

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience it will in this edition be designated shortly as '2 Enoch', in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch which is designated as '1 Enoch'.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature came to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic or 1 Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, pp. 127-158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I applied to the late Professor Morfill for help, who procured printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. When once I had before me Professor Morfill's English translations of these texts, it did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In some respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

2 Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it should exercise a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Books of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400-500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (A.D. 70-90). It is quoted by name in the later portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

But it was not only on Christian literature that the influence of 2 Enoch is manifest. A Hebrew book entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך) and twice 'the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ספר רזין דחנוך) in the Zohar exhibits very close affinities with 2 Enoch. R. Ishmael, a martyr of the Hadrianic persecution, is claimed to be its author, but its composition belongs most probably to a later date. It is, however, possible, that this Hebrew Book of Enoch has preserved in some cases the Hebrew original, from which apparently portions of 2 Enoch are derived. But the influence of 2 Enoch is not confined to this Hebrew Book of Enoch. Traces of it are found also in the apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* vi. 19-30, and also in the Zohar.¹

§ 2. THE TWO SLAVONIC VERSIONS.

The two versions of the Slavonic redaction of the book of Enoch from which the following translations have been made* are:

1. The complete version, published by Mr. A. Popóv in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow, University Press, 1880). The MS. is a South Russian recension, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and belongs to Mr. A. Khludov. It is in many places so corrupt that emendation in the absence of the Greek text is impossible. This version is marked by the letter A in Morfill's translation.²

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 677 sqq.

² There is a Bulgarian recension of the above version in a MS. in the public library of Belgrade according to Morfill (Gen. Editor).

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2. The incomplete version, published by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Stávine* (Agram, 1884). The MS. is a Servian recension dating from the sixteenth century, and is in the Public Library at Belgrade. It is marked B in Morfill's translation. In order to spare biblical students the confusion inseparable from the omission of the division of the paragraphs into verses and from a disposition of the paragraphs themselves in any way different from that to which they are already used, I have adopted that arrangement of paragraphs and verses which both Morfill and Bonwetsch employed in their translations. It must be pointed out, however, that in the complete version (A) there are only sixty-three, while Morfill and Bonwetsch both divide the same quantity of text into sixty-eight paragraphs; that in the incomplete version (B) there is no division into paragraphs; that in neither A nor B is there any division of the paragraphs into verses,¹ and that in neither A nor B² are the titles of the paragraphs in brackets, as indicated in Morfill's translation. (N. FORBES.) *Translator of the appended text.*

§ 3. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. Part of this book—possibly the main part—was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I appointed him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four component parts: from East, from West, from South, from North.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Sirach, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Sirach xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Sirach i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Sirach vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Sirach xxxix. 25: also lxxv. 2—Sirach xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Sirach and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book may have been written originally in Hebrew. (See § 4 *ad fin.*)

2. This book in its present form was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Iustit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There seems to be no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally, swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of crocodiles—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv—xxvi, undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

§ 4. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in l. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One from out the order of angels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to My power. And I threw him from the height.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, l. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem.

¹ This division into verses was necessarily made by the General Editor when he edited this book in 1896.

² The bracketing of the titles in A was due not to the translator but to the editor, for they have no claim to being original. They are not given in Sokolov's text which was used by Professor Morfill, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of 'Entry of Enoch into the first heaven, Entry of Enoch into the second heaven', &c. (Gen. Editor).

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Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from 2 En. xxxi. 2: '... the gloomless light' seen by Adam in Paradise.

Next in the *Apocalypse of Moses* (ed. Tischend. 1866) p. 19 we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see Apoc. Mos. xxxvi. 1-3 under 'The Books of Adam and Eve' in this volume.

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἐνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (sic) ὡραίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαυεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of 2 Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place, whereon the Lord rests, when He goes up into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'Two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς and ὁ πύρινος ποταμός (pp. 57, 58) we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there is no light there . . . and a fiery river coming forth.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδουνομένοις τε παράσχον, and 88 σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεζον are too closely parallel to li. 1, 'Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to the widow (B),' 'Stretch out your hands to the poor (A),' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

There is a direct reference in Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in 1 Enoch, Origen is here referring to 2 Enoch xxiv-xxx.

The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77 is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. 1 (note).

During the years A.D. 50-100 our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, viii. 16 we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their faces or behaviour or manner of dress.'

In 4 *Ezra* vii. 97 the words 'incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces were shining like the sun'.

With 2 *Baruch* iv. 3 'I showed it (i.e. Paradise) to Adam before he sinned', compare xxxi. 2.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv. 4 τί λέγει τό Συντελέσειεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χιλία ἔτη, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2-xxxiii. In xv. 5-7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοί] δεκά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλον κόσμον ἀρχήν. It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, 1 Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἡ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους seem to be derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I . . . showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

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In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lli. 11, 'Blessed is he who implants peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, "yea, yea," or "nay, nay."' (See notes.)

With vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'In their works are known those who lie evilly.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . for eternal inheritance.' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'In the great time (to come) . . . are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Bow not down to vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Dominions, orders, and governments': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is truth that he may speak truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see my edition, pp. xxxix-xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I tell to thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.' With Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 4, 'Their faces were shining like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'The key-holders and guards of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A very great Sea greater than the earthly sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxxv. 7, 'Then all time shall perish, and the years,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'That . . . there should be . . . a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the T. Lev. iii. 2 we have avenging powers in the third heaven: ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, . . . οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν . . . τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης. With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. With the statement from Enoch in T. Dan v. 5, 6 τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. 'Ανέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ 'Ενώχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ἡμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν we might compare xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. Ἐργηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light.' In the T. Naph. iv. 1-2 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: 'Ανέγνων ἐν γραφῇ 'Ενώχ, ὅτι καί γε ἡμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε πᾶσαν πονηρίαν Σοδόμων. 2. καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος ἡμῖν αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἀναλώσει κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This may be a loose adaptation to later times of 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2, 3. The quotation in T. Sim. v. 4 is probably derived from the same source, and also that in T. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις οὐ καλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων 'Ενώχ τοῦ δικαίου' πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπωλεῖσθε ἕως βραχύ (so β S¹, and practically c). The words in T. Jud. xviii. 1-2 ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις 'Ενώχ τοῦ δικαίου (so β A S¹, but not a), ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that a considerable part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis seems necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

But there is further evidence in this direction. Many of the most notable statements regarding Enoch in 2 Enoch are to be found in later Hebrew writings. Now it is hardly conceivable that these traditions were borrowed from a Greek source. We must assume that their source is native to Judaism, and that 2 Enoch is an outstanding and comparatively early representation of this tradition. This tradition appears in various forms in the 'Book of Enoch' (ספר הנוך), sometimes called the

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'Sepher Hekalot' (i.e. the 'Book of the Halls'), the 'Life of Enoch' (חיי חנוך), and the Hekalot Rabbati. We shall deal here only with the first and point out a few of the many points in which this work draws on 2 Enoch or rather upon the Hebrew source behind 2 Enoch.

In this work R. Ishmael (of the time of Hadrian) ascends through the six heavens and is received by the Metatron, i.e. Enoch, at the entrance to the seventh. Enoch tells him how he was translated (iii-v, vii-xvi) in a fiery chariot to heaven in order there to bear witness against his wicked contemporaries: how God transfigured him and made him like one of the archangels (cf. 2 Enoch xxii. 6^b-10): how he had been instructed in the mysteries of creation, in things past and to come (cf. 2 Enoch xxiv-xxxiii. 2): how God abode under the tree of life, when Adam was driven forth from Paradise (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3): how Adam and his contemporaries saw the heavenly glory till the fall of the angels (cf. 2 Enoch xxxii. 2). In xviii-xxii the seven heavens are described, the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. Even the three heavens mentioned in 2 Enoch xxi. 6-xxii. 1—only in the A recension as the eighth, ninth, and tenth, i.e. Muzaloth, Kuchavim, Aravoth—are reproduced here, but with a difference: Muzaloth and Kuchavim are placed below the seven heavens and Aravoth above them. This Jewish work was published by Jellinek, *B. H.* 1873, v. 170-190; and under the title ספר הכלות at Lemberg in 1864 and Warsaw in 1876.¹

Again we find a large amount of material has been borrowed from 2 Enoch by the גדלות משה which is printed in Jellinek's *B.H.M.*, 9 sqq. This work tells of Moses' ascent to heaven, after Metatron has transformed his body into a fiery figure like to that of the angels. In the first heaven Moses sees waters, and also windows by which are let in and out all the things pertaining to human life and its needs. In the second heaven he sees the angels who control the clouds, the winds, and the rain; in the third, the angels placed over vegetation; in the fourth, those over the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and spheres. The seventh heaven, we observe, is called 'Arabot'. Moses is also privileged to view hell and Paradise. The angel Gabriel conducts him to hell. 'There he sees the manifold torments and punishments of the different classes of sinners, those who were envious of their fellow men and bore false witness against them; women who exposed their charms to young men; sinners who committed adultery, theft, and murder; those who perjured themselves; those who desecrated the Sabbath, despised the learned, and persecuted orphans; those who committed sodomy and idolatry, or cursed their parents; those who took bribes, put their fellow men to shame, delivered up their brother-Israelite to the Gentile, and denied the oral law; those that ate all kinds of forbidden food; usurers; apostates, and blasphemers; those who wrote the ineffable name of God, and those who ate on Yom Kippur.' In Paradise among other things Moses sees the guardian angel of Paradise sitting under the tree of life; also 'the fountain of life welling forth from beneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, and four rivers flowing under each throne, the first of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.'²

§ 5. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The passages presupposed by the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* must be of a pre-Christian date. These passages may belong to an older form of the Enoch tradition than 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch in its present form was written probably between 30 P.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of Sirach, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Wisdom (see my edition pp. xxv. sq.), and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing. We may, therefore, reasonably assign its composition to the period A.D. 1-50.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8-10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory', xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2 note), and Zend (lviii. 4-6 notes), elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

§ 6. SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS ON CREATION, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2.³ (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv-xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3, and all the

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 676-7, whence this account is derived.

² Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

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angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. This six days of work followed by a seventh of rest is at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The age was resolved for man's sake, lxv. 3 (B). When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—*ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία*—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, and while in the Garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15. But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biased its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin¹, xl. 12, 13; xlv. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners, hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliturgical form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who beholds the labour of his own hands, but cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of another, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be impartially just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, xlii. 7. And men should also practise charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the faithful man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, li. 1, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay, xlix. 1; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another till they depart from this age of ills, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is better than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 7. ON THE VALUE OF THE BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND LATER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

See my edition, pp. xxix–xlvi. *σ' Ε.Β. p. 228*

§ 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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¹ Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4–6.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

A

Of Enoch's life and dream.

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

A

1¹ At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal. After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-
2 five years. On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my
3 couch and slept. And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would
4 happen to me. And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on
5 earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too *were* like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth †with clothing and singing of various kinds† in appearance purple, their wings *were* brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my
6 name. And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.
7 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from
8 terror, and those men said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to

B

Now behold the books of the secret of God, the revelations of Enoch.

At that time when three hundred and sixty-1¹ five years were fulfilled to me, on a certain day 2 of the second month I was alone in my house.

I was in great trouble, weeping with my eyes, 3 and was resting, asleep on my couch, and there 4 appeared to me two very big men, such as I have never seen on earth—their faces shone like the 5 sun, their eyes *were* like burning candles, out of their mouths was fire coming forth, their clothes *and* singing were various, and their arms like golden wings—at the head of my couch, and called upon me by my name.

And I having awoken from my sleep and stood 6 up †at my couch† bowed down to them and 7 covered my face from terror.

And the two men spoke to me: 'Have courage, 8 Enoch, do not fear, the Eternal Lord hath sent

1. 2, 3. Cf. 1 En. lxxxiii. 3, 5.

5. faces . . . sun. Cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra vii. 97.

eyes, &c. Dan. x. 6; cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12.

fire coming forth. Cf. Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. The next clause is corrupt.

of various kinds (A). The text has *razdayaniya* = 'of distribution'. Emend to *raz(d)niya* = 'of different kinds'.

various (B), i.e. differing from one another.

their wings > B.

whiter than snow. Cf. 1 En. cvi. 2, 10; Apoc. Petri.

7. appearance . . . changed. Dan. v. 6, 9, 10.

8. Have courage. Cf. Matt. xiv. 27. The LXX renders thus the Hebrew 'fear not'.

do not fear. Cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6; 1 En. xv. 1.

A

thee, and lo! thou shalt to-day ascend with us
 9 into heaven, and thou shalt tell thy sons and all
 thy household all that they shall do without thee
 on earth in thy house, and let no one seek thee
 10 till the Lord return thee to them. And I made
 haste to obey them and went out from my house,
 and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and
 summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and
 Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels
 those *men* had told me.

The Instruction. How Enoch instructed his
 sons.

2 1 Listen to me, my children, I know not whither
 2 I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my
 children, I tell you: turn not from God before
 the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and
 earth, for these shall perish and those who
 3 worship them, and may the Lord make confident
 4 your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my
 children, let no one think to seek me, until the
 Lord return me to you.

Of Enoch's assumption; how the angels took
 him into the first heaven.

3 1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons,
 that the angels took him on to their wings and
 bore him up on to the first heaven and placed
 2 him on the clouds. And there I looked, and
 again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and
 3 they placed me on the first heaven and showed
 me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly
 sea.

Of the Angels ruling the stars.

4 1 They brought before my face the elders and
 rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two
 hundred angels, who rule the stars and *their*
 2 services to the heavens, and fly with their wings
 and come round all those who sail.

ascend with us. Cf. iii. 1, &c.

9. sons. 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1 mentions them, but not by name.

10. Regim. See lvii. 2.

Gaidad. Gen. iv. 18 (LXX) gives this as the son of the Enoch who is Cain's grandson. So B rightly omits.

11. 1. know not whither. Cf. vii. 5.

2. turn not from God. 1 Sam. xii. 20.

vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth (B). Cf. Acts xiv. 15; Jer. x. 11; also Ps. xcvi. 5; Isa.
 ii. 18; Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4.

3. make confident, &c. Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. In 1 En. xiv. 8 the clouds invite and the winds raise Enoch.

2. the ether = the firmament of Asc. Isa. vii. 9, i.e. the first heaven.

3. a very great Sea. Cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2. In Test. Levi ii. 7 this sea lies between the first and second heavens.

IV. 1. the elders, *starêishina* = 'elder', i.e. one set in command over.
 the rulers of the stellar orders. For another account of these see 1 En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20. Note the divergence
 of B, which makes the elder, or special angel, of the stars act as guide to Enoch in the first heaven.
 two hundred angels. In 1 En. vi. 5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels.

B

us to thee, behold to-day thou shalt go up with
 us on to the heavens.

Tell thy sons and thy household all that they 9
 must do in thy house, and let no one seek thee,
 till the Lord return thee to them.

And I listened and went out, summoned my 10
 sons Mefusailom and Regim, and told them all
 that those two men had spoken to me.

And behold, my children, I know not whither 2 1
 I go, nor what will befall me, and now, my chil- 2
 dren, turn not away from God, walk before the
 Lord's face and observe his judgements, and bow
 not down to vain gods, to gods who made neither
 heaven nor earth, they shall perish.

Keep your hearts true to terror of the Lord, 3
 and now, my children, let no one seek me till 4
 the Lord return me to you.

Enoch's ascent on to the first heaven.

And it happened when I had spoken to my 3 1
 sons, and the two men summoned me, and took
 me on to their wings and carried me up on to the
 first heaven and set me down there,

and brought 4 1
 me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the
 stellar orders, and he showed me all their courses,
 and their passages from year to year, and he
 showed me two hundred angels, and he showed
 me there a very great sea, greater than the earthly 2
 sea, and angels were flying with their wings.

A

Of how the Angels keep the store-houses of the snow.

- 5¹ And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep
2 their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

Of the dew and of the olive-oil, and various flowers.

- 6¹ They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these *things*, and how they are made to shut and open.

Of how Enoch was taken on to the second heaven.

- 7¹ And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great
2 and boundless judgement, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours, and I said to the men who were with me:
3 'Wherefore are these incessantly tortured?' they answered me: 'These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also *is* fastened on the fifth heaven.
4 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: 'Man of God, pray for us to
5 the Lord'; and I answered to them: 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? who knoweth whither I go, or what will befall me? or who will pray for me?'

Of the assumption of Enoch to the third heaven.

- 8¹ And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there;

B

He showed me the store-house of cloud, whence 5¹ it goes up and goes out, and showed me all the treasure-houses of snow and cold, and terrible angels guarding the treasure-houses,

and he 6¹ showed me the treasure-houses of the dew, like olive oil, and angels guarding their treasure-houses, and their clothing like all the flowers of the earth.

Enoch's ascent to the second heaven.

And the two men placed me *thence* and carried 7¹ me up on to the second heaven, and showed me there prisoners kept of the measureless judgement, and I saw the condemned weeping, and I spoke 2 to the two men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these tormented?' and the two men said to me: 'These are the Lord's apostates, not listening to the Lord's voice, but taking counsel of their own will.'

And I was very sorry for them. And the 4 angels bowed down to me and said to me: 'Man of God, would that thou mightst pray for us to God!'

And I answered them: 'Who am I, a mortal 5 man, that I should pray for angels? who knows whither I go or what will befall me or *who* pray for *me*?'

The ascent on to the third heaven.

And the two men placed me *thence* and carried 8¹ me up on to the third heaven and set me down

V. 1. treasure-houses of the snow. Job xxxviii. 22; cf. 1 En. lx. 17, 18—in the second heaven according to Test. Levi iii. 2.

store-house of cloud (B). Cf. 1 En. lx. 19. A seems corrupt.

VI. 1. treasure-house of the dew. Cf. 1 En. lx. 20.

VII. 1. darkness . . . prisoners . . . watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgement. Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6, and possibly Test. Levi iii. 2. The angels who sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth in 1 En. x as in 2 En. xviii. 7; those who sinned by ambition are imprisoned in the second heaven. See, however, xviii. 4 (note).

3. took counsel with their own will. Cf. Isa. xli. 10. their prince = Satanail, xviii. 3.

fifth heaven. These angels had originally been in the fifth heaven, see xviii. But it is hard to see why their leader alone should be imprisoned there, when they are reduced to the second. See xxix. 3-5 (notes).

4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii. 4.

Man of God. Deut. xxxiii. 1.

5. Cf. 1 En. xv. 2.

VIII. 1. Paradise is here in the third heaven, as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

A

and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for
 2 goodness. And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne *by them* bubbling
 3 with fragrant exhalation. And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance,
 4 and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides *it is* in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits. Its root is in the garden
 5 at the earth's end. And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round
 6 with quiet course, and go down into the paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other
 7 elements. And here there is no unfruitful tree, 8 and every place is blessed. And *there are* three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place,' and those men said to me:

The showing to Enoch of the place of the righteous and compassionate.

9. 1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungry, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him

B

in the midst of Paradise, and a place unknown in goodness of appearance.

Every tree sweet-flowering, every fruit ripe, all 2 manner of food perpetually bubbling with all pleasant smells, and four rivers flowing by with quiet course, and every growth is good, bearing fruit for food, and the tree of life is at that 3 place, at which God rests when he goes up into Paradise, and that tree is ineffable for the goodness of its sweet scent, and another olive tree 5 alongside was always discharging the oil of its fruit.

And there is no tree there without fruit, and 7 every tree is blessed. And the angels guarding 8 the Paradise are very bright and serve the Lord all days with incessant voice and sweet singing. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place!'

And the two men answered me: 'This place, 9. 1 Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who suffer offence in their lives and spite in their souls, and avert their eyes from injustice and make righteous judgement, to give bread to the hungry, to clothe the naked and cover them with a garment, to raise the fallen, and help the wronged, who walk before God's face and serve him alone; now

unknown in goodness of appearance (B), i.e. the like of which is not known anywhere else.

2. all the sweet-flowering trees, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 9; 1 En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis xxxviii. 4. all the foods. Cf. 'twelve manner of fruits', Rev. xxii. 2.

3. in the midst of the trees that of life. For the 'tree of life' see Gen. ii. 9. For this familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypse cf. 1 En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi xviii. 11. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 66, p. 278, bans the doctrine as Manichaean.

in that place whereon the Lord rests. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 64) δένδρον παρμεγέθη ὡραίων, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαναπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγίων, and Apoc. Mosis xxii. 4 καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐνετρεπίζετο.

5. between corruptibility and incorruptibility, i.e. at the earth's end. Cf. 'the ends of the earth,' 1 En. xxxiii. 1, to which Enoch proceeds from the garden of righteousness.

four rivers (B). These are taken over into the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 52), and also into the Koran xlvii, where, however, a river of incorruptible water replaces the river of oil. The writer seems to be bringing into one organic conception what were originally two different conceptions—the earthly and the heavenly Paradise. The former was the older idea: Gen. ii. 8-17; 1 En. xxxii. 3-6; lxxvii. 3. The latter occurs in 1 En. lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3.

another olive tree (B). Cf. xxii. 8; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3.

IX. 1. prepared for the righteous. Cf. Matt. xxv. 34; also 1 En. lx. 8 (note).

avert their eyes from iniquity. Ps. cxix. 37.

make righteous judgement. Ezek. xviii. 8.

give bread, &c. Ezek. xviii. 7; cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404-5 and esp. Matt. xxv. 35-9.

help injured orphans. Cf. Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16.

walk without fault. Luke i. 6.

A

alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

Here they showed Enoch the terrible place and various tortures.

10 ¹ And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very ² terrible place, and *there were* all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unilluminated gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and *there is* a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere *there is* frost ³ and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I ⁴ said: 'Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place,' and those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, ⁵ stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who, accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungry to die; being ⁶ able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed down to soulless (*sc.* lifeless) Gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, *who also* built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance.

B

for these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

And the two men lifted me up thence, and ¹⁰ ¹ carried me up to the north of the heaven, and showed me there a very terrible place, all torture and torment; at that place *there was* darkness ² and gloom, and there is no light there, but fire and flame, and obscurity comes down at that place and *there is* cold and ice and dungeons, and ³ cruel relentless angels carrying arms and tormenting without mercy.

And I said: 'How very terrible is this place.' ⁴ And the two men answered me: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for the dishonest, that work godless things on earth, who make witchcraft and sorcery and boast of their works, who steal ⁵ men's souls secretly, who sever a binding yoke, who grow rich by doing violence, from the property of the others, who being able to feed, kill the hungry through famine, and being able to clothe the naked, took away their clothes, who recognized not their creator, but bowed down to ⁶ vain gods: for all these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

eternal inheritance. Cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1-6. The idea of evil in heaven is foreign to modern thought, but we find Satan presenting himself in heaven in Job i. 7, 8, while Eph. vi. 12 speaks of 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places'. Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 represents the end of this state of things. Satan is cast down and henceforth limited to the earth, xii. 12. The older view is found in Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153, but was later banished from both Christian and Jewish thought.

2. **darkness, &c.** Cf. Apoc. Petri 12; Apoc. Pauli, pp. 57 and 62. **gloom (B).** *m'gla* can also mean fog.

fiery river. In 1 En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10 this idea is connected with God's holiness, but here it connotes punishment, like the Greek *Pyripnegethon*. Cf. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8; Or. Sibyll. ii. 196-200, 252-3, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411; Apoc. Petri 8; Apoc. Pauli, p. 57. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 combines the two ideas.

fire . . . and frost and ice. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling is described. 3. For angels of destruction, cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; and probably Sirach xxxix. 28. In 1 En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish first appears, and the idea seems already a familiar one. Cf. Rev. ix. 11, 15 (Apollyon); xvi. In Matt. xiii. 49, however, good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. For later occurrences of the view cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; Apoc. Petri 6, 8. Test. Abraham A. xii follows our text closely.

4. **prepared, &c.** Contrast Matt. xxv. 41.

4, 5. For the sins cf. Rev. xxi. 8; Apoc. Petri 17; Test. Isaac (ed. James, p. 148). One is too gross to appear in the text.

5. **souls of men.** Cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77-85; viii. 378-81; 395-8; *Fragm.* i. 20-2; iii. 21-45.

A

Here they took Enoch up on to the fourth heaven where is the course of sun and moon.

- 11 ¹ Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and moon. And I measured their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's. Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like a wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day and night it has no rest. Its passage and return *are accompanied by* four great stars, and each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, and by four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight thousand, issuing with the sun continually. And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand. And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

Of the very marvellous elements of the sun.

- 12 ¹ And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names *are* Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance *is* empurpled, like the rainbow; their size *is* nine hundred measures, their wings *are like* those of angels, each has twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God. Thus *the sun* revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

XI. 1. **fourth heaven.** This, according to *Chagiga* 12^b, contained the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice.

the successive goings . . . of sun and moon. Cf. 1 En. lxxii-lxxviii.

2. **The sun has sevenfold more light, &c. (B).** Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 37.

the wheels ('the chariots', B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8.

day and night it has no rest. 1 En. xli. 7, lxxii. 37.

3, 4. Not in 1 En. cf. Bousset 567: *Persian infl.*

5. Cf. 1 En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. **Phoenixes and Chalkydri.** This is the only reference to these creatures in literature. The phoenix was always solitary, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28. Jewish authorities find a reference to the phoenix in Job xxix. 18, where they render כחיל 'as the phoenix' and not 'as the sand'. The fable was believed in by 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Res. Carn.* xiii, &c. The poem *De Phoenixe* of the pseudo-Lactantius has many apparent references to our text. The phoenix is, e.g. a 'satelles Phoebi' (33, cf. xii. 2 here), it greets the sun at rising (43-50) and claps its wings (51-4). Cf. xv. 1. For the two different legends in the Talmud about the phoenix's origin see Hamburger, *R.-E. für den Talmud*, 508-9, and on the question generally, Lightfoot, &c., on 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv.

Chalkydri, seemingly a transliteration of Χαλκίδραι, brazen hydras or serpents. These are classed with the Cherubim in 1 En. xx. 7, and so = the Seraphim of Isa. vi. 2, 6. These then were perhaps conceived as winged dragons, as the analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5-11 would lead us to suppose. The Serpent as an object of reverence or a symbol of healing occurs in Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14; in a physically bad sense in Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and morally as a designation of Satan in Rev. xii. 9. It is significant that neither Cherubim nor Seraphim occur in the N.T.; their characteristics are fused in the four living creatures of Rev. iv. 6-8.

feet and tails . . . of a lion. The Cherubim's feet in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet.

2. **each has twelve, i.e. twice as many wings as the angel of xi. 4.**

bearing heat and dew. Contrast 1 En. lx. 20.

3. **goes under the earth.** This seems to conflict with xxx. 3, where the sun's goings would appear to be in the fourth heaven. See xiv. 2 (note).

incessantly. Cf. 'always', xi. 2.

B

Enoch's ascent on to the fourth heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence, and ¹¹ ¹ carried me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the courses and goings and all the rays of the light both of the sun and of the moon, their measurements and their goings, and I saw their goings.

The sun has sevenfold more light than the ² moon and their circles are the chariots on which each of them rides just as the wind goes, and ever going and returning they have rest neither by day nor by night.

And *I saw* four great stars on the right of ³ the sun's chariot and four on the left going with ⁴ the sun always, and angels going before the sun's chariot.

Flying spirits, *each having* twelve wings, and ¹² ¹ each of the angels that rolls the chariot has twelve wings, carrying dew and heat, when the Lord commands them to descend on to the earth with the sun's rays.

A

The angels took Enoch and placed him in the east at the sun's gates.

- 13¹ Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the [†]hours[†] day and night.
 2 And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured *them* truly, and understood their size *to be* so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even,
 4 and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the
 5 succession of the seasons; thus *the period* of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

They took Enoch to the West.

- 14¹ And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the Eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a
 2 quarter. Thus again it goes down to the western gates, *and* draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord,
 3 and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half *its course* under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

The elements of the sun, the Phoenixes and Chalkydri broke into song.

- 15¹ Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.
 2 The giver of light comes to give brightness to

B

And the two men carried me to the East of 13¹ the heaven and showed me the gates through which the sun goes up at the appointed seasons and after the completion of every month and after the shortening to the lengthening of the days and nights, six great gates, and the greatness of 2 the proportions of those gates, and I could not comprehend their greatness; and of those through which the sun goes up and goes over to the West 3 through the first gates it goes out forty-two days, through the second gates thirty-five, through the fourth gates thirty-five days, through the fifth thirty-five, through the sixth gates . . . at the going out of the season the years finish at 5 the returns of the seasons.

And the two men carried me up to the West 14¹ of the heaven and showed me six great open gates after the Eastern entrance and opposite it, through which (*sc.* gates) the sun goes down there after the going up from the Eastern gates and according to the number of days, thus it goes down 2 through the Western gates. When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its 3 chariot and goes out without light, and they put the crown on it again *at* the Eastern gates.

XIII. 1. the sun's gates, i.e. the six of the next verse. Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 2-37, which is no doubt the original of this chapter.

2-5. Corrupt.

5. four seasons. Cf. xl. 6. Two of the four are dealt with in 1 En. lxxxii. 15-20.

XIV. 1. three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter. The writer of 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii knew of the solar year, but refused to recognize it from national prejudice.

2. In 1 En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north to the east to rise again. In our text, however, during the night the sun, which revolves through the fourth heaven xi, xxx. 3, goes under the earth. It is without light at night, as its crown is taken from it, and its own light is under the earth. The sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, Apoc. Mosis xxxvi. 3. The crown is the added light bestowed by God.

3. stands. We should expect 'ceases from shining'; B has 'goes without light'.
 spends half its course, i.e. apparently the seven hours, which are not hours of fixed duration. But it is hard to see why there should be *seven* hours.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note).

therefore every bird . . . light. A parenthetic reference to the songs of birds at sunrise.

A

the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going. And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the computation of the hours of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit *lasts* twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

They took Enoch and again placed him in the east at the course of the moon.

16 Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out of the customary times. It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the second gates with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the third with *thirty days* exactly, by the fourth with *thirty days* exactly, by the fifth with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the sixth with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the seventh with *thirty days* exactly, by the eighth with *thirty-one days* perfectly, by the ninth with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the tenth with *thirty days* perfectly, by the eleventh with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the twelfth with *twenty-eight days* exactly. And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year, while the lunar year has three hundred and fifty-four, and there are wanting *to it* twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year. [Thus, too, the great circle contains five hundred and thirty-two years.] The quarter of a day is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfils *it* exactly. Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they

B

The two angels showed me this disposition of the gates by which it goes up and goes out. These gates the Lord made for the taking of time and counting of the years for the sun.

And they showed me the other lunar disposition, all its courses, and the two men pointed out to me all its circuits, and they pointed out to me its gates, twelve eternal gates to the East, through which the moon enters at the usual seasons, thus also through the Western gates after going round and according to the number of the Eastern gates.

Thus it goes down also through the Western gates, and completes the year; therefore it goes in the year with three hundred and sixty-four days complete, and therefore it is called outside heaven, and the years are not reckoned in the number of the days, because the seasons of the year change.

XVI. 1. **Twelve great gates.** These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii, xiv.

2. This account cannot possibly apply to the moon, but applies perfectly to the sun, which must therefore be understood as the subject. The numbers when added together = 365, which accords with the statement in verse 4 that a solar year = 365½ days, while in verse 5 we proceed to the lunar year which amounts to 354 days.

5. **364 days complete** (B). This seems to be an error for 354 (A).

twelve days. More exactly 11½.

[Thus, too, the great cycle contains five hundred and thirty-two years]. I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of 19 years and the Solar cycle of 28 years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters, it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and immovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, c. A.D. 457. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion.

6. **the quarter, &c.** Explanation of leap year.

because they change the time, &c. Hopelessly corrupt.

7. **with its light** (B). This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as is taught in 1 En. lxxiii; 'to the lights' (A) seems meaningless.

A

†change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards 7 diminution†. And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements 8 and angels flying; each angel has six wings. It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

Of the singings of the angels, which it is impossible to describe.

17¹ In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant voice and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and which astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvellous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

18¹ Of the taking of Enoch on to the fifth heaven. The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size was greater than that of great giants

B

And when they †finish the Western 7 gates and it goes towards the Eastern with its light.

Thus their circle goes around like the heaven, and their chariot, on to which the wind mounts in its course, and flying spirits draw along their chariot, six wings to each angel.

This is the lunar disposition.

And in the midst of the heaven I saw armed 17¹ troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice. And I was delighted listening to them.

Enoch's ascent on to the fifth heaven.

And the men carried me up on to the fifth 18¹ heaven, and I saw there many troops, Egoroi, and their appearance was like the human appearance and their size greater than that of great giants

A

2 and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and wherefore is there no service on this heaven?' 3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of

each angel has six wings. The moon's attendant angels have six wings, as the sun's attendant creatures had twelve (xii. 2).

8. The reference is to the Metonic cycle, which consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year once more. As nineteen solar years = 6,939.186 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. armed soldiers. The purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi iii. 3, where, however, they are in the third heaven, not the fourth. They are ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελιάρ.

serving the Lord . . . various singing. This is the function assigned by Test. Levi iii. 8 to the inhabitants of the fourth heaven . . . ἐν ᾧ αἱ ὕμνοι τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται. Note the dittography 'with sweet and incessant (voice)'.

XVIII. 1. fifth heaven. Our text and Test. Levi iii. 7 differ absolutely as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἄγγελοι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου. This view, however, seems limited to the Test. Levi, whereas we find in Chag. 12^b the same view expressed as here: i.e. in שמע the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: ἅρ' οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ σοφονία λεχθεῖσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἄγγελους καλουμένους κυρίους . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον. This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted.

Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγγήγοροι, or עררים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi.

3. The Grigori. These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in 1 En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See 1 En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in 1 En. vi-xvi. The leaders in 1 En. vi-xvi are not Satans, but 'Watchers', like their followers. In 1 En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had

A

4 light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took
5 to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made
6 lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity. And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be
7 punished on the Lord's great day. And I said to the Grigori: 'I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them to be
8 under earth till heaven and earth shall end for ever.' And I said: 'Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?'
9 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

A

Of the taking of Enoch on to the sixth heaven.

19¹ And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in
2 their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government
3 of the world. And when they see evil-doing

B

And the two men took me from thence, they 19¹ carried me up on to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven ranks of angels very bright and glorious, their faces shining like the sun, and there is no difference in *their* faces, nor in *their* extent, nor in the composition of *their* clothes.

These organize and learn the good ordering of 2 the world and the goings of the stars, of the sun and of the moon.

Angels, angels, these heavenly angels harmo- 3

rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in 1 En. lxix and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244.

who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan v. 5, 6 . . . τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. 'Ανέγνω γὰρ ἐν βιβλῳ 'Ενώχ τοῦ δικαίου . . . ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν (ὑμῶν is corrupt for αὐτῶν). Our text can hardly mean that all the Watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the Watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is indeed possible that the writer's scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious Watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels ('after them') who followed them (? = 'the order that was under him,' xxix. 4) are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the Watchers who went further and descended to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but raises more difficulties than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 does indeed favour it, but for 'prince who' in that verse we must read 'prince and leaders who'. The main objections, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3 where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the fallen Watchers. In xxix. 4, 5 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven, to the air, above the abyss.

4. after them (A), i.e. of the same sort as they.

three. According to 1 En. ix. 6 the leader was Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza; Jalkut Schim, Beresch. 44 gives Assael and Semjaza.

Ermon. See 1 En. vi. 2-6.

broke through their vows. Hermon means a place of cursing or vowing. We should expect 'bound themselves by mutual vows' as in 1 En. vi. 5.

5. 1 En. x. 8, vii. 2.

6. 1 En. x. 4-15.

they will be punished. Not those who weep, but the lustful Watchers are punished.

7. There is some confusion in this verse. Enoch has seen in vii the rebellious Watchers in torment in the second heaven, but here he proceeds to refer to the lustful Watchers punished under the earth. We have not had an account of his journey thither.

I prayed for them. See vii. 5 (note).

8, 9. The Watchers are silent out of sympathy for their fallen brethren, and at Enoch's rebuke they resume their worship, but with sadness.

XIX. 1. This account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi iii. 5, 6, with that of Chag. 12^b, and with the colourless account in Asc. Is.

there is no difference in their faces, &c. Asc. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven. (Cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5-7.)

2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in 1 En. lxxii-lxxiii.

A

they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all *songs* of praise. These are the archangels who are above angels, 4 measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are *appointed* over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to 5 every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their 6 lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged *ones* continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice †before the Lord† at his footstool.

Hence they took Enoch into the seventh Heaven. 20 ¹ And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began 2 to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me: 3 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear,' and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells here? On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat. And all the heavenly troops would

B

nize all the heavenly life, organize the commands, teachings and euphony, and singing and every glorious praise.

And those angels *that rule* over the seasons 4 and the years, and the angels that are over rivers and seas, and the angels that are over the fruit and grass and everything bubbling (*sic*), and 5 angels *who* organize all the life of all people and write before the Lord's face.

In their midst seven phoenixes, seven cherubim, 6 and seven six-winged ones, voicing and singing to each other as one, and it is impossible to describe their singing, and the Lord rejoices in his footstool.

Enoch's ascent on to the Seventh Heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence and 20 ¹ carried me up on to the seventh heaven. And I saw there a great light and all the fiery troops of incorporeal archangels and the shining station of the Ostanim, and I became afraid and began to tremble.

And the two men put me in the midst of them, 2 saying to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not.'

They showed me from afar the Lord sitting on 3 his throne, and all the heavenly troops in companies stepping on to the steps and they kept bowing down to the Lord, and would then walk 4 away and go to their places in joy and happiness and in immeasurable light;

4. Subordinate spirits are over these natural objects in 1 En. lx. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14, xvi. 5. bubbling (B.), lit. 'boiling', i. e. 'gushing forth', 'abundant'.

5. Raphael's function in 1 En. xx. 3.

6. six six-winged ones. i. e. Seraphim, cf. xii. 1 (notes). Note that Cherubim and Seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. Chag. 12^b places Seraphim, Ophanim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi iii. 5 agrees with this verse, and places in the sixth heaven ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργούντες.

one voice. A dittography.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts, cf. Isa. vi; Ezek. i; 1 En. xiv. 9-17, lxxi. 7-9; Rev. iv. For Chag. 12^b see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above.

dominions, orders, and governments . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι. Cf. Eph. i. 21 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ κυριότητος; also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; 1 En. lxi. 10.

many-eyed. Seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophanim. Cf. 1 En. lxi. 10, and B here.

nine regiments. We must read 'ten', to agree with ver. 3, where there are ten grades corresponding to the ten steps.

Ioanit stations of light. Apparently some reference to the Apocalypse of John.

I became afraid, &c. 1 En. xiv. 14.

2. Have courage, &c. Cf. i. 8.

3. the Lord . . . on His very high throne. Isa. vi. 1; 1 En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4.

tenth heaven. Cf. xxi. 6 (note), xxii. 1.

Aravat. See xxii. 1.

all the heavenly troops . . . on the ten steps according to their rank. These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; *Jesode Thora* C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophanim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophanim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i. e. Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

A

come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord, and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

Of how the angels here left Enoch, at the end of the seventh Heaven, and went away from him unseen.

- 21¹ And the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler of Sabaoth, heavens and earth are full of Thy glory.' When I saw all these things, those men said to me: 'Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with thee,' and those men went away from me, and thereupon I saw them not. And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: 'Woe is me, what has befallen me?' And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me,' and I answered him, and said in myself: 'My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling,' and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and it is with them I go before the Lord's face. And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

B

and the glorious ones serving him do not leave him by night nor go away by day, standing before the Lord's face, and working his will, and all the troops of cherubim and seraphim about his throne never leaving him, and the six-winged ones cover his throne, singing before the Lord's face.

And when I saw all, the two men went away from me and thenceforward I saw them not. And they left me alone at the end of heaven, and I grew afraid and fell on my face.

And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones Gabriel to me, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not the troops, come after me, and stand before the Lord's face into eternity.'

And I said to him: 'Woe is me, my Lord, my soul is gone out of me for terror, call up to me the two men who brought me to the place, because I trusted them and with them I go before the Lord's face.'

And Gabriel seized me, just as a leaf seized by the wind, and took me, and put me before the Lord's face.

A

- 6 And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet, and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh Heaven. And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

In the tenth Heaven the archangel Michael led Enoch to before the Lord's face.

- 22¹ On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns. Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible.
- 2 And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? and I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great

XXI. 1. do not depart. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 23.

six-winged . . . Thy glory. Isa. vi. 2, 3.

3. Have courage. See 1. 8, xx. 2, xxi. 5; 1 En. xv. 1.

5. Cf. ver. 3.

6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מְזָלוֹת. Kuchavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in 1 En. xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.

XXII. 1-3. Aravoth a transliteration of עֲרָבוֹת, which according to Chagig. 12^b was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1, and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them.

A

and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and
3 seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable
greatness of his glory?

A

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord,
5 and the Lord with his lips said to me: 'Have
courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand
before my face into eternity.'

6 And the archistrategē Michael lifted me up,
and led me to before the Lord's face.

And the Lord said to his servants tempting
them: 'Let Enoch stand before my face into
7 eternity,' and the glorious ones bowed down to
the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch go according to
Thy word.'

8 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take
Enoch from out 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 appear-
ance of that ointment is more than the great
light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its
10 smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked
at myself, and was like one of his glorious ones.

11 And the Lord summoned one of his arch-
angels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was
quicker in wisdom than the other archangels,
who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the
12 Lord said to Pravuil: 'Bring out the books from
my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing,
and give it to Enoch, and deliver to him the
choice and †comforting† books out of thy hand.'

Of Enoch's writing, how he wrote his wonderful
journeyings and the heavenly apparitions
and himself wrote three hundred and sixty-
six books.

23 1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven,
earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages
and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders,
the sun and moon, the goings and changes of
the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours,
the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels,

B

and I fell prone, and could not see the Lord God, 22 4
and I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord 8
God spake to Michael: 'Take Enoch, and take
him out from his earthly (*sc.* garments), and anoint
him with sweet oil, and clothe him in garments
of glory.' And Michael took me out from my 9
garments, and anointed me with sweet oil; and
the appearance of that oil is better than great
light, and its ointment like sweet dew, and its
smell like myrrh, and shining like the rays of the
sun.

And I looked down looking at myself, and 10
I was as one of the glorious ones, and there was
no difference. And the terror and trembling
went away from me, and the Lord with his mouth 4
summoned me and said: 'Have courage, Enoch,
fear not, stand before my face into eternity.'

And the Lord's archistrategē Michael brought 6
me before the face of God. The Lord tempted
his servants, and said to them: 'Let Enoch step
up to stand before my face into eternity.' And 7
the Lord's glorious ones bowed down, and said:
'Let him step up.'

And the Lord summoned Vretil, one of his 11
archangels, who is wise and writes down all the
Lord's works.

And the Lord said to Vretil: 'Take the books 12
from the safe places, and give Enoch a reed, and
tell him the books.' And Vretil hastened and
brought me the books all made sharp with myrrh,
and gave me the reed out of his hand.

And he began to tell me all things in heaven 23 1
and earth and sea, the courses and dwellings of
all the elements, the seasons of the years, the
courses and mutations of the days, and the com-
mandments and teachings.

4. and could not see the Lord God (B). Contrast xxii. 1 (A).

6. Michael. Cf. 1 En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is the chief of the archangels in 1 En. xl. 9 also. As the angel set over Israel, 1 En. xx. 5 he is naturally the chief captain.

8. sweet ointment. This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of Apoc. Mosis ix. 3, xiii. 1. See also viii. 7; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. In verse 9 here this oil is described and in verse 10 its effects.

garments of My glory. These are the raiment of the blessed. Cf. 1 En. lxii. 15, cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9.

11. Pravuil. I cannot find this name anywhere else. B has Vretil.

12. safe places (B), lit. 'store-rooms'.

a reed . . . give it to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in Liber S. Iohannis Apocryphus (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N.T. vol. i, p. 890): 'Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamus . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros'.

†comforting†. Read as B suggests 'fragrant with myrrh'.

XXIII. 1. This verse might well describe the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii.

A

2 and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn. And Pravuil told me: 'All the things
4 that I have told thee, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them
5 to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.' And all
6 double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

Of the great secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him face to face.

24¹ And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: 'Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.' And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke
2 to me: Enoch, beloved, all thou seest, all things that are standing finished I tell to thee even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.
3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I

B

And Vretil was telling me thirty days and thirty nights, his lips talking unintermittently. And I did not rest thirty days and thirty nights writing all the signs, and when I finished, I had written three hundred and sixty books.

And the Lord summoned me, and put me on 24¹ his left near Gabriel. And I bowed down to the Lord.

And he spake to me: All the things thou hast 2 seen, Enoch, standing and walking and completed by me, I will tell thee, before they took shape.

First all the things I created from non-existence into existence, and from invisible to visible.

And to my angels I have not made known my 3

formation of their songs. Possibly we should read 'songs of the armed hosts', see xvii.

* 5. all souls are prepared . . . before the formation of the world. The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. Wisdom of Solomon viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἡμῶν εἰσὺν εἰς ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μάλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθεν εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον*. This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰσιν ἐνδεθρομένοι σῶμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγείονται καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn. i. 22*). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκίμαι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβάσαι τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ συρροῦ δυνῆς βιωσάτης ἀρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant. 3*). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Gigant. 3*). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγίων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn. i. 22*), and who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn. i. 22*; cf. *De Gigant. 4*). This doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud. ii. 8. 11*, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡδὲ ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέεσθαι μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ἕγγι τινι φυσικῇ κατασπώμενας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὲ μακρῆς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμέναις, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι*. It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma, Pikkude 3*) or in the seventh heaven (*Chagig. 12^b*) or in a certain chamber (*מַצְלוֹת*) (*Sifre 143^b*) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba c. 8*, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217-20). See xxx. 16 (note).

6. double thirty days. Cf. lxviii. 1, 'sixty days.'

XXIV. 2. took shape (B). lit. 'became'.

from non-being. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—*ὡς ἡλῖος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὢν (De Somn. i. 13)*. Probably, however, from non-being is a rendering of *ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων*. This will harmonize with xxv. 1.

visible things from invisible. Cf. the passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'the world has been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear'. These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 we find the idea of invisible elements introduced by the LXX as it gives *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος* as a rendering of what we translate by 'the earth was waste'.

3. not to My angels. Cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

* cf. Hughes p. 201 (contra)

A

have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, 4 which I tell thee to-day. For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and 5 from west to east. But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

God relates to Enoch, how out of the very lowest darkness comes down the visible and invisible.

- 25 1 I commanded in the very lowest parts, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld 2 him, and lo! he had a belly of great light. And I said to him: 'Become undone, Adoil, and let 3 the visible come out of thee.' And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I was in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to 4 create. And I saw that *it was* good. And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: 'Go thou up higher and fix thyself high above the throne, and be 5 a foundation to the highest things.' And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

God summons from the very lowest a second time that Archas, heavy and very red, should come forth.

- 26 1 And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: 'Let Archas come forth hard,' and he came forth hard from the invisible. And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red. 2 And I said: 'Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from thee,' and he came undone, an age

B

secrets, nor told them the secrets, nor their establishments, nor my endless and incomprehensible thinking out of creation. And I opened 4 up the light. And I rode through the midst of the light, just as one of the invisible, just as the sun rides from east to west; and I conceived the 5 thought to place foundations and to create visible creation.

I commanded in the very lowest that the very 25 1 great Idoil should come forth, having in his belly a very great stone.

And I spoke to him: 'Burst asunder Idoil, 2 and let there be the visible born out of thee.'

And he burst asunder. There came out of 3 him a great stone, and thither bearing (or 'carrying,' *sic*) all creation, which I had wished to create, and I saw that *it was* good.

And I put a throne also for myself, and sat 4 down on it. I said to the light: 'Go up higher and make thyself firm and be a foundation for the highest.'

And there is nothing higher than the light, 5 only nothing; and I saw, having bent myself up from my throne.

I summoned a second time in the very lowest, 26 1 and said that there should come out from the invisible into the firm one thing visible. And Archas came out firm and heavy and very black. And I saw that *it was* well. 3

their establishments (B). lit. 'the manner in which they were established'.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 *ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης*. Cf. also Philo, *De Iustitia* 7 *Μηνεί δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις*. . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193-6.

Adoil. Is this from *אֵל* = 'the hand of God'? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth.

2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypten*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungssact begann mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt, herausbrach.'

3. a great light came out. This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on 'Die Geburt des Lichtes'.

there came forth a great age. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter.

4. I placed for myself a throne. This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with God at the creation when He established His throne upon the winds.

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not creation, of the earth. Archas may be from *אַרְחָשׁ*, or possibly from *ἀρχή*.

very red. So A, but B reads 'very black'; cf. next verse 'very dark'.

the firm (B) = 'the hard', 'fixed'.

A

came forth, very great and very dark, bearing
 3 the creation of all lower things, and I saw that *it*
was good and said to him: 'Go thou down
 below, and make thyself firm, and be for a
 foundation for the lower things,' and it happened
 and he went down and fixed himself, and became
 the foundation for the lower things, and below
 the darkness there is nothing else.

Of how God founded the water, and surrounded
 it with light, and established on it seven
 islands.

27 ¹ And I commanded that there should be taken
 2 from light and darkness, and I said: 'Be thick,'
 and it became thus, and I spread it out with the
 light, and it became water, and I spread it out
 over the darkness,

A

3 below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made founda-
 tion of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged it (*sc.* the water)
 like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, *and* the circumcession of the waters and the other
 elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its
 4 heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good. And I separated between light and between
 darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it
 should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there
 was morning the first day.

A

The week in which God showed Enoch all his
 wisdom and power, throughout all the seven
 days, how he created all the heavenly and
 earthly forces and all moving things even
 down to man.

28 ¹ And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and
made that the lower water which is under heaven
 collect itself together, into one whole, and that
 the chaos become dry, and it became so.
 2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big,
 and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry
 3 I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called
 4 abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected
 the sea in one place and bound it together with
 a yoke. And I said to the sea: 'Behold I give
 thee *thy* eternal limits, and thou shalt not break
 loose from thy component parts.' Thus I made
 5 fast the firmament. This day I called me the
 first-created.

B

And I said to him:

'Go below and make thyself firm.' And it
 became the foundation for the lowest. And
 under the darkness there is nothing.

Having surrounded some things with light, 27 ¹
 I made thick and stretched forth a road of water ²
 over the darkness,

B

And I made firm great rocks, and commanded 28 ^{1, 2}
 the bottomless waves to dry up on the dry
 (*sc.* land), and on the rivers having collected into 4
 one place the falling into (*sc.* the waters that fall
 into) the bottomless sea and binding *them* with
 a yoke, I gave an eternal boundary in the midst
 of (*sc.* between) sea and earth, that shall not be
 broken through by the water. And I made fast
 the firm, and founded the water over it.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.

1. **there should be taken from light and darkness.** Contrast Gen. i. 4. I do not pretend to understand what follows.

3. **the seven stars.** See xxx. 5.

4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9.

2. **the dry I called earth,** an exact rendering of Gen. i. 10.

3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jub. ii. 2.

4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22.

firmament. Gen. i. 7, 8.

5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix; and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

A

29¹ Then it became evening, and then again morning, and it was the second day.

[Monday is the *first* day.] *The fiery Essence.*

And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful nature, *which* is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and firmer than hard rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

B

And for all the heavenly troops I formed the 29¹ sun out of the great light, *and* put it in the heavens that it should shine over the earth.

From the stone I cut a great fire and from the 3 stone I created the incorporeal troops, and all the troops of stars, of Cherubim, Seraphim and Ophannim I cut from the fire.

A

Here Satanail with his angels was thrown down from the height.

4 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

5 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

A

30¹ And then I created all the heavens, and the third day was.

[Tuesday]. On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees,

B

And the earth I commanded to bring forth all 30¹ kinds of tree and high hills, all kinds of grass and

XXIX. 1. [Monday is the first day] bracketed as a Christian interpolation as 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday', &c., in xxx. 1, 2, &c. In Jub. ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—but according to Shemoth Rabba 15 and the Targ. Jer. on Gen. i. 26 the angels were created on the second day as in our text.

3. from the fire I created the . . . angels. So Pesikta 3^a: see Weber, *L. d. J.* 161.

4. one . . . with the order that was under him. This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the Watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii and xviii with notes; vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes).

place his throne higher than the clouds. If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve* I. vi is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.'

5. he was flying in the air continuously. This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. iii. 4 τοῦ ἀέριου (β-α) πνεύματος τοῦ Βελιάρ: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat'. Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are'. Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan, ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the Watchers of the fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the Watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these Watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however—when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11.

A

and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed *guardians* flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

B

all kinds of seed that are sown, before I created living souls, and prepared food for them.

A

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

[Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly circles. On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the third Aris, on the fifth Zeus, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the illumination of night. The sun that it should go according to each animal (*sc.* signs of the zodiac), twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, and their hour-markings, how they should succeed. Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

A

[Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

8 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

B

And the sea I commanded to bring forth and give birth to its fishes, all kinds of reptiles that creep over the earth, and wild beasts and cattle, and all kinds of feathered birds.

And when I had finished all, I told my wisdom to create me man.

A

[Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one,

hills. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα.

seed to sow (A): 'all kinds of seed that are sown' (B). This phrase is found in Jub. ii. 7, as one of the third day creations.

Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day.

2. **heavenly circles.** In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: τὸν οὐρανὸν φασὶν ἐπὶ τὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις.

3. Gen. i. 14-19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. A. D. 1200, p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, ὁ δὲ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν. In the mysteries of Mithras (see Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 22) the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. The previous chapter seems to connect these heavenly bodies with the seven heavens, as in our text. Their order in Origen is Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. Archimedes' order (Macrobius, *in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this is the one generally followed, e.g. Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 43. Plato refers to the five planets in his *Timaeus*, but the *Epinomis*, by a disciple of his, is the first to assign each planet to a god. The five planets were known to Israel in O.T. times: Kronos as כִּיּוֹן, Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הִלֵּל, Isa. xiv. 12; Ares as נִגְנַל, 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as Ἥρᾱ, Isa. lxv. 11; Hermes as Ἑρμῆς, Isa. xlv. 1.

5. **the sun . . . according to each animal.** See xiii-xiv and 1 En. lxxii for the periods corresponding to the signs of the zodiac.

6. **the months, &c.** See lvi and 1 En. lxxiii-lxxiv.

7. Cf. Gen. i. 20-26. Note that most of the sixth day creations are here assigned to the fifth day.

8. **commanded my wisdom.** Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman'. In the *Book of Wisdom*, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Cf. Philo's Logos, the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὃ καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίη: also *de Cherubim* 35.

from seven consistencies. This list of substances seems to have some connexion with Stoic speculation (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and Philonic views. Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51; man's body is derived from the earth; his bones have something in common with stones, *Leg. All.* ii. 7 (ἡ μὲν ἕξις κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἥς

A

his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

- 9 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness (*sc.* enjoyment).
 10 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, †he knows speech like some created thing, small in greatness and again great in smallness†, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.
 13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south, 14, 15 from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him: 'This is good, and that bad,' that

μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκότα λίθοις ὁστέα) and on a higher level again man is allied to plant nature (ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά. καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ εἰσιν εἰκότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχες τε καὶ τρίχες), e.g. in respect to his nails and hair. Perhaps for 'veins' we should read 'nails' accordingly in our text. Finally, for the seventh element we may compare *De Mundi Op.* 46.

Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ὀκείωται θείῳ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἀπαντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνητεύσῃται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202-4; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209-15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.'

9. seven natures. Cf. Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἐπταχὴ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον. Thus Philo has the vocal organ and the generative power in place of the bones and the intelligence. Plutarch, *Plac.* iv. 4 agrees with Philo, but adds an eighth, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or directive power. See especially Test. Naph. 2 (notes).

10. saying. We should expect a reference to a creative word. This verse is very corrupt, but obviously man's spiritual and material nature is meant.

11. a second angel. According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. x, Adam is called a 'bright angel'.

12. Gen. i. 26, 28.

13. This verse may either be the source of or else derived from the *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 24-6:

αὐτὸς δὲ θεὸς ἔσθ' ὁ πλάσας τετραγράμματον Ἀδάμ.
 τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα καὶ ὄνομα πληρώσαντα
 ἀντολήν τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line frequently occurs, e.g. in ii. 195, viii. 321, xi. 3, and the order of letters is wrong. In the anonymous treatise *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian, we have a long account: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebraicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta", eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendi terram et confinxī hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam.' At each of the four quarters four stars were set by the Creator, called anatole, dysis, arctus, mesembrion. Take from these stars the first letter of each, and you have the name Ἀδάμ. Bede, in *Genesis Expositio* iv. approves, and adds that 'haec proprietates significat dominaturam Adam in quattuor partibus mundi'. Cf. too the *Chronicon* of Glycas (circ. 1150) p. 143, and see Jub. iii. 28 (note).

14. four special stars. Cf. *De Montibus Sina et Sion* quoted under verse 13. 'Stars' may here mean 'angels'. Certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam, Jalkut Rub. fol. 13; Jalkut Schim. fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215).

15. The strongest statement of free-will is that in Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208) 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man only'. In the text free-will is presupposed in man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (verse 16): cf. Sirach xv. 14, 15 αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίῳ αὐτοῦ. εἴαν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς, καὶ πίστιν ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας. On the question generally see Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8, 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; xviii. 1, 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96.

the two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; Sirach xv. 17 ἐναντὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ εὖ εὐδοκίῃ δοθῆσεται αὐτῷ: xvii. 6 καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. For parallel N.T. expressions cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xvii ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδασκῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου: cf. Test. Asher i. 3, 4 δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελῆσθαι: cf. also Herm. *Mand.* vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; *Clem. Homilies* v. 7.

I told him: 'This is good and that bad,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit.

A

I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

16 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore *through* not seeing he will sin worse, and I said: 'After sin *what is there* but death?'

17 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him
18 a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

God gives over paradise to Adam, and gives him a command to see the heavens opened, and that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.

31 1 Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I want to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, †as a fugitive he made, he made Sotona from
5 the heavens† as his name was Satomail, thus he became different from the angels, *but his* nature did not change *his* intelligence as far as *his* understanding of righteous and sinful *things*.

that I should learn whether he has love towards me or hatred. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God'.

16. *through not seeing he will sin worse.* This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הרע and יצר הטוב). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄδικος (Plato, *Legg.* 731 C): οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐκὼντα ἐξαπατᾶναι (*Prot.* 345 D): κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 C; *Hipp. Mai.* 296 C. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted; and that, should this course be the worse one, the error of judgement is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences, but from its limitations, i.e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the *Book of Wisdom* this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (σῶμα = σῆμα); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the *Book of Wisdom*. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body.

after sin . . . death. So Sirach xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχή ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκουσιν πάντες, for 'men were created exactly like the angels', 1 En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, *Book of Wisdom*, ii. 23, 24; 1 En. xcvi. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud; see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return', and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Sirach, where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Sirach xiv. 17); and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2, xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system of the writers of *Wisdom*. In N.T. times, however, we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles, e.g. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see 1 En. vi-viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcvi. 4, with notes.

18. death . . . by his wife. Cf. Sirach xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See note on verse 16.

I took his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. Cf. *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii. According to Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall. For this power of vision cf. Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii in Gen.

gloomless light. The light in Paradise was continual, *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii, xiii, xiv.

3. On Satan's envy see *Wisdom*, ii. 24; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

4. See xxiii. 3; xxix. 4 (notes).

A

- 6 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.
7 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man,
8 nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

After Adam's sin God sends *him* away into the earth 'whence I took thee', but does not wish to ruin him for all years to come.

- 32¹ I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee.

Then I can again take thee at My second coming.'

- And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in
2 paradise. And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

God shows Enoch the age of this world, *its* existence of seven thousand years, and the eighth thousand is the end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days.

- 33¹ And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my
2 work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

A

- 3 And now, Enoch, all that I have told thee, all that thou hast understood, all that thou hast seen of heavenly things, all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to
4 the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations. I am self-

B

And now, Enoch, all the things I have told 33³ thee and all the things thou hast seen on earth and all the things thou hast written in these books, I invented the creation of all *this*, having created from the highest to the lowest.

There is no counsellor here. I am eternal and 4 not made with hands, and my thought is counsellor, and my word is deed, and my eyes behold

6. See xxx. 18 (note). Weber, 211, 244.

7. The curse is not on man himself, but on his ignorance and sin.

XXXII. 1. **My second coming.** God's coming to judge the earth is called the *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς* and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in Wisdom iii. 7, 18. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 5. The first coming was for Adam's sake and to bless all that God had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1,000 years old, the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1,000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7,000 years—6,000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1,000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *ὅσαις . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιετίαις συντελείται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 5^ῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ 7^ῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία¹ ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς α¹ ἔτη. ἐν ἑξ ὧν ἡμέραις συντελέσται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερόν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ 5^{ον} ἔτος ἐστί.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τοῦτου χάριν ὑπολόγηθαι καὶ αὐτὴν (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιασθῆναι ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἐβδόμης χιλιετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰωσήπος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus's statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the *Book of Jubilees*, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustine, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidenti apparet, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigratorem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, l. iii.

2. a time of not-counting . . . neither years nor months, &c. Sibyll. Or. viii. 424-7 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness.

3. the creation (B), lit. 'to create'.

A

eternal, not made with hands, and without change. My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are †made†, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror. If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

5 And apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to thee, and take thou the books which thou thyself hast written.

6 And I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who led thee up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell thy sons all that I have told thee, and all that thou hast seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.

7 For I created all forces, and there is none that resisteth me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.

8 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read *them* and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.

9 And let them distribute the books of thy handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.

10 And I will give thee, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistratège Michael, for the handwritings of thy fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared thy father.

God convicts the idolaters and sodomitic fornicators, and therefore brings down a deluge upon them.

34 1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and 2 denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries,

B

all. If I look on all, then it stands (*sc.* exists), but if I shall turn away, then will all be destroyed.

Apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who 5 speaketh to thee, and take the books that thou hast written.

And I give thee the angel Semil and Rasuil 6 and him who brought *thee* up to me. And go down on to earth and tell thy sons all the things I have spoken to thee and all the things thou hast seen from the lowest heaven even up to my throne.

All the troops I have created; there is none 7 that opposes me or that submits not to me. All submit to my monarchy and serve my power.

And give them the books of thy handwriting, 8 children to children, kinsmen to kinsmen, race to 10 race, as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers Adam and Seth shall not be destroyed 11 till the end of time, as I have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch, how that I have put a chart on earth, and ordered the ages that it be preserved, and that the handwriting of thy fathers 12 be preserved, that it perish not in the deluge which I shall make in thy race.

For I know the wickedness of men, that they 34 1 will not carry the yoke which I have laid upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but having cast off my yoke, they will take another yoke, and will sow empty seeds and will bow down to vain gods and will reject my oneness,

4. without change. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Ezek. xxiv. 14.

my thought is my counsellor. Cf. xxx. 8 (note). Cf. Sir. xlii. 22.

my wisdom and my word are †made†, i.e. are reality. Cf. B and 1 En. xiv. 22 (Greek) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9; Sir. xlii. 15.

my eyes observe all things. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 19.

If I turn, &c. Ps. civ. 29.

6. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 5, 6. Raguil, i.e. Raguel. See 1 En. xx. 4.

9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7–9; liv. 5; 1 En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, as here, the books are to be transmitted immediately to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 of 1 En. the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. Compare verses 11 and 12 (B only).

10. Michael. Cf. xxii. 6 (note).

11. till the end of time (B), lit. 'till the last age'. At last the time for the due understanding of these books will arrive. See verse 9 (note); xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); 1 En. xciii. 10; civ. 12.

Orioch (B), a name found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14.

ages (B), lit. 'times'.

XXXIV. 1. rejected . . . my yoke. Cf. xlviii. 9; Sir. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29.

sow empty seeds (B), or worthless seeds. Apparently metaphorical, as A shows, and not a reference to Deut. xlii. 9. empty (B), i.e. 'worthless'.

denied my unity. Cf. Deut. vi. 4 together with Joshua xxiv. 27.

2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Naph. iv. 1, though there differently applied.

A

namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickednesses, which are disgusting to relate.

- 3 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

God leaves one righteous man of Enoch's tribe with his whole house, who did God's pleasure according to his will.

- 35 ¹ Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many ² will be very insatiate. He who raises that generation, *shall* reveal to them the books of thy handwriting, of thy fathers, *to them* to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.
- 3 And they shall tell another generation, and those *others* having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

God commanded Enoch to live on earth thirty days, to give instruction to his sons and to his children's children. After thirty days he was again taken on to heaven.

- 36 ¹ Now, Enoch, I give thee the term of thirty days to spend in thy house, and tell thy sons and all thy household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by thee, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me. And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of thy handwriting.
- ² And after thirty days I shall send my angel for thee, and he will take thee from earth and from thy sons to me.

Here God summons an angel.

- 37 ¹ And the Lord called up one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

quake (B), lit. 'be shaken' (as though in fever).

3. This verse too is adapted in Test. Naph. iv. 2, which e. g. alters 'deluge' into 'captivity'.

XXXV. 1. just man (B), i. e. Noah.

2. Revelation of these disclosures to the faithful in due time.

3. These disclosures will then usher in a more glorified generation.

XXXVI. 1. The period is one year in 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

of waiting (B), or 'of sojourn'.

contains (B), lit. 'preserves'.

read and understand. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 1-3.

2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter is read after XXXIX in B.

1. Tartarus (B), horror (grozá).

B

and the whole earth will quake with injustice, ² wrongs, and fornication and idolatry.

Then also I shall bring a deluge on to the ³ earth, and the earth will crumble together in great chaos.

And I shall leave over *one* just man with all ³⁵ ¹ his house, who shall work according to my will (*sc.* who shall be found to have been working, &c.), and from their seed shall rise another race afterwards, very numerous and insatiable.

Then he who has brought up (*sc.* founded and ² formed) that race shall reveal the books of thy handwriting and of thy fathers, through whom the guardians of the earth shall show *them* to the ³ faithful men and shall tell *them* to that race, and it shall be glorified thereafter more than before.

And now, Enoch, I give thee a term of waiting ³⁶ ¹ of thirty days to do (*sc.* all) in thy house; tell thy sons all that thy heart contains, that they may read and understand, how that there is no God but me, and after thirty days I shall send ² my angels for thee, and they will take thee from the earth and from thy sons, whatever may be according to my will.

But the Lord summoned one of the angels, ³⁷ ¹ the eldest (*sc.* commander) of Tartarus, and put him by me, and the appearance of that angel *was as snow*, and his hands *were as of ice*, and he chilled my face, because I could not suffer the great heat (*sic*) and that terror.

A

2 And the Lord said to me: 'Enoch, if thy face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold thy face.'

B

And thus spake the Lord to me.

A

Mathusal continued to have hope and to await his father Enoch at his couch day and night.

- 38 ¹ And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: 'Let Enoch go down on to earth with you, ² and await him till the determined day.' And they placed me by night on my couch. ³ And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my couch, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, 'Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.'

A

Enoch's pitiful admonition to his sons with weeping and great lamentation, as he spoke to them.

B

Enoch's instruction of his sons.

- 39 ¹ Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

² I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgement-day.

³ For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.

⁴ You look now upon my eyes, *the eyes* of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.

⁵ You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.

⁶ You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.

⁷ You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

- ⁸ And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

For I am sent forth to you to-day from the ^{39 2} Lord's mouth to speak to you all things that are and all that will be till judgement-day, and now, my children, not from my own mouth am I to-day informing you, but from the Lord's mouth,

for you have heard my words from my ⁷ mouth, but I have heard the Lord's words like great thunder with incessant hurling of clouds, I have seen the Lord's raiment infinite and ⁶ incomparable, which has no end.

Now hear my words, telling of an earthly ⁸ ruler *how* it is fearful and miserable to stand before the face of an earthly ruler; it is terrible and miserable, because the ruler's will is death, and the ruler's will is life or great heat (*sic*).

XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi.

2. Cf. i. 2-4.

3. Cf. 1 En. xci. 1.

XXXIX. 2. *the Lord's lips*. Cf. xxii. 5; xxxiii. 6-12.

3. *the Lord's face*. Cf. xxii. 1.

the Lord's eyes. Cf. xxix. 1.

8. *the father of the earth*. B gives a better sense—'an earthly ruler.' Perhaps we should put a stop after 'discourses' and read as B from 'telling' up to 'the ruler's will is life', and then return to A 'how much more', &c.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH 40. 1-12

A

Enoch admonishes his children truly of all things from the Lord's lips, how he saw and heard and wrote down.

40¹ And now, my children, I know all things, for this *is* from the Lord's lips, and this my eyes have seen, from beginning to end.

B

For, my children, I know all things from the 40¹ Lord's mouth.

A

² I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings. I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude *of them*.

³ What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.

4, 6, 7 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names,

A

⁸ and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and rain-drops.

⁹ And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out in measure (*sc.* gently) by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.

¹⁰ I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust their treasure-houses.

¹¹ And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in *one* weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.

¹² And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and

B

This have my eyes seen from the beginning even to the end, and the dwelling-places of the 8 clouds, both rain-bearing and thunderous. And 9 they showed me the angels that guard them and their keys.

I saw the treasure-houses of snow and of ice, 10 and the going-up, whence they go up in measure 9 they are carried up by a chain and let down by a chain, lest by heavy violence they tear asunder the clouds and destroy what is on earth, both air 10 and frost. I beheld for a time how those who hold fast the keys do fill the clouds full, and the treasure-houses are never exhausted.

I saw the lairs of the winds, how those who 11 keep their keys do carry weighing-scales and measures, and first put them (*sc.* the winds) in the weighing-scales and then in the measure, and let them out in measure over the whole earth, lest by *their* heavy breath they make the earth to rock.

Thence I was led to the judgement-place, and 12

XL. 1. I know all things . . . my eyes have seen, &c. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) δ Δανιήλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνῶχ τῷ εἰρηκότῃ 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας', and Origen, *de Princ.* iv. 35 'dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi'. Cf. too Sibyll. Or. viii. 375.

2. the stars, &c. Cf. 1 En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14.

3. not even the angels. Cf. xxiv. 3.

4. See xiii. xiv (notes).

4-6. There is an addition in Sokolov's text between 'rays' and 'counted'. It deals with the moon and the seasons (see 1 En. lxxxii. 11-20, notes).

8. Cf. 1 En. lx. 19-22.

9. road of the thunder. Cf. 1 En. lix; lx. 13-15.

10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; 1 En. lx. 17, 18.

11. See 1 En. xli. 4.

A

downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell. And I saw how the prisoners are
 13 in pain, expecting the limitless judgement. And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgements (*sc.* sentences) and all their works.

Of how Enoch lamented Adam's sin.

41. 1 And I saw all forefathers from *all* time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour: 'Woe is me for my infirmity and *for that* of my forefathers,' and thought in my heart and said:
 2 'Blessed *is* the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

Of how Enoch saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing.

42. 1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguished lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth,

B

I saw hell all open and the prisoners and infinite judgement,

And having seen I sighed and wept for the 41. 1 destruction of the impious, and I said in my heart:

'Blessed is he who has not been born, or 2 who having been born has not sinned before God, that he may not be come to this place, nor have borne this yoke.'

and I saw the guardians of the keys 42. 1 of hell standing over against the gates like great serpents, their faces like lamps that are gone out, their eyes like darkened flames, and their teeth naked down to their breasts.

And I spake to their faces: 'I had better not 2 have seen you, and may none of my tribe come to you.'

Enoch's ascent into the paradise of the righteous.

And I saw there a blessed place, and all blessed 3 creatures and all there living in joy and in infinite happiness in eternal life.

12. the very lowest hell. The old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be excluded, and intrude even into our author's scheme which in x locates hell in the third heaven. But see xviii. 7 (note). It is possible further that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, hence the phrase 'lowest hell' here. See Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328-33 for later Rabbinic tradition.

13. expecting the limitless judgement. These words seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, i.e. Sheol or Hades. They are used too in vii. 1, of the fallen Watchers.

An ancient Jewish belief: cf. liii. 2; lxiv. 23; x. 17. From the idea of Enoch as scribe of God's works, as in 1 and 2 Enoch, the transition was easy to the idea of Enoch as scribe of the deeds of men. For later tradition cf. Test. Abraham (ed. James, p. 115) ὁ διδύσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης 'Ενώχ' ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράψωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου.

XLi. In B this chapter occurs after xlii. 1.

XLi. 1. Enoch's forefathers, including Adam and Eve, appear to be in the place of punishment. Contrast 1 En. lx. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4 where Paradise is already peopled with the righteous, though in lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8 Enoch and Elijah seem to be its only inhabitants. In 1 En. xxii. 7, however, Abel seems to remain in Hades till the judgement on Cain and his seed is consummated. Cf. the early Christian belief e.g. in *Descensus ad Inferos* viii-ix.

2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12; 1 En. xxxviii. 2; 2 Bar. x. 6.

XLii. 1. the key-holders. We have a strange application of this idea in Sibyll. Or. viii. 121-2 where the αἰών is κλειδοφύλαξ. For 'keys' cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1.

guards of the gates of hell. Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, says that each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). Cf. the word τημελουχος in Apoc. Pauli.

extinguished lamps. Contrast the heavenly angels' face and eyes, i. 5.

teeth naked down to their breasts (B), i.e. either the teeth reached down to the breasts, or the description of the teeth is incomplete, and the creatures themselves are referred to as naked down to their breasts.

2-13. These verses are omitted by A.

2. Cf. xli. 2.

A

¹⁴ and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some *good*, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

Enoch shows his children how he measured and wrote out God's judgements.

43 ¹ I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

² As *one* year is more honourable than another, so is *one* man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, ³ one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

Enoch instructs his sons, that they revile not the face of man, small or great.

44 ¹ The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made

B

Then I spake: 'My children, and now I speak ⁶ to you: Blessed is he who fears God and serves him. And you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord, that you may enjoy life. Blessed is ⁷ he who judges a judgement justly to the widow and orphan, and helps every one that is wronged, clothing the naked with garments, and to the ⁸ hungry giving bread.

Blessed is he who turns back from the change- ¹⁰ able path and walks along the straight path.

Blessed is he who sows the seeds of righteous- ¹¹ ness, for he shall reap sevenfold.

Blessed is he in whom is truth, that he may ¹² speak truth to his neighbour.

Blessed is he in whose mouth is mercy and ¹³ gentleness.

Blessed is he who understands the Lord's ¹⁴ works and glorifies the Lord God.

Behold, my children (*sc.* all) the things that ⁴³ ¹ can be used on earth and the things that have been planned I have written down from the Lord God.

Winter and summer, all have I put together, and of the years I have counted out the hours, and the hours have I all measured out and written down, and found out all the difference (*sc.* understood all their variety).

One year is more honourable than another, ² and one day than another, and one hour is more honourable than another.

Likewise one man is more honourable than another, this one for much property, that for mercy of heart, that again for understanding and cunning and for silence of tongue and mouth.

For there is none greater than he who fears ³ God; they shall be glorious into eternity.

The Lord with his hands created man, and ⁴⁴ ¹ likened *him* to his own face.

6-14. Nine rather colourless beatitudes.

7. judges a judgement justly. Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8.

8, 9. Cf. ix: also for 9 cf. Ps. x. 18; Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10.

10. straight path. Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Sibyll. Or. iii. 9-10; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 23 sq.

11. Cf. Sirach vii. 3; Job. iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13.

12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Sibyll. Or. ii. 58, 64.

13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26.

14. in their works . . . known, &c. (A). Matt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. As one year, &c. We might expect 'as one day', cf. Sir. xxiii. 7. The main thought of this passage is derived from Sir. x. 20, 22, 24, 30: cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 125.

A

him small and great. Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised
 2 the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will
 3 cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.

4 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken
 5 down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight *will be* as in the market, that is to say *they are* hung on scales and stand in the market, *and every one* shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

God shows how he does not want from men sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, but pure and contrite hearts.

45 1 Whoever hastens to make offering before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.

2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will *not* increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.

3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man.

B

The Lord God created *all things* great and small.

He that brings into contempt the face of man, brings the Lord's face into contempt.

The Lord's anger and great judgement *are on* 2 *him* who spits in the face of man.

Blessed is he who turns his heart towards such 4 a man, so as to help the condemned and raise the broken.

He who multiplies lights before the Lord's 45 2 face, the Lord will multiply their storehouses.

The Lord God wants not bread nor candles, 3 meal nor cattle, but by this *means* tempts the heart of man.

A

Of how an earthly ruler does not accept from man abominable and unclean gifts, then how much more does God abominate unclean gifts, but sends *them* away with wrath and does not accept his gifts.

46 1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.

If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to
 2 judgement? Or *if* one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the other* understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be
 3 condemned, since his untruth was plain to all? And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

XLIV. 1. Whoever reviles, &c. Cf. James iii. 9.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 22.

4. This beatitude, out of place here, would come in fittingly at the end of xlii.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6, li. 16; Isa. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Sir. xxxv. 1-3; Sibyll. Or. viii. 390, 391, also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism. See lix. 1-3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in Sir. xxxv. 1-3, side by side with injunctions to offer them.

candles. Cf. 'lamp' in verse 2.

pure hearts. Ps. li. 10.

tests the heart of man. Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Ps. xxvi. 2. tempts (B), or 'proves'.

XLVI. 3. a great light. The reference is not clear, but cf. Isa. ix. 2 or John i. 9, v. 35, viii. 12, and esp. John iii. 19-21.

A

Enoch instructs his sons from God's lips, and hands them the handwriting of this book.

- 47¹ And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all *come* to you from the Lord's lips.
² Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.
 For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.
³ And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest *places*, nor in the *one* foundation.
⁴ The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and
⁵ invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?
 I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

Of the sun's passage along the seven circles.

- 48¹ That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and
² eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevad it goes up.
³ And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruit, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.
⁴ All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.
⁵ From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.
⁶ Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your
⁷ generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.
⁸ And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive them (*sc.* the books), a terrible judgement awaits these.
⁹ Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2.

2. Cf. 1 En. xciii. 10 for this high estimate of the Enochic works.

3. **you will not sin.** Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7-9. For a like claim cf. 1 En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13, and contrast Sir. xviii. 3.

no other except the Lord. Cf. Isa. xlv. 5, &c.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 69, 760; viii. 377; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1.

4. **spread forth heavens.** Ps. civ. 2; Isa. xl. 22; xlii. 5.

fixed the earth on the waters. 2 Pet. iii. 5.

5. **who has counted . . . the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain.** Drawn from Sir. i. 2. Cf. Isa. xl. 12; Job xxxvi. 27 (LXX).

decorated heaven. Cf. Sir. xvi. 27.

XLVIII. 1. The text is faulty and unintelligible. The sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens in xi. 1; xxx. 3, and does not revolve through the seven circles. The twice-mentioned 182 thrones, too, are really, when added, the 364 world-stations of 1 En. lxxv. 2, i.e. the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. As in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii and Jub. iv the number is not exact (contrast 2 En. xiv. 1). This older Enochic reckoning may be partly due to opposition to heathen systems, and partly to the fact that 364 = 52 weeks of 7 days exactly.

2. Corrupt. Read either 'Sivan . . . Kislev' or 'Tamuz . . . Tebet'. Thevan and Thevad seem to be the same.

5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xvii. 2 (note).

6. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

7. **love them more than any food.** Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 3. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2 (note).

8. No such terrible judgement is threatened on the rejecters of Enoch's disclosures in 1 En., but cf. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

9. No such blessing is offered to the obedient in 1 En. There the righteous elect, or the righteous and the wise, receive Enoch's revelations. Cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12.

A

Enoch instructs his sons not to swear either by heaven or earth, and shows God's promise, even in the mother's womb.

49¹ I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

The Lord said: 'There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.' If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words 'yea, yea', or else, 'nay, nay.'

² And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, *but that* already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

Of how none born on earth can remain hidden nor his work remain concealed, but he (*sc.* God) bids *us* be meek, to endure attack and insult, and not to offend widows and orphans.

50¹ I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his ² works remain concealed. I see all things. Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

³ Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

⁴ If ill-requitals befall you, return *them* not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return *them* for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

⁵ Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

B

For I swear to you, my children, that before 49² man was, a judgement-place was prepared for him, and a measure and a weighing-scale, in which man will be proved, and *they* are there already prepared.

And I shall put the work of every man in 50¹ writing.

And now, my children, spend the number of ² your days in patience and gentleness, that you inherit the endless age that is to come.

Every wound, every hurt and heat (*sic*) and ³ wicked word (*sc.* which) shall befall you, suffer them for the Lord God's sake;

and if you are able to requite (*sc.* ill), do not ⁴ requite your neighbour (*sc.* with ill) because the Lord is your requiter, and he (*lit.* who) will be the avenger on the day of the great judgement.

Lose gold or silver for a brother's sake, that ⁵ you receive inexhaustible treasure on the judgement-day.

XLIX. 1. **I swear not**, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 34, 35. See also Philo, *De Special. Leg.* ii. 1; *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Decem Orac.* 17; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe*, 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. This appears to be a Jewish commonplace (Conybeare). For Jewish forms of swearing see Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

2. **to each . . . a place prepared for the repose**, &c. So *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said a place is prepared for every man either in paradise or hell. Cf. the number of souls, lviii. 5; 2 Bar. xxi. 23, xxiii. 4, 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36, vii. 85, 95.

L. 1. **nor his works remain concealed**. 1 En. ix. 5.

2. **in patience**. Cf. Luke xxi. 19 'in your patience ye shall win your souls'. This book teaches a blessed immortality but not, it seems, the resurrection of the dead.

3. Cf. Sir. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19; James i. 12. See 2 En. li. 3.

4. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 1, 2.

avenger . . . day of great judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35 (LXX). Cf. too Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30 agree partly with Mass. and partly with LXX.

5. **Whoever**, &c. Cf. Prov. xix. 17; Sir. xxix. 10. See 2 En. li. 2 (note).

Injure not. We expect 'stretch out your hands to' as in ix. Cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 75.

A

Enoch instructs his sons, that they hide not treasures in the earth, but bids *them* give alms to the poor.

- 51 ¹ Stretch out your hands to the poor according
² to your strength. Hide not your silver in the
earth. Help the faithful man in affliction, and
affliction will not find you in the time of your
trouble.
³ And every grievous and cruel yoke that come
upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and
thus you will find your reward in the day of
judgement.
⁴ It is good to go morning, midday, and evening
into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your
creator.
⁵ Because every breathing *thing* glorifies him,
and every creature visible and invisible returns
him praise.

God instructs his faithful, how they are to praise
his name.

- 52 ¹ Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise
of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his
heart.
² Cursed every man who opens his lips for the
bringing into contempt and calumny of his neigh-
bour, because he brings God into contempt.
³ Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and
praising God.
⁴ Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his
life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.
⁵ Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.
⁶ Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation
into contempt.
⁷ Blessed is he who looks down and raises the
fallen.
⁸ Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the
destruction of what is not his.
⁹ Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his
fathers made firm from the beginning.
¹⁰ Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his
forefathers.
¹¹ Blessed is he who implants peace and love.

B

Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to ⁵¹
the widow, and according to your power help the
poor, and thus you shall find your reward on the ³
judgement-day.

In the morning, at midday and in the evening ⁴
and by day (*sic*) it is good to go into God's
house and to glorify the creator of all.

Blessed is he who opens his heart and mouth ⁵² ¹
for the Lord's praise.

Cursed is he who opens his mouth for the ²
humbling of his neighbour.

Blessed is he who glorifies all the Lord's works. ⁵
Cursed is he who brings a creature of the Lord ⁶
into contempt.

Blessed is he who beholds the labour of his ⁷
hands.

Cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of ⁸
others.

Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his ⁹
fathers.

Cursed is he who distorts the decrees and ¹⁰
limits of his fathers.

Blessed is he who goes (*sc.* with others) and ¹¹
brings (*sc.* others) together in peace.

LI. 1. Sir. vii. 32; Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Job vii. 9; Sibyll. Or. ii. 88.
according to your strength. Cf. Sir. xiv. 13; xxix. 20.

2. Hide not, &c. Cf. Sir. xxix. 10.

Help . . . in affliction. Cf. Sir. iv. 4.

3. Sir. ii. 4. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. 2 En. l. 3.

4. Ps. lv. 17. Cf. Dan. vi. 10. For these three Jewish hours of prayer—the third, sixth, and ninth—cf. Acts ii. 15;
iii. 1; x. 9.

the Lord's dwelling, i.e. the temple. Although the writer is a Jew living in Egypt, he writes for Judaism as
a whole, and gives here the ideal conduct of a dweller at Jerusalem. In lix. 2, 3 he prescribes the right method of
sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem.

5. Cf. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. For these beatitudes cf. xlii. 6–14. They are derived mainly from Sirach.

2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.

4. curse and abuse. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 9–12.

5. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 14 εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πάντι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.

10. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2, 14; Sir. xvii. 11.

11. Cf. Matt. v. 9.

A

- 12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.
 13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.
 14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.
 15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.

[Let us not say: 'Our father is before God, he will stand forward for us on the day of judgement,' for there father cannot help son, nor yet son father.]

- 53 1 And now, my children, do not say: 'Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins,' for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.
 2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, *all* that is done amongst all
 3 men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord sees all the imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.
 4 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: 'Why did our father not tell us?'

Enoch instructs his sons, that they should hand the books to others also.

- 54 [At that time, not understanding this] let these books which I have given you be for an inheri-

B

Cursed is he who disturbs what is in peace. 12

Blessed is he who speaks peace, and he has 13 peace.

All this will be laid bare in the weighing- 15 scales and on the books on the day of the great judgement.

And now, children, keep your hearts from all 16 unrighteousness, that you may inherit the weighing-scale of the light into eternity.

Say not, my children, that our father is with 53 1 God, and will pray for us (*sc.* and obtain absolution) from our sins.

You see, how that I write down all the works 2 of every man.

And none can distort my handwriting, because 3 the Lord seeth all.

And now, my children, mark well all the 4 words of your father's mouth,

that they may be 54 for you for an inheritance of peace, and the books

12. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 9, 13.

14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Sibyll. Or. ii. 120, 122.

16. unrighteousness (B). See lxi. 1 (note).

LIII. 1. This verse has a duplicate reading in A. The idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Isa. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 107-8; 299-300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Isa. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in 1 En. xxii. 12; xcvi. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης. This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat* 9: τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν... δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἀπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετείας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰσάγει ποιέσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαίς. The same view was obviously held by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεχόμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατέξοντος ἔσθ' μοι εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον. And also in Sibyll. Or. 330-3 τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἀφθίτος ἄλλο παρέξει εὐσεβέσσ', ὅπῃ δὲ θεὸν ἀφθίτον αἰτήσονται' ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν ἀνθρώπων σώσαι δώσει' καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει. Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N.T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24-31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9-11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger ii. 357-9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 353.

2. Enoch is the universal scribe.

3. tell or relate. B has 'distort'. Perhaps read 'tell or gainsay'. Cf. Ps. civ. 11; Sir. xvii. 15, 20. relate = *raskazati*—possibly a mistake for *raskaziti* = 'to distort'. Cf. B.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

A

tance of your peace. Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

Here Enoch shows his sons, telling them with tears: 'My children, the hour has approached for me to go up on to heaven; behold, the angels are standing before me.'

55¹ 'My children, behold, the day of my term and the time have approached.

For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

2 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

3 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all *his* good pleasure.

Methosalam asks of his father blessing, that he (*sc.* Methosalam) may make him (*sc.* Enoch) food to eat.

56¹ Methosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: 'What is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that I may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings, and thy sons, and that thy people may be made glorious through thee, and then *that* thou mayst depart thus, as the Lord said?'

2 Enoch answered to his son Methosalam *and* said: 'Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, *there has been no* food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.'

Enoch bade his son Methosalam to summon all his brethren.

57¹ 'My child Methosalam, summon all thy brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.'

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, *and* said to them:

B

which I have given you from God, hide them not, tell them to all that want, that by word they learn of God's works.

For behold, my children, the day of my term 55¹ has approached, the angels coming from the Lord God urge the appointed time, and stand with me before my face.

And I shall go up to-morrow on to the highest 2 heaven into my eternal inheritance.

Therefore I command you, my children, that 3 you do *his* good pleasure before the Lord's face.

Mefusailom answered his father Enoch: 'What 56¹ food (*sc.* meal) is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that we may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings and thy sons, and all thy household, and glorify thy people, and thus after that depart?'

Enoch said to his son: 'Hear, my child, from 2 that day when the Lord anointed me with the oil of his glory, from that time there has been no food in me. I do not desire earthly food,

but 57¹ summon thy brethren and all our household, and the elders of the people, that I may speak with them and depart.'

And Mefusailom made haste and summoned 2 his brethren Regim and Rim and Azuchan and Chermion, and the elders of the people, and brought all before the face of his father Enoch. And he blessed them, and said to them:

the Lord's . . . marvellous works. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; Ps. lxxi. 17, &c.

LV. See xxxvi.

2. the highest heaven (B). Cf. lxvii. 2. A's reading, 'to the uppermost Jerusalem,' seems inferior.

LVI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; 1 En. xci. 1.

2. Riman, Uchan, and Chermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

A

Enoch's instruction to his sons.

58 1 'Listen to me, my children, to-day.

In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.

And Adam gave the names to all things living on earth. And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull (lit. deaf) that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.

Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.

4 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.

And as every soul of man is according to 6 number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all

B

'Listen, children, in the days of our father 58 1 Adam, the Lord God came down (sc. to earth) and visited it and all his creatures, which he 2 created himself, and the Lord God called all the beasts of the earth and all the wild animals and all the quadrupeds, and all the reptiles of the earth, and all the birds that soar, and brought them before the face of our father Adam, and called the names to all things that move over the earth. And God subjected to Adam all things 3 existing into subservience (lit. lessness) and secondly made them all dull (lit. deaf) that they might be in subjection and obedience to man.

For the Lord created man ruler over all his possessions.

In this there will be no judgement of every 4 living soul, but only of man's.

But for the souls of beasts there is in the great 5 age one place and one fold.

For no soul of any animal which the Lord 6 created will be shut up till the great judgement,

LVIII. 1. the Lord came down, &c. See xxxii. 1 (note).

5. men have a special place. See xlix. 2 (note).

similarly beasts will not perish. As the Jews believed about the opening of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and so were rational to some extent (Jub. iii. 28; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4) it was natural they should infer a future existence of the animal world. Yet nowhere else except here do we find it, either in O.T. or pre-Christian Jewish works. Their future life is limited and has an ethical motive, not for the brute's own sake, but to accuse man at the final judgement. The Greek view of metempsychosis, and the deification of animals in Egypt show that the idea of animals' future life was conceivable in the ancient world. Plutarch, *Plac.* v. 20. 4 holds that brutes' souls are rational, but incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοίαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴους (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναι φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζῴων (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, ὥς γάρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τὰλλα θηρία γενήσονται, ἡπίσταντο οἱ συνιστάντες ἡμᾶς (*Tim.* 76D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219-21), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1-4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20-28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Kokeleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the Seven Sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyl. viii. 415-18?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἤξω
κρίων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν
καὶ κρίων κριῶ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μόσχον μόσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς ἔλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices, and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (A.D. 824), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were

A

souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

Enoch instructs his sons wherefore they may not touch beef because of what comes from it.

- 59 1 Whoever defiles the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.
2 For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

B

and all souls will accuse the man,

whoever feeds 59 1
ill the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.
But he who brings sacrifice of clean beasts, 2
cures his own soul, and he who brings an offering
of clean birds, cures his own soul.

A

And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

- 3 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.
4 But whoever kills beast without wound, kills his own soul and defiles his own flesh.
5 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

A

- 60 1 He who does injury to soul of man, does injury to his own soul, and there is no cure for his flesh, nor pardon for all time.

How it is not fitting to kill man neither by weapon nor by tongue.

- 2 He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.
3 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.
4 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.
5 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

Enoch instructs his sons to keep themselves from injustice and often to stretch forth hands to the poor, to give a share of their labours.

- 61 1 And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks (*sc.* something) for his own

B

He who does injury to the soul of man, in- 60 1
jures his own soul, and there is no cure for him
into eternity.

He who puts a man into †paradise†—his 3
judgement shall not be exhausted into eternity.

Now, my children, keep yourselves from every 61 1
thing unrighteous, which the Lord hateth, still
more from every living soul.

also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (*L. c.* p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (*L. c.* p. 75).

LIX. 1. Whoever defiles the soul of beast. This refers not to the sin of bestiality, but, as B and 2-4 show, to some unlawful way of sacrificing or slaughtering animals.

2, 3. These verses suggest a date earlier than the destruction of the Temple, A.D. 70.

4. Against strangling beasts.

5. Here bestiality may be meant.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6.

3. Cf. Ps. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. There is an utter want of proportion between sin and penalty here.

†paradise† (B). The text is corrupt but easily emended to give the sense '(crooked) dealing'.

4. vessel = *sosud*, perhaps a mistake for *sud* = 'judgement', 'lawsuit'.

5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. injustice which the Lord hates. Cf. Jud. v. 17; Sir. xv. 11, 13; 2 En. lxvi. 1. injustice. The same word, *nepravda*, means injustice, untruth, and unrighteousness. Cf. lxvi. 1.

*

A

- 2 soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time (*sc.* to come) are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.
- 3 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them).

B

Just as man asks (*sc.* something) for his own soul from the Lord, so let him do to every living soul, lest in the great age . . . He has prepared many mansions, very good dwellings, and bad dwellings without number.

Blessed is he who departs into the sweet houses.

A

- 4 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and he (*sc.* man) cannot find the labour of his hands.
- 5 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

A

Of how it is fitting to bring one's gift with faith, because there is no repentance after death.

- 62 1 Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.
- 2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.
- 3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

Of how not to despise the poor, but to share with them equally, lest thou be murmured against before God.

- 63 1 When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.
- 2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil: ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.
- 3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh (*sc.* clothed) with his clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.
- 4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.

B

Blessed is he who in his patience brings a gift before the Lord's face, for he shall find forgiveness of his sins.

When a man gives from his mouth terms of time to bring gifts before the Lord's face, doing thus (*sc.* fulfilling his promise) he will find repentance of forgiveness (*sic*). But if the appointed time pass by and he go back on his word he shall receive repentance.

When he covers the naked and gives bread to the hungry, he shall find forgiveness.

But if his heart murmurs, then he makes ruin of his giving of alms.

And if, when he has had his fill, he is contemptuous, then he shall lose all his good deeds, and shall not find (*sc.* forgiveness), for every contemptuous man is hateful to the Lord.

2. many mansions. Cf. 1 En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John xiv. 2. good for the good, &c. Sir. xxxix. 25; Sibyll. Or. Fragm. iii. 18-19.

4. The text seems corrupt, and the idea is: it is good to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifices to God what is another man's or ill-gotten, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2, and esp. Sir. xxxi. 21-4, 28.

his hands made them not. Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 403, 406.

5. Only willing offerers are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25.

his heart murmur. Cf. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10; Sir. xxxii. 10.

LXII. 1, 2. There is forgiveness if men keep strictly to their vows. B has quite missed the point in ver. 2.

3. before the time. We might expect also 'or after the time'.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes).

2. See lxi. 5 (note).

4. proud . . . hateful to the Lord. Ps. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

* cf Golden Rule + Aristotle 207

A

Of how the Lord calls up Enoch, and people took counsel to go and kiss him at the place called Achuzan.

- 64 ¹ When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together: ² 'Let us go and kiss Enoch,' and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons. ³ And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him: 'Our father Enoch, be ⁴ thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before thy face. ⁵ For thou shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose thee, rather than all men on earth, and designated thee writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemer of the sins of man, and helper of thy household.'

And Enoch answered all his people, saying:

Of Enoch's instruction of his sons.

- 65 ¹ 'Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things. ² And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate. ³ And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven. ⁴ And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, *their* alternation, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and ⁵ good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation. ⁶ When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes

B

And it happened, when Enoch had spoken to ⁶⁴ ¹ his sons and to the princes of the people, all the people and all those near him heard how the Lord God was calling Enoch. All took counsel together, saying: 'Come, let us kiss Enoch.'

And these came together up to four thousand ² men, and they came to the place Achuzan, where Enoch was and his sons.

And the elders of the people began to kiss ³ Enoch, saying: 'Blessed art thou of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy people, and ⁴ glorify us before the Lord's face, for the Lord ⁵ hath chosen thee, and appointed thee the taker away of our sins.' And Enoch said to all the people:

'Hear, my children, before all creation took ⁶⁵ ¹ shape, the Lord appointed the age of things created.

Then he created all his creatures visible and invisible.

And then he put together man in his own ² image, and put into him eyes to see and ears to hear, the heart to reflect and the mind to deliberate.

Then the Lord resolved the age for the sake ³ of man, and divided up the various seasons and years and months and hours, that man might ⁴ reflect on the changes and end of the seasons, and the beginning and end of the years and the days and the hours, that he might reckon the death of his life.

And when the creation, which the Lord created, ⁶ shall end, and every man shall go to the Lord's ⁷ great judgement, then the seasons shall perish, and thenceforward there will be no more years, nor months, nor days, and there will be no more hours thenceforward, nor will they be reckoned, but there shall begin one endless age. ⁸

And all the righteous shall be collected together in the great age, and age and age of the

LXIV. 5. writer of all his creation. See xl. 13 (note); liii. 2. redeemer. For Enoch as intercessor cf. 1 En. xiii. 4. Contrast 2 En. liii. 1.

LXV. 1. For creation cf. xxiv. 2 (note).

2. created man . . . heart to reflect. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3, 5.

4. count years, &c. Cf. Wisdom vii. 17-18.

5. Cf. xxxiii. 9 (note).

6. The judgement is to close man's existence on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing here to show that there is a resurrection of the body.

A

7 to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be stuck together and will not be counted.

8 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will
9 live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.

10 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

Enoch instructs his sons and all the elders of the people, how they are to walk with terror and trembling before the Lord, and serve him alone and not bow down to idols, but to God, who created heaven and earth and every creature, and †to† his image.

66¹ And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

B

righteous shall be collected together, and they shall be eternal and incorruptible.

And thenceforward there shall be no labour⁹ amongst them, nor sickness nor humiliation, nor anxiety *nor* need, nor night nor darkness, but great, endless, and indestructible light.

And the great paradise will be their shelter¹⁰ and eternal dwelling-place, and they shall no more bear the injuries (lit. lawlessnesses) of those on earth.

The Lord will send down great destruction on to earth and the earth's whole composition shall perish.

For I know, that this will end in tumult and¹¹ will perish, only my brother will be preserved on that day, placed in . . . and those of his tribe and the sun.

And now, my children, keep your souls from 66¹ all unrighteousness, such as the Lord hates.

A

2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone. Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, [but bow down to his picture], and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.

3 For the Lord sees all things; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.

4 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.

5 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.

6 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in *reliance on* promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.

7 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than
8 the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.⁷

7. See xxxiii. 2.

8-9. A blessed immortality.

10. wall. Perhaps the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x).

11. Sir. xiv. 19.

LXVI. 1. injustice . . . the Lord hates. Cf. lxi. 1; Deut. xii. 31; Wisdom xiv. 9.

injustice. Cf. lxvi. 1 (note).

Walk . . . terror and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12; also 2 Cor. vii. 13; Eph. vi. 5.

2. all just offerings. See lxi. 4 (note).

3. sees all things . . . thought in his heart, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. vi. 30; Ps. xciv. 11; Prov. xv. 11; Dan. ii. 30.

4. Partly drawn from Ps. cxxxix. 8-12. Mention of Sheol is omitted here, as it is included in the author's conception of the heavens.

5. no work . . . hidden. Cf. Jer. xvi. 17; Sir. xvii. 15.

6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4.

7. Cf. lxx. 8.

8. enjoyment, &c. 1 En. lxix. 8.

A

The Lord let out darkness on to earth and covered the people and Enoch, and he was taken up on high, and light came again *in the heaven*.

- 67 ¹ When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent out darkness on to the earth, and there was darkness, and it covered those men standing and talking with Enoch, and they took Enoch up on to the highest heaven, where the Lord *is*; and he received him and placed him before his face, and the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again.
- ³ And the people saw and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God, and found a roll in which was traced: 'the invisible God,' and all went to their homes.

B

When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent down murk on to the earth, and there was darkness, it covered all the men standing with Enoch.

And the angels hastened and having taken Enoch, they carried him up on to the highest heaven. And he received him, and put him before his face into eternity. And the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again, and all the people saw, and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God.

And they came to their homes, those who had seen such things. Glory be to our God into eternity. Amen.

A

- 68 ¹ Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years. He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty days. He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when he was born. As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life. At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.

⁵ Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at the place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.

⁶ And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.

⁷ All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.

And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age. Amen.

LXVII. 2. **highest heaven.** Cf. lxxv. 2 (B). This is an exceptional privilege, as Paradise in the third heaven is the eternal abode of the righteous, lv. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the future habitation of the righteous is the *seventh* heaven.

LXVIII. A short *résumé* of Enoch's life. Cf. xxiii.

1. **sixty days.** Cf. xxiii. 6 and xxxvi. 1.

5-7. Cf. the fragment of Melchizedekian literature (appended to my Commentary on 2 Enoch) for Methusalem's sacrifice. The place of sacrifice, and here of Enoch's assumption, is called Achuzan in i. 3, but Aruzan in ii. 17.

7. **hand it on,** &c. Cf. xxxiii. 10.