

Enoch & The Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status*

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This paper considers the Fallen Angels, the celestial knowledge that they taught humans, and its striking correlation with what Enoch learned in the course of his ascent experiences. This is investigated in two of the booklets of *1 Enoch*, which together preserve one of the earliest surviving Jewish literary forms of the story of an angelic rebellion.¹ The myth of the fall of the angels is most frequently connected with two biblical passages, Isa 14:12–15 and Gen 6:1–4, which provide a context for the myth as told in *1 Enoch*.²

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¹ An *Apocryphon, Michael’s Struggle with Satan*, exists in Greek and Slavonic which relates the primordial battle between Satan and Michael. See Anisava Miltenova, “The Apocryphon about the Struggle of the Archangel Michael with Satanail in Two Redactions,” *SBL* 9 (1981): 98–113. A Greek version exists, which Emmanouela Grypeou, Alexander Kulik, and the writer are editing.

² The scholarly literature on Gen 6:1–4 and on the fallen angels is considerable. Of interest for the present paper is not so much the “original” meaning of Gen 6:1–4, if that were accessible, as the history of the story of the Fallen Angels. In a fine study, Annette Yoshiko Reed presented plentiful information: *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Kevin P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2004) also contains some interesting material. The bibliographies of these works list many further studies. Note, of earlier works, particularly D. Dimant, “‘The Fallen Angels’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them” (Ph.D. Dissertation; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1974), in Hebrew. Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed*, 110–112 presents the chief issues arising in exegesis of this passage.

Isa 14:12–15 reuses an older myth of heavenly rebellion to describe the downfall of a hubristic Mesopotamian king.³ Later Jewish and Christian texts, however, elaborated on the recycled myth, understanding it as referring to the rebellion of an angel, Satan/Lucifer, and his hosts against God. In the sources based on Isa 14:12–15 Satan's rebellion is said to take place before the creation of the world or on the creation of Adam.⁴ Sometimes later forms of the myth say that the rebel angels belonged to the high angelic class called “Watchers” and that God eventually cast the rebellious angels down to earth.⁵ In this context “the Fall” refers not to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, but to the descent of Satan and his host from the heavens to the earth.

³ Isaiah's language is itself generally agreed to be adapted from a prior myth of heavenly rebellion. Whether the later Lucifer myth derived from the Isaianic form, or whether it shared older roots with it cannot be determined. See concerning the mythological character of the passage Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–29: A Commentary*, (London: SCM, 1983), 38–41; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27: A Continental Commentary*, (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997) 55–56; and others.

⁴ Adamic and Enochic materials sometimes merged, see Andrei A. Orlov, “The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angel Tradition in 2 Enoch,” in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (Studia Judaeoslavica 4; ed. Andrei Orlov, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M. Zurawski; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 149–180. See pages 152–161, 167–171.

⁵ See Latin, Armenian and Georgian of the *Life of Adam and Eve (L.A.E.)* 12:1–16:3: see J.P. Pettoirelli and J.D. Kaestli, *Vita Latina Adae et Evae et Synopsis Vitae Adae et Evae* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 18–19; ed. Albert Frey, J.D. Kaestli, Bernard Outtier, et J.P. Pettoirelli; Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 780–787. 2 *En.* 22:4 and 29:4–5 also imply this: see M.E. Stone, “The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on The Books of Adam and Eve,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (SVTP 15; ed. Gary Anderson, Michael Stone, and Johannes Tromp; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 43–56, especially 46–48. Rabbinic sources also refer to angelic opposition to Adam's creation: see Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1925) 5.69, n. 12. See further Rachel Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed: Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Pseudepigrapha* (SJSJ 140; Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009), 72–78. Similarly, apparently, the Watchers are known by CD 2:18 to have gone astray through lust. Scholars have detected another possible angelic fall in Ezek 28: see Terje Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 25; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 332–356.

Gen 6:1–4 sets the descent of the “sons of God” (i.e., angels) after the creation of Adam, in the days of Jared.⁶ The angels’ lust for human women is the motive of their descent from the divine sphere, from heavenly to earthly being.⁷ In *1 Enoch*,⁸ Gen 6:1–4 was understood as a story of the transgression of the proper boundaries between the earthly and the heavenly,⁹ the illicit mixing of celestial and terrestrial beings.¹⁰ Expanding on that story, *1 Enoch* records the fallen angels transgressing boundaries a second time by teaching forbidden knowledge and skills to humans.

⁶ Jared (Heb. *Yered*) is derived from Hebrew *yr"d* “to descend” which etymology perhaps determined the dating of the angelic “descent” in his days. A similar instance sets the building of the tower of Babylon in the days of Peleg, taken as deriving from *<pl"g* “separate, divide” because that event brought about the differentiation (*pl"g*) of the languages; the Rabbis called that generation *dor ha-pēlāgā* = “generation of the separation”: see *Gen. Rab.* Noah 38:5 (Theodor-Albeck, 1.359), *Tanḥ* (Buber) Noah 27 (fol. 23r). *1 Enoch*’s choice of Mt. Hermon as the site of the angelic descent may also result from a wordplay with *ḥr"m*: see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 177–178. See further Daniel C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SVTP 24; Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013), 37–42.

⁷ The Watchers begat giants, from whom issued evil spirits. For a survey on demons, see G.J. Riley, “Demons,” *DDD* 445–456.

⁸ *1 Enoch* is a compilation of five different documents, some of which are themselves composed of diverse sources composed between the fourth/third and the second century BCE. Four of these five “booklets” were written in Aramaic, and the original language of the fifth, the *Similitudes*, remains unknown. Fragments of the four Aramaic parts are preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls, yet nothing of the *Similitudes*. Another related work, *The Book of the Giants*, known since 1943 in a Manichean version, also occurs at Qumran in several Aramaic copies: see W. B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” *BSOAS* 2 (1943): 52–74. See further John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992) and L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

⁹ It is quite often suggested that Sir 16:7 also refers to the fall of the angels. This is discussed by Matthew J. Goff, “Ben Sira and the Giants of the Land: A Note on Ben Sira 16:7,” *JBL* 129.4 (2010): 645–655.

¹⁰ Another story of a similar transgression of boundaries is that of the Tower of Babel: see Gen 11:1–9. Gen 6:1–4 is analogous to but not identical with the Lucifer story in Isa 14:12–15, where an attempt was made to unseat God from his throne: this fairly common motif occurs in the stories of Chronos and Zeus, or Baal and El: see J.B. Russell, *The Devil* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1977), 97, 135–137. On the interpretation of Gen 6:1–4 in the

The present investigation assesses the angels' fall, the celestial knowledge that they taught humans, and its striking inversion of what Enoch learned through ascent revelations recounted in the *Book of the Watchers* (third century BCE) and in the *Similitudes* (first century BCE–first century CE). Both versions are related to Gen 6:1–4, which alludes briefly to stories that were apparently well-known when Genesis was composed but have not been transmitted to us.¹¹

The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6–11)—the oldest Enochic work—deals with the angelic fall and is the oldest full narration of the story based on Gen 6:1–4. Preceding it, ch. 1 serves as an introduction that establishes Enoch's credentials as a prophet like Moses, like Balaam, and like Ezekiel.¹² *The Book of the Watchers* goes a step further, portraying Enoch as an angel-like being of remarkable qualities.¹³ This is already evident in the second verse of the book, which adapts the opening of Balaam's oracle in Num 24:15. Balaam says that his eyes were uncovered or opened, while *1 Enoch*

context of biblical studies as one of several incidents of transgression of fixed borders, see R.S. Hendel, "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," *JBL* 106 (1987): 13–26. According to Amar Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers; A Comparative Study of Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *JSP* 19 (2010): 277–320 especially 295–297, the condemnation of the mixing of heavenly and earthly is a polemical re-framing and revaluation of the claims of Mesopotamian kings to be offspring of semi-divine, antediluvian beings.

¹¹ Such allusive references include Gen 4:20–24, 5:21–24, 10:8–10. See M.E. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (New York & Oxford: Collins & Blackwell, 1980), 39–43.

¹² See M.E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. F.M. Cross, W. Lemke, and P.D. Miller; New York: Doubleday, 1976), 444 and idem, "Enoch's Revelations?" *Proceedings of the Conference on the Enochic Chronotope, Berlin, December 2013* (ed. Florentina Badalanova Geller, forthcoming).

¹³ Stone, "Enoch's Revelations?" For a characterization of the varied aspects of the Enoch figure, there is much to learn from the writings of Andrei Orlov, "The Learned Savant who guards the Secrets of the Great Gods: Evolution of the Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in Mesopotamian and Enochic Traditions (Part II: Enochic Traditions)," *Scrinium* 2 (2006), 134–182 and earlier, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

says that Enoch's eyes were opened “by God.” In place of Numbers' phrase, “him who hears the words of God,” *I Enoch* says that Enoch heard all the words of the Watchers and holy ones, that is, of the highest classes of angels. Clearly, then, he can see and hear more than ordinary mortals.

At the end of 1:2 he adds, “I also understood what I saw.”¹⁴ God is thus responsible for Enoch's special abilities; he opened Enoch's eyes. Moreover, these words indicate that what he saw was comprehensible.¹⁵ Balaam says that he is the one “who sees the vision of the Almighty,” and *I Enoch* states of Enoch, “who had the vision of the Holy One and of heavens that He showed me.”¹⁶ Observe that God's agency in granting Enoch the vision is highlighted by additions to the language of Numbers—his eyes were opened by God; God showed him the vision of the Holy One, i.e., God enabled Enoch to see Himself. The hortatory chs. 2–5 conclude with promises that in the future the chosen will receive wisdom and become vessels of light and understanding (5:8). The text continues in 6:1 retelling the story of Gen 6:1–4 as the rebellion and fall of angelic beings.¹⁷

The story is simple enough. A group of angels descends to earth motivated by sexual desire. They mate with human women begetting giants who become demonic

¹⁴ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch I*, 138: *I Enoch* 24:16a, 1 Enoch 1:2e. This language recurs in 93:1–2, as does the allusion to Num 24. This is a very interesting assertion. Compare 4 Ezra 10:34–37, 12:7–9 on the limitation of human vision. Cf. Michael E. Stone, M.E. Stone (2014), “Seeing and Understanding in 4 Ezra,” in John Ashton (ed.), *Revealed Wisdom: Studies in Apocalyptic in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (Leiden & Boston: Brill), 122–137.

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¹⁶ Our alignment of the parallels differs a little from Nickelsburg's. Moreover, Nickelsburg (2001), 138: Num 24:15c, 1 Enoch 1:2b. The tendency to use circumlocutions instead of predicating God's direct action is widespread in the Second Temple period. An old, but still fine article on this is George F. Moore (1922), “Intermediaries in Jewish Theology – Memra, Shekinah, Metatron,” *HTR* 15: 41–85 (2001), 138 sees one or two more parallels: Numbers 24:15a (*I Enoch* 1:2a), 15b (but there is no real comparison here), 16b (*I Enoch* 1:2e, 93:2i), 17a (but again, no real comparison).

¹⁷ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch I*, 176; Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 200–205.

spirits on earth.¹⁸ These angels teach forbidden, secret knowledge to humans. Some decades ago Devorah Dimant re-examined the two interwoven strands of material she detected in *Watchers*.¹⁹ In one strand, Shemhazai (in the Qumran Aramaic texts—Shemiyehzeh) leads a rebel angelic band, predominantly typified by sexual desire. The other strand relates Asa’el’s teaching of forbidden lore and science.²⁰ The imperfect harmonisation of these two narrative strands causes a certain roughness in the narrative flow.²¹ Most scholars have come to agree with Dimant that the author of *The Book of the Watchers* utilised two source traditions or documents but that it is impossible to separate them neatly.²²

Enoch is not mentioned in *I En.* 6–11, which refers to “the son of Lamech” (i.e., Noah) and to “Noah” (*I En.* 10:1–3). Moreover, the narrative is in the third person until ch. 12:3. *I Enoch* 6–11 is, consequently, not a narrative about Enoch but about

¹⁸ Kevin Sullivan, “The Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch 6–16: The Fall of Angels and the Rise of Demons,” in *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, and John C. Endres; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014), 91–103 presents diverse views of the relationship of Watchers to demons.

¹⁹ See Dimant, “The Fallen Angels”; Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 201–202. Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed*, 118–122 discusses the relationship of the two strands in *I Enoch* and the relationship of *I Enoch*’s form of the story with that in *Jubilees* (see n. 21). Of course, she was not the first to do so: see further note 18 below.

²⁰ The later retelling of this story in *Jubilees* clearly says that the demons are descendants of the Watchers via the giants, themselves the offspring of the illicit union of the angels with the daughters of men. See *Jub* 4:22, 5:1–3, 7:21–24, and 10:1–12. J.L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (SJSJ 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012) implies that *Jubilees*’ form of the story, in which the Watchers descended for good purposes, is original. The difference between these two formulations has been studied, *inter alios*, by S. Thomas, *The “Mysteries” of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 111–115. On the relation of these two strands, see also J.J. Collins, “The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 91–111, especially 97.

²¹ See Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 65–73.

²² As well as the two narrative strands, Dimant also isolates the list of teachings tradition as originally independent: see Dimant, “The Fallen Angels,” 56–57, 60–61, 87–89. For the *Forschungsgeschichte* of the *Book of the Watchers*, see Nickelsburg, *I Enoch* 1, 109–125. He discusses Dimant’s third element, the teachings, on p. 171.

the fall of the angels.²³ According to *I En.* 7, the giants were the children of the angels and human women²⁴ and the chief point of that chapter is the havoc that the fallen angels and their giant children wrought on all of antediluvian creation. “4/ And the giants began to kill men and to devour them. 5/ And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another’s flesh. And they drank the blood.” Because of this, we learn, “the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones” (v. 6).²⁵

Of course, the ideas of forbidden intercourse and subsequent destruction of the earth are taken from, or concord with, Genesis. Strikingly, however, *I Enoch* differs from Genesis at a number of points. *I Enoch* 7:1 opens with the angelic sexual sins, and then says: “And they began to . . . teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants.”²⁶ Thus, after the story in ch. 6, the narrator relates forbidden teaching, which does not derive from Genesis. Moreover, the angelic teaching of arcane arts is prominent not only in 7:1, but the whole of ch. 8 is

²³ A century ago, these factors led R.H. Charles to regard these chapters as drawn from a lost *Book of Noah*: see R.H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 1.168. Charles’s theories are reviewed by Vered Hillel, “A Reconsideration of Charles’ Designated ‘Noah Interpolations’ in *I Enoch* 54:1–55:1; 60; 65:1–69:25,” in *Noah and His Book(s)* (SBLEJL 28; ed. M.E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, and Vered Hillel; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 27–45. Milik’s general condemnation of this view in *Books of Enoch*, 25 seems too hasty. See also Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 200–201.

²⁴ Apparently in Gen 6:4, cf. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 197–200; Hendel, “Of Demigods and the Deluge,” 13–26. See explicitly in *I En.* 15:8–9: compare Annus, *On the Origin of the Watchers*, 311–312 and also his remarks there on the punishment of the Watchers.

²⁵ All translations of *I Enoch* are drawn from George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *I Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012).

²⁶ Note that in *Jub* 4:15–16 God sent the angels upon earth to instruct men in judgment and righteousness. Although some scholars regard this as primary (see, e.g., James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*) the view that *I Enoch* precedes *Jubilees* finds support in the biblical text. Annus, *On the Origin of Watchers*, 293–294 presents evidence that some other texts, including the *Book of the Giants*, viewed the Watchers’ teaching positively.

dedicated to the angels' forbidden teachings. It specifies the names of the angels and which secret knowledge each unlawfully revealed.²⁷ Ch. 9 presents the accusations levelled by the four archangels at the actions of Asa'el and Shemiyehzeh. Here Asa'el is mentioned first, "who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven" (v. 6). In contrast, the text associates Shemiyehzeh with both intercourse with human women and teaching them to make "hate-inducing charms" (v. 8). They begat the giants who, in turn, shed blood and oppressed the earth.

Then, in ch. 10, God orders the four archangels to act against the evils that stemmed from the angelic fall. Raphael (whose name derives from Hebrew *rp*"' "to heal") is instructed:

4/ Go, Raphael, and bind Asael hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness; and make an opening in the wilderness that is in Doudael.

5/ Throw him there, and lay beneath him sharp and jagged stones. And cover him with darkness, and let him dwell there for an exceedingly long time. Cover up his face, and let him not see the light.

6/ And on the day of the great judgment, he will be led away to the burning conflagration.

7/ And **heal** the earth, which the watchers have desolated; and announce the healing of the earth, that the plague may be healed, and all the sons of men may not perish **because of the mystery that the watchers told and taught their sons.**

8/ And all the earth was made desolate by the **deeds of the teaching of Asael,**

²⁷ On these names and the variation between them in Ethiopic and Greek, see Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 2.69–73 and on the names in *1 En.* 69, see *ibid.*, 159–161.

and over him write all the sins. [bold type mine].

Here, as in the preceding ch. 9, the teaching of evil mysteries is associated particularly with Asa’el and the angels are not said to have taught the mysteries to the women (as in ch. 7) but to their own offspring.²⁸ The rest of ch. 10 describes the cleansing of the earth, making no special mention of teaching or mysteries. Thus, whatever the “original” differences between the traditions associated with Asa’el and Shemiyehzeh, forbidden teachings are an integral part of the sins of the fallen angels in both traditions, though stressed more in connection with Asa’el.

Another discussion of the fallen angels occurs in *The Similitudes of Enoch*, the second work incorporated into *1 Enoch*. *1 En.* 69 contains two lists of the names of the fallen angels.²⁹ The first is in 69:2–3 and is parallel, with variants, to 6:7. The second list, in 69:4–12, corresponds to 8:1–3. It contains the names of the angels who taught humans forbidden arts, specifying which angel taught which arts. Both the angelic names and their teachings listed in 69:4–12 differ from the parallel in 8:1–3. A variant form of the tradition has been incorporated at this point.

As for Enoch, he is a most complex figure and too much has been written about him for us to rehearse here.³⁰ He is given prophetic status, and that his standing is

²⁸ In a fine article, Annette Y. Reed deals with the connection of women with arcane arts. See “Gendering Heavenly Secrets?” in *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in Antiquity* (ed. K. Stratton; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 108–151.

²⁹ Some scholars also regard this passage as taken from a *Book of Noah*: see n. 23 above. See also Hillel, “Noah Interpolations.” See further about the names, n. 27 above.

³⁰ We shall not discuss views of the origins of the Enoch figure and his functioning. Very significant are: H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt; eine vergleichende religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: J. Dybwad, 1939); P. Grelot, “La légende d’Hénoch dans les Apocryphes et dans la Bible: origine et signification,” *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen: Neukirchner Verlag, 1988), and James C. VanderKam, *Enoch, a Man for All Generations* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995). On later developments, see Andrei A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron*

quite different from that of ordinary human beings and virtually angelic.³¹ Enoch's eyes and ears, his vision and hearing, can apprehend the celestial realm and so he can learn redemptive knowledge. His angelification, which was not explicit in 1:2, is more clearly implied in ch. 12. Genesis 5:22 talks unclearly of Enoch's walking with God, but *1 En.* 12:2 says outright: "His works were with the watchers, and with the holy ones were his days." His authority flows from his almost angelic status: "From the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard everything" (*1 En.* 1:2).³² To him, many heavenly secrets were revealed.³³

According to *1 En.* 12–16 (and other chapters), in the course of his achieving almost angelic status or as a result of it, Enoch gains knowledge of various celestial

Tradition (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

Recent extensive bibliography is listed in Olson, "A New Reading."

³¹ See n. 12 above.

³² On transformation into an angel, see A.A. Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reply to C. Böttrich," *JSJ* 34.3 (2003): 274–303, especially 276–280. Enoch's angelification is described in *2 En.* 22:8–9:

And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out of his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment, and put him into the garments of My glory. 9/ And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him. He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appearance of that ointment is more than the great light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked at myself, and I was like one of his glorious ones.

Compare Zech 3:4–5. See also Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 154–156 who cites Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STJD 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 21: "Enoch has peculiar rights of access to the divine presence (chs. 14–15), however he is not explicitly said to be divine or angelic." Note the word "explicitly", yet we maintain that Enoch's angelification is clearly implied by the texts we have analyzed, even though not proclaimed explicitly. He is certainly above the level of an "ordinary" human being. On the meaning of the change of garments, see April D. de Conick and Jarl Fossum, "Stripped before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 45.2 (1991): 123–150. Enoch's true knowledge is taken for granted in 1QapGen (1Q20:21–22) "When Methusel[ah] heard [of these matters,] he set out for his father Enoch, in order to learn from him the truth of the whole affair." Compare the Mesopotamian parallels cited by Amar Annus, *On the Origin of Watchers*, especially 285–286.

³³ Enoch's heavenly status and his revelations may be compared readily with the extraordinary description of his angelification in *2 En.* 22:8–9 (see n. 32).

secrets and cosmic mysteries. The extent of his ability to learn these celestial mysteries correlates with the standing accorded to him. As he ascends in the heavenly hierarchy more and deeper mysteries are revealed to him. Moreover, the subjects the Watchers revealed to humans contrast strikingly with those revealed to Enoch.³⁴ They are mostly drawn from the same categories as Enoch's, but represent their sinister side. So, for example, the Watchers teach humans magical medicine (7:1, 8:3); Enoch learns healing (10:7, 67:8). The Watchers teach divination; Enoch learns astronomy.³⁵ Broadly, but not mechanically, after their descent to earth the Watchers reveal the negative aspect of the heavenly mysteries to humans, while in the course of his ascent and travels (chs. 17–36 and 37–72) Enoch learns the positive aspect of the heavenly secrets from angels. He can do this due to his heavenly status.

The following general categories tabulate the knowledge that the Watchers revealed to humans and the corresponding aspects of knowledge revealed to Enoch in the two Enochic booklets we have studied in this paper.

Revealed by Fallen Angels	Heavenly Palace	Cosmic, Revealed to Enoch
<i>from the Watchers story</i>	<i>from the Ascent vision ch. 14</i>	<i>drawn mostly from Enoch's journeys and the Similitudes</i>
1. sorcery and charms (7:1, 8:3)		oath that regulates creatures (41:5, 69:13–25)
2. magical medicine (7:1, 8:3)		healing (10:7, 67:8)

³⁴ See Michael A. Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom: Reflections on the Character of the Book of Parables," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (Vetus Testamentum Supplements 148; ed. Martti Nissinen; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 255–276, and the contrast of the Watchers' knowledge and Enoch's on pp. 266–267. Knibb, however, does not speak of the different valuation of shared subjects.

³⁵ See items 6 and 7 in the following table. On further transmission of astronomy and divination, see *Jub* 11:8–9. Aeschylus says that Prometheus, in addition to fire and various arts, also taught humans divination: *Prometheus Bound* lines 480–505.

3. metalworking for weapons (8:1–2), weapons of war (69:6)		mountains of metals (52:2–4)
4. and for women’s ornaments.		cf. seven mountains of precious stones (18:6)
5. cosmetics, antimony and eye paint (8:1)		middle mountain of antimony (18:8)
6. astrological divination (8:3)		stars (33:2, 36:3, 43:1, etc.)
7. solar divination (8:3)	wheels of throne like sun (14:18)	sun (18:4, 41:5–6, 41:8)
8. lightning divination (8:3)	upper part of heavenly palace is of lightning (14:11, 17)	all the lightnings (17:3), secrets of the lightnings (41:3 also 43:1-2, etc.)
9. shooting stars divination (8:3)	and shooting stars (14:11, 17)	
10. lunar divination (8:3)		lunar divination (41:7)

Now, it is more than coincidental that many of the arts taught by the fallen angels are sinister aspects of heavenly knowledge revealed to Enoch and observed by him during his journeys and visions, as is evident in the table above. Varying status and varying types of knowledge are correlated, a dynamic which is borne out in separate texts relating ascent and descent. The correlation between the status of the revealer and the nature of the knowledge is quite explicit. When the revealers, i.e., the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth and beget children, their descendants’ status reduces ultimately to that of earth-born, evil spirits (15:6–10), and these angels’ originally heavenly knowledge is degraded to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working.³⁶ The revealers’ fallen status and that of their offspring determines the

³⁶ See *1 En.* 9:5–6: “For you [i.e., God] have made all things and have authority over all. And all things are manifest and uncovered before you. And you see all things, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you. 6/ You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, which the sons of men were striving to learn.” Compare *L.A.B.* 34:4 on the teaching of the watchers, and its fate: “Because in that time before they were condemned, magic was revealed by angels and they would have destroyed the age without measure; and because they had transgressed, it

nature of the revelation. The status of Enoch who is an angel-like visionary determines what he can perceive. Once virtually angelified, Enoch can receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels reveal only forbidden and black knowledge and their descendants become evil spirits.³⁷

In many cultures of the ancient world knowledge is revealed from heaven, either by a god or hero, but the revelation of that knowledge is ambiguous, being both laudable and blameworthy. Very often the culture heroes are semi-divine figures, playing liminal roles as revealers of the heavenly knowledge. Striking Mesopotamian parallels exist, particularly related to the *apkallu*, the ancient seers.³⁸ In the Greek world, in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus reveals forbidden knowledge and is punished as a result:³⁹ see, e.g., lines 7–11 and 107–113.⁴⁰ In *1 Enoch* the

happened that the angels did not have the power; and when they were judged, then the power was not given over to others.” It was the power to destroy the age that was not transmitted.

³⁷ That the transformation in *2 Enoch* is an angelification is quite explicit in 22:7–10. In *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 8:17 Isaiah's praise, or in the Latin, *gloria*, becomes like the angels': see also 8:15. Compare Isaiah's gradual transformation discussed by Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture," 85; she adduces comparative ascent and transformation material there, 85–87.

³⁸ These are analyzed by Amar Annus, *On the Origin of Watchers*, especially 288–290. See Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Ideals of Science: The Infrastructure of Scientific Activity in the Apocalyptic Literature and in the Yāḥād," in *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (ed. Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth L. Sanders; NYU Press, 2014), online. Compare Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 33–35, 102–109. Intriguingly, Genesis itself attributes the inception of some aspects of culture to the Cainite line: Gen 4:17, 4:20, 4:21, and 4:22. Again, the ambiguity or liminality of culture heroes is evident.

³⁹ See the article "culture-bringers," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (ed. John Roberts; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 193. Ben-Dov, "Ideals of Science" 11–15 (online). On pages 13–15 he discusses the Prometheus-like character of the Watchers and other culture bringers. He stresses the ambiguity of such liminal figures and suggests that the idea that the angels descended to teach humans righteousness and their purpose was deflected, as in *Jub* 4:15, shows that that text reflects lesser liminality and a clearer differentiation between good and evil teaching.

⁴⁰ On the sinful misuse of metalworking compare *1 En.* 52:7–8, which talks of the eschatological correct use of metals, and also 65:7–8. Observe the expansion in the Armenian

ambiguity of what is revealed from heaven, positive in Enoch's case and negative in the case of the Watchers, falls within this pattern.

I am not claiming that in *I Enoch* a completely symmetrical hierarchy of positive or negative teachings existed, but the overlap of categories between good and evil teaching is striking. It reinforces the observation that what a human or an angel can know is a function of his measure of righteousness or, if you will, of his position on the scale running from the earthly to the angelic. This point is made, almost explicitly, in 69:11: "For humans were not created to be different from the angels," but their mortality is the result of evil knowledge. This permeability of rank and status offers hope to humans; the fallen Watchers, on the other hand, can only despair when they encounter the divine denial of their petition. The fall of the angels and the elevation of the righteous are complementary processes.

An ancillary observation will take us on a detour that will eventually re-join the main track of our ideas. I have not attempted to integrate the list of teachings in ch. 69 with that in *Watchers*. These two lists specifying the evil teaching are quite different. In the list of revealed things in *I En.* 69, the oddest of the evil angelic teachings is writing with a pen and ink on papyrus (69:9). However, this is not as strange as it seems at first sight. The text reads:

8/ And the name of the fourth is Penemue.⁴¹ This one showed the sons of men . . . all the secrets of their wisdom. 9/ He gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever

version of *4 Ezra* 8:62L: "that which was created well, he (i.e. man) did not use well and he sinned. Not that I created anything evil, . . . each thing that which existed, existed for its own purpose, just as iron existed, not that it might kill, but that it might work the ground and fulfill the needs of all men": M.E. Stone, *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra* (UPATS 1; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 151.

⁴¹ I know no plausible explanation of this name.

and until this day. 10/ For humans were not born for this purpose, to confirm their trustworthiness through pen and ink. 11/ For humans were not created to be different from the angels, . . . And death . . . would not have laid its hand on them. But through this, their knowledge, they are perishing, and through this power it devours us.

The sinister aspect of writing has to do with trustworthiness or rather the lack thereof, and consequently with oaths and agreements. And, of course, the last sentence “But through this, their knowledge, they are perishing,” could parallel the protoplasts’ eating from the tree of knowledge and its outcome.⁴²

In itself, this is surprising, for in *Jub* 4 we read at the beginning of a paean of praise to Enoch,⁴³ that:

17/ *he was the first among men* that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of 18/ their separate months. And *he was the first* to write a testimony and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth,

⁴² In M.E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 31–57 assesses the Adamic and Enochic explanations of evil. To that analysis I would add that, despite their radical differences, these two axes share some common features. First, both describe a descent from an angelic or virtually angelic state to the earthly. Second, Adam’s fall was caused by disobedience, which was caused by the power of vision, with the serpent-Satan fanning physical desire for the fruit. It also implies a desire to become like God, explicit in Gen 3:22. The angels’ fall is caused by vision leading to physical desire, lust for human women in the Gen 6-derived story, but also by rebellion and desire to replace God. In both narratives, knowledge is ambiguous and serves in both as a cause of evil. On the Enochic axis, it makes further evildoing possible. In the Enochic text, good knowledge is to be aspired to at the end. Ben-Dov and Sanders remark appropriately on the migration of the Watchers’ teaching to Enoch in *Jubilees*: Ben-Dov and Sanders, *Ancient Jewish Sciences*, 16.

⁴³ This passage is supposedly based on at least three of the five Enochic works that constitute *1 Enoch*: see Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” 481–500 and, more recent references are found in Olson, *A New Reading*, 108-109, n. 63.

and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years 19/ as we made (them), known to him . . . he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all 20/ the children of men and for their generations (emphasis mine).

In *1 En.* 13:1, 14:1–7, Enoch even writes a petition for the Watchers. 40:8–9 says that he wrote down the names of the archangels. In 83:2, Enoch in his youth “was learning to write” when he received a vision. None of these passages intimates negative evaluation of writing as such. Is the medium (papyrus and ink) the critical element rather than the act of writing?⁴⁴ This seems unlikely because of the frequent references to books, both heavenly and ancestral, without any reference to the writing material.⁴⁵

It seems most likely that the very need to **write down** undertakings and oaths signified a lack of trustworthiness.⁴⁶ The structure of the verse implies that angels do

⁴⁴ Conceivably, the less permanent nature of writing on papyrus (in contrast to leather) might be a factor in devaluing writing on it, but this interpretation is forced.

⁴⁵ In this period, to be sure, books could be either papyrus or leather rolls. A negative result of writing occurs in *Jub* 8, where Cainan son of Arpachshad “found a writing which the ancestors engraved on stone. And he read what was in it. And he transcribed it. And he sinned because of what was in it, since there was in it the teaching of the Watchers by which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars within all the signs of heaven.” This refers to a stone stele, however, not a book, and to the content of that document, not to the very act of writing. *Jub* 8 does not suggest that writing, in itself, was part of evil teaching.

⁴⁶ Note how the exemplary heavenly mechanics are regulated by an oath (*1 En.* 41:5, compare 43:2). Nickelsburg in G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch. 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch 37-82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 302-303 mentions this explanation of verse 69:11, but thinks the apparent broader application of the negative assessment of writing, “derives from an oral stage of the tradition.” One wonders. James 5:12 is quite striking in this context: “But above all, my brethren, do not swear, either by heaven or by earth or with any other oath, but let your yes be yes and your no be no, that you may not fall under condemnation.” Cf. Matt. 5:33–37. See also Knibb, “Enoch and Wisdom,” 270–271. Swearing an oath was a final step of initiation into the Qumran sect in 1QS 5:7c-9a and see in Josephus’ description of the Essenes in *Jewish War*, 2.142. However, there is no

not need to write down undertakings. This was also the original intent in the creation of humans; the need for a written undertaking indicates an inferior level of being.⁴⁷ In this case, we can compare the misuse of writing with the misuse of metalworking.⁴⁸ Both of them are cases of skills which can be used either wickedly or well. As for oaths, they play a very particular role in *Similitudes*. Not only does an oath hold the powers of nature to its true course (41:5 and cf. 43:2), but strange ideas about a cosmic oath and the revelation of a secret powerful name and oath are expressed in *I En.* 69:13–25.⁴⁹ Oaths, of course, are oral.

Finally, in *I En.* 14:2, Enoch stresses his ability to deliver the divine message with human tongue and breath.⁵⁰ This is part of his peculiar destiny, and humans are able to understand the words of knowledge he reveals (14:3). Thus Enoch has an ability different from and superior to that of other humans. He can speak to them of the heavenly using his human organs. This passage reinforces the conclusion reached above, that Enoch's special state enabled him to know and do things that ordinary humans could not.

emphasis of the sort observed in James 5:12. Philo says that the Essenes do not swear oaths (*Probus* §84).

⁴⁷ On the “writteness” of the Enochic tradition, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *I Enoch* 2, 302. In *I En.* 69:8 we find the remarkable statement that humans were created to be like angels and that death, engendered through knowledge (i.e., the tree of knowledge of good and evil), devours them instead. This implies a particular perception of the Genesis Adam traditions, which I hope to discuss elsewhere. See, for later but analogous views, M.E. Stone, *Adam and Eve in the Armenian Tradition, Fifth through Seventeenth Centuries* (SBLEJL 38; Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 16–17 and 137–138. If this is correct, the Adamic explanation of evil might have influenced the Enochic. See Stone, *Ancient Judaism*, 31–57.

⁴⁸ See n. 39.

⁴⁹ Nickelsburg presents the issues in *I Enoch* 2, 304–310. The cosmic oath is far from understood, but perhaps it is precisely an oral oath that connects this passage with the preceding negative view of writing. In the New Testament there is a prohibition of oaths, see n. 46.

⁵⁰ Compare *2 En.* 39 for the same concern.

In conclusion, therefore, I propose that in both the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the content and moral valuation of what the protagonists can teach or understand is related to their role or position in the cosmos. Often, the same subject taught as part of the Watchers' instruction is also revealed to Enoch in heaven. The difference between the two is conditioned by the role, angelic or fallen, and the location—heavenly or earthly—of the revealer or teacher. Gradation of status is matched by gradation of the content and character of revealed knowledge.