

Testament of Moses, Jubilees, the Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, and 4 Baruch. It is important also to consult the Dead Sea Scrolls, many of which are apocalyptic writings, and the apocalypses and apocalyptically inspired writings in the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

A final caveat seems necessary. The presence of the term "apocalypse" in the title of a document does not qualify it immediately as an apocalypse; likewise the absence of such a term does not exclude it from being an apocalypse. Sometimes these titles were added by individuals far removed chronologically and geographically from the authors, and some pseudepigrapha bear discrepant titles; for example, the History of the Rechabites in some writings is titled the Testament of Zosimus, in others the Apocalypse of Zosimus; the Life of Adam and Eve is essentially the same as the Apocalypse of Moses (an inapt title for the story of Adam and Eve). The various pseudepigrapha must not be forced into categories developed by modern analysis; the following collection is arranged primarily for convenience and to denote general literary similarities and differences.

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1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) ENOCH

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

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

Texts

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

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

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

- A. Kebrān 9/II (Hammerschmidt—Tānāsee 9/II); fifteenth century.³
- B. Princeton Ethiopic 3 (Garrett collection—Isaac 3); eighteenth or nineteenth century.⁴
- C. EMMML 2080; fifteenth (possibly 14th) century.⁵
- D. Abbadianus 55; possibly fifteenth century.⁶
- E. British Museum Orient 485 (Wright 6); first half of the sixteenth century.⁷

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

- a. Codex Panopolitanus (two 8th-cent. or later MSS, found in 1886–87 in a Christian grave in Akhmim, Egypt), containing 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6 (designated G^a in this work).
- b. Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (c. 800), containing 1 Enoch 6:1–10:14; 15:8–16:1 (designated G^b in this work).
- c. Chester Beatty papyrus of 1 Enoch containing 97:6–104; 106f. (published by C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*) (designated G^c in this work).
- d. Vatican Greek MS 1809, containing 1 Enoch 89:42–49.

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

Original language

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

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

Date

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provenance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Historical importance

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

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

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

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

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

Theological importance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Relation to biblical and apocryphal books

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

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

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

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

Cultural importance

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

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

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

Introducing the following translation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE BOOK OF ENOCH

Book I (1–36)

The Parable of Enoch

INTRODUCTORY VISIONS AND PARABLES OF ENOCH

The righteous and the wicked

- 1 The blessing^a of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the
2 ungodly ones.^b • And Enoch, the blessed and righteous^c man of the Lord,^d took up
(his parable)^e while his eyes^f were open and he saw, and said, “(This is) a holy
3 vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them
4 that is coming.^g I speak about the elect ones and concerning them.” • And I took up
with a parable^h (saying), “The God of the universe, the Holy Great One, will come
5 forth from his dwelling.ⁱ • And from there he will march upon Mount Sinai and appear
in his camp emerging from heaven^j with a mighty power.^k And everyone shall be
6 afraid, and Watchers^l shall quiver. • And great fear and trembling shall seize them
7 unto the ends of the earth. • Mountains and high places^m will fall downⁿ and be
frightened. And high hills shall be made low; and they shall melt like a honeycomb^o
8 before^p the flame. • And earth shall be rent asunder;^q and all that is upon the earth
shall perish. And there shall be a judgment upon all, (including) the righteous.^r • And
9 to all the righteous^s he will grant peace. He will preserve the elect, and kindness
shall be upon them. They shall all belong to God^t and they shall prosper and be
blessed; and the light of God shall shine unto them. • Behold, he will arrive with ten

Pss Sol 4:9

Num 24:3f.

Num 24:3f.

Micah 1:3;

Isa 26:21;

AsMos 10:3

Dan

4:13,17,23

WisSol

4:15

Sir 43:26

Jude 14,15

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ton.

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

j. Lit. “and appear from heaven.”

k. B reads “his mighty power.”

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

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

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

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

p. Lit. “from.”

q. B had “shall sink.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

x. Or "rebuke."

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

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

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

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

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

e. Lit. "which is being acted."

f. So A, *westēā*. B and C have "upon her," *lā'lehā*.

g. A B: *gebru*, C: *megbāru*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. B has *re'iku*.

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

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

e. B: "twelve."

f. Cf. Geoponica 11:1.

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

h. Or "rainy season."

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

4 a. Lit. "dry season."

b. Lit. "the sun."

c. Lit. "upon her."

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

e. Lit. "seek."

f. B C: "her heat."

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

b. B C: "and pay attention."

c. Erroneously *gebromu* for *gabromu*.

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

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

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

The fall of angels

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

Gen. 6:1-4

f. Lit. "they obey."

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

h. Lit. "it is done."

i. I.e. organized.

j. Eth. *bāhrata*, in the accusative form. B and C give the common plural form 'abheri, in the nominative form.

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

l. I.e. in a backbiting manner.

m. B: "your peace."

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

o. B: *wa-'emmahi*.

p. Eth. *yetwahab*. B C: *yetwahabomu*.

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

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

s. I.e. divine punishment.

t. I.e. divine wrath.

u. Eth. *'ella*, wrong for 'allā.

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

6 a. Lit. "the children."

b. B C: Semyaza.

c. B: "who is their leader."

d. Cf. B: "I alone will become the payer." Text of A, *fādāda*, "exceedingly," is corrupt for *fādāyi*. C, *'ekawwen* . . . *fādāya*, is somewhat awkward.

e. B C: "they responded to him and said."

f. Eth. *zāti gebr*, "this deed." B and C, *zāti mekr gebrā* and *zāti (mekr) gebr* respectively, are redundant.

g. Lit. "by it."

h. Lit. "And all of them were . . ."

i. B C: 'Ardis.

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

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

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

m. B: Semyaza. C: Sami'azaz.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan 5:12

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

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

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

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

b. B and C add "and became added unto them." For variations in the Gk. fragments in this and ch. 8, see EC, pp. 17f.

c. Eth. *maḥarewon*. B C: "amarewon."

d. Lit. "and their heights."

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

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

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

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

i. Lit. "And."

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

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

b. Lit. "antimony."

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

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

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

f. B: Amezaras. C: Amizaras.

g. B: Baraq'al.

h. Lit. "the seeing of stars."

i. B C: Kokab'el.

j. I.e. miraculous signs.

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

l. B: Asrad'el.

m. B and C read "destruction."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

h. C: "your glory."

i. B and C repeat "glorious."

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

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

l. B and C read "who."

m. B C: "and he revealed."

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

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

p. Lit. "together with."

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

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

s. Lit. "and their."

t. Lit. "and."

u. B omits "everything before it came to existence."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i. Lit. "by foot."

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

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

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

m. Lit. "to the earth." The Gk. fragments read "that he may heal the plague." Cf. also EC, p. 26, n. 4.

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

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

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

p. Lit. "and they."

q. Lit. "and that."

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

s. Or "his companions."

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

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

v. Or "decay," "corrupt."

w. B and C omit "they and."

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

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

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

a2. Lit. "and disappear."

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

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

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

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

e2. G reads *en auté*, "in her."

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

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

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

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

j2. B and C omit "measures."

k2. A repeats "and from all defilement."

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

Jub 4:22

67:4-7. Jub 5:10

Jude 6

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

Isa 5:10; 2Bar 29:3

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

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

Deut 28:12

Ps 85:10; Isa 32:17

Dream vision of Enoch: his intercession for the fallen angels

1 12 Before these things (happened) Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of the people knew by what he was hidden and where he was. •And his dwelling place^a as well as his activities were with the Watchers and the holy ones; and (so were) his days. •And I, Enoch, began to bless the Lord of the mighty ones^b and the King of the universe.^c •At that moment^d the Watchers were calling me.^e And they^f said to me, "Enoch, scribe of righteousness, go and make known to the Watchers of heaven who have abandoned the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, as their^g deeds move the children of the world,^h and have taken unto themselves wives: Theyⁱ have defiled themselves with great defilement upon the earth; •neither will there be peace unto them nor the forgiveness of sin. 6 For their children delight in seeing the murder of their beloved ones.^j But they shall groan and beg forever over the destruction of their children, and there shall not be peace unto them even forever."^k

His intercession for Azaz'el

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

m2. Lit. "upon her."

11 a. B C: "in heaven."

b. B and C omit "together."

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

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

c. Also "King of the ages" and "the eternal King" are possible.

d. Lit. "And behold," "And lo."

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

f. Lit. "he."

g. Lit. "his."

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

i. The Gk. has "you." Cf. EC, p. 33.

j. C: "they delight in their children . . ."

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

13 a. B C: "and Enoch."

b. So A.

c. Lit. "it will not be."

d. Text, "for error and supplication," corrupt.

e. Text unclear.

f. Lit. "a remembrance of prayer."

g. Omitted by B and C.

h. Text corrupt: "they have beseeched you."

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

Deut 3:9;
Song 4:8

1Cor 6:3

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

1Cor 6:3

Enoch's vision

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

Mt 17:5;
Pss
[8:10, 11;
104:3

Isa 30:30

i. C: "visions."

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

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

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

m. B: Senser. C: Seniser.

n. Lit. "reprimand them."

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

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

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

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

e. Lit. "fulfilled."

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

g. Lit. "they will imprison you."

h. Lit. "you saw."

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

j. B C: "but."

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

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

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

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

o. B C: "tongue."

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

q. Lit. "tessellated sheets."

r. Lit. "the ground."

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

t. Lit. "and."

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

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

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

Sir 42:21;
2En 33:4

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

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

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

w. B and C omit "everything."

x. B C: "in glory, honor, and greatness."

y. Lit. "I cannot recount to you."

z. Lit. "ground."

a2. B adds "great."

b2. Lit. "they could not."

c2. B C: "looking," "seeing."

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

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

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

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

15 a. B C: "and he replied."

b. B C: "and I heard his voice."

c. B C: "And go and tell."

d. B C: "who sent you."

e. Lit. "pray."

f. B C: "you have done like them."

g. Lit. "them."

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

i. B C: "living the eternal life."

j. B and C omit "because."

k. B and C omit "upon the earth."

l. B and C read *nafsāt*, "soul," instead of *man-dfest*, as in A.

m. Lit. "their first beginning."

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

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

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

Enoch's Tour of the Earth and Sheol

The first journey

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

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

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

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

q. Lit. "who."

r. Cf. EC, pp. 44f.

s. The Gk. fragments add "but nevertheless hunger."

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

u. A: "shall not rise up."

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

b. Lit. "And now."

c. Lit. "the rejected mystery."

d. Lit. "This one."

e. Lit. "this mystery."

17 a. The Gk. adds "and brought me."

b. G: "darkness."

c. Lit. "places."

d. G^a adds "and the treasures of the stars."

e. B and C add *haba*, "unto," before "depth,"

a somewhat unintelligible reading.

f. B C: "fiery bow."

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

h. Lit. "seizes."

i. C: "whose fire flows like water."

j. C omits "all."

k. G^a adds "and the great river."

l. C, in agreement with the Gk. fragments, reads

"where no flesh can walk."

m. B C: "the lake."

18 a. So A. B C: *yerababewā*, "stretch out," instead

of *yerakabewā*, "ride."

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

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

Names of archangels

- 1 **20** And these are names of the holy angels who watch: •Suru'el,^a one of the holy angels—for (he is) of eternity^b and of trembling.^c •Raphael, one of the holy angels, 4 for (he is) of the spirits of man. •Raguel, one of the holy angels who take vengeance 5 for the world and for the luminaries.^d •Michael, one of the holy angels, for (he is)

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

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

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

e. B C: "And I passed."

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

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

h. B C: "The one."

i. Lit. "the summit of the throne."

j. Or "stone."

k. So A and G. B and C read "all."

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

m. Lit. "there."

n. B: "waters."

o. G: "are completed."

p. B reads "a deep pit in the earth."

q. B: "heavenly pillars of fire."

r. Lit. "either in the direction of the heights."

s. Lit. "or in the direction of the depth."

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

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

v. B and C add "this."

w. B: "stars of heaven."

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

y. G: "for a myriad years."

19 a. Lit. "You."

b. "The people."

c. Charles considers the Eth. *salāmaweyān* (Gk. *hōs eirēnaiōi*) a corruption of *eis seirēn*, "into sirens." Cf. EC, p. 51, n. 49.

20 a. B C: "Uriel."

b. B: "of roaring." C: "of the world."

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

d. G: " . . . takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries."

Job 26:11

Job 36:29;

37:16

Ezek 1:26

Jub
10:5-11;
Mt 8:29

Ps 104:4

25Sam
22:16; Ps
18:15
Job 38:6

- 6 obedient in his benevolence over the people and the nations.* •Saraqa'el, one of the
7 holy angels who are (set) over the spirits of mankind* who sin in the spirit. •Gabriel,
one of the holy angels who oversee the garden of Eden, and the serpents, and the
cherubim.*

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

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

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

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

f. G omits "mankind."

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

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

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

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

d. Lit. "on it."

e. G: "leading them."

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

g. B and C omit "heaven."

h. Lit. "here."

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

j. B: "the border."

k. Lit. "causing to descend."

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

m. Lit. "mouth."

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

o. Lit. "and responded to me."

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

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

r. Lit. "this pain."

22 a. B C: "Thence."

b. Lit. "and."

c. G has *koioloi*, "hollow," instead of *kalo*, "beautiful."

d. G¹ omits "wide," and adds "three of them being dark and one bright, and there was a fountain of water in the middle of it."

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

f. B, C, and G¹ add "how smooth."

g. G¹: "hollow."

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

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

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

- of the children of the people* who were dead, and their voices¹ were reaching unto
6 heaven until this very moment."^m •I asked Rufael, the angel who was with me, and
7 said to him, "This spirit, the voice of which is reaching (into heaven) like this and
8 is making suit, whose (spirit) is it?" •And he answered me, saying,ⁿ "This is the
9 spirit which had left Abel, whom Cain, his brother, had killed; it (continues to) sue
10 him until all of (Cain's) seed is exterminated from the face of the earth, and his seed
11 has disintegrated from among the seed of the people."^o •At that moment, I raised a
12 question regarding him^p and regarding the judgment of all,^q "For what reason is one
13 separated from the other?" •And he replied^r and said to me, "These three have been
14 made in order that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And in the manner in
15 which the souls^s of the righteous are separated^t (by) this spring of water with light
16 upon it,¹ •in like manner, the sinners are set apart^u when they die and are buried in
17 the earth and judgment has not been executed upon them in their lifetime,^v •upon this
18 great pain, until the great day of judgment—and to those who curse^w (there will be)
19 plague and pain forever, and the retribution of their spirits. They^x will bind them there
20 forever—even if from the beginning of the world.^y •And in this manner is a separation
21 made for the souls of those who make the suit (and) those who disclose concerning
22 destruction, as they were killed in the days of the sinners.^z •Such has been made for
23 the souls of the people who are not righteous, but sinners and perfect criminals;^{a2} they
24 shall be together with (other) criminals who are like them, (whose)^{b2} souls will not
be killed on the day of judgment but will not rise from there."^{c2} •At that moment I
blessed the Lord of Glory^{c2} and I said, "Blessed^{d2} be my Lord,^{e2} the Lord of
righteousness who rules forever."^{f2}

The fire of the luminaries of heaven

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

The seven mountains of the northwest and the tree of life

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

k. Charles corrects the Gk. to "a dead man." Cf. also 4QEn^a. 4QEn^a also adds *i'an*, "there."

l. Charles corrects the Gk. to "his voice."

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

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

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

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

q. Lit. "replied to me."

r. B C: "spirits."

s. B C: "and such a division has been made." G¹: "this division is made."

t. G¹: "this bright spring of water."

u. B C: "such has been created for sinners." In A we have *tafaltu* instead of *tafaru*.

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

w. G: "the accused."

x. B C: "He."

y. Charles considers "even . . . world" an Eth. intrusion.

z. G¹: "his division has been made for the spirits of those making suits . . . when they were slain in the days of the sinners."

a2. Lit. "of perfect crime."

b2. Lit. "and."

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

d2. A erroneously reads "be not blessed."

e2. G¹: "are you."

f2. G¹: "rules over the world."

23 a. 4QEn^a: "I was transported."

b. 4QEn^a: "I was shown."

c. Lit. "while it was not resting."

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

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

f. Flemming suggests *zeni* to be a corruption of *wā'ey*, "burning."

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

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

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

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

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

Jerusalem and its surroundings

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

24 a. Lit. “and.”

b. G^a omits “three.”

c. G^a omits “one.”

d. G^a omits “one.”

e. Lit. “and.”

f. Lit. “do not come near.”

g. G^a: “it excelled in height.”

h. G^a omits “is beautiful.”

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

j. G^a: “How beautiful . . .”

k. G^a: “fragrant.”

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

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

n. G omits “revered.”

25 a. G adds “why.”

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

c. So A. B and C read “I want.”

d. So A. B and C read “this tree.”

e. Omitted by G.

f. B C: “It shall be given.”

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

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

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

j. Lit. “Much.”

k. So B and C. A: “which they live.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

The accursed valley

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

Mt 5:29,30

Journey to the east

1 28 And from there I went in the direction of the east^a into the center of the mountain^b of the desert; and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and seeds.^c •And there was a stream on top of it, and it gushed forth from above it. •It appeared like a waterfall which cascaded greatly^d as if toward the direction of west of the northeast;^e water and dew ascended from it all over.

1 29 Then I went into another place in the desert; and I approached the easterly direction of this mountain. •And there I saw the tree of judgment (which has) the smell of rubbish; its tree looked like that of frankincense and myrrh.^f

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

c. Lit. “than this.”

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

e. Lit. “without breadth.”

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

g. Lit. “having no height.”

h. G^a: “deep and dry.”

i. Lit. “and.”

j. Lit. “which are.”

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

l. B C: “All the valleys.”

m. B C: “deep and narrow.”

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

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

27 a. G^a omits the preceding words.

b. B and C omit “accursed ones.”

c. G^a: “the place of their habitation.”

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

e. Text unclear.

f. Lit. “their judgment.”

g. Lit. “they.”

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

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

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

b. G omits “of the mountain.”

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

d. Lit. “much.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Journey to the north

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

Journey to the west

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

Journey to the south

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

Book II (37–71)

The Book of the Similitudes

Introduction

1 **37** Book two:^a The vision which Enoch^b saw the second time—the vision of wisdom
which Enoch, son of Jared,^c son of Mahalalel,^d son of Kenan,^e son of Enosh,^f son of
2 Seth, son of Adam, saw: • This is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I
commenced^g to propound, saying to those who dwell in the earth, "Listen, you first

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

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

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

f. Lit. "the action."
g. B C: "his deeds and his creation."
h. Lit. "the action."

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

37 a. This division, which is indicated in A by an
Eth. number, is missing in B and C, and other Eth.
MSS.

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

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

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

d. Lit. "all times."

b. Lit. "he."
c. Or Eth. Yared.
d. A: Malkel. B C: Malal'el.
e. Or Eth. Qaynan.
f. Eth. Henos, erroneously written Henok (Enoch)
in A.
g. Lit. "I took up."

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

b. G omits "that is endless."
c. Lit. "trees." G: "there was a tree."
d. G: "color."
e. Lit. "wings."

31 a. G: "tree groves."
b. Meaning uncertain, perhaps "sarara" derives
from Heb. שָׁרָר, a type of balsam.
c. G adds "to the east of the ends of the earth."
d. Charles suggests that these aloe trees were
eaglewood. G omits "in it there were aloe trees."
e. Lit. "all those trees."
f. Or "hard almond trees." Charles amends this
sentence to read "all the trees were full of stacte,
being like almond-trees." Cf. EC, p. 70, nn. 37–
39.

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

32 a. Lit. "after this." B C: "after these odors."
G omits this phrase.
b. G adds "all."

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

d. G omits "angel."
e. B C: Zutu'el.
f. In A 1En 32:3–34:2 (i.e. A, fols. 80v[b]–81r[a])
were written by a different scribe.

g. B C: "many trees."
h. G omits "growing there," and adds "two
trees . . ."

i. All MSS add "large ones."
j. Lit. "they eat."
k. G: "That tree is in height like the fir and its
leaves are . . ."

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

m. B and C omit "reaches."
n. Lit. "long way."

o. A wrongly has *wd'ey*, "burning," instead of
ebē, "I said."

p. G: "How beautiful is the tree . . ."

q. G omits "beautiful."
r. G omits "and said."

s. Lit. "those who preceded you."
t. Lit. "they knew."

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

ones, and look, you last ones, the words of the Holy One, which I teach^b before the
 3 Lord of the Spirits. •It is good to declare these words to those of former times, but
 4 one should not withhold^c the beginning of wisdom from those of latter days.^d •Until
 now such wisdom, which I have received as I recited (it) in accordance with the will
 of the Lord of the Spirits, had not been bestowed upon me before the face of the
 5 Lord of the Spirits. From him, the lot of eternal life has been given to me. •Three
 things^e were imparted to me^f; and I began^g to recount them to those who dwell upon
 the earth.

Coming judgment of the wicked

38 The first thing:

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
 sinners shall be judged for their sins,^a
 they shall be driven from the face of the earth,
 2 and when the Righteous One shall appear before the face of the righteous,
 those elect ones, their deeds are hung upon the Lord of the Spirits,
 he shall reveal light to the righteous and the elect who dwell upon the
 earth,
 where will the dwelling of the sinners be,
 and where the resting place of those who denied the name^b of the Lord
 of the Spirits?
 It would have been better for them not to have been born.
 When the secrets of the Righteous One^c are revealed,
 he shall judge the sinners;^d
 and the wicked ones will be driven from the presence of the righteous
 and the elect,
 4 and from that time, those who possess the earth will neither be rulers
 nor princes,
 they shall not be able to behold the faces of the holy ones,
 for the light of the Lord of the Spirits has shined^e
 upon the face of the holy, the righteous, and the elect.
 5 At that moment, kings and rulers shall perish,
 they shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous and holy ones,
 6 and from thenceforth no one shall be able to induce the Lord of the
 Spirits to show them mercy,
 for their life is annihilated.

The home of the righteous

39 And it shall come to pass in those days that the children of the elect and the
 holy ones [will descend] from the high heaven and their seed will become one with
 2 the children of the people. •And in those days Enoch received the books of zeal and
 wrath as well as the books of haste and whirlwind.^a The Lord of the Spirits says that
 mercy shall not be upon them.

3 In those days, whirlwinds carried me off from the earth,
 and set me down into the ultimate ends of the heavens.
 4 There I saw other^b dwelling places of the holy ones^c and their resting
 places too.^d

b. Eth. 'a'mer, which is found in A, is generally understood to mean "I know." "I understand," but among Ethiopian grammarians it is also used, in its correct grammatical form, to mean "I teach." "I cause to understand." B and C read "I speak."

i. Lit. "prevent."

j. This sentence is an approximation of the Eth., which is unclear.

k. So Ethiopian commentators.

l. Lit. "I took up."

38 a. A: "and their sins."

b. B and C omit "name."

c. B C: "secrets of the righteous."

d. B C: "sinners shall be judged."

e. Lit. "is seen."

39 a. B C: "disturbance."

b. C: "another vision."

c. B reads "with the angels" instead of "the holy ones."

d. B adds "of the holy ones." C adds "of the righteous ones."

5 So there my eyes saw their dwelling places with the holy angels,^e
 and their resting places with the holy ones,^f
 and they interceded and petitioned and prayed on behalf of the children
 of the people,
 and righteousness flowed before them like water,
 and mercy like dew upon the earth,
 and thus it is in their midst forever and ever.
 6 And in those days^g my eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of
 faith,
 and righteousness shall prevail in his days,
 and the righteous and elect ones shall be without number before him
 forever and ever.
 7 And I saw a dwelling place^h underneath the wings of the Lord of the
 Spirits;
 and all the righteous and the elect before him shall be as intenseⁱ as the
 light of fire.
 Their mouth shall be full of blessing;
 and their lips will praise the name of the Lord of the Spirits,
 and righteousness before him will have no end;
 and uprightness before him will not cease.^j
 8 There (underneath his wings) I wanted to dwell;
 and my soul desired that dwelling place.
 Already^k my portion is there;
 for thus has it been reserved for me^l before the Lord of the Spirits.

9 In those days, I praised and prayed to^m the name of the Lord of the Spirits with
 blessings and praises, for he had strengthened me by blessings and praises in
 10 accordance with the will of the Lord of the Spirits. •And I gazed at that placeⁿ (under
 his wings), and I blessed and praised, saying, "Blessed is he, and may he be blessed,
 11 from the beginning and forever more. •There is no such thing as non-existence^o before
 him. (Even) before the world was created, he knows what is forever and what will
 12 be from generation to generation. •Those who do not slumber but stand before your
 glory, did bless^p you. They shall bless, praise, and extol (you), saying, 'Holy, Holy,
 13 Holy, Lord of the Spirits; the spirits fill the earth.' "^q •And at that place (under his
 wings) my eyes saw others who stood^r before him sleepless^s (and) blessed (him),
 14 saying, •"Blessed are you and blessed is the name of the Lord of the Spirits' forever
 and ever." And my face was changed on account of the fact that I could not withstand
 the sight.^u

The four angels

40 And after that, I saw a hundred thousand times a hundred thousand, ten million
 times ten million, an innumerable and uncountable^a (multitude) who stand before the
 2 glory^b of the Lord of the Spirits. •I saw them standing^c—on the four wings of the
 Lord of the Spirits—and saw four other faces among those who do not slumber,^d and
 I came to know their names, which^e the angel who came with me revealed^f to me;

e. C: "righteous angels."

f. B omits the last two lines.

g. C: "in that place."

h. B: "their dwelling place." C: "his dwelling place."

i. B C: "shall be beautiful."

j. Lit. "will have no end."

k. Lit. "Before," "Previously," "Of old."

l. Lit. "confirmed [made firm] . . . on my behalf."

m. B C: "I extolled."

n. Lit. "my eyes kept looking." "my eyes lingered contemplating, seeing." The passage could also be translated: "I watched and watched."

o. Lit. "ending," "ceasing."

p. B C: "will bless."

q. Because case endings are not indicated, the passage could also be translated "the earth is full of the spirits." B and C read "he will fill the earth with spirits."

r. Lit. "who stand."

s. Lit. "they do not slumber."

t. B C: "Lord."

u. Lit. "on account of the fact that I hated to look."

40 a. Lit. "they have no number and count."

b. C omits "glory."

c. B C: "I saw them."

d. B: "among those who stand." C: "four faces different from those who do not slumber."

e. Lit. "which names."

f. Lit. "made known."

3 and he (also) showed me all the hidden things. •(Then) I heard the voices of those
4 four faces while they were saying praises before the Lord of Glory. •The first voice
5 was blessing the name of the Lord of the Spirits. •The second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who are clinging onto the Lord of the Spirits. •And
7 the third voice I heard interceding and praying on behalf of those who dwell upon
8 the earth and supplicating in the name of the Lord of the Spirits. •And the fourth
9 voice I heard expelling the demons^a and forbidding them from coming to the Lord
10 of the Spirits in order to accuse those who dwell upon the earth. •And after that, I
asked the angel of peace, who was going with me and showed me everything that
was hidden, "Who are these four faces which I have seen and whose voices I have
heard and written down?" •And he said to me, "The first one is the merciful and
forbearing^b Michael; the second one, who is set over all disease and every wound of
the children of the people, is Raphael; the third, who is set over all exercise of
strength, is Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over all actions of repentance unto the
hope of those who would inherit eternal life, is Phanuel by name." •(So) these are
his four angels: they^c are of the Lord of the Spirits, and the four voices which I heard
in those days.

The Lord of the Spirits, and the four voices which I heard in those days.

1 41 And after that, I saw all the secrets in heaven, and how a kingdom breaks up,
2 and how the actions of the people are weighed in the balance. •And there I saw the
dwelling place of the sinners^a and the company of the holy ones;^b and my eyes saw
the sinners^c—those who deny the name of the Lord of the Spirits—being expelled
from there and being dragged off; and they could not stand still because of the plague
which proceeds forth from the Lord of the Spirits.

Cosmic secrets

3 And there my eyes saw the secrets of lightning and thunder, and the mysteries
of the winds, how they are distributed in order to blow upon the earth, and the secrets
of the clouds and the dew I saw there from where they proceed in that place and (how)
4 from there they satiate the dust of the earth. •At that place, I (also) saw sealed
storerooms from which the winds of the storerooms of hail and the winds of the
storerooms of mist^d are distributed; and these clouds hover over the earth from the
5 beginning of the world. •And I saw the storerooms of the sun and the moon, from
what place they come out and to which place they return, and their glorious return—
how in their travel one festival^e is celebrated more than the other. They do not depart
from their orbit, neither increase nor decrease it;^f but they keep faith one with another:
6 in accordance with an oath they set^g and they rise.^h •From the first is the sun;ⁱ and it
executes its course in accordance with the commandment of the Lord of the Spirits—
7 his name shall persist forever and ever. •After that^j is found (both) the hidden and the
visible path of the moon; and the path of its orbit it completes by day and by night
at that place. And the two^k will gaze directly into^l the glory of the Lord of the Spirits.^m
They give thanks, they praise, and they do not economize (on energy), for their very
essenceⁿ generates new power.^o

8 Surely the many changes of the sun have (both) a blessing and a curse,
and the course of the moon's path is light to the
righteous (on the one hand) and darkness to the sinners (on the other),

g. Lit. "the *Saytans*."

h. Lit. "of distant wrath."

i. B and C omit "they."

h. Lit. "come out." B and C omit "they set and they rise."

i. B C: "the sun goes out first."

j. C adds: "I saw."

k. Lit. "the one with the other."

l. Lit. "before."

m. C omits "the glory of the Lord." B omits "the glory."

n. Lit. *k'unatomu*, "their being," "nature," "condition," "creation." Cf. also 43:2 for this reading. B C: *ak'otiomu*, "their thanksgiving."

o. Lit. "is rest to them."

41 a. B: "of the righteous." C: "of the elect."
b. B C: "the dwelling place of the holy ones."

c. B C: "all the sinners."

d. B C: "the storerooms of hail and winds and the storerooms of mist and clouds."

e. B and C read instead *be'uf*, "rich," "wealthy."

f. Lit. "their orbit."

g. Lit. "stay over(night)."

in the name of the Lord of the Spirits, who created the distinction^p
between light and darkness
and separated the spirits of the people,
and strengthened the spirits of the righteous in the name of his right-
eousness.

9 Surely, neither an angel nor Satan^q has the power to hinder;
for there is a judge to all of them,^r
he will glance,^s and all of them are before him,
he is the judge.^t

The abode of Wisdom and Iniquity

1 42 Wisdom could not find a place in which she could dwell;
but a place was found (for her) in the heavens.
2 Then Wisdom went out to dwell with the children of the people,
but she found no dwelling place.
(So) Wisdom returned to her place
and she settled permanently^u among the angels.
3 Then Iniquity went out of her rooms,
and found whom she did not expect.
And she dwelt with them,
like rain in a desert,
like dew on a thirsty land.

More secrets of the cosmos

1 43 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven. And I saw how he called
2 them^a each by their (respective) names, and they obeyed him. •And I saw the impartial
scales^b for the purpose of balancing their lights at their widest areas. And their natures^c
are as follows: Their revolutions produce lightning; and in number they^d are (as many
3 as) the angels; they keep their faith each one according to their names.^e •And I asked
the angel who was going with me and who had shown me the secret things, "What
4 are these things?" •And he said to me, "The Lord of the Spirits has shown you the
prototype^f of each one of them: These are the names of the holy ones who dwell upon
the earth and believe^g in the name^h of the Lord of the Spirits forever and ever."

1 44 And I saw another thing regarding lightning: how some stars arise and become
lightning and cannot dwell with the rest.ⁱ

Lot of unbelievers: new heaven and new earth

1 45 This is the second parable concerning those who deny the name of the Lord of
the Spirits^a and the congregation of the holy ones.^b

2 Neither will they ascend into heaven,^c
nor will they reach the ground;
such will be the lot of the sinners,
who will deny^d the name of the Lord of the Spirits,

p. Lit. "the median."

q. B C: "no authority or power."

r. B: "For he will see a judge for them." C: "For he will appoint a judge for them."

s. Cf. n. r.

t. Lit. "He judges."

e. B C: "they keep their faith with each other."

f. Or "the significance." Lit. "the parable."

g. "example," "similitude."

h. A wrongly: "do not believe."

i. So B and C. A omits "the name."

42 a. Lit. "became firm [settled]," "established (herself)," "stayed put." B C: "she sat."

44 a. Lit. "dwell [*hadira*] with them." B: "leave [*hadiga*] with them." C: "leave their prototypes."

43 a. B and C add "all of them."

b. Or "the balance of righteousness."

c. B C: "the day of their being [or "appearance"]."

d. Lit. "their revolutions."

45 a. B C: "the name of the dwelling of the Lord."

b. B and C omit "the congregation of the holy ones."

c. So B and C. A is corrupt.

d. C: "have denied."

those who in this manner will be preserved for the day of burden and tribulation.

- 3 On that day, my Elect One shall sit on the seat of glory and make a selection^e of their deeds, their resting places will be without number, their souls^f shall be firm within them when they see my Elect One,^g those^h who have appealed to my gloriousⁱ name.
- 4 On that day, I shall cause my Elect One^j to dwell among them, I shall transform heaven and make it^k a blessing of light forever.
- 5 I shall (also) transform the earth and make it^l a blessing, and cause my Elect One^m to dwell in her.
- 6 Then those who have committed sin and crime shall not set foot in her. For in peace I have looked (with favor) upon my righteous ones and given them mercy, and have caused them to dwell before me. But sinners have come before me so that by judgment I shall destroy them from before the face of the earth.

Jn 14:23

- 1 46 At that place, I saw the One to whom belongs the time before time.^a And his head was white like wool, and there was with him another individual, whose face was like that of a human being.^b His countenance was full of grace like that of one among the 2 holy angels. • And I asked the one—from among the angels—who was going with me, and who had revealed to me all the secrets regarding the One who was born of human beings.^c “Who is this, and from whence is he who is going as the prototype of the 3 Before-Time?”^d • And he answered me and said to me, “This is the Son of Man,^e to whom belongs righteousness, and with whom righteousness dwells. And he will open^f all the hidden storerooms; for the Lord of the Spirits has chosen^g him, and he is 4 destined to be victorious before the Lord of the Spirits in eternal^h uprightness. • This Son of Man whom youⁱ have seen is the One who would remove^j the kings and the mighty ones from their comfortable seats^k and the strong ones from their thrones. He 5 shall loosen the reins of the strong and crush^l the teeth of the sinners. • He shall depose^m the kings from their thrones and kingdoms. Forⁿ they do not extol and glorify him, 6 and neither do they obey him, the source of their kingship.^o • The faces of the strong will be slapped and be filled with shame and gloom. Their dwelling places and their beds will be worms.^p They shall have no hope to rise from their beds, for they do not 7 extol the name of the Lord of the Spirits. • And they have become the judges^q of the

e. Charles thinks that “he will make a selection” is a corruption and suggests “he will try” instead. See EC, p. 85, n. 21.

f. B: “their spirits.”

g. Text: “ones.”

h. So B and C. A reads *la'ela*, “over,” “upon,” instead of *la'ela*.

i. B adds “holy.”

j. Text: “ones.”

k. Lit. “her.”

l. Lit. “her.”

m. Text: “ones.”

46 a. Lit. “Head of days,” “Chief of days,” “he who precedes time,” “the Beginning of days,” “the First of days,” “he who is of primordial days,” “the Antecedent of time.”

b. Lit. “whose face was like the appearance of a person.”

c. Eth. *zawaldala 'emsabe*. B and C read *zaku waldala sabe*, “that Son of Man [or “human beings”].”

d. Following B and C, we should translate this passage: “. . . from where could he be, and for what reason does he go with him who precedes time?” A could also be adjusted to give the same reading with

the addition of *ment*, “what”—which it omits. However, I have here translated the passage as it stands, with a minimum adjustment.

e. “Man” in this context means “people” or “human beings.” Though this passage could be rendered “Son of human beings,” to avoid unnecessary confusion, I have used “Son of Man,” which has become an accepted and standard expression among scholars for a long time.

f. So B and C. A: “it will be open.”

g. So B and C. A: “has dwelled.”

h. So B and C. A: “above.”

i. A: “I.”

j. Lit. “lift them up” or “unseat.”

k. Lit. “beds.” Cf. “couches,” “reclining chairs,” “sofas.”

l. Lit. “fell.”

m. Lit. “push off.”

n. So B and C.

o. Lit. “from where the kingdom was bestowed upon them.”

p. B C: “Their dwelling places will be darkness, and their beds will be worms.”

q. Lit. “those who judge.” Also cf. EC, p. 87, n. 24.

stars of heaven; they raise their hands (to reach) the Most High^r while walking upon the earth and dwelling in her. They manifest all their deeds in oppression; all their deeds are oppression.^s Their power (depends) upon their wealth. And their devotion is to the gods which they have fashioned with their own hands. But they deny the 8 name of the Lord of the Spirits. • Yet they like to congregate in his houses and (with) the faithful ones who cling to the Lord of the Spirits.^t

Prayer of the righteous

- 1 47 “In those days, the prayers of the righteous ascended into heaven, and the blood 2 of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of the Spirits. • There shall be days^u when all^v the holy ones who dwell in the heavens above shall dwell (together).^w And with one voice, they shall supplicate and pray—glorifying, praising, and blessing the name of the Lord of the Spirits—on behalf of the blood of the righteous ones which has been shed. Their prayers^x shall not stop from exhaustion before the Lord of the Spirits—neither will they relax^y forever—(until)^z judgment is executed for them.”
- 3 In those days, I saw him—the Antecedent of Time, while he was sitting upon the throne of his glory, and the books of the living ones were open before him. And all 4 his power in heaven above and his escorts^{aa} stood before him. • The hearts of the holy ones are filled with joy, because the number of the righteous has been offered, the prayers of the righteous ones have been heard, and the blood of the righteous has been admitted before the Lord of the Spirits.

The Son of Man: the Antecedent of Time: his judgment

- 1 48 Furthermore, in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness, which does not become depleted and is surrounded completely by numerous fountains of wisdom. All the thirsty ones drink (of the water) and become filled with wisdom. (Then) their 2 dwelling places become with the holy, righteous, and elect ones. • At that hour, that Son^{ab} of Man was given a name,^{ac} in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before- 3 Time;^{ad} • even before the creation of the sun and the moon,^{ae} before the creation of the 4 stars, he was given a name in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits. • He will become a staff for the righteous ones in order that they may lean on him and not fall. He is the light of the gentiles and he will become the hope of those who are sick in their 5 hearts. • All those who dwell upon the earth shall fall and worship before him; they 6 shall glorify, bless, and sing the name^{af} of the Lord of the Spirits. • For this purpose he became the Chosen One; he was concealed in the presence of (the Lord of the 7 Spirits)^{ag} prior to the creation of the world, and for eternity. • And he has revealed the wisdom of the Lord of the Spirits to the righteous and the holy ones, for he has preserved the portion of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of oppression (together)^{ah} all its ways of life^{ai} and its habits^{aj} in the name of the Lord of the Spirits; and because they will be saved in his name and it is his good 8 pleasure that they have life. • In those days,^{ak} the kings of the earth and the mighty

Odes Sol 6:11

Odes Sol 36:3

Lk 2:32

r. Lit. “into the Most High.”

s. So A and B. C omits “all their deeds are oppression.”

t. B and C read, possibly more correctly, “they persecute the houses of his congregations and the faithful who cling to the Lord of the Spirits.”

47 a. B C: “In those days.”

b. B and C omit “all.”

c. B and C, which read “unite,” “be companions,” “co-operate,” may be more accurate.

d. B and C add “of the righteous ones.”

e. Lit. “there will not be patience to them.”

f. Lit. “in order that,” “so that,” “to the end that.”

g. Lit. “which surround him.”

48 a. A erroneously: “sons.”

b. Lit. “named . . . by the name.”

c. Lit. “before the beginning [or “head”] of days.”

d. Eth. *ta'amer*, “the wondrous thing”—but to be understood in Ge'ez (Eth.) as “the moon” (cf. 2Chr 33:3; Jer 10:2; Jub 4:17).

e. B: “they shall glorify . . . to him, to the name.” C omits “the name.”

f. Lit. “he concealed (him) in his (own) presence.”

g. Lit. “and hated.”

h. Lit. “its deeds.”

i. Lit. “its ways.”

j. C reads erroneously “In vain days.”

landowners^a shall be humiliated^d on account of the deeds of their hands. Therefore, on the day of their misery^m and weariness, they will not be able to save themselves. I shall deliver them into the hands of my elect ones like grass in the fire and like lead in the water, so they shall burn before the face of the holy onesⁿ and sink before their^o sight,^p and no place will be found for them. • On the day of their weariness, there shall be an obstacle^q on the earth and they shall fall on their faces; and they shall not rise up (again), nor anyone (be found) who will take them with his hands and raise them up. For they have denied the Lord of the Spirits and his Messiah. Blessed be the name of the Lord of the Spirits!

Wisdom and power of the Elect One

49 So^a wisdom flows^b like water and glory is measureless before him forever and ever. • For his might is in all the mysteries of righteousness,^c and oppression will vanish^d like a shadow having no foundation. The Elect One^e stands before the Lord of the Spirits; his glory is forever and ever and his power is unto all generations. • In him dwells the spirit of wisdom, the spirit which gives thoughtfulness, the spirit of knowledge and strength, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness. He shall judge the secret things.^f And no one will be able to utter vain words^g in his presence. For he is the Elect One before the Lord of the Spirits according to his good pleasure.

His mercy and his judgment

50 In those days, there will be a change for the holy and the righteous ones and the light of days shall rest upon them; and glory and honor shall be given back to the holy ones, on the day of weariness. • He heaped^a evil upon the sinners; but the righteous ones shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of the Spirits. He will cause the others to see this so that they may repent and forsake the deeds of their hands. • There shall not be honor unto them in the name of the Lord of the Spirits. But through his name they shall be saved, and the Lord of the Spirits shall have mercy upon them, for his mercy is considerable. • He is righteous^b in his judgment and in the glory that is before him.^c Oppression cannot survive his judgment; and the unrepentant in his presence shall perish. • The Lord of the Spirits has said that from henceforth he will not have mercy on them.

Resurrection of the dead

51 In those days, Sheol will return all the deposits which she had received^d and hell will give back all that which it owes. • And he shall choose the righteous and the holy ones from among (the risen dead),^e for the day when they shall be selected^f and saved^g has arrived. • In those days, (the Elect One)^h shall sit on my throne, and from the

k. Lit. "the strong ones by whom the land is possessed."

l. Lit. "be humble in countenance."

m. A wrongly reads *sedqomu*, "their righteousness," instead of *sa'qomu*, "their misery."

n. B: "righteous ones."

o. Lit. "the holy ones."

p. Lit. "their face." C reads "Like grass in the fire, so they shall burn before the face of the holy ones; and like lead in the water, they shall sink before the face of the righteous ones."

q. B C: "a rest."

49 a. Lit. "because."

b. B: "it is poured out." C: "poured out."

c. B C: "For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness."

d. Lit. "pass."

e. Lit. "Because the Elect One."

f. So B and C. A reads "that which has the secret

things."

g. So B and C. A reads: *bakama*, "so that," "in order that," "in accordance with," "as," instead of *bak*, "vain," "useless," "stale."

50 a. B C: "which has been heaped." Cf. EC, p. 93, n. 6.

b. A wrongly: "righteousness."

c. B C: "and before his glory."

51 a. B C: "... the earth will bring together all her deposits and Sheol will bring together all her deposits which she has received."

b. Lit. "from among them."

c. B and C omit "they shall be selected."

d. Lit. "they shall be saved and selected."

e. Lit. "has approached." It is possible to translate the passage: "for the day when they shall be saved has arrived, they shall be elected."

f. So B and C. A omits "the Elect One."

conscience of his mouth shall come out all the secrets of wisdom, for the Lord of the Spirits has given them to him and glorified him. • In those days, mountains shall dance like rams; and the hills shall leap like kids^a satiated with milk. And the faces of all the angels in heaven shall glow with joy, because on that day the Elect One has arisen. And the earth shall rejoice; and the righteous ones shall dwell upon her and the elect ones shall walk upon her.

Ps 114:4

The metal mountains

52 After those days, in the same place where I had seen all the secret visions, having been carried off in a wind vehicle^a and taken to the west, my eyes saw there all the secret things of heaven and the future things.^b • There were (there) a mountain of iron, a mountain of copper, a mountain of silver, a mountain of gold, a mountain of colored metal,^c and a mountain of lead. • And I asked the angel who was going with me, saying, "What are these things which I have seen in secret?"^d • And he said to me, "All these things which you have seen happen by^e the authority of his Messiah so that he may give orders and be praised^f upon the earth." • Then this angel of peace answered, saying to me, "Wait a little, and all secret things which encircle the Lord of the Spirits will be revealed unto you. • As for these mountains which you have seen with your own eyes—the mountain of iron, the mountain of copper, the mountain of silver, the mountain of gold, the mountain of colored metal, and the mountain of lead—all of them, in the presence of the Elect One, will become like a honeycomb (that melts) before fire, like water that gushes down^g from the top of such mountains,^h and become helplessⁱ by^j his feet. • It shall happen in those days that no one^k shall be saved either by gold or by silver; and no one shall be able to escape. • There shall be no iron for war, nor shall anyone wear a breastplate. Neither bronze^m nor tinⁿ shall be to any avail or be of any value;^o and there will be no need of lead whatsoever. All these substances will be removed^p and destroyed from the surface of the earth when the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of the Spirits."

The scene of judgment

53 My eyes saw there a deep valley with a wide mouth.^a And all those who dwell upon the earth, the sea, and the islands shall bring to it^b gifts, presents, and tributes; yet this deep valley shall not become full. • They shall fulfill the criminal deeds of their hands and eat all the produce of crime which the sinners toil for. Sinners shall be destroyed from before the face of the Lord of the Spirits—they shall perish eternally, standing before the face of his earth. • So I saw all the angels of plague co-operating and preparing all the chains^c of Satan. • And I asked the angel of peace, who was going with me, "For whom are they preparing these chains?"^d • And he answered me, saying, "They are preparing^e these for the kings and the potentates of this earth in order that they may be destroyed thereby. • After this, the Righteous^f and Elect One

g. Or "lambs."

52 a. Eth. *mank'ork'or*. So also Charles's q. Charles's choice of the most common MSS reading, *nak'ork'ara nafas*, "wind balls" (translated as "whirlwind" by him), instead of that of q, has misled some scholars to think erroneously that the expression "chariot of wind" mentioned in *Mani Codex* is missing from IEn, and that the Apocalypse of Enoch to which the Codex refers is not the same work as our IEn. (In EMM 2080 there is an Amharic marginal note translating *mank'ork'or* as *saragala*, a nonambiguous word meaning "chariot.")

b. Lit. "that which is to become."

c. Or "mixed metal," "purple metal."

d. Or "What are these secret things which I have seen?"

e. B C: "to."

f. Or "be given a gift." B C: "be powerful."

g. B: "which you saw." C: "which your eyes have seen."

h. Lit. "descends."

i. B and C read "from above it upon these mountains."

j. Lit. "tired," "weak," "powerless."

k. Lit. "before."

l. Lit. "they."

m. Or "brass."

n. Or "solder."

o. Lit. "will not be counted."

p. Lit. "denied," "turned away," "abandoned."

53 a. C: "a valley with a wide and deep mouth."

b. I.e. "to the valley."

c. A erroneously: "victuals." So C.

d. C: "victuals."

e. B C: "and he said to me."

f. C omits "they are preparing."

g. A erroneously: "righteousness."

will reveal the house of his congregation. From that time, they shall not be hindered in the name of the Lord of the Spirits. •And these mountains^b shall become (flat) like earth in the presence of his righteousness, and the hills shall become like a fountain of water. And the righteous ones shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.”

54 Then I looked and turned to another face of the earth and saw there a valley, deep and burning with fire. •And they were bringing kings and potentates and were throwing them into this deep valley. •And my eyes saw there their chains while they were making them into iron fetters^a of immense^b weight. •And I asked the angel of peace, who was going with me, saying, “For whom are these imprisonment chains^c being prepared?” •And he said unto me, “These are being prepared for the armies of Azaz’el, in order that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and as the Lord of the Spirits has commanded it, they shall cover their jaws with rocky stones. •Then Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel themselves shall seize them on that great day of judgment and cast them^d into the furnace (of fire) that is burning that day, so that the Lord of the Spirits may take vengeance on them on account of their oppressive deeds which (they performed) as messengers of Satan, leading astray those who dwell upon the earth.”

The great judgment of the Flood^e

And in those days, the punishment of the Lord of the Spirits shall be carried out,^f and they shall open all the storerooms of water^g in the heavens above, in addition to^h the fountains of water which are on earth.ⁱ •And all the waters shall be united with (all) other waters.^j That which is from the heavens above is masculine water,^k (whereas) that which is underneath the earth is feminine.^l •And they shall obliterate all those that dwell upon the earth as well as those that dwell underneath the ultimate ends of heaven. •On account of the fact that they did not recognize^m their oppressive deeds which they carried out on the earth, they shall be destroyed by (the Flood).ⁿ

55 And after that the Antecedent of Time repented and said, “In vain have I destroyed all those who dwell^b in the earth.” •And he swore by his own great name that from thenceforth he would not do (as he had done) to all who live upon the earth. (And he said), “I shall put up a sign in the heavens, and it shall become a (symbol) of faith between me and them forever, so long as heaven is above the earth, which is in accordance with my command.

Final judgment of Azaz’el and the fallen angels

“When I would give consent so that they should be seized by the hands of the angels on the day of tribulation^b and pain, already I would have caused my punishment and my wrath to abide upon them—my punishment and my wrath,”^d says the Lord of the Spirits. •“Kings, potentates, dwellers upon the earth: You would have to see my Elect One, how he sits in the throne of glory and judges Azaz’el and all his company, and his army, in the name of the Lord of the Spirits!”

h. B C: “not these mountains.”

54 a. Lit. “imprisonment.”
b. Lit. “immeasurable.”
c. A actually reads “heads of chains.” But I have assumed that *ar’esta*, “heads of,” was erroneously substituted for *ma’aserta*, which we also find in the preceding verse. B reads only “chains.” C has *esrat*. Regarding the latter, see EC, p. 97, n. 44, and p. 98, n. 1.
d. So B and C. A omits “cast them.”
e. This is believed to be part of the lost BkNoah.
f. Lit. “come out.”
g. So B and C. A reads *samāyāt*, “heavens,” instead of *māyāt*.
h. Lit. “above,” “on top of,” “beyond.”

i. Lit. “which are below.” B C: “which are below the heavens.”
j. B adds: “of the heavens above.”
k. B and C omit “water.”
l. B and C add “water.”
m. B: “And because of this they recognized.” C: “On account of the fact that they recognized.” Cf. EC, p. 99, n. 12.
n. Lit. “by it.”
55 a. B C: “who live.”
b. A wrongly: “my tribulation.”
c. Lit. “before this, I will cause to abide upon them . . .” This passage is probably corrupt.
d. This repetition is omitted by C.

56 Then I saw there an army of the angels of punishment marching, holding^a nets^b of iron and bronze. •And I asked the angel of peace, who was walking with me, saying to him, “To whom are they going, these who are holding (the nets)?”^c •And he said to me, “(They are going) to their elect and beloved ones in order that they may be cast into the crevices of the abyss of the valley. •Then the valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved ones; and the epoch of their lives, the era of their glory,^d and the age of their leading (others) astray shall come to an end and shall not henceforth be reckoned.

The struggle of Israel with its enemies

“In those days, the angels will assemble and thrust^a themselves to the east at the Parthians and Medes. They will shake up the kings (so that) a spirit of unrest shall come upon them, and stir them up from their thrones; and they will break forth from their beds like lions and like hungry hyenas among their own flocks. •And they will go up and trample upon the land of my elect ones,^f and the land of my^g elect ones will be before them like a threshing floor or a highway. •But the city of my righteous ones will become an obstacle^b to their horses. And they shall begin to fight among themselves; and (by) their own right hands they shall prevail against themselves.ⁱ A man shall not recognize his brother, nor a son his mother,^j until there shall be a (significant) number of corpses from among them.^k Their punishment is (indeed) not in vain. •In those days, Sheol shall open her mouth, and they shall be swallowed up into it and perish.^l (Thus) Sheol shall swallow up the sinners in the presence of the elect ones.”

57 And it happened afterward that I had another vision of a whole array of chariots loaded with people;^a and they were advancing^b upon the air from the east and from the west until midday. •And the sound of their chariots (was clamorous);^c and when this commotion took place, the holy ones in heaven took notice of it and the pillars of the earth were shaken from their foundations;^d and the sound (of the noise) could be heard from the extreme end of the sky unto the extreme end of the earth^e in one hour.^f •Then all shall fall down and worship the Lord of the Spirits. Here ends the second parable.^g

The eternal light of the righteous and elect ones

58 And I began to speak another^a parable concerning the righteous and the elect: Blessed are you, righteous and elect ones, for glorious is your portion. •The righteous ones shall be in the light of the sun and the elect ones in the light of eternal life which has no end, and the days of the life of the holy ones cannot be numbered.^b •They shall seek light and find righteousness with the Lord of the Spirits. Peace (be) to the righteous ones in the peace of the Eternal Lord!^c •After this, it shall be told to the holy ones in heaven that they should scrutinize the mysteries of righteousness, the gift^d of

56 a. So B and C. A omits “holding.”
b. Or “traps.” C reads “plagues and nets of . . .”
c. C: “To whom are these who are holding plagues going?”
d. B and C omit “the era of their glory.”
e. Lit. “cast down,” “throw.”
f. B: “their elect ones.” C: “his elect ones.”
g. B C: “his.”
h. Or “stumbling block.”
i. Lit. “their own right hand shall prevail against them.” Often in Eth. the singular form (as “hand” here) stands for the plural sense in the context.
j. B and C add “and his father.”
k. B C: “from their dying.”
l. C: “and their destruction shall be left” (?).

57 a. B adds “upon them.” C adds “inside them.”
b. Lit. “causing to come.” B C: “they are coming.”
c. B C: “was heard.” Possibly A inadvertently omits “it was heard.”
d. Lit. “shaken from their seats.”
e. B: “from the extreme end of the earth unto the extreme end of heaven.” C: “from the extreme end of heaven to the extreme end.”
f. B C: “in one day.”
g. Lit. “and this is the end of the second parable.”

58 a. B C: “the third.”
b. Lit. “number(ing) of days they do not have,” i.e. “they have countless days.”
c. B: “by that which is with the Eternal Lord.” C: “in the name of the Eternal Lord.”
d. Lit. “the portion,” “the lot,” “the part.”

6 faith. For the sun has shined upon the earth and darkness is over.^c • There shall be a light that has no end, and they shall not have to count days^f (anymore). For already^a darkness has been destroyed, light shall be permanent before the Lord of the Spirits, and the light of uprightness shall stand firm forever and ever before the Lord of the Spirits.

The lightnings and the thunder

1 **59** In those days, my eyes saw the mysteries of lightnings, and of lights, and their judgments; they flash lights for a blessing or a curse, according to the will of the Lord
2 of the Spirits. • And there I (also) saw the secrets of the thunder and the secrets of (how when) it resounds^a in the heights of heaven its^b voice is heard (in)^c the earthly dwellings.^d He showed me whether the sound of the thunder is for peace and blessing
3 or for a curse, according to the word of the Lord of the Spirits. • After that, all the mysteries of the lights and lightnings were shown to me (that) they glow with light for blessing and for contentment.^e

Heavenly quake, the great monsters, and mysteries of nature^a

1 **60** In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch,^b in the same parable (I saw)^c that the heaven of heavens was quaking and trembling with a mighty tremulous agitation, and the forces of the Most High and the angels, ten thousand times a million and ten million times ten million,
2 were agitated with great agitation. • And the Antecedent of Time was sitting on the throne of his glory surrounded by the angels and the righteous ones. • (Then) a great trembling and fear seized me^d and my loins and kidneys lost control.^e So I fell upon
4 my face. • Then Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up. And when he had raised me up, my spirit returned; for (I had fainted) because I could not withstand the sight of these forces^f and (because) heaven has stirred up
5 and agitated itself. • Then Michael said unto me, "What have you seen that has so disturbed you? This day of mercy^g has lasted until today; and he has been merciful
6 and long-suffering^h toward those that dwell upon the earth. • And when this day arrives—and the power, the punishment, and the judgment, which the Lord of the Spirits has prepared for those who do notⁱ worship the righteous judgment, for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take his name in vain—it will become a day^j of covenant for the elect and inquisition^k for the sinners."^l
7 On that day, two monsters^m will beⁿ parted—one^o monster, a female named Leviathan, in order to dwell in the abyss of the ocean over the fountains of water; • and (the other), a male called Behemoth, which holds his chest in an invisible desert whose name is Dundayin,^p east of the garden of Eden, wherein the elect and the righteous ones dwell,^q wherein my grandfather was taken, the seventh from Adam, the first man

c. Lit. "has passed."

f. Lit. "to the number(ing) of days they do not come."

g. Lit. "first."

59 a. A: "the secrets of it is resounding," is grammatically difficult. B and C: "and when it resounds," may be more accurate.

b. Lit. "their."

c. Text reads "and."

d. The reading is difficult. Charles suggests "judgments" instead of "dwellings," which he considers to be a corrupt reading of the Gk. Cf. EC, p. 103, n. 23.

e. Lit. "satiation."

60 a. This is believed to be part of the lost BkNoah.

b. Some think that Enoch is a later substitute for Noah. Cf. EC, p. 103, n. 39.

c. So B and C. A omits "I saw."

d. B C: "a great trembling took hold of me and

fear seized me."

e. Lit. "were loosened." B C: "my loins were frightened ["were punished," "were bent"] and my kidneys were loosened."

f. Lit. "for I could not have endurance [patience] seeing this power."

g. B C: "his mercy."

h. Lit. "of distant wrath."

i. So C, possibly rightly. A omits the negation. Cf. EC, p. 104, n. 28.

j. Lit. "this day."

k. B and C omit "it will become a day . . ." A adds, and B and C read "this day is prepared."

l. So B and C. A wrongly reads *tāhta*, "under," "underneath," instead of *ḥataid*.

m. Or "whales." So B and C. A: "leopards."

n. C: "were."

o. B and C omit "one."

p. B: Dundayen. C: Dundayen. Cf. "land of Nod," Gen 4:16. See also JE, vol. 8, p. 39.

q. A omits "dwell."

9 whom the Lord of the Spirits created.^r • Then I asked the second angel in order that he may show me (how) strong these monsters are,^s how they were separated on this day^t and were cast, the one into the abysses of the ocean, and the other into the dry
10 desert. • And he said to me, "You, son of man, according (to the degree) to which it will be permitted, you will know the hidden things."^u

11 Then the other angel who was going with me was showing me the hidden things: what is first and last in heaven, above it, beneath the earth, in the depth, in the extreme
12 ends of heaven, the extent of heaven;^v • the storerooms of the winds,^w how the winds are divided, how they are weighed, how the winds divide^x and dissipate,^y the openings^z of the winds, each according to the strength of its wind; the power of the light of the moon and how it is the right amount,^{a2} the divisions of the stars, each according to
13 its nomenclature, and all the subdivisions;^b • the thunders according to the places where they fall, and the subdivisions of the lightnings^{b2} according to their flashing of light
14 and the velocity of the obedience of the whole array of them. • So the thunders have their (respective) moments of rest with patience: and (each thunder) is marked^{c2} by its (respective) sound. Neither the thunder nor the lightning becomes disjoined one
15 from the other; both go together in a single breeze and do not part. • For when the lightning flashes light,^{d2} the thunder utters^{e2} its sound; also, at that moment, the wind causes (the thunder) to come to rest and divides equally (the time) between each one of them. For the reservoir of their moments (of thunderings) is like the sand, (so) each one of them is restrained^{f2} with a bridle and turned back by the power of the wind and
16 driven in this manner all over the numerous corners of the earth.^{g2} • Now, the sea breeze is masculine and strong and according to the power of its strength it holds back (the air) and, in this manner, is driven and dispersed among all the mountains of the
17 world. • The frost-wind is its own guardian^{h2} and the hail-wind is a kind messenger.ⁱ² The snow-wind has evacuated (its reservoir); it does not exist^{j2} because of its strength; there is in it only a breeze that ascends from (the reservoir) like smoke, and its name
18 is frost. • And the wind and the mist do not dwell together with them in their reservoirs. But (the mist) has its own reservoir, for its course is glorious. It has^{k2} light and darkness both in the rainy season and the dry season; and its reservoir is itself an
20 angel. • The dwelling place of the dew-breeze is in the extreme ends of heaven and is linked together with the reservoirs of the rain in (both) its courses of the rainy season and the dry season; also the clouds of (the dew) and the clouds of the mist are
21 associated feeding each other mutually.^{l2} • When the rain-wind^{m2} becomes activated in its reservoir, the angels come and open the reservoir and let it out; and when it is sprayed over the whole earth, it becomes united with the water which is upon the
22 earth; • and whensoever it unites with (other waters, it unites) with the water upon the earth which is for the use of those who dwell on the earth, for it is nourishment for the earth (sent) from the Most High in heaven. So in this manner there is a measuring
23 system for the rain given to the angels. • All these things I saw as far as the garden
24 of the righteous ones. • And the angel of peace who was with me said to me, "These

r. So B and C. A reads: "wherein man was returned [changed], I shall bring [*ab'e*, possibly a corruption for *sāb'e*, "seventh"], from Adam before [*qedmē*, possibly a corruption for *qadāmi*, "the first"] the people which the Lord of the Spirits created." This difficult reading seems to contain errors.

s. Lit. "the power of these monsters."

t. B C: "in one day."

u. Lit. "that which is hidden." B C: "by here you want, you will know that which is hidden."

v. B C: "the foundations of heaven."

w. So B and C. A: "of the Lord."

x. B and C omit "how the winds divide."

y. Lit. "they are finished." B: "how the fountains are counted." C: "how the portals are counted."

z. C: "the portals."

a2. Lit. "the right [just] power."

b2. So B and C. A reads wrongly *bamesrāq*, "in the east," instead of *bamabraq*.

c2. Lit. "given."

d2. So B and C. A reads wrongly *yesarq*, "it will rise," instead of *yebarq*.

e2. Lit. "gives."

f2. Lit. "caught," "held."

g2. Lit. "in accordance with the multiplicity of the districts of the earth."

h2. Lit. "its own angel."

i2. Or "angel."

j2. B and C omit "it does not exist."

k2. B and C omit "It has."

l2. Lit. "one gives to the other."

m2. So B and C. A: "the rain-soul."

two monsters are prepared for the great dayⁿ² of the Lord (when) they shall turn into food.ⁿ² • So that the punishment of the Lord of the Spirits should come down upon them in order that the punishment of the Lord of the Spirits should not be issued in vain but slay the children with their mothers, and the children with their fathers, when the punishment of the Lord of the Spirits comes down upon everyone.ⁿ² After that there shall be the judgment according to his mercy and his patience."

2Bar 29:4;
4Ezra
6:49-52

The measurement of the garden of Eden and the judgment and praise of the Elect One

61 I saw in those days that long ropes were given to those angels; and hoisting up their own (respective) portions^a (of the ropes), they soared^b going in the direction of the northeast. • And I asked the angel, saying unto him, "Why have those (angels) hoisted these ropes and gone off?" And he said unto me, "They have gone in order to make measurements." • The angel who was going with me also said unto me, "These (angels) are the ones who shall bring the measuring ropes of the righteous ones as well as their binding cords^c in order that they might lean upon the name of the Lord of the Spirits forever and ever. Then the elect ones shall begin to walk^d with the elect ones. • These are the measurements which shall be given to faith and which shall strengthen righteousness. • And these measurements shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, those who have been destroyed in the desert, those who have been devoured by the wild beasts,^e and those who have been eaten by the fish of the sea. So that they all^f return and find hope in^g the day of the Elect One. For there is no one who perishes before the Lord of the Spirits, and no one who should perish.^h • And those who are in heaven above and all the powers received a command—one voice and one light like fire. • And him, the First Word,ⁱ they shall bless, extol, and glorify with wisdom. They shall be wise in utterance in the spirit of life and in the Lord of the Spirits. • He placed the Elect One on the throne of glory; and he shall judge all the works of the holy ones in heaven above, weighing in the balance their deeds. And when he shall lift up his countenance in order to judge the secret ways of theirs, by the word^j of the name of the Lord of the Spirits, and their conduct, by the method of the righteous judgment of the Lord of the Spirits, then they shall all speak with one voice, blessing, glorifying, extolling, sanctifying the name of the Lord of the Spirits. And he will summon all the forces of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the forces of the Lord—the cherubim, seraphim, ophanim, all the angels of governance, the Elect One, and the other forces on earth (and) over the water. • On that day, they shall lift up in one voice, blessing, glorifying, and extolling in the spirit of faith, in the spirit of wisdom and patience, in the spirit of mercy, in the spirit of justice and peace, and in the spirit of generosity. They shall all say in one voice, "Blessed (is he) and may the name of the Lord of the Spirits be blessed forever and evermore." • All the vigilant ones^k in heaven above shall bless him; all the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless him; all the elect ones who dwell in the garden of life (shall bless him); every spirit of light that is capable of blessing,^l glorifying, extolling, and sanctifying your blessed name (shall bless him); and all flesh shall glorify and bless your name

Heb 5:12

n2. B and C read *la'ela 'ebay*, "upon the greatness," instead of *la'elat 'abdy*.

n2. Or "they shall be eaten," "be food," or "become food."

p2. So A. Because of the problem of dittography, this passage is repeated and made senseless in both B and C, and all other MSS used by Charles.

61 a. B and C read "wings."

b. Or "hovered," "flew." Cf. *kanifa*, "to fly."

c. Lit. "the binding cords of the righteous ones . . . for the righteous ones."

d. B C: "to dwell."

e. So B and C. A reads *mazagebt*, "storerooms," "reservoirs," instead of *arawit*.

f. B and C omit "all."

g. Lit. "lean upon, rely upon, depend on, support oneself by."

h. Lit. "who is being destroyed."

i. Or "the First Oracle." According to A, these are preferable renditions. However, the passage could possibly also be translated "with the first word," "with the first oracle," or simply "the fundamental (first) principles of the oracle" or "the elementary principles of the oracle." Cf. Heb 5:12.

j. So B and C. A: "and the word."

k. Lit. "All those who do not sleep."

l. So B and C. A has *zatakala barakat*, grammatically an impossible structure that can be adjusted to mean either "of the plant of blessing" or "that planted a blessing."

13 with an exceedingly limitless power^m forever and ever. • For the mercy of the Lord of the Spirits is great in quantity, and he is long-suffering. All his works and all the dimensions of his creation, he has revealed to the righteous and the elect ones in the name of the Lord of the Spirits."

Condemnation of the ruling class and blessedness of the righteous ones

62 Thus the Lord commanded the kings, the governors, the high officials,^a and the landlords^b and said, "Open your eyes and lift up your eyebrows—if you are able to recognize the Elect One!" • The Lord of the Spirits has sat down^c on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness has been poured out upon him. The word of his mouth will do the sinners^d in; and all the oppressors shall be eliminated^e from before his face. • On the day of judgment,^f all the kings, the governors, the high officials, and the landlords shall see and recognize him—how he sits on the throne of his glory, and righteousness is judged before him, and that no nonsensical talk shall be uttered in his presence. • Then pain shall come upon them as on a woman in travail with birth pangs—when she is giving birth (the child) enters the mouth of the womb and she suffers from childbearing. • One half portion of them^g shall glance at the other half; they shall be terrified and dejected;^h and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. • (These) kings, governors, and all the landlords shall (try to) bless, glorify, extol him who rules over everything, him who has been concealed. • For the Son of Manⁱ was concealed from the beginning, and the Most High One preserved him in the presence of his power; then he revealed him to the holy and the elect ones.^k • The congregation of the holy ones^l shall be planted,^m and all the elect ones shall stand before him. • On that day, all the kings, the governors, the high officials, and those who rule the earth shall fall down before him on their faces, and worship and raise their hopes in that Son of Man; they shall beg and plead for mercy at his feet.ⁿ • But the Lord of the Spirits himself will cause them to be frantic, so that they shall rush and depart from his presence. Their faces shall be filled with shame, and their countenances shall be crowned with darkness. • So he will deliver them^o to the angels for punishments in order that vengeance shall be executed on them—oppressors of his children and his elect ones. • It shall become quite a scene for my^p righteous and elect ones. They shall rejoice over (the kings, the governors, the high officials, and the landlords) because the wrath of the Lord of the Spirits shall

m. Lit. "with that which exceeds power."

62 a. Lit. "the exalted ones."

b. Or "landowners," "administrators [governors] of the land." Lit. "those who hold ['possess,' 'seize'] the land [the earth]." B and C, *yahadrwa lameder*, could be adjusted to mean "who dwell on the land."

c. Dillmann prefers *wa'anbro*, "and he has seated him," instead of *wanabara*, "and he has sat down," which is found in all the known MSS.

d. B C: "all the sinners."

e. Or "destroyed."

f. Lit. "On that day."

g. Lit. "she suffers in childbearing."

h. Lit. "One half of them."

i. Lit. "they shall cast down their faces."

j. Here the Eth. expression *walda 'eg'ula-emma-heyyaw* (sic) is used instead of *walda sab'e*, which we have seen above. Though both expressions, *'eg'ula-emma-heyyaw* and *sab'e*, designate "man," "a human being," "a living person," "a mortal being," the latter term has a collective ("people"), more abstract ("humanity"), and more universalistic ("man") connotation, whereas the former expression emphasizes the individualistic, naturalistic, and pa-

ticularistic aspect of man. It (the former expression) literally means "offspring of the mother of the living." The first person to be described as "the mother of the living" in the Bible is Eve (cf. Gen 3:20), so Eth. grammarians sometimes interpret the expression as "offspring of Eve." (This expression should not be confused with *'eg'ula-mahyeyaw*, which, though having the same meaning ["man"] and more likely the same etymological origin, has come to be regarded by Eth. grammarians as of different etymology: "the offspring of the one whom the Living One has brought forth from the earth" or "offspring of the Living One and the earth," or simply "the Son of God," i.e. man as God's offspring.) If one were to be literal, one would translate the two Eth. expressions found in 1En respectively as "Son of the Offspring of the Mother of the Living" (or "Son of Eve's Offspring," "Son of Man") and "Son of People."

k. B and C omit "to the holy ones."

l. B and C add "and of the elect ones."

m. Lit. "sown."

n. Lit. "at him."

o. Lit. "he turned them," "he returned them," "he changed them."

p. B C: "his."

13 rest upon them and his sword^d (shall obtain) from them a sacrifice.^e •The righteous and elect ones shall be saved on that day; and from thenceforth they shall never see 14 the faces of the sinners and the oppressors. •The Lord of the Spirits will abide over 15 them; they shall eat and rest and rise with that Son of Man forever and ever. •The righteous and elect ones shall rise from the earth and shall cease being of downcast 16 face. They shall wear the garments of glory. •These garments of yours shall become the garments of life from the Lord of the Spirits. Neither shall your garments wear out, nor your glory come to an end before the Lord of the Spirits.

The hopeless end of the kings, rulers, and landlords

1 **63** In those days, the governors and the kings who possess the land^d shall plead that he may give them a little breathing spell from the angels of his punishment to whom they have been delivered;^b so that they shall fall and worship before the Lord of the 2 Spirits, and confess their sins before him. •They shall bless and glorify the Lord of the Spirits and say, "Blessed is the Lord of the Spirits—the Lord of kings, the Lord of rulers, and the Master of the rich—the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom. 3 Your power exposes every secret thing from generation to generation and your glory is forever and ever. Deep are all your mysteries—and numberless; and your righteousness is beyond accounting. •Now we have come to know that we should glorify 4 and bless the Lord of kings—him who rules over all kings." •Moreover, they shall say, "Would that someone had given us a chance so that we should glorify, praise, 5 and have faith before his glory! •This time, however, we are begging for a little rest but find it not; we pursue (it), but procure it not. Light has vanished from before us 6 and darkness has become our habitation^d forever and ever; •because we have formerly^e neither had faith nor glorified the name of the Lord of the Spirits and kings,^f nor glorified the Lord in all his creation.^g We had put our hopes upon the scepters of our 7 empires.^h •(Now) on the day of our hardship and our tribulation he is not saving us; and we have no chance to become believers.ⁱ For our Lord is faithful in all his works, his judgments, and his righteousness; and his judgments have no respect of persons. 8 (So) we will vanish away from before his face on account of our deeds; and all our sins are consumed^j by righteousness." •Furthermore, at that time, you shall say,^k "Our souls are satiated with exploitation^l money which^m could not save usⁿ from being 9 cast into the oppressive^o Sheol."^p •After that, their faces shall be filled with shame^q before that Son of Man; and from before his face they shall be driven out. And the 10 sword shall abide in their midst, before his face. •Thus says the Lord of the Spirits, "This is the ordinance and the judgment, before the Lord of the Spirits, (prepared) 11 for the governors, kings, high officials, and landlords."

The fallen angels

12 **64** Then I saw in that place other mysterious faces. •And I heard the voice of an angel saying, "These are the angels who descended^d upon the earth and revealed what was hidden^e to the children of the people, and led the children of the people astray to commit sin."

q. B: "the sword of the Lord of the Spirits." C: "the sword." A is unintelligible but the reading is close to B and C.

r. Lit. "a memorial feast." B: "shall be drunk from them." C (as emended by Charles): "shall be drunk with their blood." If this passage is related to Isa 34:6, then the reading of "sacrifice" is close to it.

s. Lit. "they wore."

63 a. Or "the kings (and) the landowners."

b. So B and C. A: "by which they were idolatrous." or "through which they became idolatrous." Perhaps A's hearing is original.

c. Lit. "it lights."

d. B: "our deeds."

e. So A. B C: "before him."

f. B: "in the name of the Lord of kings."

g. So B. A and C omit "in all his creation."

h. Lit. "our kingdoms." B and C add "and our glory."

i. Lit. "to believe."

j. Lit. "finished."

k. B C: "they shall say."

l. Or "oppression."

m. Lit. "and."

n. Lit. "prevent."

o. Lit. "weighty," "burdensome," "grave."

p. B: "flames of the burden of Sheol." C: "the heart of the burden of Sheol."

q. B and C add "and with darkness."

64 a. So B and C. A: "will descend."

b. So B and C. A: "what was hidden is revealed."

Enoch's predictions concerning the Deluge and himself

1 **65** In those days, Noah saw the earth, that she had become deformed, and that her 2 destruction was at hand. •And (Noah) took off from there^a and went unto the extreme ends of the earth. And he cried out to his grandfather, Enoch, and said to him,^b three 3 times, with a bitter voice, "Hear me! Hear me! Hear me!" •And I said unto him, "Tell me what this thing is which is being done upon the earth, for the earth is 4 struggling^c in this manner and is being shaken; perhaps I will perish with her in the 5 impact."^d •At that moment, there took place a tremendous turbulence upon the earth; 6 and a voice from heaven was heard, and I fell upon my face. •Then Enoch, my grandfather, came and stood by me, saying to me, "Why did you cry out so sorrowfully^e and with bitter tears?" 7 "An order has been issued from the court^f of the Lord against those who dwell upon the earth, that their doom^g has arrived because they have acquired the knowledge of all the secrets of the angels, all the oppressive deeds of the Satans, as well as all their most occult powers, all the powers of those who practice sorcery, all the powers 8 of (those who mix) many colors,^h all the powersⁱ of those who make molten images;^j how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how bronze^k is made upon the 9 earth— •for lead and tin are produced^l from the earth like silver^m—their source is a 10 fountain inside (which) stands an angel, and he is a running angel."ⁿ •After that, my grandfather, Enoch, took hold of me by my hand and raised me up and said to me, "Go, for I have asked^o the Lord of the Spirits regarding this turbulence (which is 11 taking place) on the earth." •He (continued to) say to me, "Because their oppression has been carried out (on the earth), their judgment will be limitless^p before me. On account of the abstract things^q which they have investigated and experienced, the earth 12 shall perish (together with) those who dwell upon her. •And those (who taught them these things) will have no haven^r forever, because they have revealed to them the things which are secret—to^s the condemned ones; but, as for you, my son, the Lord of the Spirits knows that you are pure and kindhearted; you detest the secret things.^t He has preserved your name for^u the holy ones; he will protect you from those who dwell upon the earth; he has preserved your righteous seed for kingship and great glory; and from your seed will emerge a fountain of the righteous and holy ones without number forever."

Angels in charge of the Flood

1 **66** After this he showed me the angels of punishment^a who are prepared to come and release all the powers of the waters which are underground to become judgment and

65 a. Lit. "And he lifted his feet from there."

b. Lit. "and Noah said."

c. So B and C. A: "glowing."

d. Or "pushing," "shoving." B and C, instead of *badūhef*, read *badehera*, "after . . ." which could be placed before the succeeding phrase, "this moment."

e. B and C add "unto me."

f. Lit. "from the presence."

g. Lit. "end."

h. Eth. *hebrāt*, "(those who mix) many colors" or "(those who make) dyes," makes sense in the context, whereas *hebrāt*, "provinces," "regions," "areas," "parts," found in A B C does not seem to do so.

i. A: "and all of them." B C: "and the powers."

j. Lit. "idols."

k. Lit. "mixed metals."

l. B C: "are not produced."

m. Lit. "like the first."

n. Lit. "and this angel runs."

o. Or "you have asked him."

p. Lit. "they will not be counted." Charles suggests that *ivetholaq*"u, which he equates with the

Heb. *lo-yehāsēb*, is a corruption of *lo-yehāsēk*, "will not be restrained [withheld]." See EC, p. 118, n. 24.

q. Or "gold." Perhaps this is an allusion to 8:1. A has *awraq*, which I have translated as "abstract things." This expression, whose singular form I assume to be *wariq*, "gold" (see *wariq*, "to spit," "to be fine like a leaf," "to be slender," or "to be abstract"; cf. *raqiq*), is not attested in known Eth. literature. B and C have *awrah*, "months," "moons." Charles, following Halévy, suggests this expression, which corresponds to the Heb. *h'dāšim*, to be a corruption for *harashim*, "sorceries."

r. Lit. "a place to go [or "turn"] to," "a refuge," "resort." Charles, following Halévy, and assuming that *megbā'e* means "return," suggested that this expression is a translation of the Heb. *teshubah*, meaning "repentance," "return." Cf. EC, p. 118, n. 29.

s. B C: "and."

t. B C: "you are free from the blame."

u. B C: "among."

66 a. So B and C. A: "the angels showed me the punishment."

2 destruction unto all who live and dwell upon the earth. •But the Lord of the Spirits gave an order to the angels who were on duty^a that they should not raise the (water) enclosures^c but guard (them)—for they were the angels who were in charge of the waters.^d Then I left^e from the presence of Enoch.

God's promise to Noah: punishment of the angels and kings

1 **67** In those days, the word of God came unto me, and said unto me, "Noah, your lot has come up before me—a lot without blame, a lot of true love." •At this time the angels are working with wood (making an ark) and when it is completed,^b I shall place my hands upon it^c and protect it,^d and the seed of life shall arise from it; and a substitute^e (generation) will come so that the earth will not remain empty (without inhabitants). •I shall strengthen your seed before me forever and ever as well as the seeds of those who dwell with you; I shall not put it to trial^f on the face of the earth; but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord."^g

4 And they shall imprison^h those angels who revealed oppression in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown me in the West among the mountains of gold, silver, iron, bronze, and tin. •I also saw that valley in which there took place a great turbulence and the stirring of the waters. •Now, when all this took place, there was produced from that bronze and fire a smell of sulfur (which) blended with those waters. •This valley of the perverse angels shall (continue to) burn punitivelyⁱ underneath that ground; in respect to its troughs,^j they shall be filled with rivers of water by which those angels who perverted those who dwell upon the earth shall be punished.^k

8 Those waters shall become in those days a poisonous drug^l of the body and a punishment^m of the spirit unto the kings, rulers, and exalted ones, and those who dwell on the earth; lust shall fill their soulsⁿ so that their bodies shall be punished, for they have denied the Lord of the Spirits; they shall see their own punishment every day but cannot believe in his name. •In proportion to the great degree of the burning of their bodies will be the transmutation of their spirits forever and ever and ever.^o for there is none that can speak a nonsensical word before the Lord of the Spirits.

10 So the judgment shall come upon them, because they believe in the debauchery of their bodies and deny the spirit of the Lord. •And these waters will undergo change in those days; for (on the one hand) when those angels are being punished by these waters, the temperatures of those fountains of water will be altered (and become hot), but (on the other hand) when the angels get out,^p those waters of the fountains shall be transformed and become cold.^q •Then I heard Michael responding and saying, "This verdict by which the angels are being punished is itself a testimony to the kings and the rulers who control the world." •For these waters of judgment are poison to the bodies of the angels^r as well as sensational to their flesh; (hence) they will neither see nor believe that these waters become transformed and become a fire that burns forever.

b. Lit. "who were going out."

c. A reads 'aweda, which I have taken as 'aweda, since the former expression is nonexistent. B and C read "do not raise the hands."

d. B C: "for these angels were in charge of the powers of the waters."

e. So B and C. A: "I came."

67 a. B C: "a lot of love and uprightness."

b. All MSS add "to these angels."

c. Lit. "her."

d. Lit. "her."

e. Lit. "it was changed [substituted]."

f. So A: 'iyyamukker. B C: 'iyymaker, "he will not counsel it." Charles emended the text to read "he will not be barren," 'iyymaken.

g. So C, and possibly A and B. A and B could give the meaning "they shall harden [petrify]" or "they shall cast lots." It seems to me that the original

translator(s), or the copyists of A and C, were attempting a play on words: The good angels were working "wood," 'esawa (67:2), while they will "make wood," ya'gwomu, "harden," "petrify," out of the evil angels.

h. B and C omit "punitively."

i. Lit. "valleys."

j. B: "shall be out." C: "shall come."

k. Lit. "condemned."

l. Eth. *fawes* has the meaning of (1) "a healing medicine," "a good medicine," and (2) "a killing drug," "a bad medicine."

m. Lit. "judgment."

n. B C: "their spirits."

o. So A. B C: "forever and ever."

p. Lit. "ascend."

q. So B and C. A: "shall be knotted."

r. So all MSS. Perhaps we should read "bodies of kings."

The angel Michael discusses the judgment with Raphael

1 **68** After that, he gave me instructions^a in all the secret things (found) in the book of my grandfather, Enoch,^b and in the parables which were given to him; and he put them together for me in the words of the book which is with me.^c •On that day, Michael addressed himself to^d Raphael, saying to him, "The power of the spirit grabs me and causes me to go up^e on account of the severity of the judgment concerning (the knowledge of) the secrets. Who is able to endure the severity of the judgment which has been executed and before which one melts^f away?" •Michael continued to speak further, saying to Raphael, "Who is he whose heart does not become sordid^g in respect to this matter and whose reins do not become stirred up from the word of the judgment which has been pronounced against them."^h •Then it happened that when they stoodⁱ before the Lord of the Spirits, Michael said to Raphael thus, "They shall not prosper before the eye of the Lord; for they have quarreled with the Lord of the Spirits because they make the image of the Lord.^j •Therefore, all that which has been concealed shall come upon them forever and ever; for neither an angel^k nor a man should be assigned his role;^l (so) those (evil ones) alone have received their judgment forever and ever."

Names and misdeeds of the fallen angels

1 **69** After this judgment, they shall frighten them and make them scream because they have shown this (knowledge of secret things) to those who dwell on the earth. •Now behold, I am naming^a the names of those angels! These are their names: The first of them is Semyaz, the second Aristaqis, the third Armen, the fourth Kokba'el, the fifth Tur'el, the sixth Rumyl, the seventh Danyul, the eighth Neqa'el, the ninth Baraqel, the tenth Azaz'el, the eleventh Armaros, the twelfth Betryal, the thirteenth Basas'el, the fourteenth Hanan'el, the fifteenth Tur'el, the sixteenth Sip'wese'el, (the seventeenth Yeter'el),^b the eighteenth Tuma'el, the nineteenth Tur'el, the twentieth Rum'el, and the twenty-first Azaz'el.^c •These are the chiefs of their angels, their names, their centuries,^d their chiefs over fifties, and their chiefs over tens.

4 The name of the first is Yecon; he is the one who misled all the children of the angels,^e brought them down upon the earth, and perverted them by the daughters of the people. •The second was named Asb'el; he is the one who gave the children of the holy angels an evil counsel^f and misled them so that they would defile their bodies by the daughters of the people. •The third was named Gader'el; this one is he who showed the children of the people all the blows of death, who misled Eve, who showed the children of the people (how to make) the instruments of death (such as) the shield, the breastplate, and the sword for warfare, and all (the other) instruments of death to the children of the people. •Through their agency (death) proceeds against the people

68 a. B C: "signs," "miracles."

b. B C: "my grandfather, Enoch, gave me the signs of all secret things (found) in the book."

c. B C: "in the words of the book of the parables."

d. A wrongly: "responded to me."

e. Lit. "rouses me." B C: "provokes me," "angers me."

f. Lit. "they melt."

g. So A and C. B: "does not become soft," "does not become compassionate."

h. A adds: "There were among them those who responded to them thus." B and C add: "There were among them those whom they led out thus."

i. B C: "he stood."

j. Or "because they act in the style of the Lord."

k. So B and C. A: "an image." Perhaps A is original. See following note.

l. Lit. "his portion." A possible rendition according to A may be: "for no image—and no human (image)—should be made for him." The whole

paragraph is problematic. If A is right, this passage may be a reference to Ex 20:4.

69 a. B and C omit "I am naming."

b. So B and C.

c. B C: "the first Semyaza, the second Arestiqifa [C: Artaqifa] . . . the fourth Kokaba'el [C: Kokab'el], the fifth [C: Turu'el] . . . the seventh Danyal, the eighth [B: Nuqa'el], the ninth Baraq'el . . . the eleventh [B: Armore], the twelfth Bataryal, the thirteenth Basasa'el [C: Basasa'eyal], the fourteenth [B: Anan'el] [C: Hanan'el], the fifteenth [B: Turyal], the sixteenth Simapisi'el [C: Simipesi'el] . . . the nineteenth [B: Tar'el], the twentieth Ruma'el, the twenty-first Azez'el [B: Azazel]."

d. Lit. "the chiefs of their one hundred."

e. Or "the angelic children."

f. Lit. "he counseled them with an evil counsel." B C: "he told ['taught,' 'showed'] them an evil counsel."

8 who dwell upon the earth,^g from that day forevermore. • The fourth is named Pinem'e;^h this one demonstrated to the children of the people the bitter and the sweet and
9 revealed to them all the secrets of their wisdom. • Furthermore he caused the people to penetrate (the secret of) writingⁱ and (the use of) ink and paper;^j on account of this matter, there are many who have erred from eternity to eternity, until this very day.
10 For human beings are not created^k for such purposes to take up^l their beliefs with pen and ink. • For indeed human beings were not created but to be like angels, permanently to maintain^m pure and righteous lives. Death, which destroys everything, would have not touched them, had it not been through their knowledge by which they shall perish;
12 deathⁿ is (now) eating us^o by means of this power. • The fifth is named Kasadya;^p it is he who revealed to the children of the people (the various) flagellations of all evil— (the flagellation) of the souls and the demons, the smashing of the embryo in the womb so that it may be crushed, the flagellation of the soul, snake bites, sunstrokes,^q
13 the son of the serpent, whose name is Taba'ta.^r • And this is the number of Kasb'el,^s the chief (executor) of the oath which he revealed to the holy ones while he was (still) dwelling in the highest in glory. • His name was (then) Beqa;^t and he spoke to Michael^u to disclose to him his secret name so that he would memorize this secret name of his,^v so that he would call it up in an oath in order that they shall tremble before it^w and the oath. • He (then) revealed these^x to the children of the people, (and) all the hidden things and this power of this oath, for it is power and strength itself.^y The Evil One^z placed this oath in Michael's hand.

16 These are the secrets of this oath—and they are sustained by the oath:

The heaven was suspended before the creation of the world; and forever!

17 By it the earth is founded upon the water; from the hidden places of the mountains come beautiful waters, from the beginning of creation;^{a2} and forever!

18 By that oath, the sea was created; and he put down for it a foundation of sand which cannot be transgressed at a time of its anger, from the beginning of creation; and forever!

19 And by that oath the depths are made firm; they stand still and do not move from their places from the beginning (of creation); and forever!

20 By the same oath the sun and the moon complete their courses of travel, and do not deviate from the laws (made) for them, from the beginning (of creation); and forever!

21 And by the same oath the stars complete their courses of travel; if they call^{b2} their names, he causes them to respond^{c2} from the beginning (of creation); and forever!

g. Lit. "From their hands it proceeds against those who dwell upon the earth."

h. B C: Penemu.

i. Lit. "to comprehend book(s)."

j. B C: "to comprehend writing [books] with ink and paper."

k. Lit. "born."

l. B C: "to confirm."

m. Lit. "to live."

n. Lit. "it."

o. B C: "eating me."

p. B: Kasdyas. C: Kasdya.

q. Lit. "the flagellation that happens at noon."

r. An obscure name which, if taken as a common noun in Eth., means "male." For an attempt to restore this and the following verse, see N. Schmidt,

"The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch," *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, vol. 2, p. 341.

s. B: Kesb'el. C: Kasb'el.

t. C: Biqa.

u. B: "holy Michael."

v. B: "that he would show him that secret name."

C omits both.

w. Lit. "from it."

x. B C: "which they revealed."

y. B C: "for it is powerful and strong."

z. So A. B: 'Aka'. C: 'Aka', which may be proper names or corruptions of the 'ekuy of A, or vice versa. Cf. EC, p. 125, n. 14.

a2. Lit. "from the creation of the world."

b2. B C: "he calls."

c2. B C: "they shall respond."

22 Likewise the waters and their souls, all the winds^{d2} and their paths of travel from all the directions of winds;
23 the voice of the thunder and the light of the lightning are kept there;
24 the reservoirs of hail, the reservoirs of frost, the reservoirs of mist, the reservoirs of rain and dew are kept there;
25 All these believe and give thanks in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits;
they glorify with all their might, and please him^{e2} in all this thanksgiving; they shall thank, glorify, exalt the Lord of the Spirits forever and ever!

26 This oath has become dominant over them; they are preserved by it and their paths are preserved by it (so that) their courses of travel do not perish.

27 (Then) there came to them a great joy. And they blessed, glorified, and extolled (the Lord) on account of the fact that the name of that (Son of) Man^{f2} was revealed to them.^{g2} He shall never pass away or perish from before the face of the earth.^{h2} • But those who have led the world astray shall be bound with chains; and their ruinous congregation shall be imprisoned; all their deeds shall vanish from before the face of the earth. • Thenceforth nothing that is corruptible shall be found;ⁱ² for that Son of Man has appeared and has seated himself upon the throne of his glory; and all evil shall disappear from before his face; he shall go and tell^{j2} to that Son of Man, and he shall be strong before the Lord of the Spirits. Here ends the third parable of Enoch.^{k2}

Translation of Enoch and vision of earliest human ancestors

1 **70** And it happened after this that his living name was raised up before^a that Son of Man and to the Lord from among those who dwell upon the earth; • it was lifted up in a wind^b chariot and it^c disappeared from among them.^d • From that day on, I was not counted among them. But he placed me between two winds,^e between the northeast and the west, where the angels took a cord to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous ones. • And there I saw the first (human) ancestors^f and the righteous ones of old, dwelling in that place.

Vision of the fiery house and the Antecedent of Days

1 **71** (Thus) it happened after this that my spirit passed out of sight^a and ascended into the heavens. And I saw the sons of the holy angels walking upon the flame of fire; their garments were white—and their overcoats—and the light of their faces was like snow. • Also I saw two rivers of fire, the light of which fire was shining like hyacinth. Then I fell upon my face before the Lord of the Spirits. • And the angel Michael, one of the archangels,^b seizing me by my right hand and lifting me up, led me out into all the secrets of mercy;^c and he showed me^d all the secrets of righteousness.^e • He also showed me all the secrets of the extreme ends of heaven and all the reservoirs of the stars and the luminaries—from where they come out (to shine) before the faces of the holy ones. • He carried off^f my spirit, and I,^g Enoch, was in the heaven of heavens. There I saw—in the midst of that light—a structure built of crystals; and

d2. B and C read "Likewise, the souls of the waters, of the winds, and all the winds . . ."

e2. B C: "and their food."

f2. A reads "the name of that man."

g2. B and C interpolate at this place a passage (omitted by A): "And he sat on the throne of his glory; and the presidency [lit. "head"] of the (final) judgment was given unto the Son of Man."

h2. B C: "He shall cause the sinners to pass away and perish from before the face of the earth."

i2. Lit. "From thenceforth what perishes will not happen."

j2. B C: "they shall tell."

k2. Lit. "This is the third parable of Enoch."

c. A: "his name." B C: "the name."

d. Lit. "it went out ["disappeared," "vanished"] among them."

e. Eth. *nafasāt*. B: *manifest*. C: *manifest*, "winds" or "spirits."

f. Lit. "the first fathers." Cf. "the earliest fathers," "the first forefathers," "the original ancestors."

71 a. Lit. "became hidden," "became concealed," "disappeared," "vanished," "were extinguished."

b. Lit. "head [chief] angels."

c. C omits "of mercy."

d. B omits "and he showed me."

e. C: "of mercy."

f. Lit. "He hid," "He concealed."

g. B and C omit "and I."

70 a. A: "before to." B C: "to."

b. Or "spirit."

6 between those crystals tongues of living fire. • And my spirit saw a ring^b which encircled^c this structure^d of fire. On its four sides^e were rivers full of living fire which
7 encircled it.^f • Moreover, seraphim, cherubim, and ophanim—the sleepless ones^g who
8 guard the throne of his glory—also encircled it. • And I saw countless angels—a
hundred thousand times a hundred thousand, ten million times ten million—encircling
9 that house. Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Phanuel, and numerous (other) holy angels
that are in heaven above, go in and out of that house— • Michael, Raphael, Gabriel,
10 Phanuel, and numerous (other) holy angels that are countless.^h • With them is the
Antecedent of Time: His head is white and pure like wool and his garment is
11 indescribable. • I fell on my face, my whole body mollified and my spirit transformed.
Then I cried with a great voice by the spirit of the power, blessing, glorifying, and
12 extolling. • And those are the blessings which went forthⁱ out of my mouth, being
13 well-pleasing in the presence of that Antecedent of Time. • Then the Antecedent of
Time came with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Phanuel, and a hundred thousand and
14 ten million times a hundred thousand^j angels that are countless. • Then an angel^k came
to me and greeted me^l and said to me, “You, son of man,^m who art born inⁿ righteousness
and upon whom righteousness has dwelt, the righteousness of the Antecedent of Time
15 will not forsake you.” • He added and said to me, “He shall proclaim peace to you
in the name of the world that is to become.” For from here proceeds peace since the
16 creation of the world, and so it shall be unto you forever and ever and ever. • Everyone
that will come to exist and walk shall (follow)^o your path, since righteousness never
forsakes you. Together with you shall be their dwelling places; and together with you
shall be their portion. They shall not be separated from you forever and ever and
17 ever.” • So there shall be length of days with that Son of Man, and peace to the
righteous ones; his path is upright for the righteous, in the name of the Lord of the
Spirits forever and ever.

Book III (72–82)

The Book of Heavenly Luminaries

The sun

1 **72** (Book) Three: • The Book of the Itinerary of the Luminaries of Heaven: the
position of each and every one, in respect to their ranks, in respect to their authorities,
and in respect to their seasons; each one according to their names^p and their places
of origin and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel who was with
me, and who (also) is their guide, showed me—just as he showed me all their treatises^q
and the nature^r of the years of the world unto eternity, till the new creation which
abides forever is created.

h. Or “a belt,” “a circular thing.”
i. Or “encompassed,” “surrounded.”
j. Lit. “house.”
k. So B and C. A is unintelligible.
l. Lit. “that house.”
m. Lit. “those who do not sleep.”
n. B and C add “they go out from that house.”
o. Here ends ch. 71 in A. The scribe has transposed
to this place 78:8b–82:20. How this happened is
difficult to imagine, because the ending of this section
and the beginning of the following (i.e. the Book of
the Heavenly Luminaries) are clearly delineated in
most MSS: in another 15th-cent. MS—EMML 2080—
which I have consulted, the ending of the preceding
section is found at the top of the left-hand column,
half of which is left empty; and the Book of the
Heavenly Luminaries starts at the top of a new
column on the right. However, there is a tendency
to repeat some of the vss. (9b–12a) of the end of this
ch. in some MSS; cf. EC, p. 180, n. 24. My

translation of 71:12b–17 is based on B and C.

p. C: “a hundred thousand and ten million.”
q. Lit. “this angel.” C: “he.”
r. Lit. “greeted me with his voice.”
s. This expression, “son of man,” should be
distinguished from the “Son of Man.” As explained
above, “Man” in the “Son of Man” is a translation
of either *sab'e*, “people,” or *eg'wula-emma heyaw*,
“son of the mother of the living,” i.e. “human
being”; in the present case, however, we have *be'esi*,
“man,” “a masculine person.”
t. C: “unto,” “to.”
u. Or “in his name which exists forever.”
v. Lit. “upon.”

72 a. So A. Other MSS omit “Three.”

b. Lit. “its name.”
c. Lit. “books.”
d. Lit. “how.”

2 This is the first commandment of the luminaries: The sun is a luminary whose egress
is an opening^a of heaven, which is (located) in the direction of the east, and whose
3 ingress^b is (another) opening of heaven, (located) in the west. • I saw six openings
through which the sun rises and six openings through which it sets. The moon also
rises and sets through the same openings, and they are guided by the stars;^c together
with those whom they lead, they are six^d in the east and six^e in the west heaven.^f All
of them (are arranged) one after another in a constant order.^g There are many windows
4 (both) to the left and the right of these openings. • First there goes out the great light^h
whose name is the sun; its roundness is like the roundness of the sky; and it is totally
5 filled with light and heat. • The chariot on which it ascends is (driven by) the blowing
wind. The sun sets in the sky (in the west) and returns by the northeast in order to
go to the east; it is guided so that it shall reach theⁱ eastern gate^j and shine in the face
6 of the sky. • In this manner it rises in the first month^k through the major gate; it
proceeds (through this gate) which is the fourth (among) those six^l openings which
7 are (located) in the direction of the east. • By this fourth gate through which the sun
rises during the first month there are twelve open windows from which a flame flows,
8 when they are opened at the appropriate time.^m • When (the sun) rises (in the east) in
the sky, it goes out through this fourth gate for thirty mornings and descends faithfully
9 through the fourth gate in the western sky. • During those (thirty) days the day daily
10 becomes longer and the night nightly shorter, for thirty days.ⁿ • On that day, the day
is longer than the night by one ninth;^o so the day turns out to be exactly ten parts and
11 the night to be eight parts. • The sun rises from that fourth (eastern) gate and sets in
the fourth (western) one, and then it turns and comes into^p the fifth gate of the east
12 for thirty days,^q through which it rises, and sets in the fifth gate. • At that time the day
further becomes longer^r and becomes^s eleven parts and the night shortens^t and becomes
13 seven parts on account of the sun.^u • It then returns to the east and comes into the sixth
(gate), rising and setting through that sixth gate for thirty-one^v days,^w according to
14 the principle^x of (the gate).^y • On that day the day becomes longer than the night still
further;^z so the day becomes twelve parts and the night shortens and becomes six
15 parts. • Then the sun is raised in such a way that (its duration) shortens^{aa} and night
occurs;^{ab} the sun returns to the east and enters the sixth gate, rising and setting through
16 its^{ac} for thirty days.^{ad} • When thirty days^{ae} are completed, the day decreases exactly by
17 one part, and becomes^{af} eleven parts, and the night seven. • Then the sun, leaving the
west by that sixth gate and going to the east, rises through the fifth gate for thirty
18 mornings and sets again in the fifth gate in the west. • On that day the day decreases
19 by two parts; so (the day) becomes ten parts and the night eight parts. • Then the sun,

e. The word *hewhew* is sometimes translated as
“portal” or “gate.” But it simply signifies “a hole,”
“a crack,” “an aperture,” “a slot,” or “a vent.”

f. Lit. “setting.”
g. B C: “guides of the stars.”
h. A could be read “seven,” which is meaning-
less.

i. A could be read “seven,” which is meaningless.
j. B and C read “west (of the) sun.”
k. Lit. “uprightly.”
l. So C. A B: “the light that excels.”
m. Lit. “that.”

n. Eth. *hwohet*. I have decided to translate this
term as “gate.” It appears in the Eth. Bible in several
places as an equivalent for Heb. *delet* and *sa'ar* or
Gk. *thura* and *pylē*. Cf. Job 31:32 (*delet*, *thura*); Isa
26:20 (*delet*, *thura*); Ps 24(23): 7, 9 (*sa'ar*, *pylē*); Ps
107(106): 16 (*delet*, *pylē*).

o. Ethiopian commentators begin here with the
Ethiopian month Miyazya.

p. A could be read “seven,” which is meaning-
less.

q. Lit. “in their seasons.”
r. Lit. “for thirty mornings.”
s. Lit. “the day is longer twice double as much

as nine parts of the night.”

t. B and C omit “comes into.”

u. Lit. “mornings.”

v. Lit. “the day becomes longer doublefold.”

w. Lit. “the day becomes.”

x. Lit. “decreases.”

y. Lit. “on account of her sun.” The word for
sun used here is *ta'amer*, “wonder,” “sign,” “sun,”
“moon.” The whole phrase is wrongly placed at the
end of vs. 12. Cf. 48:3; Job 4:17; 2Chr 33:3; Jer
10:2.

z. So B and C. A: “thirty.”

aa. Lit. “mornings.”

ab. Lit. “according to her sign.” The Eth. *ta'a-*
mer, “wonder,” “sign,” can also designate “sun”
or “moon.”

ac. Lit. “her.”

ad. Lit. “the day double the night.”

ae. Lit. “it shortens.”

af. B C: “it shortens the day and lengthens the
night.”

ag. Lit. “rising through it and setting.”

ah. Lit. “mornings.”

ai. Lit. “mornings.”

aj. Lit. “the day becomes.”

departing from that fifth gate and setting in the fifth gate, in the west, rises in the fourth gate for thirty-one days^{k2} according to the principle of (the gate),^{l2} and sets in the west. •On that day the day is aligned with the night, so that they become equal;^{m2} so the night becomes nine parts and the day nine parts. •Then the sun,^{m2} departing from that gate and setting in the west, returns to the east and comes out through the third gate for thirty days,ⁿ² and sets in the third gate in the west. •On that day the night becomes longer than the day; it becomes longer than the (previous) nightⁿ² and the day becomes shorter than the (previous) dayⁿ² for thirty day;^{q2} so the night turns out to be exactly ten parts and the day to be eight parts. •Then the sun, departing from that third gate in the west and returning to the east, comes out through the second gate in the east for thirty days,^{r2} and in the same manner it sets through the second gate in the western sky. •On that day the night becomes eleven parts and the day seven parts. •Then the sun, departing on that day from that second gate and setting in the west in the second gate, returns to the east and rises in the first gate for thirty-one days, and sets on that day in the western sky. •On that day the night lengthens^{s2} and becomes twelve parts, whereas the day (shortens and becomes) six parts. •Thus the sun completes^{s2} its appearances,ⁿ² and goes through those same cycles of appearances a second time,^{r2} coming out through all the openings^{w2} for thirty days^{s2} and setting also in the west opposite to it. •On that night the length of the night decreases by one ninth;^{r2} so the night becomes eleven parts and the day seven^{r2} parts. •Then the sun, returning and entering the second gate which is in the east, resumes its appearances^{s2} for thirty mornings, rising and setting (as usual). •On that day the night^{s3} becomes shorter,^{c3} so the night becomes ten parts and the day eight parts. •On that day the sun, departing from this second gate and setting in the west, returns to the east and rises through the third gate for thirty-one days, and sets in the western sky. •On that day the night shortens and becomes nine parts and the day nine parts. Then the night becomes equal with the day, and the days (of the year)^{d3} add up to exactly three hundred sixty-four days. •The lengths of the day and the night as well as the shortnesses of the day and the night are (determined) by (the course of) the circuit^{s3} of the sun, and distinguished by it. •The circuit becomes longer or shorter day by day and night by night (respectively). •Thus this is the order for^{s3} the course of the movement and the settlement of the sun—that great luminary which is called the sun, for the duration of the year(s) of the universe^{s3}—in respect to its going in^{s3} and coming out. •It is that very (luminary) which manifests itself in its appearance^{s3} as God has commanded that it shall come out and go in, in this manner.^{s3} •And neither does it diminish (in respect to its brightness) nor take rest but continue to run day^{k3} and night. As for the intensity of its light, it is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; nevertheless, (the sun and the moon) are equal in regard to their (respective) sizes.

k2. Lit. "mornings."

l2. See n. b2.

m2. Cf. n. y to vs. 12.

n2. Lit. "mornings."

o2. Lit. "the night becomes longer than the night."

p2. Lit. "the day becomes shorter than the day."

q2. Lit. "mornings."

r2. Lit. "mornings." So B and C. A omits "mornings."

s2. B and C add "becomes double the day."

t2. Lit. "completed," "having completed."

u2. B and C read 'ar'estihu, "its beginnings,"

"its chiefs," "its headlines," instead of 'ar'ayatihū

as in A.

v2. B C: 'ar'estihu. See n. u2.

w2. B C: "through the same openings."

x2. Lit. "mornings."

y2. Lit. "the night diminishes from her ninefold

length by one part."

z2. So B and C. A: "nine."

a3. B C: 'ar'estihu. See n. u2.

b3. So B, C, and emendation in A. A reads: "the

day."

c3. Lit. "diminishes from her length."

d3. B C: "and the year."

e3. Or "route," "course."

f3. Lit. "and."

g3. So A. B C: "forever and ever." Both grammatically and theologically, the reading of A seems better.

h3. B and C read "going in sixty times," which makes no sense.

i3. B and C add "that which is called the great luminary."

j3. Lit. "come out in this manner and go in."

k3. A omits "day."

The moon and the varying amounts of its illuminations

73 After I saw this (set of) regulation(s for the sun) I saw another (set of) regulation(s) concerning the minor luminary whose name is moon. •Its roundness is like the roundness of the sky,^c and the wind drives^d the chariot on which it rides;^e and it is given light in (varying) measure. •Its coming out and its going in change every month. Its days are like the days of the sun; and when its light becomes evenly (distributed) then it amounts to one seventh of the light of the sun. •It (the moon) rises in this manner: Its head^f faces the easterly direction, coming out on the thirtieth day,^g on that day, (that is,) on the thirtieth day, it comes into existence,^h and it appears with the sun in the gate through which the sun exits;ⁱ and you have the beginning of the month.^j (Considering) half of it to be (divisible into) seven parts,^k the whole disk of it is without light,^l with the exception of one-seventh part of the fourteenth part of the light (of the sun), one seventh of its (half) light.^m •On the day when it receives one-seventh part of its one half,ⁿ as the sun sets, it becomes (equivalent to) one-seventh light of one half of it. •Then when the sun rises, the moon^o rises together with it, taking a portion of one half of its light; that night (the moon), just beginning its monthly journey^p on its first lunar day, sets with the sun and becomes dark, in respect to its thirteen^q parts^r that night. On that day it rises and shines with exactly one-seventh part (of its semicircle). •Then it comes out and recedes toward the east (away from) where the sun rises, (continuing) to be bright(er) in one sixth of one seventh^s (of one half of the light of the sun) during the remaining days.^t

74 Furthermore, I saw another system of rotation^u with its own regulation^v whereby^w the system fulfills its monthly course of movement. •All these things—including their fixed positions—Uriel, the holy angel who is the guide of all of them, showed to me. And I wrote down their fixed positions as he showed them to me; and I wrote down their months as they were, as well as the (variable) aspects^x of their illumination until the completion of fifteen days. •The moon wanes in fifteen steps during a period of fifteen days, and waxes in fourteen steps in the east and the west respectively.^y •In (certain) designated months it alters its (westerly) settings and in (certain) designated months it fulfills its unusual^z courses of movement. •For two months it (the moon) sets with the sun, and uses^{aa} those two middle openings (which are) the third and the

73 a. Lit. "After this commandment I saw another commandment."

b. Whereas the sun is generally personified as feminine, and feminine grammatical forms (though sometimes masculine forms) are applied to it, the moon is generally personified as masculine (though sometimes as feminine), and masculine grammatical forms are most commonly used for it.

c. Some late MSS read "the sun."

d. So B and C. A: "lengthens."

e. Lit. "its chariot on which it rides."

f. According to Ethiopian commentators, the crescent-shaped head of the new moon.

g. Or "morning."

h. Lit. "it appears," "it manifests itself," etc.

i. The term *yawga* is ambiguous, since it could mean either "it came out" or "it went out." The verb *waṣṭa*, "to go out," "to come out," "to depart," "to go far," etc., is an approximate equivalent of the English "to exit." The term denotes the "rising" of the sun (or the moon) in the sense that the sun "comes out of" or "exits from" its chamber.

j. Lit. "it becomes for you the head ["the beginning"] of the month."

k. B and C add *reḥuq*, to give the reading "half of it is distant [or "moves away"] by one seventh." Flemming suggests emending the text by substituting *re'uy*, "visible," for *reḥuq*. Cf. EC, p. 138, n. 7.

l. Lit. "as though without light." B C: "empty without light."

m. The passage is in general difficult. But it seems to me to imply that "one-seventh part of the half of the moon represents one-fourteenth part of the light of the whole moon." B and C omit the last phrase: "one seventh of its (half) light."

n. B and C add "its light."

o. So B and C. A: "it."

p. Lit. "it is at the beginning [head] of its morning."

q. A B: "six and seven." C: "seven seven."

r. Lit. "six and seven parts of its hemisphere(s)."

s. Lit. "six (and) seven."

t. This section, 73:4–8, is a badly garbled description of the variations in the moon's illuminated area: on the first day one quarter, on the next one seventh, then one seventh plus one fourteenth, etc.

74 a. This ch. is primarily a variant of the preceding ch. 73.

b. Lit. "route," "course of movement."

c. Lit. "command."

d. Lit. "by which commandment."

e. Lit. "appearance."

f. Lit. "It completes its darkness in four (and) seven parts for fifteen days and completes all its lights in seven (and) seven parts in the east and the west." B and C read: "In one-seven-seven parts it completes its light in the east and in each seven-seven parts completes its darkness in the west."

g. Lit. "one-one."

h. Lit. "it has." B and C omit "it has."

6 fourth gate. •It comes out for seven days and completes a circuit as it returns again to the gate through which the sun rises. In this manner it waxesⁱ and recedes from the sun, entering the sixth gate through which the sun rises in eight days. •When the sun rises through the fourth gate (the moon) comes out for seven days, until it starts coming out through the fifth. It then turns back toward the fourth gate in seven days, waxing as it recedes, and enters the first gate in eight days. •Then again it returns to the fourth gate through which the sun rises in seven days.^j •This is how^k I saw their fixed positions—how the moon rises and shines when the sun sets—in those days. If five years are combined the sun gains thirty extra days; consequently one of those five years gains, and when it is completed, it turns out to be three hundred sixty-four days. •The gain of the sun and of the stars turns out to be six^l days; in five years, six days every year add up to thirty days;^m and the moonⁿ falls behind the sun and the stars for thirty days.^o •They^p bring about all the years punctiliously, so that they forever neither gain upon nor fall behind their fixed positions for a single day, but they convert the year with punctilious justice into three hundred sixty-four days. •In three (years)^q there are one thousand ninety-two days and in five years one thousand eight hundred and twenty days, so that in eight years there are two thousand nine hundred and twelve days. •For the moon singly in three (years) its days add up to one thousand thirty days,^r so that it falls behind by sixty-two days in three years.^s •In five years (they add up to) one thousand eight hundred seventy days,^t so that it falls behind by fifty days in five years. Thus it is for the moon. •In eight years the days (add up to) two thousand eight hundred thirty-two days, so that it falls behind by eight days in eight years.^u (In this way) the years are completed with precision,^v in accordance with their fixed positions in the universe and the fixed stations of the sun which shine, the gate through which it (the sun) rises and sets for thirty days.

1 75 The leaders of the chiefs of the thousands, which are appointed over the whole creation and upon all the stars, are counted together with the four (leaders of the seasons); they do not leave from the^a fixed stations^b according to the reckoning of the year; and they render service on the four days which are not counted in the reckoning of the year. •On this account, people err in them, for those luminaries scrupulously render service to the fixed positions in the cosmos—one in the first gate of heaven, one in the third,^c one in the fourth, one in the fifth,^d and one in the sixth. In this manner the year is completed scrupulously in three hundred sixty-four fixed stations of the cosmos. •Thus the signs, the durations of time, the years, and the days were shown^e to me (by) the angel Uriel, whom the Lord, God of eternal glory, has appointed^f over all the luminaries of heaven—(both) in heaven and the world—in order that they—the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the created objects which circulate in all

The section 74:10–12 is meaningless as it stands; while the whole section 74:10–16 seems to be a later fragmentary intrusion. The computation in this section is a rather trivial one:

(1) solar (civil) years: $364 \times 5 = 1820$
 $364 \times 3 = 1092$
 $364 \times 8 = 2912$
 (2) lunar years: $354 \times 5 = 1770$
 $354 \times 3 = 1062$
 $354 \times 8 = 2832$

Thus in 8 civil years the excess over 8 lunar years is $2912 - 2832 = 80$ (or simply $364 - 354 = 10$; thus $8 \times 10 = 80$).

v. Lit. "in justice," "justly."

75 a. Lit. "its."

b. B: "they do not leave from their fixed stations."
 C: "they do not become separated from their deeds [actions]."

c. All MSS add "gate of heaven."

d. B and C omit "fifth."

e. Lit. "he showed."

f. C adds "forever."

i. Lit. "completes all her light."

j. Vss. 7–9 is a corrupt rendering of the simple rule: The moon rises (and sets) during seven or eight days in the outermost gates (i.e. gates six and one) but only one or two days in all other gates (i.e. gates two to five).

k. Lit. "in this way."

l. So B and C. A reads "eight" as emended.

m. So B and C. A: "five years gain thirty days."

n. So B and C. A: "it."

o. So B and C. A: "it falls behind the sun and the stars for thirty days—behind the sun, the moon, and the stars." Cf. EC, p. 141, nn. 1, 2.

p. So A. B: "The moon." C: "The sun and the stars." Cf. also EC, p. 141, nn. 3, 4.

q. Text unclear.

r. B: "one thousand and sixty days." C: "one thousand and sixty-two."

s. B and C omit "it falls behind by sixty-two days in three years."

t. Lit. "there are one thousand seven hundred seventy days in five years." In B and C vss. 14f. are corrupt.

u. A, B, and C all repeat the preceding clause.

the chariots of heaven—should rule in the face of the sky and be seen on the earth to be guides for the day and the night.^a •Likewise Uriel showed me twelve wide openings in the sky, along the course of the chariots of the sun, from which^b the rays of the sun break out and from which heat^c is diffused upon the earth, when they are opened during the designated seasons. •Their openings (affect) the winds and the spirit of the dew,^d (that is) when the twelve wide openings^e are opened in the sky, in the extreme ends^f of the earth, through which (also) the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the (other) heavenly objects come out in the west.^g •There are many open windows to the left and the right, but one window produces the heat^h at its designated time in the manner of those openings through which the stars rise in accordance with their orders and set according to their numbers. •I also saw chariots in heaven running in the universe above those openingsⁱ in which the stars that do not set^j revolve. •One (circuit) is larger than the rest of them all, and it circles the entire cosmos at the extreme ends of the earth.^k

The twelve winds and their gates

- 1 76 And I saw^a the twelve wide openings in all the directions^b through which the winds come out and blow over the earth. •Three of them are open in the forefront of the sky, three in the west, three in the right of the sky,^c and three on the left:^d (in other words) the first three are those on the morning side (followed by) three in the direction of the north;^e the last three are those on the left, in the direction of the south (followed by) three in the west. •Through four of the (openings)^f blow out winds of blessing^g (and) through eight of them blow out winds of pestilence—when they are sent in order to destroy the whole earth, the water upon her, all those who dwell upon her, and all those which exist in the waters^h and the dry land.
- 5 The first (group of) winds goes out from those openings called the easterly.ⁱ Out of the first gate, which is in the direction of the east and inclines toward the south, proceed extirpation, drought, pestilence,^j and destruction. •Out of the second gate, (located) directly in the center, proceed^k rain and fruitfulness together with dew.^l Out of the third gate, which is in the direction of the northeast, proceed (both) cold and drought.
- 7 After these winds, there go out the southerly ones through three gates. Among these, out of the first gate, which inclines in the direction of the east, proceed the winds of heat.^m •Out of the central gate, which is next to it, proceed beautiful fragrance, dew, rain, peace, and life. •And out of the third gate, in the direction of the west, proceed dew, rain, young locusts,ⁿ and desolation.
- 10 After these, there goes (the group) of the northerly^o winds whose name is the Sea.^p There proceed from the seventh gate, which is in the direction of the east, toward the

g. The section 75:1–3 is a slightly different version of the same topic in 82:4–6.

h. So B and C. A: "with which."

i. B omits the whole preceding clause and substitutes *mot*, "death," for *mwoq*, "heat."

j. Texts unclear. So A, conjecturally. B: "The winds and the spirit of the dew during the seasons when the openings in the sky are opened upon the extreme ends." C: "As for the winds and the spirit of the dew, when they are opened, open in the sky upon the extreme ends."

k. B: "I saw the twelve openings."

l. Or "end."

m. B C: "from the east and the west."

n. Lit. "heats heat."

o. B adds "and beneath them."

p. So B and C. A: "that do not watch [keep]."

q. So A.

76 a. B and C start "At the extreme ends of the

world I saw."

b. Lit. "to all the winds."

c. I.e. "the east."

d. I.e. "the south."

e. I.e. "the north."

f. Lit. "northeast."

g. Lit. "For four of them."

h. B and C add "and of peace."

i. So B and C. A: "on the earth."

j. Lit. "the Orient."

k. B: "death." C: "heat."

l. B and C: "what is right goes out."

m. So A. B and C have *salām*, "peace," instead of *mesla*, "with," resulting in the reading "peace and dew."

n. B: "the wind of death." C: "the wind of heat."

o. Lit. "newly sloughed locusts," "baboons,"

"invaders," "spoilors."

p. Lit. "northeasterly."

q. Eth. *bahr*.

11 south, dew, rain, young locusts, and desolation. • Out of the central gate proceed life, rain, and dew directly; and out of the third gate, which is in the direction of the west, which inclines toward the northeast, proceed cloud, frost, snow, rain, dew, and young locusts.^a

12 After these come the fourth (group) of winds—the westerly. Out of the first gate, which is in the northeasterly direction, proceed dew, frost, cold, snow, and hoarfrost. 13 Out of the central gate proceed dew, rain, peace, and blessing. And out of the last gate, which is in the direction of the south, proceed drought, desolation, burning, and destruction. • Thus the twelve openings of the four heavenly directions^c are completed; all their orders, all their evil effects,^e and all their beneficial effects^f have I revealed to you, (O) my son, Methuselah!

The four directions, the seven mountains, the seven rivers

1 **77** The first direction^a is called the Orient, because it is the very first.^b • The second^c is called the South,^c because the Most High will descend^d there, indeed because^e the Eternally Blessed will descend there.^f • (The third) direction^g is the Occident, its name (means) the diminished, (because) there all the luminaries of the sky wane and descend. 4 The fourth direction,^h whose name is the North,ⁱ is divided into three parts: One of them is the dwelling of human beings; the second the seas of water, lakes, forests, rivers, darkness, and clouds; and the third part the garden of righteousness.

5 I saw seven high mountains which were higher than all the mountains of the earth; 6 out of them proceeds frost; and days and year(s) traverse (them) in due season.^k • I saw seven^l rivers upon the earth, larger than all the rivers; one of them emerges from 7 the West^m and empties its water into the Great Sea.ⁿ • Two (others)^o come from the 8 Northeast to the sea and empty their water into the Erythraean Sea, in the East. • The four remaining ones come out of the side of the Northeast to their own (respective) seas—(two of them) to the Erythraean Sea and two of them to the Great Sea, pouring 9 themselves therein; some say to the seventh^p desert.^q • I (also) saw big islands in the sea and the land—seventy-two in the Erythraean Sea.^r

Names of the sun and the moon; waxing and waning of the moon

1 **78** These are the names of the sun:^a the first, 'Oryares^b and the second, Tomas.^c • The

r. The text may be corrupt. B reads "After these are the winds in the direction of the northeast, its name is *bahr* [the Sea], from the three seventh exits in the direction of the east which inclines toward the south. . . ." Charles saw two interpolations here. Cf. EC, p. 145, nn. 36–40.

s. See n. o above.

t. B and C add "peace."

u. See n. o.

v. Lit. "openings."

w. Lit. "plagues."

x. Lit. "their peace."

77 a. Lit. "wind."

b. Cf. Heb. *qedem*.

c. Lit. also "Southwest."

d. Charles suggests that the Eth. 'azēb is equivalent to the Heb. *dārōm*, from a play on *yerēd rām*, "the Most High will descend."

e. B omits "indeed because." C omits "because."

f. B omits "will descend there."

g. Lit. "wind."

h. Lit. "wind."

i. Lit. "Northeast."

j. So B and C. A: "the second, rivers."

k. B C: "and days and season and year traverse (them)." B adds "and go."

l. So B and C. A omits "seven."

m. I.e. possibly the Nile, which lies southwest of the land of Israel.

n. I.e. the Mediterranean Sea.

o. Lit. "These two," possibly referring to the Euphrates and Tigris. The references to these rivers may have been omitted due to scribal errors in this defective passage.

p. So A. Only one MS of Charles, u, reads clearly "seven." Others are corrupt.

q. So B and C. A reads *mabder* instead of *madbar*, "desert." The verb *bdr* means "to run," "race," "prefer," etc., but *mabder* does not seem to have an intelligible meaning in the present context.

r. Perhaps "in the land" is an intrusion.

s. The reading of A is difficult but better. B and C read "I saw seven big islands in the sea and the land—two in the land and five in the Great Sea." Cf. also EC, p. 148, nn. 8–10. Perhaps the non-corrupted original read "I saw seven big islands—two in the Great Sea, and five in the Red Sea."

78 a. Lit. "like this."

b. Heb. 'or heres, "light of the sun."

c. Heb. *šemeš*, "sun," according to Charles. Heb. *hamāh*, "heat," according to Halévy.

Ezek 42:20

moon has four names: Its first name is Asenya;^d its second, 'Abla;^e the third, Banase;^f and the fourth, 'Era.^g • These are the two great luminaries. Their roundness is like the roundness of the sky; and the magnitude of their roundness is equivalent for both.^h 4 There are seven (more) portions of light that moveⁱ in the sun's sphere than in the moon's and it increases in measure until seventy^j portions of the sun are completed.^k 5 The (moon) comes in and goes out^l by the western openings, and circles^m via the 6 northeast and rises through the eastern openings upon the face of the earth. • When the moon (begins its cycle),ⁿ it appears in the sky one half of a seventh part; it will 7 become fully illumined from the fourteenth (day); • it completes its illumination the fifteenth,^o becoming^p fulfilled according to the sign of the year and becoming fifteen^q 8 parts. Thus the moon waxes^r in fifteen parts.^s • In its waning, (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of its light; on the second day, it decreases to thirteen parts of light; on the third, to twelve parts; on the fourth, to eleven parts; on the fifth, to ten parts; on the sixth, to nine parts; on the seventh, to eight parts; on the eighth, to seven parts; on the ninth, to six parts;^t on the tenth, to five parts; on the eleventh, to four parts; on the twelfth, to three parts; on the thirteenth, to one half (of the preceding);^u on the fourteenth, all its light decreases to one half of one seventh; and 9 on the fifteenth, all the remaining (light) disappears. • In certain fixed months, the moon completes its cycle^v every twenty-nine days, (in certain others), every twenty- 10 eight. • Then Uriel showed me another order (concerning) when light is beamed^w into 11 the moon, from which (direction) of the bright^x sun it is beamed. • During all the seasons when the moon is made to run its cycle,^y the light is being beamed into it (the moon) facing the sun until the illumination (of the moon) is completed in the course of fourteen days; and when it is lit completely, it radiates^z light in the sky. 12 On the first day, it is called^{a2} the new moon because on that day the illumination 13 begins to set upon it.^{b2} • These^{c2} (illuminations) are completed with exactitude on the day when the sun descends^{d2} into the west, and the moon (simultaneously) rises in the east in the evening,^{e2} shining during the night^{f2} until the sun rises opposite it, and its^{g2} 14 is over against the sun. • From the same side where light entered the moon, from there

d. B C: 'Asonya. According to Halévy this word comes from Heb. 'ishōn yāh, "diminutive person," "pupil of the eye," designating the human-like figure of the moon.

e. According to Halévy, corrupted from Heb. *kānāh*, "moon."

f. B C: Benase. According to Halévy, corrupted from Heb. *bēn kēsēh*, "full moon."

g. Cf. Heb. *yārēh*, "moon." For the various names of the sun and the moon given here cf. J. Halévy, "Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Hénoch," JA 6.9 (1867), 352–95.

h. So B and C. A reads "the magnitude of their roundness is like the roundness of the sky, co-equivalent for both." "Like the roundness of the sky" seems to be a dittography. One could possibly translate the passage to read "the magnitude of their circuits is like the roundness of the sky, co-equivalent for both."

i. B C: "that is added."

j. So A, which does not seem to make sense. B C: "seventh." The meaning of the text is that when seven parts of the sun's light have been transferred to the moon, the moon is fully illumined.

k. Lit. "passes." The text is difficult.

l. B C: "they set and come in." The masculine singular verbal form in A seems to indicate the moon.

m. B C: "they circle."

n. Lit. "when the moon comes out."

o. Lit. "three-fiveness." B and C also add: "fifteen portions of light are added into it until the fifteenth day."

p. Lit. "its light becomes."

q. Lit. "three-fiveness."

r. Lit. "becomes."

s. Lit. "half of seventh."

t. The passage from 78:8b (fol. 103v) to 82:20 (fol. 106v) has been copied twice, first as an interpolation between the end of ch. 71 (fol. 96r) and 72:1 (fol. 99r), and here, where it normally belongs. Both sections are of the same period and seem to be by the same hand; nevertheless, they are not identical. A study of their variations can contribute to an understanding of the Ethiopian scribal philosophy. Of course, no attempt is made here to deal with that problem.

u. B and C read "to two parts."

v. Lit. "the moon [or "month"] becomes."

w. Lit. "thrown," "cast," "projected."

x. Lit. "morning ["day" or "east"]." B and C omit "morning."

y. Lit. "made to go."

z. Lit. "it fulfills," "accomplishes," "executes."

a2. So B and C. A reads *wasamāy*, "and heaven," instead of *tesamay*. Note here also that the feminine instead of the masculine singular is used for the moon, as elsewhere (see below) in this passage the masculine instead of the feminine singular is used for the sun.

b2. Lit. "light rises upon her." Here also the feminine form is applied to the moon.

c2. B and C drop "these."

d2. The masculine form is used for the sun.

e2. Lit. "night."

f2. B and C read "the whole night."

g2. Lit. "the moon."

also it (gradually) wanes until all the illumination disappears and the days of the moon expire, its disk empty without light.

- 15 (The moon) coordinates,^{m2} in respect to its days and seasons, (four) three-month² (divisions). In the course of its recession² it makes (three months each in thirty days) and three months each in twenty-nine days; during this season^{k2} it makes its recession, in the first period, (starting) in the first gate, (in) one hundred and seventy-seven days.
- 16 In the course (of) its progression,¹² it appears three months each in thirty days and
- 17 three months each in twenty-nine days. •By night it appears like a man,^{m2} and by day it appears like the sky; for there is no other thing in it except its light.ⁿ²

Conclusion of the vision of astronomical laws

- 1 **79** (Thus) now, my son,¹ I have revealed to you everything; (so) the rules concerning
- 2 all the stars of heaven are concluded (here). •(Indeed) he showed me all their respective
- 3 rules for every day, for every season,^b and for every year; the procession of each one according to the commandment, every month and every week. •(He showed me) the total¹ decrement (i.e. during a half lunar year) of the moon which it makes (from the first) through the sixth gate,^d for (after) the light of this sixth gate is disposed of (at
- 4 the end of the series of the six gates),^f the beginning of the decrement •(i.e. during the other half lunar year) which it makes (in returning) in the first gate takes place in its⁸ own season until one hundred and seventy-seven days are fulfilled, following
- 5 the rule of (counting) weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. •(The moon) falls behind the sun according to the order ofⁿ the stars exactly five days during one period
- 6 (i.e. one half year), and when the place which you behold has been traversed.¹ •Such is the appearance and the picture of all the luminaries which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.

- 1 **80** In those days, the angel Uriel responded⁴ and said to me, "Behold, I have shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you (so that) you might see this sun, this moon, and those that guide the stars of heaven as well as all those who interchange^b their activities and their seasons and rotate^c their processions.

- 2 In respect to their days, the sinners and the winter^d are cut short.¹ Their seed(s)¹ shall lag behind¹ in their lands and in their fertile fields,^b and in all their activities upon the earth.¹ He will turn¹ and appear in their time,¹ and withhold rain¹ and the sky
- 3 shall stand still at that time. •Then the vegetable^m shall slackenⁿ and not grow in its
- 4 season, and the fruit^e shall not be bornⁿ in its (proper) season. •The moon shall alter

h2. So A. Lit. "It unites," "It combines," "It associates." Other MSS: "It makes."

i2. So A. B C: "and three months it makes thirty days in its season(s)."

j2. I.e. as it moves from gate six to one. Lit. "when it is waning," "when it is receding."

k2. Lit. "which in them."

l2. I.e. as it moves from gate one to six. Lit. "in the (due) season, its coming out."

m2. B and C add "for twenty days."

n2. In the last two sentences, the moon is again described in feminine gender.

79 a. B adds "Methuselah."

b. B and C add "of every authority."

c. Lit. "in all," or "in everything." B and C omit "in all," or "in everything."

d. Lit. "in the sixth gate" or "by the sixth gate." The passage could be translated "the total decrement of the moon which it makes by the sixth gate."

e. Lit. "her light," i.e. the light of the sixth gate.

f. Lit. "after these" or "from these."

g. Lit. "her," i.e. the first gate's season.

h. So A and B. C reads *lašer'ata*, "(for) the order of," instead of *bašer'ata*. Cf. EC, p. 152, n. 1.

i. Lit. "completed."

80 a. Lit. "answered me."

b. Lit. "turn."

c. B and C omit "and rotate [turn]."

d. Lit. "rainy season."

e. Lit. "In respect to the days of the sinners and the winter, they are cut short." B and C read "In the days of sinners the winters ['seasons,' 'years'] are cut short."

f. The term "seeds" has a double entendre here: it can mean "their offspring" or "the seeds they sow."

g. Lit. "it shall become the last."

h. B: "plowed fields."

i. B C: "all the activities upon the earth shall alter."

j. So A. For B and C see preceding note.

k. B: "He will not appear in his [its] time." C: "He will not appear for their times."

l. B C: "rain will be withheld."

m. Lit. "fruit of the ground."

n. Lit. "shall become the last one."

o. Lit. "fruit of the tree."

p. Lit. "shall be withheld."

- 5 its order, and will not be seen according to its (normal) cycles. •In those days it will appear in the sky^a and it shall arrive in the evening^r in the extreme ends of the great lunar path,¹ in the west. And it shall shine (more brightly), exceeding the normal
- 6 degree of light.¹ •Many of the chiefs of the stars shall make errors in respect to the orders given to them; they shall change their courses and functions and not appear
- 7 during the seasons which have been prescribed for them. •All the orders of the stars shall harden (in disposition) against the sinners and the conscience of those that dwell upon the earth. They (the stars) shall err against them (the sinners); and modify all their courses. Then they (the sinners) shall err and take them (the stars) to be gods.
- 8 And evil things shall be multiplied upon them; and plagues shall come upon them, so as to destroy all.

The heavenly book and Enoch's mission

- 1 **81** Then he said unto me, "Enoch, look at the^a tablet(s)^b of heaven; read what is
- 2 written upon them and understand (each element on them) one by one. •So I looked at the tablet(s) of heaven, read all the writing (on them), and came to understand everything. I read that^c book and^d all the deeds of humanity and all the children of
- 3 the flesh upon the earth for^e all the generations of the world. •At that very moment, I blessed the Great Lord, the King of Glory for ever, for he has created all the phenomena in the world. I praised the Lord because of his patience; and I wept on
- 4 account of the children of the people upon the earth.^f •After that, I said:

Blessed is the man who dies righteous and upright,
against whom no record⁸ of oppression has been written,
and who received no judgment on that day.^h

- 5 Then the seven holy ones¹ brought me¹ and placed me on the ground in front of the gate of my house, and said to me, "Make everything known to your son, Methuselah, and show to all your children that no one of the flesh can be just before the Lord; for
- 6 they are merely his own creation.¹ •We shall let you stay with your son¹ for one year, so that you may teach your children another law^m and write it down for them and give all of themⁿ a warning;⁹ and in the second year, you shall be taken away from (among)
- 7 all of them.⁹ •Let your heart be strong! For the upright shall announce righteousness to the upright; and the righteous ones shall rejoice with the righteous ones and
- 8 congratulate each other.⁹ •But the sinners shall die together with the sinners; and the
- 9 apostate shall sink together with the apostate. •But those who do right shall not die¹⁰ on account of the (evil) deeds of the people; it¹⁰ will gather on account of the deeds
- 10 of the evil ones."¹ •In those days, (those seven holy ones) concluded speaking with me; and then I returned to my people, blessing the Lord of the universe.

Job 9:2;
Ps 14:1

2Kgs 22:20;
Isa 57:1;
WisSol 4:7-14

q. Charles, following Halévy, suggests "the sun" instead of "the sky." See EC, p. 153, n. 1.

r. Text reads "drought," "famine." But Charles, following Halévy, has suggested perhaps correctly that the Eth. *'abdr.* corresponding to Heb. *ra'ab*, "hunger," is a corruption of the Heb. *ereb*, "evening," attributable to the Gk. translator. Cf. EC, p. 153, nn. 1, 2.

s. Lit. "chariot."

t. Lit. "the order of light."

81 a. B C: "this."

b. Lit. "slate," "polished and flat stone," "brick," "tile," "stone-table."

c. B and C omit "that."

d. B C: "of."

e. Lit. "unto."

f. Lit. "I wept upon the earth on account of the children of the people." B and C read "I blessed" instead of "I wept on account of," "upon the children of the people" instead of "upon the earth," thus giving the reading "I blessed upon the children of

the people."

g. Lit. "book."

h. B: "Upon whom no guile has been found." C: "Who did not find the day of judgment."

i. All MSS add "they."

j. A omits "me."

k. Lit. "for he has created them."

l. Lit. "We shall leave you with your son."

m. B C: "until you give other commandments, that you may teach your children."

n. Lit. "all of your children."

o. Lit. "make all of your children hear [understand]."

p. Lit. "they shall take you away from all of them." B and C read "from their midst" instead of "from all of them."

q. Or "present each other with gifts."

r. B C: "shall die on account of the deeds of the people."

s. I.e. the flood water.

t. B C: "they will assemble on account of the deeds of the evil ones."

Additional astronomical-calendrical visions

- 82 Now, Methuselah, my son, I shall recount all these things to you and write them down for you. I have revealed to you^a and given you the book^b concerning all these things. Preserve, my son, the book from your father's hands in order that you may pass^c it to the generations of the world. •I have given wisdom to you, to your children,^{Ps 78:1f.} and to those who shall become your children in order that they may pass it (in turn) to their own children and to the generations that are discerning.^d All the wise ones shall give praise,^e and wisdom shall dwell upon your consciousness;^f •they shall not slumber but be thinking;^g they shall cause their ears to listen in order that they may learn this wisdom; and it shall please those who feast on it^h more than good food.
- 4 Blessed are all the righteous ones; blessed are those who walk in the street of righteousnessⁱ and have no sin like the sinners in the computation of the days in which the sun goes its course in the sky. It (the sun) comes in through a door^j and rises for thirty^k days together with the chiefs of the thousands of the orders of the stars, together with the four which are added to determine^l the intervals within (the year, that is, the intervals) between the four seasons^m of the year;ⁿ those that lead them along^o come in on four^p days. •On this account there are people that err; they count them (the four?) in the computation of the year;^q for the people make error and do not recognize them accurately; for they belong to the reckoning of the year. •Truly, they are recorded forever: one in the first gate, one in the third,^r one in the fourth, and one in the sixth. The year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.^s
- 7 True is the matter of the exact computation of that which has been recorded; for Uriel—whom the Lord of all the creation of the world has ordered for me (in order to explain) the host of heaven—has revealed to me and breathed over me concerning the luminaries, the months, the festivals, the years, and the days. •He has the power in the heaven both day and night so that he may cause the light to shine over the people—sun, moon, and stars, and all the principalities of the heaven which revolve in their (respective) circuits. •These are the orders of the stars which set in their (respective) places, seasons, festivals, and months. •And these are the names of those which lead the ones that come out and go down^t in their (appointed) seasons, which lead them in their (respective) places, orders, times, months, authorities, and locations.
- 11 The four leaders^v which distinguish the four seasons of the year enter first; after them (enter) the twelve leaders of the orders which distinguish the months; and the three hundred and sixty captains^w which divide the days and the four epagomenal days, (and) leaders which divide the four seasons of the year. •These captains over thousands are added between leader and leader, each behind a place to stand; but their leaders make the division. •And these are the names of the leaders which divide the four seasons^x of the years which are fixed: Malki'el, Hēla'emmemelek, Milāy'ul, and Nārēl.^y
- 14 The names of those who lead them are 'Adnār'ul, 'Iyāsus-'el, 'Elum'el—these three

relationship of "part" and "year." However, B and C read simply "which divide between the four parts of the year."

o. Lit. "together with them."

p. So B and C. A reads "forty."

q. B C: "they do not count them in the reckoning of the whole world."

r. C adds "exit."

s. The section 82:4–6 is a slightly different version of the same topic in 75:1–3.

t. Cf. EC, p. 156, nn. 39, 40.

u. B C: "... of those which lead the ones that keep and come in ..."

v. B C: "Their four leaders."

w. Lit. "chiefs of one thousand."

x. Lit. "parts."

y. B C: Melk'el [C: Milki'el]; Hel'emmemelek [C: Hel'emmemelek]; Mēl'ēyal; and Nārēl [C: Nārel].

z. B C: 'Adnār'el [C: 'Adnār'el]; 'Iyāsus'el [C: 'Iyāsusa'el]; and 'Iyelum'el [C: 'Elomē'el].

82 a. B and C add "all these things."

b. Lit. "their book."

c. Lit. "give."

d. B and C read "this wisdom upon their consciousness."

e. Possibly *yesēbehu* is a corruption for *yelabewu*, "they shall have understanding."

f. So A. These phrases are omitted altogether by B and C.

g. B C: "those who are thinking [understanding] do not slumber."

h. Lit. "to those who eat."

i. B: "Blessed are all the righteous ones; blessed are all who walk in the street of righteousness." C: "Blessed are all the righteous ones who walk in the street of righteousness."

j. Eth. *anqas*.

k. So B and C. A reads "three."

l. Lit. "which shade." B C: "which divide."

m. Lit. "parts."

n. So B and C. A does not show construct

- follow the leaders of the orders, as well as the four² which follow after the three leaders of the orders, which follow after those leaders of the stations that divide the four seasons of the year. •At the very beginning,^{b2} Malkiyāl,^{c2} whose name is called Tam'ayen^{d2}—and the sun—rises and rules; and all the days of his authority—during which he reigns—are ninety-one days. •And these are the signs of the days which become manifest during the period of his authority: sweat, heat, and dryness;^{e2} all the trees bear fruit (and) leaves grow on all trees; (there will be) good harvest,^{f2} rose flowers, and all the flowers which grow in the field; but the winter tree^{g2} shall wither.
- 17 And these are the names of the leaders which are their subordinates: Berkā'el, Zalebsā'el,^{h2} and another additional one, a captain of a thousand, named Hēluyāsāfīⁱ²—the days of the authority of this one have been completed. •The next leader after him is Hēla'emmemelek,^{j2} whose name they call the bright sun; and all the days of his light are ninety-one days. •And these are the days of signs upon signs^{k2} upon the earth: scorching heat and drought; and trees will produce their glowing fruits^{l2} and impart of their ripened ones;^{m2} the sheep shall seek (one another) and become pregnant; and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and all that is in the fields as well as the winepress. (These things) shall take place in the days of his authority. •These are the names, the orders, and the subordinatesⁿ² of those captains over thousands: Gēdā'yāl, Hēlyā'el, and Kī'el;^{o2} and the name of the one that is added together with them is a captain over a thousand called 'Asfā'el^{p2}—the days of the authority of this one have been completed.

Book IV (83–90)

The Dream Visions

Vision of the Deluge

- 83 (Book) Four. •Now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all the visions^b which I saw,^c recounting them before you. •I saw two (visions) before I got married;^d and neither one of them resembles the other: The first one (I saw) when I (was beginning to) learn book(s), and the second, before I got married to^e your mother. First, I saw a scary vision regarding which^f I prayed to the Lord. •I was (then) sleeping^g in my grandfather Mahalalel's house, and I saw in a vision the sky being hurled down and snatched and falling upon the earth. •When it fell upon the earth, I saw the earth being swallowed up^h into the great abyss, the mountains being suspended upon mountains, the hills sinking down upon the hills, and tall trees being uprootedⁱ and thrown and sinking into the deep abyss. •Thereupon a word^j fell into my mouth; and I began crying aloud, saying, "The earth is being destroyed." •Then my grandfather, Mahalalel, woke me up while I was sleeping together with him^m and said to me,

a2. B C: "one."

b2. Lit. "Before the first." B C: "Before the first year."

c2. B C: Melkiyāl.

d2. B: Tam'ana. C: Tam'ayeni.

e2. Or "sorrow." C reads *wazāhen*, "rest," "calm." The word *hazan* in A and B could also be a corruption of *wahāzyān*, "springs," "fountains."

f2. B C: "harvest of wheat."

g2. Lit. "the tree of the rainy season."

h2. B C: Berke'el [C: Berka'el], Zēlebsā'el [C: Zēlebsē'el].

i2. B: Hēluyāsēf. C: Hēluyasēf.

j2. B: Hēlemmemelek. C: Hēlemmemelek.

k2. B C: "the signs of the day."

l2. B: "glowing and ripe."

m2. Lit. "their ripened fruits." B: "their dried fruits." C: "their glowing and ripened fruits."

n2. C omits "the subordinates."

o2. B C: Gēdā'yāl [C: Gidā'yāl], Kē'el, and Hē'el.

p2. B: 'Esfā'el.

83 a. So A. B reads *keft*, "part." C omits both.

b. C: "my visions."

c. So B and C. A reads "all the visions, but the visions, which I saw."

d. Lit. "I took a wife."

e. Lit. "I took."

f. B and C omit "First."

g. B C: "regarding them."

h. Or "lying still," "lying down," "resting."

i. B and C omit "and."

j. A: "being heaped[?]."

k. Lit. "being cut from their stems."

l. Or "a speech," "a statement."

m. B C: "by [near] him."

“What happened to you that you are crying aloud like this, my son, and why are you lamenting in this manner?” • And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen. And he said unto me, “How terrifying a thing have you seen, my son! You have seen in your dream” a powerful vision—all the sins of the whole worldⁿ as it was sinking into the abyss and being destroyed with great destruction. • Now, my son, rise and pray to the Lord of glory, for you are a man of faith, so that a remnant shall remain upon the earth and that the whole earth shall not be blotted out.”^p • My son, all the things upon the earth shall take place from heaven; and there will occur a great destruction upon the earth. • After that, I rose and prayed, made a petition, and begged; and I wrote down all the prayers of the generations of the world.^q I will show you everything, my son, Methuselah. • Had I descended underneath and seen the sky, the sun rising in the east, the moon descending in the west, the diminishing of the stars, and the whole earth, I would have recognized^r everything upon her.^s So I blessed the Lord of judgment and extolled him. For he has made the sun to come out from the windows of the east; so it ascended and rose upon the face of the sky, starting to go the way that it was shown.

84 Then I raised up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One; and I spoke with the breath of my mouth and the tongue of flesh which God has made for the children of the flesh, the people, so that they should speak with it; he gave them the breath and the mouth so that they should speak with it.

Blessed are you, O Great King,
you are mighty in your greatness,
O Lord of all the creation of heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.
Your authority^a and kingdom^b abide forever and ever;
and your dominion throughout all the generations of generations;
all the heavens are your throne forever,
and the whole earth is your footstool forever and ever and ever.
For you have created (all),
and all things you rule;
not a single thing is hard for you—(absolutely) not a single thing^c or wisdom;^d
Your throne has not retreated from her station^e nor from before your presence.^f
Everything you know, you see, and you hear;
nothing exists that can be hidden from you, for everything you expose.^g
The angels of your heavens are now committing sin (upon the earth),
and your wrath shall rest^h upon the flesh of the people until (the arrival of) the great day of judgment

“Now, O God, and Lord and Great King, I pray and beg so that you may sustain my prayer andⁱ save for me (a generation) that will succeed me in the earth; and do not destroy all the flesh of the people and empty the earth (so that) there shall be eternal destruction. • Do now destroy, O my Lord, the flesh that has angered you from upon the earth, but sustain the flesh of righteousness and uprightness as a plant of eternal seed; and hide not your face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord.”

n. Lit. “You have dreamed.” B and C: “your dream.”

o. B C: “the secret of the sins of the whole world.”

p. C: “that he may not blot out.”

q. B C: “and I wrote down my prayers for the generations of the world.”

r. A unclear. B C: “When.”

s. Cf. EC, p. 161, nn. 9–12.

t. B C: “he had known it in the beginning.”

b. B and C add “your greatness.”

c. B and C omit “thing.”

d. B has a meaningless word, *qa’ub*.

e. Lit. “condition,” “state of life,” “age,” “nourishment . . .”

f. The whole clause is a difficult one. C reads: “Wisdom does not depart from the place of your throne, nor turn away from your presence.” Concerning this emendation see EC, p. 162, nn. 12f.

g. B C: “you see.”

h. Lit. “become,” “happen,” “take place.”

i. All MSS add “so that.”

84 a. Or “dominion,” “divinity,” “kingship.”

Vision of various cows

85 After this, I saw another dream; and I will show you everything,^a my son. • Then Enoch responded^b and said to his son, Methuselah: I shall speak to you, my son, hear my words and incline your ears to the dream vision of your father. • Before I married your mother, Edna, I was seeing a vision on my bed, and behold a cow^c emerged^d from the earth, and that bovid was snow-white;^e and after it, there came forth one female calf together with two other calves, one of which was dark and the other^f red. • The dark calf gored that red calf and pursued it over the earth; thereafter I was not able to see^g that red calf. • But the dark calf grew big, and it brought along^h that female calf; and I saw that many bovids, which resembled it, proceeded forth from it, and followed after them.ⁱ • That first heifer^j departed from before the face of that first bovid,^k and looked for that red calf, but could not find it; so she lamented over it with great lamentation, in searching for it. • I kept looking until that first cow came^l and quieted her; from that moment, she stopped crying. • After that she bore two snow-white cows;^m and after it she bore many more cows as well as dark heifers. • I also saw in my sleep that snow-white bull, and he grew big likewise and became a great snow-white bull; and there proceeded forth from him many snow-white cows which resembled him. • Then they began to give birth to many snow-white cows which resembled them, each one following many others.ⁿ

Vision of the fallen stars among the cows

86 Again I saw (a vision) with my own eyes as I was sleeping, and saw the lofty heaven; and as I looked, behold, a star fell down from heaven but (managed) to rise and eat and to be pastured among those cows. • Then I saw these big and dark cows, and behold they all changed their cattle-sheds, their pastures, and their calves; and they began to lament^a with each other.^b • Once again I saw a vision, and I observed the sky and behold, I saw^c many stars descending and casting themselves down from the sky upon that first star; and they became bovids among those calves and were pastured together with them, in their midst. • I kept observing, and behold, I saw all of them extending^d their sexual organs like horses and commencing to mount upon the heifers, the bovids;^e and they (the latter) all became pregnant and bore elephants, camels, and donkeys. • So (the cattle) became fearful and frightened of them and began to bite with their teeth and swallow and to gore with their horns. • Then they began to eat those bovids. And behold, all the children of the earth began to tremble and to shake before them and to flee from them.

Vision of four heavenly beings

87 Again I saw them commencing to gore and devour one another; so the earth began to cry aloud. • And I lifted my eyes unto heaven and saw a vision: And behold, there came forth^a from heaven (a being) in the form of a snow-white person—one came out of that place and three (others) with him.^b • Those ones^c which had come out last seized me by my hand and took me^d from the generations of the earth, lifted

85 a. C adds “the whole dream.”

b. B C: “took up.”

c. The Eth. *āhm* (pl. *āhmt*, “cattle”) refers to a bovine animal regardless of age or sex.

d. Masculine singular verb.

e. The Eth. *ga’adā* refers to “snow-white, bright, pure.” The word does not normally describe a person’s color.

f. Lit. “one.”

g. A reads “to see them.”

h. B C: “she came.”

i. B C: “followed after it.”

j. B C: “That female heifer that first one.”

k. The qualifying adjectives are in masculine form.

l. A adds “to it.” B and C add “to her.”

m. B C: “another snow-white cow.”

n. Lit. “the other many.”

86 a. C: “to live.”

b. But cf. EC, p. 165, n. 12.

c. A repeats “I saw.”

d. Lit. “bringing out.”

e. C: “the heifers of the bovids.”

87 a. A: “he came forth.” B C: “they came forth.”

b. So B. A reads “four came out of that place and three with him.” C reads “four came out of that place and three with them.”

c. B C: “Those three.”

d. B C: “raised me.”

me up into a high place, and showed me a high tower above the earth,^e and all the hills were firm.^f • (One of them) said to me, "Stay here until you see everything that will happen to these elephants, camels, and donkeys, as well as to the stars and to the bovids—all of them."

Vision of the punishment of the fallen stars

1 **88** I then saw one of those four who had come out earlier seizing that first star, binding his hands and feet, and throwing him into an abyss—this abyss was narrow and deep, empty^g and dark. • Also one of them drew a sword and gave it to those elephants, camels,^h and donkeys; then they began to attack one another, and on account of them the whole earth was quaking. • And as I continued to see in the vision, behold, from that time, one of the four, among those who had come out, was stoning from the sky, and gathering and taking away all the mightyⁱ stars, whose sexual organs were like the sexual organs of horses; then he bound all of them hand and foot, and cast them into the pits of the earth.

The Great Flood

1 **89** Then one of those four went to those snow-white bovids^j and taught (one of them) a secret: he was born a bovid but became a person; and he built for himself a big boat^k and dwelt upon it. Three cows dwelt together with him in that boat, and that boat was covered (over) them. • Again I raised my eyes toward heaven, and saw a lofty ceiling with seven cascading streams upon it; and those cascading streams^l flowed with much water into one enclosed area. • Again I saw, and behold, fountains were opened upon the ground of that great enclosed area, and the water began to swell and rise upon the ground; and I saw that enclosed area until the whole ground was (completely) covered with water. • Water, darkness, and mist accumulated heavily upon it; and I looked at the ascent of that water going up and up until^m it rose above that enclosed area, and was streaming above the enclosed area;ⁿ thus it was standing above the ground. • And everything^o that was in the enclosed area;^p and (all those on the ground) were gathered together until I saw them sinking, being swallowed up, and perishing in that water. • Yet that boat was floating above the water, though all the cattle, elephants, camels, and donkeys were sinking to the bottom; so I could (no longer) see any one of the animals (for) they had no ability to come out but (only) to perish and sink into the deep water.^q • Again I kept seeing in the vision until those cascading streams were dissipated from that high ceiling, the fountains of the earth were normalized, and other pits^r were opened. • Then the water began to descend into them until the ground became visible,^s that boat settled upon the earth, the darkness vanished, and it became light. • Then the snow-white cow which became a man^t came out from that boat together with three cows. One of those three cows was snow-white, similar to that (first) cow, and one of them red like blood.^u Now that (first) snow-white cow departed from them.

e. So B and C. A reads 'emdehera, "after," instead of 'emmedera.

f. So A. B C: "every hill was small."

88 a. B C: "serious," "difficult."

b. So B and C. A omits "camels."

c. Lit. "stem," "powerful." B C: "great." 4QEn^t: "many." Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 238f. It is possible that 'azizāna (A) is a corruption of bezuḥāna, "many."

89 a. C: "that . . . bovid."

b. A reads wrongly meṣṣāra, "East," instead of masqara. Cf. 4QEn^t, 'arb ḥādhā, "a boat," "a ship."

c. B and C omit "that boat."

d. 4QEn^t: "[and I] was looking and, behold, seven sluices pouring out [on the earth much water]." So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 238.

e. B and C omit "going up and up until."

f. A has the Eth. number "nine" (or "nine times"?) at the end of this sentence.

g. B C: "all the cows." Cf. also 4QEn^t. See following n.

h. Milik contends that the Eth. (vss. 4–5a) is "much more developed" than the Aram., which he reconstructs "[. . . And] I was looking until the earth was covered by the waters [and by darkness and mist, and they were] standing upon it," starting with vs. 3. See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 238.

i. Lit. "depth," "lake."

j. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 241: "chambers."

k. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 241f.: "until [the waters] vanished."

l. According to Milik, this clause, "which became a man," is not original. Cf. *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 241f.

m. B and C add: "and one black."

From the Flood to the exodus

10 Then they began to bear the beasts of the fields and the birds. There arose out of them all classes of population: lions, leopards, wolves,ⁿ snakes,^o hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels,^p swine, hawks, eagles,^q kites,^r striped crow(s),^s and ravens. Among them there was also born a snow-white cow. • Then they began to bite^t one another among themselves. That snow-white cow which was born in their midst begat a wild ass,^u and a snow-white cow with it; and the wild asses multiplied. • And that cow which was born from him bore a black wild boar and a snow-white sheep;^v the former then bore healthy beasts^w and the latter bore twelve sheep. • When those twelve sheep had grown up, they gave away one of their own members^x to the donkeys, which^{y2} in turn gave him^{y2} away to the wolves;^{z2} so this sheep grew up in the midst of the wolves.²² • Then the Lord²² brought the eleven sheep to dwell with him, and to pasture²² in the midst of the wolves; and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep. • Then the wolves began to fear²² them; so they tortured them until their little ones were being killed (for) they cast away their little ones into a river of great quantity of water. So those sheep began to cry aloud on behalf of their little ones and to complain unto their Lord. • Then one sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped²² to the wild asses. But I saw the sheep continuing to lament and cry aloud; and they kept praying to their Lord with all their strength until the Lord of the sheep descended at their entreatment,²² from a lofty palace, arriving to visit²² them. • He called that sheep which had escaped from the wolves and told him concerning the wolves that he should warn the wolves not to touch the sheep. • The sheep then went to the wolves in accordance with the word of the Lord, together with another sheep which he had met,²² so the two of them went on and arrived together into the assembly of those wolves, and spoke to them and warned them not to touch the sheep. • But thenceforth I saw how the wolves even intensified their pressure upon the sheep.²² They, the sheep, cried aloud—they cried aloud with all their strength. • Then their Lord came to (the rescue of) the sheep, whereupon they began to whip those wolves. So the wolves began to make lamentations, but the sheep thereafter became quiet and stopped crying aloud. • I continued to see the sheep until they departed from (the presence) of the wolves, and the wolves (until) their eyes were dazzled; yet the wolves went out to pursue those sheep, with all their might. • But the Lord of the sheep went with them as their leader, while all his sheep were following him; his face was glorious, adorable, and marvelous to behold. • As for the wolves, they continued²² to pursue those sheep until they found them at a certain pool of water. • Then the pool of water was rent asunder, and the water stood apart on this and on that side before their very eyes,²² and their Lord, their leader, stood between them and the wolves. • Those wolves were still not able to see the sheep, and (the sheep) walked through that pool of water; then the wolves followed the sheep and ran after them into that pool of water. • Then when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned in order to flee from before his face. But

n. Or "hyenas."

o. B C: "dogs."

p. A wrongly reads gizēyāt, "times," instead of gaḥayāt.

q. B reads "vultures."

r. Or "baboons." The Eth. is ambiguous in that the term *hobay* can mean either "kite" or "baboon."

s. Or "colobus monkey." The Eth. is ambiguous in that the term *feḡens* of A (cf. *foḡānes*, *fonḡas*) can mean "colobus monkey" or "striped bird ['crow']."

t. 4QEn^t: "to bite and chase."

u. Or "zebra."

v. 4QEn^t: "a calf." So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 241.

w. Milik suggests the reading of 4QEn^t as "a ram] of the flock." Cf. also 4QEn^t (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 241).

x. B C: "bore many wild boars."

y. Lit. "that sheep."

z. Lit. "one of them."

a2. Lit. "those." B C: "those donkeys."

b2. Lit. "that sheep."

c2. Or "hyenas."

d2. Or "hyenas."

e2. 4QEn^t: "the ram." So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 241f.

f2. C adds: "with him."

g2. 4QEn^t: "to oppress." So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 241.

h2. Lit. "passed."

i2. Lit. "at the voice of the sheep."

j2. Verb not clear.

k2. Lit. "and he met another sheep and went with him."

l2. B and C add "with all their strength."

m2. Lit. "they began."

n2. Lit. "before their face."

that pool of water gathered itself together and immediately returned to its normal state,² the water became full and rose high until it covered (completely) those wolves.² Thus I saw till the wolves² which pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.²

From the exodus to the entrance to the land of Canaan

28 So the sheep proceeded past that water and arrived in the desert, where there was no water or grass;² but they began to open their eyes² and see. Then I saw the Lord of the sheep bringing them to a pasture and giving them grass and water. Also that sheep was leading them as they were proceeding forward.¹² • That sheep then ascended to the summit of that lofty rock; and the Lord of the sheep sent (him)¹² to them² After that, I saw the Lord of the sheep, who stood before them; his appearance was majestic, marvelous, and powerful; all those sheep beheld him and were afraid before his face. • All of them feared and trembled because of him, and cried aloud to that sheep (who was) leading them and to the other sheep who was also in their midst,² saying,² "We are not able to stand before the presence of our Lord and to look at him." • Then that sheep which was leading them turned back and (again) ascended to the summit of that rock; meanwhile the sheep began to be dim-sighted in their eyes, and went astray from the path which he had shown them; but that sheep was not aware of it. • So the Lord of the sheep became angry at them with great wrath; and that sheep became aware of it, and having descended from the summit of that rock, came to the sheep and found that the majority of them had been blinded in their eyes and gone astray. • And those who saw² him became afraid, trembling in his presence, and wanted to return to their folds. • So that sheep took some other different sheep together with them² and came to those sheep which had gone astray, slaying them;² and the sheep became frightened in his presence. He, that sheep, thus caused those sheep which went astray to return, and brought them back² into their folds. • I continued to see in that vision till that sheep was transformed² into a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed the sheep in it.² • I, moreover, continued to see until that sheep, which had met the sheep that was their leader, fell asleep and all the senior sheep perished, junior ones rising to take their places. Then coming into a pasture, 38 they approached a stream of water. • (There) that sheep who was leading them—the one who had become a man—departed from them, and all of them went to sleep.² (Then the rest of) the sheep sought him; and there took place² a great cry over him. 39 And I kept looking till they quieted down from crying for that sheep, crossed that stream of water, and all of the sheep stopped. Those who were leading them made 40 agreements with those whom they found,² and they led them.² • I still kept seeing the sheep till they arrived at a very pleasant place and in a land beautiful and glorious; I saw those sheep being satiated; and that house was in their midst in the beautiful land, by which their eyes become opened.

o2. Lit. "it became its own creation."

p2. B C: "all the wolves."

q2. 4QEn^c: "the waters covered them over." So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 243f.

r2. Milik restores 4QEn^c: "water to drink [and grass to eat]." Cf. *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 243f.

s2. So B and C. A reads "they do not open their eyes." 4QEn^c: "and their eyes were opened."

t2. B C: "as he was going." Cf. 4QEn^c. Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 244) contends that "the phrase 'and the sheep walked and guided them' [so Milik] was not in the Aramaic text, perhaps omitted by homoeoteleuton . . ."

u2. A possible rendition is "and the Lord of the sheep sent (his Torah) to them."

v2. On the basis of his restoration of 4QEn^c, Milik adds "and they all stood at [a distance]." See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 244.

w2. B: "... to that sheep which was with him, to the other sheep which was in their midst." C:

"... to that sheep with them, which was in their midst." Cf. 4QEn^c (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 204f.).

x2. B and C omit "saying."

y2. B C: "And when they saw."

z2. B C: "with him."

a3. B C: "began to slay them."

b3. B C: "they came back."

c3. Lit. "became."

d3. B C: "in that house."

e3. So A. B C: "and he went to sleep ['lay down']..."

f3. Lit. "came."

g3. B: "those who had slept."

h3. So B. A: *marhewomu*, "their key," instead of *marhewomu*. The whole sentence seems to be corrupt. Charles has emended it to read "There arose two sheep who were leading them, taking the place of those who slept and were leading them." EC, p. 173.

From Judges to the building of the Temple

41 And when their eyes become dim-sighted¹³ until another sheep arose and led them, 42 they would all return and their eyes became opened. • Now the dogs, foxes, and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up another 43 sheep,¹³ one from among them—a ram which would lead them. • That ram began to fight on all sides¹³ those dogs, foxes, and wild boars until he destroyed all of them. 44 Then that sheep had his eyes opened;¹³ and he saw that ram which was among the sheep, how¹³ he abandoned his own glory and began to attack those sheep, to trample 45 upon them, and went away without dignity. • So the Lord of the sheep sent the sheep¹³ to another sheep¹³ and promoted him to become a ram and lead the sheep in place of 46 that sheep¹³ which had abandoned his own glory. • After having gone to him, he spoke to him privately¹³ and raised¹³ that ram, making him a judge¹³ and a leader of the 47 people—throughout (this time) the dogs were continuing to covet the sheep. • The first ram then persecuted that second¹³ ram, so that latter ram arose and escaped from before his (the former's) presence; and then I continued to look until those dogs toppled that 48 first sheep. • But that second ram arose and led the little sheep.¹³ That ram begat many sheep and fell asleep before¹³ a little sheep became a ram in his place, a judge and 49 a leader of those sheep. • Those sheep grew and multiplied, but all those dogs, foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before him. That ram attacked and killed all the wild beasts; and all the wild beasts were no longer able to return among the sheep or to 50 rob absolutely anything from them. • Then that house became great and spacious; a lofty building¹³ was built upon it¹³ for that sheep, as well as a tall and great tower upon it¹³ for the Lord of the sheep; that house was low but the tower was really elevated and lofty. Then the Lord of the sheep stood upon that tower, and they offered a full table¹³ before him.

The two kingdoms of Israel and Judah: the destruction of Jerusalem

51 Again I saw those sheep, how they went astray, going in diverse ways and abandoning that house of his.¹⁴ Then the Lord of the sheep called some from among 52 the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them. • However, one of them was not killed but escaped alive¹⁴ and fled away;¹⁴ he cried aloud to¹⁴ the sheep, and they wanted to kill him, but the Lord of the sheep rescued him from the 53 sheep and caused him to ascend to me and settle down. • He sent many other sheep 54 to those sheep to testify to them and to lament over them. • Thereafter I saw that, when they abandoned the house of the Lord and his tower, they went astray completely, and their eyes became blindfolded. Then I saw the Lord of the sheep, how he executed much slaughter upon them, in their flocks, until those sheep (began to) invoke¹⁴ that 55 slaughter, and he¹⁴ vindicated¹⁴ his place.¹⁴ • He left them in the hands of the lions, leopards, and wolves, hyenas, as well as in the hands of the foxes and to¹⁴ all the wild beasts; and these wild beasts of the wilderness began to tear those sheep into pieces. 56 I saw how he left that house of theirs and that tower of theirs and cast all of them

i3. Text is difficult. C: "at times their eyes were opened and at times dim-sighted."

j3. So C. Cf. the Vatican Gk. fragment. A and B read "till arose the Lord of the sheep . . ."

k3. A: "from here." B C: "from here and from here."

l3. C: "whose eyes were opened."

m3. Lit. "who."

n3. G: "lamb."

o3. G: "lamb."

p3. C: "that ram."

q3. Lit. "by themselves alone."

r3. So B and C (cf. G). A: "he replied . . ."

s3. So B and C. G: "lord." A: "place," or

"location . . ."

t3. Lit. "later."

u3. G reads "led the sheep."

v3. Lit. "and."

w3. B: "tower." C omits both.

x3. Lit. "upon that house."

y3. Lit. "built upon that house."

z3. So B and C. A: "a full tower."

a4. B C: "their house."

b4. Lit. "he was safe and was not killed."

c4. So B and C. A reads *hanasa*, "he built," instead of *qanasa*.

d4. B C: "over."

e4. All MSS: "call it by name," "summon."

f4. B C: "they."

g4. Or "he caused to return," "he caused to give back," "he handed over," "he righted."

h4. A wrongly reads *makano*.

i4. Lit. "upon," "over."

into the hands of the lions—even) into the hands of all the wild beasts—so that they
 57 may tear them into pieces and eat them. •Then I began to cry aloud with all my
 strength and to call upon the Lord of the lions^{k4} and to reveal to him concerning the
 58 sheep, for he had fed them to all the wild beasts.^{k4} •But he remained quiet^{l4} and happy^{m4}
 because they were being devoured, swallowed, and snatched; so he abandoned them
 59 into the hands of all the wild beasts for food. •He then summoned seventy shepherds
 and surrenderedⁿ⁴ those sheep to them so that they might pasture them. He spoke to
 the shepherds and their colleagues, “From now on, let each and every one of you
 60 graze the sheep; and do everything which I command you. •I shall hand them over
 to you duly counted^{o4} and tell you which among them are^{p4} to be destroyed; and you
 61 shall destroy them!”^{q4} •So he handed over those sheep to them. Then calling another
 (group of shepherds), he told them, “Take notice and see everything which the
 shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy from among them a greater
 62 number than those which I have commanded them. •You write down every excess
 and destruction that will be wrought through the shepherds^{r4}—how many they destroy
 according to my command, and how many they will destroy of their own accord!
 Write down every destruction that each and every shepherd causes, against their
 63 records! •And read aloud before me each particular case^{s4}—how many they destroy
 and how many they give over to destruction—so that this may become a testimony
 for me against them, so that I may know all the deeds of the shepherds, (and) so that
 I may evaluate them^{t4} and see what they do, whether^{u4} they act^{v4} according to my
 64 command which I have commanded them or not. •If they do not know^{w4} it, do not
 reveal it to them, neither admonish them, but write down every destruction caused
 by^{x4} the shepherds—for each and every one in his appointed time^{y4}—and elevate all
 65 of it to me.” •And I saw till those shepherds in their appointed time pastured (the
 sheep) and began killing and destroying many in excess of what they had been
 66 commanded; and they abandoned those sheep into the hands of the lions. •So the lions
 and the leopards ate and devoured the majority of those sheep; the wild boars also ate
 67 along with them. Then they burned that tower and plowed that house. •And I became
 exceedingly sorrowful on account of that tower, for that house of the sheep was being
 plowed; thereafter I was unable to see whether those sheep could enter that house.

From the destruction of Jerusalem to the return from exile

68 So the shepherds and their colleagues handed over those sheep to all the wild beasts
 so that they might devour them. At the appointed time, each one among them (the
 shepherds) receives (the sheep) in a fixed number; and each one among them (the
 shepherds) hands them (the sheep) over to the other (the colleague) in a fixed number.^{t4}
 (Then) they shall write down for the other (the colleague) in a book^{u5} how many among
 69 them (the sheep) would perish. •Each and every one of them kills and destroys in
 excess of their order. So I began to weep and cry aloud on account of those sheep.
 70 In this manner I saw that writer^{b5} in my vision—how he writes down that which was
 destroyed by those shepherds, every day, and (how) he elevates, puts down, and
 shows the whole book to the Lord of the sheep; everything that each one has done;
 everything that each and every one of them has eliminated; and everything that they

j4. B C: “Lord of the sheep.”

k4. A: “you shall devour all the wild beasts,”
 which could read with the adjustment of the verb
 “you have fed them to all the wild beasts.” B C:
 “They are eaten by the wild beasts.”

l4. B and C add “while seeing.”

m4. Lit. “he rejoiced.”

n4. Lit. “cast [throw] away,” “left.”

o4. Or “particularized.” “numbered.” Lit. “in
 number.”

p4. Lit. “is.”

q4. So B and C. A not intelligible.

r4. So B and C. A: “to the shepherds.”

s4. Lit. “in number.”

t4. I accept Charles’s emendation of the Eth.

“wutenomu to ‘ematenomu. Cf. EC, p. 179, n. 13.

u4. So B and C. A reads instead “to those.”

v4. B C: “they [abide] dwell.”

w4. B C: “And they do not know.”

x4. Lit. “of the.”

y4. Lit. “in his [its] time.”

z4. So A. B and C omit “they hand them over in
 a fixed number.”

a5. A has an additional “and the book.” B and
 C have an additional “in the book” dangling at the
 opening of this sentence.

b5. B C: “the one who writes down.”

71 have given over to destruction. •The book was read before the Lord of the sheep; and
 he took it from his hand, read it, sealed it, and laid it down.

72 Thereafter I saw the shepherds pasturing for twelve hours: behold, three of those
 sheep returning, arriving, entering, and beginning to build all (the parts) of that house
 which had fallen down! The wild boars came^{c5} and tried to hinder them but were
 unsuccessful.

From the return of the exiles to the beginning of the hellenistic period

73 They again began to build as before; and they raised up that tower which is called
 the high tower. But they started to place a table before the tower, with all the food
 74 which is upon it being polluted and impure. •Regarding all these matters, the eyes
 of the sheep became so dim-sighted that they could not see^{d5}—and likewise in respect
 to their shepherds—and they were delivered^{e5} to their shepherds for an excessive
 75 destruction, so that the sheep were trampled upon and eaten.^{f5} •The Lord of the sheep
 remained silent until all the sheep were dispersed into the woods and got mixed among
 76 the wild beasts,^{g5}—and could not be rescued^{h5} from the hands of the beasts. •The one
 who was writing a book elevated and showed it and read the grave words of the Lord
 of the sheep.ⁱ⁵ He then pleaded to him and begged him on account of the sheep,^{j5}
 while manifesting to him all the deeds of the shepherds and giving testimony before
 77 him against all the shepherds. •Then taking it, he placed that very book beside him
 in this manner^{k5} and departed.

1 90 Then I saw after that how^a thirty-seven^b shepherds were pasturing (the sheep); all
 of them completed (their duties) in their own respective periods, like the former ones;
 and aliens took (the sheep) into their hands in order to pasture them in their own
 2 respective periods—each shepherd in his own period. •After that I saw with my own
 eyes^c all the birds of heaven—eagles, vultures, kites, and ravens—coming; the eagles
 were the ones who were leading all the birds; and they began to eat those sheep, to
 3 dig out their eyes, and to eat their flesh. •Then the sheep cried aloud, for their flesh
 was being eaten by the birds. I, too, cried aloud and lamented in my sleep on account
 4 of that shepherd who was grazing the sheep. •I kept seeing till those sheep were eaten
 by the dogs, the eagles, and the kites; and they left neither flesh, nor skin, nor sinew
 on them absolutely, until their bones stood there bare; then their bones fell to the
 5 ground, and the sheep became few. •I kept seeing till twenty-three shepherds^d pastured
 (the sheep), and all of them completed fifty-eight seasons in their own respective
 periods.

From the Maccabean revolt to the establishment of the messianic kingdom

6 Then, behold lambs were born from those snow-white sheep; and they began to
 7 open their eyes and see, and cried aloud to the sheep. •But as for the sheep, they (the
 lambs) cried aloud to them,^e yet they (the sheep) did not listen to what they (the
 lambs) were telling them but became exceedingly deafened, and their eyes became
 8 exceedingly dim-sighted.^f •Then I saw in a vision ravens flying above those lambs,
 9 and they seized one of those lambs; and then smashing the sheep, they ate them. •I
 kept seeing till those lambs grew horns; but the ravens crushed^g their horns. Then I

c5. B and C omit “came.”

d5. Lit. “. . . became dim-sighted and could not
 see.”

e5. Lit. “they delivered them.”

f5. Lit. “they trampled upon the sheep and ate
 them.”

g5. Lit. “they were joined together with them.”

h5. Lit. “they could not rescue them.”

i5. So A. B: “. . . he read it in the houses of the
 Lord of the sheep.” C: “. . . he read it before the
 Lord of the sheep.”

j5. Lit. “on their account.”

k5. B and C omit “in this manner.”

90 a. B and C add “in this manner.”

b. Charles suggests emending this to “thirty-
 five.” EC, p. 181, n. 37.

c. So A. B: “in a vision.” C: “in my vision.”

d. So B. A and C omit “shepherds.” A is partially
 corrupt and reads *šegā*, “flesh,” instead of *‘ešrā*,
 “twenty.”

e. B: “But the sheep cried aloud to them.” C:
 “But they oppressed them.” Cf. EC, p. 183, n. 2.

f. A adds “and he pondered.”

g. B C: “fell.”

kept seeing till one great horn sprouted on one of those sheep, and he opened their eyes;^a and they had vision in themⁱ and their eyes were opened.^j • He cried aloud to the sheep, and all the rams saw him and ran unto him. • In spite of this, all those eagles, vultures, ravens, and kites until now continue to rip the sheep, swooping down upon them and eating them. As for the sheep, they remain silent; but the rams are lamenting and crying aloud. • Those ravens gather^k and battle with him (the horned ram) and seek to remove his horn, but without any success.^l

13 I saw thereafter^m the shepherds coming; and those vulturesⁿ and kites cried aloud to the ravens so that they should smash the horn of that ram. But he battled with them,^o and they fought each other;^p and he cried aloud, while battling with them, so that (God's) help should come. • I kept seeing till that man, who writes down the names of the shepherds and elevates them before the Lord of the sheep, came; it is he who helped him^q and revealed (to him) everything; thus^r help came down for that ram.^s • And I kept seeing till the Lord of the sheep came upon^t them in wrath, and all who saw him fled and fell all into darkness,^u from before his face. • All the eagles, vultures, ravens, and kites gathered, with all the sheep of the field lining up with them;^v and having thus come together in unity, all of them cooperated in order to smash the horn^w of the ram. • I saw that man who was writing a book by the command^x of the Lord, for he opened^y that book (of) the destruction which those twelve last shepherds caused; and he revealed before the Lord of the sheep that they had much greater destruction than their predecessors. • I kept seeing till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in his hand the rod of his wrath and smote the earth;^z and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell down from the midst of those sheep and were swallowed up in the earth, and it was covered upon them.^{a2} • Then I saw that^{a2} a great sword was given to the sheep; and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field in order to kill them; and all the beasts and birds of heaven fled from before their face.

20 Then I kept seeing till a throne was erected in a pleasant land;^{a2} and he sat upon it^{a2} for the Lord of the sheep;^{a2} and he took all^{a2} the sealed books and opened those very books in the presence of the Lord of the sheep. • Then the Lord called those people, the seven first snow-white ones, and ordered them to bring before him (some) from among the first star(s) that arose,^{a2} and from among those stars^{a2} whose sexual organs were like those of the horses,^{a2} as well as (that) first star which had fallen down^{a2} earlier. And they brought them all before him. • He spoke to the man who was writing in his presence—that (man) being one of those seven snow-white ones—saying, “Take those seven^{a2} shepherds to whom I had handed over the sheep, but who decided to kill many more than they were ordered.”^{a2} • Behold, I saw all of them bound; and they all stood before him. • Then his judgment took place. First among the stars, they received their judgment and were found guilty, and they went to the

h. B C: “their eyes were opened.”

i. Text may be corrupt. B and C read “and he looked at [in] them.”

j. Possibly a repetition due to a scribal error.

k. B C: “combat,” “contest.”

l. Lit. “they could not.”

m. B C: “until.”

n. B and C read “the eagles” before “those vultures.”

o. B: “And he battled with him.”

p. C: “and they battled and fought with him.”

q. C adds “and saved him.”

r. Lit. “and.” B omits “and.”

s. C has been emended to read “and he revealed to that lamb an army.” Cf. EC, p. 184, n. 26.

t. B C: “to.”

u. B: “into his shadow.” C: “into shadow.”

v. Lit. “coming together with them.”

w. B and C read “that horn.”

x. Lit. “word.”

y. B C: “until he opened.”

z. B and C add “and the earth was rent asunder.”

a2. F. Martin suggests that vss. 13–15 and 16–18 are doublets. See *Le livre d'Hénoch* (Paris, 1906), p. 228.

b2. B C: “till.”

c2. So B and C. A omits “in,” and reads “pleasant” in the plural.

d2. So B and C. A reads “upon them.”

e2. So A. B and C read “the Lord of the sheep sat upon it.”

f2. Charles suggests emending the text to read “the other one took,” changing “all” to “other.” EC, p. 185, n. 25.

g2. So A. B and C read “from the first star that preceded.”

h2. Lit. “and from those stars.” B and C omit “and.”

i2. Lit. “like the sexual organs of the horses.”

j2. C: “that came out.”

k2. B C: “seventy.”

l2. B C: “many more than I commanded them.”

place of condemnation; and they were thrown^{m2} into an abyss, full of fire and flameⁿ² and full of the pillar^{a2} of fire. • Then those seventy shepherds^{a2} were judged and found guilty; and they were cast into that fiery abyss. • In the meantime^{a2} I saw how another abyss^{a2} like it, full of fire, was opened wide in the middle of the ground; and they brought those blinded sheep, all of which were judged, found guilty, and cast into this fiery abyss, and they were burned—the abyss^{a2} is to the right of that house; • thus I saw those sheep while they were burning—their bones also were burning.

28 Then I stood still, looking at that ancient house being transformed: All the pillars and all the columns^{a2} were pulled out;^{a2} and the ornaments of that house were packed and taken out together with them and abandoned^{a2} in a certain^{a2} place in the South of the land. • I went on seeing until the Lord of the sheep brought about a new house, greater and loftier than the first one, and set it up in the first location which had been covered up—all its pillars were new, the columns new;^{a2} and the ornaments new as well as greater than those of the first, (that is) the old (house) which was gone.^{a2} All the sheep were within it.

30 Then I saw all the sheep that had survived as well as all the animals upon the earth and the birds of heaven, falling down and worshiping^{a2} those sheep, making petition to them and obeying them in every respect.^{a3} • Thereafter, those three who were wearing snow-white (clothes), the former ones who had caused me to go up, grabbed me by my hand—also the hand of that ram holding me—and I ascended;^{a3} they set me down in the midst of those sheep prior to the occurrence of this^{a3} judgment. 32 Those sheep were all snow-white, and their wool considerable and clean. • All those 33 which have been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field and the birds of the sky were gathered together in that house; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they had all become gentle and returned to his house. • I went on seeing until they had laid down that sword which was given to the sheep; they returned it to the house and sealed it in the presence of the Lord. All the sheep were invited to that house^{a3} but it could not contain them (all). • The eyes of all of them were opened, and they saw the beautiful things; not a single one existed among them that could not see.^{a3} • Also I noticed that the house was large, wide, and exceedingly full.

37 Then I saw that a snow-white cow was born, with huge horns; all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the sky feared him and made petition to him all the time. 38 I went on seeing until all their kindred were transformed, and became snow-white cows; and the first among them became something,^{a3} and that something became a great beast with huge black horns on its head. The Lord of the sheep rejoiced over 39 it^{a3} and over all the cows. • I myself became satiated^{a3} in their midst. Then I woke up and saw everything.

40 This is the vision which I saw while I was sleeping. Then I woke up and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave him glory. • And I wept with a great weeping, and my tears could not stop, till I had no more endurance left, but flowed down^{a3} on account of what I had seen until^{a3} everything should come and be fulfilled. The deeds

m2. Lit. “they threw them.”

n2. B C: “it was flaming.”

o2. C: “pillars.”

p2. Cf. above, vs. 22, “seven shepherds.”

q2. Lit. “at that time.”

r2. Lit. “one abyss.”

s2. Lit. “that abyss [pit].”

t2. Lit. “trees,” “planted things.”

u2. Lit. “they pulled out.”

v2. Lit. “they took them out and abandoned them.”

w2. Lit. “one.”

x2. Lit. “the planted things new,” omitted by B and C.

y2. B C: “which he had taken out.”

z2. Or “kneeling down to.”

a3. Lit. “in every word.”

b3. B C: “they elevated me.”

c3. B and C omit “this.”

d3. So B and C. A omits “house.”

e3. So B and C. A. apparently erroneously, reads “that could see.”

f3. Lit. “a thing,” “a word,” “a deed.” Charles suggests *nagar* to be a misreading of Gk. *rhēm*, which was a transliteration of Heb. *rēm*. Cf. EC, p. 188, n. 38.

g3. Lit. “over them.”

h3. B C: “I slept.”

i3. B and C read “when I saw,” instead of “but flowed down.”

j3. So A. B C: “because.”

42 of the people were also shown to me, each according to its type. •On that night I remembered the first dream and wept on its account, and I was restless because I had (just) seen that vision.

Book V (91-107)^a

The Two Ways of the Righteous and the Sinner
Including the Apocalypse of Weeks

Enoch's admonition to his children

1 91^b Now, my son Methuselah, (please) summon all your brothers on my behalf, and gather together to me all the sons of your mother; for a voice^c calls me, and the spirit is poured over me so that I may show you everything that shall happen to you forever.
2 Then Methuselah went and summoned his brothers, and having summoned them to him, gathered his family together.^d •Then he (Enoch) spoke to all of them, children of righteousness, and said, "Hear, all you children of Enoch, the talk of your father^e and listen to my voice^f in uprightness; •for I exhort you, (my) beloved, and say to you: Love uprightness, and it alone.^g Do not draw near uprightness with an ambivalent attitude,^h and neither associate with hypocrites.ⁱ But walk in righteousness, my children, and it shall lead you in the good paths; and righteousness shall be your friend. •For I know that the state of violence will intensify upon the earth; a great plague shall be executed upon the earth; all (forms of) oppression^j will be carried out; and everything shall be uprooted;^k and every arrow shall fly fast.^l •Oppression shall recur once more and be carried out upon the earth; every (form of) oppression, injustice, and iniquity shall infect^m (the world) twofold. •When sin, oppression, blasphemy, and injustice increase,ⁿ crime,^o iniquity, and uncleanness shall be committed^p and increase (likewise). Then a great plague shall take place from heaven upon all these; the holy Lord shall emerge with wrath and plague in order that he may execute judgment upon the earth. •In those days, injustice shall be cut off from its (sources of succulent) fountain^q and from its roots—(likewise) oppression together with deceit; they shall be destroyed^r from underneath heaven. •All that which is (common) with the heathen shall be surrendered; the towers^s shall be inflamed with fire, and be removed^t from the whole earth. They^u shall be thrown into the judgment of fire, and perish in wrath and in the force of the eternal judgment. •Then the righteous one shall arise from his sleep, and the wise one shall arise;^v and he shall be given unto them (the people), •and through

91 a. According to A the fifth Book of Enoch begins at 92:1.
b. Charles, in *APOT*, vol. 2, p. 260, suggests rearranging chs. 91-104; he takes 93:1-10 and 91:12-17 as an earlier fragment of the Apocalypse of Weeks and gives the order 92 + 91:1-10, 18f., 93:1-10, 91:12-17, 94-104. Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 267) also thinks that 91:12-17 followed 93:3-10.
c. Or "word."
d. So A. B and C read "Then Methuselah went and summoned all his brothers to him and gathered his relatives together."
e. So A. B and C read "Hear, children of Enoch, all the talk of your father."
f. Eth. 'af, lit. "mouth." It can also mean "word," "voice," "speech." B and C read "the word of my mouth."
g. So A. B and C read "Love uprightness and walk in it."
h. Lit. "with a double heart."
i. Or "two-faced persons," "indecisive persons,"

"oscillating persons," "double-dealing persons"; lit. "those who walk [B and C omit "walk"] with two heart(s)."
j. So B and C. A omits "all oppression."
k. Lit. "everything shall be cut off from its roots." So A. B and C read "all oppression shall be carried out [or "completed"] and it shall be cut off from its roots."
l. So A. B C: "every building shall pass."
m. Lit. "seize." B C: "shall be seized."
n. B and C add "in all deeds."
o. Or "apostasy."
p. So A. B and C read instead "in all deeds."
q. Or "drink." B and C omit "drink," "fountain."
r. C omits "shall be destroyed."
s. Or "palaces," "castles."
t. Lit. "they shall be taken out," "uprooted."
u. Text ambiguous: the heathen or the towers?
v. B C: "wisdom shall arise."

him the roots of oppression shall be cut off. Sinners shall be destroyed; by the sword they shall be cut off^w (together with) the blasphemers in every place;^x and those who design oppression and commit blasphemy shall perish by the knife.^y

12 "Then after that there shall occur the second eighth week^z—the week^{aa} of righteousness.^{ab} A sword shall be given to it^{ac} in order that judgment shall be executed in righteousness^{ad} on the oppressors, and sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous. •At its completion, they shall acquire great things^{ae} through their righteousness. A house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore.^{af}
13 "Then after that in the ninth week^{ag} the righteous judgment shall be revealed to the whole world.^{ah} All the deeds of the sinners^{ai} shall depart from upon the whole earth, and be written off for eternal destruction;^{aj} and all people shall direct their sight to the path of uprightness.
14 "Then, after this matter,^{ak} on the tenth week^{al} in^{am} the seventh part, there shall be the eternal judgment;^{an} and it shall be executed by^{ao} the angels^{ap} of the eternal heaven—the great (judgment) which emanates from all of the angels.^{aq} •The first heaven shall depart and pass away; a new heaven shall appear; and all the powers of heaven^{ar} shall shine forever^{as} sevenfold.
15 "Then after that there shall be many weeks^{at} without number forever; it shall be (a time) of goodness and righteousness, and sin shall no more be heard of^{au} forever.
16 "Now I shall speak unto you, my children, and show you the ways of righteousness and the ways of wickedness. Moreover, I shall make a revelation to you so that you may know that which is going to take place. •Now listen to me, my children, and walk in the way of righteousness, and do not walk in the way of wickedness, for all those who walk in the ways of injustice shall perish."^{av}

1 92 (Book) five,^a which is written by Enoch, the writer^b of all the signs of^c wisdom among all the people.^d He is blessed and noble^e in^f all the earth. (It is written) for all the offsprings^g that dwell upon the earth, and for the latter generations which uphold^h uprightness and peace.

w. So B and C. A reads "they shall cut off."
x. Text corrupt. "The blasphemers" added as an afterthought.
y. 4QEn⁸: "And they will have rooted out the foundations of violence and the structure of falsehood therein to execute [judgment]."
z. Or "the second eighth sabbath," "another eighth sabbath," "another eighth week," "second [another] eighth rest." Following possible influence from other Eth. languages, the phrase can also be translated: "the second week shall be a sabbath [rest]." "there shall be a sabbath the second week."
aa. Or "the sabbath," "the rest."
ab. B and C omit "the week." 4QEn⁸: "the eighth week."
ac. Or "him." 4QEn⁸: "[a sword] shall be given to all the righteous." Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 266).
ad. B: "judgment and righteousness shall be executed." C: "a righteous judgment." 4QEn⁸: "to exact a righteous judgement from all the wicked." Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 266f.).
ae. B and C read "houses" instead of "great things." EMM 2080: "goods." 4QEn⁸: "riches."
af. 4QEn⁸: "a royal Temple of the Great One in his glorious splendor, for all generations, forever."
ag. Or "sabbath."
ah. 4QEn⁸: "for all the children of the whole earth."
ai. 4QEn⁸: "all the wonders (of impiety)."
aj. Or "hell." B C: "the world shall be written for destruction." 4QEn⁸: "and they will be cast into the [eternal] Pit." Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 267).
ak. C: "after this."

al. Or "sabbath."
am. Lit. "and."
an. 4QEn⁸: "an eternal judgment and the [fixed] time of the great judgment."
ao. Lit. "from."
ap. Lit. "Watchers."
aq. Text may be corrupt. B reads "and it shall be executed from the Watchers; and the great, eternal peace which emanates from the midst of the angels." C reads: "and it shall be executed from the Watchers of the eternal heaven; the great (judgment) in which he will execute vengeance among the angels." 4QEn⁸: "an eternal Judgement and the (fixed) time of the Great Judgement [shall be executed in vengeance . . .]." Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 267).
ar. B: "the powers of the heavens." C: "the power of the heavens."
as. C omits "forever." 4QEn⁸: "of heaven shall rise for all eternity [with sevenfold] brightness." Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, p. 267).
at. Or "sabbaths."
au. Lit. "spoken," "told."

92 a. See ch. 91, n. a. Other MSS omit "five." Charles's g has "book" in the opening phrase.
b. C reads "he wrote."
c. B: "the learning of."
d. 4QEn⁸, following Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 260: "the wisest of men."
e. Or "judge."
f. Lit. "and."
g. Lit. "children." B C: "my children."
h. Lit. "do," "perform," "accomplish," "observe."

92:2
2 Let not your spirit be troubled by the times, for the Holy and Great One has
3 designated¹ (specific) days for all things. •The Righteous One shall awaken from his
sleep; he shall arise and walk² in the ways of righteousness; and all the way of his
4 conduct³ shall be in goodness and generosity forever. •He will be generous to the
Righteous One, and give him eternal uprightness; he will give authority, and judge
5 in kindness⁴ and righteousness; and they^m shall walk in eternal light. •Sin and darkness
shall perishⁿ forever, and shall no more be seen from that day forevermore.

The Apocalypse of Weeks

1 **93** Then after that Enoch happened to be recounting from the books.^a •And Enoch
2 said, "Concerning the children of righteousness, concerning the elect ones of the
world, and concerning the plant of truth,^b I will speak these things, my children,
verily I, Enoch, myself, and let you know (about it) according to that which was
revealed to me from the heavenly vision, that which I have learned from the words
3 of the holy angels, and understood from the heavenly tablets." •He^c then began to
recount from the books and said, "I was born the seventh during the first week,^d
4 during which time judgment and righteousness continued to endure. •After me there
shall arise in the second week^e great and evil things;^f deceit should grow,^g and therein
the first consummation will take place. But therein (also) a (certain) man shall be
saved. After it is ended, injustice shall become greater, and he shall make a law^h for
the sinners.

5 "Then after that at the completion of the third weekⁱ a (certain) man shall be elected
as the plant of the righteous judgment,^j and after him^k one (other)^l shall emerge^m as
the eternal plant of righteousness.

6 "After that at the completion of the fourth weekⁿ visions of the old and righteous
ones shall be seen; and a law shall be made with a fence,^o for all the generations.

7 "After that in the fifth week,^p at the completion of glory, a house^q and a kingdom
shall be built.

8 "After that in the sixth week^r those who happen to be in it shall all of them be
blindfolded, and the hearts of them all shall forget wisdom. Therein, a (certain) man
shall ascend. And, at its completion, the house of the kingdom^s shall be burnt with
fire; and therein the whole clan of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

9 "After that in the seventh week^t an apostate generation shall arise; its deeds shall
10 be many, and all of them^u criminal. •At its completion, there shall be elected the elect
ones of righteousness^v from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom^w shall be given
sevenfold instruction^x concerning all his flock.^y

11 "For what kind of a human being^z is there that is able to hear the voice of the Holy

- i. Lit. "gave."
- j. Lit. "pass," "traverse."
- k. B C: "his way and his conduct."
- l. B C: "and become in kindness."
- m. B: "he."
- n. B C: "sin shall perish in darkness."

93 a. B: "it happened (that) Enoch began to recount
from the books." C: "Enoch gave me and seized me
[or "began"] to recount from the books."

- b. According to Ethiopian commentators, Isaac.
- c. B C: Enoch.
- d. Or "sabbath."
- e. Or "sabbath."
- f. B C: "great evil (things)."
- g. Or "sprout," "germinate."
- h. C: "a law shall be made."
- i. Or "sabbath."
- j. Abraham, according to Ethiopian commenta-
tors.

k. Or "thereafter." Cf. EC, p. 195, n. 6, for
another interpretation.

l. This reading follows Ethiopian commentators
who consider Isaac as this other one.

- m. B: "he shall come."
- n. Or "sabbath."
- o. Or "with an enclosure." Charles (*APOT*, vol. 2,
p. 263) thinks the enclosure to be Palestine; Ethiopian
commentators, "the fence of the Tabernacle." But
the key to the text may be m.Ab 1:1.

p. Or "sabbath."
q. So A. B and C read "at the completion of the
fifth sabbath, a house of glory."

- r. Or "sabbath."
- s. Or "the palace."
- t. Or "sabbath."
- u. Lit. "all its deeds."
- v. 4QEn⁴, following Milik (*The Books of Enoch*,
p. 266): "there shall be chosen the elect, for witness
to righteousness."
- w. So B and C. A reads erroneously "allā," "but,"
instead of "ella."

x. Or "learning," "knowledge." 4QEn⁴: "wis-
dom and knowledge."
y. Or "fold," "acquisition," "possession." B
and C read "all his creation." 4QEn⁴ omits "con-
cerning all his flock."

z. Lit. "who is it, every son of man." B C:
"every son of the people."

One without being shaken? Who is there that is able to ponder his (deep) thoughts?
12 Who is there that can look directly at all the good^{a2} deeds?^{b2} •What kind of a person
is he that can (fully) understand the activities of heaven,^{c2} so that he can see a soul,
or even perhaps a spirit—or, even if he ascended (into the heavens) and saw all (these
heavenly beings and) their wings^{d2} and contemplated^{e2} them; or, even if he can do
13 (what the heavenly beings) do?^{f2}—and is able to live?^{g2} •What kind of a person is
anyone that is able to understand the nature^{h2} of the breadth and length of the earth?
14 To whom has the extentⁱ² of all theseⁱ² been shown? •Is there perchance any human
being^{k2} that is able to understand the length of heaven, the extentⁱ² of its altitude,
upon what it is founded, the number of the stars, and (the place) where^{m2} all the
luminaries rest?

Enoch's advice to his children and to the righteous

1 **94** "Now, my children,^a I say to you: Love righteousness and walk therein! For the
ways of righteousness are worthy of being embraced; (but) the ways of wickedness
2 shall soon perish and diminish. •To (certain) known persons, the ways of injustice
and death shall be revealed as soon as they are born;^b and they shall keep themselves
3 at a distance from (those ways) and would not follow them. •Now to you, those
righteous ones, I say: Do not walk in the evil way, or in the way of death! Do not
4 draw near to them lest you be destroyed! •But seek for yourselves and choose
righteousness and the elect life! Walk in the way of peace so that you shall have life
5 and be worthy! •Hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts; and let them not
be erased from your hearts! For I do know that sinners will counsel the people to
perform evil craft;^c and every place will welcome it,^d and every advice (of the sinners)^e
may not diminish.

Woes unto the sinners

6 "Woe unto those who build oppression and injustice!
Who lay foundations for deceit.
They shall soon be demolished;
and they shall have no peace.
7 Woe unto those who build their houses with sin!
For they shall all be demolished from their foundations;
and they shall fall by the sword.
Those who amass^f gold and silver;^g
they shall quickly be destroyed.
8 Woe unto you, O rich people!
For you have put your trust in your wealth.
You shall ooze out^h of your riches,
for you do not remember the Most High.
9 In the days of your affluence, you committed oppression,ⁱ
you have become ready for death, and for the day of darkness and the
day of great judgment.^j

- a2. Or "beautiful."
- b2. B C: "at the heavenly deeds."
- c2. C reads "What kind of a person is he that can
look directly into heaven and who is he that can
understand . . . ?"
- d2. Or "wings," "borders," "corners," "lim-
its," "extensions," "sides."
- e2. Or "think," "contemplate."
- f2. Lit. "do like them."
- g2. B C: "is able to tell."
- h2. Lit. "how."
- i2. Or "size," "measure." 4QEn⁴: "shape."
- j2. Lit. "all of them."
- k2. Lit. "any man."
- l2. Lit. "how."
- m2. So B and C. A reads *ye'eti*, "she," "it,"
"this," instead of *'ayit*.

- 94 a. 4QEn⁴: "my sons."
- b. B C: "from a generation."
- c. Lit. "evil wisdom." The expression could also
be translated "evil magic," "evil deceit," "evil
cunning."
- d. Lit. "receive her." B C: "no place will receive
her."
- e. B C: "every trouble," "every temptation."
- f. Lit. "acquire."
- g. Or possibly "Those who build a fence of gold
and silver around it."
- h. Lit. "come out," "exit."
- i. B C: "you committed blasphemy and oppres-
sion."
- j. B and C read "You have become ready for
slaughter [lit. "spilling blood"], for the day of
darkness and the day of great judgment."

- 10 Thus I speak and let you know:
For he who has created you, he will also throw you down upon your own righteousness!^k
There shall be no mercy (for you).^l
11 And he, your Creator, shall rejoice at your destruction.
(O God), your righteous ones shall be a reproach^m to the sinners and the wicked.

Enoch's sorrow and more woes unto the sinners

- 1 95 "Who would induce^a my eyes like^b a cloud of waters;
that I may weep over you,
pouring my tears over you like a cloud of waters,
so I would rest from the sorrow of my heart!
2 Who permits you to engage in evil fight?^c
Judgment will catch up with you, sinners.^d
3 You righteous ones, fear not the sinners!
For the Lord will again deliver them into your hands,
so that you may carry out against them anything^e that you desire.
4 Woe unto you who pronounce anathemas^f so that they may be neutralized!^g
(Salutary) remedy^h is far from you, on account of your sins.ⁱ
5 Woe unto you who reward^j evil to your neighbors!
For you shall be rewarded in accordance with your deeds.
6 Woe unto you, witnesses of falsehood!
And unto those who prepare oppression!
For you shall perish soon.
7 Woe unto you, sinners, for you persecute the righteous!
For you shall be handed over and be persecuted through oppression.
Its yoke^k shall be heavy upon you.

Hope for the righteous ones, more woes for the sinners

- 1 96 "Be hopeful, you righteous ones, for the sinners shall soon perish from before your presence.
You shall be given authority^a upon them, such (authority) as you may wish (to have).
2 In the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
your children shall be raised high up and be made openly visible^b like eagles,
higher^c than the vultures will your dwelling place be,
you shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth and the clefts of the rock forever,
like squirrels, before the face of the oppressors.
the sirens shall be blown over you,
wailing like the buzzing of wild bees.
3 But you, who have experienced pain, fear not,
for there shall be a healing medicine for you,

neutralized."

h. Lit. "medicine," "cure," "drug that either heals or hurts."

i. At this point A adds "the matter [the word] is where it has been left." This phrase is not found in B, C, other MSS used by Charles, or those that I have seen.

j. Lit. "pay," "repay."

k. Lit. "Her yoke."

96 a. Lit. "There shall be authority to you."

b. B C: "be raised high up and rise."

c. Lit. "exceeding."

k. B and C omit "upon your own righteousness." See next n.

l. B and C read "Upon your fall there shall be no mercy."

m. B and C add "in those days."

95 a. Lit. "give."

b. B C: "to be like."

c. Or "evil hate." B C: "hate and evil."

d. Text unclear.

e. Lit. "all." B and C read "judgment."

f. Lit. "anathematize anathemas."

g. Lit. "unbound," "untied," "unfastened," "loosened." B and C read "so that they may not be

a bright light shall enlighten you,
and a voice of rest you shall hear from heaven.

Woe unto you, you sinners!

For your money makes you appear like the righteous,
but your hearts do reprimand you like real sinners,
this very matter shall be a witness against you, as a record of your evil deeds.

Woe unto you who eat the best bread!^d

And drink wine in large bowls,^e
trampling upon the weak people^f with your might.

Woe unto you who have water available to you all the time,^g
for soon you shall be consumed and wither away,
for you have forsaken the fountain of life.

Woe unto you who carry out oppression, deceit, and blasphemy!
There shall be a record of evil against you.

Woe unto you, O powerful people!^h

You who coerceⁱ the righteous with your power,
the day^j of your destruction is coming!
In those days, at the time^k of your condemnation,
many and good days shall come for the righteous ones.

The sorrowful end of sinners, oppressors, and the rich; and more woes to them

- 1 97 "Be confident, you righteous ones!
For the sinners are due for a shame.
They shall perish on the day of (the judgment of) oppression.
Take for granted^a this (indisputable) matter,
2 for the Most High shall record your destruction for you (O sinners),
and the angels of heaven shall rejoice over your destruction.
3 What do you intend to do, you sinners,
whither^b will you flee on that day of judgment,
when you hear the sound of the prayer of the righteous ones?
4 (In respect to your lot), you shall become like them,
(the ones) against whom you shall become witness(es),^c
such is the fact:^d You have become bedfellows with sinners.
5 In those days, the prayers of the righteous ones shall reach unto the Lord;
but for all of you, your days shall arrive.^e
6 He shall read aloud^f regarding every aspect of your mischief,
in the presence of the Great Holy One.
Then your faces shall be covered with shame,
and he will cast out every deed which is built upon oppression.^g
7 Woe unto you, sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and on the dry land;
(you) whose records are (both) evil (and) against you.^h

d. Lit. "the enriched [fatted] wheat."

e. I have followed in this case the emendation suggested by Charles. See EC, p. 201, n. 8. The text is corrupt and reads "the strength of the root of the fountain."

f. Lit. "the lowly ones."

g. Charles suggests emending the text: "who drink water from every fountain." See EC, p. 201, n. 10.

h. Or "powerful ones."

i. Or "force," "compel," "subject by force."

j. A reads "until the day." B and C read "for the day."

k. Lit. "on the day."

97 a. Lit. "Let this become a well-known fact for you."

b. So B and C. A reads *ye'eti*, "she," "she is," "it," "this," instead of *aytē*.

c. B: "(those) which becomes [sic] a witness against you." C: "(those) which becomes [sic] a witness against them."

d. Lit. "This is the matter."

e. Lit. "But for you, the days of all of you shall arrive." B C: "but for you, the days of your judgment shall arrive."

f. B C: "It shall be read aloud."

g. Cf. G. Nickelsburg, "Enoch 97-104: A Study of the Greek and Ethiopic Texts," *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. M. E. Stone, supplementary vol. 1 to *Sion* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 93.

h. Lit. "Whose records are evil—against you." G: "There is an evil record against you."

Woe unto you who gain silver and gold by unjust means;ⁱ
 you will then say, 'We have grown rich' and accumulated goods,
 we have acquired everything that we have desired.
 So now let us do whatever we like;
 for we have gathered silver,
 we have filled our treasuries^k (with money) like water.
 And many are the laborers^l in our houses.
 Your lies flow like water.^m
 For your wealth shall not endure
 but it shall take off from you quickly
 for you have acquired it all unjustly,
 and you shall be given over to a great curse.

Self-indulgence of the rich, origin of sins, more woes to sinners

- 98 "Now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,^a
 for you shall see many (things)^b upon the earth.
 For you men shall put on more jewelry^c than^d women, and more
 multicolored^e ornaments than a virgin.
 In sovereignty, in grandeur, and in authority, (in) silver, in gold, in
 clothing, in honor, and in edibles—
 they shall be poured out like water.^f
 For this reason, they are devoid of knowledge and wisdom, so they shall
 perish thereby together with their goods^g and together with all their
 glory and honor.
 Then in dishonor, in slaughter, and in great misery, their spirits^h shall
 be cast away.ⁱ
 I have sworn unto you, sinners: In the same manner that a mountain has
 never^j turned into^k a servant, nor shall a hill (ever) become a
 maidservant of a woman; likewise, neither has sin been exported^l
 into the world. It is the people who have themselves invented it.
 And those who commit it shall come under a great curse.
 Why^m is a woman not given (a child)?
 On account ofⁿ the deeds of her own hands would she die without
 children.^o
 I swear to you, sinners, by the Holy Great One, that all your evil deeds
 are revealed^p in the heavens.
 "None of your (deeds of injustice are covered and hidden. •Think not in your
 spirit, nor say in your hearts)^q that you neither know nor see^r all our sins^s being

i. Lit. "that which is not through justice [or
 "right"]," therefore, "unethically," "by violating
 others' rights," "through wrongdoing."

j. B, C, and G^p: "We have become rich with
 riches."

k. Lit. "storerooms."

l. G^p reads "good things." Nickelsburg (*Armenian
 and Biblical Studies*, p. 93) suggests correctly that
 G^p may be more accurate than the Eth. His suggestion
 that the Eth. tradition is corrupted from *herata* is not
 convincing. The latter means "good persons," not
 "good things."

m. G^p: "You err."

98 a. G^p: "not to the foolish."

b. G^p: "many iniquities."

c. Or "ornaments," "adornments."

d. G^p: "like."

e. G^p: "fair color."

f. G^p reads "They shall have silver and gold for
 food, and in their houses they shall be poured out
 like water."

g. G^p: "you shall perish . . . with all your goods."

h. G^p: "your spirits."

i. B and C add "into the furnace." G^p is defective.

j. Lit. "not."

k. Lit. "become."

l. Lit. "sin has not been sent."

m. B and C read "Barrenness" instead of "Why."

n. B and C read "But on account of."

o. G^p adds a whole verse before this one and reads
 as follows: "Slavery was not given to a woman, but
 because of the works of her hands; for it is not
 ordained that a slave should become a slave. It was
 not given from above, but it came about because of
 oppression. Likewise neither was sin given from
 above but from transgression. Likewise a woman was
 not created barren, but because of her wrongdoing
 she was punished with barrenness, childless shall she
 die."

p. G^p: "they will be revealed."

q. So B, C, and G^p. The whole passage in
 parentheses is missing from A, most probably due to
 homoeoteleuton.

r. G^p reads "that they do not know and do not
 see."

s. B C: "every sin." G^p: "your sins."

8 written down every day in the presence of the Most High. •From now on do know
 that all your injustices which you have committed unjustly are written down^t every
 day until the day of your judgment.

- 9 "Woe unto you, fools, for you shall perish
 through your folly!
 You do not listen to^u the wise, and you shall not receive good things.^v
 And now do know that you are ready for the day
 of destruction.
 Hope not that you shall live, you sinners,
 you who^w shall depart and die,
 for you know for what (reason) you have been ready^x
 for the day of the great judgment,
 for the day of anguish and great shame for your spirits.
 Woe unto you obstinate of heart, who do evil and devour blood!
 From where (will you find) good things that you may eat, drink, and be
 satisfied?
 Even from all the good things which the Lord, the Most High, stocked
 in plenitude upon the whole earth?
 No peace exists for you!
 Woe unto you who love unrighteousness!^y
 Why do you have hopes for good things for yourselves?
 Do know that you shall be given over into the hands of the righteous
 ones,
 and they shall cut off your necks^z and slay you, and they shall not have
 compassion upon you.^{a2}
 Woe unto you who rejoice in the suffering of the righteous ones!
 For no grave shall be dug^{b2} for you.
 Woe unto you who would set at nought the words of the righteous ones!
 For you shall have no hope of life.^{c2}
 Woe unto you who write down false words and words of wickedness!^{d2}
 For they write down their lies so that they (the people) may commit
 wicked acts,^{e2}
 and they cause others to commit wicked acts.^{f2}
 They shall have no peace, but shall die quickly.^{g2}

More woes unto the sinners

- 99 "Woe unto you who cause wickedness!^h
 Who glorify and honorⁱ false words,
 you are lost, and you have no life^j of good things;
 woe unto you who alter the words of truth^k
 and pervert^l the eternal law!^m
 They reckon themselves not guiltyⁿ of sin,
 they shall be trampled on upon the earth.

t. So B, C, and G^p. A reads "are arriving," "are
 coming."

u. So B and G^p. A: "You do not neglect." C:
 "You do neglect."

v. G^p adds "evils (in) you."

w. B and C read *alta*, "but," instead of *ella*.

x. B C: "For you know no ransom; for you are
 ready."

y. B C: "the deeds of unrighteousness [oppres-
 sion]."

z. G^p omits "they shall cut off your necks."

a2. Nickelsburg's suggestion (*Armenian and Bib-
 lical Studies*, pp. 90-156) that *mehra* is a corruption
 for *mehka* is interesting and possible. But the dis-
 tinctions in the present context are minimal.

b2. So B, C, and G^p. A reads "be revealed."

c2. G^p: "hope of salvation."

d2. G^p: "words of error."

e2. B C: "their lies so that they hear them and
 commit wicked acts." G^p: "they write down and
 they will lead many astray by their lies."

f2. Sentence omitted by G^p.

g2. G^p: "You yourselves err, and you shall have
 no joy; but you shall perish quickly."

99 a. G^p: "who cause errors."

b. C: "You glory and honor."

c. G^p: "salvation."

d. Or "uprightness."

e. Or "abolish," "delete," "do violence to."

f. G^p: "covenant."

g. So B, C, and G^p. A reads "They reckon
 themselves guilty."

3 "In those days, be ready, you righteous ones, to raise up your prayers as a memorial, and place them as a testimony before the angels; and they (the angels) shall bring the
4 sins of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High. •In those days, the nations shall be confounded, and the families of the nations shall rise in the day of the
5 destruction of the sinners.^h •In those days, they (the women) shall become pregnant,ⁱ but they (the sinners) shall come out^j and abort^k their infants and cast them out from their midst; they shall (also) abandon^l their (other) children,^m casting their infants out while they are still suckling. They shall neither return to them (their babes) nor have compassion upon their beloved ones.

6 "Again I swear to you, you sinners, for sin has been prepared for the day of
7 unceasing blood. •(And those) who worship stones, and those who carveⁿ images of gold and of silver and of wood and of clay,^o and those who worship evil spirits^p and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge,^q they shall get no manner
8 of help in them.^r •They shall become wicked^s on account of the folly of their hearts; their eyes will be blindfolded on account of the fear of their hearts, the visions of
9 their dreams.^t •They shall become wicked and fearful through them, for they wrought
10 all their deeds in falsehood and worshiped stone; so they shall perish instantly.^u •In those days, blessed are they all who accept the words of wisdom and understand them, to follow^v the path^w of the Most High; they shall walk in the path of his righteousness and not become wicked with the wicked; and they shall be saved.

11 "Woe unto you who spread evil to your neighbors!
For you shall be slain in Sheol.
12 Woe unto you who make sinful and deceitful measures!
Who acquire worldly knowledge,^x
for you shall be consumed by it.^y
13 Woe unto you who build your houses through the hard toil of others,^z
and your building materials are bricks and stones of sin,
I tell you, you^{a2} have no peace.^{b2}
14 Woe unto you^{c2} who reject the foundations^{d2} and the eternal inheritance
of your (fore-) fathers!
Who^{e2} shall pursue after the wind—the idol;^{f2}
for there shall be no rest for you.^{g2}
15 Woe unto you who engage in oppression and give aid to injustice!

h. G^p: "of sin" or "of unrighteousness." B and C have neither "of the sinners" nor "of sin."

i. B: "those who become pregnant." C: "those who become destitute."

j. Nickelsburg (*Armenian and Biblical Studies*, pp. 90–156) suggests *yāwage'u*, in agreement with the Gk. *ekbalousin*, "they shall cast out," instead of *yewage'u*.

k. Nickelsburg (*Armenian and Biblical Studies*, pp. 90–156) suggests "they shall sell," in agreement with G. Zuntz, "Enoch on the Last Judgement," *JTS* 45 (1944) 66. Eth. *masit* means "to pluck out," "to tear out," "to remove violently," "to carry off," and "to rob."

l. B C: "they shall stumble," "they shall stammer."

m. G^p has been restored to read "they that are with child shall destroy their fruit." Nickelsburg (*Armenian and Biblical Studies*, pp. 90–156) suggests "they shall abort [*yadahesu*] their fruit."

n. So B, C, and G^p. A wrongly: "who cast out."
o. G^p adds: "and of stone." So does Tertullian (*De idolis* 4).

p. Lit. "evil souls."

q. Or possibly "even if not according to knowledge." B reads "of statues."

r. Cf. G^p and Tertullian (*De idolis* 4). B and C

read "no help will be found [A wrongly: "every help will be found"] in them."

s. A wrongly: "They shall not become wicked."

t. G^p reads "and the visions of their dreams will lead you astray."

u. G^p reads "You and the lying works that you have made and fashioned of stone, you shall perish together."

v. Lit. "to do."

w. G^p: "the commandments."

x. Lit. "Those who know [learn] upon the earth."

Text is not clear. B reads "Those who become bitter upon the earth."

y. G^p omits vss. 11f.

z. G^p: "not (by) their own labor."

a2. G^p: "you foolish men."

b2. Cf. Nickelsburg, *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, pp. 95f.

c2. B C: "unto them."

d2. So A and G^p. B C: "the measures." Other

Eth. MSS: "princes."

e2. Lit. "They."

f2. Possibly this is a corruption for "the soul [or "spirit"] of the idol [or "error"]." B and C read "Their souls shall follow after idols." G^p reads "A spirit of error shall pursue you."

g2. So A and G^p. B C: "no rest for them."

Slaying your neighbors until the day of the great judgment, because he shall debase your glory.

16 He will instill evil into your hearts.^{h2}

He will arouse the anger of his spirit,ⁱ² and destroy you all by the sword.

And all the holy and righteous ones shall remember your sins.

Final judgment of the sinners, the righteous, and the fallen angels. More woes.

1 **100** "In those days, the father will be beaten together with his sons, in one place; and brothers shall fall together with their friends, in death, until a stream shall flow
2 with their blood. •For a man shall not be able to withhold his hands from his sons' nor from (his) sons' sons^a in order to kill them.^b Nor is it possible for the sinner to withhold his hands from his honored brother.^c From dawn until the sun sets, they shall
3 slay each other.^d •The horse shall walk through the blood of sinners up to his chest; and the chariot shall sink down up to its top. •In those days, the angels shall descend into the secret places. They shall gather together into one place all those who gave aid to sin.^e And the Most High will arise on that day of judgment in order to execute
4 a great judgment upon all the sinners.^f •He will set a guard of holy angels over all the righteous and holy ones, and they shall keep them^g as the apple of the eye until all evil and all sin^h are brought to an end.ⁱ From that time on^j the righteous ones shall
5 sleep a restful sleep,^k and there shall be no one to make them afraid. •Then^l the wise people^m shall see, and the sons of the earth shall give heed to all the words of this book.ⁿ They shall know that their wealth shall not be able to save them at the place where their sins shall collapse.

7 "Woe unto you, sinners, when you oppress^p the righteous ones, in the day of hard anguish, and burn them^q with fire!
You shall be recompensed according to your deeds.^r
8 Woe unto you, you hard of heart, who are watchful to devise evil!^s
Fear shall seize you, and none shall come to your aid.^t
9 Woe unto you, sinners, because of the words of your hands!^u
On account of the deeds of your wicked ones,^v in blazing flames worse than fire, it shall burn.^w

10 "And now, do know that your deeds shall be investigated^x—from the sun, from

h2. Sentence omitted by G^p.

i2. B: "the spirit of his anger." C: "his anger and his spirit." G^p: "his anger."

100 a. G^p: "his son."

b. G^p: "his beloved."

c. Text: "to kill him." So G^p.

d. G^p: "from a man of worth and his brother."

e. G^p: "they shall be slain together."

f. So A, B, and G^p. C reads "who brought down sin."

g. So A and B. C: "among the sinners." G^p: "upon all."

h. G^p: "they shall be kept."

i. G^p: "tribulations and sin."

j. C: "he will bring to an end."

k. So G^p. B C: "*emani*, "and though [if]." A, *emanu*, is unclear, but could possibly be translated as "perhaps" or "whether." Nickelsburg may be right in suggesting that the Eth. original may have read "*emnehu*. Nickelsburg, *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, p. 98.

l. Or "a long sleep." Cf. G^p: "a sweet sleep."

m. So G^p. B reads "they." C reads "verily," "in certainty." Charles (*APOT*, vol. 2, p. 272) translates it "in security." A reads "*emanu*."

n. G^p: "the wise among men."

o. G^p: "these words of this letter."

p. Or "afflict," "make suffer."

q. G^p: "guard them."

r. So B, C, and G^p. A: "Their deeds shall be recompensed."

s. So B, C, and G^p. A: "to eat evil."

t. G^p: "none to take your part."

u. B and C read "Woe unto you, sinners, because of the words of your mouth and because of the deeds of your hands!" G^p reads "Woe unto you, sinners, because of the works of your mouth! Woe unto you, all you sinners, because of the words of your mouth and of your hands."

v. Text unclear. B reads "which deeds you violated." C reads "which your wickedness wrought." G^p reads "because you have gone astray from your holiness." Cf. Nickelsburg, *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, pp. 98f.

w. B: "you shall burn."

x. Or "examined," "inspected."

the moon, and from the stars—for heaven¹ by the angels, on account of your sins (which) were committed² upon the earth. The decree³ is with the righteous ones.
 11 Every cloud, mist, dew, and rain shall witness against you;⁴ for they shall all be withheld from you, from descending for you; and they shall not give heed,⁵ because
 12 of your sins. •So then offer gifts to the rain, that it be not hindered from descending for you; perhaps the dew may receive from you gold and silver in order to descend
 13 for sure.⁶ •(In) descending,⁷ they shall fall upon you—the frost and the snow with their cold, and all the winds of the snow⁸ with their scourges—and in those days⁹ you cannot stand before them.

The fear of God that nature teaches

1 **101** "Examine the heaven, you sons of heaven,^a and all the works of the Most High; and be afraid to do evil in his presence. •If he closes the windows of heaven and hinders the rain and the dew from descending upon the earth because of you, what
 3 will you do? •Or, if he sends his anger against you (and) your deeds,^b is it not you who would entreat him? Because^c you utter bold^d and hard (words)^e against his righteousness,^f you shall have no peace. •Do you not see the sailors^g of the ships, how
 4 their ships are tossed up and down by the billows^h and are shaken by the winds, and they become anxious? •On this account (it is evident that) they are seized by fear, for
 5 they will discharge all their valuable propertyⁱ—the goods that are with them^k—into the sea;^l they think^m in their hearts that the sea will swallow them up and they will
 6 perish in it. •Is not the entire sea and all her waters and all her movementsⁿ the very work of the Most High? Has he not ordered^o her courses of action and her waters—
 7 (indeed) her totality—with sand? •At his rebuke they become frightened, and she dries up;^p then her fish die^q and all that is in her. But you, sinners, who are upon the earth,
 8 fear him not! •Did he not make the heaven and the earth and all that is in them? Who gave the knowledge of wisdom^r to all those who move upon the earth^s and in
 9 the sea? •Do not the sailors^t of the ships fear the sea? Yet the sinners do not fear the Most High."

Terror of the day of judgment: comfort to the suffering righteous ones

1 **102** "In those days,^a when he hurls out against you^b terror of fire,^c where shall you flee, and where shall you find safety? When he flings his word^d against you, will you
 2 not faint^e and fear?^f •All the luminaries shall faint with great fear;^g the whole earth^h shall faintⁱ and tremble and panic.^j •All the angels shall fulfill their orders.^k The children of the earth will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great
 3 Glory,^l trembling and confounded.^m You, sinners, you are accursed forever; there is no peaceⁿ for you! •But you, souls of the righteous, fear not; and be hopeful, you
 4 souls that died in righteousness!^o •Be not sad because your souls have gone down into

y. B C: "in heaven."
 z. B C: "which you committed."
 a2. Or "judgment," "decision," "verdict."
 b2. B and C read "He shall cause . . . to testify against you" instead of " . . . shall witness against you."
 c2. C: "they shall give heed."
 d2. Lit. "In order to descend descending." B and C read "In order to descend."
 e2. B and C omit "(in) descending," and add "when."
 f2. Lit. "the winds and the snow."
 g2. G^p omits "in those days."

101 a. B omits "you sons of heaven." G^p reads "Consider then, you sons of men . . ."
 b. B reads "and upon all your deeds." C reads "and because of your deeds."
 c. G^p: "will you not be entreating him?"
 d. G^p: "Why?"
 e. Lit. "big," "great."

f. G^p adds "with your mouth."
 g. G^p: "his greatness."
 h. So G^p. Eth. MSS: "kings." Halévy ("Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Hénoch," JA 6.9[1867] 392) already suggested before the discovery of G^p that the Eth. *nagast*, "kings," corresponds to the Heb. *mal'keh*, which is corrupt for *mal'ahēy*, "sailors."
 i. Or "sea-waves," "tidal waves." A reads wrongly "by death." G^p reads "billow and storm."
 j. Lit. "good [beautiful, goodly] property."
 k. G^p reads "their goods and property."
 l. Lit. "for all their valuable property . . . will come out into the sea." G^p: "they will cast out into the sea . . ."
 m. So G^p. A, B, and C read "they do not think."
 n. G^p omits "her movements."
 o. A is partially illegible. I have adjusted the three legible characters, *wa-rāha*, to read *wašerāha*. Eth. *šarho* means "to even," "to organize," "to arrange," "to set in order," "to adorn." The reading

Sheol in sorrow; or (because) your flesh¹ fared not well the² earthly existence³ in accordance with your goodness;⁴ indeed the time⁵ you happened to be in existence was
 6 (a time of) sinners,⁶ a time of curse and a time of plague.⁷ •When you die, the sinners will speak over you: 'As we die, so do the righteous die.'⁸ What then have they gained
 7 by⁹ their deeds? •Behold, like us they died in grief and in darkness,¹⁰ and what have
 8 they more than we? From now on we have become equal.¹¹ •What will they receive or what will they see forever? Behold they have surely died; and from now on they
 9 shall never see light forever.¹² •Now I tell you, sinners, you have satiated yourselves with food and drink, robbing and sin, impoverishing people and gaining property,¹³
 10 and seeing good days.¹⁴ •Have you seen the righteous, how their end comes about,
 11 for no injustice is found upon them until their death?¹⁵ •But they perished and became like those who were not, and descended into Sheol—and their spirits too¹⁶—with anguish.¹⁷

The two destinies of the righteous and the sinners: more woes unto the sinners

1 **103** "I now swear to you, righteous ones, by the glory of the Great One and by the
 2 glory of his kingdom;^a and I swear to you (even) by the Great One.^b •For I know this^c mystery; I have read the tablets of heaven and have seen the holy writings,^d and I have
 3 understood the writing in them; and they are inscribed^e concerning you.^f •For all good things, and joy and honor are prepared for and written down for the souls^g of those
 4 who died in righteousness. Many and good things^h shall be given to you—the offshoot
 of your labors. Your lot exceeds even that of the living ones.ⁱ •The spirits of those

remains problematic. B has "All her course of action he sealed and bound." C has "He established all her course of action and bound . . ." G^p has "He set their limits [so Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (Studies and Documents 8; London, 1937) p. 57] and binds and sets it about . . ."
 p. B C: "she becomes frightened and dries up."
 G^p: "they become frightened and dry up . . ."
 q. So A and G^p. B C: "all her fish."
 r. B C: "knowledge and wisdom." G^p: "understanding."
 s. G^p omits "who move upon the earth."
 t. Lit. "the kings." See n. h.
 u. G^p omits this sentence.

102 a. Omitted by G^p.
 b. A wrongly reads "against them."
 c. G^p: "the surge of the fire of your burning."
 d. Or "his voice."
 e. G^p: "be shaken."
 f. G^p adds "by the mighty sound."
 g. This clause is omitted by G^p.
 h. So B, C, and G^p. A: "the earth and everything."
 i. G^p: "be shaken."
 j. Lit. "be hasty," "be nervous," "be anxious." G^p: "be confused."
 k. So B and C. A: "their orders shall be fulfilled."
 l. So B and C. A: "the Great One and glory."
 m. G^p: "the heaven and its lights shaken and trembling, all the sons of the earth."
 n. G^p: "no joy."
 o. G^p: "Be of good courage, souls of the just that are dead, the just and the pious."
 p. Or "your body." G^p: "the body of your flesh."
 q. B, C, and G^p: "your."
 r. Lit. "in life" or "while alive."
 s. G^p: "your holiness."
 t. Lit. "the day."
 u. C has been adjusted to read "but wait for the

day of the judgment of sinners." G^p: "the days that you lived were days of sinners."
 v. G^p: "days . . . of accursed men upon the earth."
 w. G^p: "the pious have died according to their fate."
 x. So B, C, and G^p. A: "and."
 y. G^p: "they have died like us. See now how they die in grief."
 z. G^p: "From now on let them rise and be saved."
 a2. G^p is abbreviated. It reads "and they shall forever see us eating and drinking." Cf. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch*, p. 61.
 b2. Or "acquiring wealth."
 c2. So B, C, and G^p. A: "goods," "property," "wealth."
 d2. G^p: "Behold, now they who try to justify themselves, how great their downfall has been, because no righteousness was found in them until they died."
 e2. B: "their souls descended." C: "their spirits descended."
 f2. G^p: "they were destroyed, and became as though they were not, and their souls went down in pain to . . ."
103 a. B: "I now swear . . . by this great glory and his honor and the honor of his kingdom." C: "I now swear . . . by the glory of the Great and Honored One (of) the mighty kingdom."
 b. B C: "and I swear to you by his greatness."
 c. So A, B, and G^p. C omits "this."
 d. B reads "the writing of the holy ones." C: "the holy writing." G^p: "the writing of authority."
 e. Lit. "engraved."
 f. B reads "concerning them."
 g. A: "for your souls."
 h. B C: "many good things."
 i. G^p omits last two sentences.

who died in righteousness⁹ shall live⁴ and rejoice;⁹ their spirits shall not perish,⁹ nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One unto all the generations of the world. Therefore,⁹ do not worry about their humiliation.

- 5 "Woe⁹ unto you sinners who are dead!⁹ When you are dead in the wealth of your sins,⁹ those who are like you¹ will say of you, 'Happy are you sinners!¹ (The sinners) have seen all their days.'¹ They have died now in prosperity and wealth.⁹ They have not experienced struggle and battle in their lifetime.⁹ They have died in glory, and there was no judgment⁹ in their lifetime.⁹ You yourselves know that they will bring your souls⁹ down to Sheol; and they shall experience evil and great tribulation—in darkness, nets,² and burning flame. Your souls shall enter² into the great judgment: it shall be a great judgment in all the generations of the world. Woe unto you, for there is no peace² for you! Now to the righteous and kind ones during their lifetime: Do not say, 'In the days of our² toil,² we have surely suffered hardships and have experienced every trouble.² We have faced many evil things² and have become consumed. We have died² and become few, (characterized) by the littleness of our spirit.² We have been destroyed;² and we have found none whatsoever to help us with a word or otherwise.² We have been tortured and destroyed,² and could not even hope to see life² from one day to the other.² We hoped² to be the head and have become the tail.² We have moiled as we toiled,² but had no authority over our own toil.² We have become the victuals of the sinners and the oppressors;² they² have made their yoke² heavy upon us. Those who hate us, while goading us and encompassing us,² have become masters over us.² We have bowed our necks to those² who hate us, but they had no pity on us.² We wanted to get away from them in order that we may escape and be at rest; but we found no place to which we might flee and be safe from them.² Then, in our tribulation, we brought a charge against them before the authorities,² and cried out against those who were devouring us,³ but they (the authorities) neither would pay attention to our cries nor wish to listen to our voice. But (on the contrary) they were assisting³ those who were robbing and devouring us, those who were causing us to diminish.³ They (the authorities) conceal

j. B C: "you who died in righteousness, your spirits." G^p: "their spirits."

k. G^p omits "shall live."

l. B and C read "shall rejoice and be glad."

m. B omits "shall not perish."

n. Or "So, now."

o. G^p omits "Woe."

p. B omits "who are dead."

q. G^p omits "in the wealth of your sins." B omits "wealth."

r. G^p omits "those who are like you."

s. B, C, and G^p: "Happy are the sinners!"

t. G^p: "all their days which they saw in their life."

u. G^p omits this sentence.

v. This sentence is omitted by G^p.

w. So C and G^p. A reads "there was judgment."

x. B omits this sentence.

y. So A and G^p. B and C read "their souls."

z. G^p: "in toils."

a2. A erroneously: "shall conquer."

b2. G^p: "joy."

c2. A: "their."

d2. G^p: "days of oppression."

e2. G^p omits "we have experienced every trouble."

f2. G^p omits "We have faced many evil things."

g2. So A, B, C, and G^p omit "We have died."

h2. Lit. "with our small [little] spirit." G^p omits "by the littleness of our spirit," and adds "we found none to take our part."

i2. G^p adds "we have been crushed."

j2. G^p omits this clause.

k2. Cf. Nickelsburg, *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, p. 102.

l2. G^p: "to know safety again."

m2. Lit. "from day to day."

n2. Or "expected."

o2. In A, the *na* in *zanab(a)*, "tail," has been dropped, and *zaba-*, the compound particle, has been joined to the immediately succeeding word, *sāma-wēna*, "we (have) toiled [labored]," to form *zabašā-mawēna*.

p2. Or "We have toiled as we worked [labored]."

q2. G^p: "we have not been the masters of our wages."

r2. G^p omits "the oppressors."

s2. G^p reads "the lawless ones."

t2. G^p: "the yoke."

u2. So A and G^p. B and C read "they that hate us and goad us."

v2. G^p reads "They who are our masters . . ."

w2. So B and C. A reads *wabo*, "there is [are]."

x2. G^p omits this sentence.

y2. G^p omits this clause.

z2. G^p omits this clause.

a3. G^p: "against those who insulted and outraged us."

b3. So B and C. A: '*ardā'ekewomu*, "you were assisting them," does not seem to make sense, though it agrees with reading of other early MSS.

c3. G^p reads "They did not take our part, finding no complaint against those who affront and devour us; but they harden against us those who slaughtered us and made us few."

their (the offenders') injustice and do not remove the yokes of those who devour us,⁴³ scatter us, and murder us; they (the authorities) cover up our murder;⁴³ and they (the authorities) do not remember (the fact) that they (the offenders) have lifted up their hands against us."⁴³

- 104 "I swear unto you that in heaven the angels will remember you for good⁴ before the glory of the Great One; and your names⁶ shall be written before the glory of the Great One.⁶ Be hopeful, because formerly you have pined away through evil and toil. But now you shall shine⁴ like the lights of heaven, and you shall be seen;⁴ and the windows of heaven shall be opened for you. Your cry shall be heard.⁴ Cry for judgment, and it shall appear for you;⁴ for all your tribulations shall be (demanded) for investigation from the (responsible) authorities⁴—from everyone who assisted those who plundered you.⁴ Be hopeful, and do not abandon your hope, because there shall be a fire⁴ for you; you are about to be making a great rejoicing like the angels of heaven.⁴ You shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgment, and you shall not be found as the sinners; but the eternal judgment shall be (far) away from you for all the generations of the world.⁴ Now fear not, righteous ones, when you see the sinners waxing strong and flourishing;⁴ do not be partners with them, but keep far away from those who lean onto their own injustice; ⁴ for you are to be partners with the good-hearted people of heaven. Now, you sinners, even if you say, ⁶ 'All our sins shall not be investigated or written down,'⁶ nevertheless, all your sins are being written down every day. So now I show unto you that light and darkness as well as day and night witness⁴ all your sins. Do not become wicked in your hearts, or lie, or alter the words of a just verdict,⁴ or utter falsehood against the words of the Great,⁴ the Holy One, or give praise to⁴ your idols; for all your lies and all your wickedness are⁴ not for righteousness but for great sin.⁴ And now I know this mystery: For they (the sinners) shall alter the just verdict⁴ and many sinners will take it to heart;⁴ they will speak evil words and lie, and they will invent fictitious stories and write out my Scriptures on the basis of their own words.⁴ And would that they had written down all the words⁴² truthfully on the basis of their own speech,⁴² and neither alter nor take away from my words, all of which I testify to them from the beginning! Again know another mystery!⁴² that to the righteous and the wise⁴² shall be given the Scriptures

d3. So C. A reads "they do not remove their yokes; and they devour us." B reads "they do not remove their yokes but they devour us."

e3. "Our murder" is in the genitive objective case; in other words, the phrase should be read "the fact of our being murdered [slaughtered]."

f3. G^p: "concerning the sinners, they do not remember their sins."

104 a. Or the clause can be understood to mean "the angels will intercede for you in heaven."

b. So B and C. A reads "the names."

c. G^p omits this clause.

d. A wrongly reads *tefarehu*, "you (will) fear," instead of *tebarehu*.

e. C: "you shall shine and be seen."

f. So G^p. Eth. (as in A, B, and C) "And your cry" is incomplete.

g. G^p: "The judgment for which you cry shall also be made manifest against everything which helps against you for your oppression."

h. Lit. "your tribulations shall be investigated from the authorities."

i. G^p reads "from all who ate with those who affront and devour you."

j. B and C omit "fire"; v. 4 is altogether omitted in G^p.

k. So A and B. C: "for there shall be a great joy for you like the angels of heaven. What are you about to do?"

l. G^p: "(you sinners), shall be troubled; and there

shall be eternal judgment upon you for all the generations of the world [ages]."

m. Or "prospering." Lit. "their way become befitting."

n. B, C, and G^p read "but keep far away from [G^p: "all"] their injustice."

o. G^p: "say not."

p. So B and C. A is not intelligible.

q. Lit. "see," "behold."

r. Or "the word of truth."

s. A omits "of."

t. G^p omits "Great."

u. A, B, and G^p. C reads "do not take account of."

v. G^p: "lead to."

w. A erroneously reads *hāte'an*, "sinners," instead of *hāte'at*.

x. Or "the word of truth."

y. So A, B, C: "Sinners will greatly [amply] alter and pervert the just verdict." Cf. also Nickelsburg, *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, p. 103. G^p: "sinners alter and write against . . . of truth and lead the many away."

z. So A, B, C: "they will invent great inventions, and write books on the basis of their own words." G^p: "they lie and invent great falsehoods and write out the Scriptures in their names."

a2. So A and C. B G^p: "all my words."

b2. G^p: "in their names."

c2. So A, B, C G^p: "I know another mystery."

d2. G^p adds "the holy."

of joy, for truth and great wisdom.^{e2} • So to them shall be given the Scriptures;^{f2} and they shall believe them and be glad in them; and all the righteous ones who learn from them the ways of truth shall rejoice.”^{g2}

1 **105** In those days, he says, “The Lord will be patient and cause the children of the earth to hear. Reveal it to them with your wisdom,^a for you are their guides; and (you are) a reward^b upon the whole earth. • Until^c I and my son are united with them forever in the upright paths in their lifetime and there shall be peace unto you, rejoice, you children of truth.^d Amen.”^e

1 **106** And after some days my son, Methuselah, took a wife for his son Lamech,^a and she became pregnant by him^b and bore him a son. • And his body was white as^c snow and red as^d a rose; the hair of his head^e as white as wool^f and his *demdema*^g beautiful; and as for his eyes, when he opened them^h the whole house glowed like the sun— (rather) the whole house glowed even more exceedingly.ⁱ • And when^j he arose from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord with righteousness.^k • And his father,^l Lamech, was afraid of him and fled^m and went to Methuselah his father; • and he said to him, “I have begotten a strange son.” He is not like an (ordinary) human being, but he looks like the children of the angels of heaven to me;ⁿ his form is different, and he is not like us.^o His eyes are like the rays of the sun, and^p his face glorious.^q • It does not seem to me that he is of me,^r but of angels; and I fear^s that a wondrous phenomenon^t may take place upon the earth in his days.^u • So I am beseeching you now, begging you in order that you may go to his (grand)father^x Enoch, our father, and learn^y from him the truth, for his dwelling place is among the angels.”^z • When Methuselah heard the words of his son,^{a2} he came to us^{b2} at the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there.^{c2} He cried aloud, and I heard his voice and came to him;^{d2} and I said to him, “Behold, my son, here I am, why^{e2} have you come here?”^{f2} • Then he answered me and said, “On account of a great distress have I come to you,^{g2} on account of a grievous vision have I come near here.^{h2} • Now, my

e2. So A. B C: “for joy, truth, and great wisdom.”
Gp: “for the joy in the truth.”

f2. This clause is omitted by Gp.

g2. So A and Gp. B C: “shall be recompensed.”

105 a. So A? The text is partially illegible. B and C read “The Lord says, they will cry out and testify in their wisdom to the children of the earth.”

b. Eth. “*esseyāt*, “reward,” “wage.” Possibly this may be a corruption of *assar*, “healing power,” “gift of healing,” “spiritual authority.”

c. So A. B C: “For.”

d. Or “uprightness.”

e. This ch. is missing from Gp. Contrary to Charles's view, this short ch. seems to exist in the Aram. original. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 208.

106 a. Gp reads “I took a wife for my son, Methuselah,” and then adds “and she bore him a son and called his name Lamech. Righteousness was brought low until that day. When he came of age, he took a wife for him.” The Lat. fragment adds “when he was three hundred fifty years old.”

b. Gp omits “she became pregnant by him.”

c. Gp: “whiter than.”

d. Gp: “redder than.”

e. Gp omits “of his head.”

f. Gp adds “and curly and glorious.”

g. This Eth. word has no equivalent in English. It refers to long and curly hair combed up straight, what one calls *gofārē* in several modern Ethiopian languages, or “afro” in colloquial English.

h. Lit. “his eyes.”

i. Gp omits this phrase.

j. Gp omits “when.”

k. So A. B and C read “to the Lord of righteousness.” Gp reads “he blessed the Lord.”

l. Gp omits “his father.”

m. Lat. omits “and fled.”

n. Gp: “a strange child has been born to me.”

o. B, C, and Gp omit “to me.” Lat. omits this clause.

p. Lat. omits this clause.

q. B and C omit “and.”

r. Lat. omits this clause.

s. Lat. reads “he is not born of me.”

t. Gp: “of an angel.”

u. A reads erroneously “he did not fear.”

v. Lit. “a wonder, miracle, wonderment.”

w. Lat. omits this clause.

x. B and C omit “his (grand)father.”

y. Lit. “hear.”

z. Gp has a gap and misses this clause. Lat. reads “he said to Methuselah: I am not able to know unless we go to our father Enoch.”

a2. Due to a gap, this clause is missing in Gp.

b2. B C G: “to me.”

c2. Gp: “where he saw that I was then.”

d2. Gp: “He said to me, ‘Father, give ear to my voice and come to me.’”

e2. So Gp and Lat. A B C: “for.”

f2. So A. B C Gp Lat.: “why . . . come to me?”

g2. Gp reads “I have come here,” and adds “(my) father.”

h2. Gp omits this clause. Lat. reads “he said,” omits vs. 9, and proceeds to vs. 10.

father, hear me:ⁱ² For unto my son Lamech a son^{j2} has been born,^{k2} one whose image and form are not like unto the characteristics of human beings; and his color is whiter than snow and redder than a rose,^{l2} the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun; and (when) he opened his eyes the whole house

11 lighted up.^{m2} • And (when) he rose up in the hands of the midwife, he opened his

12 mouth and blessed the Lord of heavenⁿ² • Then his father, Lamech,^{o2} became afraid^{p2} and fled,^{q2} and he did not believe that he (the child) was of him^{r2} but of^{s2} the image of the angels of heaven.^{t2} And behold, I have come to you in order that you may make

13 me know the real truth.” • Then I, Enoch,^{u2} answered, saying to him, “The Lord will surely make new things^{v2} upon the earth; and I have already seen this matter in a vision and made it known to you. For in the generation^{w2} of Jared, my father, they

14 transgressed the word of the Lord, (that is) the law of heaven.^{x2} • And behold, they commit sin and transgress the commandment;^{y2} they have united themselves with women and commit sin together with them; and they have married (wives) from among

15 them, and begotten children by them^{z2} • There shall be a great destruction^{a3} upon the earth; and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year. • And this son who has been born unto you shall be left upon the earth;^{b3} and his three sons shall be

17 saved when they who are upon the earth are dead.^{c3} • And upon the earth they shall give birth to giants,^{d3} not of the spirit but of the flesh.^{e3} There shall be a great plague

18 upon the earth, and the earth shall be washed clean^{f3} from all the corruption.^{g3} • Now, make known to your son^{h3} Lamech that the son who has been born is indeed righteous;ⁱ³ and call his name Noah, for he shall be the remnant for you; and he and his sons shall be saved from the corruption^{j3} which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and oppression that existed, and it will be fulfilled upon the earth, in his days.^{k3}

19 After that there shall occur still greater oppression than that which was fulfilled upon the earth the first time; for I do know the mysteries of the holy ones;^{l3} for he, the Lord, has revealed (them) to me and made me know—and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.”

1 **107** Then I beheld the writing upon them that one generation shall be more wicked than the other,^a until^b a generation of righteous ones^c shall arise, wickedness shall perish, sin shall disappear from upon the earth, and every good thing^d shall come

i2. Gp and Lat. omit this introductory clause.

j2. Gp: “a child.”

k2. Due to double haplography A reads *tawalda Lāmēk waldya*, “my son Lamech is born.”

l2. Lat. omits “whose image . . . than a rose.”

m2. Gp and Lat. omit the last clause.

n2. Gp: “the Lord of eternity.”

o2. Gp: “my son Lamech.”

p2. Lat. “Lamech became afraid.” The rest of vs. 12 is missing.

q2. B C and Gp: “he fled to me.”

r2. Gp: “that he is his son.”

s2. B C: “from.”

t2. Gp: “but that (he is) from angels.”

u2. Gp omits “Enoch.”

v2. Lit. “He will renew new things.” Gp: “new order.”

w2. A erroneously: *waldu*, “his son,” instead of *teweledu*.

x2. Or “the regulation or order [or “rule,” “commandment,” “principle,” “custom”] of heaven”; so A. B and C read *emal'ēla samāy*, “from the heights of heaven” or “from heaven above,” instead of *emser'āta samāy*. Gp reads “from the covenant of heaven.”

y2. Gp: “the custom.”

z2. See n. e3. Vss. 13f. missing in Lat.

a3. Gp: “wrath.”

b3. Gp: “this child that is born shall be left.”

c3. B and C add “he and his children will be saved.” Cf. 4QEn^c.

d3. Lit. “those who are tall”; so A. B C: “those who multiply.” Gp omits the phrase.

e3. In Gp, this sentence is placed at the end of vs. 14. Charles in *APOT*, vol. 2, p. 279, decided to place it at the end of vs. 14. Milik also puts it at the end of vs. 14, in 4QEn^c.

f3. So 4QEn^c: “be cleansed (from) great corruption.” Gp: “he shall tame the earth.”

g3. So 4QEn^c. Gp adds “that is upon it.”

h3. Gp omits “your son.”

i3. Lit. “he is righteous.” B and C read “the one who has been born is in truth his son.” Gp reads “tell Lamech that he is his son in truth and holiness.”

j3. Or “destruction.”

k3. Gp reads “whereupon you shall rest, and his sons, from the corruption of the earth and from all the sinners and from all the wickedness.” Milik's reconstructing of this verse, according to 4QEn^c, as containing the triple explanation of Noah's names, is not convincing (see *The Books of Enoch*, p. cited).

l3. The preceding two clauses are missing in Gp due to a gap.

107 a. Lit. “generation.”

b. B: “for,” “since,” “that.”

c. B C Gp: “righteousness.” Cf. 4QEn^c.

d. Lit. “good,” “beautiful,” “pleasant.”

2 upon her.^c "And now, my son, go^d and make it known to your son Lamech that this
3 son^e who has been born is his son in truth—and not in falsehood." • And when
Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he revealed to him everything
in secret—he returned (home).^b And he called the name of that son Noah, for he will
comfort the earth after all the destruction.¹

1 **108** Another Book of Enoch—which he wrote for his son Methuselah and for those
2 who will come after him, observing the law in the last days. • You who have observed
(the law)^a shall wait patiently in all the days^b until (the time of) those who work evil
3 is completed,^c and the power of the wicked ones is ended. • As for you, wait patiently
until sin passes away, for the names of (the sinners)^d shall be blotted out from the
Book of Life^e and the books of the Holy One;^f their seeds shall be destroyed forever
and their spirits shall perish and die;^g they shall cry and lament in a place that is an
invisible^h wilderness and burn in the fire—for there existsⁱ ground^j there (as upon the
earth).

4 I also saw there something like an invisible cloud; (and) though I could see that it
was completely dark^k yet I could not see^l the flame of its fire because it was burning
brightly; and there were some things like bright mountains which formed a ring (around
5 it) and which were tossing it to and fro. • Then I asked one of the holy angels who
was with me, saying to him, "What is this bright thing? For it is not a heaven^m but
merely the flame of a fire which is burning—and a voice of weeping, crying, and
6 lamenting as well as strong pain." • And he said unto me, "This place which you see,
into it shall be takenⁿ the spirits of sinners, blasphemers, those who do evil, and those
who alter all the things which the Lord has done^o through the mouth of the prophets,
7 all of which have to be fulfilled. • For some of (these things) were written and sealed
above in^p heaven so that the angels may read^q them (the things that are written) and
know that which is about to befall the sinners, the spirits of the ones who err,^r as well
as those who defiled^s their bodies, revenged themselves on^t God,^u and worked^v together
8 with evil people. • Those who love God have loved neither gold nor silver, nor all the
good things which are in the world, but have given over their bodies to suffering—
9 who from the time of their very being have not longed after earthly food, and who^w
regarded themselves^x as a (mere) passing breath. And they have observed this matter,
the Lord having put them through much testing; then he received their pure spirits^y
10 so that they should bless his name. • And I have recounted in the books all their
blessings. He has caused them to be recompensed,^z for they were all^{a2} found loving

e. GP: "blessings shall come to them upon the earth."

f. GP: "And now run, child."

g. GP: "this child." 4QEn: "this boy."

h. B: "he returned (home) having seen." C: "he returned (home) and revealed (them) to him." GP omits this clause.

i. GP: "And his name was called Noah, comforting the earth after the destruction."

108 a. Lit. "You who have worked [acted, done]." C: "You who have done the good."

b. So A. B and C read *la'ellu mawā'el*, "for those days," instead of *bak'ellu mawā'el*.

c. B C: "until those who work evil are finished [consummated]."

d. Lit. "their names."

e. So C. A reads "from the book of." B omits the whole phrase.

f. B C: "of the holy ones."

g. So A. B C: "shall be killed."

h. Or "chaotic." Cf. Gen 1:2.

i. B C: "there is not."

j. Or "earth."

k. Lit. "I could see from its darkness." B and C are unintelligible: "for I could not see from its depth

looking over."

l. B C: "I could see."

m. A could possibly be read *kamāya*, "like water."

n. B C: "shall be cast."

o. B C: "spoken."

p. So B and C. A omits "in."

q. So B and C. A reads "deposit," "preserve," "write down," or "put."

r. Or "the blunderers," "the falterers," "the lapsed," "the apostates." B and C and other MSS cited by Charles read *tehutān*, "the humble ones," instead of *sehutān*.

s. So A. B and C and other MSS cited by Charles, with the exception of his q, which is unintelligible, read *ahmamu*, "they made sick," "they afflicted," instead of *ahsamu*.

t. C: "by."

u. C reads "they were recompensed [revenged] by God."

v. B C: "diminished," "put to shame."

w. B C: "but."

x. So A and B. C: "their souls."

y. B C: "then their spirits were found pure."

z. B C: "he has recompensed them."

a2. B and C read *ellu*, "they," "those," "those that," instead of *k'ellu*.

God^{b2} more than the fire of their eternal souls;^{c2} and while they were being trodden
upon by evil people, experiencing abuse and insult by them, they continued^{d2} blessing
us.^{e2} • So now I^{f2} shall summon their spirits^{g2} if they are born of light,^{h2} and change
those who are born in darkness—those whose bodies were not recompensed with
12 honor as they deserved for their faithfulness.ⁱ² • I shall bring them out into the bright
light, those who have loved my holy name, and seat them each one by one upon the
13 throne of his honor;^{j2} • and they shall be resplendent for ages^{k2} that cannot be numbered;^{l2}
for the judgment of God is righteousness, because he will give faith^{m2}—as well as the
14 paths of truthⁿ²—to the faithful ones in the resting place.^{o2} • Then they shall see^{p2} those
who were born in darkness being taken into darkness, while the righteous ones shall
15 be resplendent. • (The sinners) shall cry aloud, and they shall see the righteous ones^{q2}
being resplendent; they shall go to the place which was^{r2} prescribed for them
concerning^{s2} the days and the seasons." Here ends the Revelation of the Secrets of
Enoch.

b2. Lit. "heaven."

c2. B: "more than their eternal breath." C: "more than their breath in the world."

d2. Or "they remained," "they persisted." Lit. "they lived," "they settled down." B and C read *hasaru*, "they were shamed [slighted]," instead of *nabaru*.

e2. So A. B C: "me."

f2. It appears to me that the shift in personal pronouns may indicate some scribal effort at an interpretative commentary, or even an interpolation.

g2. B and C read "the spirits of the good [kind] ones."

h2. Lit. "if it is born of light"; A is difficult. It can possibly read "I shall call their spirits, if it is born of light," which agrees with some traditional

Ethiopian commentaries, or "I shall call their spirits, mother of the one born of light . . ." B C: "from the generation of light."

i2. Or "faith."

j2. B: "in the throne of honor—his honor."

k2. Or "times," "seasons," "periods."

l2. Lit. "without number."

m2. Or "faithfulness."

n2. Or "uprightness."

o2. B C: "He will give faith to the faithful ones in the resting place of the paths of truth [or "uprightness"]."

p2. A erroneously adds "the righteous ones."

q2. B C: "the sinners."

r2. C: "were."

s2. B and C omit "concerning."