THE BOOK OF ENOCH

Book I (1–36)
The Parable of Enoch

INTRODUCTORY VISIONS AND PARABLES OF Enoch

The righteous and the wicked

I. The blessing4 of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the ungodly ones.5 • And Enoch, the blessed and righteous man of the Lord,6 took up his parable7 while his eyes8 were open and he saw, and said, "This is a holy vision from the heavens which the angels showed me: and I heard from them everything and I understood. I look not for this generation but for the distant one that is coming. I speak about the elect ones and concerning them." • And I took up with a parable (saying), "The God of the universe, the Holy Great One, will come from his dwelling. • And from there he will march upon Mount Sinai and appear in his camp emerging from heaven with a mighty power. • And everyone shall be afraid, and Watchers' shall quiver. • And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth. • Mountains and high places will fall down and be frightened. And high hills shall be made low; and they shall melt like a honeycomb before the flame. • And earth shall be rent asunder and all that is upon the earth shall perish. And there shall be a judgment upon all, (including) the righteous. • And to all the righteous he will grant peace. He will preserve the elect, and kindness shall be upon them. They shall all belong to God and they shall prosper and be blessed, and the light of God shall shine unto them. • Behold, he will arrive with ten

I a. The Etq. qa ta barakat should be translated simply as "the blessing" and not lit. as "the word(s) of blessing" as Charles does.

b. B and C, following several others later and inflated MSS, read 'ekudat(ah) wa-ramd(ah), "the evil and ungodly ones." Note to the reader: The letters A, B, C respectively, represent our basic text (Kebran MS 9/6); the text of Princeton Ethioptic 3; and the printed text of Charles. EC represents the notes in Charles's edition of the Eth. Enoch. (For others see "Texts.")

c. B and C, following supposedly all Charles's MSS, read be'ti ẓaddiq, "the righteous man."

d. [The various Eth. words for God or Lord have been translated consistently through E1E as follows: 1. 'Egälabbê represents 10L2 (the Eth. translation of Yahweh in the OT). 2. 'Egil'a represents Lord (the Eth. translation of Adonai in the OT). 3. 'Amalak represents God (the Eth. translation of Elohim in the OT). Note that "Lord ["Egil'a] of the Spirits" occurs only in chs. 77–71.] —J. H. Charlesworth and E. G. Martin

e. The extant Gr. text reads anabathôn têna para-balên, "he took up his parable." So also 4QEn 1:1 (Milik, The Books of Enoch, p. 182).

f. So A B C against the Gr. orasia, "his mouth."

g. B reads, as do some other MSS of Charles, laxaros' is tebâdeth rebaqdân, "distant generations that will be coming."

h. B and C, following supposedly all of Charles's MSS, read medâl, which is unintelligible. Medâl medâl, "with a proverb or (parable)", which is attested in A, is accurate, and the other MSS must have lost medâl, probably because of homoeoteleu-

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

j. Lit. "and appear from heaven."

k. B reads "his mighty power."

l. Lit. "Diligent guards." ([Watchers are the fallen angels.]

m. So A B and C read "high mountains."

n. Eth. wayvadnu, "will fall down," is not attested in B and C.

o. A B C read ma'ara gerd, "honeycomb," not gerd ma'ar. "wax." However, the two expressions are sometimes confused in usage.

p. Lit. "from."

q. B had "shall sink."

r. B. "and all the righteous." It seems to me that Charles wrongly assumed idâla ẓaddīqûn kâleus, "upon all the righteous," to be a diathography of words before and after.

s. B and C read respectively "as to the righteous" and "to the righteous."

t. Or "they will become God's property." So Ethiopian commentators.

u. All of Charles's MSS, except e, read ma'ar, "he came." Ethiopian commentators who follow this reading argue that the perfect tense is used to emphasize that "he will certainly come." Cf. Jude 14 also. The Eth. te'fôl designates thousand thousand times a thousand. Cf. Wa'atah Mērâbhot Qôdešî in Deut 33:2. LXX reads syn myriastyn Kôdès.
million of the holy ones in order to execute judgment upon all. He will destroy the wicked ones and censure all flesh on account of everything that they have done, that which the sinners and the wicked ones committed against him. 

2 Examine all the activities which take place in the sky and how they do not alter their ways, (and examine) the luminaries of heaven, how each one of them rises and sets; each one is systematic according to its respective season; and they do not divert from their appointed order. And look at the earth and turn in your mind concerning the action which is taking place in her from the beginning to the end: how all the work of God as being manifested does not change. And behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water and clouds and dew, and he causes rain to rest upon her.

3 Examine and observe everything—and the trees, how all their leaves appear as if they wither and had fallen, except fourteen trees whose (leaves) do not fall but the old (foliage) remains for about two to three years until the new (leaves) come.

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

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

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

w. The Ok., Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Vigilius, and Jude 15 read "all the evil ones.

x. Or "rebuke."

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

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2. a. The syntax of is superior to that of B and C. B and all the other MSS which Charles studied also give the wrong grammatical form for which is found in A. Some English commentators also read "inquired or examined."

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

c. B reads "emete'., their appointed commandments."

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

e. Lit. "which is being acted."

f. So A, west. B and C have "upon her," la'deh.

g. A, B, C. makdaru.

h. Eth. "ence ydstet" is a somewhat dangling phrase. Cf. Ec. p. 6, no. 13, 15, regarding the clause in Ok., which is lost in Eth.


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

k. A (mwy, wad-damand wa-jala wa-senad) has the right text over against B and C (mwy wa-damand wa-tal wa-senad). Cf. Ec. p. 6, n. 22.

l. Cf. 4QEm. It is distinctly possible to render A "and the cloud causes dew and rain to rest upon her."

3 a. A: tavyeq. B: tavyeq, as in all of the other Charles MSS.

b. B has re'iku.

c. B: "Examine and observe the trees." C: "Examine and observe all the trees." Cf. 4QEn. "Observe that all the trees wither." (Milik, The Books of Enoch, pp. 16ff.).

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

e. B: "twelve."


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

h. Or "rainy season."

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

4 a. Lit. "dry season."

b. Lit. "the sun."

c. Lit. "upon her."

d. Lit. "her first," "her greater one," "head of her," B: ba-qedemde, "in her face," "in front of her." C: ba-qadame, "against her."

e. Lit. "seek."

f. B C: "her heat."

5 a. Eth. "es ba-hamalimala yeiḳaddanu ba-quset wa-yefarryu. The reading of B and C, ... trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit."

b. B C: "and pay attention."

c. Erroneously gebome for gabome.

d. Overall, the reading of A is closer to the Ok. eposišen autu hũ. The reading of B, ba-kama gabra la-ki̇ma la 'elunu k'ōi̇omu seheyya la-alam, and that of C, ba-kama gabarkemū la-énunu k'ōi̇omu, are both corrupt and not very intelligible.
year to year. And all his work prospers and obeys him, and it does not change; but everything functions in the way in which God has ordered it. And look at the seas:

They do not part; they fulfill all their duties. But as for you, you have not been long-suffering and you have not done the commandments of the Lord, but you have transgressed and spoken slanderously and harsh words with your impure mouths against his greatness. Oh, you hard-hearted, may you not find peace! Therefore, you shall curse your days, and the years of your life shall perish and multiply in eternal execration; and there will not be any mercy unto you. In those days, you shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous; and the sinners shall curse you continually—you together with the sinners. But to the elect there shall be light, joy, and peace, and they shall inherit the earth. To you, wicked ones, on the contrary, there will be a curse. And then wisdom shall be given to the elect. And they shall all live and not return again to sin, either by being wicked or through pride; but those who have wisdom shall be humble and not return again to sin. And they shall not be judged all the days of their lives; nor die through plague or wrath, but they shall complete the (designated) number of the days of their life. And peace shall increase their lives and the years of their happiness shall be multiplied forever in gladness and peace all the days of their life.

The fall of angels

6 In those days, when the children of man had multiplied, it happened that there were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the children of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said to one another, "Come, let us choose wives for ourselves from among the daughters of man and beget us children."

And Semyaz, being their leader, said unto them, "I fear that perhaps you will not consent that this deed should be done, and I alone will become (responsible) for this great sin." But they all responded to him, "Let us all swear an oath and bind everyone among us by a curse not to abandon this suggestion but to do the deed."

Then they all swore together and bound one another by (the curse). And they were altogether two hundred; and they descended into Ardos, which is the summit of Hermos. And they called the mount Armon, for they swore and bound one another by a curse. And their names are as follows: Semyaz, the leader of Arakeb, Rame'al, Tam'el, Ram'al, Dan'al, Ezeq'el, Baraqyal, As'el, Armaros, Batar'el,
8 Anan’el, Zaqe’el, Sasomasp’el, Kestar’el, Tur’el, Yamayol, and Arazayal. These are their chieftains or tens and of all the others with them.

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

8 And Azaz’el taught the people (the art of) making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones bracelets, decorations, (shad-owing of the eye) with antimony, ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring tinctures and alchemy. And there were many wicked ones and they committed adultery and erred, and all their conduct became corrupt. Ammaras taught incantation and the cutting of roots; and Armazar the resolving of incantations; and Baraqiyalu astrology; and Kokarrel the knowledge of the signs; and Tamen learned the seer of the stars, and Asder’el taught the course of the moon as well as the deception of man. And (the people) cried and their voice reached up unto heaven.

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

n. B C: “Sam’azaz [B: Senyaaz], who is their leader, Arakibarame’el [B: Urakibarame’el], Koba- bi’el [B: Akihe’el], Tami’el [B: Tame’el], Ram’el [B: Raw’el], Dan’el, Ezeq’eel, Baraqiyalu [B: Lar- quyalu], Asa’el, Armaros [B: Armases], Barar’el [B: Bata’al], Azael, Zaqi’eel [B: Zaqeez], Samaire’el, Sarar’el [B: Sar’el], Tur’el, Toyem-yel, Arazyal.”

p. B adds “of the two hundred angels.”

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

b. B and C add “and became added unto them.” For variations in the Gk. fragments in this and ch.

8, see EC, pp. 17f.


d. Lit. “and their heights.”

e. C: “who.” Cf. 4QEna, which is closer to A.

f. Lit. “‘toil,’ ‘labor.” So 4QEna.

g. A should be rendered either “All of these consumed the soil of the people” or “These consumed the soil of all the people” by transposing the correctly nominative Eth. ‘el’el in the phrase ‘el’el! səmbə səmbə. Cf. 4QEna. All of Charles’s MSS give the accusative kvellu. Cf. EC, p. 16, nn. 9, 10.

h. Eth. séxoyə sab’e. C: sab’é séxoyə.

i. Lit. “And.”

j. Possibly “And they devoured another one’s flesh, and drank the blood.” B adds ‘emnəhəl, which

8 a. Eth. za-emphrenomu. C and B have za-emphrenomu, “those after them,” which Charles thinks is a corruption of the Gr. τα μεταλλα (cf. τα μεταλλα). Gr. has megalos. Cf. EC, p. 16, n. 30. C and B also add “the making of them.” Eth. za-emphrenomu is rendered as “their successors” or “their children” by Ethiopian commentators.

b. Lit. “antimony.”

c. Lit. “of stones all kinds of precious and chosen stones.”

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

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


g. B: Baraqel.

h. Lit. “the seeing of stars.”

i. B C: Kolab’el.

j. I.e. miraculous signs.

k. B: Tem’el. C: Tami’el.

l. B: Asdar’el.

m. B and C read “destruction.”

n. Concerning variations in the Gk. fragments see

EC, p. 18f.

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

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

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

e. Eth. 'ermu, "for," "because." In the Syriac fragment we have Su, "you," instead.

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10 a. C: "Then spoke the Most High, the Great and Holy One said." Cf. EC, p. 24, n. 29.
c. C, supported by G*, adds "Go to Noah and tell him . . . ." See EC, p. 24, n. 25.
d. So A. B C: "the whole earth."
e. B omits 'all." C, following the Gk. fragments, reads "it will destroy all that is in it."
f. So B and C. The text of A, which reads "and his seed will kneel down [worship] for all generations," is obviously corrupt.
g. The name designates "God is a healer."
h. Lit. "by hand." Cf. Tatfian Gen 6:3, in which the names Semyaza and Azaz'el appear.
i. Lit. "by foot."
j. B and C said "cover him with darkness and let him abide there forever."
k. The preceding two sentences are given in the imperative form in B and C: "And make a hole in the desert . . . ."
l. Lit. "he will make you know."
m. Lit. "to the earth." The Gk. fragments read "that he may heal the plague." Cf. also EC, p. 26,
through all the secrets (of the angels)," which they taught to their sons. ¶ And the whole earth has been corrupted by Azaz'el's teaching of his (own) actions; and write

upon him all sin. ¶ And to Gabriel the Lord said, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates and against the children of adultery; and destroy the children of adultery and expel the children of the Watchers from among the people." And send them against one another (so that) they may be destroyed in the fight, for length of days have they not. ¶ They will beg you everything—for their fathers on behalf of themselves—because they hope to live an eternal life. (They hope) that each one of them will live a period of five hundred years." ¶ And to Michael God said, "Make known to Semyaza and the others who are with him, who fornicated with the women," that they will die together with them in all their defilement. ¶ And when they and all their children have battled with each other, and when they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations underneath the rocks of the ground until the day of their judgment and of their consummation, until the eternal judgment is concluded. ¶ In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire—and in torment—in the prison (where) they will be locked up forever. ¶ And at the time when they will burn and die, those who collaborated with them will be bound together with them from henceforth unto the end of (all) generations. ¶ And destroy all the works of pleasure and the children of the Watchers, for they have done injustice to man. ¶ Destroy injustice from the face of the earth. And every iniquitous deed will end, and the plant of righteousness and truth will appear forever and he will plant joy. ¶ And then all the righteous ones will escape; and become the living ones until they multiply and become tens of hundreds; and all the days of their youth and the years of their retirement they will complete in peace. ¶ And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness, all of her planted with trees, and will find blessing. ¶ And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her—vines. And he who plants a vine upon her will produce wine for plenteitude. And every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand (measures) and one measure of olives will yield ten measures of presses of oil. And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement, and from all oppression, and from all sin, and from all iniquity which is being done on earth; remove them from the earth. ¶ And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; and they will all prostrate

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

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

q. Lit: "and they." 

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

s. Or "his companions."

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

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

x. B C omit "they and..."

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


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

a2. Lit. "and disappear..."

b2. B C: "Destroy all injustice from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end; and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear; and it shall become a blessing, the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy forevermore." A can be rendered "...and the plant of righteousness will appear, and plant eternal truth and joy."

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

d2. Or "rest," "their sabbaths," sambata z'â-houm. B C: sambata z'â-houm. "their sabbath," which is intelligible. Therefore Charles, following Wellhausen, Skizen und Vorarbeiten 6 (Berlin, 1899) pp. 241, 246, suggested substituting "rest" for sambata, which he considered a corruption from the Heb. zebâlahon, "their old age." Cf. EC, p. 30, n. 9, and p. 31, n. 1. The Ez. sambata in plural (so also G) (cf. sanbadet), found in A, does convey a sense of "weeks of rest" or "periods of rest or retirement." A notion equivalent to the suggested Heb. expression is given by Egyptian commentators who read the phrase simply as "the period of old age."

e2. G reads "en antâ, "in her..."

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

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

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

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

j2. B C omit "measures."... and all the days of their youth and the years of their retirement they will complete in peace. ¶ And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness, all of her planted with trees, and will find blessing. ¶ And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her—vines. And he who plants a vine upon her will produce wine for plenteitude. And every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand (measures) and one measure of olives will yield ten measures of presses of oil. And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement, and from all oppression, and from all sin, and from all iniquity which is being done on earth; remove them from the earth. ¶ And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; and they will all prostrate

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

Prayer of the righteous

47 "In those days, the prayers of the righteous ascended into heaven, and the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of the Spirits. *There shall be days when all the holy ones who dwell in the heavens above shall dwell (together)." And with one voice, they shall supplicate and pray—glorifying, praising, and blessing the name of the Lord of the Spirits—on behalf of the blood of the righteous ones which has been shed. Their prayers shall not stop from exhaustion before the Lord of the Spirits—neither will they relax forever—(until) judgment is executed for them,"

In those days, I saw him—the Antecedent of Time, while he was sitting upon the throne of his glory, and the books of the living ones were open before him. And all his power in heaven above and his escorts stood before him. *The hearts of the holy ones are filled with joy, because the number of the righteous has been offered, the prayers of the righteous ones have been heard, and the blood of the righteous has been admitted before the Lord of the Spirits.

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

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

r. Lit. "into the Most High."
s. So A and B. C omits "all their deeds are oppression."
t. B and C read, possibly more correctly, "they persecute the houses of his congregations and the faithful who cling to the Lord of the Spirits."

47 a. B C: "In those days."
b. B and C omit "all."
c. B and C, which read "unite," "be companions," "co-operate," may be more accurate.
d. B and C add "of the righteous ones."
e. Lit. "there will not be patience to them."
f. Lit. "in order that," "so that," "to the end that."
g. Lit. "which surround him."

48 a. A erroneously: "sons."
b. Lit. "named by the name."
c. Lit. "before the beginning [or "head"] of days."
d. Ezh. namer, "the wondrous thing"—but to be understood in Ge'ez (Eth.) as "the moon" (cf. 2Chr 33:3; Jer 10:2; Job 4:17).
e. B: "they shall glorify... to the name."
f. C omits "the name."
g. Lit. "he concealed (him) in his (own) presence."
h. Lit. "its deeds."
i. Lit. "its ways."
j. C reads erroneously "in vain days."
landowners shall be humiliated on account of the deeds of their hands. Therefore, on the day of their misery and weariness, they will not be able to save themselves. I shall deliver them into the hands of my elect ones like grass in the fire and like lead in the water, so they shall burn before the face of the holy ones and sink before their sight, and no place will be found for them. On the day of their weariness, there shall be an obstacle on the earth and they shall fall on their faces; and they shall not rise up (again), nor anyone (be found) who will take them with his hands and raise them up. For they have denied the Lord of the Spirits and his Messiah. Blessed be the name of the Lord of the Spirits!

Wisdom and power of the Elect One

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

His mercy and his judgment

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

Resurrection of the dead

51 In those days, Sheol will return all the deposits which she had received and hell will give back all that which it owes. And he shall choose the righteous and the holy ones from among (the risen dead), for the day when they shall be selected and saved has arrived. In those days, (the Elect One) shall sit on my throne, and from the
The moon and the varying amounts of its illuminations

1 73 After I saw this (set of) regulation(s) for the sun I saw another (set of) regulation(s) concerning the minor luminary whose name is moon. • Its roundness is like the roundness of the sky; and the wind drives the chariot on which it rides; and it is given light in (varying) measure. • Its coming out and its going in change every month. Its days are like the days of the sun; and when its light becomes evenly (distributed) then it amounts to one seventh of the light of the sun. • It (the moon) rises in this manner: Its head faces the easterly direction, coming out on the thirtieth day, on that day, (that is,) on the thirtieth day, it comes into existence, and it appears with the sun in the gate through which the sun exits; and you have the beginning of the month. (Considering) half of it to be (divisible into) seven parts, the whole disk of it is without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of the fourteenth part of the light (of the sun), one seventh of its (half) light. • On the day when it receives one-seventh part of its one half, as the sun sets, it becomes (equivalent to) one-seventh light of one half of it. • Then when the sun rises, the moon rises together with it, taking a portion of one half of its light; that night (the moon), just beginning its monthly journey on its first lunar day, sets with the sun and becomes dark, in respect to its thirteen parts that night. On that day it rises and shines with exactly one-seventh part of its semicircle. • Then it comes out and recedes toward the east (away from) where the sun rises, (continuing) to be bright(er) in one sixth of one seventh (of one half of the light of the sun) during the remaining days.

1 74 Furthermore, I saw another system of rotation with its own regulation whereby the system fulfills its monthly course of movement. • All these things— including their fixed positions— Uriel, the holy angel who is the guide of all of them, showed to me. And I wrote down their fixed positions as he showed them to me; and I wrote down their months as they were, as well as the (variable) aspects of their illumination until the completion of fifteen days. • The moon wanes in fifteen steps during a period of fifteen days, and waxes in fourteen steps in the east and the west respectively. • In (certain) designated months it alters its (westerly) settings and in (certain) designated months it fulfills its unusual courses of movement. • For two months it (the moon) sets with the sun, and uses those two middle openings (which are) the third and the

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

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

c. Some late MSS read "the sun."


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

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

g. Or "morning."

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

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

j. Lit. "it becomes for you the head ("the beginning") of the month."

k. B and C add rehuq, to give the reading "half of it is distant (or 'moves away') by one seventh." Fleming suggests emending the text by substituting rehuq, "visible," for rehuq. Cf. EC, p. 138, n. 7.

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

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

n. B and C add "its light."

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

p. Lit. "it is at the beginning (head) of its morning."

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

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

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

1. This section, 73:4-8, is a badly garbled description of the variations in the moon's illuminated area: on the first day one quarter, on the next one seventh, then one seventh plus one fourteenth, etc.

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

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

c. Lit. "commanded."

d. Lit. "by which commandment."

e. Lit. "appearance."

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

g. Lit. "one-one."

h. Lit. "it has." B and C omit "it has."
From the Flood to the exodus

10 Then they began to bear the beasts of the fields and the birds. There arose out of them all classes of population: lions, leopards, wolves,\(^2\) snakes,\(^2\) hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels,\(^2\) swine, hawks, eagles,\(^2\) kites,\(^2\) striped crow(s),\(^2\) and ravens. Among them there was also born a snow-white cow. \(^*\) Then they began to bite one another among themselves. That snow-white cow which was born in their midst began a wild ass,\(^2\) and a snow-white cow with it; and the wild asses multiplied. \(^*\) And that cow which was born from him bore a black wild boar and a snow-white sheep; the former then bore healthy beasts and the latter bore twelve sheep. \(^*\) When those twelve sheep had grown up, they gave away one of their own members to the donkeys, which\(^2\) in turn gave him\(^2\) away to the wolves;\(^2\) so this sheep grew up in the midst of the wolves.\(^2\) \(^*\) Then the Lord\(^2\) brought the eleven sheep to dwell with him, and to pasture\(^2\) in the midst of the wolves; and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep. Then the wolves began to fear\(^2\) them; so they tortured them until their little ones were being killed (for) they cast away their little ones into a river of great quantity of water. So those sheep began to cry aloud on behalf of their little ones and to complain unto their Lord. \(^*\) Then one sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped\(^2\) to the wild asses. But I saw the sheep continuing to lament and cry aloud; and they kept praying to their Lord with all their strength until the Lord of the sheep descended at their entreaty,\(^2\) from a lofty palace, arriving to visit\(^2\) them. \(^*\) He called that sheep which had escaped from the wolves and told him concerning the wolves that he should warn the wolves not to touch the sheep. \(^*\) The sheep then went to the wolves in accordance with the word of the Lord, together with another sheep which he had met,\(^2\) so the two of them went on and arrived under the assembly of those wolves, and spoke to them and warned them not to touch the sheep. \(^*\) But thenceforth I saw how the wolves even intensified their pressure upon the sheep.\(^4\) They, the sheep, cried aloud—they cried aloud with all their strength. \(^*\) Then their Lord came to (the rescue of) the sheep, whereupon they began to whip those wolves. So the wolves began to make lamentations, but the sheep thereafter became quiet and stopped crying aloud. \(^*\) I continued to see the sheep until they departed from (the presence) of the wolves, and the wolves (until) their eyes were dazzled; yet the wolves went out to pursue those sheep, with all their might. \(^*\) But the Lord of the sheep went with them as their leader, while all his sheep were following him; his face was glorious, adorable, and marvelous to behold. \(^*\) As for the wolves, they continued\(^2\) to pursue those sheep until they found them at a certain pool of water. \(^*\) Then the pool of water was rent asunder, and the water stood apart on this and on that side before their very eyes,\(^2\) and their Lord, their leader, stood between them and the wolves. \(^*\) Those wolves were still not able to see the sheep, and (the sheep) walked through that pool of water; then the wolves followed the sheep and ran after them into that pool of water. \(^*\) Then when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned in order to flee from before his face. But

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\(a\) Or "hyenas."
\(b\) Or "dogs."
\(p\) A wrongly reads gišâyâ, "times," instead of gišâyâ.
\(q\) B reads "vultures."\(r\) Or "baboons." The Eth. is ambiguous in that the term hoby can mean either "kite" or "baboon."
\(s\) Or "colobus monkey." The Eth. is ambiguous in that the term fogenza of A (cf. foqânes, fonqâs) can mean "colobus monkey" or "striped bird ("crow")."
\(t\) 4QEnô: "to bite and chase."
\(u\) Or "zebra."
\(w\) Milik suggests the reading of 4QEnô as "a ram of the flock." Cf. also 4QEnô (The Books of Enoch, p. 241).
\(x\) B C: "bore many wild boars."

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\(y\) Lit. "that sheep."
\(z\) Lit. "one of them."
\(a2\) Lit. "those." B C: "those donkeys."
\(b2\) Lit. "that sheep."
\(c2\) Or "hyenas."
\(d2\) Or "hyenas."
\(e2\) 4QEnô: "the ram." So Milik, _The Books of Enoch_, pp. 241f.
\(f\) (C adds: "with him.")
\(h2\) Lit. "passed."
\(i2\) Lit. "as the voice of the sheep."
\(j2\) Verb not clear.
\(k2\) Lit. "had he met another sheep and went with him."
\(l2\) B and C add: "with all their strength."
\(m2\) Lit. "they began."
\(n2\) Lit. "before their face."
a bright light shall enlighten you,
and a voice of rest you shall hear from heaven.

Woe unto you, you sinners!
For your money makes you appear like the righteous,
but your hearts do reprove you like real sinners,
this very matter shall be a witness against you, as a record of your evil deeds.

Woe unto you who eat the best bread
And drink wine in large bowls, *trampling upon the weak people* with your might.

Woe unto you who have water available to you all the time,
for soon you shall be consumed and wither away,
for you have forsaken the fountain of life.

Woe unto you who carry out oppression, deceit, and blasphemy!
There shall be a record of evil against you.

Woe unto you, O powerful people!
You who coerce the righteous with your power,
the day of your destruction is coming!
In those days, at the time of your condemnation,
many and good days shall come for the righteous ones.

The sorrowful end of sinners, oppressors, and the rich;
and more woes to them

- Lit. "the enriched (fattened) wheat."
- I have followed in this case the emendation suggested by Christ. See EC, p. 201, n. 8.
- The text is corrupt and reads "the strength of the root of the fountain."
- Lit. "the lowly ones."
- Charles suggests emending the text: "who drink water from every fountain." See EC, p. 201, n. 10.
- Or "powerful ones."
- Or "force," "compel." "subject by force."
- A reads "until the day." B and C read "for the day."
- Lit. "on the day."

97 a. Lit. "Let this become a well-known fact for you."
Wo unto you who gain silver and gold by unjust means, for you will then say, 'We have grown rich and accumulated goods, we have acquired everything that we have desired. So now let us do whatever we like; for we have gathered silver, we have filled our treasuries (with money) like water. And many are the laborers in our houses.' Your lies flow like water. For your wealth shall not endure but it shall take off from you quickly for you have acquired it all unjustly, and you shall be given over to a great curse.

Self-indulgence of the rich, origin of sins, more woes to sinners

Now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish, for you shall see many (things) upon the earth. For you men shall put on more jewelry than women, and more multicolored ornaments than a virgin. In sovereignty, in grandeur, and in authority, (in) silver, in gold, in clothing, in honor, and in edibles—they shall be poured out like water. For this reason, they are devoid of knowledge and wisdom, so they shall perish thereby together with their goods and together with all their glory and honor. Then in dishonor, in slaughter, and in great misery, their spirits shall be cast away.

I have sworn unto you, sinners: In the same manner that a mountain has never turned into a servant, nor shall a hill (ever) become a maidservant of a woman; likewise, neither has sin been exported into the world. It is the people who have themselves invented it. And those who commit it shall come under a great curse.

Why is a woman not given (a child)? On account of the deeds of her own hands would she die without children.

I swear to you, sinners, by the Holy Great One, that all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens.

"None of your (deeds of injustice are covered and hidden. *Think not in your spirit, nor say in your hearts) that you neither know nor see all our sins being

i. Lit. "that which is not through justice [or "right"], " therefore, "unethically," "by violating others' rights," "through wrongdoing."

j. B, C, and Gr. "We have become rich with riches."

k. Lit. "storerooms."

l. Gr. reads "good things." Nickelsburg (Armenian and Biblical Studies, p. 93) suggests correctly that Gr may be more accurate than the Eth. His suggestion that the Eth. tradition is corrupted from herata is not convincing. The latter means "good persons," not "good things."

m. Gr. "You err."

98 a. Gr. "not to the foolish."

b. Gr. "many inquiries."

c. Or "ornaments," "adorments."

d. Gr. "like."

e. Gr. "fair color."

f. Gr reads "They shall have silver and gold for food, and in their houses they shall be poured out like water."

g. Gr. "you shall perish ... with all your goods."

h. Gr. "your spirits"