



BRILL

SCRINIUM (2022) 244–314

SCRINIUM

Journal of Patrology and
Critical Hagiography

brill.com/scri

Worthless Secrets

Corruption of Cosmological Knowledge in the Enochic Tradition

Andrei Orlov | ORCID: 0000-0002-2711-6033

Professor of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity, Marquette University,
Milwaukee, WI, USA

andrei.orlov@marquette.edu

Abstract

The article explores the fallen Watchers' cosmological secrets and their connection with the cosmological law or the "law of the stars." It argues that the Watchers' cosmological expertise is closely connected with their roles in relation to the "law of the stars" as the former participants and guardians of this reified cosmological covenant.

Keywords

Enoch – Watchers – cosmology – illicit knowledge – *Book of the Watchers* – *Astronomical Book* – *Book of the Similitudes* – 1 *Enoch* – 2 *Enoch*

•••

Nikolai Seleznyov, in memoriam

••
•

1 The Watchers' Mysteries in the *Book of the Watchers*

One of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Book of the Watchers*, offers an etiology of evil strikingly different from the one presented in the initial chapters of the Book of Genesis. Unlike its biblical counterpart that traces the beginning of humankind's corruption to the mishap of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the Enochic tradition links humankind's fall to an angelic rebellion in

the antediluvian period. It unveils the story of the fallen angels, the Watchers, who descended on the earth in the time before the Flood. Upon their descent these rogue angels corrupted the human race through unlawful marriages with human women and illicit celestial knowledge. Furthermore, the Watchers generated a new race of creatures called the Giants that, through their abnormal appetites and violent actions, caused the defilement of the earth. In response to this crisis God was forced to unleash the Flood.

The *Book of the Watchers*' readers first learn about the angelic rebellion in chapters 6–11 of the book, which, according to current scholarly consensus, represent the earliest strata of this Enochic composition, usually dated to the third century BCE.¹ These chapters describe the illicit actions of two groups of the fallen angels: one under the leadership of Shemihazah and another under the leadership of Asael. Scholars usually attribute these two stories to two different literary traditions, associating one with the motif of sexual misdeeds and the other with the motif of illicit pedagogy. It has been suggested that two or more earlier sources were amalgamated in order to produce chapters 6–11 of the *Book of the Watchers*. Early hypotheses about the multiple sources of *1 Enoch* 6–11 and their subsequent amalgamation can be traced to the works of August Dillmann, Bernhard Beer, Francois Martin, and Robert Henry Charles. These early insights have been further developed in studies by Devorah Dimant,² Paul Hanson,³ George Nickelsburg,⁴ Carol Newsom,⁵ and other

-
- 1 About a possible date of the *Book of the Watchers*, Nickelsburg notes that “the earliest traditions in the book may predate the Hellenistic period, and the book as a whole was completed by the middle of the third century BCE.” G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MI, 2001, p. 7. On the date of the *Book of the Watchers*, see also J.H. Charlesworth, “A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books,” *Henoah* 24 (2002), pp. 255–34; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998, p. 44; T.M. Erho and L.T. Stuckenbruck, “A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch,” *JSP* 23 (2013), pp. 87–133; M.E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE,” *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 479–492 at p. 484.
 - 2 D. Dimant, “*The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them*, Ph.D. diss.; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1974, pp. 65 and 72; idem, “1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978), pp. 323–39.
 - 3 P.D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977), pp. 195–233; idem, “A Response to John Collins’ Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978), pp. 311–314.
 - 4 G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977), pp. 383–405 at pp. 385–386; idem, “Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins’ Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978), pp. 311–314; idem, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 184.
 - 5 C.A. Newsom, “The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,” *CBQ* 42 (1980), pp. 310–329.

scholars. These scholarly probes point to tensions⁶ between the Shemihazah material, which focuses on the Watchers' sexual sins and the violence caused by their progeny, and the Asael material, which posits the revelation of forbidden knowledge as the cause for the deterioration of earthly life before the Flood.⁷ Furthermore, in this complex process of weaving together several earlier sources, the Asael tradition is usually viewed as the stratum that reflects "the final stage in the redactional growth of *1 Enoch* 6–11" and "a later accretion to the original core of the narrative."⁸

Although some experts have routinely objected to the treatments of Shemihazah and Asael in isolation,⁹ the proposals formulated by Dimant, Hanson, Nickelsburg, and other scholars, which attempted to establish strict boundaries between the activities of seduction and impregnation associated with one angelic group and the illicit pedagogies of the other angelic group, have dominated the scholarly landscape of Enochic studies for many decades.

The main bulk of information about the Watchers' corrupting endeavors in the *Book of the Watchers* come from three descriptions found in *1 Enoch* 6–7, *1 Enoch* 8, and *1 Enoch* 9. These testimonies include two types of evidence: (1) descriptions of the fallen angels' corrupting actions and (2) lists of their names that hint at the subjects of their corrupting revelations. The

-
- 6 George Nickelsburg argues that "tensions exist between the material about Asael and the narrative about Shemihazah. According to chap. 6, Shemihazah is the leader of two hundred angels who proposes the deed (the procreation of the giants) that brings evil into the world. In 8:1–2, 9:6, and 10:4–8 it is implied or stated in a variety of ways that Asael is the primary cause of the earth's desolation. Moreover, the nature of his revolt differs from that of Shemihazah. Rather than proposing marriage with mortal women, he reveals deadly secrets." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 165.
- 7 A.Y. Reed, "Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in *1 Enoch* 6–16," in: *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, ed. R.S. Abusch and A.Y. Reed, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 47–66 at p. 51.
- 8 Reed, "Heavenly Ascent," pp. 51–52. In her other work Reed notes that "virtually all [scholars] share the view of the motif of illicit angelic instruction as a secondary development within the Enochic myth of angelic descent." A.Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 29.
- 9 Thus, for example, John Collins points out that "we cannot purposefully discuss the meaning and function of the Shemihazah story apart from the Asael material" and "the fact that these distinct traditions are allowed to stand in some degree of tension is already significant for our understanding of the function of this book." J.J. Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of *1 Enoch*: Reflections on the Articles of P.D. Hanson and G.W. Nickelsburg," *SBLSP* 13 (1978), pp. 315–21 at p. 316; idem, "The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers," *CBQ* 44 (1982), pp. 91–111 at p. 97. Following Collins' insights, Reed argues that since "we have no evidence that the Shemihazah and Asael material in *1 Enoch* 6–11 ever circulated independently, we must take seriously their combination in the present form of these chapters." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 29.

Shemihazah story in *1 Enoch* 6:1–7:2 offers the following portrayal of the angelic transgressions:

6:1 And when the sons of men had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. 6:2 And the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another, “Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget for ourselves children.” 6:3 And Shemihazah, their chief, said to them, “I fear that you will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.” 6:4 And they all answered him and said, “Let us all swear an oath, and let us all bind one another with a curse, that none of us turn back from this counsel until we fulfill it and do this deed.” 6:5 Then they all swore together and bound one another with a curse. And they were, all of them, two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared onto the peak of Mount Hermon. 6:6 And they called the mountain “Hermon” because they swore and bound one another with a curse on it. 6:7 And these are the names of their chiefs: Shemihazah – this one was their leader; Ardeqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him; Kokabel, fourth to him; <Armumahel>, fifth to him; Ramel, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqel, eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermani, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Setawel, fourteenth to him; Samshiel, fifteenth to him; Sahriel, sixteenth to him; <Tummiel>, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Yamiel, nineteenth to him; Yehadiel, twentieth to him. 6:8 These are their chiefs of tens. 7:1 These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose. And they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants. 7:2 And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants.¹⁰

Dimant, Nickelsburg, and some other scholars discern the main gist of this passage in the unfolding theme of the Watchers’ seduction of human women and procreation of the Giants. Verse 7:1b, which speaks about teaching “sorcery and charms” and revelations about “cutting of roots and plants,” is usually taken as a later addition to this literary stratum, which is associated with Shemihazah’s group. Nickelsburg argues that “the motif of instruction is secondary ... it intrudes between action and result, that is, intercourse and conception.... Without this motif, the other elements in the story constitute a

¹⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp. 172–182.

logical narrative: they married; they begat giants; the giants have devastated the earth.”¹¹

Recently, however, this scholarly consensus that postulates absence of any traces of the instruction motif in the original form of the Shemihazah narrative has come under additional scrutiny. Although, for a long time, scholars considered the teaching motif in the Shemihazah story a later accretion, James VanderKam has recently suggested that it may represent an integral part of the Shemihazah narrative being expressed, among other things, through the Watchers’ names given in *1 Enoch* 6:7. Developing his hypothesis, VanderKam argues that in the *Book of the Watchers* the fallen angels “became pedagogues of subjects *related to the meanings of their names*, with astronomical or astrological subjects playing the major role.”¹²

If one looks more carefully at the Watchers list situated in *1 Enoch* 6:7, one can notice that the angels’ names encompass not only astronomical and astrological subjects but also subjects related to meteorological, calendrical, geographical, and other phenomena. The Aramaic fragments of the *Book of the Watchers* discovered at Qumran provide reliable witnesses for most of the Watchers’ names. Michael Knibb notes that “in the light of the Aramaic evidence¹³ it is possible to identify the original form of eighteen of the names with a fair degree of certainty – only in the case of the fifth and the seventeenth names is the evidence either non-existent or unclear.”¹⁴ The following chart summarizes the correspondences between the Watchers’ names and the possible subjects of their illicit instructions:

11 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 184.

12 J.C. VanderKam, “Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11,” in: *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. J.H. Ellens et al., DCLS, 38, Boston, 2018, pp. 166–176 at p. 168. Emphasis mine.

13 4QEn^a 1 iii, 6–12; 4QEn^b 1 ii, 15–17; 4QEn^c 1 ii, 24–30.

14 M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols.; Oxford, 1978, p. 2.70.

1.	Shemihazah	שמיחזה ^a	“My Name has seen”/“The Name (God) sees”/“the name/posterity has seen” ^b	secrets of the Name/oath/curses/spells
2.	Arteqoph	ארעתקף	“the earth is mighty” ^c /“the earth is power” ^d /“earth is stronghold” ^e	“signs of the earth” ^f /geographical/meteorological/astrological/astronomical secrets
3.	Remashel/ Ramt’el	רמשאל/ רמטאל	“evening of God” ^g /“burning ashes/heat of God” ^h	“the volcanic activities of the earth” ⁱ /geographical secrets
4.	Kokabel	כוכבאל	“Star of God” ^j	astronomical/astrological ^k secrets
5.	Oramel/ Armumahel	’Οραμμηλη ^l	“God is their light” ^m /“God is prudence” ⁿ	astronomical/meteorological secrets?

- a This and other Aramaic names of the Watchers are taken from H. Drawnel’s publications of the Qumran fragments of the Enochic books published in H. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4: The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212, Oxford, 2019, pp. 60–61.
- b J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Oxford, 1976, p. 152; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, SVTP, 7, Leiden, 1985, p. 119; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 179; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, pp. 61, 112.
- c Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119. Knibb translates this angelic name as “land of the Mighty One.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.71.
- d Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.
- e Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 179.
- f Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 119.
- g Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.72; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 179; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.
- h Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 119.
- i Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 119.
- j Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.
- k Cf. *Sync.* 8:3.
- l M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, PVTG, 3, Leiden, 1970, p. 21.
- m A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 94; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 120; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 63.
- n Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 180.

cont.

6.	Ramel	רעמאל	“thunder of God” ^o / “judge of God” ^p	meteorological secrets/secrets of thunder
7.	Daniel	דניאל	“God is (my) judge” ^q / “God/El has judged” ^r	secrets of divine judgment ^s
8.	Ziqel	זיקיאל	“fireball of God” ^t / “lightning-flash of God” ^u “shooting star of God/El” ^v	astronomical/astrologi- cal secrets
9.	Baraqel	ברקאל	“lightning of God” ^w	astronomical/astrolo- gical/ meteorological secrets
10.	Asael	עסאל	“God has made” ^x	secrets of creation/demi- urgic secrets
11.	Hermani	חרמני	“(the one) of Hermon/oath/curse” ^y / “god of imprecations” ^z	secrets of the Name/oath/curse

o Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 120; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.72; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

p Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153.

q Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 120; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180.

r Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

s Nickelsburg suggests that “in context the name is one more reference to God’s function as judge.” He further points out that “several names emphasize God’s judicial activity.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181.

t Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 120.

u Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153.

v Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

w Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 121; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

x Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 121; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

y Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 180. Jackson suggests that Hermani means “Of Hermon’ but suggests a link with ‘the ban’ (חרם) rather than the place.” D. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars*. LSTS, 49, London, 2004, p. 142.

z M. Black, “The Twenty Angel Dekadarchs at *1 Enoch* 6, 7 and 62.2,” *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 227–35 at p. 233.

cont.

12.	Matarel	מטראל	“rain of God” ^{aa}	secrets of rain/meteorological secrets
13.	Ananel	עננאל	“cloud of God” ^{ab}	secrets of clouds/meteorological secrets
14.	Setawel/ Sithwa’el	סתואל	“winter of God” ^{ac}	calendrical/meteorological secrets
15.	Samshiel	שמשיאל	“sun of God” ^{ad}	astronomical/astrological/ calendrical secrets
16.	Sahriel	שהריאל	“moon of God” ^{ae}	astronomical/astrological/ calendrical secrets
17.	Tummiel/ Tammel	תומיאל	“God has completed” ^{af} / “perfection of God” ^{ag}	???
18.	Turiel	טוריאל	“mountain of God” ^{ah}	geographical secrets
19.	Yamiel/ Yomel	ימיאל	“sea of God” ^{ai} or “day of God” ^{aj}	geographical/ calendrical secrets
20.	Yehadiel ^{ak} / Zehor’el ^{al}	יהדיאל/ זהריאל	“God will guide” ^{am} / “brightness of God” ^{an}	astronomical secrets

aa Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ab Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ac Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ad Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ae Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

af Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122.

ag Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ah Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ai Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 156; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181.

aj Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

ak Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154.

al Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122.

am Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 154; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, p. 61.

an Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.71.

The chart shows that the Watchers' names are closely related to the subjects that these rogue angels unlawfully revealed to humankind in the *Book of the Watchers* and other early Enochic documents. Knibb points out that twelve names from the list "are linked in their first element with astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena."¹⁵ One can argue that such a tendency can be extended to almost all names on the list. In light of this evidence, VanderKam argues¹⁶ that the list of the angels found in the Shemihazah passage in itself constitutes a witness to the motif of revelation of the divine secrets.¹⁷ He points out that the angels' "names themselves embody a germ of the teaching motif,"¹⁸ and, therefore, "there appear to be no literary reasons for separating the teaching passages from the story about angels who descended and married women.... Both the accounts, that of Shemihazah and of Asael, included unauthorized angelic instruction that led people into sin and brought on the flood."¹⁹

VanderKam's study provides support not only for the possibility that the Shemihazah story found in *1 Enoch* 6–7 contains a teaching motif but also additional evidence for the importance of the Watchers' names for discerning the possible content of their illicit instructions – the conceptual dimension which is so significant for our study.

The second angelic list found in *1 Enoch* 8:1–4 provides further proof for a possible link between the Watchers' names and their areas of instruction:

15 Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 270.

16 VanderKam point out that "Dimant ("The 'Fallen Angels,'" pp. 52–53) has maintained that the list is secondary to the narrative. As she points out, it recurs in 69:2 and partially in 8:3, but this is no reason for excluding it from the Shemihazah story, since 8:3 simply draws names from the one in 6:7, and 69:2 could be a quotation of 6:7. That chs. 7 and 8 end with similar lines need say nothing about whether the contents of ch. 8 are secondary." VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," 173. In contrast to Dimant's opinion, VanderKam proposes that "several factors indicate that, far from being an addition that can easily be excised by the critic's knife, the list belongs in the Shemihazah story – or at least that an editor has done a very good job of incorporating it." VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," p. 174. See also Nickelsburg's comment on *1 Enoch* 6:7–8: "There is nothing in the present text to indicate that the list is a secondary addition to the story." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 178.

17 VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," p. 174.

18 VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," p. 174. In his earlier study, written almost thirty years ago, VanderKam already formulated this idea by noting that the Watchers "will teach humankind information (suggested by their names) which they were not supposed to communicate to them.... The names ... connect the angel names with what they taught: medicinal, magical, and astrological information that humanity did not know before this." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, pp. 33, 36.

19 VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," pp. 175–176.

8:1. Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led astray the holy ones.

8:2. And there was much godlessness upon the earth, and they made their ways desolate.

8:3. Shemihazah taught spells and the cutting of roots.

Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells and magic and skill.

Baraqel taught the signs of the lightning flashes.

Kokabel taught the signs of the stars.

Ziqel taught the signs of the shooting stars.

Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth.

Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun.

Sahriel taught the signs of the moon.

And they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children.

8:4. (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven.²⁰

A close analysis of this passage demonstrates that the Watchers indeed transmitted knowledge corresponding to their names.²¹ In this respect it appears to be not coincidental that the two angels with “onomatological” associations in their names – Shemihazah (“My Name has seen”) and Hermani (“the one of Hermon/curse/oath”) – communicate knowledge about spells and curses. Other angels dispatch knowledge that correlates to their names: Baraqel (“Lightning of God”) teaches the signs of the lightning flashes, Kokabel (“Star of God”) – the signs of the stars; Ziqel (“Fireball of God”) – the signs of the shooting stars; Arteqoph (“Earth is mighty”) – the signs of the earth; Shamsiel (“Sun of God”) – the signs of the sun; and Sahriel (“Moon of God”) – the signs of the moon. These correspondences once again affirm the insights of VanderKam and other scholars who argued that the teaching motif became imbedded in the Watchers’ names. Consequently, *1 Enoch* 8:3 provides an important algorithm for discerning each Watcher’s expertise based on his name.

20 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 188.

21 Reflecting on this passage, Ida Fröhlich points out that “each Watcher [is] teaching the signs of the natural phenomenon that was included in his name.” I. Fröhlich, “Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions,” in: *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, eds. A. Kim Harkins, K. Coblenz Bautch, and J.C. Endres; Minneapolis, MI, 2014, pp. 11–24 at p. 13.

Finally, the third summary of the Watchers' illicit actions can be found in *1 Enoch* 9:6–10. It comes from the mouths of the archangels who “looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed on the earth”:

9:6. You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, <which the sons of men were striving to learn.> 9:7. And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him. 9:8. They have gone in to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women. And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-inducing charms. 9:9. And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breeds. <And the blood of men is shed on the earth,>a And the whole earth is filled with iniquity. 9:10. And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit, and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven, and it <does not cease> to come forth from the presence of the iniquities that have come upon the earth.²²

In this passage, the sexual misdeeds motif and the instruction motif are not assigned to specific groups but shared between Asael and Shemihazah's angels. Besides a short reference to “hate-inducing charms” in verse 8, this passage does not specify the subjects of the Watchers' illicit teaching.

Despite the relative scarcity and ambiguity of information about the subjects of the Watchers' illicit pedagogical efforts in *1 Enoch* 6–11, these testimonies nevertheless allow us to draw a preliminary thematic map of their instructions. Based on the descriptions of the Watchers' illicit teachings and the significance of their theophoric names, one can discern the following thematic clusters of angelic mediation of heavenly knowledge in the *Book of the Watchers*:

1.1 *Astronomical Knowledge*

This thematic cluster can be reconstructed on the basis of *1 Enoch* 8:3 where several Watchers transmit knowledge about sun, moon, stars, and comets.²³

²² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 202.

²³ These developments have received a rich afterlife in early Jewish lore. *Jub* 8:3 reports about Kainan who found an inscription which preserved “the Watchers' teaching by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign.” J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2 vols, CSCO, 510–11, Scriptorum Aethiopicum, 87–88, Leuven, 1989, p. 250.

From 8:3 we learn that Kokabel taught the auguries of the stars, Ziqel transmitted the knowledge about the signs of the shooting stars, Shamsiel unveiled the signs of the sun, and Sahriel taught the signs of the moon. In addition, Kvanvig argues that astronomical associations can be discerned in Oramel's name, which is usually translated by scholars as "God is their light."²⁴

1.2 Meteorological Knowledge

Another thematic cluster is tied to meteorological incidents. Kvanvig identifies four angels linked, in his opinion, to meteorological realities: Ramel, Baraqel, Matarel, and Ananel.²⁵ From *1 Enoch* 8:3 we learn that Baraqel taught the auguries of the lightning flashes. Names of several angels from the list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7 also suggest that they were possibly responsible for the transmission of meteorological auguries. Examples include Ramel, whose name can be rendered as "thunder of God," Matarel, whose name is usually translated as "rain of God," and Ananel, whose name may be associated with clouds.

1.3 Calendrical Knowledge

Kvanvig proffers that at least two Watchers are associated with time.²⁶ The first is Remashel, who occupies the third position in the angelic list, and whose name is usually translated as "evening of God." The second is Setawel, who occupies the 14th position in the list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and whose name is usually rendered by scholars as "winter of God." Since one of the aforementioned angels is associated with a portion of the day and the other with a portion of the year, their names may have calendrical significance.

Scholars have previously noted that the three most important clusters of the Watchers' instructions "are connected to astronomical and meteorological phenomena and phenomena of time."²⁷ Kvanvig argues for interrelationships between these three clusters by noting that in the *Astronomical Book* and other early Enochic booklets, "the luminaries determine the rhythm of both day and night and the seasons. The seasons determine special meteorological incidents (*1 Enoch* 72:1–2; 75:1–3; 82:9–20)."²⁸

24 H.S. Kvanvig, *Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochic. An Intertextual Reading*, JSJSS, 149, Leiden, 2011, p. 444.
 25 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 444.
 26 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 444.
 27 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 444.
 28 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 444.

1.4 *Geographical Knowledge*

Several Watchers' names imply the transmission of illicit geographical knowledge. One can discern terrestrial associations in Arteqoph, whose name is usually translated by experts as "the earth is mighty," and who in *1 Enoch* 8:3 is said to be teaching the signs of the earth. Another candidate is Yamiel, whose name "sea of God" could be possibly related to revelation of mysteries of the sea. A third candidate on the "geographical role" is Turiel, whose name, "mountain of God," could be related to the secrets related to mountains. Remashel, whose name is usually associated by scholars with volcanic activities, can also be tied to disclosures of geographical knowledge. Kvanvig also sees "geographical" connections in the names of Shemihazah, which he renders as "heaven has seen," and Hermani ("the one of Hermon").²⁹ For the purposes of our study, however, we will associate Shemihazah and Hermani's names with onomatological knowledge.

Kvanvig points out that the geographical knowledge is closely related to the clusters of astronomical/calendrical/meteorological subjects. He argues that cosmic or geographical locations "do also influence weather phenomena as they appear in specific seasons. This is explicitly said about the seven mountains in *1 Enoch* 77:4. In this section the mountains are listed together with the Great Sea and the land (*1 Enoch* 77:4–8)."³⁰

1.5 *Onomatological Knowledge*

The prominence of revelations related to onomatological knowledge (knowledge of the divine Name and its destructive counterparts in the form of oaths and curses) is highlighted by the primal position of Shemihazah, whose name is usually translated by scholars as "my Name has seen."³¹ In later

29 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 445.

30 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 445.

31 Scholars often translate שמיחזה as "my Name has seen," "the Name sees," or "he sees the Name." See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, pp. 2.67–68; S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ, 5.6, Gütersloh, 1984, p. 516; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 119; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 179; M. Sokoloff, "Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4," *Maarav* 1 (1978–1979), pp. 197–224 at p. 207; D. Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation: The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch*, North Richland Hills, 2004, p. 32; A. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature*, WUNT, 2.198, Tübingen, 2005, pp. 120–121; S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents*, AOAT, 322, Münster, 2005, pp. 233–35; idem, "Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6:11," *JSP* 15 (2006), pp. 163–177 at pp. 172–77. Scholars often interpret it as a reference to the divine Name. For example, Nickelsburg suggests that "the reference is to the name of 'my' God." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 179. Fossum proposes

Jewish and Muslim materials Shemihazah is depicted as an illicit revealer of the divine Name.³² With the later materials in mind, it appears appropriate that in *1 Enoch* 8:3 he is teaching spells. Another onomatological revealer is Hermani, whose name derives not only from the Mount Hermon, the place of the Watchers' descent, but also from the Hebrew term **הרם** – “oath/curse.” According to *1 Enoch* 8:3, “Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells.”³³

1.6 *Knowledge of Natural Elements*

Another important cluster of mysteries deal with various earthly elements (metals, minerals, plants) that the Watchers transformed through their illicit pedagogy into the tools of seduction, warfare, and sorcery. This cluster includes the mysteries of iron's transformation into weapons and the transformation of metals and precious stones into cosmetics, both taught by Asael.³⁴ It also includes mysteries of plants revealed by Shemihazah (“Shemihazah taught ... the cutting of roots”) and mysteries of dyes revealed by Asael.

1.7 *Demiurgic Knowledge*

Kvanvig proposes that some angelic names may be related to “God's rule in his creation.”³⁵ He includes in this cluster Daniel (“Judge of God”), Asael (“God has made”), Tummil (“Perfection of God”), and Yehaddiel (“God will guide”). Regarding these names, Kvanvig comments, “they could all be references to God's rule in his creation: his judgment of sinners who err (cf. *1 Enoch* 8:8), his creative acts, his perfect creation and his guidance of the righteous.”³⁶ Such demiurgical associations help us better understand the Watchers' powers in negatively refashioning God's creation, including their ability to produce a new race of creatures called the Giants.

that “in the original myth, then, Shemyaza, whose name may mean ‘He sees the Name’ (**שמ׳יחז׳ה**), can have been described as successful in his attempt at capturing ‘the Hidden Name’ from Michael.” J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism*, WUNT, 36, Tübingen, 1985, p. 258.

32 A.A. Orlov, *Yahoel and Metatron: Aural Apocalypticism and the Origins of Early Jewish Mysticism*, TSAJ, 169, Tübingen, 2017, pp. 40–43.

33 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 198: Nickelsburg points out that “Hermani, whose name may have entered the onomasticon in 6:7 in connection with Mount Hermon, is mentioned here probably through another play on his name, **הרם** in the sense of ‘curse.’” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 198.

34 Kvanvig suggests that here “the art of the smith, which is presupposed in the making of weapons, was combined with magic.” Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 454.

35 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 446.

36 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 446.

Such associations are important for our study since in the *Epistle of Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and *Sefer Hekhalot* some of Enoch's activities appear to be associated with demiurgic secrets and demiurgic activities, which may parallel the Watchers' expertise.

In conclusion of this section of our study, we must note that, although the *Book of Similitudes* and some other early Enochic booklets supply some additional items to the catalogue of the subjects revealed by the Watchers, the evidence found in the *Book of the Watchers* provides the foundational epistemological map not only for the knowledge illicitly obtained by humankind from the fallen angels but also for the legitimate knowledge received by Enoch from God and his angels.

2 The Watchers' Mysteries in the *Book of the Similitudes*

Conceptual developments found in another early Enochic booklet – the *Book of the Similitudes* – again point to the Watchers' expertise in various aspects of God's creation, the knowledge of which they illicitly passed to humans. Although this Enochic text is not found among the Qumran fragments of the Enochic writings, the current scholarly consensus holds that the book was likely composed before the second century CE.³⁷

Chapter 69 of the *Book of the Similitudes* preserves two lists containing the Watchers' names. The first list appears in 69:2:

69:2. Look, the names of those angels and these are their names: their first is Shemihazah; and the second is Ardeqoph; the third is <Remashel>; the fourth is Kokabel; the fifth is Turel; the sixth is Ramel; the seventh is Daniel; the eighth is Ziqel; the ninth is Baraqel; the tenth is Azazel; the eleventh is Hermani; the twelfth is Matarel; the thirteenth is Basasel; the fourteenth

37 In his conclusion to the Enoch Seminar's volume devoted to the *Book of the Similitudes* Paolo Sacchi writes: "In sum, we may observe that those scholars who have directly addressed the problem of dating the *Parables* all agree on a date around the time of Herod. Other participants of the conference not addressing the problem directly nevertheless agree with this conclusion." P. Sacchi, "The 2005 Camaldoli Seminar on the Parables of Enoch: Summary and Prospects for Future Research," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting of the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini, Grand Rapids, MI, 2007, pp. 499–512 at p. 510. See also D. Suter, "Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of Parables," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini, Grand Rapids, MI, 2007, pp. 415–443; G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch. Chapters 37–82, Hermeneia*, Minneapolis, 2012, pp. 58–63.

is Ananel; the fifteenth is Turel; the sixteenth is Shamsiel; the seventeenth is <Sahriel>; the eighteenth is <Tummil>; the nineteenth is <Turiel>; the twentieth is <Yamiel>; the twenty-first is Azazel.³⁸

Scholars have previously noted that this record parallels the Watchers' list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7–8.³⁹ Yet, the list contains slight differences in the order of the angels and their names.⁴⁰ Reflecting on these modifications, Nickelsburg points out that “overall this list corresponds to 6:7–8, with these differences: (1) the corrupt name in the thirteenth position has no counterpart in 6:7; (2) because of this insertion, the names that follow are pushed back one position (#13 in 6:7 has become #14 here, etc.), resulting in twenty-one rather than twenty names; (3) #14 in 6:7 has been replaced here at #15 by a duplication of Turel, which occurs at the right place in #19 (= 6:7 #18).”⁴¹

It is possible that the angelic list presented in *1 Enoch* 69:2–3 finds its inverse symbolic counterpart in the so-called “Oath poem” that follows the list a few verses later in 69:16–25, which, in some scholars' opinion, forms a narrative conglomerate with the list.⁴² The poem portrays various aspects of God's creation governed by the divine Name/Oath.⁴³ *1 Enoch* 69:16–25⁴⁴ reads:

38 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 297.

39 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 297.

40 VanderKam points out that the angelic list shows “strong connections with the *Book of the Watchers*, since the angels enumerated in 69:2–3 are nearly identical with the ones in 6:7 (and partially present in 8:1–3).” J.C. VanderKam, “The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition,” in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Parables of Enoch*, ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI, 2007, pp. 81–99 at p. 96.

41 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 297.

42 Knibb points out that “this poem has been attached to a group of traditions about the descent of the Watchers and the secrets they revealed to humans (69:2–15), and more precisely to a tradition about an otherwise unknown Kasbe'el who apparently tricked the archangel Michael into revealing to him the divine name so that it could be used in the oath sworn by the Watchers (69:13–15).” M.A. Knibb, “Enoch and Wisdom: Reflections on the Character of the Book of Parables,” in: *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. M. Nissinen, VTSup, 148, Leiden, 2012, pp. 255–276 at p. 270.

43 On this, see J. Ben-Dov and E. Ratzon, “The Oath and the Name in *1 Enoch* 69,” *JSS* 60 (2015), pp. 19–51 at pp. 40–43.

44 About this unit, Knibb notes, “vv. 13–25 form an independent section which deals with the divine oath. This oath is held to have played a role in creation similar to that played elsewhere by Wisdom (cf. Prov 8: 22–31), and the power of this oath is described in vv. 15 ff. However, the verses which introduce the section (vv. 13–15) raise a number of problems which have not yet found entirely convincing solutions.... A partial solution to some of the problems of these verses is perhaps to be found in the assumption that two different oaths are involved here: (1) the oath sworn by the angels who came down to the earth in the days of Jared (vv. 13 ff.; cf. 6. 3–6); (2) the divine oath entrusted to Michael which was used by God

69:16. And these are the secrets of this *oath*, and they are strong through his oath. And <through that oath> the heaven was suspended ... before the age was created and forever.

69:17. Through it *the earth* was founded upon the waters, and from the hidden (recesses) of *the mountains* come forth the beautiful waters, from the creation of the age and forever.

69:18. And through that oath *the sea* was created, and as its foundation, for the time of wrath, he placed for it the sand, and it does not pass over it from the creation of the age and forever.

69:19. And through that oath the <pillars of the> deep were made firm, and they have stood and are not shaken from their place from of old and forever.

69:20. And through that oath *the sun* and *the moon* complete their course, and they do not transgress their commands from of old <and forever>.

69:21. And through that oath *the stars* complete their courses, and he calls their names, and they answer him from of old and forever.

69:22. And likewise the spirits of the water, of *the winds*, and all the breezes and their paths, from all the quarters of *the winds*.

69:23. And there are preserved the voices of *the thunder* and the light of *the lightnings*. And there are preserved the storehouses of *the hail* and the storehouses of *the hoarfrost*, and the storehouses of *the mist* and the storehouses of *the rain* and *the dew*.

69:24. And all of these confess and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and they glorify (him) with all their might, and their food is in all thanksgiving, and they give thanks and glorify and exalt in the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever.

69:25. And over them this oath is mighty, and by it they are preserved, {and their paths are preserved,} and their courses will not perish.⁴⁵

Filled with cryptic imagery, the poem can be interpreted in several ways. The most obvious interpretation is that it conveys the demiurgic and sustaining powers of the Tetragrammaton – the onomatological symbolism of which some scholars argue was well established in Jewish lore at the time when the *Similitudes* were composed. Nevertheless, as any profound religious symbol – which always has several semantic dimensions – this poem also evokes some

in his act of creation (vv. 15 ff). If this view is correct, vv. 15–25 should probably be regarded as a secondary addition to the text.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.162.

45 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, p. 304.

traditions found in the more immediate context of the *Book of the Similitudes*. The description of various aspects of God's creation (mountains, sea, sun, moon, and stars) as controlled by the divine Name/Oath is reminiscent of several functions of the fallen Watchers conveyed through their names in *1 Enoch* 69:2:

- 1 Enoch* 69:16 – the divine Name/Oath (Shemihazah);
- 1 Enoch* 69:17 – the earth (Arteqoph);
- 1 Enoch* 69:17 – the mountains (Turiel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:18 – the sea (Yamiel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:20 – the sun (Shamsiel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:20 – the moon (Sahriel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:21 – the stars (Kokabel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:23 – the thunder (Ramiel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:23 – the lightnings (Baraqel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:23 – the clouds (Ananiel);
- 1 Enoch* 69:23 – the rain (Matarel).

For our study, it is also important that all the aforementioned elements of creation are hierarchized in *1 Enoch* 69:16–25 under the governance of the divine Name. Reflecting on the functions of the Name/Oath in *1 Enoch* 69, Daniel Olson remarks that “the Cosmic Oath, intimately associated with the Name of God, functions as a creative force in that it bounds chaos in the beginning and enabled the delicate structures of life to exist.⁴⁶ *It is an organizational*

46 Such balancing properties of the divine Name/Oath can be illuminated through reference to a later description found in *3 Enoch* 17:1–7 where various cosmological and natural phenomena are balanced by the powers of the divine Name: “R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you where water is suspended in the height of Raqia, where fire burns in the midst of hail; where lightnings flash in the midst of mountains of snow; where thunders rumble in the highest heights; where flame blazes in the midst of burning fire; where voices can be heard above thunder and earthquake. I went with him, and, taking me by his hand, he bore me up on his wings and showed me all these things. I saw water suspended in the height of the heaven of Arabot, through the power of the name Yah, I am that I am, and its fruits were descending from heaven and watering the surface of the earth, as it is written, From your palace you water the uplands, the earth is full of the fruit of your works. I saw fire, snow, and hailstones enclosed one within the other, without one destroying the other, through the power of the name A Consuming Fire, as it is written, ‘For YHWH your God is a consuming fire.’ I saw lightnings flashing in the midst of mountains of snow, without being quenched, through the power of the name Yah, YHWH the Everlasting Rock, as it is written, “Yah, YHWH is the everlasting Rock.” I saw thunders and voices roaring in the midst of flames of fire, without being overwhelmed, through the power of the name Great God Almighty, as it is written, ‘I am God Almighty.’ I

force in that it orders all things into their proper niche in creation.”⁴⁷ In *1 Enoch* 69 one may discern certain similarities between the positive arrangement of creation under the governance of the divine Name/Oath in verses 16–25 and the inverse organization of the Watchers under the governance of their leader, Shemihazah – the angel who represents the divine Name – earlier in 69:2.⁴⁸ An additional related feature is that in the *Book of the Similitudes* the divine Oath/Name is put in the hands of the fallen Watchers.⁴⁹ Correspondingly, some experts argue that the divine Oath/Name may inversely mirror the infamous oath with which the Watchers bind each other in the *Book of the Watchers* immediately before their descent in *1 Enoch* 6:4–5.⁵⁰ If it is indeed so, the mirroring provides additional insights for the “organizational” significance of the divine Name/Oath in the fallen Watchers’ angelic hierarchy. Scholars have previously noted that the fallen Watchers’ organization is reminiscent of

... saw flames of fire flaring and burning in the midst of blazing fire without being swallowed up, through the power of the name A Hand upon the Throne of Yah, as it is written, ‘And he said: a hand upon the throne of Yah.’ I saw rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water, and rivers of water in the midst of rivers of fire, through the power of the name He Keeps the Peace, as it is written, ‘He keeps the peace in his heights.’ He keeps peace between fire and water, between hail and fire, between wind and cloud, between tremors and comets.” P. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., New York, 1983–1985, pp. 1.223–315 at pp. 1.292–293.

47 Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, p. 130. Emphasis mine.

48 It also suggests that the fallen Watchers’ binding themselves with the oath at their descent may serve as an “organizational” force that binds them as a group.

49 Olson proffers the possibility that the “‘holy ones’ to whom Kasbe’el revealed the *Beqa* oath are the very angels who later became the fallen Watchers of *1 Enoch* 6–7.” Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, p. 271.

50 Nickelsburg sees a connection between the oath of Kasbe’el and the oath sworn by the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 6. He suggests that Kasbe’el “is the ‘chief of the oath’ that was sworn by the rebel angels as they conspired to descend to earth (see 6:4–5). Thus, in his role as ‘chief of the oath’ Kasbe’el corresponds roughly to Shemihazah in chap. 6.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 306. The fallen Watchers’ oath may serve as an inverse counterpart of the oath by which the luminaries keep faith with one another. Ben-Dov points out that “the heart of the matter lies in [*1 Enoch*] 41:5, according to which the sun and moon stick to their original course according to the oath that they had taken: ‘and they do not leave the course, and they neither extend nor diminish their course. and they keep faith with one another according to the oath that they had sworn.’ In this verse, as in [*1 Enoch*] 43:2, the luminaries keep faith with one another in what seems to be a mutual oath they had taken towards each other.” Ben-Dov and Ratzon, “The Oath and the Name,” p. 43.

a military order as they are hierarchized in groups⁵¹ with defined leaders.⁵² This elaborate hierarchy may reflect the initial cosmological order⁵³ in which these angels were arranged in their previous duties as patrons of various aspects of God's creation.⁵⁴ In light of the angelic hierarchization, it is possible that their group's chain of command mimics the arrangement of the elements of creation and the hierarchy of the divine knowledge associated with these elements. Consequently, it would be appropriate that the leader of the angelic group in *1 Enoch* 6 and *1 Enoch* 69 bears the name "Shemihazah" – an

-
- 51 Cf. *1 Enoch* 69:3 "These are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and the leaders of their hundreds, and the leaders of their fifties, and the leaders of their tens." Alexandria Frisch suggests that "the fact that the Watchers have distinct leaders and are organized in group of ten led by a *dekadarch* suggests a military formation." A. Frisch, *The Danielic Discourse on Empire in Second Temple Literature*, JSJSS, 176, Leiden, 2016, p. 66. Badalanova Gellers also notices that "the hierarchical organization of the Watchers band ... follows the lore of Hellenistic warfare tactics, with military units consisting of ten men (*dekas*), each commanded by an appointed *dekadarch*.... a similar pattern is attested in Deuteronomy 1:15, according to which the Israelite camp is likewise described in decimal military terms." F. Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum? The Watchers Mythologeme in the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 9.1 (2021), pp. 1–45 at p. 15.
- 52 Ida Fröhlich notes that the Watchers "form a military order, each Watcher having his strictly determined place (*ma'amad*)." I. Fröhlich, "Stars and Spirits: Heavenly Bodies in Ancient Jewish Aramaic Tradition," *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 111–127 at p. 123. In another article she argues that the Watchers' group is "characterized by a strict military organization, the two hundred Watchers being ordered in a military hierarchy in groups of ten, each group having its chief, and the whole army having Shemihazah as their leader." I. Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," *Henoch* 33 (2011), pp. 6–26 at p. 13. She also draws attention to possible military connotations behind the Watchers' oath by pointing out that "the military oath is a common institution of armies, ancient and modern." Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," p. 13. On military arrangements of the Watchers, see also B.A. Levine, "From the Aramaic Enoch Fragments: The Semantics of Cosmography," *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 311–26.
- 53 Fröhlich suggests that "the strict hierarchy among these figures may suggest astral and cosmological connotations." Fröhlich, "Stars and Spirits," p. 123.
- 54 A similar tendency can be discerned in the organization of the unfallen angels. Reflecting on the angelology of the *Astronomical Book*, Klaus Koch argues that it "presents an exact order of the starry sky akin to a military army under the absolute command of God himself. A thoroughgoing angelization is combined with a strict hierarchy: at the top Uriel, then 4 '*toparchs*' for the seasons and the four additional days, 12 '*taxiarchs*' for the stars of the months, and 360 '*chiliarchs*' for the stars of the 360 normal days. The system is reminiscent of Egyptian and Greek *chronokrators*." K. Koch, "The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time, Universal History, and the Eschatological Turn in the Astronomical Book and the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch," in: *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. G. Boccaccini and J.J. Collins, JSJSS, 121, Leiden, 2007, pp. 119–137 at pp. 124–125.

onomatological construct, which includes the component “Shem,” which is often associated in various Jewish traditions with the divine Name. It has already been mentioned that the divine Name was often understood in Jewish lore as a demiurgic tool that God used to bring into existence and control various aspects of creation. *1 Enoch* 69 demonstrates that the *Similitudes* also upholds this interpretation. The priority of this onomatological aspect in the hierarchy of God’s creation is emphasized by the name of the angelic leader that, in the Watchers’ lists, dominates and controls other angels who represent various cosmological aspects of created order. Such associations are underlined in *1 Enoch* 69 where Shemihazah, and not Asael, occupies the primary position in the Watchers’ list.⁵⁵

In light of the correspondences between the Watchers’ names in *1 Enoch* 69:2 and the description of the hierarchized creation in *1 Enoch* 69:16–25, it is possible that these latter verses offer a brief compendium that inversely reflects the entire scope of the cosmological knowledge of Shemihazah and his angelic companions. If it is indeed so, the revelation of such a compendium to Enoch can be seen as the disclosure of an epistemological map of the Watchers’ illicit pedagogy.

Later, in *1 Enoch* 69:3–13, the *Similitudes* offer another list of the Watchers, which consists of new angelic names⁵⁶ and their novel functions:

69:3 These are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and the leaders of their hundreds, and the leaders of their fifties, and the leaders of their tens. 69:4 And the name of the first is Yeḡon; this is the one who led all the children of the angels astray and brought them down upon the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. 69:5 And the name of the second is Asbe’el. This one gave evil counsel to the children of the holy angels, and led them astray so that they ruined their bodies through the daughters of men. 69:6 And the name of the third is Gadre’el. This is the one who showed all the blows of death to the sons of men, and he led Eve astray, and he showed the shield and the coat of mail and the sword for battle and all the implements of death to the sons of men. 69:7 And from his hand they have gone forth against those who dwell on the earth from that day and forever and ever. 69:8 And the name of the fourth is Pēnēmue. This one showed the sons of men the bitter and the sweet

55 The list of the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 69:2 is slightly different from *1 Enoch* 6–7 as some angels occupy different places in both lists.

56 On these names, see L. Gry, “Mystique gnostique (juive et chrétienne) en finale des Paraboles d’Hénoch,” *Le Muséon* 52 (1939), pp. 337–378.

and showed them all the secrets of their wisdom. 69:9 He gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day. 69:10 For humans were not born for this purpose, to confirm their trustworthiness through pen and ink. 69:11 For humans were not created to be different from the angels, so that they should remain pure and righteous. And death, which ruins everything, would not have laid its hand on them. But through this, their knowledge, they are perishing, and through this power it devours us. 69:12 And the name of the fifth is Kasdeya. This is the one who showed the sons of men all the evil blows of spirits and demons, and the blows of the fetus in the womb, so that it aborts, and {the blow of the soul,} the bite of the serpent, and the blow that comes in the noonday heat, the son of the serpent, whose name (is) Taba'et. 69:13 This is the number of Kasbe'el, the chief of the oath, which he showed to the holy ones when he was dwelling on high in glory, and its (or his) name (is) Beqa.⁵⁷

The most perplexing functions are assigned to the fourth angel on the list – Pēnēmue. His enigmatic name is interpreted by some scholars as a reference to the divine Face/Presence. Thus, Olson suggests that this name can be translated as “his (God’s) face (פניו); so spelled in Ps 11:7).”⁵⁸ If Olson is correct, Pēnēmue’s name can be related, like in the case of other Watchers, to the angel’s ability to illicitly communicate the mysteries of the divine Face/Presence.⁵⁹ In the Enochic epistemological framework, when the mysteries revealed to Enoch inversely mirror the secrets unveiled by the fallen Watchers, the divine Face/Presence receives special attention. For example, 2 *Enoch* portrays Enoch as a recipient of revelations of the divine Face/Presence, who, in the course of his luminous metamorphosis, is inducted into the office of the divine Face’s servant – *sar happanim*. Later in the story, Enoch becomes

57 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, pp. 297–304.

58 Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, p. 126. Nickelsburg interprets the name of angel Pēnēmue as the Face of Death, arguing that this angelic figure serves a foil to the archangel Phanuel (“the face of God”). He argues that “*pēnēmu’e* is a slight corruption of the Heb. פני מוֹת (*penē mūt*, ‘the face(s) of death’). (The dropping of the final letter *taw* involves much less of a corruption than some attested in 6:7.) The angel’s association with death is explicit in v. 11. There are two possible explanations for this name. First, the angel is a foil to the Parables’ archangel Phanuel (‘the face of God’), whom the Parables explain as ‘the one who is in charge of the repentance to hope of those who inherit everlasting *life* (40:9).’ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 303.

59 On the divine Face/Presence as the conduit of divine knowledge, see the chapter “The divine Face as the hypostasis of divine knowledge” in: A.A. Orlov, *Embodiment of Divine Knowledge in Early Judaism*, London, 2021, pp. 83–111.

a mediator of the divine Face by revealing to Methuselah and other humans the mysteries of the divine Visage. But the roots of Enoch's association with the divine Face and its angelic servants can be discerned already in the *Book of the Similitudes* when the patriarch encounters the angel Phanuel. In the *Similitudes*, Phanuel occupies an important place among the four principal angels, namely, the place usually assigned to Uriel. Scholars suggest that the angelic name "Phanuel" might stress the celestial status of this angel as one of the servants of the divine Face.⁶⁰

Another important function of Pēnēmue is his association with the illicit teaching of scribal craft. From 1 *Enoch* 69:9 one learns that "he gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day."⁶¹ Experts may find this negative attitude to disclosures about writing puzzling in light of the revelations about writings given to Enoch in *Jub.* 4 and early Enochic documents.⁶² But, as Michael Stone rightly notes, the parallelism between the illicit revelation of writing by the fallen Watchers and the legitimate instructions about the same subject given to Enoch seems to be consistent with the dominant epistemological tendency of the early Enochic booklets, which present the mysteries unveiled to Enoch as closely comparable to the revelations of the fallen angels.⁶³ Pēnēmue's profile as a revealer of scribal craft in many ways inversely mirrors the profile of the main celestial revealer of 2 *Enoch*, the angel Verevoil,

60 Geza Vermes suggests that the angelic name "Phanuel" "is dependent on the Peniel/Penuel of Genesis 32." G. Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies," *JJS* 26 (1975), pp. 1–14 at p. 13. Jonathan Smith supports Vermes' position. In his opinion, "it is most likely that the name Phanuel is to be derived from the place name Peniel/Penuel (the face of God) in Genesis 32:30, and therefore may be related to the title 'a man seeing God.'" J.Z. Smith, "Prayer of Joseph," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols., New York, 1983–85, pp. 2.699–714 at p. 2.709. Saul Olyan also argues that "the angel Penuel was either derived from texts such Exod 13:14–15 and Deut 4:37, where the divine presence is given figurative treatment, or it emerged from the exegesis of Gen 32:25–33." S. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*, TSAJ, 36, Tübingen, 1993, pp. 108–109. On Phanuel as the mediator of the divine Presence, see A.A. Orlov, *The Greatest Mirror: Heavenly Counterparts in Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, Albany, 2017, p. 24.

61 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 297.

62 Reed points out that "contrary to the elevation of the scribe and the celebration of scribalism in the *Book of the Watchers*, we are told that Penume corrupted humankind by teaching them how to write." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 114–115.

63 M.E. Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status," *DSD* 22 (2015), pp. 342–357 at p. 354.

who initiates Enoch in his scribal office by surrendering to the seventh patriarch his own pen and his library of heavenly books.

Finally, the role of Kasbe'el, "the chief of the oath, which he showed to the holy ones," described in *1 Enoch* 69:13, also deserves our attention. As has been mentioned in our study, the angelic names of Shemihazah and (possibly) Hermani hint at a possible association with revelations of the divine Name or its destructive counterparts, which manifest in the form of magical spells and curses. While in the case of Shemihazah and Hermani such onomatological connections remain implicit, in Kasbe'el's case we have a clear and unambiguous example of the illicit transmission of the divine Name, this time to the fallen Watchers themselves. Such disclosure will also find its conceptual counterpart among the revelations given to Enoch. In the *Similitudes* the patriarch receives revelations about the oath that regulates creation (*1 Enoch* 41:5, *1 Enoch* 69:13–25).⁶⁴ Later, in *Sefer Hekhalot*, our hero himself becomes the embodiment of the divine Name, being honored by the celestial hosts as the lesser YHWH.

Another witness to the subjects of the Watchers' illicit teaching may be found in *1 Enoch* 65:6–8, which contain some Noachic materials. In this passage the expression "the secrets of the angels" coincides with descriptions of metallurgical and dyeing practices:

65:6. A command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord against the inhabitants of the earth, that their end is accomplished, for they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the satans, and all their powers, the hidden secrets and all the powers of those who practice sorcery, and the powers of (brightly) color(ed garments), and the powers of those who cast molten (images) for all the earth. 65:7. And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth and how soft metal <is poured out> on the earth. 65:8. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the former; there is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands in it, and the angel is preeminent.⁶⁵

Nickelsburg points out that "the references to metallurgy in vv. 7 and 8, like the mention of magic and perhaps the art of dyeing or the colored clothes that result from it, recall *1 Enoch* 8:3."⁶⁶ These secrets of the fallen angels also match

64 On this, see Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Watchers," p. 351.

65 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 273.

66 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 283.

revelations given to Enoch, in the disclosure about the seven metal mountains. Scholars have previously noted these parallels. For example, Nickelsburg points out that “in the context of the *Parables*, the metallurgical references echo the description of the seven mountains in chap. 52 (see also 67:4).”⁶⁷ Another interesting detail is a reference to an angel that controls the fountain of lead and tin – this symbolism again evokes the Watchers’ roles in relation to metals and other natural phenomena.

One can also gain some insights about the fallen Watchers’ subjects of illicit instructions and expertise from the descriptions of the duties and activities of the “unfallen” angels. The *Book of the Similitudes* offers one such descriptions where the “good” angels serve as guardians and regulators of various aspects of God’s creation. *1 Enoch* 60 describes Enoch beholding various meteorological incidents controlled by the angels. *1 Enoch* 60:11–13 reads:

60:11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what is hidden told me what is first and last in heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the abyss, and at the ends of heaven and on the foundation of heaven, 60:12 and in the storehouses of the winds, how the winds are divided and how they are weighed, and how the springs(?) of the winds are (divided and) numbered, according to the power of the wind, and the power of the light of the moon, and according to the power of righteousness. And the divisions of the stars, according to their names, and (how) all the divisions are made. 60:13 And the thunders, according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings, that they may flash, and their host, that they may obey at once.

Here familiar astronomical and meteorological entities have their corresponding “host” that they obey. *1 Enoch* 60:17–22 further demonstrates these correspondences when describing the angelic guardians of frost, hail, and rain:

60:17 The wind of the frost is its (own) angel, and the wind of the hail is a good angel.... 60:19 And the wind of the mist is not mingled with them in their storehouses, but has a special storehouse, because its course is glorious, both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer and in its storehouse is an angel ... 60:22 For the waters are for those who dwell on the dry land, for (they are) nourishment for the dry land from the Most High who is in heaven; therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels are given charge of it.

67 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 283.

One can see that in these accounts the angels in good standing are able to regulate astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena – i.e. exactly the same entities the fallen Watchers illicitly pass knowledge of to humankind. One can see a parallelism between the assignments of the fallen angels and the angels in good standing. Furthermore, some of the angels in good standing appear to be passing their knowledge to humans as well. This time, however, such pedagogy has a legitimate basis since it is generally supervised by the deity. We see an example of the licit transmission of knowledge from an angelic “guardian” of the phenomena to the seer in the *Astronomical Book*. The archangel Uriel, who is defined as the “leader” of the heavenly luminaries,⁶⁸ “shows” to the seventh patriarch various mysteries pertaining to these celestial bodies.

3 Cosmological Mysteries in the *Astronomical Book*

In comparison with the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of the Similitudes*, the early, and possibly earliest, Enochic booklet, the *Astronomical Book*⁶⁹ does not offer its readers any explicit list of the fallen Watchers or any catalogue of their revealed mysteries. However, the rogue angels’ connection with cosmological secrets may still be expressed through the book’s portrayals of the unfallen angels that control astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena. Scholars have previously suggested that in early Enochic booklets one can detect parallelism between the functions of the reprobate and the good angels.⁷⁰ The *Book of the Watchers* provides one such example when

68 *1 Enoch* 72:1 reads, “The book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction, their time, their name, their origins, and their months which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me (and) who is their leader, showed me.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 409; *1 Enoch* 74:1–2 reads, “Another course and law I saw for it; by that law it carries out its monthly course. All this Uriel the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed me.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 440.

69 About the possible date of the *Astronomical Book*, Nickelsburg notes that it “has its roots in the Persian period and is probably the oldest of the Enochic traditions.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp. 7–8.

70 One can detect such correspondences even inside of the Watchers’ traditions themselves. Amar Annus points out that “the Jewish tradition concerning Watchers was not uniform. There are variant stories that depict their motives and activities more positively. The book of Jubilees preserves a tradition relating that God originally dispatched the Watchers to earth for the purpose of instructing humanity in proper ritual and ethical conduct.... There exist a fair number of texts, according to which the Watchers were sent by God for the purpose of positively instructing and looking after humanity.” A. Annus, “On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian

1 *Enoch* 20:1–8 lists the names and agencies of “the holy angels who watch.”⁷¹ Nickelsburg notes that the angelic list found in 1 *Enoch* 20 is “a kind of counterpart to the list of rebel angels in 6:7–8.”⁷² Following Nickelsburg’s insights, Reed argues that both lists “taken together ... convey the completeness of the knowledge associated with Enoch: just as the *Book of the Watchers* includes lists of worldly and otherworldly cosmic phenomenon, so its cataloguing of the angelic agents of cosmic order is paired with the cataloguing of angelic causes of cosmic disorder as well.”⁷³

Additionally, some passages of the *Astronomical Book* suggest that in the eschatological time the “heads of the stars” will change “their ways and actions,” causing anarchy in God’s creation. The *Astronomical Book* thus affirms both the existence of heavenly agents that control heavenly bodies and the calendar, keeping them in harmony, as well as the possibility that the creation can spin out of control if these celestial guardians stop overseeing matters properly.

1 *Enoch* 75:1–3 speaks about “the leaders of the heads of the thousands” that are put in control “over all creation and over all the stars”:⁷⁴

and Jewish Traditions,” *JSP* 19 (2010), pp. 277–320 at p. 291. On this, see also J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*, Cincinnati, 1992, p. 96; Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, p. 196.

71 1 *Enoch* 20:1–8 reads “These are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the world and Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits of men. Reuel, one of the holy angels, who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries. Michael, one of the holy angels, who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people. Sariel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits who sin against the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of paradise and the serpents and the cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God has put in charge of them that rise. The names of the seven archangels.” Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, p. 294.

72 Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, p. 294.

73 A.Y. Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, Cambridge, 2020, p. 230. In another section of her study Reed points out that “when seen from a synchronic perspective, the archangelic list in 1 *Enoch* 20 is also significant inasmuch as it conveys exact knowledge about certain named spirits, while simultaneously using knowledge about such spirits to organize other information about the cosmos.... the angelic status of the named figures is made more explicit, and they are used to map an even broader vision of the bounds of the cosmological knowledge known to – and textualized by – Enoch and his Jewish scribal heirs.” Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, p. 235.

74 On the leadership terminology in this passage, see M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch*, WMANT, 68, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1994, pp. 209–213; J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years. Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context*, STDJ, 78, Leiden, 2008, p. 25; Levine, “From the Aramaic Enoch Fragments: The Semantics of Cosmography,” pp. 311–26.

The leaders of the heads of the thousands who are over all the creation and over all the stars (have to do) with those four (days) that are added; they are not separated from their position according to the calculation of the year, and they serve on the four days that are not reckoned in the calculation of the year. People err regarding them because those lights truly serve (in) the position of the world: one in the first gate, one in the third heavenly gate, one in the fourth gate, and one in the sixth gate, and the accuracy of the world is completed in the 364 positions of the world. For Uriel the angel whom the Lord of eternal glory set over all the heavenly luminaries, in the sky and in the world, showed me the sign, the seasons, the year and the days so that they may rule the firmament, appear above the earth, and be leaders of days and nights – the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the serving entities that go around in all the heavenly chariots.⁷⁵

In *1 Enoch* 82:4–20 the tradition of celestial guardians of heavenly phenomena and the calendar is reiterated when Enoch conveys to his son the mysteries of the stars and their leaders, which he received earlier:

82:4. Blessed are all the righteous, all the blessed who will walk in the way of righteousness and have no sin like the sinners in numbering all the days the sun travels in the sky through the gates, entering and emerging for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, with the four additional ones that divide between the four parts of the year that lead them and enter with the four days. 82:5. People err regarding them and do not calculate them in the numbering of the entire year because they err regarding them and people do not understand them precisely. 82:6. For they belong in the reckoning of the year and are indeed recorded forever: one in the first gate, one in the third, one in the fourth, and one in the sixth. Thus a year of 364 days is completed. 82:7. The account about it is true and its calculation is precisely recorded because the luminaries and the months, the festivals, the years, and the days he showed me, and Uriel, to whom the Lord of the entire creation gave orders for me regarding the host of heaven, breathed on me. 82:8. He has power in heaven over night and day to make light appear over humanity: the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the heavenly powers which revolve in their circuits. 82:9. This is the law of the stars (𐤎𐤒𐤆𐤏𐤃: 𐤇𐤐𐤇𐤏𐤃:) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. 82:10. These are the

75 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 457.

names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions. 82:11. Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first, and after them (come) the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months, and the 360 heads of thousands who separate the days, and the four additional ones with them are the leaders who separate the four parts of the years. 82:12. (As for) these heads of thousands between leader and leader, one is added behind the position and their leaders make a division. 82:13. These are the names of the leaders who separate the four fixed parts of the year: Milkiel, Helememelek, Mele'eyel, and Narel. 82:14. The names of those whom they lead (are): Adnare'el, Iyasusael, and Elome'el; these three follow the leaders of the orders, and one follows the three leaders of the orders who follow those leaders of the positions who separate the four parts of the year. 82:15. At the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises first and rules – the one called the southern sun; all the days that fall within the period that he rules are 91 days. 82:16. These are the signs of the days that are to be seen on the earth during the days of his rule: sweat, heat, and care; all the trees bear fruit and leaves come out on all the trees; (there is) a harvest of wheat, roses, and all the flowers that bloom in the field; but the winter trees are dried up. 82:17. These are the names of the leaders who are beneath them: Berka'el, Zelebesel, and another head of a thousand who is added has the name Hiluyasef. His days of rule are completed. 82:18. A second leader after him is Helememelek who is named the bright sun; all the days of his light are 91 days. 82:19. These are the signs of the days on the earth: heat, drought, trees bearing their fruit ripe and yielding all their fruit ripe and ready; the sheep mate and become pregnant; people gather all the fruit of the earth and everything in the fields and the winepress – it happens during the days of his rule. 82:20. These are the names, the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gida'iyal, Ke'el, and He'el; the name of one who is added to them as a head of thousands is Asfa'el, and the days of his rule are completed.⁷⁶

James VanderKam highlights the similarities between 75:1–3 and 82:4–20. He notes that “the contents of 75:1–3 resemble in some respects the more elaborate pericope regarding the leaders in 82:4–20. Each of the items treated in 75:1–3 appears also in chap. 82 (see esp. vv. 4–8), with the focus here on the leaders

⁷⁶ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, pp. 550–555; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.275.

of the four special days and on the error committed by some of omitting them from the annual calculations.”⁷⁷ Like in the case of the fallen Watchers, who are hierarchized in regiments with their respective leaders, *1 Enoch* 82:4–20 describes a system of agents that rule respective astronomical or calendrical phenomena. Analyzing various functions of celestial servants in *1 Enoch* 82, Maxwell Davidson points out that in this chapter of the *Astronomical Book*:

the astronomical world envisaged is populated by angels who regulate the stars so that they move across the sky in their proper positions and order (*1 Enoch* 82:10). *1 Enoch* 82:10–20 gives a detailed survey of the leaders of the stars, who are “presumably angels.” Nothing is left to chance! There are “leaders of the thousands of the orders of the stars” who are over each thirty-day month, as well as four important leaders associated with the four epagomenal days (*1 Enoch* 82:4–6). *1 Enoch* 82:9–20, while perhaps a later addition to the earlier part of the chapter, gives a list of the names and functions of the angels concerned with the stars and the seasons. Four leaders are over the seasons, including the epagomenal days (*1 Enoch* 82:11; cf. 82:4, 13). Three leaders are subordinate to each of the seasonal leaders, and these correspond to the twelve months of the year (*1 Enoch* 82:11). Likewise, there are ‘360 heads over thousands (of stars)’ responsible for the days (*1 Enoch* 82:11).⁷⁸

The concept of heavenly guardians of cosmological phenomena solidifies the Enochic vision of cosmology as the archetypal blueprint for human ethics.⁷⁹ It is not coincidental that 82:9 makes a reference to the “law of the stars” (𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤓𐤕: 𐤁𐤒𐤁𐤓𐤕:)⁸⁰ – an important halakhic construct that will be explored later in our study. Such legal framework fills the cosmos with moral agents in the form of heavenly beings who now have a “choice” for right or wrong actions, which they perform either by following established cosmological progressions or

77 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 456.

78 M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSS, 11, Sheffield, 1992, pp. 93–94.

79 Schnabel points out that “the fulfilment of this law by nature can become a model and example for man.” E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition-Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics*, WUNT, 2.16, Tübingen, 1985, p. 107. Christine Hayes also suggests that “while *1 Enoch* contains no developed characterization of the revealed Torah, wisdom does serve as a bridge that enables the regularities of the cosmic order to influence the norms guiding human behavior.” C. Hayes, *What’s Divine about Divine Law? Early Perspectives*, Princeton, 2015, p. 100.

80 Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.275.

departing from them.⁸¹ Chapter 80, which some scholars believe represents an addition to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*,⁸² illustrates this point.⁸³ *1 Enoch* 80:1–8 reads:

80:1. At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: “I have now shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences. 80:2. In the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. 80:3. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time. 80:4. The moon will change its order and will not appear at its (normal) time. 80:5. At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at ... at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light. 80:6. Many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change

81 See, for example, *1 Enoch* 82:15 where “at the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises first and rules.” Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 82:15, Ben-Dov poses the question if “the leaders are stars themselves? This seems to be the case in 82:15, which states that: ‘At the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises (*γὰρ ἰσάραρα*)’ While the name Melkeyal could well refer to an angelic being, the verb *ἰσάραρα* is regularly used to depict the rising of the luminaries.” Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, p. 25. One can see similar parallels in the fallen Watchers, who are envisioned both as the guardians and the heavenly bodies that deviate from the cosmological laws (cf. *1 Enoch* 18:15). On the Watchers as heavenly bodies, see Fröhlich, “The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch),” pp. 13–15.

82 VanderKam notices that this chapter “differs in content and vocabulary from the previous chapters.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 522. In another study, he argues that “key items of vocabulary and basic features of content separate [chapter 80] from the astronomical portions of the book (72–79; 82:4–20). The chapter contradicts the astronomical sections by claiming that nature itself will change in the days of the sinners – a time that seems to precede the new creation mentioned in 72:1.” VanderKam, “1 Enoch 80,” p. 354. Reflecting on VanderKam’s argument, Ben-Dov writes, “one wonders, however, whether we may allow an apocalyptic text to view nature as both stable and fragile at the same time. It seems to me that this ambiguous conceptualization of the natural order is a cornerstone of the apocalyptic imagination.” J. Ben-Dov, “Review of: 1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82. By George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012,” *DSD* 20 (2013), pp. 143–48 at p. 148.

83 For the question of whether chapter 80 represents an original component of the *Astronomical Book*, see the comprehensive discussion in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, pp. 359–365.

their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. 80:7. The entire law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods. 80:8. Evil will multiply against them and punishment will come upon them to destroy all.”⁸⁴

Here 1 *Enoch* 80 ties together cosmological and human ethics. Again we encounter a reference to the “law of the stars” (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡), which “will be closed to the sinners.” Similar to the luminaries and the stars that will change their normal course in “the days of the sinners,” sinful human beings will “turn back from all their ways.” Mladen Popović suggests that “in this passage, the natural order is not distinct from the ethical or covenantal order. Carrying an ancient biblical notion to its extreme, this author proclaims the essential unity of *physis* and *nomos*.”⁸⁵

The cosmological imagery in 1 *Enoch* 80 is saturated with legal terminology, including the words like “laws” and “commandments.”⁸⁶ According to 1 *Enoch* 80:4 the moon will change *its law* (ሥርዓቶ).⁸⁷ 1 *Enoch* 80:6 reports that “many heads of the stars will stray from the *command* (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”⁸⁸ 1 *Enoch* 80:7 says that “the entire *law* (ሥርዓት) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them.”⁸⁹

Although Olson has previously suggested that the description found in 1 *Enoch* 80 reflects merely the authors’ ironic treatment of the misperceptions

84 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 521; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, pp. 1.265–266.

85 M. Popović, “Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews,” in: *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature*, ed. J. Ben-Dov and S.L. Sanders, New York, 2014, pp. 151–191 at p. 137.

86 VanderKam points out that “having established that in the days of the sinners the luminaries will transgress their laws, the writer for the first time turns to the sinners themselves in vv. 7–8. Their ignorance of astronomical laws will lead them into the further error of idolatry. The reader is not told who will cause this change, but the law of the stars ‘will be closed’ to sinners in the sense that they will not understand it. Here the expected term for the stellar ordinance (*šer’ūt*) is employed. As many heads of stars corrupt their prescribed path (v. 6), so sinners will have a faulty understanding of their ways.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 529.

87 Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.265.

88 Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.265.

89 Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.265–266.

that people have about the seasons and the luminaries,⁹⁰ VanderKam argues that “the chapter makes abundantly clear that the calamities of the future will not be limited to misperceptions that people have about the seasons and the luminaries; rather, nature itself will suffer radical change. In fact, the section, by being dated to the days of the sinners, implies that sin is the cause for the departures of natural elements from their created patterns or laws.”⁹¹

It is not entirely clear when the cosmological crisis will occur. One of the temporal markers found in the passage references “in the days of the sinners.” The expression, “in the days of the sinners,” occurs also in *1 Enoch* 22:12⁹² and *1 Enoch* 102:5.⁹³ VanderKam notices that “in those passages the addressees are the souls of the dead who met their end unjustly. The days when they lived and suffered their fate are called the days of the sinners. These verses deal with times characterized by sin, the result of which will not be rectified until the great judgment; they seem to cover very long periods. The same may be the case in 80:2, although it is more clearly directed to the future than are the other two passages (but see 22:4; 103).”⁹⁴

Although scholars often argue that “in the days of the sinners” refers to the eschatological period, it is possible that here, like in many other apocalyptic writings, eschatology mirrors protology,⁹⁵ and “the days of the sinners” can simultaneously designate two events: the future eschatological crisis and the protological transgression, which occurred in the antediluvian age. Klaus Koch supports the reading of the temporal duality of *1 Enoch* 80, arguing that “the predicted punishment may hint to the final judgment. The ‘many evils,’ however, are surely thought to occur during the present.”⁹⁶

90 Olson argues that these verses “are clearly satiric. The universe is not collapsing; it only seems that way to fools who follow wrong calendar and lag behind the true reckoning of the seasons.” Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, p. 176.

91 J.C. VanderKam, “*1 Enoch* 80 within the *Book of the Luminaries*,” in: *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. F. García Martínez et al., STDJ, 61, Leiden, 2006, pp. 333–356 at p. 343.

92 *1 Enoch* 22:12: “And this has been separated for the spirits of them that make suit, who make disclosure about the destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the sinners (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν).” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 300; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 34.

93 *1 Enoch* 102:5: “And do not grieve because your souls have descended into Sheol with grief, and your body of flesh did not fare in your life according to your piety, because the days that you lived were days of sinners (αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς ἦτε ἡμέραι ἦσαν ἀμαρτωλῶν) and curses on the earth.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 511; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 41.

94 VanderKam, “*1 Enoch* 80,” pp. 342–343.

95 On this process, see J.M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSS, 91, Leiden, 2005, pp. 212–219.

96 Koch, “The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time,” p. 128.

Some other scholars have suggested that “in the days of the sinners” may be a reference to the antediluvian mishap. Loren Stuckenbruck proposes that this expression is “probably referring to the days just before the Flood in his [Enoch] time.”⁹⁷ If it is indeed so, the cosmological crisis must be connected with the Watchers’ descent and their illicit pedagogy since both *1 Enoch* 80 and *1 Enoch* 82 allude to the same phenomena, the knowledge of which was illicitly taught by the fallen Watchers. Scholars have previously suggested such a possibility. Maxwell Davidson argues that

1 Enoch 82:9–20 describes how the stars are controlled by leaders in relation to the seasons and epagomenal days, the twelve months and the 360 single days. Presumably these leaders are angels. In other words, blame for problems in the world is laid upon angels. This is reminiscent of the *Book of the Watchers*, though there the theme of angelic sin is much more developed, with the teaching of Asael’s angels (*1 Enoch* 10:7–8) and the devastation caused by the Nephilim (*1 Enoch* 17:1). The idea is also found in the *Book of the Watchers* in the rebellion of stars which “transgressed the commandment of the Lord at the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their proper times” (*1 Enoch* 18:13–16).⁹⁸

Davidson further points out that “it is sufficient to recognize the link in the author’s thought between sin and problems with the calendar.... For him, the cosmos is a moral creation: moral disobedience affects the physical world.”⁹⁹

VanderKam also appear to see connections between the events described in *1 Enoch* 80 and the Watchers’ transgression. He suggests that

the idea that nature itself will change in the future is at home in the Enochic corpus. According to *1 Enoch* 2–5, the heavenly bodies and other parts of nature undeviatingly obey their creator’s law for them (see also chs. 33–36; 83:11). However, that section belongs in a literary tradition in which nature’s unchanging obedience is contrasted with humanity’s disobedience to the creator’s will. The *Book of the Luminaries* agrees with the natural side of the comparison, but the astronomical sections in it draw no contrast between natural obedience and human depravity. *1 Enoch*

97 L. Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” in: *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology*, ed. P.F. Esler, Eugene, OR, 2017, pp. 111–123 at p. 118.

98 Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 89–90.

99 Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, p. 91.

80 speaks of human depravity but in a novel way: human depravity will lead to nature's disobedience to the creator's laws. Natural disobedience of this kind is briefly noted in the *Book of the Watchers* which knows of stars that transgressed the Lord's command and are being punished for it (*1 Enoch* 18:15; 21:6).¹⁰⁰

Several angelological features of the *Astronomical Book* point to the possibility that its imagery of the "good angels" is closely tied to the traditions of the fallen Watchers. An important feature in this respect is their hierarchical organizations, which are reminiscent of the military arrangement of the Watchers. The statement found in *1 Enoch* 80:6 – "many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions" – solidifies the connection of "the days of the sinners" with the Watchers' transgressions. Considering the "astral" symbolism of the Watchers in the *Book of the Watchers*¹⁰¹ (*1 Enoch* 18:15,¹⁰² *1 Enoch* 21:5¹⁰³) and the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 86:1–3),¹⁰⁴ the action of the stars in straying from their ordered way by changing their paths and actions may be related to the fallen angels' rebellion.

1 Enoch 80:2–8 describes the oncoming deterioration of several aspects of creation, the specific knowledge about which Enoch had previously received from Uriel. Notably, the crisis will affect calendrical matters ("everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times" *1 Enoch* 80:2) and meteorological events ("the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still"

100 VanderKam, "1 Enoch 80," p. 354.

101 VanderKam points out that "*1 Enoch* 18:15; 21:5 speak of stars that transgressed the divine command." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 528, footnote 34. On this, see also K. Coblenz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen,"* JSJS, 81, Leiden, 2003, pp. 143–151.

102 *1 Enoch* 18:15–16: "The stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times. And he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins – ten thousand years." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 276.

103 *1 Enoch* 21:5–6: "Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, he said to me, 'Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth? These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled – the time of their sins.'" Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 297.

104 *1 Enoch* 86:1: "And again I saw with my eyes as I was sleeping, I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and was eating and pasturing among those cattle." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 364. *1 Enoch* 86:3: "And again I saw in the vision, and I looked to heaven, and behold, I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 364.

1 *Enoch* 80:2).¹⁰⁵ These changes, according to 1 *Enoch* 80:3, will have catastrophic consequences for harvests (“at those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its normal time”). Heavenly bodies, which govern calendrical and meteorological realities, will also be put out of balance. 1 *Enoch* 80:4 reads, “the moon will change its order and will not appear at its (normal) time.” The next verse (80:5) mentions the sky: “At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at ... at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light.” Some scholars suggests that the original text may speak not about the sky but about the sun. VanderKam, following insights from Hallévi¹⁰⁶ and other scholars, points to “the possibility that the word ‘sky’ is a mistake for ‘sun,’ as the confusion would be as likely in Aramaic as in Hebrew, both of which use the same words for ‘sky’ and ‘sun’ (שמיא and שמש are well attested in the Aramaic fragments).”¹⁰⁷ 1 *Enoch* 80:5 provides further detail of the cosmological disorder: “many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”¹⁰⁸

Although experts have previously argued that chapter 80 represents a later addition to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*,¹⁰⁹ they have not offered sufficient explanation, in my opinion, of why this narrative was inserted by a later editor in a book that offers extensive speculations about Enoch’s reception of the cosmological mysteries.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the insertion would endow Enoch’s revelations with additional soteriological significance, envisioning them as potential tools for mitigation and rectification of the protological/eschatological crises caused by the “heads” of the stars and human ignorance about cosmological phenomena and the calendar.

105 VanderKam points out that “the future days of the sinners will witness fundamental disruptions in three areas: meteorology and agriculture (vv. 2–3); luminaries (vv. 4–6); human understanding (vv. 7–8).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 523.

106 J. Hallévi, “Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d’Hénoch,” *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1867), pp. 352–395 at pp. 387–390.

107 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 527.

108 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 521.

109 VanderKam, “1 *Enoch* 80,” pp. 333–355.

110 Charles, for instance, has suggested that the intention of adding chapter 80 was to “give an ethical turn to a purely scientific treatise, and so furnish it with some fitness for its present collocation.” R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893, p. 188.

4 Cosmological Mysteries in *2 Enoch*

2 Enoch, a text probably written before the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple,¹¹¹ demonstrates familiarity with some basic features of the fallen Watchers' myth. Yet, the descriptions of the Watchers' fall found in chapters 7 and 18 of *2 Enoch* do not make any references to their illicit cosmological disclosures.

The reader learns about the fallen angels for the first time in *2 Enoch* 7 where Enoch, during his visit of the second heaven, sees "prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment."¹¹² In the longer recension of the text, Enoch's psychopomps explain to him that these prisoners are those "who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments (повелѣнія),¹¹³ but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven."¹¹⁴ The identification of the imprisoned group with the fallen Watchers becomes clearer later in the narrative when they ask Enoch to pray for them before the deity. Scholars often associate this plea with the tradition attested in *1 Enoch* 13 where the Watchers ask Enoch to write a petition for them.¹¹⁵

2 Enoch 18 offers a second portrayal of another group of Watchers restrained in the fifth heaven. This description also lacks any reference to the Watchers' illicit pedagogy, preferring to concentrate on their sexual sins:

And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their

111 On the date of *2 Enoch*, see R.H. Charles and W.R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896, p. xxvi; R.H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," in: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., ed. R.H. Charles; Oxford, 1913, p. 2.429; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 114; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ, 5, Gütersloh, 1995, p. 813; A.A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ, 107, Tübingen, 2005, pp. 323–328; idem, "The Sacerdotal Traditions of *2 Enoch* and the Date of the Text," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, eds. A.A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski, SJS, 4, Leiden, 2012, pp. 103–116.

112 F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., New York, 1983–1985, pp. 1.91–221 at p. 1.113.

113 G. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, SJS, 6, Leiden, 2013, p. 54.

114 Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.114. The shorter recension offers a slightly different definition of the angels' sins: "They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will." Andersen, "2 Enoch," p. 1.115.

115 Charles notes that "the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, exactly as in the Ethiopic *Enoch* 13:4." Charles and Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. 6.

size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, “What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?” And those men answered me, “These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended to the earth from the Lord’s Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who and the wives of men created great evil in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord.”¹¹⁶

If we take a close look at 2 *Enoch* 18, we see that the details of the Grigori’s rebellion brings to mind some features of the fallen Watchers’ story. 2 *Enoch*’s authors know about the descent of 200 (myriads) of Watchers on Mount Hermon.¹¹⁷ They also know about their oath on Hermon, about their sinful actions with “the daughters of men,” and about the destructive deeds of their offspring, the Giants. At the same time, the myth is reformulated with additional details of the Adamic etiology of evil, which assigns the role of the Watchers’ leader not to Shemihazah or Asael but, instead, to Satanail.¹¹⁸ The details of the Adamic

116 Andersen, “2 Enoch,” pp. 1130–132.

117 Badalanova Geller points out that “in both 1 *Enoch* and 2 *Enoch* the summit of Mount Hermon is designated as a spatial mark of iniquity, leading to total desecration of the Universe.” F. Badalanova Geller, “Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents: The Slavonic Book of the Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch),” in: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices. Selected Papers from the Conference “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices” in Berlin, 20–22 July 2018*, eds. J.D. BeDuhn and D.M. Burns, NHMS, 103, Leiden, 2022, pp. 196–237 at p. 223.

118 On this reformulation, see A. Orlov “The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” in: A. Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, SVTP, 23, Leiden, 2009, pp. 134–164.

etiology play an even more prominent role in the description of the antagonists' transgressions found in *2 Enoch* 29:3–5 and *2 Enoch* 31:4–7.¹¹⁹

Another possible allusion to the Watchers' rebellion is found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 29:3–5, a description which also makes no reference to the Watchers' illicit pedagogical efforts:

29:3 And from the rock I cut off a great fire and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies – ten myriad angels – and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. 29:4 But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. 29:5 And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly, above the Bottomless.¹²⁰

This passage is important for our investigation of the “law of the stars” and its iterations in *2 Enoch* since it specifically mentions the strict arrangement of angels in heaven, each of which “should stand in his own rank (в своем чину).”¹²¹ It is also noteworthy that the angelic rebellion is described in terms of a deviation from the initial order: “But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority.”

Although chapter 18 does not mention the subjects of the Watchers' instructions, focusing instead on their sexual misdeeds, it is possible that the fallen angels' associations with various astronomical, meteorological, and geographical marvels are implicitly conveyed in *2 Enoch* through its description of the angels in good standing, the portrayal which occupies the next chapter of our apocalypse. As we have already noted in this study, parallelism between fallen Watchers and unfallen Watchers appears to exist in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 20:1–8) where the seven archangels that are put in charge of earthly

119 The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 31:4–7 reads, “The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, (but) his thought did since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” p. 1.154.

120 Andersen, “2 Enoch,” p. 1.148.

121 Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, p. 118.

and heavenly entities are named as “the holy angels who watch.”¹²² Another story in chapter 80 of the *Astronomical Book* also seems to exhibit this tension between “good” and “fallen” angelic servants. It foretells that at a certain time the good guardians of the cosmological matters will turn into rogue guardians, abandoning their custodial duties and causing great confusion in God’s creation. Several features of *2 Enoch* also hint at an awareness of the correspondences between the fallen Watchers and the angels in good standing. During his heavenly journey Enoch sees in the first heaven “200 angels who govern the stars and the heavenly combinations.”¹²³ The number of the angelic servants immediately brings to mind the fallen Watchers’ group, which *2 Enoch* 18:3 counts as “Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth.”¹²⁴

In this respect, it appears to be not coincidental that *2 Enoch* offers a more developed account of the angelic guardians of cosmological phenomena immediately after the description of the Watchers. In chapter 18, during his visit to the fifth heaven, Enoch first beholds the remnant of the fallen Watchers’ group. Then, in chapter 19, the seer is transported to the sixth heaven where he encounters what the shorter recension describes as “7 angels, grouped together, brilliant and very glorious.” The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 19 reads,

19.1 And the men took me away from there, and they brought me up to the 6th heaven. And I saw there 7 angels, grouped together, brilliant and very glorious. And their radiance was like the radiance of the sun when it shines. There was no difference between their faces or in their dimensions or in the mode of their being. 19.2. These ones regulate, they study

122 Nickelsburg suggests that “the expression ‘holy angels’ here and in each of the subsequent verses is suspicious. We should probably read ‘watchers and holy ones,’ the term being slightly paraphrased here.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 295. Collins points out that “watchers and holy ones are likewise mentioned together in *1 Enoch* 12:2, 22:6, and 93:2 (Aramaic). The name is not confined to fallen angels. Several passages in *1 Enoch* speak of angels who ‘keep watch’ (20:1, the four archangels; 39:12–13, 71:7).... The basic meaning of the term seems to be ‘watchful ones’ and may reflect the widespread association of angels with stars.” J.J. Collins, “The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men,” in: *Sacred Marriages: The Divine – Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity*, eds. M. Nissinen and R. Uro, Winona Lake, IN, 2008, pp. 259–74 at pp. 263–264.

123 The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 4:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” p. 1.110. Reflecting on this numeral, Charles notes that “in *1 Enoch* 6:5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels.” Charles and Forbes, “The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” p. 2.432.

124 Andersen, “2 Enoch,” p. 1.131. Fröhlich suggests that “the reference to the ‘two hundred angels’ in the first heaven is, in all probability, to the Watchers, without naming them.” Fröhlich, “The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch),” p. 21.

the peaceful order of the stars, the birth of the sun and the moon. 19.3. And they are the leaders of the angels and of celestial speech. And they make all celestial life peaceful; and they preserve the commandments and instructions, and sweet voices and singing, every kind of praise and glory. 19.4 And there are angels over seasons and years, and there are also angels over rivers and oceans, angels over fruit and grass, and of everything that breeds; 19.5. and angels of all people, and all their life they organize and write it down before the face of the Lord. 19.6 And in the midst of them are 7 phoenixes and 7 cherubim, six-winged beings, having but one voice and singing in themselves. Their song is not to be reported; the Lord is delighted by his footstool(s).¹²⁵

The reference to the seven angels brings to mind *1 Enoch* 20:1–8 where a similar number of the archangels are put in charge of earthly and heavenly entities. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19 makes the connection even more explicit since it speaks about seven groups of angels, which are supervised by the archangels:

19.1 And those men took me from there, and they carried me up to the 6th heaven. And I saw there 7 groups of angels, brilliant and very glorious. And their faces were more radiant than the radiance of the sun, and there was no difference between their faces or in their dimensions or in the style of their clothing. 19.2 And these groups carry out and carefully study the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos. 19.3 And when they see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order, and the sweet choral singing and every kind of glorious praise. 19.4 These are the archangels who are over the angels; and they harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly; and angels who are over seasons and years, and angels who are over rivers and the ocean, and angels who are over the fruits of the earth and over every kind of grass, and who give every kind of food to every kind of living thing; 19.5 and angels who record all human souls, and all their deeds, and their lives before the face of the Lord. 19.6 And in the midst of them are 7 phoenixes and 7 cherubim and 7 six-winged beings, having but one voice and singing in unison. And their song is not to be reported; and the Lord is delighted by his footstool.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Andersen, "2 Enoch," pp. 1.133–135.

¹²⁶ Andersen, "2 Enoch," pp. 1.132–134.

An important feature of these descriptions is that the angelic beings are depicted not only as supervisors of various aspects of God's creation but also as agents that preserve/enforce the "commandments and instructions (заповѣди и поученіа)."¹²⁷ The legal terminology occurs in the context of regulations concerning "the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos." The cosmological context of the legal speculation is reminiscent of the references to the "law of the stars" found in other early Enochic booklets. The longer recension mentions that legal actions are taken when the guardian angels see any "evil activity" (злочиненіе):¹²⁸ "when they see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order."¹²⁹ This may point to the rebellion of the Watchers and their abandonment of their cosmological stations.

Another important aspect is found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:4, which speaks about the good angels' harmonization of all existence, heavenly and earthly. Here one again encounters the interrelationship between the cosmological ethical order which is embodied in the proper functioning of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena and their guardians, and the human order, which is harmonized and secured by the higher archetype.

Analyzing the angels' traditions in chapters 18 and 19, one can detect a striking inverse between the two angelic groups. The first group has their faces dejected while the second has their visages glorified. The first group has disproportionate bodies,¹³⁰ and the bodies of the second group's angels have harmonious dimensions. The first group is passive and idle, and the second is full of energy and in full control of creation. Another crucial symbol that distinguishes both descriptions is the absence or presence of liturgy. While "there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven," in the sixth heaven the good angels are singing in unison.

127 Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, p. 90.

128 Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, p. 90.

129 Andersen, "2 Enoch," p. 1.132.

130 Reflecting on this feature, Badalanova Geller notes that "of paramount importance for the logic of the narrative in the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch, however, appears to be the portrayal of the Watchers as 'giants/colossi/titans.' The narrative may vary concerning other details, but never about this one. It is, in fact, the hallmark of the Slavonic version of the Enochic corpus. Indeed, whilst in *1 Enoch* 7:2–5 the Watchers themselves are not depicted as giants, in contrast to their offspring, in *2 Enoch* both fathers and sons share one and the same trait – that of the largeness of their stature. In a tantalizingly brief but emphatically straightforward statement, Enoch testifies that the countenance of the Watchers is 'like the countenance of human beings, and their vastness resembles that of vast giants.'" Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum?," p. 16.

The question remains whether the aforementioned inverse parallelism hints at the condition and the duties of the fallen angels before their erring. The text does not provide an unambiguous answer for this question. Nevertheless, one can see that the activities of the second group of the good angels brings to mind some of the traditions associated with the Watchers in early booklets of *1 Enoch*. From *2 Enoch* 19:2 one learns that the good angels control astronomical phenomena: stars, sun, and moon. They also control calendrical matters since, according to *2 Enoch* 19:4a, “there are angels over seasons and years.” They also follow judicial regulations since “they preserve/build/create¹³¹ the commandments and instructions” (*2 Enoch* 19:3). On the whole, “they make all celestial life peaceful” and “all their life they organize and write it down before the face of the Lord.” (*2 Enoch* 19:5). The most important feature for the purposes of our study is that the good angels’ oversight and balancing of creation is set in the text in parallel with their studying (изучает)¹³² and recording of creation.¹³³ It demonstrates that *2 Enoch* understands studying and writing as activities that repair and harmonize creation. It provides an additional insight as to why the early Enochic booklets exert so much effort in portraying Enoch’s studying (measuring, counting) and recording routines. In light of *2 Enoch* 19 it becomes clear that Enoch “repairs” and harmonizes various aspects of God’s creation through his studying and recording.

5 The Watchers as the Former Guardians of Creation

Our previous analysis has demonstrated that in early Enochic booklets the fallen Watchers become responsible for the illicit dissemination of mysteries pertaining to various astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, geographical, and natural phenomena. The fallen angels’ association with these subjects suggests that in their previous celestial life they performed the duties of celestial guardians of these realities.¹³⁴ Helge Kvanvig proposes that “the Watchers were

131 Slav. строят, творят. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, pp. 90–91.

132 The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:2: “And these groups carry out and carefully study (изучает) the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos.” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, p. 90.

133 The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:5 reads, “and angels who record all human souls, and all their deeds, and their lives before the face of the Lord.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” p. 1.132.

134 Davidson notes that “*1 Enoch* 20 preserves a formal list of seven archangels and each has a particular realm of responsibility (§3.4), such as the care of thunder and earthquakes (Uriel), the blessings of Israel (Michael), Paradise (Gabriel) and the luminaries (Raguel). In *1 Enoch* 18:4–5, angels are possibly associated with the winds. In the *Astronomical Book*, it is Uriel who is in charge of all the luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72:1), and the result is that all their

the guardians of the cosmic order, both the celestial bodies, meteorological, natural, and cultural phenomena. Therefore they could teach the secrets about how to get access to this hidden knowledge.”¹³⁵ The early Enochic documents, however, do not speak explicitly about such previous appointments. Despite their silence on behalf of the fallen angels’ duties, early Enochic compositions nevertheless portray some unfallen angels as celestial custodians of various cosmological entities.¹³⁶ In our study we have already encountered several depictions of such angelic guardians in the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of the Similitudes*, and *2 Enoch*. Analyzing these pseudepigraphical traditions – and also similar angelological developments found in the Qumran literature – Mladen Popović points out that these materials “show that angels and spirits have a cosmological function bearing responsibility for the course of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars.”¹³⁷ The belief that the angels control cosmological phenomena was perpetuated in Enochic lore for centuries. Thus in *3 Enoch* 17:4–7, the sun, the moon, and the stars are also controlled by the angelic hosts, some of which bear the familiar names

movements, and with them the 364-day calendar, are perfectly coordinated (*1 Enoch* 75:3). *1 Enoch* 82:7–20 supplies a list of various angels who are over the stars. They are assigned in such a way that the calendar is established till eternity (*1 Enoch* 72:1), with its seasons, months, epagomenal days and so on (§4.4.2). For the authors of these passages, the worlds of nature and humanity are controlled by God through the angels. A similar idea appears in the *Book of Dreams* with the seventy angels, each of whom has authority during seventy periods of history from the Babylonian captivity till the eschaton (§5.4.2.5). All of these angels who serve by assisting in the operation of the cosmos can be called ministering angels. In the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, their presence serves to guarantee to the reader the orderliness of the cosmos in a troubled world. God is really in control as he mediates his will through his personal agents. Such a view was common in the Judaism of our period.” Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, p. 314.

135 H.S. Kvanvig, “Cosmic Laws and Cosmic Imbalance: Wisdom, Myth and Apocalyptic in Early Enochic Writings,” in: *The Early Enoch Literature*, eds. G. Boccaccini and J.J. Collins, JSJSS, 121, Leiden, 2007, pp. 139–158 at p. 158.

136 Schnabel points out that “the cosmological parts of *1 Enoch* emphasize that the world is moved by heavenly beings (18,1–5; cf. 75,1). All days and seasons are under the dominion of mighty angels (72,3; 75,1; 80,1; 82,4.7–10). These heavenly spirits thereby fulfill a ‘law’ which had been given to them: the ‘laws’ and ‘functions’ of the stars (33,3–4), the ‘law’ of the sun and moon (73,1), the ‘law’ of the winds (76,14), ‘the whole law of the stars of heaven’ (79,1–2), the ‘entire law of the stars’ (80,7). This law is binding: the stars (= angels) which rose too late (i.e. which did not comply with their law) are being punished (18,11–16; 21,1–6; 80,1–6; cf. 41,5–6).” Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, pp. 106–107.

137 M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomies and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*, STDJ, 67, Leiden, 2007, pp. 195–196. See also Fröhlich, “Stars and Spirits,” p. 123.

of the fallen Watchers.¹³⁸ For our study however it is important to identify when the special class of the angels, called the “Watchers,” become linked to the offices of custodians of the astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, and natural phenomena.

Helge Kvanvig traces the background of the Watchers’ role in guardianship of the cosmological phenomena to Mesopotamian traditions. He demonstrates that in the Near Eastern *apkallus* traditions, which some believe constitute the conceptual background for the Enochic Watchers,¹³⁹ the *apkallus* were envisioned as “guardians of cosmic stability.”¹⁴⁰ Kvanvig suggests that “the *apkallus* were at the beginning of the universe cosmic guardians; the first made perfect the plans of heaven and earth, the others kept in order; the plans of heaven and earth. ... They had a divine origin and were sent to humankind in antediluvian time in order to teach them the basic cultural benefits.”¹⁴¹ In another section of

138 3 *Enoch* 17:4–7 reads, “Under them is Galgall’el, the Prince, who is in charge of the orb of the sun, and with him are 96 angels, mighty and honored, who make the sun’s orb run 365,000 parasangs through *Raqia* every day. Under then is ’Opanni’el, the Prince, who is in charge of the globe of the moon, and with him are 88 angels who make the moon’s globe run 354,000 parasangs every night, whenever the moon stands in the east at its turning point. When does the moon stand in the east at its turning point? Answer: On the 15th day of every month. Under them is Rahati’el, the Prince, who is in charge of the constellations, and with him are 72 angels, great and honored. Why is his name called Rahati’el? Because he makes the constellations run 339,000 parasangs in their cycles and orbits each night, from the east to the west and from the west to the east. For the Holy One, blessed be he, made for them all, for the sun, the moon, and the constellations, a tent to move in by night from the west to the east. Under them is Kokabi’el, the Prince, who is in charge of all the stars, and with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honored, who make the stars run from city to city and from state to state in the *Raqia* of the heavens.” Alexander, “3 *Enoch*,” pp. 1269–270.

139 On the connections between the *apkallus* and the Watchers, see also Annus, “On the Origin of Watchers,” pp. 277–320; A.D. Kilmer, “The Mesopotamian Counterparts of the Biblical Nephilim,” in: *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen’s Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985*, eds. E.W. Conrad and E.G. Newing, Winona Lake, IN, 1987, pp. 39–44. H.S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1988, pp. 314–315.

140 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 523. In another part of his study, Kvanvig points out that “the *apkallus* had a cosmic function; they were cosmic guardians. They were both in charge of the me, and they were in charge of people’s destinies. In the last role, they are also described in a Babylonian myth where they are the custodians of the tablets of destinies.” Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 117.

141 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 523. Annus points out that “as with the Mesopotamian *apkal-lus*, who ‘insure the correct functioning of the plans of heaven and earth,’ in the *Bit Mēseri* text, the full catalogue of angels’ names in 1 *Enoch* 6:7 indicates that ‘the chiefs are high angels in charge of the orderly functioning of the heavenly and earthly phenomena: in heaven, not Uriel to be sure, but the angels over sun, moon, stars, shooting stars, thunder,

his study, Kvanvig concludes that “the *apkallus* in their role of watchers come close to ‘guardian angels’ in the Judeo-Christian tradition.”¹⁴²

In the *apkallus* traditions one can also discern a connection between knowledge about cosmological phenomena on the one hand and the ability to “guard” them effectively on the other – a link that plays an important role in the Enochic angelology as well. Kvanvig points out that “this combination of the *apkallus* as messengers from the gods, revealing the insight of heaven and earth to humans in antediluvian time, and guardians of the cosmic order ... may seem difficult to combine. But as we have underscored several times, there is a clear interconnection.”¹⁴³

Furthermore, it is possible that even the specific Aramaic terminology used to designate the Watchers may point to their role as “guardians.” Kvanvig argues for such a connection when he links the Aramaic term עיר with the Watchers’ role as the custodians over cosmological phenomena. He points out that

in Aramaic there seem to be two closely related usages of the root עיר. The one is the common “be awake,” the other is the more rare “keep watch.” In the last instance the meaning comes close to the common Hebrew root of “keeping watch,” נצר. In Akkadian *maššaru*, “watcher,” has both the connotation “guard, watchman, be awake” and “someone who watches for an astronomical observation.” The corresponding verb is *našāru*, “guard, take care of, keep watch for celestial phenomena.” The noun *maššaru* and the verb *našāru* are the equivalents of the root נצר, *nāšār*, in Hebrew and נטר, *nēṭar*, in Aramaic with one important exception: the Hebrew/Aramaic root cannot have the meaning “stay awake.” This could be the reason why the Jews found that the root עיר was more appropriate; the watchers were in charge of the cosmic order all the time; they never departed from their duty. (cf. 1 *Enoch* 14:23)¹⁴⁴

The concept of the angelic guardians of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena emerges as early as the earliest Enochic document – the *Astronomical Book*.¹⁴⁵ Jackson argues that this Enochic booklet offers “a more developed concept of angels as having a leadership over the phenomena

and lightning; on earth, the angels in charge of sea and mountains, as well as the crucial rainy season and its clouds and rain.” Annus, “On the Origin of Watchers,” p. 291.

142 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 441.

143 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 156.

144 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, pp. 442–443.

145 On angels’ association with cosmological phenomena in other Enochic booklets, including the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, see Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, pp. 148–150.

of the cosmos.”¹⁴⁶ The *Astronomical Book's* angelology is dominated by the emblematic figure of Uriel, who is understood in this Enochic text as the leader of the celestial luminaries. Consequently, some experts see Uriel as an important conceptual nexus of the understanding of angels as guardians of cosmological matters. Tracing these developments, VanderKam notes that

the concept of leaders for the luminaries has arisen before in connection with Uriel who has been called “their leader” (72:1; 74:2; see also 79:6; 80:1), while 72:3 refers to “the leaders of the stars with the ones they lead.” The most detailed account of the leaders is found in 82:4–20, which describes an entire hierarchy of them. Neither passage ever calls them angels. In 75:1, the entities in question are dubbed the “leaders of the heads of the thousands who are over all the creation and over all the stars.”¹⁴⁷

One may already encounter in the earliest Enochic document a hierarchized system of heavenly guardians. Kvanvig affirms this possibility by pointing out that in the *Astronomical Book* one can discern “the system of the heavenly leaders of the luminaries, Ethiopic *marāḥi*, Aramaic דבר.”¹⁴⁸ Reflecting on this celestial system, Kvanvig observes that

the luminaries themselves are given dominion, Ethiopic *šēlṭan*, Aramaic שלטן. This authority is given not only to the sun and the moon, but to the stars as well (1 *Enoch* 72:1; 75:3). The luminaries together rule over time and seasons. However, in this authority they are not autonomous. The luminaries are placed into a hierarchy of heavenly leaders to control their movements. At the top of the hierarchy stands Uriel, “Light of God” (1 *Enoch* 72:1; 74:2; 79:6). Below him are the four leaders of the seasons and the four additional days; after that come the twelve leaders for each of the months, followed by the leaders of the thousands for each day of the lunar year of 360 days (1 *Enoch* 75:1; 82:11).¹⁴⁹

Kvanvig further suggests that the system of cosmological guardians that one can discern in the *Astronomical Book* has a parallel in the *Book of Jubilees*, a writing probably composed in the second century BCE.¹⁵⁰ Kvanvig points

146 Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, p. 144.

147 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 456.

148 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 446.

149 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 446.

150 VanderKam proposes that “it is likely that *Jubilees* was written at some point between c. the 170s (or even 164) and c. 125 BCE (the upper date limit for the earliest copy). It

especially to *Jub.* 2:2, which offers a long list of angelic guardians of various meteorological phenomena, including snow, hail, and frost.¹⁵¹

The correspondences between the Watchers' names and the cosmological phenomena attested in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and *1 Enoch* 8:1–4 also implicitly point to a similar hierarchy of angelic custodians.¹⁵² Kvanvig suggests that

there is an idea of cosmic order lying behind the names of the watchers in *1 Enoch* 6:7 that is not identical to, but is of the same kind as in the *Astronomical Book* and in *Jubilees*. They share in a cosmology where the cosmic order is not ruled by many deities connected to luminaries and natural phenomena, but placed under the command of the Most High who rules the cosmos through a hierarchic system of heavenly servants.¹⁵³

Reflecting on the lists of angelic names in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and *1 Enoch* 8:1–4, George Nickelsburg argues even more decisively than Kvanvig that these records present the fallen Watchers as custodians of cosmological marvels:

the names suggest that the chiefs are high angels in charge of the orderly functioning of the heavenly and earthly phenomena: in heaven, not Uriel to be sure, but the angels over sun, moon, stars, shooting stars, thunder, and lightning; on earth, the angels in charge of sea and mountains, as well as the crucial rainy season and its clouds and rain.¹⁵⁴

In light of these suggestions, one may reasonably assume that the belief that the angels can control cosmological matters constitutes an essential feature of the Enochic myth of the angelic rebellion. Jackson argues that the Enochic

is difficult to be more precise than that." J.C. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, Hermeneia, 2 vols., Minneapolis, MI, 2018, pp. 37–38.

151 *Jub.* 2:2 reads, "For on the first day he created the heavens that are above, the earth, the waters, and all the spirits who serve before him, namely: the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness; the angels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the spirits of the winds; the angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, snow, hail, and frost; the angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings; and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, of winter, spring, autumn, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth, and in every (place)." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, pp. 2.7–8.

152 On the correspondences between angelic names and areas of instruction, see also Reed, "Heavenly Ascent," pp. 55–56.

153 Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, p. 448.

154 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 181.

understanding of the cosmic revolt is based “on the belief that all cosmic phenomena are under the control of angels.”¹⁵⁵

Importantly, the tradition about the Watchers’ oversight of the cosmological phenomena receives distinctively epistemological expression in the Enochic writings. The Watchers were able to inflict great harm on God’s creation precisely because they possessed intimate knowledge of these cosmological and natural marvels.¹⁵⁶ The combination of epistemology and ontology plays an important role also in Enoch’s initiation as he is able to rectify and repair various aspects of corrupted creation not through abstract knowledge about these cosmological phenomena but through his practical grasp of these wonders expressed through his measuring, recording, calculating, and balancing of these realities.

One can see that epistemology and ontology became closely interconnected in the fallen Watchers’ and Enoch’s interaction with the cosmological secrets. In this synthetic conceptual framework, the evolution in the “guardianship” status of antagonists and protagonists of the Enochic story becomes closely linked with changes in their access to divine secrets concerning cosmological phenomena. The Watchers’ “downgraded” ontology, which reflects their exchanging of their status as angelic guardians for the human roles of husbands and fathers, will again and again be put in parallel with the nature and value of the cosmological mysteries they possess. One can discern inverse ontological and epistemological changes in Enoch as well. Michael Stone suggests that “the revealers’ fallen status and that of their offspring determines the nature of the revelation. The status of Enoch who is an angel-like visionary determines what he can perceive. Once virtually angelified, Enoch can receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels reveal only forbidden and black knowledge and their descendants become evil spirits.”¹⁵⁷

While Enoch, in the course of his initiations, became shepherded into the state of a celestial citizen, assuming guardianship of the cosmological mysteries by measuring and recording them, the fallen Watchers progress in the opposite direction, both spatially and morally, becoming mediators of worthless

155 Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, p. 140.

156 Anatheia Portier-Young points out that the Watchers “are figures charged with maintaining and displaying the order of the cosmos, marking time and seasons, demarcating earth from heaven, human from divine, and human from angelic. Their transgressions destabilize order and corrupt knowledge.” A. Portier-Young, “Symbolic Resistance in the Book of the Watchers,” in: *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, eds. A. Kim Harkins, K. Coblenz Bautch, and J.C. Endres, Minneapolis, MI, 2014, pp. 39–49 at p. 41.

157 Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” p. 353.

mysteries.¹⁵⁸ In relation to the Watchers' diminished status in the Enochic tradition, Stone notes that “when the revealers, that is, the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth, their status is ultimately reduced to earth-bound, evil spirits (15:6–9), and their originally heavenly knowledge is reduced to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working.”¹⁵⁹ The expression, “rejected or worthless mysteries,” found in the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 16:3 points not only to cosmological but to epistemological crisis. It indicates that by their illicit actions the fallen angels have corrupted not only cosmological realities but, more importantly, the realm of divine knowledge itself, the realm which, according to the ancient epistemological understanding, has its own “objective” existence. This process is graphically depicted in the oracle found in *1 Enoch* 15:6–16:3:

... you originally existed as spirits, living forever, and not dying for all the generations of eternity.... The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten on the earth, on the earth is their dwelling.... You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils on the earth.¹⁶⁰

This passage shows a correspondence between the changes in the Watchers' ontology and their access to the divine knowledge. Formerly celestial beings, they now have lost the privilege of conversing with the deity, and a human being, Enoch, must petition on their behalf. The passage unambiguously links the condition of a revealer(s) with his/their access to the divine mysteries. Michael Stone accentuates this link between epistemology and ontology in the Enochic tradition when he remarks that “what a human or an angel can know

158 By their unrighteousness the Watchers themselves became embodied “worthless” or “rejected” secrets: *1 Enoch* 16:3: “You were (once) in heaven, but not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you, and you (only) know the rejected mysteries.” (Isaac); “You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 267. Such labeling may signify that when the “embodied secret” abandons the spatial and temporal assignment/laws given to him – it becomes a “worthless secret.”

159 Stone, “Enoch's Revelations?” p. 255. Macaskill points out that “the divinely authorized wisdom given to Enoch stands in sharp contrast to the ‘worthless mystery’ revealed by Asael.” G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. JSJSS, 115, Leiden, 2007, p. 36.

160 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 267.

is a function of his measure of righteousness.”¹⁶¹ Stone further notes that “the overlap of categories between good and evil teaching is noteworthy. It reinforces the observation that *what a human or an angel can know is a function of his measure of righteousness* or, if you will, of his position on the scale running from the earthly to the angelic.”¹⁶² This ethical dimension plays a paramount role in the Enochic tradition where Enoch is repeatedly called a “teacher of righteousness” or a “scribe of righteousness.” Stone notes that “in both the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the content and moral valuation of what the protagonists can teach or understand is related to their role or position in the cosmos. Often, the same subject taught as part of the Watchers’ instruction is also revealed to Enoch in heaven. The difference between the two is conditioned by the role, angelic or fallen, and the location – heavenly or earthly – of the revealer or teacher. Gradation of status is matched by gradation of the content and character of revealed knowledge.”¹⁶³

6 The Watchers’ Rebellion and Corruption of Creation

Our study has suggested that the fallen Watchers’ ability to corrupt various aspects of God’s creation was closely connected to their knowledge of the cosmological and natural phenomena they were assigned to guard and protect in their previous heavenly life. In this section we will explore the scope and the extent of these corrupting activities.

The affirmation of the Watchers’ negative impact on God’s creation plays a prominent role in early Enochic documents. Jonathan Ben-Dov points out that “the impact of sin on the natural order constitutes a central object of reflection in *1 Enoch*, primarily in the introductory chapters (2–5), but also in the *Book*

161 Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” p. 354. In another work, Stone offers further reflections on “the correlation between the status of the revealer and the nature of the knowledge” by pointing out that “when the revealers, that is, the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth, their status is ultimately reduced to earth-bound, evil spirits (15:6–9), and their originally heavenly knowledge is reduced to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working. Here, the status of the demonic revealers determines the nature of the revelation. The inverse is also true: the status of the angel-like visionary recipient determines what he is able to perceive. This bears out our idea that Enoch had to be almost completely angelified in order to receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels are demonized and can reveal only black knowledge.” Stone, “Enoch’s Revelations?,” pp. 255–256.

162 Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” p. 354. Emphasis mine.

163 Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” p. 357.

of the Watchers and the *Astronomical Book*.¹⁶⁴ Because the earth serves as the domain where the Watchers' harmful activities visibly unfold, the early Enochic materials devote substantial attention to the description of the Watchers and Giants' corrupting actions in this realm. The Watchers and Giants' corruptions of the earth becomes a main focus in the *Book of the Watchers*. From *1 Enoch* 8:2 one learns that "there was much godlessness upon the earth, and they [the Watchers] made their ways desolate."¹⁶⁵ In *1 Enoch* 9 the archangels report to the deity the devastating results of the fallen angels' activities on the earth. In *1 Enoch* 10:7, the removal of the Watchers' leader, Asael, to the underground prison is seen as a part of the process of "healing the earth."¹⁶⁶ In *1 Enoch* 10:16–22 the archangel Michael receives instructions from the deity on how to restore the damage done by the Watchers and their offspring to the earth. These instructions for the restoration of God's creation illustrate the scope of the damage done by the fallen angels and their offspring.¹⁶⁷

Notably, the Watchers and Giants corrupt not only humankind but also other aspects of God's creation and its creatures. While describing the Giants' assault on creation, *1 Enoch* 7:4–5 mentions not only human beings but also "birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish."¹⁶⁸ This reference evokes the memory of the first chapter of Genesis where the deity brings into existence the aforementioned species. Loren Stuckenbruck sees clear connections with the biblical creational account:

164 Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, pp. 226–227. On corruption of creation, see also: L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*. ConBNT, 12, Lund, 1979; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, pp. 38–39, pp. 152–55; Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, pp. 139–202.

165 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 188.

166 *1 Enoch* 10:7: "And heal the earth, which the watchers have desolated; and announce the healing of the earth, that the plague may be healed." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 215.

167 Macaskill points out that "the idea of the restoration of creation is found particularly in [*1 Enoch*] 10:16–11:2, a passage reminiscent of Isaiah 65:17–25 in its portrayal of a world free of trouble and full of life and bounty. The passage is part of the address to Michael that began in 10:11. As such, it is technically set in the *Urzeit*. However, it is clear that the primeval imagery is intended as typological for eschatology.... the imagery is so utopian that it cannot simply refer to the post-Flood humanity except by way of type: all the earth (10:22) is cleansed of all perversity and iniquity (10:16, 20, 22), all the sons of men become righteous (10:21), truth and peace will be united for all the generations of men (11:2). The fact that such language occurs in the context of primeval events that clearly have not led to such a utopian state, requires that the function of such language here is eschatological." Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, pp. 33–34. Nickelsburg also argues that "in its eschatological dimension, this aspect of the story promises a new start beyond the destruction wreaked by the great judgement." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 219.

168 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 182.

the text goes on to emphasize that humans were not the only victims. The giants “began to sin (or: to do violence) against birds, and against animals, and against reptiles and against fish” (7:5a). So far, the victimization or overconsumption of agricultural resources, the killing of humans, and the annihilation of animal species in the air, on land, and in the sea amounts to a destruction of what God created on the third, fifth, and sixth days in the creation account of Genesis 1 (vv. 11–13, 20–22, 24–30). The very creation that according to the biblical tradition God had declared to be “good,” even “very good” (Gen 1:31), is being turned upside down.¹⁶⁹

Furthermore, not only the Giants’ voracious appetites but even their abnormal size and their bastard nature¹⁷⁰ posit them as emblematic symbols of corruption and disharmony in the created order, unleashed by their fathers’ sexual misdeeds and illicit pedagogy. The portrayals of the Giants as creatures deviant in their size and behavior fits appropriately in the framework of the Enochic tradition, which sees the proper spatial and temporal measurements of created things as securing their harmonious existence.¹⁷¹ In this respect, the Giants’ enormous size and abnormal appetites¹⁷² serve as a vivid illustration of the disharmony brought by the Watchers’ revolt.¹⁷³

Similarly illuminating, in the *Book of the Watchers* it is a personified earth that cries to God, begging the deity to save her from the calamities unleashed

169 Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” p. 117.

170 Cf. 1 *Enoch* 9:9: “And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breed.”

171 We have already encountered a similar tradition in 2 *Enoch* where the silent Watchers were portrayed with disproportional bodies.

172 On the Giants’ appetites, see M.J. Goff, “Monstrous Appetites: Giants, Cannibalism, and Insatiable Eating in Enochic Literature,” *JAJ* 1 (2010), pp. 19–42.

173 Luca Arcari points out that “the hybrid generation of the Giants, on account of its derivation from a mingling subversive of ineffable plans, is per se something that is chaotic and destructive.” L. Arcari, “Illicit Unions, Hybrid Sonship, and Intermarriage in Second Temple Judaism – 1 Enoch, Book of Giants, Jubilees,” in: *Family and Kinship in the Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. A. Passaro, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2012/2013, Berlin/New York, 2013, pp. 405–454 at p. 420. In another section of his study, Arcari argues that “the tale of the union between the angels and the women, in its different versions, is the symbol of the union of two incompatible realities. This is the origin of a hybrid, the so-called ‘Giants,’ the symbol of a reality that is contaminated and impure. The imagery of sexual union between two incompatible realities recalls a state of social disorder which subverts the established order.” Arcari, “Illicit Unions,” pp. 426–427.

by the Watchers' rebellion.¹⁷⁴ Reflecting on this plea, Stuckenbruck points out that it expresses "nothing short of an environmental catastrophe that involves land, animals, and humans."¹⁷⁵

Despite most of the Watchers' corrupting activities occurring on the earth, their abandonment of their assigned heavenly astronomical and meteorological stations contributes to the corruption of God's creation. The exact scope of these transgressions will be addressed in the next section of our study, but here we must explore some more general allusions to the corruption of the cosmological order.

The theme of the stability of God's creation and, in particular, the cosmological order plays an important role already in the very beginning of the *Book of the Watchers*. The initial reflections found in *1 Enoch* 2:1–5:3¹⁷⁶ offer a powerful affirmation of the harmony of the created order immediately before the Watchers' transgression. In this respect it is not coincidental that the initial chapters of *1 Enoch* mention exactly the same elements of creation that will be a few chapters later corrupted through the Watchers' illicit teachings, including astronomical ("the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order"), calendrical ("its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order,"

174 On the cry of the earth, see also D. Assefa, "The Cry of the Earth in *1 Enoch* and Environmental Theology," in: *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology*, ed. P.F. Esler, Eugene, OR, 2017, pp. 61–69.

175 Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," p. 18.

176 *1 Enoch* 2:1–5:3 reads, 2:1 "Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order. 2:2 Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that take place on it from the beginning until the consummation, that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God are manifest to you. 2:3 Observe <the signs of summer and winter. Contemplate the signs of> winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it. 3:1 Contemplate and observe how all the trees appear withered and (how) all their leaves are stripped, except fourteen trees that are not stripped, which remain with the old until the new comes after two or three years. 4:1 Observe the signs of summer, whereby the sun burns and scorches, and you seek shelter and shade from its presence, and the earth burns with scorching heat, and you are unable to tread on the dust or the rock because of the burning. 5:1 Contemplate all the trees; their leaves blossom green on them, and they cover the trees. And all their fruit is for glorious honor. Contemplate all these works, and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works. 5:2 And his works take place from year to year, and they all carry out their works for him, and their works do not alter, but they all carry out his word. 5:3 Observe how, in like manner, the sea and the rivers carry out and do not alter their works from his words." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 150.

“the signs of summer and winter”), and meteorological realities (“contemplate the signs of winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it”).

The phenomena, which function according to the appointed order, are then contrasted with humankind’s disobedience. Stone notes that in *1 Enoch* 2–5:3 “the regularity of the works of nature serves as paradigm of obedience and submission to God.¹⁷⁷ This is contrasted in 5:4ff. with man’s disobedience and transgression.”¹⁷⁸ Nickelsburg also draws attention to the contrast when he writes that

the introduction to the *Book of the Watchers* (chaps. 1–5) contrasts humanity’s faithless disobedience with the orderly obedience that prevails among the heavenly bodies and in the changing of earth’s seasons. The repeated introductory words, “observe” and “see,” appeal to the empirical experience of nature. The luminaries in heaven, the clouds, dew, and rain, earth’s heat and cold, and the foliage of its trees are the exemplary basis of the author’s admonition. The story of the watchers’ rebellion refers both negatively and positively to the created realm (chaps. 6–11). The watchers revealed forbidden information about the terrestrial world of plants and minerals and taught prognostication that was based on the movements of the celestial bodies. The deeds of the giants decimated the whole terrestrial realm: human beings, birds, beasts, creeping things, fish, and agricultural produce. In consequence, the earth lay polluted and moribund.¹⁷⁹

177 Reed points out that “the *Book of the Watchers* marshals geography and ouranography for the goal of ethical exhortation, using the majesty of the cosmos to proclaim the power of its Creator and citing the orderly cycles of the cosmos to encourage humans not to stray from His will.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 67. Ben-Dov also points out that “in *1 Enoch* 2–5, the stable order of creation is a more reliable model for moral uprightness than the treacherous deeds of humanity.” Ben-Dov, “Review of: *1 Enoch* 2,” p. 148.

178 M.E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in: *Magnalia Dei, The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of G. Ernest Wright*, eds. F.M. Cross et al.; Garden City, NY, 1976, pp. 414–452 at p. 430. Reed also points out that *1 Enoch* 1–5 “records his [Enoch’s] exhortations about the value of cosmological phenomena as models for ethical behavior.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 24.

179 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 39. In another work Nickelsburg observes that “pervading *1 Enoch*’s understanding of law and reflecting its roots in the sapiential tradition is a sense of cosmic order. The *Astronomical Book* lays out the ‘laws’ and order that the Creator has structured into the universe. The introduction to the corpus celebrates the fact that the heavenly bodies follow their ordered courses, while human disobedience involves perversion and turning aside from God’s order (5:4).” G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom and

Jackson also notices that “the *Book of the Watchers* begins with a strong and unqualified statement of the regularity and dependability of God’s created order (1 *Enoch* 2:1–5:3). As we trace this theme throughout the literature we note a contrast between the emphasis in the *Book of the Watchers* on cosmic regularity and the various accounts of cosmic rebellion elsewhere....”¹⁸⁰ Jackson rightly discerns that “the original regularity of the cosmos as described in 1 *Enoch* 2–5 forms the basis for condemning all subsequent deviations. We note that within the narrative itself Enoch receives this revelation of cosmic regularity while he is himself in the heavens and before the revolt occurs (1 *Enoch* 12:1–2). He is given access as it were to the ‘blueprints’ of this cosmic order (1 *Enoch* 33:3–4) as he reads the heavenly tablets and he ‘tours the site’ observing the reality.”¹⁸¹

The cosmic regularity, based on principles and laws established by God, serves as a master plan for human ethics. Reflecting on 1 *Enoch* 2–5, Annette Reed points out that these chapters affirm “the value of cosmological phenomena as models for ethical behavior.”¹⁸² She argues that in them “Enoch exhorts the reader to ‘observe’ and ‘consider’ the ‘works of heaven’ – the heavenly luminaries (2:1), the earth (2:2), and the weather fluctuations in the progression of seasons (2:3–5:1a) – because the orderliness of their cycles attests God’s act of Creation (5:1b) and provides humans with models for ethical steadfastness (5:4–9).”¹⁸³ The importance of cosmological laws for human ethical behavior

Its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah,” in: *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. G. Boccaccini and J.J. Collins, JSJSS, 121, Leiden, 2007, pp. 81–89 at p. 84.

180 Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, p. 140.

181 Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, p. 140.

182 Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 24. In another study, Reed notes that “listing aspects of created world thus contributes to conveying its comprehensiveness in providing models for human obedience to God’s laws.” Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, p. 232.

183 Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 41. One can detect a similar tendency in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* 33:7–15 when the author appears to juxtapose calendrical measurements with the measurement of human deeds: “Why is one day more important than another, when all the daylight in the year is from the sun? By the Lord’s wisdom they were distinguished, and he appointed the different seasons and festivals. Some days he exalted and hallowed, and some he made ordinary days. All human beings come from the ground, and humankind was created out of the dust. In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them and appointed their different ways. Some he blessed and exalted, and some he made holy and brought near to himself; but some he cursed and brought low, and turned them out of their place. Like clay in the hand of the potter, to be molded as he pleases, so all are in the hand of their Maker, to be given whatever he decides. Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly. Look at all the works of the Most High; they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other.” Reflecting on this passage, Kister notes that in this passage “Ben Sira compares holy and ordinary days with

is forcefully reiterated in the *Book of Jubilees* where the calendrical “measurements” of the cosmological phenomena are envisioned as the *halakhot* that have paradigmatic value for human morality and social order.¹⁸⁴ According to *Jub.* 4:18, Enoch received calendrical *halakha* from angels as he was the first to relate “the weeks of the jubilees ... and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him.”¹⁸⁵ Reflecting on this tradition, van Ruiten suggests that “the *halakha* of *Jubilees* is immanent to the creation. The *halakha* written in the books of the Patriarchs is on various occasions said to be derived from the teachings of the angels. Enoch wrote down his testimony ‘as we [the angels] had told him’ (*Jub.* 4:18).”¹⁸⁶

These testimonies provide additional insights for understanding the legal impact of the fallen Watchers’ rebellion, which deeply affected the structures of divine Law, both in its cosmological and human expressions. By abandoning their heavenly stations, the patrons of cosmological phenomena directly impacted the moral and “social” order of the human community even before their feet touched the earth.

One of the most striking expressions of this idea can be found in an aforementioned passage from the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch* 80:1–8. In this excerpt, which may not belong to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*, Enoch learns from Uriel how “in the days of the sinners” all astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena will stop working properly:

80:1. At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: “I have now shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences.

the difference between elected and non-elected human beings. Both the days and the human beings are created by God in essentially the same fashion.” M. Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements Ordained by God in the Literature of the Second Temple Period,” in: *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, eds. E. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clements, STDJ, 58, Leiden, 2005, pp. 153–176 at p. 158. Argall points out that both *Wisdom of Ben Sira* and the early Enochic booklets demonstrate interest in the physical structure of the cosmos and its relevance for ethics. On this, see R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*, EJL, 8, Atlanta, 1995, p. 3.

184 On the ethical significance of cosmological “measurements,” see also Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” pp. 153ff.

185 VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 2.26.

186 J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSS, 66, Leiden, 2000, p. 317.

80:2. In the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. 80:3. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time. 80:4. The moon will change its order (𐤍𐤚𐤑𐤕) and will not appear at its (normal) time. 80:5. At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at ... at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light. 80:6. Many heads of the stars will stray from the command (𐤕𐤋𐤕𐤍) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. 80:7. The entire law (𐤍𐤚𐤑𐤕) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods. 80:8. Evil will multiply against them and punishment will come upon them to destroy all.¹⁸⁷

We have already suggested that, through the addition of this chapter into the original core of the *Astronomical Book*, the dispatch of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical mysteries to the patriarch receives additional soteriological significance. For this part of our study it is also important that 1 *Enoch* 80 depicts the interconnection between the cosmological laws and the moral laws of human beings by postulating that “many heads of the stars will stray from the command,” and the sinners on the earth “will turn back from their ways.” Reflecting on 1 *Enoch* 80:1–8, Stuckenbruck observes that the passage describes a universe “that is no longer running according to the way God created it to be. Humans are seen to live in a world that is profoundly out of sync with itself. Seasons do not happen when they are supposed to; excessive heat occurs at the wrong times; harvest is delayed; and the universe operates according to a scheme that is intrinsically evil.”¹⁸⁸

Stuckenbruck, who interprets “in the days of the sinners,” found in 1 *Enoch* 80,¹⁸⁹ as a possible reference to the time of fallen Watchers also suggests that

187 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 521; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.265.

188 Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” p. 119.

189 Stuckenbruck notes that in “a story about the beginnings of evil that comes to us from a different part of 1 *Enoch*, namely, the *Astronomical Book* at chapter 80, ... the patriarch Enoch is given a vision that anticipates what ‘the days of the sinners’ will be like (probably referring to the days just before the Flood in his time or perhaps the days when history runs out at the end of time).” Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” pp. 118–119.

the calamities outlined in the passage are possibly related to the deeds of the rebellious angels.¹⁹⁰ He points out that “here, of course, we have a different story ... regarding the rebellious angels. The stars, which are regarded as living beings (of an angelic order) are disobedient, so that the calendar of the world runs according to 365¼ days per year rather than the 364-day calendar that God created the world for (an ideal calendar exactly divisible by 7, which honors the Sabbath and means that feast days every year fall on the same day of the week; cf. *1 Enoch* 84:4–7).¹⁹¹ Stuckenbruck concludes by proposing that “the *Astronomical Book* envisions something of a climate change of cosmic, not local or regional, proportions. The writer attributes the dysfunctional climate to disobedience and to sin, in which stars and humans who follow them have not respected the created order.”¹⁹²

Other Enochic materials uphold the conceptual trend that suggests that cosmological crisis and human moral collapse will unfold simultaneously.¹⁹³ One can discern the trend in *2 Enoch's* description of the antediluvian

190 Hahne points out that *1 Enoch* 80:2–8 “shows the delicate relationship that exists between moral obedience and the cosmic order. When sin increases among humans and angels even the balance of nature is upset. There is a considerably different view of the cycles of nature in 80:2–8 than is to be found in most of *AB*, perhaps because this passage came from a different source. Yet the redactor who put this passage in its present context has created a powerful picture of the eschatological damage that sin will bring to creation by juxtaposing this passage with a description of the perfectly consistent, normal operation of nature. The point is not that natural law is fickle, but that the normally structured order of nature will be seriously corrupted by sin.” H.A. Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation. An Exegetical Study of Romans 8:19–22 in Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, Ph.D. diss.; Wycliffe College, 1997, p. 168.

191 Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” p. 119.

192 Stuckenbruck, “Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment,” p. 119–120.

193 This cluster of motifs will be perpetuated in various Enochic materials for centuries. For example, Justin Martyr in *2 Apol.* 5.2 interprets the Watchers’ rebellion as a violation of cosmic harmony: “When God made the universe and put all earthly things under man’s dominion, and arranged the heavenly bodies for the increase of fruits and the change of seasons, and decreed a divine law for these, which He apparently also created for man’s sake, He appointed His angels, whom He placed over mankind, to look after men and all things under heaven. But the angels violated their charge, fell into sin with women and begot children who are called demons.” T.B. Falls, *The Writings of Saint Justin Martyr*, FC, 6, Washington, DC, 2008, p. 124. Scholars see some similarities between this passage and *1 Enoch* 2–5. Reflecting on Justin’s passage, Reed points out that “the origin of evil is here presented as a breach in cosmic harmony; just as the nature poem in *1 Enoch* 2–5 exhorts the reader to consider the orderliness of the heavenly luminaries (2:1), seasonal weather changes (2:1, 3; 3:1–4:1), and cycles of vegetation (5:1) as models for ethical steadfastness, so Justin here cites the elements of heaven, the fruitfulness of agricultural produce, and the predictable rotation of the seasons as evidence for the governance of divinely instituted Natural Law (*2 Apol.* 5.2; cf. *1 Enoch* 5:1–2).” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 163.

catastrophe which, in this text, is presented as God's revelation to Methuselah right before his death. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 70:3–10 reads:

And when the time of the departure days of Methusalom arrived, the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said to him, "Listen, Methusalom! I am the Lord, the God of your father Enoch. I want you to know that the days of your life have come to an end, and the day of your rest has come close. Call Nir, the second son of your son Lamekh, born after Noe, and invest him in the garments of your consecration.... For in his days there will be a very great breakdown on the earth, for each one has begun to envy his neighbor, and people against people have destroyed boundaries, and the nation wages war. And all the earth is filled with vileness and blood and every kind of evil. (And) even more than that, they have abandoned their Lord, and they will do obeisance to unreal gods, and to the vault above the sky, and to what moves above the earth, and to the waves of the sea. And the adversary will make himself great and will be delighted with his deeds, to my great provocation. And all the earth will change its seasons (and every tree and every fruit will change their seeds) anticipating the time of destruction. And all the races will change on the earth by my conflagration. Then I shall give the command. The Bottomless will be poured out over the earth, and the great storages of the waters of heaven will come down onto the earth (in a great substance and in accordance with the first substance). And the whole constitution of the earth will perish, and all the earth will quake, and it will be deprived of its strength from that day. Then I will preserve the son of your son Lamekh, his first son, Noe. And from his seed I will raise up another world, and his seed will exist forever, until the second destruction when once again mankind will have committed sin in front of my face."¹⁹⁴

194 Andersen, "2 Enoch," pp. 1200–202. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 70:3–10 reads, "And after the ending of the days of Methusalom, the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said to him, 'Listen, Methusalom! I am (the Lord), the God of your father Enoch. (I want you to know) that the days of your life have come to an end, and the day of your rest has come close. Call Nir, the second son of your son Lamekh, and invest him in the garments of your consecration. And make him stand at my altar. And you will tell him everything that will happen (to him) in his days, for the time is drawing near for the destruction of all the earth, and of every human being and of everything that moves on the earth. For in his days there will be a great confusion on the earth, for each person has become envious of his neighbor, and people will sin against people. And nation will wage war against nation. And all the earth will be filled with blood and with very evil confusion. Even more than that, they will abandon their Creator, and they will do obeisance to that which is fixed in the sky, and to what moves above the earth, and the waves of the sea. And

A first important detail is that the revelation speaks about calendrical and (possibly) astronomical disturbances since “all the earth will change its seasons (and every tree and every fruit will change their seeds) anticipating the time of destruction.” The disturbances can be compared to the traditions reflected in *1 Enoch* 80:2–3 where “in the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time.”¹⁹⁵ A second detail connecting *2 Enoch* 70 with *1 Enoch* 80 is the theme of deterioration of human morals expressed in the practice of idolatry, which involves the worship of astronomical entities. According to the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 70:6 the people of the earth “will abandon their Creator, and they will do obeisance to that which is fixed in the sky.” This statement can be compared to *1 Enoch* 80:7: “the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods.”¹⁹⁶

It is important that the temporal perspective of *2 Enoch*'s calamity is antediluvial as the Flood follows the crisis. In the mind of the Enochic authors, the

the adversary will make himself great and will be delighted with their deeds, to my provocation. All the earth will change its order, and every fruit and every herb will change their times, for they will anticipate the time of destruction. And all the nations will change on the earth, and all my desire. And then I, I shall command the Bottomless. It will come out and rush out over the earth, and the storages of the waters of heaven will rush (from above) onto the earth in a great substance in accordance with the first substance. And the whole constitution of the earth will perish, and all the earth will quake, and it will be deprived of its strength even from that day. Then I, I will preserve Noe, the firstborn son of your son Lamekh. And I will make another world rise up from his seed, and his seed will exist throughout the ages.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” pp. 1201–203.

195 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 521.

196 Hahne suggests that *2 Enoch* 70 exhibits “a close relationship between the moral deterioration of humanity prior to the Flood and the functional deterioration of the natural world. Both are described as a very great breakdown on the earth (70:5) that will precede the judgment of the Flood. The ‘change’ to the earth and the human race are parallel: ‘the earth will change its order’ and ‘the nations will change on the earth’ (70:7 S). Although there is no explicit cause-effect relationship between increasing sin and the cosmic breakdown. both are related elements of the collapse of the world prior to the Flood.” Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, p. 223.

calamity becomes inevitably linked with the sins of the Watchers, although the passage did not make any explicit references to the fallen angels.¹⁹⁷

The conceptual link between the cosmological crisis unleashed by the fallen Watchers' rebellion and the deterioration of human morals will not cease even in later Enochic materials, including the composition known as *3 Enoch*. In the version of the fallen angels' story found in *3 Enoch* 5, the astronomical entities – “the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations” – will be brought down in the antediluvian generation and will be worshiped along with idols.¹⁹⁸ *3 Enoch* 5:7–9¹⁹⁹ narrates this crisis in the following words:

What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end, and each of them amassed silver, gold, precious stones, and pearls in mountainous heaps and piles. In the four quarters of the world they fashioned them into idols, and in each quarter they set up idols about 1,000 parasangs in height. They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations and stationed them before the idols, to their right and to their left, to serve them in the way they served the Holy One, blessed be he, as it is written, “All the array of heaven stood in his presence, to his right and to his left.” How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because 'Uzzah, 'Azzah, and 'Aza'el taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.²⁰⁰

Scholars often see in this description some echoes of the fallen Watchers' story. Thus, Reed points out that “in this unit, the angels Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael teach the Generation of Enosh sorceries that allow them to bring the ‘moon, stars and constellations’ down to earth to serve their idols (cp. *3 Enoch* 4:6 = §6). Although unique within the Hekhalot literature, this unit evokes the corruption of humanity through the revelation of forbidden wisdom by the fallen

197 Argall points to the similarities between *1 Enoch* 80:6–8 and *1 Enoch* 18:15–19:1, noting that “the fact that both passages cover the same topoi in the same order suggests that they share a common tradition.” Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, p. 131.

198 On “drawing-down” theurgy in connection with this passage, see M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives*, New Haven, CT, 1988, pp. 166–167.

199 Reed argues that “the version of the angelic descent myth in *3 Enoch* 5 (§§7–8) represents a later addition to the Enoch-Metatron material in *3 Enoch* (3–16 [§§4–20]) and reflects direct literary dependence on the extracts of the *Book of the Watchers* preserved in the Christian chronographical tradition.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 239. On this see also A.Y. Reed, “From Asael and Shemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: *3 Enoch* 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of *1 Enoch*,” *JSQ* 8 (2001), pp. 105–136.

200 Alexander, “*3 Enoch*,” p. 1260.

angels – particularly Asael – in *1 Enoch* (*BW*: 7:1; 8:1–3; 9:6–8; 13:2; 16:3; see *Sim.* 69).²⁰¹

One can discern striking similarities between *3 Enoch* 5:7–9 and the traditions attested in *1 Enoch* 80 and *2 Enoch* 70. One feature that connects all three stories is the theme of idolatry. *2 Enoch* 70 foretells that in the generation of the Flood, the sinners “will do obeisance to unreal gods.” Similarly, *1 Enoch* 80:7 prophesies that “the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods.” Reflecting on this tradition, VanderKam argues that “the culminating point in the charge that sinners will misperceive astronomical data is that they will understand the stars to be gods. Such idolatry would be in obvious violation of the scriptures which warn against worship of the stars and would also oppose the clear teaching of the *Book of the Luminaries* which subordinates Uriel, ruler of all luminaries, to God.”²⁰² It is also noteworthy that *3 Enoch* specifically links the disturbance of the cosmological order with the illicit instructions of the angelic leaders: “How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because ‘Uzzah, ‘Azzah, and ‘Aza’el taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.”²⁰³

7 The Watchers’ Corruption of the Law of the Stars

Our study has demonstrated that the early Enochic accounts contain a complex panorama of the Watchers’ corruption of God’s creation. The list of their transgressions includes not only their violation of “traditional” biblical commandments by their forbidden dalliances with women, magic, and divination,²⁰⁴ but also, more importantly, their breach of the commandments of the cosmological law or the “law of the stars,” a term we have already encountered in *1 Enoch* 80:7 and *1 Enoch* 82:9. In order to understand better this complex epistemological and nomological construct, we must take a closer look at examples of the “legal” language applied to various cosmological phenomena in early Enochic booklets.²⁰⁵

201 Reed, “From Asael and Shemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael,” p. 106.

202 VanderKam, “1 Enoch 80,” p. 353.

203 Alexander, “3 Enoch,” p. 1.260.

204 Fröhlich, “Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions,” pp. 15–16.

205 For discussions about legal concepts of the early Enochic books, see M. Limbeck, *Die Ordnung des Heils: Untersuchungen zum Gesetzesverständnis des Frühjudentums*, Düsseldorf, 1971, pp. 65–71; C. Münchow, *Ethik und Eschatologie: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der*

Already in the earliest Enochic documents, the seer learns both about the cosmological phenomena and the “laws” of these entities. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 73:1–74:9, the patriarch comes to know about the “laws of the moon.” Such legal terminology can be found in many places in the early Enochic booklets,²⁰⁶ the meaning of which is often rendered by the Ethiopic terms *šer’āt*²⁰⁷ and *te’zāz* in the Ge’ez text.²⁰⁸ We find these terms in many passages of the *Astronomical Book*.²⁰⁹ *1 Enoch* 82:9, for example, elaborates on the “law of the stars,” offering the following explanation:

-
- frühjüdischen Apokalyptik mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament*, Göttingen, 1981, pp. 25ff.; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, pp. 106–107.
- 206 One of the most extensive clusters of such imagery can be found in the *Astronomical Book*. VanderKam points out that “each of the first three chapters of the *Book of the Luminaries* begins with a rubric containing the word ‘law,’ and several summary statements later in the booklet also include ‘law/s’ (see 79:1–2; 80:7; 82:9 “the law of the stars”; cf. 76:14).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 420.
- 207 Leslau defines *šer’āt* as “ordinance, ordering, order, arrangement, ordered rank, rule, regulation, precept, prescription, constitution, testament, tradition, covenant, decree, edict, statute, law, canon.” W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge’ez*, Wiesbaden, 1991, p. 533, s.v. *šer’āt*. For our study it is important, that this term, used in the expression “the law of the stars,” has one of its meanings as “covenant.” Stuckenbruck points out that “the term for ‘law’ (Eth. *š/ser’āt*) may also carry the meaning of ‘covenant,’ so that it could be an equivalent for either Greek *διαθήκη* or *νόμος*.” L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL, Berlin, 2007, p. 98. On *šer’āt* as “covenant,” see also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 295; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 2.224; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 444.
- 208 Reflecting on these terms, VanderKam notes that “the word *te’zāz* means, besides ‘command,’ ‘lex, regula’ (A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopiae cum indice latino* [Leipzig, 1865; Repr. Osnabrück, 1970] p. 794), “law, ordinance” (Leslau, *Dictionary*, 53). For other uses of it in the *Book of the Luminaries*, see 72:35; 73:1 (twice); 74:1 (twice); 76:14; 80:6. It figures primarily in the first part of the *Book of the Luminaries*, while *šer’āt* is common in the later sections (78:10; 79:1, 2, 5; 80:1, 5, 7; 82:4, 9, 10, 11 [cf. v. 13], 14, 20).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 420, footnote 2. In another part of the Hermeneia commentary, VanderKam notes that “the term ‘command’ (*te’zāz*), which is used in some headings and summaries in the sense of ‘law’ (72:2, 35; 73:1; 74:1; 76:14), is never employed specifically for stars, although they are included in the general reference in 72:2. The expected term in connection with stars is *šer’āt* (78:10; 79:1, 2, 5; 82:9; see also 80:7).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 528. Schnabel notes that “we are aware of the lexical difficulties the establishing of the concept of law in *1 Enoch*. In the Ethiopic version the terms *cheq* (= hebr. *קִוּוּ*) and *’erit* (= Mosaic law) are missing; the terms *shere’at* (= *τάξις*, *διαθήκη*, *ἔθος*) and *te’ezaz* (= *ἐπιταγή*, *ἐντολή*, *πρόσταγμα*) which can be used as synonyms (cf. 80,4ff.) are rather common and can refer to (1) the cosmic order, (2) the orders and commands of God in general, and (3) the law in an absolute sense.” Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, p. 106, note 71. On this terminology see also R.A. Coughenour, *Enoch and Wisdom: A Study of the Wisdom Elements in the Book of Enoch*. Ph.D. Diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972, pp. 115ff.
- 209 See, for example, *1 Enoch* 72:2: “This is the first law (ጉእዛዝ) of the luminaries.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.215; *1 Enoch* 72:35: “This is the law (ጉእዛዙ) and course of the sun.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1. 227; *1 Enoch* 73:1: “After this law (ለዝጉእዛዝ)

This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders (ወበሥርዓታቲሆሙ), in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions.²¹⁰

This passage connects the “law of the stars” with the spatial and temporal characteristics of the stars’ locations or “stations,”²¹¹ considering this nomological system as the permanent cosmological setup where the “stars” and their “leaders”²¹² operate in their proper positions, jurisdictions, and assigned trajectories, which have to be followed at appointed times.²¹³ 1 *Enoch* 82:9 thus

I saw a second law (ትእዛዝ) for the smaller luminary whose name is the moon.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.228; 1 *Enoch* 74:1: “Another course and law (ወትእዛዝ) I saw for it; by that law (ትእዛዝ) it carries out its monthly course.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.231; 1 *Enoch* 76:14: “The twelve gates of the four quarters of the sky are completed. All their laws (ትእዛዛሙ) and all their punishment and their prosperity – I have shown to you everything, my son Methuselah.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.249; 1 *Enoch* 78:10: “Uriel showed me another law (ሥርዓተ፡) (regarding) when the light is placed in the moon and from where it is placed (in the moon) from the sun.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.257; 1 *Enoch* 79:1–2: “Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law (ሥርዓተ፡) of all the stars of the sky is completed. He showed me all their law (ሥርዓቶሙ) for each day, each time in all jurisdiction, every year, its emergence, the command, every month, and every week.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.261; 1 *Enoch* 79:4: “by the law (በሥርዓተ፡) of the week twenty-five (weeks) and two days.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.263; 1 *Enoch* 80:4–7: “The moon will change its law (ሥርዓቶ) ... many heads of the stars will stray from the command (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. The entire law (ሥርዓተ፡) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.265–266; 1 *Enoch* 82:9–10: “This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders (ወበሥርዓታቲሆሙ), in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.275.

210 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 555; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.275.

211 Cf. 4Q209 Frg. 28: “[for] their festivals, for their months for their signs. And [and according to] their [r]ule for all their stations (לכל מסרתהוּן).” 1 *Enoch* 12:4: “the watchers of heaven – who forsook the highest heaven, the sanctuary of the(ir) eternal station (στάσεως).”

212 The conceptual boundaries between the astronomical bodies and their angelic guardians are blurred already in the earliest Enochic booklets. Ratzon reminds to her readers that “in the *Astronomical Book*, the leaders of the stars seem to be luminaries themselves (72:3; 75:2; 82:15).” E. Ratzon, “The Heavenly Abode of the Luminaries,” in: *Representations of Angelic Beings in Early Jewish and in Christian Traditions*, eds. A. Tefera and L.T. Stuckenbruck; Tübingen, 2021, pp. 15–46 at p. 34.

213 Cf. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, pp. 106–107.

presents the cosmological law as the strict topological and chronological parameters of the stars' heavenly trajectories that cannot be violated.

Emphasizing the permanence of the astronomical bodies' motions, *1 Enoch* 41:5 affirms that "they do not leave the course, and they neither extend nor diminish their course. And they keep faith with one another according to the oath that they have <sworn>."²¹⁴ Furthermore, in *1 Enoch* 43:1–2, one learns that the stars are weighed according to their light, to the breadth of their spaces, and to the day of their appearing, possibly, to determine their "measure of righteousness": "And I saw other lightnings and stars of heaven; and I saw that he called them by their names, and they listened to him. I saw a righteous balance (𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤍: 𐤅𐤅𐤔:), how they are weighed according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing. I saw how their revolution produces lightning, and their revolution is according to the number of the angels, and they keep their faith with one another."²¹⁵ Matthew Black suggests that the stars here are "judged according to the measure or mass or proportions of light they possess, but also in accordance with the width of their 'places' or 'areas, spaces,' possibly to be understood as the era of the sky they cover or traverse."²¹⁶ One can see that the stars' departure from the temporal and spatial parameters of their established paths is considered a legal transgression, the violation of which carries severe consequences. In early Enochic documents we learn about such violations and the punishments they entail. The *Book of the Watchers* reflects this conception of the stars' wrongdoing in *1 Enoch* 18:14. It interprets the stars' abandonment of their appointed times and trajectories as the violation of the cosmological rules or "commandments." In *1 Enoch* 18 the seer beholds the places of the rebellious stars' imprisonment. When Enoch asks about the reason for the stars' incarceration, he learns that it happened because they "transgressed the command (𐤅𐤅𐤔𐤅) of the Lord (οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα κυρίου)²¹⁷ in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times."²¹⁸ Several experts see in these and

214 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 142. Reflecting on this passage, de Villiers points out that "in 41:5–9 an extensive description is devoted to the sun and the moon. A striking aspect of this description is the fixed nature of their movements, which is expressed by, amongst others, the phrase 'they keep faith with each other' at the end of the short section in verse 5, before the movements of the sun and moon are described in the following sentences (cf. 41:5; 43:2)." P.G.R. de Villiers, "Revealing the Secrets: Wisdom and the World in the Similitudes of Enoch," *Neotestamentica* 17 (1983), pp. 50–68 at p. 58.

215 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 142; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 1.124.

216 Black, *The Book of Enoch*, pp. 203–204.

217 Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 31. See also *1 Enoch* 8:1 (Sync.): "they transgressed (παρέβησαν) and led the holy ones astray." Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 22.

218 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 276.

other formulae possible allusions to the Torah of creation. Reflecting on the Watchers' punishment in 1 *Enoch* 18, Argall says that "at the end of this journey, Enoch sees the place where the rebel Watchers are held and punished until the day of the great judgment (1 *Enoch* 18:6–19:2) ... the reference to stars presupposes the existence of an astronomical Torah among the heavenly mysteries revealed to Enoch."²¹⁹ In another part of his study, Argall points out that "among the books of Enoch's testament, then, are traditions that comprise an astronomical Torah (a Torah of the stars was presupposed in 1 *Enoch* 17–19)."²²⁰ The *Book of the Watchers* also provides a vivid illustration of what kind of chaos the stars' violation of their "laws" can inflict on the cosmological order when, in 1 *Enoch* 21, the seer is transported to the place of the fallen stars' incarceration. There Enoch sees "a chaotic and terrible place" with "neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth."²²¹ Here the tumultuous and "unstructured"²²² character of the rogue agents' cosmological prison serves as a reminder of the nature of their transgressions.

The *Astronomical Book* also demonstrates the relevant conception of the stars' violation of their cosmological trajectories/commandments when, in 1 *Enoch* 80:6, it foretells that, during the eschatological crisis, "many heads of the stars will stray from the command (𐤆𐤋𐤆𐤍) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them."²²³ Importantly, the passage speaks not only about the stars but about their "heads," who will stray from the command, evoking the familiar role of the fallen Watchers as the former guardians of cosmological phenomena.

Understanding the Watchers' transgression as violation of proper spatial ("will change their ways and actions") and temporal ("will not appear at the times prescribed for them") cosmological parameters sheds a new light on the tradition of the disharmonious bodies of the Watchers' illicit offspring – the Giants. The unnatural composite creatures, whose physical forms do

219 Argall, 1 *Enoch and Sirach*, p. 31.

220 Argall, 1 *Enoch and Sirach*, p. 52.

221 1 *Enoch* 21:1–3 reads, "I traveled to where it was chaotic. And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place (ἑώρακα οὔτε οὐρανὸν ἐπάνω, οὔτε γῆν τεθέαμαι τεθεμελιωμένην, ἀλλὰ τόπον ἀκατασκεύαστον καὶ φοβερόν). And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven, bound and thrown in it together, like great mountains, and burning in fire." Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, p. 297. Black, *Apocalypse Henochi Graece*, p. 32.

222 The Greek adjective ἀκατασκεύαστος occurs in the LXX only in Gen 1:2 (ἢ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου) where it describes the "unstructured" and "raw" reality before God's "cultivation" of creation. On this term, see Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, p. 298.

223 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 *Enoch* 2, p. 521.

not correspond to the spatial and environmental parameters of the earthly realm, serve as visual reminders of not only the sexual sins but also the violations of the divine measurements committed by their fathers.

The legal language applied in some descriptions of the Watchers' violations of the cosmological law (or a "Torah of the stars" as Argall called it) appears to exhibit similarities to halakhic formulations since it describes a system of binding rules of behavior for cosmological agents. The revelations given to Enoch in the form of cosmological measurements serve as quantitative expressions of these rules. The legal emphasis comes to its important symbolic threshold in *1 Enoch* 106:13 where we learn that the Watchers "transgressed the word of the Lord from the covenant of heaven (παρέβησαν τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)."²²⁴ This enigmatic phrase can be understood as a reference to the commandments ("words of the Lord") of the heavenly law.²²⁵

For our study, it is important that in the aforementioned passages the "law of the stars" becomes "embodied" through the configurations or measurements of the established paths of the stars and their angelic leaders. Adhering to or departing from these routes is understood in this legal framework as the fulfillment or violation of halakhic precepts.²²⁶ This law can be envisioned as a specimen of cosmological clockwork automata, with the stars and their leaders as its pieces, where their established locations and trajectories have epistemological and nomological significance, representing the "embodied halakhot" of this cosmological covenant.

The embodiment of heavenly legal knowledge in otherworldly figures has its roots in an ancient epistemology that was prevalent at the time of the early Enochic booklets' composition. In this epistemological framework, heavenly knowledge was depicted as originating, as well as permanently and objectively existing, in the heavenly realm in celestial tablets, books,²²⁷ and patterns.²²⁸

²²⁴ Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p. 44.

²²⁵ Reflecting on this phrase, Coblentz Bautch points out that in *1 Enoch* 106:13, "διαθήκη or Eth. *šer'at* refers expressly to a heavenly covenant violated by the watchers." Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, p. 290.

²²⁶ In the stars' spatial transitions which are now understood as halakhic precepts, the meaning of *halakha* as the word which is derived from the Hebrew root that means "to go" or "to walk," receives a new significance.

²²⁷ R.H. Charles argued that this concept can be "traced partly to Ps 139; Exod 25:9; Exod 26:30, where we find the idea that there exist in heaven divine archetypes of certain things on earth." Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 132.

²²⁸ Exod 25:8–9: "... And have them make me a sanctuary, so that I may dwell among them. In accordance with all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle and of all its furniture, so you shall make it..." Exod 25:40: "And see that you make them according to the pattern for them, which is being shown you on the mountain...." Exod 26:30: "Then

These heavenly media were often understood not merely as “books” or “tablets” in their conventional sense but also as attributes or parts of celestial organisms – forms, limbs, and garments of heavenly beings, on which divine knowledge became permanently affixed. Various Jewish apocalyptic and mystical accounts describe celestial knowledge being inscribed on God’s palms,²²⁹ his throne,²³⁰ his celestial curtain,²³¹ and his servants’ bodies and accoutrement.²³² Furthermore, symbolic embodiment is often applied to heavenly legal constructs in examples like the depictions of the Torah’s embodiment in heavenly

-
- you shall erect the tabernacle according to the plan for it that you were shown on the mountain....” Exod 27:8: “You shall make it hollow, with boards. They shall be made just as you were shown on the mountain....” Num 8:4: “Now this was how the lampstand was made, out of hammered work of gold. From its base to its flowers, it was hammered work; according to the pattern that the Lord had shown Moses, so he made the lampstand.”
- 229 Isa 49:16: “See, I have inscribed you on the palms of my hands; your walls are continually before me.” 2 Bar. 4:2–6: “Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: On the palms of my hands I have carved you? It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him – as also Paradise. After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. And again I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. Behold, now it is preserved with me – as also Paradise.” A.F.J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York, 1983–1985, pp. 1.615–652 at p. 1.622.
- 230 3 Enoch 41:1–3: “R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you ... the letters by which wisdom and understanding, knowledge and intelligence, humility and rectitude were created, by which the whole world is sustained. I went with him and he took me by his hand, bore me up on his wings, and showed me those letters, engraved with a pen of flame upon the throne of glory, and sparks and lightnings shoot from them and cover all the chambers of Arabot.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” p. 1.292.
- 231 3 Enoch 45:1–6: “R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you the curtain of the Omnipresent One, which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be he, and on which are printed all the generations of the world and all their deeds, whether done or to be done, till the last generation. I went and he showed them to me with his fingers, like a father teaching his son the letters of the Torah; and I saw: Each generation and its potentates; each generation and its heads; each generation and its shepherds; each generation and its keepers.... And I saw: Adam and his generation, their deeds and their thoughts ... The Messiah the son of Joseph and his generation, and all that they will do to the gentiles....” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” pp. 1.296–299. For the *Pargod* traditions in rabbinic literature, see also; *b. Yoma* 77a; *b. Ber.* 18b; *b. Hag.* 15a–b; *b. Sanh.* 89b; *b. Sotah* 49a; *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 4:6; *Zohar* 1.47a; 11.149b–150a; *Maseket Hekhalot* 7.
- 232 For example, in 3 Enoch 13 God writes with his finger, “as with a pen of flame,” upon Metatron’s crown “the letters by which heaven and earth were created.”

beings.²³³ The “law of the stars” shows such embodiment of heavenly legal knowledge and its corruption. In this understanding, the Watchers’ rejection of their appointed times and trajectories during their rogue descent to the earth pairs together ontology and epistemology, ethics and knowledge. By altering their original trajectories and times, the Watchers have not only violated the moral covenant of the stars and irreparably altered their own ontological and moral status, by their rogue actions they have also corrupted the law itself, the cosmological mysteries which were embodied in them and in their eternal temporal and spatial assignments.²³⁴

This concept of the embodied “law of the stars” being corrupted by the fallen Watchers’ rogue activity has paramount significance for understanding Enoch’s soteriological actions in the early Enochic booklets. It provides a novel epistemological and nomological framework, in which the hero’s own spatial transitions to the places once abandoned by the rogue guardians receive a profound soteriological significance. When he visits the places abandoned by the Watchers, Enoch restores the legal “commandments” of the cosmological law. The importance of this revelation is summed up in *1 Enoch* 79:1 when all Enoch’s cosmological revelations are designated as the “law of the stars”: “Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of the sky is completed.”²³⁵

Furthermore, if the “laws” are indeed understood as “cosmological *halakhot*,” it is noteworthy how the seer learns this “law of the stars.” Like in the Mosaic Torah where the Law is illustrated through the actions of various human characters (e.g. Abraham, Jacob, and Isaac), the “law of the stars” is made visible, for Enoch, in the actions of the heavenly bodies – the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus, reflecting on *1 Enoch* 73:1 where Enoch “saw a second law for the

233 Moshe Idel identifies the tradition in a late midrash, *‘Aseret ha-Dibberot*, which reads, “Before the creation of the world, skins for parchments were not in existence, that the Torah might be written on them, because the animals did not yet exist. So, on what was the Torah written? On the arm of the Holy One, blessed be He, by a black fire on [the surface of] a white fire.” M. Idel, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation*, New Haven, 2002, p. 47. See also *Midrash Tanhuma*: “How was the Torah written? It was written with letters of black fire on a surface of white fire, as is said: His locks are curled and black as a raven.” S.A. Berman, *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu. An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus*, Hoboken, NJ, 1996, p. 3. Idel suggests that in this passage the Torah is written on “the head of God, as the mention of the locks apparently implies.” Idel, *Absorbing Perfections*, p. 49.

234 In this symbolic framework, the rogue trajectories of the fallen Watchers can themselves be seen as a corrupted version of the cosmological law.

235 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, p. 515. This statement is partially preserved in 4Q209 26 6. On this, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, pp. 352, 515.

smaller luminary whose name is the moon,” August Dillmann points out that “das Gesetz wird ihm anschaulich gemacht am Lauf.”²³⁶

In this epistemological framework, Enoch’s counting, measuring, weighing, and recording of the precise movements and locations of the luminaries, the stars, and other cosmological phenomena may be seen as efforts to restore the cosmological covenant, or the “law of the stars,” which was corrupted by the fallen angels’ actions. It is this conceptual background the authors of the *Book of the Jubilees* have in mind when they speak about the *halakha* that is immanent in creation.²³⁷

²³⁶ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 229.

²³⁷ J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “The Birth of Moses in Egypt According to the Book of Jubilees (Jub 47.1–9),” in: *The Wisdom in Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honor of Gerard P. Littikhuizen*, ed. A. Hilhorst et al., *AJEC*, 59, Leiden, 2005, pp. 43–67 at p. 64.