. 6–19 on the antediluvian patriarchs scarcely correspond to those in list P in Gen. 5. The downfall of the angels certainly takes place. But it takes place after the removal of Enoch to paradise (12: 1–4), which agrees better with the Enoch–‘Irad sequence of Gen. 4: 18 than with the sequence Jared–Enoch of Gen. 5: 18. Noah, besides, is certainly ‘son of Lamech’ or even, since his name is not mentioned, quite simply *Bar-Lamk (En. 10: 1).

1 Above, p. 8. Below, pp. 248–52, we shall prove the existence of a sacred history divided into seventy weeks, which in turn precedes En. 6–19, since there is an unquestionable allusion to it in En. 10: 12.
2 ינש של批发 יד (Ena 1 iii 4; En. 6: 6), but not yet זיימז לי (En 5 ii 17; En. 106: 13).
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En. (C et 4Q)

(6:1) Καὶ εὐγενεῖον ἤταν (Ἀριμών) ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ἀπὸ (Aυτοῖς S et E) θυγατέρες ὑφαίται καὶ καλαί (ἡμέρα). (2) Καὶ ἠθεάσαντο αὐτὰς οἱ ἀγγέλοι (ἡγήγοροι S) νεκροὶ ὑφαίνον...

Gen. (LXX)

(6:1) καὶ εὐγενεῖον ἤνικα ἠρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγένθησαν αὐτοῖς.

(2) Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ νεκροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καλαί εἰσαυν, ἐλαβον ἑαυτὸς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὥν εξελέγαντο...

(4) οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἤσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ μετ’ ἑκείνῳ, ὡς ἐλπορεύοντο οἱ νεκροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐγεννόμεναν ἐαυτοῖς· ἐκείνῳ οἱ γίγαντες οὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ νομιμοιοί.

Gen. (MT)

(6:1) ירה כ חוח התאומים

ליוב על פני הארץ

ובנה ילווד לוה (2) ויראם

בנ הاخلמים את בני

האדם כ السابع הנרי

ליוב משם מכל אשר

ברה (4) הנפלייה כי

באрин ברימ 형מה

אשר קי אבר כי

הاخلמים אל בנה האל

(וילם) (וילנדי)

ילם ה الخام הנבריה אשר

♂♂יון נאש השם

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Cf. 9:8-9: קא יפור

כרנשע

היאו

איכנים

םי

טילו

טילו

4Q 180 18, 4Q 181 2 2—Gen. 6: 1, 2, 46 taken over by Jub. 5: 1 (for ‘sons of God’ ‘angels of God, in a year of this Jubilee’).

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4Q 180 18, 4Q 181 2 2—Gen. 6: 1, 2, 46 taken over by Jub. 5: 1 (for ‘sons of God’ ‘angels of God, in a year of this Jubilee’).
The dwelling-place beyond the earth to which Enoch was carried is not located in detail in En. 12: 1–2: Πρὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐλήμφθη Ἔνωχ, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔγνω ποῦ ἐλήμφθη καὶ ποῦ ἦστω καὶ τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ. Καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῷ (MS. αὐτῶν) μετὰ τῶν ἐγγυγόρων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ. This certainly recalls ולכ הים את אלוהים of Gen. 5: 24, but also the account of Berossus, the Babylonian priest who was a contemporary of Alexander and Antiochus I. In the summary of Berossus’ work by Polyhistor, Xisouthros, having alighted from the ark, offered sacrifice, and then he disappeared . . . and did not appear any more . . . he went to dwell with the gods because of his piety (Jacoby, Fr. Gr. Hist., iii C, p. 381); according to the summary of Abydenos ‘the gods took him away from mankind’ (ibid. 402). Similarly, as we have shown above (pp. 15–16), neither the Astronomical Book of Enoch nor the map of the world of the late Babylonian period gives precise details of the location of the מַרְדּוֹן קַשְׁשַׁש or the abode of Utnapištîm.

In an indirect way, however, the author of En. 6 ff. seems to indicate the direction in which Enoch’s paradise is situated. He makes his hero accomplish only a vertical ascent towards the polar star (En. 14: 8–16: 4) and a sea-voyage towards the West and the North (En. 17–19). These visits to the abodes of God—the palace of ice, and the mountain-throne of God situated in the North-West—up till now inaccessible to the patriarch, lead us to understand that he resided with the angels somewhere in the opposite direction, i.e. towards the East or in the North-East. This eastern itinerary is not described here in detail. The position of paradise in the Levant, that of Gen. 2: 8, is identical with the location of the abode granted by the gods to the Sumerian hero of the flood: An and Enlil ‘elevated him to eternal life, like a god. At that time, the king Ziusudra who protected the seed of mankind at the time (?) of destruction, they settled in an overseas country, in the orient, in Dilmun’.¹ In Babylonian tradition, on the other hand, Gilgamesh would have to undertake a long journey to the West and the North in order to arrive at the abode of his hero of the flood, for, according to the decree of the gods, ‘hitherto Utnapištîm has been but human, henceforth Utnapištîm and his wife shall be like unto us gods; Utnapištîm shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers’.²

Although it is the oldest of the Enochic documents, En. 6–19 was composed

INTRODUCTION

in a remarkably skilful and dramatic way by an accomplished writer who knew how to knit together and interweave the two almost equal parts of his work (En. 6–13 and En. 14–19) by means of various stylistic and phraseological devices. The first section is objective and 'historical', told in the 3rd person, but in 12: 3 and at the end of this part (13: 3–10) the author allows his protagonist to speak. The dramatis personae are introduced into the action one after the other, according to the degree of their spiritual eminence, and move on the opposite poles of heaven and earth, of eternity and history: the daughters of men and the sons of heaven (6: 1–2). Šemîhazah and his companions who have existed since eternity (14: 1) come down from heaven to earth at a precise age and in a specific place (6: 3–8: 4); the clamour of men rises to the gateways of heaven and to the ears of the four archangels who dwell in the celestial sanctuary (8: 4–9: 3, anticipated in 7: 6 and taken up again in 9: 2–3); the archangels consult other angels and plead the cause of men to the Lord of Lords, master of eternity (9: 4–11); the Most High orders four missions to the earth, which he assigns to the four archangels, and delivers a discourse in which the decree of the punishment of the fallen angels is contrasted with the promise of a chiliastic peace for the just and benediction for all the children of men (10–11). On this grandiose tableau, which is dominated by the theological aspect of the history of the universe, Enoch is now projected, a hero who is at the same time human and divine (12: 1–2, anticipated by the fleeting reference to the Son of Lamech, 10: 1–3). To the four angelic missions there will correspond four journeys of the patriarch. The first mission of Enoch, the most modest because commissioned by an anonymous archangel, 'the great Watcher and Holy One' (En. 12: 3; 4QEn 1v 19–20), is to the second chief of the fallen Watchers (13: 1–2); as a professional scribe, Enoch addresses 'Aša'el in an epistolary style, but with a grim inversion of the usual formula: instead of 'peace to you', he begins 'there will be no peace for you'. As a dramatic consequence it is the Watchers themselves who attempt to win over the inhabitant of paradise to their cause; still acting as a scribe of justice, Enoch draws up their petition, but it will prove to be legally ineffectual by virtue of the visions which descend on him while he sleeps (13: 3–10). The first part begins and ends on earth, at the beginning in a general way, at the end with great precision: 'close to the waters of Dan, in (the territory of) Dan, which are to the south-west of Hermon' (13: 7), 'in 'Abel-mayâ which is situated between Lebanon and Šenîr' (13: 9).

The second section of the work (En. 14–19) is conceived as a letter and
bill of indictment,¹ which Enoch reads in the presence of the children of heaven gathered together in mourning (En v 6) at ‘Abel-maya; the beginning of this missive takes up the subject dealt with previously (14: 1–7, cf. 13: 4–8). There follows the account of the ascent of the patriarch to the palace of God; the latter sends the visionary back on his mission and bids him deliver a second discourse (14: 8–16: 4), which is to end with the ‘anti-epistolary’ formula of the first: ‘for you there is no peace’. The two other missions of Enoch are carried out mainly in a ‘horizontal’ sense, in contrast with the descent from Paradise and the ascent to the celestial Palace of the first two missions. The theological interest is blurred by scholarly curiosity in such fields as cosmography, astronomy, meteorology. None the less, the western journey leads Enoch towards the mountain of God, and the journey round the world (En. 18) concerns above all the winds in their role as ‘pillars of heaven’. The expedition to the West ends in the far North, where the hero beholds with terror the prison of the angels who have consorted with women.

In the subscription to this work (19: 3), καγω Ἐνώχ Ἰδων τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος, τὰ πέρατα πάντων, καὶ οὕτω ὅτι οὐδὲ εἶσ ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐγὼ Ἰδων, the expression τὰ πέρατα πάντων is certainly a mistranslation. The Greek translator wrongly read ὅτι ‘end’ as ὅτι ‘extremity’, and we must restore Ξλῶν ἁλάτα οὐλό (Ὁλό Χαλά) (Dan. 7: 28) and Ξλῶν ἁλάτα οὐλό (4QEnGiantsb; below, p. 305). In any case we can discern here the title of this early Enochic document, which is ‘Visions of Enoch’, Θεωρήματα Ἐνώχ.

The third-century Judaean author (above, pp. 27–8) who included the Visions of Enoch in his Book of Watchers gave it an unsymmetrical setting. It is preceded by a brief introduction in which he traces in grandiose terms the final epiphany of the Great Holy One on the mountain of Sinai and the judgement of the just and of sinners (En. 1); calls for admiration of the order of the universe (2: 1–5: 3), drawing, particularly for the description of the seasons, on the final section of the Astronomical Book; and finally adduces some considerations on the destinies of sinners and of the elect (5: 4–9). After reproducing his source, unchanged or perhaps with some slight alterations, in En. 6–19, he goes on to give a substantially rewritten version of the western journey of the patriarch (21–5, corresponding to 17–19). The remainder of the Book of Watchers, devoted to the eastern voyage of Enoch, constitutes our author’s original, even in places individualistic, contribution.

¹ דסי החודש (4QEn c i vi 9) with the meanings it had in imperial Aramaic.
He shows, in En. 26, an astonishingly detailed knowledge of the surroundings of Jerusalem, with their mountains and rivers. Judaea, the centre of the earth, is considered by him to be a blessed country, full of trees with imperishable foliage (En 26: 1). There he sees a sacred mountain, the hill of the Temple, whose continuation is the hill of Ophel; from its eastern slopes comes the spring—the Biblical Gihôn, 'Ain Sitti Mariam in Arabic—which gives birth to the Cedron, flowing (at first) towards the South (v. 2). To the east of Sion, separated by the valley of Jehoshaphat, is situated a higher hill, the Mount of Olives, whose continuation is the Gebel Bâtn el-Hawâ, at the foot of which rises an important ravine, the Wâdi Qaddûm (v. 3). To the west of the Mount of Offence (to the south-west of the Mount of Olives) is situated the imposing spur of er-Râs running from the Gebel 'Abû-Tîr, at the foot of which opens up the deep and dried-up vale of Gehenna (v. 4a), the accursed valley of En. 27. Another valley is situated at the foot of three mountains (26: 4b): this refers to the sheer slopes of the Silwân, especially the Wâdi Bir 'Ayyûb, and as far as the barren rocks of Ḥallet et-Tûri. Fig. 4 represents the map of En. 26–7, as the author himself might have drawn it.

On the site of the lands of the aromatics (En. 28: 1–32: 1) I have written elsewhere. Here just a general remark. The constantly eastern (and, towards the end, north-eastern) direction of the journeys of the patriarch is necessarily imposed by the final destination of his journey, namely the eastern Paradise. In fact the author—who knew a lot about the natural habitats of perfumes and spices—by implication makes two independent expeditions from Mediterranean ports: one from Gaza to Timna in the Yemen, the principal centre of the trade in incense and myrrh, towards the East and then towards the South; the second, for all the other aromatics, from a Phoenician port

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1 An Aramaic fragment, 4QEn⁴ 1 xii (En. 25: 7–27: 1), overlaps in part with this description, but for the rest the Greek text of C must be our primary witness. Commentators on the Ethiopic Enoch, such as Charles and Martin, are strangely satisfied with the explanations of Dillmann, who knew no version but the Ethiopic (hence certain mistakes and the vague nature of the identifications). Neither is it true that this account 'mixes with real geography features drawn from eschatological texts of Ezekiel and Zachariah' (Grelot, RB lxv (1958), 42).

2 Equivalent to the נחל השטיה of Joel 4: 18 and the נהל שֶׁפֶטַּיָּה of the Byzantine era; see Milik, RB lxvi (1959), 553–5.

3 For this area see Milik, Studii Bibl. Franc. Liber Annuus, vii (1956–7), pp. 232 ff., fig. 1. Note that in the last-named place-name the Palestinian Arabic dialect has kept the Aramaic term אֶּלֶּחַ: 4QEn⁴ 1 xii 5 (אֶלֶּחַ), 1QGenAp xxii 4 (אֶלֶּחַ).

4 See my article in RB lxv (1958), 70–7; and below, notes to En⁵ 1 xxvi (28: 3–29: 2 and 31: 2–32: 3) and En⁵ 1 xii (30: 1–32: 1).
towards Beqâ', Amanus, Elymais(?), the lands of India, in the directions East, North, East, North-East.

More complex, less clear, more difficult to sort out, are the mythological journeys of Enoch. The itinerary of the second expedition to the lands of the aromatics is relatively simple. In order to reach the mountains where nard, mastic, cardamom, and pepper grow, the patriarch takes the north-easterly direction. Following the route towards the East, he flies over the Red Sea, crosses the barrier of darkness, and arrives in the Paradise of righteousness (4QEn 1 xxvi 18–21; En. 32: 2–3). This paradise is thus situated exactly in the North-East of the universe; it contains the tree of knowledge, τὸ δέντρον τῆς φρονήσεως (32: 3–6).

Towards the east of the ends of the earth, the patriarch notices a region filled with huge beasts and birds (33: 1). This is a striking parallel to a passage in the text accompanying the Babylonian Mappa Mundi (above, p. 15), obv. lines 6 to 9, where various beasts, including monkeys and sea-monsters, but especially desert-animals, are enumerated. There is surely an allusion here to the eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula and to Ethiopia. We shall see presently that five other regions of the Seven ( WebView) mentioned
in the Astronomical Book are described in detail by the author of the Book of Watchers.

After his linear journey towards the East Enoch makes a circular flight along the boundaries of the sky and the earth; he quickly inspects the twelve doorways of the sun and the moon (six in the East and six in the West), the twelve doorways of the winds (three on each side of the universe), and the small doorways of the stars (33: 2–36: 3). In reality all this final part of the work is just a summary of the Astronomical Book or, more exactly, a reference to that book. The angel Uriel appears here too, but his role is expanded. He no longer contents himself with oral instruction, but writes down all his knowledge for the benefit of the patriarch (33: 3).

As we saw, Enoch’s first journey towards the setting of the sun appears in the Book of Watchers in a double recension (En. 17–19 and 21–5). The first, which forms part of the Visions of Enoch (above, p. 25), is rather imprecise as regards the siting of mythological geographical features along the western and northern boundaries of the universe. The explorer shows an interest, in the first place, in natural phenomena (En. 17). Carried off to the far West he finds himself in a region watched over by the beings of fire (17: i), and in a dark place, εἰς ξυφώδη τόπον (17: 2a). The latter must be the region of the Babylonian map of the world situated right in the North, ‘where the sun cannot be seen’, ασάρ 4Samši la innamar(u). The mountain of the West is described above all as the reservoir of the stars, of thunder, and of other natural phenomena; close by are situated the living waters (17: 2b–4a). The depository of the luminaries was to become, in the Judaean author’s version, the quadruple depositorum of souls, one of which contains the luminous source of water (En. 22). The fire of the setting sun (17: 4b) is described in more detail in En. 23.

The Judaean author does not take up in the second recension any of the elements enumerated rapidly in 17: 5–18: 5. Enoch first crosses the river of fire (Pyrophlegethon of the Odyssey), then ‘the great rivers’ (17: 5–6a; the Greeks counted three of them), and ends up ‘as far as the Great River and as far as the Great Darkness there where no being of flesh may go’ (17: 6b). We easily recognize in this the circular Ocean, the Bitter River of the Babylonian map, and the sphere of darkness already located by our author in front of the north-eastern paradise.1 It is in the region of the darkness of winter winds,

1 Note how מדברי of the Astronomical Book denotes only the Ocean, here comes to be extended to several rivers, נחלים and נחלים רבביים, par excellence; analogously the מדברים in the Book of Giants; see above, p. 15.
and hence in the far North, that the effluence and the mouth of the Abyss are situated (17: 7–8).

Then the author of the Visions of Enoch makes the patriarch go on a journey round the world in order to explore the reservoirs of the winds, the corner-stone of the earth, the four cardinal points pictured as ‘the pillars of heaven’ (according to E; omitted in C by hmt), the winds which drive the stars, and the firmament of heaven (18: 1–5). The account of this circular journey will inspire a similar itinerary during the eastern expedition (En. 33–6).

After this orbital flight the patriarch takes up again his western route and arrives at the mountain of God surrounded by six other mountains, all made of precious stones (18: 6–8). The precise detail, ‘three mountains on the eastern side and three on the southern side’, shows clearly that the mountain-throne of God occupies the north-western corner of the universe. (In the parallel description (En. 24–5) the divine mountain is surrounded by the garden of sweet-smelling trees which is dominated by the Tree of Life.) Behind the seven mountains of God, in the place where the heavens end, the patriarch sees a deep abyss formed of columns of fire. Beyond is a place without water and without birds, a forsaken and terrible place (τόπος ἡν ἐρήμος καὶ φοβερός, 18: 2; cf. τόπος ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ φοβερός, 21: 2), where the prison of the seven stars and of the fallen angels is situated (18: 9–19: 1). (In the parallel text (En. 21) the prisons of the angels and the stars are separate; the former suffer in the place which has a ‘cleft (διακοπὴ)’ going as far as the abyss’, filled with columns of the great fire, and identical therefore with the great gulf of the Book of the Visions of Enoch.)

The gulf or cleft of apocalyptic imagery reflects the mouth of the abyss of mythical geography. Now the residence of Ba’l, according to Ugaritic poems, is situated ‘on the heights of the North . . . at the source of the rivers, in the middle of the channels of the two Oceans’, mrym spn . . . mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm. These Ugaritic expressions are found almost unaltered in En. 17: 7–8: mbk nhrm is equivalent to ἤ ἡν ἐκχύσεως τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων υἱῶν τῶν αὐτῶν (v. 8); apq thmtm is ἢ ἐκχύσεως τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων υἱῶν τῶν αὐτῶν (v. 7), taken up by the simple ἢ ἐκχύσεως in v. 8, ἵνα τὸ στόμα τῆς ἡν ἐκχύσεως πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀβυσσου.

For the two authors of the Book of Watchers the abode of God, which is located by the second writer in paradise, is also situated essentially in the North, in particular if one looks at it on the vertical axis. It is into the pit beneath (or: below) Ἁφών, the mountain of the North, that rebels are hurled

down (the star Hêlêl of Isa. 14: 12-15, the king of Tyre of Ezek. 28: 16-18). None the less, the needs of a cartographer and an apologist who are attempting to put into order conflicting traditions on the abodes of the gods, of the blessed, and of the damned, places scattered from the East, across the North, and as far as the West, will produce a mythical (and real) geography like that drawn in Fig. 5.

When this map of the world is compared with that in Fig. 3, it can easily be seen that the bipartite division of the ‘World’ beyond this world (the circular Ocean—seven regions and Paradise) shown in the maps of the
Astronomical Book and the Babylonian tablet now becomes distinctly tripartite (Ocean and Abyss—darkness and fire—double Paradise). Paradise is thus to be found in the third supra-terrestrial sphere (cf. 2 Cor. 12: 2–4). The belief that Paradise is situated in the North (or in the North-West) is given practical, visual expression in the orientation of the Essene tombs at Ḥirbet Qumrān: the bodies are stretched out South–North, with the head on the southern side so that when brought to life the just elect will be facing the Paradise-Abode of God.

**THE BOOK OF DREAMS (En. 83–90), THE EPISTLE OF ENOCH (En. 91–108), AND THE BOOK OF GIANTS**

The fourth section of the Ethiopic Enoch, the Book of Dreams, is represented by the fragments of four manuscripts, 4QEn to 4QEn. The last-mentioned, of which only one piece is preserved, is the oldest, from the third quarter of the second century B.C. The three others, En, En, and En, are from scrolls on which this book was combined with the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, and the Epistle of Enoch. A quarter of the original text of the Book of Dreams can be recovered from these fragments with their Aramaic context restored. In the orthography we should note the representation of the article by He (לונל in En i 20 and 4 iii 21), rare exceptions in comparison with ‘classical’ forms.

The first dream of Enoch, which concerns the Flood (En. 83–4), is not preserved by any piece of 4QEnoch, but the second dream is well represented by many pieces. It has a more developed form in the Ethiopic version than in

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1 This observation is the starting-point from which I believe we can resolve the crux of 1QGenAp ii 23, where the editors have read באה לארותיה לאפרים ומכם אשמחתה, and translated ‘and he [Lamech] went off to... and he found him [Enoch] down there’. The term עיר, ‘paradise of mountains and trees in precious stones’, has been adequately explained by P. Grelot in *Vetus Test.* xi (1961), 30–8 (with reference to a Jewish text which I have published in *RB* lxvi (1959), 567–75). Less successful, however, is his explanation of the first enigmatic term, which he proposes to read כנהויה הלтем (‘straight away’), a reading which seems to me to take insufficient account of the traces of the letters which can be seen on the photograph. If the reproduction is examined more closely, only one letter in the transcription of Avigad, namely the penultimate, will be found to need alteration. The lower part of it is destroyed, but the upper part corresponds better to the upper stroke of Beth than to that of Mem. Accordingly I read לענה as one single word, in spite of the final form of the Kaph in the middle of a word (which does occur occasionally in the script of Qumrān manuscripts). I find this term again, just as it is here, in the Judaeo-Aramaic דרכנים, meaning ‘the upper layer, stratum (of the three)’. So here we are in the Paradise of precious mountains which constitutes the third and highest celestial sphere.

the 4Q fragments; this may be the result of the paraphrastic work of trans­lators, mainly of Abyssinian copyists, for two of the three Greek fragments which are still extant (En. 85: 10–86: 2 and 87: 1–3 in Oxyrhynchus Pap. 2069, fragments $1^r + 2^r$ and $1^r + 2^r$, and En. 89: 42–9 in a Vatican manuscript) are fairly close to the Aramaic text.¹

The fictitious framework of these two dreams, the teachings of Enoch to his son Methuselah (83: 1 and 85: 1–2), was borrowed from the Astronomical Book. The genealogy of the antediluvian sage is already that of Gen. 5: 15 ff., as his grandfather Mahalal’el is mentioned (83: 3 and 6). A new legendary detail is provided in the form of his wife’s name, Edna: this was chosen deliberately, for ‘ednâ means in Aramaic ‘The Paradise’ (in Hebrew, ‘êdnâh is the feminine form of the masculine ‘êden’). We know that the hero of the Babylonian flood, Utnapištîm, lived at the mouth of the rivers with his wife;² so, it would seem, did the Sumerian Ziusudra.³ In Berossus Xisouthros, at the time of his being carried off by the gods, was accompanied by his wife, his daughter, and his guide. Our writer also probably envisaged Enoch, as the resident of Paradise, in the company of his wife named ‘Paradise’; according to Jub. 4: 20 she was called Edni, thus ‘My Paradise’, and Edna was Enoch’s daughter-in-law (Jub. 4: 27).

The author emphasizes that Enoch had his dreams while he was still unmarried, the first when he was learning to write, and the second just before his marriage, En. 83: 2. We must not look in this for an ‘ascetic’ tendency, but rather an allusion to the rites of incubation which demanded temporary continence.

The second dream (En. 85–90) presents a tableau of world-history from the creation of the first man to the eschatological advent of the Kingdom of God. Individuals and peoples appear in this in the guise of various animals, whilst the angels are transformed into men dressed in white; the great protagonists of the sacred history, such as Noah (89: 1, 9) or Moses (89: 36, 38), are changed into men at the culminating moments of their careers. To retrace rapidly the distant past the writer uses books of the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Joshua, Judges (?), Samuel and Kings, perhaps the great prophets, and finally Ezra.⁴

¹ See below, notes to En⁴ 2 iii (En. 89: 43–4) and to En⁵ 1 (En. 86: 1–3).
² Text of Gilgamesh quoted above, p. 33.
³ ‘[provided] Ziusudra with a wife’; M. Civil, loc. cit. pp. 144–5, line 255α and the note on p. 172.
⁴ It would be useful to undertake a detailed study of the Enochic text with a view to discovering whether it contains elements foreign to these books which later became canonical.
At the beginning of his ‘zoomorphic’ history, after the brief résumé of Gen. 2–5 (with the reference to the wife of Cain; see Jub. 4: 1, 9), the author interpolates a résumé of the Book of Watchers (En. 86 ff.), not without some significant alterations. The first star which falls from the sky (86: 1) is certainly identified with ‘Ašā’ēl, as follows from 88: 1 which summarizes 10: 4 (cf. 90: 21). We infer, therefore, a fairly lenient attitude towards Šemīhazah, which will be taken up by the author of the Book of Giants, who represents Šemīhazah as a penitent (below, p. 328). The author of the Book of Dreams distinguishes three categories of children born of the union of angels and women (86: 4; 87: 3; 88: 2; 89: 6). They are not known to the author of the Book of Watchers, but they will reappear in Jubilees (7: 21–2). The four and the three ‘white men’ of 87: 2 obviously reflect the four archangels of 9: 1 and 10: 1–11 and the three additional angels of the list of the seven archangels given in 20; we find the same number again in ‘these first seven white [men]’ (90: 21). The role of guides to the patriarch, which 87: 3–4 and 90: 31 attribute to Uriēl, Ragûēl, and Remiēl, is without exact parallel, certainly not for the last-named angel, in the Book of Watchers. The high tower in a high place from which Enoch will behold the destruction of the angels, giants, and men (87: 3–4) unites into a single place the first paradisiac abode of Enoch, the heavenly palace, and the mountain-throne of God (14, and 24–5 = 18). In 88: 1–89: 1 En. 10 is faithfully summarized. According to 89: 52 the Lord of the flock brings a ewe, Elias, up to Enoch, who is lodging in the tower.

From the fall of Israel and Judah onwards (89: 56 and 66) the author introduces the seventy shepherds and their servants, who in succession rule the people of Israel (89: 59 ff.). On this part of the Book of Dreams, which presupposes the existence of a document dividing the sacred history into seventy periods, see pp. 248–54. It is possible that the author of the Book of Dreams attributed the composition of this chronological document to Enoch himself, for he makes the patriarch intervene at this point: ‘And I began to cry out with all my strength, and to call upon the Lord of the sheep, and I showed him that the sheep were devoured by all the wild beasts’ (89: 57; cf. vv. 67 and 69).

From the fourth epoch of the seventy periods, which begins towards the year 200 B.C. (En 90: 6 ff.), the writer recounts events which are contemporaneous with himself: the formation of the party of the Hasidaeans (vv. 6–7), the murder of the high priest Onias in the summer of 170 B.C. (v. 8), the exploits of the Maccabaeans, in particular of Judas, the ram with a
large horn (v. 9). In vv. 13-15 the author describes, unquestionably in my opinion, the battle of Bethsур which took place at the beginning of the year 164 B.C. Judas 'cried out for aid. And I saw the man arrive who had inscribed the names of the shepherds..., he came down to help this ram..., and those who saw him all ran away, and they all fell into the darkness (fleeing) before him.' This belief in a heavenly apparition at the time of the engagement of Bethsур is found again in 2 Macc. 11: 6-12: 'When Maccabaeus and his followers learned that [Lysias] was besieging the fortresses, they begged the Lord with wailing and tears, in concert with the crowd, to send a good angel to save Israel. Maccabaeus himself, the first to take up arms, exhorted the others to expose themselves with him to danger to aid their brothers. They thus sprang forward, filled with eagerness; they were still close to Jerusalem when a horseman dressed in white appeared at the head of them brandishing a piece of golden weapon. Then at once all blessed the God of mercies and felt themselves quickened with such ardour that they were ready to pierce not only men but also the wildest beasts and defensive walls of iron. So they advanced in battle-order, helped by an ally from heaven, the Lord having had pity on them. Thus they swooped down upon the enemies like lions, laid low on the ground eleven thousand infantrymen and sixteen hundred horsemen, and forced the others to flee.'

The author of the Book of Dreams began to compose his work under the overwhelming impact of this direct intervention by God in the affairs of his people. En. 90: 16 describes the political situation during this memorable year 164 B.C.: 'All the eagles, vultures, crows, and hawks assembled, and they brought with them all the wild asses, and they all came together and they met together to break this ram's horn into fragments.' This is a clear allusion to the threat of joint military intervention by the neighbouring peoples which hangs over victorious Israel. To forestall it, from the spring of 163 B.C., preventive expeditions were led by the Maccabaeans to Idumaea, Ammon, Galilee, Gilead, and Philistia (1 Macc. 5: 1-68 and 2 Macc. 10: 14-38 and 12: 10-45); already by the summer of 164 B.C., it seems, raids were being made by Judas against Joppa and Jamnia (2 Macc. 12: 1-9). At the next verse (90: 17) we pass from the historical to the apocalyptic part of the work. The Book of Dreams was accordingly composed during 164 B.C., probably in the early months of the year, during the few weeks which followed the battle of Bethsур.

In the apocalyptic part of the work the abode of God is established on the hill of the temple of Jerusalem (90: 20 ff.); the abyss of fire into which the
angels and the sinners will be hurled is situated ‘to the right of this house’ (vv. 26 and 28) and hence in the valley of Gehenna, just as the Judaean author of the Book of Watchers believed (En. 27). The author of the Book of Dreams firmly believes in the close imminence of eschatological events, and even that they will occur during the lifetime of Judas Maccabaeus, for ‘this ram’ who, along with the three angels, accompanies Enoch to the place of the Last Judgement (v. 31), is, without a doubt, the hero of Emmaus and Bethsura.

In his description of the eschatological era the author insists on the dynamic and progressive character of events, an idea which will be exploited in the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 93 and 91). On the other hand, according to our writer, the final era will merely be a repetition, completely perfect this time, of the primordial era. The ‘white bull’ of 90: 37 is obviously the new Adam (Adam ‘white bull’, 85: 3), but more glorious than the first, for ‘his horns are large’. Just as the descendants of Adam were ‘white bulls’ (85: 8–10), so the contemporaries of the second Adam will become ‘all white bulls’ (90: 38). The successor to the eschatological white Bull will be ‘a wild ox which has large black horns on its head’ (90: 38). Our apocalyptic writer wishes merely to express the increased power of this eschatological patriarch. He implies that the eschatological history will pursue, in this upward direction, the succeeding generations of more and more glorious and perfect men, in distinct contrast to the first history, with its descending sequence: bulls—calves—sheep, surrounded by injurious animals and birds.

The Book of Dreams was well known to the author of the book of Jubilees: ‘He saw in a dream-vision the past and the future, what will happen to the children of men until the day of judgement; he saw and understood everything, he put his witness down in writing . . .’ (4: 19).

Translated into Greek, the Book of Dreams was occasionally furnished with notes explaining the identity of the animals. It is from such a commentary to our work (possibly repeated, in extracts, by some Byzantine chronicler) that the fragment of the Greek Vatican MS. 1809 comes, in which the passage of En. 89: 42–9 is followed by this text (lines 7–16):

Δαβὶδ γὰρ τοὺς Χανααίοις καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαλήκ καὶ τοὺς νιῶν Ἀμμῶν πολεμήσας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ περιεγένετο αὐτῶν.

1 The Aramaic קָנָא was transcribed into Greek ρημα, understood as ‘speech’, nagar, by the Ethiopic translator (an excellent conjecture made by Dillmann, who however derived the meaning from the Hebrew קָנָא, ρημα).
2 M. Gitlbauer, Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809, pp. 94–5.
Less fortunate with his identifications was the writer who composed, in about the eighteenth century, the Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and of the Earth; for him the Ammonites are scorpions, the Amalekites eagles, the Philistines foxes, the Egyptians hyenas, and the Edomites wolves.

Elsewhere the Book of Dreams is quoted once only, in a recapitulatory manner, by the Epistle of Barnabas 16: 5: Πάλιν ώς ἐμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναός καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραήλ παραδίδοσθαι, ἐφανερώθη. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: “Καὶ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων, καὶ (om. multi MSS. Graeci et versio Latina) παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν”. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθ’ ἀ ἐλάλησεν Κύριος. This quotation is generally compared with En. 89: 56–74. But the precise detail, ‘at the end of time’, which was essential for the author of the Epistle, makes me think rather of En. 90: 26–8: ‘And I saw at that time a precipice . . . And these blinded sheep were brought and they were . . . cast into this abyss of fire and they burned . . . And I rose to watch until they folded up that old house (sc. Jerusalem) and all the columns were swept away . . . and they were cast into a place to the right of the earth.’ After this quotation the pseudo-Barnabas asks himself: Ζητήσωμεν δὲ, εἰ ἐστιν ναὸς θεοῦ; ἐστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν (16, 5). The last two verbs, ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν, make an implicit allusion to En. 90: 29: ‘And I watched till the Lord of the Sheep brought a new house . . . all its columns were new, and its ornaments were new . . . ’ Note, however, that the author of the Epistle (or rather the compiler of a Christian manual of anti-Jewish testimonia) did not understand properly the symbolical language of the Book of Dreams. ‘The People of Israel’ is correctly identified with ‘the Sheep of the pasture’ (even if ‘the Sheep’, נאצי in Aramaic, alone would suffice), and ‘the Tower’ (probably Aramaic נליב) with ‘the Temple’; but ‘the Sheepfold’ is certainly not ‘the Town (of Jerusalem)’, which is usually called ‘the House’

1 Ed. S. Grébaut, PO vi, 3 (1911), 395 [137].
2 The Egyptians are correctly identified with the wolves of En. 89: 19 ff. in CSCO 235/Aeth. 43 (236/44, Versio), p. 81, 26–7 (p. 71, 29–30) follows, see below, p. 257.
Moreover, the quotation of Barn. 16: 5 is a conglomerate of expressions scattered all over our Enochic writing. The phrase 'the Lord (of the Sheep) delivers the Sheep' occurs in En. 89: 56 and 74; 'delivering for destruction' in 89: 63, 70, 74; 'the slaughter (of the Sheep) in their pastures (אנסיו) in 89: 54; the abandonment and destruction of the House and of the Tower in 89: 56 and 66. The term 'enclosure, sheepfold' (Eth. 'asad', Gr. μάνδρα, Aram. שלד) designates 'the Promised Land' in En. 93: 6; the same word is used, in a quite different context, in 86: 2 and 89: 34-5.

The influence of Enochic writings, and of the book of Daniel, on subsequent apocalyptic literature, Jewish and Christian, does not need to be proved. Thus, for example, an allusion to En. 90: 22-5 can be detected in the Apocalypse of Elijah, the Coptic version of which is partly overlapped by a fragment of papyrus of the fourth century: 'He shall judge the shepherds of the people, he shall require of them all that the flock has done; they will be delivered to him without ruse, πωμένας τοῦ [λαοῦ . . .] τὴν νομήν τ[. . .] ἀνεν δόλου . . [. . .].' The text goes on: 'When Elijah and Enoch descend, they will devour the flesh of the world, they will take up the spiritual flesh, and they will pursue the son of unrighteousness': ὅτε Ἡλείας καὶ Ἐν[ωχ . . .] τοῦ κόσμου[ν . . .] κατα[διώκοντων τον υἱὸν τῆς ἀδικίας].'\(^1\)

In the language of later apocalyptic writings, however, it is not easy to determine the direct borrowings from a given apocalypse. Themes such as the slaughter of the wicked by the sword which has descended from heaven, or that of the judgement in the midst of the earth, which are found, for example, in Lactantius, Inst. div. vii. 19, 5 (ed. Brandt, p. 645), could well come from En. 90: 19 and 26 (Charles, p. xc), but no doubt through successive intermediaries, beginning with Jub. 5: 9 and 8: 19, passing through the Sibylline Oracles, and so on.

The fifth and last section of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (En. 91–108) in ancient times certainly had the title Epistle of Enoch, according to the evidence of the subscription in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (CM), 'Ἐπιστολὴ Ἔνωχ', a title repeated in the text itself, τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης (En. 100: 6).\(^2\) In the fragmentary material of Qumran Cave 4 this document is represented by two manuscripts, En\(^a\) and En\(^c\), the first offering a substantial

\(^1\) See Wessely, PO xviii, 3 (1924), 487–8

\(^2\) 'of this book' E; see also below, note to [263–4] and Steindorff, Die Apocalypse des En\(^a\) i ii 21.

Elias in TU, n.f. ii. 3, 1899.
part of the beginning of the work (En. 91–4), the second preserving several pieces of En. 104–7. If we add to this the CM papyrus which offers the Greek text, more or less complete, of 97–107 (and in addition, two tiny Greek fragments of the same papyrus, a Coptic fragment belonging to the beginning, and a Latin fragment belonging to the end of the book), we have the best preserved of the works attributed to Enoch, after the Book of Watchers, either in its Greek version (and its derivatives) or in its samples of the original Aramaic text.

The Aramaic text of 4QEnε has definitely confirmed the hypothesis of critics of the Ethiopic Enoch who placed the description of the three last Weeks of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 91: 11–17) after that of the first seven Weeks (93: 3–10). Calculations made on the original state of the scroll which contained this manuscript, as also some phrases preserved in Aramaic, show without any doubt that the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch (91: 1–10) was more fully developed in the original than in the Ethiopic version. The Aramaic text corresponding to 92: 3–5 was also longer, and the section 93: 11–14 (itself quite different from the Ethiopic text) was preceded by an analogous text three times as long as the Ethiopic passage. C. Bonner, the editor of the CM papyrus, also came to the conclusion that the beginning of the Greek version was more elaborate than the Ethiopic.¹

From chapter 94 onwards (certainly from 97: 6, where CM begins) and up to the end of the work the Ethiopic text reproduces the Greek model relatively well, notwithstanding very numerous variations in detail and some more notable divergences (e.g. in 98: 5; 99: 11–12; 102: 1–3 and 7–9; 103: 15; 104: 4–5). The CM papyrus does not contain En. 108, a fact which must reflect the primitive state of the Epistle of Enoch. The work was certainly not known to the author of the book of Jubilees. In this respect I am in agreement with Charles, and in disagreement with those who find reference to it in Jub. 4: 18 (which is in fact a reference to various astro-nomical and calendrical texts) or in 4: 19 (a reference to the Book of Dreams; see above, p. 45). The date of 4QEnε, towards the middle of the first century B.C., constitutes the terminus ante quem of the composition of the Epistle. An important indication may be drawn from the orthography of Enε, which retains several astonishingly archaic elements that must come directly from the author’s autograph, for instance, very elaborate defective forms and, above all, “י instead of “י. The last-mentioned feature, normal in imperial Aramaic,

¹ This is confirmed by my hypothetical identification of two small pieces of CM; see below, notes to Enε i i and i ii 22–3.
was to survive as an archaism for some time after the year 100 B.C., for example, in Nabataean. The orthography of En*c, which was copied from a written model in an orthography similar to that of 1QIIs* and 1QS, likewise points towards the year 100 B.C. On the other hand, literary analysis of the work will scarcely provide us with the chronological details which it was thought could be found in it.

Commentators on this part of the Ethiopic Enoch conjecture that the author was a pious Pharisee who denounces the Sadducaean party as being penetrated with Hellenistic influences and enjoying the support of the Hasmonaean princes; on this supposition he wrote after Hyrcanus' split with the Pharisaic party, most probably during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, or possibly under the successors of Alexandra. But the central motif of the work is quite clearly the economic differentiation of poor and rich, which is treated as approximately equivalent to the ethical discrimination of 'righteous' and 'sinners'. The latter are flatly accused of idolatry (99: 6–9; cf. 91: 9 and 104: 9), which is quite unthinkable with regard to the Sadducaeans and the Hasmonaeans, whatever might be their supposed transgressions in respect of the Mosaic law according to Pharisaic (or, we should add, Essene) interpretation. The appropriate framework for the denunciations of the Enochic writer is, in my opinion, the milieu of a prosperous Greek city where the Jews live as an economically 'under-developed' minority. Naturally, at the very heart of such an Israelite community there would occur splits between the 'Orthodox' and the Hellenizers, 'who transgress the eternal covenant' (διαστρέφοντες τὴν αἰώνιον (ἀγωνιον MS.) διαθήκην, 99: 2), and 'who scorn the foundation and the eternal heritage of their fathers' (οἱ ἐξουθενοῦντες τὴν θεμ[ελί]ωσιν καὶ τὴν κληρονομιαν[ν τῶν πα]τέρων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀν' αἰώνος, 99: 14). The rich sinners trample the righteous poor under foot and oppress them continually (95: 7; 96: 5, 8; 103: 9–15; 104: 3). It may be doubted if 'the princes' of the Ethiopic version at 103: 14 represents the original reading; what corresponds to it in the analogous text of 104: 3 in CM is βιαζομένων. Occasionally there comes a day of affliction brought about by the sinners when the righteous must shelter from the persecution of the wicked (96: 2), a day of terrible anguish when the sinners afflict and keep (meaning?) the righteous in fire (καὶ φυλάξητε αὐτῶσ ἐν πυρελ, 100: 7). All this scarcely seems to go beyond the bounds of commercial and artisan rivalry in a town and an occasional 'pogrom', caused, moreover, indirectly by the military adventures of a Hyrcanus or a Jannaeus against the towns, the ethnarchs, and the Greek kings.
As a traditional Jewish scribe, the author of the Epistle of Enoch shows himself to be particularly sensitive to the spreading, among his co-religionists, of works of Greek literature and above all euhemeristic works composed in Greek by the Jews themselves. He deprecates that 'sinners alter the words of truth and contradict and change many of them and they lie and perpetrate numerous (literary) forgeries and they rewrite the (holy) Scriptures under their own names' ([τούς λόγους] τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαλλοιωθῶν καὶ ἀντὶ[γράφουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀλλάσσουσιν] τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ψεύδονται (-τε MS.) καὶ πλάσσοντα μεγάλα καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἀν[αγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν, 104: 10; cf. 98: 15). We must suppose him to be referring to the historical and apologetical works, in prose and in verse, of Demetrius, of Philon the Ancient, of Eupolemus, Artapan, Aristeas, Cleodemus-Malkâ, of pseudo-Hecataeus, Ezekiel the Tragic, and so on. Against this Graeco-Jewish religious literature he sets his own pseudepigraphical work. He wishes, certainly, that it shall be used with respect but he allows it to be disseminated under other names than that of the patriarch which he assumes (καὶ ὁφελοῦν πάντας τοὺς λόγους μου γράφω[σιν] ἐπὶ ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ MS.) καὶ [μή]τε ἁφέλωσιν μήτε ἀλλοιώσωσιν (-σους MS.) τῶν λόγων τούτων (τον λόγον τοῦτον MS.), ἄλλα πάντα ἐπὶ ἀληθείας γράφωσιν ἃ ἐγὼ διαμαρτυροῦμαι αὐτοῖς, 104: 11). In antediluvian perspective the literary activity of the Hellenistic era is naturally a mystery (104: 10). A second mystery will be the diffusion of various Enochic documents (αἱ βιβλίοι μου; Eth. omits μοῦ) among the 'just, holy, and wise' men of the same age (104: 12–13).

The Greek town in which the author of the Epistle of Enoch lived could well have been a port on the Palestinian coast. The passage on the 'captains of ships' (ναύκληροι, 101: 4–9) contrasts sharply, in its sober familiarity with the facts of the sea, with the simple metaphor of the vessel tossed by the tempest which is found, for example, in the book of Hymns (1QH iii 13–18, vii 22–4). Equally characteristic of someone used to the maritime voyages of his Greek fellow citizens is the apostrophe of 97: 7: οὐαὶ υἱῶν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν μέσῳ (ἐμμεσο MS.) τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ὄντες· μνημόσυνον εἶς υμᾶς κακῶν (κακῶν MS.) (for the second phrase cf. 96: 7). These formulas repeat, with the opposite meaning, expressions of daily life perpetuated by inscriptions and graffiti: 'may his memory be good (δκρνή λθῇ), 'saved from the dangers of sea and land'. The exact equivalent of the expression 'on sea and on dry land' is found again, for example, in the Palmyrene dedications: 'To the One whose name be blessed for ever, the Good and the Merciful, (such a one) gives thanks, for he called upon Him on sea and dry land, and He gave
ear to everything that he asked Him', $bryk$ $shm$ l"lm' $tb'$ $wrhmn'$ $mwdb$' . . . $dy$ $qrlh$ $bym'$ $wbybs'$ $wnh$ [bk]l $dy$ $qrh$ (CIS ii 4047).

Living in a distant town the author of the Epistle of Enoch could not follow too closely the fashions of Judaean scribes, such as those of Jerusalem or Ḥîrabet Qumrân (above, p. 23). Likewise his Aramaic dialect contained some peculiarities, for example the particle of exclamation $b$ $l$ in 106: 13 ($En^\circ$ ii 5 ii 17).

Despite the fiercely hostile attitude of our writer, the cultural and intellectual influence of the Greek environment none the less breaks through. It reveals itself in his treatment of eschatological themes, which is sober and discreet compared with the visionary exuberance of his Aramaic sources, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams.

For pseudepigraphical fiction the author of the Epistle draws on the framework of the Astronomical Enoch and the Book of Dreams, that is, the teachings of the patriarch to his son Methuselah, to whom our writer adds his brothers (91: 1-3). After a brief parainesis and an eschatological passage (91: 4-10, 18-19 and 92: 1-5), he skilfully outlines the Apocalypse of Weeks (93: 1-10 and 91: 11-17), the distant archetype of which was perhaps also attributed to Enoch (above, p. 43). It is, however, reworked according to the personal views of the compiler, who further elaborates the Apocalypse of the seventy periods outlined by the author of the Book of Dreams (see below, pp. 248-56). This initial part of the work ends with a sapiential poem, formulated in rhetorical questions, concerning the transcendence of God, which is, however, nothing but a disguised eulogy of Enoch and his ultra-terrestrial journeys (93: 11-14).

Essentially, however, our writer gives his book the form of an Aramaic letter. Since the Assyrian and Persian era Aramaic letters, after the formulas of salutation to the addressees, had begun with $wk't$, $wk'nt$, $wk'n$, the adverb being repeated at the beginning of each new section of the text. It is also with just such a formula, $v$ $h$ $l$ $h$ $m$ $h$ $m$ $b$, $h$ $m$ $b$, $v$ $h$ $l$ $h$ $m$ $h$ $m$ $b$, that the body of the Epistle of Enoch begins (94: 1; $En$ i v 24). A letter of Enoch had already been incorporated into the Book of Watchers, but being an indictment it became an 'anti-epistle': instead of 'peace to you' it ended 'there is no peace for you' (above, p. 35). Our author obviously drew on this, punctuating his

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1 Cf. ibid. 4084: [dy] $qrlh$ $bys'$ $wbym'$, and Inv. xi 35 (my reading): . . . $dy$ $qr'$ $lh$ [by]$hs'$ $wbym'$ [w]$nyh$ $wiszbb$ $w\'hyh'$, . . . for he called upon Him, on dry land and on sea, and He answered his prayer, saved him, and brought him back to life.

2 This is found too in Nabataean Aramaic, which also used the relative pronoun $zv$ up to the first half of the first century B.C.; see Milik, $DFD$ ii, p. 174, note to Mur 72 i 3.
text with καὶ οὖκ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν χαίρειν (94: 6; 98: 11, 16; 99: 13; 101: 3, omitted in CM); 102: 3; 103: 8). ¹

This 'anti-epistolary' feature is evident again in other expressions of good and bad wishes to the addressees. Besides the infrequent expressions of encouragement, such as θαρσέετε (102: 4 and 104: 2; cf. 96: 1 and 97: 1) and μακάριοι (99: 10 and 103: 5), there are no fewer than about thirty occurrences of 'woe betide you', οὐάι ὑμῖν. ² To the epistolary style belongs also the solemn formula 'and now I swear to you', καὶ νῦν ὁμνῦω ὑμῖν, addressed either to the wise and the just (98: 1; 103: 1; 104: 1) or to the sinners (98: 4, 6; 99: 6). ³

The principal subject of the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36), namely the fall of the angels and their punishment, is only touched on in passing and dealt with very discreetly in the Epistle. The final judgement on the 'watchers of heaven' is placed in the tenth week of the Apocalypse of Weeks (91: 15). A second allusion to the punishment of the wicked angels is found in 100: 4, where there is an important detail which was obliterated in the Ethiopic version, and which has escaped the attention of the editor of CM: καὶ καταβήσονται ἄγγελοι καταδύνοντες εἶς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν ἡμέρα ἐκείνη, οἵτινες ἐβοηθοῦν τῇ ἁδικίᾳ, καὶ συστραφήσονται εἰς ἑνα τόπον. ⁴ The angels who are referred to here are not the assistants of God at the Last Judgement, as the Ethiopic took them to be, but quite clearly the fallen angels punished in the way described by the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams. They will be hurled down (καταβήσονται should be translated in the transitive-causative sense), and they will be engulfed like the setting stars in a hidden region, gathered all together in one single place (in their eternal prison). It seems to me very significant that the author of the Epistle neglects the profusion of detail provided by the two other Enochic works on the subject of the places of detention of the fallen angels and the erring stars. Even more significant is the phrase which characterizes the function of the demons, οἵτινες ἐβοηθοῦν τῇ ἁδικίᾳ 'who were assisting (the men who commit) injustice'. The active presence of spiritual beings in the

¹ The scribe of CM makes the last word χαίρειν prominent by leaving a blank space in front of it (99: 13 (pl. 3, 14); 102: 3 (pl. 7, 15); 103: 8 (pl. 8, 25)). The salutation χαίρειν, separated from the text, ends the Greek letters, and occasionally inscriptions, of that period (Bonner, p. 14).
² 94: 6–8; 95: 4–7; 96: 4–8; 97: 7–8; 98: 9–99: 2; 99: 11–15 (CM three times, E five times); 100: 7–9; 103: 5 omitted in CM; (vacat οὐάι ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν vacat χαίρειν).
³ Cf., e.g., Mur 43 3 (DJD ii, p. 160 note ad loc.).
⁴ Bonner, p. 49, moves the last καὶ before οἵτινες in order to bring the Greek text more or less into line with E⁷ and E⁸.
world of men is thus in no way the first cause of evil on the earth, as the two authors of the Book of Watchers taught. The same idea of the subsidiary role of the wicked spirits in the diffusion of sin recurs in 97: 4, ‘... those against whom this word witnesses “You have been the companions (sc. the accomplices) of sinners”’, an explicit quotation recapitulating En. 13: 2 and 16: 3. In the passage of 100: 1–3 which describes how ‘in these days, in a single place’ the sinners will kill one another, fathers their sons, brothers their brothers, the author borrows phrases from the account of the mutual massacre of the giants (10: 9–12; 12: 6; 14: 6; 16: 1; cf. Jub. 5: 9).

The author of the Epistle of Enoch returns to the problem of the origin of evil in a remarkable passage which it is desirable to quote in extenso (98: 4–5). The beginning is preserved only in the Ethiopic; (apart from some words in CM from the end of this passage): ‘I swear to you, sinners, that as a mountain has never become and never will become a slave, nor a hill a servant of woman, so sin has not been sent down to the earth; but men have created it themselves, and those who commit it will be under a great curse.’ This is a polemic, tinged with irony, against the principal argument of the Book of Watchers. Restrained, however, by the rules of pseudepigraphy (Enoch cannot contradict himself from one of his works to the next), our writer resorts to a bold metaphor. Just as the mountain cannot change its nature and become a slave, so a spiritual being cannot become carnal. He thus categorically denies the myth of the descent of the angels and their union with the women, which, according to the Book of Watchers, explains the presence of evil in the world. Man alone, insists our author, is the fons et origo of moral evil.

He takes up this idea again immediately afterwards in the passage (lost almost entirely in E) where he also rejects the ‘heavenly’, natural origin of social injustice and physical imperfections (CM, pl. 2, lines 4–12):

καὶ στείρα γυναικείς οὐκ ἐδόθη ἄλ[οχος δι-]

ἀρεγα τῶν χειρῶν. ὅτι οὐχ ἁρισθῇ δο[ῦλον]

ἐνυμί. [ε] ἡ δούλην ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδό[θη]

アルバム ἐκ καταδυναστείας ἐγένετο. ὁ[μοίως]

οὐδὲ ἡ ἀνομία ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη ἀλλ’ ἐκ

παραβάσεως. ὁμοίως οὐδὲ στείρα

γυνὴ ἐκτίσθη ἀλλ’ εἰς ἱδίων ἀδικημά-

tῶν ἑπετεμήθη· ἀτεκνία ἀτεκνὸς

ἀποθανεῖται.¹

¹ Discussion of this passage in Bonner, pp. 36–7. For lines 4–5 he stops at καὶ δουλεία
INTRODUCTION

I restore at the end of line 4 ἀλοχος, ‘wife, concubine, maid-servant’, and I understand this phrase as follows: ‘And the sterile woman does not have a maid-servant (only) for manual work’; the concubine can give her master an heir. The idea of the fundamental equality of men is clearly formulated in the next phrase: the condition of slavery has not been established by God; it has its origins in tyrannical oppression. Likewise legal and moral disorder, ἀνομία, does not come from on high (that is, by divine permission for the descent of the angels), but springs from transgression, παράβασις, the violation of the Law willed by man himself. Similarly sterility (a typical example for the author of physical evil) is not an innate imperfection, but constitutes a punishment of the sins of woman.

The good spirits, according to the author of the Epistle, are above all the heavenly scribes who record the actions of the just and of the sinners (104: 1; cf. 97: 6; 98: 6–8; 103: 3; 104: 7). They will become guardian angels of the just at the moment of the judgement of the impious (100: 5). The Judgement will be executed by God himself (91: 7). The author speaks, it seems, of the resurrection of the just in 91: 10 and in 92: 3, but the Aramaic text of these two passages has not been preserved in 4QEn. The windows of heaven will be opened to the just, and they will shine like luminaries (104: 2; cf. 92: 4 and 96: 3). But the just are not ‘children of heaven’, as the Ethiopic claims at 101: 1; CM reads ἄνθρωποι. Neither does the Greek have the two Ethiopic references to the association of the just with the angels (104: 4) and with the army of heaven (104: 6). The beatific survival of just men is thus essentially spiritual, concerning only their souls and spirits (103: 3–4). Consistently with this, it will be the souls of the sinners which will suffer eternally (102: 11 and 103: 7–8).

The passage 104: 11–105: 2 constitutes the explicit of the Epistle of Enoch, with the customary wish of a writer that his work may be copied faithfully and spread abroad assiduously. Chapter 105 existed in the original, apart from the Christian gloss at verse 2 (see En 5 i 21–4); it was omitted in CM by homoeoteleuton.

The author of the Epistle certainly, in my opinion, intended to write a fifth Book of Enoch, completing the four existing books (αἱ βιβλία μου, En. 104: 12) in the same way as Deuteronomy completes the four other books of the Mosaic Pentateuch. Both Deuteronomy and the Epistle contain...
the last exhortations of patriarchs, and they both constitute a 'second Law' which makes precise and modifies doctrines and prescriptions contained in the earlier writings. In the Epistle of Enoch the modification of the apocalyptic teaching, and especially the tacit polemics against the doctrine on the union of fallen angels with women are particularly striking when confronted with the parallel contents of the preceding Enochic books.

En. 106–7 certainly does not come from the hand of the author of 91–105; in this the scholars of the past were absolutely right. In 91–2 the instruction of Methuselah and of his brothers took place at the time of Enoch's life on earth. But in 106: 7–8 Methuselah betakes himself, for a consultation on the miraculous birth of Noah, 'to the limits of the earth' where Enoch 'dwells with the angels'. This so-called Noachic fragment is nothing but a summary which serves as a reference (a sort of catchword) to a work in which the birth and the life of the Hebrew hero of the Flood were recounted in greater detail.

This 'Book of Noah' was summarized in Aramaic, undoubtedly its original language, by the compiler of 1QGenesis Apocryphon. Unfortunately the original scroll is badly damaged, and only a few longer passages, notably col. ii, and a handful of phrases have so far been made known to the learned public.1 A Hebrew version of such a summary may be preserved in fragments of 1Q19.2 In En. 106–7, and the corresponding fragments of 4QEn, we have a third, and the most reduced, résumé of 'the Book of Noah'.

The story of the birth of Noah occupied five columns of 1QGenAp. One of the most original themes of this story is the fear of the child's father that the new-born baby might be the issue of the union of his wife with an angelical being: ד י מ עירד הרצאתה ומעירד הרצאתה, 'that the conception had been from the Watchers, and the pregnancy from the Holy Ones' (1QGenAp ii 1).3 Lamech is assured solemnly by his wife, Bat'enôš: ד י מהלך ומך התרぬ דו... ולו מך כה ולו מך כה תירך ולא מך ממל דמך ממל, 'that thine is this seed and from thee is this conception . . . and it is no stranger's, nor is it of any of the Watchers or of the Sons of Heaven' (col. ii 15–16). But the definitive assurance comes from Enoch,

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1 Eds. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1956; some fragments of the same manuscript were published by me in DJD i, pp. 86–7 and pl. XVII (1Q20).
2 DJD i, pp. 84–6 and pl. XVI.
3 אֵמוֹ בָּתָא, inf. Hophal of אָרוּע is my reading; מִדְי-כַּנֶּד הָאָרוּע edd.; Haphel and Aphel interchange in GenAp, as they do in 4QEn and in Biblical Aramaic.
whom Methuselah visited in Paradise: וַהֲמַֽעַלְתָּם הַבָּרָה יְשֵׁמְיָה לֹא מַעֲלֹה מָלָם [. . . . ] [וַהֲמַֽעַלְתָּם הַבָּרָה יְשֵׁמְיָה לֹא מַעֲלֹה מָלָם ] וַהֲמַֽעַלְתָּם הַבָּרָה יְשֵׁמְיָה לֹא מַעֲלֹה מָלָם [. . . . ] וַהֲמַֽעַלְתָּם הַבָּרָה יְשֵׁמְיָה לֹא מַעֲלֹה מָלָם [. . . . ] . . . and not from the Sons of Heaven but from Lamech thy son . . .’.\(^1\) In columns vi to xvii of the Genesis Apocryphon the life-story of Noah was continued, finishing with the division of the earth among his children (cols. xvi–xvii).

A few years ago J. Starcky published an important fragment which he considered to be ‘Un texte messianique araméen de la Grotte 4 de Qumran’.\(^2\) Shortly afterwards, J. A. Fitzmyer suggested that one could see in this a narrative of the birth of Noah.\(^3\) This hypothesis seemed attractive to me right away, and can now be regarded as established, thanks to the identification of three other copies of the same account.\(^4\) A passage represented by two manuscripts certainly relates the birth of Noah in great detail, since it even gives the weight of the baby: מַחֲלֵי תְּקוּלָּה תְּלוּתָה מַאתה.\(^5\) In my opinion, these four Aramaic manuscripts (and the Hebrew version in 4Q186) belong to a ‘Book of Noah’ in which the birth of the Patriarch (with an astrological section giving a series of horoscopes), and probably his whole life, was narrated in great detail.

A ‘Book of Noah’, containing a section on ritual, is quoted by the Greek version of the Aramaic Testament of Levi: ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περὶ τοῦ αἰματος.\(^6\) The same source was also used by the author of the book of Jubilees: ‘for thus I have found it written in the book of my ancestors, likewise in the Words of Enoch (!) and in the Words of Noah’ (21: 10). The prohibition against eating blood—the subject of the two passages just quoted above—was dealt with in the Genesis Apocryphon col. xi (אֲלֵה הֵמָּה דָּמְלָה נָבָלָה, line 17; ed. p. 20); other injunctions of Noah to his sons occupied, among other things, cols. xiii to xv (ed. p. 21). Thus the date of the Aramaic Testament of Levi (end of the fourth century or the first half of the third century B.C.) constitutes a terminus ante quem of the composition of the Book of Noah.

En. 106–7 already existed in the scroll of 4QEn\(^c\), separated from the pre-

\(^1\) The same motif recurs in the Protevangelium of James, where Joseph expresses his suspicions in the words: φοβοῦμαι μή πυρος ἁγγειλοκόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, xiv 1 (ed. E. de Strycker, 1961, pp. 126–8).


\(^4\) One of them is mentioned by Starcky, p. 51, who also alludes to the Hebrew text published later by J. M. Allegro in DJD v (1968), 88–91 and pl. XXXI: 4Q186.


ceeding text by a long space of one and a half lines (En^ 5 i 24–5). This scroll (and probably En^d and En^e, as well) contained a collection of four Enochic documents: Book of Watchers, Book of Giants, Book of Dreams, Epistle of Enoch. The section 106–7 was, I think, an appendix, not to the Epistle itself, but very probably to the whole Enochic corpus. At the end of a collection of pseudo-antediluvian Wisdom it was natural to refer forward, as these chapters do, to the writings attributed to the hero of the flood, and particularly to the 'Book of Noah' itself.¹

The Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, in which only the 'Επιστολή 'Ενώχ has been copied, none the less contains 106–7. So it must be supposed that the Epistle was excerpted from a more comprehensive Greek collection which included several Enochic documents (see below, p. 76). On the other hand, the origin of En. 108 is enigmatic, and the reason for its late addition (it is missing in CM) to the Christian Enochic corpus is obscure.

Below (pp. 298–339) I deal in detail with the fifth work from Qumrán attributed to Enoch, a Jewish Aramaic document entitled, at least in the Manichaean adaptation, the Book of Giants. However, we must await the publication of all the fragments from Qumrán Cave 4 belonging to the various copies of EnGiants before it is possible to tackle in a more systematic way all the problems concerning this very interesting work. Here it is enough to pose two questions, that of the date of its composition and that of its place in the Enochic collections—Jewish and Christian. The Book of Giants must have been composed at some time between the date of Jubilees (since it does not appear among the works attributed to the patriarch in Jub. 4: 17–24) and that of the earliest manuscript of 4QEnGiants, written in an unusual semi-cursive alphabet (Cross, p. 149, Fig. 4, line 3), which was copied in the first half of the first century B.C. This range would be narrower if one could look upon the passage of the Damascus Document, CD 2: 18, as a quotation from the Book of Giants. The sons of the Watchers of heaven (according to a copy of 4QD) are described in CD as follows: הובניהם אשר כרומים ארומים וכרומים ומכרים מרכוס הם, ‘and their sons whose height was like the tallness of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains’. In the Book of Watchers (En. 7: 2) they are measured, prosaically, in cubits: γίγαντας μεγάλους ἐκ πηχῶν τριακολιῶν. The number of 3,000 cubits, reduced to 30 cubits, corresponds approximately to the maximum height of the cedars of

¹ Jub. 10: 12–14 speaks of a medical herbal which Noah wrote down at the dictation of the angels. See also the Introduction to En^e, pp. 183–4.
Lebanon. In any case, the poetical doublet of CD (the first element of which is borrowed from Amos 2: 9) is certainly not derived from En. 7: 2, but must come from a work devoted more particularly to the descendants of the Watchers. If the source is the Book of Giants, we may then assign the composition of that book to the years between the date of Jubilees (at the earliest about 128 to 125 B.C.)\(^1\) and that of the Damascus Document (about 110 to 100 B.C.).\(^2\)

When I come to edit the tiny fragments of 4QEnGiants\(^a\) separately, I shall suggest that this manuscript, copied by the scribe of 4QEn\(^a\), formed in all probability part of a single scroll on which four Enochic documents were brought together: Book of Watchers (En\(^a\)), Book of Giants (EnG\(^a\)), Book of Dreams (En\(^a\)), and Epistle of Enoch (En\(^a\)). At the time when this scroll was copied, in the second half of the first century B.C., there probably existed, already complete, a pentateuchal collection of the writings attributed to the antediluvian sage. For practical reasons, above all because of the considerable length of the Astronomical Book, this Enochic Pentateuch was divided into two volumes, the first of which contained only the calendar and the short treatise on astronomy and cosmography attributed to the patriarch. In ancient times it was a common habit to divide works of a certain length between successive volumes, in particular if the format of the scrolls or of the codices had to be restricted for any reason whatever. Manuscripts from Qumrân provide examples of this for the books of Isaiah, Jubilees, and Tobias.

The history of the Enochic Pentateuch in the Greek version and in the early translations derived from it will be discussed below (pp. 70 ff.). But one point should be mentioned here. In the commentary to EnGiants\(^a\) (below, pp. 319–20) I attempt to prove that the last of the quotations ‘from the first book of Enoch on the Watchers’ found in the Chronography of George Syncellus (who borrowed them from the Chronicles of Panodorus or Annianus) comes in reality from the Book of Giants. In other words, in the codex of the fourth century A.D. which the Christian historians of Alexandria had available, the Book of Giants followed immediately on the Book of Watchers. It was thus only at a subsequent date that our document was rejected from the Christian Enochic corpus (perhaps by reason of its popularity with the Manichaeans) and was replaced by the Book of Parables.


ENOECHIC WRITINGS AND ESSENE TEXTS
FROM QUMRÄN

This is not the place to make a detailed study in which one would gather together systematically everything that the Qumrân manuscripts, undeniably of Essene origin, owe to the literary and ideological influence of the books of Enoch, particularly in calendrical and eschatological matters. The annotated translations of such texts as the *Rule of the Community* (*serek ha-yahad*), the *Damascus Document*, the *Manual of War* (*serek ha-milhamah*), and the *Psalms of Thanksgiving* (*Hodayôt*), together with the articles devoted to these texts and to the fragments of other manuscripts, contain numerous references to Enochic literature.¹ For the book of Jubilees and its close connection with the texts of Enoch, one can consult the previous editions of the Ethiopic Enoch (Charles, 1912, pp. lxx–lxxv, Martin, pp. cvii–cix) and indeed this edition itself, *passim*. Here I wish to deal with three problems: (1) the possible existence of Hebrew translations of the Aramaic works attributed to the patriarch; (2) the possible existence of other pseudo-Enochic writings besides those which have just been discussed; and (3) the connection between the astronomical and calendrical texts of Qumrân and the Astronomical Book of Enoch.

1. In the Essene *scriptorium* of Hirbet Qumrân texts originally composed in Aramaic were occasionally translated into the Hebrew language. Two striking examples are the books of Tobias and Job. A tiny fragment of 4Q (to be given the number 4Q232 in *DJD*) seems to provide us with a specimen of the Hebrew version of the Aramaic work edited under the title *Description of the New Jerusalem.*² Some Hebrew fragments of iQ19³ are approximately equivalent to some passages of the Ethiopic Enoch:

iQ19

1: cf. Gen. 6: 12 (for line 3); En. 8: 4 and En. 9: 3 (for line 4); but the context is perhaps that of En. 7: 4–6.

2: cf. En. 9: 1–4 (4QEn² 1 iv 6–11 and Enᵇ 1 iii 7–16).

3: cf. En. 106;⁴ for line 5 cf. 4QEn⁵ 5 i 29–30.

13–14: prayer addressed to God.

¹ Such references would be more valuable, however, if more precise information were given in each case as to whether we are dealing with an implicit quotation, an allusion, a reminiscence, or a vague similarity in style or content.

² Milik, *DJD* i, pp. 134–5 (iQ32) and *DJD* iii, pp. 184–93 (5Q15); M. Baillot, *DJD* iii, pp. 84–9 (2Q24); B. Jongeling, *Journal for Study of Judaism*, i (1970), 58–64 and 185–6 (a fragment of 11Q); several important fragments of 4Q, unpublished.

³ Published by me in *DJD* i, pp. 84–6 and 152.

⁴ On this fragment see Milik, *Biblica*, 32 (1951), 393–400.
None the less, I do not think that these are fragments of a close translation of the Book of Watchers grouped with the ‘Book of Noah’ fragment of En. 106–7; the parallel passages differ too much.1 Neither is it possible to vouch for the exact equivalence between the Hebrew texts of horoscopes and physionomical predictions contained in 4Q1862 and the horoscope of Noah (followed by other horoscopes ?) in the Aramaic ‘Book of Noah’ (see above, p. 56).

2. It is not certain that there ever existed any other literary compositions attributed to Enoch beyond the five which are the subject of this study. A fine fragment from Cave 4 of Qumran (4Q246) retains one and a half columns of a small scroll of nine lines. It recounts succinctly, in Aramaic, the vicissitudes of Seleucid domination and passes on to an apocalyptic section with the phrase: עזְר יִהְוָה עָם אָל, ‘until the People of God rise’ (ii 4). Now, at i 1 we find the passage עלְזֵר שָרַת נַפְלִים קדֶם חָרְמֵם מָלָא עַל נָא ה, followed by a direct address to God, הָאָתַה ‘you’ (line 3), etc. At the beginning of the phrase quoted we must understand something like: ‘[and the terror] settled on him’ (cf. Dan. 10: 7). The expression which follows, ‘he fell before the throne’, reminds us of En. 14: 24: ‘And I, until this moment, I was cast down upon my face, trembling ...’ (before the divine throne in the heavenly palace, 14: 18–20).3 It is not necessarily Enoch, however, that the author of this Aramaic apocalypse makes approach the throne of God; it may be another visionary of sacred history, such as Levi, Moses, Elias, or Daniel, or even an angel.4

There are the following mentions of Enoch in Qumran manuscripts so far published:

A long discourse of Enoch on the birth of Noah in 1QGenAp (see above, pp. 55–6).


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1 For the relation of this manuscript, of 1QGenAp, and of En. 106–7 to the ‘Book of Noah’, see above, pp. 55–6.


3 Cf. the description of the throne in 4QEnGiants; this is to be distinguished from the thrones of the Last Judgement, Dan. 7: 9–10 and in 4QEnGiantsb, below, p. 305.

4 There is in fact a document of 4Q entitled ‘Book of the Words of Michael’ (cf. below, p. 91).
Isolated mentions of his name in 5Q13 3 2 (Milik, DJD iii, p. 182) and in 3Q14 7 1 (Baillet, ibid., p. 103; my reading against אדées of the ed.).

3. Jub. 4: 18 attributes to Enoch the written composition of a ‘testimony’ on the weeks of years of the jubilees, on the number of the years, on the order of the months, and on the sabbaths of years. As we have noted above (p. 11), this information goes beyond the calendar of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which describes only one lunisolar year or at the very most a triennial cycle. On the other hand, about twenty calendrical texts of 4Q deal in detail with the cycles of three, six, seven, and forty-nine years. The Ethiopic text of Jub. 4: 18 does not speak, in the plural, of ‘weeks of the jubilees (as Charles translates), but in the singular, ‘the week (subá‘ehomu) of the jubilees.’ This expression refers, beyond doubt in my opinion, to the most extensive cycle to be found in the calendars of 4Q, namely to the cycle of the seven jubilees. This cycle is sufficiently represented by fragments of the calendar in a copy of the Rule of the Community, 4QS (4Q260), which dates from the second half of the second century B.C. But before summarizing this text let us first recall what is already known about the calendar revealed to us by the Qumran manuscripts.

The year contains ‘only 364 days’ (Jub. 6: 38; En. 72: 32, etc.), a figure divisible by seven; it has twelve months, each of thirty days, and four intercalary days, one in each period of three months. The three-month period or season contains exactly thirteen weeks (Jub. 6: 29), and the days of the week are distributed symmetrically over each period. New Year’s day and the first day of each three-month period (I/II, I/IV, I/VII, I/X) always fall on a Wednesday. The dates of the feasts are likewise fixed; a particular day of any given month comes on the same day of the week every year. Here is the Essene calendar schematically arranged:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the week</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I, IV, VII, X</td>
<td>II, V, VIII, XI</td>
<td>III, VI, IX, XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (Wed.)</td>
<td>1 8 15 22 29</td>
<td>6 13 20 27</td>
<td>4 11 18 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th (Thur.)</td>
<td>2 9 16 23 30</td>
<td>7 14 21 28</td>
<td>5 12 19 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th (Fri.)</td>
<td>3 10 17 24</td>
<td>1 8 15 22 29</td>
<td>6 13 20 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th (Sabbath)</td>
<td>4 11 18 25</td>
<td>2 9 16 23 30</td>
<td>7 14 21 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st (Sun.)</td>
<td>5 12 19 26</td>
<td>3 10 17 24</td>
<td>1 8 15 22 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd (Mon.)</td>
<td>6 13 20 27</td>
<td>4 11 18 25</td>
<td>2 9 16 23 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd (Tue.)</td>
<td>7 14 21 28</td>
<td>5 12 19 26</td>
<td>3 10 17 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 To be given the numbers 4Q260B, 293, 319–37. Add to these a tiny fragment of 6Q17 (DJD iii, pp. 132–3 and pl. XXVII).
2 The same terms, subá‘ehomu ba‘iyubele- wēsāt, occur in a quotation of Jub. 4: 18; see CSCO 221/Aesth. 41, pp. 66, 24, and Version, 222/42, p. 59, 7–8.
The calendars of 4Q deal also with the rotation of duty for the priestly families in the Temple. The priestly roster is spread over six years, and this sexennial cycle reflects a desire to synchronize the sect’s religious calendar (of twelve months with thirty days each and four intercalary days, i.e. a solar reckoning) with the lunisolar calendar (of twelve months with alternatively twenty-nine and thirty days and a month intercalated every three years). Accordingly, the two calendars synchronize every three years 

\[364 \times 3 - 354 \times 3 + 30\]. Six years are needed for a priestly family’s turn to come round again in the same week of the year, since there were twenty-four families serving thirteen times in such a period \(24 \times 13 = 52 \times 6\). The priestly sexennial cycle can be summarized in the accompanying table (fig. 6), which gives the dates for the consecutive sabbaths of twenty-four families.

Thus every sabbath, month, year, and likewise every feast, was determined by the name of a priestly family; in other words they were under the ‘sign’, ’ōt, of such a family. The six years of the sexennial cycle began with the signs, ’ōtōt, of Gemul, Yeda’yah, Miyamin, Šekanyah, Yešab’ab and Ha-Pošeš. In the cycle of the seven jubilees which is described in 4QS the ‘signs’ for the successive triennial periods are enumerated, for example ’ōt G’mūl and ’ōt Šekanyah. Here is an extract from this text relating to the fourth jubilee, 4QS (4Q26OB) i vi 6–13.

‘[In the second (year)], the sign of Gemul. In the fifth (year), the sign of Šekanyah: after the Release (šemittah), the sign [of Gemul. In the fourth (year), the] sign of Šekanyah; at the Release, the sign of Gemul. In the third

\[1\] Chron. 24: 7–18. But in the Qumran manuscripts the cycle begins with G’mūl and not with Yozyćarib.

\[2\] Cf. Milik, Ten Years, pp. 107–8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
<th>6th year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Delayah</td>
<td>4/I</td>
<td>21/VI</td>
<td>7/XII</td>
<td>23/V</td>
<td>9/XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Me'ozyah</td>
<td>11/I</td>
<td>28/VI</td>
<td>14/XII</td>
<td>30/V</td>
<td>16/XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Yoyarib</td>
<td>18/I</td>
<td>4/VI</td>
<td>21/XII</td>
<td>7/XI</td>
<td>9/V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yeda'yah</td>
<td>25/I</td>
<td>11/VI</td>
<td>28/XII</td>
<td>14/VI</td>
<td>30/XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Harim</td>
<td>2/II</td>
<td>18/VII</td>
<td>4/I</td>
<td>21/VI</td>
<td>7/XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Se'orim</td>
<td>9/II</td>
<td>25/VII</td>
<td>11/I</td>
<td>28/VI</td>
<td>14/XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Melakyah</td>
<td>16/II</td>
<td>2/VIII</td>
<td>18/I</td>
<td>4/VI</td>
<td>21/XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Miyamin</td>
<td>23/II</td>
<td>9/VIII</td>
<td>25/I</td>
<td>11/VI</td>
<td>28/XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ha-Qos</td>
<td>30/III</td>
<td>16/VIII</td>
<td>2/II</td>
<td>18/VII</td>
<td>4/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ye'ru'</td>
<td>14/III</td>
<td>30/VIII</td>
<td>16/II</td>
<td>2/VIII</td>
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<td>'Elyašib</td>
<td>28/III</td>
<td>14/IX</td>
<td>30/II</td>
<td>16/VIII</td>
<td>2/II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>4/IV</td>
<td>21/IX</td>
<td>7/III</td>
<td>23/VIII</td>
<td>9/II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Hupah</td>
<td>11/IV</td>
<td>28/IX</td>
<td>14/III</td>
<td>30/VIII</td>
<td>16/II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>18/IV</td>
<td>4/X</td>
<td>21/III</td>
<td>7/IX</td>
<td>23/II</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bilgah</td>
<td>25/IV</td>
<td>11/X</td>
<td>28/III</td>
<td>14/IX</td>
<td>30/II</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>'Immer</td>
<td>2/V</td>
<td>18/X</td>
<td>4/IV</td>
<td>21/IX</td>
<td>7/III</td>
</tr>
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<td>9/V</td>
<td>25/X</td>
<td>11/IV</td>
<td>28/IX</td>
<td>14/III</td>
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<td>2/XI</td>
<td>18/IV</td>
<td>4/X</td>
<td>21/III</td>
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<td>9/XI</td>
<td>25/IV</td>
<td>11/X</td>
<td>28/III</td>
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<td>Yešiqi'el</td>
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<td>16/XI</td>
<td>2/V</td>
<td>18/X</td>
<td>4/IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Yakin</td>
<td>7/VI</td>
<td>23/XI</td>
<td>9/V</td>
<td>25/X</td>
<td>11/IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Gemul</td>
<td>14/VI</td>
<td>30/XI</td>
<td>16/V</td>
<td>2/XI</td>
<td>18/IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG. 6. Table of the sexennial priestly cycle**

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**ENOCHIAN WRITINGS AND ESSAY TEXTS FROM QUMRAN**

63
(year), the sign [of Šekanyah. In the sixth (year), the sign of] Gemul. In the second (year), the sign of Šekanyah; in the fifth (year), the sign of Gemul. After] the Release, the sign of Šekanyah. In the fourth (year), the sign of Gemul; [at the Release, the sign] of Šekanyah. In the third (year), the sign of Gemul; in the sixth (year), the sign of Šekanyah. [In the second (year), the sign] of Gemul. In the fifth (year), the sign of Šekanyah: after the Release, the [sign of the beginning of the (new) Jubilee, Gemul]. The fourth Jubilee (counts) seventeen signs; from the (last) to the Release (there remain) two (yearly) signs of (the triennial cycle of) Šekanyah ...

* Actually sixteen (see fig. 7); the scribe adds the ‘sign’ of the beginning of the fifth jubilee, mentioned immediately before.

The cycle of the seven jubilees can be reduced to a table (Fig. 7). It can easily be seen from this table that the computation is actually a cycle of six jubilees, since the distribution of the triennial cycles in the seventh jubilee exactly repeats that of the first. Whatever may have been the reason for the invention of this cycle, it required no small amount of faith to attribute it, or that of any other Qumrán calendar, to Enoch; for all these calculations take account of twenty-four priestly families whose organization and introduction to the service of the temple at Jerusalem date from the Persian era.

Be that as it may, the calendar of the seven jubilees, and to a lesser extent other computations of this kind, could be entitled the ‘Book of the Signs’.¹ Now, apart from the passage of Jub. 4: 18, I find a vague reminiscence of a ‘Book of the Signs’, connected with the priestly number of twenty-four, in the extra-canonical traditions of the Samaritans. This Aramaic apocryphon, the oldest and the most important, composed during the Arab period, is well known; it bears the Arab title Kitāb al-ʾAsāṭir and was first published by M. Gaster.²

In this work the beginning of the section relating to Enoch is expressed in the following terms (f. 2v 19–25 = Gaster ii 6–7): w’wld yrd lḥnwk wbnh mdynh wšmh š’lm rbth btr yg’ šnh ’l p lḥnwk bṣpr h’wṭwτ dyk ’bnh ’dמ w’ynn k’d’ ḫny šhm by’ ḫrwth wy’ lḥḥw ṣrnḥ bny y’qḇ wltwtdt ’bd’y’l ‘lywn: ‘And Jared begat Enoch and he built a town called Shalem the Great. And when

¹ ha-ʾŌtōt was, in fact, the siglum which I myself gave quite spontaneously to 4Q260B.
Enoch was 13 years old, he learned the Book of the Signs in order to give it to men; and these are the 24 stones of cornelian, 12 for the (time of Divine) Favour and 12 for the election of the families (from) the sons of Jacob and of the generations of the Servants of the High God.’ The copyist first wrote dytbnh ’dm, ‘in order that (the sons of) Adam might be converted (ytpnh: Arabic pronunciation of ytpnh ?),’ and then corrected it to dyhbnh l ’dm (He above the Taw, the latter cancelled by a dot placed beside the He). A subsequent corrector cancelled nh l by the dots placed above these letters.

| Year | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1st jubilee | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   |
| 2nd jubilee | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   |
| 3rd jubilee | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   |
| 4th jubilee | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   |
| 5th jubilee | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   |
| 6th jubilee | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   |
| 7th jubilee | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   | S   | G   |

![Fig. 7. Table of the cycle of the seven jubilees](image)

The new meaning which results from this correction, dyhb ’dm, ‘which Adam gave (to him)’, reflects a later phase of the legend about antediluvian literature, according to which it was Adam himself who invented the true calendar contained in the Book of the Signs and in two other books and had it engraved on a staff. In the allusion of the Samaritan Book to the double number of names engraved on two stones of cornelian (those of the ephod, Exod. 28: 9–11 and 39: 6; analogous to those of the breastplate, Exod. 28: 20 and 39: 13) I see a veiled but unmistakable reference to the number of the twenty-four priestly families. Hence the Samaritans, just like the Judaeans,
must have had, since the Persian era, a service of the twenty-four families of priests in their temple on Mount Gerizim. The Book of the Signs is often quoted in the 'Asâtîr; various people get to know of it and consult it like a collection of oracles: iv 2 (Noah), v 16 (Nimrod), vi 18 (an Egyptian sorcerer, contemporary with Abraham: hrš wšmh ttwts mn 'lwpy spr h'wtw bhnwkyh, 'a sorcerer named Tritos (?)', one of the disciples of the Book of the Signs at Hanokyah', f. 8 r 4–5), i vii 4 (the same magician foretells disaster to the kings Amraphel and Kedar-Laomer), viii 16 (the Pharaoh contemporaneous with Joseph learns of the Book of the Signs in Babylon the Great), ix 7 (Paltî the soothsayer makes predictions concerning Moses), x 5 (Bileam).

In the section about Noah the 'Asâtîr enumerates three works of ante-diluvian wisdom: bz' snyn 'lp tlth spry bryth spr h'twt wspr ngmwt wspr mlhmwvt zh spr twltd 'dm: 'In 7 years he (Noah) learned the three Books of Creation: the Book of the Signs, the Book of Astronomy (Arab nagmah, 'star'), the Book of the Wars which is the Book of the Generation of Adam' (f. z 18–21 = iii 9). After the flood, at the time of the distribution of the earth by Noah among his descendants, wyhb sprr h'twt l'rpkšd wspr ngymwvt l'ylm wspr mlhmwvt yhb l'swr: 'And he gave the Book of the Signs to Arpachshad, and the Book of Astronomy to Elam, and the Book of Wars he gave to Ashur' (f. 5 r 3–6 = iv 15). The second book, the astronomical document, is the Enochic work par excellence. The third, which obviously takes up 'the book of the Wars of Yahweh' of Num. 21: 14, seems to refer to the involvement of the sons of Adam and their daughters (En. 6: 1) in the struggle between the forces of good and evil or, in other words, to the Visions of Enoch (En. 6–19), the work which seems to be of Samaritan origin (cf. above, pp. 9–10 and 31).

The title of this third book occurs a second time as a place-name: wq'm 'dm bmdynh đhkmtb dmtqryh sprr dspr mlhmwvt yhw t w'mh ngymw dywmyh wz' qrby yth w'mh lt'hd mmwn w'qr wsrh lgw b'dn: 'And Adam lived in the country of Ḥokmatâ which is called Sifrah (the Book), i.e. the Book of the Wars of Yahweh. And he saw the planets of the days; and 7 approached him; and he saw that none of them was any more. And he removed and dwelt in Badan' (f. 2 r 22–2 r 1 = i 21–3). Adam thus lived first of all in the land of Wisdom and of the Book; after the vision of the seven wandering stars which approach him, and for this reason are punished (cf. En. 18: 13–16), he is driven from paradise and lives at the 'House of Judgement', Bê(t)-Dan.²

Now, when Enoch died, he was borne off to Sifrah, and it was thither that

¹ The place-name means more or less 'the school of Enoch'; such a notion was known to Babylonian Jews, below, p. 337.
² Cf. RB lxiii (1966), 527, n. 21.
all the patriarchs came, from Adam down to Methuselah: hywm mt hnwk 'tw kl bny 'dm lsprh mšm' 'dm mbky lh bd myt hnwk whstbl lsprh wbkwth 'dm wšt w'neš wqynn wmh l'll > wyrd wbrh mtwšl dhwh d'r bb'dn: 'On the day when Enoch died came all the children of Adam to Sifrah. Adam was heard weeping, because Enoch died. And he was carried to Sifrah. And they wept over him, Adam and Seth and Enosh and Qainan and Mahalal'el and Jared and his son Methuselah who was living in Beddan' (f. 3^ 10-15 = ii 32-4).

Adam came from the place called 'House of the Book of the Signs' (cf. Qiryat-sepher, Josh. 15: 15-16, Judg. 1: 11-12), where he taught 'Ahidan the son of Tubalqain, the latter residing at Hebron (Qiryat-'arba'): 'hydn br twblqyn dhwh d'r bhbrwn ryš hyl qyn'h whwh tmn 'lp 'byspr h'wtt qmy 'dm: 'Ahidan the son of Tubal-Qain who was living in Hebron, and he was the head of the army of Qainites, and he had learned there, in Bē(t)-Sefer of the Signs, before Adam' (f. 3^ 16-19 = ii 35-6). The tomb of Enoch could be seen in the necropolis of Sychar (John 4: 5),^ at the foot of Mount Ebal; the author of 'Asâṭir identifies Sychar with Sichem (there is a similar connection in John 4): wqbyr hnwk bw bkbwn (read bgbwn?) hr gryzym bbt' (Aleph above the Heth) dy mtqryh yskr w'tqry twvh (Waw above the Beth) hr 'ybl dhbhkw hnwk bh whbnh bh qbyry sgy hk d'mr {hn'} 'dm dw Škm 'l'lmh w'll mnh trh šwynh dlyt 'sth qrh lyd shrt hr gryzym b' 'lpym d'myn dw qry mqît l'rwaq šwr ysw'h: 'And Enoch was buried in the neighbourhood of Mount Gerizim in the place (?) which is called Yiskar; and the mountain is called Mount 'Ebal where they hid (?) Enoch. And there are built in it many tombs. As {Enoch} Adam had said: "this is the 'place of worship (Shekem)' for the God of the world and above it is the Gate of Heaven." For the fire does not approach the vicinity of Mount Gerizim at two thousand cubits; this is called the Shelter for the Fugitive, the Rock of Salvation' (f. 3^ 21-4^ i = ii 38-41).^2

In spite of so much allusiveness and unintelligibility the Samaritan tradition concerning the personage of Enoch is thus seen to be fairly rich. It is to Enoch, rather than to Adam, that—according to the information provided by the Kitáb al-'Asâṭir—we should ascribe the authorship of the three antediluvian works transmitted to posterity by Noah: the Books of the Signs, of the Heavenly Bodies, and of the Wars. We can recognize in these without

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2 See H. G. Kippenberg, Garizin und Synagoge, Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode, 1972; he does not, however, use this important text concerning the theological role of Mount Gerizim.
much difficulty the earliest compositions attributed to Enoch: the sacred calendars, the most comprehensive of which concerns the cycle of the seven jubilees, the astronomical treatise (En. 72–82), and the Visions of Enoch (En. 6–19).

To return to the Qumran manuscripts, we should note finally that there is only one astronomical text which closely recalls the lunisolar calendar found at the beginning of the Astronomical Book of Enoch. This is a Hebrew text copied in cryptic writing (4QAstrCrypt = 4Q317) and represented by seventy-six fragments. In it the phases of the moon are described, on a scale of fourteenths of the area of the full moon, for the successive days of the solar year of 364 days. From it I quote fr. 1 ii 2–14, concerning the fifth to tenth days of an unspecified month:¹

\[
\text{בוח]משה יז [חכש שותם}
\]
\[
\text{ג[ץ]אר} \text{ו}ק [תבאן ליימ בשתה בי}
\]
\[
\text{חכש שלוש [עראר זכ חבאן ליימ}
\]
\[
\text{בשכעה בויUSIC[ח ארבאער עראר זכ}
\]
\[
\text{מקא ליימ}
\]
\[
\text{בכשנת בו [משול אורא ליימ בחך}
\]
\[
\text{מרקיע מצל[כ יבנה אנשלמש ינשה}
\]
\[
\text{אורח להכשות [זכ יהל להרלחת}
\]
\[
\text{באהוד לשכת[במשכעה בו הגלת}
\]
\[
\text{מטולק לתוח [זכ תבאן להילת}
\]
\[
\text{בשכרה בו [גהה שמח זכ תבאן}
\]
\[
\text{למילת בפש[תי עשר בו הגלת ש الاسلام}
\]
\[
\text{זכ תבאן לליילת המטולקת MS.}
\]

¹ On the fifth (day) of this (month) [it is covered (up to) twelve (fourteenths) (of its surface);] and so [it enters the day. On the sixth (day)] it is covered

¹ The restorations are made from other fragments; the text of lines 7–9, however, remains uncertain. The scribe was out by one unit in the day of the month, so that as a result the figures in lines 2, 5, 7 are corrected by him from במשכעה בשתה, באראברעה.
up to thir[teen (fourteenths), and so enters the day]. On the seventh (day) it is covered up to [fourteen (fourteenths), and thus] enters the day. *vacat.* On the eighth [its light holds sway into the day, in the midst] of the firmament above, [up to fourteen and half (fourteenths). And at the coming of the sun] its light comes to be obscured, [and thus it begins to become visible] on the first of the week. *vacat.* [On the ninth (day) it is visible] for one (fourteenth) portion [and thus enters the night.] On the tenth [it is visible for two (fourteenths), and thus enters] the night. *vacat.* On the ele[venth it is visible for three (fourteenths)] and thus enters the night.'
CHAPTER II

EARLY VERSIONS OF THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

The ancient translations of the works attributed to Enoch have not yet received sufficient attention. There are no studies, for instance, of the dates of the translation of the various Enochic writings—studies that should take as their starting-point a comparison of the vocabulary and phraseology of the Greek Enoch with those of classical texts and, more especially, with the language of the papyri of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Neither are there any lists of quotations from the books of Enoch in early Christian literature (Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic) other than Greek and Latin patristic works.

THE GREEK VERSION

The most important text of the Greek Enoch, which gives us the first part of the Ethiopic Enoch almost in its entirety, is the codex Panopolitanus of the sixth, if not the end of the fifth century. It was found, at the time of the excavations undertaken by the order of S. Grébaut, in the winter of 1886/7, in a grave of the Coptic cemetery of Akhmim-Panopolis (in Upper Egypt) which was in use from the fifth right up to the fifteenth century. Beside the same body there lay a second manuscript, a mathematical papyrus dating from the Byzantine era, certainly from before the Arab invasion.¹ Our manuscript, after a spell in the Gizeh Museum (hence the name Gizeh MS., which is now erroneous), became part of the collection of papyri in the Cairo Museum.² Grenfell and Hunt correctly date it to the fifth or sixth century, as against the eighth-century dating of the editio princeps.

The Cairo codex 10759, as it is now, is composed of 33 leaves, 66 pages (parchment, 16 cm. x 13 cm., bound; no original pagination). After a page with the Coptic cross, comes the Gospel of Peter (pp. 2–10); then, after a

¹ Edited by J. Baillet in the Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, ix. i, Paris (1892), 1–89.
² Inv. no. 10759; see the description by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, N°s 10001–10869: Greek Papyri, Oxford 1903, p. 93.
blank leaf, there follows the Apocalypse of Peter (pp. 13–19; leaves bound upside down) and one page left blank. Pp. 21–66 contain two fragmentary manuscripts of the Enochic Book of Watchers, while a leaf of parchment stuck on the inner board of the binding gives part of the Acts of St. Julian. The text of Enoch was copied by two scribes, the first on pp. 21–50 (21 lines per page) and the second, who was more skilful, on pp. 51–66 (28 lines per page); the change takes place at En. 14: 22, ἐστηκα(ν) / ἐνώπιον. The binding of this volume of miscellanea is certainly later than the copy of the Enochic text which was at first separate from it and circulating independently of the New Testament apocrypha.

The two different manuscripts of the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36) offered by the Cairo codex are both mutilated. The first (our siglum C') begins at p. 21 with the last words of En. 19: 3, ἄνθρωπον δ (not ὡς = ὃς of the edd.) ἔγω εἰδὼν. It seems probable to me that C' began right at the beginning (En. 1: 1), the early leaves having subsequently been lost. In any case the model which the first scribe had at his disposal was mutilated and ended with En. 21: 9a, Τότε ἀπεκρίθη[γ] μοι καὶ εἶπεν (p. 23, line 8a). In the meantime a complete copy of the same work was found, which the same copyist set about transcribing after the preceding one, without leaving any gap: Λόγος εὐλογίας Αἰνώχ κ.τ.λ. A second scribe finished this text, which now ends with ὁ πατὴρ σου of En. 32: 6 (our siglum C). It must, however, originally have been complete, the remainder of the text (En. 32: 6b–36: 4) having filled the first page of the last leaf, subsequently lost, while the second page was left blank apart from the subscription with the title of the work.

The mathematical papyrus and the parchment of the Petrine and Enochic texts were, without any doubt, laid in the grave in accordance with the will of the deceased; these works must have formed part, or even the whole, of his private library. The often-repeated theory of E. Schürer, that our codex, and in particular the copy of Enoch, was made in a hurry merely in order to be placed in the grave where it was found, seems ridiculous to me. In fact, all the scribes of the Cairo codex were professionals who discharged their task creditably. The textual deficiencies, which are greatly exaggerated, are due in the first place to the models which were accessible to them; other ‘faults’ are simply the orthographical styles of the period. The Aramaic fragments of 4Q Enoch emphasize the value of these two precious witnesses of the Greek version of the Book of Watchers: in spite of their omissions, glosses, etc., they are unquestionably superior to the corresponding part

1 Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes^, iii, p. 269 n. 42.
of the Ethiopic Enoch. Moreover, the Ethiopic translation was made from a Greek model which was relatively close to texts C and C'.

Some extensive extracts from the Book of Watchers are quoted in the Chronography of George Syncellus, written at the beginning of the ninth century. Syncellus would appear to have borrowed them from the chronicle of the Alexandrian monk Panodorus, through the medium of the chronicle of Annianus, both dating from the beginning of the fifth century. The only manuscript known until recently which preserves these quotations was the Paris Bibl. Nat. grec 1711 (A.D. 1071). On p. 7 of this manuscript, after the title ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνώχ. περὶ τῶν ἐγγηγόρων (line 23), comes the text of En. 6: 1–9: 4 (pp. 7, 24–8, 26); there follows the phrase which summarizes En. 10: 4–12 (p. 8, 26–7), and the subscription ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐνώχ μαρτυρεῖ (line 28). On p. 15, after the title ἐκ τοῦ λόγου Ἐνώχ. τὰ λοιπὰ, περὶ ἐγγηγόρων (line 21), comes the text of En. 8: 4b–10: 14 (pp. 15, 22–16, 32), and, introduced by καὶ μεθὲτερα, that of En. 15: 8–16: 1 (pp. 16, 33–17, 7). The last section of this part, introduced by καὶ αὐθεσ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους (p. 17, 7 end–17), comes in my opinion from the Book of Giants (see below, pp. 317–20). The general subscription of the second part is as follows: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ α' βιβλίου Ἐνώχ. περὶ τῶν ἐγγηγόρων (p. 17, 17 end–18). It will be seen that the passage En. 8: 4–9: 4 is duplicated; we denote the text of this passage at its second occurrence by the siglum S', in contrast to S which denotes the remainder of the quotations from Syncellus.


An unconvincing theory of a close relationship between the Greek Enoch and St. Luke's Gospel was proposed by A. Aalen, New Testament Studies, xiii (1966–7), 1–13: 'Was Luke personally acquainted with the man who translated I Enoch? Or was he perhaps himself this man?' (p. 13). Aalen was right, however, in stressing the superiority of Greek texts of Enoch over the Ethiopic, against the defenders of the latter, such as C. C. Torrey in Journal of the American Oriental Society, lxxii (1942), 58, and G. Zuntz in Journal of Theological Studies, xlv (1944), 162 and 169.


3 It has been re-examined by H. J. de Jonge (Black, loc. cit., pp. 14–16) and by me.

Quite recently I have found a second witness of the Chronography of Syncellus, which contains Enochic extracts, namely MS. Vat. Barberini Greek 227 (sixteenth century), ff. 10r, 11r–11v, 17 and 21r, 8–23r, 21. There are some variants as compared with the Paris MS. 1711, but the text is essentially very similar.

Panodorus had to hand an excellent copy of the Book of Watchers in Greek. However, the needs of his work, not to mention the transmission of the chronicles through many centuries, have often rendered the texts of S and S′ less than faithful to the original, particularly in En. 7–8; one example is the insertion of Jub. 7: 22 in En. 7: 2.

The numerous approximate quotations, allusions, and reminiscences that one finds in the Greek Christian authors of the first to fourth centuries prove to be of very little textual use. The earliest and the most faithful is the explicit quotation of En. 1: 9 in the Epistle of Jude 14–15, best preserved in the Latin version of pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum* (see below, p. 184). Equally faithful is the quotation of En. 21: 1 by Origen, *De princ.* iv 4 8 (35); this is known only in Latin:1 ‘Sed et in libro suo Enoch ita ait: “Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum” = καὶ ἐφώδευσα ἑως (μέχρι C’) τῆς ἀκατασκευαστοῦ of C. On the other hand, the continuation of the same passage is puzzling: ‘scriptum namque est in eodem libello dicente Enoch: “Universas matieras perspexi”’. The same explicit quotation occurs in *Ecl. proph.* of Clement of Alexandria, ii 1:2 “Εὐλογημένος εἰ ὁ βλέπων ἀβύσσους, καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβίμ”, ὁ Δαννῆλ λέγει (Dan. 3: 54) ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνώχ τῷ εἰρηκότι: “καὶ εἶδον τὸς ὕλας πᾶσας”. It seems to me difficult to accept that this is a direct reference to En. 19: 3: Κάγω Ἐνώχ ἵδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος τὰ πέρατα πάντων. At the very most one might envisage it as an explanatory gloss of the Enochic passage indicated; note in particular the philosophical meaning of ὀλη, a term which one just would not expect in a literal translation of a work of Enoch. Such an explanatory phrase—in which an attempt is made to elucidate the rather unclear expression τὰ πέρατα πάντων, which is, moreover, a mistranslation (see p. 35)—would have its appropriate place in a collection of Old Testament quotations, enriched with glosses, exegetical notes, summaries, etc. We have suggested above (p. 46) that the Enochic quotation in the Epistle of Barnabas 16: 5 is actually a summary of En. 90: 26–9 (and not of En. 89: 56–74); it too may have come from an annotated florilegium of quotations which were used in anti-Jewish polemics. Another analogous summary is quoted in the same Epistle at 4: 3:3 τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἥγγικεν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ώς Ἐνώχ

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2 Ed. O. Stählin, *GCS* 17 (1909), 137.
3 Ed. Prigent and Kraft, p. 92.
λέγει. In my opinion this is a recapitulatory note to En. 106: 19-107: 1, where the word γέγραπται refers to the contents of the heavenly Tablets which Enoch had read concerning the last generations before the final catastrophe, foreshadowed by the Flood. In the next phrase, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, pseudo-Barnabas implicitly quotes En. 80: 2: ‘And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened.’ As often in his quotations, different passages of the same sacred book are telescoped together; they have, however, a common denominator and a common ‘keyword’. In our case the phrase about the ‘last scandal’ recalls En. 80: 7-8: ‘they shall err, and take them [sc. stars] to be gods, and evil shall be multiplied upon them’; the keyword is the expression ‘written in heavenly tablets’, which occurs also in En. 81: 1 and 2. The whole passage of En. 80: 2-8, with its astronomical meaning reinterpreted—probably already by Jews, and certainly by Christians—in an apocalyptical sense, was to enjoy a lasting popularity, starting with Mark 13: 20 and Matt. 24: 22, passing through Lactantius (passages quoted above, p. 21), and finishing with medieval apocalypses.

As far as I know there do not exist any studies devoted to the influence of the Enochic writings in their Greek form on Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, beginning with the Graeco-Jewish Sibylline Oracles (which go back to the first century B.C., if not earlier), and going on through the Fourth book of Esdras, the Apocalypses of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Peter, and so on. So far as the New Testament is concerned, it will be necessary henceforth to dismiss definitively all the alleged references to the Book of Parables, since the latter is a Christian work of the third century, if not later (see below, pp. 89 ff.).

Of the Book of Dreams in Greek until now only one extract was known, En. 89: 42-9, in a tachygraphical manuscript, Vat. Gr. 1809. This is an extract from a Byzantine chronicle, for in it the text is followed by the identification of the animals with the peoples against whom David struggled (above, pp. 45-6).

A detailed description of this manuscript is given by S. Lilla. The second

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1 F. 216v upper margin; pointed out by A. Mai, Patrum nova bibliotheca, ii, Rome 1844, plate at the head of the volume; identified and deciphered by J. Gildemeister, 'Ein Fragment des griechischen Henoch', ZDMG 9 (1855), 621-4; edited more correctly by M. Gitlbauer, Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809, 1. Fasc. in Denkschriften der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Classe, 28, Vienna, 1878 (transcription of the extract from Enoch, pp. 94-5 no. XVI and pl. XI); ibid., 2. Fasc. 34, 1884.

2 Il testo tachigrafico del 'De divinis nominibus'
hand of this manuscript, to which belong also the marginal additions of ff. 216–217, is that of Paul I, a disciple and the successor of St. Nilus as abbot of Grottaferrata, who wrote it in Calabria towards the end of the tenth century. The quotations of En. 89: 42–9 have occurred, in the exemplar used by Paul, as a scholion to the Dialogos on the ‘Life of St. John Chrysostomus’ by Palladius. Precisely in an extract of it, copied in Vat. Gr. 1809, ff. 216–217 (margins), there is a passage where a liar is compared with various animals: 1 δειλός ἐστιν ὁς λαγώς, θραυσθῶν ὁς χοῖρος, (f. 217 margo sup.) ἰψόσης ὁς χαμαλέως, ἀπατεῶν ὁς πέρδικες, ἀνήμερος ὁς μῦς, ἀνελεήμων ὁς λύκος.

Two fragments which I have quite recently identified come, on the other hand, from a normal codex of the Book of Dreams, dating from the end of the fourth century. This is Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2069, 2 where the fragment 1r+2r is equivalent to En. 85: 10–86: 2, and 1r+2r to En. 87: 1–3. 3

The greater part of the Epistle of Enoch has been preserved in a papyrus codex of the fourth century, six leaves of which were acquired in 1930 by the University of Michigan and eight leaves by A. Chester Beatty (now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin). The codex was originally composed of two quires, the first containing eight leaves (of which the first was left blank and the following seven were paginated from ‘1’ to ‘14’) and the second containing fourteen leaves numbered from ‘15’ to ‘42’; the pagination is later than the copying of the text. Of the first quire there remain only a few fragments, three of which belonged without doubt to an Ezekiel apocryphon. The recto (in other words, the side on which the writing follows the direction of the horizontal fibres) of fr. 3 of the pseudo-Ezekiel contains some words of the text of Enoch, probably En. 91: 3–4. 4 Eight other small fragments could likewise belong to Enoch; one of these can in my opinion be identified with En. 92: 1. 5 The almost continuous text of En. 97: 6–107: 3 begins on p. ‘15’, [ιε'], and finishes in the middle of p. ‘26’, κσ', where, after the subscription ‘Επιστολὴ Ἐνώχ there begins Μελήτων, the homily of Melito of Sardis on the Passion. At the foot of each page anything

\( \text{(Vat. Gr. 1809) in Studi e Testi, 263 (1970), 11–16.} \)

1 Gitlbauer, loc. cit., i, pp. 96, 9–10 (cf. \( \text{PG 47, 77–8)} \).  
3 Fr. 3v can be identified with En. 77: 7–78: 1, and fr. 3r with En. 78: 8; see above, p. 19, and Milik, \( \text{Chronique d’Egypte, 1971, no. 92, pp. 323–32.} \).  
4 See \( \text{4QEn} ^8 \text{ i i (below, p. 259); and for a transcription, C. Bonner,} \text{ The Homily on the Passion} \text{ by Melito bishop of Sardis and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel (Studies and Documents, xii), 1940, p. 187.} \)  
5 See En\( ^8 \text{ i ii 22–3 (below, pp. 261–2).} \).
from two to four lines of text are missing; the number of lines per page varies from 41 to 46. The six leaves containing the Epistle of Enoch are distributed as follows: f. 1 (pp. 15–16), CB inv. no. 100; f. 2, CB 170; f. 3, M 552; f. 4, CB 169; f. 5, M 552; f. 6 (pp. 25–26), CB 167.¹

The scribes of the Enochic texts C/C' and CM (= Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus) copied only the Book of Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch, respectively. CM was attached to a Christian text; C' and C were bound up, after the copy was made, with Christian texts. As for P. Oxy. 2069, it is not quite certain whether this is a single codex or two volumes copied by the same scribe. In any case, the editor points out that the papyrus of fragments 3 and 5 (which I identify with the Astronomical Book of Enoch) 'is lighter coloured and better preserved than in the rest'.

This independent circulation of various Enochic works in no way excludes, in my opinion, the existence of more comprehensive collections which might have imitated the Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes put together in the course of the first century B.C. by Judaean scribes, or rather, to be more exact, by the Essene copyists of Qumrân. The presence of En. 106–7 in the CM papyrus certainly seems to be evidence of the fact that this Greek text of the Epistle of Enoch was extracted from a collection which probably combined the four Enochic books (see above p. 57). I suggested above (p. 72) that George Syncellus, who drew on the chronicles of Annianus and Panodorus, gives a long quotation from the Book of Giants. Now, it has certainly been proved that these two Alexandrian scholars of the early fifth century incorporated in their works extensive extracts from apocryphal books, such as Jubilees and the Enochic writings. At a later date these quotations were in turn extracted, in part, by other chroniclers, Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc. Syncellus combined extracts from the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants under the same heading and the same colophon. It can be concluded from this that in a codex of the fourth to fifth centuries, which Panodorus had to hand, the Book of Giants followed on directly from the Book of Watchers. I believe that his volume of the books of Enoch also contained the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. The Greek extract of Vat. Gr. MS. 1809 corresponding to En. 89: 42–9 is followed by a lemma where the animals are identified with the peoples against whom David

fought (above, pp. 45–6); thus it certainly comes from a Byzantine chronicle. The Latin extract of En. 106: 1–18 comes likewise from a chronicle, translated from Greek into Latin (below, p. 80). Above (p. 20) I suggested that a passage from Syncellus (who always copies Panodorus through the intermediary of Annianus) refers to the final part of the astronomical Enoch, unknown to the Ethiopic version. If this is correct, it must be concluded from this that the Astronomical Book known in Alexandria around the year 400 still had its long text which faithfully reproduced the Aramaic original. That is confirmed by my identification of P. Oxy. 2069, fr. 3, with the Astronomical Book in its long recension; this papyrus is approximately contemporaneous with the Enochic codices used by Panodorus.

All these indications show clearly in my opinion that at the beginning of the fifth century there did not yet exist an Enochic Pentateuch such as we know it through the Ethiopic translation, with the book of Parables in the second place. The Greek archetype of this collection goes back at the earliest to the sixth or the seventh centuries, if it is at about this date that we should place the composition of a stichometry of the canonical and apocryphal books of the two Testaments, an improved edition of which bears the name of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815. The number of stichoi which he gives to ‘Enoch’, 4,800, corresponds well to the present length of the Ethiopic Enoch, if one compares it, for example, with his figure of 5,100 for the ‘Patriarchs’, that is, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Greek.1

It remains for us finally to answer the question why Syncellus, following Pandorus and Annianus, says explicitly that his extracts come from the ‘first book of Enoch’. In theory three solutions can be considered:

1. The successive Enochic documents were counted, one after the other, so that ‘the first book of Enoch’ would have been the Book of Watchers; ‘the second book’ the Book of Giants; ‘the third’ the Book of Dreams; and so on.

2. The first and the second books of Enoch denoted the two volumes of the Enochic Pentateuch, the second of which comprised only the Astronomical Book.

3. The early Enochic Pentateuch (Aramaic and Greek), in its entirety, was looked upon as ‘the first book of Enoch’ to distinguish it from the

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1 I have verified this passage in the Paris, Bibl. Nat. grec MS. 1711, preliminary f. 6*, line 15, and in Oxford, Christ Church Greek MS. 5, f. 11*, 19.
Book of Parables, which has the title ‘the second vision of Enoch’ at En. 37: 1. Cf. also ‘another book which Enoch wrote’ in 108: 1.

In fact, it seems to me that it is the third hypothesis which is the correct one, for (1) Syncellus combines under the same title extracts which come from two different Enochic works, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants; (2) in summarizing the Astronomical Book, that is, the second volume of the Enochic Pentateuch, Syncellus mentions only ‘the Book of Enoch’ (and not ‘the Second Book of Enoch’), that is, the same one as he was quoting shortly before under the title of ‘first book of Enoch’. If this supposition is correct, Panodorus must have been aware of the existence of the Book of Parables, although he probably did not quote it. It is possible that it appeared to him as being of too obviously recent and Christian composition; if so, he showed more critical sense than the majority of modern scholars. However, he would be, in a rather indirect way, the first witness of the existence of the Parables, the composition of which goes back, in my opinion, to the second half of the third century A.D. (see below, pp. 94–6).

**THE LATIN, COPTIC, AND SYRIAC TRANSLATIONS**

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (d. post A.D. 220) was one of the most assiduous readers of the Enochic works in early Christian times. The majority of his approximate quotations and allusions refer to chapters 6 ff. of the Book of Watchers. *De virginibus velandis* 7. 4–8 and *De idololatria* 9 refer to En. 6: 1–2 (and to parallel passages of the same book) and also to Gen. 6: 1–2 (which is quoted explicitly). *De cultu feminarum*, i. 2 and ii. 10 refers more specifically to En. 8: 1–3: ‘Quod si idem angeli, qui et materias et eiusmodi inlecebras detexerunt, auri dico et lapidum inlustrium, et operas eorum tradiderunt, etiam ipsum calliblepharum’ (καλλιβλέφαρον of C against καλλωπιδειων of S) ‘vellerumque tincturas (τὰ βαφικὰ) inter cetera docuerunt, damnati a deo sunt, ut Enoch refert’ (ii. 10, p. 88, 18–22). The text of En. 8: 1 that Tertullian read was closer to the original than that of C, S, and E (see below, notes to 4QEn 1 26–8). On the teaching of astrology by the angels (En. 8: 3) and the interdict from heaven (En. 14: 5) see *De idol*. 9; with En. 15: 8–9 compare *Apologeticum*, xxii; on the mention of

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3 Kroymann, *CSEL* 70 (1942), 60–1 and 88.
Methuselah in *De cultu fem.* i. 3 (ed. cit., p. 63), see above, p. 20. An obscure reference is to be found in *De idol.* 15 (ed. cit., p. 48): ‘Haec (the idolatrous cult of the doorways) igitur ab initio praevidentis spiritus sanctus etiam ostia in superstitionem Ventura praececcinit per antiquissimum propheten Enoch’. We are dealing here, in my opinion, with En. 9: 2 and 9: 10, where the complaints of men, which rise as far as the ‘doorways of heaven’, are mentioned.\(^1\) Obviously this is a very forced interpretation in which the Christian apologist does not take any account of the context.

The passage in *De idol.* 4 (ed. cit., p. 33) is very important. After the quotation of the decalogue: ‘ne feceris idolum . . . neque similitudinem eorum quae in caelo sunt et quae in terra et quae in mari’ (Exod. 20: 3 and Deut. 5: 8), Tertullian continues: ‘antecesserat Enoch praedicens omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum, quae caelo, quae mari, quae terra continentur, in idololatrian versuros daemonas et spiritus desertorum angelorum, ut pro deo adversus deum consecrarentur.’ The Christian author is certainly referring to En. 19: 1 (as the editors of the Ethiopic Enoch have indeed remarked), but the first part of his phrase: ‘omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum . . . continentur’ refers, in my opinion, to the description of the world in the account of the journeyings of Enoch (En. 17–36). I do not think that the expression ‘quae in caelo sunt’ alludes to En. 80: 7, ‘they will look at the (stars) as gods’, but rather to En. 33–6. Tertullian continues with an explicit and very faithful quotation of En. 99: 6–7 which can be compared in large part to the Greek text of CM:

\[\text{denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione praedamnatur: ‘Et rursus iuro vobis peccatores, quod in diem sanguinis perditionis tristitia (MS; A; paenitentia MS. B) parata est. Qui servitis lapidibus et qui imagines facitis aureas et argenteas et ligneas et lapideas et fictiles et servitis phantasmatibus et daemoniis et spiritibus \langleet\rangle infami\langlei\rangles\rangle et omnibus erroribus non secundum scientiam, nullum ab iis invenietis auxilium.’}\]

\(^1\) See En\(^a\) i iv 9–10 and En\(^b\) i iii 9–10 (En 9: 2).
\(^2\) Emendation *et infamiis*, Bonner, loc. cit., p. 44. Tertullian’s order *καὶ δαίμονιοι καὶ* *πνεύμασι {πονηροῖς?} καὶ βδελύγμασι* seems better than that of CM; the text of E is certainly inferior, in this passage, to those of Tertullian and CM.
What interests us here is the fact that Tertullian seems to have had available a manuscript of Enoch which contained both the Book of Watchers and the Epistle: 'Enoch... idem Enoch'. This would be the first volume of the Enochic Pentateuch of which we have spoken above (pp. 76–7). He does not seem, on the other hand, to be acquainted with the Astronomical Book which formed the second volume of this collection. But Tertullian's Enochic allusions and quotations can scarcely be looked upon as evidence of a Latin version of the Greek Enoch; he certainly knew Greek, could write it, and often translated Greek texts straight into Latin. Cyprian's Enochic allusion in De habitu virginum 14 is undoubtedly dependent on Tertullian; so probably are Minucius Felix, Octavius 26, and Commodian, Instructiones adversus gentium deos, I. iii (Cultura daemonum). But Lactantius, too, if he was directly acquainted with the writings of Enoch, could read them in Greek (see above, p. 21).

Neither does 'A Fragment of the Book of Enoch in Latin' published by M. R. James, which contains the summary of En. 106: 1–18, seem to be derived from a Latin translation, complete or incomplete, of the books of Enoch. We find in it chronological details (the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah; the flood after 500 years, cf. Gen. 5: 32 and 9: 28–9; forty days of the flood) and other additions (e.g. the names of the three sons of Noah) which prove in my opinion that this extract comes from a world chronicle. Lamech's age, we are told, was annorum tricentorum quinquagenta at the time of the birth of Noah. This false piece of information should probably be corrected to trium et quinquaginta (tres et could have been wrongly read as trecet, an abbreviation of trecenti). Now 53 years is the age given in the Samaritan Pentateuch (Gen. 5: 28). The chronicle from which the Latin extract of En. 106 comes would thus be extremely early, of Graeco-Oriental origin, if it employed, even sporadically, Greek Samaritan sources.

A detailed description of the manuscript from which James took the fragment is given by G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson. We should note that the extract from the Book of Enoch is followed in it by three other passages, and that all four alike refer to great sins of great sinners and their great punishments. A short passage, with the title De uindicis magnis magnorum peccatorum, enumerates the punishments inflicted on the Devil, Adam, Cain,

1 G. Hartel, CSEL 3. 1 (1868), 197–8.
2 Apocrypha Aneodota (Texts and Studies, ii. 3), 1893, pp. 146–50 (text p. 148; from the British Museum Royal MS. 5 E XIII, f. 79v, 9–80v, 9, late ninth century, of continental origin).
3 Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, i (1921), 116.
et al., down to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, which is said to have taken place in vengeance of Christ's crucifixion (ff. 80v, 10–80r, 1). There follows a fairly detailed summary of the Old Latin translation of B\textit{Jf} vi. 196 and 201–13 concerning a case of anthropophagy in the besieged Jerusalem (ff. 80v, 2–81r, 5; for lines 5–9 cf. B\textit{Jf} vi. 419–20; lines 9–12 are unidentified). The fourth piece resumes 2 Kings 6: 24–8: 3 according to the Old Latin Version (ff. 81r, 13–81r, 26). We have here probably some extracts from a chronicle or from a collection of Exempla or of Testimonia.

In conclusion, there is no irrefutable evidence for the existence of a Latin version of the Enochic writings. Nevertheless, the books of Enoch were well known indirectly in the Christian West, and traces of them are found both in patristic and medieval literature and in iconography.

During the excavations of the Italian Mission from Florence in the northern cemetery of Antinoë, numerous manuscript fragments, dating chiefly from the sixth to seventh centuries, came to light in 1937, among others a Coptic fragment of En. 93: 3–8. This fragment retains approximately one-third of a leaf of parchment inscribed in beautiful biblical uncial in two columns on recto and verso. It contains a part of the description of Weeks 1 to 6 of the Apocalypse of Weeks. A comparison of this Coptic text with the Aramaic text of En\textsuperscript{s} i iii 23–5 on the subject of the first and the second weeks shows quite clearly that it is a very faithful version, and not a highly glossed text as suggested by the editor, who was confused by some divergences from the Ethiopic Enoch. In my opinion the readings of the Coptic fragment are all preferable to those of E.

Here is the literal Latin translation of the Coptic En. 93: 3–8 made by G. Garitte:

\textit{Recto, col. i:} \ldots [Eg]o Enoch genitus sum in prima hebdomade (\textepsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{a}s) et usque ad me iustum (\delta\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron) opus permansit compositum.

\textit{B'} \ldots Et post me secunda hebdomas (\textepsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{a}s) [fiet \ldots col. ii: \ldots secunda]a(?) hebd[omas] (\textepsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{a}s).

\textit{5} Et post ea tertia hebdomas (\textepsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{a}s) fiet et in perfectione eius eligetur homo ad pl[antam(?) \ldots

\footnote{1} Published by S. Donadoni, 'Un frammento della versione copta del "libro di Enoch"', in \textit{Acta Orientalia} (Copenhagen), xxv (1960), pp. 197–202.

\footnote{2} In v. 8 the editor was wrong to dismiss \textit{nepne}, 'temple', as 'chiaramente glossa'; it corresponds to 'the house of the sanctuary', which, although it is the reading of E\textsuperscript{s} alone, is preferable to 'the house of domination' of the majority of the Ethiopic manuscripts.
In chapter IV of the first book of the Chronicle composed by Michael the
Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch from A.D. 1166 to 1199, we find an explicit

\[\text{mn ktb' dhnwk}\]

and a fairly close quotation of En. 6:

\[\text{i-6a.}\]

This extract is followed by a shortened text of En. 6:

\[\text{ya and 6:8: whlyn ytyhwn hww yd' dsmz ryšy 'sr' dylhwn.}\]

Finally comes a mention of 

\[\text{KokaFely}\]

the inventor of astrology (En. 8: 3), which reminds one of a passage in George

Syncellus, also on the subject of the fourth fallen angel (see p. 319).

This quotation has recently been restudied by S. P. Brock. Taking up

the idea of Gelzer and J.-B. Chabot, the editor of the Chronicle of Michael,

he deals convincingly with the problem of the origin of the passage, ‘the

only genuine fragment of 1 Enoch to be preserved in Syriac’. With a Syrian

chronicler (probably John of Litharba, eighth century), as intermediary,

the account of the patriarch Michael goes back to the same source as that on which

George Syncellus drew, namely the chronography of the monk Annianus

of Alexandria (beginning of the fifth century), who in turn drew on the

chronicle of his contemporary, the monk Panodorus.

\[\text{Verso, col. i: . . . et conficietur tabernaculum (σκηνή) in ea.}\]

\[\text{Et post ea quinta hebdomas (εβδομάς) fiet, et in perfectione eius}\]

\[\text{col. ii: 8 . . . in] hac hebdo[made] (εβδομάς) assumetur (ἀναλαμβάνει) homo}\]

\[\text{quidam) in altum; et in perfectione huius hebdomadis (εβδομάς) comburetur}\]

\[\text{templum igne et . . .}\]

In a letter dated 30 August 1970 M. Garitte notes apropos ‘et usque ad me’

(recto i 4), *לע יַעַז* of En\(^s\) i iii 24 (En. 93: 3): ‘The passage . . . which I

have translated “usque ad me” is \(\text{ṣa hiōt}\) in Coptic, the literal meaning of

which is *usque super me*, that is, it is an exact reproduction of the Aramaic

\(\text{d 'ly:}\) the Coptic formula is all the more noteworthy in that \(\text{ṣa, “usque ad”},\)

is not usually followed by another preposition (here \(\text{hiōt}\)).’ It follows that

the Greek, too, translated this expression word for word: \(\text{ἐως ἐπὶ μου or ἐως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.}\)

I agree with Donadoni (loc. cit., p. 202) that the small codex to which

this Coptic fragment belonged contained only the Epistle of Enoch, as did

4QEn\(^s\) and the CM papyrus.

\[\text{In chapter IV of the first book of the Chronicle composed by Michael the}\]

\[\text{Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch from A.D. 1166 to 1199, we find an explicit (mn ktb' dhnwk) and a fairly close quotation of En. 6: i-6a. This extract is followed by a shortened text of En. 6: 7a and 6: 8: whlyn 'ytyhwn heww 'yd' dsmz ryšy 'sr' dylhwn. Finally comes a mention of KokaFely, the inventor of astrology (En. 8: 3), which reminds one of a passage in George Syncellus, also on the subject of the fourth fallen angel (see p. 319).}\]

\[\text{This quotation has recently been restudied by S. P. Brock. Taking up}\]

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\[\text{only genuine fragment of 1 Enoch to be preserved in Syriac’. With a Syrian}\]

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\[\text{the account of the patriarch Michael goes back to the same source as that on which}\]

\[\text{George Syncellus drew, namely the chronography of the monk Annianus}\]

\[\text{of Alexandria (beginning of the fifth century), who in turn drew on the}\]

\[\text{chronicle of his contemporary, the monk Panodorus.}\]

\[\text{1 We must correct the unintelligible 'yd' dsmz to qdmy smz, ‘first, Sem(ya)z(as); and then, assuming a kind of homoeoteleuton read (ryshwn . . .) ryšy.}\]

\[\text{2 ‘A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac’, JTS, n.s. xix (1968), 626–31 (text on p. 630).}\]
Similarly the Enochic accounts given by the author of the Cave of Treasures and of Chronicon anonymum ad annum 1234 derive, in the last analysis, from Greek chronicles; Barhebraeus likewise depends on the Chronicle of Michael. We must conclude that there are no traces of a special version of the works attributed to Enoch in Syriac literature.

THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH

The first scientific edition of the Ethiopic Enoch was made by A. Dillmann, with the help of five manuscripts, \( a \) to \( e \) of Charles's list (see below); we also owe to him the present division into chapters and verses. Both this edition and the translation and commentary by the same scholar have remained fundamental to subsequent research. Dillmann later made himself familiar with three other manuscripts, while by 1893 R. H. Charles had added ten more. J. Flemming succeeded in gathering together and describing twenty-six Ethiopic manuscripts containing the Book of Enoch (equivalent to twenty-seven in the editions of Charles, who distinguishes between \( g \) and \( g' \)); and from the textual point of view his edition has virtually not been surpassed until the present day. It is to Flemming that we owe the present distribution of the Ethiopic manuscripts into two groups, \( a \) and \( \beta \): the first is, as a rule, the older and better; the second represents the vulgate text of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Essentially, however, Flemming's edition is made from fourteen (\( = \) fifteen of Charles's) manuscripts, \( a-e \) and \( g m p q t u v w y \). Charles's edition of 1906 is based on twenty-three manuscripts, and in his translation of 1912 he enumerates twenty-nine, as follows:

\( a. \) Bodley 4. Enoch only (105 chapters = actual 108 chapters), 40 ff. Latter half of eighteenth century.

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1. Liber Henoch Aethiopice, Leipzig 1851.
2. Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt, Leipzig 1853.
4. The Book of Enoch translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments, Oxford 1893.
INTRODUCTION

b. Bodley 5. Enoch (98 chapters = 108 chapters), ff. 1–32; Job, Isaiah, etc. Eighteenth century (?); a and b brought by Bruce in 1773.
d. Curzon MS. Enoch (102 chapters), ff. 1–36; Job, Daniel, etc. Eighteenth century (?).
e. Curzon MS. Enoch (98 = 105 chapters?), ff. 1–20; Samuel–Kings, etc. Eighteenth century (?).
h. B.M., Orient. 484. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, etc. Eighteenth century.
i. B.M., Orient. 486. Enoch (1:1–60:13a missing), Samuel, etc. Eighteenth century.
l. B.M., 24990. Enoch, Job, etc. Eighteenth century.
m. B.M., Orient. 491. Enoch, Job, etc. Eighteenth century.
n. B.M., Orient. 492. Enoch (87 chapters), Books of Solomon, etc. Eighteenth century.
r. Abbadie 16. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. Nineteenth century.
t. Abbadie 35. Enoch, Job, Samuel, etc. Seventeenth century; t². corrections and marginal notes.
u. Abbadie 55. Enoch (much abbreviated after chapter 83) and other works. Fifteenth century (?)
v. Abbadie 99. Enoch only. Nineteenth century; copy of a manuscript in Gondar.
w. Abbadie 197. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works. Seventeenth or eighteenth century.
x. Vatican 71. Enoch only (98 chapters), 27 ff. Seventeenth century.
1b. Westenholz MS. Enoch only (106 chapters). Eighteenth century.

W. Baars of the University of Leiden has drawn my attention to three other manuscripts of the Ethiopic Enoch in European libraries (letter of 17 January 1970):

Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Add. 1570, f. 1a–16b. Year 1588.

There must obviously be yet others in Abyssinian monasteries, besides the two copies known in the monastery of Gunda Gunde.¹

As can be seen from Charles’s list, the Book of Enoch is usually combined with the Ethiopic Bible, either at the beginning (before or after the Octateuch), or beside the Book of Job, the Book of Daniel, or books attributed to Solomon. There is only one manuscript which perhaps goes back to the fifteenth century (u); four belong to the sixteenth (g, 1g, q and the Univ. of Cambridge MS.); some to the seventeenth (ptxyz and perhaps w); the majority to the eighteenth, and three to the nineteenth century (frv). The manuscripts of class a which retain, rather sporadically, some more archaic features, are g1 gmqtu (and to a certain extent n); ‘the best all-round MS.’ is probably g. However, it does happen occasionally that the whole of class β, or some individual manuscripts of this group, contain readings which are nearer the original than the secondary variants of class a.²

Strangely enough, no edition of the Ethiopic Enoch takes account of the numerous quotations of this book to be found in the national Ge’ez literature.³ Here is a provisional list of Enochic quotations in printed texts; a few of these references will be mentioned below, passim. (N.B. ‘cf.’ indicates

² On the textual value of all the MSS. of class a, see Charles, 1912, pp. xxv–xxvii.
³ I do not at all agree with Flemming’s remark: ‘Es lohnt nicht der Mühe, die grösseren oder kleineren Bruchstücke unseres Werkes, welche die Handschriftenkataloge als Teil dieser oder jener Compilation verzeichnen, zu berücksichtigen.’
a free rendering of an Enochic passage; brackets, ( ), an allusion or reminiscence. The references to the Book of Enoch are in bold type.)


(cf. 3: *PO* i, 1, p. 27.

(14: 22): ibid., p. 29.


(22: 2–3): *PO* i, 1, p. 80.


(40: 1): ibid.

(46–7): *CSCO 221/Aeth. 41*, p. 2.

46: 1: ibid., pp. 58, 83 and 111; *Aeth. 43*, pp. 2, 57, 68 and 74; Conti Rossini, *Il libro della luce del negus Zar’a Yâ’qob (Maššafa Berhân)*, *CSCO 261/Aeth. 51* (1965), 38.


(52: 1): id., *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xxi (Versio), p. 30; Conti Rossini, *Aeth. 51*, p. 71; Wendt, *Aeth. 41*, pp. 53 and 122, and *Aeth. 43*, p. 81; etc.

60: 5–6: *PO* i, 1, p. 13.

(60: 7): ibid.


(cf. 60: 20–2: *Aeth. 43*, p. 79.)
61: 8: *Aeth*. 51, p. 38.
*cf.* 62: B.M. Aeth. MS. 55 (Dillmann, loc. cit.).
(62: 5 etc.): ibid., p. 111.
63: 11–12: ibid., p. 61.
69: 26–70: 3: ibid., p. 61.

78: 15–17: ibid.

*cf.* 85: 3: *PO* i, i, p. 33.
(89: 10 etc.): *PO* vi, 3, p. 395 [137].
*cf.* 89: 10–12: ibid.
(89: 12 etc.): ibid.
*cf.* 89: 30: ibid., pp. 82 and 83.
(90: 9 etc.): ibid., p. 20.

(93: 2): *PO* i, i, p. 30.
91: 13: ibid., p. 54.
91: 15: ibid.
91: 15–17: ibid., p. 64.
Something of textual value can be found in poetical references to the Book of Enoch.¹

The Ethiopic version was made from a Greek text of the Christian Enochic Pentateuch (with the Book of Parables as the second member); the text of the Book of Watchers derives from a Greek manuscript which was very close to texts C and C'; the Epistle of Enoch, on the other hand, was translated from a poor Greek manuscript, far inferior to the text of the CM papyrus.²

The date of the Ethiopic translation is not known; the fifth or the sixth century has been suggested, but without any really valid proof. In any case it is later than the formation of the Christian Enochic Pentateuch, which would hardly seem to go back earlier than the sixth century (see above, pp. 76–7).

Let us hope that a future edition of the Ethiopic Enoch will broaden our knowledge of manuscripts and of quotations; will improve the present often very corrupt state of this book; and will throw light on textual problems (was there only a Greek archetype or a Coptic one also? What is the respective value of the manuscripts and the groups of manuscripts?) and on chronological problems (the date of the first translation; the recensial work of Abyssinian scholars; the origin of manuscripts scattered in European and American libraries). Here let it suffice to point out that the study of the Aramaic fragments of 4QEnoch and the collation of them with existing witnesses of Enochic Books reveal the very secondary, periphrastic, and often confusing nature of the Ethiopic text. One should never trust any given detail of this version. Its only merit, and that a considerable one, however, consists in the fact that it is relatively the most complete and will no doubt always remain so.

¹ See v. gr. M. Van den Ouderijn, Helenae Aethiopum reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina, CSCO 208/Aeth. 39 (text) and 211/40 (version); cf. index, Aeth. 40, p. 131. En. 18: 8 is paraphrased in Turaiev, Acta Sancti Aaronis, CSCO, Aeth. ser. II, t. xx (1908), 113 (text) and 101 (version).
² The hypothesis, put forward by Ed. Ullendorff, that the work of translation was carried out directly from the original Aramaic text, cannot, in my opinion, be sustained ('An Aramaic "Vorlage" of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?' in Atti del convegno intern. di studi etiopici, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Problemi attuali di scienza et di cultura, 48 (1960), 259–68).
CHAPTER III
WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO ENOCH
IN ROMANO-BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

Among numerous literary compositions attributed to the patriarch Enoch during the Christian period, by Christians of various denominations as well as by Jews, the most debated are the Book of Parables and the Slavonic Enoch. The first is dated almost unanimously to the pre-Christian era; the second similarly, or else to the early Christian period. An attempt will be made here to put forward much later dates for both of them. We shall also describe briefly other writings connected in one way or another with the person of Enoch.

THE BOOK OF PARABLES AND OTHER ENOCHIC WRITINGS IN THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

The work known in modern times as 'the Book of Parables' forms the second part of the Ethiopic Enoch (En. 37 to 71), the most extensive of the five sections of this text.

We should note that the conventional title is not at all appropriate. It would be much better to use the one chosen by the author himself, 'Second Vision of Enoch' (En. 37: 1). This contrasts it with the First Vision, that is, with the whole collection of revelations contained in the Aramaic and Greek Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes: the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, the Epistle of Enoch in the first volume, and the Astronomical Book in the second volume. The Second Vision can be divided into three 'parables' (En. 37: 5) or, to be more exact, sapiential 'discourses' or 'sayings', for this is an obvious borrowing from the 'parables' of En. 1:2, תֵּלֵי מַתָּלָהִי (4QEn* 1 i 2), καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ (C; singular under the influence of Num. 23: 7, etc.?). The same term reappears in the Epistle, τὸν Τούτος τὸν Μαθλα (En* 1 iii 18 = En. 93: 1) and נָבְּת תומַּלְת מַתָּלָה (En* 1 iii 23 = En. 93: 3). The Ethiopic Version omits τὴν παραβολὴν in En. 1: 2, and replaces it with 'ēmmasāhēft, 'from books', in En. 93.
Nor is it correct to speak only of the ‘Parables of Enoch’. Actually the author ascribes his ideas to three people, of whom two are men and the third is an angel. After an introduction (En. 37: 1–4) come the three discourses of the Second Vision of Enoch: ‘First Parable’ (En. 38–44), ‘Second Parable’ (45–57), and ‘Third Parable’, which occupies only two chapters (58–9). From 60 to 64 we have the Parable or, more precisely, the Vision of Noah, followed by ‘historical’ accounts of Noah’s visit to Enoch in Paradise (65–6) and of the Word of the Lord to Noah (67). Verse 68: 1 concludes this main part of the work with a reference to the delivery of the books of Enoch to Noah, in which the writer makes a clear distinction between ‘the Book of the Word’ (Ióyos of En. 1: 1) and ‘the book of Parables’.¹ The same distinction appears in the preceding phrase: ‘my grandfather Enoch gave me a copy (iē’emēr, “signum, documentum, typus”; translation of the Greek ἀντίγραφον and the Aramaic גשה “copy, exemplar”) of all the secrets in a book (i.e. of the book of secrets) and in the parables (i.e. and of the book of parables)’. An angelological and magical section, which should be entitled the Words of Michael (68: 2, anticipated in 67: 12) extends from 68: 2 to 69: 29. The subscription, ‘Such is the third parable of Enoch’ (69: 29), is a later addition; or else it characterizes the work by its major part and is thus to be understood as ‘Such are the three parables of Enoch’. The epilogue (70–1) takes up the ‘historical’ framework of the work with the description of the removal of Enoch into the Paradise situated in the North-West of the universe and his visit to the heavenly Palace of God.

The three discourses of Enoch claim universal scope for their appeal: in space (‘to those who inhabit the dry land’, 37: 2) and in time (from the first right up to the last generations, 37: 2–3).² The First Parable imitates fairly closely the series of passages in the Book of Watchers: En. 38 paraphrases En. 1; 39: 1 corresponds to 6: 1, and 39: 2 to 14: 1; the four archangels of 40 can be compared to the four archangels in 9–10; the journeys of the patriarch described in 41–4, and anticipated in 39: 3–14, resume the astronomical and apocalyptic journeys of Enoch in 17–36. The Second Parable discourses ‘on the renegades’, the sinners (45: 1), and the Third ‘on the just and the elect’ (58: 1); there too the author often returns to the themes of the Book of Watchers (see, e.g., 54, 55, and 59). Like Enoch, Noah journeys widely; he is accompanied by angels and arrives at the Garden

¹ I choose, with a slight correction, the reading of ES: ‘in the book of the word (and) of the parables’.
of the just (60: 23). In 69: 2 the archangel Michael repeats the angelological list of 6: 7.

The author of the Book of Parables thus had at his disposal Greek copies of the Jewish Enochic writings, in particular the Book of Watchers. His copy of the latter work was very good, superior to those of C, S, and E.¹ He was familiar with, and used cautiously, certain passages of the Astronomical Book and also eschatological parts of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Less certain is his knowledge of the Book of Giants, which should not cause any surprise, given the highly fragmentary state of the text of this work both in the manuscripts of Qumrân and in the Manichaean manuscripts of Turfan and Chotsko. It is known, however, that a giant had fought with and conquered the dragon Leviathan (below, p. 299); so the description in En. 60: 7–10, 24 of two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, might come from the work on the Giants.²

We suggested above that En. 68: 2–69: 29 should be entitled the Words of Michael. This calls to mind the title of an Aramaic text of 4Q, as yet unpublished: מַלְאֵךְ חַיָּבָא דִּי אַמְר מִכְּלָא לְמֵלָאכָא.³ Among the manuscripts of 4Q to be published by Starcky I have identified a fragment which belongs to a second copy of the same Aramaic text; a third copy is represented, in my opinion, by some tiny fragments of papyrus, 6Q23.⁴ I assume that these ‘Words of the Book of Michael’ were translated into Greek and that the author of the Book of Parables had heard of the title but was not familiar with the contents, for the Aramaic work, after a brief introduction in which we find some details of mythical geography and Biblical ethnology (the sons of Noah), goes on to the prophecy about Jerusalem.

An answer, inevitably hypothetical, to the crucial problem of the dating of the Book of Parables must be preceded by some considerations of a negative kind, and by some observations on the literary genre of this work. It seems to me quite certain that it did not exist during the pre-Christian era, in an Aramaic or Hebrew text, since not one fragment of it, Semitic or even Greek, has been located in the very rich assortment of manuscripts from the caves of Qumrân. Hence it is probably a Christian Greek composition (its use of the text of LXX has already been pointed out) which draws its inspiration

¹ For the names of the angels in 6: 7 and 69: 2 see below, notes to 4QEna i iii 5–12; the names of the metals in 65: 6–7 can be compared in part to those enumerated in 8: 1 according to the text of 4QEnb i ii 26–7.
² See above, p. 30, our note on the very archaic place-name Dendain, which is found in 60: 8; cf. also 4 Esd. 6: 49–52 and Syriac Baruch 29: 4.
³ Cf. J. Starcky, RB lxiii (1956), 66.
⁴ DJD iii, p. 138 and pl. XXVIII.
from the writings of the New Testament, the Gospels especially, beginning
with the titles of the pre-existent Messiah: 'Son of Man' (Matt. 9: 6; 10: 23;
12: 8; etc.) and 'Elect' (Luke 23: 35). However, it is not likely to be an early
Christian work, since no quotation from it is recorded between the first and
fourth centuries, that is, during the period in which quotations, allusions,
and reminiscences of other works attributed to Enoch abound. In fact, the
existence of the Greek Book of Parables is not attested until the early Middle
Ages, and even then indirectly, by the stichometry of Nicephorus and by the
Slavonic Enoch (see above, p. 77 and below, pp. 109–10). Finally, we must
recall its absence from any early version (apart from the Ethiopic) and espe-
cially the absolute silence on this subject in Coptic literature. No discovery
of Byzantine papyri in Egypt has provided a Greek or Coptic sample of it.

Where its literary genre is concerned, the Book of Parables is most closely
akin, in my opinion, to the Sibylline literature. Now, the Christian produc-
tion of Sybilline Oracles flourished in the second to fourth centuries. Some-
one well acquainted with the Sibylline Oracles would doubtless have no
difficulty in translating the Ethiopic text of the Parables into hexameters
and into a pseudo-Homeric dialect; the Greek original of this book was
certainly composed in metrical poetry. The Parables share with the Sibyllines
a clear division into sections ('parables', 'books') on the one hand but, on the
other hand, they also share a confusion in the sequence of ideas—long and
frequent repetitions, lacunae, a mixing up of historical and eschatological
plans within each part. The contents of both include descriptions of past
and future catastrophes, the punishment of sinners and the happiness of the
just, and the interventions of God, of the immortal Messiah, of angels and
demons; finally, both can be shown to have a common interest in astrological
and magical subjects. It would be a simple task to draw up a list, and it
would be a long one, of keywords, phrases, and expressions, of entire
passages and ideas, which would prove a very close relationship between
the Visions of Enoch and Noah and the Sibylline Oracles. I shall content
myself with pointing out two striking parallels.

The second book of the Sibyllines, composed essentially by Christian
authors of the third century, describes the resurrection of souls and bodies,
and judgement by the great immortal God. Five angels appear in it: Βαρακηλ
'Ραμυηλ Ουρηηλ Σαμυηηλ Αζαηηλ τε (Sib. ii. 215). The archangel Ouriel breaks
open the doors of Hades and brings out for judgement the shades of the

\^ In group ψ of the manuscripts (ed. J. Geffcken, GCS 8 (1902), 38) Μιχαηηλ τε Γαβρηηλ
'Ραφηηλ τ' Ουρηηλ.
Titans, Giants, and those who perished in the Flood (Sib. ii. 233–7; Geffcken, p. 39):

καὶ θ’ ἃς ἐν πελάγεσιν ἀπάλεσκε κύμα θαλάσσης
ἡδ’ ὀπάσας θῆρες καὶ ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά

235 θωνήσαντο, ὀλας τάυτας ἐπὶ βῆμα καλέσει·
καὶ πάλιν, ἃς ἐθηκερεν ἐνὶ φλογὶ σαρκοφάγον πῦρ,
καὶ τάυτας ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῦ στήσειεν ἀγείρας.

(and those whom the wave of the sea destroyed on the high seas;
and those whom the beasts and the serpents and the birds
feasted upon, all those he summoned to the judgement-seat;
and also those whom the fire which eats flesh destroyed by flames,
and having gathered them together, he led them before the judgement-seat of God.)

This passage is clearly analogous to that of En. 61: 6: 'These measures
[the cords carried by the angels who fly away to the North, 61: 1] will reveal
all the secrets of the abyss of the earth, and those who have been destroyed
by the desert and those who have been swallowed up by the reservoirs and
those who have been swallowed up by the fish of the sea and by the beasts,
in order that they may return and that they may rely on the day of the Elect;
for there is nothing which may perish before the Lord of spirits, and there is
nothing which can perish.' As is well known, Sib. ii. 190–338 is a poetical
paraphrase of a good part of the Apocalypse of Peter.1 It seems to me,
however, that the passage just quoted from the Parables of Enoch is more
directly dependent on the Sibyllines than on the Apocalypse, the composition
of which goes back to the beginning of the second century.2

The universal resurrection of souls and bodies and the judgement by the
Elect One are affirmed equally clearly in En. 51: 1–3: 'In these days the earth
will give up its store [instead of "its store" En gives "those who have been
hidden in it"], and Sheol will give up what [several manuscripts give "the
store"] it has received, and Abaddon will give up what it must. He (the
Elect one) will choose among the just and the saints, for the day is nigh when
they will be saved. The Elect one, in these days, will sit on my throne . . .'
The literary influence of 4 Esd. 7: 32–3 is easily recognizable in this: 'Et
terra reddet qui in eam dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et
promptuaria reddent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et revelabitur
Altissimus super sedem iudicii . . . ' Closer, however, to the formulation of

2 See also Const. Apost., de Lagarde's edition, p. 131.
En. 51 is the passage of *Antiquitates Biblicae* of pseudo-Philo, 3: 10: ‘Cum autem completi fuerint anni seculi, tunc quiescet lumen et extinguentur tenebrae, et vivificabo mortuos et erigam dormientes de terra. Et reddet infernus debitum suum et perditio restituet paratæ suam, ut reddam unicuique secundum opera sua et secundum fructus adinventionum suarum, quousque iudicem inter animam et carnem.’1 The date of these two apocrypha, both composed in Greek,2 is not sufficiently certain; but it is probably between the years A.D. 100 to 250. The passage in the Parables is drawn in my opinion from the *Ant. Bibl.*; in this respect it is significant that the phrase in pseudo-Philo forms part of the speech of God to Noah, that is, it belongs in a context which is also that of the Book of Parables.

More important for the dating of the Book of Parables is a long passage of the fifth book of the Sibylline Oracles; the latest element in this book falls in the reign of Caracalla (killed in A.D. 217 during the expedition against the Parthians).3 We find here first of all allusions to historical wars: ‘For the Persian will come on to the earth like hail and will devastate your earth . . . All the holy places he will stain and cover with blood and with corpses . . . And then you, most blessed town, you will suffer greatly’ (Sib. v. 93–100). This is an unmistakable reference to the occupation of Palestine and Jerusalem by Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king Orodes, in the year 40 B.C. According to lines 101–3 the Persian king will conduct other wars (*προλε-μίξει*); we may think of the Parthian wars of Trajan, Lucius Verus, of Septimus Severus, of Caracalla.4 Finally, in the apocalyptic perspective (Sib. v. 104–10).

1 Ed. G. Kisch, 1949, p. 117, and I. Sichardus, Basle 1527, p. 3 A.
2 There is no valid proof of the existence of a Semitic original of either of them.
3 τὸν μετὰ τρεῖς ἀρξοναν (Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, the last of whom was killed in A.D. 212), ὁ δὲ τρῖτος ὅθὲ κρατήσει (Sib. v. 51 = xii. 176).
4 The dating to the Parthian campaign of Trajan is proposed by J. C. Hindley, ‘Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch. An Historical Approach’ in *N.T.S.* xiv (1967–8), 531–65 (he maintains, however, the Jewish origin of the work).
'Again he will fly from the West, with light, springing step, in order to besiege the whole earth and devastate it completely. But, when at the height of his power and hateful arrogance he will come and will wish to destroy the city of the blessed ones, then a king, sent by God against him, will cause all the great kings and the eminent nobles to perish, and then the Eternal one will sit in judgement over men.'

The eschatological war of the kings of the peoples against the holy land and city is described also in Sib. iii. 663 ff. The passage quoted from Sib. v obviously inspired the author of the Parables (En. 56: 5–7): 'In these days the angels will gather together and will launch themselves towards the east where the Parthians and the Medes live; they will shake kings . . . And they (the kings) will rise up and will trample the earth of His elect, and the earth of His elect will be before them like a threshing-floor and a beaten track. But the city of my just ones will be an obstacle for their horses and they will kindle the war between them, and their right will deploy its force against them.' (The continuation deals with the mutual massacre of the sinners—cf. En. 100: 1–3—and the punishment of the kings and the sinners.)

It seems to me fairly obvious that this apocalyptic text refers to events contemporaneous with the author of the Parables, the terrible years of anarchy and invasion in the middle of the third century, and, in particular, the victorious campaigns of Sapor I which carried him right into Syria and culminated in the imprisonment of the Emperor Valerian in September A.D. 260. In the reference to the right of the Parthians and Medes ('right' meaning 'western') which attacks the rest of the army, I see a reference to the Palmyrenes (called mdŷ and md, 'Medes', in Safaitic inscriptions). As a matter of fact, the Palmyrenes, living close to the western frontier of the Sassanid empire, waged war successfully against Sapor and kept the Persians in check; however, they ended up by asking them for help at the time of the expeditions of Aurelian against Palmyra in A.D. 272 and 273. On this occasion Aurelian took the title of Parthicus Maximus (cf. Sib. xiii. 153–4). In A.D. 270 the Palmyrenes, formidable because of their heavy cavalry, occupied Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. In Syria they destroyed Bosra, after a victory over the Third Cyrenaic Legion.1 Crossing Palestine, whilst marching towards the Nile, they spared the city of Jerusalem; for Zenobia was well

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1 This is mentioned in a Latin inscription from Bosra and in several Safaitic inscriptions which I shall discuss in detail elsewhere.
known for her Jewish and Christian sympathies. Thus it is to these events of the years A.D. 260 to 270 that, in my opinion, the author of the Book of Parables is referring; he sees in them signs of the end of the world. He was already greatly disturbed by the sight of the blood of the just which the kings and the powerful ones who possess the earth were causing to flow (En. 47: 1-4 and 62: 11), a clear allusion to the first great persecutions of Christians decreed by the emperors Decius, in A.D. 249 to 251, and Valerian, in 257 and 258, and carried out in the provinces by Roman governors.

In conclusion, it is around the year A.D. 270 or shortly afterwards that I would place the composition of the Book of Parables. Its author conceived it on the model of the Sibyline Oracles which circulated in this period, read avidly by Christians and frequently quoted by ecclesiastical writers: Hermas, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and soon afterwards Lactanctius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and others. We should note further that the association of the Jewish Sibyl with the persons of Noah and Enoch appeared perfectly natural to the Jewish and Christian readers of the Graeco-Roman period.

According to the third book of the Oracles, which dates perhaps from the first century B.C., the Sibyl, driven out from Babylon, comes to Greece; she appears as a young woman (νώμη) belonging to the genos of Noah (Sib. iii. 810-11 and 827). She has the name Sabbê or Sambêthê, i.e. ‘Sabbath’ (נַבְשָׁשׁ and נָבְשָׁשׁ, absolute and emphatic states of this term in Aramaic); this relates her directly with Enoch, the inventor of the sacred calendar, including sabbaths. The Christians of Byzantine Egypt looked upon Sibyl as the sister of Enoch. In a Coptic text on the discovery of the tomb of Christ, an old man addresses the sister of Constantine: ‘Blessed be the elected race about which Sibyl the sister of the scribe Enoch prophesied (ειδώλα τεωνε ηνοχο ουρανοικός προφητεύετε): “See then (γάρ) a just (δικαίος) king will arise in the kingdom of the Romans, with the name Constantinos”’¹ The (approximate) quotation comes from the Tiburtine Sibyl in its Greek form which dates from the reign of Anastasius I (491–518).²

The virgin [Sibyl], the sister of Enoch, appears as a protagonist in a

² P. J. Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek, The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress (Dumbarton Oaks Studies X), 1967, pp. 14 (lines 85–6) and 25 (he does not know this Coptic quotation); the Latin text edited by E. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudo-Methodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle, 1898, p. 185.
Coptic Enochic document, known through some fragments (see below, pp. 100–4). According to the ‘History of Joseph’ in Arabic, chapter 32, at the end of time the Antichrist will kill Enoch, Elias, Sibyl, and Tabitha.\(^1\) In a Coptic monastery two other main patron saints, besides the founder, were venerated: Apa Enoch, the scribe of justice \((\text{απα ενωχ} \ \text{πευταιματευς} \ \text{πταιμοστιν})\) and Ama Sibylla, the prophetess \((\text{αια σιβιλαα} \ \text{τεπρο[. . .]})\).\(^2\) A festival calendar from the same monastery commemorates Ama Sibyla at the beginning of the liturgical year and Apa Enoch towards the end (a dipinto specifies the date of the assumption of Enoch as the 20th Epiph).\(^3\) In another monastery, ‘Enoch, the scribe of justice’ is also invoked, and on a fresco ‘our mother Ama Sibyllas’ is represented in the middle of the twelve Virtues of the Holy Spirit.\(^4\) An Abyssinian Saint recounts one of his visions: ‘... cum Maria Virgine Sibyllam conspexi, quam, valde pavisus, vocavi et dixi: “Sibylla! Sibylla! filia mea, valesne?”’.\(^5\)

One could easily multiply the Christian elements in the Book of Parables and the indications of its late dating. According to En. 61: 1 the angels ‘take wing and fly away’. Now, with the exception of the Seraphim and Cherubim, early Jewish literature is not familiar with any winged angels; they are certainly not spoken of in 1 Chron. 21: 16, as is often asserted. The angel of Apoc. 14: 6 is not necessarily winged either. The first undeniable piece of evidence on the subject is that of Tertullian in Apologeticum xxii. 8: 6 ‘Omnis spiritus ales est: hoc et angeli et daemones.’ In Christian iconography winged angels do not appear until the end of the fourth century (on the sarcophagus of Sarigüzel at Constantinople), and the classical type is established from the period of the frescoes at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, painted in A.D. 432–40.\(^7\) According to En. 60: 1 Noah receives his vision on the 14th day of the 7th month in the 500th year of his life. I do not think it is a question here of the Eve of Tabernacles, but of the seventh Christian month and accordingly the Easter feast; Noah, saviour of the Flood, foreshadows the redeeming Christ. The author of the Slavonic Enoch dates the vision of Enoch to the first day

\(^{1}\) W. E. Crum, ZNW xii (1911), 352.
\(^{2}\) J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (vol. iii), The Monastery of Apa Jeremias, 1912, pp. 74, 90, 92, etc.; (vol. iv) pp. 49–51, etc. (cf. also H. R. Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts ... in the British Museum, 1905, p. 145, App. no. 17: ‘Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Our Lady Ama Mariam, Tsibla, ...’).
\(^{3}\) Quibell, loc. cit., iv, pp. 69–71 and 127, and iii, pp. 54–5.
\(^{4}\) J. Clédat, Le monastère et la nécropole de Baoult, 1904, pp. 23 and 119.
\(^{5}\) B. Turaiev, Acta Sancti Zar’a-Abrahám, CSCO, Aeth. ser. II, vol. xxiii (1905), pp. 21 (text) and 18, 28–30 (version).
\(^{6}\) Ed. E. Dekkers, CC ser. lat. i (1954), 129, 34.
INTRODUCTION

The wood which the angels make into an ark, from which will spring ‘the race of life’ (En. 67: 2), prefigures the redeeming wood of the Cross.

Moreover, it seems that the author of the Book of Parables was vaguely familiar with other doctrines, over and above Christian doctrine. Charles quotes an interesting Mithraic parallel. I add a hypothetical reference to the occult sciences of hermetics. According to En. 69: 6–7 ‘the name of the third [chief of the fallen angels] is Gadriel: it was he who seduced Eve, and it was he who showed all mortal wounds to the sons of men; and the shield and the breast-plate and the sword for war, and all the instruments of death to the sons of men. From his hand they went out against those who inhabit the barren land, from this day and right down to the centuries of the centuries.’ The author of the Parables thus attributes to this angel what the author of the Book of Watchers (En. 8: 1) attributed to ‘Asa’el, namely the discovery of metallurgy; but there is no mention in En. 8 of the seduction of Eve. In the passage of En. 69 one can, most probably, detect a Christian adaptation of the hermetic tract *Isis the Prophetess to her son Horus*. In this the goddess narrates how an angel dwelling in the first firmament wished to consort with her and teach her the preparation of gold and silver; but it was a greater angel than the first one, with the name Ἀμυναήλ, who came down to her, made love to her, and revealed to her the hidden mysteries. This account was composed around the second century A.D.; it is quoted by the alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (third to fourth centuries), who also used the books of Enoch. On the other hand, I do not see any connection between En. 69: 3–25 and the *Logos Ebraikos* of a magical papyrus in Paris, as has been suggested, quite gratuitously, by M. Gaster. We may note moreover that, according to L. Gry, very late additions were made, up to the third and fourth centuries A.D., in the magical section of the Parables.

The Greek books of Enoch were known and read in various Gnostic circles in Egypt. Thus in *Pistis Sophia*, composed in the third century, we find a

2 ii, p. 102 (note to En. 52: 2).
6 On a very early Christian *Apocalypse of Enoch* see my forthcoming paper.
reference to En. 7: 1 and 8: 3: ‘the mysteries (μυστηρία) which the angels (αγγελοί) who have committed transgression (παραβαίνει) have carried below (among the men of the world, κόσμος), the magical sciences (μαγεία)’.

In the same work we find on two occasions that Enoch had written the two books of Yeû in the paradise of Adam: ‘Other lesser mysteries (μυστηρία) hence (οὖν), you do not need them (χρεῖα), for (ἀλλὰ) you will find them in the two books of Yeû, which Enoch had written, when I (Jesus Soter) spoke to him of the tree of science and the tree of life in the paradise (παράδεισος) of Adam’ (p. 158, 17–21, chapter 99 § 246). Jesus speaks to Mary: ‘Now then (οὖν), because of sin I have divested myself (σκύλλευ) and I have come into the world (κόσμος) in order to save it, for even the just (δίκαιοι) who have never done any evil and who have in no way sinned need to find the mysteries (μυστηρία) which are to be found in the books of Yeû, which I caused Enoch to write in paradise (παράδεισος), when I talked with him from the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, and I ordered him to lay them down on the rock (πέτρα) of Ararad and I put the archon (ἀρχων) Kalapatauroth, who is (in charge) of Čemmût, on the head of whom (rests) the foot of Yeû, and who embraces all the aeons (αἰῶνες) and the Heimarmenai (εἴμαρμεναι); this archon (ἀρχων), I have placed him as the guardian of the books of Yeû because of the flood (κατακλυσμός) and so that none of the archons (ἀρχοντες) should become jealous (φθονεῖν) of them and destroy them’ (pp. 228, 30–229, 8, chapter 135 § 354).

C. Schmidt identifies the two books of Yeû, attributed to Enoch, with the double Gnostic treatise partially preserved in the Coptic Sa’idic codex of J. Bruce (Bodl., MS. Clarendon Press d. 13; fifth to sixth centuries). After a motto, the first treatise begins with the phrase: ‘This is the book of things known (γνώσεις) by the invisible (ἀόρατος) God, through the intermediary of the hidden mysteries (μυστηρία) which show the way towards the elected race (γένος) . . . The living Jesus arose and said to his apostles (ἀπόστολοι) . . .’ After the two initial leaves of the text comes a lacuna; then there is a description of twenty-eight emanations (the description of the other thirty-two is missing); after a further lacuna comes an account of the journey of Jesus and the apostles across the sixty treasures, which ends with a hymn to the unapproachable God. This treatise is subscribed ‘The book of the great κατὰ μυστηρίων λόγος’ (p. 302). The second treatise begins with this formula: ‘Jesus was talking to his disciples (μαθηταί), who were gathered round him,

to the Twelve, and to the women-disciples (μαθητριαι): “Come around me, my twelve disciples (μαθηται) and women-disciples (μαθητριαι), so that I may tell you of the great mysteries (μυστηρια) of the treasure (θησαυρος) of light which no one knows concerning the invisible (αδρατος) God’” (p. 303, 3–8, chapter 42 § 99). Jesus here teaches his apostles the lesser mysteries of light, in particular the three baptisms, the mystery about the wickedness of the Archons and the way of warding it off, the mystery of spiritual unction, the mystery of the remission of sins, and the mystery of the twelve Aeons. The ending is missing.¹ The editor dates the original Greek form of the two books of Yeû to the first half of the third century and connects it with the milieu of the Barbelo-Gnostics.

With these two books of Enoch, composed in the paradise of Adam at the dictation of Jesus spoken from the tree of life, can be connected the reference to the Apocalypses of Adam which, according to Epiphanius, formed part of the Borborite Gnostic books.² Similar ideas were found in the book of Baruch, composed by Justin the Gnostic and quoted in the Philosophoumena of Hippolytus: of the twelve angels begotten of Eden by Elohim the third is called Baruch; he is identified with the tree of life, he transmits the orders of Elohim, he is Lord who speaks through the mouth of the Prophets (Elenchus v 24–7 and x 15).

A Christian Enochic document, represented by nine Coptic Sa’idic fragments, has been published in transcription and translation by W. E. Crum.³ This manuscript, now in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection, may perhaps come from Hou (a place situated 30 miles north of Dendera); it dates from around the seventh century; there are two columns per page. I reproduce these fragments in a literal Latin translation, prepared by G. Garitte; I suggest an order which differs from that of Crum, but which necessarily remains very hypothetical:

fol. 2 recto (fibres →), col. 2 . . . [filius] hominis [iu]sti (δεκαων), [id] est Iar[ed], (et) [ti]muit a Deo *[et] Deum eti[am] angeli (αγγελος) eius diligunt* propter . . .

² Haer. 26. 8. 1. Cf. also the quotation: ‘We read in the apocrypha: “I saw a tree bearing twelve fruits per year and he said to me: This is the tree of life” ’ Haer. 26. 5. 1.
³ Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series XII), 1913, pp. 3–11, no. 3.
verso †, col. 1 . . . [as]su[me]re (ἀναλαμβάνειν) eum ad caelum; intellexit (νοεῖν) [myste]ria (μυστήριον) quae sunt abscondita in saeculis (αἰών) altitudinis et mentes (νοῦς) omnes quae sunt absconditae in saeculis (αἰών) luminis et [sapienti]am (σοφία) τῶν . . .

fol. 3 recto †, col. 2 . . . stans super montem, ecce angelus (ἄγγελος) [De]i apparuit et cinct[us] super lumbum suum zona aurea, cum corona adamantina (ἀδάμαντως) (esset) [super caput eius . . .


fol. 4 recto →, col. 2 Deus [gratificabit (χαρίζειν)] tibi nomen famosum plus quam omnibus hominibus. Portaberis in caelum in tuo corpore (σῶμα) et poneris (future) in medio apothecae (ὑποθήκη) . . .

verso †, col. 1 . . . de quibus angelus (ἄγγελος) certiorem fecit eum super montem; inventit tria sigilla (σφραγίς) et . . . scripta . . .

col. 2 . . . sanctus (ἁγιός) [Dom]in[i] [misit?] vir[ginem] (παρθένος) d ut . . . ageret (?) centum a[nnos] super [terr]am . . .

fol. 5 recto †, col. 1 . . . consilium unicum est in eis; illi ducunt [cael]um et terram; nomen Patris scriptum (?) est in tertio . . . qui (est) super . . .

verso →, col. 2 . . . inventit illud quia (est) nomen Spiritus (πνεῦμα) sancti. Ait Enoch ei: Domine mi, ecc[e tr]ia nomina invisibilia (ἀόρατος) inveni [sc]ript[a] in libro . . .

fol. 8 recto →, col. 1 . . . non sciverunt eam (et) non potuerunt manifestare eam nisi (ἐμητι) abeas et manifestas eam in medio tui patris et tuae m[atris . . .

col. 2 . . . Enoch . . . Enoch meus filius . . .

verso †, col. 1 . . . [En]och . . .

col. 2 . . . illius (fem.). Ecce mea [. . .] quid fit, quam genuisti ex [ea]. Ecce tribus vicibus locuta est magnis verbis . . .

fol. 6 recto →, col. 1 . . . verba [gen]tilium ("Ελλην) . . . audire . . .

col. 2 . . . cubiculi (κοιτῶν) virginis (παρθένος) d in quo dormit. Ait (fem.) ei: Enoch, fili mi, eam[us] intra cu[bicu]lum (κοιτῶν) et . . .

verso †, col. 1 . . . in hora qua audivit vocem (φωνή) Enoch fratris sui, ait (fem.) ei: Enoch frater mi, appropinqua mihi et aspice, noli(?) . . .

col. 2 . . . sugo a mea mat[re]; non possi[ble] est ut ego . . .
fol. 9 recto →, *col. 1* Deus despicit super te (et) vidit te quia tu electus (es) et es remotus ab omni malo. Ait (masc.) quia [. . . Ait]

*col. 2* quia: Nonne (οὐκοῦν) [Dominus?] assumet (ἀναλαμβάνει) hominem ad caelum in eius corpore (σῶμα) nisi (εἴμητι) me. Ait (fem.) ei quia . . . Dominus . . .


*col. 2* nisi (εἴμητι) efformare (πλάσσει) alium hominem sicut nostrum patrem Adam et habitet terram. Ait (fem.) ei: Mathusala(?) fructus (καρπός) (est) qui exibit ex [te . . .

fol. 7 recto ↑ (marked ῶ', first leaf of quire 14 or p. 14 or else p. 104, ῶ'),

*col. 1* . . . peccat pusillanimitate et iniquitate; non scribes eorum peccata in eos cito (ταχῶ), sed (ἀλλὰ) pones calamum super calamarium (καλαμάριον) . . .

*col. 2* . . . delebis eum iterum'. Ait Enoch ei (fem.): Nonne (οὐκοῦν) Deus [dedit] angelum (ἀγγέλος) in caelo et posuit [eum . . .

verso →, *col. 1* . . . prius scribe peccata et bona (ἀγαθὸν) filiorum hominum; gra[tif]icabitur (χαρίζει) tibi angelus (ἀγγέλος) misericordi[ae . . .

*col. 2* peccata et fert bona (ἀγαθὸν) [et] ponit ea alibi; si videt peccata tra-hentia plus quam (παρὰ) bona (ἀγαθὸν) fert suam virgam (ῥάβδος) quae (est) in eius manu dextera et p[oni]t eam super . . .


*col. 2* . . . [id] est nomen filii Dei sedentis ad dexteram patris sui; prostravit se ad (lit. super) pedes Patris sui dicens: O Pater mi noli . . .

verso →, *col. 1* . . . tremere si videbit eos in eorum iniquitatibus omnibus quas facere solent; scribat eas statim et tua imago (εἰκών) tota abibit in perditionem, [se]d (ἀλλὰ) quaere . . .

*col. 2* . . . eius potentia . . .

a= My addition, uncertain.
b According to Jub. 4: 25–6 Enoch offers the sacrifice on the mountain in the East, the mountain of Paradise, according to late Christian apocrypha (e.g. Cave of Treasures, 5: 15, 18, 27; 6: 21, 32; 7: 3; etc.) Adam and then the Sethites dwell on a sacred mountain situated near the lost Paradise.
The virgin who is the sister of Enoch and who predicts the future for him is certainly the Sibyl (Crum); see above pp. 96-7. In fol. 82 and 61 it seems to be a question of the birth of Sibyl and of her knowledge of Greek.

The pronoun refers to the Trinity, 'the three invisible names' of fol. 5.

Enoch fulfils the function of celestial scribe who records the actions of men; cf. Jub. 4: 23. On a fresco in the monastery of the Abba Jeremiah we find Enoch, flanked by two saints, carrying a scroll inscribed with the title 'the book of life' (παθομεν εννοια); on another fresco, Enoch, the bearer of an inscribed scroll, and the Abba Jeremiah flank the Virgin with Child and with the archangels Michael and Gabriel. A wooden tablet with the legend of Christ and the vine (seventh to eighth centuries) contains the following invocation: 'Sun, do not set; Moon, do not rise; Enoch the scribe (εποξε πενταματετρες) do not throw your pen into your [pen-case (καλαμαδριον)]; do not throw . . . ink, until Michael comes forth from the heaven and destroys (?) my eye.'

The human race, the likeness of Christ (Crum).

The name of 'Enoch the scribe of justice' recurs several times in the fragments of a Coptic Sa'idic manuscript discovered in 1909 at Aswān. The order of the fragments and the recto–verso order remain uncertain. I reproduce the literal Latin translation by G. Garitte:

fr. I recto . . . su[per . . . mundus (κόσμος) . . . iumenta. Si eius [. . .] exclama-verunt dicentes: Sanctus es [sanctus es] sanctus es, Domine Sabaoth [. . .] ira; impeccabilis, noli numerare [. . .] hominum peccatorum; sine malitia (κακία) in malitiam (κακία) erga filios h[ominum qui] caro (σάρξ) et sanguis sunt; si tu [. . .] quis est qui stabit

verso . . . [. .] phouelb Mi[. . . .] et Maria [. . .] et Enoch scriba (γραμματεύς) [iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη)] propter mundum (κόσμος) [non] posituri erant fragmentum parvum panis in eorum domo et vinum s[ive] (ειτε) vestem sive (ειτε) . . . nisi (ειμιτι) dent ea et . . . et egentes propter hoc [. . .] statuere Enoch scribam (γραμματεύς) iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη) . . .


verso . . . homo . . . si homo (quidam) enim (γάρ) fornicationem (πορνεία) vel (η) [. . .] magiam (μαγεία) . . .

1 See J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara, (vol. ii), pls. LV and LVI (cf. vol. iii, p. 55, no. 93) and vol. iv, pp. 134–5 and pl. XXIV.
2 H. R. Hall, Coptic and Greek Texts . . . in the British Museum, pp. 148–9, Appendix no. 27.
3 Cairo Museum no. 48085, published, without translation, by H. Munier in ASAE xxiii (1923), 212–15, no. 3.
fr. III recto ... oravit (παρακαλεῖν) [...] Enoch scribam (γραμματεύς) iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη): Ne festines scribere [peccata?] filiorum hominum sed (άλλα) ... verso ... mundus (κόσμος) ... ire ... angelus (ἄγγελος) sanctus ...  

a Cf. Ps. 129: 3? (Garitte).

If the phi is certain, we can restore [σαρα]φορμα, the name of an archangel often in the Coptic texts and placed in the sixth or seventh rank of the seven archangels. But in that case one can scarcely restore what follows to read 'Mi[chael, Gabriel, and Raphaejl', as Munier does; for the first name a possible alternative would be 'Mistrael, the angel of anger'.

The Munier fragment, III recto, calls to mind the Crum fragment, 7 recto, but the remainder seems rather to belong to a homily; hence I do not think that the Crum and Munier fragments are two copies of the same Coptic Enochic work.

The Coptic account of Enoch and Sibylla partially preserved in the Crum fragments is undeniably referred to—and only once, as far as I know—in a liturgical Coptic text composed in the seventh century or even later. The archangel Gabriel is there supposed to say: 'Ich bin wiederum derjenige, Mein Herr, der zu der Jungfrau Sibylla (σίμλα παρθενος) hineinging, der Schwester des Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit Henoch (ενως πετραματεγε τιακατοστη): Ich beschützte sie und errettete aus der Hand des bösen Teufels, der ihr Schliche antun wollte.'

In note f to the Crum fragments we commented upon the role of Enoch as the heavenly scribe and the keeper of the book of life. The same motive recurs in another Coptic liturgical text, composed in the fifth, if not in the fourth century. There the archangel Michael brings the souls of men, one after another, before the presence of the Saviour; Enoch, the scribe of righteousness, intervenes in the Judgement as the reader of the book of life: 'Da rief der Heiland jene Seele. Er gab sie in die Hand eines starken Engels, indem Er sprach 'Nimm diese Seele und gib sie in die Hand Henoch's, des Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit (ενως πετραματεγε τιακατοστη) — auf dass sie in Heiligen Hymnos mitsinge — denn eine


3 Ed. C. D. G. Müller, Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel, CSCO 225/Copt. 31, p. 73 (text), and 226/32, p. 90. The editor did not see the connection between this passage and the Crum fragments, and, what is worse, did not even recognize the name of Sibyl.

4 Ed. Müller, loc. cit., pp. 54 and 56 (text), pp. 65 and 68 (version).
Seele, die nicht verleumdet, noch falsch schwört, noch läügt, ist das Wohlgefallen Meines Vaters." Sofort nahm sie der starke Engel, während wir sie sahen, und er begab sich mit ihr in die Himmel." And further on, concerning another soul: 'Der Heiland antwortete und sprach: "So wie ihr (sc. der Seele) Gemüt die Worte Meines Vaters liebte, brachte sie sie (sc. die Bücher) zum Orte des Lebens jedes Einzelnen, nämlich der Kirche — sie werden sie zum Heiligtum des Lebens bringen, und über sie wird im Buche des Lebens gelesen werden durch Henoch, den Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit (ἐνώξ περαματεῖς θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ) — und sie wird inmitten aller Jungfräulichen bis zum Tage der tausend Jahre weilen." Und Michael nahm sie. Er gab sie in die Hände der Heiligen Jungfräulichen im Paradiese des Lebens.'

In an encomium on Saint Michael the Archangel attributed to Theodosius, archbishop of Alexandria, 'Enoch the righteous man (ἐνώξ παίωνος)' explains why he rejoices in the festival of Michael:\(^1\) 'I am rejoicing because it is I who write with my own hands in the register the sins, and the wickedness, and the good deeds which are committed in the whole world. And the holy Archangel Michael taketh them into the presence of God, and presenteth unto Him the good deeds, and for the bad deeds he maketh supplication unto Him, and he forgiveth those who belong to my race. For this reason I rejoice this day.'

Following Crum’s reference, one may add this passage in the Acts of a Martyr:\(^2\) 'Quicumque scripserit martyrium tuum et agones tuos [sc. of Apa Anûb from Naësi], praecipiam [sc. I, the Saviour] Enoch scribae iustitiae (ἐνώξ περαματεῖς θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ) ut deleat chirographum omnium peccatorum eius, scribam nomen eius in libro vitae. . . .'

More complex, from the literary point of view, is the mention of the judicial role of Enoch in the Testament of Abraham. In my opinion the oldest, and the original, text is preserved in the Coptic recension. There, after a mention of souls dying every day and night, to the number of ninety-nine thousand and ninety-nine hundred, there follows a description of the judgement of a soul, watched by Abraham accompanied by the archangel Michael:\(^3\) 'Der Richter sagte: "Man lese ihr von ihren Thaten vor! Sieh,
ihre Thaten sind aufgeschrieben.’ Sogleich aber hat ein greiser Mann aus dem Vorhang der Allerheiligsten hervor, ein Buch in seiner Hand, und er fing an alle die Sünden jener Seele vorzulesen bis hinauf zu dem Bösen, das sie gethan hatte.’ The soul defends herself, but three witnesses accuse her formally. Then Abraham, intrigued, asks Michael: ‘Ich sagte zu dem heiligen Erzengel Michael: ‘Mein Herr, wer ist dieser hohe, greise Mann, der dieses Buch in seiner Hand hat und der das Memorandum über diese Seelen dem Richter in die Hand setzt?’ Der Erzengel Michael sagte zu mir: ‘Es ist Enoch, der Schreiber der Gerechtigkeit (енок παπαιζεις πτε πρες προς την πνευσιν); Gott sah, dass er ein zuverlässiger Mann war, und er setzte ihn zu buchen alle guten und bösen Thaten, welche die Menschen thun.’’ The Coptic composition of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria, there being added this well-known literary motif: ‘er hat es in den alten Sammlungswerken unserer heiligen apostolischen Väter gefunden.’ It was the liturgical lesson for the commemoration day of Abraham’s death, on the 28th Mesori.

The Coptic text of the Testament of Abraham was adapted into Greek, in an expanded form, and is known as the Greek recension B. A new feature, added by the Greek author, is the identification of the Judge with Abel. According to the Paris MS. 1613, the liturgical reading of the Testament of the patriarch Abraham was fixed for the last Sunday before Christmas, called ‘(the Sunday) of Holy Fathers’: [Addendum, pp. 363–4].

Chapter 108 of the Ethiopic Enoch must date from the Christian period. Its incorporation into the Enochic corpus of writings is certainly later than the fourth century, since it is missing, in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, from the Epistle of Enoch (the last part of the Ethiopic Enoch). This short chapter is probably a summary, or the incipit, of a much longer Enochic work called ‘another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and...”


1 Andersson, loc. cit., p. 220.
2 Edited by M. R. James from three manuscripts: two from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, and Vienna, Cod. Histor. Gr. 126 (fifteenth century?). On checking the two Paris MSS. I have found that the editing was not quite satisfactory.

3 Paragraph XI of recension B, James, loc. cit., pp. 115–16; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1613 (fifteenth century), ff. 94v, 22–94r, 22, and Suppl. Gr. 162 (fourteenth century), ff. 113r, i. 18–113r, i. 17.
for those who will come after him and keep the Law in the last days’ (En. 108: 1). Two phrases, at least, of this text seem to point, in guarded and obscure terms, to the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all sinners (En. 108: 11, 14–15): ‘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 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved . . . And they (sc. the faithful) shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they (sc. the sinners ?) shall go where days and seasons are prescribed for them.’ The doctrine that sinners will be saved at last by the prayers of the righteous is, rather obscurely, enunciated in the Apocalypse of Peter (composed about the beginning of the second century): ‘My Father will give unto them all the life, the glory, and the Kingdom that passes not away’ (according to the Ethiopic version contained in the Books of Clement): then, in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles (a paraphrase, in this part, of the Apocalypse of Peter): ‘He shall grant them (sc. the godly) to save men out of the fierce fire and the eternal gnashing of teeth’; and more especially in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias, which exhibits the closest formulation to En. 108: ‘The righteous will behold the sinners in their punishment, and those who have persecuted them and delivered them up. Then will the sinners on their part behold the place of the righteous and be partakers of grace. In that day will that for which they (sc. the righteous) shall often pray, be granted to them’, etc.¹

THE SLAVONIC ENOCH AND OTHER ENOCHIC WRITINGS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

It is one of the chief merits of A. Vaillant’s edition of the Slavonic Enoch (‘2 Enoch’) that it has established definitively the respective value of the two recensions of this work, the long and the short.² Taking as his starting-point manuscripts already published,³ Vaillant proves beyond doubt that, in spite of the deficiencies of existing copies, it is the short form that represents the original text of the version, made in the tenth to eleventh centuries

³ Especially those published by M. Sokolov in Čtenija of the University of Moscow, 1899 and 1910.
from Greek into the old western Slavonic of Macedonia, if not Pannonia.¹ The Greek text from which this translation was made still existed in the thirteenth century; it is quoted in the Greek treatise entitled the *Debate of the Panagiote and the Azymite* (i.e. of the Orthodox and the Latin) known through two Slavonic versions.² The translation itself is attested for the first time in the fourteenth century by some extracts incorporated into a juridical collection called *Mērito Pravednoey*, ‘Just Balance’, which is preserved in a manuscript of the monastery of the Trinity and St. Serge of the mid fourteenth century, and in three others of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

For the edition the choice of the basic manuscript was simple. There are only two complete manuscripts of the original text, *U* (Uvarov collection no. 3 (18), fifteenth century, written in the Novgorod–Pskov region of Russia) and *B* (Barsov collection, seventeenth century, of Russian origin); and *U* is by far the better, or rather the less bad.³ The original text underwent a double revision: the first, with very long elaborations, is represented by *R* (Belgrade, Nat. Library, no. 321, sixteenth century, of middle-Bulgarian redaction in a poor Slavonic of Moldavia); and the second, which was made from *R*, with modifications and some additions, is represented by two manuscripts, *S* (sixteenth century, in middle-Bulgarian of Moldavia) and *P* (A.D. 1679, of Ruthenian redaction). The first reviser, ‘un amplificateur enragé qui croit nécessaire de déverser dans un texte toute son érudition’, did his work between the second half of the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century in the Bulgaro-Serbian area; he was perhaps a writer of the group of Vladislav the Grammarian, which flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Western scholars became familiar with the Slavonic Enoch through the German translations of N. Bonwetsch (1896 and 1922) and the English translation of R. Morfill (1896). Essentially they represented the long form or else a short version, made by abridgement, of the long recension.⁴ At that time the work in this long form was dated to the first century A.D. and attributed to an Egyptian Jew or else to a Judaeo-Christian. But N. Schmidt dated the short recension, which he considered to be Jewish and Palestinian, to the first century A.D., and the long recension, which he considered to be

¹ For an earlier statement of this view see N. Schmidt, *JAOS* xli (1921), 307–12.
² Vaillant, pp. xvi–xvii.
³ For other manuscripts and the table of their affiliation see Vaillant, loc. cit., pp. v–vii and xxiv–xxv.
⁴ For the last mentioned, see F. Repp, *Wiener slawistisches Jahrbuch*, x (1963), 58–68.
Christian, to the fifth century. It is awkward, however, that no trace of the work has been found in early Christian literature. Vaillant, who also accepts the Judaeo-Christian hypothesis, finds an allusion to it in Origen, De principiis, I. iii. 2; ‘Sed et in Enoch his similia describuntur’ (apropos the creative work of God). He writes ‘Comme ce sujet n’est pas traité dans l’Hénoch juif, mais est largement développé dans notre apocryphe, c’est de lui nécessairement qu’il s’agit, mais on voit qu’Origène ne fait pas de distinction entre les deux Hénoch.’ This is a very surprising conclusion. If the Aramaic books of Enoch translated into Greek scarcely speak of the creative activity of God, they do speak, on the other hand, in great detail, in the Book of Watchers and in the Astronomical Book, of terrestrial and celestial worlds, that is of the results of creation, and it is these descriptions which Origen had in mind.

In 1918 A. S. Maundes, starting from the astronomical and calendrical data, suggested that one could see in the Slavonic Enoch ‘a specimen of Bogomil propaganda composed between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries’. Against the defenders of the traditional dating J. K. Fotheringham proved conclusively that the terminus post quem of the work was the middle of the seventh century. The arguments of Maundes and Fotheringham were based on the long form; Maundes, with the exception of the Bogomil hypothesis, was thus quite right. Vaillant, taking textual, literary, and linguistic arguments as his starting-point, suggests a similar dating for the long form.

The date and origin of the long form of the Slavonic Enoch are therefore definitively fixed. The analogous problems concerning the short form, which preserves the original Greek text fairly faithfully, must be approached quite independently, taking account only of the Slavonic text on pp. 1–85 of Vaillant’s edition (pp. 86–119 represent the additions made by revisers).

The Greek author of the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, no doubt a monk, used the Enochic Pentateuch in the form with which we are familiar through the Ethiopic version. In his description of the secrets of heaven and earth he drew freely on the Book of Watchers (e.g. the theme of the 200 Watchers), the Book of Parables (e.g. the name of the Ophanim angels), and the

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1 Art. cit.
3 ‘The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch’, The Observatory, xlii, pp. 309–16.
5 ‘The Easter Calendar and the Slavonic Enoch’, JTS xxiii (1922), 49–56.
Astronomical Book (e.g. the year of 364 days); some features were taken from the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Now, the formation of this collection of five works does not go back further than the sixth century (see above, p. 77). Some rare copies of this bulky opus must have been accessible in the monastic libraries of Constantinople, since the patriarch Nicephorus, at the beginning of the ninth century, was familiar with their stichometry.

In the Slavonic Enoch God says to the patriarch (Vaillant, p. 17, 6–12): 'For I will give to you, Enoch, an intercessor, my archistrategus Michael; because the writing of your hand and the writing of the hand of your fathers, Adam and Seth, will not be destroyed up to the last century, for I have ordered my angels Arioch and Marioch, whom I have established on earth in order to keep watch over it and to control temporal affairs, to preserve the writing of the hand of your fathers, so that it may not perish in the imminent flood which I shall send upon your race.' Compare p. 18, 4–7: 'Then, during this race (after the flood) will appear the books written by your hand and by that of your fathers, seeing that the guardians of the earth will show them to men of faith, and they will explain them to this race, and they will be glorified consequently more than in early times.' Arioch and Marioch, the guardians of the earth and of the Enochic writings, are doubtless identical with the anonymous 'two princes' of the 200 Watchers, Egrigorii, (p. 9, 7). It has already been suggested that they are equivalent to the Harût and Mârût of Muslim legends, attested since the Koran (Sura 2: 96). In the fourteenth century the summary of the legend of Upd and Mapd, sent to the earth by God, ῶστε καλῶς ἀρχεῖν, καὶ δικαίως κρίνειν, is found in an anti-Muslim treatise of the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, who became the monk Joasaph (PG 154, 628). In the Greek original of the Secrets of Enoch the names were written *Αρωθ and *Μαρωθ. The oscillation of f ≤ th (e.g. Sif, Seth, in the passage quoted) and of ch (here Arof ≥ Aroch ≥ Arioch) is peculiar to the phonetics of Greek borrowings into the eastern Slavonic languages (e.g. Fiodor and Chodor coming from Theodôros).

A lexical argument irrefutably confirms, in my opinion, the dating of the Slavonic Enoch to the ninth to tenth centuries. Let us look first of all at the context of the term which interests us (pp. 13, 4–14, 2): 'And the Lord called upon Vreveil, one of his archangels, who was skilful at inscribing all the works of the Lord. And the Lord said to Vreveil: "Take books from the stores,

and give a calamus to Enoch, and dictate the books to him.” And Vrevel made haste, and he brought me books mottled with smyrnium, and he put a calamus in my hand. And he was occupied in telling me of all the works of heaven and of the earth and of the sea, and the workings and the lives of all the elements, and the changing of the years and the courses and the alternation of the days... Vrevel explained this to me during thirty days and thirty nights, and his mouth did not cease from speaking. And I, I did not rest during thirty days and thirty nights, writing down all the signs. And when I had finished, Vrevel said to me: “Sit down, write all that I have explained to you.” And I sat down twice the length of thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote everything exactly, and I composed 360 books.’ The name of the angel Vrevel (variants: Vretil, Vreteil, Verveil) is equivalent without any doubt to Ouriel, who initiated Enoch in astronomy and cosmography according to the Astronomical Book.1 (I assume the Greek form *Ουρειμ, the iota of which with diaeresis might have been confused with the tau by the Slavonic translator.) Ouriel thus brings books to be copied (not paper to write on, as Vaillant explains it), hands a calamus to Enoch, and begins to dictate; the patriarch takes down the archangel’s account rapidly in shorthand and then makes a fair copy of everything. The phrase in p. 13, 7–8, knigi ispeščreny2 zmoureniem’, to be translated word for word ‘books painted in various colours of smyrnium’, is a literal version of the Greek phrase βιβλία συρμαιόγραφα, which has, however, been misunderstood by the Slavonic interpreter. The translator has simply transcribed the first part, συρμαιο- (corrupted by the copyists to zmouren, ismurno, et sim., under the influence of zmourna, ismirno, et sim., ‘myrrh’, which occurs just before, in 13, 2) and has translated the other component, -γραφα, by ‘painted in colours’, on the analogy of ζωγράφος, ‘painter from life’. Now the adjective συρμαιόγραφος is a derivative of the verb συρμαιογράφειν, which means ‘to write in minuscule’, hence ‘quickly’. The expression βιβλία συρμαιόγραφα, ‘books to be recopied in minuscule’, has a close parallel in a letter of Theodore of Studios to his disciple Naukratos, written in the year A.D. 816: ἐργόχειρον ἔλευσέν μοι τοι γραφεῖν ... διὸ φρόντιζέ μοι ἀπάρτι ἐργόχειρα οἷα θέλεις συρμαιόγραφα, ‘... procure for me even now manuscripts which you wish to have recopied in minuscule’.3 The verb συρμαιογράφειν occurs only twice in this period: first in the epitaph of Plato (died 814 in Studios) composed by

1 As already suggested by L. Ginzberg, The Legend of the Jews, v, p. 159 (otherwise Vaillant, p. xii).
2 The reading of MS. B2; other manuscripts read izoščreny et sim., ‘sharpened’.
his nephew Theodore of Studios (759–826), and then in the anonymous Life of St. Nicholas of Studios (died 868).\footnote{1 PG 99, 820 and 105, 876 (the connection between minuscule script and its speedy execution is emphasized here). Cf. B. Hemmerdinger, \textit{Byzantion}, 37 (1967), 75–9 (his suggestion of translating this verb by 'to write, to copy, musical manuscripts' should, however, be rejected); P. Lemerle, \textit{Revue des études sud-est-européennes}, 7 (1969), 151–4 (the script which 'se caractérise par les ligatures et la rapidité'); O. Kresten, \textit{Scriptorium}, 24 (1970), 305–17.}

It thus appears to be a neologism not found before the beginning of the ninth century; so we may conclude that the Greek author of the Secrets of Enoch, perhaps also a Studionite monk, probably lived in the ninth or else in the tenth century.

We can subscribe fairly readily to Vaillant's estimate (p. xiii) that this writer 'raconte avec sagesse et un souci visible d'art une histoire merveilleuse, qui est traditionelle depuis l'Hénoch juif, et dont il sent et sait faire sentir toute la grandeur: l'enlèvement d'Hénoch, la révélation qui lui est faite des secrets des cieux, son tête-à-tête avec Dieu, sa mission auprès des hommes, son rôle de scribe dans le ciel'.

The first part of the work describes Enoch's heavenly journey (pp. 1–18, chapters I–XII). After the prolix and pompous title (p. 1, 1–10), the author specifies the date of the Vision: 'the appointed day of the first month' in the 365th year of Enoch (p. 1, 11–12), that is, on the first day of Easter (Vaillant); this is exactly the date assigned to the Vision of Noah in the Book of Parables (En. 60: 1; see above, p. 97). Enoch is in bed (cf. En. 83: 3, 6) when there appear to him two angels (called 'men', just as in the Book of Dreams) who are to be his guides, exactly like the two angels, an angel of peace and an anonymous angel, who accompanied Enoch and Noah according to the Book of Parables (En. 52: 3–5; 60: 11, 24). The cosmic guides of the Slavonic Enoch have the names Semeil and Rasouil (p. 16, 19): the first name probably signifies Ṣe mê' el, 'Heavens of God', and the second is certainly Ṣaṣî' el, 'Well-loved of God', the Hebrew term corresponding to the Aramaic Ṣe' ṣe' el, the name of the angel-guide in the Book of Watchers (En. 23: 4).

Enoch visits the seven heavens, the number of which comes from the Testament of Levi and was popularized later by apocalyptic and astrological writings, and also by iconography. The first heaven is the celestial, star-spangled vault containing the reservoirs of meteorological phenomena (p. 3, 7–17, chapter III); the second heaven is the prison of the apostate angels, those of En. 6 ff., Jude 6, and 2 Peter 2: 4 (pp. 3, 18–4, 7, chapter IV); in the third heaven paradise is situated, just as in the Book of Watchers (above,
pp. 40–1) and in 2 Cor. 12: 2, 4 (pp. 4, 8–5, 2, chapter V); on this occasion Enoch visits the infernal regions which are situated in the North of the heaven, guarded by Satans, angels of punishment (p. 5, 3–17, chapter V; cf. En. 53: 3 and above, p. 30). In the fourth heaven (whose number corresponds to the day of their creation) are found the sun and the moon; at this juncture the author summarizes the Astronomical Book of Enoch, in particular the year of 364 days, but with several details which seem incomprehensible (pp. 5, 18–8, 16, chapter VI). In the fifth heaven are found the Watchers, Egrigori, the brothers of the rebel angels of the second heaven; the angels of the fifth heaven will be converted by Enoch to the service of God (pp. 9, 1–10, 2, chapter VII). The sixth heaven is occupied by the seven angels who regulate the life of the world, the seven phoenixes, the seven Cherubim, and the seven angels with six wings, that is, the Seraphim (p. 10, 3–16, chapter VIII). The celestial palace of the seventh heaven contains the throne of God, surrounded by the fiery militias of incorporeal beings (ἀσωμάτωτοι in Byzantine theology), Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, the last mentioned being borrowed from En. 61: 10 and 71: 7 (pp. 11, 1–13, 3, chapter IX). The archangels Michael and Gabriel stand to the right and left of God, the Christian iconographical position which is well established in the Byzantine period; the archangel Ouriel (written Vretil, et sim.; above, p. 111) dictates his 360 books to Enoch. In a long speech the Lord explains to Enoch, who has become the heavenly scribe and acolyte of Gabriel (p. 14, 3–4), his work of creation (pp. 14, 3–18, 17, chapters XI and XII; addition of MS. R): God first created Adoil (etymology uncertain, perhaps a Greek and Semitic hybrid: Hades + El), then ‘the substructure of things below’ named Arouchas (probably the Hebrew feminine term מַרְוָה, ‘geographical basin’, transcribed with the masculine flexional ending ἄροχας), and finally the creatures of Gen. 1. The speech ends with the announcement of the flood and the salvation of ‘a just man of your race’.

The second part of the Slavonic Enoch contains a long moralizing sermon by Enoch, interrupted with revelations obtained from heaven, addressed to Methuselah and his brothers (cf. En. 91: 1) and to the elders of the people (cf. En. 37: 2–3), and finishing with the ascension of the patriarch (pp. 18, 19–32, 14, chapters XIII–XX). The farewells and the Assumption of Enoch take place at Achouzan or Azouchan (pp. 28, 1 (Vaillant’s interpretation), 30, 13, and 32, 11. 20). I think that the fifteenth-century reviser surmised rightly that this is a cryptic name of Jerusalem (p. 58, 3–5), or more exactly the hill

of the Temple, for ‘Methuselah and his brothers . . . built an altar at the
place Azouchan whence Enoch was taken’ (p. 32, 10–12). The place-name
Achouzan (end-syllable of the Greek accusative) corresponds to the Hebrew
term הַיַּהֲנָה ‘(special) property (of God)’, often applied in the Old Testa-
ment to Jerusalem and to God’s Temple (e.g. Ezek. 48: 20–1).1 The author
of the Secrets of Enoch does not present the Assumption of the patriarch
as a prefiguration of the Ascension of Christ which took place on the Mount
of Olives, but he is implicitly contradicting the Muslim belief which put the
place of the Ascension of Muhammad at the Rock of the Temple (looked
on in the Middle Ages as the altar of holocausts); the liturgical dates of the
assumptions of the Prophet and of ‘‘Uḥnûḥ–’Idrîs are quite close, the 25th
and the 29th of the month of Ramaḍān.

The third and last part of the Slavonic Enoch, the most original, contains
a curious legend about Melchisedek (pp. 32, 15–42, 6, chapters XXI–
XXIII). Theological speculation about this mysterious character in Gen. 14
and Ps. 110 had already become very elaborate in the Essene milieu of
Qumrân.2 But it was from Heb. 4: 14–5: 10 and 7: 1–28, which makes him
the prefiguration of Christ the high priest, that the spread of theological
reflections and pious legends was to gain considerable impetus. The idea of
the priesthood of the antediluvian patriarchs goes fairly far back in Christian
thought; thus in the Const. Apost. viii. 5: ὁ προσφυγός οὖς ἀρχής ἱερεῖς εἰς
ἐπιστασίαν λαοῦ σου, Ἀβέλ ἐν πρῶτοις, Σῆθ καὶ Ἐνώς καὶ Ἐνώχ καὶ Νῶς καὶ
Μελχίσεδὲκ καὶ Ἰωβ. The author of the Secrets of Enoch draws up a list of
twelve or thirteen names with Melchisedek last, that is, in the likeness of
the college of the apostles and of Christ (p. 40, 17–19). Apart from Enoch
and Methuselah, the names of the antediluvian high priests are all inventions
and have then been corrupted in the transmission of the Slavonic manu-
scripts. This fact can be accounted for by our writer’s aversion to accepting a
hierarchical succession from father to son, since he was familiar only with
Greek Christian hierarchs who had to be monks and single men. Accordingly
Melchisedek is not a son of Noah, but his nephew. This calls to mind also
the transmission of monastic vocations from uncle to nephew, the very wide-
spread custom in the Greek church during the Byzantine and medieval periods.
The anointing of Melchisedek by the three distinguished people (p. 33, 10)
reflects the consecration of the new Christian hierarch by the three bishops.

1 Cf. L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, i, p. 89, v, pp. 117 and 162.
2 A. S. Van der Woude, Oudtest. Studiën, xiv (1965), 354–73, and M. de Jonge and A. S. Van
Methuselah, on the point of death, gives over to the priesthood the second son of Lamech, called Nir (pp. 34, 15–37, 7, chapter XXII). This name certainly means 'luminary'; our author doubtless drew on the name of the wife of Noah, Nwpia, meaning 'Fire of God' (as he could learn from Epiphanius, Haer. xxvi. 1. 3). Nir the priest, as an exemplary hierarch, 'had not slept' with his wife Sophonim since the day of his election; from the womb of this barren wife will come, after her death, the child Melchisedek, born with the seal of the priesthood on his chest and with an angelic appearance. After forty days he will be carried off to paradise by the archistrategus Michael to save him from the flood.

If the author of the Slavonic Enoch makes Melchisedek the nephew of Noah, this is purely because of his scruples about ecclesiastical discipline. Essentially, however, he is referring to the Jewish tradition which identified Melchisedek with Shem, the son of Noah; this name might have been given to Shem at the time of his election to the priesthood. Epiphanius (Haer. lv. 6. 1) and Jerome (Quaest. in Gen. xiv. 18) echo this, although they attribute the belief to the Samaritans. Melchisedek is one of the four Messiahs according to Sukka 52b, an angel according to Origen and Didymus. The Melchisedekians, still in full strength in the sixth century and known also in the Middle Ages, venerated their hero as the Holy Spirit, as the Son of God greater than the Christ, who assists the angels whilst the Christ assists men.

For Christian and Muslim authors Melchisedek was a descendant of Noah: his son, son of Arphaxad, son of Qainan, son of Paleg. According to the 'Cave of Treasures', chapters 22–3, Melchisedek, grandson of Arphaxad, carries with Shem the body of Adam to the 'centre of the earth', to the future Golgotha, where he is to remain as guardian and priest-monk until the time of Abraham. According to the account of pseudo-Athanasius, the most widespread in the Middle Ages, Melchisedek, grandson of Salaad (equivalent to Sala, grandson of Arphaxad?), lived as a vegetarian hermit on Mount Tabor; this tallies with the Jewish legend which placed the academy of Shem on the same mountain. At Tabor the cave of Melchisedek was shown to

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2 Cf. G. Bardy, RB xxxv (1926), 497 ff., and xxxvi (1927), 25 ff.; C. Wuttke, Melchisedech (Beihefte zu ZNTW 5), 1927; Milik, JFS xxiii (1972), 95–144.
3 Cf. L. Ginzberg, Die Haggada bei den Kirchenväter, 1900, pp. 103–5; I. Friedlaender, Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman, 1913, pp. 258–64.
4 Texts of the ps.-Athanasius: in Greek, PG 28, 525–30, and A. Vasiliev, Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, 1893, pp. 206–14; cf. F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographia Graeca, iii, pp. 48–9,
Christian pilgrims in the Middle Ages, whilst the Church of Jerusalem celebrated his commemoration during the octave of the Transfiguration, 8 August. According to Isidorus, Melchisedek is mortuus et sepultus in civitate sua Jerusalem.

The name of the patriarch Enoch served as a pseudopigraph to numerous literary and scientific works in several national literatures of the Middle Ages.

Thus towards the mid eighth century, 'Kyriakos [bishop] of Segestan took with himself a wicked doctor, Bar Salṭa of Reš'ayna, and they composed a book of falsehood which they entitled Apocalypse of Enoch. They inserted there words signifying that Marwân [killed on 5 August 750] would reign, and his son after him. The book, having been presented to Marwân by one of his wise men, he read it and enjoyed it like a child. He ordered Kyriakos to make a commentary to it. The latter interpreted it according to the desires of the king.' An adulatory court-production like this was clearly ephemeral, and was probably never copied again. But Kyriakos finally achieved his object in it, namely preferment to the rich episcopal see of the]%d, theTur ‘Abdin.

An interesting Byzantine apocalypse, called The Vision of Enoch the Just, is preserved only in an Armenian version. It begins: 'At the sixth hour of the day a man appeared unto me over against Mount Lebanon and his appearance was like unto flaming fire, and he said unto me: "Hear, O man, what I now relate unto thee, which I have heard from the Lord of Hosts."' The visions of Enoch and their explanations by the angel concern the struggle between the Byzantine and Arab empires. A period of ninety-six years, counted from Hegira, when 'the children of Ishmael' are predominant, finishes with the decisive victory of a Roman king, a clear allusion to the

2 PL 83, 132-3.
defeat of the Arabs in 718. Then follows the description of three emperors of the Syrian Dynasty: Leo III (717–41), Constantine V Copronymus (741–75; 'he shall rule thirty-three years'; during his reign came the abandonment of Damascus, caused by the fall of Umayyads in 750), and Leo IV, the Chazar, son of Constantine and of Irene daughter of the Khagan of the Chazars (775–80; 'a king of low birth shall arise, whose name is Hertzik'). Shortly after the death of Leo IV, we are told, will begin the apocalyptical dominion of the Rebel, which will last 1,265 years; he will be overthrown by a pious king of Rome, and the Kingdom of God will set in for eternity.

The composition of *The Vision of Enoch* is thus to be assigned to the eighties of the eighth century. It was written in Greek (rather than in Syriac or in Arabic) by a Christian living probably in Syria under Muslim domination. A similar writing, and nearly contemporary, was translated from Greek into Arabic; it is the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (told to his disciple Esdras!) preserved in Paris.¹

There existed in Medieval Latin (and in a German translation from the Latin) a hermetic treatise on astrological botany, dealing with the fifteen plants, stones, and talismans, linked with the fifteen fixed stars. This work appears under the name of Mâšallâh, an eighth-century Arab astrologer. A summary of this short treatise attributed to Hermes (*Dixit Hermes . . .*) bears the title of book of Enoch:² 'Enoch tamquam unus ex prophetis super res quattuor librum edidit in quo voluit determinare ista quattuor, videlicet de quindecim stellis, de quindecim herbis, de quindecim lapidibus pretiosis et quindecim figuris ipsis lapidibus insculpendis, ideoque quia non moritur qui vivificat scientiam. Dixit Enoch quod quindecim stellae . . . Quinta decima stella et ultima libri Enoch est Cauda Capricorni et est in secundo gradu Aquarii . . .'

For many Muslims Hermes was an authentic antediluvian prophet, whom they identified at one and the same time with 'Idris (Koran xix. 57–8 (his ascension) and xxi. 85–6) and with 'Uḥnûḥ, the Enoch of Genesis, generally called raḥî 'allâh, 'carried off by God'. A number of sapiential maxims, astrological and alchemistic writings are attributed to 'Idris, including treatises on geomancy.³

A curious reference by a tenth-century Arabic chronographer to the literary activity of Enoch—Idris deserves to be quoted in extenso. After mentioning the assumption of Enoch to Paradise, Agapius (Mahbub), son of Constantine of Membij (Hierapolis), writes in his Kitab al-Unwan: 'Henoch ('Umnah) est le même que Idris. Certains savants affirment aussi qu'Hénoch, qui est Idris, fit connaître, expliqua et enseigna l'écriture, les lettres, les étoiles (l'astronomie) et le calcul. Manéthon, savant d'Égypte et astronome, affirme que Dieu éleva Hénoch jusqu'à la sphère tournante et lui fit connaître les signes du Zodiaque, qui s'y trouvent, les étoiles fixes et errantes, les horoscopes, les termes de l'influence des astres, les décades des degrés, les constellations qui s'y trouvent, et d'autres mystères d'astrologie. C'est pourquoi on dit que son livre des étoiles s'appelle livre du sens caché (kt'bh fy 'lngwm ysm kt'b 'lm'ny). Tous les Harraniens, qui adorent les idoles et les étoiles, s'en tiennent à l'avis de Manéthon l'Égyptien.'

A work entitled Disciplina clericalis and composed by Rabbi Moses Sefardi (1062-1110, converted to Christianity in 1106 under the name Peter Alphonsus) contains proverbs, allegories, and fables adapted from the Arabic. A Hebrew paraphrase from the beginning of this document (which contains advice on friendship and on the cult of God, with stories of the old man who had only half a friend, and of two incomparable friends) appears under the title 'Book of Enoch', in a compilation by R. Nasim Schomen.

On a late Ethiopic work entitled Another Discourse on the Birth of Enoch see below, pp. 258.

Christian visionaries who travelled in the other world inevitably met in paradise the two people who had been carried off to heaven, Enoch and Elijah. Thus in the Apocalypse of Paul, written towards the end of the fourth century, the apostle, guided by an angel, enters the doorway of paradise, situated in the third heaven, and meets first an old man whom the angel introduces to him: 'this is Enoch, the scribe of Justice' (Ewtx nerael-matec el tekrtegyn), then Elijah, and after this other saints.

During his visit to the paradise of Adam, Paul meets the Virgin Mary, the patriarchs, Moses, twelve prophets, Lot, Job, Noah, Elijah, and Elisha; at least, he does so according to the Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts, which end with the speech of Elijah, but the Coptic text replaces Elisha with Enoch and ends the procession of the saints in paradise with Zacharias, John the Baptist, Abel, and Adam (James, p. 554). According to the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* an angel meets Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah, and David in paradise (James, p. 540 n.). In the *Descent into Hell*, added to the *Gospel of Nicodemus (Acta Pilati)* no earlier than the fifth century, Christ descends to hell and frees Adam and other saints; upon entering paradise they meet Enoch, Elijah, and the good thief: ‘And there met with them two men, ancients of days, and when they were asked of the saints: “Who are ye that have not yet been dead in hell with us and are set in paradise in the body ?”’, then one of them answering said (James, p. 140; Latin recension A, chapter IX): “I am Enoch which was translated hither by the word of the Lord, and this that is with me is Elias the Thesbite who was taken up in a chariot of fire; and up to this day we have not tasted death, but we are received unto the coming of Antichrist to fight against him with signs and wonders of God, and to be slain of him in Jerusalem, and after three days and a half to be taken up again alive on the clouds.’

A Latin work, now lost, on Enoch and Elijah’s stay in the terrestrial paradise, is summarized in verse by Godfrey of Viterbo (d. 1191) in his *Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri, qui Chronici appellantur, xx.* He claims to have found this ‘History of Enoch and Elijah’ in a book of Acts of the apostles preserved in *ecclesia Sancti Matthaei, ultra Britanniam in finibus terrae*, probably the Pointe-de-Saint-Matthieu in Finistère, also called Saint-Mahé and Saint-Matthieu-de-Fin-des-Terres, an abbey founded in 1157 on the site of an oratory where the head of the evangelist, carried from Ethiopia by seafarers from Léon, was supposed to have been laid. This account is connected with the mythical journeys to the West, a favourite theme of ancient Celtic literature, the most famous of which is *Navigatio Brandani*; in these stories Enoch and Elijah are mentioned occasionally. Here is a summary of it:

A hundred or so monks of Saint-Matthew undertake, under the direction of two priests, a journey in the Western Sea; on the high seas, two statues of
women point out to them the route to be followed. They arrive at a region with a mountain of gold; in a church containing a statue of the Virgin Mary with Child, situated in a city of gold, they find only two old men who lodge in two narrow rooms of the cloister:

Surgentes pariter verba dedere senes.
Rex noster Deus est, coeli terraeque creator.
Cherubin et Seraphin custodibus urbs habitatur,
Angelici cives moenia nostra tenent.
Cantibus angelicis solennia nostra reguntur,
Corpora nostra cibo coelesti, semper aluntur.

The old men, who are present at the Mass celebrated by two priests,

Elias et Enoch, fuerant illi seniores,
Sicut et ambo simil, proprio testantur arbore,
Ad quos et nautae verba beata movent.
Vidimus scriptis, quoniam pro nomine Christi,
Vos hostes antichristi fieri statuistis,
Ipssequ vos perimet, sed corpora non tumulabit,
Christus eum post haec, propria virtute necabit,
Dicite quando fit hoc?

Enoch confesses his ignorance of the date fixed by God for the Last Judgement, and Elijah advises them to return home, which they do; the journey which seemed to them to last three years had lasted three hundred.

The theme of the return of Enoch and Elijah at the end of time, of their struggle with the Antichrist, of their death and their resurrection after three (and a half) days was extremely popular in all the Christian churches from the second century (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian) until the beginning of the modern era. This belief explains, for instance, the commemoration of Enoch on the Tuesday after Easter by the Jacobite Syrians.\(^1\)

It would be easy to collect evidence on the eschatological role of Enoch and Elijah. This is the belief of the universal Church, affirms the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*:\(^2\) \(\omega \tau \sigma \tau \circ \) (sc. Enoch) \(\varepsilon \sigma \tau \nu \) \(\delta \) \(\alpha \mu \alpha \) \(\tau \acute{\omega} \) \(\Hl \lambda \alpha \) \(\varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \sigma \chi \acute{\alpha} \tau \alpha \iota \aleph\)

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\(^1\) Numerous texts were collected by W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, 1895, pp. 134–9 ('Henoch und Elias') and p. 180. We agree with him that, although connected by ecclesiastical writers with the reference to two witnesses in chapter 11 of the Revelation of John, our theme goes beyond it and differs from it; 'eine Lösung des Rätselfs' is still awaited.

\(^2\) Ed. G. Dindorf, i (1832), 36, 5–7.
THE MIDDLE AGES

In the Oracle of the Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek we find the following passage:2 'And then there will appear two men who did not come to know the experience of death, Enoch and Elijah, and they will wage war upon the ruler of perdition. And he will say: "My time has come", and he will be angered and slay them. And then he who was crucified on the wood of the cross will come from the heavens, like a great and flashing star, and he will resurrect those two men. And he who was hung on the cross will wage war upon the son of perdition and will slay him and all his host.'

Freely adapted, this passage occurs in many versions of this Oracle. Thus in Latin:3 'Regnante autem eo egredientur duo clarissimi viri Helias et Enoch ad annuntiandum Domini adventum et Antichristus occidet eos, et post dies tres a Domino resuscitabuntur.' Both Enoch and Elijah appear anonymously in several Arabic and Ethiopic paraphrases of the same Tiburtine Sibyl.4 One reads, for example, in the Arabic I Version, no. 180: 'Da wird Gott zu ihm (Antichrist) zwei Männer senden, die früher lebendig in den Himmel versetzt worden waren; und sie werden ihn ausschelten und ihn vor allen Leuten für einen Lügner erklären und zu ihm sagen: "Nicht bist du der Messias und nicht bist du ein Gott" ', etc.

In the Arabic Apocalypse of Daniel (eighth century; cf. above, p. 117) one finds the following phrase:5 'Puis viendront Elie et Enoch; alors ils l’apostropheront en face et lutteront contre lui. Leur sang sera répandu par lui.' In the Coptic Apocalypse of Daniel, composed shortly after 1187, we read:6 'Puis apparaîtra l’Antichrist qui en abusera plusieurs. Lorsqu’il sera fortifié, il séduira même les élus. Il fera périr les deux prophètes Enoch et Elie, de sorte que pendant trois jours et demi ils seront morts dans les places publiques de la grande ville de Jérusalem.'

1 V. 82. Ed. W. Wolska-Conus, SC 159 (1970) 125 (ibid. on miniatures of Enoch in Cosmas' manuscripts, which influenced the iconography of Octateuch, discussed above, p. 21).
2 P. J. Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek, p. 29 and p. 22 (Greek text).
3 Ed. E. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen, 1898, p. 186.
5 F. Macler, RHR, 1904, pp. 27 (translation) and 41 (text, 66) of an offprint.
In a fragmentary Coptic apocalyptic Gospel, the Antichrist and his followers are thrown into chains of fire; then there appears the Great Devil who takes up his abode at Chorozain and at Bethsaida and, presenting himself as a god, causes many people to go astray. Enoch pronounces a sermon of warning against him:¹ "Then Enoch shall say unto them in that day: "This is not God, believe not on him. But this is the Son of Iniquity (ánouμία); this is the Devil (διάβολος) who from the beginning hath led man astray from life. Lo, in the land of Inheritance (κληρονομία) shall the Christ do judgement . . ."; the continuation is missing.

In a late Ethiopic book the phrase of 4 Esd. 11:2: 'and the clouds gather upon it (sc. the eagle)' is applied to Enoch and Elijah confronting the Anti­christ born of an Arab woman.²

In the MS. Vat. Reg. 2077 (sixth to seventh century) containing the Epitoma Chronicon of Prosper of Aquitaine there is an account 'de duobus testibus: dicitur venire Enoch et Helia praedicaturi adventum domini et diem iudicii mensibus XLII . . . ut tribus et semis annis per eundem Heliam dei notitia confirmetur, de qua dicit (quotations from Dan. 9: 27 and Matt. 24: 15).³

A Carolingian poem on the last days, entitled (in one manuscript) de Enoch et Heliae,⁴ contains these lines:

Apparebunt ante summum saeculorum iudicem.
Enoch magnus et Helias • quondam raptus in polum, Inminente die iudicii.

Qui docendo corda patrum, convertunt in filios.
inbuunt et insideles • iustorum prudentia, Inminente die iudicii.

Qui tres annos sexque menses, dum doctrinae serviunt,
atque multos ad perenne caeli regnum convocant. Inminente

Tum repente serpens ater, iam peccati filius.
orbe toto virulentus, frendens saevit dentibus. Inminente

Et Christum bello superbo, antichristus appetens.
contra recte structa prauus• dissipare nititur. Inminente

Tantos (tanto Par.) inprimis prophetas, Christi plebes (plebe Par.) ac duces.
sternt ene plurimique Christi fiunt martyres. Inminente . . .

² Ed. J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, _Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre_, PO i, 1 (1907), 84.
³ Th. Mommsen, _MGH auct. ant. ix_ (1892), 493.
⁴ Two manuscripts are preserved: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 16668 (ninth century), ff. 21v–22v (checked by me), and Brussels MS. 8860–7 (beginning of the tenth century), ff. 18v–20v. See K. Strecker, _MGH Poetae_, iv. 2 (1923), 491–5, nr. XIII; cf. E. Dümmler, _Rythmorum ecclesiasticorum aevi Carolini specimen_, 1881, pp. 9–12, nr. VI (only from the Brussels MS.).
A rich iconography on the apocalyptic role of Enoch and Elijah is to be found in manuscripts of the Commentary on the Revelation of St. John compiled by Beatus of Liebana at the end of the eighth century. Chapter eleven of the Revelation is usually illustrated by three miniatures: the two witnesses (Rev. 11: 3–8), Antichrist kills the two witnesses (Rev. 11: 7–10), the ascension of the two witnesses to heaven (Rev. 11: 11–14). In some manuscripts the image of the killing bears the legend: Antichristus Heliam et Henoc occidit. This iconographic tradition is quite independent of the text of Beatus, who does not mention Enoch, but Elijah and Jeremiah, and denies their resurrection after three days and a half. In only a few manuscripts do the illuminations follow the text and call the two witnesses Elias et Jheremias.

Occasionally along with Enoch and Elijah as adversaries of the Antichrist there appear John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Jeremiah, or else one or two women, Tabitha in the Apocalypse of Elijah, Sibyl and Tabitha in the Arabic History of Joseph the carpenter.

Enoch and Elijah appear, finally, in mystic experiences of Christian Saints. In the ‘Life’ of a French female recluse of the twelfth century, whose visions were written down from 1180 to 1184 by a Cistercian priest, she tells, among other things, of a Vision she had one Christmas Eve: she contemplated the Trinity, the Virgin Mary with Child and then ‘statimque de coelo descenderunt ad terram duo antiqui senes veneranda candidati prophetais similes, erantque quasi ad bellum praeparati’. The Antichrist kills them; ‘quos ad coelum de coelo columbae descendentes nive candidiores detulerunt’. The Adversary pursues them up to Heaven, but God precipitates him into Hell. Another time, ‘vidit puella duos antiquissimos senes, prolixa barba, veneranda canitie candidatos, super tenuissimam nubem ad se per aera venientes, et ostendentes ei amoenissimum fontem liquidissimis manantem aquis, nitidissimas habentem arenas, de quo egrediebantur quattuor maxima flumina per quattuor partes hinc et inde distinctis alveis fluentia. Admonebant puellam senes illi grandaevi, ut ad fontem illum accederet, et in aquis illius se lavaret.’ To her inquiries Enoch et Elijah, who ‘angelis...
Dei viderentur esse consimiles', replied: 'Multum transiit temporis ex quo nati sumus, et numquam mortem subivimus, nec morte propria moriemur, sed alieno gladio occisi erimus, et sic occumbemus.'

An Abyssinian ascetic woman of the fifteenth century, whose 'Life' was composed a few decades after her death by Philipppos, a monk of the convent of Dabra Libânos, used to make ecstatic voyages to Abodes of Saints:

'E la madre nostra Krestos Samra alcune volte andava alla Terra dei Beati e si tratteneva con loro a conversare per sette giorni. Dopo sette giorni tornava in fretta alla sua dimora. Altre volte andava alla Terra dei Viventi dove sono Enoc ed Elia e conversava con loro, ritornando poi celeramente alla sua dimora. Così visse per molti anni.' Then she began new ascetic practices: ten years in a pit, nailed to a pole; three years standing in an icy lake, etc.

In the doctrines of various sects the person of Enoch plays an important role, either negative or positive. Here is a passage of the Bogomil document *Altercatio Johannis* (James, p. 190): 'And I asked the Lord and said: "What shall be in that time?". And he said to me: "From the time when the devil fell from the glory of the Father and lost his own glory, he sat upon the clouds, and sent his ministers, even angels flaming with fire, unto men from Adam, even unto Henoch his servant. And he raised up Henoch upon the firmament and showed him his godhead, and commanded pen and ink to be given him; and he sat down and wrote threescore and seven books. And he commanded that he should take them to the earth and deliver them unto his sons. And Henoch let his books down upon the earth and delivered them unto his sons, and began to teach them to perform the custom of sacrifice, and unrighteous mysteries, and so did he hide the kingdom of heaven from men."'

According to the secret doctrines of the Druses, 'Uḥnūḥ is a passive feminine principle, identified moreover with Eve, 'Idris, and Hermes, and in addition with the second emanation called Nafs and Ḫuyya (pieces XII and XXXII of the Druse Canon).

The figure of Enoch is equally popular among the Falasha, the Abyssinian Jews, who, however, accept the Old Testament canon of the Ethiopic Christians, in which the Book of Enoch is included.

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ENOCH IN CABBALISTIC LITERATURE

The Hebrew Enoch or 3 Enoch are the conventional titles given to a cabblistic compilation, written in Mishnaic Hebrew, the most complete text of which is preserved in a Bodleian manuscript under the title: ספר חוץ 'Book of Enoch by R. Ishma'el (ben Elisha'), the high priest'. It is not at all certain that this manuscript is a reproduction of an earlier archetype; all that one can say is that at the beginning of the sixteenth century a German Jewish copyist gave the title 'Book of Enoch' to a heterogeneous compilation. Various elements of this compilation appear in other manuscripts and editions, where they have various titles, e.g. 'Teachings (מרית) of R. Ishma'el' or 'Ascension of Metatron' and 'Names of Metatron'; other parts are found in the 'Book of the heavenly palaces (ספר מעלה) of Tanna R. Ishma'el the high priest' and in the 'Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba'.

The contents of MS. Oppenheim 556 are as follows:

1. Introduction (chapters 1–2).
2. Enoch–Metatron piece (chapters 3–16), together with a fragment of the Ascension of Moses (chapter 15b).
3. Angelological section (chapters 17–22a and 25–28. 6), in which three angelological systems are distinguished.
4. Section on the Judgement (chapters 28. 7–33. 2).
6. Section on Merkabah, 'divine chariot', and on the heavenly regions (chapters 22b and 23, 24, 33. 3–5, 34, 37).
7. Section on Metatron who shows the secrets of the heavens to R. Ishma'el: mystic or cosmic 'letters' (chapter 41); polar opposites kept in balance by divine Names (chapter 42); the Pargod of the Throne on which are represented all the events of the past, present, and future (chapter 45); constellations and planets (chapter 46);

1 Bodl. MS. Oppenheim 556, ff. 314f, 1–333f, 7, copied in German Hebraic cursive by Yišaḳ יישצ in 1511 (the first part of this manuscript, ff. 306f–307f, was finished on 2 Elul 5271 = 1511). Edited by H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch, Cambridge 1928, with introduction (pp. i–x and 1–192), text and critical apparatus (pp. ייע–מ), translation and commentary (pp. i–179). This very careful edition supersedes A. Jellinek's edition, Bet Midrash, v (1873), 170–90 (chapters 1–15, 23–48a), which reproduces a rather poor text.

2 Bodl. MS. Michael 175, ff. 18f, 1–25f, 8 (chapters 3–24 of Odeberg's edition and other texts).

the spirits of the unborn children and the deceased, and also the spirits and the souls of the punished angels (chapters 43, 44, 47); apocalyptic matters (chapters 44, 7–10, 45, 5, 48A).

8. Section on divine Names (chapter 48b).


10. The names of Meṣṭaṭrôn, the transmission of the secrets to Moses, the protest of the angels, the chain of tradition.

After a long discussion Odeberg reaches the conclusion that the compilation of the main part of the work, namely chapters 3–48A, goes back to the second half of the third century A.D. If he concedes that this writing scarcely constitutes a ‘homogeneous unity or a work by a definite author in the modern sense of the word’, this simply provides an opportunity for him to suggest that certain ‘layers’ of this work, in particular chapters 3–15 concerning Enoch–Meṣṭaṭrôn, might have been composed in the second century or even, in part, towards the end of the first century (pp. 23–43 and 188). While one must admire Odeberg’s scholarly erudition in the immense field of Jewish mystical literature, we shall find it easy to prove that he is mistaken in his dating of the ‘Hebrew Book of Enoch’ by at the very least a thousand years. Hardly less inexact is the dating to the sixth century put forward by some Jewish scholars.

The main argument results from our dating of the Slavonic Enoch, the Book of the Secrets. Odeberg, who realizes that the date of the short recension of the Slavonic Enoch is earlier than that of the long recension, proves beyond doubt, through a detailed comparison of themes and formulas, that the text of the Slavonic Enoch was known to the authors of the Hebrew Enoch (pp. 52–63). However, he accepts the dating of the original of the Slavonic Enoch to the first century A.D., the dating of Charles and other scholars, qualifying this by the addition ‘that there was originally a Jewish writing, belonging to the Enoch Literature and embodied in the present 2 Enoch, and that this Jewish Book of Enoch was well known to the circle from which 3 Enoch has emanated’ (p. 63). Our dating of the Greek original of the Slavonic Enoch (‘2 Enoch’) to the ninth if not the tenth century (see above, pp. 110–12) constitutes the terminus post quem of the writings incorporated in the Hebrew Enoch. Besides, it is well known that Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages easily read and translated works of Greek and Latin Christian literature (e.g. chronicles and biblical apocrypha) and of Arabic Muslim literature. Accordingly, Odeberg’s assertion of ‘the impossibility of conceiving any
direct dependence of *3 Enoch* upon a non-Jewish writing, to the extent obtaining here’ (p. 63) is certainly gratuitous and contrary to the established facts. Furthermore, it seems to me highly likely that the Book of the Secrets of Enoch could have been carried as far as Germany and France by learned Jewish merchants in its Slavonic version—and not in the original Greek text (which was not widely circulated)—from the towns of Ruthenia, particularly Kiev (or from other Cyrillo-Methodian centres in Poland or Bohemia or even in the Balkans).

Moreover, recent research into the origins of the Cabbala in Western Europe, in particular the work of G. G. Scholem, definitely excludes a date earlier than the twelfth century for the greater part of the theological and mystical theories contained in the Hebrew Enoch. Thus it was between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries that the majority of the cabbalistic texts found in MS. Bodl. Opp. 556 were elaborated, put down in writing, and gradually collected together. The text, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the title ‘Book of Enoch’ was only one element in this collection, which itself formed part of a bigger compilation known by the name of *Ma’asê Merkabah* or by other names again, which contained *Hékalôt, Si’îr Qômâ*, Revelations of Moses, etc.

The dating of Talmudic, Midrashic, and cabbalistic elements belonging to larger collections is a very delicate task, in which subjective preconceptions are liable to mislead if it is based only on arguments of internal literary and ideological criticism; one can easily be out by several centuries, if not by a thousand years or more. Therefore, in order to date any ideas or literary works, in terms of relative or absolute chronology, one must, if possible, look for criteria external to this literature itself. We are in the privileged position of being able to do this where theories about the angel *Meṭṭatôn* are concerned. According to the writings incorporated into the Hebrew Enoch *Meṭṭatôn* is an almost divine being, an intermediary between God and creation, and he is identified with the patriarch Enoch who was lifted up to heaven.

This identification already appears in the Targum of Jonathan (Gen. 5: 24):1

> וַיִּתֵּן מִלְחָנָם בְּכָתַֽשָּׁא קָהָמִי יִהְיוּ לְיִתְהוּ עַמְּ דיִרְיָי אַרְעָא אָרָם אַהֲנַנֵי וֹסֵלָל לְרָקִיעָא בֵּי־מֵמָר קָהָמִי יִהְיוּ קָרָא שֵׁמֶיהָ מִיִּמְשַׁרָא סְפָרָא רַבָּא

> And Enoch served in the truth before the Lord; and behold, he was not with the sojourners of the earth; for he was withdrawn, and he ascended to the firmament by the Word before the Lord, and his name was called

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1 Ed. Ginsburger, p. 11.
INTRODUCTION

Mešatron the Great Scribe.' But the second part of this passage is certainly, in my opinion, a very late addition, as it does not appear in other Palestinian Targums.²

Now the concept of Mešatron-Enoch as a single heavenly being is not attested by the magical texts from Mesopotamia written in Judaeo-Babylonic Aramaic, which date, I think, from the seventh to eighth centuries or even from the ninth century. Odeberg does not mention them, though at the time of his edition two good examples were known. I give all the passages from the magical bowls relating to Mešatron which are known at the present time:

I. ‘I adjure you by holy angels and in the name of Mešatron, the angel of . . . , -dri’el and Nûri’el and -i’el and Sasgabi’el and Hafki’el and M’hafki’el: these are the seven angels that go and turn around heavens and earth and stars and constellations and moon and sea.’³

For the enigmatic term see below, p. 133.—Name of the second angel: Wohlstein, ḫeiṭal Stüb; name of the fourth angel: ḫaṭiral St.—Rejet the correction of the spelling of the fourth angel (line 35 of this text) to ḫafirîl, suggested by St.

II. ‘Blessed art thou, Yahweh, on account of the Name; in thy name, thou whose name is Sangi’el, Yahweh, Yave(?), Hermes Metarôn Yah.’⁴

¹ Cf. the translation of J. W. Etheridge, 1862 [1968], p. 175.
² Thus we read only in the MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Heb. 110, f. 1⁷, 27.
⁴ A. Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Univ. of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, iii), 1913, pp. 207–8 no. 25 (CBS 16009) and pl. XXIV.
This passage has been rather badly read and wrongly interpreted by Montgomery:

[Hebrew text with annotations]

The name of the angel is probably formed from the adjective saggoth ('numerous'), or else from the verb in the Pael sagga, thus referring to the numerous names of God. Alternatively, there might be an alteration of the Greek συνεπόσ to be read as מִבְּלָא; Metatron is the מֵלֶא of men according to Echa Rabba, Intr. 24.

by the word of “God who is zealous and revengeful (Nahum 1: 2)”, who sent ‘Azà and ‘Aza’el and Metatron the great prince of His throne.'

In the name of the holy heavens and in the name of Metatron the great prince of the whole world and in the name of Raphael the prince of all healings.'

At the beginning, Gordon reads and translates: ‘In His name! In His holy name!’

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2 Gordon, Archiv Or. ix (1937), 93-5, no. 1 and pl. VIII–IX (Nat. Mus. in Washington No. 207963); = Rossell, pp. 91-2 no. 16.
'Ye are bound and sealed by the name of Metatron the great prince who is in charge over all the chiefs of the Service, and by the name of Yeḥî’el the great prince, who is keeping at distance... by His name by the Reed Sea.'

In lines 11–13 Gordon reads: דָּוָהָ פֶּלֶךְ עֹלָל טַל... אֵיסַר אֲרַבָּה... רָחֵךְ בָּשֵׂפָהּ עָלֶיה יְמָא דָּשְׁקְ... I did not see clearly his דָּשְׁקְ.

The role of Metatron in the popular beliefs of Babylonian Jews was thus very elevated. He is the archangel, ‘the great prince’ par excellence: ‘the great prince of the throne of God’ (III), ‘the great prince who presides over all the chiefs of the Service’ (V), ‘the great prince of the whole world’ (IV), ‘the great prince who is called the great healer of mercy’ (VI). This title corresponds to the name ‘the prince of the presence’, שֶׁר הָוִינִים, which Metatron has in Tanhumâ, parasha wa’ethanan 6, and is found again unaltered as שֶׁר or else ‘the great prince who is above all the princes’ in medieval mystical and apocalyptical writings, in particular in Si’ur Qômâ.

Metatron appears, in text I, in his role as the chief of the seven archangels who preside over heaven and earth; as a great healer he is linked with Raphael who, by his name (rafa’ ‘to heal’), is the prince of all healings (IV). These archangels participate in an outstanding degree in the essential power of God who is ‘the master of healings’. This aspect of the activity of God and the angels, rather neglected in Jewish medieval theories, is linked with the great fashion for healing gods during the period of the Later Roman Empire, followed by the popularity of healing saints in the Byzantine period.

The special connection of Metatron with the divine throne (III) recalls the idea described in Hag. 15a, where Metatron is the heavenly scribe ‘who

1 My reading on the original, the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1932.620, fourth quadrant; cf. Gordon, Orientalia, x (1941), 280.

2 Gordon, Orientalia, xx (1951), 306–9, and facs. at pp. 312–13 (private collection in Teheran); = Rossell, pp. 78–9 no. 3.
had permission to sit when he was recording the merits of Israel’; later Mešatron, and he alone, from among the inhabitants of heaven, will occupy the second celestial throne. According to the same passage (our No. III), 'Azâ, 'Aza’el, and Mešatron are the special envoys of God. We know that 'Aza’el (often duplicated as usrš, usrš, usrš, usrš, usrš), plays an ambivalent role in theological and magical ideas. He is at one time one of the two chiefs of the fallen angels and the main instructor in wicked arts and sciences, at another time one of the good archangels of God.

The most elaborate angelological speculation is reflected in our No. II (Montgomery, op. cit., no. 25): the names of the angels are equivalent to the names of God, in particular Yôfi’el and Mešatron. These two angels are found in the Jerusalem Targum (Deut. 34: 6), where the four ‘masters of wisdom’, Mešatron, Yôfi’el, 'Úri’el, and Yôfipp ‘yah, take charge of the soul of Moses on his death. According to Sanh. 38b Mešatron is identified with the Angel of Yahweh mentioned in Exod. 23: 20 ff.; he even bears the divine name of Yahweh, and it is he who is the Yahweh of Exod. 24: 1. According to II above it is the Greek god Hermes, divine messenger par excellence, who is identified with Mešatron and with Yah: Hermes Місчcр. This phrase lends itself to an alternative translation in which the name of mēṣatron would be an appellative, and not a proper name: ‘Hermes (who is) mēṣatron of God.’

This brings us back to the problem of the etymology of this term. Odeberg discusses a dozen and more derivations of it, declaring himself to be in favour of μετά—θρόνος. This etymology, however, is definitely to be rejected, since it in no way satisfies the rules of transcription (θ, θ); moreover, it involves the invention of a Greek compound substantive, μετάθρονος, which never existed and scarcely could exist. The only acceptable etymology from the linguistic point of view is that already well known by the medieval Cabbalists themselves and adopted by several modern scholars: מְטַארוֹן is a Hebrew derivative, with the elative -ון, from the Latin metator through the Greek μητάτωρ, μυτάτωρ.

The Latin term metator in its original and classical use denotes the person

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1 Cf. an analogous role of Enoch, ‘the scribe of righteousness’, in Coptic literature; above, pp. 103-6.
who traces the boundaries of fields, the surveyor; it is also found with this meaning as a loan-word in Greek.¹ Later, in the administrative and military language of the Empire, metator comes to mean a quartermaster, who prepares the lodgings of an army on the march, or those of an important official, a prince, or the emperor on a journey.² In this sense the word lent itself to the metaphorical usage common in Christian Latin writers: ‘quartermaster; he who prepares the routes’ in Cyprian (Ep. 6. 4, speaking of a martyr already dead who prepares a place in heaven for his faithful followers); Christ is a precursor of this kind, and the womb of the Virgin is metatus metatoris Christi according to Peter Chrysologus (Sermo 91, PL 52, 457A); in a pejorative sense the heretics are metatores Antichristi, a phrase used by Cyprian, Gregorius of Elvira, and Arnobius the Younger.³

Exactly the same Christian semantic uses are found in the Coptic texts, where the word mitator comes naturally from Greek. In the Discourse on the Archangel Gabriel, attributed to Celestinus, archbishop of Rome, the functions of Gabriel are enumerated as follows: ‘And Gabriel is the faithful messenger who is equipped for service in the midst of the angel host, and it is he who bringeth glad tidings among the angels. And Gabriel is the παντός of God Almighty, and the steward (παντοκράτωρ) of the kingdom which is in the heavens.’⁴ John the Baptist ‘is the forerunner (μετάτωρ) of the Lord, of the King of kings, and he is the baptist of the aeons of light’.⁵ There is a similar example in the Coptic Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, where the Baptist is called μητέρα or μητέρα, is found in Gen. Rabba 5, 2.⁷

The derivation of the name of the angel מִיתָר from the Latin–Greek substantive metator–μετάτωρ is confirmed by the explanation which I put forward for an enigmatic epithet for Hermes and Metatron in the Judaeo-Babylonian magical texts. In Montgomery⁸ 2, 2 (= Rossell¹⁹ 4) Hermes is

¹ In a papyrus (F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, ii, 111) and in literary texts (see, e.g., J. L. Lydus, De magistratibus populi Romani, ed. R. Wünsch, 1903, 3, 70).
² e.g. Ambrosius, Hexaemeron v 10; in Greek: Glossae Basilic. lvii 12 and Suidas s.v.
³ See A. Blaise, Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens, 1954, p. 529.
⁵ C. D. G. Müller, Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel, CSCO 225/ Copt. 31, 1962, p. 72 (text), and 226/32, p. 88 (German translation); cf. id., Die Engellehre, p. 140, No. 18; Coptic μετάτωρ = Arabic rasīl, ‘messenger’.
⁶ E. Revillout, PO ix, 2 (1913), 136 [162].
⁷ Cf. Odeberg, loc. cit., p. 94.
ENoch in CabBaalistic Literature

The term metator-μυτάτωρ could scarcely have been taken over from Greek into Mishnaic Hebrew and Judaeo-Aramaic before the Byzantine period; for it was mainly in the fifth to sixth centuries that Latin borrowings, called אֲרָמֵסָא דִבְּאָא מַמָּלַלָא. The same phrase occurs in Montgomery 27, 5 אֲרָמֵסָא דִבְּאָא מַמָּלַלָא and in Gordon, Orientalia, x (1941), 273, no. 11, 3 (= Rossell 26) and pl. II: אֲרָמֵסָא דִבְּאָא מַמָּלַלָא.\(^1\) Now, the first epithet can be applied equally well to Meτατρόν: מֵימַטַרְתִּית מַלוֹאָה דָּבְּרָה (No. I above). The expression is neither the name of an angel (Stübe), nor 'der da weilet bei...' (Wohlstein), nor 'who-is-in-Yah' (Montgomery), but the relative pronoun דַּּי plus the substantive כֵּי or הָיְהָה, which is the Latin borrowing via, well attested in Judaeo-Aramaic texts. Meτατרōn is thus nuntius viae, מַלוֹאָה דָּבְּרָה, and Hermes 'he who (prepares) the way and announces (the coming of a Great Lord)'.

The second epithet, the substantive mall'ład or Pael participle m'tmall'lad, 'he who speaks, announces, acts as intermediary and intercessor (spokesman)', occurs in Montgomery 19, 7 (= Rossell 29) and pl. XX: ובּוֹשָׁמָא מָרַי מַלָּיַא מַמָּלַלָא (מַרְכַּאֹל) דְּאֲרָמֵסָא (בּוֹשָׁמָא Mo.) ובּוֹשָׁמָא מָרַי מַלָּיַא מַמָּלַלָא (מַרְכַּאֹל) דְּאֲרָמֵסָא (בּוֹשָׁמָא Mo.), 'and in the name of the Angelos and in the name of the Lord who speaks (and) repays, (the Lord) Hermes, and in the name of the Presence and of the Youth'. The last two names recall the Talmudic designations of Meτατרōn: 'Angel/Prince of the Presence' and 'Youth', מַלָּיַא מַמָּלַלָא, 'Abode of the Youth', and in the phrase מַלָּיַא מַמָּלַלָא מַם (פַּתִּים), 'Abode of the Youth'), the latter in Num. Rabba 12, 15. Just as Meτατרōn is linked with 'Azâ and 'Aza'el, so Hermes appears in the company of 'Asa'el-Asî'el (or 'Asû'el) in Montgomery 7, 8 (= Rossell 22) and in the parallel text published by D. W. Myhrman.\(^2\)

On the other hand, the same Judaeo-Babylonian incantation bowls present the figure of Enoch as a purely human person. He is a famous doctor, founder of the 'School of Enoch', and a redoubtable magician who pronounced terrible curses, shortly before the flood, against his contemporaries ('his wicked brothers'), against the wicked angels, and against Mount Hermon.\(^3\)

The evidence which has just been discussed allows us to establish a certain chronological sequence, relative and absolute, in the beliefs relating to Meτατרōn:

1. The term metator-μυτάτωρ could scarcely have been taken over from Greek into Mishnaic Hebrew and Judaeo-Aramaic before the Byzantine period; for it was mainly in the fifth to sixth centuries that Latin borrowings,\(^1\) Gordon; for this orthography אֲרָמֵסָא דִבְּאָא מַמָּלַלָא.\(^2\) Hilprecht Anniversary Vol., 1909, pp. 342-51 (omission of אֲרָמֵסָא and orthography מַמָּלַלָא): בּוֹשָׁמָא מַלוֹאָה דָּבְּרָה מַרְכַּאֹל מַמָּלַלָא מַם.\(^3\) See below, pp. 335-8.
especially for administrative and military terminology, entered the spoken and written Greek languages en bloc.

2. At the same period, but even more so in early Arab times, hermetic doctrines flourished.

3. The role of Meṭaṭron in the magical Jewish texts dating from the seventh to eighth centuries is more important than his role in the Talmudic and Midrashic passages (where the discussions of the rabbis who wished to minimize the functions of Meṭaṭron are also related), but it is less important than his role in cabbalistic theories, ‘3 Enoch’ included.

4. The magical texts identify Meṭaṭron with Hermes, but are unaware of the equation Meṭaṭron–Enoch.

5. As the equation Hermes–‘Uḥnûḥ (‘Idris) is current in Muslim mystical literature of the eighth to tenth centuries, it is from there, in all probability, that the identification Meṭaṭron–Enoch of the Targum of Jonathan, Gen. 5, 24, and of the mystical Jewish writings of the Middle Ages must come. Quite obviously there was no place there for hermetic doctrines.

6. Cabbalistic theories, including the figure of Meṭaṭron–Enoch in his role as lieutenant of God, do not appear in Western Europe until the twelfth century.

Besides MS. Bodl. Opp. 556, Enochic pseudepigrapha occur sometimes in Jewish medieval literature. Thus MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, ff. 45v and following, contains a ‘Book of Enoch’ that deals with the preparations which make possible communion with the great angel-princes, in particular with Yehô’el (which is simply one of the numerous names of Meṭaṭron). This magic writing is followed by Sefer ha-Yašar, at the beginning of which we find that Sefer ha-Yašar and a second book were given to Adam by the angel Galluşūr; the two books were transmitted to Seth and then to Enoch. The same tradition is found in Sefer Razi’el ha-mal’ak. According to Zohar i 55b and 58b one of these two books is ‘the book of Enoch’. The compilers of the magic materials of the Sefer ha-Yašar thus claimed Enochic authority for their own work which they allowed to be accepted as the Second Book of Enoch.

In the vast cabbalistic compilation known under the name of Zohar we find frequent references to the Book of Enoch, מָדוּר דָּוִד וּלְדוֹן. Certain of these quotations and allusions are encountered in the ‘Hebrew Enoch’;
others recall themes developed in the early Enochic writings (Aramaic, Greek, Ethiopic) or even in the Slavonic Enoch; others again seem to be unknown elsewhere.\(^1\)

The *Sefer ha-Yašar*, in the parashah *Berešit*, contains a short and rather meagre ‘Life of Enoch’, \(מִזְדָּמִן \)\(^2\).

The ‘Hebrew Book of Enoch’ and other cabbalistic works dealing with, among others, the person of Meṭaṭron–Enoch were read avidly by European Jews at the height of the Renaissance and on the threshold of the modern period. At that time there was a renewal of critical literary studies, as the curiosity of European scholars turned gradually towards a recognition of early Christian texts, and among them the Enochic writings. They were first recognized in the Greek extracts of Synkellos, then in the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch the prophet; next came the discoveries of the codices and fragments of Enoch in the sands of Egypt; and finally the samples of the Aramaic originals of the books of Enoch were recovered among the fragments of scrolls from Cave 4 at Qumrân.

\(^1\) See Odeberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS
AND NOTES
THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

FIRST COPY (4QEn*, Pls. I-V)

White or cream skin, blackened in places, very thick and very stiff; surface fairly smooth, partly damaged and flaking easily; verso similar to the recto, blotted with ink. Ink rather faint: it has often spread and blurred the lines of writing, or even disappeared.

There were probably no guide-lines, except perhaps the vertical lines which marked off the columns of the text.

The recto bears traces of wear, as a result of the scroll's having been read many times. It was withdrawn from use, perhaps a century after the copy was made, and the verso—at the very least the large piece containing columns ii and iii of group no. 1—was re-used for copying a genealogical list (תַּלְלֵי), as it seems, of the patriarchs. This might have been a school-exercise, as the surface of the verso is badly blotted with ink.

The fragments which have been identified belong to the first six columns of the text of the Aramaic Enoch, no doubt set out on two leaves of the scroll: first leaf, columns i–iv; second leaf, columns v–vi. The arrangement of the text is very economical: lines of writing fairly close together; the words in the lines almost without a gap; narrow upper and intercolumnar margins, approximately 1.2 cm broad; but the lower margin seems wider, approximately 3 cm (fragment 2). This scroll did not have a fly-leaf, i.e. a blank first column. Instead the first column of the text had only about fifteen lines of writing, and the upper half left blank, to allow the hand to hold it as the text was read, the use normally reserved for the first blank column. Here is the table of codicological details of 4QEn*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaf</th>
<th>Col.</th>
<th>Letters per line</th>
<th>Width of col.</th>
<th>Sections of text</th>
<th>Text preserved</th>
<th>Sigla of fragments</th>
<th>Fragments on plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 i</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>20 cm</td>
<td>En. 1: 1–2: 1</td>
<td>En. 1: 1–6</td>
<td>4QEn* 1 i 1–8</td>
<td>4QEn* 1 a, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2: 1–6: 4</td>
<td>2: 1–5: 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>ii 1–17</td>
<td>c, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6: 4–8: 2</td>
<td>6: 4–8: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>iii 1–23</td>
<td>c, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8: 3–10: 2</td>
<td>8: 3–9: 3, 6–8</td>
<td></td>
<td>iv 1–11, 19–22</td>
<td>f–k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 v</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10: 2–19</td>
<td>10: 3–4</td>
<td></td>
<td>v 1–5</td>
<td>l–n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10: 19–</td>
<td>10: 21–11: 1; 12: 4–6</td>
<td></td>
<td>vi 1–6, 14–17</td>
<td>o, p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fragments which have been identified belong to the first six columns of the text of the Aramaic Enoch, no doubt set out on two leaves of the scroll: first leaf, columns i–iv; second leaf, columns v–vi. The arrangement of the text is very economical: lines of writing fairly close together; the words in the lines almost without a gap; narrow upper and intercolumnar margins, approximately 1.2 cm broad; but the lower margin seems wider, approximately 3 cm (fragment 2). This scroll did not have a fly-leaf, i.e. a blank first column. Instead the first column of the text had only about fifteen lines of writing, and the upper half left blank, to allow the hand to hold it as the text was read, the use normally reserved for the first blank column. Here is the table of codicological details of 4QEn*:
There are about twenty-seven lines of text to each column. Estimated height of the scroll, approximately 23 cm.

The alphabet of 4QEn* is quite archaic and is connected with the semi-cursive scripts (‘semi-formal’) of the third and second centuries B.C. Our manuscript probably dates from the first half of the second century. However, it does not fit very well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the Aramaic scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia.

Note the use of a particular symbol to indicate a supralinear insertion, column iii, lines 13 and 21.

The orthography is of the popular type, mainly phonetic. Features relating to the consonantal system: (i) omission of Aleph or its replacement by Yod: מ"א ii 12; מ"א iii 21; מ"א ii 13; מ"א ii 14; מ"א iii 21 and מ"א iv 8; (2) Sin marked by Samekh: מ"א iv 7 and ii 15; מ"א ii 5 and iii 9–13, iii 9; מ"א iii 9; מ"א iii 9; מ"א iii 9; מ"א iii 10; (4) weakening of the ‘Ain: מ"א (corrected to מ"א) iii 10; (5) absence of assimilation: מ"א iii 10; (6) on מ"א iii 6, as also on a few cases of the retention of the primitive Sin, see the commentary to column iii, lines 5–12, notes (e), (l), and (o) to the table of the names of the angels. The final vowel -a of the emphatic singular and plural states is usually marked by ה: מ"א i 4; מ"א ii 5; מ"א ii 7; מ"א ii 8; מ"א ii 9; מ"א ii 10, etc. (rare exceptions: מ"א ii 3, מ"א ii 3, etc.); likewise, ה marks the -a of the infinitives, e.g. that of the Pa’el: מ"א iii 15, etc. The final -e on the other hand is marked by Aleph: מ"א iii 9; מ"א ii 2. The use of *matres lectionis* is very limited: מ"א iii 12; מ"א iii 21 (added above the line), מ"א ii 10; מ"א passim, etc.

So far as the grammar of 4QEn* is concerned, we should point out the hypothetical existence of the demonstrative ‘emphatic’ pronoun of the East-Aramaic type, מ"א i 4; elsewhere note the usual forms: מ"א iii 2; מ"א, and feminine מ"א iii 15; personal pronouns: מ"א i 4; מ"א ii 11; מ"א i 12; pronominal suffixes: מ"א ii 13; מ"א ii 3 and iv 8; מ"א (e.g., מ"א iii 2); מ"א and מ"א passim (once without ה: מ"א ii 1); relative pronoun: מ"א before nouns (ii 4 and 6, etc.), מ"א before the finite forms of verbs (iii 5 and 14, etc.); adverbial מ"א, מ"א, i 3, etc. The causative verbal

1 Compare the alphabets traced by Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 3 (4QEx*, mid third century); lines 6 and 7 (4QQoh* and a manuscript of liturgical prayers, 175–125 B.C.); p. 148, fig. 3, lines 1 and 2 (Nash papyrus, approximately 150 B.C., and ostracon Mur. 72, approximately 140 B.C.).
form is 'Aphel: Ṣaḥamāt iii 3 and 5; ṣadāq iv 6; imperfect of the causative: ṣā置换 iv 6; similarly, the initial Aleph is used in the reflexive forms with -t-: ḥeḥīmāt iv 8. The third person plural feminine of the perfect has the inflexional ending -a: ḥokhōm iii 16; the same person in the imperfect ends with -ān: ṣā置换 ii 15. Note that the preformative is already that of the masculine form y-i- and not ti-, while the Palmyrene keeps the form tiqt'ān: ḥakōm in an inscription dated June A.D. 73. For these forms in the Byzantine and Medieval Judaeo-Aramaic dialects, see Dalman's Grammar, pp. 255 and 266. The form of the perfect is attested once in the Genesis Apocryphon: ḥokōm 4QGenAp xxii 28.

So far as the vocabulary is concerned, note several expressions relating to magic and astrology in iv 1-4 and in particular the names of the fallen angels and of the archangels in iii 5-13 and [23] and iv 1-6; in addition, ḥakōm 'counsel, decision' iii 2, ḥokōm 'mysteries' iv 5.

4QEn* seems to have been made from a very old copy, dating from the third century at the very least; note in this connection the instances of strictly consonantal orthography, as ḥokōm in i 1, and also a confusion in the forms of letters: a Pe in the archetype has been read by error as a Yod, hence ḥokām instead of ḥokōm in ii 13. Elsewhere several orthographical and phonetic features have quite late characteristics, in particular ḥokām instead of ḥokōm; 4QEn* is perhaps a school-exercise, copied by a young scribe from the master's dictation. Without insisting too much on its date, or that of its archetype, it seems to me highly probable that this first copy of Enoch, as also 4QEnb (see below, p. 165), contained only the first part of the book of Enoch, corresponding to chapters 1-36 of the Ethiopic Enoch.

In addition to the large group of fragments labelled i i-vi, there are seven little unidentified fragments, 4QEn* 2 to 8. For i i-iii, especially for the large fragment containing columns ii-iii, another good photograph is PAM 42. 227.

4QEn* 1 i—En. 1: 1-6 (Pl. I)

말 ילטיה גלטיה דע ברות בחרתה
[ול hakkad רה קשת רヒ להווח ביים עקווה
[לאתדיה כל טימה

2 See the remarks of Kutscher, pp. 10-11 and note 48, p. 13 note 65, p. 34 Appendix 2.
The words of blessing with which Enoch blessed the righteous elect who will be present on the day of tribulation to remove all the enemies, and the righteous will be delivered. And taking up his parable he said, Enoch, a just man to whom a vision from God was disclosed:

'The vision of the Holy One and of heaven was shown to me], and from the words of [the Watchers] and the holy ones [I heard] it all; [and because I heard from them, I knew and I understood everything; not for] this generation, but for a far-off generation I shall speak. And concerning the elect I now say, and about them I took up my parable and said:] the Great Holy One shall come forth from [His dwelling, and the everlasting God shall come down upon earth, and tread on Mount Sinai, and will be shown with His] mighty [army]; and He will appear [in the strength of His] might [from the heaven of heavens. And all the Watchers will fear and they will be punished in hidden places among all] the creatures (?) of the earth; and all the creatures (?) of the earth will quake, [and trembling and great fear will take hold of them, unto the ends of the earth. And] the heights [shall be shaken and fall and be dissolved], and [the high mountains] shall be [laid low . . .]
The text of this first column of the scroll began half-way up the scroll, leaving the upper part of the column blank, this part corresponding to approximately twelve lines of writing. As the scribes could not, no doubt for reasons of economy, leave the whole of the first column blank, they were content occasionally to leave the upper part blank, which meant that the top of the scroll could be held in the right hand, without soiling and damaging the text of the incipit, as it was read. There are other examples of such half-blank pages among the manuscripts of Qumran Cave 4.

The four fragments of column i of 4Q En* which have been preserved were probably adhering to the lower right-hand part of column iii, during the time that they lay hidden in cave 4. The ancient versions to be compared are C and E, the former being a copy, which although faulty is relatively close to the archetype of the Greek version and to the Aramaic manuscript used by the translator. The Ethiopic version, on the other hand, gives a somewhat abridged and paraphrased text, owing to the Ethiopian interpreter's technique of translation and to the vagaries of the manuscript's transmission. These comments hold good for the whole collection of Aramaic fragments of 4Q collated with these two main witnesses of early versions of the books of Enoch.

L. 1 (En. i: 1). In the title of a book the plural 'יִלְלִים (Hebrew 'יִלְלָד') is de rigueur; λόγος of C (and of E) is its normal equivalent in Greek; cf., e.g., Acts i: 1.—The reading and the restoration [וֹלֶבֶּךָ] appear to be preferable to [וֹלֶב], since otherwise one ought to see, on the right-hand margin of the fragment, the left-hand end of the upper bar of the Kaph.—I restore [וֹלֶבֶּךָ] without connecting particle, equivalent to ἐκλεκτὸς δικαίος in C, as against ἡρυγᾶν ὁςαδέγαν in E; cf. note to line 5 (En. i: 3) for a similar superfluous addition in E of 'and' in the epithet of God, 'the Holy (and) Great'.

L. 2-4 (En. i: 2). The corresponding passage in C is a little corrupt and slightly changed compared with the Aramaic original.

L. 2. The verbs ἐκκόβων, which follow the phrase ἕστων ὁρᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀκρωτίου ἀνεφερμένη, were, in my opinion, at first the marginal glosses which corrected ἑστῶν into ἐκκόβων, 'were', in order to put 'the revealing (lit. opening) of the vision' in the past tense, ἐκκόβων, 'having', being added to make this whole clause agree syntactically with Ἐνῶν ἄνθρωποι δίκαιοι. This clumsiness in the Greek has been caused by the inadequate translation of יִלְלִים, taken by the Greek translator of the Aramaic Enoch to be a passive Pe'al participle, while in fact it is a passive perfect Pe'ill. A Greek copyist has inserted these two glosses, ἐκκόβων and ἐκκόβων, in front of τὴν ὁρᾶσιν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ ὄμπανοῦ, and he has changed into an accusative the nominative of ἡ ὁρᾶσις, etc., the phrase which introduces the direct speech of the hero of the book. This phrase of the Greek, 'the vision of the Holy One and of heaven', is, in all probability, original, because it refers to the visits of Enoch to the heavenly palace (En. 14: 8-16: 4) and to paradise (En. 24–5 and 32).

L. 3. The verb εἰδειξέν μοι should have been translated in the passive. The error can be explained by the alternation of ייִדְלִי 'I have seen' and ייִדְלִי 'I have been made to see', which recurs frequently in the book of Enoch and in other Jewish Aramaic apocalypses. The E text has also the active form, in the plural, and anticipates here 'the angels', short for 'Watchers and holy ones': za'ar'ayum mi'lā'ēkt, 'which the angels showed me'—In the phrase καὶ ἄγγι-λόγων ἁγίων ἡκουσα ἐγώ correct ἄγιο-λόγων to ἀπὸ ἡλόγων (II misread as II), equivalent to ייִילָל; the noun ייִילָל seems preferable to ייִיל, if one studies closely the traces of the letters. E has 'and from them I heard everything', wəsəmə'ēku 'emhabehomu kvěllo. A free quotation of
this passage in the Book of Mysteries of the Heaven and of the Earth (see above, p. 86) retains 'the word' preserved, in the plural, by C: Henok walda Yāred wasamā'a nagara malā'ēkt (wakamaze maharēwo malā'ēkt), 'Enoch son of Jared, and he heard the word of the angels (and thus the angels taught him)', PO 1, 1, p. 30, 3-4.

The term ḍplits, 'of the holy ones', abbreviates the compound expression 'of the Watchers and holy ones', ḍplits ḍranges ḍnīr yāmā'ēk. The author of the work made a distinction in his angelological terminology between the 'Watchers', who as a rule refer to the evil angels (fallen stars, incubi), and the 'Watchers and holy ones', who refer to the good angels, messengers of God, the guardians and the guides of just men; cf. Dan. 4: 10, 20; En 1: 19-20. The term ḍplits, 'of the holy ones', abbreviates the compound expression 'of the Watchers and holy ones', ḍoints ḍranges ḍnīr yāmā'ēk in En 1: 19-20 (En. 12: 3: oi ēphēgōretos toō ḍnīrō toō megālō C, 'the Watchers' alone E); ḍpoints ḍranges ḍnīr yāmā'ēk in En 1: 32, translated as 'the angel' in C and E (En. 22: 6), and in particular the phrase ḍpoints ḍranges ḍnīr yāmā'ēk in En 1: 32 (En. 93: 2), translated as 'by the voice of the holy angels' in E; 'Watchers . . . holy ones' in parallel phrases: Dan. 4: 14, 1QGenAp ii 1, En. 12: 2 (C, E); cf. 'Watchers . . . sons of heaven' 1QGenAp ii 16.

The pronoun ṭaṃta = ḍnīl has been omitted by the Greek translator (or a Greek copyist), before or after ḍkouwa ḍgō, because it is taken up again immediately afterwards. The phrase in C kai ḍnīnōn ḍgō theōtōn seems to me to be an alteration of the original expression ḍnīnōn ḍgō kai dienōūmēn by a copyist who, it would seem, replaced the verb 'to meditate' by the synonym 'to look at' by analogy with the text of En. 2-5, where the imperatives of these two terms occur several times, e.g. èi détē kai diānoēthētai En. 2: 2 and 5: 1. A subsequent scribe, who may perhaps have collated a better Greek manuscript, has added dienōūmēn in the margin, a gloss which has been reintegrated into the text by another copyist, but in the wrong place; see below. As a result the division of the phrases by means of kai has been blurred; one must restore something like: kai ḍos ḍkouwa par' autōn, ṭaṃta ḍnīnōn, kai dienōūmēn ḍgō ñuk εἰς τὴν νῦν γενεάν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πόρρω ὀφθαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ.

L. 4. The expression ὅ τῶν νῦν γενεάν (followed by dienōūmēn, a marginal gloss which has been badly inserted; see note on l. 3 above) corresponds to ἃνὴρ [τοῖς] rather than to ἃνὴρ or ἃνὴρ τοῦ. This restoration would give us the 'East-Aramaic' form of the demonstrative pronoun; cf. ἃνὴρ in GenAp ii 6.

L. 5 (En. 1: 3). The predicate ἀκολούθησαι is not preceded by 'and', like yēwadhe in E, as against kai ἐκείλησαι in C.

In ὅ ἄγνος μου the pronoun is obviously superfluous; it is perhaps a double insertion of the marginal μου, the pronoun which is necessary after τῶν παραβολῶν, where it is correct from the point of view of the Semitic idiom; in the present instance, 'my Holy One', it is incorrect from the point of view of the author's theological thought. As an epithet of God 'the great Holy One' occurs several times in Enochic writings: ἃκολο[oulos] ἀκολο[oulos], ὅ ἄγνος {μου} ὅ μέγας C, qēdis wa'ābiy E, En. 1: 3; ἃκολο[oulos], τοῦ ἄγνου τοῦ μεγάλου C, qēdis wa'ābiy E, in En 1: 1 vi 10 (En. 14: 1); laqēdis walad'ābiy E, En. 84: 1; qēdis (wa')'ābiy E, En. 92: 2 (cf. En 1: 1 ii 26); τοῦ ἄγιου τοῦ μεγάλου CM, qēdis 'abiy (many manuscripts, qēdis wa'ābiy) E, En. 98: 6. The same phrase, in spite of the transposition of the adjectives, is to be found in ὅ μέγας ἄγνος C, 'abiy waqēdis E, but correctly ὅ ἄγιος ὅ μέγας S, in En. 10: 1; τοῦ μεγάλου ὀγίου CM, 'abiy (wa')qēdis E, in En. 97: 6. The same epithet occurs twice in 1QGenAp: ἃκολο[oulos] ii 14, ἃκολο[oulos] xii 17. In ἐπεὶ γῆν πατήσει there is probably an omission: ἐπεὶ μὴν <καταβήσηται καὶ> πατήσει.

L. 6 (En. 1: 4). The indication of place, ἐκ τῆς παραβολῆς αὐτοῦ, is a correction of the original
phrase ἐν τῷ παρεμβολῇ which E presupposes (as Charles has observed). The corrector has not understood that παρεμβολῇ should be understood here in terms of people, i.e. 'army', and not in terms of place, i.e. 'camp', exactly as in Test.Levi 3: 3: αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν οἱ ταχέντες κ.τ.λ.

Ll. 6–8 (En. 1: 5–6). These verses and the following ones, somewhat abridged in E, must in the Aramaic original have had the form which they have more or less retained in C. Certainly, the passage on the 'song of the Watchers', considered by Charles to be a gloss of the Greek, was in the Aramaic, although it is true that the idea expressed in this clause is 'at variance . . . with all that follows on the fate of the Watchers who were imprisoned beneath the hills'. My explanation is as follows. In the long passage of En. 1: 5: καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες καὶ πιστεύσουσιν οἱ ἔγναγγοι καὶ ὄσων ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς <γῆς> καὶ συνήσονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς καὶ λήμψεται αὐτοῦς τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέχρει τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, the E version omits two phrases: the first, ἄσων . . . καὶ, by a simple homoioteleuton, the second, πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς, by an intentional elimination of an apparent duplicate of τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. On the other hand, the text of C presupposes a mistranslation and a few alterations of the original Aramaic wording. I suggest that the Greek translator misunderstood the Aramaic verb יַעֲדָלָה which he took for 'and they shall sing' instead of 'and they shall be punished', Pu'al of the verb whose Pa'el, יַעֲדָלָה, occurs in 4QEnGiants* 7 i 5 (below, p. 313). The noun ἀπόκρυφα means, exactly as εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα in En. 100: 4 (CM), 'hidden places' of the fallen angels' prisons; cf. above, p. 52. The Aramaic text probably had יַעֲדָלָה: for this word see En* i ii 7 (En. 4). The translation ἄσων caused the omission of εἰς τὰ before ἀπόκρυφα and gave an occasion for the explanatory gloss καὶ πιστεύσουσιν, contributed perhaps by a copyist who accepted the Origenistic conception of the final conversion of the evil spirits and wicked men. Moreover, the term ἄκρα, in ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς <γῆς> and in τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς, can hardly refer to geographical limits of the earth, which are in any case designated here by the expression μέχρει τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. The formula ἡ οὐρά ἡ οὐρά certainly carries the personal meaning here, since these ends of the earth 'will shake, and trembling and a great fear will seize them (αὐτοὺς) to the very limits of the earth'; the use of αὐτοὺς instead of αὐτά is significant (cf. the quotation of Test.Levi 3: 3 in the note to 1. 6, where αὐτά appears instead of αὐτά). In En. 93 the author wonders if one can understand and act like 'the extremities of the spirits', this last expression corresponding to מַעֲדָלָה of Hebrew Sir. 16: 17 ('universitas spirituum', Zorrell's dictionary); see the note to En* i v 19 (En. 93: 12). In our passage the expression מַעֲדָלָה is to be understood as 'the totality of the creatures, especially men, living on earth'.

L. 8 (En. 1: 6). The reading מַעֲדָלָה, indefinite plural state of מַעֲדָלָה, seems to me better than מַעֲדָלָה ר [ם] מַעֲדָלָה מַעֲדָלָה; nevertheless, the correspondence מַעֲדָלָה = δρη ψηφιδά is not quite satisfactory. Of the three predicates to this subject in C, καὶ σιωθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται, the E text retains only the first.

4QEn* 1 ii—En. 2: 1–5: 6 (Pl. II)

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and in their constellations they appear] and do not transgress their appointed order. 

2 Observe ye the earth and consider its works, from the first to the last, that nothing at all changes, and everything is visible to you. 

3 Observe ye the signs [of summer . . . and] dew [descends(?)] upon it, and
(consider) the signs of winter that the whole earth [is filled with water, and] clouds pour down rain. Observe that all trees wither and [shed all their foliage] except fourteen trees whose foliage remains, [and they do not renew their foliage until] two or three years [pass]. Observe ye the signs [of summer, that the sun burns] and glows; and ye seek shade and shelter before it [upon the burning earth]; and ye are not able to tread on the dust or on the rocks on account [of the heat. Observe ye and enjoy all] trees; on all of them their foliage blossoms green, and it covers [the trees, and all their fruit is (brought forth) in] glorious pride. [Praise ye] and consider all these works, [and understand that God who lives] for ever and ever, created all these things. Year [in year out they do not change their works but] they all do His Word. But ye, ye changed your works [and do not do His Word]; but ye transgress against Him with great and hard (words), with your unclean mouths [against His magnificence. Oh, hard-hearted, you shall have no peace. Then your days ye will curse, and the years [of your life will perish...], and the years of your destruction will be multiplied with an everlasting curse; and compassion [and peace ye will not have. Then your name shall be] an eternal curse for [all the righteous; and in you shall all the accursed be cursed; and all the sinners and the wicked shall swear by you], and to all 

There has been considerable wear and tear on the surface of this column, especially on the right-hand side. This, together with the confused state of the text (due to omissions either in the manuscripts of 4QEn or in the ancient versions), means that several readings and restorations are of a somewhat hypothetical character.

Texts to be compared: En^ i i (En. i: 9-5: 1), C (En. 2: 1-3 and 5: 1-6), E.

L. 1 (En. 2: 1). These last two clauses of verse 1 are found in C; E does not mention the 'feasts': καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς (MS. τες εορτῆς) αὐτῶν φένονται; En^ omits this whole passage by homoeoteleuton: ἀπὸ τῶν βεσσαράκων... Εὐαγγέλια. For μαζί = ἐορταῖ see below, note to En^ i i 19.

Ll. 1/2 (En. 2: 2). Ἑνὸς ἀλάρχησθαι Ἐνκ = C and E, Ἐνὸς ἀλάρχησθαι Ἐνκ. This whole verse is drastically paraphrased and glossed in C (and also in E): εἴδετε τὴν γῆν καὶ διανοήσηται περὶ τῶν ἔργων {τῶν ἐν} αὐτῇ (*its work* En^, *the work* E) {γενομένων} ἀν' ἀρχὴς μέχρι τελεύτατος (*from the first to the last’ En^) {ὡς εἰσὺς φθάστα Christian gloss} ὡς οὐκ ἀλλούνται οὐδὲν {τῶν ἐπει γῆς} ἀλλὰ πάντα {ἐργα τοῦ} ὑμῶν (om. E) φένονται.

Ll. 2-4 (En. 2: 3). This verse, on the other hand, is somewhat abridged in E; C only keeps the beginning of it: εἴδετε τὴν θερίαν καὶ τῶν χειμῶνα; then there is a long omission down to 5: 1, caused no doubt by the eye accidentally jumping from one column to the next (a type of inadvertence easier when reading a scroll than a codex). En^ and En^ differ in other respects, the text of En^ appearing closer to that of the Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator; see the commentary on En^ i i 21-3.

Ll. 2 (and 3 and 6). ἐπίθετοι primarily 'military banners, signs (σημεῖα, signa)'; cf. A. Cowley,

L. 3. Perhaps restore 'עד תיל אָלִי הָעַלָי הָעַלָי [תַל הָעַלָי]. Cf. the end of verse 3 in E: ‘and the clouds and the dew and the rain lie on it’. Only the dew is in fact one of the ‘signs of summer’. Before 'בַּדְלָל' the scribe of En* has probably omitted the imperative: יְבָדְלֶא.

L. 4. The first word preserved, דַּלּוֹן, is on a detached fragment, ד: collective subject with predicate in the plural.

L. 4-6 (En. 3). At the beginning of this passage the text of E (and probably of En*, q.v.) is longer than that of En*. In the second part of the passage, considerably shortened in En*, E renders the meaning of the original, but not word for word; compare with it the fragmentary text of Enastr 1 i 4–6, quoted below, p. 296.

The fourteen trees with everlasting foliage are enumerated in Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae, book XI, ch. 1, ed. H. Beckh, 1895, p. 326, lines 17–20: Δένδρα ἀειθάλει ἑστι, μηδέποτε φυλλορροοῦντα ἐν τῷ χειμώνι, ὑδ. Φοίνικ, Κίτρικνον, Στράβιλος, Δάφνη, Ἑλαία, Κυπάρισσος, Κερατέα, Πίτων, Πῦρον, Μυρσίνη, Κέδρος, Ἰτέα, καὶ Ἀκρενθος.

In my opinion the text of En. 3, although shortened, depends on the text of Enastr; see above, pp. 8 and 28, for the dating of these two Enochic books. Furthermore, our writer describes only two main seasons, summer and winter (En. 2: 3–5: 2), while the final section of the Astronomical Book contained the description of four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter; see En. 82: 15–20 and below, pp. 296–7. I have found an early Christian reminiscence of this section of Enastr in the Epistle of Clement, i Cor. 20: 9 (ed. A. Jaubert, Sources chrétiennes, 167 (1971), 136): καιροὶ ἐφεσκοί καὶ θερμοὶ καὶ μετοπωροι καὶ χειμεροι ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετασταθεῖσαν ἄλληλοις. Compare 20: 1–3 of the Epistle with En. 2: 1; 20: 4 with En. 2: 2; 20: 6 with En. 5: 3. I shall try to prove in detail elsewhere that the most interesting passage of this chapter of the Epistle, namely 20: 8, is inspired by the cosmological teaching of Enastr.

En. 3 is freely quoted in the Ethiopic Book of Mysteries of the Heaven and of the Earth, where it is followed by curious typological explanation: ‘As Enoch said: ‘I saw 14 trees whose leaves do not fall, and all (other) trees were dry and their leaves were fallen.’—‘And these 14 (trees) of which Enoch speaks, what are they?’, said Abba Bahayla Mikael.—The Holy Ghost said: “the 10 words of the Law, the covenant of Noah, and the circumcision of the patriarchs, and the priesthood of Melchizedek, and the baptism of John’’; PO i, i, p. 27.

L. 6–9 (En. 4). The parts of this passage preserved in En* and En* allow a fairly reliable restoration of the original text, which is the same in the two manuscripts, apart from an inversion in En*: נַחַתָה חֹכֶם אֱלֹהִים אָמַת חֹסֶם מִן. In E the text is considerably rearranged.

L. 9–11 (En. 5: 1). The phrase κατάμαθεται καὶ ἐδετε πάντα τὰ δένδρα in C does not belong to the beginning of En. 3 but to that of En. 5: 1. The Greek translator has transposed the two connected verbs, κατάμαθεται καὶ ἐδετε, just as he has done further on in the same verse: διανοήθεται καὶ γυναῖκα. This practice of translators of Semitic origin, which consists of the transposition of nouns, of verbs, or of phrases which are more or less synonymous, is very well attested in the bilingual (Palmyrene and Greek) inscriptions of Palmyra. See J. T. Milik, Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale, i (1972), 33 and 315.
At the beginning of the verse the text of En* is the most complete; C and E both omit the phrase 'on all of them their (foliage) blossoms' while En* omits 'and it covers the trees'.

The phrase in C, εἰς τεμπὺν καὶ δόξαν, omitted by E, is a hendiadys of γνώσεως. The Aramaic equivalent of γνώσεως is not at all clear to me; for [ ] of En* and [ ] of En* one can conjecture λάλησε, 'learn', mis-spelled, or else the Hebraism ἐκλάλεις, 'praise (God)', as you behold all these works of nature. Instead of τοῦτων = τὴν ζωήν in En*, C has the personal pronoun αὐτοῖς, thus anticipating the phrases which follow and which refer to God.

The second part of En. 5:1, which speaks of the living God, the Creator, differs in En* and En*. The formulation of the text in En*, ἀληθῶς ἥτις ζῶν καὶ ζήγη εἰς πάντας τούς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ αὐτῶς, appears to me to be approximately the same as that in the Aramaic archetype of C, at the very least if one assumes that an omission added in the margin has been wrongly inserted in the text of C; here, therefore, I correct: καὶ νοήσατε ὅτι θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ καὶ ζήγη εἰς πάντας τούς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ αὐτῶς. The last two words of this passage abridge τὰ ἐργα ταῦτα, which is found in E.

The text of En* is considerably shortened here in comparison with that of C, as a result of three long omissions, the third of which is due to homoeoteleuton; curiously, however, with only a little obvious reconstruction, it gives a complete and satisfactory meaning. On the other hand, it is possible that C and E have here paraphrased the text of earlier Greek manuscripts, or of the Semitic archetype of the Greek version, which was just as short as that of En*. Be that as it may, the final phrase of 5:2, 'and they all (sc. His works) do His Word' according to En*, has been paraphrased in C as follows: ἀλλ' ὥσπερει κατὰ ἑπτάγηγν τὰ πάντα γείνεται.

It seems highly improbable to me that a phrase of En*, 'and you, you have changed your acts', which is an excellent contrast to the image of nature, the cycle of whose works never varies, should be translated in Greek by a tame phrase such as that of C: ὑμῖς δὲ ὢκ ἐνεμεθηταί. I suggest, therefore, that this phrase in En*, as also a parallel phrase restored at the beginning of l.13, may well have been omitted in a Greek manuscript by homoeoteleuton with the preceding stichos, <...τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ>, while En* probably omitted, by the same error, the two hemistichoi at the beginning of 5:4: <...κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ = ὢκ λόγων αὐτοῦ>. Note, in addition, that in the Greek all the verbs are in the preterite, while in En* the imperfects follow on after an initial perfect, and are to be translated by the present: 'you have changed . . . and (henceforth) you no longer execute . . .'.

The phrase γνώσεως is certainly the equivalent of ἀλλὰ ἀνέστησα in C; so there must be an omission in En*: τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν σιωπὴν. The phrase κατὰ τῆς μεγαλοῦσας αὐτοῦ = [τῆς Ἀδηλωμοῦ], there is a gloss in C (but not in E): ὅτι κατελάβσατο ὑμῖν τοὺς ζωγράφους τῶν ὑμῶν.

After κατὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζωγράφους τῶν ὑμῶν in C was correctly emended by Dillmann and Lods to καὶ τὰ ἑρα. After ἀπολύται = [θείος], there was a short expression in En*, e.g. ἐντὸς ὑμών, or before ἐντὸς or ἐν πάντως, or in πάντως ἐν πάντως, or ἐν πάντως ἐν πάντως.

The text of En* was more or less similar to that of C, as far as one can judge from the few words preserved.
4QEn* 1 iii—En. 6: 4–8: 1 (Pl. III)

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And they answered, all of them, and said to him: ‘Let us [all] swear [an oath and all bind one another that we shall not] any of us turn aside from this counsel [until we do this deed.’ Then they all [swore] together and bound [one another] by imprecations. And they were all of these two hundred who came down] in the days of Jared on [the summit of Mount Hermon; [and they called the mount Hermon] because they swore and bound [one another] by imprecations upon it. And these are [the names of their leaders]: Šemīḥazah who [was their chief; ‘Ar't* quo ph, the second to him; Ramṯ’el, [third] to him; Kōkab’el, [fourth to him; -’el], fifth to him; Ra’m’en, [sixth to him]; Danʾel, seventh [to him; Zĕq’el], eighth to him; Baraq’el, ninth [to him]; ‘Asa’el, tenth [to him; Hermonī], eleventh to him; Maṭar’el, twelfth [to him]; ‘Anan’el, thirteenth [to him]; Šṭaw’el, fourteenth to him; Šamśī’el, fifteenth to him; Šahri’el, sixteenth to him; Tummi’el, seventeenth [to him]; Ťūrī’el, eighteenth to him; Yomi’el, nineteenth to him; [Yḥad-di’el, twentieth to him]. These are the chiefs of the chiefs of tens. Those (two hundred) and their leaders [all took for themselves] wives from all that they chose; and [they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them] and (they began) to teach them sorcery and [spell-binding, and the cutting the roots; and they showed them herbs]. And they became pregnant by them and bare [giants three thousand cubits high who] were born (and multiplied) on the earth [according to the kind of their childhood, and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, and they were devouring] the labour of all the sons of men and [men] were unable [to supply them. But the giants] conspired to slay men, and [to devour them. And they began to sin and to . . .] against all birds and beasts of the earth, [and reptiles which creep upon the earth and (creatures) in the waters], and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh [of one another, and they were drinking blood. Then the earth made the accusation against] the wicked, [concerning everything which was done upon it.]

Texts to be compared: Enb i ii (En. 5: 9–6: 4 and 6: 7–8: 1), Enc i ii (En. 6: 7), C, S (En. 6: 1–7: 2 and 8: 1), Syriac (En. 6: 1–7), E.


L. 2. [בָּלָה] En, and probably Enb: ‘all of us’ om. ali. Only C, and E in part, retain the phrase ποιήσωμεν τὸ πράγμα τούτο equivalent to that of Enb, and probably of En, but in C it is preceded by the gloss τελέσωμεν αὐτὴν καὶ which is a classicizing stylistic variant of it; Syncellus improves it to ἀποτελέσωμεν αὐτὴν and omits the original phrase.

Ll. 3–5 (En. 6: 6). This verse is omitted in C by homocoteleuton.
THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

Ll. 3/4. E. The intended word-play is Hebrew דוד וירן, i.e. to this passage En. 6: 6, in his commentary on St. John, vi § 217 (ed. C. Blanc, Sources chrétiennes, 157 (1970), 294 and 296, lines 2–9; E. Preuschen, GCS 10 (1903), 151, 11–17; PG 14, 273), apropos of John 1: 18: ἱδρύμασι μὲν ἐρμηνεύεται «κατάβασις αὐτῶν». Τούτῳ δὲ, ἐν' οὕτως εἶπον, γεννᾶ τὸ οὖν ματὰ τοῦ 'Ιαρέθ, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐρμηνεύεται «καταβαίνων», ἐπειδὴ η ὁγένητα τῷ Μαλελή, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γέγραπται, εἴ τω (sic) φίλον παραδέχεσθαι ὡς ἄγιον τὸ βιβλίον, ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς τῶν νεόν τοῦ θεοῦ καταβάσεως ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἤντις καταβάσαι αὐτής συνάσχεθαι τὸν ὑπολή φανὸν τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα. In the last phrase there is a reference to the doctrine of Philo, De gigantibus 6–16; cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, V 55. Both etymologies of Jared and Jordan passed on to the Onomastica; see below, p. 214–15.

Ll. 4/5. St. Hilary (d. 366) makes reference to this passage in his Commentary to Psalm 132: 3 (ed. A. Zingerle, CSEL 22 (1891), 689, 9–13; PL 9, 748–9): 'Hermon autem mons est in Phoenice cuius interpretatio anathema est. Fertur autem id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de caelo descenderent, in hunc montem maxime excelsum converrent.' Even more explicit, in its reference to our passage of En. 6: 6 is St. Jerome, also on Ps. 132: 3 ('sicut ros Ermon . . .') (ed. G. Morin, Anecdota Maredsolana, iii. 2 (1897), 249, 28–250, 3. 17–18; PL 26, 1293): 'Legimus quendam librum apocryphum, eo tempore quo descendebant filii Dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Ermon, et ibi inisse pactum quomodo venirent ad filias hominum, et sibi eas sociarent . . . Ermon in lingua nostra interpretatur ἄναθμα (sic), hoc est condemnatio.' This etymology also passed on to the Onomastica; see below, p. 215. On the other hand, these references are not sufficient evidence of the existence of a Latin version of the book of Enoch; cf. above, pp. 78–81.

Ll. 5–12 (En. 6: 7). The names of the angels and their order are rather corrupt and confused in the versions S, C, E (where the list of 6: 7 is taken up in 69: 2); cf. two tables compiled by Charles, i, pp. 227–8, and ii, pp. 16–17 (he has reconstructed only seven names correctly). But Ena, Enb, and Enc now provide correct readings, with one exception (the name of the fifth angel), of all these names, some of which reappear in 8: 1 and 3 (see the commentary and the Table to Ena 1 iv).

Table of angels, chiefs of decadarchoi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4QEna, b, c</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>E (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. סמייחא</td>
<td>1 סמיאזס</td>
<td>(1) סמיאזס (a)</td>
<td>(1) שמי'זסז, שסייאז (6: 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג'מייחא</td>
<td>'My Name has seen' (c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. עירטאקו</td>
<td>2aira</td>
<td>(2+3)aira</td>
<td>(2) 'ארקיבה, קימבר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'אר'טאקוף</td>
<td>(exaira)</td>
<td>(exaira)</td>
<td>2. 'ארטאקוף</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The earth is power'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>E</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>רָמְטֶל</td>
<td>רָמְטֶל (e)</td>
<td>'Burning heat of God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>קֹקֲבֵּאל</td>
<td>קֹקֲבֵּאל</td>
<td>'Star of God' (g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(5) 'Oραμμαμή</td>
<td>(14) Ταμήλ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>רוּמְעִאל</td>
<td>רוּמְעִאל</td>
<td>'Thunder of God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>דָּנִיאֵל</td>
<td>דָּנִיאֵל</td>
<td>'Judge of God' (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>עֵינֶקָצְיאֵל</td>
<td>עֵינֶקָצְיאֵל</td>
<td>'Lightning-flash of God' (f)</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>בָּרָקְרֵאל</td>
<td>בָּרָקְרֵאל</td>
<td>'Lightning of God' (k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>עֶסְמֶל</td>
<td>עֶסְמֶל</td>
<td>'God has made' (l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>הֵרְמוֹנֵי</td>
<td>הֵרְמוֹנֵי</td>
<td>'of Hermon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>מֵסְמָרֵל</td>
<td>מֵסְמָרֵל</td>
<td>'Rain of God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>עֵנָנְאֵל</td>
<td>עֵנָנְאֵל</td>
<td>'Cloud of God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>סְתָּיוֹתֵל</td>
<td>סְתָּיוֹתֵל</td>
<td>'Winter of God'</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3 + 4) Σαμμανή</td>
<td>(3 + 4) Σαμμανή</td>
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<td>16.</td>
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<td>lege 'Ραμμανή</td>
<td>lege 'Ραμμανή</td>
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<td>17.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(3) Râme'el</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Armen</td>
<td></td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Kokab'el</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Kokab'el</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(5) Τάμι'ελ</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(5) Τάμι'ελ</td>
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<td>23.</td>
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<td>(6) Râmi'el</td>
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<td>24.</td>
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<td>(6) Râmi'el</td>
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<td>25.</td>
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<td>(7) Dān'el</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(7) Dān'el</td>
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<td>27.</td>
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<td>(8) 'Ezeqe'el</td>
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<td>28.</td>
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<td>(8) 'Ezeqe'el</td>
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<td>29.</td>
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<td>(9) Bârâq'el</td>
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<td>30.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(9) Bârâq'el</td>
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<td>31.</td>
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<td>(10) 'Asa'el</td>
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<td>32.</td>
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<td>(10) 'Asa'el</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(14) Ζακί'ελ</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(14) Ζακί'ελ</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15) Barak'el</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(15) Barak'el</td>
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<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(16) Αρμαρων</td>
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<td>38.</td>
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<td>(16) Αρμαρων</td>
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<td>39.</td>
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<td>(17) 'Armënos</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(17) 'Armënos</td>
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<td>41.</td>
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<td>(18) Ασα'ελ</td>
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<td>42.</td>
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<td>(18) Ασα'ελ</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(19) Βατρι'ελ</td>
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<td>44.</td>
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<td>(19) Βατρι'ελ</td>
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<td>45.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(20) 'Paκεινή</td>
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<td>46.</td>
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<td>(20) 'Paκεινή</td>
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<td>47.</td>
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<td>(21) Ταυτ'ελ</td>
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<td>(21) Ταυτ'ελ</td>
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<td>(22) Ταυτ'ελ</td>
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<td>50.</td>
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<td>(22) Ταυτ'ελ</td>
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<td>51.</td>
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<td>(23) 'Anân'el</td>
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<td>52.</td>
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<td>(23) 'Anân'el</td>
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<td>53.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(24) 'Anân'el</td>
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<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(24) 'Anân'el</td>
<td></td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>שמשיאל</td>
<td>15 שמשיאל</td>
<td>(7) שמשיא</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samseiel</td>
<td>(ex Samseiel)</td>
<td>(ex Samseiel)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Sun of God'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>שחריאל</td>
<td>16 שחריאל</td>
<td>(12) שחריא</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sahri'el</td>
<td>(ex Sahri'el)</td>
<td>(ex Sahri'el)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Moon of God'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>תמיאל</td>
<td>17 תמיאל</td>
<td>(17) תמיאל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tummi'el</td>
<td>(ex Tümmi'el)</td>
<td>(ex Tümmi'el)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Perfection of God'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>סוריאל</td>
<td>18سورיאל</td>
<td>(21)سورיאל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surri'el</td>
<td>(ex Surri'el)</td>
<td>(ex Surri'el)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Mountain of God'</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>ימייאל</td>
<td>19 ימייאל</td>
<td>(8) ימייאל</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>En ימ</td>
<td>(ex Yom 'el)</td>
<td>(ex Yom 'el)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Day of God' (n)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>יודיאל</td>
<td>20 יודיאל</td>
<td>(13) יודיאל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yōhaddi'el</td>
<td>(ex Yōhaddi'el)</td>
<td>(ex Yōhaddi'el)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'God will guide' (o)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to the Table

In En ימ, the numbers in which the angels are ordered are expressed by ordinal numbers, followed by מ, 'to him', that is, e.g., 'Kôkab'el, fourth to, after, Semihazah'; in S the figures are written out as letters; C and E (En. 6: 7) give the list without numbers; En. 69: 2 numbers the angels by ordinal numbers.

(a) The three proper names which follow שמשיאל in C have been wrongly divided by the copyist of the Cairo papyrus; Ἀραθάκ, Κιμβρα, שם מ, should be corrected to Ἀραθάκκιμβας, 'Ραμμαν, with the result that the list of twenty-one names is reduced to one of twenty. As Lods has brilliantly demonstrated (pp. 106–7), the names of the angels in the Greek archetype of C were arranged in four columns, starting from the third name; instead of reading and copying them from left to right and line by line, the scribe of C read and copied them from top to bottom and column by column:

1 Σεμιαξα οὗτος ὃν ἄρχων αὐτῶν
2 (2+3) Ἀραθάκκιμβας οὗ δεύτερος αὐτῶν
3 (3+4) 4 (9) 5 (14) 6 (18)
7 (5) 8 (10) 9 (15) 10 (19)
11 (6) 12 (11) 13 (16) 14 (20)
15 (7) 16 (12) 17 (17) 18 (21)
19 (8) 20 (13)
(b) In this column each proper name has two forms: that of En. 6: 7 and below it that of 69: 2; I have selected the readings which are closest to Greek and Aramaic forms. The two Ethiopic lists derive from a Greek archetype of C, but the author of the Book of Parables had to hand a Greek manuscript of the book of Enoch which was less corrupt than C.

(c) This name turns up in the Jewish and Manichaean Book of Giants, and in the Mishnaic medieval summary of it, as well; see below, pp. 315, 299, and 322.

(d) This transcription corresponds to הארץ חזקה, ‘the earth is powerful’, while that in S reflects ארהס (equivalent to ארוהס of the Aramaic original, except for the defective spelling). Instead of assuming the existence of two Greek versions deriving from two different Aramaic manuscripts, I prefer the hypothesis that a scribe, Jewish or Christian, but conversant with Aramaic, reworked the transcriptions in terms of his linguistic knowledge and of his own angelological ideas.

(e) The reading [רמאט in En in is certain, although the Teth is a little damaged; the transcriptions presuppose, however, the reading רמאלו in the Aramaic manuscript used by the author of the Greek version. I suggest that it is the pan-semitic root rmq (in Arabic, ‘to burn, to set fire to, to roast on stones heated on the fire’), that is in question, which has given us the Syriac rmw'a and rm áná d'nàr, ‘ignis sub cinere reconditus’, the Mishnaic and the Judaeo-Aramaic רמאלו, ‘heisse Asche legen’, רמאלו and רמא תונ, ‘glühende Asche’. On the oscillation of the consonants, s, ‘, ‘ in Palmyrene (e.g. rsw, r’s, ’, r’wn all deriving from r’vw ‘to love’) see Milik, Recherches d’épigraphie proche-orientale, i, pp. 48–9. The proper name Ramq’el/ Ramiel refers without doubt to the volcanic activities of the earth’s crust: ‘Burning (stones and ashes) of God.’

(f) The initial Alpha of this name perhaps first belonged at the end of the preceding name; a superfluous final Alpha often occurs in the transcriptions of Semitic words which end in a consonant.

(g) For this name see pp. 20 and 159.

(h) In an archetype of the Syncellus list the seventh name had been omitted; consequently a marginal correction of the fifteenth name, Σαμηςλ, was squeezed in there, viz. Σαμψλ (read Σαμψλη ηλ or else Σαμψλ ες insertion mark). A similar process is found again at the tenth name in Syncellus: Αζαλ had been corrected in the margin by ‘insertion mark ηλ’, and a scribe rewrote this emendation into the text in the form Αζαληλ.

(i) For this name see above, p. 29.

(j) This name was written defectively in the Aramaic manuscript of the Greek translator as לארעא, whence the S form. The orthography of C, ’Ezkevyl, is a transformation of the name Zakevyl, made under the influence of the name of the prophet, rather than evidence of a second Greek version based on a manuscript which may have had here the form לארעא; cf. above, note d. The meaning of the word נקיע is not quite clear. In En. 14: 8 = En 6 vi 20 נקע appears together with קבר, exactly as in the names of two angels, the 8th and the 9th. Therefore both words are probably more or less synonymous, and נקיע could mean ‘the flash of lightning’, judging by Syriac ziqä, ‘fulgor’ and ziqatä, ‘fulmen’. But Akkadian ziqu and Judaeo-Aramaic נקיע designate quite different meteorological or astronomical elements.
Finally, the Greek translator of Enoch renders of 14: 8 by διαδρομαλ των αστέρων which can hardly be correct.

(k) For this name see pp. 92, 300, and 311.

(l) The proper name לפש is not necessarily Hebrew. On the verb 'atšah in Phoenician and Aramaic anthroponymy, see Milik, Bibliica, 48 (1967), 612, e.g. Asaadados at Dura Europos; Welles, Yale Classical Studies, xiv (1955), 154 n. 33 and Ingholt’s discussion, ibid., pp. 204–5. On this name, written מְלָש in En. 8: 1; 9: 6; 10: 4, 8; 13: 1, see pp. 28–30, 34, 92, 131.

(m) The first letter of פַּרְמָרָאָס in Syncellus comes here from En. 8: 3: פַּרְמָרָאָס תְּדִיקָא פַּרְמָקָטִא, where it was taken over from the last noun. The transcriptions of the 11th name presuppose the form רַנְרֵנ, the spelling of the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version, or else the reading of the original Aramaic יָרְנֵנ, due to the Greek translator.

(n) In spite of the transcriptions which impose the translation ‘Day of God’, I wonder if the Aramaic לפש does not mean ‘Sea of God’, an excellent parallel to the preceding ‘Mountain of God’.

(o) The verb is hadā, ‘to be a guide’ in Pa’el, a verb known in Syriac, in Arabic, and already in Safaitic (hdy). The choice of לפש as the name of the last angel in the list comes from the image of God as a shepherd who guides his flock, walking behind it. The versions derive their transcriptions from the initial spelling (or from the reading) לפש. Note that the words רַנְרֵנ (3rd name), דְּוֵר (17th), רוֹד (20th), and likewiseATION (14th; cf. אַתְו ff 3), דְּוֵר (16th), and perhaps כְּהֹן (10th), belong to the more recent vocabulary of Aramaic, of Arabic origin. Arab penetration, both ethnic and linguistic, was greater in Mesopotamia and in Northern Syria than it was further south, in Palestine.

L. 13 (En. 6: 8). The original phrase, that found in Enb (added above the line) and that in Ena (uncorrected), מוסף על וברך אשר, is essentially the same as that in C, apart from the addition of the pronoun: oτραλ ελαον αρχαλ (αντων) ol δεκα. Note, however, that the Greek translator did not see in this the construct state, but two separate names: דְּוֵר, which he took to be an emphatic plural state of the eastern Aramaic type (frequent in Palmyrene which is a western Aramaic dialect), and אשר which he thought was a cardinal number used personally (cf. the note to Enb x iii 9); these forms of nouns of number, as also an analogous construction, recur in Palmyrene, e.g. ywm ‘rb’t ‘the fourth day (of month)’, C S ii 3987; lγψμ ‘rβ’t ‘the fourth legion’, C S ii 3962 = INV. x 17. I find it difficult to understand the interlinear addition of a second דְּוֵר in Ena. Did the copyist want to say that the twenty angels were ‘leaders of leaders’, because the 200 angels were in turn the chiefs of tens of other demons?

Ll. 13–15 (En. 7: 1). At the beginning of this passage the Aramaic text has the wording ‘Those (the 200 angels) and their leaders’, which has been adapted in Greek by the phrase ‘These (the 20 angels) and all the others’ (S; also E, which omits ‘these’). C omits this phrase by a kind of homoeoeacton with 6: 8.

Ll. 13–14. The phrase [נסבו להן]נְשֵׁי מתכל ד ’ברוח ומיצל אשר בוחר] corresponds word for word to [רַקּוֹת להם]נְשֵׁי מתכל הם וישר בוחר in Gen. 6: 2; see above, p. 32.

L. 14. The phrase מַלְכוּ ד ’ברוח ומן מתכל] has been paraphrased in C by ekasos αντων εξελεξαντο εαυτος γνεκας (± = E; om. by S).
L. 15. The infinitive וָשָׁרָה, dependent on וְשָׁרָה, is replaced by a finite form in C and E; also in S which, however, transfers this phrase to the end of verse 2.—Does πικρομία ‘cutting the roots, gathering the medical plants’ translate מָכֵס (מְלָכֵס) [a]?

L. 16-17 (En. 7: 2). In the first part of this verse the Aramaic text is the same as that of C and E; the second part has been omitted in the common archetype of C and E, perhaps by homoeoarcton: οὐκ ἔσται ... οὐκ ἔσται = οὐκ οὐκ. S adds in the first part the information about the three categories of giants, borrowed from Jub. 7: 22, and it shortens the second part: καὶ ἡσαν ... κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν. The exact formulation of this verse in the original remains uncertain, because the placing of a small fragment in Enb i ii 21 is open to question. Anyhow θῶν ματιώδων ζυλ ἀρχαίου of Ena i iii 16/17 seems to have been completed by [ככ] of Enb i ii 21, a phrase which gives an excellent parallel colon to [ה] [ב], preserved, but slightly mistranslated in S. The meaning is that the giants in their childhood and their youth had voracious appetites according to their stature.

Ll. 17-18 (En. 7: 3). The phrase ζυμίλες βοήν ἀνασν drives the meaning is that the giants in their childhood and their youth had voracious appetites according to their stature.

Ll. 18-19 (En. 7: 4). Οἱ γῆσιντες ἠθέλησαν εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθολοσαν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους in C (± = E) abridges the original text ‘and the giants began to plot to massacre the men and to devour them’.

L. 19-21 (En. 7: 5). Line 19 seems too short in En*: should one add a synonym for ‘to sin’? The reference to reptiles and fish is more developed in the Aramaic text than in the versions.

L. 21-2 (En. 7: 6). C and E omit the second hemistich, a part of which remains in Enb.

L. 23 (En. 8: 1). See the Table below, in the commentary to Ena i iv 1-5 (En. 8: 3).
8 Šemi-hazah taught spell-binding [and cutting of roots. Hermoni taught the loosing of spells,] magic, sorcery, and skill. [Baraq’el taught the signs of thunders. Kôkab’el taught] the signs of the stars. Zêq’el [taught the signs of lightning-flashes. Ar’taqoph taught the signs of the earth]. Šamšî’el taught the signs of the sun. [Šahri’el taught the signs of the moon. [And they all began to reveal] secrets to their wives. 4And because part [of mankind] was perishing from the earth, their cry was going up to [heaven. 9Thereupon] Micha’el [and Šari’el and] Rapha’el and Gabri’el looked down from the sanctuary [of heaven upon the earth, and saw] much blood spilled [on the earth] and the whole [earth] was filled with wickedness and violence, so that sin was brought upon it. [2And the four (archangels) hearing (it) went in] and said to themselves that the voice and cry, [as the sons of earth perish, reach up to] the gates of heaven. [3And they said to the] holy ones of heaven: [‘Now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men] are making their suit and saying: [. . .

6. . . on] the earth, and [all deceit on the dry land. And he made known the eternal mysteries which (were kept) in heaven, so that the experts among the sons of man] should practise them. [7And (Thou seest what hath done) Šemi-hazah to whom Thou hast given authority to] be king over all [his] companions. [8And they have gone to the daughters of men of the earth, and slept with them,] having defiled themselves [by females . . .]

The placing of a small fragment, i, at line 9 is uncertain.

Texts for comparison: En b i iii (En. 8: 2–9: 3), iQ 19 i and 2 (En. 8: 4–9: 3), C, S, S’ (En. 8: 4–9: 3), E.
L. I–5 (En. 8: 3). Here is the list of angel-teachers of En. 8: 1 and 3, to be compared with the list of twenty angels given above in the commentary to En* i iii 5–12 (En. 6: 7); I number the names of the teachers by roman numerals, which are followed by the numbers by which these angels are ordered in the preceding list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Numeral</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (10)</td>
<td>שֶׁשֶׁדֶלֶל אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל ֲוַ_double_ אֶזְאַל</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Azâz'el taught men to make swords...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (1)</td>
<td>שֶׁשֶׁדֶלֶל אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל ֲתָ double_ אֶזְאַל</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Imizras taught the enchanters...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (11)</td>
<td>הַקְּרֹוֶרֶד אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל ֲתָ double_ אֶזְאַל</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Armanos taught the loosing of spells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (9)</td>
<td>יְבָכֲלֶא אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>Baraqel the astrologues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (4)</td>
<td>יְבָכֲלֶא אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל ֲתָ double_ אֶזְאַל</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>Kokabi'el the signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI (8)</td>
<td>יְבָכֲלֶא אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>Tamie taught the observation of the stars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII (2)</td>
<td>יְבָכֲלֶיַה אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>אֶזְאַל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ אֶזְאַל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Asdrel taught the courses of the moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX (15)</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל ֲתָ double_ שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Asdrel taught the courses of the moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (16)</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל אָלִיתֶה</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל ֲתָ double_ שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל</td>
<td>שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל_ ה_דֶּקָאָט_ תּוֹס_ שֶׁמֶשֶׁאְל_ יַרְבּ_וֹרָי_ חָפָשֶׁפֶּס_</td>
<td>'Asdrel taught the courses of the moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to the Table

(a) Cf. Syriac: kwhb'yl (nwhb'yl MS.) ryš' hw dd' (dr' MS.) 'ip lbnynš' 'strwnwmy' etc.; this is the only angel-teacher mentioned in this Syriac quotation. See also p. 20.

(b) Corrupt form of Zakiel?

(c) According to the original text the 'signs of the earth' are not taught by the third, but by the second angel. In order to account for this confusion, and also that of the 9th and 10th teachers, mistakes which are peculiar to S, I propose the following hypothesis. A Greek copyist, who was conversant with Aramaic, worked the list of angel-teachers, drawing from the list of 6: 7, which already had the transcriptional form now to be seen in Syncellus. The transcription of the name of the second angel, Atarkouph, meant nothing to this learned scribe, and he looked for the name which contained a transcription of (N)יִבְרָאִית 'the earth', because he was dealing with the angel who teaches the signs of the earth. He found such a transcription in the name of the third angel, Apa(κηλ).
(d) Not the ‘seventh’, but the fifteenth angel. The confusion can be explained in the same way as that of the 8th angel-teacher; see preceding note.

(e) Not the ‘twentieth’, but the sixteenth angel; see the two preceding notes.

L. 1 of En* i iv. The term ἔπαιοιδᾶς in C (and in E; S corrupt) here translates the Aramaic בְּלִי; immediately afterwards, line 2 (and cf. En. 7: 1; note to En* i iii 15), the same term renders רָמָלְתֺו and והל. The Greek translator could hardly have understood the nuances of the magical Jewish expressions very well.

Ll. 1/2. The corresponding passage in C and E is much abridged. The text of S is relatively close to that of the original: {δ δὲ ἐνδέκατος Ἐφραίμος ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείαν (plural S) εἰς λυτήριον ἐπαιοιδᾶς (this phrase is moved in S to the end after σοφίας; καὶ ἐπαιοιδᾶς λυτήρια; Αρμαρῶς ἐπαιοδῶν λυτήριον C and E) καὶ ἐπαιοδᾶς (καὶ) σοφίας. The first two angel-teachers of En. 8: 3 taught their wives the magic arts, just as the angel in En. 8: 1 instructed men in technical knowledge.

Ll. 2–4. Names of the teachers in astrological, meteorological, and cosmographical sciences. The scheme of it is uniform: (1) theophoric proper name, (2) phrase ‘taught the signs of’ (σημεία; Aramaic יִתְרוֹל, ‘fortunes, fates’, doubtless horoscopes and auguries taken from the positions of the stars and from natural phenomena), (3) first component term of the theophoric name, taken up just as it is or put into the absolute plural.

Ll. 4–5. Only S among the versions has kept this phrase, adding to it καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν; it is followed by the résumé of 7: 3–5.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 8: 4). Word for word ‘and as a result of the death of one part of the men, the voice rose up towards heaven’, which corresponds quite well to τῶν οὗν (τωνων MS.) ἄνθρωπον ἀπολυμένων η ὀρανοῦς ἀνέβη in C. S paraphrases this clause and follows it with En. 9: 2–3, anticipated here (S’ only the anticipated phrases).

Ll. 6–8 (En. 9: 1). S and S’ are closer to the original than C, which omits any reference to the injustice perpetrated on earth (phrase retained in E).

L. 6. S and S’ replace Ἰλίδικος Ἰλίδικος = τότε παρέκτυφαν (cf. τότε παράκεισται in C) by καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τέσσαρες {μεγαλοὶ ἀρχάγγελοι} (the phrase with which verse 2 probably begins) . . . παρέκτυφαν.—The name of the second archangel is written לָפָּו in En* i iii 7; see the note ad loc.

Ll. 7–8. The phrase in S, S’, E, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσθενεῖαν καὶ ἀνομίαν (ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσθενεῖαν S’) γενομένην ἐν’ αὐτῆς (‘on the earth’ E), abridges the Aramaic phrase.

Lines 8–10 (En. 9: 2) remain uncertain. I reconstruct the beginning of this passage in accordance with S and S’, where this beginning is moved to the beginning of verse 1. For the expression ἣν ἴδαν ῥάβδων, ‘the four (archangels)’, = οἱ τέσσαρες in S and S’, cf. אַּבַּגא in En* i 13 (En. 89: 1); alternatively גַּהַנְהוֹר, cf. גַּהַנְהוֹר (to be understood as גַּהַנְהוֹר), ‘the seven of them, the seven (angels)’ in the Aramaic Testament of Levi, Cairo Geniza manuscript, Bodl. a, line 9 (see P. Grelot, Revue biblique, 1956, pp. 398–9).—Then I restore the predicate ἐράγα in line with εἰσέλθωντες in S and S’, verse 2.—The correspondence גַּהַנְהוֹר of En* and πρὸς ἀλλήλους of S and S’ is not clear to me.—The remainder of verse 2 is omitted in S, but it is preserved in part in C, and even better in E, where the expression ‘the devastated earth (cries)’, ‘εράγα (σαρήτ) μέδερ, seems to be a shortened form of the phrase ‘on account
of the destruction of the sons of the earth': see En³ i iii 10. The common archetype of C and E was along approximately the following lines: ἂν ὄπλειαν τῶν νωτῶν τῆς γῆς <ἀνεβαλλόντες> μέχρι πυλών τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

L. 10–11 (En. 9: 3). After the inspection of the earth and the consultation among themselves the four archangels speak to ‘the holy ones’, and finally the two archangels speak to God himself (v. 4). The beginning of v. 3 is preserved in E only, apart from the introduction: ‘and they said (or else let us then say); cf. ‘say to them’ in E⁰ to the holy ones of heaven’; cf. 1Q 19 2 1–2 (DYD i, p. 152).

L. 11. C and E seem fairly close to the original text: <δὴ> ἐννυχάνουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἄντων λεγόντων (καὶ λέγοντα S and S'); S and S' paraphrase.

L. 19–21 (En. 9: 6). The first part of the verse seems better preserved in S than in C E, especially in the conservation of the poetical parallelism: ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ... ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς. On the other hand, the second part of the verse was worked over in S, so it is closer to the original in C E (except perhaps οἱ νῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων of S instead of ἄνθρωποι of C E).

L. 20. Our small fragment explains an evident mistranslation by C, which was followed by E (cf. Charles, i, p. 22 n. 15 and p. 23 n. 4). The meaning of the Aramaic text is ‘and (‘Aša’el) made known the eternal mysteries which (were kept) in heaven, so that the (most) learned of the sons of men could put them to execution’. It is an allusion to the crafts and sciences taught by ‘Aša’el and executed by artisans, described in En. 8: 1 (see En¹ i ii 26–9). The Aramaic phrase [דְּלָם] [וְּהָאָרֶב] [וְּהָאָרֶב], which is a subordinate final clause, had been taken by the Greek translator for a relative one; then the interpreter misread the participle "עֵד", ‘those who know, experts, artisans’, for the perfect εἰπεῖτε ὑμῖν, hence his translation ἐπιστεύον τοὺς οὕτως ἐγνώσαν ἄντων.

L. 21–2 (En. 9: 7). At the beginning understand ‘and (what) Šemi-ḥazah (made)’. Cf. verse 6 beg.

L. 21. [לָמ] [לָמ] [לָמ] [לָמ] = ἀρχεῖν τῶν σων αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων of C (yêkwanen ‘ēlla mēšlehu ḫēbura E). A similar paraphrase of ‘all his companions’ in En. 10: 11 = En³ i iv 9: לָמָּז [וְּהָאָרֶב] [וְּהָאָרֶב] [וְּהָאָרֶב], סֵמְעָהּ אַלְּכַּל בּוֹסָא [וְּהָאָרֶב]. The same Aramaic expression occurs in 4QEnGiants* 5 5 (below, p. 176).

L. 22. [ב։וּקָב] = ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις of S and mēšla ‘ēllēku ‘anēset of E; in C omitted by hmt: αὐταῖς ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις. The particle ‘and’ is put after this expression in E (and C), but before it in S; probably the original phrase was asyndetical, translating the infinitive of the Aramaic text, and καὶ was subsequently inserted.

4QEn* 1 v—En. 10: 3–4 (Pl. V)
Instruct] the righteous (man) [what he is to do, and the son of Lamech (how)] to preserve [his soul unto life], [and to escape] for[ever. And from him [will be planted a plant and it will be established (for) all the generations] of worlds’.

[4 And to Raphael (the Lord)] said: ‘Do go, [Raphael, and bind ‘Asa’el hand and foot and cast] him into [the darkness . . .]

Only the identification of fragment l is relatively certain.

Texts to be compared: C, S, E.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 10: 3). The text of S is certainly the best, C and E giving a drastic abridgement of it.

L. 3. Note the defective spelling of אֲשֶׁר, normal in this manuscript; ‘the righteous’ is a traditional epithet of Noah: Gen. 6: 9; 7: 1; Sir. 44: 17; etc.—I transfer כָּל before רַע יִרְאֵנֵו and אֶדְמוֹךְ.—The infinitives אֶדְמוֹךְ and אֶדְמוֹךְ depend on [אֶדְמוֹךְ].

[... 21]And all the sons of men] shall become righteous, and [all of them shall be offering adoration, and every nation shall be praising me] and shall prostrate itself. [22]And the whole earth shall be cleansed from all defilement and from all impurity. And] I will [never again] send [upon them any wrath nor castigation for all generations of worlds.

11 And] then I will [open ... 12 4 ...] ‘Ye have wrought [great devastation] on the earth; [and ye shall have no peace nor have forgiveness (of sin).’

6 And concerning] those in whom they delight [themselves, concerning their children, the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over] the destruction [of their sons shall they lament ...]

The identification of both fragments remains somewhat uncertain.

Texts to be compared: C and E.

L. 3-4 (En. 10: 21). The first clause, wayēkunu kwēllu wēluda sâbel̄e sâduqâna in E, is omitted by homoeoaocrton, <καί ἐσονταν...> kai ἐσονταν in C. This omission produced a certain disturbance in the following phrases. Originally there was a double distich, with parallel clauses, the first concerning all righteous men, and the second every (converted) nation. As for the verbal forms, the Aramaic had probably a cross-parallelism, finite form: participle/participle: finite form.

L. 3. ἐσονταν, si vera lectio, had a declarative nuance: all men shall be declared, proclaimed righteous.

L. 3/4. The text of C, οἱ λαοί καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκομιοῦντες, has to be corrected to καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ εὐλ. ἐμοὶ καὶ πρ. Anyhow, judging by ἔριμ[η] of line 4, the original subject of the sentence was in the singular.

L. 4-6 (En. 10: 22). Here again an original double distich, with partially parallel clauses, was disturbed by the transfer of {καὶ} ὀργῆς καὶ μάστιγος, which certainly belongs to the following sentence with the predicate πέμψω and originally followed it. I suggest that the translation of the Aramaic partitive phrases מַלּ רֹאִים מִלְחָשְׁרָה, meaning ‘anything of (my) wrath and anything of (my) castigation’, by Greek partitive genitives caused the attraction of these nouns to the genitives in the preceding sentence: ἀπὸ παντὸς μᾶκματος καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας.


L. 15-16 (En. 12: 4-5). This section is in direct speech depending on καὶ εἶδε at the beginning of verse 4: Enoch is meant to address the Watchers. In verse 6 the archangel takes up his indirect discourse. For the ‘great Watcher and holy one’ of 12: 3 see En vi 19-20.

L. 15/16 (En. 12: 5). I retranslate the strong adverb οὖν by the repetition of the verb ἀνέλαβα.

L. 16-17 (En. 12: 6). Note that the first δυσμὶ and the second δυσμὶ refers to the sons of ‘the beloved ones’. The same distinction between the children and grandchildren of the Watchers, i.e. between Giants and Nephilim, occurs in En vi 15-16 (En. 14: 6).
SECOND COPY (4QEn^, Pls. VI–IX)

Skin light brown, reddish or blackened in places, fairly thick and stiff; surface granular and often shiny, slightly damaged or else flaking in places; back black and flaking.

Ink watery and at times faded. Guide-lines barely visible or missing; space between lines 1 cm on average.

The original scroll is now reduced to several small fragments of parchment, belonging to the first four and the sixth columns of the manuscript. Each column contained twenty-eight lines of the text (col. ii: twenty-nine lines). The beginning is missing, except for one letter. There was either one column of very long lines of writing or one column and a half as in En^a. Reconstructed height of the written surface, 26·5 cm; upper margin 1(?) cm, lower margin 2 cm (1 ii); height of the scroll approximately 30 cm; other codicological details in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaf</th>
<th>Col.</th>
<th>Letters per line</th>
<th>Width of col.</th>
<th>Sections of text</th>
<th>Sigla of fragments on plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 i</td>
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<td>..</td>
<td>En. 1: 1–5: 9</td>
<td>4QEn^ b i 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9·5 cm</td>
<td>5: 9–8: 1</td>
<td>En. 5: 9–6: 4</td>
<td>ii 1–8,</td>
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<td>6: 7–8: 1</td>
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<td>15–29</td>
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<td>iii</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8: 2–10: 5</td>
<td>8: 2–9: 4</td>
<td>iii 1–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10: 5–22</td>
<td>10: 8–12</td>
<td>iv 5–12</td>
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<td>v</td>
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<td>14: 2–</td>
<td>14: 4–6</td>
<td>vi 5–10</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>f–i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The writing of En^b is rather archaic, probably dating from the early Has­monaean period; cf. Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 7 (175–125 B.C.), and p. 138, fig. 2, line 1 (175–150 B.C.) and line 2 (125–100 B.C.). The Nun has here the medial form and a final form, whilst the Kaph and the Pe have only one form, viz. medial; this palaeographical characteristic recurs in the semi-cursive alphabets of Qumrán: Cross, p. 149, fig. 4, line 1 (150–100 B.C.) and line 2 (100–50 B.C.). Our manuscript doubtless goes back to the first half of the second century, or perhaps more exactly to the middle of the century.

The orthography of En^b is ‘classical’ and relatively ‘full’. The article is marked by Aleph: אַל ii 7; עַל ii 27; אֵל ii 28; אַל ii 15; אֵל ii 19; אֵל ii 16; final Aleph also in the proper name of an angel, אַוָּה iv 9, as against עָה in iii 1 and in En^a. Aleph marks the final -e: אלה iv 7. The final -a of the infinitives is marked by
He: הלא iii 5. Full spellings: בַּכְלָה iii 5 (but בַּכְלָה iii 15, supralinear addition); בַּכְלָה ii 28, etc. The consonant (') is omitted in iv 10; retained in final position, in the forms of ‘Lord’: מַרְאָה iv 5 and מַרְאָה iii 14, מַרְאָה iii 14. A superfluous final Aleph occurs in iv 1 and ii 21 (add.). Pronouns: הָא iii 14; יִתְנָה ii 17; יִתְנָה iv 9; יִתְנָה iv 10; יִתְנָה ii 26; יִתְנָה iii 15. The names of masculine ordinal numbers from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ bear a curious form of the type יָדַר שֵׁה, ii 15–17; contrast the normal type בָּשָׁה שֵׁה in En* i 9–12 (except קד א, ibid. iii 9). Verb: Pe’al imperative, דַּלָל iv 5; Pa’el perfect, שֵׁה iii 18 and iii 5; Aphel imperative, אָדוֹת iv 8 (reading uncertain); reflexive forms: אֲנָתַמַללוּ ii 4; אֲנָתַמַללוּ iv 9. On the termination -a of the third person plural feminine of the perfect, בָּשָׁה ii 2, see the introduction to En*.

Some rare terms occur in lines 26–8 of column ii.

The copy of 4QEnb seems rather careless, unless it is a question of a defective archetype the omissions and other errors of which had been corrected by the same scribe, who may have used a better manuscript for his corrections, a manuscript similar to 4QEn*, it would appear; see the note to En* i 25. Like En*, our scroll would have contained only the first book of the Enochic Pentateuch, En. 1–36.

In general the identification of the several small fragments of Enb, and therefore the restoration of the text, remain highly problematical. The tiny pieces, fragments 2 to 5, have not been placed.

4QEnb 1 i (Pl. VI) [ ] 1–7

4QEnb 1 ii—En. 5: 9–6: 4 and 6: 7–8: 1 (Pls. VI, VII)

[ וּכְוַד נאַזֵּה יִתְנָה ]

[ וּכְוַד נאַזֵּה יִתְנָה ] 9–28

[ וּכְוַד נאַזֵּה יִתְנָה ]

[ וּכְוַד נאַזֵּה יִתְנָה ]

שֵׁפִיר נאַזֵּה לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹрֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ לְעֹרֶךְ L

אֲנָתַמַללוּ וַלְּדָא הַזָּדֵה יִתְנָה וַלְּדָא הַזָּדֵה יִתְנָה וַלְּדָא הַזָּדֵה יִתְנָה וַלְּדָא H
THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

5

בַּנֵי אָדָם לֹא חָיָּה שֶׁמֶּהוֹז אֲנֵה דִּי לֹא זֶבֶכָּה

לָמָּעֵב[וּני] ָלָּמָּעֵב[וּני]

זֶמַח [שְׁמוֹאֵל גִּנֹּרֵי גִּנֹּרֵי רַבֵּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה הָרָב רַבְּנָה H

בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה B

עָבֹדַם אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה B

עָבֹדַם אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה B

עָבֹדַם אֵלָה בָּאָה אֵלָה B

עָבֹדַם אֵלָה B

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And it came to pass when the children of men multiplied in those days, there were born to them daughters, beautiful and fair. And the Watchers, sons of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said, one to another: 'Let us go and choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men and beget for ourselves children.' But Šemîḥazâ who was their chief said to them: 'I fear that you will not wish to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.' And they all answered and said to him: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind one another by it, that we shall not any of us turn aside from this counsel, until we do this deed...; 'Anan’el, thirteenth to him; Š*taw’el, fourteenth to him; Šamšî’el, fifteenth to him; Šahri’el, sixteenth to him; Tummi’el seventeenth to him; Ťuri’el, eighteenth to him; Yom’el, nineteenth to him; Y’haddi’el, twentieth to him. These are the chiefs of tens.

Those (two hundred) and their leaders all took for themselves wives from all that they chose; and they began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them] sorcery and spell-binding [and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants. And they became pregnant by them and bore giants, three thousand cubits high, who were born (and multiplied) on the earth according to the kind of their childhood, [and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, and] they were devouring [the labour of all the children of men and men were unable] to supply [them. But the giants conspired to slay men and to devour them. And they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth], and reptiles [which creep upon the face of the earth, and (creatures) in the waters and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were] drinking blood. Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it.

'Asa’el taught [men to] make swords of iron and breastplates of brass, [and he showed] them (metals) which are dug out, [and how] they should
work gold to fashion it apt (for uses), and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets, [and for (other) adornments] of [women. And] he [showed to women] concerning antimony, and concerning eye-shadow, [and concerning all precious stones, and concerning dye-stuffs].

The identification and the placing of the small fragments \( h \) and \( i \) (lines 21–2), \( l \), \( m \), and \( o \) (lines 26–7) remain very uncertain.

Texts for comparison: En\(^a\) i iii (En. 6: 4–8: 1), En\(^c\) i ii (En. 6: 7), C, S (En. 6: 1–8: 1), Syriac extract (En. 6: 1–7), E.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 6: 1). The form of \( נוֹרִים \) is that of the third person plural feminine of the perfect (see the introduction to En\(^a\), and here, line 20), which anticipates the feminine plural predicate of the main clause, \( לְהַלְךֹתָהּ \); alternatively, it could be the singular feminine of the Pe'al participle in a neutral durative meaning: ‘and it (was) happening’. However, one could expect here the 3rd person singular masculine form, \( נַוְלָדם \) or \( נוֹרִים \), just as in Hebrew (’לְהַלְךֹת Gen. 6: 1); also Syriac (\( ܟܹܪܡܐ ܐܬܐ \)) and C and S (\( 
\) with C, Syriac, E; om. S. It is not clear whether the original had the pronoun \( לְהַלְךֹת (ה)וֹרִים \) with S and E (cf. ’
\( ṯ̃́ḻ̃́ḏ̃́n ḇ̃́ḏ̃́نو̱̃́w \) in Syriac), or not; om. C.

L. 3. \( שְׁפֵי רֶדֶן \) = \( אָפְדָא קָאָי הָלוֹאִי \) in C (and E); \( קָאָי הָלוֹאִי \) om. S (and Syriac). I restore \( בָּט לֶךָ \) from Gen. 6: 2; the two terms are synonymous, exactly as in Aramaic inscriptions: \( דְּקַר . . . בְּתְּבָנַפַר \); cf. \( קָאָוָי הָלוֹאִי \) in Greek.

Ll. 3–5 (En. 6: 2). Restore \( לִזְרִיעוֹן \) with S and Syriac; for terms denoting ‘angels’ in the book of Enoch see the commentary to En\(^a\) i i. 3. The beginning of this verse, which I restore in accordance with C and E, is abridged and glossed in S and Syriac: \( קָאָי הָלוֹאִי עֲבֵדָא oּיֵי יֹגוּרַהָא וַאֲפֵלַנְהַשְּאָב וַאֲפֵלַנְהַשְּאָב \) (Syriac omits the last two words).

L. 4. Restore \( בָּנְוָו הָנְדָדָב \) Gen. 6: 2 and 4); \( אָפְו תָּנְו \) \( בָּנְוָו \) C, ‘from the children of men’ E.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 6: 3). I restore this verse to correspond with C, but the other witnesses are almost identical.

Ll. 6–8 (En. 6: 4) = En\(^a\) i iii 1–2; see the commentary to En\(^a\).

Ll. 8–14 (En. 6: 5–7). This long lacuna corresponds to En\(^a\) i iii 2–9, q.v.

Ll. 15–26 (En. 6: 7–8: 1) = En\(^a\) i iii 10–23; see the commentary to En\(^a\).

L. 17 (En. 6: 8). Text omitted by homoioarcton, added above the line.

L. 19 (En. 7: 1). To the absolute state of the term \( הָלְשׁוֹן \) in En\(^a\) i iii 15 there corresponds here the emphatic state of the same term and of its synonym, the two being preceded by \( שׁוֹנ \) of the direct object: \( לְהַלְשׁוֹת \) \( לְהַלְשׁוֹת \) \( לְהַלְשׁוֹת \) \( לְהַלְשׁוֹת \). However, lines 19–21 contain per line an average number of letters which is slightly too high in comparison with that of En\(^a\) i iii 14–17.

L. 25 (En. 7: 5–6). Long omission by homoiooteleuton \( לְוָאִי . . . לְוָאִי \), rewritten in two short lines above the main line.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 8: 1). This verse has been considerably reworked in the versions. It was copied absent-mindedly by the scribe of En\(^b\), hence three omissions made good by himself between lines 26 and 27.

L. 26. \( לֶמְעֵשׁב הָרְבָּר דָּרִי פַּרְוָא חַיְּשָר \) (אֶת), feminine plural absolute, certainly means ‘swords’ and not ‘knives’;
To ti EL paxpas kal BilaKas S, plus a gloss ko tir dv gk€vos iroXepLiKov, in C, after puxpas ttoiclv, there are added two other terms, ko I onXa ko I daireihas, and after 6a>paKas one reads STSAY/XARA dyydXcov which was, in a Greek manuscript, the title of the passage En. 8: 1-3, inserted in the text through carelessness. E has 'swords and knives and shields and breastplates', *asyifit wamatdbiMt wawaltd wadM'a ^gMe*dy more or less equivalent to C. The versions omit any mention of the metal from which the swords are made, ὄρλ ἡ. But compare a reference to our text which is found in the Book of Adam and Eve: 'Genun. . . took iron and with it made weapons of war' (quoted by Charles, ii, p. xcv). The law of parallelism demands that the mention of 'iron' should be followed by a reference to 'copper', just as in line 27 one reads of 'gold' and of 'silver'. Actually, the minute fragment o contains a part of ᾽ΕΗΑ, 'copper'. A reference to this whole passage is found in the Clementine Homilies, viii 12-18 (quoted by Charles, ii, p. lxxxviii): . . . ék μετάλλων ἀνθή, χρυσόν, χαλκόν, ἀργύρον, σίδηρον . . . ἐτὶ δὲ χρυσόν καὶ ἀργύρον καὶ τῶν ὦμοιον χῦσιν.

Ll. 26-7. [ΗΣΗ] ΜΑ ΜΑ [ἈΙΤΙΩΝΑ], word for word 'and he showed them what is dug out', was translated in C faithfully, where the sense is concerned, by καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μετάλλα (megála MS.); S has only καὶ τὰ μετάλλα and adds τῆς γῆς. The Ethiopic translator did not know the meaning of this noun and took it for ρα πυερ OAAA 'those after other (things)', rendering it approximately by za'imdehrehomu 'what is after them'; another copyist added in the margin a transcription of ρα /XCVAAAA, which, corrupted, was later inserted at the end of verse 8: 1: {wa}tawldta 'dlatn. For this expression cf. Tertullian: 'Metallorum opera nudaverunt' in De cultu fem. i 2 (above, p. 78).

The author of our book of Enoch apparently did not know any noun denoting 'metals' and expressed it by a relative clause 'that which is dug out (of the earth)'. Similarly in Syriac passive forms of hfr are used for 'extracting metals', and the passive noun methafränd means 'metals'. Note moreover that in line 27 of Enb ΧΣ is used in a relative indefinite function, just as in the next clause (line 27a) and before, in line 25b. On this syntactical feature of the interrogative forms in later Aramaic dialects, see Dalman, Grammatik, p. 118 § 18, 3 end.

In the proposition ΧΕΙ ΜΑ ΤΕΤΕΖΟΝ ΖΗΒΗΒΗΜΑ ΝΕΜΕΒΟΝ the scribe made an omission by homoeoarcton, ΜΑΛΗΜΑ . . . ΑΛΗΜΑ, immediately corrected by himself above the line. S alone preserves this phrase, but completely rearranged: καὶ τὸ χρύσιν πῶς ἐργάσωνται καὶ ποιήσωσιν αὐτὰ κόσμα ταῖς γυναιξί. The original Greek wording was rather: καὶ πῶς ἐργάσωνται τὸ χρύσιν καὶ ποιήσωσιν (see below) αὐτὸ κόσμουν. The last word, an adjective in the neuter, translates fairly exactly the Aramaic הילברדה, Pu'al participle of הילברדה, 'be straight, apt, prepared, well arranged'. It qualifies 'gold' as apt for various uses, especially as a medium of commercial exchanges. Syncellus (or his predecessors, Anianus and Panodorus), however, applies this word in the plural, to all metals; thus he anticipates here the expression κόσμους (so C) ταῖς γυναιξί which refers to the 'silver', barely mentioned in S: καὶ τῶν ἄργυρων ( . . .).

In the text of C the original Greek expression πῶς ἐργάσωνται was transformed into καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν (sc. of metals), or rather, as I suspect, it is an abridgement of a longer phrase, πῶς ἐργάσωνται τὸ χρύσιν εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ, the last words translating לימעבה just which occurs shortly afterwards for a second time; hence a long omission by homoeoteleuton in C, and in E as well: τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν ( . . . τῶν ἄργυρων εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ).

The Aramaic phrase חספָא לָצוֹמִיד was corrected by the copyist to חספָא לָצוֹמִיד.
which was probably translated in Greek more or less as follows: καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν ἑργασίαν αὐτοῦ ἤφελα. C, after {καὶ} ἤφελα, continues with καὶ κόσμος, to which should be added ταῖς γυναῖκι as in κόσμια ταῖς γυναῖκι of S (see above). I retranslate κόσμος (the plural is unusual) by the plural of ζηλοθάμ, which normally corresponds to κόσμος in many Palmyrene bilingual inscriptions; it is also used in Syriac for women’s finery and jewels.

L. 28. After καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἦπε οὖν, S reads ἔδειξε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στίλβεσι καὶ τὸ καλλυντικῇ. C omits the predicate, as it had used it shortly before, καὶ ὑπεδίδεσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ μεγάλα (sic), where S on the other hand had omitted it. Considering, however, that the whole line is about women’s cosmetics and adornments, we should read αὐτοῖς in S, or rather suppose a haplographed repetition of ταῖς γυναῖκι. The word τὸ στίλβεσι is a corruption of τὴν στίβεσι, preserved in C (στρεῖσις, undeclinable), and denotes ‘the black of antimony’ used as an eye-liner and a mascara for eyelashes: אָּלְמָל in En⁵ and known in all Semitic languages (takwehêleota in E).

The end of this line probably contained ὡς δὲ ἀδενί κύριον = καὶ παντοῖος λίθοις ἐγκλετοὺς of C, followed immediately after, or in the next line, by ὡς βαφτήζεται = καὶ τὰ βαφικά in C. On ‘Aza’el in charge of ἐπὶ Λεύκων, according to a late Jewish Midrash, see below, pp. 326 and 328.

After τὰ βαφικά comes a long addition in S, a sort of chronicler’s reflection, and a corrupted translation of τὰ μεταλλα in E (see above).

4QEn⁵ 1 iii—En. 8: 2–9: 4 (Pls. VII, VIII)
And there was much wickedness and men were acting wickedly and erring in all their ways. Šemiḥazah taught spell-binding and cutting of roots. Hermoni taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery and skills. Baraq’el taught the signs of thunders. Kôkab’el taught the signs of the stars. Zêqi’el taught the signs of lightning-flashes. ’el taught the signs of . . . Ar’tqvoph taught the signs of the earth. Šamši’el taught the signs of the sun. Šahri’el taught the signs of the moon. And they all began to reveal secrets to their wives. And because part of mankind was perishing from the earth, the cry was going up to heaven.

Thereupon Micha’el and Šari’el [and Rapha’el and] Gabri’el looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth, and saw much blood spilled on the earth; and the whole earth was filled with wickedness and violence so that sin was brought upon it. And four (archangels) hearing (it) went in and said to themselves that the voice and cry, as the sons of earth
perish, reach up to the gates [of heaven]. And they said to the holy ones of heaven: 'Now to you, the holy ones of] heaven, the souls [of men] are making their suit [and saying]: Bring our case before the Most High, and our destruction before the majestic Glory, before the Lord of all Lords in majesty.'

4And] Rapha’el and Micha’el, [great Watchers and holy ones, went in and said before the Lord of the world that Thou art] our great Lord; [Thou art Lord of the world; [Thou art Lord of Lords and God of Gods and King of worlds]. Thy glorious throne is for every generation of generations which are from eternity, [and Thy Name is holy, and great and blessed to all eternity, and Thy . . . is] sacred and . . . to all [eternity . . .]

The identification and the placing of the small fragments r (lines 1–2), s (lines 6–7), t, u, and v (lines 10–11) are uncertain.

Texts for comparison: En* i iv (En. 8: 3–9: 3), C, S, S' (En. 8: 4–9: 4), E.

L. 1 (En. 8: 2). This verse appears to be well preserved in C, apart from {καὶ ἔφανισθησαν}.

Ll. 1–11 (En. 8: 3–9: 3) = En* i iv 1–11; see the commentary to En* loc. cit.

L. 7 (En. 9: 1). [Ῥ]N’W$ : this is the only place in 4QEn where the name of the second archangel is preserved; it occurs three times in Enoch: here, in 10: 1 and in 20: 6. In 9: 1 the Greek witnesses, C, S, S', have Οὐρνηλ; E hesitates between 'Ur’el (MSS. t' u), and Sur’el (MSS gmq), whilst the manuscripts of the group β, and t², duplicate this name in Suryān wa’Uryān (or Suryāl wa’Uryāl).

In 10: 1, for the name of the messenger of God to Noah, S has Οὐρνηλ again, but C reads Ἰσραηλ. In E only the MS. t, with its 'asr’e(l) yer, preserves a form relatively close to Ισραηλ of the Greek archetype of E. Other manuscripts, and the MS. t with its ending, have very strange forms in which one detects, however, a sort of lectio conflata of Ἰσραήλ, Συριήλ, and Υριήλ, written as one or as two names: 'Asurye 'Ulyer m, 'Asarya Léyer g, 'Asareye Láyer q, 'Arsyahláłyyny most of the MSS. β.—Only once the Greek of C and C preserves a faithful transcription of ʁN'W$ in the list of archangels, En. 20: 6: Σαριηλ, δ εἰς τῶν (το C') ἄγιων (ἀγιον C') ἄγγελων δ ἐπὶ (ἐπει C') τῶν πνευμάτων (πνευμάτων C') οὐτίνες (οὐτίνες C') ἐπὶ (ἐπει C') τῷ πνεύματι (πνεύματι C') ἀμαρτάνουσιν C (xxix 21–4) and C' (xiv 11–13). This description, which is not at all clear and has perhaps been recast in a Christian sense, must refer to that kind of sinner who imitates the modes of life of the men and of the fallen angels who were living before the Flood. E has a slightly different text: 'Σαρα’δα’λ (α–q), Saraq’del (β), one of the holy angels, who is (set) over the spirits of mankind who sin (in) spirits'.

According to the same list 'Ur’del, 'Light of God', is also in charge of the world and of Tartarus: Οὐρνηλ, δ εἰς τῶν ἄγιων ἄγγελων ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου, En. 20: 2 (xxix 14–15; cf. xi 1–4); in E 'Ur’el (also in CSCO 235/Aeth 43, p. 78, 23: quotation of 19: 3–20: 2) except 'Urd’el in gq. Tartarus is the prison of the stars and of the angels, En. 18–19 and 21, of which Ouriel is Guardian: Οὐρνηλ δ εἰς τῶν ἄγιων ἄγγελων ὅσ (ὁ C') μετ' ἐμοῦ ἤγετο C' kai αὐτὸς ἤγειτο αὐτῶν (αὐτῶν C') 21: 5 (C and C'). He also acts as Enoch's guide, 18: 14;
19: 1; 21: 5 and 9. He appears again in a similar place, in the accursed valley close to Jerusalem, 27: 2. In the phrase of 20: 2, after ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου, one must of necessity add τῶν φωστήρων, following the expression τῶν κόσμων τῶν φωστήρων in 20: 4; see En d i xi 5–6, note. In the passage of En. 33: 3–4 Ouriel appears as a teacher of astronomy, the role which he will retain throughout the Astronomical Book of Enoch: 72: 1; 74: 2; 75: 3–4; 78: 10; 80: 1; 82: 7–8.

The original name of the second archangel as given here in l. 7 appears twice (a second time restored) in another Qumran manuscript. In the description of a war formation called ‘towers’ one reads: οὗτος οὖν οἱ μεγαλῆται ἠκομβώροι τοῖς ἱερασίασι συμμετέχοντες, οὗτοι μὲν τῆς Μιχαήλ, οὗτοι δὲ τῆς Σαρίηλ, οὗτοι δὲ τῆς Γαβριήλ, οὗτοι δὲ τῆς Ραφαήλ. Following the expression τῶν κόσμων τῶν φωστήρων in 20: 4; see En d i xi 5–6, note. In the passage of En. 33: 3–4 Ouriel appears as a teacher of astronomy, the role which he will retain throughout the Astronomical Book of Enoch: 72: 1; 74: 2; 75: 3–4; 78: 10; 80: 1; 82: 7–8.

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The name appearing in the Jewish speculation under Christian influence on the north, Gabriel on the east, and Raphael on the west side of the throne. A slightly different arrangement is still to be seen (I have seen it) on a tower built about A.D. 412 in the Byzantine city of 'Umm el-Gimal in Northern Jordan. The name Ὄφρηλ is engraved on the north side of the castle, and Γαβρηλ on the east side; but Μιχαηλ is on the west, and 'Ραφηλ on the south. (See E. Littmann, D. Magie, Jr., and D. R. Stuart, PAES iii A 3 (1913), 143–5, nos. 245–8.) For a similar placing of images of the archangels in four corners of the dome in later churches (especially in Cappadocia) and in Christian tombs see the paper by P. Perdrizet quoted above, p. 22. In a recently discovered church at Selçikler Köyü in Turkey (ancient Sebast of Phrygia), dating from the tenth century, the architrave of the iconostasis has Christ in the middle, with Mary on his right hand and John the Baptist on his left, and on either side Μιχαηλ and Ὄφρηλ on the right of Mary, Γαβρηλ and 'Ραφηλ on the left of St. John; see the preliminary report of N. Firath, Cahiers arch. xix (1969), p. 159, figs. 16 and 17, and p. 163. The hierarchical order is: Michael and Gabriel nearer to the Saviour, Ouriel and Raphael in the right and left outside places. Exactly the same sequence occurs in an early Christian writing called Epistle of the Apostles, known in fragmentary Coptic and Latin texts, or Testament of our Lord in Galilee (in the complete Ethiopic version): 'Now the chief captain of the angels (is) Michael, and Gabriel and Ouriel and Raphael followed me (sc. Christ) unto the fifth firmament.’ (M. R. James, The Apocryphal N. T., p. 489 § 13.) The same order appears in one witness of the Gospel of Bartholomew (James, p. 175 (iv 28)).

The substitution of Ouriel for Sariel, in the original list of the four archangels, which occurs in the Greek text of En. 9: 1, is due to the function of Ouriel as the Guardian of Tartarus (En. 20: 2); this role of his is strongly emphasized by the early Christian apocalyptic writers; see, e.g., the Apocalypse of Peter (James, pp. 512–13) and The Sibylline Oracles, ii, 215 (quoted above, p. 92).

Another theological influence caused the replacement of Sariel by Is(t)rael in En. 10: 1.
Noah as a remote ancestor of the Chosen People is warned and instructed by an angel bearing the name of the eponymous ancestor of the sons of Israel. According to the Prayer of Joseph quoted frequently by Origen, Ἰσαραήλ is the first archangel; Jacob, man and angel, fights with Ὄνυμωλ, who is eighth after Israel; cf. A.-M. Denis, Pseudepigrapha V. T. Graece, iii. 2 (1970), 61; James, The Lost Apocrypha of the O.T., 1936, pp. 21–31. To the several attestations of this passage I add an implicit reference in Origen, Hom. in Num. xi 4 (ed. W. A. Baehrens, GCS 30, 1921, p. 83, 19–20; cf. p. 85, 2–4): ‘Nomen enim Istrahel pervenit usque ad angelicos ordines.’

In conclusion, we may affirm that as early as the Persian period (the probable date of En. 6–19; above, pp. 28–31) Israelites believed in the existence of four archangels whose names and order were: Mīkha’ēl (‘Who is as God?’), Śari’ēl (‘Prince of God’), Rafa’ēl (‘Chief of Repha’ēim of God’), Gābri’ēl (‘Strength of God’); En. 9: i = 4QEnb i iii. 7. In our Qumrān manuscript, two of them, Raphael and Michael, appear in line 13 (a mention lost in Greek and E, at the beginning of En. 9: 4). In an ascending, and different, sequence they appear in En. 10: Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael; in this order they are also known in the Christian writings.

In the list of the seven archangels (which dates from the third century b.c.; above, pp. 25–8) they come in the following order: Raphael (in the second place), Michael (fourth), Sariel (fifth), and Gabriel (seventh).

Ll. 11–12 (end of En. 9: 3). I restore this stichos, which is made up of two parallel phrases, the second of which is overloaded, in line with S (En. 9: 3; same passage in S’, but under En. 8: 4): Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν κρίσιν ἠμῶν πρὸς τὸν Ὄψιστον, καὶ τὴν ἀπωλείαν ἠμῶν ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλωσθῆς (μεγάλης S’), ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων πάντων τῆς μεγαλωσθῆ (the exact meaning of the last expression escapes me); C, as also E and S’ (under En. 9: 3), retain only the first hemistich.

Ll. 13–16 (En. 9: 4). The introductory phrase to the prayer (line 13) has been best preserved in S’: καὶ προσέλθωτε οἱ τέσσαρες ἀρχάγγελοι εἰπον τῷ κυρίῳ; E adds ‘of the kings’, whilst S adds τῶν αἰώνων, the term which is found in the Aramaic original (l. 14), but in the singular: ‘Lord of the world’. In fact we are not dealing here with all four archangels, but only with the two messengers, Raphael and Michael, who enter into the divine throne-room (cf. En. 14: 15–25). The reading ἦλθέν [ἐ] is absolutely certain; the letters Pe and Aleph, which have now disappeared, can be read on old photographs, e.g. PAM 42. 231.—I restore the name of ‘archangels’ as ‘great Watchers and holy ones’ according to Enb i v 19–20 (En. 12: 3).

Ll. 13/14. The passage ἢλθεν ἦλθεν Μερος ἔδωκεν ... ὁ Ἰσαραήλ has been omitted, in the Aramaic archetype of the versions, by hmt. The epithet for God, ‘Lord of the world’, occurs in exactly the same form, mr’ ‘lm’, in the Palmyrene inscriptions, CIS ii 3912 (A.D. 134) and 3986 (A.D. 114); see Lidzbarski, Eph. i, p. 258; mr’ ‘lm’ in a Nabataean inscription of Hegra, CIS ii 271 (cf. RES 1175).

Ll. 14–15. The order and the number of the epithets for God, as also the praise of the Name, probably had the form which is found in C (and E): Σὺ εἰς εἰς τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ ὃς τῶν θεῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων (‘of kings’ E, S, S’;+a fourth epithet S and S’) καὶ (with S and S’; om. C) ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάντας (Enb, supralinear addition) τὰς γενεὰς (Enb = εἰς πάνταν τὴν γενεὰν τῶν γενεάων) τοῦ αἰώνος (Enb = τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰώνος), καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἄγιον καὶ μέγα (κ.μ. om. S and S’) καὶ εὐλογητὸν εἰς πάντας τῶν αἰώνας.

The Books of Enoch
L. 16. This is a phrase parallel to the preceding one, which has been omitted in the versions by the error of homoeoteleuton; I have not succeeded in deciphering and restoring it in its entirety.

4QEn⁰ 1 iv—En. 10: 8–12 (Pl. VIII)

[...]

[...] 1-4

[...] 5

[...] 6

[...] 10

[...] 12

[...] 10

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...] 13-28

[10 8 . . . all] sins. [9And to Gabriel] the Lord [said]: ‘Go [to the bastards and the children of fornication, and destroy] the children of the Watchers [from among men, and send them] into a war of destruction; and length [of days they will not have. 10And] no request [from their fathers on their behalf shall be granted that they should expect] to live [an eternal] life [or that each of them should live for five hundred years.’ 11And to Michael the Lord said: ‘Go Michael, and] make known to Semihazâ and to all his companions who associated with [women to defile themselves with them in their uncleanness, 12that] their sons shall perish, and they shall see [the destruction [of their beloved ones; and bind them unto] seventy generations [in valleys] of the earth unto the great day [of their judgement . . .]
The identification and the placing of the little fragments which make up this column, x to e', remain somewhat uncertain, except for the identification of fragments y, b', and e'.

Texts for comparison: C, S, E.

L. 5 (En. 10: 8). Restore אָנָּו or אָנָּו, the two words corresponding well to τὰς ἀμαρτίας in C and E.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 10: 9). The beginning of this verse is equivalent to C: καὶ τῷ (τοῖς MS.) Γαβριήλ ἐπείπε δὲ κυθάρι ἢ μαζέρεους in C (replaced by ἐπὶ τοὺς γλῶνας in S), the noun μαζερεος faithfully transcribes the Aramaic מאמירא (mamzēraya), 'bastards'. The following expression, ἐπεί τοὺς κυδῆλοις in C (and S), is simply an explanatory Greek gloss (κυθηλὸς 'altered, falsified, false, illegitimate') which was already to be found in the Greek manuscript translated into Ethiopic. But in E the word κυδῆλοις was not understood, either here ('the outcasts') or in En. 10: 15 where the phrase τὰ πνευτὰ τῶν κυδῆλοις in C has been rendered by 'all the voluptuous souls'. The verb καὶ ἀπόλεσον can be retranslated by ἀπολέσω or by θάνατον; for this second verb (Hebrew verb?) see En 1 ν 3 (En. 10: 16: ἀπόλεσον).

L. 6. Restore אָנָּו and אָנָּו with S, as against C and E which omit 'sons'.—The phrase בָּבָב אֶבַּד [שֵׁלָה לֹא] is that of C, except for the metathesis of two parts of the clause: σέμιμον αὐτός ἐν πολέμω ἀπωλήσας; S (. . . ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπώλειᾳ) and E paraphrase this passage.—The restoration ἐράω = καὶ μακρότης seems to me better than ἀποκροτήσῃ or ἀποκροτήσῃ; cf. לֹא אָנָּו, feminine singular absolute, in the Targum to Gen. 6: 3.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 10: 10). Restore אוֹל, 'in their favour', in line with E (and C in which, however, there is a superfluous 'and': {καὶ} περὶ αὐτῶν); S om. I translate ἐλπίζοντων by the Pa’el participle, plural masculine, of the verb ἐλπίζω.

Ll. 8–9 (En. 10: 11). The beginning of this verse should probably be restored in line with the wording in E and in an analogous expression at the beginning of verse 9.—אָנָּו מְרִיבַּל is that of S. The imperative יִרְדָּד = καὶ δῆλωσον in C and E. Whatever the reading (alternatively שֵׁלָה לֹא), identification, and placing of this tiny fragment may be, the reading δῆλωσον should be retained rather than the emendations δεσμύων or δεσμευμόνων proposed by Radermacher and Charles; 'to make known', i.e. the destruction of their children, verse 12 (see note to line 9). It is true that the disagreement between the dative (Σεμιαζά καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς σὺν αὐτῷ) and the accusative (τὰς γενεὰς μεγέντας) remains unexplained, but such syntactical inaccuracies frequently occur in the inscriptions and texts of the Graeco-Roman epoch. 'To Šemihaza and to all his companions' (cf. E), as in 4QEnGiants 8 5–6: לֹא שֵׁלָה לֹא; below, p. 315.

L. 9–11 (En. 10: 12).

L. 9. I restore only יד, depending on לֹא אָנָּו of the preceding line; the expression καὶ δῆταν of C, S, E (and only sola = δῆταν in E8) should be corrected to {καὶ} דֶּתִי אָנָּו.

L. 10. Restore (or אתאוזו) אָֽזְקָּֽו [שַֽבֶּשְׁנָֽי] [דִַֽרְיוֹ] [אָ֝זְקָּֽו עֶלְּמָּו] according to καὶ δῆσον αὐτῶς (plus ἐπὶ S and E) ἐβδομήκοντα γενεὰς in C.—The Greek εἰς τὰς νάτας, 'in the valleys', in C and S ('under the hills' in E is inaccurate) probably translates the Aramaic דְּחַלְלָא or דְּחַלְלָא, feminine plural construct of הַלְלָא, 'valley, vale', which is found in En 11 xii 5 (En. 26: 3: φάραγγαν C); emphatic form לֹא אָֽזְקָּֽו in 1QGenAp xxii 4.

L. 11. The versions have not retained the adjective 'great' in the expression 'until the great day of their judgement', [דִַֽרְיוֹ] אָֽזְקָּֽו [רָבָּא] אָֽזְקָּֽו [עֶלְּמָּו] [יְמִים דִּנְנָו] [מֶּֽכְּרָה] [הָֽמָּרְסָּוָא] [אָ֝זְקָּֽו] אָֽזְקָּֽו [אָ֝זְקָּֽו]; below, p. 315.
I find a reference to this verse, and precisely to the reading 'the great day of judgement', in verse 6 of the Epistle of Jude: ἰημέρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τετῆρου τοῦ ζῷου τῆς διδασκαλίας ᾿Αζα’έλ (cf. 2 Peter 2: 4 and 9). The author of the Epistle of Jude seems, however, to have summarized with this short phrase the two accounts in the book of Enoch, the first of the punishment of 'ᾲσα’έλ, carried out by Raphael (En. 10: 4–8), and the second of the punishment of Šemihazah and his companions, entrusted by God to Michael (En. 10: 11–13). I point out in passing that ᾿Αζα’έλ in C and in S is certainly 'ᾲσα’έλ, the tenth angel (see the commentary to En^), and not 'ᾲσαζ’έλ as is generally assumed; the passage in En. 10: 8 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας ᾿Αζα’έλ refers undoubtedly to En. 8: 1. Now, it is in connection with 'ᾲσα’έλ that mention is made of 'darkness' (σκότος En. 10: 4 and 5, synonymous with ζῷον in Jude) and likewise of the 'great day of judgement', En. 10: 6. This is the reading in E; in C the genitive has to be changed into the dative: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ (τῆς μεγάλης MS.) τῆς κρίσεως; ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως S.

An unusual variant of verse 6 of Jude, without doubt original, may be read in the Speculum (manuscript of the eighth/ninth century): 'angelos . . . in iudicium magni dei (read 'diei', as in the other witnesses of the Old Latin version) vinculis eos sanctorum angelorum sub tenebras servavit'; see Vetus Latina . . . der Erzabtei Beuron, vol. 26/1, fasc. 6, 1967, pp. 417–19. The expression 'holy angels' recalls the reading ὑπὸ τοῦ ζῷου ἔργοι (read ἔγινον) ᾿Αγγέλου τοῦ ζῷου του θεοῦ of Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus, iii/44, 4, in his quotation of Jude 5–6 (O. Stahlin, GCS 12 (1905), 262; C. Mondésert, Ch. Matray, and H.-I. Marrou, Sources Chrétiennes, 158 (1970), 96).

I see here a reference to the archangels as executors of the punishments ordered by God.

For a second reference to the book of Enoch, at verse 13 of the Epistle of Jude, see the commentary to En^ 2 i 1–3 (En. 88: 3) and to En^ 1 (En. 86: 1–3). For the direct quotation of En. 1: 9 in Jude 14–15, see the commentary to En^ 1 i 15–17.

[4QEn^ b i v is missing]

4QEn^ b 1 vi—En. 14: 4–6 (Pl. IX)

[δι βουλικων] 1–4

[ἀλα ἡ θεατερι αὐλειὰν τὰ αὐλειάν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδασκαλίαν διεισάγεται] 5

[τοὶ τοις ἐργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας χριστους αὐλειάς] 6

[δι κρίσεως τῆς κρίσεως] 10a

[λατὰ τὴν διμοφυλίαν ὑπὲρ ἁβραησ] 10

[8201016] 4QEn^ b 1 vi—En. 14: 4–6 (Pl. IX)
[... that your petition will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity, and] judgement will be [by decision and decree against you, that from now on to heaven you] will not return and [not ascend throughout all ages, and among the prisoners of the earth] a judgement has been decreed, [to bind] you [until all the days of eternity; and that first you will see] that for destruction [are all your beloved ones and all] their sons, [and the] possessions [of your beloved ones and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and] before you they will fall upon [the sword of destruction]...

The identification of the fragments, except perhaps that of g', remains somewhat uncertain.

Texts for comparison: En^ i vi 13–17 (see notes ad loc.), C, and E.

Ll. 6–7 (En. 14: 5). In this verse and in the following one the Aramaic seems to use more emphatic expressions than those in C.

Ll. 6. Μηκέτι... ἀναβηγίαι (read –τε) in C corresponds to [καὶ ἀναβηγίαι] where the verb ἀναβηγίαι has rather a modal function: 'any more . . . never again'.

Ll. 8–10 (En. 14: 6). L. 8. Περὶ τοῦ τόσου seems to translate the temporal conjunction (cf. τὴν δικαιομαχίαν Dan. 7: 7) or Πρὸς τὴν δικαιομαχίαν (cf. τὴν δικαιομαχίαν in 'Empire Aramaic', Πρὸς τὴν δικαιομαχίαν in 1QGenAp xxi 23); well understood in E: wa'ēmqēdâ ma zēntu. —This first clause is abridged in C and E. According to En^ i vi 16 the mention of 'your beloved ones' was followed by the mention of 'their sons', otherwise Giants and Nephilim: all this is telescoped and inverted by C in τῶν νησών δυσών τῶν ἀναπηρων; I assume furthermore the omission of 'all' before both nouns. The phrase which precedes these genitives, εἶδητε τὴν ἀπάλαιν, weakens the more emphatic expression: 'you shall see that for the destruction are (destined)'. The particle δὴ which should follow εἶδητε was for some reason transferred to the next clause, καὶ δὴ νῦν ἐσται . . ., where it should not be, according to En^ i vi 16.

L. 10. יְבָל עַל חֵרֹב, as in 1 Sam. 31: 4.

THIRD COPY (4QEn^, Pls. IX–XV)

The description which follows applies also to the first copy of the Book of Giants, 4QEnGiants* (see below, pp. 310–17), both En^ and EnGiants* belonging to the same manuscript.

Skin of a colour which varies from deep cream to very dark brown, thick and stiff in places; surface smooth or finely granular, damaged or flaking in parts; back fairly wrinkled. Several fragments have shrunk.

Guide-lines moderately broad, not very deep.

Calligraphy from the calamus of a professional and skilful scribe (not, however, without variations in the shape and size of letters), dating from the early Herodian period or the last third of the first century B.C. The writing is characterized by a tendency to use the 'broken' form of the letters, a feature which recalls the North Syrian Aramaic alphabets, notably Palmyrene.
The arrangement of the text in the columns of the scroll is very free, with an abundance of *vacat* and lines left blank, which testify to a well-established system of interpunction. This is in turn reflects, moreover, a prosperous economic situation in which the price of parchment did not in any way restrict the practices of copyists, precisely the situation in the Herodian period, but also that of the Hasmonaean.

The space corresponding to the length of two or three letters, which fulfilled the function of our full stop, is used rather infrequently: 1 xiii 24, 2 5, 5 ii 22. Elsewhere small blank spaces are sometimes caused by a fault in the skin or by scraping of the letters: 5 ii 23 and 26. A blank of four to six letters separates the items of a list (1 ii 24–9) or starts off a new part of a paragraph: 1 vi 2, xii 25, 5 ii 21. Such a *vacat* becomes more important, sixteen to eighteen letters long, if the transition from one part of a paragraph to the other is made from one line of the column to the other: 1 vi 7 and 9. A blank space of the same length may be left in the middle of the line, but only after a single final word of the section of the preceding paragraph: 5 ii 29. A half-line left blank indicates a new paragraph: 1 v 6–7 and 1 xiii 29. For the whole line is left blank if the preceding paragraph completely fills the line (see En* d* 1 xii 4). At 5 i 24 the last line of the paragraph does not stretch as far as the intercolumnar margin, and the following line, 25, is left blank none the less. This extra-long blank space indicates that we are passing from the text to the Appendix; see p. 208. The same system of interpunction recurs in other Herodian manuscripts, particularly in the Manual of War, 1QM, and previously, but less regularly, in Hasmonaean manuscripts, such as 1QS and 1QIs*.

The copy of the text of En* was made most carefully; the scribe very seldom made errors, and these he himself at once corrected. Letter omitted and added above the line of writing: ְיְרוֹחַ 1 i 25, ְלַבֵּךְ 5 ii 30; letter crossed out and corrected: ְלַכֶנֶג 1 i 24; scraping out of a word: 5 ii 26.
The orthography is characterized by a fairly abundant use of *matres lectionis*, particularly of Aleph. However, as this occurs rather irregularly it must represent a not completely successful attempt by the copyist of our manuscript, or one of his predecessors, to reproduce the extra-full orthography found, for instance, in 1QIs* and 1QS.

Marking of the medial vowels *i/e* and *u/o* by Yod and Waw: קִרְיוֹת וּכְלֹתָי is fairly frequent: יָרֵא 1 i 15; בֵּינֵי 18, חֲלֹת 28; כְּלֹת בֵּית 4 6; בֵּית 4 2, etc. Compare the defective writing, e.g. הָשָּׁבֵת 1 i 29; מַתָּנִיתָה 3 vi 25; בֵּית כְּרֵסָא 27, and inconsistencies such as נַלִּיפָּמָא 1 xii 28 against בֵּית 29 and בֵּית נָבָט v 7 against בֵּית בֵּית 5 ii 22 and 30. In the last case we are no doubt dealing with a phonetic fact, namely the pronunciation of a monosyllabic word while articulating two shevas, q̄̄'ū̄, exactly as in Phoenician–Punic.

Notation of the medial vowels *e* and *a* in the rising diphthongs *ua, ia*, etc., by an Aleph is fairly frequent: רְבּוֹת 1 i 15; אַחֲוָה אַחֲוָה xi 27 (but אַחֲוָה אַחֲוָה xiii 27). For גַּשָּׁה in 4 5 one may hesitate between a historical interpretation (etymological Aleph retained; see below) and an orthographical explanation; compare בָּהַי and בָּהַי מַתָּנִיתָה in 5Q 15 ii 7 and 6 (*DJD* iii, p. 184). Well known from the orthography of 1QIs* and 1QS is the use of Aleph to mark the final vowel or, more exactly, to indicate that the final vowel should be pronounced: אֲנָה 1 i 18; אֲנָה 4 1; אֲנוּר 4 3 (but אֲנוּר 4 7, אֲנוּר 5 ii 18), אַבְּיָא (absolute state of בְּיוֹת) i vi 23; אַבְּיָא 'to me' 12 (but אַבְּיָא 20). By the process of 'hyper-correction' אַבְּיָא אַבְּיָא* of the archetype has been corrected to אַבְּיָא אַבְּיָא* to vi 4 3.

The definite article is normally marked by Aleph, in the singular and in the plural, in the masculine and in the feminine. A notable exception, נָאְשָׁה נָאְשָׁה in 5 ii 28 (followed by בָּהַי, אַחֲוָה אַחֲוָה), testifies nevertheless to the fact that the archetype of En* was made from a manuscript using this type of orthography, at the very least in the first part of the book of Enoch; see the introductions to En* and En*. The feminine singular absolute of nouns, the 3rd person singular masculine perfect of verbs of the third weak root, the derived infinitives, etc., are marked by He: הָשָּׁבֵת 1 i 26, הָשָּׁבֵת 29; לָבְרֶה וּלְבָרֶה 4 9; לוֹתִי 4 2, לוֹתִי 5; but the verb זוֹלֵה 4 10, Pa'el infinitive לְבָלֵל אֲלִילָא 9. The final *a* of the adverbial particles is marked by Aleph: בָּרֶה b i 24; בָּרֶה l xi 27; אֵן 5 ii 29; on the other hand, וּלְבָרֶה, 'the whole, complete', 1 v 7.

The marking of the final *e* by Aleph is normal: מַלְתָּה לַלֶתֶה 5 ii 25 and 27; מַלְתָּה מַלְתָּה 3 3; מַלְתָּה 5 ii 28 (on the other hand, מַלְתָּה 25); מַלְתָּה מַלְתָּה 1 i 21; מַלְתָּה מַלְתָּה xii 28; מַלְתָּה 21 vi 21.
The etymological Aleph is retained in יא תר 4.3; א"מ נר כ viii 27; א"מ כ vi 2; for see above. It disappears (or passes into y) in יא תר 5 ii 27 (and probably יא תר 23); יא תר מיל v xii 28. The etymological Sin is marked by Sin: יא תר מיל v 6; יא תר ב שמה xii 24; יא תר ii 27-8; יא תר א"מ ש Malone and יא תר 26 and 28; יא תר ש Malone 3 2 and 4 5, with one exception: יא תר Malone ii 27. This last case reflects, once again, the orthography of En. An epenthetic Nun occurs in Malone at vi 12, but not in the Aphel of 'יל: יא תר Malone 21.

Personal pronouns: יא תר i vi 10 and 19; יא תר xii 28; יא תר 5 i 27; יא תר 4 2; יא תר i vi 18; note יא תר 5 ii 30, a ‘heavy’ pronoun of the Samaritan type, well known now from several Qumran manuscripts, Hasmonaean and Herodian. Pronominal suffixes: " passim (written א"מ i vi 12), יא תר 2 4-6 (likewise a ‘heavy’ suffix), יא תר masculine with the singular of the noun i ii 25, יא תר feminine with the singular v 8, יא תר masculine with the plural: יא תר 4 6, יא תר i i 18, etc., יא תר i 19, etc. Demonstrative pronoun: יא תר i vi 28, normally placed after its noun; placed before: יא תר כ viii 30; יא תר used independently, vi 28. The relative pronoun is יא תר before verbs as well as the conjunction and in composite conjunctions: יא תר יא תר i i 19 and 22 (compare יא תר ii 3), יא תר ii 26, יא תר xii 29, יא תר i vi 13 and 17; a single exception for the composite conjunctions might be יא תר i i 25, but the reading of the first word and the presence of the verb in this phrase remain open to doubt. Before nouns we find the form יא תר, thus יא תר i v 5 and יא תר i v 19.

To the particles already mentioned add יא תר of the direct object before nouns in the definite state (passim), the composite preposition in יא תר (quoted above) and in יא תר i xii 30; יא תר 5 ii 27; יא תר i vi 14; יא תר xii 26; יא תר xiii 4; יא תר ii 25 and 3 1; יא תר i vi 19.

In the imperfect of יא תר are found normal forms and one short form: יא תר 5 i 22, יא תר i v 5. Pe‘al participle יא תר 3 2. Imperative not reduced יא תר 5 ii 29. A reduction of the two identical consonants in the Pe‘al participle יא תר i xii 29; cf. יא תר מדרק in En° i xxv 16. The causative is יא תר i v 3, יא תר v 23, יא תר יא תר i vi 21, יא תר יא תר 4 5, יא תר יא תר 5 ii 26; infinitive: יא תר i vi 5, יא תר לארמה 29; participle: יא תר מוכת 8. Inner passive of the causative, יא תר יא תר i xi 27 and xiii 27. Reflexive forms: יא תר יא תר x 7, יא תר xii 4 10; יא תר יא תר 4 5 and 3 (without permutation of the dental consonants!); יא תר Malone i vi 18.

For comments on syntax and style see the commentary, passim.

As the number of manuscript fragments of 4Q Enoch belonging to the first part of the book of Enoch (the Book of Watchers) is fairly large, each
fragment can be assigned to a column of the original scroll and approximately to the lines it occupied within the column. This is scarcely possible, in the present state of our knowledge of the Aramaic Enoch, for the fourth and fifth parts of the Ethiopic version (the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch). Here is the codicological table for the scroll of 4Q En^:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaf</th>
<th>Col.</th>
<th>Letters per line</th>
<th>Width of col.</th>
<th>Sections of text</th>
<th>Text preserved</th>
<th>Sigla of fragments</th>
<th>Fragments on plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.5 cm</td>
<td>En. 1: 1-5: 1</td>
<td>En. 1: 9-5: 1</td>
<td>4QEn^ 1 i 15-30</td>
<td>4QEn^ 1 a, b, c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6-14:18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14: 18-20</td>
<td>18: 8-12</td>
<td>vii 29-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15:12</td>
<td>14: 18-20</td>
<td>15: 11(?)</td>
<td>vii 29-30</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15:12</td>
<td>14: 18-20</td>
<td>15: 11(?)</td>
<td>vii 29-30</td>
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<tr>
<td>viii</td>
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<td>14: 18-20</td>
<td>15: 11(?)</td>
<td>vii 29-30</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>36:4</td>
<td>36:4</td>
<td>36:4</td>
<td>36: 4-4</td>
<td>36: 4-4</td>
<td>36: 4-4</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>[xiv]</td>
<td>36:4</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>107:2</td>
<td>107:2</td>
<td>107: 2</td>
<td>107: 2</td>
<td>107: 2</td>
<td>5 a, b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each column of En^ comprised thirty lines of the text. Top margin 1.7 cm; bottom margin 2.4 cm; intercolumnar margin 1.2 cm. Height of written columns 20 cm; height of the scroll 24 cm. Length of the fourteen columns of the first part of the work 175 cm, plus a fly-leaf left blank at the beginning of the scroll. If the original text of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch did not much exceed the length of the text translated into Greek and into Ethiopic, the approximate length of the scroll of 4QEn^ was probably 4.2 m.
Remember, however, that En⁶ belongs to the same manuscript as 4QEn-
Giants⁸. The Book of Giants, quite certainly in my opinion, came immediately
after the Book of Watchers, our fragments En⁶ 1 i–xiii; see below, introduction
to 4QEnGiants⁸.

Moreover, it is not certain that the Greek version, even less the Ethiopic
one, has preserved a faithful translation of the Aramaic text. The second
dream of Enoch, namely the zoomorphic history of the world, told in chap­
ters 85–90, was slightly expanded in E; see the commentary to En⁶ 4.

Next, certain pointers in 4QEn⁸ and in the Chester Beatty–Michigan
papyrus (CM) allow us to conclude that the commencement of the Epistle of
Enoch was longer in the original than in the versions; see the introduction
to En⁸. Finally, either the Apocalypse of Weeks (see En⁸) or the last chapters
of the work (see our fragments 5 i and ii) appear relatively well preserved in
the early versions, except for the addition of chapter 108, which is missing
from CM and was certainly missing from our En⁶.

Various pieces of information given above, particularly in the paragraph
on the orthography, and below, in the notes to the text of the fragments,
justify a fairly definite conclusion that the copy of 4QEn⁶ was made from
an old manuscript, doubtless belonging to the last quarter of the second
century B.C. (date of 1QIs⁸ and 1QS). Thus in that period an Enochic
corpus was already in existence, consisting of four works: the Book of
Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch
(see above, Introduction, ch. I). In the process of compilation the Book of
Watchers was slightly altered and rewritten. This is why the versions of this
part are closer to the text of En⁶ than to that of En⁸ and En⁹.

Furthermore, it is certain that the third part of the Ethiopic Enoch,
the Astronomical Book, circulated in Aramaic quite separately from the
tetralogy and in a much more developed form. The incorporation of a résumé
of this work in the Enochic Pentateuch must already have taken place in the
Christian era, probably at the same time as the inclusion of the Christian
Book of Parables. This latter certainly did not exist in the Semitic languages,
Aramaic or Hebrew, nor even in a Judaeo-Greek form.

I conclude that about the year 100 B.C. there existed an Enochic Pentateuch
in two volumes, the first containing the Astronomical Book, and the second
consisting of four other pseudepigraphical works. The compiler of this
Pentateuch was quite conscious of its analogy with the Mosaic Pentateuch.
The book of Deuteronomy, a sort of Testament of Moses (imitated in some
degree by the author of the Epistle of Enoch), ends with a historical section
describing the death of the Lawgiver and mentioning his inspired successor, Joshua (Deut. 34: 9). In the same manner the compiler of the Enochic Pentateuch, perhaps an erudite scribe of the Qumrân scriptorium living about the year 100 B.C., added chapters 106–7, which resume the beginning of the Book of Noah, the pseudepigraphical sequel to Enoch’s antediluvian wisdom.

If we now collate these conclusions with the literary-critical research carried out over the last one and a half centuries, we shall observe, without surprise, that the exegetes of the Ethiopic Enoch, Charles included, were at fault in their tendency to cut up, to vivisect, one might say, the book of Enoch into independent pieces of writing composed at widely different periods. Nevertheless, certain general observations are more or less confirmed by the facts we have established from the study of the Qumrân texts. Thus as early as 1845 Krieger correctly demonstrated that the Book of Parables (En. 37–71) forms a separate piece of work dating from a more recent period than the rest of the Apocrypha. In 1852 Lücke dated En. 1–36 and 72–108 between the years 166–160 B.C., changing this immediately, under the influence of Ewald, to the years 135–105. Dillmann, who also dated En. 1–36 and 72–105 to the period of John Hyrcanus, proved that chapter 108 is the most recent of all the additions to the primitive work of Enoch, but saw it as ‘imbued with Essene doctrines’.

4QEn* 1 i—En. 1: 9–5: 1 (Pl. IX)
When He comes with the myriads of His holy ones, [to execute judgement against all; and He will destroy all the wicked, and will convict all] flesh, with regard to [all their] works [of wickedness which they have committed in deed and in word, and with regard to all] the proud and hard [words which wicked sinners have spoken against Him. ¹] Consider all (His) work, and observe ye the work(s) of the heavens, [and the luminaries which do not change their courses] in the stations of their lights, that all arise [and set, each one of them in its order]. ²Observe ye the earth, and consider its works [from the first one to the last one, that nothing at all] changes, and everything is visible to you. ³Observe ye the signs of summer, and consider the signs of winter, that the whole [earth is filled with water, and clouds pour down rain, and dew comes down upon it. ⁴Observe all the trees that are seen by you that they wither and shed all] their foliage, except fourteen [trees] whose [foliage remains] until two or three years [pass. ⁵Observe ye the signs of summer] whereby the sun burns and glows; [and ye] seek [shade and shelter before it on] the burning earth; [and ye are not able] to tread on [the ground or the rocks on account of] the heat. ⁶Observe and enjoy] all trees; [on all of them blossoms [their foliage, and] it [is green on them, and all their fruit (is brought forth)] in glorious pride. Praise ye [and consider all these] works; [and understand that the] living [God,] who [lives] for ever [and ever, created all . . .]

Texts for comparison: Jude 14-15 (En. i: 9), En ii (En. 2: 1-5: 1), C, E. Ll. 15-17 (En. i: 9). E abbreviates the original; it appears, moreover, to have been altered to conform with the recognized text of Jude 14-15. The text of C, although glossed in two places, is relatively close to the Aramaic. The closest to the original is the text of the quotation in the Epistle of Jude, preserved by pseudo-Cyprian, an African writer later than A.D. 258, Ad Novatianum 16 (ed. W. Hartel, 1871, Cyprian iii, 67: Commentary on Matt. 10: 28); see the edition of Vetus Latina, Beuron, 26/1: W. Thiele, Epistulae Catholicae, 6th fascicle, 1967,
pp. 426–8. I agree with Thiele that the text of ps.-Cyprian is a form, more archaic than those of the other witnesses to the Epistle of Jude, of the quotation itself, and not a direct borrowing from the text of the book of Enoch.

L. 15. ‘And behold!’ in E takes up ἰδοὺ in Jude; ὦτε in C is probably a slight corruption of ὦτε = ὅτε.—Future [τοιῶν] = ἔρχεται C = yēmasē' E and in Ethiopic text of Jude 14 (quoted in CSCO 221/Aeth. 41, 1962, p. 66, 13 and 123, 18–19) = veniunt of Jude 14 in pseudo-Vigilius, Contra Varianum Arianum, PL 62, 363.—[Jonathan] is equivalent to ἐν μυρίσαν ἄγιον ἄγγελον αὐτῶ of several Greek minuscules in Jude 14 (αὐτῶ om. Ν alii syh). Cf. ἐν ἄγίων ἄγγελον μυρίσαν in Pap. 72; M. Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX, 1959, p. 23 (not of the third century, but of the first half of the fourth century; E. de Strycker, La forme la plus ancienne du Protevangile de Jacques, 1961, pp. 22 and 196; V. Martin, Papyrus Bodmer XX: Apologie de Philæas, évêque de Thmouis, 1964, pp. 10–11). Ps.-Cyprian omits ἄγιων: ‘ecce venit cum multis millibus nuntiorum suorum.’ E is relatively close to the original in this passage: ‘he comes with myriads of holy ones’ (omitting αὐτῶ, which is retained in Jude 14: ba‘a‘elafihu gedusān = ἐν ἄγίων μυρίσαν αὐτῶ). C glosses: ἔρχεται σὺν τοῖς (sic) μυρίσαν {αὐτῶ καὶ τοῖς} ἄγιοις αὐτῶ. This phrase in En. i: 9 was borrowed from Deut. 33: 2: ἤλθον ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων; on the epenthetic -m and the collective gōdeh ‘the holy ones’, Milik, Biblica, 38 (1957), 253 and note 2, and ibid. 48 (1967), 573. The change of ὦτε to ἰδοὺ, and of the present ἔρχεται to the past tense ἤλθεν, also the additions θύρω and ἄγγελον, are peculiar to the quotation from Jude 14, the explanatory modifications in comparison with the original text of En. 1: 9.

L. 16. After ‘et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum (read ‘impiis eorum’, corresponding to περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐργῶν ἁσβείας αὐτῶν and to ‘de omnibus operibus impietatis eorum’ in pseudo-Vigilius, loc. cit.) quae fecerunt impie’, pseudo-Cyprian adds ‘et de re (?l) locuti sunt’, a reading which is very likely to be original, because it corresponds to a phrase in C (where it is transposed to follow λόγων in the following hemistich): καὶ περὶ πάντων δὲν κατελάλησαν. Perhaps the original meant to say ‘all the works of their ungodliness which they have committed by deed and by word’, to be retranslated probably: ὅτι ὅσα ἔφησαν ὑπερ θεοῦ δεῖ ἰσχύς ἐν σοί ἡμῖν καὶ ὅσα ἔφησαν ἀποκλήσεις εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους σωτῆρας.

L. 17. The quotation from Jude is closer to the original than the text of C and E: καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν (+λόγων, Ν C 1611 alii, sy) δὲν ἐλάλησαν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἁσβείας: ‘et de omnibus verbis impiis quae de deo (read ‘eo’) locuti sunt peccatores’, ps.-Cyprian adds ‘et de re (?l) locuti sunt’, a reading which is very likely to be original, because it corresponds to a phrase in C (where it is transposed to follow λόγων in the following hemistich): καὶ περὶ πάντων δὲν κατελάλησαν. Perhaps the original meant to say ‘all the works of their ungodliness which they have committed by deed and by word’, to be retranslated probably: ὅτι ὅσα ἔφησαν ὑπερ θεοῦ δεῖ ἰσχύς ἐν σοί ἡμῖν καὶ ὅσα ἔφησαν ἀποκλήσεις εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους σωτῆρας.

L. 18. I translate oί φωτότητες by ἀκαίρητα, related to the Aphel ἄναίρει, ‘to shine’, generally used in the manuscripts of the Astronomical Book; cf. the Hebrew terms אֲמַרוֹר (pl. מָרָוֹר) and וָרָה.
The phrase 'in their... of lights' is omitted in C and E. The meaning of this word, unknown in the later Aramaic dialects, can be established thanks to two other scraps of evidence, one Aramaic and the other Hebrew. In a fragment of the Astronomical Book (provisional siglum 4QEnastrb 28 2) the expression corresponds to 'and according to their power (and) in their stations' in En. 82: 10 end (below, p. 295). The translation of by 'station', or more accurately 'relative position of a star in relation to others', is corroborated by the context of 1QS x 2-5, which I quote in extenso with some corrections borrowed from the manuscripts of 4QS:

When the lights shine forth from the Holy Dwelling-Place, and when also they retire (lit. are gathered) to the Place of Glory, when the constellations (of the Zodiac) make (their) entrance on the days of the new moon, and their circuit at their positions, every new moon succeeding one after another; it is a Great Day for the Holy of Holies, and a sign for the unlocking of everlasting mercies corresponding to the beginning of (the apparition of the Zodiac) constellations, to last for all time to come.

The description of the movement of the heavenly bodies by the expressions is certainly analogous with the passage we are considering, where the 'courses' of the stars correspond to 'their circuit', . . . (4QS), that is, the apparent movement of the stars on the celestial sphere, from East to West (line 19), according to the law of diurnal motion, following their parallels during a sidereal day. The second term , thanks to the explicit phrase , 'one in relation to the other', denotes with precision the permanent relative position of the stars.

From this interpretation of and of in IQS x 3-4 there follows an important semantic definition for the term , which cannot by any means be translated by 'festivals', because it is parallel to and describes the stars, not even the phases of the moon. The only stars which were associated with the 'days of the month', and which were thought to follow after one another every month, starting from the first of each month, are those of the Zodiac, one circular section of the sky divided into twelve constellations, each one of which corresponds to one month of the year according to the position occupied by the sun in the sky. An Aramaic work from Cave 4 of Qumrân contains the traditional list of the names of the signs of the Zodiac, divided according to the months (the Ram, , in the month of Nisan, etc.) and to their distribution within each month. The term in IQS x 3 should therefore be translated as 'constellations of the Zodiac'. I find the same term in the fragment of quoted above, line 1 = En 82: 9: [literally], translated in Ethiopic by 'in their festivals and in their months' (add: 'according to their signs'). The same term will also be used to retranslate 'their festivals' of C in En 2: 1; see En8 1 ii 1

The relation of our term to in IQM iii 3 and to in III 13 is not clear. According to the context it is a nomen officii, no doubt 'army officers'. A term, with a primarily astronomical meaning, 'station, position, specific rank', is thus applied in IQM to officials. Parallel examples of a semantic evolution like this are not hard to find, for example in
the Hebrew מָצָאֵל מָצָאֵל and in its nominal derivatives, but especially in the Assyrian *mazzaltu* (< mazzastu) and *mazzás*, which stands for ‘Stellung, Posten, Standort, Dienststelle, Dienstschicht, Funktionsperiode, Kampfstellung’ and also for the positions of the stars, of the planets, of the moon. In Syriac the plural of the first of these denotes precisely the Zodiac, whilst the singular Hebrew מְצָאֵל has retained mainly the astrological meaning ‘fate, good fortune’.

At the end of line 19 the phrase <ברכה> is omitted by homoeoteleuton; see the note to En* ii 1.

Ll. 20–30 (En. 2: 2–5: 1) = En* ii 1–11; see the commentary to En*.

L. 20. נַפְתֵּרנִי is an ‘over-corrected’ form. The archetype of En* had נַפְתֵּרנָה (cf. נַפְתֵּרנָה in En*, same line). The copyist of our manuscript ‘corrected’ this spelling to נַפְתֵּר instead of נַפְתֵּרִי.

Ll. 21–3 (En. 2: 3). I add after נַפְתֵּרנִי in line 20 of En* (En. 2: 2). If my addition [נַפְתֵּרנִי] is correct, the text of En* differs from that of En* (q.v.) and, moreover, is closer to the text of the Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator of the Book of Enoch, of which there remains only one witness—and paraphrased at that—namely the Ethiopic version. But the details of what I have restored in this verse, both here and in En*, remain very uncertain and hypothetical.

Ll. 23–5 (En. 3). At the beginning of this verse the text of En* was probably equivalent to that of the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version, represented here only by E, and differing somewhat from the text of En*, which omits, after רַמְצֵל, the phrase רַמְצֵל הַמָּצָאֵל (cf. ‘how they appear’ in E); I add העבר according to En. 2: 2: En* line 21; En*, line 2.

4QEn* 1 ii—En. 6: 7 (Pl. X)
[8] And these are the names of their leaders. Š[emîhazah, who was their chief; Ar’tôqoph, the second to him; Ram’el, third to him; Kôkab’el, fourth to him; [- ’el, fifth to him; Ra’m’el, sixth to him]; Dani’el, seventh to him; Zêqi’el, eighth [to him; Baraq’el], ninth to him; ‘Asa’el, [tenth to him]; and Hermonî, eleventh to him; Maṭar’el, [twelfth to him]; ‘Anan’el, thirteenth to him; S’taw’el, fourteenth [to him]; Šamšî’el, [fifteenth to him]; Šahri’el, sixteenth to him; T’ummi’el, seventeenth to him; Tûrî’el, eighteenth to him; Yom’e], [nineteenth to him; Yehaddî’el, twentieth to him. 8 These are . . .]

For this passage, which contains the list of twenty fallen angels, chiefs of tens, see the commentary to En* i iii 5–12.

L. 24, end. The name of the third angel was perhaps written here with ‘Ain (En*), the writing implied by the Greek texts; see note e to the Table of angels in the commentary to En*.

[4QEn* i iii and iv are missing]
13 And everyone who is condemned, [will be lost from now on; with them they will be bound until annihilation of] their [generation]; and at the time [of judgement] which I (God) shall judge, they will perish for all [generations. 15] Destroy all the spirits of the bastards and the sons of the Watchers, because they made men to act wickedly. 16 And destroy iniquity from [the face of the earth, and let every deed of wickedness disappear; and let] the plant of righteousness [appear]; and it shall become [a blessing, and deeds of righteousness shall be planted] forever with joy. 17 And now all the righteous shall escape and they shall be [alive until they beget] thousands; and all the days [of your youth and] of your old age shall be completed in peace.

18 Then all the earth shall be tilled in righteousness, and it shall all be planted [with trees and be filled] with blessing. 19 And all the trees [of the earth which they desire shall be planted in it; and they shall plant gardens in it and every garden which] will be planted in it [shall produce a thousand jars of wine, and of every seed which will be sown in it every single seah shall produce] a thousand [seahs . . .

And I Enoch began to bless the Lord of Majesty and King of the ages, and] behold, the [great holy] Watcher [called me . . .]
in the Greek, by homoeoteleuton probably: (א"תית) . . . ר"ת). With the expression
עד ימ יד יתדהד עז מ"ק קא ד"נ ר"ב ר"ב ד מותח ר"ד א"ד
in En^ i xxii 2–3 (En. 22: 4). ר"ד א"ד,' that (I God) I shall judge', for it is God
himself who is speaking here to the archangel Michael (En. 10: 11; cf. En^ i iv 8). On the
'great judgement' see further the note to En^ i iv 11. The author of the Book of Enoch makes
a distinction here, as elsewhere, between a temporary judgement and a temporary incarceration
which threaten the wicked angels and wicked men on the one hand and, on the other hand, the
final judgement with eternal confinement.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 10: 15). On א"תוה מ"אכ = ρησίγια see the note to En^ i iv 5–6.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 10: 16). L. 3. ר"א יומי נ"א ס with E: א"ח ת נס γής γής C.

L. 4. ב"בש: between Waw and Sin a gap, owing to a defect in the skin, rather than to the
scraping of a letter. This term is translated by two synonymous words in C and E: נבבב
ב"סש = τα φυτά τής δικαιούσιν καὶ τής ἀληθείας. Then in C an omission by homoeoarcton:
בבבב ב"בש E; E is fairly close to the original.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 10: 17). L. 5. Read and restore ר"א ל"א in line with χυλιδας in C, rather than
ל"א in line with E.

L. 6. In En^ the transition from the 3rd person plural, used in the first hemistich, to the 2nd
person plural in the second hemistich, is abrupt and unexpected, but not without parallel in
the poetic texts of the Semites. C and E carry over the 3rd person into the second hemistich
also. The reading καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν in C (and in E) has already been explained correctly by
Wellhausen (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, vi, 241, 260) as a mistranslation of בְּשֵׁי (in
Hebrew), 'their old age'. However, the full writing of our manuscript, ב"בשכ, does not
give rise to any confusion of the two words. The Aramaic archetype of the Greek version must
have had the defective form ב"בשכ (or ב"בשכ) or else the translator misread ב"בשכ as
ב"בשכ which he understood as 'your sabbath'; cf. the forms ב"בשכ and ב"בשכ 'the (sab-
bath) in Judaeo-Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac. Forms of this kind point
to the transition from -a- to -o- or -u- when close to labials, a phonetic phenomenon which
was widespread in the Near East, as testified by Semitic and Greek inscriptions; see Milik,
Recherches, pp. 41, 83, 197, 329, etc.

L. 7 (En. 10: 18). E seems here to be closer to the original than C which replaces 'it (sc. the
earth) in its entirety (הַכָּל) by אוֹרִי, and the plural of ר"א by the singular דְּנָדְרָו.

Ll. 7–9 (En. 10: 19). The beginning of the verse, lines 7–8, is slightly abridged in E. In the
clause of C, καὶ πάντα τὰ δέντρα τῆς γῆς ἀγαλλίασονται φυτευθήσεται, the first predicate is
certainly wrong ('the trees of joy' in E is only an approximate adaptation of it). I see in this a
mistranslation of ב"בשכ יי: 'and all the trees of the earth which they (that is, the just) will
desire will be planted there'. The translator might have taken this form of ב"בשכ as a defective
form of ב"בשכ, 'they will utter shouts of joy'; cf. ἀγαλλίασα in Tob. 13: 13 (17) which
translates the Aramaic ב"בשכ, 4Q Tobaram* 2 iii 2.

L. 8. The Greek words ἀμπέλον τω και ἀμπελος in C cannot be retranslated by כ"במ and
כ"במ, since the predicate of the second clause is in the feminine: ב"בשכ, the passive in E was probably introduced by the Ethiopic translator). Secondly,
these 'vineyards' yield not only wine but also other produce. The Aramaic original doubtless
had דָּבֶר and מַבָּה ‘plot of cultivated land, garden’; I add מַלְלֶ in front of מַבָּה to take account of the plural פְּנֵיָּה.

L. 9. προχοῦ (οίνου), ‘vessel from which one draws in order to pour the wine into the cups’; E inexact, ‘a surfeit of wine’. One would hesitate to choose a precise Aramaic term from amongst several which denote large vessels for wine, such as נַבָּר or נָר. On the shapes of these vessels in the Graeco-Roman period see H. Ingholt and others, Recueil des testères de Palmyre, 1955, passim, and the Index by H. Seyrig, ibid., p. 199 (‘Matériel des banquets et distributions’: cratère, amphore, cruches, baril, etc.).

L. 9/10. The passage concerning seeds (essentially מַבָּה, ‘wheat’) is better preserved in E than in C: קָיִל παντοῖο ἀπόμος οἶνον ἀνά τῆς καθ' ἑκάστον μέτρον ποιησει χιλίαδα μέτρων, καὶ ἑκάστον μέτρον ἔλεας ποιήσει ἀνά βάτους δέκα. Thus C abridges the beginning and makes an omission by homoeoarcton. The term μέτρον often translates the Hebrew תֵּאָד in the Septuagint. A seah of wheat (approximately 15 litres) produces 1,000 seahs, but a seah of olives yields only 10 baths, equivalent to 30 seahs, of oil; on this metrological system see Milik, DJD iii, pp. 37–41.

L. 19 (En. 12: 3). The Greek καὶ ἐστώς ἤμην Αἰνὼξ εὐλογῶν translates word for word the Aramaic מַבָּה מְסִים מִכְּבוֹר, the meaning of which is ‘I began to bless’. This syntactical inchoative use is found in Biblical Aramaic (רָשָיִי... Esd. 5: 2), in Judaeo-Aramaic (רבי קובא reduced to רבי and קובא), and, once, in Palmyrene: qm wbn’ wqrb ‘he began to make (sacred) buildings and gifts’, Inv. ii 5 (in the Greek counterpart of this bilingual, there is a different formulation: εἰς ἱερατα... κτίσμασιν καὶ ἀναθήμασιν); in any case this is not ‘a rather doubtful meaning’ of qm, as J. Cantineau, Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique, p. 74, states. Spell רבי, and not רבי, according to En® 2 i 19.

According to En® it is a single Watcher, אֶרִיִיל, who speaks to Enoch, and not ‘the Watchers’ as in C and E. Drawing on οἱ ἑρήνηροι τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦ μεγάλου in C, restore אֶרִיִיל אַרְיִיל, ‘the great holy Watcher’, hence an archangel, rather than אַרְיִיל אַרְיִיל רֶבֶן, ‘the Watcher of the Great Holy One’. On אֶרִיִיל אַרְיִיל see the note to En® 1 i 3. This archangel remains anonymous, exactly as ‘one of the holy ones’ who raised Enoch up near the divine throne is anonymous, En. 14: 25 (C; om. E). On the four archangels who guide Enoch on his journeys, see the notes to En® 1 xi 5–6 (En. 23: 4), En® 1 xxii 5–7 (En. 22: 6), En® 1 xxvii 19 (En. 33: 3).

According to the Greek and Ethiopic texts of En. 13: 1 the transition from the archangel’s commandments to the execution of his orders by Enoch is too abrupt. Instead of ὅ δὲ ‘Ενώχ τῷ Ἄζαηλ εἰπεν πορεύον in C (‘then Enoch withdrawing said to Azazel’ in E) I suggest ὅ ‘Ενώχ, πορεύον καὶ εἰπὲ τῷ Ἄζαηλ; cf. Αἰνὼξ... πορεύον καὶ εἰπὲ τοῖς ἑγγύσωροις in En. 12: 3–4, and Αἰνὼξ... πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὲ τοῖς πέμψανε in 15: 1–2. On Azael/Asazel, to be read ‘Aṣa’el (name of the roth angel), see pp. 28–30, 34, 92, 131, 156, 177.

4QEn® 1 vi—En. 13: 6—14: 16 (Pis. XII, XIII)
I vi

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םליחה אוורכז vacat הז והנת אול [וית אל מי דע דוע בואות טו ד לימי

המות] י"ע ל[ертвוחז]

וספר רבכ[חרזג[ת הות קרא דע די דמכח]א] חלמי על חותר

וזוות אל נפל° "עד [ד[שת [לשם

לשמן עין להתרות [יכל שמיא

הות חות ודונה [אות הנאת כל אמור מכל מכל לבני שמיי לארכחתון

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עליהות וכללות כשיהו חות hton וא]בלן באבל מיאי דני בית לבנים ושניר

מתכיש אפג[ ת

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במעי קסמא חות ומוכה ליזרי שע[ף

就好像 מילי קפש[א] ואוכרות עיריא די גןם מ טלמא

vacat

cלכולבל די פקח

[קרייא רב]א התלמה די גן [חולמה מאתיה אא הות גאת בחלמי די

כונ אהר בלשנ בראש בנסמה פומא[ ד]י"ע [ב]רמא לبني [אנפש](ast'] שנהלת בתו וא hecto ובכ פקטו שלבב 'ות די חלק

ובשו אלאתו לבני אשיא למידינת [מל] מונד ל[א ת kell השמיד הב ל[אוהת לעריא לבינ שמיי אן חות

ל/manage אתוכת אוינא_share [נת

מגרות [צליל]عون, ד"ע דוע ימי [צלימא]ונא קדימהות חות וי לאבודא לחה

צלימה ו[ב]באס[ר[א]אר[א[ד


אבדנ כ[כלוכל די [ע[מות[ז"ע [הות לא הותבר לכל חוכי ד"ע לא הותבר

על נשמה[ות החות]
Their souls, with regard to every one [of their deeds individually and concerning all they were requesting, that theirs might be forgiveness and length (of life)]. And I went
on [sitting by the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is to the south of] Ḥermonin, on their west side; [and I read the book of the account] of their requests [until I fell asleep. 8And behold, dreams came down upon me, and visions] fell upon me until [I lifted up] my eyelids to the gates of the palace [of Heaven . . . ]; and I saw a vision of the wrath of chastisement, [and a voice came and said: ‘Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them.’] 9And when I awoke I went] unto them and they were all assembled together and sitting and weeping [in Abel-Mayyâ, which is between Lebanon and Šenir, with their faces covered]. 10And I spoke before them all [the visions which I had seen in dreams, and I began to speak] in words of truth and vision and reprimand to the heavenly Watchers [. . .].

14 ¹The book of the words of truth [and reprimand of the Watchers who were from eternity, according to what] the Great [Holy One commanded] in the dream which I [dreamt. And in this vision ²I saw in my dream what I now say with tongue of flesh, with the breath of my mouth], which the Great One has given to the sons [of men], to speak [with them and to understand in (their) heart. ³As God has decreed and created the sons of men to understand] words of knowledge, so He has decreed and made and created me to reprimand [the Watchers, the sons of heaven. ⁴I wrote down the petition of you, Watchers], and in a vision it appeared to me that your petition [will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity; and judgment will be by decision] and decree against you,⁵ that from now on [to heaven you will not return and not ascend throughout all ages, and among the prisoners of the earth], a judgement [has been decreed], to bind you until all the days of eternity; ⁶[and that first you will see that for destruction are all your beloved ones and all] their sons, and the possessions of your beloved ones [and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and before you they will fall upon the sword] of destruction, ⁷because your petition concerning them [will not be executed for you, just as it will not be executed for yourselves; and] ye will be petitioning and requesting [. . . and you will not be speaking any word] from the writing which I have written. ⁸[And to me in the vision it thus appeared. Behold, clouds in the vision were calling me, and cloud-mists] to me were shouting, and lightning-flashes and thunders [were hastening me up and . . . me, and winds in the vision made me to fly, and took me] upwards and brought me up and made me enter into [heaven. ⁹And I entered it until I drew near to the walls of a building built with hail-stones] and tongues of fire were surrounding them all around, [and they began to fill me with fear and to . . . me. ¹⁰And I entered among
those tongues of fire, until] I drew near to a great house [built with hailstones; and the walls of this house were like stone slabs, and all of them were (made) of snow, and the] floor [was built] of snow. 11[And the ceiling was like lightning-flashes and like thunders; and among them fiery cherubim, and their heaven was of water. 12And a burning fire surrounded] all their walls [all around them, and the gates were of burning fire. 13And I entered into that house which was hot like fire, and cold as] snow; and [there was] no [pleasure of life in it; and behold, fear covered me and trembling seized me. 14And I was shaken and] trembling and I fell [on my face; and it was shown to me in my vision. 15And behold I saw another door which opened before me, and another house which] was greater than this, and all of it [was built with tongues of fire. 16And all of it far surpassed (the other) in splendour and glory and majesty that] I am unable to describe to you [its splendour and majesty. 17And its floor was of fire and its upper part was of thunders and lightning-flashes, and its ceiling was of burning fire. 18And it was shown to me and I saw in it a lofty throne, and its appearance]

The placing of the fragment at lines 2-3 is open to doubt.

Texts for comparison: En^ i vi (En. 14: 4-6), C and E.
Ll. 1-2 (En. 13: 6). L. 1. The expression \[\text{עַמֵּלָה נַחְנוֹתֵיהּ} \] is abridged in Em^r, q, etc., ‘and of their entreaty’, and in C, kal τὰς δεικτος.—Lלכֹל חַד חָוֶד מִן עִבְדֵיהּ: En^c and E; om. C.
L. 2. μακρότητας should be understood in the sense of ‘length of days’ (cf. נִרְחָי in Deut. 30: 20, translated by ... דתא in Targum) and not in the sense of ‘patience’, נִרְחָי in Biblical Hebrew.
Ll. 2–3 (En. 13: 7). L. 2. The restoration לְהֹוּא אֶלְבָּא seems preferable to [תָּל] נַחְנוֹתֵיהּ = kal poreuvbhs, both because of the limited space and for syntactical reasons: the exclamation נַחְנוֹתֵיהּ comes as a rule before nouns; see En^f 1, 2, and 4 = En. 86: 2 and 3, and Em^e 2 i 17 = En. 89: 3. The verb אֶלְבָּא is used here in its modal function, והית אֶלְבָּא יָרֹב, ‘and I continued to be seated’. If this is correct, the unspecified place of meeting between Enoch and the Watchers, En. 13: 3, is indeed the same place as here, namely ‘the waters of Dan’. For this place-name, as also for אַבְכִּים מִי in our line 6, written ἐβελοσαντα in C (read ἐβελοσια: Mem has been read as Samekh by the Greek translator, a mistake easily made in writing of the type 1QS and 1QIs^*), see Milik, RB lv (1958), 403-5.
Ll. 3–5 (En. 13: 8). A long phrase, line 3 end and all of line 4, has been omitted in C and E.
L. 4. שְׁכָנַל עַזְיֵי ‘eyelids’ scarcely attested in Judeo-Aramaic. An example occurs in the free Aramaic of the Fragment Targum, Deut. 32: 10. See M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, 1967, p. 388.—‘At the door of the heavenly palace’; this restoration is drawn from the description of the ascension of Levi who enters directly into heaven from the summit of a mountain; see RB, loc. cit.
L. 5. [תָּל] נַחְנוֹתֵיהּ omitted in C and E.
L. 6. Note the word-play אֱלֹהִים בָּאֵל מְיִדָּד; on the place-name 'Abel-Mayyd see the note to lines 2-3.

Ll. 7 and 9. On the vacat at the beginning of the lines see the introduction, p. 179.

Ll. 7-8 (En. 13: 10). L. 7. In Enc there is probably an omission by homoeoarcton: כַּלְכַּל תּוֹכָּה; C om. כַּלְכַּל וְשָׂכַע; E om. כַּלְכַּל וְשָׂכַע; (but En* 9 add a second ‘I told’ after ‘that I had seen’).

Lli. 7-8 (En. 13: 10). L. 7. In En* there is probably an omission by homoeoarcton: כְּלַכַּל תּוֹכָּה; C om. כַּלְכַּל וְשָׂכַע; E om. כַּלְכַּל וְשָׂכַע; (but E« add a second *I told* after ‘that I had seen’).

L. 8. ἀρηθῶν om. in C and E.

Li. 9-10 (En. 14: 1). [ἐν τῇ ἁλμᾶ], line 10, omitted in C and E.

Li. 10-11 (En. 14: 2). C has νοηθή, hence νοησαί and not νοησεί as in Charles.

Li. 11-12 (En. 14: 3). In C a long omission by homoeoteleuton: ὁ (read ὡς with E) ἐκτίσει καὶ ἐδωκεν ὁ θεός τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νοησαί τοὺς λόγους τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκτίσει καὶ ἐδωκεν ζεύγασθαι (ἐκλεξασθαί MS.) ἑγρηγόρους τοὺς νοέσ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; E had kept quite close to the original text. The sequence ἐκτίσει καὶ ἐδωκεν (in second place) inverts the original order: ἀθέμοι (ἐκλεξασθαί MS.) ἑγρηγόρους τοὺς νοέσ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; for this stylistic feature of early translators see the note to En* i 11 9. Here, however, this permutation might well have been imposed by the meaning of the phrase (God creates first, then gives), which had been wrongly translated, since πλῆθος is not the Hebrew ‘to divide out, to give’, but the Aramaic ‘to decree, to destine, to predestine’; see below, note to line 14.

Li. 13-16. See notes to Enb i vi 5-10.

Li. 12-14 (En. 14: 4). L. 12. τῶν ἀγγέλων of C (E om.) appears to be original; it must be preceded by ὅτι, the independent pronoun being necessary in the transition from the suffixed pronoun to the noun to which it refers; thus, with the proper names, ὅτι ἄν αναγάγεται καὶ ἐξονται, frequently in the Aramaic documents of the desert of Judaea.

Li. 13. In C correct, according to Enc, ἐν τῇ ὁράσει μοι ἐν τῇ ὁράσει μοι.—Τοῦτο ἐδίκηθη καὶ ὄστε in C should be corrected according to Enc (and according to E; see Charles, i, p. 37 notes 2 and 3) to ἐδίκηθη κατὰ τοῦτο ὄστε.

Li. 13/14. After ὄστε... παρεδέχεται (‘will not be to you’, E, corresponding probably to ὅτι ἀναγκαζόμενον, ‘will not be effected in our favour’), a long omission by homoeoteleuton in C: ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς (εἰς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἐτελειώθη (?)) ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἤναι μηκέτι: cf. Charles, i, p. 37 note 4. ‘Is accomplished’ in E corresponds to a prepositional phrase with two synonyms in Enc. Dittography of ‘and that it (sc. the prayer) will not be to you’ in E.

Li. 14. ἀναρίριθμο: noun of action of the form  `$tsti(t)$ in the absolute state (for the Aleph cf. אֵלְבָּב, absolute state of הֶזֶכֶס, at line 23), a derivative of the verb רָדָה ‘to decide, to decree’, unknown elsewhere. With our phrase, which unites the references to and to הָעַלִּים (compare Tob. 6: 13 according to 4Q Tobaramb 1 x 2: ὀντοθεὶς κυρίσαι νοφόρων), the early versions translate by the simplified expressions: δεδικαϊσταὶ σοι Χ, καὶ σοι δικαίωμα minuscules 106, 107, etc. (‘3rd recension’). Now, this phrase is repeated, and preceded by a parallel and synonymous phrase, in the same column of 4Q Tobb, line 18 (Tob. 6: 17): ἀναρίριθμον λαβέων αὐτῷ. Thus we find here the passive participle singular feminine of the verb πλῆθος, the verb previously seen at line 12. On the other hand, the parallelism between πλῆθος...
and 'prisoners' in so far as the description of the inhabitants of the underworld is known in Babylonian and also in Palmyrene where the 'leader of the prisoners', ῥβ ἄγαντιτων, is a god of the underworld; CIS ii 3913, i 11 (Greek) and i 10 (Palm.); see my note on 1Q 20 i 14 (DJD i, p. 86).—Ἐρróθη in C no doubt translates an expression analogous to that of lines 13–14 and 4Q Tobram 1 x 2 and 18, whence our Ἐρώθη.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 14: 6). L. 15. πρό with E; περί C.

Ll. 15/16. Enε makes a distinction between 'your well-beloved (children)' and 'their children', while C and E render it τῶν ἀγαντιτῶν ὑμῶν in the first place, and shorten this phrase, in the second place, to the simple αὐτῶν. The second hemistich, 'and the possessions of your loved ones [and of their children you will not enjoy]', is much shortened in C (and E): καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγαντιτῶν,

Ll. 17. Καὶ om. in C and E.

Ll. 17–19 (En. 14: 7). L. 17. καὶ in C and E is a most inadequate rendering of בְּנִי בָּנוֹי in Enε. The phrase parallel to ... וְלִּכְתֶּה לְיִלְדֵּנוּ was more developed in the original than in C (οὐδὲ περὶ ὑμῶν) and in E ('nor for you and yourselves').

L. 18. בְּנֵי was misread by the Greek translator as בְּנֶן, κλαῖοντες.—After ἡμῶν = δεῖμνον, an omission in C and E.

Ll. 19–21 (En. 14: 8). L. 20. The verb κατέσπούδαζον corresponds without doubt to the Pa'el of בְּנִי בָּנוֹי. In the Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew, from Cave 4 of Qumran, the name of Bilha is explained in the following way: כִּי כָּמָר גוֹלְדָה יִשְׂרָאֵל מְפָתַח לְךָ נְבָאתוֹת מְטָבֶּה וְיוֹסֵף מּוֹתַיָּא דְּּזִי נְבָאֶה מְטָבֶּה וְיוֹסֵף מּוֹתַיָּא 4Q TestNapht i ii 4–5; cf. Test xii Patr in Greek, T. Napht i 12: λέγων Καὶ κατέσπούδασα μοι ἡ θυγάτηρ στροφή διότι ἐκθέσει ἐστεπίδε χηλαζείν. Cf. also נבֶּאֶה in 1QGenAp ii 3.

L. 21. The double predicate ματάτοι, ματάτοι is translated by a single verb in C: καὶ εἰσήκυναν ματαίοι.

Ll. 21–2 (En. 14: 9). L. 21. τίχοις, though in the genitive singular, should be understood in the collective plural meaning on account of τοῖς αὐτῶν.

L. 22. The infinitive ἐκφοβεῖν was doubtless paired with a synonym in the original.

Ll. 22–4 (En. 14: 10). L. 23. The conjunction όν [ὅτε] is rendered by καὶ in C and E.

Ll. 23/4. In line 23 I restore בְּנָה לַעֲבוֹת הַיִלְדִּים בְּנָה לַעֲבוֹת הַיִלְדִּים = ὡς λαθόσπαλάκες in C; E approximately: 'like mosaic'. This composite noun, 'slabs of stone' (more accurately, the 'facing' of the walls in marble flagstones) is a hapax legomenon, not recorded by Liddell and Scott; obviously equivalent to λίθων πλάκας, πλάκας λιθίνα. Instead of לַעֲבוֹת בְּנָה one might choose a term denoting the paving, the facing, e.g. ῥυτισμὸς, known in Syriac, and the participle of which occurs in the Aramaic description of the New Jerusalem: הַיִלְדִּים לַעֲבוֹת יָרָסֶים רַעְשִׁים בָּאוּ בָּאוּ 5Q 15 i 6 (DJD iii, p. 189). On the Greek terminology for the facing of marble, etc., among other terms, πλάκων, see L. Robert, Revue de philologie, 1958, p. 46 note 2; Hellenica, xi–xii, pp. 29 and 52; Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes, 1st fasc., 1964, pp. 49–52. The comparison of
[was like crystal-glass, and its wheels were like the disc of the shining sun, and its sides] were cherubim. 19[And from beneath the throne came forth] streams of [fire, and I could not look. 20Great Majesty sat upon this throne, and His raiment was brighter than the sun and whiter than] much snow [... 18 11... and the spirits of [giants? ...]

The placing of fragment k is uncertain.

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 14: 18). The image of the throne of God, the appearance of which is like ice (ὁσυν (sic) κρυστάλλων; perhaps read ὡς ὃ (δυσφ) κρυστ. ‘like frozen, icy water’ or even ὡς ὃ (αλός) κρ. ‘like glass in rock-crystal’) certainly influenced the image in Rev. 4: 6: καὶ ἐνῶσιν τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑάλων ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. The author of Revelation is no doubt thinking of the pavement in front of the throne, a pavement in transparent ice like that in the antechamber of the throne-room in En. 14: 10 (our line 24 of column vi). A number of other elements common to the Book of Revelation and to En. make it clear that the Christian writer had first-hand knowledge of the Book of Enoch, probably the Greek translation of it; cf. En. 22: 12 and Rev. 6: 9–10; En. 86: 1 and Rev. 9: 1 and 11 and 8: 10; En. 91: 16 and Rev. 21: 1. For a similar influence of the description of the New Jerusalem on the Book of Revelation, see DJD iii, p. 186. With the description of the wheels of the throne cf. that found in Dan. 7: 9; καὶ τρόχος
And I saw a flaming fire, and beyond those mountains there is a region on the other side of the great earth, and there the heavens are completed. Then I was shown a deep abyss, between pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw in it columns of fire descending to the bottom, and they were beyond measuring, both in their depth and in their height.

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 28 (En. 18: 10). ἡμέρα C.—[πάντας Χίονος οἰκείον] or preferably [πάντας Χίονος οὐκ οἰκείον], in the perfect as against the imperfect in C.—χάσμα (lines 28 and 30, verses 11 and 12) is [οἱ θόντες πόλεμος], known also in Syriac, rather than [οὐ θάντος πόλεμος] or [οὐθάντος θάνατος].


[4QEn ∞ i ix, x, and xi are missing]
30. And beyond these (mountains) I proceeded [very] far [to the east, and I saw another vast place, valleys of great waters, in] which were sweet-smelling reeds [like mastic, and on the banks of these valleys] I saw the fragrant cinnamon; and beyond [these] valleys, [I proceeded far eastwards. 31. And] I was shown other mountains, and also in them I saw trees [from which] came [the resin which is called styrax and galbanum]. 32. And beyond these mountains I was shown [another] mountain [to the east of the limits of the earth and] all the trees in it were filled with . . . and it was like the bark of the almond tree. 33. When incisions (?) are made in these trees there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when these barks are ground, [they are (sweeter) than any fragrance. 34. And beyond these mountains], approximately to the north-east of them, I was shown [other] mountains [

This fragment, which contains the remainder of two columns, xii and xiii, was found together with the large fragment of columns v and vi in September 1952 when Cave 4 was being cleared.
by R. de Vaux and me. It has already been published, together with En\textsuperscript{e} i xxvi 14–21, in \textit{RB} lxxv (1958), 70–7 ('Hénoch au pays des aromates'). See there for a more detailed commentary, particularly on the names of the aromatics and the spices, and on the geographical regions where they are found.

Texts for comparison: En\textsuperscript{e} i xxvi 14–17 (En. 31: 2–32: 1), C, E.

Ll. 23–4 (En. 30: 1). L. 24. At the end of the verse, after φαραγγα υδάτος E adds a gloss: 'like that which fails not'; perhaps there was only 'great water(s)': φαραγγα υδάτος μεγάλων or υδάτων μεγάλων, where the adjective may have been missed out, since it is preceded by τόπον ἄλλον μέγαν.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 30: 2). L. 24. καὶ δενδρονχροα in C is doubtless an unintelligible corruption of κάλαμοι χρηστοί; cf. νάρδου χρηστοῦ = ἐβα θύλα in En\textsuperscript{e} i xxvi 18. —'Ομοίων: read δομοιον (sc. δένδρον) and correct to δομοιον (sc. κάλαμοι). —Σκύνω (read σκοίνω, 'to the reed', and not σκίνω as Charles does) is equivalent to ὅδες according to En\textsuperscript{e} i xxvi 18 (En. 32: 1). On the region of these \textit{calamus et iuncus odorati} (Pliny), valley of the Mergh situated in the Beqâ' between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, see \textit{RB}, loc. cit., 73, and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Notes de géographie syrienne antique': \textit{MUSJ} xl (1964), 296–301 and \textit{Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie}, vi (1967), 23–4.

Ll. 25–6 (En. 30: 3). C omits one word: καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῶν φαράγγων τοῦτων.

Ll. 26–7 (En. 31: 1). L. 26. C and E omit ἐπόκριτα.—The term ἄλως in C replaces, for an obscure reason, ἔπιλλη, 'I saw', of En\textsuperscript{e}; are we dealing here with a clumsy adaptation of ἔπιλλη, 'front part, flat surface'? Note that Aramaic does not seem to have possessed a term which corresponded exactly to the Greek ἄλως. Thus in Palmyrene the name of a sacred thicket, (ἐπόκριτα) ἄλως, is simply transcribed ἡλς, or else translated by a generic term ἵλα (lym); Milik, \textit{Recherches}, pp. 4–8.

L. 27. Νέκταρ denotes here the resin of the styrax (ὦλεξ was transcribed by σαρφαν, later corrupted to σαρφαν) and of the trees of the Ferula species (Ἰνβαλλῆ). The author of the book of Enoch seems to consider the names of these two aromatics as synonymous.

Ll. 27–8 (En. 31: 2). This verse is considerably reworked in E; C is relatively close to the original.

L. 27. The inner passive of the Ophal ἔξωτιν Ν is translated by the active ὅπων, as often happens in the Greek Enoch; at line 29 (En. 32: 1) ἔξωτιν = ρέθεαμαι.

L. 28. The name of the aromatic remains indecipherable. In any case, the traces of the letters do not agree with any Semitic term to denote στακτῆ, so that the correction of ἕξωτιν in C to στακτῆς ('aloes' E) is unconvincing; see Charles, i, p. 71 note 14. The MS. of C clearly has ἐν δομοίωματι ἀμυγδάλω (dative), and not ἀμυγδάλων as in Charles; En\textsuperscript{e} is more detailed: 'to the bark of the almond tree'.

Ll. 29–30 (En. 31: 3). The first part of this verse has been omitted in C and E by homoeoteleuton: ὅταν (sc. ὅταν).

L. 29. The traces of the letters here and in En\textsuperscript{e} i xxvi 15 allow one to grasp the approximate meaning of the hemistich omitted in the Greek: 'when incisions (?) are made in trees, a pleasant perfume comes from them'. —After τριβθωμαν = ἱπισθή the Greek translator has omitted ὄλεξ ἔξωτιν, just as he has omitted ὄποιος at v. 2, probably because he did not know the meaning of this term. —Διο: some corrupted word.

L. 30 (En. 32: 1). C omits by homoeoarcton: ὅπερ πᾶν ἄρωμα. Καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀρέων τοῦτων.
4QEn° 1 xiii—En. 35 and 36: 1–4 (Pl. XIII)

[margin]

4QEn° 1 xiii—En. 35 and 36: 1–4 (Pl. XIII)

kai τῶν ἄρωμάτων; the phrase kai τῶν ἄρωμάτων seems to be an addition peculiar to the Greek, which has dropped ‘these mountains’; in E: ‘after these perfumes’. The remainder is equivalent to C, while E is different. For the continuation see En° 1 xxvi 17 ff.

[35. . . and I saw] portals open [in heaven, such as I have seen in the East . . .] their number. Then [. . .] 36 1From thence I was transported to the South of the limits [of the earth, and there I was shown their three portals open], for the south wind, for dew and rain [and for . . . 2And from thence I was transported to the East of the limits of the earth and there] I was shown [their] three portals, [open to the East, and above them small gates, 3from every single one of which the stars] of heaven come forth [and go to the West on the paths which are fitting for them.

4And as often as I was looking (at all these things) I was saying blessings every time]. Then I shall continue blessing [the Lord of Majesty . . .]

Only E to be compared.

Ll. 23–4 (En 35). L. 23. [_margin: the number of the portals of heaven in the West does not appear to be stated precisely here. The addition of E, ‘three (portals)’, is mistaken,
because the original text spoke here about the six gates for the sun and for the moon in the West, corresponding to the six gates in the East (see En. 33: 2–3). Three gates in the South (line 25), and three in the East (En. 36: 1), stand for the meteorological phenomena.

En. 34: 2–36: 2 summarizes ch. 76 of the Astronomical Book, adding confusedly other information concerning the sky.

L. 24. בָּשָׁבוֹן אֱלֹהִים, 'their number', doubtless ends a phrase summarized in E by 'so many portals (or: entrances) and so many exits'. After that comes a short gap; the following word, בָּאָדָד, begins a new clause which probably contained a text analogous to that of 33: 3 or 33: 4; see En* i xxvii 19–20.

Ll. 25–6 (En. 36: 1). According to E the three portals are for the south wind, for the dew, for the rain, and for the wind. The fourth term seems to be corrupt.

Ll. 26–7 (En. 36: 2). 'To the ends of the earth' as in Ev (Martin, p. 77) rather than 'to the ends of the sky' (other manuscripts of the Ethiopic).

L. 27. 'small doors': probably בִּשְׂמָה, a term which recurs in 5Q 15 i 8 (DFD iii, p. 188, s.v.).

Ll. 27–8 (En. 36: 3). At the end of this verse I restore הָרַח, 'fitting, proper (to them)', rather than הָרַח (חָ), notwithstanding tare'eyat ('the path which) is shown to them' in E.

Ll. 29–30 (En. 36: 4). In line 30, after the word בָּאָדָד, few traces of letters are left; the reading בָּאָדָד seems better than בָּאָדָד.

[Fragments 2 and 3 of 4QEn* are edited below, pp. 316–17, as 4QEnGiants* 9 and 10]

4QEn* 4—En. 89: 31–7 (Pl. XIV)
31 And they all were afraid [and trembling] before Him, [and they cried to the Sheep who was the second (in command) to Him], who was among them: ‘We are not able to stand before [the Lord.’ 32 Thereupon that Sheep that led them] went up [again for] a second time to the summit of that rock. But the flock began to go blind [and to stray from the way which had been shown] them: but the Sheep did not know about these (happenings). 33 And the Lord of the flock was filled with [great] wrath against [the flock and that Sheep knew it and came down from the summit of] that [rock]; and he came to the flock, and found all the majority of them blinded [and straying. 34 And when they saw him, they began to fear] before him, and desired to return to their folds. 35 [And the Sheep took other sheep with him and came] to the flock; and they slaughtered every one that had gone astray; and they began to fear [before him. . . . Then] that Sheep restored all the straying flock to their folds. [And when the straying flock had returned to their folds] that [Sheep] set about reproaching and slaying and punishing (everyone) who swore by [the name of the golden calf(?). 36 And I watched in this dream until] that Sheep was changed and became a man and made a Tabernacle [for the Lord of the flock; and he brought all the flock to that Tabernacle. 37 And I watched until] that Sheep who was associated [with (the first Sheep) fell asleep . . . ]
middle of them’, is relatively close to the original: [ד Thủ הוה תונוג]'. This verse alludes to Exod. 20: 18–19. Thus, it is Moses himself, and not Aaron, who is the ‘second to Him’, the lieutenant of God; read חנה תונוג, or חנה חנה as in Ena i iii 6 (En. 6: 7).—לולסקים, ‘to hold (ourselves) upright’, is found only in Enav: qawima (qawimu Enb 2nd hand). E adds ‘nor to look at him’.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 89: 34). L. 3. אִשֵּׂיָּדב נוֹכַה (for אִשֵּׂיָּדב נוֹכַה, a ‘second time’; cf. מִנַּיִּיתָה in 4QEnGiantsb quoted below, p. 306), om. by E as apparently redundant with ‘returned’ (= ‘again’). The ascension of Moses to Sinai is mentioned in verse 29 (Exod. 19: 3); on the second ascension see Exod. 24: 12–14.

L. 6. (En. 89: 34). In the lacuna there was doubtless nothing but ‘to fear’, as in Ev; other Ethiopic manuscripts add ‘and to tremble’. The infinitive was preceded by אֱלִיָּד, ‘they began to’, omitted in E.

Ll. 7–10 (En. 89: 35). This verse is much shortened in E. In other respects it is more detailed than the corresponding Biblical passage, Exod. 32: 25–8. Already at v. 34 (line 6) the blind and straying sheep wish to return to their folds, that is to good conduct, a detail which is not found in Exod. 32: 19 ff., unless one sees a reference to it in 32: 20: the Children of Israel drink water mixed with the ashes of the golden calf.

L. 7. שְׁמוֹת: technical term for the slaughter of sheep; ‘and it (that sheep) began to kill them’ E. In the Aramaic it is those who escape from the massacre who begin to tremble; ‘and the sheep were afraid of its presence’ E.

L. 8. In the lacuna a phrase (omitted by E) of the type זְכָּרָה לַמְּחָב לֶדְיָרָא, cf. line 6 and immediately after.

Ll. 9/10. A long phrase, omitted by the Ethiopic.


—לְבָנוּל: Pa’el infinitive of בָּנֶש, in Arabic ‘to cut with the sword’.—מָא זוּל, ‘(whosoever) would swear by [the name of . . .]’.

L. 10. ‘[the name of the golden calf]’ probably.

Ll. 10–11 (En. 89: 36). For the equivalent ‘vision’, rāʾēvē, in E = ‘dream’, (א)לְמַול, see Ena 4 ii 1 (En. 89: 7); here [בַּכְּלָלָה יִד] or [בַּכְּלָלָה יִד], E bazē (bazēku En) rāʾēvē.—אַחְטֹפּ—missing in E.—The trace of the last letter in this line would make a Mem [ם] more likely than a Beth [ב].

L. 11 (En. 89: 37). The top of the Lamed, just on the margin of the fragment, is quite visible on an earlier photograph, PAM 41. 355.

4QEn 5 i—En. 104: 13–106: 2 (Pl. XIV)
And they will believe in them and be glad over them]; and all [the righteous] will rejoice [to learn from them all the ways of righteousness.

In those days the Lord appointed them (the righteous) over the children of earth, [to read (them, i.e. the books), and to testify with regard to them according to their wisdom, saying: ‘Tell them about it (wisdom), for] you are [to lead them, and you will receive your reward from all the children of earth. 2And] you [shall have all remuneration. Be glad ye, o children of righteousness.’

And after a time I Enoch took a wife for Methuselah my son and she brought forth a son and called] his name Lamech [saying: ‘Brought low, indeed, righteousness has been to this day.’ And when he came to maturity, Methuselah took for him] a wife, and she [became pregnant by him and bore a boy. 2And when the boy was born, his flesh was whiter than snow and] redder [than the rose, and all his hair was white as the pure wool, and thick and bright. And when he opened his eyes he lighted up the] whole [house as the sun . . . ]

Texts for comparison: CM and E; cf. Latin (106: 1–18), 1QGenAp ii–v (the same manuscript as 1Q20) and 1Q19 3 and 8 (106: 2–6 or 106: 9–12).
L. 20 (En 104: 12/13). Before ‘and they will believe’, καὶ αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσιν, E adds (or else CM omits): ‘and great wisdom. The books will be given to them).

Ll. 20–1 (En. 104: 13). L. 20. מָשָׁאְרֵי (Hebrew verb) = καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται in CM = wayē-thaiayu in Emedehly (verb ḥaṣaya ‘rejoice’). The reading wayēt’ asayu of other manuscripts of E is a simple orthographic variant and should not be corrected to wayēt’ asayu, ‘and they will be recompensed’ (verb ‘asaya), as it has been by all translators of the Ethiopic Enoch. On the expression ‘trees of joy’, ḫeṣaw haṣet, in En. 10: 19 see the note to En e i v 8.

Ll. 21–4 (En. 105). This short chapter certainly existed in the Aramaic original, no matter what Charles, and following him the editor of CM, said about it. The fact that it is omitted in CM can be explained by homoeoteleuton ἀληθεία < … ἀληθεὶς {Amen}>, and one simply cannot see in this omission in CM any corroboration of Charles’s opinion, as C. Bonner seems to think: ‘Charles’s doubts about the appropriateness, for this place, of ch. 105 of the Ethiopic texts are shown to have been fully justified. The Greek passes directly from 104 to 106, which, together with 107, is generally considered to be a fragment of a Book of Noah.’

Ll. 21–3 (En. 105: 1). L. 21. The meaning of דֶּרֶךְ followed by the accusative of person and by בּ (or by לֵו) of thing or of person is ‘to appoint over’, hence ‘[the Lord appointed them (sc. the righteous)] over the children of the earth’. The Greek translator took this to be the normal use of דֶּרֶךְ, ‘to command, to order’, with the result that the concept of the supremacy of the righteous, theologically very important, was completely lost.

L. 22. Before direct speech a verb like לְמָארו לְהוֹר or simply לְמָארו is necessary.

L. 23. The expression in E, ‘and (you are) the rewards on all the earth’, is not clear. I take it that here, and likewise at verse 2 (see below), the author wanted to say, rather prosaically, that the righteous will be rewarded, well paid, by the children of the earth, for their teaching of the wisdom drawn from his writings, i.e. the writings of the pseudo-Enoch.

L. 23–4 (En. 105: 2). The length of the lacuna at line 23 shows that no element of the Christian interpolation in the first half of this verse was found in the Aramaic original. בָּרוּך can scarcely precede בּלָשׁ ‘peace’; the Aramaic text no doubt had אַרְתָּם, the Pa’el infinitive (written with Aleph as above, En e 4 9) of the verb בּלָשׁ ‘to remunerate, to reward, to pay’; ‘you will have peace’ E.

Ll. 24–5. The vacat is very long, one and a half lines, since chapter 106 begins a part of the work which is quite distinct from what comes before. In any case, the exclamations of E, ‘Amen’, and ‘Hallelujah’ in E9, were certainly not found at the end of verse 2 of chapter 105.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 106: 1). L. 26 ḫlabov: the context, too abrupt otherwise, seems to demand the addition of ἀληθεὶς. In E a long omission by homoeoarcton ἀληθεὶς Μαθοῦσαλκ … ἀλαβεν αὐτῷ: restore according to CM, lines 18–22, except perhaps for the addition of ἀληθεὶς, towards the end of our line 27 (with E, which, however, expands further: ‘my son Methuselah took for Lamech his son’).

L. 27. מְלָאָם: see the note to line 22.—ἐταπενώθη: I add the emphatic particle ἔλαβον (known in early Aramaic) to convey the play of words ἔλαβον ἔλαβον; see below, p. 215.—’Ἠνυκία (CM) translated as in Syriac, John 9: 21.

L. 28. At the beginning of the lacuna there must without doubt be added, with E, ‘has become pregnant’ (cf. En x i iii 16); om. CM.

Ll. 28–30 (En. 106: 2). This verse should be restored according to CM, apart from {καὶ}
before ὡς ἐρεία; cf. v. 10, and the addition of כל 집 before ‘the house’: ἔλαμψεν η ὀλίκα CM, ‘he lighted up the whole house’ E. Translate ὡς ἐρεία λευκά according to Dan. 7: 9 (ὡς ἐρείαν λευκὸν καθαρὸν). E paraphrases this verse and has not understood ὀδὸν (ὁδὸς MS.), ‘bushy, thick’, which he has changed to ὀφθαλμοί, ‘eyes’, according to v. 10. I retranslate καὶ ὀδὸν by "עב, the adjective which I read now in 1Q 198, line 1: [....]א[....]; in line 2: [....]א[....]; cf. En. 106: 2 and 4 or 106: 10 and 12. This fragment should be placed quite close to fragment 3 of 1Q19, and both of them seem to me now to correspond better to 106: 9–12 than to 106: 2–6.

4QEn\(\text{o}^\circ\) 5 ii—En. 106: 13–107: 2 (Pl. XV)

\[\text{vacat}\]
Then I Enoch answered saying: ‘Truly [the Lord] will restore [His Law on the earth, according as I saw and told you my son that] in the days of Jared my father (Watchers) transgressed [the Word of the Lord (and departed) from the covenant of Heaven. And behold], they go on sinning and transgressing [the custom and] they perverted their [nature] to go unto women, and to sin with them, and married some of them, and (women) are begetting children, who are not like spiritual beings, but creatures of flesh. And there] shall be [great wrath (of God) against] the earth [and Flood; and] great [destruction shall be done for one year. And this boy] who has been born to you [and] his [three children] will be saved, [when men die upon] earth. [Then], the earth [shall be at rest], and be cleansed [from] great corruption. [And now say to Lamech: ‘He is thy son] in truth,’ [and Pious call this] boy who has been born, [and Noah] call his name, [for he shall be your rest, wherein ye shall rest, and he shall be your salvation, for] he will be saved, he [and his sons, from the corruption of the earth—which (will be caused) by the deeds of all sinners, and by the wickedness of the sons of the earth—which] shall be in his days. And thereafter shall come stronger wickedness [than that which will be consummated] in the days of (Noah and his sons). For I know the mysteries [of the Lord which] the Holy Ones have told me and showed me, [and which] I read [in the tablets] of heaven. And I saw written in them that generation after generation would do evil in this wise, and evil would be (more and more) [until there arose] generations of righteousness, and evil and wickedness should come to an end, and violence should cease from off the earth, and until [good should come on the earth], upon them (men).

And now, go unto Lamech, thy son, [and tell him] that this boy is truly, and without deception, his son.'
The identification and the placing of the small fragments in lines 17 to 23 remain somewhat hypothetical, particularly the placing of e, f, i. Note in addition that the tiny fragments d, e, g, h have suffered less from the shrinking and rucking of the skin than the other fragments, including the large pieces a and b. Texts for comparison: CM and E; cf. Latin, etc. (above, on 5 i).

Ll. 17-18 (En. 106: 13). The small fragment c is certainly to be placed at the beginning of the lines of the same column as the large fragment b. Besides, the verb לבר (which is palaeographically preferable to לבר) in the second line of fragment c can only be placed in En. 106: 13. If this placing is accurate, it will be necessary to discover the meaning of the letters in line r of fragment c, where the only letters which are beyond doubt are the first two: ליר. Now, in CM after the introduction to v. 13, τότε ἀπεκρίθην λέγων, comes the word ἀναξ followed by the verb καινίσει (rewritten from καινίζει?). This noun caused the editor of the papyrus a great deal of trouble: ἀναξ (not in E) can scarcely be right. This poetic word continued to be used in verse and in religious language down to Roman times; but it occurs neither in LXX nor in N.T., and is disturbing here. Read ἀνακαινίσει (James). I think that the Greek translator of the Book of Enoch did not understand the exclamation ליר, well-known, especially in the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Hatraean inscriptions (cf. also Syriac bal, 'sed, profecto'); negative ליר perhaps in 1QGenAp ii 25: ליר חל ויהי ליר, 'that thou shouldst not be angered'. He thought this was the divine name Bel (an error, let it be said in passing, which even several modern epigraphists make), and he translated it by ἀναξ, drawing on the semantic use of the Aramaic synonym be'. A subsequent copyist may have taken this poetic term as a Greek approximation of the name of Enoch (cf. Ἀνωχος in A7 i 85) and this was why he omitted ἐγὼ 'Ἐνώχ', which should have been placed immediately before or after ἀπεκρίθην, and is retained in E; cf. also ליר לינ in GenAp v 3 (ed. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, 1956, p. 18). I restore what follows according to CM, where καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων should be corrected to κατὰ τῶν τρόπων δὲν, which corresponds well to the Aramaic יָדֵל לילַה; then τέκνων (add μου) should be moved after σοι or even left out (cf. superfluous τέκνων in 107; 2 of CM).

Fragment d is placed at En. 106: 13-14 and not in En. 6: 6, on account of the Aleph which follows 'Jared'; here we have י לחל as in En. 6: 6, of which ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ in CM (= ἐβατέσσεδυ in E) is an equivalent translation. This phrase of En. 106: 13 is repeated in GenAp iii 3: ביר ידריאק (ed., loc. cit.).

Ll. 18-19 (En. 106: 14). After τὸ ἔθος in CM, 'the law' in E, there is an omission in CM and E: 'and] they have changed their [nature?] (assuming, of course, that our identification of fragment d is correct). I find a certain corroboration of the existence of this phrase, in an early copy of the Greek Enoch, from the passage in Test. Napht. 3: 5: οἱ Ἑρρήγοροι ἑνήλλαξαν τάξιν φύσεως αὐτῶν, οὓς κατηράσατο (κατηργήσατο MSS. hi) Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, διὸ οὓς ἀπὸ κατοικησίας καὶ ἀκαρπον τάξις τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον. This is certainly an implicit and free quotation of our passage. The author of the Testaments of XII Patriarchs (second century A.D.) read a copy of the Epistle which had the phrase about changing their nature in verse 14 and followed the same order of verses as that found in 4QEn and in CM, namely 14, 17a, 15.

L. 19 (En. 106: 17a). According to CM (which preserves the order of the Aramaic original) this phrase certainly follows verse 14, as Goldschmidt and Charles hinted. In the Greek archetypes of E this passage was omitted, then added in the margin, and finally inserted in the wrong part of the text.
E makes additions after τίκτονοι: first 'of the children' at v. 14, then 'of giants on the earth' at v. 17, in order to make the author's thought more explicit; cf. En. 7: 2. Besides, the close link between the destruction of the giants and the flood could already have been deduced from chapter 6 of Genesis.

This motif was very popular in medieval, Greek, and Eastern art, in which miniatures often represent Noah's ark and above it two drowning giants, either alone or mingling with the corpses of men and beasts. (See, for example, W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (Das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften), 1931, pp. 71–3 and phot. 90–8; J. M. Casanovas, C. E. Dubler, and W. Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin codex Gerundensis, Prolegomena*, 1962, p. 58 and the photographs on pp. 57 and 59.) In the monastery church of Saint-Savin a fresco shows two giants climbing on to the ark in order to escape from the waters of the flood. Another fresco in the same church shows the figure of Enoch in the process of bodily translation into heaven (A. Grabar), deep in prayer, perhaps that of En. 84 (P.-H. Michel), or else in the act of receiving the visions and inspiration necessary to a holy writer, as in representations of the Evangelists (Y. Zaluska); see P.-H. Michel, *La fresque romane*, 1961, pp. 84 and 120–2. Since the figure of Enoch is wholly exceptional in Christian art, the two frescoes in Saint-Savin may testify to a knowledge, direct or indirect, of the Book of Enoch in twelfth-century France.

The giants appear in other miniatures as well. In the illuminated Octateuch MSS. (references above, p. 21), a row of armed men with a chief bears the legend: οφαγείς γίγαντες τῶν κακῶν ἐφευρέται: Octateuch of Serail, fol. 54r; Octateuch of Smyrna, fol. 19r. This is a clear allusion to En. 7–9. A preceding miniature represents the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men (Serail, fol. 54r; Smyrna, fol. 18r) but, according to the later interpretation, they are designed as Sethites (men) and Cainites (women): νιοῦς θεοῦ νόμιζέ τοὺς Σηθ ἐγκόνας...βλέποντας εἰς θυγατέρας βρωτῶν ἐκοίνας τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Καίν.

Equally well known in iconography is the theme of Enoch's ascension to the heavenly paradise. In *Caedmon Poems* (Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius 11, p. 61) the scene is figured in two acts. In the lower register, Enoch supported by two angels looks up with hands spread out in prayer; two groups of onlookers watch as he is raised into the air; the upper register shows Enoch, with two angels, half disappearing in the firmament of heaven. Also in two acts, but in a different manner and with Latin legends, was painted the ascension of Enoch on the eleventh-century fresco of the Dionysius Chapel in Xanten; see V. H. Elbern, *Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland am Rhein und Ruhr*, ii (1964), 1017 and fig. 3. In *Aelfric's Paraphrase of the Heptateuch* (London, Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Claudius B. iv, fol. 11r) the bottom right compartment of a full-page miniature represents the Lord helping Enoch to climb the ladder leading to heaven.

Less popular was the motive of Enoch as writer or receiver of revelations. The Caedmon MS., p. 60, represents Enoch, with halo, holding an open book, trampling on a dragon (Satan? Death?), and listening to an angel addressing him from above. Enoch writing on the stone tablets is figured in a Greek sacred history of the Old Testament (Sinai, MS. 1187, f. 26r). Enoch as a bearer of celestial wisdom, especially of astronomy, is frequently mentioned in Greek chronicles; above, pp. 19–22. Similar notices occur in Western chronicles as well, v. gr. in *Historia Scholastica* of Patrus Comestor (*PL* 198, col. 1080): 'Henoch fuit optimus. Et transtulit illum Deus in
paradisum voluptatis ad tempus, ut in fine temporum, cum Elia convertat corda patrum in filios’; (ibid. 1081, Additio): ‘Henoch quasdam litteras inventit, et quasdam libros scripsit sub quo Adam intelligitur mortuus.’

L. 20 (En. 106: 15). CM keeps the original meaning of the text; E substitutes haguel ‘destruction’ for ὁργή = ἀνακόλουθος, adds ‘all (the earth)’ and ‘the waters (of the flood)’, and omits the second ἔσται (= perhaps ἄνωτερον).

Ll. 20-1 (En. 106: 16). καὶ τὸ δὲ τὸ παιδίον no doubt reflects the construction with the demonstrative pronoun placed first (cf. 1 viii 30), άλλα άλλα διάλεγεν as against τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο = άλλα άλλα διάλεγεν (line 30). Cf. άλλα άλλα διάλεγεν in 1QGenAp ii 2.

L. 21. Γεννηθήν, here and at 107: 2: frequent confusion of the passive participle with the perfect passive Pe'il, which should normally be followed by a dative, here μὴ λῦσθω with E.—Kataleũθήσεται (‘will be left on the earth’ E) seems to me to be out of place here, perhaps in anticipation of v. 18 (line 23). The addition found in E at the end of the verse, ‘he will be saved, he and his children’, appears to me to be an accurate, though incomplete, reading of this passage, first placed in the margin of a manuscript and then wrongly inserted.

Ll. 21-2 (En. 106: 17b). [Καὶ] προαιρεῖ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν [αὐτής] φθοράς abridges quite extensively the original formulation. Since we have here a new development, which describes the situation after the flood, we would expect τὸτε rather than [καὶ]. Further, the transitive προαιρεῖ τὴν γῆν is not at all satisfactory; it is the earth, etc., which rests after a critical period, e.g. [Ἀλλα ἄλλα διάλεγεν] in En 1 ii 16 (probably a more detailed text of En. 91: 10; see 91: 5 ff. on the state of violence on the earth); ἀλλὰ άλλα διάλεγεν, ‘and all (men) will rest from the sword’, in an unpublished Aramaic apocalypse from Qumrân, 4Q246 i ii 4 (the epoch of wars will last: . . . άλλα άλλα διάλεγεν ἀλλὰ άλλα διάλεγεν). E drastically reshaped this phrase in terms of what precedes it (v. 17) and drew on v. 15: ‘and there will be a great chastisement on the earth’. On the other hand, E has kept the parallel verb, omitted in CM: ‘and (the earth) will be purified of all (great, En 106:; cf. 1 vii 2, note) corruption’.

Ll. 22-5 (En. 106: 18). With CM keep the direct speech of Lamech, introduced by ὅτι = ἦδ; E in the 3rd person.

L. 22-3. The passage בְּקָשַׁס כֶּסֶם is translated in CM δικαίως καὶ δισιον (ὡσιὸν MS.) καὶ λέειν] μ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δῶμα; it should not be corrected to δ. κ. δισίως, <καὶ> καὶ λέειν] ἀ. τὸ δ. ἄνω (Bonner). Our En 106 and also E make it clear that there is an omission by homoeoteleuton in CM: καὶ λέειν] μ' τὸ παιδίον τὸ γεννηθεὶν καὶ ἄνω κάλεσον; E reads ἐσμά σαταώλαλα ναλδι (better E ig waldeka) νε' ἐτο βάσετα βασέτα (σάδεξ Εἰσίν) wasawe'e σέμο νόη, thus shortening, and inverting the order of words, in the first part of this passage.—Δικαίως = בְּקָשַׁס also in line 30 (En. 107: 2).

The phrase ‘and pious call this boy who is born’ gives the first etymology of the name Noah, based on the late Hebrew adjective νόη, or on the Aramaic νῆ, ‘quietus, mitis, placidus, gratus, bonus’. The second etymology, ‘the rest, to rest’, follows בְּקָשַׁס in line 23. These two etymologies are given also by Philo, according to whom Noah means ‘rest’ or ‘just’ (De Abrahamo, § 27, ed. J. Gorez, Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie, 20 (1966), 34): δς ἔβραίων μὲν τῇ γλώττῃ καλεῖται νώη, τῇ δὲ τῇ Ἑλληνίου ἀνάπαυσιν ἡ δικαιος. The same notice occurs in Legum allegoria, ii 37 (ed. C. Mondésert, Les œuvres . . . , 2 (1962), 212): ἐρμηνευεῖται γὰρ νώη ἀνάπαυσις ἡ δικαιος.
The third etymology is given in lines 24-5 by the noun אַלְכָּם, 'salvation', and by the verb אָלַל, 'will be rescued, saved' (the latter anticipated in line 21 = En. 106: 15). I think it was inspired by Gen. 5: 29: (in our passageֳ'יִדְוֹ מְתַפֵּשֶׁנָּה, אֶלְּכָּהָה אָרְסֵה יְרָדָה יְרָדָה). The Pa'el of the verb plus the suffix of the 1st person plural, exactly as in 1QGenAp xii 17, where Noah and his sons praise the Lord 'and the Great Holy One who rescued us from destruction', לֶבֶנֵי הָאָרְסֵה יְרָדָה פָּלְמָא מְתַפֵּשֶׁנָּה. The author of the Noachic work, resumed in GenAp and in En. 106-7, did not, however, interpret the verb נְהָמָה in the Hebrew sense 'to console', but in the Eastern Aramaic meaning 'vivificavit, resuscitavit'; notice the nouns נְהָמָא and נְהָמְתָּד, 'resurrectio, restitutio in pristinum statum', where the first part of the words calls to mind the name נוֹה.

The literary fashion of giving a triple explanation of the names of important persons can be detected in the Aramaic Testament of Levi, in the etymologies of the names of Gershom, of Qahat, and (probably) of 'Amram; it becomes evident when one compares three fragmentary texts preserved in the following manuscripts: Koutloumous 39, fol. 205v–207r (Greek version), Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S. 16. 94, col. c and d (Aramaic Cairo Test. of Levi), and 4QTLevi iv (tiny Aramaic fragment). The influence of triple etymology is also reflected in the use of three names for a man or for a spirit; such was the case of Moses, of Michael, and of Beli''al; see my paper in RB lxxix (1971), 77–97.

Here one may point out that the etymologies (and not only those mentioned above) play more often on the Hebrew than on the Aramaic meaning of words. This is particularly obvious, for instance, in the etymology of Jared in En. 6: 6, יְרָדָה נְהָמָא בְּיוֹמֵי יְרָדָה (4QEna i iii 3–4); the ordinary Aramaic narrative phrase becomes a significant play on words in Hebrew re-translation: אָרְסֵה יְרָדָה בְּיוֹמֵי יְרָדָה. One must then conclude that authors writing in Aramaic, such as those of the Book of Watchers, the Book of Noah, or the Testament of Levi, used the Hebrew etymologies deliberately, presuming a sufficient knowledge of this sacred language on the part of their future readers. Notice also that, according to Jewish belief, Hebrew was the first language of mankind and that of patriarchs. Anyhow, these word-plays, clear in Hebrew and obscured in Aramaic writings, certainly cannot be advanced as an argument for the original Hebrew redaction of the book of Enoch (as often claimed in the past; see v. gr. Charles, ii, p. lvii), or of the Testament of Levi (as suggested by P. Grelot, 'Le Testament araméen de Lévi est-il traduit de l'hébreu?' in Revue des études juives, xiv (cxiv) (1955), 91–9).

J. Amir, 'Explanation of Hebrew Names in Philo' (Tarbiz, 31 (1961–2), 297), proved definitely that Philo, not knowing Hebrew (nor Aramaic), used a pre-existent Greek Onomasticon of Biblical proper names. D. Rokeah, 'A New Onomasticon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo’s Etymologies' (JThS, n.s. xix (1968), 70–82) confirms this argument and dates the first redaction of such an Onomasticon to the late third or early second century B.C. Rokeah is right too when he points out, against the thesis of A. T. Hanson, 'Philo’s Etymologies' (JThS, n.s. xviii (1967), 128–39), that the Greek Onomastica and Jerome’s translation both provide us with parallels for the most far-fetched etymologies in Philo. Let us illustrate these statements by the four etymologies given in the books of Enoch:

1. The Watchers, Sons of Heaven, descend (יוֹדוֹ) in the days of ייְרָד (יוֹדוֹ), En. 6: 6 (Ena i iii 3–4; see note ad loc.).—Iαρεῖδ κατάβασις, P. de Lagarde, Onomastica Sacra, 177, 70;
'Iārēth kataβaνις ἡ ἐνίσθεψις Κυρίου ἡ ἐπικράτησις, ibid. 192, 93; 'Jared descendens siue continens, quod graece dicitur ἐπικρατῶν', ibid. 64, 30; 'Iareth descendens siue roborans', ibid. 7, 11.

2. The name of Hermon from the mutual anathematizing of the Watchers: [امجّر] and [امجّر] in En. i iii 4–5 (En. 6: 6); see note ad loc.—Ἐρμύων ἀναθεματίζων, On. S. (Glossae Colbertinae), 202, 73–4 (read, according to the manuscript, Colbertinus 4124 = Paris, Bibl. Nat. grec 2617, fol. 78r ii 37 Ἐρμύων: ἀναθεματισμός); 'Ἐρμων anathema moeroris', On. S., 23, 25 (cf. 22, 9); 'Ermon anathema siue damnatio', 27, 5; 'Ermon anathema eius uel anathema moeroris', 48, 16.

3. Ἐκάλεσεν τὸ δόμομα αὐτοῦ Λαμέχ' ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δικαιοσύνη μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. En. 106: 1 (CM); see above, note to En. 5 ii 4–7.—Λαμέχ ταπεινῶσις, Philo, De posteritate Cæni, §§ 41, 46, 73 (ed. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, ii (1958), 350, 352, 368).—Λαμέχ πλήξαντος ἡ ταπεινώσις, On. S., 176, 48 (the same item in Par. Gr. 2617, fol. 75v ii 34); 'Lamech humilis aut percutiens siue percussum', 8, 3; 'Lamech humiliatus aut percutiuntiem siue percussum posse ressonare', 65, 5 (the last entry also in [D. de Bruyne], Préfaces de la Bible Latine, 1920, p. 190, no. 47).

4. Of three etymologies of Noah given in En. 106: 18 only one, 'rest', is retained by Onomastica: Ναὸς ἀνάπαυσις, On. S., 176, 51; 177, 71; 203, 22 (the last = Par. Gr. 2617, fol. 79v ii 21; also ibid., fol. 75v ii 39). It is not true, on the other hand, that the Glossae Colbertinae give the second etymology of Philo, namely Ναὸς δικαιοσύνη, On. S. 203, 22 (repeated by Rokeah, loc. cit., p. 82 no. 12). The MS. Gr. Par. 2617, fol. 79v i 26 writes clearly Ναὸς: δικαιοσύνη, the name of Joshua's father having the same meaning in On. S. 183, 23–4: 'Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναοῦ σωτήρ ὁ τῆς δικαίουςν'. But, in fact, the etymology 'Noah = righteousness' occurs in quite different texts, namely in a number of medieval chronicles which all depended in their initial sections on an anonymous 'Chronicle of Creation'. Apropos of the confusion of Babel, they tell us that the Hebrew language was that of Adam until Eber, and that 'the names of ancient men' (τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὄνομα) are meaningful only in Hebrew, beginning with that of 'Adam = man'. About the etymology of Noah they write: καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναὸς προσηγορία δι' ἐτέρας μὲν οὐδεμᾶς διαλέκτου ἐρμηνεύται· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην (sc. Hebrew language) δικαιοσύνης σημαίνεται; Chronicle of Symeon the Magister and the Logothetes, Par. Gr. 1712, fol. 11v 34–5; the same wording in the Chronicle of Leo Grammaticus, Par. Gr. 854, fol. 331v 25–7 (with the marginal title: Ναὸς δικαιοσύνη = ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1842, p. 13, 13–15; καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναὸς προσηγορία· δικαιοσύνης σημαίνει, Par. Gr. 1712, fol. 23r 34 (the source of Cedrenus); the same wording in the Synopsis of George Cedrenus, MS. Sinai, Greek 1184, fol. 12v 17–18 = ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, p. 23, 1–2. This story of the original language of mankind derives perhaps from the world chronicle of S. J. Africanus, who—at least for the etymology 'Noe—righteousness'—seems to depend on Philo.

Anyhow, accepting the thesis of the two Israeli scholars, we can agree that the author of the original Greek Onomasticon, who certainly wrote earlier than Philo, invented most of his plays on words by himself. Nevertheless he also borrowed some of his etymologies from the Hebrew or Greek Old Testament, and a few of them from other ancient Jewish works: thus, the etymologies of Jared and of Hermon from the Book of Enoch, those of Lamech and of Noah from
the Enochic Pentateuch, or rather from the Book of Noah, the source of En. 106–7. If one admits Rokeah’s dating of this Onomasticon, one has a terminus ante quem for the Book of Noah, which corroborates the date of its composition proposed above, p. 56.

L. 23. [Κατά]λμμα in CM (‘a remainder’ in E) translates the substantive (Ἀπό) or even ἄνα (Hebrew).—Ἀφ’ (ἐφ’ ed., according to Sir. 5: 7 and 44: 23) oδ ἄν καταστασθηται (read –τε) om. by E; retranslate: (or οὐνατοθεία) (or ἡ ἔργα) ἔργα.

L. 24. καὶ [οἱ καὶ] αὐτὸς was preceded by καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσεται omitted in CM by homoeoteleuton and preserved in E. It seems, however, that neither CM nor E kept a phrase parallel to ἐσται ἵστω καταλείμμα, namely, καὶ ἔσται ἵστω σωτηρία, αὐτὸς γὰρ σωθήσεται κ.τ.λ.—In the lacuna I restore ἀνέρα ἐν βάλτι μόντα according to ἀπό τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς γῆς; E paraphrases ‘from the destruction which shall come upon the earth’. The noun ἐν βάλτι is preserved in line 22 (verse 17b) where CM and E use the same words, φθορά and μισμα.—καὶ δ[πό] πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ed. (καὶ ο or κατα in the note); but four letters were lost in the lacuna and I supply κατά [ἐργα or ἔργαν] πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν; E briefly: ‘on account of all the sin’. The preposition κατά doubtless translated μόνον: ‘the corruption of the earth which (had been caused) by the works of sinners’; a second μόνον, parallel to the preceding one, has been translated by ἀπό in CM.

L. 25. καὶ δ[πό] πασῶν τῶν συντελεύτων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ed. (alternatively [συμπασῶν] in the note); but the second lacuna is longer than Bonner thinks and I supply τῶν ἀδικία, whilst the damaged word is better read as συντελευτᾶν, all of which is fairly close to the Ethiopic: ‘and on account of all the injustice which will be consummated on the earth in his days’.—Ἀδικίαι (= οὐκ ἔσται, in the plural?) was linked directly in the original with τῆς γῆς, because there is no place further on for ἀνέρα. Instead of μόνον ἀνέρα E one could just as well restore μόνον, which is closely parallel to (or ἔργα) τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν; E briefly: ‘on account of all the sin’. The text of CM was correct, to judge by the plural of the first predicate: […] κατὰ τῆς γῆς,[κατὰ] τῆς γῆς, if our suggestion is accepted.

L. 25–6. From κατὰ ἐν βάλτι down to Κρίσεως ὑπομονής οἱ Εὐθυμίῳς, E translates ‘stronger’ and not simply ‘still more’ (Charles).

L. 25–6. [Μῶν ἔργα ἐν] βίοις; in E: ‘than that which was first consummated on the earth’, ἐμ’ ἐντα ταφασματ qaddāmi diba mēdēr. I restore the predicate in future tense, and I omit ‘first’ following E’s. Read [Μῶν ἔργα] ἐν, ‘in his (Noah’s) days’, or rather [Μῶν ἔργα] ἐν, ‘in their days’ (sc. of Noah and of his sons); the suffix of the latter reading seems to be indicated by ἀνέρα Τίθεντα for which all other manuscripts substituted ‘on the earth’. ‘Upon them’ of Τίθεντα translates probably ἔτι ἀνέρα in the temporal meaning, well known in Greek, ‘during their days, life’, when talking of the events which had happened under previous kings, etc.

L. 26. καὶ δ[πό] ἐν βίοις; E transposes: ‘the mysteries of the Holy Ones, for the Lord has shown (them) to me and has made (them) known to me’. The text of CM was correct, to judge by the plural of the first predicate: […] οὐδείς ἐν μοι καὶ ἐμὴν[μίαν (μεμεθήν MS.) μοι, my restoration; see ed.].

L. 27–9 (En. 107: 7). L. 27. Προξεν = ἀντίκα ἐν E; τότε τεθέαμαι CM.—κατεισδωντε (nothing corresponding in E) should be corrected to read κατ’ εἶδος τόδε, ‘according to this manner’
Skin pale or dark brown, of medium thickness; surface finely granular and fairly smooth; it is flaking and disintegrating, especially along the lines of writing; back wrinkled. Guide-lines moderately broad and not very deep.

The hand is fairly similar to that of En\(^c\), less assured and less firm but applied with greater pressure and with the letters straighter; one might say it is that of a pupil who is drawing his inspiration from the calligraphy of his teacher. In the same way, the arrangement of the text in the columns of the scroll (thirty lines of writing per column) and the orthography (in particular מִשְׁלֵי i xi 5, or even מִשְׁלֵי, absolute state of מִשְׁלָל, דָּנָתָאָו, and מִשְׁלֵי = מִשְׁלֵי 2 ii 27) are identical in En\(^c\) and in En\(^d\). One may conclude, accordingly, that the original scroll of En\(^d\) contained the same Enochic writings as En\(^c\), namely the Books of Watchers, Giants, and Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch.

Of the scroll En\(^d\) only two piles of fragments have been preserved: the first comprising the fragments of i xi–xii (Book of Watchers) and the second those of 2 i–iii (Book of Dreams), the former from the upper part of the columns, the latter from the lower part of them. Col. i xi, fifty-six letters per line on average; i xii, fifty-seven letters; 2 i–iii, fifty-two letters.

Given the rather deplorable state of the written surface, one may usefully consult earlier photographs for verification of the readings: PAM 42. 233, etc.

[4QEn\(^d\) i i–x are missing]
... Hence those who suffer affliction there, being punished less in regard to their (spirits), they will not be afflicted, with (greater) damage, in the day of judgement, away from there, nor will they be transferred permanently from there'. Then I blessed the Lord of Majesty and said: 'Blessed be the Judgement of Righteousness, [and blessed be the Lord] of Majesty [and of Righteousness who is the Lord of the world.]

And from there I was transported to another place, [westwards of the ends of the earth], and I was shown [fire which runs here and there, neither resting] nor halting in its running behind [by day or by night], (yet) at the same time remaining constant. [And I asked and said: 'What is this] which never pauses?  

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 22: 13). The text of C, $\text{TAD\v{E} πνε\'υ\text{m}ατα \text{δ}̂\text{ι} \text{o} \text{i} \text{ε} \text{n\v{h}ά} \text{d} \text{e} \text{th} \text{le} \text{i} \text{β} \text{é} \text{n} \text{e} \text{t} \text{e} \text{s} \text{ε} \text{l} \text{a} \text{t} \text{o} \text{n} \text{k} \text{o} \text{l} \text{α} \text{ξ} \text{o} \text{n} \text{t} \text{a} \text{u} \text{t} \text{o} \text{n} \text{o} \text{u} \text{π} \text{e} \text{i} \text{m} \text{o} \text{r} \text{p} \text{h} \text{t} \text{h} \text{̂} \text{s} \text{h} \text{o} \text{n} \text{t} \text{a} \text{} \text{a}$, is drastically abridged in E: $\text{wa} \text{n} \text{a} \text{s} \text{o} \text{m} \text{u} \text{s} \text{a} \text{'}$ $\text{i} \text{t} \text{̂} \text{t} \text{\text{q}t} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a}$, 'and their spirit shall not be slain'. I read τάδε (not τά δε) πνεύματα, 'these spirits', to be joined with the
preceding word, μετοχοι. The new phrase has the masculine subject, αὐτό, which is in agreement with the masculine form of ἔγερσα, and recalls (τοὺς πνεύματα) τῶν ἀνδρώτων at the beginning of verse 13. The pronoun αὐτῶν translates probably ἐνα, ‘in regard to their (spirits)’. The first ἐνα is omitted in C and E. By this repetition the author of the Book of Enoch emphasizes the fact that the occupants of the fourth section of the abode of the dead, which is described in verses 12–13 of chapter 22, will not suffer any special damage (ἵλη μοι) on the day of judgement nor will they dwell anywhere else but here nor be transferred from here, ἀλλὰ ἀλλὰ, to another place in order to be condemned to a harsher and endless punishment. In any case, μη μετεγερθῶσαν ἐντεθεν in C (‘they will not rise from there’ E) does not refer in any way to the doctrine of bodily resurrection, as is generally acknowledged. The Ethpa’al of ἠφει means ‘to remain permanent, to retain (life, etc.) lastingly’, like the foliage of certain trees which remains on them during the winter, ἀλλὰ ἀτερμές, En. 1 ii 5.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 22: 14). C and E omit by homoeoteleuton: ὧν τὴν ἀληθή βασιλεία. C expresses the doxology in direct speech, in the 2nd person, εὐλογητος εἰ κύριε, while E keeps the indirect form, which is original, adding, however, ὅ κύριος μου after εὐλογητος. Several manuscripts of E (q and β) retain the first epithet, ‘(the Lord) of glory’, σῆμα τασίδης. The last epithet, κυριεύων τοῦ αἰώνος, to be retranslated κύριος, recalls κύριος ἄλημα, Ἵμωρ ἦλιμα, of C; see the note there.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 23: 2). καὶ ἤθεσασάμην C: this verb translates the passive form of the Aramaic נחֱּ: cf. the note to En. 1 xii 27. ‘A blazing fire’ E: ‘blazing’ is missing in C and was probably missing in the Aramaic text. נחֱּ = δάμα in C, which should therefore not be corrected to דלתא to correspond with E, as it was by Charles.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 23: 4). This verse was quite considerably reworked in C and E. In any case, I consider the identification of the fragment c of En d 1 (ends of lines 3–6) to be beyond doubt, above all on account of the excellent correspondence נחֱּ דאה = δάμα διαμένου (line 4 = En. 23: 2), an equivalent rendering such as will not be found anywhere else in this part of the Book of Enoch. The phrase in C (and in E) which refers to Raguel (רֶגֶּיוֹן), δ εἰς τῶν ἁγίων ἁγγέλων δς μετέ ἐμοῦ ἦν, was certainly not in the original.

In En. 20: 4 Raguel is described as follows: ‘Ῥαγουθ, δ εἰς τῶν (του C) ἁγίων ἁγγέλων δ ἐκδιώκων (ἐκεκών C’) τῶν κόσμων τῶν φωστήρων C, pl. XXIXr 17–19; C', pl. XIr 6–8. The Ethiopic, too, read ἐκδιώκων, ‘who takes vengeance’, but the original reading of the Greek was certainly ἐκδιώκως, that of our passage of En. 23: 4.

The original Aramaic text, or at the very least the text of En d, mentioned only the name of the archangel Ra’u’el, having assumed implicitly that the reader would know, from 20: 4, that this angel was in charge of the celestial fire from which the world of stars is supplied. Such a function is strictly cosmic and astronomical, quite different from the moral and social functions fulfilled by other archangels. Enoch wonders at the eternal fire which keeps the stars lit and burning and whose reservoirs are situated in the mountains of fire, 24: 1 (see below). In fact, ἐκδιώκως does not have the positive meaning of persecution, but simply of pursuit, as when a shepherd follows his flock. The corresponding Aramaic verb is נדַר, which has precisely this meaning ‘to follow the flock, to watch over it, to let it graze’ in Safaitic. Correspondingly, the participle of διατρέχων and the noun δρόμος translate the Aramaic מְרַדְּבָּה and מְרַבּ, with the basic meaning: ‘go behind (the flock, running to this and that side of it)’. The author of the Book of
Enoch is thus referring to the actual name of the archangel which he took to signify ‘Shepherd of God’ (really ‘Delight of God’).

Raguel’s reply to Enoch—I believe that it was not introduced by אֶלֶּחָד = לֹאֶלֶּחָד (אֵלֶּחָדֵיָהּ μοּזָּה רַמּוֹויְלִ), but simply by ל, ‘and’—has also been reworked, in the transition from the Aramaic to the Greek and from the Greek to the Ethiopic; in CGemote δ δρόμος τον πυρός το πρός δυσμάς πύρ το ἐκδιπώκον ἐστιν πάντας τοὺς φωστήρας τοῦ ὀυρανοῦ; in E ‘that (thing) the course {of which you have seen}, that (thing which moves) towards the West, is the fire which burns (sic) all the luminaries of heaven’. The initial phrase δ στός δρόμος seems to replace another substantive. In End I restore מִלָּהָה הַמָּה, ‘this is its sign’, that is, the astronomical function of the eternal fire. The Greek translator of the Aramaic Enoch did not know the meaning of this term and simply omitted it; see En. 2: 3 and 4 = Ena 2 ii 2, 3, 6 (note to line 2), and En. 82: 9 = Enastr 28 i (quoted in the note to Ena i i 19 and below, p. 295). Anticipating the word δρόμος, the Greek editor was obliged to rework the syntax of the original text which must have been worded in approximately the following terms: καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ὑπὸ πρὸς δυσμάς δρόμος ἐκδιπώκον ἐστιν πάντας τοὺς φωστήρας τοῦ ὀυρανοῦ.

L. 6 (En. 24: 1). The beginning should be supplied in accordance with C: καὶ ἐδίξεν μιᾷ ἀρχὴ πυρὸς καὶ ὁμένα. In E it is preceded by the phrase ‘and from there I went to another place of the earth’, which is certainly wrong, since Raguel remains in the actual spot where the depository of the celestial fire is. It is not until verse 2 that Enoch travels towards the seven mountains of God and towards the grove of immortality. After καὶ ὁμένα C has νυκτός which seems to be original; ‘(day and) night’ E. Our Aramaic fragment enables us to restore the original wording of this phrase: ‘(mountains), and the ground (lit. floors) between them was of burning fire, glowing during the night’. Most of it was omitted in G and E by homoeoarcton: πυρὸς ἑκατομένου, ἐδάφι μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμένα νυκτός. For סנְנָּן = ἐδάφι see Ena 1 vi 24 (En. 14: 10 end).
... the King of the world which stands] before Him, Who prepares
[such things for men (if they are) righteous; and] these things [He has
created and promised to give to them. 28 1And from thence I was translated]
to the centre of the earth, [and I saw a blessed place in] which were trees
[whose branches bloomed with everlasting blossom. 2And there I was
shown a holy mountain, and] proceeding forth from beneath [the mountain,
water, from the East, and going down towards the South.

3And I saw to the East another mountain higher] than it, and between
them a deep valley [which was without breadth, with water proceeding
forth from beneath the mountain. 4And to the West] of it another mountain
[lower than it but without height, and a deep and dry valley underneath it
and] between these (mountains), and there was [another] valley [at (the foot
of) these three mountains. 5And all the valleys were deep and of hard rock,
and no tree was planted in them. 6And] I marvelled at the mountains [and
I marvelled at the valleys, and I marvelled exceedingly. 27 1Then I said:
‘Why is this land] blessed, and all of it [full of trees . . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 25: 7). The expression הָרְבוּלֵל belongs to a phrase omitted in G and E, probably
through homoeoteleuton: αὐτῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἁγνὸν αὐτῶν δὲ.—The verb ὁμαλος, καὶ εἰνεν
(δοῦναι αὐτοῖς), has here the meaning ‘to promise’, as is often the case in the Canaanite and
Aramaic languages, e.g. Phoenician, Hebrew, Palmyrene; for the last dialect see Milik,
Dédiaces, p. 3.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 26: 1). The Greek verb ἐφώδεσας ἐδίω corresponds to the Aramaic לְהַרְבָּּלֵל, ‘I
was transported (by the angels)’, as in the preceding column, line 3 (En. 23: 1), and in En e i
xxvi 18 (En. 32: 2). I retranslate παραφύδας by ‘branches’ and not by ‘young shoots’, since
the choice of the Greek word was prescribed by τοῦ δενδρου ἐκκοιτήτων, which is a gloss peculiar
to C and E (Charles); is it a Christian anti-Jewish addition?

L. 3 (En. 26: 2). The form τελεάματι is equal to ἦλθον, as in En e i xii 30 (En. 32: 1).—I
restore דְּדִי רִו in accordance with דְּדִי קְרִ in En d 2 ii 27 and En e 4 iii 19 (En. 89: 29).—The
Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator probably omitted, through homoeoteleuton,
the participle ἐγέρσαται. — The reading of C, καὶ τὴν δύσων εἰσέβην, is to be retained as lectio difficillior, against wawehzatay, ‘and its flowing’ of E. The noun δύσων, in its basic sense of ‘going down’ (speaking of sun, moon, stars), translates without doubt the infinitive מנהה רידים; cf. הוהים מנהה רידים in Ezek. 47: 1. The author of our Enochic writing is clearly influenced by the passage of Ezek. 47: 1-12; see also Joel 4: 18 and Zech. 14: 8, and my paper in RB lxvi (1959), 533-4.

Line 4 is left completely blank, as the preceding line which concludes a paragraph section was completely filled with writing.

Ll. 5-6 (En. 26: 3). In C correct (ἀνά μέσων) αὔτῳ to αὑτῶν, as in En^d, בֹּנֵיהוּ, and E.

Ll. 6-7 (En. 26: 4). In the second part of the verse, line 7, the text of G is relatively close to the supposed Aramaic original: καὶ φάραγγαν βαβεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν ὑποκάτω αὐτῶν καὶ: preserved in Enqua which omits, however, the two preceding adjectives ὀνά μέσων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄλλην φάραγγαν {βαβεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν} επ᾽ ἀκρων τῶν τριών ὥρεων. The second βαβεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν is probably a superfluous addition of the Greek, drawing on περὶ τῆς φάραγγος in v. 6. The latter expression should normally refer to the last-mentioned valley, but in fact refers to the last but one. For the identification of mountains, brooks, and valleys in En. 26: 2-5 see above, pp. 36-7. The expression επ᾽ ἀκρων seems to correspond to the simple preposition ἐπὶ = ἐπὶ. For another strange use of επ᾽ ἀκρων see the note to En^e ix xxvi 20 (En. 32: 2).

Ll. 7-8 (En. 26: 5). I translate εἰς πέτρας στερέας by בּוֹס הָרָה according to the Targum of Isa. 50: 7; ed. J. F. Stenning, pp. 170-1.—The Aramaic probably did not have the phrase ‘and without breadth’, which is found in E, but not in C.

L. 8 (En. 26: 6). C omits by homoeoteleuton וַהֲמֹתַתּ עוֹלָמִים וַהֲמֹתַתּ. L. 9 (En. 27: 1). I restore בֹּאָה: we׳eta gize, ‘then’, in E, καὶ in C.

4QEn^d 2 i—En. 89: 11-14 (Pl. XVII)
[... 11And they began to bite and] to chase one [another; and the white bull which was born among them begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf] as well, and the wild asses [multiplied. 12And this white bull-calf which was sired by the white bull begat] a black wild boar and a [white] ram of the flock [and the wild boar begat many wild boars and the ram begat] twelve [sheep. 13And when those twelve sheep had grown they gave one] of them to the wild asses, and the wild asses [gave up that sheep to wolves, and the sheep grew up among wolves. 14And the ram led forth] all of the eleven sheep [... .]

Texts for comparison: En* 4 ii 11–17 and E.
Ll. 24–6 (En. 89: 11). To the words ‘and they began to bite one another’ in E there corresponded in the original ‘and they began to bite and to chase one another’.
L. 25. הָלְדוֹרֵי: the plural has been kept in several manuscripts of E; other manuscripts in the singular: ‘wild ass’.
Ll. 26–7 (En. 89: 12). ‘A white sheep’ in E is inaccurate, as the original has דְּבָרָּדִים, ‘a ram of the flock, [a white one]’.
L. 29 (En. 89: 14). רָדְבָּרֵכָּרָא, in accordance with En* as against ‘and the Lord brought’ in E.—נָטִילִים: E omits.

4QEn* 2 ii—En. 89: 29–31 (Pl. XVII)

[... 29and that sheep went up to the summit of] a high [rock], and [the Lord of the sheep sent him to the flock, and they all stood at a distance.
30Then I saw and behold, the Lord of the sheep stood] facing the flock, and his appearance was strong and great and fearful; [and all the flock saw Him and were afraid before Him. 31And all of them] were trembling and fearful [before Him ...]
4QEn\\(^d\) 2 iii—En. 89: 43–4 (Pl. XVII)

[. . . 43And that ram began to butt] with his horns [and to pursue with his horns and to strike hard the foxes, and thereafter the wild boars, and he destroyed] many wild boars [and thereafter let the dogs go free. 44And the sheep whose eyes were opened beheld that] ram of the flock, [until he deserted his way and began to strike the flock, to trample it down, and to depart out of] a (good) way. [. . .]

Texts for comparison: E and the Vatican fragment, the latter from the edition of M. Gitlbauer, Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809 (extract from Die Denkschriften der philosophische-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxviii), 1st fascicle, Vienna, 1878, pp. 57 (syllabic transcription) and pp. 94–5, no. xvi. Cf. above, p. 74.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 89: 43). This verse is much shortened and inaccurate in E; Vat., on the other hand, seems to be very close to the original: καὶ ὁ κριός οὗτος ἡρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασσαι εἰς τοὺς ἀλώτεκας καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς βασ. καὶ ἀπώλεσαι (read ἀπώλεσαν) ὅσι πολλοὺς (corrected in MS. from πολλοὺς) καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡρξαντο (read ἡρξαντο) τοὺς κύνας. The expression μετ’ αὐτοῦ (twice) translates ἄρα, which has, however, the temporal meaning: μετὰ τὰῦτα, ‘thereafter’.—κερατίζειν: cf. κερατίζοντα = חツג.
in Dan. 8: 4; here מְרַכּוֹת מָבָהוֹת [mabhōth].—The verb ἐνετίνασσεν means ‘to strike violently’ (cf. 1 Macc. 2: 36 and, with εἰς as in our passage, 2 Macc. 4: 41 and 11: 11); it probably translates שָחָה in the Pael.—‘The foxes’ are the Ammonites of 1 Sam. 11: 1-15.—‘The wild boars’ are the Amalekites of 1 Sam. 15: 1-9, as already noticed by the author of the work from which the extract in the MS. Vat. Gr. 1809 comes. Indeed, the explicit detail ‘and he caused numerous wild boars to perish’ refers to the הֶרֶם to which the Amalekites were dedicated; a passing mention of the Edomites in 1 Sam. 14: 47 would not explain this remark of the author.—In the phrase ἡρεματό τοὺς κύνας (‘dogs’, the Philistines) the Greek translator has confused שָחָה, ‘began’, with שָחָה, ‘released (free), no longer pursued’; this is a clear reference to 1 Sam. 14: 46:

FIFTH COPY (4QEn², Pls. XVIII–XXI)

Skin of a bluish colour, or pale red, or else dark brown, moderately thick (fragments i xx, 2 and 3, are a little thicker and stiffer than the others); surface finely granular, glazed here and there, flaking in places; back rather smooth and blackish. Fragments i xxvi and following have shrunk somewhat as a result of the disintegration of the skin.

Guide-lines are almost invisible or have disappeared.

The writing, which is very careful at the beginning of the scroll, becomes less careful and hasty from i xxvi; none the less, one can hardly doubt that the entire manuscript is the work of a single hand. It dates from the Hasmonaean period, probably from the first half of the first century B.C. (cf. the alphabets traced by Cross, p. 138, fig. 2, lines 2 and 3, and p. 149, fig. 4, lines 2 and 4).

The layout of the text in the columns of the scroll was rather economical, with the lines of writing progressively more closely crammed together, and with a very sparing use of the blank spaces which separate the paragraphs

8261616
and the sections of paragraphs: i xxii 3, xxvi 18, 4 i 21. The actual copying of the text was very careful: there are few scribal errors (cf. i xxvi 16, note) and few corrections: [בר[ת and לומד[ת] and i xxvii 20 and 21.

The orthography is of the traditional type, relatively defective, but not very regular.

Defective forms: e.g. עֲבָדִים i xxvi 21; כל עלדים xxvii 21; כָלְכֶלָה y 4 i 20 and 12. Too full, on the other hand: ושָלitti i xxvii 11, and especially a superfluous Aleph at the end of a word which ends in a vowel (see the introduction to En): בנהנ ו 4 i 17 (cf. בנהנ 4 ii 3) and a phonetic spelling, an intervocalic -y- becoming -r-, in כָּפָלִים 4 i 19 (as against יָם in 4 iii 19, corresponding to יָם in En d 2 ii 27).

The definite article is marked by Aleph, with the exception of עֶרְבָּה 4 i 20 (but עֶרְבָּה twice in line 15 of the same column) and עֶנֶה 4 iii 21. The final vowel -a of feminine nouns in the indefinite state, of derived infinitives, of the 3rd person singular masculine of the perfect, etc., is marked by He, with the exception of רָמָא, ‘he threw’, 4 i 12; עָלָה מָנ 1 xxvi 20. The final -e is spelled with He: participle מַרְבָּה 4 i 16 and 18. The etymological Aleph and Sin are retained: נְשָׁרָה and נְשָׁרָה 4 i 11; נְשָׁרָה i xxvi 5; נְשָׁרָה 4 ii 2 (cf. נְשָׁר in Biblical Hebrew). In a verbal reflexive form the dentals are not assimilated: נְשָׁרָה 1 xxii 2; note in addition that this is the 3rd person plural feminine of the imperfect.

The system of personal independent pronouns and suffixes is normal, with the exception of one phonetic form: omission of the consonant -h- in the suffix of the 3rd person plural masculine in מַשְּלָה 1 xxii 1. The demonstrative pronoun for an object close at hand is יָד, for an object at a distance מַשְּלָה. Relative pronoun יִד is used, in conjunctions, before verbs, etc., יִד before nouns: יִד וּדָבְדָבָה and יִד i xxii 6. Worthy of note is the archaic form י in 4 ii 13 and iii 16; it goes back to the actual period of the composition of this part of the Book of Enoch, towards the middle of the second century B.C.; see my remarks on Mur 72 (DJD ii, p. 174).

A similar alternation of older and more recent orthography (and pronunciation) is recorded in the verbal preformatives: causative passive Hophal in מַשְּלָה of i xxvi 18, and probably in מַשְּלָה (infinitive) of xxvii 20, and likewise in the reflexive forms: [עֲבָדִים 4 ii 17 (instead of והשָׁרָה); והשָׁרָה iii 17. Elsewhere והשָׁרָה i xxvi 20, והשָׁרָה 19 and 21, והשָׁרָה xxvii 1 and 21.

Finally, a doubtful attestation of the adverbial affirmative -dyit in מַשְּלָה of 4 ii 21 should be pointed out.
Just as with the scroll of En*, it is possible with a fair degree of certainty to assign the fragments belonging to the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36) to their original columns and lines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Letters per col.</th>
<th>Width of col.</th>
<th>Sections of Text</th>
<th>Text preserved</th>
<th>Sigla of Fragments</th>
<th>Fragments on plates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[i–xix]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>xx</td>
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<td>xxi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9 cm</td>
<td>22: 3–13</td>
<td>21: 2–4</td>
<td>xxii 1–7</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xxiii–xxv]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9 cm</td>
<td>28: 1–32: 3</td>
<td>28: 3–29: 2; 31: 2–32: 3</td>
<td>xxvi 3–6, 14–21</td>
<td>c, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9.5 cm</td>
<td>32: 3–34: 1</td>
<td>32: 3, 6; 33: 3–34: 1</td>
<td>xxvii 1–3, 10–11, 18–21</td>
<td>e, f, g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xxviii]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9.36 cm</td>
<td>34: 1–36: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column xxviii, not completely filled with text, was perhaps located on the same sheet as fragments 2 and 3 i, these latter belonging to a different Enochic writing, probably the Book of Giants.

Of the Book of Dreams there remain some fairly important fragments, which are placed in three consecutive columns:

| i      | 39          | 9.5 cm     | En. 86: 6–89: 6 | En. 88: 3–89: 6 | 4QEn* 4 i 10–21 | 4QEn* 4 a, b |
| ii     | 41          | 9.5 cm     | 89: 7–16        | 89: 7–16        | ii 1–5, 10–21   | a, b, c, d    |
| iii    | 32          | 9          | 89: 16–30       | 89: 26–30       | iii 13–21       | e, f          |

Number of lines per column, 21. Upper margin 1, 2 cm; lower margin 1, 5 cm; space between columns 1, 2 cm.

The fragments of En* that can be identified with certainty belong to the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams. The former, however, was probably followed by the Book of Giants; see notes to fragments En* 2 and 3. Moreover, we may suppose that the Epistle of Enoch was present at the end of the original scroll of En*, just as in the case of En*. Given that the date of En* was the first half of the first century B.C., we have thus an additional proof of the early composition of the Enoch Pentateuch.
THE BOOKS OF Enoch

[4QEn* 1 i to xix are missing]

4QEn* 1 xx—?En. 18: 15 (Pl. XVIII)
margin

[Smith or Smith]

100 "["

L. 1. Identification open to doubt. Restore perhaps "οἱ δαστρεῖς οἱ κυλώμενοι εν τῷ πυρί in C.

or maybe "τὰ φωτά, 'round the same fire', refers to the columns of fire which are mentioned in verse 11 (cf. En* viii), or else to the actual fire of the seven stars: ἐν τῇ δαστρέᾳ ὡς ὅρη μεγάλα κεόμενα (v. 13). The participle ἑστάριοι would have specified that the planets revolve round the fire in a circular motion; thus κυλώμενοι and not κυλώμενοι, 'wallowing in the fire' (like animals) or 'swarming around the fire' (like bees).

L. 2. Perhaps supply: ἀνέμος οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς παραβάσεως (MS. παραβάσεως) πρόσταγμα κῦ in C.

Our verse 15 of chapter 18 of Enoch, and its doublet En. 21: 6, are generally considered to be the origin of Jude 13; see, however, the notes to En* 4 i 11–13.

4QEn* 1 xxi—En. 21: 2–4 (Pl. XVIII)

The identification of this fragment, which contains the remains of a column belonging to the same piece of parchment as the following column, is in my opinion fairly certain. The texts of the versions, Greek (in double recension C and C') and Ethiopic (E), differ widely from what may be read and supplied in our fragment.

L. 1. Read and restore probably "τὸν οὐκ ἐστὶν ρῆμα ὁ τόπον ἀκατασκεύαστον of C and C' in En. 21: 2; thus an Ophal perfect rather than a Peal passive participle: नाभि [लौ].
L. 2. The letters אד אמ[... ] correspond roughly to (δεδεσμένους καὶ ἐρυμένους ἐν) αὐτῷ of C and C' in En. 21: 3. I restore tentatively [... οὐδὲν ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἀπεξάρτηται [...], 'in it, in that lot (sc. place allotted to them), together ...'. Such a reading can be recovered from E: ('ἐσεράνα ἡ ἐναντία) ἑβοῦν ἡ ἐβοῦν, 'bound [and cast down]) in it together'.

I suppose a second omission in E, by homoeoteleuton: ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ ἐβοῦν, 'in the lot together'; ἡβοῦν is a normal equivalent of Old Testament Hebrew יבֹּל and of its Greek Biblical translations. In C and C' there occurred an even longer omission: ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ ἐβοῦν ἡ ἐβοῦν, 'in the lot together'; ἡβοῦν is a normal equivalent of Old Testament Hebrew יבֹּל and of its Greek Biblical translations.

L. 3. The expression בֵּן יְשֵׁי נָר, 'in tongues of fire', is equivalent to ἐν πυρι (καυμένοντος), end of verse 3.


4QEn* 1 xxii—En. 22: 3–7 (Pl. XVIII)

margin

[8–21] the souls of all the children of men. 4And behold, these are the pits for their place of incarceration; they have been fashioned in this manner until the day they will be judged, and until the time of the Day of the End of the Great Judgement which will be exacted of them.

5There I saw the spirit of a dead man making accusation, and his lamentation ascending up to heaven, and crying out unceasingly and making accusation. [6Then I asked] Raphael the Watcher and Holy One who [was with me and I said to him: 'This spirit] making accusation, whose is it,
that in this manner [his lamentation is ascending and crying out unceasingly and making accusation to heaven. And he answered] me, saying: ['Behold, this is the spirit that went forth from Abel whom his brother Cain slew . . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 22: 3). 'The souls of all the children of men' En*, 'all the souls of the children of men' E, 'all the souls of men' C.

Ll. 1–3 (En 22: 4). L. 1. 'And these places' in C and E abridges the Aramaic expressionхихихихихихихихихи, 'And behold, these are the pits', i.e. τα κοιλώματα ταύτα or οἱ τός οἱ κοιλοί of verses 2 and 3.—(els) επισύνοχεις (αὐτῶν), Greek hapax, quoted in Liddell and Scott under επισύνοχεις; cf. συνέχειρικ, 'prison enclosure, etc.' It renders well the Aramaicתלת, 'for their place of seclusion, their prison'.

L. 2. The adverbיוו is omitted in C and E; '(pits made) in this manner', that is 'smooth, deep and dark', verse 2.—יוו, simple passive form (Peil), was translated by the active in C and E: εποίησαν.—יוו, 'until the day when (the souls) will be judged'; μέχρι τῆς ημέρας τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν, C and E.

Ll. 2/3. The phraseיויו constitutes a long genitival chain, fairly well preserved in C: καὶ μεχρὶ τοῦ διορισμοῦ (cf.יוו translated by δρόν in Neh. 2: 6 = 2 Esd. 12: 6 LXX) καὶ διορισμένων χρόνων (יוו is often translated by χρόνος in the LXX), εἰς οἱ κρίσεις η μεγάλη ἡ σταίη (= θεοθήκη, synonym of θαύμη) εἰς αὐτοῖς.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 22: 5). In line 3יויו is omitted in C and E or else translated by εἰς αὐτοίς and subsequently omitted by haplography; cf. the Greek edition of Enoch in CSEL, by Flemming and Radermacher, who link up εἰς αὐτοίς at the end of v. 4 with the phrase at the beginning of v. 5.—יויו: τεθαμαί C, elsewhere corresponding to the Ophal נוה; see the note to En* i xii 27.

Ll. 3–4.יויו incorrectly surmised by Charles (and others): πνεύμα άνθρώπων νεκροῦ έντυνχάνοντος (better έντυνχάνον) καὶ η φωνή αὐτοῦ, instead of άνθρώπων νεκροῦ έντυνχάνοντος καὶ η φωνή αὐτοῦ in C and 'the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice' in E. The term η φωνή αὐτοῦ is too general as a translation of 'his complaint, his lamentation'.

L. 4.יויו: omitted by C and E; this participle (which should also be restored at line 7, verse 6) is of the Pael conjugation, which does not appear to be attested in later Aramaic languages; it should be understood as 'to cry out unceasingly, continually', just as in the Piel of the Hebrewbraco. This same participle is found in an analogous phrase in 4QGiantsb: נמס תפש לי קבל על קסילית מהמה which corresponds to En. 9: 10: βωσώναι αύται τῶν τετηλευτηκών καὶ εντυνχάνουσιν.

Ll. 5–7 (En. 22: 6). L. 5.יויו as in E as against καὶ in C.—'To Raphael, the Watcher and Holy One, who (was with me)'; C and E have 'the angel' instead of 'the Watcher and Holy One': see the note to En* i 3.

Raphael, one of four archangels in En. 9: 1 and 10: 4–8, explains to Enoch the distribution of the souls of the dead in the various sections of Sheol, En. 22: 3 ('one of the holy angels') and 6, since he is 'Raphael, one of the holy angels, he of the souls of men', 'Ραφαήλ, ο εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων (ἀγγέλων C') ο ἐπὶ (ἐπει C') τῶν πνευμάτων (πνεῦμαν C') άνθρώπων αὐτοῦ.'
The same archangel appears again beside Enoch in the Paradise of Righteousness and speaks to him of the tree of wisdom, En. 32: 6: ‘Ραφαήλ, δ ἄγιος ἀγγέλος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἤν. However, it is Gabriel who, according to En. 20: 7, is the official ‘in charge of paradise, of the dragons, and of the cherubim’, Γαβριήλ, δ εὶς τῶν ἄγιων ἀγγέλων δὲ ἐπί (ὁ ἐπεί Κ') τοῦ παραδίσου καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ χερουβεῖ (χερουβίν Κ') (XXIXr 24–6 and XIr 13–16). But the function of Gabriel is that of chief of the guardians of paradise (Gen. 3: 24: לֶחָת הָבְרִים לָתַחְתָּה הָמְתָחִים), whilst Raphael features there in the capacity of the divine watchman of the souls of the patriarchs, including those of the first parents who are the subject of this passage; cf. i xxvii 9–11.

In En. 24: 6–25: 6 it is the archangel Michael who explains to Enoch the mountain-throne of God and the tree of life, the fruit of which will serve as nourishment to the just and to the elect. He makes these revelations because he is in charge of the grove of trees which encircle the throne of God: Μιχαήλ, εἰς τῶν ἄγιων ἀγγέλων δὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἤν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν δάνδρων) ἔγειρο, En. 24: 6. This function coincides with that of En. 20: 5: ‘Michael, one of the holy angels, he who is superintendent of the righteous of the people’, Μιχαήλ (Μηχαήλ C′), δ εἰς τῶν (τοῦ Κ') ἄγιων ἀγγέλων δὲ ἐπὶ (δὲ ἐπεί Κ') τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἁγαθῶν τεταγμένος (τετάκται Κ'), C (XXIXr 19–21) and Κ' (XI 8–10); the addition καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαῖρ (read λαῷ Charles), should come after.

L. 6. The adverb ἆλείφης was translated in C by διὸ σὺν τω, ‘because thus’, which leads one to surmise that the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version had ἀ.Parameter.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 22: 7). The special compartment in the abode of the dead reserved for men borne away by violent death, killed without good reason (περὶ μηθενῶς, ‘for nothing’, says an inscription from southern Syria), of whom Abel was the archetype par excellence, reveals the strong sensitiveness of the ancients to this kind of death. Eloquent proof of this is also given in a long series of funeral stelae in which supine hands are represented, a brilliant study of which by F. Cumont appeared in Syria, xiv (1933), 383–95. He also discusses there two remarkable stelae commemorating two young Jewesses from the island of Delos (cf. A. G. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten4, 1923, pp. 351–62). See further L. Robert, Collection Froehner, i: Inscriptions grecques, 1936, pp. 54–5 and 122–3, and H. Seyrig, ‘Inscriptions grecques’, Appendix II to G. Tchalenko, Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord, iii (1958), 31–2, no. 34.

L. 8. Instead of τοῦ ἐξελθὼν, C and E, one would expect δ ἐξηλθέν. Did the Greek translator confuse the feminine ending of the perfect ἔρχεσθαι with the feminine ending of the Hebrew singular participle?

[4QEn* i xxiii–xxv are missing]
... 3. Flowing like a copious aqueduct approximately to the North-West, it brought from everywhere water and dew as well. 3. From thence I went to another place which was in the desert and I withdrew far to the East of this part. 2. And there I saw wild trees which were exuding perfumes of incense and myrrh... 

21. ... in it full of nectar, and it is like the bark of the almond tree. 3. When incisions are made (?) in these trees [there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when] their bark is ground, they are [sweeter than any fragrance. 31. 2. And beyond these mountains] approximately northwards, on their eastern side, I was shown other mountains plentiful with choice nard, mastic, cardamom, and pepper. 2. And from thence I proceeded to the East of all these mountains, far from them, to the East of the earth, and I was conveyed over the Red Sea and withdrew far from it, and I crossed over the darkness, far from it. 3. And I passed on to the Paradise of righteousness,

Texts for comparison: En* i xii 28–30, C, E.

Fragment d, lines 14–21, has been published in RB lxv (1958), 70–7, along with En* i xii 23–30.

I consider the identification of fragment c, lines 3–6, to be pretty well beyond doubt, although the text of Enoch corresponding to this passage is rather difficult to understand. However, if one keeps essentially to the Greek wording of C (fairly concise in chapter 28), it will be possible to bring out the meaning of En. 28: 1–29: 2. The commentators (myself included, RB, loc. cit., p. 72) had too much faith in the Ethiopic text, which is decidedly corrupt.
Paraphrasing a little, I reproduce the Greek text of chapter 28 as follows:

^Kal cKeWev iiTopevdrjv els ro fieaov MavSapa, Kal LSOV avro eprjixov', Kal avro puovov ^irX'qprjs SevSpwv Kal OLTTO rwv aiTeppbdrwv* vSojp dvopLppov dvoOev, <l>€vov ^d)s vSpaycuyos Sai/tiXris d>s npos ^oppdv inl Svapuov, ndvToOev dvdyci vSwp Kal Spoaov, 'And from there (that is, from Jerusalem) I went towards the middle of Madbar^, and I saw it (sc. Madbar^ 'the Desert') deserted, but a single (sc. place in the middle of the Desert, which Enoch arrives at) was full of trees and plants (apò tòvov sperratov = [Xελευρ ιμ δ], partitive genitive); (a stream) of water, not nourished by the rains from above (keep anombroV, 'without rain', as in C and do not correct to anombroVn), carried by a copious aqueduct (which runs) approximately to the North-West, brought from everywhere water and dew.' The places referred to are certainly Petra (RB, loc. cit., p. 72) and Wádi Músá where there was an aqueduct perhaps as early as the Hellenistic period. The verb áνάγει does not necessarily have the meaning 'to raise', as Charles insists; in the Greek Bible it corresponds to a number of Hebrew verbs, אֶלֶף 'א, אֶלֶף 'א, אֶלֶף 'א, אֶלֶף 'א, all in the Hiphil, with the exception of the Qal of רְאֵה and הָלֵך, and the Piel of הָלֵך. In our context understand 'to bring in, to gather' (uses of áνάγει well known in Greek), more precisely 'to gather the water from sources, from drippings and from seepages in rocks, from dew, and from mist'.

L. 3 (En. 28: 3). '(Like) an (aqueduct)': for the numeral 'one' in the function of the indefinite article, cf. γελάς 4 i 14 and γελάς 4 i 3 i 19. γελάς was followed by an adjective or participle = δαμηλις.

Ll. 4-5 (En. 29: 1). The adverb ετι at the beginning of this verse belongs in fact to the preceding phrase: . . . καὶ δροσὸν ετι. 'Εκείθεν κ.τ.λ.—ηποράξιξ = φόδομν as in En. 30: 1 (Enε 1 xii 23). Add [Χενου] in accordance with line 20 (En. 32: 2). E has quite the opposite: 'I approached'.—[ΚΝ]ΘΔ, 'the corner, the side': Pe beyond question, clear trace of Aleph. In C vocalize δροσσ, and not δροσ, 'the mountain', as in E, which anticipated this imaginary mountain at 28: 1.

Ll. 5-6 (En. 29: 2). At the beginning of v. 2 καὶ C, 'and there' E.—κρίσεως C and E: correct to κτίσεως; cf. En. 22: 7, where C writes έκτισθησαν instead of έκτισθησαν retained in E. The Greek translator confused Χριμ, 'to create', with Χήμ, 'desert, field'; therefore restore Χριμ μέλλων, 'wild trees', in contrast to the cultivated trees at Petra, 28: 2.

L. 6. The traces of three letters of which only 'Ain is certain favour the restoration of an Aphel, or a Pael, participle of the verb יְלַעָר, 'to cry' but also, when speaking of aromatic trees, 'to exude tears, drop by drop' (thus the Pael in Syriac). This is a very exact description of the gum-resins which flow, of their own accord or after cutting, from incense and myrrh trees; cf. RB, loc. cit., p. 72 note 2, and, for the noun יְלַעָר, DyD iii, p. 250 no. 122. The term דָּקָרְו is used by Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. ix 4, 4 (ed. F. Wimmer, 1854, p. 232) and Dioscurides, Mat. med. i 64, 1 (ed. M. Wellmann, 1907, p. 57): σμύρνα δάκρυα ώτι δένδρων γεννωμένον εν Άραβία, ομοίου τῇ Αλγυπτικῇ ἀκάνθῃ οὗ ἔγκοκτομένου ἀπορρέει τὸ δάκρυον κ.τ.λ. (ṣamgat = 'gum' in the Arabic version of Diosc., ed. C. E. Dubler and E. Terés, 1957, p. 60, lines 6 and 8). Pliny describes these resins as lacrima, gutta, succus, spuma; 'sudant autem sponte prius quam incidantur . . . '; Hist. nat. xii §§ 56 to 68 (ed. C. Mayhoff, 1909, 395-9; ed. A. Ernout, 1949, pp. 37-42). These naturalists made a distinction between cultivated incense and myrrh trees and wild ones: Theophrastus ix 4, 2; Pliny xii 53 and 68 'sativae' and 'silvestres' or 'arbores spontes natae', the latter therefore identical with Χριμ μέλλων in our Aramaic text. There was some
disagreement about their botanical appearance or about their symbiosis: γίνεσθαι δὲ ἄμφοτερα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῶπῳ 'Theophr. ix 4, 8; 'murra in isdem silvis (where incense trees grow) permixta arbore nasci tradidere aliqui, plures separatim', Pliny xii 66. Our Jewish author seems to have shared the opinion of those who considered incense and myrrh as the products of the same tree: οὐντο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δένδρου τὸν τε λαβανοτὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν σμύρναν 'Theophr. ix 4, 8; 'nec non fuere qui e turis arbore utrumque nasci mentirentur', Pliny xii 67.

The participle Ἰνί τῆς ἐκπάθειας was translated in C by πνεύμα, 'which exhale'. The Ethiopic, by ḍafṣād, implies the Greek πλέον(τα); see Charles, i, p. 69 note 28. This is a fairly obvious corruption of κλέοντα, κλαίοντα, 'which cry, exude'.

L. 14-17 (En. 31: 2—32: 1). See the notes to En° i xii 28—30.
L. 14. On ἴματι, 'tear', = νέκταρ, see the note to line 6, particularly the reference to ὚τD iii.
L. 16 (En. 31: 2). Νίκηίμω is probably just a simple scribal error for Ἰνί τῆς, which is the reading of En°.
L. 16-18 (En. 32: 1). In line 17 'other mountains' En°, 'seven mountains' C and E.
L. 18. In C read σχίσαν (i.e. σχίσαν = ἔλαφος and not σχίσαν as Charles read it; see En° i xii 25, note.
L. 18-21 (En. 32: 2). In line 18 the verb ἀναληθεύω is equivalent to ἐφόδευσα; see the note to En° i xii 1 (En. 26: 1).
L. 19. The rendering of ἀναληθεύω by ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρχασ is explicable by the Greek translation of LXX, where ἔντεκε and ἀναληθεύω, 'before; East', are often rendered by ἄρχασ, but only in their temporal meanings; plural καὶ ἄρχασ, equal to ἄρχει, in Ps. 118 (119 MT), 152.—The participle ἀνέχειν corresponds to Ἰνί τῆς; this explanatory word in the Greek was probably added to ἀνεχθῶν, the latter being lost by homoeoteleuton.—The verb θάλασσα is here equivalent to διέβην, but at 3 (line 21) it is equivalent to ἦλθον (MS. ἦλθων); ἀναληθεύω on the other hand is equivalent to διέβην at the same v. 2 (line 20).
L. 20. The phrase ἐν γῆ ἑαυτῶν ἀναληθεύω is better preserved in E: 'and I went far from it (sc. from the Red Sea) and'; thus (καὶ ἄρχασ) ἐπὶ ἄρχουν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον in C comes probably from μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦτον καὶ, as suggested by Charles, i, p. 72 note 3. See, however, a second strange use of ἐπὶ ἄρχου in En° i xii 7 (En. 26: 4).
L. 21. The term ἐναληθεύω was translated in C by τοῦ Ζωτίηλ, and by 'the angel Zottie' in E. Is the first part of this name a corruption of ζόφος or of ζοφόδης (RB, p. 76 note 2) or else a simple transcription, το ὑπακα, which is also corrupt? For the transcription of ἔν by το ζοφος is the name of the 10th angel, 'Aša'el and Aζαηλ (above, p. 177), or the place-name Μαρησα and Μαρηςα in Zenon Papyri.—το ζοφος or Μαρηςα om. in C and E.

4QEn° 1 xxvii—En. 32: 3 and 6, and 33: 3—34: 1 (Pl. XIX)
and I was shown from [afar trees in it, trees exceedingly numerous and great], differing [the one from the other. And I saw there a tree which was different from all, very great] and [beautiful and magnificent . . .]

[6 . . . your father of old and] your mother of old, and they learnt [knowledge, and their eyes were opened, and they understood] that they were naked [. . .]

33 3 . . .'Uri’el, one of] the Watchers. 4 And he sh[owed me and wrote down everything for me; also he wrote for me their names] according to the resemblance to [their] fixed times. [34 1And from thence I was transferred to the North of the ends of the earth], and I was shown great wonders [. . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

Ll. 1–3 (En. 32: 3). Fragment e has not been positively identified, all the more so as the actual text of En. 32: 3 leaves much to be desired, both in the Greek and in the Ethiopic. In any case our small fragment cannot be placed in En. 33: 1 where the word ‘different’, הַנָּשִׁים, occurs: ‘and there I saw great beasts, different one from another’.

The Greek text of En. 32: 3 has, after καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς δικαιοσύνης (= Αὐγοί οἱ πρῶτοι πρὸς τὸν παράδεισον) at the end of the preceding column), the following form: καὶ ἵκες μακρόθεν τῶν δέντρων τούτων δέντρα πλεῖον καὶ μεγάλα· δῶς μὲν ἐκεῖ μεγάλα σφόδρα καὶ ἐκεῖ ξύλα καὶ μεγαλόπρεπη, καὶ τὸ δέντρον τῆς φρονήσεως ὁ δῆλον ἁγίῳ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάνται φρονήσεως μεγάλην. Instead of δῶς μὲν E read φυμένα ‘which grow’; added after ἐκεῖ ‘and their scent is sweet’; omitted μεγαλόπρεπη; and shortened the final phrase ὁ δ . . . μεγάλην to ‘whereof they eat and know great wisdom’. We should note first of all that Enoch is not inside Paradise but רָדָּה, ‘beside’ (Paradise); he thus catches sight of the trees which grow there at some distance, ‘from afar’. Instead of μακρόθεν τῶν δέντρων τούτων (the demonstrative pronoun is not at all justified here) we should read μακρόθεν τὰ δέντρα ἐν αὐτῷ. After δέντρα πλεῖον (‘very numerous trees’, not ‘more numerous’) καὶ μεγάλα there was—if our identification of fragment e is correct—the phrase ‘different one from another’, [וֹדֶד מִן] שְׁנִי; cf.
Dan. 7: 3: דַּדִּי כְּלֵי הבֹּלֶת, διαφέροντα ἐν παρά τὸ ἐν (text of LXX; ὁ ἀλλήλων Theodotion). The enigmatic διόν μὲν in C (φιλομένα in E is simply an attempt by the Ethiopic translator to find a meaning in it by means of a correction) might possibly come from ἰδον μὲν, through an intentional reworking by a Greek copyist who may have wished to mention here the two trees, the tree of life and the tree of wisdom. But the author of Enoch speaks here only of the tree of wisdom, and the original wording of his text, in which the same word ‘different’ perhaps occurred a second time, was approximately as follows: ‘and I saw there (a tree which was different from all of them; cf. Dan. 7: 19: רַתְוָת שִׁמְיָת שֵׁל שִׁמְיָת מִכָּל וַחַד), very large (and) beautiful and glorious and magnificent, the tree of wisdom’. After καὶ μεγάλα the Greek original would thus have: ἰδον μὲν ἐκεῖ ἄνδρον ὁ ἄνδρον παρὰ πάντα μέγα φόβα (καὶ) καλὸν καὶ ἐνδοξὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς, {καὶ} ἄνδρον τῆς φρονήσεως ὁ Κ.Τ.Λ.

L. 1. Νανανα causative passive: C καὶ ἰδον; see the notes to Enε i xii 27 and Enε i xxii 3.
L. 9–11 (En. 32: 6). The Cairo papyrus, fol. 33a, ends with ἐξ οὗ ἔφαγεν ὁ πατὴρ σου.
L. 10. ἈΣΑΜΙΡ ΡΑΤΗΡ ΡΑΤΗΡ: [your father of old (i.e. Adam) and] your mother of old (i.e. Eve)’ in the original. This meaning of ΡΑΤΗΡ, ‘distant ancestor’, recurs in other Aramaic languages, for example in Palmyrene; see Milik, Recherches, pp. 28 and 98–9. ‘Your father of old and your mother of old (who were before thee)’ E.

L. 11. Instead of ‘that they were naked’ as in E the original had ‘that (their bodies, or their sexual organs) were naked’; the first letter of the substantive is the Mem or the Teth; in any case not a Beth, which excludes the reading [םיריה]ו.

L. 19 (En. 33: 3). [‘Uri’el, one of the] Watchers’ Enε; ‘Uriel, the angel who was with me Holy One’ E; see the notes to Enκ i iii 7, Enε i ν 19, Enδ i xi 5–6, and Enε i xxii 5–7.
L. 19–20 (En. 33: 4). ‘Their laws and their companies (manuscripts of group β ‘functions’) E. The Aramaic original had, if my reading is correct, [their names (given)] according to their fixed times; in other words the names of the stars reflect their functions, their evolutions in the sky. In הנָּבָה דָּרֶךְ of the first four letters only the lower tips are preserved; the foot of the left-hand down-stroke of the He is quite visible on earlier photographs, for example on PAM 41. 665. This word is the Hophal infinitive of הנָּבָה; cf. the Etaphal of the same verb in Syriac: ‘similis factus est, imitatus est’. The Greek translator might have misread this word as בָּהֵר, ‘anathemas, laws’, or else as a derivative of the verb הנָּבָה, some impersonal forms of which signify in Syriac or in Palmyrene ‘it has been decided, established’; see below, note to 4 i 10–11.—[נָּבָה]: ‘their times (cf. 33: 3), their evolutions’ which the Ethiopic could have translated by ‘their functions’.


### 4QEnε 2 and 3—(?)Book of Giants (Pl. XIX)

*ii* 3

[1-14] 3 נָּבָה

[15] אִמְּרָא לְהוֹןְתָּלֶת פֶּרֶשֶׁא
Fragment 2

'...—[s and all ... 2... the vision ...] was shown to Enoch the scribe [of distinction ... 3... children of] Adam. Behold, the Great One [...].

This fragment would belong to the initial part of the Book of Giants.

L. 2. Τίμαιον or Τίμίατίαν preceding it, rather than Τίμαιον or Τιμίατιαν in ον Τοῦ Προφήτου. Tοῦ Προφήτου is a standing epithet of Enoch in the Book of Giants (see p. 262) as against 'scribe of righteousness, of truth' in the Book of Watchers: En. 12: 4 ('Ενώξα, δ (MS. Αινώξ oi) γραμματεύς τῆς δικαιοσύνης) and 15: 1 (γραμματεύς τῆς ἀληθείας).

L. 3. The expression Ἄρπα Ἀδήλια seems to imitate Ἄρπα Ἀδήλια in En* 1 i 5 (En. 1: 3), the phrase which begins a descriptive text after a long title.—The God’s epithet ‘the Great One’ occurs in En. 14: 2 (Ἄρπα Ἀδήλια, ὁ μέγας C, ἄβις, E), in En. 103: 4 (ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ μεγάλου C, ἐμγεκεδμα γας τά βις, E), in En. 104: 1 (ἐνώπιον τῆς δοξῆς τοῦ μεγάλου C, ἐμγεκεδμα ἡ μορφή τα βις, E twice, the second time in a parallel phrase omitted in C by homoeoteleuton).

Fragment 3 i

Lines 19–21 seem to overlap a fragment of 4QEnGiants:

The beginning of the second line of this fragment seems to be the same as the end of En* 3 i 20, except for a grammatical variant: מַשֵּׁפֵר instead of מַשְׁפֵּר. The phrase on the shedding of blood upon the earth is to be found also in En. 9: 1 (En* i iv 7), and cf. En. 9: 9.

Our fragment En* 3 i would have about thirty-three letters per line, and EnGiants about forty-seven.

Tentative translation of the combined text of both fragments

[... To] inspect upon the earth all the children of Adam on account of the wickedness [of the Giants, which they have done upon the earth], for upon it
blood was being shed, and falsehoods were being spoken, and impieties were being perpetrated upon it, all the days . . . flood upon the earth . . .

An alternative placing of En 2 and 3 would be in the first Dream of Enoch, En. 83, if one supposed a different recension of this chapter, but in my opinion this is less plausible.

And when I was looking in my dream and, behold, to one of the four who had come forth it was ordered by Heaven; and all the many stars, whose privy members were like those of horses, he bound all of them hand and foot and cast them into the depths of the earth. And one of the four went to one of the white oxen and instructed him; and he made for himself a ship, and dwelt inside it; and the three oxen entered with him into the ship, and the ship was covered and roofed over them. And I was looking and, behold, seven sluices pouring out on the earth much water. And the oxen were submerged and engulfed . . .
[and perishing in those waters]. And the ship floated above the waters, and all the oxen [and wild asses and camels] and elephants sank in the waters [...] Only E to be compared.

Ll. 10–13 (En. 88: 3). Ll. 10–11. 'Behold one of those four who had come out threw them from heaven, and he assembled and took all the great stars' E. Commentators on this passage assume there is a lacuna in the text after 'threw, stoned', wagara. I think rather that the Greek translator misunderstood the impersonal construction, well known in Syriac (for the Palmyrene see J. Cantineau, Syria, xix (1933), 184): ῥέμε λί, 'sollicitus sum, mihi ipsi curae est, statutum est'; see the note to 1 xxvii 20.

L. 11. לְכֹבֵּנָא שְׁמוֹאֵל En*: kawākēba 'abiyāna E; cf. לְכֹבֵּנָא שְׁמוֹאֵל in En* 1 4 (En. 86: 3).

Ll. 11/12. The passage 'and he assembled (Eυ8) and he took (E mundane)’ in E (other manuscripts 'and they were assembled and taken') was probably missing in our Aramaic scroll; cf. a similar omission of 'were assembled' in En. 89: 5 (below, line 19).

It is mainly from this chapter, En. 88, that a phrase in the Epistle of Jude 13 is drawn: δοστέρες πλανήτας φευκ' ὅ (article omitted in the Bodmer papyrus, 574) ζῷος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρησεν; for the text of the Old Latin see the Beuron edition, vol. 26/1, pp. 425–6. The earth’s abyss into which the numerous stars are cast (88: 3) is ‘narrow, deep, steep, and dark’ (88: 1). This is not yet the definitive place of punishment of the sinning stars, ‘an abyss filled with a blazing fire and full of columns of fire’, 90: 24; see a similar description of the abode of the seven sinning stars in chapters 18 and 21. Thus, it is only 88: 1 which speaks of darkness in the abyss.—En. 88: 1 takes up 10: 4–8 (Raphael imprisons 'Asa’el); 88: 2 corresponds to 10: 9–10 (Gabriel incites the descendants of the Watchers to kill one another); 88: 3 summarizes 10: 11–15.

Ll. 13–16 (En. 89: 1). This verse summarizes En. 10: 1–3. 'One of the four’, sent on a secret mission to Noah, is the archangel Šari’el; see the note to En b iii 7.

L. 14. After 'and instructed him' the whole passage in E, 'in a secret, without his being terrified; he was born a bull, and became man' was not in En*.—עַרְגֵּב הָדוֹר En*: ‘a great boat’ E.

L. 15. They dwelt’ E; read ‘they entered’, לְתוֹלְלוּו (לְתוֹלְלוּו) Tōlōlu or לְתַלְלָה (לְתַלְלָה) Talālah required by הלפיט הכסים. Ll. 16–17 (En. 89: 2). This verse is much shorter in En* than in E; in the latter: 'And again I raised my eyes towards heaven and I saw a high roof, and seven cataracts thereon and these cataracts flowed into an enclosure (ba-I-‘asad) in abundant masses of water.’—מְדֵּר פַּרְצוּץ translates מְדֵּר פַּרְצוּץ of Gen. 7: 11 and 8: 2.—Note that at v. 3 (lines 17 and 18) two mentions of enclosure, 'on the earth' in this great enclosure, di巴 mēdēr bawē ’ētu ‘asad ‘abiy, and 'this enclosure, (‘till all the earth'), lawē ’ētu ‘asad ‘ēska kwēnu mēdēr (mēdēr En, mēdru all other manuscripts), are the glosses added to 'the earth', אֲרָצוֹן, in En*.* One certainly gets the impression that the original text, as we can see it in En*, was reworked, following the outline of a more systematic symbolism.

Ll. 17–18 (En. 89: 3). ‘And I saw again’ at the beginning of the verse in E is omitted in En*.—נַעֲגֵה’ état, ‘sources’ E, which draws on נַעֲגֵה’ état in Gen. 7: 11 and 8: 2. Note,
however, that the Ethiopic *naqê*ē', ‘fons, scaturigo’, is connected with *nêqê*at, ‘fissura, rima, hiatus’; the underground springs of the water-reservoirs reach the surface through fissures (below, 4 ii 2 note). The *יִשְׁרִים* are the chambers, the subterranean reservoirs of the waters, just as there are *יִשְׁרִים* for the tempest (Job 37: 9) and *יִשְׁרִים* for the stars (Job 9: 9) and *הֹשָׁנָוֹל* for the stars and natural phenomena (En. 17: 3 and 18: 1). It may be said in passing that this lexical coincidence favours an Aramaic original for the book of Job, and not a Hebrew one where one would expect (יניא)יאיר. Aramaic fragments of Job have been identified among the manuscripts of Cave 4 and Cave 11 of Qumrân; the latter edited by J. P. M. Van der Ploeg, A. S. Van der Woude, and B. Jongeling, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*, Leiden 1971. For our verse compare especially En. 17: 7–8: *ךְּשֶׁכְּהָשָׁנָוָו כּוֹסָא אֵבּוּסָא פָּנְיָנָו שְׁדָתָוָו* *ךְּשֶׁכְּהָשָׁנָוָו כּוֹסָא אֵבּוּסָא פָּנְיָנָו שְׁדָתָוָו* (read *פֶּרֶץ יִשְׁרִים שְּדָתָוָו קָנָא קָנָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָא כּוֹסָา (see above, pp. 39–40).—יקAward, twice: see the note to the preceding verse.

L. 19 (En. 89: 4). The end of v. 3 and v. 4 appear in En* in the form ‘until the earth was covered by waters ‘[and by darkness and by mist and they were] standing upon it’. In E it is much more developed: ‘until all the earth (En) was covered with water. ‘And the water and the darkness and the mist increased above it. And I saw the height of this water; and this water rose above this enclosure, and it spilled over this enclosure and it stood upon the earth.’

Ll. 19–20 (En. 89: 5). The text of En* is shorter here too: ‘and the oxen were submerged and engulfed [and perished in these waters]’. In E: ‘and all the cattle of this enclosure were assembled, until I saw them submerged and engulfed and destroyed in this water’.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 6). ‘The elephants and the camels and the asses’ E, the order which is also found in the Ethiopic text of En. 86: 4; 87: 4; 88: 2. In En* the order of the animals is different: ‘[the wild asses and the camels or the camels and the wild asses] and the elephants’. These are the three categories of giants which Syncellus enumerates in his quotation of En. 7, but which appear neither in C nor E nor our Aramaic manuscripts of En* and Enb (above, p. 157). Syncellus, or rather his predecessors Annianus and Panodorus, could have derived their information from Jub. 7: 22 (Giants, *Nâfîdim*Nâfîl, ‘Elyo), or from the Book of Giants, but this tradition is older than the composition of both books, since our writer of the sacred history makes an unmistakable reference to it, which is based on a play on words and assonances: נֵרֵדְיָא—’אֶלְיוֹנָא, בַּטָּלָא—פַּלַּיָא, בַּלְמָה—מַלְיָא. The Nephilim are mentioned in En. 15: 11 and 16: 1; frequently, too, in 4QEnGiantsb,c. In En. 10: 9 the descendants of the Watchers and the daughters of men are likewise divided into three categories: *מָזְנָרָה*—the bastards, the sons of courtesans, the children of the Watchers.—רַדְמַי מִי, ‘they sank in the waters’ En*: ‘they sank in the earth’ E. The Aramaic writer borrowed the verb from Exod. 15: 1: מַרְכָּבָה. Note moreover the parallelism of the verbs (line 19) and מַרְכָּבָה in verse 21).
And again I watched in my dream until those sluices [were closed from that lofty roof, and the fissures] of the (underground) chambers were stopped, and [other (underground) chambers were opened]. And the waters began going down into the midst of these until [the waters] vanished [from above the earth, and it (the earth) appeared, and the vessel] settled on the earth; [and the darkness retired and light came]. And behold the white ox, and [the three] oxen with him came forth from that vessel . . . and there was born among [them a white bull]. And all these animals began to bite and to chase] one another, [and the white bull begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf together, and the wild asses multiplied]. And the [white] bull-calf [which was sired by the white bull begat a black wild boar and a white ram] of the flock [and the boar begat many wild boars, and the ram begat] twelve sheep. [And when they had grown, they gave a sheep from them to the wild asses], and the wild asses gave up [that sheep to the wolves and that sheep grew up among the wolves]. And the ram led forth [all of the eleven sheep to live and to pasture with it] beside the wolves and
they [multiplied and became a flock of many sheep. 15And the wolves] began to oppress the flock [till they had cast each one of their young into a great stream to sink in the waters. Then [the sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain to their Lord. 16And a] sheep which had been preserved [from the wolves fled and came to the wild asses and I watched, while the flock lamented and cried terribly till the Lord [of the sheep] descended [. . .].

The placing of fragment a at lines 10–11 (see above, 4 i 10 end) is not altogether certain.

Texts for comparison: En\(^d\) 2 i 24–9, and E.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 89: 7). In line 1 מים [בתרל] En\(^e\): bard’ey, ‘in vision’ E.

L. 2. Wanégé’ata médér, ‘and the chasms of the earth’ E, undoubtedly equivalent to [בתרל] נקאו ולמען חומת רֹאש הָדוֹרנִים in Gen. 7: 11. The Ethiopic interpreter nowhere translates the term הָדוֹר: at v. 3 ‘the sources’ (preceding column, line 17), here ‘the earth’, immediately afterwards ‘abysses’.—שְכָרָו, ‘were stopped up’: E imprecisely, ‘became level’; cf. רִיסוּר ממען חומת הָדוֹר נְכוֹלֵיםELY וּרְאָלוֹת מִזְאָבֵן Gen. 8: 2.

Ll. 2–4 (En. 89: 8). In line 3 ‘until the earth was uncovered’ E; En\(^e\) more detailed, ‘until [the waters] disappeared [from above, or from the face, "דָּבָר "_OF, of the earth and it was uncovered]’; cf. Gen. 8: 7–14, especially 13.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 89: 9). ‘Who had become man’ E, after ‘the white bull’, was not in the original text; see the note above to 4 i 14 (En. 89: 1).

Ll. 9–10 (En. 89: 10). The vacat before v. 11 is surprising; instead of ‘in their midst’ read perhaps ‘in the midst of all these animals’, or (in v. 11) ‘and all these animals began’.

Ll. 10–11 (En. 89: 11). For line 10 see En\(^d\) 2 i 24.

L. 11. The phrase ‘who was born in the midst of them’ E and probably En\(^d\) 2 i 25 was without doubt omitted in En\(^e\).—The white bull, Abraham, begets a wild ass (עֵר, עֵר), Ishmael (cf. Gen. 16: 12: זֹאָה יִדְיֵהוּ פָרָא אֱדֹם), and a bull-calf (עֵלֶג line 13, verse 12), not ‘a bull’ as in E.—[" nokhtu נודד"] in accordance with En\(^d\) 2 i 25.

Ll. 12–14 (En. 89: 12). L. 12. ‘And that bull (wawé’ētu lähēm) which had been begotten by him’ E; En\(^e\) was probably more explicit (cf. En\(^d\) 2 i 26, in the lacuna): ‘and the [white] bull-calf [which had been begotten by the white bull]’, sc. Isaac by Abraham.

Ll. 12/13. Not ‘and a white sheep’, wabagē’a sa’addā, E, but ‘and a white ram of the flock’, sc. Jacob: ["] יַדַּרְכֶּר רִי צַא [יַדַּרְכֶּר רִי צַא] En\(^e\), ["] יַדַּרְכֶּר רִי צַא En\(^d\). For the archaic form of the relative pronoun (here and 4 iii 16), see the Introduction to En\(^e\).—The author of ‘Mysteries . .’ resumes En. 89: 12 by the phrase wabahakwē tawaled ’embaliakwē, ‘and a ram was born from a ram’, sc. Jacob from Isaac; PO vi. 3, p. 395 [137], 8.

Ll. 13–14. See En\(^d\) 2 i 27.

Ll. 14–15 (En. 89: 13). En\(^e\) seems to have omitted ‘these twelve sheep’ after ‘had grown’, as against E and probably also En\(^d\) 2 i 28.

Ll. 16–17 (En. 89: 14). דַּרוּב: ‘Then the Lord brought’ E.

Ll. 17–20 (En. 89: 15). L. 18. ‘To fear them and’ is missing in En\(^e\) before ‘to oppress them’, more precisely ‘to oppress the flock’, לִמְלָחוּ לַעֲנָה. There is a similar reading, ‘they
oppressed the sheep', in v. 19 of E. The verb אֵלָה is not attested in Judaeo-Aramaic, but is found in Samaritan, in Christian Palestinian, in Syriac, and in Hebrew.

Ll. 18/19. The continuation of the verse differs in E and En®. The phrase 'until they destroyed their little ones' was probably missing in the Aramaic manuscript, but roughly the same meaning is conveyed by שַׁקְעַת מִן [רָד] which, on the other hand, is missing in E. Besides, the direct object of these phrases should be in the singular, so I restore: ... כְּלֵי תְרֵד וּחקו. —I render 'the water-course', the Nile, by נְלֵב(ך), a term denoting the Jordan in a pseudo-Danielic document of 4Q; see RB lxiii (1956), 412–13.—I restore חָדְרָה (‘and’ E) to take account of a final letter at line 1 of fragment 4.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 16). L. 20. To ‘(and a sheep) which had escaped (from the wolves)’ in E there corresponds in En® the verb רָפָם which can be translated, according to the Hebrew meaning of the word, by ‘to run in flight’; for the usual Aramaic meaning see Dan. 4: 11.

L. 21. ‘To lament, and to cry, and to beseech their Lord with all their might’ E; the expression ‘and to beseech their Lord’ was no doubt missing from our Aramaic manuscript. ‘With all their might’ probably translates an adverb of manner with the affirmative דַּי, -דוֹת, -דוֹת, very widespread in the eastern Aramaic dialects, Syriac, Palmyrene, Hatraic, Mandaic, and also in Christian Palestinian. Perhaps restore דַּיּוֹת.

4QEn® 4 iii—En. 89: 26–30 (Pl. XXI)

[26] 1–12

[26. . .] the waters, [and it arose until it covered the wolves. 27And I looked until all] the wolves who were pursuing that flock [perished, sinking and drowning, and] the waters covered them over. 28But [the flock departed from those waters, and] they [came] to a wilderness, a place where [there was no water nor] grass, and their eyes were opened [and they saw. And I looked until the Lord of the sheep was pasturing] them and He gave them water to
drink [and grass to eat. ²⁰And the sheep] ascended to the summit of a certain high rock, and the Lord [of the flock sent him to the flock], and they all stood at [a distance. ³⁰Then I looked and, behold, the Lord of the flock stood facing] the flock and [his] appearance was [strong . . .]


Ll. 14–15 (En. 89: 27). 'And they were drowned' E; En⁹ is more developed, [שֶׁקֵעַ] טָבִיבֵי הַמָּיָּם הַפוֹדְוַזִּית; for the verbs in the lacuna see above, 4 i 19.

Ll. 15–19 (En. 89: 28). L. 17. יִצְבָּיְתָהוּ הַפָּזִּיתוּ: 'and they began to open their eyes' E.

Ll. 18/19. 'Water to drink [and grass to eat]' En⁹: 'water and grass' E.

L. 19. The phrase 'and this sheep walked and guided them' was not in our Aramaic text, perhaps omitted by homoeoteleuton before 'and the sheep' of v. 29.

Ll. 19–20 (En. 89: 29). L. 19. I restore אָמָרָא נִא with Eα-t and Aeth. 43, p. 82, 22, as against אָמָרָא נִא = זֶכֶר bagɛ’ of other manuscripts.

L. 20. At the end of the verse there is a phrase, [טַחְוֶת קָמָו מִן] [רַחְוֹק], which has no equivalent in the Ethiopic text. Cf. Exod. 19: 27: יְעָמָר, יְזָכֵּר יְהוָה הוֹר הַחֲרֹךְ, and 20: 18: יְעָמָר וְיְרָא יְהוָה מֵאוֹר מַרְחֹק, and 20: 21: יְעָמָר יְזָכֵּר מֵאוֹרָה מַרְחֹק.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 30). See En⁹ 2 ii 29.

SIXTH COPY (4QEn⁹, Pl. XXI)

Skin pale cream, fairly thick; surface rough and granular, damaged; back black. Ink pale. Guide-lines fairly fine and deep.

On average fifty-four letters per line.

The interesting thing about this single piece of a manuscript of the book of Enoch is its writing, which is fairly archaic, of the early Hasmonaean period, 150–125 B.C. The same scribe also copied an Aramaic manuscript of the Testament of Levi, 4QTestLevi⁹. The copyist of En⁹ was thus a contemporary of, or at the very most separated by a generation from, the author of the Book of Dreams, En. 83 to 90, who composed his work during the year 164. See the general introduction to this edition, pp. 41–7.

4QEn⁹ 1—En. 86: 1–3
And again I kept my eyes up in the dream and I saw the heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven into the midst of the big oxen; and it fed and pastured among them. Behold, then I saw these oxen, big ones and black ones, and behold, all of them exchanged their pastures and their cattle-sheds, and their calves, and they began to live one with another. And again I saw in my dream and beheld the heaven and behold many stars were descending and falling from heaven to near the first star, and they were turned into bulls in the midst of those calves and pastured with them and among them...

Versions to be compared: Greek, in Pap. Oxyrhynchus 2069, fragment 1v−2v (En. 85: 10–86: 2), ed. Milik, Chronique d’Égypte, xlvi, no. 92, pp. 323–9, and Ethiopic.

For lines 1–3 (En. 86: 1–2) see my commentary in Chronique d’Égypte, loc. cit.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 86: 1). The restoration לוחית וتلك, instead of the more usual לוחית ו TableColumn.does, seems to be required by óv ἀναβλέψας of Oxy. 1v−2v, line 3.—בכינתו = mā’ēkala of E; in Oxy., line 8, μετά[σῳ αὐτῶν], or even μετ’ αὐτῶν, the latter = mēšlehomu used with the same verb in v. 3 of E (line 5 of Enf).

Ll. 2–3 (En. 86: 2). בַּדֶּר הָאָרְכִּי simplified to wa’ēmzē in E.—In Enf the predicate ‘exchanged’ was probably put after the three objects, which is quite correct in Aramaic syntax.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 86: 3). בַּדֶּר הָאָרְכִּי Enf, barāʾēy E; cf. Enf 4 ii 1 (En. 89: 7).—After נְזַלֶּה = wanawād E adds rē’iku (Em warē’iku nawād). In a similar manner, before נְזַלֶּה of line 1 (En. 86: 1) Oxy., line 4, adds kai θεοφόρουν [kai θού]; also Egmq warē’iku {sāmāy} wanawād. Again in En. 89: 3 to the Aramaic נְזַלֶּה of Enf 4 i 17 corresponds warē’iku kāʾēba wanawād in E.—E transfers ‘alhēmta konu = נְזַלֶּה after māʾēkala ‘ellēktu tāʾewā = בַּדֶּר הָאָרְכִּי after māʾēkala

All the chapter En. 86 recounts afresh, from En. 6: 1–7: 6, the story of Šemīḥazah and his companions.

SEVENTH COPY (4QEn^, Pls. XXI–XXIV)

Skin greyish and faintly purplish-blue, bright pink here and there, thick and fairly taut; surface finely granular, damaged in places or shrunk; verso
similar. There are no guide-lines, which explains the irregular length of the lines of the text, which indeed run on into the space between columns iv and v to the point of encroaching upon the text of column v. Ink very dark blue, which spreads easily and blurs.

A beautiful semi-cursive script, dated by Cross to the years 50-1 B.C. In my opinion the handwriting of En6 dates from the middle of the first century B.C. rather than from its end.

The arrangement of the text is highly economical: the lines of writing are packed close together, with very small gaps between words and spaces between lines, without any blank spaces between the sections of the text. When he was copying column iv the scribe must have been very tired, to judge from numerous errors and corrections (see notes on the readings for iv).

The orthography of En6 is relatively archaic; the scribe was fairly discreet, though also inconsistent, in his modernization of the orthography of his exemplar. The relative pronoun ר (corrected immediately to רד) in iii 25 and probably in v 17, and רבדה ורבדה ii 25 are very archaic. Archaic, too, is the defective orthography of several words which, however, alternates with full forms: ל ii 17, but ל ii 24, iv 16, etc.; ה ל iv 20, but ל iv 21 and v 21, and likewise א ל iii 22; רשיין ורשיין iii 21, but רשיין iv 16; א ל ii 18, iii 24, v 25, but ל iv 15, 16, 17 and ורבדה ii 20; רבדה ורבדה iv 25, but ל iv 15, 19; דסית ודסית iv 19, but דסית iv 15; והרוה והרוה v 21, והרוה iv 18, והרוה iv 22 and והרוה ii 18 and v 25, והרוה iv 14, והרוה v 22.

The article is always marked by Aleph, whilst the final vowel -א of the feminine absolute, etc., is marked by He, but the -א by Aleph: והרוה iv 18, והרוה ii 19. The etymological י is not retained: והרוה iii 21, והרוה iv 15, 19, והרוה iv 25. The dissimilation of the dentals is not consistent: והרוה iv 13, but והרוה v 15.

Personal pronoun of the 2nd person plural masculine והרוה ii 25; suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person plural masculine והרוה and והרוה. Relative pronoun ר (prima manu), quoted above; רד before verbs, רד before nouns (ווה iv 15); interrogative pronoun מ v 17, 20, 22. The short imperfect of והרוה iv 14. Aphel והרוה iii 21.

The scroll of 4QEn6 contained, in all probability, only the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91 to 105. Of the first column there remain only two letters;

1 Table of this alphabet: Milik, DJD ii, p. 73, fig. 24, col. 1, and Cross, loc. cit., p. 149, fig. 4, line 5.
the other four columns, on the other hand, retain extensive parts of the Aramaic text, which differs considerably from the Ethiopic. Codicological data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaf</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Letters per col.</th>
<th>Width of the col.</th>
<th>Sections of the text</th>
<th>Text preserved</th>
<th>Sigla of fragments</th>
<th>Fragments on plates</th>
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<td>En. 91: 1–?</td>
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<td>93: 4–10+ 91: 11–17</td>
<td>93: 9–10+ 91: 11–17</td>
<td>iv 11–26</td>
<td>c, d</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Number of lines per column, twenty-five or twenty-six. Lower margin, approximately 1.2 cm; space between columns, 2 cm to 0 cm. Restored height of the scroll, 19 cm. A minute fragment of En§, with traces of three letters, is not placed.

The Ethiopic text of this last part of the Enochic Pentateuch is much altered in comparison with the original Aramaic text. Our manuscript has definitively confirmed the good judgement of the editors of the Ethiopic text who moved forward the description of the last three Weeks (eighth, ninth, and tenth) of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 91: 12–17) to follow the description of the first seven Weeks (En. 93: 3–10). In actual fact the passage began in 91: 11, but this verse was shorter in the Aramaic than in the Ethiopic. Besides, the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91: 1–10, was much fuller in the original, as was the Aramaic text corresponding to 92: 3–5. Finally, the section 93: 11–14 was preceded by an analogous text, three times as long as the Ethiopic passage.

The calculations made by C. Bonner showed that the beginning of the Ἐπιστολῆ Ἐνώχ in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (CM) was also longer in this Greek version than in the Ethiopic translation. On two small Greek fragments of CM which belong probably to the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch see notes to col. i and to ii 22–3. Unfortunately there are no overlaps between our En§, ending at En. 94: 2, and the main portion of CM, which covers En. 97: 6–107: 3.
A small Coptic fragment, preserving a part of En. 93: 3–8, is closer to the original than the Ethiopic text of this passage.

Thanks to two passages in 4QEn, i iii 23–5 and iv 11–26, we now have a much better understanding of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 93: 3–10 + 91: 11–17). Critics of the Ethiopic Enoch for the most part regard it as an older fragment, inserted, just as it stood, into his composition by the author of the Epistle of Enoch. The re-examination of texts already known, as also the study of some Qumrân texts, both published and unpublished, will allow us to follow, with greater accuracy as to chronology and ideology, the development of this literary genre, and also to understand the place of our Apocalypse amongst similar literary works.

The earliest reference to a chronological work in which the sacred history was divided up into seventy ages is to be found in En. 10: 11–12 (see 4QEn b i iv 8–11; Aramaic fragments preserved, outside the brackets):

'[And the Lord said to Michael: "Go then, Michael, and] make known to Šemîḥazâ and to all his companions who have joined with [women in order to defile themselves with them in their impurity, 12that when] their children have perished and (when they themselves) have seen the destruction [of their loved ones, they will be chained up for] seventy generations [in the vales] of the earth until the great day [of their judgement . . .]."]'

The author of this section of the Book of Watchers, entitled 'Visions of Enoch', which dates from perhaps as early as the Persian period (above, pp. 30–5), thus reckons 'seventy generations' from the days of Enoch and Noah (10: 1–3) until the end of time. The temporary imprisonment of the wicked angels will in no way prevent them from exercising a baneful influence on humanity, and in particular on the people of Israel, as will be described in greater detail by the author of the Book of Dreams. In making only this brief reference, the author of the Book of Watchers seems to assume that his readers have direct knowledge of a work which divided the sacred history into seventy ages. The existence of such a chronological composition and its very early date seem to me easy to prove, taking as a point of departure two Hebrew texts from Qumrân, 4Q180 and 181.\footnote{Published by J. M. Allegro, \textit{DJD} v, pp. 77–80, pls. XXVII and XVIII; essential corrections and remarks made by J. Strugnell, \textit{Revue de Qumran}, 1970, pp. 252–5 and pl. VI; a not very satisfactory French translation and some remarks by A. Dupont-Sommer, \textit{L’annuaire}} Here are the passages from them which refer to our subject-matter:
SEVENTH COPY

4Q180 1

margin

margin

4Q181 2

[la'abarah [ad holim] yiskah

banot ha-adom ril [la'ahem ge'olim

az [erechay besemet ha'shavah

ja'ohod yovel vomite'el eshavah

lezein kol yudui' [m] reti kedosh

laltov ain hakal

nailu nefalai medi'ar

'osem be'emah

bo kol zehot

birechot]

S. B. Hoenig, 'The New Qumran Pesher on Azazel', in Jewish Quarterly Review, lvi (1965–6),
4Q180 1

L. 1. הָלָה in Palaeo-Hebrew characters.—The reading of the last word ([ץ] הָלָה Allegro) and the supplement (cf. 1QS iii 15) by Strugnell; instead of הָלָה one could just as well restore יָדָה (cf. CD 2, 10).

L. 2. The suffix of מְשַׁלָּתוֹ at line 4 refers without any doubt to the angels, who should accordingly have been mentioned before, at line 2 rather than at line 3. So I restore here לָבֵין אֲלֵימוֹ (with or without article) rather than לָבֵין מְשַׁלָּתוֹ (which is necessitated by the expression at the beginning of line 3).

L. 3. ‘Tablets of heaven’: see En. 91: 1, 2; 93: 2 (cf. En § 1 iii 22); 103: 2; 106: 19 (En £ 5 ii 25–6).—וּבֵית הֶ��ֶד suggested tentatively by Strugnell (letter of 15 September 1970).

L. 4. Words at the beginning ([ל] or [ב]) and at the end completed by me; [ץ] קְצִים אֲגָר [ץ] (Allegro).—After אֵיתָך a Beth seems preferable to a Pe (Strugnell, by letter). I restore הַבָּרֹיאַת, the expression אָדָם המְשַׁלָּת אֲחֵר הָבָרֹיאַת אֲדָם בַּכּוּ וּמְשַׁלָּתוֹ, imitating Gen. 5: 1, and referring to the first ten generations, from Adam to Noah, described in Gen. 5. Alternatively, פרְשַׁת שְׁמַוֵּהּ (CD 3, 10, 20, 16, 2) rather than פרְשַׁת שְׁמַוֵּהּ רְשֵׁי שְׁמַוֵּהּ CD 1, 14 and 4, 4).

L. 5. Beginning and end as read by Strugnell (וּבֵית הֶفئָד Allegro). In the lacuna of line 4, at the very end, the name of Abraham must be restored; cf. Gen. 25: 19 (אָבֶרֶם) and 4Q181 2 3. The name of the father of Isaac must be preceded by that of Noah, for between Noah and Abraham, excluding the former, there can indeed be counted ‘ten generations’, [ץ] אֵיתָך, or rather (drawing on 181 2 5) ‘ten weeks’.[ץ] שְׁמַוֵּהּ. For נָא with a temporal function see Exod. 13: 7; Lev. 25: 22; Deut. 9: 25.

L. 7. At the beginning restore ‘and’; restoration of the lacuna by Strugnell in line with Gen. 6: 4 and 181 2 4.

L. 8. Restoration partly suggested by Strugnell (letter). The manuscript 181 2 5 transfers before נָא יִשְרָאֵל (line 9 of 180 1).

L. 9. The first word restored by Strugnell; cf. 181 2 6.—After כִּכְל a Qoph seems fairly certain (Strugnell, by letter); read [ץ] קְפִּים (Milik) rather than [ץ] קְפִּים (Strugnell), the latter restoration making the line too long.—In the lacuna must be placed the expression נְבֵי דָּוִד of 181 2 5 (where it is preceded by נְבֵי יִשְׁרָאֵל נֶא, which the scribe of 180 has written at line 8).

L. 10. Read נָא יִשְׁרָאֵל (Strugnell, letter) or rather נָא יִשְׁרָאֵל (Strugnell, letter) or rather נָא יִשְׁרָאֵל.—I restore [ץ] שְׁמַוֵּהּ, drawing on 181 1 2 (first hand) as read by Strugnell, RO, loc. cit., p. 255.

4Q181 2

Ll. 1–2. The text of 180 1 1–4 fills these two lines well, each line of 181 having almost double the number of letters compared with the average number in 180.

L. 3 (line 1 in the editor’s numbering). My restoration, in accordance with 180 1 4–5; clear trace of the lower left corner of the final Mem.

L. 5. ‘Israel he has sated (נִשְׁבַּע) with plenty’, Allegro; ‘Israel, by the Seventy he made (him) swear’, Dupont-Sommer.
Lines 1–5 of 181 2 can be restored in the following way:

The two letters of the end of line 1 are to be found at fragment 1, col. i.

Translation of the combined text of 180 i i–io and 181 2 3–6

Commentary on (the book of) periods created by God: each single period in order that [every past] and future event may be fulfilled. Before creating them He established the activities [of the angels in accordance with their periods], one period after another, (each one of) which is engraved on tablets [of heaven, and the Law is determined for] all the periods of their domination. This is the order of (generations after) the creation [of Adam; and from Noah to] Abraham, when he begat Isaac, there are ten [weeks.

And] commentary concerning ‘Azaz’el and the angels ‘who [went unto the daughters] of men and they gave birth to giants for them’ (Gen. 6: 4). And concerning ‘Azaz’el [who led] Israel [astray to love] iniquity and to (wish to) possess wickedness, all [his (sc. ‘Azaz’el’s)] period, during seventy weeks, [making (them)] forget commandments, and the commandment concerning the mystery of [their (Law of)] impurity [making them . . . And they became . . . s of . . .] and lovers of iniquity and possessors of guilt [. . .].

Strugnell is quite right when he suggests (with some hesitation) that 4Q180 i and 181 2 belong to the first column of the scrolls, the incipit of the work. He and the first editor naturally saw close connections linking the two manuscripts; in my opinion, we are certainly dealing with two copies of the same text, though this does not rule out possible variants (see the note to 180 i 9). This text is a commentary on a very early work which enjoyed an authority among the Essenes equal to that of the prophetic books, the Psalter, etc., for which pesharim were composed to make them better understood by readers.
and listeners. I have not much doubt that it is precisely to this 'Book of Periods' that the passage in En. 10:12 refers. Thus this chronological work presented the sacred history divided into seventy ages corresponding approximately to seventy generations, from Adam to Noah ten generation-weeks, from Noah to Abraham ten weeks, etc., up to the advent of the eschatological era.

The commentator of 4Q180 and 181 summarized or quoted verbally Biblical passages which describe the events marked by the intervention of angels, messengers of God who is the special protector of Israel (Deut. 32:9 ff.). To the example quoted above (note to 180 i 5) I add that of fragments 5–6 of 180, in which I find a reference to the sacrifice of Isaac: for הָרֵם הִיְמָו (line 3) compare Gen. 22:4, 'On the third day, Abraham, lifting up his eyes, saw the place afar off'; the expression [דָּבָר גְּדוֹלָה יִרְשָׁלִיָּם] (line 4) identifies as Mount Moriah (Gen. 22:2) the hill of the temple of Jerusalem (2 Chr. 3:1); intervention of the Angel of God (Gen. 22:11 and 15). This event took place at the beginning of the third of the groups of ten Weeks, since the birth of Isaac marks the end of the second group of ten Weeks (180 i 5).

In the next part of the pesher, introduced by 180 i 7 ff., not one fragment of which remains, the commentator described the maleficent activity of the fallen angels throughout the whole seventy Weeks. 'Semîhazâ and his companions' of Books of Enoch become in his version 'Azaz'el and the angels', as he restricts himself deliberately to the range of names and language of the Bible. We shall meet these angels again in the guise of the seventy shepherds in the Book of Dreams. There, however, the activity of the wicked shepherds does not begin until after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. The author of the 'Book of Periods' portrays them as already active in Paradise, or at the very least during the era of the patriarchs Enoch and Noah.

The chronological scheme elaborated by an author living probably in the Persian period was to be taken up and adapted by other Jewish writers. The first of these was the author of the Testament of Levi in Aramaic, who was writing in the third century or even at the end of the fourth. The fragments of this early work that I have identified in the manuscript material of Caves 1 and 4 do not include any corresponding to chapters 16 and 17

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1 Probably preserved partly in Aramaic on papyrus fragments of a 4Q manuscript (to be published in an article by me).
2 Fragment 1 of 4Q181 (Allegro, pp. 79–80; Strugnell, pp. 254–5), with its description of eschatological bliss in the company of the angels, should belong to column ii of the commentary; see Milik, JJS, loc. cit., 114–18.
of the Greek version of the Testament of Levi, which forms part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. I assume none the less, disregarding Christian interpolations, that some kind of treatment of the seventy Weeks and of the jubilees was already to be found in the Aramaic original of this Levitical document.

It seems probable to me that the original text contained a fairly detailed description of the seventy Weeks, and not simply a reference such as we find in the Greek Test. Levi 16: 1. What is obvious is that the author of this priestly work was interested only in the history of the Sons of Aaron, and paid scant attention to the history of the people of Israel, and even less to the history of other nations. Similarly in the Apocalypse of Jubilees he characterizes these eras only by reference to eminent Jewish priests, who are in any case difficult to identify (17: 2-7). In sharp contrast to the current interpretation of this chapter, I do not see here the remains of two apocalypses, one of jubilees and one of Weeks (17: 10-11). It seems obvious to me that verses 8 to 11 describe the sole and last jubilee, namely the seventh. In the 5th week of years of this jubilee the author places the restoration of the Temple in the Persian era (v. 10). The 7th and last week of the 7th jubilee will be marked by the climax of the corruption of the Aaronic priesthood, which will bring about the intervention of God, who ‘will cause a new priest to arise’ (18: 2). This division of the sacred history into seven ages echoes the Apocalypse of Weeks in the Epistle of Enoch (5th section of the Ethiopic Enoch), where the Biblical history is distributed among seven Weeks, whilst the three following Weeks already belong to the eschatological era. We shall never know how the author of the Aramaic Testament dealt with the final era, since chapter 18 has undergone very extensive Christian adaptation.

The theme of the seventy Weeks was taken up on his own account by the author of the Book of Daniel (Dan. 9: 24-7), who, concerned to give it a Biblical reference, linked it up with a prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 25: 11-12 and 29: 10). He dates the beginning of this cycle from Cyrus’ decree of liberation in 538, and detects signs of the end of time in events which are contemporaneous with himself: the death of the high priest Onias (Dan. 9: 25 and 11: 22; 2 Macc. 4: 30-8), which opens the 70th and last week of years, the middle of which is marked by the cessation of the legitimate sacrifice and the installation of the Abomination of Desolation in December 167 (Dan. 9: 27; cf. 7: 25; 8: 11-14; 11: 31; 12: 11-12; 1 Macc. 1: 54; 4: 52; 2 Macc. 1: 9; 6: 2; 10: 5). Reference to the murder of Onias is also made by the author of the Book of Dreams (En. 90: 8).
It is precisely this Book of Dreams, composed one year before the book of Daniel, which gives us an apocalypse of the seventy Weeks, presented in a very original manner, namely, through the metaphor of the seventy shepherds who are the angels charged with successively ruling Israel, each one for an era. The author divides the complicated periods of angelic dominion into four sections corresponding to the successive number of the angels: $12 + 23 + 23 + 12$ (En. 89: 59–90: 25). The start of the cycle begins with the Assyrian invasion of the kingdom of Israel and the fall of Samaria in 724–721, events which are mentioned, moreover, in the same verse as the destruction of Jerusalem (89: 66). Thus the first age extends from Salmanassar to the return under Cyrus (89: 65–72), the second to Alexander the Great (vv. 72–7), the third to the year 200 (90: 1–5), the fourth to the advent of the eschatological era (90: 6–17). The four great eras correspond accurately to the four empires (of which the Book of Daniel, among others, speaks). It must be emphasized, however, that the choice of the numbers of the angels is also significant; the author wished to express by it the concept of a week of years of history (necessarily shortened by two units ‘months’: $12 + 23 + 23 + 12 \approx 6 \times 12$), to be completed by the sabbatical year of the eschatological kingdom. We should recall, finally, in connection with En. 89–90 and En. 10: 12, that the chronological scheme of the seventy ages presided over by the seventy angels intersects, according to the oldest Biblical traditions, the geographical scheme of the seventy nations, each one of which is guided by a Son of God. Indeed, the ethnic table of Gen. 10 contains the names of the seventy nations, descended from the three sons of Noah. Now this list is simply an ethno-geographical illustration of the theological subject expressed by Deut. 32: 8: בּוֹנֵהוּלּוּ עֶלְיַּלְיַּל לִפְרֵרִי הָנָּא דָּמָא יֵצֵב נֶבֶלָת טִימֵנִי לֵמֶסֶר בֵּית אָלִים (Read with a fragment of 4Q and early versions as against נוֹלָת טִימֵנִי in MT and Sam.) The expression ‘... the nations corresponding to the number of the sons of God’ certainly implies the number of seventy angels, guardians of the peoples (cf. Dan. 10: 13 and Jub. 15: 32).

A cycle of seventy weeks of years is equivalent to a cycle of ten jubilees $70 \times 7 = 10 \times 49$. Now an apocalypse of ten jubilees appears in a group of Qumrân manuscripts which will be edited by J. Strugnell under the sigla 4Q384 to 389. In these various copies of one and the same document attributed to Ezekiel, Strugnell finds a long and rather confused series of Weeks and jubilees, but the fragmentary state of the manuscripts seems to him scarcely to permit any further elucidation. Thanks to his kind authorization (and the loan of the manuscript of his edition and the photograph), I am able
to quote here (along with my restorations) some phrases from 4Q390, which is probably another copy of the same pseudo-Ezekiel. The author of this text, like the author of the Testament of Levi in Aramaic, is primarily interested in the destinies of the Aaronic priesthood. The repeated transgressions of the Sons of Aaron deliver them up automatically into the power of the wicked angels: יבִי מַלְאָכָּיו מַשָּׁל הַבֵּית מַלְאָךְ הַמַּשָּׁמָּה 2 i 7; הַמַּשָּׁל הַבֵּית מַלְאָךְ הַמַּשָּׁמָּה 2 i 4. The beginning of the reckoning of the ten jubilees coincides with the ‘destruction of the Land’, in all probability the fall of the kingdom of Judah: יבִיָּבֵל הַשָּׁבָיקֵה יִֽ新しい 17-8 (ל determinant of the era, as is usual in the dates of documents). The jubilees are divided into weeks of years, again as in the Testament of Levi. Thus in 2 i 4: שבתָּשְׁנָה בַּיָּמִין וְסַנָּה בַּיָּמִין, ‘a Week of years in this jubilee’; in 2 i 6: שֵׁנֵים שְׁבָעָה, ‘two Weeks’ (and not ‘seventy years’); defective form of dual שְׁבָעָה, as in Lev. 12: 5; cf. שְׁבָעָה, plural, in En§ i iv 25); in i 2-3: [לָיְדוּ בְּנֵי אָדָם] [שְׁבָעָה שְׁבָעָה] [בוֹרֵלָה הָוהָא] [משָׁשְׁנָה] [כְּרָחָם], ‘(power will pass) into the hands of the Sons of Aaron during [two] Weeks of years (and not ‘seventy years’) [in this jubilee] and the Sons of Aaron will have dominion over them (sc. over Israel’.

A similar era of ten jubilees, whatever its point of departure, is referred to by the author of a Qumrân pesher, the interest of which is centred on the person of Melchisedek regarded as ‘himmlische Erlösergestalt’. At line 7 of the fragment we find ‘the first Week of the jubilee, after nine jubilees, ... the end of the tenth jubilee’.

This apocalypse of jubilees was altered in a most original way by the author of the Epistle of Enoch (En. 93: 3–10 + 91: 11–17 and 4QEn§ i iii 23–5 and iv 11–26). He replaces the ten jubilees by the ten weeks of years and compresses the history of the world, starting from Adam, into seven Weeks, hence into one complete jubilee, no doubt drawing on the jubilee of jubilees which includes the sacred history from Adam up to the revelation at Sinai, according to the author of the book of Jubilees. A great theological innovation made by our Enochic author, in line with the thinking of the writer of the Book of Dreams, and one which was to be exploited later by Christian thinkers, is the idea of progressive development applied to the eschatological era; it is subdivided into three Weeks. No serious evidence exists to disprove that the author of this apocalypse of Weeks is the same

1 Edited by A. S. Van Der Woude, Oudtestamentische Studiën, xiv (1965), 354–73, pls. 1–2; see Milik, Journal of Jewish Studies, xxiii (1972), 96–109.
author as composed the rest of the Epistle, towards the end of the second century or at the beginning of the first century B.C.

A small fragment from Cave 4 at Qumrân seems to belong to a kind of commentary to the Apocalypse of Weeks in the Epistle of Enoch. Here is the transcription and some notes to this isolated fragment (dating from the beginning of the Herodian period), which in my edition will be designated 4Q247:

\[
\text{\textit{טַנְּנָה}}
\]
\[
\text{אֶפֶבֶּלֶתֶּה}
\]
\[
	ext{שְׁנֵים} \text{שְׁמוֹנִים}
\]
\[
	ext{יַאֲרַבְּנַה} \text{מָאֲרַבְּנַה}
\]
\[
	ext{טַנְּנָה} \text{יִוְּדוּת}
\]
\[
	ext{בֵּין} \text{לֵי} \text{עָמָד} \text{אֶלֶת}
\]
\[
	ext{מַלְּךָ} \text{בָּנָיִים}
\]
\[
	ext{אֲלֵי}
\]

L. 2. I restore \( \text{אְמַרְּנִי} \) in line with \( \text{וֹמַק} \text{בֵּית} \text{יָהוָה} \) in 4QEn 8 iv 15 (En 91: 12).

L. 3. Date of the construction of the temple of Solomon according to the text of 1 Kings 6: 1:

\( \text{יְרוּד} \text{בְּשָׁמְוֹנִים} \text{שָׁה} \text{אֲרַבְּנַה} \text{מָאֲרַבְּנַה} \text{לֶצֶאת} \text{בִּי} \text{יִשְרָאֵל} \text{מָאֲרַבְּנַה} \text{מָצֵּרִים} \) \( \text{בְּשָׁה} \text{ִי} \text{וֹרְבִית} \cdot \text{ַלְּמִלָּח} \text{שָׁלֹם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \)

\( \text{כִּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \; \text{כִּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \)

\( \text{כִּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \)

The second part of line 2, and line 3 of our fragment was worded approximately as follows:

\( \text{כִּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \)

L. 4. Era of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem.

L. 5. Era of the return and of the reconstruction of the temple (?). The term \( \text{כַּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \) denotes the citizens with full rights (2 Kings 11: 14; Jer. 1: 18; etc.), or alternatively it is equivalent to \( \text{כַּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \) and \( \text{כַּפְרוּת} \text{שָׁלָם} \text{עַל} \text{יִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{יַבְּנֵי} \text{יִהוּדָה} \), the non-Israelite population of Persian Judaea, expressions which are found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 3: 3; 9: 1; 10: 2; Neh. 10: 29, 31, 32).

L. 6. Hellenistic era.

For our purpose it is sufficient to remember that the document from which our fragment comes placed the erection of the first temple in the fifth Week of the sacred history, exactly as in En. 93: 7.

The quotation from the Epistle of Barnabas XVI: 6 (ed. P. Prigent and R. A. Kraft: Sources chrétiennes, 172 (1971), 190–3) belongs to a pre-Christian
Jewish work: γέγραπται γάρ· καὶ ἔσται τῆς ἐβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθῆσαι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνοματι κυρίου (taking up ὀικοδομηθῆσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄνοματι κυρίου in § 8, p. 28, 23-4). This quotation is absolutely accurate, and not approximate, since the author of the Epistle is at pains to elucidate the last part of the sentence on two occasions. Thus it is not a vague echo of En. 93: 7 or of En. 91: 13, and probably not of a primitive formulation of the Greek Testament of Levi 17: 10 either, but is quite plausibly a verbal quotation from the Greek version of pseudo-Ezekiel, to be added therefore to the meagre collection of other quotations from this apocryphon and to the three Chester Beatty–Michigan fragments.

The two copies of the commentary to the ‘Book of Periods’, 4Q180 and 181, discussed above (pp. 249-53) date from the early years A.D.

Reduced to simple genealogical lists, apocalypses of jubilees and of Weeks appear again in the Gospels. The genealogy of Christ in Luke 3: 23-38 contains seventy-six names. If one deducts the first six patriarchs, one finds again in the era of the patriarch Enoch the beginning of a computation of seventy generations—exactly the same, therefore, as En. 10: 12.

In Matthew 1: 1-17 the reckoning begins with Abraham, and the series of ancestors of Christ is divided into three great ages, each one embracing fourteen generations. In other words, the sacred history from Abraham up to the birth of Jesus is looked upon as the cycle of six Weeks \( (3 \times 14 = 6 \times 7) \) which will be completed by the seventh—eschatological—Week ushered in by Jesus Christ. In this vision of the history of the world we can easily detect the influence of the apocalypses which were formulated by the authors of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. The influence of the Enochic Book of Dreams is evident again in another essential element of the genealogy of Matthew. There, the seventy shepherds correspond to the six years of twelve months, thus \( 70 \approx 72 = 6 \times 12 \). Here, the actual total of the ancestors of Christ amounts to only forty people, thus \( 40 \approx 42 = 3 \times 14 = 6 \times 7 \). By the number forty the author of the first Gospel wishes to express the idea of the mystical Desert (see Milik, *Ten Years...*, pp. 60, 78, 87, 89, 99, 115, 116, 123). The forty generations antecedent to Christ symbolize the duration of the afflictions in the Desert which, once overcome, secure entry into the Promised Land under the leadership of the new Joshua.

The chronological idea of the seven periods of the history of salvation, underlying the genealogy of Matthew, combined with the image of the six days of Creation and of the Sabbath (days of a thousand years, according to Ps. 90: 4), was to be thoroughly exploited by Christian chronographers and
historians, such as Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Rome, Julius Africanus of Jerusalem. They grant to the world the duration of 6,000 years (birth of Christ in 5500), to be followed by the 7th millennium which will be ushered in by the final *parousia* of Jesus Christ.¹

The duration of 7,000 years for the historical and eschatological world was to be applied by the Ethiopic monks to the Enochic apocalypse of Weeks. One Ethiopic author quite simply attributes the duration of 700 years to every Week of En. 91 and 93:

'Table) by which you will know the computation of the ten Weeks of Enoch.

1st Week: 700 years
2nd Week: 1,400 years
[and so on until]
9th Week: 6,300 years
10th Week: 7,000 years.'²

References to this Ethiopic world-era are to be found in *CSCO 221/Aeth.* 41: 'the Weeks of Enoch are 700 years each one, that is 7,000 years [quotation of En. 91: 15]', pp. 53, 28–54, 3; '7,000 years of the Lord, as Enoch proclaims [quotation of En. 91: 15–17]', p. 64, 2–10; translation: *CSCO 222/Aeth.* 42, pp. 47 and 56.

The Ethiopic MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 117 (fifteenth or sixteenth century) contains, in its first part, a sacred history, in which Enoch and his writings are often quoted.³ The fourth piece is entitled 'Another Discourse concerning the birth of Enoch'. It paraphrases freely the apocalypse of ten Weeks (En. 93: 2–10 + 91: 12–17): the first Week, birth of Enoch; the second Week, Noah saved from the Flood; . . . the sixth Week, the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ; the seventh Week, the time of Christians; . . . the tenth Week, the time of Antichrist. There follow the formulas for finding the birthdays of Enoch and of Noah, 7th of Khadar and 7th of Migâzyâ respectively.⁴

Sometimes the Incarnation of Jesus Christ is put in the eighth, and not in the sixth, Week: PO i, 1, p. 55; CSCO 221/Aeth. 41, pp. 14, 34, 53 (222/42, pp. 12, 31, 47).

4QEn⁸ 1 i (Pl. XXI)

This column, after a blank fly-leaf, contained the beginning of the manuscript: some early verses of chapter 91, in a more elaborate form than that of the Ethiopic version.

C. Bonner in his edition of The Homily on the Passion by Melito, bishop of Sardis and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel (Studies and Documents, xii), 1940, makes the following remark on fr. 3 of pseudo-Ezekiel: *if the verso writing was the end of its selection, the writing on the recto belonged to a selection which followed it, probably the earlier part of the last chapters of Enoch*. On p. 187 he transcribes the recto of this fragment (pap. Ch. B. no. 185):

I have been able to check this reading from a photograph kindly sent to me by the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. At the end of line 1 read epsilon. The verbal ending -ταί, line 2 stands probably for -τε of the imperative, the second person plural. The context of these few words can be found in En. 91: 3–4, in a different recension of the Greek version from that of the Ethiopic Enoch. I tentatively suggest the following partial restoration:

L. 1. A vacat at the end of the line before a new section; cf. pp. '15', 5; '16', 24 of CM.
Ll. 2/3. Restore perhaps *'[For I exhort you], and now to you, [beloved, I say]'; ωα’ἐναγέρ-
kēmu sāquirān (sāquirānēya, my beloved, E⁸), 'and I say unto you, beloved' E; cf. En. 94: 1.
Ll. 3–4. Restore perhaps *'[Lov]e from now on uprightness, and hate works of wile]cked ones and [do not]', 'aφαγέρwā lαrētē’ē wαβατί χορυ, ‘love uprightness and walk therein' E. I suppose an omission before 'and walk'.
And the righteous shall awake from their sleep (?)... wisdom shall arise and go, [... and be given to them ...], and to Him [will they give] praise [...], and the earth shall rest [from the sword ... for] all generations forever. [And now I am speaking unto you, my sons, and I will tell you all] the ways of righteousness [and all the ways of violence, and I will show you again in order] that you may know what will happen. [And now, my sons, hearken to me and choose the paths of] righteousness to walk in them, and [keep away from the paths of violence, from walking in them], because [every one who has walked in the way of wickedness] will be utterly destroyed.

That which (Enoch) wrote and gave to Methuselah [his son and to all his brothers,—Enoch the scribe of distinction and] the wisest of men and chosen of the sons of [earth to judge their deeds,—he wrote (it also) to his sons] of sons [and] to the future generations, to all who dwell [on the dry land, in order to do good and peace]: "Be ye [not] in distress, ye [and your spirits, on account of the times, because the Great Holy One] has given [times for everything ...]"
Only E to be compared. For a fragment of CM, see the notes to line 22.

Ll. 13-17 (beginning) seem to correspond to En. 91: 10, drastically abridged in E: ‘Then the just will arise from their sleep, and wisdom will arise and will be given to them.’

Ll. 13-14. With the expression ‘wisdom will arise and will go’ compare 92: 3: ‘and the just (other manuscripts ‘justice’ or even ‘wisdom’) will awake from his sleep; he will arise and he will go . . .’.

L. 14. ‘(Wisdom) will be given to them’; cf. 93: 10 = En8 i iv 13.

Ll. 14-15 probably dealt with the cult of the true God, and are to be understood more or less as ‘[all men will worship God] and to Him they will render praise’.

Ll. 15-16 related the extermination of the ungodly by the sword; see 91: 8, 11, 12, this last verse equivalent to En8 i iv 15-17.—‘The earth will rest [from impiety or from the sword]’; cf. En of the Aramaic apocalypse of 4Q (quoted above, p. 60).

Ll. 16-17 foretold eternal peace and justice; cf. 91: 17 = En8 i iv 25-6.

L. 17. I restore the first part, ‘. . . , in line with 94: 1 = En8 i v 24.

Ll. 18/19. Before ‘the paths of justice and the paths of violence’ En8 adds kwello, which I restore before both substantives.

Ll. 19-21 (En. 91: 19). Ll. 19/20. For the Ethiopic ‘and walk in the paths of justice’ our text had a longer form: ‘[and choose(?) the ways] of justice in order to walk in them’. Likewise the phrase parallel to this one, ‘and do not walk in the paths of violence’ in E, was more developed in the original, perhaps: ‘. . . , in order to keep afar from the paths of violence, from walking in them’.

L. 21. The conjunction ‘, because’, is well known in other Aramaic dialects. The expression ‘Enoch, the scribe’ has been inadequately translated in E by ‘for ever’. Note that En8 puts the verb בַּכֵּן in the preterite, as against ‘for they will perish’, yethagwalu, in E.

Ll. 22-5 (En. 92: 1). This verse, especially the first part of it, was considerably reworked in E.

Ll. 22. The Ethiopic text, in all manuscripts (except for E8 which gives a paraphrase, which is nevertheless followed by Dillmann, Charles, Martin), has zatashfa ‘em Henok sahaf sakhello te’emérta tebab. The literal translation (inaccurately rendered by the authors mentioned above) is ‘What was written by Enoch, the scribe of all the wonder of wisdom’. Note that the first za is the relative pronoun, while the second one is the mark of the genitive. Then the noun te’emért has various meanings, ‘signum, nota, iudicium, monumentum, miraculum, prodigium’ (for yet another meaning, see above, p. 90), but never ‘doctrine’, as it is translated by modern commentators.

It is only in this passage of the Epistle of Enoch that the expression ‘Enoch, the scribe’ occurs. The name ‘Enoch’ is found in En. 93: 1, 2, 3, passages attested by En8 i iii 18, 21, 23, and also by En 106: 1 (cf. En8 5 i 26), 7, 13 (En8 5 ii 16), and finally by En. 107: 3, a passage preserved in CM. In none of these verses, however, is Enoch’s name followed by any word whatever derived from ‘to write, to be scribe’. For this reason I quite confidently identify with En. 92: 1 the verso of a small fragment of CM, transcribed on p. 11 of Bonner’s edition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[α} & \text{ἐνοχ} \, \text{γρα[} \\
\text{ήρων} & \text{καὶ} \, \text{σ[}
\end{align*}
\]
In the Enochic writings Enoch may be called Ἐνοχ ἡγεμόνεις τῆς ἀληθείας, ‘the scribe of righteousness’, or Ἐνοχ οἱ δικαιο-σύνης, ‘the scribe of distinction’; see the note to En 2 2. The first epithet underlines his moral rectitude (in line with ‘Enoch, the righteous man’ of En. 1: 2), whilst the second one qualifies him as a professional, ‘distinguished’, copyist who writes ‘distinctly, clearly’, and perhaps, at the same time, as a redactor of laws which have the force of judges ‘decisions’. Whereas the former expression could be simply rendered by Ἐνοχ ἡγεμόνεις τῆς ἀληθείας En. 15: 1), the latter was paraphrased by the Greek translator, as we can see from the E version of En. 92: 1 (beginning) and from the CM fragment. CM, judging by the corresponding E text, probably had this form: Ἐνοχ ἡγεμόνεις τῶν σαφεστάτων ἔργων, ‘Enoch, the scribe of very clear (trustworthy) deeds’. An Aramaic adverbial derivative of the root pr*ś, namely ἀληθεύω, in E in Esd. 4: 18, was translated by σαφος in a Greek recension of the Old Testament. The Ethiopic translator confused the adjective σαφεστάτων with σοφωτάτων and rendered it by ‘of all... wisdom’. Then he took ἔργα in an Old Testament sense as meaning ‘wondrous deeds’; see En. 36: 4 τα ἀμράτα (τε’αμέρτα in E), ‘wondrous deeds (of God)’, and En. 34: 1, where there is a synonymous word mankēra (Em*), ‘wonder’, corresponding to יבונד, ‘deeds’, in En* i xxvii 21. Hence the E translation: ‘Enoch the scribe of all the wondrous deed(s) of wisdom’.

The E text begins 92: 1 rather unexpectedly with a relative pronoun σα-ν, which almost certainly reflects the wording of the Aramaic original: יבנ רַע. For this reason I do not suppose that the end of line 21 of E contained a noun such as ‘the letter’, לְהַבָּה, or ‘the book’, לְהַבָּה. The latter occurs in En which substitutes for sahāfi, ‘the scribe’, of all other manuscripts the periphrastic phrase mashafsahafa ḫนำไปHENOK, ‘the book; Enoch indeed wrote’.

For the absolute, demonstrative, use of (א)I in Aramaic see Dalman, Grammatik, p. 117 § 18, 2; for a similar use of יבנ in Biblical Hebrew see P. Joüon, Grammaire, p. 448 § 145 a and p. 485 § 158 l. The syntax of the Aramaic En. 92: 1 (En ii 22–5) is to be interpreted as follows: ‘That which (Enoch) wrote and gave to Methuselah... (line 22)..., he wrote (it also) for his sons of sons and for future generations... (lines 23/4).’ A close parallel to this form is quoted by Dalman, loc. cit.: יבנ יטומאתי יכלי ראות, ‘wer von der Vorfeier ass, ist auch von der Hochzeit’, Sheb. 56; there is an even better one at John 19: 22: δ γέγαρα, γέγαρα.

In the first clause, line 22 of En, the author of the Epistle refers to the incipit of his work: ‘And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers’, En. 91: 1. Consequently, I restore the first part of this line [...].

The whole of chapter 91, or more exactly 91: 1–10, 18–19, contains an initial exhortation of Enoch to his sons. In 92: 1 the writer introduces the main bulk of his Epistle (92: 2–105: 2) with a long phrase which stresses its encyclical character, and also underlines the importance of its pseudepigraphical author by a series of epithets of Enoch (lines 22 end–23).

1. 22/3. The text of E abridges the beginning of the verse, omitting the mention of Methuselah and his brothers. The Greek text was presumably short, as well. The CM fragment, quoted above, had, in my opinion, the wording [α, or ἅτον, γεγαρμένα παρά Ἐνοχ ἡγεμόνεις τῶν σαφεστάτων ἔργων καὶ [σοφωτάτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων...]; for the recto of this fragment see the note to En 1 i 16–18. The second epithet of the CM fragment verso corresponds exactly to יבנ יטומאתי יכלי ראות at the beginning of line 23. A similar wording can be recovered from E, if we suppose a haplography of יבנ ב: יבנ ב ‘emkwellu sabē’ē, ‘wiser than all men’.
L. 23. I translate the third epithet of the patriarch, as expressed by E, sebûh makuanêna (En§; other manuscripts wamakuanêna) kwâlû mûdêr, in this way: 'the praiseworthy judge of all the earth'. En§ ii preserves only [. . . ] "[priest] and the chosen one from among the sons [. . . ]", which has to be completed by such an expression as [Aaron לָמוֹדַיָּה], 'of the earth to judge their deeds'. The E translation of ḥâwir by sebûh instead of the usual hiruy (cf. En. 1: 1, etc.) remains obscure. Compare, however, En. 8: 1 where λίθος ἐκλεκτοῦς has been rendered by 'ἐβέν κέμβου ωακχεύη, 'honoured and chosen stones'.

The judiciary role of the patriarch transferred to Paradise, a role analogous to that of God and the angels, is clearly expressed in Jub. 4: 23: 'And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the condemnation and judgement of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men.' For Enoch as celestial scribe, keeper of the Book of Life, and judge of all men in Coptic and Byzantine literature, see pp. 103-7; for his analogous role in the Jewish Medieval Cabbala, see pp. 127-31.

Ll. 23-4. I read [labâ] [labâ], as a necessary continuation of 'Methuselah and his brothers' of line 22. Cf. 'to Methuselah thy son . . . and to all his sons' in En. 81: 5 ('thy sons' 81: 6); 'to thee (sc. Methuselah) and to thy sons . . . that they may give to their sons, of generations (to come)' 82: 2.—In E 'to all my children', which anticipates the direct speech of Enoch starting in v. 2 (line 25).

In the following phrase E inverts the two expressions 'for (...) those who live on the dry land (yabês El, mûdêr all other manuscripts)' and 'and for future generations'. The clause לֵכֵל ה' אַחֲרוֹ אָרֵץ defines the phrase לְדֵרֵי אָוָרָי אָדוֹרָי; the repetition of the preposition before the expression in apposition is known elsewhere; cf., e.g., לְרַפֵּאֵי לְצִירֵי כּוּדַרְיָא in En§ i xxii 5 (En. 22: 6).

Ll. 25-6 (En. 92: 2). This verse is not sufficiently clear in E, in particular for the meaning of 'times' and of 'days'; cf. En§ i xxii 2-3 (En. 22: 4).

L. 25. נבְּהוֹס corresponds to normal Aramaic נבְּהוֹס, 'shame', from the verb נבְּהו, 'to be ashamed, distressed'. The Shin for the original consonant t is regular in Old Aramaic texts and frequent in Imperial Aramaic, but rather exceptional in later dialects. Other Aramaic texts of Qumrân have the usual orthography of these words, e.g. נבְּהוֹס (noun) and נבְּהוֹס (Aphel) in 4QTestLevi§ 5 ii 18 and 19.—[or נבְּהוֹס, נבְּהוֹס, נבְּהוֹס]: E only 'your spirit'.
Daleth written on Zain.

[... and sin shall perish in] darkness [forever ... and shall never be visible again] from this day forth [for all generations forever]. And when he was transmitting his Epistle, Enoch [took up] his discourse, saying: ['Concerning the children of righteousness and about the elect of the world who have grown] up from a plant of truth [and of justice, behold, I will speak and will make (it) known unto you], my sons. I Enoch, I have been shown [everything in a heavenly vision, and from] the word of the Watchers and Holy Ones I have known everything; [and in the heavenly tablets I] have read everything [and understood]. And Enoch took up his discourse again and said: 'I [Enoch], the seventh I [was born in the] first [Week], and until my time justice was still [enduring]. And after me will arise the second [Week] in which lying and violence will have sprung up [...]'

Texts for comparison: E and Coptic fragment, recto, col. i.

More than two-thirds of this column, seventeen lines and a half, correspond only to verses 3 to 5 of En. 92. There was a very long piece of text on the reward of the just at the end of time. Verse 3 is fairly similar to 91: 10: 'and the just will arise from sleep' on the one hand, 'then the just will arise from their sleep' on the other; cf. above, i ii 13, note. The part missing from our column probably contained a description analogous to that of the three last Weeks, En. 91: 11–17 = En 1 iv 14–26. Thus 92: 5 echoes the end of the tenth Week: 'and sin will be lost in the darkness for ever, and will not be visible any more from this day forth unto eternity'; 'and sin will not be mentioned again by name until eternity' (91: 17).

Ll. 16–18 (En. 92: 5). E (quoted immediately above) is too short for the lacuna.

According to my calculation, the recto of a small fragment of the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, the verso of which has been discussed above in the note to i ii 22, should be placed at lines 16–17 of this column. Only a few letters are preserved:

Reading an aorist or a perfect form of καταραμάθαι, 'to curse', in line 1 and [...] ḫs κ[ακίας ...] in line 2, one obtains the same context as that of En. 92: 5.
L. 18 (En. 93: 1). To [דֶּה], restored in line with waḥabani of E, I add הֹדוֹל; for both substantives see the title of the Epistle of Enoch to Semihazah in 4QEnGiants⁴:

At the beginning of the verse, instead of הָבוֹר רֶי לְשֹׁנַם [עָנִי], restored in line with wahabani of E, I restore, which fits better into the syntax of this passage: ‘and when he was transmitting his Epistle, Enoch took up his discourse, saying’.—The expression לַסְכָּב מַחָלַת, lines 18 and 23 (93: 1 and 3), translated by ‘he began to speak from the books’ in E, has already been encountered in En. 1: 2 = En⁴ 1 i 2: לַסְכָּב מַחָלַת; see also p. 89.

Ll. 19–22 (En. 92: 2). דְּמָלִא in line 19 is the participle; ‘and said’ E.

Ll. 19/20. The passage ‘and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of equity (E⁹ justice, E⁸ justice and equity)’ was worded differently in the Aramaic original, which read approximately ‘[and concerning the elect of the world who had grown up (للיק as in Dan. 7: 8, 20, or a synonym)] from the plant of truth [and of justice].’

L. 20. ‘Éllonta, these (things)’ in E, before ἐβέλαθεμμο, ‘I will speak unto you’, is probably the result of the misreading of קָדָם as קָדָם by the Greek translator.

Ll. 21–2. All three נְכָל are omitted in E.—At line 21, תֵּאֵרוּ מַתְמִישִׁים = ‘the holy angels’ E; see En⁴ 1 i 3 note.—At line 22, E omits the first verb from קְרִית וַתְּכִיתוֹנָה.

Ll. 22–4 (En. 93: 3). The description of the first Week and of the beginning of the second Week (lines 24–5) is more accurate in the Coptic fragment than in the Ethiopic text. E omits ‘Enoch’ after ‘I’, replaces וּלְעֵד with ‘while’, and duplicates קֻסְשִׁים (חֶמאָסא Coptic) by ‘judgement and righteousness’ (but in PO vi, 3, p. 430 [172], 14 only sedeq). For the expression עַל, faithfully preserved in Coptic, see p. 82. The preposition עַל in its meaning ‘during the life (of past kings, etc.)’ is discussed on p. 216.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 93: 4). ‘And after me will arise the second Week (ἐβδομάδας)’ En⁴ and Coptic, as against ‘after me, in the second Week’ in E (except E⁹ which omits ‘in’). The Weeks that follow are introduced by the phrase ‘and after that, will arise the nth Week’; see En⁴ iv 15 and the Coptic fragment for the 3rd and 5th Weeks, whilst E always has ‘and after that, in the nth Week’.

L. 25. The phrase ‘דִּי בְּהֵם שָׁקָרָהוֹת וְתֶשֶׁמָּא תֶּמָּא שָׁמָּא’ is reworked in E: ‘will arise great wickedness, and deceit will have sprung up’. Note that the pronoun דִּי is rewritten from דִּי. The scribe was thus modernizing the orthography of his model, which was fairly old, dating approximately from around the year 100 B.C.
The scribe first, it would appear, wrote "his witnesses (sc. of God)," then he deleted the Yod entirely and the He partially.

The scribe first wrote "God's witnesses" (sc. of God), thus he thought, absent-mindedly, that "God" came before "his witnesses." The scribe had begun to write "and that of justice." The scribe seems first to have written "God's witnesses," which he then carefully deleted (with the exception of the Beth) and replaced with "judgement," however, he forgot to write "that of justice." Above the Qoph one can detect a small 'Ain. No doubt the scribe wished to correct "his witnesses" to "God's witnesses," but he gave up the idea. Moreover, "God's witnesses" is formed from "God's witnesses," struck out. However, "God's witnesses" is followed by "God's witnesses," struck out.

[89... and all] its [deeds shall be (done)] in apostasy. And with its end there shall be chosen the elect, for witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness, [to whom] shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge. And they will have rooted out the foundations of violence and the structure of falsehood therein, to execute [judgement]. And thereafter shall arise the eighth Week, that of righteousness, in which [a sword] shall be given to all the righteous, to exact a righteous judgement from all the
wicked, and they shall be delivered into their hands. 13 And with its end they shall acquire riches in righteousness, and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour, for all generations forever. 14 And thereafter the ninth Week, and righteousness and right judgement will be revealed [in it] for all the children of the whole earth; and all the workers [of impiety] shall entirely pass away from the whole earth, and they will be cast into the [eternal] Pit, [and] all [men shall see] the right, eternal way. 15 And thereafter [the tenth Week], in the seventh part [of which] an eternal Judgement and the (fixed) time of the Great Judgement [shall be executed in vengeance, in the midst of the Holy Ones]. 16 And the first heaven in it (end of the tenth Week) shall pass away, and [a new] heaven [shall appear, and all the powers] of heaven shall rise for all eternity [with sevenfold] brightness. 17 And after this there will be many weeks [to whose] number there shall be no end [forever, in which] they shall work [good and] righteousness [. . .]
The term עֲבַד, 'work', is parallel to ושָׂא, 'foundations'; one must thus see in this the architectonic use of עֲבַד, 'structure, building', the meaning which the corresponding Greek word ἐπιευΰ̂ν often has. The text of 91:5 in E, 'all injustice will come to an end and will be cut from its roots and all its structure will perish', is relatively close to our text of line 14 in its original state (אַשִּׁיֵּשׁ and אַשִּׁיֵּשׁ תּּוֹלִל). However, the reference to 'execution [of judgement]' at the end of line 14 recalls rather 91:7: 'and when, in every deed sin and injustice and blasphemy and violence will have increased ... the holy Lord will come forth ... to make a judgement on earth'.

Ll. 15-17 (En. 91: 12). L. 15. On the phrase אִם בִּרְאוֹת יְהוָה see the note to i iii 24-5; here E has תֶּכֶּאֵת, 'shall be'.—הָסְבָּרָה תמִינָי: the same order in Eα, sanbat sâménit: Eα and Aeth. 41, pp. 34, 9 and 53, 18/19 sâménit sanbat. Before this phrase all manuscripts of E, except Aeth. 41, locc. cit., add 'another, (the eighth Week)'; Eκ omits 'Week' and Eα omits 'eighth'.—The proposition דְּבֵה תְמוֹנָת רֹבִּי, 'during which (sc. the eighth Week) a sword will be given', was misunderstood by E: 'and a sword will be given to it'.

L. 16. The expression לְכִּי קֶשִׁיטִי is omitted in E, but lasâdêqân is taken up at the end of the verse.—The phrase לְמַעֲבֵר יִדֹּת לְפָּשָׁן is faithfully preserved in Eα: 'so that the judgement of justice may be made'; other manuscripts of E have 'judgement and justice', which seems to correspond to the uncorrected text of Enα: תִּירָדָא (וַקְוַסָּא).—The words מַכְוָל בָּלַק רַיִים are paraphrased in Eα: 'אַמְמֵלְלָה יְגַגְּפֵיũ, 'on those who oppress' (omitted in Eα).

L. 17. The proposition דְּבֵה תְמוֹנָת בִּרְאוֹת is again paraphrased in E: 'and will be delivered, the sinners, into the hands of the just'; the end is duplicated in Eβ: 'before them and into their hands'.

Ll. 17-18 (En. 91: 13). In line 17, the preposition הָעָבָה = waba Eαβכ信访 and Aeth. 41, pp. 34, 11 and 53, 21; other manuscripts omit wa.—'Riches' Enα: 'the houses' E.—After בְּכֶלֶסֶת = 'אִמְשֶדֶקֶף, E adds zi'ahomu 'their'.

L. 18. In the expression אֲרָכָל מִלְוָהַת רָבָּה, 'the temple of kingship of the Great One', the adjective 'the great' by itself is a substitute for the name of God. It occurs again in En. 14: 2; 103: 1; 104: 1 (twice); see above, p. 237. E translates 'a house for the great king'; Eα 'the house of the great king'; PO vi, 3, p. 433 [175], 5 'the house of the great kingship', beta mangêšêt 'abby.—The long expression בְּכֶלֶסֶת הוֹז לְכָל דַּרְיִיו גֶּלֶפְּיָא is abridged in Eκ to 'in splendour until eternity', basêbhat 'eska la-âšal; other manuscripts la- (Aeth. 41 wala-), Eoy, b omit the preposition.

The second part of v. 13, our line 18, is obviously drawn from Zech. 6: 13 חַזְוֹא בִּינַּהּ אֶת הָעָבָה (where the Targum translates חַזְוֹא דְּבֵה). The author of Enoch, however, applies it to God and not to a king or to a high priest of Israel. Similarly, the reference to an individual Branch in Zech. 6: 12 (יהוָה אֶלֶף) is transferred by the author of Enoch to 'the plant of righteousness,' the elect and just of the last days; see lines 12-13 of this column (= En. 93: 10), iii 19-20 (En. 93: 2), Enα i v 4 (En. 10: 16). Individuals as plants of righteousness: Noah (En. 84: 6), Abraham and Israel (93: 5).

Ll. 19-22 (En. 91: 14). L. 19. Here, and probably in the following verse (line 22), the verb שָׂבָה is omitted before שָׂבָה. Perhaps this is subtly intended by the author, who may have wished in this way to make the reader understand the continuity of the three last Weeks which
constitute a single period without sharply delimited successive phases.—E omits the first 'justice' in 'justice and judgement of justice' of the Aramaic original.

L. 20. 'To all the world' in E corresponds inaccurately to 'to all the sons of the whole earth' in En8—[1:1 should be translated 'and all those who commit impieties' because of the second predicate, ירמות (line 21). The Greek translator understood this expression as a defective form of עבורי רשותא, hence in E we find 'and all the works of the ungodly' (Ex 'and all the ungodly').

L. 21. The proposition ירמות לכל ברו 'עבומ by the works of the ungodly' he had to look for an impersonal translation, here also, for the verb ירמות. He found it in the special use of דומא, namely 'to decide, to declare', discussed above in the notes to Enb i xxvii 19–20 and 4 i 10–13. He translated, by an abstract once more, 'the pit' by 'perdition', thereby following the method of the Greek and Aramaic interpreters of the Bible, e.g. סדר for in Isa. 14:19 and 38:18, סדר for the same word in the Targum of Isa. 14:15, 19 and 38:18.

L. 22. 'The ways of uprightness', lafēnəwata (singular Eb) rēšē (sēdēq Enb), in E abridges 'the way of eternal justice' in Enb.

L. 22–3 (En. 91:15). The long expression of line 23, דומא עולם ועומ דוהא והא, is shortened in E to 'the great eternal judgement', kwēnane 'enta la'dām 'abiyy (last word omitted in Aeth. 41, p. 54, 3, 5, 9). Before 'abiyy all manuscripts (except Enb-t and Aeth. 41, p. 64, 5, which preserve the original text of this verse) insert the phrase 'and it shall be executed on the Watchers of the eternal heaven', which is a gloss on the next hemistic, lost in the lacuna of Enb.

L. 23–5 (En. 91:16). L. 24. דוהא omitted in E.—[יעבריהם duplicated in E: 'will pass away and depart'.

L. 25. E translates יער ליידידי by yābarēhu, 'will give light'.—To 'for all ages' of Enb corresponds la'dām in Enb-qash (other manuscripts omit it).

L. 25–6 (En. 91:17). At line 26 I restore דוהא, omitted in E, which is, however, necessary in Aramaic syntax.—[עבידר, with 'men' implied tacitly; all E manuscripts (and Aeth. 41, p. 64, 9) impersonally, 'it will be in goodness and in justice', ḏabirut wabaṣēdēq yēkawēn; Ex adds wakewellomu at the beginning of this phrase.

4QEnb 1 v—En. 93:11–94:2 (Pl. XXIV)

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(Pl. XXIV)
... who is the man who] can understand the command [of God? 11 And who is there of all the children of men] who can hear the words of the Holy One [and not be troubled, or can think His thoughts]? Or who is the man who [can behold all the works of heaven, 12 or] the corner-[pillars] upon which it (the heaven) rests; [and who (can) see a soul or a spirit and can] return (from there) to tell [it, or ascend and see the whole community of (spirits) and think and act like them]? 13 Or who is there [from the children of] men who is able [to know and measure what is] the length and the breadth of the whole earth; or [who is there to whom is shown all its . . .] and its shape? 14 Or what man is there who can [know the length of the heaven and what] is its height, or how it is supported; [and how great is the number of the stars]? 94 1 And now to you I say, my sons, [love righteousness, and walk in it, for] the ways of righteousness [are worthy to be accepted, but the ways of wickedness shall be destroyed and vanish. 2 And to the sons] of men [. . .]

The placing of a small fragment at lines 17–18 is a little doubtful; see the note ad loc.

The end of En. 91: 17 (see above, iv 25–6) did not even fill the first line of this column. Then there came next a section which is not preserved in the Ethiopic text. The end of this part which has disappeared in this version can be read in the first half of line 15: ‘[. . .] who can understand what is the command [of God?]’. This phrase is entirely analogous to those of lines 15–23 = En. 93: 11–14. I assume, therefore, that this series of rhetorical questions which describe the transcendence of God in a way similar to that of the Book of Job and of several sapiential writings from Qumrán, a series which was very long in the Aramaic original, was reduced to almost a third in the Ethiopic version. Besides, this passage constitutes a eulogy of Enoch (delivered by himself!) who had just accomplished things inaccessible to simple mortals, in particular the journeys described in En. 1 to 36.
The text of verses 11c to 14 is composed of two tetrastichs, the first of which (verses 11c and 12) describes the heavenly abode and its inhabitants, whilst the second (verses 13 and 14) calls for admiration of the expanse of the earth and of heaven and also the incalculable number of heavenly bodies.

Ll. 14–15. Towards the end of line 14 began the second colon of a tetrastich which expressed the inscrutability of God to human intelligence.

L. 15. Probably read מִבּוּסֵיכָנִי, followed by a name of God, or else מִבּוּסֵיכָנִי: the lower left-hand angle of the Teth is very thick, just like the Teth which is found at line 22 of the preceding column.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 93: 11). The third phrase of this verse in E, ‘and who is there that can behold all the works (plural with E’s) of heaven’, is more or less repeated in the two first phrases of the following verse, 93: 12: ‘and how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the work of heaven’. Note, moreover, that E omission ‘could (behold . . . could) understand’ in v. 12. E does not, on the other hand, have the phrase of our lines 17 end–18 first part. One may assume that En omitted these two phrases by homoeoteleuton. Seeing, however, their repetitious and superfluous character I suppose that Abyssinian copyists were trying, in various ways, to account for an insertion-mark, traced on the margin of ancient exemplars, which indicated that a phrase had been omitted. This phrase was actually inserted further on in a wrong place; see the note to line 23.

Ll. 17–18. The letters מָנָח of line 17 and מַהְנָח of line 18 are found on the small fragment e; the Daleth which is retraced on the Zain, just as in 1 iii 25, is more legible on an earlier photograph, PAM 42. 458.

Ll. 17–19 (En. 93: 12). For the first half of v. 12 in E see the note to lines 15–17.—The text of En, line 17 end–line 18 first part, is missing in E, but see the note to line 23.

L. 18. The term אֲנָשִי, ‘the angles’, should have been preceded by a noun like ‘stones’ (יְהַבָּהַת JOB 38: 6; חֵלֶב הָעָנָשׁ Job 18: 2) or like ‘corners’ (אֲנָשָׁא and in Mishnaic Hebrew) or even, the most likely solution, we must supply the term ‘pillars’, drawing on En 18: 2–3 (the four winds which are ‘the pillars of heaven’) and on Job 26: 11 (נְבֵהוֹד שְׁמִיָּם).

L. 19. מְכַסֵּית מֶזַּה, ‘to return (from there) to tell it’: an allusion to the ultra-terrestrial journeys of Enoch, in particular to that in the abode of souls, En. 22. E has only ‘to tell thereof’. —The end of the verse falls in the lacuna of En. In the text of E, ‘or ascend and see all their extremities (‘אָכְנָזִיהוּן)’ and think them or act like them’, there is an unmistakable reference to the final translation of Enoch and to his sojourn in the community of the angels. I restore מְכַסֵּית מֶזַּה in line with Sir. 16: 17: רָצְחֹת כֶּךָּהוּ רָצוּת כֶּלֶב בָּרֶדֶם (omit לְרָצְחֹת מְכַסֵּית מֶזַּה with the ancient versions and a quotation from Sa’adya). See further the note to En 1 i 6–8.

Ll. 20–2 (En. 93: 13). At line 20, to ‘who can know’ in E there corresponded perhaps in the Aramaic ‘who can know and measure’.

L. 21. ‘The length and the breadth’ inverted in E.

L. 22. מִנְהָרָה is the defective spelling of מִנְחָרָה, ‘its shape, form, figure’; omitted in E.

Ll. 22–3 (En. 93: 14). At line 23 there is no space at all in the lacuna for the phrase of E, ‘and where all the luminaries rest’. I think that we find here the reduced text of lines 17 end–18 first part, with ‘all the luminaries’ replacing ‘the corner-pillars (of heaven)’. This phrase
may have been omitted in a Greek or Ethiopic manuscript, added in the margin of another manuscript, and finally inserted in the wrong place by the copyist of a third manuscript. See the note to lines 15–17.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 94: 1). At line 25 yēdalu yētwakafewomu of E⁰ (y. yētwakafewo E¹) translates ἀξιαὶ ἀποδοχῆς; cf. Charles, i, p. 197 note 18, and ii, p. 234 note ad loc. where he quotes 1 Tim. 1: 15.—I omit ‘suddenly’, following E².

Ll. 25–6 (En. 94: 2). נב = sabēʾ, as often.
THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK OF ENOCH
(4QEnastrᵃ,ᵇ,ᶜ,ᵈ, Pls. XXV–XXX)

To the third part of the Ethiopic Enoch, En. 72 to 82, which bears the title ‘Book of the revolution of the luminaries of heaven’, there correspond four Aramaic manuscripts from Qumrân, all out of Cave 4. The scrolls of which these fragments formed a part circulated independently of the other Enochic writings. I introduce them here in a preliminary form, less complete than the edition of 4QEnᵃ to 4QEn⁸ which has been given above. In particular, the numbering of the fragments, and of the lines of text preserved on these fragments, remains provisional.

The first example (4QEnastrᵃ, formerly Enastrᵇ) is represented by thirty-six fragments which belonged to several columns of the first leaves of the scroll. As a matter of fact, these fragments contain only the ‘synchronistic calendar’, i.e. the writer’s ‘synchronizing’ of the movements of the sun and moon (see below, p. 278). The résumé of this calendar is found in En. 73: 1–74: 9. The skin is glazed white (blackened in places), thick and taut, very damaged, and flakes easily; the text on it is often scarcely legible because of the rubbing of the surface. The handwriting of Enastrᵃ is rather unusual, but fairly archaic; it resembles ‘an archaic or early Hasmonaean semi-formal script of ca. 175–125 B.C.’ (Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 6; cf. ibid., line 7 and p. 138, fig. 2, line 1). It seems to me, however, to be older than the alphabets discussed by Cross, and to be related, by many a detail, to the writings of fig. 1, lines 2–5. As a result, I would date 4QEnastrᵃ to the end of the third century or else to the beginning of the second century B.C. The scribe never used final forms of letters, e.g. ימ, ד, מ. His orthography is extremely variable and unusual, thus ימ, ימידא, ימדה, and ימד. Given the date of this manuscript, one may ask whether it represents the oldest form of the Astronomical Book, which may have contained only a broad introduction (approximately equivalent to En. 72) and the synchronistic calendar. This would have made a respectable scroll of about twenty or thirty columns.

The second copy (4QEnastrᵇ, formerly Enastrᵃ) is written in the same beautiful Herodian script as 1QIsᵇ, 1QM, 1QGenAp, and the original hand of 1QH, on a cream skin (bluish, or brown, or even purplish-blue in places),
moderately thick, finely granular, and fairly smooth. It preserves a good part of the astronomical document, more than the other manuscripts. The fragments mostly belong to the synchronistic calendar, but some are from the final part of the work, En. 76 to 79 and 82. Number of lines per column, approximately 40; number of letters per line, varying from 52 to 80.

The third copy (4QEnastr\(^{c}\)), cream or dark brown skin, moderately thick, taut and smooth, has preserved only three passages of the text, from En. 76 to 78. The writing is in a fine hand of the late Hasmonaean period, probably from the middle of the first century B.C.

The fourth copy (Enastr\(^{d}\)), dark blue skin and fairly thick, is preserved practically only in a single fragment, a horizontal strip containing from six to two lines of the text, which comes from three successive columns placed towards the end of the scroll. Column i contains a description of winter; so it should be placed after the existing conclusion of the Astronomical Book in the Ethiopic Enoch, where we have the description of the two first seasons only, spring (En. 82: 15–17) and summer (82: 18–20). The writing of 4QEnastr\(^{d}\) dates from the second half of the first century B.C.

THE SYNCHRONISTIC CALENDAR

At the beginning of the Astronomical Book the Jewish author describes the movements of the sun and the moon (En. 72–5), calculated within the framework of his special calendar composed of 364 days, i.e. 12 months of 30 days, with intercalary days at the end of the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th months (72: 32; 74: 10; 75: 2). Not one fragment of 4Q corresponds to this section. We find there, on the other hand, a calendar in which, day after day and month after month, he describes scrupulously and in a very stereotyped way the phases of the moon, the waxing and waning of which are expressed by the successive fractions of the fourteenth parts of its light, or more precisely by the \(\frac{7}{14}\) parts. He synchronizes the conjunctions and the oppositions of two stars by reference to 'gates' from which they rise and in which they set. The synchronism of a lunar year of 354 days (alternately 6 months of 30 days and 6 months of 29 days) and of a solar year of 364 days is effected in a triennial cycle by the addition of an intercalary month: \(364 \times 3 = 354 \times 3 + 30\). Now the description of 12 lunar months occupied, at the very least, twenty-seven columns of Enastr\(^{b}\). It does not seem to me very likely that the author would have continued in the same detailed way the description of the second and
third lunar years. He must have confined himself to some kind of summary, the remains of which, mishandled by the translators, are contained in En. 74: 10-17 and 79: 3-5. Was this calendar simply omitted by the Greek translator of the astronomical Enoch, or is the résumé of it to be found in En. 73: 1-74: 9, or only in 74: 3-9?

We should note, finally, that the description of a lunar year synchronized with a solar year of 364 days was valid, and even then only in theory, merely for the single, first year of a great cycle, at the time when the New Year, 1/I, coincided with the 1st day of the 1st lunation, the 1st Nisân. Consequently there was an inevitable alteration in relation to the astronomical year of 365 1/4 days.¹

We have suggested that the Greek translator of the Astronomical Book of Enoch in Aramaic omitted, or at the very most summarized very briefly, the full calendar describing in detail the movements of the moon in relation to those of the sun. None the less, it seems to me that this complicated Aramaic calendar did not disappear completely from Graeco-Jewish literature or from the Christian literatures which depend on it. Indeed, I find traces of it in Ethiopic literature.

MS. 64 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a collection of chronological and astronomical tables, contains a short treatise on celestial physics and on the calendar, containing a development and application of the data from En. 72-6. The title of this part as it appears at the beginning of fol. 34r is an approximate repetition of the title of En. 72: 1: 'of Enoch the prophet: book of the revolution of the lights of heaven according to their order, their time, their classes, their names, their origins, and their months, composed by Enoch, son of Yared, the prophet, which the angel Uriel showed to him.'²

In fol. 37r-38r can be read the table of the variations of the duration of days and nights for each month of the year (Grébaut, loc. cit., pp. 429-32);

'In Miyâzyâ (8th month of the Abyssinian calendar corresponding to the 1st month, Nisân, of the Jewish calendar), 10 parts day and 8 parts night.

'In Gênbot, 11 parts day and 7 parts night... .

'In the month of Magâbit there are 9 parts day and 9 parts night. (There is) equality.'

¹ For this problem, and for the astronomical and astrological calendars and texts of Qumrân in general, see Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, pp. 170-3 and p. 152 note 5.

² Edited in part by S. Grébaut, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, xxi (1919-20), 422-32. Other extracts from the same manuscript, ibid. 323-30 and xxii (1920-1), 212-20. For the Weeks of Enoch see above, p. 258.
One recognizes without difficulty in this table the summary of En 72: 8–12 in which the duration of days–nights, reckoned in 18 ‘hours’, is described within the framework of the year composed of 364 days.

A more interesting table is given in fols. 40r–43r of the same manuscript (Grébaut, loc. cit., pp. 422–8):

‘(Consult) also (this table), if you wish to know, for each month, how the moon rises every night and changes by turn (its) rising through six gates of the east.

‘I. Risings (of the moon) in Miyâzyâ: through the fourth gate, 2 (days); through the fifth gate, 2; through the sixth gate, 8; through the fifth gate, 1; through the fourth gate, 1; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 8; through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 1; through the fourth gate, 1. (Total): 30 days. The month of Miyâzyâ is finished.

[and so on until]

‘IX. Risings (of the moon) in the month of Tâḥsâš: through the first gate, 4 (days); through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 1; through the fifth gate, 1; through the sixth gate, 8; through the fifth gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 4. (Total): 30 days. The month of Tâḥsâš is finished.

‘X. Risings (of the moon) in the month of Têr: through the first gate, 4 (days); through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 1; through the fifth gate, 1; through the sixth gate, 7; through the fifth gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 4. (Total): 29 days. The month of Têr is finished’, etc.

Now it seems to me altogether out of the question that such an accurate table of the movements of the moon across its ‘gates’ could ever be deduced from the fragmentary and confused data which the Ethiopic book of Enoch contains. Everything is easily explained, however, if one assumes that a Greek translator of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, no doubt in Alexandria, abridged to simple tables the data concerning the movements of the moon and of the sun contained in the synchronistic calendar of our Aramaic manuscripts from Qumrân.
Thanks to a recent study by O. Neugebauer, ‘Notes on Ethiopic Astronomy’, which has appeared in *Orientalia*, n.s. 33 (1964), 49-71, we now understand much better the astronomical ideas which form the basis of computations and observations of this kind.

On the subject of En. 72 (cf. the first table of MS. 64, quoted above) Neugebauer emphasizes the purely schematic character of the description of the ‘gates’ of the sun (which have nothing to do with the signs of the Zodiac), as also ‘the primitivity of the methods’ used in the description of the ‘hours’ of the days and nights. He notes (loc. cit., p. 60): ‘It is amusing to see modern authors looking for geographical regions where a ratio 2:1 for the extremal daylight would be correct, ignoring the fact that nowhere on earth can the scheme as a whole be based on reality. The fact that linear schemes are common in ancient astronomy and that the ratio 2:1 is also attested in Babylonia\(^1\) seems to me not to constitute a sufficient basis for the assumption of mutual contacts. Very primitive methods offer only little freedom of choice.’

He discusses the text of MS. 64 of the Bibl. Nat. on the subject of the ‘gates’ of the moon (to which he points out a parallel in the Ethiopic MS. 84 in Berlin, fol. 30\(^{-}\)–31\(^{+}\)) and explains it, in terms of mathematical astronomy, by the idea of ‘fixed arcs of the horizon divided into six parts, related in a very simple way with the rising- and setting-amplitude of the sun during the course of one year’. He concludes finally (p. 58) that it was ‘an extremely primitive level of astronomy which shows no relation to the sophisticated Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period nor to its Hellenistic Greek sequel. Of course no chronological conclusion should be based on such negative evidence for procedures which might well be of local Palestinian origin, uninfluenced by contemporary scientific achievements elsewhere.’

For our practical purposes, namely for the interpretation of the fragments of the synchronistic calendar of 4QEnastr, we cite Neugebauer’s table I (p. 53), which schematizes the Ethiopic text on the risings of the moon in the successive gates in the course of the year of 354 days (see p. 278).

For reasons which will soon be evident, it does not seem to me at all easy to assign the majority of the fragments of Enastr\(^b\) and Enastr\(^a\) belonging to the synchronistic calendar to their exact place on the successive columns of the original scrolls. Suffice it here to quote in its entirety the largest fragment of Enastr\(^b\), fr. 7, and to give a partial quotation of fr. 6 of the same manuscript.

### 4QEnastr⁵ 7 i–iii

#### i

This column retains only two letters, לין, 'and a half', at the end of line 8.

#### ii (Pl. XXV)

אנויר בחשא ליליא דך שביעית חלחה [ווק ימימה דך שביעית ארבעת חלקה וברח של חכאי שאר] ימימה דך שביעית

[חרית ומחלא ארבעת תשע] יבכ סה שביעית ארבעת חלקל קפוא vacat

ובכפי ממנה[ה] שביעית ארבעת חלקל בanonymous ומ reklוק וזמן שנבר סערא של ליליא דך שביעית חלחה

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Note: The table and text are interpreted from the image provided, including the column for line 8 which retains only two letters, לין, 'and a half'.
vocat

He is written over Aleph.

iii (Pl. XXVI)

Ani yi bilale minuch b[ đã]’lay’ b’aron vacat, [ ]

b’ilale dm ashla mat] Shemsha lamokh kl Хотheits di batzeva k’dimma m’shera lambeh lotham belem

B’hotheits [b’aradiim she’ar]

Urbu uvel kohel sharo bilale dm’sheret holamah koh b’imma dm’sheret

Arbuetu [vel b’aradiim] vacat, [ ]

Nek meshal b’shawar imma dm’sheret torah v’la’arn [la]’

Ani yi bilale mishu’at vacat, [ ]

Barhawk’im [la lotham belem]
...And it (sc. the moon) shines during the rest of this night with three seventh (parts); and it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before), and it is covered, the rest] of this day, to [two] seventh (parts) [and a half. And in night] twenty-[four] of this (month) it is covered by four sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light [four sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same gate) and shines during the rest of this night with two sevenths and a half; it waxes during this day up to five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the same gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to two sevenths (of its light).

And at the (beginning of) night twenty-five of this (month, the moon) is covered to five seventh (parts of its light, i.e.) five seventh (parts) are subtracted from its light. And then it emerges (from the same gate as on the preceding days) and shines during the rest of this night with two seventh (parts of its light); and it waxes during this day up to five sevenths and a half (of its light). And then it sets [and] enters the second gate and it is covered during the rest of this day to one seventh (part) and a half (of its light).
And during night twenty-six of this (month) it is covered to five sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light five sevenths and a half. And then it emerges from the second gate, and it shines during the rest of this night with a seventh and a half, and it waxes during this day up to six sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the second gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to one seventh.

And during night twenty-seven of this (month) it is covered to six sevenths; there is subtracted from its light six sevenths. And then it emerges (from the second gate) and it shines, the rest of this night, with one seventh. And it waxes during this day up to six sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters . . .

And (the moon) shines in night eight of this (month) with four sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before). During this night the sun completes the passage (across) all the sections of the first gate, and it begins again to go and to come out through these sections (i.e. of the first gate). [And then the moon] sets and enters (the same gate). And it wanes (during) the rest of this night by three sevenths. And it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same gate as before) and it keeps during the rest of this day two seventh (parts of its light) and a half.

And it shines during night nine of this (month) with four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters (the gate). During this night the sun begins again to move away through its sections (i.e. of the first gate) and to set through these (sections). And then the moon sets and enters the fifth gate and it wanes during the rest of this night by two sevenths and a half. And it waxes during this day up to five sevenths, and its light is equivalent exactly (?) to five sevenths. [And then it emerges] from the fifth gate [and it keeps, during the rest of this day, two sevenths.

And it shines in night ten of this (month) with five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the fifth gate). And it wanes the rest of this night, by two sevenths. And it waxes during this day up to five sevenths and a half . . .

The translation of lines 6–8, on ‘night twenty-five’, is more of a paraphrase than that of the other lines.

Ll. [2], 4, 7, 10, 13. The verb יָהָל is the Pael, derivative of the unused Peal יָהַל, in Syriac ‘mansit, permanit, moratus est’. It seems to me, however, that in the description of the phases
of the moon this verb has the same meaning as the Arabic qawāḍī 'to be strong, to become stronger, to gather strength', for it is during the day that the moon increases its visibility by a fourteenth part of its light.

Ll. [2], 5, 8, 11, [13]. נּוֹלֵל, 'and (the moon) enters' one of the twelve gates of the sun, six in the east and six in the west; see En. 72: 2–31 and Charles's note, not quite exact, to verse 8 of this chapter (pp. 152–3 of the 1912 edition). The table of the gates of the moon according to an Ethiopic manuscript is given above, p. 278.

Ll. 3, 6, 9, 12. The verb בָּצֵּר בָּצוּרי is the Peal passive of בָּצָר, 'to subtract, to reduce'.—מַגִּיזוּר should be separated into מַגִּיזוּר, as the copyist of Enastr* wrote it: מַגִּיזוּר מַגִּיזוּר. The phrase ... בָּצוּרי is a simple repetition of the formula which precedes it.

iii

L. 2. In the word הַרְחִית I see a nominal derivative of the verb הַרְחָל, 'to hollow out, to carve, to cut' (Judaeo-Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew; hrî in Ugaritic and in Arabic), no doubt equivalent to the Syriac hrâtâd, 'fraction'. The phrase of lines 1 end–2 is found in En. 72: 27 where I add between (...) the part omitted in E: 'and the sun has completed (the circuit of) its sections, 'ar'ēšēthîhu, (which are in the first gate (literal translation of the Aramaic expression כָּל הַרְחִית יִרְבּוּ בִּתְרוּעַ קְדַמֵּיהוּ), and again it turns on these sections and it enters through this gate during thirty mornings'.—Note that the grammatical gender of הַרְחִית is ambivalent: feminine in the pronominal suffix of הַרְחִית and in the verbal form of עֲלַת שְׁמָאַא (on another fragment of Enastrb), masculine in the forms מַשָּׁר (line 2 of our fragment) and שֵׁר (line 5).

Ll. 2/3. At the end of line 2 I add שֵׁרֹה to correspond with line 6. The phrase הבּאָדְאִין שִׁבְרִאִין repeats and takes up הבּאָדְאִין in line 1. The same stylistic arrangement at lines 5 and 6.

Ll. 3, 6, [9]. The verb כֹּפָל signifies here 'to darken (itself)' and not 'to receive, to take', as wrongly understood by the Greek translator of this astronomical document in En. 73: 6 and 7.

Ll. 3, 7, [9]. כָּל før: see the note to ii 2.

Ll. 4 and [8]. כָּל før, lit. 'and it reigns (over such and such a fraction of its light)'. The author imagines that during the day the moon presents the inverse image of its nocturnal phase, but increased by a fourteenth fraction of its light. Thus on the 24th of the preceding month (col. ii, lines 3–5) it appears in the night with 41/4 (= 9/14) parts of its surface invisible and with 21/4 (= 5/14) visible; after it sets, in the course of the following day, it waxes to 5/7 of its light, in other words it is covered by 2/7 of its surface. At iii 1–4, on the other hand, the moon is 4/7 clear and 3/7 dark during the night; the morning after, it increases its covered surface to 41/2 (= 9/14), whilst it 'reigns' over only 21/2 (= 5/14) parts of its light.

L. 7. כָּל før, 'and is equivalent'; this phrase repeats the formula which precedes it; cf. the note to ii 3.—כָּל før: the translation 'exactly', lit. '(light . . .) complete', remains uncertain.

L. 10. I do not know whether the text here, and in the description of the following days, must have contained the clause . . . כָּל før (cf. line 7) or not (cf. line 3).

The key to the correct interpretation of the calendar detailed in Enastr and b is found at iii 1–2 (and 5–6). We read here that on the eighth of a month,
not otherwise specified, the sun completes its movements on the 'sections' of the first gate and the morning after it rises again from the first gate. This is thus a reference to the end of the 9th solar month and the beginning of the 10th; see En. 72: 25–7. Now, the first day of the 10th solar month, in a year made up of 364 days, falls exactly on the eighth day of the 10th lunar month (the 8th Tebeth) in a lunar year composed alternately of months of 30 and of 29 days. Our author described tirelessly, day after day, the phases of the moon during the 12 lunar months. His plan, which is evident from fr. 7 of Enastr (to be completed by partial data which come from other fragments of the same manuscript and from those of Enastr*), is as follows. During the first 14 days of each lunar month, the moon waxes from one half of the seventh part of its light up to the full moon, thus from \( \frac{1}{2} \) to \( \frac{7}{14} \). In the second half of each month, on the other hand, it wanes from \( \frac{14}{14} \) to \( \frac{1}{14} \) (= astronomical new moon) between the 16th and the 29th of each month composed of 30 days, and between the 15th and the 28th day of each month composed of 29 days. Each new month (new moon, \( \mathcal{W} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{M} \); see below, p. 293) starts with \( \frac{1}{14} \) of the lunar light, borrowed, moreover, from the sun (En. 78: 4).

According to our fragment of Enastr* 7 ii 8, the moon sets ('enters') in the second gate in the morning of the 25th of the month, which we have just fixed as the 9th lunar month of the Jewish year. It rises, however, during the night of the same day, from the gate which is not specified (line 7), which means that it was mentioned above as 'the third gate'. During the 26th night of the 9th month the moon 'comes out of the second gate' (line 10). This scarcely tallies with the Ethiopic table of lunar risings (above, p. 278), according to which the moon rises from the second gate on the 25th and 26th of the 9th month. According to column iii of the same fragment the moon sets in the fifth gate during the night of the 9th of the 10th month; on the morning of the same day it rises from the same fifth gate (lines 6 and 8). Now, according to the Ethiopic table the moon rises from the fifth gate on the 10th of the 10th month. These variations of one day between the data of our Aramaic text and the data of the Ethiopic text imply alterations to the table of the risings of the moon, either in its Greek or in its Ethiopic form, alterations the reason for which completely escapes me.

Not one fragment of 4QEnastr contains a complete description of days 15 and 30 for the months of 30 days and of day 29 for the months containing 29 days. Thus it is not certain whether the author interposed a fraction of \( \frac{1}{28} \) of the lunar light, as Charles suggests (note to En. 73: 5–8, p. 157 of II),
drawing in part on En. 78: 8; cf. below, pp. 292–3. A fragment of Enastr\textsuperscript{b} contains the description of the 28th day of a month of 30 days (Enastr\textsuperscript{b} fr. 6, lines 7–9):

4QEnastr\textsuperscript{b} 6 7–9 (Pl. XXVII)

[?... And in night] twenty-eight of this (month, the moon) is covered by six sevenths and a half, and there is subtracted from its light \textsuperscript{8} six sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same door as before) and it shines during the rest of this night with a half of a seventh (part). And it waxes during this day to its entirety. And then it sets and enters \textsuperscript{9} the . . . gate and it is covered during the rest of] this day in its entirety and all the rest of its light is removed and its disc emerges, devoid of all light, hidden by the sun . . .]

L. 9. Cf. En. 73: 5 and 78: 14: ‘and (all) its disc is empty, without light’.

FRAGMENTS CORRESPONDING TO EN. 76–9 AND 82

Several fragments of Enastr\textsuperscript{b} and Enastr\textsuperscript{c} correspond in an approximate fashion to certain passages of En. 76–9 and 82.

4QEnastr\textsuperscript{c} 1 ii 1–10—En. 76: 3–10 (Pl. XXVIII)

Upper right fragment of one sheet of the scroll and a piece of the preceding sheet (trace of one letter): guide-marks for the lines of writing on the left and right hand margins of two sheets. Written surface worn away by rubbing; seventy-five letters per line on average.
... and three (gates) after those on the north, [and three after those on the west. 4And through four of these come forth winds which] are for the healing of the earth, and for its revival. And [through eight of these come forth harmful winds; when they are sent, they destroy all the earth] and the waters and all that is in them which grows and flourishes and creeps [in the waters and on the dry land, and all (men) who live in it. 5And first of all,] the east
wind comes through the first gate which is in [the east, and it inclines to the south; and from it comes destruction, drought, heat, and desolation.]

6 And through the second gate, [the middle one], comes forth the east-east wind: [rain and fruitfulness and revival and dew. And through the third gate comes forth] the east-north [wind] which is nigh the north wind; [cold and drought. 7 And after them from three gates which are towards the south of the heavens]; there comes forth, first of all, through the first gate [a south wind which is in the south, inclining to the east: a hot wind.]

8 And through the second gate comes forth a south wind [which they call the South, (bringing) dew [and rain, well-being and revival. 9 And by the third gate comes forth a southwest wind, (bringing) dew and rain and locusts and destruction].


L. 1 (En. 76: 3). The enumeration of the twelve doors of the winds at the four cardinal points is made in order [ES]N[W], just as in verses 5 to 13. At v. 3, the Ethiopic follows the order ENSW; see Martin's explanations, p. 117, and Charles's (1912), p. 163.

L1. 1–3 (En. 76: 4). Ll. 1/2. ‘[The winds which] are (ךל ס: imperfect, 3rd pers. pl. fem.) for the healing of the earth and for its revival (lit. in order to make it live)’; E shorter, ‘the winds of benediction and of prosperity’.

Ll. 2/3. . . . קמך ידכ קלח are the direct objects; thus they require a transitive or causative infinitive, hence our restoration (ךל ס imperfect of כהת, just as in the preceding phrase: ךל ס longitudinals ידכ קלח); ‘which bring ruination to all the earth’, ידמואש ו (lit. ‘they ruin it’), E. This verb and the substantive דמואש correspond to the Aramaic דבּא and דבּא, while הָאֵזָא translates קִבּרֶה; see the following fragment, Enastrc 1 ii 14 (En. 76: 13).

L. 3. E is shorter and inverts the order of the phrases: ‘and to the water which is on it, and to all those who inhabit it, and to all those who are in the water and on the barren land’. After the reference to waters, the Aramaic writer enumerates three categories of living beings: animals (ךל תָּדִין), plants (ךל עָמִית), and reptiles (ךל יָדָה); fish are included in the last category or else mentioned explicitly. Cf. En. 7: 5, where the term also recurs: ידמואש אֶזֶר רְחֶמֶשׁ, Enb 1 ii 24. Finally there came without doubt a reference to men, ‘all those who live on it’, קִבּרֶה יִדְעָא עַל מָלֵי מַגְלִים, in line with Enastrb fr. 23, line 8 (below, p. 289), rather than קִבּרֶה יִדְעָא עַל מָלֵי מַגְלִים.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 76: 5). L. 3. At the beginning of this verse I restore only קִבּרֶה, ‘and first of all’, the expression which contrasts well with that of ‘and after these’, or ‘and after this one’, verses 3 (ךל תָּדָא, line 1), 7. 10 (ךל תָּדָא, line 9), 12. E seems to have expanded the beginning of this verse: ‘The first wind (which comes) from these gates, called the East wind, comes out through the first gate which is in the east and which inclines towards the south.’ ‘The first’ in E translates קִבּרֶה at verse 7; see the note to line 7.

L. 4. The term ‘south’ should be retranslated by־וֹו יִדְעָא rather than by קִבּרֶה; see below, Enastrc ii 15 and Enastrb 23 3; וֹו יִדְעָא, however, at line 8 of our fragment.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 76: 6). L. 5. If my reading קִבּרֶה is correct, the author will have called the east wind which comes out of the middle eastern gate ‘the east-east wind’, just as he calls the
wind which comes out of the third eastern gate, gate ENE., 'the east-north wind', line 6. The crux of verse 6 in the Ethiopic text, the word ḫîlî ’e, translates without doubt, in an inadequate way, our הוליח探测; cf. Charles's note (1912), p. 164. I assume that the author was no longer repeating the phrase 'comes out through it', just as at line 8 (verse 8).

Ll. 5–6. The description of the activity of the wind which comes out of the third eastern gate is abridged in E.—[ך]נ[ך]ַר[ך] ש[ך]נ[ך]ה, fem. sing. absolute: the Yod is certain; in the other Aramaic languages כָּנָה is used.

Ll. 6–7 (En. 76: 7). The Ethiopic version is slightly altered, but on the whole it is fairly close to the original.

L. 7. נָה here and at line 9 is in the masculine, as against the feminine נָּה at lines 4 and 6. The term נָה is thus ambivalent as to grammatical gender, just like the word נָה; see the notes to Enastrb 7 iii 2 (above, p. 282) and to fr. 23, line 3, of the same manuscript (below, p. 290). The adverb {דִּקְקִמָה is translated by the adjective 'the first' in E (preserved in Eָּנָה, omitted in the other manuscripts); cf. the note to line 3. For the remainder of the description of the SES. wind I draw on the text at line 4. For the terms denoting the 'South' see the note to line 4.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 76: 8). The phrase דָּרִים נָה לֵהּ נָה, 'which is called the South', is translated in E by 'which is beside it, come pleasant smells (ma'azâ sanây)'. The Greek translator of the Astronomical Book may thus have read דָּרִים instead of פְּרִים, and he translated נָה לֵהּ by εὐδόκια, 'good route, good journey'. This Greek term was understood as εὐδόκια, 'pleasant smell', by the Abyssinian translator. On the privileged character of the south side, in other words the right side, see En. 77: 1 and Enastrb 23, lines 3–4; (below, p. 290). For the Greeks, however, the side of good omen, εὐδόκιασ, is that of the north, and it is by the same term that the LXX usually translates מָלָא אַל הַמַּעֲלֵי and נָה לֵהּ. It is thus possible that the first Greek translator read נָה לֵהּ instead of נָה מַעֲלֵי, and translated it by εὐδόκια, just as the Hebrew Polel of נָה, 'to prosper', is translated by εὐδοκεῖτα in Zech. 9: 17.


Ll. 9–10 (En 76: 10). The Ethiopic text of this verse varies a lot from one manuscript to another.

L. 10. The top of two final letters favours the reading נָה rather than נָה; see the note to line 4.

A passage common to these two fragments has already been published in RB lxv (1958), 76.

Enastrc 1 ii 13–20 and 4QEnastrb 23—En. 76: 13–77: 4

This fragment is placed at the bottom of the same column as that from which the preceding fragment comes, with a space between of three or four lines. Here is visible also the seam of two sheets.
The copyist first wrote מֵאָיָּא (pronounced "meyi\textsuperscript{a}"), which he corrected to מֵאָנָי, scratching out the Yod and adding a Nun above the line (above the Yod) and a Yod (above the second Aleph), but he forgot to delete the first Aleph.

Prima manu מֵאָנָי, corrected to מֵאָנָא by the supralinear addition of medial Nun (of which only the foot is preserved) above the Aleph, and perhaps by the deletion of the Yod.

דַּהַאי corrected to מֵאָנָא by the supralinear addition of the medial Nun above the Yod.

שִׁנֶּרֶת corrected to דַּהַאי by the shaping of the Shin into Daleth and, in addition, by the supralinear tracing of the Daleth.

Aleph doubly corrected to He; first by the reshaping of the Aleph into the He, and then by the supralinear addition of the He. The traces of two letters, on both sides of the lacuna, are very doubtful; I read them, and I restore the whole phrase, by drawing on Enastr\textsuperscript{c} 1 iii 3-5 (below, p. 292): בֵּהַשְׁתִּיקָה (מהותִית בַּכָּל יִמּוֹן). See further the note to the following fragment, line 7.

Enastr\textsuperscript{b} 23 (Pl. XXVII)

Lower part of the last column of a sheet of the scroll; 55 letters per line on average. The placing of a tiny fragment at the beginning of lines 4-5 is not altogether certain.
The copyist started to write מ[ב]ר, but he at once deleted the Mem and the Aleph by erasure. On phonetic, and consequently orthographic, confusion of the laryngals, see Milik, Biblica, 31 (1950), 204-5 and DJD iii, p. 229.

Translation of the combined texts Enastr² 23 and Enastr² I ii 13-20

[13]... drought and [destruction and death and] heat and desolation. 14 And the twelve gates of the four quarters of heaven are completely (described); their complete explanation I have shown [to you, my son Methuselah.

1 And they call the east East] because it is the first; and they call the south South (darôm), because the Great One dwells (dâ’er rabbâ) there, and in it dwells [. . .] blessed forever. 2 And the great quarter (they call) the West quarter, because there go the stars of heaven; there they set and there all stars enter. And for this reason they call it West. 3[And the north (they call) North], because in it all the bodies (lit. vessels) of the heavens hide and
gather together and revolve, and proceed to the east of the heavens. [And the east (they call)] East (\textit{midnah}) because from there arise (\textit{d'nah}) the bodies of the heavens; and also (they call it) \\textit{mizrah} because thence they arise (\textit{z'rah}).

[And I saw three sections] of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men in it; and one of them for all [the seas, and the rivers; and one of them] for the deserts and for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness. 4[And I saw] seven mountains, [higher than] all the mountains [which are on the] earth; and snow comes down upon them [. . .]

L. 1 (En. 76: 13). \[\text{ב[ע]}\]: small but definite traces of three letters; on the correspondence between the Ethiopic \textit{demsâd} and the Aramaic \[\text{ב[ע]}\] see above, p. 286, note to Enastr\textsuperscript{a} i ii 2/3. —reading fairly certain; E omits 'and death', but in 76: 5 some Ethiopic manuscripts have \textit{wamot} instead of \textit{wamog} 'and heat'.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 76: 14). The first part of this verse has been preserved in Enastr\textsuperscript{c}.

L. 2. אויהו 'ץ: 'gates of heaven' E; correctly surmised by Charles, p. 165: 'MSS. read "portals", i.e. \textit{θυρῷν} corrupt for \textit{μερῷν}, a rendering of \textit{רורות}; cf. Martin, p. 178. \[\text{ב[ע]}\]: a kind of hendiadys, 'complete explanation concerning them'; E 'all their laws, and all their punishments, and all their benefactions'. 'Their laws' translates \[\text{ב[ע]}\] (cf. Syriac \textit{pûrsân}, 'definitio, iudicium, discrimen') and 'their benefactions' translates \[\text{ב[ע]}\]; 'their punishments' has been added in the Ethiopic version (or even previously in the Greek translation), recalling the punishments of the angel-stars described in the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 77: 1). L. 3. Note the masculine gender of אוחו in this verse (אוחו Eastr\textsuperscript{a}, אוחו Eastr\textsuperscript{b} and at verse 2 (אוחו, line 4 of our fragment), whilst in En. 76: 14 it is feminine (אוחו, Eastr\textsuperscript{a} i ii 14; above, p. 288); see the note to line 2 of Enastr\textsuperscript{b} 7 iii (above, p. 282).—but ב[ע] at lines 4, 6, 7. A similar alternation is found in Enastr\textsuperscript{c} i ii: ב[ע] at line 15, but ב[ע] at line 16 (= ב[ע] in our fragment, line 5).—The popular etymology of the name of the southern region, לקרא 'ואותא, is א"א רעבא 'ואותא, 'the Great One dwells (there)', \textit{dârômâ} being close to \textit{dâr-rob̀bâ}. It is in terms of such an etymological explanation that Charles corrects the reading \textit{yêvarêd}, 'he descends', to \textit{yahadêr}, 'he dwells' (p. 147 note 2); see his edition of 1912, p. 165 (where he keeps 'he descends' and etymologizes ב[ע] 'ואותא); Martin, p. 178, explains \textit{dârôm} alternatively by \textit{yarad ram} or by \textit{dar ram}. I see in this passage an unmistakable reference to Mount Sinai (cf. En. 1: 4) and not to the mountain-throne of God in En. 25: 3, as Charles suggests, because the latter was situated in the north. See also Jub. 4: 26, where 'Mount Sinai' is quoted.

L. 4. אוד, and ב[ע] in line 5, can be read on a tiny fragment which has become detached from the large fragment. In the lacuna we need two or three words, from eleven to thirteen letters, which correspond to \textit{fadfsa} (‘in quite a special sense’, Charles; ‘surtout’, Martin) of the Ethiopic text.—[ב[ע] מ[ע] [ב[ע]] מ[ע] [ב[ע]] מ[ע] מ[ע]] or \[\text{ב[ע]}\] \[\text{ב[ע]}\] \[\text{ב[ע]}\]: \textit{buruk la'dlam} E; neither of these restorations corresponds exactly with the well-known epithet of Yahweh, \textit{ברוך לבעלי מ[ע]}; \textit{ברוך לבעלי מ[ע]} or \textit{ברוך לבעלי מ[ע]} in Palmyrene. In Enastr\textsuperscript{c} this phrase must have been shorter, perhaps only \textit{ברוך לבעלי מ[ע]} [ב[ע]] מ[ע] מ[ע], since otherwise the line would become too long.
L. 4–5 (En. 77: 2). This verse is much shorter in E. The translations מַעֲרְבָּא, ‘reduced’, עֻלְּיָא, ‘are reduced’, עַלְיָא, ‘(they) descend’, seem inexplicable to me.

L. 5. כַּאֲשֶׁר (twice): Hebrew form of the Aramaic כַּאֲשֶׁר, ‘whence?’, locative interrogative adverb, used here in its relative function ‘whence’; see further notes a to c on the readings for the parallel passage in Enastr^—Enastr^.

L. 6–9 (En. 77: 3). This verse has been drastically shortened in the Ethiopic version, where the long passage בָּרַי הָאֲדָמָה (lines 6–7) is simply omitted, with the result that the division into three parts is represented as applying to the North alone, and not to the whole earth.

L. 6. In Enastr^ only לְצַפְנוֹת אֶצְפָּא can be restored, whilst in Enastr^ we must without doubt supply a more complete phrase כַּאֲשֶׁר לְצַפְנוֹת אֶצְפָּא; alternatively, we could substitute כַּאֲשֶׁר by a vacat in Enastr^, which has plenty of them.—[ concerning]: Enastr^, inadvertently, וַחֲמוּסִי; moreover, correct כִּכְלָו of Enastr^ to כִּכְלָו.

L. 7. We have here the ‘etymological’ explanation of the term לְצַפְנוֹת, which thus forms a double usage with that of בַּכּוֹל at verse 1.—בַּכּוֹל, as against בַּכּוֹל in Enastr^.—After בַּכּוֹל, Enastr^ (which wrote, secunda manus, בַּכּוֹל) had a long passage which is omitted in Enastr^, perhaps by homoeoteleuton, if we add אתְּרִא in Enastr^, after, at the end of my restoration of Enastr^ ii 18. The Aramaic author may thus have played on the double meaning of נְרִי: ‘lunation, lunar month’ and ‘daily phase of the moon’; for this second meaning see the note to Enastr^ i iii 6 (below, p. 293).

L. 8. The short paragraph, lines 8–9, delimited by the blank spaces, must have begun with ‘and I have seen’, like the analogous passages at verses 4, 5, 8. I do not know what Aramaic noun corresponded to ‘(three) sections’ in E; nor is it certain whether it was feminine or masculine, in spite of the termination נ, for Enastr^ refers to this substantive by the masculine suffix, נְגַנוֹת, while Enastr^ refers to it by the fem. suffix, נְגַנוֹת.—לְמַדְרִיבְרָּא should be understood according to the Syriac intransitive Pael, ‘vagatus est’, rather than according to one of the transitive uses of the Syriac d'bar, ‘aravite’; ‘for the dwelling (of men)’ E. The Ethiopic version puts too many geographical entities in its second section of the North (read: of the earth), but on the other hand it reduces its third section to the single ‘paradise of righteousness’.

Ll. 8/9. To four entities of the Ethiopic text, ‘in the seas of waters, and in the abysses, and in the forests, and in the rivers’, there probably corresponded only two in the original text: ‘for all the seas and for the rivers’.

L. 9. E omits ‘for the deserts’, לְמַדְרִיבְרָּא; cf. אָֽשְׁהִי מַדְרִיבְרָּא רָבָּא לְמַדְרִיבְרָּא (a manuscript of 4QGiants, below, p. 306), which have to be crossed before arrival in Paradise. Next should come mention of darkness; cf. אָֽשְׁהִי which is situated in front of Paradise according to En^ i xxvi 21; the Ethiopic version has ‘and in the darkness and in the cloud’, a secondary duplicate reading. However, the term which describes this geographical and mythological entity in Enastr^ cannot be read רָבָּא לְמַדְרִיבְרָּא. The trace of the letter which follows the Lamed is small and could represent any letter whatsoever, but the trace of the last letter, more visible on an earlier photograph (PAM 41. 369), is that of an ’Ain; I read confidently לְמַדְרִיבְרָּא, ‘seven (ultraterrestrial regions)’. On this passage, lines 8–9, see already Milik, RB lxxv (1958), 76, and Grelot, ibid., pp. 34–5; above, pp. 15–16 and Fig. 3; Harvard Theological Review, 64 (1971), 342–3; Chronique d’Égypte, xlvi, no. 92 (1971), 336–7.
This fragment, which has shrunk very considerably as a result of the disintegration of the skin, presents the same outline as the lower part of fragment 1 ii 1-10; whence my numbering of the lines.

[...]

אפּוּבּוֹדָאַנ שְָהָרָא פֶּלָּנ שְָבֵיעַ חָד דָּי נְחוֹרָה אַנְַנָּהָא.

וֶשְָמָה לְאַחַת (וָאַא עַל אָרוּתֶה)

וַמשָּלַמְתּ לְכַל יוֹמָהוֹת

עֶד יָוָא אָרוּבּעַת עֵתָר וּמְשָּלַמְתּ (לְמָנִי)

עֶד יָוָא (הָכָל נְחוֹרָה) שְָקֵי נְחוֹרָה חָד מִן הסְּמָתָה שְּפַרִיָּא וַמשָּלַמְתּ בַּכַל יוֹמָהוֹת

אָודְרָר יְהֹודָה בַּפְּלִנְתּ שְָבְיוּת

אַבּוּכֶסָה בֶּצֶיר שְָהָרָא מִן נְחוֹרָה בְּוִימָא קַדְרַיָּא חָד מִן אָרוּבּעַת

עַשְּרֵיָּא (וּבִוְיָמָא וּלְיַּתִיָּא חָד מִן הָחִיָּא יְשָרִיָּא וַבּוִיָּמָא רַבִּיָּא)

וָזַכַּא מִן חָד נְשָּף יַרְיַא

[...]

[4QEnastr° 1 iii 3–9—En. 78: 6–8 (Pl. XXX)]

6 And when the moon rises, the half of one seventh part of its light shines in the heavens, to appear [above the earth; . . . and] (its light) is more and more complete each day until the fourteenth day, and [in it all its light] is complete. 7[And its light waxes by fifteen parts, and (its light) is more and more complete each day until the] fifteenth [day], and in it all its light is complete . . . and it accomplishes (lit. guides) (its) phases by halves of sevenths. 8[And in her waning the moon decreases from its light. On the first day (it has) four[teen] (parts), and on the second day thirteen (parts), [and on the third day twelve (parts), and on the] fourth [day] eleven (parts) [. . .]
The restorations at lines 3, 5, and 7 are drawn from terms and formulas used in fragment Enastr^b 7 (see above, pp. 278-83). Note that there the author speaks of seventh parts of the light of the moon, splitting them up on occasion into halves: ‘a seventh’, ‘a seventh and a half’, etc. Here, at lines 1 (verse 6) and 6 (verse 7 end) he uses the same fractions, but at lines 5 and 7–8 (verses 7 beginning and 8) he speaks of fourteenth parts of the lunar light. Verses 6 and 7 were more detailed in the original text than in the Ethiopic version, to judge by the length of the lacunae in lines 2 and 4.

L. 1. The expression לָאָמִיתוֹתִים תַּלְקִיצְתָּא אִרָנִתָא לֹא is found again at Enastr^c 1 ii 18 (above, p. 288).

L. 6. The term זָבַרֶדְוָּא is used here with the meaning of ‘phases of the moon, changeable from one day to the next’. Cf. above, note to Enastr^b 23, line 7 (p. 291).

Ll. 7–8 (En. 78: 8). For a part of this long verse in Greek, Pap. Oxyrhynchus 2069, fragment 3^, see Chronique d’Égypte, xlv, no. 92 (1971), 339-41.—Fractions: $\frac{1}{12}$ (line 5), $\frac{1}{14}$, $\frac{1}{18}$, etc. (lines 7–8).

4QEnastr^b 25—En. 78: 9–12 (Pl. XXVII)

| vacat | [בכרא[א]^א

[9... ] years for [...] 

10And 'Ur’iel demonstrated to me] a further calculation, by having shown it unto me that [...] [its light in heaven. 12And the first days they are called] new moons, because [...]
And (as for) the waning of the moon which takes place] through the sixth gate, through it [its light is accomplished . . . twenty-five weeks and] two days. And she falls behind the sun . . . is restored in it. It looks (then) as an image of vision. When its light is retarded in it [. . . 78:17In the night] this appearance looks a little as if it was the image of a man; and in the day this appearance [looks a little like the sun in the sky, and there is nothing else in her save] her light only. And now I show to you, my son [. . .] another calculation [. . .]

To the Ethiopic evidence add the quotation of 78: 15-17 in CSCO 221/Aeth. 41, p. 63 (222/42, p. 56).

This fragment belongs to the same column as the preceding fragment. 'A further calculation' mentioned there, line 3 (En. 78: 10), seems to merge into a single description the passages En. 78: 15-17 and 79: 3-6. In this case, what 'other calculation', לְהַשְׁבּ (if vera lectio of the second word), could have begun from line 7 of our fragment, since 79: 2 is already recapitulatory: 'He has thus shown me all their laws . . .'? Do we have to assume that the Greek translator, having—for obscure reasons—divided a single description of the original into two sections, likewise duplicated a single recapitulatory passage in two passages, En. 79: 1-2 and 80: 1? In the strict sense of the word, however, the term לְהַשְׁבּ could head only the final section of the Astronomical Book, that which begins with 82: 7.

L. 2 (En. 79: 3). The preposition לְבָּ הַנְּבָּר begins the second part of the verse asyndetically, where I would eliminate the conjunction 'for' in the Ethiopic version: '[and the waning of the moon, which takes place] through the sixth gate; {for} through it [its light is accomplished] . . .'

L. 4. The expression כְּדַמְתָּהּ הָוָי דֶּרֶּי, word for word 'it (sc. the moon) resembles ('קָרָי Pael or Pual perfect), or appears, like an image of vision'('exact meaning?'), recurs in a slightly different form in the following line (En. 78: 17). It corresponds approximately to 'such are the vision
and the image’ of En. 79: 6, but the reference to retardation, [ר]משהו (Haphel or Hophal perfect), of the moon on the course of the sun and the stars suggests that this phrase of line 4 of our fragment belongs at 79: 5. Two initial letters of this line, damaged at the top, have long shafts. I restore [[מ]], rather than [[מ]] ‘to be strong’. The first verb means, among other things, ‘to restore, to correct’ (cf. Palmyrene mtqnn = restitutor = ἐπανωθῶσις, CIS ii 3946 = Inv. iii 19, and CIS ii 3971), an unmistakable reference to the synchronism of the lunar and solar years: retardation of 5 days during the half-year period (En. 79: 5), thus 10 days per year, and 30 days, an intercalary month, at the end of 3 lunar years.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 78: 17). L. 5. To the simple words ‘it appears . . . like a man’ of the Ethiopic text there corresponded in the original ‘ . . . [in the night], this vision (sc. the appearance of the moon) looks a little (lit. ‘in part’, תָּא בַּהַמֵּשׁ) as (if it was) the image of a man’.—‘And in the day like the sky’ E; add ‘like (the sun in) the sky’?

L. 6. [לְלָשׁוֹנְהַהַבָּלַחְוָה], ‘but only its light’; E similar. Note the defective form of the last word, instead of בִּקְלָחְוָה.

4QEnastr b 28—En. 82: 9–13 (Pl. XXX)

This fragment, to judge by the quality of the skin, belonged to a different leaf from that of fragments 25 and 26.

[9 . . . with regard] to their Zodiacal periods, their new moons, their (daily) signs. 10And [these are the names . . . and according to] their authority with regard to all their stations. 11Four [leaders . . . and for three hundred and sixty-four days there are] chiefs of thousands [ . . . ] dividing the days [ . . . ]

13And] these are the names [ . . . ]

To the Ethiopic evidence add the quotation of 82: 9 in CSCO 221/Aeth. 41, p. 63 (222/42, p. 56).

L. 1 (En. 82: 9). [לְמַעַדְיָרַת]: ‘in their festivals’ E; on the probable meaning of מַעַדְיָרַת, namely ‘signs of the Zodiac’, see the note to Ena 1 i 19 (there too on מְשָׁרַת, מְשָׁרַת of our line 2), above, pp. 187–8.—לְמַעַדְיָרַת: omitted in E; on this term see the note to Ena 1 ii 2.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 82: 10). L. 2. [וֹמָלָמְנֵוָהוּ לְלָשׁוֹנְהַהַבָּלַחְוָה]: ‘and according to their power and in their stations’ E.
Ll. 2–4 (En. 82: 11). L. 3. Restore without doubt ממתה ومאת ארבעה ימים] or else ממתה [ל]אלפים] for רצו ] orally [ל]אף]; it is thus the reading of E10 which is preferable: ‘who separate the months and the year (into) three hundred and sixty-four (days) with the chiefs of a thousand’.

L. 4. The phrase ממיתנין בויים belongs to verse 11 rather than to verse 12. We are dealing again, just as at the beginning of verse 11, with four ‘guides’ who preside over the four supplementary days (31/III, 31/VI, 31/IX and 31/XII of the year composed of 364 days) and who in turn separate the four seasons of the year.

4QEnastr< 1 i–iii—after En. 82: 20 (Pl. XXIX)

On this manuscript see the introduction, p. 274.
i

[2. . . the clouds which make dew] and rain falling upon the earth; and seed [3. . .] herbs of the earth and trees. And [the sun] rises and sets [4. . .] and winter comes. And leaves of all the trees [5. . .] wither and fall down except fourteen trees for which it is not fitting [6. . .] their leaves remain [. . .]

ii

[. . .]² this [. . .] from its measure [. . .]³ a tenth (part) of a ninth (part) [. . . a tenth (part)]⁴ of a ninth (part). And the stars move through the first [gates] of the heavens; [and then] they come forth. ⁵On first days, one tenth by one sixth; on second (days), one fifteenth by one sixth; on third (days), one thirtieth by one sixth [. . .]

iii

[. . .]⁴On the fifteenth day [. . .] in the same day [. . .] ⁵only in this night from [. . .] a third (part) of a ninth (part). And five [. . .] ⁶and a tenth (part) of a ninth (part). [. . .]

The Greek translator of the Astronomical Book had at his disposal only a single manuscript, the last part of which, probably a whole sheet composed of four or five columns, was mutilated. Alternatively, it was perhaps the Ethiopic translator who had at his disposal a mutilated copy of the Greek version. After the description of the spring (En. 82: 15–17) and of the summer (82: 18–20) there must inevitably have come, in the Aramaic original, the description of autumn and of winter. Now, the description of winter is found in Enastr ¹ i. After this section, concerning the four seasons of the year, came the final part in which the author briefly outlined the movements of the stars on the celestial sphere divided into 360 degrees.

Indeed, at ii ⁴ it is said that 'the stars move about (lit. vacillate)'. At lines ⁵–⁶ of the same column three fractions are mentioned: 'a tenth by a sixth'; thus ¹/⁶₀ = 6°; 'a fifteenth by a sixth', thus ¹/⁹₀ = 4°; 'a thirtieth by a sixth', thus ¹/¹₈₀ = 2°. This reckoning of the astral evolutions covered only one month; in other words the author was synchronizing the movements of the stars and the movement of the sun. As a result he speaks of 'first days, second, etc. (of each month)'. At ii ⁵ the singular נֶעָרָה is distinctly corrected to נָעָרָה; the copyist, however, forgot to make an identical correction for נֶעְרָב at the beginning of this line, and perhaps for 'day fifteen' of iii ⁴.

However, the state of preservation of the fragments of Enastr ¹ does not seem to me at all adequate to support any more detailed restoration of the text.
THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The edition of a dozen fragments—all except one fairly small—which belong to the Enochic document 4QEnGiants*, demands a rather long introduction. We shall be dealing here with other copies of the same work which come from Cave 4 at Qumran and are still unpublished, and also with some fragments already published which likewise form part of the Book of Giants.¹

PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Among the seven canonical books composed by Mani himself there figures one work which is entitled the 'Book of Giants'. Beyond this title which appears in several Manichaean and anti-Manichaean documents scattered throughout Europe and through Africa as far as Asia Minor and Chinese Turkistan, almost nothing was known of the contents of this document before the appearance of the remarkable article by W. B. Henning, 'The Book of Giants', in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, xi (1943–6), 52–74. That eminent scholar there published, or republished, numerous fragments and passages, written in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Parthian, in Uigur, and in Coptic, which actually belong to the Book of Giants, or else are extracts, quotations from, and allusions to it.

That the Book of Giants is related to the Book of Enoch has been suspected since the time of Isaac de Beausobre, the eighteenth-century Huguenot author of one of the best studies on Manichaeism ever written. Indeed, the Book of Giants does no more than develop, with a considerable number of details, the story of the fallen angels told in the first part of the Ethiopic Enoch (En. 1 to 36). The latter, if we are to believe Syncellus, bore an analogous title, 'Book of Watchers'. En. 6: 7 contains a list of the names of twenty Watchers. They are the chiefs of ten of the two hundred angels who had come down from heaven to earth in the days of Yared, father of Enoch. This list, terribly corrupt in the Greek and Ethiopic texts, has come down to us in its original state, and (apart from the name of the fifth angel)

¹ A preliminary, and more circumscribed, version of this chapter appeared in the Festgabe K. G. Kuhn under the title 'Turfan et Qumran, Livre des Géants juif et manichéen', Göttingen 1971, pp. 117–27 and pl. I.
complete, through Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch coming from Cave 4 of Qumran and published above, pp. 150–60.

The Book of Watchers speaks only in generic terms of the progeny of the Sons of Heaven and the Daughters of Man, the giants (שֵׁלֶץ) and the nephilim (נְפִילִי), (En. 7: 2–5; 9: 9–11; 10: 9–15; etc.). The Book of Giants, on the other hand, gave personal names to the sons of the Watchers, related their exploits with a profusion of detail, and finally foretold their future extermination by the waters of the flood and by eternal fire.

A Sogdian text, in a chapter entitled ‘The Coming of the two hundred Demons (Δώκιμοι τιταρίδοι), relates briefly the teaching activity of the Watchers and mentions by name the two sons of the chief of the two hundred angels (Henning, loc. cit., pp. 69–70):

‘... and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth,—all that they began to teach to men [cf. En. 7: i; 8: 1–3; 9: 6–7; 10: 7–8].

‘To Šahmizâd (ˇγμςύθι) two(?) sons were borne by ... One of them he named ‘Ohyâ ([ˇγυ]γ); in Sogdian he is called “Sâhm, the giant” (ˇγμ Κwύ). And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him ’Ahyâ (ˇγγ); its Sogdian (equivalent) is “Pât-Sâhm” (p’ts’γm). As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakṣas (δύωτυ ZY yksϋš’ty).’

In the name of the father Henning recognized without difficulty Σεμωλαζ, the name of the chief of the Watchers according to En. 6: 7, Ṣmhyz* in 4QEn (above, p. 152), Ṣmhyz* on a Manichaean magical bowl (J. A. Montgomery, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 32 (1912), 435 and pl. I, line 9). The name of his first son recurs in the title of a heretical work condemned by the Gelasian Decree, Liber de Ogiagigante qui post (read ante) diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnasse perhibetur apocryphus. Here then is a precious piece of evidence for the existence of a Latin version of the Manichaean Book of Giants. Thanks to a Parthian fragment, we know the name of this dragon: ‘(the fight in which) ’Ohyâ, Leviathan, and Raphael (’why’ lwỳ’tyn ’wd rwf’yıl; in a second copy of the same text ’hy’) lacerated each other, and they vanished’ (Henning, pp. 71–2). In Middle Persian the names of the two brothers are written ’why’ and ’hy’ (Henning, pp. 57 and 61).

As is well known, the Manichaean missionaries, in translating the religious works of their founder and his disciples into numerous languages of three
continents, as a rule adapted every word of the text—even the names of months, of persons and of divinities, of countries, etc.,—to the language, to the mentality and to the geographical, social, and mythological horizons of their future disciples. Thus, in the Iranian world, 'Ohyâ and 'Ahyâ become Sâm and Narîmân (s'm and nrym'n); for Sâm-Krsâsp was, like 'Ohyâ, one of the immortals and a famous slayer of dragons.

'Ohyâ, son of Šemîhazah, was frequently in contention with another giant who was called Mahawai (m'hw'y, m'hw'w in Middle Persian, m'h'w'w in Sogdian; Henning, pp. 56, 57, 66) and was the son of Virôgdâd (wrwgd'd in Persian, wrwkd'd in Uigur). This last name signifies ‘Given by the lightning’, and Henning has ingeniously recognized here the name of the ninth fallen angel, Baraq’el, בָּרָקִיע in 4QEn (above, p. 153).¹

These few elements, mainly onomastic, drawn from the Manichaean Book of Giants and known essentially through the manuscripts discovered in Turfan and in Chotsko, are amply sufficient to identify correctly an Aramaic fragment coming from Cave 6 of Qumrân and published in 1962 by M. Baillet in DJD iii, p. 117, 6Q8 i. According to Cross this papyrus manuscript dates from around the years 50–1 B.C. (p. 149, fig. 4, line 6). My reading, made from the photograph PAM 41.736 and from that of plate XXIV of DJD iii, differs in only a few letters from the decipherment given by the first editor:

\[
[\text{Awa}],[\text{Awa}]
\]

\[
[\text{Vila} \text{Mara} \text{t} \text{M} \text{A} \text{H} \text{a} \text{R}]
\]

\[
\text{vacat} \quad \text{Barqel} \quad \text{Abi} \quad \text{Um} \quad \text{Ha}
\]

\[
[\text{Le} \text{[De]} \text{La} \text{[A] Zipa} \text{Mor} \text{[A]Fahthiha} \text{Ma} \text{Di}]
\]

[\text{Le} \text{Aro} \text{Humri} \text{Summa} \text{Ma} \text{Derd} \text{Feri} \text{Ku}]

‘[. . .]² 'Ohyâ and he said to Mahawai: ‘[. . .] ³and (I?) do not tremble. Who showed you all (that), tell [us (?) . . .’]. And Mahawai said: ‘. . .’⁴ Baraq’el, my father, was with me’.

PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

'[...]

scarcely had Mahawai finished relating what [...] 'Ohyâ 6 said to him: "Well, I have heard (tell) of wonders. If an unpregnant (woman) (lit. empty) could give birth [...]."

The context of this passage is thus that of a vision seen by Mahawai, in which his father Baraq'el participated in one way or another. 'Ohyah remains incredulous of the threats that this dream predicted, and he makes fun of his adversary by a series of comparisons: 'If an unpregnant woman could bear children, [if..., I would have believed you].' It is by a similar figure of speech that Esau expresses to Jacob the impossibility of there being brotherly love and true peace between them and between their descendants: 'If the pig could change his skin and have his bristle as soft as wool..., if the wolves..., if the lion..., if the crows...,' Jub. 37: 20–3. A very long series of analogous phrases is found in the Middle Persian Kawan or 'Book of Giants' (Henning, pp. 61–2).

The text of 6Q8 1 is slightly reminiscent of that of fragment c of the Kawan (Henning, pp. 56–7 and 60):

(page 1) '... hard... arrow... bow, he that... Sâm (read 'Ohyah) said: "Blessed be... had [he?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmīzād (read: Šemīḥazah) said to Sâm, his [son]: "All that Mâhawai..., is spoilt(?)." Thereupon he said to...: "We are... until... and..."

(page 2) '... that are in(?) the fiery hell(?)... As my father, Virogdād (read: Baraq'el), was...'. Shahmīzād said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands (to be understood: he says much less than he could say). For one of thousands..." Sâm thereupon began... Mâhawai, too, in many places... until to that place... he might escape(?) and...

In another fragment of the same manuscript of the Middle Persian Kawan, Enoch ([hwñ]wx) foretells the fertility of the earth in Messianic times, amplifying the description of En. 10: 19 (cf. En. 1 v 7–10, above, pp. 189–92). See Henning, pp. 57 and 61, fragment l, p. 2:

... wild ass, ibex,..., ram, goat, gazelle,...., oryx, of each two hundred, a pair... the other wild beasts, birds, and animals... and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs... irritation(?) of water(?)... and their oil...

I have no doubt at all that this passage overlaps with another Aramaic fragment from Qumrân published by me in DJD, p. 97 and pl. XIX,
Here is my transcription and restoration (I add to it a small piece, fr. 6, which is unquestionably to be placed at lines 1–2 of fr. 1):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{מאתים} & \quad \text{זה} \\
\text{המוסי מאתים שלרימ מאתות} & \quad \text{על מאתים זכרים דיר} \\
\text{וזה} & \\
\text{בראمؤ כל הזוחי ומלו לועה ומומ כיל} \\
\text{על פסנ} & \quad 5
\end{align*}
\]

‘[... two hundred] ^asses, two hundred wild asses, two hundred [ibexes, two hundred . . . , two hundred rams of] the ^flock, two hundred he-goats, two hundred [gazelles, two hundred . . . , two hundred oryxes. (As for) the wild animals], ^of each animal, of each [bird and of each . . .] ^for a pitcher(?) [...].’

The term in line 5, if it is properly deciphered, signifies ‘bowl, pitcher (of wine).’

At lines 4–6 of the same fragment, iQ23 1+6, should probably be placed fragment 22:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{לאופי מון} & \quad 3 \\
\text{באדן} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Here ‘[...] thousand’, line 2, refers to the fertility of the vine, or of the olive tree, or even of seeds. The giants, יָבְרִים, are mentioned on fragments 9 and 11 of iQ23, whilst the name of Mahawai, מָהָוי, appears on fragment 27, line 2.

Without prejudice to any future verification from the original, preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Amman (Jordan), I propose here to put together fragments 9+14+15 of iQ23, which would give the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ר ê וית ר ר} & \\
\text{וה רבח בכריגה} & \\
\text{בז וตำל למשנ} & \quad 5 \\
\text{בכריגה מ} & \quad 5 \text{ל דר} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Here there are fairly distinct references to knowledge of mysteries (line 2), to great impiety (?) on the earth (line 3), to the massacre of men committed by the giants (lines 4–5)—themes well known from the Jewish Enoch and from the Manichaean Book of Giants.

The end of fragment j of the Middle Persian Kawân contains the account of a vision which had been seen by ’Ahyah, the second son of Šemîḥazah (Henning, pp. 57 and 60). In the note, the editor suggests that another Persian fragment should be inserted after fragment j, the fragment which he himself had published in 1934 under the title ‘Ein manichäisches Henoch-buch’.

Here is the text of these two fragments:

‘Narîmân (read: ’Ahya) saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees . . .

(page 1) . . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . (col. ii) . . . explain the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch (hwrwx) thus . . .

(page 2) . . . and the trees that came out, those are the Watchers (‘yr) and the giants (q’w) that came out of the women. And . . . (col. ii) . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .’.

Note that the Persian text faithfully preserves the Aramaic term ‘itr, ‘Watcher’, known through the Book of Daniel, 4QEnoch, QEnGiants, etc., but also through Syriac literature. It is well known that Mani, with one exception, wrote his treatises in an eastern Aramaic dialect relatively close to Syriac. This may also be an indication, it is true a rather slight one, that Mani knew the Jewish Book of Giants through an Aramaic text, rather than through a Greek version.

Now this dream of ’Ahyâ and Enoch’s explanation of it appear in a much more detailed context that I have discovered in an Aramaic manuscript from Cave 4 of Qumrân, the editing of which was entrusted to abbe Jean Starcky. With his kind permission and having his transcriptions at my disposal, I take the liberty here of quoting several passages which belong to three successive columns. This group is composed of six fragments which I have already put together; their linking up seems to me fairly certain. The reading of this manuscript is rather difficult, as much on account of the deterioration of the written surface as through the fading of the ink and the writing, a semi-cursive of small dimensions and spidery appearance. There

1 Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Berlin 1934, pp. 27–35 (cf. BSOAS xi, p. 66).
is thus a good chance of progressively improving the decipherment, and of
being better able to connect up the fragments. We count forty-two to forty-
eight letters per line. According to Cross this manuscript dates from around
the years 100–50 B.C. (p. 149, fig. 4, line 3).

The section of 4QEnGiants\textsuperscript{b} which interests us here begins towards the
end of line 3 of column ii:

\begin{align*}
\text{באותי תלמי והרימן והמליטי} \\
\text{גורת שות ערבות ומגמנה} [כמ] \\
\text{ואות על [שםוהות אבודות ואוהי לוה] תלמיםות} \\
& \text{ב[תלמו הוהי והא בדלייה דן]...}
\end{align*}

‘Then the two of them dreamed dreams \textit{a}nd the sleep of their eyes fled
from them and [they arose . . .].’ Awake, they come to their father: ‘\textit{a}nd
they came to [\textit{Ṣ}emihazah, their father, and told him] their dreams’ (line 5).
The father sends them into the assembly of the giants, their companions,
and of the nephilim. There, one of the two, ‘\textit{A}hyā without a doubt (see
below), recounts his dream in detail: ‘[. . . in] my dream, I have seen during
this night’ (line 6).

Of the account of the dream there does not remain much at all in our
manuscript, and what does remain is not easy to read. However, it certainly
deals with a vision of a garden full of trees which symbolize men, and the
Watchers and the giants in particular:

\begin{align*}
\text{נַעַנְּיָה} \text{וּהָא} \text{משָׂכְּיָה} \\
\text{שֶׁר} [שֶׁר] \text{רַבְרְבִי} \text{נָפָחָם} \text{מָן} \text{עַקְרְתָה} \\
\text{זַחְּהָת} \text{עַד} \text{לוֹ} \text{לָעֲנֵנֵי} \text{שֵׁלְנָה} \text{מָן} \\
\text{לָי} \text{מִי} \text{נֹרָה} \text{דַּלֶּק} \text{בְּלֵי} [10]
\end{align*}

‘[. . .] gardeners and they were irrigating [8 . . . and] numerous shoots
sprang from their trunk [9 . . .] I watched until the sources had been closed
by [10 . . .] all the waters; and the fire burned in all [. . .].’

L. 7. ‘Gardeners’, \textit{נַעַנְּיָה}, occurs again on an isolated fragment of 4QGiants\textsuperscript{b}; likewise on
a fragment of papyrus, 6Q8 5: \textit{כל} \textit{גָּבְרִי} \textit{אָוָם} \textit{[. . .]}. The gardeners, guardian angels, and bailiffs
of the world-garden, are matched by the shepherds in the Book of Dreams, En. 89: 59, etc.;
90: 1, etc.
At line 8 we read what is, in my opinion, a fairly clear reference to the birth of the giants issuing from the union of the women and the two hundred Watchers, the two hundred trees of the Persian fragment.

The following three lines recounted the misdeeds of the trees and their extermination by water and by fire.

Once the dream has ended (‘... here the dream ends’, line 12), the giants, very anxious, wonder who might be able to explain this dream, and their choice falls on Enoch, the distinguished scribe:

‘[13...]. The giants were looking for (someone) who might explain to them [the dream... ‘... to Enoch], the distinguished scribe, so that he may interpret the dream for us’.

‘Then his brother, ’Ohyah, acknowledged and said before the giants: “I too have seen in my dream during this night an extraordinary thing: lo, the Emperor of heaven descended on to the earth [...].’ There follows the description of the Judgement, which is drawn from Dan. 7: 9–10. The continuation is in the following terms (some readings and supplements remain doubtful):

‘[20...].’ Here the dream ends’.

[Thereupon] all the giants took fright and they summoned Mahawai and he came to them. And the giants asked him and sent him to Enoch, [the distinguished] scribe, saying to him: “Go then [...], and under pain of death you must and listen to his voice; and tell him that he is to explain to you and to interpret the dreams [...].”
Mahawai goes off, holding in one hand the letter granting full powers on behalf of the giants, and in the other, no doubt, the tablet with the description of the dreams: [...].

The continuation of the text narrates the journey of the messenger and his meeting with Enoch:

‘[... he rose up into the air] like the whirlwinds, and he flew with the help of his hands like [winged] eagle [...; he flew over] the cultivated lands and crossed Solitude, the great desert, [...]. And he caught sight of Enoch and he called to him and said to him: “An oracle [I have come to ask you ...] here. From you, a second time, [I] ask for the oracle, [... we shall listen to] your words, all the nephilim of the earth also. If (God?) is going to take away [... ] from the days of their [... ] and that they may be punished [... 10... we] should like to know from you their explanation.”

[Thereupon Enoch spoke thus ...: “Two hundred trees which have come out (or come down, נְתֵּני) from heaven, [these are the two hundred Watchers ...”].’

L. 5. On the (great) deserts which surround the oikoumene see above, p. 291, note to Enastr 23, line 9.

L. 11. The theme of ‘two hundred demons’ recurs often in Manichaean literature. See BSOAS xi, pp. 68–9: two leaves in Sogdian, one of which contains a ‘Discourse on the Nephilim-demons’ and the other an ‘Explanation about the four angels and the two hundred demons’; pp. 70–1: ‘The two hundred demons (CC dywt) came down’; p. 70 (in Middle Persian): ‘the coming of the two hundred demons (dwydsd dyw’n)’; another passage is quoted above, p. 299.

We should point out in passing that this is the second time that Mahawai goes to look for Enoch (line 7), who lived in a paradise situated in the extreme
east, beyond the oikoumene, the outer deserts and darkness.¹ We find again here the account of this first journey, rather charming in my opinion, in a Manichaean fragment of the Book of Giants written in Uigur. There, too, the means of transport of the son of Baraq’el is that of the birds; and he escapes clear here of the danger which had been the end of Icarus (Henning, loc. cit., page 65):

(page 1) '... fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his?] centre without increasing(?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: “O son of Virôgdâd, your affairs are lamentable(?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here.” And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south (cf. Jub. 4: 25–6), without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then . . .

(page 2) '... for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun’s light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die”, said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . ., with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmôn mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: “I call you, son of Virôgdâd, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . .’

The following passage comes from a second manuscript of the Book of Giants belonging to the Starcky batch, 4QEnGiants*; in it, after a speech by Šemîḥazah, his son 'Ohyâh intervenes again:

¹ Cf. a fragment of 4QEn* published by me in Revue Biblique, lxv (1958), 71–2 and 75–7, and above, p. 232.
'I have shown myself more powerful. And by the might of my sturdy arm and by the strength of my power, I had attacked all flesh and I have made war with them. But I not [and] I do not find any support to strengthen (me), for my accusers they dwell in heaven[s] and they live in the holy abodes, and [I will] not [win my cause], for they are more powerful than I." Thereupon the roaring of the wild beasts came and the multitude of the wild animals began to cry out. And 'Ohyah spoke to him thus: "My dream has overwhelmed and the sleep of my eyes [has fled], when I have seen a vision. To be sure, I know that . . . .'

And here is a second fragment of 4QGiants, which must come from the beginning of the scroll:

And if all . . . in his blood and according to the power . . . the giants that it did not suffice them and [their children . . .] they demanded much to eat . . . the nephilim smote it (sc. the earth).'

We find again here the subjects well known from En. 7: 1-5 (Ena i iii 13-21 and Enb ii 18-25); 9: 8-9; 15: 4 and 8-11; 106: 14 and 17 (Ena 5 ii 18-19 and 21-2). The theme of the subjugation of men by the demons was developed more picturesquely in the Manichaean Book of Giants, to judge by fragment i of the Middle Persian Kawân (Henning, pp. 58 and 62):

(page 1) ' . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels moved out of sight of Enoch. Electae et auditrices . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded them in marriage. Sordid . . .
all severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they from each city and were ordered to serve the Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khûzians to sweep and water, the Persians to . . .’

To the story of the dream of 'Ahya about the world-garden destroyed by water and fire (above, p. 304) undoubtedly belongs the small scrap of papyrus 6Q8 2:

\[
\text{[ הרות \text{...}} \text{] \text{יד \text{...}} \text{אנה]} \text{[ פרדסא \text{...}} \text{כלא \text{...}} \text{א]}
\]

‘[. . .] his three shoots [. . . and I was looking] until there came [. . .] this whole garden and no[thing of it remained . . .]’.

The reference to ‘his three shoots’, doubtless three sons of Noah, is significant. It seems to me highly probable that the end of the Book of Giants contained a detailed reference to the birth and the future saving action of Noah.

Up to the present I have located six copies of the Book of Giants among the manuscripts of Qumrán: the four manuscripts cited above (1Q23, 6Q8, 4QEnGiants\textsuperscript{b,c}), a third manuscript from the Starcky collection, and 4QEnGiants\textsuperscript{a} published below. There are also five other manuscripts too poorly represented to allow a sufficiently certain identification of the fragments: En\textsuperscript*e} 2–3 (above, pp. 236–8), 1Q24 (\textit{DJD} i, p. 99 and pl. IX), 2Q26 (\textit{DJD} iii, pp. 90–1 and pl. XVII; see below, pp. 334–5), and two groups of small fragments entrusted to the Starcky edition. The Book of Giants would thus have enjoyed a fairly wide popularity in the Jewish-Essene milieu, greater than that of any other Enochic documents that we know of also through the Greek and Ethiopic versions, a popularity equal to that of the book of Jubilees and several Hebrew books canonized later by the Pharisees. The existence of its text in the various literary languages of the Roman and Byzantine empires shows that it was widely known and read in those areas too (see below, pp. 317 ff.). It must also have been greatly appreciated amongst other nations who lived in the northern parts of the Near East, in other words in the Arsacid and Sassanid empires, although its language must have been adapted to only a limited extent to the particular characteristics of the various Aramaic dialects spoken in the lands of Two Rivers and beyond them.
This Jewish work fell into the hands of a young Parthian aristocrat, a member of a strict Christian sect. Delighted with its narrative charm and moved by some underlying metaphysical truths, Mani decided to give it a place among his own literary works. He confined himself to an adaptation which seems to me not very thoroughgoing: in places a word-for-word translation, in places résumés of the narrative sections, in places slight elaborations. The terminology peculiar to the Manichaean system appears fairly unobtrusively in it. Enoch is not 'the distinguished scribe' but 'the apostle'; the young women, no doubt the daughters of the Sethites ravished by the giants, are called 'electae et auditrices'; in a list of peoples are found names such as Mesenians and Khûzians.

The extraordinary missionary zeal of the Manichaens carried the knowledge of the Book of Giants from the shores of the Atlantic as far as the plains of China. The Syriac original has been translated into numerous languages of Asia, of Europe, of Africa. We have today the remains of the Kawân in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Uigur. Extracts, quotations, allusions, are evidence of the existence of Parthian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions. Some versions must have existed in other languages used by the Manichaens, such as Chinese or Tokharian B (Kushan.) No religion of the Byzantine era and the early Middle Ages had such a large ethnic and linguistic expansion as Manichaeism. No work of ancient Jewish literature had in antiquity a circulation comparable with that of the Book of Giants.

**FIRST COPY (4QEnGiants*, Pls. XXX–XXXII)**

The first copy of the Book of Giants from Cave 4 of Qumrân (4QGiants*) was written by the same scribe as the important scroll which is the third copy of the Book of Enoch (4QEn*), edited above, pp. 178–217. Furthermore, the quality of the skin and its state of preservation, the arrangement of the text and its orthography (e.g. superfluous Aleph in נָלֹּל, fr. 8, line 14) are likewise identical in the two manuscripts. It is thus quite certain that 4QEnGiants* formed part of the same scroll as that of En*. We have established that this scroll contained the original text of three parts of the Ethiopic Enoch: the first (En. 1 to 36, 'the Book of Watchers'), the fourth (En. 83–90, 'the Book of Dreams' or the zoomorphic history of the world), and the fifth (En. 91–107, 'the Epistle of Enoch'); our copy of the Book of Giants would have come after the first part; see pp. 181–4.
EnGiants* 1, 2, 3

**FIRST COPY**

4QEnGiants* 1, 2, 3 (Pl. XXX)

3

[0...0] עליהוות

[0] vacat

[0] ונהנ[ה] מש

[0] דמוה תחתוני לק[סל[ו]]

margin

Fr. 1. 1When I shall rise(...) 2Baraq’el [...] 3my face still [...] 4I am rising [...]}

Fr. 2. 1on them [...] 2[and] Mahawai replied(...) 3]

Fr. 3. 1[... ] 2his fellows [...] 3Höbabeš and Adk.[... ] 4and what will you give me in order to kill(...) 3]

These three fragments perhaps belong to the same column; fr. 3 very probably joins fr. 2, the linking being effected in the letter He of 2 3 and 3 1.

Fr. 1, l. 1. The last letter, of which only the lower part remains, may be read Waw, Yod, Daleth, Resh.

L. 2. Baraq’el, ‘Lightning of God’, the name of the ninth fallen Watcher; in the Manichaean Book of Giants he bears the name Virogdad, ‘Gift of the lightning’. His son was called Mahawai. See above, p. 300.

Fr. 2, l. 3. בְּרָקָאַל, the name of the son of Mahawai.

Fr. 3, l. 2. ‘His fellows’, sc. of Šemihazah, chief of the two hundred Watchers; see below, fr. 8, line 5.

L. 3. The last letter, damaged at the top, is a Waw rather than a Daleth or a Resh.

The names of two giants which can be read in line 3 of fr. 3 are found on p. 1 of fragment j which forms part of the Middle Persian Book of Giants (Kawân), published by Henning in *BSOAS* xi, pp. 57 and 60. Here mention is also made of Baraq’el, or rather his son Mahawai, and also of the two sons of Šemihazah, ‘Ohya and his brother [‘Ahya], whom we shall see cited by the fragments of 4QEnGiants*. Text of fr. j, p. 1:

‘... Virògdâd (read: Baraq’el) ... Höbábîš (hrob’byš) robbed ‘hr[.] of [.]nx[.t]g, his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sâm (read: ‘Ohyâ) ... before the sun, one hand in the air, the other ... whatever he obtained, to his brother [Narîmân (read: ‘Ahyâ)] ... imprisoned. ...’

Henning (loc. cit., p. 57 note 24) enumerates possible readings of the name of the second giant: ‘hrm[.], ‘hrg[.], ‘hrob[.], ‘hrn[.]. If one recalls that in Manichaean writing, just as in the majority of Aramaic alphabets of the Graeco-Roman period, Resh and Daleth can have almost identical forms, one will have no hesitation in choosing his second reading, correcting it to ‘hdq[.], which is thus equivalent to [... ] דָּמָּא of our Aramaic fragment.
Fr. 4. ^[...] in them [...] ^[Thereupon] n 'Ohyah said to Ha[hyah, his brother [...] ^[...] above the earth and [...] ^[...] the ea]rth. Wh[en [...] ^[...] they prostrated themselves and began to weep before [Enoch(?) [...] ^[...] they were killed [...] ^[...] was to us [...] ^[...] 2the violence (inflicted) on me[n (or, and he exerted violence towards men) [...] ^[...] they were killed [...] ^[...] 2was to us [...] ^[...]^

Fr. 5 should perhaps be placed in the lacuna of fr. 7, col. i, at lines 5–7.

At 4 3, and more completely at 7 i 5, [ז]ו[ה]ז, we have the correct form of the name of the second son of Semîhazah, Ha[kyah. It is only slightly modified in the Manichaean texts: 'Ahyâ, written 'hy' and 'yy'. On the names of the two brothers and their equivalent Iranian forms, Sâm and Narîmân in Middle Persian (from there into other languages, right up to Arabic), Sâhm and Pât-Sâhm in Sogdian, see above, pp. 299–300.

The beginning of the second paragraph of fr. 4, which begins after the vacat of line 5, is reminiscent of the context of a Sogdian fragment of the Kawân (Henning, p. 66; cf. En. 13: 9 and 4QEn 4 vi 6, above, p. 193):

' [...] they saw the apostle (sc. Enoch) [...] before the apostle [...] those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid. Then [...]’
and your power [. . .]. Then 'Ohyah [said] to Hahya[h, his brother . . .]. Then, he (sc. God?) punished, not 6us, but ‘Azâzel, and has made him [. . ., the sons] of the Watchers, 7the giants, and all [their] beloved ones will not be spared [. . .] . . . he has imprisoned us and you he has subdued.

L. 5. On the sons of Šemiḥazah see immediately above, note to fr. 4, line 3.

Ll. 5 and 7. חל, instead of חל (7 ii 7), is a little surprising. However, it probably does not refer to the emphatic particle anut(‘).

L. 6. ‘Azâzel appears here in his expiatory role (Lev. 16: 8, 10, 26), for he seems to be punished for the sins of the giants. He was evidently not a simple he-goat, but a giant who combined goat-like characteristics with those of man. We have seen (p. 306) that Mahawai had bird-like characteristics. 'Ohyah and Hahyah too could have been bird-men, if an expression of the Persian Kawan, ‘in their nest(?), is correctly translated by Henning (p. 61, fr. k, page 1). The giant ḥōbaṭī, if his name is composite, ḥōba(-‘)ū, may have united in his person human characteristics with those of the monster ḫul(m)bab, the guardian of the Forest of Cedars and the adversary of Gilgamesh. The name of this last was borne by another giant, לָוָלֵימִיס, כָּלְמִים in 4QEnGiantsb, כֹּלְמִים[ב] in 4QEnGiants[5] (l. 12 of the fragment quoted on p. 307), incidentally the only mention of Gilgamesh outside the cuneiform literature. A giant and a sage in the account of Berossus, named Oannes, was part man, part fish; his six successors were also ichthyomorphic; cf. P. Schnabel, Berossos, 1923, 253–4 and 261 ff. As a matter of fact the antediluvian sages (abgal = apkallu or adapu) of the Sumerian and Babylonian literature were half-men, half-fish, the kulullu-fish who in primeval times rose up from the sea in order to bring culture to men; see R. Borger, ‘Die Beschworungsserie bit mēseri und die Himmel-fahrt Henochs’, 5NES, 33(1974), 183–196. In the third tablet of the series bit mēseri, ‘house of imprisonment’, the first invocation enumerates seven sages (p. 192): ‘Invocation. (1) U-Anna, who completed the plans of heaven and earth . . . (7) Utuabzu (‘Born-in-the-sweet-water-sea’; Anodaphos in Berossus’ account), who ascended to heaven; the pure purādu-fish, purādu-fish of the sea, seven of them, seven sages who were born in the River, who have the plans of heaven and earth worked out’; similar text in the next invocation, p. 193. Thus, the seventh Sumerian sage (contemporary of the seventh king, Enmeduranki of Sippar) performed the same exploit as Enoch, the seventh patriarch; ‘Henoch ist demnach, neben Noah [= ninth king, Ziusdra of Shuruppak; see our p. 13], die zweite letzten Endes sumerische Gestalt’ (p. 194). In another invocation (p. 193) we find, among others, ‘Utuabba (‘Born-in-sea’; = adapu in a vocabulary), who descended from heaven’. Here I detect a confused allusion to the celestial counterpart of the seventh sea-earth’s sage, ‘Aṣa’el (and/or Šemiḥazah) in Enoch books.
Later 'Azâzel will supplant Šemîhazah, or else 'Asâ’el (above, p. 193), in his capacity as chief of the fallen angels. This tradition, well known through later Christian and Jewish sources, already appears in a Hebrew text from Qumrán, 4Q180 1 7–8 (DJD v, p. 78 and pl. XXVII). I restore the missing part, in agreement with Strugnell, drawing on Gen. 6: 4 and on 4Q181 2 2:

[And] explanation concerning 'Azaz'el and the angels who [went in to] the daughters of men and they bore them giants, and concerning 'Azaz'el [...].’ Cf. above, pp. 249–51. Note that our fragment already uses the Biblical orthography עזאל, ‘God is powerful’.

L. 7. [דב] (קיז) for this term see En vi 16 (En. 14: 6), above, p. 193, and En. 10: 12 (cf. En b 1 iv 9, above, p. 177).—The end of the line makes an allusion to the eternal imprisonment of the Watchers but also, it would seem, to that of the giants (cf. En. 10: 11–15). This would have been followed by an allusion, uncertain however, to the combat between Michael and Šemîhazah, the chief of the demons, the oldest—if I am not mistaken—of the long series of Jewish and Christian attestations of the combat between the archangel and Satan.

4QEnGiants* 7 ii (Plate XXXI)

.margin

[... ] 5to you, Mah[awai ...] 6the two tablets [... ] 7and the second has not been read up till now [...].

The first tablet written by Enoch to the Watchers is without any doubt ספר מלך קוהים א[א] of En. 14: 1 (En c 1 vi 9, above, p. 193). The second tablet will be read in part in fragment 8 of our manuscript. According to 7 ii it was through Mahawai, messenger of the giants and the nephilim (whose father was very appropriately named Lighting of God, Baraq’el), that Enoch, from his dwelling in Paradise, transmitted his epistles to the demons. On the repeated visits of Mahawai to Enoch, see above, pp. 306–7.

The brackets ( ), at 7 ii 5–6, mark a flaw in the parchment which the scribe’s calamus had to jump while he was penning the text.

4QEnGiants* 8 (Pl. XXXII)
The book of...

The copy of the second tablet of the Epistle... written by Enoch, the distinguished scribe's own hand... the Watcher and the Holy One, to Semihazah and to all [his] companions:

Let it be known to you that... and your works and those of your wives... themselves [and their] children and the wives of [their children...] by your prostitution on the earth. And it befell you... And the earth complains... and accuses you, and the works of your children too, [and its voice rises right to the portals of heaven, complaining and accusing (you) of the corruption by which you have corrupted it.]

... until the coming of Raphael. Lo, a destruction... on men and on animals: the birds which fly on the face of heaven, and the animals which live on the earth], and those which (live) in the deserts, and those which (live) in the seas. And the interpretation of [your?] affairs... on you for the worst. And now, loosen your bonds which tie [you] up... and begin to pray.'

This fragment should almost certainly be placed in the upper part of the column which followed ii; it can therefore be given the siglum iiii.

Line 1 bore the title of one section of the Book of Giants, comparable with that of En 14: 1, quoted above.

L. 4 contained epithets of Enoch, comparable with those of En 14: ii 22–3 (above, pp. 260–3).
L. 5. The epithet שְׁמִירֵי Elohim certainly does not refer to Enoch and probably not to God either, but to an angel, ‘the Watcher and the Holy One’ (see above, p. 144, note to En* i 1 i 3), who no doubt dictated to Enoch the text of his Epistle.

L. 6. Epistolary formula of introduction, well known from the texts of the Second Jewish War, e.g. DJD ii, p. 156 (Mur 42 2–3).

L. 9. Prostitution of the Watchers who defiled themselves with women, En. 7: 1; 8: 2; 9: 8; etc. The giants are ‘sons of prostitution’, En. 10: 9 (cf. Enb i iv 5).

Ll. 9–11. Supplements exempli gratia, in line with En. 7: 6 (En* i iii 22); 8: 4 (En* i iv 5–6 and Enb i iii 5–6); 9: 2–3 (En* i iv 9–11 and Enb i iii 9–11); 9: 10; 22: 5 (En* i xxii 4–5 and 7); a passage of 4QGiantsb quoted above, p. 230.

L. 12. The archangel Raphael was charged by God to bind ‘Aṣa’el hand and foot, and to heal the earth which the angels had corrupted, En. 10: 4–8. Note the word-play on the double meaning of the verb ᵢ_rafa', 'to tie' and 'to heal'; it appears already in the Ugaritic poems on the subject of Repha'im. In the Manichaean Book of Giants, Raphael is the conqueror of 'Ohyah (above, p. 299) and, without doubt, of all the other giants and of their sons. According to the same work all four archangels were engaged in the struggle with the two hundred Watchers and their offspring: ‘and those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . .’ (Henning, p. 69). The names of the four archangels recur frequently in the Manichaean prayers and amulets: ᵢ_rwp'yl, ᵢ_myx'yl, ᵢ_grb'yl, ᵢ_sr'yl (Henning, p. 54); ᵢ_myx'yl, ᵢ_rwp'yl, ᵢ_grb'yl (Henning, BSOAS xii (1947–8), 40); ᵢ_myh'yl, ᵢ_sr'yl, ᵢ_rwp'yl, ᵢ_grb'yl (ibid., p. 50). Note that Manichaean tradition, drawing on the Book of Giants, preserved the name of the archangel Ṣarti'el more faithfully than Greek and Ethiopic tradition (cf. above, pp. 172–4).

Ll. 12–13. There doubtless came here the enumeration of living beings ‘which are found on the face of heaven, on the earth, in the deserts, and in the sea’; cf. En. 7: 5 (En* i iii 19–21 and Enb i ii 23–5).

L. 14. The Watchers seem to be already chained up by the angels; in order to be able to pray, to lift their arms in the gesture of suppliants, they have to have their bonds loosened.

4QEnGiants* 9 and 10 (Pl. XXXII)
Fr. 9. 1[... and all [...] 2...s before the splendour of [Thy] glo[ry ...]. 3[of] Thy [glo]ry, since [Thou] understandest all mysteries [...]. 4and nothing is stronger than Thou [...]. 5before Thee. And now, the H[oly Ones of heaven(?). . .] 6Thy kingship of glory unto [everlasting] y[ears ...].

Fr. 10. 1[... And] now, my Lord [...]. 2Thou hast multiplied and [...]. 3Thou dost wish and [...].

These two fragments belong to a prayer of Enoch; cf. similar prayers at En. 9: 4–11 and En. 84: 2–6; also in the Christian Book of Parables, En. 63: 2–4.

Fr. 9. 1. At the beginning read ܐܠܗܐ or ܐܠܗܐ. On the omniscience of God see En. 8: 5, 11; 84: 3.

L. 4. Cf. En. 83: 3: ‘and there is no work which Thou findest difficult (and Thou hast made everything firm, ܐܐ); there is not one of them’. The term ܐܠܐ means ‘thing’ as in Syriac and in Palmyrene; see fr. 8, line 13.

L. 5. Cf. En. 84: 4 and 5.


Fr. 10. 1. Read ܡܐܪܝܐ or ܡܐܪܝܐ. Cf. En 84: 6.

4QEnGiants* 11, 12, 13 (Pl. XXXII)

Fr. 11 ii. 1[... 2and the dew and the hoar-frost . . .]

Fr. 13. 1[and prostra]ted themselves before [Enoch(?). . .] 2[The]n he said to him (or: to them) “[... 3pea]ce will [not] be to you [...]. 4[... in order to be [...].

Fr. 11 ii should perhaps be placed below fr. 8, in other words 11 i = 7 ii, and 8+11 ii = 7 iii.


L. 3. Enoch speaks to Šemīḥazah; cf. En. 13: 1, where Enoch says to ‘Asa’el, the second chief of the Watchers: ‘there will be no peace at all for you.’

LATER HISTORY

The dew and the hoar-frost (fr. 11 ii 2) are mentioned in En. 34: 2 and 76: 12 but the actual combination, ‘the dew and the hoar-frost’, recurs only in a quotation from George Syncellus. Here is his wording which I have
verified on the Greek manuscript 1711 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, p. 17, lines 7–18 (cf. Dindorf edn., i (1829), 47); variant readings of the MS. Vatican, Barberini Gr. 227, ff. 23r, 21–3r, 16:

Kal aithis: Peri de tou orous: en ou wimosan kai anebematousan pros ton plhson autwn oti eis ton aiwna ou me apoesthei ap autou psuchos. kai xwv. kai thanh kai drous. ou me katabh eis autou ei me eis katapan katabhsetai: epi autou mechris hemeras krisew. tis megalh. en twn kairow einai katakanthsetai kai tapanwthsetai kai estai katakaimenon kai tthkomenon ws khras. apd puros, othws katakantas peri panton ton ergon autou. kai vyn enw legw ymwn. viois anw orghi megala kath ymwn kata ton vion ymwn. b kai ou pausetai h orghi auti af ymwn mechri kairow souaghis ton vion ymwn. b kai apoloynetai oi agapitoi ymwn kai apobanodnetai ois entimos ymwn apd pasis tis geis oti pasai ai hemerai tis zwhs autwn. apd tov vyn ou me eosontai pleioi ton eis eton kai me doxete eis zphasai epie pleion vev ep gar estin ep autois pasai odos ekphexew. apd tov vyn dia tis orghin hwn orghsithi ymwn o basileus pantwn ton aiwnon. me nomoste oti ekphexqthta tausta kai tausta mev ekei tou d biblion d 'Evwv peri ton ergynrhowv.

a othw Vat. b-b in margine in Par., om. in Vat. c doxaste Vat. d-d biblion a Vat.

And again, concerning the mountain, on which they swore and bound themselves by oath, the one to the other, not to withdraw from it for all eternity: 'There will descend on it neither cold, nor snow, nor frost, nor dew, unless they descend on it in malediction, until the day of the Great Judgement. At that time it will be burned and brought low, it will be consumed and melted down, like wax by fire. Thus it will be burned as a result of all its works.

And now to you, sons of men, I say that great anger is against you, against your sons, and this anger will not abate against you until the time of the massacre of your sons; your beloved ones will be annihilated, and those who are precious to you will die from off all the earth; for all the days of their life from now on will not be more than 120 years. And do not think that they will live any years over and above this: for henceforth there is for them no way of escape because of the anger with which the King of all the ages is aroused against you: do not think that you will avoid these things!'

And all this is drawn from the first Book of Enoch on the subject of the Watchers.

In the context of our Book of Giants one would expect that the cursing of the Watchers, pronounced by Enoch in his letter (fr. 8), would be followed by
the cursing of their accomplices, first a passive accomplice, Mount Hermon, and then the active accomplices who were the giants, the nephilim, and the men. Now a fragment of the Manichaean Kawân contains a passage which seems to me to be an adaptation of the second part of the Greek quotation (Henning, *BSOAS* xi, pp. 57 and 61: fr. 1, page 1); in both cases one is tempted to read, or supply, 'Watchers' instead of 'men':

'... Enoch, the apostle, ... [gave] a message to [the men and their] children: To you ... not peace. The judgement on you is that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children, ... ruling for a hundred and twenty years....'

Page 2 of this Middle Persian fragment already describes the fertility of the earth which the just will enjoy eternally (above, pp. 301-2). This whole section of the Book of Giants was thus an amplification of the passage En. 10: 11-22, recounting God's message to Michael who is prepare to do battle with 'Semîhazah and his companions' (verse 11), but also 'the sons of the Watchers' (verse 15).

It is true that Syncellus expressly identifies this quotation as forming part of the first Book of Enoch, on the Watchers'. It will be remembered, however, that he was acquainted with the Enochic writings only through the works of the Alexandrian historians Panodorus and Annianus (around A.D. 400). He could thus combine under the same heading and the same colophon quotations one of which did not come from the first Book of Enoch at all. Syncellus' predecessors were acquainted with various works attributed to Enoch, for instance the Astronomical Book (En. 72-82), the résumé of which is to be read in Syncellus (Dindorf i, p. 60, 12-61, 1; Bibl. Nat. grec 1711, p. 22, 3-10). The same chronographer makes an obscure allusion probably to the final part of the Astronomical Enoch (see above, pp. 296-7, on Enastr 4) (Bibl. Nat. grec 1711, p. 21, 4-6; cf. Dindorf, p. 57, 16-18): παραλαβόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν ἐγγεγόρων ἄρχουντος. Χωραβήλ. τὸ τοῦ ἕλεον ἀνακυκλευματικῶν μέτρον εἶναι ἐν ἔκδοις: ἅβι μοῖραι τε: ἡ δὲ μοῖρα ἐστὶν ἡμέρα ἡ· καὶ λεπτὸν ἐν. 'I share less the opinion of) those who recognize that the annual movement of the sun owes its origin to Chôribiel (read: Chôbabiêl), the fourth chief of the Watchers, and that it is effected across the twelve signs of the Zodiac and through 360 degrees; one degree is equal to one day and one minute.'

In conclusion, I suggest that the quotation of Syncellus on the fate of Hermon and of the sons of the men/Watchers comes in fact from the Book
of Giants. In any case, it did not form part of the Book of Watchers, since it is missing in both the Akhmim papyrus and in the Ethiopic version.

A second piece of evidence that the Book of Giants was known in the Greek world is perhaps to be found in an allusion made by Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ch. XXXVI (ed. Ch. H. Beeson, 1906, p. 51):

‘Angelorum quidam, mandato Dei non subditi, voluntati eius restiterunt, et aliquis quidem de caelo, tanquam fulgur ignis, cecidit super terram, alii vero in felicitate hominum filiabus admixti, a dracone afflicti, ignis aeterni poenam suscipere meruerunt.’

The phrase ‘afflicted by the dragon’ is without any parallel in the Book of Watchers. It refers perhaps to Leviathan, who may have dominated the giants, who was to be conquered by ’Ohyah, son of the chief of the Watchers.

On the other hand, two references to the Book of Giants, entirely unquestionable, are to be found in late Jewish Talmudic and Midrashic literature. First an allusion in the Babylonian Talmud, Niddah 61a (ix, 5):

‘And the Lord said unto Moses: “Fear him not (Num. 21: 34 and Deut. 3: 2).” Consider: Sihon and ‘Og were brothers, for Master stated, ‘Sihon and ‘Og were the sons of Ahiyah the son of Shemhazai’ (כאמר ד’ אלהמשה אלתרמאשלים סיחון וואג זגו אחיו זגו דאמאermal סיחון וואג זגו אחיו ברי שמואלי ל). Then why was it that he feared ‘Og while he did not fear Sihon? Johanan citing R. Simon b. Yoḥai replied: ‘From the answer that was given (by God) to that righteous man (sc. Moses) you may understand what was in his heart. He thought: Peradventure the merit of our father Abraham will stand by him (sc. ‘Og), for it is said, “And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew (Gen. 14: 13)”, in connection with which R. Johanan explained: ‘this refers to ‘Og who escaped the fate of the generation of the flood’ (יאמר רב יהונתן וגו שמלת מאורים מקוהי).’

The second section of the first Semitic passage quoted here is shortened as follows in the famous manuscript of the Talmud preserved in the Munich library, MS. Heb. 95, f. 269v (facsimile edition by J. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, i, Leiden 1912): мכוימל סיחון וואג נבי אוחים (או אוחים wo in the Bomberg edition, Venice 1520–3) and German translation by L. Goldschmidt, vol. ix, [1934], pp. 918–19.  

1 I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Toharoth*, 1948, p. 433; Semitic text (from the Bomberg edition, Venice 1520–3) and German
and 'Aza’el, to whom we shall return presently. Nevertheless, in spite of these errors, the Munich text allows us to work out the original reading of the proper names, namely אוליא תמריהו או, the reading, in fact, of the Qumran manuscripts of the Book of Giants (pp. 300 and 312–5). In contrast to the names of the two chiefs of the fallen angels in certain rabbinical texts, לאל שלמה and לאל שלמה, which are simply a retranslation emanating from transcriptions in the Greek version of the Book of Watchers, the Niddah passage refers back to the Aramaic text of the Book of Giants. The original text of this latter work was accordingly still well known and read by the rabbis of the second–third centuries (such as §im’ôn ben Yôḥai and Yôḥanan ben Nappahâ), whilst the Enochic writings, or at the very least the Book of Watchers, were accessible to them only indirectly, via the Greek version.

The Qumran and Manichaean manuscripts of the Book of Giants, however, are too fragmentary to allow us to decide whether the relationship of 'Og and Sihôn was already indicated in the Aramaic original or whether it was invented by the rabbis by virtue of a simple assonance, 'Ôhyâ–'Ôg, the same phonetic similarity which caused the changing of Ohía to Ogia in the Gelasian Decree and the placing of the conflict between the dragon and the son of Šemihaza post diluvium instead of ante diluvium (cf. above, p. 299). This same assonance has led scholars of the present day to find, in this reference in the Gelasian Decree, a history of Og, king of Basan.¹

More complex, on the other hand, is the literary information from the midrash of Šemhazai and 'Aza’el, which it is advisable to quote first in extenso from four sources:


S Yalqût Sim’ônî, ילקוט התורא הקרא שמותי והא מדרש של כל תשרים הארבע ספראים, הלא הוה חובר נמרל השベースו הורב רבינ שמעון ראה עדא ותנינא הוא מקל פ’ הרנסברוס Venice 1566, ff. 12r, 11–12v; i, § 44.²

¹ e.g. M. Rh. James, The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament, 1936, pp. 40–2. On 'Og, the only giant to have escaped from the flood, according to Talmudic and Midrashic texts, see, e.g., L. Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, i, p. 160 (and v, p. 181; note 35), iii, p. 340 (and vi, p. 117 notes 667–8).
² The text of Yalqut was reprinted in various
M. Midraš Berešit Rabbati ex libro R. Mosis Haddaršan collectus e codice Pragensi (in Hebrew) by Ch. Albek, Jerusalem 1940, pp. 29, 14–31, 8 (fol. io–11). This is a summary of the great commentary on Genesis composed by R. Moses of Narbonne in the first half of the twelfth century.


In the left-hand column I transcribe the text of B, with the variants of S in the critical apparatus, and in the right-hand column the text of M, with the variants of R in the apparatus:

**B**

"[text in Hebrew]"

**M**

"(Gen. 6: 2) [text in Hebrew]"

**Variants of R**

Cf. S, finem § 43 et initium § 44:

**Variants of S**

(in marg. editionis II et seqq.) ^6^a

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<tr>
<th>(Gen. 6: 2) &quot;[text in Hebrew]&quot;</th>
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<td>(Gen. 6: 7) &quot;[text in Hebrew]&quot;</td>
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I have not had an opportunity to use two other witnesses of Yalqūt Šim‘ônī, namely the Bodl. MS. Heb. b. 6, fol. 11^1^, and the first edition, Salonica 1526–7, fol. 15^1^.
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desk her or she was served. She heard of the coming of the here and now. She met the child and her husband, who had wandered off, and she told them of the coming of the here and now. She served them food and drink, and they were grateful. She showed them the way to safety.

The child, who was named Noah, said to his parents, "We must leave this place and go to the mountains. We must go to the mountains and build a ark.

"But what will we do when we get to the mountains?"

"We will build a ark and put all the animals inside. We will store them safely, and then we will leave everything behind.

"But what will happen to the people?"

"We must leave them behind. They are not safe here."

So Noah and his family left the place and went to the mountains. They built an ark and put all the animals inside. They stored them safely and left everything behind.

"And what about the people?"

"They must stay behind. They are not safe here."

And so it was. Noah and his family left the place and went to the mountains. They built an ark and put all the animals inside. They stored them safely and left everything behind. The people were left behind.
THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The Book of Giants is a work that deals with the giants who lived at the time of the first migration, and who in the age of the Hebrews were subject to the dominion of the house of God. This book is an important source for understanding the history of the giants and their influence on the development of human civilization. It also provides insight into the beliefs and practices of the ancient culture.

In the Book of Giants, the giants are described as being tall, strong, and powerful. They were known for their physical strength and were feared by the people of their time. The book also describes the giants as being wise and learned, and as possessing a deep understanding of the natural world.

The Book of Giants is an important document that provides valuable information about the history and culture of the ancient world. It is a unique and important source for understanding the development of human civilization and the role that the giants played in shaping the course of history.
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נתרי וקדים ברוך וה хозяיכים沮丧.

שמם שמותו ההיר קדש בכל מקדש הקדש

מצטער על עתים עול בנינו

שלוםlek וכסף כל מקדש בתים הוא

מיולינו ולי שמים היה

גם שמותו וראה שמים חלומנו.

אם נגה רא יהוה שלום של כל הנחל פרנסה

על האכריchers ויתיך כל חורשה וטורב

שפתו לשון היה מלאך ידד며ד בוריד

כמך פך ויהי תואר בכל נפשת לא

יהי משיח בה אולא השنو את שא ית

אותו מנה רא הו חולם פריס בורד ושתב

ויהי אלוהי טורס ihtו מחכי מלאכת ימים

ממדים טר bruk ניר בר הקדש ברוד

מקצק ולא היה משלי וב אלא אלול

אות הש ישה עד מים. כל מזרחי משה לא

טרדה בעחל וארא אתים ט.Dispatcher ולא

וחלומת אחר שלום владיו:last אולא אלול

מהבולה ובו לחריע ממית עדוכ בך

ותחלומת. ארם לה בבי עדוכ בך הקדש בחרך

|| add. i מז לשלום midi add. k מז

|| על התשלםillow נ"ל ámb מי ישש

ביני מנה יכלה יא התשלמה החזק

והא ויתיך Ayrıca מקית add. p נים

וכתבה שופה שימה add. r נים

ואזדרא add. v על add. t נים

גזרל גזור מ sağlıklים מעל אולא אלול

בזיע מלכסים בניו קדושות היה מקיעת ולא

|| om. z מז l מזרחי

|| om. y מזרחי || om. x מזרחי
THE BOOK OF GIANTS

Who labored with the mighty, and the little man with the mighty?

Who can stand before Jacob?

The Book of Giants

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The Midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el

(1) R. Joseph was (once) asked what was the story of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el, and he replied: 'When the generation of Enosh arose and practised idolatry and when the generation of the flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One—Blessed be He—was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, “And God repented that He created man, and He was grieved at heart.”

(2) Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el, and said before Him: “O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, ‘Do not create man’?”, as it is said, “What is man that Thou shouldst remember him?”. The Holy One—Blessed be He—said to them: “Then what shall become of the world?” They said before Him: “We will suffice (Thee) instead of it.” (3) He said: “It is revealed and (well) known to me that if peradventure you had lived in that (earthly) world, the evil inclination would have ruled you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they.” They said before Him: “Give us Thy sanction and let us descend (and dwell) among the creatures and then Thou shalt see how we shall sanctify Thy name.” He said to them: “Descend and dwell ye among them.” (4) Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, “When the sons of God saw the daughters of man”, they could not restrain their inclination.

(5) Forthwith Šemḥazai beheld a girl whose name was 'Estērah; fixing his eyes at her he said: “Listen to my (request).” But she said to him: “I will not listen to thee until thou teachest me the Name by which thou art enabled to ascend to the firmament, as soon as thou dost mention it.” He taught her the Ineffable Name. (6) What did she do? She mentioned It and thereby ascended to the firmament. The Holy One said: “Since she has departed from sin, go and set her among the stars.” It is she who shines brightly in the midst of the seven stars of the Pleiades; so that she may always be remembered, forthwith the Holy One fixed her among the Pleiades.

(7) When Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el saw this, they took to them wives, and begat children. Šemḥazai begat two children, whose names were Heyya and 'Aheyyâ. 'Aza'el was appointed chief over all kinds of dyes and
over all kinds of women's ornaments by which they entice men to unclean thoughts of sin. (8) Forthwith Mēṭaṭrôn sent a messenger to Šemḥazai, and said to him: "The Holy One is about to destroy His world, and bring upon it a flood." Šemḥazai stood up and raised his voice and wept aloud, for he was sorely troubled about his sons and (his own) iniquity. And he said: "How shall my children live and what shall become of my children, for each one of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)?"

(9) One night the sons of Šemḥazai, Heyyā and 'Aheyyā, saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw a great stone spread over the earth like a table, the whole of which was written over with lines (of writing). And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with a knife in his hand and he was erasing and obliterating all the lines, save one line with four words upon it. (10) The other (son) saw a garden, planted whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. (11) When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons." They (thereupon) cried in anguish and wept, saying: "What shall become of us and how shall our names be perpetuated?" He said to them: "Do not trouble yourselves, for your names, Heyyā and 'Aheyyā, will never cease from the mouths of creatures, because every time that men will be raising (heavy) stones or boats, or anything similar, they will shout and call your names." With this their tempers cooled down.

(12) What did Šemḥazai do? He repented and suspended himself between heaven and earth head downwards and feet upwards, because he was not allowed to open his mouth before the Holy One—Blessed be He,—and he still hangs between heaven and earth. (13) 'Aza'el (however) did not repent. And he is appointed chief over all kinds of dyes which entice man to commit sin and he still continues to corrupt them. (14) Therefore, when the Israelites used to bring sacrifices on the day of atonement, they cast one lot for the Lord that it might atone for the iniquities of the Israelites, and one lot for 'Azaz'el that he might bear the burden of Israel's iniquity. This is the 'Azâzel that is mentioned in the Scripture.'

a R, after the quotation from Gen. 6: 2, adds: 'The Holy One—Blessed be He—who suffers
every (sin) with the exception of fornication'; same phrase in S, followed by a passage on Lot and the Sodomites.

b 'His disciples had asked R. Yoseph who was 'Aza'el' S, which omits, moreover, the reference to the idolatrous generation of Enosh; M and R omit the reference to the two generations, of Enosh and the flood.

c R replaces מָתַחְפֵּלִים בְּ of BSM by מְתַחְפֵּלִים בְּ 'we will attend to it'. The first verb is not attested in its reflexive forms in Judaeo-Aramaic; it is attested, however, in Syriac and in Christian Palestinian.

d MR adds: 'I would make an example of her (to follow).'</b

* M and R insert here a long passage, probably extraneous to the original wording of the midrash, on the physical nature of the fallen angels, on the Nephilim and 'Anaqim (on the latter, see the same phrase in Pirqé R. Eliezer, ch. 22).

f-t S omits this phrase so that as a result the birth of two sons is attributed to the two angels instead of to Śemhazai alone. M, on the other hand, adds after the names of the two children the phrase: 'and they took wives and begat Sihôn and 'Og', borrowed from other rabbinical texts, the oldest of which is quoted above, p. 320. From here on R omits all of the long pericope on the message of God to Śemhazai and on the dreams of his two sons. This pericope is marked twice, at the beginning and before the account of the dreams by יהוה, 'it has been transmitted (by extra-canonical tradition)', in M.

M seems to keep an earlier form of this section of the midrash. Firstly, it omits the reference to 'Aza'el, a reference which will recur, in almost identical form, towards the end of the account. Then it makes explicit that it was God who sent Metatron, i.e. Enoch, as a messenger to Śemhazai. Here is the text of M: 'R. Yoseph said: "As soon as the decision was taken to bring the flood upon the world, the Holy One—Blessed be He—sent Metatron as a messenger to Śemhazai".' In B and S an anonymous messenger is sent by Metatron himself; for the cabalistic conception of Metatron as an almost divine being, see above, p. 134.

h 'Iniquity' in B is more original than 'the world' in SMR.

S, inadvertently, has the 'earth' inscribed with lines of writing instead of the tablet fallen from heaven (BMR).

This passage seems to retain its original form better in M (and partially in S) than in B, in particular the reference to the angels and not to a single angel.

k אֲחָזָה is not 'burden' (Gaster) but 'similar (thing)'; this meaning of the Pael participle of אָחַז is current in Syriac.

This phrase is omitted in S.

In BMR, יָדוּי in S, both of them for עַלְיוֹנֵי in Lev. 16: 8-10 (quoted in extenso only by R).

Of the four texts above the closest to the original seems to be that of the Bodleian MS. (B). The recension of Bereshith Rabbati (M), which retains some good readings of the original, is the intermediary between B and Yalqut Shimeoni (S), the latter constituting a summary and adaptation of B. Raymond Martin (R) copied our text very faithfully from a manuscript of Gen. Rabbati which was a little better than M.
The origin of the 'midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el' remains very obscure; see, however, below, pp. 338–9. It is not at all certain that it was an excerpt from the Midrash 'Abkîr (which disappeared after the fifteenth century), or that it formed part of the Chronicle of Yerâhme’el, as Gaster accepts, in my opinion, somewhat arbitrarily. The existing information does not allow us to trace its origin back beyond the eleventh century, when Moses ha-Dâršan of Narbonne composed his Genesis Rabba Maior, from which Bereshith Rabbati is derived. A Karaite writer of the tenth century, who was living in Jerusalem, mentions among the rabbinical works popular at that period, 'the book about 'Uzza and 'Azi’el, who, according to their mendacious assertions, had come down from heaven'. Another book mentioned by the same author and likewise by a Karaite of the ninth century, namely Razâ Rabbâ, 'the Great Mystery', was used in the twelfth century for the composition of the book Bahîr which is fundamental to the development of Jewish mysticism in Provence. The two chiefs of the wicked angels, 'Uzza and 'Aza’el, are often quoted and described in Talmudic and cabbalistic texts, e.g. in Yoma 67 b, Pesiqṭa Rabbati, ch. 34, and, later, in the Zohar and in the Hebrew book of Enoch. However, they are not, at the very least formally, identical with Šemḥazai and 'Aza’el of our midrash.

It is the motif of the virgin who escaped from the amorous adventures of an angel, or of two angels, and was transformed into a star (most often Venus), whilst the angel or the two angels were punished by hanging upside down, which has particularly attracted the attention of scholars.

In the midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza’el the girl is called 'Esṭêrah ('Star' in Greek and Persian; in the latter occasionally 'Venus'), and she becomes a star of the Pleiades. This detail, peculiar to our narrative, is explained by

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Grünbaum (Ges. Aufsätze, pp. 65–6) by the influence of Greek mythology: Pleione, the mother of the Pleiad Nymphs pursued by Orion. In the Persian Islamic accounts the virgin has the name Anâhîd, Biduxt, Zuhra, Istahar, names which seem to be linked to the planet Venus. Islamic tradition, from the Koran onwards (ii, 102/96), denotes the two angels by the names Hârût and Mârût, thus identifying them with Haurvatât and Amerâtât, ‘Integrity’ and ‘Immortality’, two of the Amêša Spenta archangels of Zoroastrianism. In a Pahlavi–Sogdian glossary (Henning, Sogdica, 1940, p. 16), perhaps of Manichaean origin, de Menasce points out the equation: *mevrd’d hrov’d = hrov’d mrv’ovt.* The concept of the wicked archangel stretched and suspended on the firmament above the earth is undeniably Manichaean.

In Jewish literature this motif of the virgin-star underwent some transformations, some of which are definitely dependent upon our midrash. Towards the end of Deut. Rabbâ (Wilno 1887) the soul of Moses cried out:

"Our Lord, Who art forever, from beside Thy Shekhinah, from on high, two angels, ‘Azâ and ‘Aza’el, descended, and desired the daughters of the earth; and they corrupted their way upon the earth, until Thou didst suspend them betwixt earth and the firmament (of heaven).’"

An obvious influence of the midrash of Šemhazai and ‘Aza’el is found again in the Oxford MS. 2340, §§ 17–19 (extract quoted by S. Buber, ידיעות, Wilno 1925, Introduction, pp. 30–1):

"בִּנְיָאֵלֹהִים וּבָטָא וְעֵזְאַא שְׁחֵה יִשְׂבֵּי בְּרֵכֵת, וּיוֹרְדִים מְצַמְמִי בַּתּוֹ לֹא אֱלֹהִים.

1 A very interesting variant of the two angels myth is related by a Karaite writer of the second half of the tenth century, Yefet Abû 'Ali, in his Arabic commentaries to the Pentateuch and Isaiah (MSS. 562 and 569 of the Firkovitch collection; see a short note of A. Harkavy in Otet Imperat. Publ. Biblioteki za 1912 god, Petrograd 1917, pp. 125–6). The commentator denounces the ‘Sadducaean belief’ in two angels, Sar Maśtema and Meṭaṭron, created by God to rule over the world, to kill men and give life, to make them rich or poor (cf. i Sam. 2: 7, etc.). On Meṭaṭron see above, pp. 125–34; ‘Prince Maṣṭema’ is evidently borrowed from Jub. 11: 5, 11; 17: 16; 18: 9, 12; 48: 2, 9, 12, and 15. Could it be that the Palestinian Karaites possessed an exemplar of the Book of Jubilees in Hebrew from the Qumrân scrolls discovered around A.D. 800 (see DJD I, p. 88)? For certainly medieval Jews did not know ‘Prince Maṣṭema’ from any other source, and Christians hardly knew Maśtema (few Greek and Coptic attestations). The theme itself of the two good angelic world-rulers (later becoming bad ones) derives mainly from the Muslim Harût wa-Marût legend, although it goes back as far as Jub. 4: 15 (see p. 29). At the time of Abû ‘Ali it became one of the essential tenets of the early Rabbinic Cabbala, labelled ‘Sadducaean’ by its Karaite opponents, who had probably seen in it some similarity to Essene beliefs = בִּנְיָאֵל.
The "sons of God"—that (is) 'Uzza and 'Uzza’el, who were dwelling in the firmament (of heaven), and they let themselves descend to earth, to be put to the test. (It is to be) understood that, as they were dwelling in the firmament (of heaven), they were hearing as the Holy One—blessed be He—was saying: “I shall destroy the man whom I have created from upon the surface of the ground (Gen. 6: 7).” They said before Him: “Our Lord, Who art forever, ‘What is man that Thou knowest him, or the son of man that Thou takest account of him (Ps. 8: 5).’” The Holy One—blessed be He—said to them: “If you were on the earth like the sons of men, if you saw the beautiful women who are among them, forthwith the evil inclination would enter into you, and cause you to sin.” They said to Him: “We shall descend, and we shall not sin.” They descended forthwith. As it is written “And the sons of God saw the daughters of man” (Gen. 6: 2). As soon as they saw (them), they sought to return to the firmament (of heaven). They said before Him: “Our Lord, who art forever, judge us in this testing.” He said to them: “Perhaps you have defiled yourselves and you are no longer clean. . . . ‘Uzza and ‘Uzza’el: “They are the mighty ones from of old, men of renown (Gen. 6: 4).”’ At the beginning they were men of renown. And now, how are they? Rabbi Ele’ezer, son of Rabbi Joseph said: “They were suspended by a chain of iron and they are suspended in the mountains of darkness. They come from there each year until they shrink to the size of little fingers; and (then) they grow once more to (their) former (size). And they teach sorceries to those who consort with them.”

1 For the obscure and slightly corrupted passage at the end of this text see L. Ginzberg, *Hozofeh*, iv (1915), 30.
The narrative of our midrash is recounted on two occasions, *ad* Gen. 6: 2 and 28: 12, in *Sefer Hadar Zeqenim* (Leghorn edition 1840), but there the virgin is transformed into the sign of the zodiac Virgo. Here is the second text from Jellinek’s edition, *Bet ha-Midraschy*, v (1873), p. 156 no. 4 (his erroneous reference to Yalqut has been corrected by Ginzberg, *The Legends*, v, p. 169):

"The angels of God ascending and descending on it" (Gen. 28: 12). Those are the angels who descended: as they beheld the beautiful daughters of men, they did not ascend until now; for, when they descended, they found a maiden. They said to her, “Hear us!” She said to them, “And what will you give me?” They said to her, “Wings like ours, and we shall teach you the Ineffable Name.” And they taught her the Ineffable Name, and gave her wings. Forthwith she flew to heaven. The Holy One—blessed be He—said to her, “Since you have fled from sin, I shall place you (as) a name among the constellations. This is the (Zodiac) constellation Virgo. And the angels who gave her wings were not able to ascend (to heaven) until now that they have found a ladder to ascend.’

In other texts the legend of 'Uzzâ and 'Aza’el is linked to the woman Na’amah (*Yalqut* § 161; *Gen. R.* 24; Rashi, *Yoma* 67).

On the other hand, there does not seem to exist any study of the second part of our midrash, which recounts the mission of Enoch to Šemhazai, and in particular the dreams of his two sons. We must reject as totally unsuccessful the attempt of Spiegel (*Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, English Section*, pp. 341 ff.) to link their names, Hiwâ and Hiyâ, with that of a Ugaritic god, *Hyn*. Now, it seems beyond question to me that these narratives are derived directly from the Book of Giants in its Manichaean form. Although greatly corrupted (א) (*Hebrew* B; הינא הינא, הינא הינא, הינא הינא S; הינא הינא M; הינא הינא R), the names of the two sons of Šemhazai are certainly עולימ and והילין, which we find in QEnGiants, 'why' (occasionally 'hy') and
'hy' which are found in the Manichaeans Kawân (above, p. 299). We have examined above (pp. 303–9) the dream of the second son, 'Ahya, about the destruction of the paradisiac garden by the angels, with the exception of '[one tree with] its three roots' (6Q8 2), or 'one tree with three branches' according to the midrash of Šemhažai.

The dream of 'Ohyah, the first son of this fallen archangel, about the tablet of stone covered with writing, fallen on to the earth and wiped out by an angel 'apart from four words', as our midrash recounts it, allows us to correct a passage of the Manichaeans text and to join to it an Aramaic fragment from Qumrân. Fragment j of the Middle Persian Kawân speaks first of Sâm (= 'Ohya) and of his brother (above, p. 303); then, on the second page, it describes a first dream—dreamt no doubt by the same 'Ohya—and finally it recounts the second dream, that of Narîmân (= 'Ahyâ) about the 'garden full of trees in rows' (Henning, BSOAS xi (1943–6), 57 and 60).

What remains of the first dream is translated by Henning as follows:

'. . . over Taxtag. To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (or was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs (one portending . . .), one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation.'

In note 7 the editor notes that 'txtg might be appellative = “a board”. This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.’ In the light of the midrash of Šemhažai txtg must necessarily be translated by ‘board, tablet’, and the phrase ‘in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs’ should be corrected to something like ‘and in his sleep ('Ohya) saw a tablet with three signs’. The Manichaeans text thus talks first of a tablet which the angels had [obliterated] and thrown into the water, then of another (?) tablet containing three signs of the disasters to come, no doubt drawing on the menê tegel fares of the Book of Daniel.

A small fragment from Qumrân, dating from the Herodian era, 2Q26 1, certainly seems to belong to the description of the same dream (DJD iii, pp. 90–1 and pl. XVII). I correct and add a little to the transcription of the first editor, M. Baillet:

[7][8][10][12][14][16][18][20][22][24][26][28][30][32][34][36][38][40][42][44][46][48][50][52][54][56][58][60][62][64][66][68][70][72][74][76][78][80][82][84][86][88][90][92][94][96][98][100][102][104][106][108][110][112][114][116][118][120][122][124][126][128][130][132][134][136][138][140][142][144][146][148][150][152][154][156][158][160][162][164][166]
The tablet mentioned in line 1 of this fragment is conceived as being of wood (therefore like the 'board' of the Kawân), since [its writing] is effaced by washing; the midrash transforms it into an engraved stone slab. The tablet, which symbolizes the generation of the flood, is submerged by the waters of the flood, just as in the Manichaean fragment the board is thrown into the water. The tablet of line 3 seems to be a second or even a third one, since it is the 'board' of salvation, the ark of Noah and his three sons. There is an isolated reference to סַהֲל also in 1Q23 31 2 (DJD i, p. 98, and pl. XIX).

According to the terms of the midrash the two sons of Šemḥazai, awakened and startled, come to their father who at once explains the dreams to them. This is a very drastic abridgement of the sequence of events as it is developed in the Qumrân Book of Giants, where first the sons come to Šēmīḥazah, who sends them off to the assembly of the giants, where both of them relate their dreams in detail ('Ohyah, moreover, adding yet another dream); and then the giant Mahawai is sent to Enoch in paradise, it being the latter who will ultimately provide the exact interpretation of these disturbing dreams (above pp. 303–5). The Manichaean Book of Giants, too, shortened the Jewish Aramaic original, but with more discrimination than the medieval rabbinical midrash. The latter was rendered into Mishnaic Hebrew from an Aramaic which was relatively close to Syriac (see above, p. 329, notes c and k to the translation). It seems to me extremely likely, in fact, that it is directly dependent on the Manichaean work on the Giants, and more exactly on its original wording, in the Aramaic dialect used by the Manichaean writers, and not on just any version; in any case it certainly is not based on an Arabic version of the Persian Kawân, which kept the Iranian names of the two sons, Sâm and Narîmân. A scholarly Babylonian rabbi could have found and understood without difficulty the Syriac Book of Giants, as recently as the early Middle Ages. This tallies with recent research on the origins of the Cabbala of medieval Europe, the essential sources of which are oriental and more precisely Babylonian.

Indeed it seems possible to establish beyond doubt that the Jews who lived in Sassanid, and later Umayyad and Abbasid, Mesopotamia, were acquainted with the contents of the Book of Giants in some detail. The magic bowls
from modern Iraq and from Iranian Khuzistan, covered with texts in Judaeo-Babylonian Aramaic and written in a square Hebrew alphabet, present a sentence which interests us directly here. In no. 27, lines 9–10, of J. A. Montgomery’s edition (Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, 1913, p. 212 and pl. XXV) the sorcerer, who is identified with Hermes (אָדָם בֵּית, line 5), the messenger of the Creator of the heavens and of the earth, threatens the demons, who are ‘wicked enemies and powerful adversaries’ (זָאַה בֵּית, line 6), as follows: I am going to bring down upon you the curse, the decree, and the ban which I brought down upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah. In order to subdue devils do I come, and evil spirits . . .’

The identical passage, with the exception of some variants, is found in no. 2 of the same collection, lines 6–7: (אָדָם בֵּית, line 5; (ed.) (which fell) (a) בֵּית (which fell) (b) בֵּית (ed.)).

The curse of Leviathan and of the Sea (‘by the spell of the Sea and by the spell of the monster Leviathan’): (אָדָם בֵּית, line 5; (ed.)).

The curse of Mount Hermon on the other hand has no Biblical parallel, and in order to explain this allusion in full it is not sufficient just to refer back to En. 6: 5 f. and 14: 17 ff., as Montgomery has done (p. 126). It is in the Chronicle of George Syncellus that the Greek text of this incantation is to be found. The chronicler says it comes from the ‘first Book of Enoch on the

subject of the Watchers’; in actual fact it comes from the Book of Giants, as we have suggested above (p. 319). The ban (אוהבם in the magic cups) of the mountain, where the two hundred angels are bound to one another by oath (��י in the magic cups) is followed in the Syncellus passage by the curse of the sons of men (and/or the sons of the Watchers): καὶ νῦν ἔγω λέγω ὑμῖν νικὼς αὐτρότων, etc. (above, p. 318). It is obvious that it is Enoch who delivers this curse, just as he must have delivered the first curse on Mount Hermon. A quite explicit reference to this second part of the quotation from Syncellus seems to occur in another Judaeo-Babylonian magical text, namely in Montgomery 4, 3 which I read and translate: בהב אספרא לכה באהמה ראסרי ייט יאמוח עהו יבר. ‘Again, I am going to bind you with the oath with which the House of Enoch bound his evil brothers.’¹ Note the orthography באהמה, with the prothetic Aleph, which recalls the Arabic 'Umnāh. The expression ‘House of Enoch’ obviously means ‘School of Enoch’. Thus the antediluvian sage was pictured surrounded by his disciples just like a learned rabbi in a Judaeo-Babylonian academy. In the incantation texts there occurs several times a rabbi-magician called רבי חוה בר מפריחא;² now, in 8, 11 ‘the seal of the House of Yoshua bar Perahyah’ is invoked, ובשיקתא דריבי חוה בר מפריחא, this phrase being parallel to ובשיקתא דריהושש בר מפריחא אסיא in 17, 12. The ‘wicked brothers’ of Enoch are not members of his family but, in the wider meaning of the word, all his contemporaries, the sons of men and the sons of the Watchers, the sinning generation given up to destruction by the waters of the flood. This interpretation is confirmed by Montgomery 19, 17 where the invocation קוב אפייר ביציקת ייט חנה, ‘Again, bound by the seal of the House of Enoch’, is followed immediately by the expression ותימין במלובלא רמא, ותימין ‘and sealed by the great flood of terror’.³

Similarly the sentence which comes shortly after the reference to the House of Enoch in Montgomery 4, 3 leads us back to the context of the Enochic writings (lines 4–5):

1 Loc. cit., pp. 133–7 and pl. V; Rossell, pp. 83–4, no. 8 (Montgomery reads דסרי בה and translates ‘with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers’).
2 Montgomery 8, 6 and 8 (= Rossell 24); 9, 2; 17, 8 and 10. On this historical person, Montgomery, pp. 226–8.

³ Loc. cit., pp. 195–200 and pl. XX; Rossell, pp. 109–12 no. 29 (Montgomery reads מנה, but on p. 135 he writes ‘For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17’; in the second sentence he reads כמך אל רמא דאות and translates in part ‘by the great . . . of Zeus’).
‘Again, I am going to bind you with the bond with which have been bound the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day of judgement and to the great hour of salvation.’ The seven chained planets are well described in En. 18: 13–16 and 21: 3–6; for the ‘great day of judgement’ see the note to 4QEn b i iv 11 = En. 10: 12. Even the earlier Enochic works, the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers, seem to know the system of the Zodiac (pp. 187 and 319); thus it is quite likely that the Book of Giants, which is of a much more recent date (above, p. 58), may have made a mythological reference to it, of the kind which we find in this magical sentence. The same phrase occurs in the incantation text published by Gordon in Orientalia, x (1941), pp. 273–6, no. 11, and pp. 282–4, pls. II–IV (Rossell, pp. 104–6, no. 26), line 15: אסנוא עסמך באכימאrazy según ym©n הסעך חוכלן ... teil שעדתא רב[ך]מך נjeeו. Now, the same bowl (Jewish Theological Seminary collection, no. F 447) offers in its first part an almost identical text to that of Montgomery 2 and 27. Again, the magician appears attired in the mantle of Hermes (this time written 0'0'*aiKi, line 3); again, he delivers, against the devils and the adversaries (בכסיון ביש בצליזיבב מיריי, lines 4–5), the great incantation of the Sea and the incantation of the dragon Leviathan (בכסיון דרמא יחא ישאפע דלייתו יתינה, lines 6–7); again, he recalls the curses of the mythical past (台灣 הנין חילך חורא יי שמחה) המיתא עליון נורא זירא יי שמחה, ‘I am going to bring down the decree of heaven upon you and the ban which I brought upon you, and on Mount Hermon, and on the monster Leviathan’, line 9). Here, before Hermon is mentioned, we find invoked the curse brought by Hermes–Metaṭròn (p. 133) upon all the demons, in other words upon the Watchers and upon the giants, their children. Two ‘children of the Watchers’ are mentioned by name in the incantation published by Gordon in Archiv Orientální, ix (1937), pp. 86–90 and pls. II–IV (Text H = Rossell, pp. 112–14, no. 30), line 11: יובג טייה דמיאקם ירח אָזִינֵי; immediately afterwards the ‘sons of the nephelim’ and the ‘king of the demons’ are invoked (line 12): יובג טייה יארשא מלכֵּא ראשי. In conclusion, the Judaeo-Babylonian magical texts contain several themes peculiar to Enochic literature. The curse of Mount Hermon, to which these texts allude, was certainly to be found in the Book of Giants; other Enochic elements which have just been discussed probably come from there also. About the seventh century, knowledge of these themes is thus widely authenticated at the popular level. Scholarly and literary knowledge probably goes back to the beginning of the fourth century, because—in the light of the
information discussed—the author of the Jewish adaptation of the Manichaean Book of Giants will readily be acknowledged as the rabbi Joseph who is mentioned at the beginning of the midrash on Šemḥazai and ʻAzaʼel. It is in fact R. Joseph bar Ḥiyyâ (died A.D. 333), who was the successor to Rabbâ bar Naḥmanî in the academy of Pûmbedîtâ.

Be that as it may, the midrash of Šemḥazai and ʻAzaʼel provides us, in a very shortened form, with the longest sequence of the Book of Giants which has been preserved up to modern times: from the sin of the angels, the mission of Enoch to the chief of the fallen angels, the laments of the latter (compare with these the fragment of 4Q quoted above, p. 307), up to the announcement of the salvation which will be accomplished by Noah and his three sons.
APPENDIX

DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION OF SEVEN COPIES OF ENOCH (4QEn* to 4QEn*)

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FIRST COPY (4QEn*)

1 i—En. 1: 1-6 (Pl. I)

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[ ... ]

[ ... ]

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[ ... ]

1 ii—En. 2: 1-5: 6 (Pl. II)

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[ ... ]

[ ... ]
I iii—En. 6: 4–8: 1 (Pl. III)

margin

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ועבר באך ונכלה חלולה [ן] 5
[ ]

וכל הלולע חלולה [ן] 5
[ ]

ביימיר יידע כל [ן] 5
[ ]

דוי יום ויתמר [ן] א"ח [ן] 5
[ ]

שמיתת חיל [ן] 10
[ ]

הל דוכא[ן] 10
[ ]

דניאל שבי[ן] 10
[ ]

lopedia שלדת ויתמר [ן] 10
[ ]

מריאלה תמצית טסר [ן] 10
[ ]

سلوك את טסר [ן] 10
APPENDIX

* 'Ain written above Aleph (א).—* Double sign of insertion.

1 iv—En. 8: 3–9: 3, 6–8 (Pl. IV)

margin

...
DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

I v—En. 10: 3–4 (Pl. V)

I vi—En. 10: 21–11: 1 and 12: 4–6 (Pl. V)

* Qoph written above Kaph ([ל]לכ).
BOOKS OF ENOCH, SECOND COPY (4QEn")

1 i (Pl. VI)

1-7

9-28

1 ii—En. 5: 9-6: 4 and 6: 7-8: 1 (Pls. VI and VII)

9-14

15

16a

16

17a

17

17a

17a

17a

17a

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218

21
DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

[oras]

vacat ה והמהבכ

[oras]

margin

1 iii—En. 8: 2–9: 4 (Pls. VII and VIII)

[oras]

םימיהו קתנוי

[oras]

אמר לו ותרש למ

[oras]

וכלהו שרח ולגיה

[oras]

 Hamasת קהלא

[oras]

מלכעל ושריא ל

[oras]

שמיע [וע] לאריפ

[oras]

בערב [וע] שלק [וע תחת]

[oras]

ס الخاصة [וע]_delta

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

[oras]

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[oras]
APPENDIX

I iv—En. 10: 8–12 (Pl. VIII)

i–iv—En. 1:9–5:1 (Pl. IX)

BOOKS OF Enoch, THIRD COPY (4QEn<)

i i—En. 1:9–5:1 (Pl. IX)
DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

21

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DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

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1 ii—En. 6: 7 (Pl. X)

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APPENDIX

1 v—En. 10: 13-19 and 12: 3 (Pl. XI)

[וָלָאָםָו וְיוֹ] [וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ] [וַזַּנְתָּוּ] [וַזַּנְתָּוּ]
[דָּרָהָּּו יְבָּּקָּר] [דָּרָהָּּו יְבָּּקָּר] [דָּרָהָּּו יְבָּּקָּר]
[עָנָּכְרָה צָעֲלָהָּּו] [עָנָּכְרָה צָעֲלָהָּּו] [עָנָּכְרָה צָעֲלָהָּּו]
[אַזַּבְתָּו קְשָׁשָׁא וְהָוָּּוּ] [אַזַּבְתָּו קְשָׁשָׁא וְהָוָּּוּ] [אַזַּבְתָּו קְשָׁשָׁא וְהָוָּּוּ]

[לָנָּכְרָה יְבָּּקָּר] [לָנָּכְרָה יְבָּּקָּר] [לָנָּכְרָה יְבָּּקָּר]
[קְשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [קְשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [קְשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו]

[וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ]
[כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָлָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו]

[וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ]
[כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו]

[וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ] [וְיָהָּּוּ]
[כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו] [כְּשָׁשָׁא יְפָלָּסָוּו וְלָוָּּו]

1 vi—En. 13: 6-14: 16 (Pis. XII and XIII)

margin

[וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ]
[וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ]

[וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ]
[וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ]

[וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ]
[וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ]

[וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ] [וְזַנְתָּוּ]
[וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ] [וָלָאָםָו עִלְּכָוּ]
למשלת הודמיהוון כל [vacat]
בַּמְלִי קְשֶׁתָה וְזֵהָ הָרְכָה לְעֵירֵי שְׁמָא [vacat]
סֶפֶר מֶלֶי קְשֶׁתָה [vacat]
רַבָּא בָּהָלָמָא דִּי אָנָה [20]
מֶדְרֶשׁ לָאָשֶׁר הָעֵבד וּבֵרָא לָאָשֶׁר [וָכָה הָאֲתָה קָחֵיתָהלְכָלִּים דִּי בְּפִיךְ [15]
וּבְרֵיהֶם לִשָּׁא [נְתי] עלָאֲתָהלְכָלִּים דִּי בְּפִיךְ [20]
לָא מְשָׁר]וֹןָא עַד כֻּלּוֹ יְמִי [וָכָה]
בְּגֵיְהוֹן בּוֹךְ[בּוּנָא] רֵי תְבִיבִין [3]
אָבְדּוֹן כְּלָכְמוֹל דִּי בַּעֲטַבְּכָה [וָכָה]
אַנְגָּוֹן בְּעָטָיָהוֹן [ןָנָא]
מַה כְּבָאָה רֵי אָנָה כְּבָאָה [0]
לֵי וְצָקִין וְדְכָנָא [רְכָנָא]
לָעֵלָו אֲנָבָלוֹן גָּוִין [לָמְלָה] בְּשַׁמֵּי [25]
רָלְשָׁנָא [וּנְרָא] סְחָרִין סְחָרִין [וָכָה]
עָבָד דָּא אָבָכָה לְבַיָּא [וָכָה]
APPENDIX

1 vii—En. 14: 18–20 and (?) 15: 11 (Pl. XIII)

margin

1 viii—En. 18: 8–12 (Pl. XIII)
APPENDIX

5 i—En. 104: 13—106: 2 (Pl. XIV)

[bija nasi tm]

va[cat]

va[cat]

5 ii—En. 106: 13—107: 2 (Pl. XV)

ב["ירדא[בוי]

עב[רנ]

ש"[ל[ל]ן[ט["ץ]]
DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

The photograph of fragment d is missing.

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FOURTH COPY (4QEn⁴)

1 xi—En. 22: 13–24: 1 (Pl. XVI)

margin

The photograph of fragment d is missing.
APPENDIX

1 xii—En. 25: 7-27: i (Pl. XVI)

margin

[26:1]

לֵּךַּפָּלַה דָּי מְלִיךְ[ ]

1 דַּי [בַּהוּ] נָרָץ[ ]

נְפַךְ[ ] מַן תְּתוֹתָה[ ]

va[cat]

מְנַה בְּרִיתָהוֹת חַלֶּה [מֵימַּה] [3:5]

[27:1]

הַמְּרַחֲת הַמְּרָחָת[ ]

[ ] 2-30

2 i—En. 89: 11-14 (Pl. XVII)

[ ] 1-22

[ ] 10-30

[ ] 3-47

לְקַמְבָּר אַלּ[ ]
DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FIFTH COPY (4QEn⁵)

1 xx—En. 18: 15 (?) ; see Pl. XVIII

margin

[ ] סתרין לה[ ]

[ ] ו[ ]

2 ii—En. 89: 29–31 (Pl. XVII)

[ ] והו ראמ[ ]

[ ] va[cat]

[ ] לכות[ ] clergy written too [ה[ ]

[ ] רצ[ ] רוח[ ]

2 iii—En. 89: 43–4 (Pl. XVII)

[ ] עם[ ]

[ ] חורין של[ ]

[ ] לכיר[ ] va[cat] ב[ ]

margin
1 xxii—En. 22: 3–7 (Pl. XVIII)

margin

לכדר נב[ר]ו עד יהי ועפ[ל]ר וemetery ומי ומי קץ ד[ר]

דינה רפה די מנוח תחתבד vacat

המוה תחת רוה

אנס מת קבלת [ד]אנונרה [ד]спешה סלק ומושק חוב[ל]

לפר[א]ל לעריא וקדרשא ד[ר] 6

א דמן דיא דצל[יו]

[לי א]מר 7

8–21

1 xxvi—En. 28: 3–29: 2 and 31: 2–32: 3 (Pl. XVIII)

ין['] פי[ו]ר[ז] 1–2


[ל[מד]ת הח פ[ז] 5]

[מד פע[ז]] 7–13


אלן כלצ[מ] מגור[ת] [אתה]ת מורי[ט] וחירות

I xxvii—En. 32: 3, 6 and 33: 3–34: 1 (Pl. XIX)

margin

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

margin

2 and 3—Book of Giants(?); see Pl. XIX

Col. II

Col. I 3

2

margin
4 i—En. 88: 3–89: 6 (Pl. XX)

a)

b)

4 ii—En. 89: 7–16 (Pl. XX)
4 iii—En. 89: 26–30 (Pl. XXI)

BOOKS OF ENOCH, SIXTH COPY (4QEn6)

1—En. 86: 1–3 (Pl. XXI)
BOOKS OF Enoch, SEVENTH COPY (4QEnσ)

1 i (Pl. XXI)

[ ] 1–17

[ ]

1 i i—En. 91: 10 (?) + 91: 18–19 and 92: 1–2 (Pl. XXI)

[ ] 1–12

[ ] קאמה בו zale[ה]

[ ] דאלה השב[ה]

[ ] ונהה אר[א]

[ ] כל דרי蓥[ת]

[ ] ארחט קשת[א]

[ ] דְּי מְדִינָה מַה [יתע[ב'] 20

[ ] קוששא למעד בחוך צ

[ ] [ע[ל י[אבר לווקה אברנהא]

[ ] דָּי כח[ב יוהב להם[תשת[ת]

[ ] [ה[ليب אמשא בט[י] 21

[ ] [ב[נו[ו] [לד]רייא א Mothers לכולל [תב[ב[י

[ ] [א[ל הת]ן בכסהמא א[ת[ו]ן [25

1 iii—En. 92: 5–93: 4 (Pl. XXII)

[ ] 1–14

[ ] 15

א':

א[ב[שכ[א

א' יומ[א]
 Diseases of the Mouth, Teeth, and Lips

I. Introduction

A. General Information

B. Specific Conditions

II. Disease Manifestations

A. Oral Cavity

B. Dental Health

III. Treatment Methods

A. Medical Therapy

B. Surgical Procedures

IV. Precautionary Measures

A. Dietary Advice

B. Hygiene Practices

V. Conclusion

References

Appendices

* Daleth written on Zain.
APPENDIX

The scribe first wrote ידהריה; then he deleted the Yod entirely and the He partially.— The scribe first wrote יתיהב.— Written on אולה.— The scribe had begun to write יברע שביע, which he then carefully deleted with the exception of the Beth.— Above the Qoph one can see a small ‘Ain.— is followed by דינה, struck out.— Written on קוסן ילבועב.

I v—En. 93: 11–94: 2 (Pl. XXIV)

* "看起来 seems to be written on נ.

---

* "The scribe first wrote ידהריה; then he deleted the Yod entirely and the He partially.

* Written on אולה.

* The scribe had begun to write יברע שביע, which he then carefully deleted with the exception of the Beth.

* Above the Qoph one can see a small ‘Ain.

* " looks followed by דינה, struck out.

* Written on קוסן ילבועב.
ADDENDUM TO P. 106

tῇ κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως, τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων (f. 87v last lines, in red).

Here is the corresponding passage as I read it in Milan, Ambros. D. 92 sup. (Gr. 259), eleventh century, ff. 117v, ii 7–118r, i 2 (left-hand column), and in Meteoroi, Monastery of the Metamorphosis MS. 382, fifteenth century, ff. 128r, 12–128v, 8 (right-hand column):

Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαὴλ. κύριε μου, τίς ἦστιν ὁ κρίτης οὗτος· καὶ τίς ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος τὰς ἀμαρτίας· καὶ λέγει Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ· θεωρεῖς τὸν κρίτην· οὗτός ἦστιν Ἀβελ· ὁ ἐν πρώτῳ μαρτυρίᾳ· καὶ ἦγετεν αὐτὸν ὅ˙ ἦν κρίνει· καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος· οὗτός ἦστιν διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐνταῦθα ἵνα ἀπογράφῃ τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνες ὑός ἐκάστου· καὶ λέγει Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν Μιχαὴλ· καὶ πῶς δύναται Ἐνώχ βαστάσαι τὸ μέρος τῶν ψυχῶν· μὴ εἰδὼς θάνατον· καὶ πῶς δύναται δοῦναι ἀπόφασιν ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν (I omit an illegible word)· καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαὴλ· εἶ ἁ ἀνῶσει ἀπόφασιν περὶ τούτου· οὐ συγχωρηθήσεται ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὰ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἐνώχ ἀποφαίνεται· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Κύριος ἦστιν ἀποφαίνομεν· ἀλλο τούτῳ οὐκ ἦστιν εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῦ γράφων· ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἦσσα Ἐνώχ πρὸς Κύριον λέγων· οὐ θέλω Κύριε τῶν ψυχῶν δοῦναι ἀπόφασιν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖ γίνομαι· καὶ λέγει Κύριος πρὸς Ἐνώχ· ἐγὼ τίθημι σημείον πρὸς σε. Ἰνα Τότε λέγει ὁ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἀγγέλον· κύριε μου τίς ἦστιν οὗτος· αὐτὸς· καὶ τίς ὁ ἐτέρος· ὁ κατέχων τὰς ἀμαρτίας· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Μιχαὴλ· ὁ κρίτης· ἐστιν· ὁ Ἀβελ· ὁ πρῶτος παρὰ πάντας μαρτυρήσας· καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Κύριος· οἱ θεοί· ἐνταῦθα εἶναι καὶ κατακρίνει· ὁ δὲ ἐτέρος· ὁ προσκομίζων τὰς ἀμαρτίας· καὶ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἀγαθὰς· καὶ πονηρὰς πράξες· ἐστιν ὁ Ἐνώχ· ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ προσέταγεν τὸν κύριον τῷ κόσμῳ διάγενεν καὶ ἀπογράφησαι πράξει· καὶ λογισμὸς ἐνός ἐκάστου ἀνθρώπου· καὶ λέγει Ἀβραὰμ· καὶ πῶς δύναται κύριε μου· οἱ Ἐνώχ· μὴ πῶς θάνατον ἰδὼς· ἀλλ᾽ ἐν σώματι· ἐν ψυχῇ· καὶ προσκομίζων· ἐνός ἐκάστου· τὰς ἀμαρτίας· καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας· ἡ πῶς· δύναται· διδοῦναι ἀπόφασις καὶ σώζειν τὸν ἐξομολογομένον· Καὶ φύσιν· (sic)· ὁ ἀγγέλος· ταύτα· καὶ· αὐτός· ὁ Ἐνώχ· πρὸς θεόν· ἐλάλησεν·· ἤν μὴ· καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· ἐπιφανείᾳ·· ἀλλ᾽· ὁ Κύριος· οὐκ· ἥκουσεν· αὐτοῦ·
In the longer Greek text of the Testament of Abraham (recension A) there is no mention of Enoch; for him are substituted the two recording angels, οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι.¹ For Enoch in a role similar to that in the Testament of Abraham (according to the Coptic and Greek B texts), as seen by the Jewish Cabbalists of the Middle Ages, see above, pp. 127–31.

## INDEXES

Passages of Enoch preserved in Aramaic

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SAMAY: 'Amizirds
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SAMAY: G* 2 5 (307)
GREEK-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

iddios: cf. סר
iddi': cf. אֵז
idou': יָד
Ioum_i: cf. מַי
ixos: נב
ixhot: נָט
Ioumehi: cf. מַי

kabiotmi: בֵּית
kadoi: כַּלַּבֵו יִד or בֵּית יִד
kai: ל, ס; cf. וְ(), (ד) (ת), (ק)
kados (read kalauros?): הנ
kaviv: קא
kaw: קא
kavka: נאש
kakos: נאש
kalew: נק
kalbiblapharon: נד
kallopiz: קלב
kat: cf. וְ(ז) (ד)
katakaio: נר
katarkwn: נר
kataleipw: פלט
katar: לופ
katarpaomai: לופ
katastafal: נר
katafani: נר
katafutev: נב
katech: אַלְכ
katera: אַלֶכ
karetiz: קא
kinnwam: קַע
klaio: קע
kopos: קע
kospim: קע
kopi: קַע (ד) (נ)
kipis: קַע (ד) (נ)
kti: נב, בר
ktiklo: מוז, מוז
kulo: מוז
kuri: מוז

kalw: מַלֵל
lambano: cf. בָּכָן
Lamix: לָבִּי
legw: אָלָמ; cf. מַר
GREEK-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

λόγος: הָלִּ֖ל
λοιπός: cf. הָבָר
λυτήριον: הָרָ֖שׁ

μακράν: רַחֵק
μακρόθεν: (מ) רַחֵק
μακρότης: אֶרֶב, אֵרֶב
μάχαρα: הָרָ֖ב
με: (ך)
μέγας: בֵּֽאֵּר
μείζων: בֵּֽאֵּר
μέσον: מְצָיע, בֵּּי, בֵּּי
μετά: ב, ב, ב, ב
μέταλλον: חֲלֹּּר
μετοξύ: ב
μετεγειρομαι: מְקַּלְקַל
méξαρ: ל, ד, ד
μη: פַּל
μηκέτι: צַד
μην: צֶּפֶּה
μαινο: בֵּּאֵּר
μήνυμα: בֵּּר
Μιχαηλ: מִרְכָל
μοι, μου: ו
μνημία: בֵּּר
μνημιά: בֵּּר
μνημή: מַרְכָל
μνημόνιον: וּד

נָרְדָּ֣ו: נָרְדָּו
נָקְרָ֣ס: נָקְרָּס
נְוָ֣י: נְוָי; cf. וֹד

ο: ד, cf. ה, ה, ה, ה, ה
οδε: cf. ו(כ)
οἶκος: ב
οἶχομαι: רָחֵק
ὀνμα: בֵּּר
ὀμοίοις: בֵּּר
ὀμοίῳ: בֵּּר
ὀμοίῳ: בֵּּר
ὀμο: ב
ὀνησίας: קְנִי
ὀνομα: בֵּּר
ὀρασις: הָזַּח, הָזַּח
ὀράω: הָזַּח
ὀργή: מ
ὀρος: בֵּּר
ός: ד
όταν: ר(כ)

οτε: (ב)ד
οτ: (ך)
o: פ
οδέν: מְדִים
όυ: פ
οὖν: ב(ל)
οὐδὲν: שֵׁמֶן
Ὀρφήλ: שֵׁמֶן
οἰστος: יִנַּה, אֶלֶף, ד, ה, ה, ה, ה, ה; cf. ה, ה
οἰστως: (ככ)כֶּבֶר

παιδίων: עֵילִם
παραβαίνων: הָבָר
παραβςהל: בֵּּל
παράδειγμα: מְרַב
παρακάπτω: וּד
πάς: ב, ב, ב, ב, ב
πέπτω: כַּל
πενθέω: בֵּּל
περί: ב, ב
πετεινός: בֵּּל
πίνω: בֵּּל
πίπερι: מָלָּל
πίπτω: נָל
πληθυνώ: מְלָלַּה
πληρῆς: מְלָל
πνεῦμα: נָשִׁי
πνεўω: דְמָע
ποιεω: צַד
πόλεμως: בֵּּר
πολύς: וּשָשׁ
πορεύω: אוֹל
πορνεύω: חֲלֹּּר
πόρρω: רוּחֵק
ποταμός: שַּלְנָא
προβαίνω: סָלִיק
προβατων: פ
πρός: (ד)ל
προσκυνέω: מְמַר
πρόσταγμα: מְמַר
πύλη: חֲלֹּּר
πῦρ: נָו
πυρός: שֵׁמָך

'Ρασῆλ: שַּהוֹלָא
'Ραμήλ: רַעמֵא
'Ραφαήλ: רַאָם
GREEK-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

τριβων: κόκκος
Τυρηλ: σοριαλιά

υός: βραχνον, βραχνων, βραχυν
tοποδεικνυμιν: τοποθετον
tοποκατων: τοποθετον
tον: τοποθετον

υπηλος: βραχνον, βραχνων, βραχυν

φαινω: εις, εις, εις
φαραγχς: τοποθετον
φαμακελα: εις, εις, εις
Φαρμαρος: τοποθετον
φθορα: βραχνον
φθλλων: τοποθετον
φυτεων: τοποθετον
φυτων: τοποθετον
φωνεω: ουπο, ουπο
φωνη: ουπο, ουπο

χαίρω: εις, εις, εις
χαλβανη: εις, εις, εις
χαμα: εις, εις, εις
χεμμων: εις, εις, εις
Χερουβιων: κορβων
χωλαια: αυθα
χωνικος: τοποθετον
χωνην: τοποθετον
χλωρος: τρικων
χρηστος: εις, εις, εις
χροα: εις, εις, εις
χρωνος: εις, εις, εις
χρυσιων: εις, εις, εις
Χωβαβηλ, Χωχαρηλ: κοβκαλα

ψελιον: κοβρ
ψευδων: κοβρ
ψυχη: εις, εις, εις

ψευδων: κοβρ
ψυχη: εις, εις, εις

ωραίος: σεφρ

ως: ( )

ωστε: εις, εις, εις

βα: ντον
γα: ταλιην
δα: ραβμ
εα: μαιησι
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amēd: עָמֵד
'arab: מֹעָבָר
araya: שְׁכָר
arga: נָבָא סְלֵק
'asareṭ: שֶׁשָּׁדַה, שֶׁשָּׁר; cf. Allāh
'atur: שֶׁשָּׁר
ayd: יָר
ayēn: נְצָר; cf. שמָה
alam: שְׁכִּים; cf. שְׁכִים, בָּר, אַרְגִי, אֲבָד
'amat: שֶׁשָּׁר
'elme: מַי, מְמֹם
'ëd: שְׁמֹאָל; cf. שמָא, זָמֶר, בָּשְׁר
'ëlat: שָׁמָי
'elwat: שָׁמָי
'emug: שְׁמִיק
'érafat: עָרִמְל, רְחָב
'ësa: נְזָר
'oda: שְׁמָר
'of: עָנָן

ba-: בּ, ב, בָּב, ב, ל, ל, ל, ל, ל, ל, ל
ba'ëmnētu: (בּ)בּ, בּ; ba'entin: בּ; ba'entazē: בּ, בּ; badība: ל, ל, ל; bahēya: תַּמָּן; balē'el-: ב, ב, ב, ב, ב, ב, ב, ב
'abwēsta: ב; botu: ב; bāti, cf. שַׁבִּיע
ba'ēl: מַעְרַד
badēv: מַעְרַד
bāgē'ē: מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד, מַעְרַד
bakaya: בּהֹמַה
balē'a: עָלִי
baquāla: זַמְא
baquē'a: תַּמָּן, תַּמָּן
barad: בּלָל
baraka: בּרָר
barakat: רָמ, בּרַכָה
barha: צָוָר, דוּנ
bashā: סָלֵך
Baṭār'el: מַמְרֵא
(ba)bayēnāt-: קֹדֶם, קֹדֶם, אַלַי
bazēba: שָׁמ
bāher: שָׁמ
Bārāg'el: בּרִכְרָא
bē'ēsi: אוּש
bē'ēsit: אוּש
bēhēla: מָלֵל, מָלֵל, מָלֵל
bērēhān: נוֹר, בּכָבָב
bēzuḥ: שֵׁנֶה
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ETHIOPIAN-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

maki'ebt: סמל
mal'ak: תְּרוּם קְרִיָּה, רוֹעָה
mal'ebt: תְּהִלָּה, תְּרוּם (מְקַלּ), (מְקַלָּו), תָּנִוכָה
manbar: כּוּרָא
manfaq: פַּלּ
manfas: חוֹד, חוֹשָׁה
mangal: בֶּן
mangéet: מְלֹכָה
mankér: עֶבֶר
manu: מַנְא
maqwám: מָסָרָה
masabá: חֶבֵּר
masé'él: שְּכַנֵּל, שִׁמְחָה, גִּיוֹרָה, גִּבּ
masla: דּוֹמָה
masqar: צִוָּר
masé'á: וּבֵן, גַלִּחָה, בְּרֹא אָלָה
masáhaf: חַכִּים, סֶפֶר, מַכּל
matáhét: חוֹד
matáva: חֶבֶר
ma'ékal: מַצְוָע, חוֹד, בִּטָה, בֵּן
mábbar: חָוָן
mábhar: דָּרָר
máásdar: דָּוֹר
máásdan: חוֹד
máy: מַנְא
mé'et: cf. אֶלֶף
mé'veyám: דּוֹר
mé'verâb: מַכּל
mëdér: שְׁפֹר, אוֹשָׁה, אוֹרִי
mégbár: צִיוּר, צִיבָר
mékér: צִיוּר, פָּלָק
mélú'él: מַלְאָךְ
mént: מְנָת הָוָה
mére'áy: מְרָעָה
mësél: חֵר, חָבָר, סָמָט; cf. מְסָל, מְסָל
mësitir: וְד
mëslél: פָּלָה
mëta: חוֹד, חַוָּה, קְשָׁר
Mikál'el: מִיכָלֶא
moq: הוֹד
mota: מַתָּה
musnâ: חוֹד

nababa: קְרִיָּה
'anbalhalá: דָּלֶק
nabarâ: בוֹחָן, בוֹחָן, פְּנָנָה; cf. מב
nafás: הוֹד
nafés: וּבּ
nagara: דְּרוֹמָה, דְּרוֹמָה, מַכּל; cf. מַכּל, מַכּל

nage: סְמָל
nakara: סְמָל
'ankurakurah: דְּשָׁר
naq'at: חוֹד
nase'a: רוֹזָן
nasara: חוֹד
nataga: חוֹד
nawâ: אָל
nawâh: דְּרוֹמָה, דְּרוֹמָה
nâhu: אָל
negé'et: חוֹד
nêtug: cf. מָעָרָה
nôja: רוֹזָן
nub: אָלוֹר
arbâ: אָלוֹר
nuhat: אָלוֹר

papare: פָּלָה

qadâmáwí: קְרִיָּה
qadâmáy: דּוֹר
qadámi: קְרִיָּה
qalóy: מַשְׁמַע
qanámmos: קְרִיָּה, דּוֹר
qaraba: דוֹק
qarnób: cf. דְּשָׁר
qatala: דּוֹק, רוֹזָן
qatél: רוֹזָן
gayîh: שְׁמַע
qâl: קְרִיָּה, קְרִיָּה, אוֹר, אוֹר, אוֹר, אוֹר
qëdëm, qëdëm-: קְרִיָּה, קְרִיָּה
qëdëw: בּוֹ
qëdësú: דְּשָׁר, מְדֹר
qoma: דּוֹק
qualâ: חוֹד
quasél: דְּרוֹמָה

ra'ây: cf. נְשָׁה, חוֹד
rabé'á: אָלִיבֵר
ragama: לֹזָן
ragaza: אָלִיבֵר
rahawa: חוֹד
rahâq: רוֹזָן
rakaba: דְּשָׁר
rakuêsá: סָפָר
Rami'el: רוֹזָן
rasaya: צַבָּב
ra'ey: רוֹזָן, חוֹד
ra'hey: רוֹזָן, חוֹד
ra'heb: פָּתָן
ETHIOPIAN-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

Rāmi'el: רָמִי׳ אֵל
re'ēs: cf. נָחָה
re'ēya: נָעַה, נָעַה, נָעַה, נָעַה
re'ēda: נָעַה
réghmat: לוֹמ
réhuq: רָהֵק, רָהֵק
réhēw: פָּתוֹחַ, פָּתוֹחַ, פָּתוֹחַ, פָּתוֹחַ, רָהֵק
rékus: צָכָה
réte'em: קְשׁוּמ, קְשׁוּמ, רוֹבֶּה, רוֹבֶּה
Rufa'el: רַעְפָּאֵל
rusat: נַוָּה, נַוָּה, רוֹבֶּה, רוֹבֶּה
sanaya: cf. סָנַיָּה
sanmāy: סָנַמָּי, סָנַמָּי
saran: סָרָן
sarēa: סָרֶא, סָרֶא
sarēa't: סָרֶא, סָרֶא
sarēq: סָרֶק, סָרֶק
sarēq: סָרֶק, סָרֶק
sarēw: אֲשֵׁא, אֲשֵׁא
sā'ēr: תָּשִׁב
sāhēl: רוֹמֵה
sēga: בָּשֵׁר
sēre'at: תַּשׁבּוֹת
sabaya: סָרָה
sadqa: קֶשׁוּמ
sahafa: רַמָּה, רַמָּה
salala: סֶתֶר, סֶתֶר
salim: אֲמָנוֹת
sane'a: סָמָך
sanēha: קָוֹמ
saraba: עָבֹד
sarēha: קָרוֹמ, קָרוֹמ
savē'a: קָרָה, קָרָה
sā'ēr: עָכַּא
sādēq: קֶשׁוֹמ
sāmā: טְמַל
sēbāh: מֶנֶה
sēbāhāy: קְרִים
sēdēq: קֶשׁוֹמ
sēlmat: הוֹשֵׁנ
sēnē'ē: בְּנַרְנַר
sēnēf: קֵצֶה, שָּנִי
sēnu'ē: cf. סְלִים, לַחֵן
sērāh: עַבוֹד
	
tadlā: cf. אַרְוָא
tafēssamēt: אַוְרָא
tafšāmēt: סְפִּיק
tagbār: צְבָר
takala: צְבָר
takēl: נָבְעַה
talawā: רָרִית
tarfā: נָלִם
Tāme'el: תָּמָאֵל
tāsē'ē: מַשֶּׁשׁ
tē'ēfit: רְבֹּר
tē'ēzāx: פֶּרֶשׁ, פֶּרֶשׁ, דֵּמוֹת
tēghu: שֵׁי
tēmȳrmērēt: מֵדָר
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| Yāredi: | Yāredi: | Yāredi: |
| ye’ti: | ye’ti: | ye’ti: |
| ye’tē: | ye’tē: | ye’tē: |
| ye’tē: | ye’tē: | ye’tē: |
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| yē’bus: | yē’bus: | yē’bus: |
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| zamaw: | zamaw: | zamaw: |
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| zēya: | zēya: | zēya: |
| zemaw: | zemaw: | zemaw: |
| zi-: | zi-: | zi-: |
| zi’ahu, zi’ahā: | zi’ahu, zi’ahā: | zi’ahu, zi’ahā: |
| zi’ahomu | zi’ahomu | zi’ahomu |
| (cf. Shabah (cf. Shabah |
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