

1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) ENOCH

(Second Century B.C. – First Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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The Ethiopic Book of Enoch (Hēnok), also known as 1 Enoch, is the oldest of the three pseudepigrapha attributed to Enoch, the seventh descendant of Adam and Eve, the first man and woman. According to Genesis 5:24, “Enoch walked with God. Then he vanished because God took him.” This tradition of Enoch’s spiritual relocation gave rise to many haggadic stories, including one that Enoch, son of Jared, when he was taken away by God, saw the secrets of the mysteries of the universe, the future of the world, and the predetermined course of human history.¹

The first part of the book contains an introduction (chs. 1–5), which portrays the eschatological era and the final judgment of the righteous and the wicked, and a narrative (chs. 6–36) which concerns the fallen angels, their intercourse with women (Gen 6:1–4), their corruption of all men, Enoch’s unsuccessful intercession on their behalf, a prediction of their doom, and various visions of Enoch during a tour of the earth, Sheol, and heaven. The second part—the Similitudes, or the so-called “parables” (chs. 37–71)—deals respectively with the coming judgment of the righteous and the wicked; the Messiah, the Son of Man, the Righteous One, and the Elect One; the exposition of additional heavenly secrets; the measuring of Paradise; the resurrection of the righteous; and the punishment of the fallen angels. The third part, an astrological treatise (chs. 72–82), concerns the reckoning of time by the sun, the nature of the solar year of 364 days, and the cosmic disorders of the last days. The fourth part, the Dream Visions (chs. 83–90), consists of two visions concerning the future history (from Enoch’s antediluvian perspective) of the world and Israel: the coming punishment of sinful society by the Deluge, and the history of Israel from Adam to the Maccabees presented with bold symbolic imagery. Oxen symbolize the patriarchs; sheep, the faithful Israelites; beasts and birds of prey, the heathen oppressors of Israel; a great horned sheep, a rising Jewish leader; a white bull with great horns, the Messiah. There is also additional material on the fallen angels, the throne of judgment, and the new Jerusalem, together with Enoch’s experience of his earlier visions. The fifth part (chs. 91–104), Enoch’s testament, recapitulates the theme of the spiritual blessedness of the righteous and the sorrowful end of the sinners. Woes are pronounced upon the sinners, who are repeatedly identified with the exploitative wealthy and oppressive powers. This section, known particularly for its inclusion of the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:12–17 and 93:1–10), summarizes the events that would unfold upon the earth during ten (actually seven and three respectively) consecutive world weeks. An appendix (chs. 105–8) contains fragments of independent works, especially from the Book of Noah (chs. 106f.), and an editor’s conclusion.

¹ For other synopses of the narrative, see M. Rist, “Enoch, Book of,” *IDB*, vol. 2, pp. 104f.; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 22f.; R. H. Charles, *Religious Development Between the Old and the New Testaments* (New York, 1914) pp. 223–26. [I am most thankful to Professor O. Neugebauer of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, who kindly read my translation of 1En 72–82 (the astronomical section) and made some very valuable suggestions which have helped me to improve my presentation of this difficult part of the book, which contains so many textual corruptions. I also thank Mr. E. G. Martin, who has labored so long and carefully over my translation, and Professor J. H. Charlesworth for his improvements to the Introduction.]

Texts

1 Enoch is found complete only in the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Version, for which more than forty manuscripts are known to exist as of this writing. However, fragments of the work are also found in Aramaic, Greek, and Latin.

1. *Aramaic*: Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch were found at Qumran and have been recently published, together with a major study of the text and history of 1 Enoch.²

2. *Ethiopic*: As has been indicated above, the complete version of 1 Enoch is preserved only in Ethiopic. Below are a list of five major and important manuscripts, one of which (A) has been utilized as the base text of the present English translation, and another of which (C) has been used very extensively in the same work:

A. Kebrän 9/II (Hammerschmidt—*Tānāsee* 9/II); fifteenth century.³

B. Princeton Ethiopic 3 (Garrett collection—Isaac 3); eighteenth or nineteenth century.⁴

C. EMLL 2080; fifteenth (possibly 14th) century.⁵

D. Abbadianus 55; possibly fifteenth century.⁶

E. British Museum Orient 485 (Wright 6); first half of the sixteenth century.⁷

3. *Greek*: The Greek fragments are found principally in the following:

a. Codex Panopolitanus (two 8th-cent. or later MSS, found in 1886–87 in a Christian grave in Akhmim, Egypt), containing 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6 (designated G^a in this work).

b. Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (c. 800), containing 1 Enoch 6:1–10:14; 15:8–16:1 (designated G^s in this work).

c. Chester Beatty papyrus of 1 Enoch containing 97:6–104; 106f. (published by C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*) (designated G^p in this work).

d. Vatican Greek MS 1809, containing 1 Enoch 89:42–49.

4. *Latin*: a Latin fragment, containing 1 Enoch 106:1–18, found in an eighth-century manuscript.⁸

Original language

Some scholars believe that the original language of 1 Enoch is Hebrew; others, however, think it is Aramaic; still others contend that the book, like Daniel, was composed partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic.⁹ Recently there have been attempts either to counter¹⁰ or to substantiate entirely¹¹ the Aramaic origin of the Ethiopic text. Neither theory provides wholly convincing arguments which may be accepted without reservations.

Our text of A shows an additional closeness between the Ethiopic and Greek versions, but not sufficient to rule out the possibility that a major portion of the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch was of Aramaic origin. Moreover, Halévy's argument that portions of the Ethiopic text derive ultimately from a Hebrew original has not been disproved. Consequently, the thesis that part of 1 Enoch, like the canonical Daniel, was composed partially in Aramaic and partially in Hebrew has to be considered probable.

Date

1 Enoch is clearly composite, representing numerous periods and writers. Before the

² J. T. Milik and M. Black, *The Books of Enoch*.

³ For a brief description of this MS see E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee* (Wiesbaden, 1973) pp. 107f.

⁴ For a brief description of the MS see E. Isaac, *A Catalogue of Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library (Garrett Collection)* (Princeton Univ. Library, 1974) p. 3.

⁵ A microfilm copy of this MS is preserved at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. There are two additional important MSS of the 17th cent. (EMLL 4437 and EMLL 4750) in the same collection, which the present author has investigated.

⁶ See A. Antoine D'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) pp. 75f.

⁷ See W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1877) pp. 7f.

⁸ Discovered by M. R. James in 1893 in the British Museum and published in *Apocrypha Anecdota* (T&S 2.3; Cambridge, 1893; repr. 1967) pp. 146–50.

⁹ See J. Halévy, "Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Hénoch," *JA* 6.9 (1867) 352–95; R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, p. xxvii; N. Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch," in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (Chicago, 1908) vol. 2, pp. 329–49.

¹⁰ M. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran" in W. C. van Unnik, ed., *La littérature juive entre Tenach et Mischna* (Leiden, 1974) pp. 15–28.

¹¹ E. Ullendorff, "An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch," *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* (Rome, 1960) pp. 259–67.

discovery of fragments of 1 Enoch among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the following outline of sections and their dates was essentially the consensus of critical scholars:¹²

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1. Apocalypse of Weeks | 91:12–17; 93:1–10 | early pre-Maccabean |
| 2. Fragments of Enochic Visions | 12–16 | early pre-Maccabean |
| 3. Fragments of the Book of Noah | 6–11; 106f. cf. 54:7–55:2; 60; 65–69:25 | late pre-Maccabean |
| 4. Independent Fragment | 105 | ? pre-Maccabean |
| 5. Dream Visions | 83–90 | c. 165–161 B.C. |
| 6. Book of Heavenly Luminaries | 72–82 | c. 110 B.C. |
| 7. Similitudes | 37–71 | c. 105–64 B.C. |
| 8. Later Additions to Dream Visions | 91:1–11, 18, 19; 92; 94–104 | c. 105–104 B.C. |
| 9. Introductory Chapters | 1–5 | late pre-Christian |

The discovery of these fragments of 1 Enoch has awakened new interest in the structure and dating of 1 Enoch. Following to some extent the former views that this work is a collection of independent writings, Milik has argued for the categorization of the Ethiopic version into five primary books with the last chapter being taken as a much later addition.¹³ These are:

1. The Book of the Watchers (1–36)
2. The Book of the Similitudes (37–71)
3. The Book of Astronomical Writings (72–82)
4. The Book of Dream Visions (83–90)
5. The Book of the Epistle of Enoch (91–107)

Milik argues for a pre-Christian Qumran Enochic Pentateuch which contained a much longer version of the astrological writings, and, most importantly, instead of the Similitudes, another work entitled the Book of Giants.¹⁴ He bases his argument on the fact that fragments of only four of the five constituent parts of the Ethiopic Enoch have been discovered at Qumran. No fragment from the Similitudes has been recovered.

Milik argues that by the year A.D. 400 the Book of Giants as in the Qumran Aramaic Enoch had been replaced by the late Christian work, the Similitudes, in a new Greek Enochic Pentateuch. This hypothesis is not supported by any solid evidence and has been subjected to serious criticism, in particular by the members of the *SNTS* Pseudepigrapha Seminar which met in 1977 in Tübingen and in 1978 in Paris.¹⁵ The consensus of the members was that the Similitudes were Jewish and dated from the first century A.D. At these meetings, it was also agreed that Milik should have worked more directly with the Ethiopic evidence. Unfortunately, he took Charles's dated text and translation at face value and incorrectly assumed that all Ethiopic manuscripts of 1 Enoch are very recent, except possibly a fifteenth-century text (Charles's u—Abbadianus 55). We now have at least three definitely fifteenth-century Ethiopic manuscripts, and it seems probable that even earlier ones may be discovered. Indeed, one of the readings in the fifteenth-century manuscript used herein as a base text casts serious doubts on one of Milik's arguments for the late date of the Similitudes. Milik has argued that the reference to angels flying "with wings" (1En 61:1) points to a post-Christian period for the composition of the Similitudes. Our manuscript does not support him; it has no reference to angels flying "with wings" (see translation and n. below). Milik is correct that his text of 61:1 is late; he failed to see, however, that the late part is a late variant. In conclusion, I am convinced that 1 Enoch already contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century A.D.

Provenance

We are not certain about the city or place in which 1 Enoch was, or its constituent parts

¹² Cf. R. H. Charles, "The Book of Enoch," in *APOT*, vol. 2, pp. 170f.

¹³ Cf. J. T. Milik, *HTR* 64 (1971) 333–78. Also see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 4–135.

¹⁴ This work, believed to have been in circulation among the Manicheans, has been recovered from various fragments by W. B. Henning. See "The Book of Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 52–74.

¹⁵ See J. H. Charlesworth, *NTS* 25 (1979) 315–23; M. A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," *NTS* 25 (1979) 345–59; C. L. Mearns, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979) 360–69.

were, composed. However, it is clear that the work originated in Judea and was in use at Qumran before the beginning of the Christian period.

The evidence concerning the origin of the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch is also lacking. We can be relatively certain that the version was produced in Ethiopia during the earliest period of Ethiopic literature (c. A.D. 350–650). However, this was a time of extensive translating and copying by Christian scribes in Ethiopia, and exact dates and cities are unknown.

Historical importance

Information regarding the usage and importance of the work in the Jewish and Christian communities, other than the Ethiopian Church, is sparse. It is difficult, therefore, to understand its exact origin. It seems clear, nonetheless, that 1 Enoch was well known to many Jews, particularly the Essenes, and early Christians, notably the author of Jude. The earliest portions of the work originated probably in a proto-Essene milieu; the latter sections perhaps in a setting quite different from Qumran Essenism.

1 Enoch reflects the historical events immediately preceding and following the Maccabean Revolt. More important, however, is the light it throws upon early Essene theology and upon earliest Christianity. It was used by the authors of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Some New Testament authors seem to have been acquainted with the work, and were influenced by it, including Jude, who quotes it explicitly (1:14f.). At any rate, it is clear that Enochic concepts are found in various New Testament books, including the Gospels and Revelation.

1 Enoch played a significant role in the early Church; it was used by the authors of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and a number of apologetic works. Many Church Fathers, including Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, either knew 1 Enoch or were inspired by it. Among those who were familiar with 1 Enoch, Tertullian had an exceptionally high regard for it. But, beginning in the fourth century, the book came to be regarded with disfavor and received negative reviews from Augustine, Hilary, and Jerome. Thereafter, with the exception of a few extracts made by Georgius Syncellus, a learned monk of the eighth century, and the Greek fragments found in a Christian grave in Egypt (c. A.D. 800), 1 Enoch ceased to be appreciated except in Ethiopia. The relegation of 1 Enoch to virtual oblivion by medieval minds should not diminish its significance for Christian origins; few other apocryphal books so indelibly marked the religious history and thought of the time of Jesus.

The interest in 1 Enoch in Ethiopia began with its initial translation and has continued thereafter. During the earliest period of Ethiopic literature many biblical, apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and distinctly Christian works were translated into Ethiopic (Ge'ez) and copied extensively by scribes. Most of these early copies probably perished during the various periods of political upheavals that took place in Ethiopia (c. A.D. 950, c. A.D. 1270, or c. A.D. 1527–43). Thus, most scholars take for granted that no manuscripts of this early period actually exist; nevertheless, it is premature to dismiss the possibility at this time. Although research in Ethiopian studies in general is quite advanced, research into manuscripts and manuscript collections found in Ethiopian monasteries and churches is still at an elementary stage. As of now, our three oldest manuscripts of 1 Enoch date from the fifteenth century.

In the early seventeenth century, some European scholars thought that a version of 1 Enoch which was identical with the one quoted by Jude and early Church Fathers existed in Ethiopia. A learned Capuchin monk was believed to have brought to Europe a copy of the work, which passed into the possession of Nicolas Claude Fabri, the Seigneur of Peiresc (1580–1637). This manuscript, which aroused great excitement in Europe, drew the attention of the first great European Ethiopic scholar, Ludolfus Hiob, who traced it to the Bibliotheca Regia in Paris in 1683. He was disappointed to learn that the manuscript was not of 1 Enoch but that of an unknown Ethiopic work called the Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth. It took another century before copies of 1 Enoch finally arrived in Europe. They were brought in 1773 by J. Bruce, the adventurous Scottish traveler to Africa. Nothing occurred until 1800, when Silvestre de Sacy, in his "Notice sur le livre d'Hénoch" (in *Magazine encyclopédique* 6/1, p. 382), first published excerpts from the book together with Latin translations of chapters 1, 2, 5–16, and 22–32. In 1821 Lawrence issued the first English version of the work. In 1853 Dillmann published a translation which aroused much interest in the work.

Theological importance

1 Enoch helps clarify the rich complexities of both intertestamental Jewish thought and early Christian theology. In this brief introduction it is only possible to sketch a few of 1 Enoch's many ideas, motifs, symbolisms, and important theological concepts.

The God of 1 Enoch is the righteous and just God of the Old Testament; he is the Creator of the world, the holy lawgiver, the dispenser of history, and the ultimate judge of all.

Genesis 6:1–4 alludes to the sons of God who had intercourse with the daughters of the people. 1 Enoch transforms this idea into a theology of fallen angels, who consorted with women and produced giants who sinned against the people. They corrupted the people through the instructions in forbidden sciences like making arms, cosmetics, precious metals. Enoch's intercession on behalf of the fallen angels fails; he is instructed, on the contrary, to predict their final doom (12–16). Allusions to the legend of the fallen angels occur elsewhere in Jewish writings (viz. Jub; Sir 16:7; CD 2.14–3.13; 4Q 180f.; and rabbinic *Midrashim*).¹⁶

One of the extensively discussed concepts in 1 Enoch, particularly by students of New Testament theology, is that of the heavenly Messiah (45–57). The Messiah in 1 Enoch, called the Righteous One, and the Son of Man, is depicted as a pre-existent heavenly being who is resplendent and majestic, possesses all dominion, and sits on his throne of glory passing judgment upon all mortal and spiritual beings.

This description of the Messiah is placed in the Similitudes in the context of reflections upon the last judgment, the coming destruction of the wicked, and the triumph of the righteous ones. This eschatological concept is the most prominent and recurring theme throughout the whole book. The very introduction (1–5) opens with an announcement of the final, coming punishment, the destruction of the wicked ones and the resurrection of the righteous ones to an endless and sinless eternal life. Likewise, in the Dream Visions (83–90) the same theme is recalled. In this case, the righteous dead, including converted gentiles, will be resurrected, the Messiah will appear, his kingdom will be founded, and the new Jerusalem established; on the other hand, the sinners, the fallen angels, including the apostate Jews, will be judged. The last major section of 1 Enoch (91–105) is an admonition to righteousness, for he predicts that the wicked shall be condemned to eternal punishment in Sheol, whereas the righteous shall have a blessed resurrection to enjoy the bliss of heaven.

One of the central emphases of 1 Enoch is that sinners are economic exploiters, the political oppressors, and the socially unjust people of this world. Thus, while 1 Enoch will deepen our insights into and broaden our perspectives of intertestamental Jewish and early Christian theology, it also will help us to appreciate the revolutionary mood of Jews and their staunch opposition not only to Greek and Roman imperialism, but also to Jewish aristocracy itself.

There is also a social concern behind 1 Enoch's computation of time and understanding of the calendar. Time should be reckoned only by the sun, not by the moon as in the Pharisaic lunar calendar. The author's solar year consists of 364 days, and not 365¼, a fact of which he is also aware. The calendrical discussion is tied to a spiritual concern; in the last days the sun, moon, stars, and earth will be disrupted in cosmic chaos.

Relation to biblical and apocryphal books

It should be evident from what has been said above that 1 Enoch is as dependent upon the Old Testament as it is influential upon the New Testament and later extracanonical literature. During the exilic and post-exilic periods, apocalyptic became a major trend in Jewish thought. It was inherited by Christianity and remains an element in it to the present. Apocalyptic is both prophetic and revelatory; in apocalyptic literature we find, on the one hand, moral indignation about the present world, and, on the other, the foreboding predictions of eschatological events and the ultimate destiny of the world.

Old Testament ideas and stories such as the account of the fallen angels, the Flood, the history of Israel, the distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and the Messiah are interpreted, elaborated, and presented through the paradigm of apocalyptic dualism, wherein

¹⁶ Cf. D. Dimant, "'The Fallen Angels' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them" (Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew Univ., 1974).

sharp distinctions are drawn between the opposing cosmic powers of good and evil and between the present and coming ages. These concepts in 1 Enoch also permeate Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Testament and Apocalypse of Abraham, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Likewise, even though Charles may have exaggerated when he claimed that “nearly all” the writers of the New Testament were familiar with 1 Enoch, there is no doubt that the New Testament world was influenced by its language and thought. It influenced Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, 1 John, Jude (which quotes it directly), and Revelation (with numerous points of contact). There is little doubt that 1 Enoch was influential in molding New Testament doctrines concerning the nature of the Messiah, the Son of Man, the messianic kingdom, demonology, the future, resurrection, final judgment, the whole eschatological theater, and symbolism. No wonder, therefore, that the book was highly regarded by many of the earliest apostolic and Church Fathers.

Cultural importance

1 Enoch, as we have seen, made an impact on early Christian thought and left its indelible mark upon the New Testament. It also contributes *indirectly* to our understanding of Western culture; however, inasmuch as it was altogether a lost book to the Western world until the last century, 1 Enoch played no role in, and made no contributions to, the development of the intellectual history of modern Western culture. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to understand any aspect of the religious tradition and thought of Ethiopia, the country in which it survived, without an understanding of it. No wonder that the indigenous Ethiopic Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth created such a sensation in seventeenth-century Europe as being the very “Book of Enoch” itself. The style, the language, the symbolisms, and the concepts of the Book of Mysteries, though different in many ways from those of 1 Enoch, clearly manifest a conscious effort to emulate 1 Enoch. For instance, the fourth part of the Book of Mysteries, called “A Discourse Concerning the Birth of Enoch,” recapitulates the Apocalypse of Weeks, brings the last three weeks through to the Christian era, and ends with the Antichrist in the tenth.¹⁷

The Book of Mysteries is only one example of the influence of 1 Enoch on Ethiopic literature. The *Kebra Nagast*, the famous Ethiopian royal saga, is another example of a work that utilizes 1 Enoch generously. Other Ethiopic religious works contain references from, and show influences of, 1 Enoch. Ethiopic poetic literature, the *gadles* (the Ethiopic hagiographies), and some of the magical works manifest the influence of 1 Enoch in their language, imageries, angelology, and demonology.

Still more significant is the influence of Enochic ideas on Ethiopian Christian theology. What distinguishes Ethiopian Christian theology from that of either Western or Eastern Christendom may well be the Ethiopian emphases on Enochic thought. Sin does not originate from Adam’s transgression alone; Satan, the demons, and evil spirits (the fallen angels) are equally responsible for its origin; they continue to lead man astray, causing moral ruin on the earth. On the other hand, there are the protective angels, with their various orders and ranks, who play an important part in both the religious and social life of the Ethiopian people; these angels—particularly Michael, Gabriel, Rufael, Uriel, as well as the cherubim (Krubel) and the seraphim (Surāfēl)—serve as personal guardians of those specially dedicated to them and who celebrate with meticulous observance the dates of their special festivals.

Introducing the following translation

My primary base text (A) for this translation of Ethiopic Enoch is a fifteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript found in a monastery in Kebran, in Lake Tana. I obtained a copy of this manuscript from a microfilm (A) now found in West Germany.¹⁸ Though I have chosen to use as my base text a single manuscript, instead of an existing eclectic text or one created temporarily as the real basis of my translation, I have continually compared A with another

¹⁷ Cf. J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, “Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre” in *Patrologia Orientalis* 1/1 (1907) 1–95; and S. Grébaud, “Les Trois Derniers Traités du Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 6/3 (1911) 361–464.

¹⁸ E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, p. 107.

Ethiopic manuscript of the late eighteenth century (B) found in the Garrett collection of Princeton University as well as with the text of R. H. Charles (C),¹⁹ and, in a few cases, followed them instead of A where the latter is clearly wrong or unintelligible. I have been as faithful as possible to A, following it even when B and C and all other known witnesses, attested by the variations of other manuscripts given in the apparatus of Charles (EC), disagree with it, except in clear cases where A obviously transmits grammatical, syntactical, or scribal errors. Only the most significant or relevant variations of other witnesses are shown in my notations. If B or C are clearly erroneous (scribal, typographic, grammatical), I do not always give them as variations. Wherever possible or necessary I have also been able to compare A with the texts of the existing Greek fragments as given in the Charles edition of 1 Enoch: G^a (the fragments from Akhmim—G^{a1} and G^{a2} the duplicate passages of the same if they exist), G^s (the fragments preserved by Syncellus), and G^p (the Greek papyrus as edited by Bonner). The Qumran Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch have been consulted but have not influenced the following translation.²⁰

It appears to me that in general A is superior to B and C, often giving shorter and more difficult readings (see, for instance, 71:8f.). I have been able to examine briefly microfilms of three important Enoch manuscripts—EMML 2080 (15th cent.), 4437 (17th cent.), and 4750 (17th cent.)—copies of which are presently found in the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, to ascertain the importance of A. Of the manuscripts that Charles studied, A appears to be closest to his g (early 16th cent.)²¹ and his u (possibly 15th cent.).²² But in many interesting or important cases, A may agree with other manuscripts used by Charles. For instance, A agrees with not only u but also Charles's m and t in omitting "Son" from the "Son of Man" (69:26). In at least one crucial place, A agrees with q against other witnesses. Scholars have thought that the reference to Enoch's travel in a "chariot of wind" as found in a *Mani Codex* (which relied on an Apocalypse of Enoch) is missing from the Ethiopic Enoch; if we follow A and q (cf. 52:1) this may not be wholly the case. In general A agrees with the Ethiopic textual tradition against the Greek; nevertheless, there are a few cases where it agrees with the Greek against other Ethiopic traditions (e.g. 18:9; 24:5). The importance of A is unfortunately reduced by the carelessness of the scribe (e.g. 45:1; 48:10). It is also possible that the scribe of A used two manuscripts as he worked or copied one manuscript freely; that may be the reason why fols. 103r–106v (1En 78:8b–82:20) are a duplicate of fols. 96r–99r (or vice versa), showing each time several variations—perhaps two scribes with very similar hands copied parts of A, using separate texts.

It should be noted here that my translation, though very faithful to the text, is in general not always literal. Therefore, I may render a single Ethiopic word into different English expressions depending on the context or idiom. For instance, *mangest* may be rendered "kingdom" or "empire," *hāyl*, "power," "force," "forces," "army," or "array," *samay*, "heaven" or "sky," and so on. In this respect, I have also translated the expression *re'esa mawā'el* as the "Antecedent of Time" or the "Before-Time," instead of the literal "Head of Days"; on the other hand, it has not been easy to find a more adequate expression for the more or less literal "Son of Man." I generally bear in mind not only the context of the language but also the context of the milieu of the languages of 1 Enoch; thus, I translate *kramt* "rainy season" rather than "winter," *hagay* "dry season" rather than "summer." It should also be noted that despite the freedom in Ethiopic regarding the use of the singular and the plural, both in the case of nouns and verbs, I have tried to render all Ethiopic expressions into acceptable English; moreover, except in certain cases (e.g. the sun is generally feminine, the moon, masculine), it has not always been possible to indicate the gender of Ethiopic words in the translation. A major dilemma always arises in rendering the simple but ubiquitous Ethiopic conjunction *wa-* into English; the reader should know that I have been very generous in using whatever connective English conjunction I felt to be appropriate in many cases (e.g. "and," "or," "but," "moreover," "furthermore," "then,"

¹⁹ Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*.

²⁰ These are now edited by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 139–407.

²¹ W. Wright, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1896) no. 6.

²² See D'Abbadie, *Catalogue*, no. 55.

“as well as,” “also,” and so on) and have dropped it altogether in several other cases where in English “and” would be superfluous.

In conclusion, even though I have not tried to annotate all my restorations of grammatical, scribal, and textual errors and variant readings, I have provided ample notes in order that the reader may appreciate the problems of translating this difficult work and understand better this translation. I am the last person to claim that this translation is flawless; by its nature, every translation involves a subjective dimension which may lead to errors.²³

²³ I am thankful to Professor James Charlesworth of Duke University, who invited me to do this work, and to Professor Michael Stone, who urged me to accept the invitation. Professor Ernst Hammerschmidt of the University of Hamburg kindly and promptly sent a copy of the 15th-cent. Enoch manuscript (A) to the Widener Library; I am grateful to him as well as to the Interlibrary Loan staff at Widener for their kind assistance.

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THE BOOK OF ENOCH

Book I (1–36)

The Parable of Enoch

INTRODUCTORY VISIONS AND PARABLES OF ENOCH

The righteous and the wicked

- 1 **I** The blessing^a of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the ungodly ones.^b • And Enoch, the blessed and righteous^c man of the Lord,^d took up (his parable)^e while his eyes^f were open and he saw, and said, “(This is) a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them everything and I understood. I look not for this generation but for the distant one that is coming.^g I speak about the elect ones and concerning them.” • And I took up with a parable^h (saying), “The God of the universe, the Holy Great One, will come forth from his dwelling.ⁱ • And from there he will march upon Mount Sinai and appear in his camp emerging from heaven^j with a mighty power.^k And everyone shall be afraid, and Watchers^l shall quiver. • And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth. • Mountains and high places^m will fall downⁿ and be frightened. And high hills shall be made low; and they shall melt like a honeycomb^o before^p the flame. • And earth shall be rent asunder;^q and all that is upon the earth shall perish. And there shall be a judgment upon all, (including) the righteous.^r • And to all the righteous^s he will grant peace. He will preserve the elect, and kindness shall be upon them. They shall all belong to God^t and they shall prosper and be blessed; and the light of God shall shine unto them. • Behold, he will arrive with ten
- Pss Sol 4:9
Num 24:3f.
Num 24:3f.
Micah 1:3;
Isa 26:21;
AsMos 10:3
Dan 4:13,17,23
WisSol 4:15
Sir 43:26
Jude 14.15

1 a. The Eth. *qāla barakat* should be translated simply as “the blessing” and not lit. as “the word(s) of blessing” as Charles does.

b. B and C, following several possibly later and inflated MSS, read *'ekuyān(a) wa-rasī'ān(a)*, “the evil and ungodly ones.” Note to the reader: The letters A, B, C respectively represent our basic text (*Kebrān* MS 9/II); the text of Princeton Ethiopic 3; and the printed text of Charles. EC represents the notes in Charles’s edition of the Eth. Enoch. (For others see “Texts.”)

c. B and C, following supposedly all Charles’s MSS, read *be'si šādiq*, “the righteous man.”

d. [The various Eth. words for God or Lord have been translated consistently through IEn as follows: 1. *'Egzi'abher* represents LORD (the Eth. translation of Yahweh in the OT). 2. *'Egzi'a* represents Lord (the Eth. translation of Adonai in the OT). 3. *'Amlak* represents God (the Eth. translation of Elohim in the OT). Note that “Lord [*'Egzi'a*] of the Spirits” occurs only in chs. 37–71. —J. H. Charlesworth and E. G. Martin]

e. The extant Gk. text reads *anabalōn tēn parabōlēn*, “he took up his parable.” So also 4QEn^a 1:1 (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 182).

f. So A B C against the Gk. *orasis*, “his mouth.”

g. B reads, as do some other MSS of Charles, *lazaymaš'u tewled rehuqān*, “distant generations that will be coming.”

h. B and C, following supposedly all of Charles’s MSS, read *mesla*, which is unintelligible. *Mesla mesālē*, “with a proverb [or “parable”],” which is attested in A, is accurate, and the other MSS must have lost *mesālē*, probably because of homoeoteleu-

ton.

i. So A, B reads *yewasē' qedduš . . . wa-'amlāka 'alam wa-'emheyya*, creating an impossible phraseology. Charles kept the *wa-* before *'amlāka* as some of his MSS did and, contrary to all his MSS, which he claimed were wrong, dropped the *wa-* before *'emheyya*, creating an artificial text in C.

j. Lit. “and appear from heaven.”

k. B reads “his mighty power.”

l. Lit. “Diligent guards.” [Watchers are the fallen angels.]

m. So A, B and C read “high mountains.”

n. Eth. *waywadqu*, “will fall down,” is not attested in B and C.

o. A B C read *ma'ara gerā*, “honeycomb,” not *gerā ma'ar*, “wax.” However, the two expressions are sometimes confused in usage.

p. Lit. “from.”

q. B had “shall sink.”

r. B: “and all the righteous.” It seems to me that Charles wrongly assumed *lā'la šādiqān k'elomu*, “upon all the righteous,” to be a dittography of words before and after.

s. B and C read respectively “as to the righteous” and “to the righteous.”

t. Or “they will become God’s property.” So Ethiopian commentators.

u. All of Charles’s MSS, except e, read *maš'a*, “he came.” Ethiopian commentators who follow this reading argue that the perfect tense is used to emphasize that “he will certainly come.” Cf. Jude 14 also. The Eth. *te'ifi* designates ten thousand times a thousand. Cf. *Wa-'atah Mērb'bot Qōdesh* in Deut 33:2. LXX reads *syn myriasyñ Kadēs*.

million^a of the holy ones in order to execute judgment upon all.^v He will destroy the wicked ones^w and censure^x all flesh on account of everything that they have done, that which the sinners and the wicked ones committed against him.^y

1 **2** Examine all the activit(ies which take place) in the sky^a and how^b they do not alter their ways, (and examine) the luminaries of heaven, how each one of them rises and sets; each one is systematic according to its respective season; and they do not divert from their appointed order.^c • And look at the earth and turn in your mind^d concerning the action which is taking place^e in her^f from the beginning to the end: how all the work^g of God as being manifested^h does not change. • And beholdⁱ the summer and the winter,^j how the whole earth is filled with water and clouds and dew;^k and he causes rain^l to rest upon her.

1 **3** Examine^a and observe^b everything—and the trees,^c how all their leaves appear as if they wither and had fallen,^d except fourteen^e trees^f whose (leaves) do not fall but^g the old (foliage) remains for about two to three years^h until the new (leaves) come.ⁱ

1 **4** And again, examine the days of the summer,^a how (the heat of) the sun^b is upon (the earth)^c and dominates her.^d And as for you, you will crave^e shade and shelter on account of the heat of the sun; and the earth shall burn with scorching heat, and you are not able to walk on the earth or on the rock on account of the heat.^f

1 **5** Observe how the verdant trees are covered with leaves and they bear fruit.^a Pay attention^b concerning all things and know in what manner he fashioned^c them.^d All of them belong to him who lives forever. • His work proceeds and progresses^e from

v. B and C read "upon them." It appears that A is in this respect the least corrupt text, since it seems to agree with the Gk., Pseudo-Cyprian, and Jude 15. v. The Gk., Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Vigilius, and Jude 15 read "all the evil ones."

x. Or "rebuke."

y. Following Jude 15, Pseudo-Cyprian, and the Gk., Charles has suggested emending the text to read "And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

2 a. The syntax of A, *tayyequ k'ulo gebra za-westa samāy*, is superior to that of B and C. B and all the other MSS which Charles studied also give the wrong grammatical form: *tayyaqu* for *tayyequ*, which is found in A. Some Ethiopian commentators also read *tayyaqu*, "I inquired [or "examined"]."

b. B and C read "how," not "and how."

c. B reads *'emte'zāzomu*, "their appointed commandments."

d. Lit. "understand," "take notice," "think," "be mindful of."

e. Lit. "which is being acted."

f. So A, *westētā*. B and C have "upon her," *lā'lēhā*.

g. A B: *gebru*. C: *meḡbāru*.

h. Eth. *'enza yāstar'i* is a somewhat dangling phrase. Cf. EC, p. 6, nn. 13, 15, regarding the clause in Gk., which is lost in Eth.

i. A: *war'ikewo*. B and C: *r'eyyiwā*.

j. Lit. "the dry and rainy season."

k. A (*māya, wa-dammanā wa-tala wa-zenāma*) has the right text over against B and C (*māya wa-dammanā wa-tal wazenām*). Cf. EC, p. 6, n. 22.

l. Cf. 4QEn^a. It is distantly possible to render A "and the cloud causes dew and rain to rest upon her [the earth]."

3 a. A C: *tayyequ*. B: *tayyaqu*, as in all of the other Charles MSS.

b. B has *re'iku*.

c. B: "Examine and observe the trees." C: "Examine and observe all the trees." Cf. 4QEn^a: "Observe that all the trees wither" (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 146f.).

d. B C: "how they seem as though they had withered and all their leaves shed."

e. B: "twelve."

f. Cf. Geoponica 11:1.

g. A and B and all known Eth. MSS read 'lla, "which."

h. Or "rainy season."

i. Lit. "they will remain from the old to the new."

4 a. Lit. "dry season."

b. Lit. "the sun."

c. Lit. "upon her."

d. Lit. "her first," "her greater one," "ahead of her." B: *ba-qedmēhā*, "in her face," "in front of her." C: *ba-qadamehā*, "against her."

e. Lit. "seek."

f. B C: "her heat."

5 a. Eth. *'eṣ ba-hamalmala yetkaddanu ba-q'asel wa-yefarryu*. The reading of B and C, *'eṣaw ba-hamalmala 'aq'usel yetkaddanu wa-yefarreyu*, "trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit," is an easier and grammatically smoother one.

b. B C: "and pay attention."

c. Erroneously *gebromu* for *gabromu*.

d. Overall, the reading of A is closer to the Gk. *epoiēsen auta hutōs*. The reading of B, *ba-kama gabra la-kemu la 'elontu k'olomu zaḡeyyāw la-'alam*, and that of C, *ba-kama gabarkemu la-'eluntu k'ul-omu*, are both corrupt and not very intelligible.

e. Eth. *qadama*. B C: *qedmēhu*, "before him."

year to year. And all his work prospers and obeys^f him,^g and it does not change; but
 3 everything functions^h in the way in which God has orderedⁱ it. •And look at the seas:^j
 4 They do not part;^k they fulfill all their duties. •But as for you, you have not been long-
 suffering and you have not done the commandments of the Lord, but you have
 transgressed and spoken slanderously^l grave and harsh words with your impure mouths
 5 against his greatness. Oh, you hard-hearted, may you not find peace! •Therefore, you
 shall curse your days, and the years of your life shall perish and multiply in eternal
 6 execration; and there will not be any mercy unto you. •In those days; you shall make
 your names^m an eternal execration unto all the righteous; and the sinners shall curse
 7 you continually—you together with the sinners.ⁿ •But to the elect there shall be light,
 joy, and peace, and they shall inherit the earth. To you, wicked ones, on the contrary,
 8 there will be a curse. •And then^o wisdom shall be given^p to the elect. And they shall
 all live and not return again to sin,^q either by being wicked or through pride; but
 9 those who have wisdom shall be humble and not return again to sin. •And they shall
 not be judged all the days of their lives;^r nor die through plague^s or wrath,^t but^u they
 10 shall complete the (designated) number of the days of their life. •And peace shall
 increase their lives^v and the years of their happiness shall be multiplied forever in
 gladness and peace all the days of their life.

The fall of angels

1 **6** In those days, when the children of man had multiplied, it happened that there Gen. 6:1-4
 2 were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. •And the angels, the children
 of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said to one another, “Come, let us
 choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters^a of man and beget us children.”
 3 And Semyaz,^b being their leader,^c said unto them, “I fear that perhaps you will not
 consent that this deed should be done, and I alone will become (responsible)^d for this
 4 great sin.” •But they all responded to him,^e “Let us all swear an oath and bind
 everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this suggestion but to do the deed.”^f
 5 Then they all swore together and bound one another by (the curse).^g •And they were
 6 altogether^h two hundred; and they descended into ^hArdos,ⁱ which is the summit of
 Hermon.^j And they called the mount Armon, for they swore and bound one another
 7 by a curse.^k •And their names are as follows:^l Semyaz,^m the leader of Arakeb,
 Rame’el, Tam’el, Ram’el, Dan’el, Ezeqel, Baraqyal, As’el, Armaros, Batar’el,

f. Lit. “they obey.”

g. B and C have the awkward reading *wa-mege-
bāru qedmēhu . . . zayekawun wa-k’ulu megbāru
yetqannay* [B: *yetqanayu*] *lotu*.

h. Lit. “it is done.”

i. I.e. organized.

j. Eth. *bāhrata*, in the accusative form. B and C
give the common plural form *’abher*, in the nomi-
native form.

k. So A: *wa-ifalag*, lit. “it does not part.” This
reading of A appears to be corrupt. B and C, in
agreement with the Gk., *hē thalassa kai hoi potamoi*,
read *’abheri wa-’afag hebura*, “the seas and the
rivers together.”

l. I.e. in a backbiting manner.

m. B: “your peace.”

n. The Eth. is corrupt. As for the variations in the
different Gk. texts, particularly in the Akhmim ad-
ditions, see EC, p. 9.

o. B: *wa-’emmahi*.

p. Eth. *yewahab*. B C: *yewahabomu*.

q. Lit. “they shall not repeat sin.” C: “they will
not again sin.”

r. For the variation in the Gk. fragments, cf. EC,
p. 10f.

s. I.e. divine punishment.

t. I.e. divine wrath.

u. Eth. *’ella*, wrong for *’allā*.

v. B C Gk. fragments: “and their lives shall be
increased in peace.”

6 a. Lit. “the children.”

b. B C: Semyaza.

c. B: “who is their leader.”

d. Cf. B: “I alone will become the payer.” Text
of A, *fadfāda*, “exceedingly,” is corrupt for *fadāyi*.
C, *’ekawwen . . . fadāya*, is somewhat awkward.

e. B C: “they responded to him and said.”

f. Eth. *zāti gebr*, “this deed.” B and C, *zāti mekr
gebra* and *zāti (mekr) gebr* respectively, are redun-
dant.

g. Lit. “by it.”

h. Lit. “And all of them were . . .”

i. B C: *’Ardis*.

j. B C: “Mount Hermon.” Following the Gk.
fragment, the correct reading may be “and they
descended in the days of Jared on the summit of
Mount Hermon.” Cf. EC, p. 13f.

k. Regarding the paronomasia between Hermon
(of Mount Hermon) and *herem*, “curse,” cf. EC,
p. 14.

l. Lit. “And here are [this is (the list) of] their
names, it is like this . . .” C and B read “And these
are the names of their leaders.”

m. B: Semyaza. C: Sami’azaz.

8 Anan'el, Zaqe'el, Sasomasp^We'el, Kestar'el, Tur'el, Yamayol, and Arazyal.ⁿ • These are their chiefs^o of tens^p and of all the others with them.

1 **7** And they^a took wives unto themselves, and everyone (respectively) chose one woman for himself, and they began to go unto them.^b And they taught them magical
2 medicine, incantations, the cutting of roots, and taught them^c (about) plants. • And the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants whose heights^d were three
3 hundred cubits. • These^e (giants) consumed the produce^f of all the people^g until the
4 people detested feeding them.^h • Soⁱ the giants turned against (the people) in order to
5 eat them. • And they began to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish. And
6 their flesh was devoured the one by the other, and they drank blood.^j • And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors.

WisSol
14:6; Tob
6:14; Sir
16:7; 1Bar
3:26; 3Mac
2:4; Jub
7:22f.

Gen 9:4;
1Sam
14:32-34;
Acts 15:20;
Jub 7:28;
21:6

1 **8** And Azaz'el taught the people (the art of) making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones^a bracelets, decorations, (shad-
2 owing of the eye) with antimony,^b ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all
2 kinds of precious stones,^c and all coloring tinctures and alchemy.^d • And there were
3 many wicked ones^e and they committed adultery and erred, and all their conduct
3 became corrupt. • Amasras^f taught incantation and the cutting of roots; and Armaros
the resolving of incantations; and Baraqiyal^g astrology,^h and Kokar'er'elⁱ (the knowledge
of) the signs,^j and Tam'el^k taught the seeing of the stars, and Asder'el^l taught the
4 course of the moon as well as the deception^m of man.ⁿ • And (the people) cried and
their voice reached unto heaven.

Dan 5:12

1 **9** Then Michael, Surafel,^a and Gabriel observed carefully from the sky and they saw
2 much blood being shed upon the earth,^b and all the oppression being wrought upon
2 the earth. • And they said to one another, "The earth, (from) her empty (foundation),
3 has brought the cry of their voice unto the gates of heaven. • And now, [O] holy ones
of heaven, the souls of people are putting their case before you pleading, 'Bring our

n. B C: "Sami'azaz [B: Semyaza], who is their leader, Arakibaramel [B: Urakibaramel], Kokabi'el [B: Akibe'el], Tami'el [B: Tame'el], Rami'el [B: Raw'el], Dan'el, Ezeqe'el, Baraqiyal [B: Laraqiyal], Asa'el, Armaros [B: Armeses], Baṭar'el [B: Baṭra'al], Anan'el, Zaqi'el [B: Zaqebe], Samsape'el, Satar'el [B: Sart'el], Tur'el, Yomya'el, Arazyal." Cf. EC, p. 14.

o. Eth. *'abayta*. B C wrongly: *habayta* and *habaytomu* respectively.

p. B adds "of the two hundred angels."

7 a. C: "they and all the others with them."

b. B and C add "and became added unto them."

For variations in the Gk. fragments in this and ch. 8, see EC, pp. 17f.

c. Eth. *maḥarewon*. B C: *'amarewon*.

d. Lit. "and their heights."

e. C: "who." Cf. 4QEn^a, which is closer to A.

f. Lit. "toil," "labor." So 4QEn^a.

g. A should be rendered either "All of these consumed the toil of the people" or "These consumed the toil of all the people" by transposing the correctly nominative Eth. *k'ellu* in the phrase *'ellu ba'u k'ellu šamā sabe*. Cf. 4QEn^a. All of Charles's MSS give the accusative *kwellu*. Cf. EC, p. 16, nn. 9, 10.

h. Eth. *sēsyyota sab'e*. C: *sab'e sēsyyota*.

i. Lit. "And."

j. Possibly "And they devoured one another's flesh, and drank the blood." B adds *'emnehā*, which is a doublet of the following word.

8 a. Eth. *za-'emhrēhomu*. C and B have *za-'em-dhrēhomu*, "those after them," which Charles thinks is a corruption of the G^a *ta metalla* (cf. *ta mei'auta*). G^a has *megala*. Cf. EC, p. 16, n. 30. C and B also add "the making of them." Eth. *za-'emdhrehomu* is rendered as "their successors" or "their children" by Ethiopian commentators.

b. Lit. "antimony."

c. Lit. "and of stones all kinds of precious and chosen stones."

d. A adds *tawaleto 'alam*, "transmutation of the world." I render it as "alchemy." Cf. EC, p. 18, n. 5. Ethiopian commentators explain this phrase as "changing a man into a horse or mule or vice versa, or transferring an embryo from one womb to another."

e. B C: "and there was [great and] much wickedness."

f. B: *Amezaras*. C: *Amizaras*.

g. B: *Baraq'al*.

h. Lit. "the seeing of stars."

i. B C: *Kokab'el*.

j. I.e. miraculous signs.

k. B: *Tem'el*. C: *Tami'el*.

l. B: *Asrad'el*.

m. B and C read "destruction."

n. Concerning variations in the Gk. fragments see EC, p. 18f.

9 a. B: *Uryan* and *Suryan*. C: *Ur'el* and *Rufa'el*.

b. A also adds *ba-tāhetu*, "under it."

4 judgment before the Most High.' '• And they said to the Lord of the potentates,^d
 "For he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods,^f and the King^g of kings, and the
 seat of his glory^h (stands) throughout all the generations of the world. Your name is
 5 holy, and blessed, and glorious throughout the whole world.ⁱ • You have made
 everything^j and with you is the authority for everything. Everything^k is naked and
 open before your sight, and you see everything; and there is nothing which can hide
 6 itself from you. • You see what Azaz'el has done; how he^l has taught all (forms of)
 oppression upon the earth. And they revealed^m eternal secrets which are performed
 7 in heaven (and which) man learned.ⁿ • (Moreover) Semyaz,^o to whom you have given
 power to rule over his companions, co-operating,^p they went in unto the daughters
 8 of the people on earth;^q • and they lay together with them—with those women—and
 9 defiled themselves, and revealed to them every (kind of) sin. • As for the women,
 they gave birth to giants to the degree that the whole earth was filled with blood and
 10 oppression. • And now behold, the Holy One will cry,^r and those who have died will
 bring their suit up to the gate of heaven. Their^s groaning has ascended (into heaven),
 but^t they could not get out from before the face of the oppression that is being
 11 wrought on earth. • And you know everything (even) before it came to existence,^u
 and you see (this thing)^v (but) you do not tell us what is proper for us that we may
 do regarding it."

1 **10** And then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One!^a And he sent Asuryal^b
 2 to the son of Lamech, (saying), • "Tell him^c in my name, 'Hide yourself!' and reveal
 to him the end of what is coming; for the earth and everything^d will be destroyed.
 And the Deluge is about to come upon all the earth; and all that is in it will be
 3 destroyed.^e • And now instruct him in order that he may flee, and his seed will be
 4 preserved for all generations."^f • And secondly the Lord said to Raphael,^g "Bind
 Azaz'el hand^h and footⁱ (and) throw him into the darkness!" And he made a hole in
 5 the desert which was in Duda'el and cast him there; • he threw on top of him rugged
 6 and sharp rocks. And he covered his face^j in order that he may not see light;^k • and
 7 in order that he may be sent into the fire on the great day of judgment. • And give
 life to the earth which the angels have corrupted. And he will proclaim^l life for the
 earth: that he is giving life to her.^m And all the children of the people will not perish

Jude 6

c. B C: "the souls of people are making their suit, saying, 'Bring our case [lit. "judgment"] before the Most High."

d. Lit. "kings." One of the duplicate versions of the Syncellus Gk. fragment reads "The Lord of the ages," or "of the world," *tōn aiōnōn*.

e. Eth. *'esma*, "for," "because." In the Syncellus fragment we have *Su*, "you," instead.

f. Lit. "your God." B C: "their God."

g. Lit. "your king." B C: "their king."

h. C: "your glory."

i. B and C repeat "glorious."

j. A omits "everything," found in the other MSS.

k. A omits "Everything," found in the other MSS.

l. B and C read "who."

m. B C: "and he revealed."

n. B: *wa'amara sablārāt*. C: *wa'amara sabe'a*. Cf. EC, p. 22, n. 15, and p. 23.

o. B: Semyaza. C: "and of Semyaza."

p. Lit. "together with."

q. B omits "on earth" and wrongly repeats "together with."

r. This phrase is attested neither in other Eth. MSS nor in the Gk. fragments. Instead, we have "the souls of the dead." Cf. EC, pp. 22f.

s. Lit. "and their."

t. Lit. "and."

u. B omits "everything before it came to exist-

v. The Eth. text is corrupt. Cf. EC, p. 24, n. 12, and p. 25.

10 a. C: "Then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One said." Cf. EC, p. 24, n. 20.

b. B: *Arsayalaldor*. C: *Asarya Leyur*. Cf. also EC, p. 24, n. 23.

c. C, supported by G^s, adds "Go to Noah and tell him . . ." See EC, p. 24, n. 25.

d. So A. B C: "the whole earth."

e. B omits "all." C, following the Gk. fragments, reads "it will destroy all that is in it."

f. So B and C. The text of A, which reads "and his seed will kneel down [worship] for all generations," is obviously corrupt.

g. The name designates "God is a healer."

h. Lit. "by hand." Cf. *TarJon* Gen 6:3, in which the names Semyaza and Azaz'el appear.

i. Lit. "by foot."

j. B and C add "cover him with darkness and let him abide there forever."

k. The preceding two sentences are given in the imperative form in B and C: "And make a hole in the desert . . ."

l. Lit. "he will make you know."

m. Lit. "to the earth." The Gk. fragments read "that he may heal the plague." Cf. also EC, p. 26,

n. 4

8 through all the secrets (of the angels),ⁿ which they taught to their sons. •And the whole earth has been corrupted by Azaz'el's teaching of his (own) actions; and write
 9 upon him all sin. •And to Gabriel the Lord said, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates and against the children of adultery; and destroy the children of adultery and expel the children of the Watchers from among the people.^o And send them against one another (so that) they may be destroyed in the fight, for length of days
 10 have they not. •They^p will beg you everything—for their fathers on behalf of themselves—because they hope to live an eternal life. (They hope) that^q each one of
 11 them will live a period of five hundred years." •And to Michael God said, "Make known to Semyaza^r and the others who are with him,^s who fornicated^t with the
 12 women,^u that they will die^v together with them in all their defilement. •And when they and^w all their children have battled with each other, and when they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy^x generations underneath the rocks of the ground until the day of their judgment and of their consummation,
 13 until the eternal judgment is concluded. •In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire—and in torment—in the prison (where) they will be locked up
 14 forever. •And at the time when^y they will burn and die, those who collaborated with them will be bound together with them from henceforth unto the end of (all)
 15 generations.^z •And destroy all the souls of pleasure and the children of the Watchers, for they have done injustice to man. •Destroy^{a2} injustice from the face of the earth. And every iniquitous deed will end, and the plant of righteousness and truth will
 17 appear forever and he will plant joy.^{b2} •And then all the righteous ones will escape; and become the living ones until they multiply and become^{c2} tens of hundreds; and all the days of their youth and the years of their retirement^{d2} they will complete in
 18 peace. •And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness, all of
 19 her^{e2} planted with trees, and will find blessing.^{f2} •And they shall plant pleasant trees^{g2} upon her—vines.^{h2} And he who plants a vine upon her will produce wine for plenitude.ⁱ² And every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand (measures) and one measure of olives will yield ten measures^{j2} of presses of oil.
 20 And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement, and from all oppression, and from all sin, and from all iniquity^{k2} which is being done on earth;
 21 remove them^{l2} from the earth. •And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; and they will all prostrate

Jub 4:22

67:4–7; Jub 5:10

Jude 6

Rev 20:10, 14, 15; Mt 25:41

Isa 5:10; 2Bar 29:5

n. Lit. "through all the secrets which the Watchers killed," which is obviously a corruption. Cf. EC, p. 26, n. 23. The Syncellus fragment reads "disclosed" instead of "killed."

o. B C: "and destroy . . . from among the people; and expel them."

p. Lit. "and they."

q. Lit. "and that."

r. Charles, after Radermacher, prefers "Bind Semyaza." See EC, p. 28, n. 15, and p. 29. C (and G) reads "Go, make known to Semyaza."

s. Or "his companions."

t. Lit. *gabru*, "did." 4QEn^b: "(who) associated."

u. B C: "who united with the women."

v. Or "decay," "corrupt."

w. B and C omit "they and."

x. A and B wrongly have *la-sabe'a*.

y. Charles thinks the reading *hotan*, "when," is a corruption of *hos an*, "everyone who . . ." (EC, p. 28, n. 31). Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 190.

z. This is a free translation. The text is corrupt. EC, following the Syncellus fragment, reads "whoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from henceforth be bound with them . . ." Cf. also EC, p. 29, n. 5.

a2. Lit. "and disappear."

b2. B C: "Destroy all injustice from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end; and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear

and it shall become a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy forevermore." A can be rendered ". . . and the plant of righteousness will appear, and plant eternal truth and joy."

c2. Lit. "they become and beget." B and C omit "they become."

d2. Or "rest," "their sabbaths," *sanbatāta zī'ahomu*. B C: *sanbata zī'ahomo*, "their sabbath," which is intelligible. Therefore Charles, following Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 (Berlin, 1899) pp. 241, 260, suggested substituting *reš'anithomu* for *sanbat*, which he considered a corruption from the Heb. *sēbuthon*, "their old age." Cf. EC, p. 30, n. 9, and p. 31, n. 1. The Eth. *sanbatār* in plural (so also G) (cf. *sanābet*), found in A, does convey a sense of "weeks of rest" or "periods of rest or retirement." A notion equivalent to the suggested Heb. expression is given by Ethiopian commentators who render the phrase simply as "the period of old age."

e2. G reads *en autē*, "in her."

f2. B C: "will be filled with blessing."

g2. Lit. "trees of joy." C reads "trees of joy shall be planted." Cf. also G.

h2. B C: "And they shall plant vines."

i2. Lit. "for the satisfaction of the appetite."

j2. B and C omit "measures."

k2. A repeats "and from all defilement."

l2. So A. B C: "finish them."

22 themselves to me. •And the earth shall be cleansed from all pollution, and from all sin, and from all plague, and from all suffering; and it shall not happen again that I shall send (these) upon the earth^{m2} from generation to generation and forever.

1 **11** “And in those days I shall open the storerooms of blessing which are in the heavens,^a so that I shall send them down upon the earth, over the work and the toil of the children of man. •And peace and truth shall become partners together^b in all the days of the world, and in all the generations of the world.”

Deut 28:12

Ps 85:10;
Isa 32:17

Dream vision of Enoch: his intercession for the fallen angels

1 **12** Before these things (happened) Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of the people knew by what he was hidden and where he was. •And his dwelling place^a as well as his activities were with the Watchers and the holy ones; and (so were) his days. •And I, Enoch, began to bless the Lord of the mighty ones^b and the King of the universe.^c •At that moment^d the Watchers were calling me.^e And they^f said to me, “Enoch, scribe of righteousness, go and make known to the Watchers of heaven who have abandoned the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, as their^g deeds move the children of the world,^h and have taken unto themselves wives: Theyⁱ have defiled themselves with great defilement upon the earth; •neither will there be peace unto them nor the forgiveness of sin. For their children delight in seeing the murder of their beloved ones.^j But they shall groan and beg forever over the destruction of their children, and there shall not be peace unto them even forever.”^k

His intercession for Azaz’el

1 **13** As for Enoch,^a he proceeded and said to Azaz’el, “There will not be peace unto you; a grave judgment has come upon you. •They will put you in bonds,^b and you will not have (an opportunity for)^c rest and supplication,^d because you have taught injustice and because^e you have shown to the people deeds of shame, injustice, and sin.” •Then I went and spoke to all of them together; and they were all frightened, and fear and trembling seized them. •And they begged me to write for them a memorial prayer^f in order that there may be for them a prayer^g of forgiveness, and so that I may raise their memorial prayer unto the Lord of heaven. •For, as for themselves, from henceforth they will not be able to speak, nor will they raise their eyes unto heaven as a result of their sins which have been condemned. •And then I wrote down their memorial prayers and the petitions on behalf of their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, on account of the fact that they have prayed in order that^h there may be for them forgiveness (of sin) and a length (of days). •And I went and sat down upon the waters of Dan—in Dan which is on the southwest of Hermon—and I read their memorial prayers until I fell asleep. •And behold a dream came to me and visions fell

m2. Lit. “upon her.”

11 a. B C: “in heaven.”
b. B and C omit “together.”

12 a. So A. Instead of *wa-makāno*, “his dwelling place,” B and C read: *wa-menta kona*, “and what he had become,” or “what had become of him.” Apparently this is an error due to homoeoteleuton.

b. B reads “great Lord.” C, on the basis of the Gk. fragments, reads “Lord of Majesty.” Cf. EC, p. 32, nn. 8f.

c. Also “King of the ages” and “the eternal King” are possible.

d. Lit. “And behold,” “And lo.”

e. Lit. “they were calling me Enoch.” B C: “they were calling me Enoch, the scribe.”

f. Lit. “he.”

g. Lit. “his.”

h. Lit. “of the people.” In the preceding clause, *kama yegassewo*(?), the text is unclear. B C: “they have done as the children of the people do.”

i. The Gk. has “you.” Cf. EC, p. 33.

j. C: “they delight in their children . . .”

k. B C: “there shall not be mercy and peace unto them.”

13 a. B C: “and Enoch.”

b. So A.

c. Lit. “it will not be.”

d. Text, “for error and supplication,” corrupt.

e. Text unclear.

f. Lit. “a remembrance of prayer.”

g. Omitted by B and C.

h. Text corrupt: “they have beseeched you.”

upon me, and I saw a visionⁱ of plagues^j (so that) I may speak to the children of
 9 heaven and reprimand them. • And upon my awakening, I came unto them (while)
 they were all conferring^k together, in Lesya'el,^l which is (located) between Lebanon
 10 and Sanser,^m while weeping and with their faces covered. • And I recounted before
 them all the visions that I had seen in sleep and began to speak those words of
 righteousness and to reprimandⁿ the Watchers of heaven.

Deut 3:9;
Song 4:8

1 Cor 6:3

1 **14** This is the book of the words of righteousness and the chastisement of the eternal
 Watchers, in accordance with how the Holy and Great One had commanded in this
 2 vision. • I saw in my sleep what I now speak with my tongue of flesh and the breath
 of the mouth which the Great One has given to man (so that) he (man) may speak
 with it^a—and (so that) he may have understanding with his heart as he (the Great
 3 One) has created and given it to man. • Accordingly he has created me and given me
 the word of understanding^b so that I may reprimand the Watchers, the children of
 4 heaven. • I wrote down your prayers—so it appeared in vision^c—for your prayers will
 not be heard^d throughout all the days of eternity; and judgment is passed^e upon you.
 5 From now on you will not be able to ascend into heaven unto all eternity, but you
 6 shall remain^f inside the earth, imprisoned^g all the days of eternity. • Before that you
 will have seen^h the destruction of your beloved sons and you will not have their
 7 treasures,ⁱ which^j will fall before your eyes by the sword. • And your petitions on
 their behalf will not be heard—neither will those on your own behalf (which you
 offer) weeping (and) praying—and you will not speak even a word contained in the
 book which I wrote.^k

1 Cor 6:3

Enoch's vision

8 And behold I saw^l the clouds: And they were calling me in a vision; and the fogs
 were calling me; and the course of the stars and the lightnings were rushing me and
 causing me to desire;^m and in the vision, the winds were causing me to fly and
 9 rushing me high up into heaven.ⁿ • And I kept coming (into heaven) until I approached
 a wall which was built of white marble and surrounded by tongues^o of fire; and it
 10 began to frighten me. • And I came into the tongues of the fire and drew near to a
 great house which was built of white marble, and the inner wall(s)^p were like mosaics^q
 11 of white marble, the floor^r of crystal, • the ceiling like the path of the stars and
 12 lightnings between which (stood) fiery cherubim and their heaven of water;^s • and
 13 flaming fire surrounded the wall(s), and its gates were burning with fire. • And I
 entered into the house, which^t was hot like fire and cold like ice, and there was

Mt 17:5;
Pss
18:10,11;
104:3

Isa 30:30

i. C: "visions."

j. The Gk. omits "plague" and reads "and a voice came saying."

k. Or "gathered." B C: "sitting."

l. B: Abelsya'el. C: Abelsya'il.

m. B: Senser. C: Seniser.

n. Lit. "reprimand them."

14 a. B C: "and with my breath (which) the Great One has given the mouth . . ." Cf. EC, p. 34, n. 52.

b. This is a reconstruction; the text seems corrupt. Cf. B C: "As he has created man and given him the word of understanding, and likewise he has created me and given to me the (authority of) reprimanding." G omits "he has created me and given me the word of understanding."

c. B C: "my vision." 4QEn: "a vision to me."

d. Lit. "it will not happen for you."

e. Lit. "fulfilled."

f. Eth. *tenabberu*, "you shall sit," "dwell," "remain." Cf. *tenagara*, "it is spoken," in B and C. See EC, p. 37, n. 6.

g. Lit. "they will imprison you."

h. Lit. "you saw."

i. Cf. EC, p. 36, n. 24: "and you shall have no pleasure in them."

j. B C: "but."

k. Charles suggests restoring the text to read "though you weep and pray and speak all the words . . ." Cf. EC, p. 37, n. 11.

l. A, "And to me, he saw to the clouds," seems corrupt. B C: "And he showed me a vision thus . . ."

m. Some think this to be inaccurate. Cf. EC, p. 37, n. 13.

n. B and C add "lifted me up into heaven."

o. B C: "tongue."

p. Lit. "and the walls inside the house." B and C have *we'ru*, "it," "this," "he," instead of *westa*, "in," "inside."

q. Lit. "tessellated sheets."

r. Lit. "the ground."

s. So B, C, and the Gk. fragments. A has *samay-omu* instead of *samayomu*, giving the reading "he named them water" instead of "their heaven was of water."

t. Lit. "and."

u. B C: "there was no pleasure of life in it."

14 nothing inside it;^u (so) fear covered me and trembling seized me. •And as I shook
 15 and trembled, I fell upon my face and saw a vision. •And behold there was an
 opening before me (and) a second house which is greater than the former^v and
 16 everything^w was built with tongues of fire. •And in every respect it excelled (the
 other)—in glory and great honor^x—to the extent that it is impossible for me to recount
 17 to you^y concerning its glory and greatness. •As for its floor,^z it was of fire and above
 it was lightning and the path of the stars; and as for the ceiling, it was flaming fire.
 18 And I observed and saw inside it a lofty throne—its appearance was like crystal and
 19 its wheels like the shining sun; and (I heard?) the voice of the cherubim; •and from
 beneath the throne^{a2} were issuing streams of flaming fire. It was difficult^{b2} to look at
 20 it.^{c2} •And the Great Glory was sitting upon it—as for his gown, which was shining
 21 more brightly than the sun, it was whiter than any snow. •None of the angels was
 able to come in and see the face of the Excellent and the Glorious One;^{d2} and no one
 22 of the flesh can see him— •the flaming fire was round about him, and a great fire
 stood before him. No one could come near unto him from among those that surrounded
 23 the tens of millions (that stood) before him. •He needed no council,^{e2} but the most
 holy ones who are near to him neither go far away at night nor move away from
 24 him. •Until then I was prostrate on my face covered^{f2} and trembling. And the Lord
 called me with his own mouth and said to me, “Come near to me, Enoch, and to
 25 my holy^{g2} Word.” •And he lifted me up and brought me near to the gate, but I
 (continued) to look down with my face.

Isa 6; Ezek
 1:9; 26;
 Dan 7:9,10;
 Ps 104:2;
 1Kgs 22:19;
 AsMos 4:2
 T Levi 5:1;
 Rev 4:2-3

Sir 42:21;
 2En 33:4

1 **15** But he raised me up^a and said to me with his voice, “Enoch.”^b I (then) heard,
 “Do not fear, Enoch, righteous man, scribe of righteousness; come near to me and
 2 hear my voice. •And tell^c the Watchers of heaven on whose behalf you have been
 sent^d to intercede: “It is meet (for you) that you intercede on behalf of man, and not
 3 man on your behalf. •For what reason have you abandoned the high, holy, and eternal
 heaven; and slept with women and defiled yourselves with the daughters of the people,
 4 taking wives, acting like the children of the earth, and begetting giant sons? •Surely
 you, you [used to be] holy, spiritual, the living ones, [possessing] eternal life; but
 (now) you have defiled yourselves with women, and with the blood of the flesh
 begotten children, you have lusted with the blood of the people, like them^e producing
 5 blood and flesh, (which) die and perish. •On that account, I have given you^f wives
 in order that (seeds) might be sown upon them and children born by them, so that the
 6 deeds that are done upon the earth will not be withheld from you.” •Indeed you,
 formerly you were spiritual, (having) eternal life,^g and immortal in all the generations
 7 of the world. •That is why (formerly) I did not make wives for you, for the dwelling
 of the spiritual beings of heaven is heaven.’

8 “But now the giants who are born from the (union of) the spirits and the flesh shall
 be called evil spirits upon the earth, because^h their dwelling shall be upon the earthⁱ
 9 and inside the earth. •Evil spirits^j have come out of their bodies. Because from the
 day that they were created from the holy ones they became the Watchers; their first
 origin^m is the spiritual foundation.” They will become evil upon the earth and shall

v. B C: “behold a second house . . . and the entire portal was open before me.”

w. B and C omit “everything.”

x. B C: “in glory, honor, and greatness.”

y. Lit. “I cannot recount to you.”

z. Lit. “ground.”

a2. B adds “great.”

b2. Lit. “they could not.”

c2. B C: “looking,” “seeing.”

d2. The Gk. reads “on account of the honor and glory.”

e2. Cf. EC, p. 40, n. 21.

f2. Charles suggests omitting “covered.” Cf. EC, p. 40, n. 25.

g2. Charles prefers the Gk. *akouson*, “hear,” instead of the Eth. “holy.” For this and succeeding phrase see EC, p. 40, n. 28.

15 a. B C: “and he replied.”

b. B C: “and I heard his voice.”

c. B C: “And go and tell.”

d. B C: “who sent you.”

e. Lit. “pray.”

f. B C: “you have done like them.”

g. Lit. “them.”

h. B C: “that nothing might be wanting to them on earth.”

i. B C: “living the eternal life.”

j. B and C omit “because.”

k. B and C omit “upon the earth.”

l. B and C read *nafsāt*, “soul,” instead of *man-āfest*, as in A.

m. Lit. “their first beginning.”

n. C, following the Gk.: “they are born from men and the holy Watchers in their beginning . . .”

10 be called evil spirits. •The dwelling of the spiritual beings of heaven is heaven; but the dwelling of the spirits of the earth, which are born upon the earth, is in the earth.^o
 11 The spirits of the giants oppress each other;^p they^q will corrupt, fall, be excited, and fall upon the earth, and cause sorrow.^r They eat no food,^s nor become thirsty, nor
 12 find obstacles.^t •And these spirits shall rise up^u against the children of the people and against the women, because they have proceeded forth (from them).

1 **16** “From the days of the slaughter and destruction, and the death of the giants and the spiritual beings of the spirit, and the flesh, from which they have proceeded forth, which will corrupt without incurring judgment, they will corrupt until the day of the great conclusion, until the great age is consummated, until everything is concluded
 2 (upon) the Watchers and the wicked ones.^a •And sob^b to the Watchers on whose behalf
 3 you have been sent to intercede—who were formerly in heaven—(say to them), •‘You were (once) in heaven, but not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you, and you (only) know the rejected mysteries.^c Those ones^d you have broadcast to the women in the hardness of your hearts and by those mysteries^e the women and men multiply evil deeds upon the earth.’ Tell them, ‘Therefore, you will have no peace!’ ”

Jub
10:5–11;
Mt 8:29

Enoch's Tour of the Earth and Sheol The first journey

1 **17** And they lifted me up into^a one place where there were (the ones) like the flaming Ps 104:4
 2 fire. And when they (so) desire they appear like men. •And they took me into a place
 3 of whirlwind^b in the mountain; the top of its summit was reaching into heaven. •And I saw chambers^c of light and thunder^d in the ultimate end of the depth^e toward (the place where) the bow,^f the arrow, and their quiver and a fiery sword and all the
 4 lightnings were. •And they lifted me up unto the waters of life,^g unto the occidental
 5 fire which receives^h every setting of the sun. •And I came to the river of fire which
 6 flows like waterⁱ and empties itself into the great sea in the direction of the west. •And I saw all^j the great rivers^k and reached to the great darkness and went into the place
 7 where all flesh must walk cautiously.^l •And I saw the mountains of the dark storms
 8 of the rainy season and from where the waters of all the seas^m flow. •And I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the sea.

1 **18** And I saw the storerooms of all the winds and saw how with them he has
 2 embroidered all creation as well as the foundations of the earth. •I saw the cornerstone of the earth; I saw the four winds which bear the earth as well as the firmament of
 3 heaven. •I saw how the winds ride the heights of heaven^a and stand between heaven

2Sam
22:16; Ps
18:15
Job 38:6

o. Cf. vss. 7 and 8 above. The Syncellus fragment omits vs. 10.

p. So A. I have omitted *dammanāta*, “clouds,” which seems to be dangling in the phrase. Eth. *dammanā* could also mean “mass,” “enormity,” “immensity,” and one could possibly read the text as “The spirits of the giants oppress each other massively.” On the other hand the *dammanāta* in this verse has been regarded by some as a corruption. The Syncellus fragment has “laying waste.” Cf. EC, p. 44, n. 3.

q. Lit. “who.”

r. Cf. EC, pp. 44f.

s. The Gk. fragments add “but nevertheless hunger.”

t. So A. C, on the basis of Dillmann's emendation, reads “cause offense” or “become obstacle.” B and other MSS have “they will not be known.”

u. A: “shall not rise up.”

16 a. The preceding passage is not completely intelligible and is a difficult reading. Cf. also C and EC, pp. 44f.

b. Lit. “And now.”

c. Lit. “the rejected mystery.”

d. Lit. “This one.”

e. Lit. “this mystery.”

17 a. The Gk. adds “and brought me.”

b. G³: “darkness.”

c. Lit. “places.”

d. G³ adds “and the treasures of the stars.”

e. B and C add *haba*, “unto,” before “depth,” a somewhat unintelligible reading.

f. B C: “fiery bow.”

g. C: “living waters.” B: “water of life.” A and other MSS add a gloss: *za-yetnāgar* or *za-'iyetnāgar*.

h. Lit. “seizes.”

i. C: “whose fire flows like water.”

j. C omits “all.”

k. G³ adds “and the great river.”

l. C, in agreement with the Gk. fragments, reads “where no flesh can walk.”

m. B C: “the lake.”

18 a. So A. B C: *yerabewā*, “stretch out,” instead of *yerakewā*, “ride.”

4 and earth: These are the very pillars of heaven. •I saw the winds which turn the Job 26:11
 5 heaven and cause the star to set—the sun as well as all the stars.^b •I saw the souls Job 36:29;
 carried by the clouds.^c I saw the path of the angels in the ultimate end of the earth, 37:16
 6 and the firmament of the heaven above.^d •And I kept moving^e in the direction of the
 west; and it was flaming^f day and night toward the seven mountains of precious
 7 stones—three toward the east and three toward the south. •As for those toward the
 east, they were of colored stones—one of pearl stone and one of healing stone;^g and
 8 as for those toward the south, they were of red stone. •The ones^h in the middle were
 pressing into heaven like the throne of God, which is of alabaster and whose summitⁱ Ezek 1:26
 9 is of sapphire;^j •and I saw a flaming fire. •And I saw what was inside those^k
 10 mountains—a place,^l beyond the great earth, where^m the heavensⁿ come together.^o
 11 And I saw a deep pit^p with heavenly fire on its pillars; I saw inside them descending
 12 pillars of fire^q that were immeasurable (in respect to both) altitude^r and depth.^s •And
 on top of that pit I saw a place without the heavenly firmament above it or earthly
 foundation under it or water. There was nothing on it—not even birds^t—but it was a
 13 desolate and terrible place. •And I saw there the seven stars (which) were like great,
 14 burning mountains.^u •(Then) the angel said (to me), “This place is the (ultimate) end
 of heaven and earth: it is the prison house^v for the stars^w and the powers of heaven.
 15 •And the stars which roll over upon the fire, they are the ones which have transgressed
 the commandments of God from the beginning of their rising because they did not
 16 arrive punctually.^x •And he was wroth with them and bound them until the time of
 the completion of their sin in the year of mystery.”^y

1 **19** And Uriel said to me, “Here shall stand in many different appearances the spirits
 of the angels which have united themselves with women. They^a have defiled the
 people and will lead them into error so that they^b will offer sacrifices to the demons
 as unto gods, until the great day of judgment in which they shall be judged till they
 2 are finished. •And their women whom the angels have led astray will be peaceful
 3 ones.”^c •(So) I, Enoch, I saw the vision of the end of everything alone; and none
 among human beings will see as I have seen.

Names of archangels

1 **20** And these are names of the holy angels who watch: •Suru’el,^a one of the holy
 2 angels—for (he is) of eternity^b and of trembling.^c •Raphael, one of the holy angels,
 3 for (he is) of the spirits of man. •Raguel, one of the holy angels who take vengeance
 4 for the world and for the luminaries.^d •Michael, one of the holy angels, for (he is)

b. B C: “turn the heaven and cause the ball of the sun and all the stars to set.”

c. B C: “I saw the winds on the earth which carry the clouds.”

d. B C: “I saw the path of the angels. I saw in the ultimate end of the earth the firmament of heaven above.”

e. B C: “And I passed.”

f. C, in accordance with the Gk.: “and I saw a place which burns . . .”

g. Charles suggests “jacinth.” Cf. EC, p. 49, n. 13.

h. B C: “The one.”

i. Lit. “the summit of the throne.”

j. Or “stone.”

k. So A and G. B and C read “all.”

l. Lit. “there was a place.” B and C add “and I saw.”

m. Lit. “there.”

n. B: “waters.”

o. G: “are completed.”

p. B reads “a deep pit in the earth.”

q. B: “heavenly pillars of fire.”

r. Lit. “either in the direction of the heights.”

s. Lit. “or in the direction of the depth.”

t. B C: “There was no water on it and no birds.”

u. Text adds “and like the spirit that was questioning me.” Regarding this corruption see EC, p. 51, n. 5.

v. B and C add “this.”

w. B: “stars of heaven.”

x. Lit. “because they did not come [A wrongly: “bring”] in their (allotted) time.”

y. G: “for a myriad years.”

19 a. Lit. “You.”

b. “The people.”

c. Charles considers the Eth. *salāmāwēyān* (Gk. *hōs eirēnaiōi*) a corruption of *eis sirēn*, “into sirens.” Cf. EC, p. 51, n. 49.

20 a. B C: “Uriel.”

b. B: “of roaring.” C: “of the world.”

c. G: “Tartarus.” The Gk. reads: “Uriel . . . who is over the world and Tartarus.”

d. G: “. . . takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.”

6 obedient in his benevolence over the people and the nations.^e • Saraqa⁷el, one of the
7 holy angels who are (set) over the spirits of mankind^f who sin in the spirit. • Gabriel,
one of the holy angels who oversee the garden of Eden, and the serpents, and the
cherubim.^g

Enoch's second journey: preliminary and final place of punishment of fallen stars

1 **21** And I came to an empty place.^a • And I saw (there) neither a heaven above nor
2 an earth below,^b but a chaotic^c and terrible place. • And there I saw seven stars of
3 heaven bound together in it,^d like great mountains, and burning with fire. • At that
4 moment I said, "For which sin are they bound, and for what reason were they cast
5 in here." • Then one of the holy angels, Uriel, who was with me, guiding me,^e spoke
6 to me and said to me, "Enoch, for what reason are you asking and for what reason
7 do you question and exhibit eagerness?^f • These are among the stars of heaven^g which
8 have transgressed the commandments of the Lord and are bound in this place^h until
9 the completion of ten million years, (according) to the number of their sins."ⁱ • I then
10 proceeded from that area to another place which is even more terrible and saw a
terrible thing: a great fire that was burning and flaming; the place^j had a cleavage
(that extended) to the last sea, pouring out^k great pillars of fire; neither its extent nor
its magnitude could I see nor was I able to estimate.^l • At that moment, what a terrible
opening^m is this place and a pain to look at!ⁿ • Then Ura⁷el, (one) of the holy angels
who was with me, responded and said to me,^o "Enoch, why are you afraid like this?"^p
(I answered and said),^q • "I am frightened because of this terrible place and the
spectacle of this painful thing."^r And he said unto me, "This place is the prison house
of the angels; they are detained here forever."

1 **22** Then^a I went to another place, and he showed me on the west side a great and
2 high mountain of^b hard rock • and inside it four beautiful^c corners; it had [in it] a deep,
3 wide, and smooth^d (thing) which was rolling over;^e and it (the place) was deep and
4 dark to look at.^f • At that moment, Rufael, one of the holy angels, who was with me,
5 responded to me; and he said to me, "These beautiful^g corners (are here) in order that Mt 24:31
the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble into them—they are created so
that the souls of the children of the people^h should gather here. • They prepared these
placesⁱ in order to put them (i.e. the souls of the people) there until the day of their
6 judgment and the appointed time of the great judgment upon them."^j • I saw the spirits

e. G: "set over the best part of mankind and chaos."

f. G omits "mankind."

g. G² adds "Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise"; G¹ adds "the names of the angels seven"; and G², "the names of the angels."

21 a. Lit. "where nothing is done." G: "a chaotic place." B and C add "I saw there a terrible thing."

b. Lit. "an earth with a foundation."

c. Lit. "which is not organized," "prepared," "orderly." C: "a place which has no order." B is unintelligible: "an orderly wilderness" (?).

d. Lit. "on it."

e. G: "leading them."

f. G: "eager for the truth." Cf. EC, p. 55, n. 2.

g. B and C omit "heaven."

h. Lit. "here."

i. B C: "the number of the days of their sins."

j. B: "the border."

k. Lit. "causing to descend."

l. B and C repeat *našero*, "seeing," before *'ayno*, "estimating."

m. Lit. "mouth."

n. B C (cf. G): "At that moment I said, 'How terrible is this place and (how) painful to look at!'"

o. Lit. "and responded to me."

p. B and C add here "and your affright."

q. Cf. EC, p. 55, n. 46.

r. Lit. "this pain."

22 a. B C: "Thence."

b. Lit. "and."

c. G has *koiioi*, "hollow," instead of *kaloi*, "beautiful."

d. G² omits "wide," and adds "three of them being dark and one bright, and there was a fountain of water in the middle of it."

e. Or "slippery," or "a place which causes one to slide, roll, or go off balance"—according to Ethiopian commentators. Charles suggests the Eth. to come from Gk. *kuklōmata*, which is a corruption of the Gk. *koiōmata*, "hollow places."

f. B, C, and G² add "how smooth."

g. G²: "hollow."

h. Eth. agrees with 4QEn^e against G, which omits "of the children of."

i. Cf. Charles: "these places were made." EC, p. 56, n. 31.

j. Or "the age [so A only] of the great judgment upon them." Cf. 4QEn^e, Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 229f. B and C add "till their appointed period."

of the children of the people^k who were dead, and their voices^l were reaching unto
 6 heaven until this very moment.^m • I asked Rufael, the angel who was with me, and
 said to him, “This spirit, the voice of which is reaching (into heaven) like this and
 7 is making suit, whose (spirit) is it?” • And he answered me, saying,ⁿ “This is the Gen 4:10
 spirit which had left Abel, whom Cain, his brother, had killed; it (continues to) sue
 him until all of (Cain’s) seed is exterminated from the face of the earth, and his seed
 8 has disintegrated from among the seed of the people.” • At that moment, I raised a
 question regarding him^o and regarding the judgment of all,^p “For what reason is one
 9 separated from the other?” • And he replied^q and said to me, “These three have been
 made in order that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And in the manner in
 which the souls^r of the righteous are separated^s (by) this spring of water with light
 10 upon it,^t in like manner, the sinners are set apart^u when they die and are buried in
 11 the earth and judgment has not been executed upon them in their lifetime,^v upon this
 great pain, until the great day of judgment—and to those who curse^w (there will be)
 plague and pain forever, and the retribution of their spirits. They^x will bind them there
 12 forever—even if from the beginning of the world.^y • And in this manner is a separation
 made for the souls of those who make the suit (and) those who disclose concerning
 13 destruction, as they were killed in the days of the sinners.^z • Such has been made for
 the souls of the people who are not righteous, but sinners and perfect criminals;^{a2} they
 shall be together with (other) criminals who are like them, (whose)^{b2} souls will not
 14 be killed on the day of judgment but will not rise from there.” • At that moment I
 blessed the Lord of Glory^{c2} and I said, “Blessed^{d2} be my Lord,^{e2} the Lord of
 righteousness who rules forever.”^{f2}

The fire of the luminaries of heaven

1 **23** And from there I (departed and) went^a to another place in the direction of the west
 2 until the (extreme) ends of the earth. • And I saw^b a burning fire which was running
 3 without rest;^c and it did not diminish its speed^d night and day.^e • And I asked, saying,
 4 “What is this (thing) which has no rest?” • At that moment, Raguel, one of the holy
 angels, who was with me, answered me and said to me, “This (thing) which you saw
 is the course (of the fire) and this,^f the fire which is burnings^g in the direction of the
 west, is the luminaries of heaven.”

The seven mountains of the northwest and the tree of life

1 **24** From there I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain

k. Charles corrects the Gk. to “a dead man.” Cf. also 4QEn^c. 4QEn^c also adds *ʾān*, “there.”

l. Charles corrects the Gk. to “his voice.”

m. So A. Eth. *waʿeska weʿ tu gizē* may be a corruption for *waysaki*, “was making suit,” followed by *weʿ tu gizē*, “and at that moment,” which we have in B and C. On the other hand, it may reflect upon words found in 4QEn^c, “crying out unceasingly and making accusations.”

n. B C: “And he answered me and said to me saying.”

o. Or “regarding it.” Hence regarding Cain or what he saw earlier.

p. Charles suggests *koiōmatōn*, “of hollow places,” instead of *krimatōn*, “of judgment.” See EC, p. 58, n. 19.

q. Lit. “replied to me.”

r. B C: “spirits.”

s. B C: “and such a division has been made.”

G²: “this division is made.”

t. G²: “this bright spring of water.”

u. B C: “such has been created for sinners.” In A we have *tafaltu* instead of *tafatru*.

v. B and C add “their souls will be set apart.”

w. G: “the accused.”

x. B C: “He.”

y. Charles considers “even . . . world” an Eth. intrusion.

z. G²: “his division has been made for the spirits of those making suits . . . when they were slain in the days of the sinners.”

a2. Lit. “of perfect crime.”

b2. Lit. “and.”

c2. B adds “of righteousness who rules forever,” and omits the following.

d2. A erroneously reads “be not blessed.”

e2. G²: “are you.”

f2. G²: “rules over the world.”

23 a. 4QEn^d: “I was transported.”

b. 4QEn^d: “I was shown.”

c. Lit. “while it was not resting.”

d. Lit. “decrease from its running.” 4QEn^d: “nor halting its running,” and adds “at the same time remaining constant.”

e. A adds “those like them.” B and C add “but (ran) regularly.”

f. Flemming suggests *zeni* to be a corruption of *wāʿey*, “burning.”

f. Charles considers this a corruption for: “which is persecuting.” Cf. EC, p. 60, n. 25.

2 of fire which was flaming day and night. •And I went in its direction and saw seven dignified mountains—all different one from the other, of^a precious and beautiful stones, and all dignified and glorious in respect to their visualization and beautiful in respect to their facade—three^b in the direction of the east, one^c founded on the other, and three in the direction of the north, one^d upon the other, with^e deep and crooked ravines, each one (of which) is removed^f from the other. •The seven mountains were (situated) in the midst of these (ravines) and (in respect to) their heights^g all resembled the seat of a throne (which is) surrounded by fragrant trees. •And among them, there was one tree such as I have never at all smelled; there was not a single one among those or other (trees) which is like it; among all the fragrances nothing could be so fragrant; its leaves, its flowers, and its wood would never wither forever; its fruit is beautiful^h andⁱ resembles the clustered fruits of a palm tree. •At that moment I said, “This is a beautiful^j tree, beautiful to view,^k with leaves (so) handsome and blossoms^l (so) magnificent^m in appearance.” •Then Michael, one of the holy and reveredⁿ angels—he is their chief—who was with me, responded to me.

1 **25** And he said unto me, Enoch, “What is it that you are asking me concerning the fragrance of this tree and^a you are so inquisitive about?”^b •At that moment, I answered, saying, “I am desirous^c of knowing everything, but specially about this thing.”^d •He answered, saying, “This tall mountain which you saw^e whose summit resembles the throne of God is (indeed) his throne, on which the Holy and Great Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit when he descends to visit the earth with goodness. •And as for this fragrant tree, not a single human being has the authority to touch it until the great judgment, when he shall take vengeance on all and conclude (everything) forever. •This is^f for the righteous and the pious. And the elect will be presented with its fruit for life.^g He will plant it in the direction of the northeast,^h upon the holy place—in the direction of the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.

10:17; 24:4;
Gen 2:9;
3:22
2Bar
73:2,3,6,7;
74
4Ezra 8:52;
Rev 2:7;
22:2,14

6 Then they shall be glad and rejoice in gladness,¹ and they shall enter into the holy (place); its fragrance shall (penetrate) their bones, long^j life will they live^k on earth, such as your fathers lived in their days.”^l

7 At that moment, I blessed the God of Glory, the Eternal King, for he has prepared such things for the righteous people, as he had created (them) and given it to them.^m

Jerusalem and its surroundings

1 **26** And from there I went into the center of the earth and saw a blessed place, shaded^a with branches which live and bloom from a tree that was cut. •And there I saw a holy mountain; underneath the mountain, in the direction of the east, there was

Ezek 38:12;
5:5; Jub
8:12,19

24 a. Lit. “and.”

b. G^a omits “three.”

c. G^a omits “one.”

d. G^a omits “one.”

e. Lit. “and.”

f. Lit. “do not come near.”

g. G^a: “it excelled in height.”

h. G^a omits “is beautiful.”

i. E repeats “its fruit,” omitted by G^a.

j. G^a: “How beautiful . . .”

k. G^a: “fragrant.”

l. So A. A agrees with G^a against B and C, which read “fruit.”

m. B and C add “very.” A agrees with G.

n. G omits “revered.”

e. Omitted by G.

f. B C: “It shall be given.”

g. Charles considers this to be a corruption, comparing it to G, which reads “its fruit shall be food for the elect,” and Ezek 47:12, which he claims “the writer had before him.” See EC, p. 63, n. 15, and p. 62, n. 49.

h. Charles considers *mas'e*, “northeast” (G: *eis borran*), a mistake for *la'kel*, “for food” (G: *eis boran*). See EC, p. 63, n. 52.

i. B C: “be glad in gladness and rejoice.”

j. Lit. “Much.”

k. So B and C. A: “which they live.”

l. B and C add “Sorrow, pain, torment, and plague shall not touch them.”

m. Lit. “and he said, ‘I gave it to them.’”

25 a. G adds “why.”

b. Lit. “you examine in order to know.”

c. So A. B and C read “I want.”

d. So A. B and C read “this tree.”

26 a. G: “in which there were trees.” Cf. EC, p. 64, nn. 21f. 4QEn^d: “in which were trees.”

3 a stream which was flowing in the direction of the north. • And I saw in a second direction, (another) mountain^b which was higher than (the former).^c Between them^d was a deep and narrow^e valley. In the direction of the (latter) mountain ran a stream.^f
 4 In the direction of the west from this one there was (yet) another mountain, smaller than it and not so high,^g with a valley under it,^h and between them besides,ⁱ (another) valley which is^j deep and dry.^k • (The valleys)^l were narrow,^m (formed) of hard rocks and no tree growing on them.ⁿ • And I marveled at the mountain(s)^o and I marveled at the valley(s): I marveled very deeply.

The accursed valley

1 **27** At that moment, I said, “For what purpose does this blessed land, entirely filled
 2 with trees, (have) in its midst this accursed valley?” • Then, Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me,^a answered me and said to me, “This accursed valley is for those accursed forever; here will gather together all (those) accursed ones,^b those who speak with their mouth unbecoming words against the Lord and utter hard words concerning his glory. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their
 3 judgment,^c in the last days. • There will be upon them the spectacle of the righteous judgment, in the presence of the righteous forever.^d The merciful will bless the Lord
 4 of Glory, the Eternal King, all the day.^e • In the days of the judgment of (the accursed),^f the (merciful)^g shall bless him for the mercy which he had bestowed upon them.”^h
 5 At that moment, I blessed the Lord of Glory and gave him the praise that befits his glory.ⁱ

Mt 5:29,30

Journey to the east

1 **28** And from there I went in the direction of the east^a into the center of the mountain^b
 2 of the desert; and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and seeds.^c • And there was a stream on top of it, and it gushed forth from above it. • It appeared like a waterfall which cascaded greatly^d as if toward the direction of west of the northeast; water and dew ascended from it all over.
 1 **29** Then I went into another place in the desert; and I approached the easterly
 2 direction of this mountain. • And there I saw the tree of judgment (which has) the smell of rubbish; its tree looked like that of frankincense and myrrh.^a

b. B and C read “toward the east a second mountain.”

c. Lit. “than this.”

d. So 4QEn^d. The Gk. reads *autou* instead of *autōn*.

e. Lit. “without breadth.”

f. Lit. “water.” A adds erroneously *litani*, “to me . . .” This may be a corruption from *botuni*; see B and EC, p. 64, n. 38.

g. Lit. “having no height.”

h. G²: “deep and dry.”

i. Lit. “and.”

j. Lit. “which are.”

k. B and C add “at the extremities of the three.”

l. B C: “All the valleys.”

m. B C: “deep and narrow.”

n. A erroneously: “and tree(s) will be planted on them.”

o. So also 4QEn^d. The Eth. means “mountain,” “hill,” “hard rock.” G^a omits “mountain.”

27 a. G^a omits the preceding words.

b. B and C omit “accursed ones.”

c. G²: “the place of their habitation.”

d. G²: “In the last times, in the days of the true judgment, before the righteous forever.”

e. Text unclear.

f. Lit. “their judgment.”

g. Lit. “they.”

h. Lit. “according to how he has divided it to them.”

i. Lit. “I made a proclamation and a remembrance that befits his glory.” G: “set forth his glory and lauded him . . .”

28 a. G omits “in the direction of the east.”

b. G omits “of the mountain.”

c. Lit. “and seeds from it” or “its seeds.” Charles holds “seeds from it” to be a corruption and suggests instead “plants” as the original. Cf. EC, p. 68, n. 6.

d. Lit. “much.”

e. G: “Rushing like a copious watercourse toward the northwest . . .”

29 a. This rendition of the Eth., following A closely, may be wrong. The text is awkward. Charles, following Beer and Praetorius, and partially in accordance with G, has suggested the emendation of the text to read “. . . I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar [B: “not similar”] to the almond tree.” Cf. EC, p. 68, nn. 27–29, and p. 69, nn. 14–18.

1 **30** And beyond it—beyond those above the easterly mountains—it is not far.^a And
2 I saw a place which is a valley of water that is endless.^b •And I saw a beautiful tree^c
3 which resembles^d a tree whose fragrance is like that of mastic. •And in the direction
of the sides^e of those valleys, I saw a fragrant cinnamon tree. And over these, I
proceeded in the easterly direction.

1 **31** And I saw other mountains with trees^a in them. There flowed from them (the
2 trees) something like nectar, called sarara^b and galbanum. •And over these mountains,
I saw (yet) another mountain^c and in it there were aloe trees,^d and the whole forest^e
3 was full of (trees) like sturdy almond trees.^f •And when one picks^g the fruit it gives
the most pleasant odor.^h

1 **32** And after (experiencing) this fragrant odor,^a while looking toward the northeast
over the mountains, I saw seven mountains full of excellent nard, fragrant trees,
2 cinnamon trees, and pepper. •From there I went over the summits of the mountains,^b
far toward the east of the earth.^c I (then) passed over the Erythraean Sea and went far
3 from it, and passed over the head of angel^d Zutu'el.^e •And I came to the garden of
righteousness^f and saw beyond those trees many (other)^g large (ones) growing there^h—
their fragrance sweet, large ones,ⁱ with much elegance, and glorious. And the tree of
4 wisdom, of which one eats^j and knows great wisdom, (was among them). •It looked
like^k the colors^l of the carob tree, its fruit like very beautiful grape clusters, and the
5 fragrance of this tree travels and reaches^m afar.ⁿ •And I said,^o “This tree is beautiful^p
6 and its appearance beautiful^q and pleasant!” •Then the holy angel Raphael, who was
with me, responded to me and said,^r “This very thing is the tree of wisdom from
which your old father and aged mother, they who are your precursors,^s ate and came
to know wisdom; and (consequently) their eyes were opened and they realized^t that
they were naked and (so) they were expelled from the garden.”

1 **33** And from there I went to the extreme ends of the earth and saw there huge beasts,
each different from the other—and different birds (also) differing from one another
2 in appearance, beauty, and voice. And to the east of those beasts, I saw the ultimate
ends of the earth which rests on the heaven. •And the gates of heaven were open, and
3 I saw how the stars of heaven come out; •and I counted the gates out of which they
exit and wrote down all their exits for each one: according to their numbers,^a their

30 a. The Eth. seems corrupt. Cf. G: “Beyond these, I went afar to the east.”

b. G omits “that is endless.”

c. Lit. “trees.” G: “there was a tree.”

d. G^a: “color.”

e. Lit. “wings.”

31 a. G: “tree groves.”

b. Meaning uncertain, perhaps “sarara” derives from Heb. *šārī*, a type of balsam.

c. G^a adds “to the east of the ends of the earth.”

d. Charles suggests that these aloe trees were eaglewood. G^a omits “in it there were aloe trees.”

e. Lit. “all those trees.”

f. Or “hard almond trees.” Charles amends this sentence to read “all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees.” Cf. EC, p. 70, nn. 37–39.

g. Lit. “they pick.”

h. Lit. “it pleases above all odors.” Charles amends this sentence to read “. . . when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odor.” Cf. EC, p. 71, nn. 15, 40.

32 a. Lit. “after this.” B C: “after these odors.”

G^a omits this phrase.

b. G^a adds “all.”

c. B and C omit “of the earth.” A agrees with G.

d. G^a omits “angel.”

e. B C: Zutu'el.

f. In A 1En 32:3–34:2 (i.e. A, fols. 80v[b]–81r[a]) were written by a different scribe.

g. B C: “many trees.”

h. G omits “growing there,” and adds “two trees . . .”

i. All MSS add “large ones.”

j. Lit. “they eat.”

k. G^a: “That tree is in height like the fir and its leaves are . . .”

l. So A. G: *to dendra*, “leaves.” Other Eth. MSS do not make sense.

m. B and C omit “reaches.”

n. Lit. “long way.”

o. A wrongly has *wā'ey*, “burning,” instead of *'ebē*, “I said.”

p. G: “How beautiful is the tree . . .”

q. G omits “beautiful.”

r. G omits “and said.”

s. Lit. “those who preceded you.”

t. Lit. “they knew.”

33 a. So B and C. A could possibly be translated: “according to their keepers.”

names, their ranks, their seats, their periods, their months, as Uriel, the holy angel who was with me, showed me. •He showed me all things and wrote them down for me^b—also in addition he wrote down their names, their laws,^c and their companies.

Journey to the north

1 **34** From there I went in the direction of the north, to the extreme ends of the earth, and there at the extreme end of the whole world I saw a great and glorious seat.^a
 2 There (also) I saw three open gates of heaven; when it blows cold, hail, frost, snow,^b dew, and rain, through each one of the (gates) the winds proceed in the northwesterly
 3 direction. •Through one gate they blow good things; but when they blow with force through the two (other) gates, they blow violence and sorrow upon the earth.

Journey to the west

1 **35** And from there I went in the direction of the west to the extreme ends of the earth, and saw there three open gates of heaven, (just) like the one that I saw in the east in respect to the number of its exits.^a

Journey to the south

1 **36** And from there I went in the direction of the south to the extreme ends of the earth, and saw there three open gates of the heaven from where^a the south wind, dew,
 2 rain, and wind come forth. •From there I went in the direction of the extreme ends of the heaven^b and saw there open gates of heaven, with small gates above them, in
 3 the direction of the east. •Through one^c of these small gates pass the stars of heaven
 4 and travel westward on the path which is shown to them. •And when I saw (this) I blessed—and I shall always^d bless—the Lord of Glory, who performed great and blessed miracles in order that he may manifest his great deeds to his angels, the winds,^e and to the people so that they might praise the effect^f of all his creation^g—so that they might see the effect^h of his power and praise him in respect to the great work of his hands and bless him forever.

b. So B and C. A wrongly reads "for him."
 c. Lit. "commandments."

34 a. B reads "miracle." C: "counsel," "device."
 b. So B and C. A reads "ash," "white dust."

35 a. B and C add "and gates."

36 a. Or "from there, the south." The word *'azēb* can mean "south," "southwest." Charles suggests "moisture" instead of the word "south." Cf. EC, p. 75, n. 25.

b. B C: "in the direction of the east to the extreme ends of the heaven."

c. So B. C emended by Charles reads "through each one . . ." A is defective.

d. Lit. "all times."

e. B: "to the souls of men." C: "to the souls and to people."

f. Lit. "the action."

g. B C: "his deeds and his creation."

h. Lit. "the action."