

MAGIC, SORCERY, AND MYTH  
IN JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LITERATURE  
(THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH)

Ida Fröhlich

*Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Budapest*

The first part of the Ethiopic book of Enoch (ch. 1-36) is generally called the Book of Watchers. It begins with a description of the creation of the world, then continues with the story of the Watchers (γγγν), whose sin — the relationship with the daughters of men, or rather the deeds of the giants born from these relationships — provokes the punishment of the Flood. We are dealing with mythical history, the beginnings of the history of mankind and the origins of the appearance of evil in human history — and according to the intentions of the author this story is a 'parable' for the history of his own age. In later historical overviews this tradition plays a very important role.

Earlier the Book of Enoch was only known as a part of the pseudepigraphic tradition, in Greek, or Ethiopian translation. It had been supposed that its original language may have been Hebrew or Aramaic, and that the Greek translation<sup>1</sup> was prepared from this, only a part of which has survived; luckily the ge'ez (Ethiopian) translation<sup>2</sup> has preserved a much longer text. The work known only in translations earlier was uniformly dated to the middle of the 2nd c. B.C.. Some parts of it (ch. 37-70) were dated to a somewhat later time<sup>3</sup>.

The finding of fragments of the Aramaic original of the work among the Qumran texts<sup>4</sup> brought a veritable turning point in research. The manuscript fragments found at Qumran — despite the fact that we are dealing with very minute fragments<sup>5</sup> — not only answered certain question about the history of the origin of the text, but also provided an insight into the kind of role the work played in the literary tradition of

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<sup>1</sup> Its editions: Fleming-Radermacher 1901; Black 1970. About the Greek MSS see also Denis 1970.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopian manuscript tradition can be traced back to the 15th c. The first edition of the Ethiopian text: Charles 1906; the new, critical edition of the Ethiopian text, which takes into consideration the Aramaic fragments, with translation and annotation: Knibb 1982.

<sup>3</sup> The earlier dating of 1Enoch: Schürer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 256.

<sup>4</sup> Their edition Milik 1976; the new edition of the Ethiopian text was prepared in the light of the Aramaic fragments, with translation and commentary Knibb 1982.

<sup>5</sup> In the text edition Milik mentions that 50% of the text of the Book of Watchers was preserved, in the case of the other parts of the work the percentage is less than this; more closely, however, these numbers only mean that this is the proportion of the Aramaic text that can be reconstructed on the basis of the fragments; see Milik 1976:5; also see VanderKam 1984:111.

the group which left behind the library safeguarded in the caves<sup>6</sup>. Based on the number of fragments found<sup>7</sup> we may suppose that the work was not merely known at Qumran, but that it must have been an important work in the tradition of the community. This is also indicated by the fact that numerous other works, found at Qumran, and either already known from the pseudepigraphic literature or not, contain a tradition similar to that known from 1Enoch, or mention or use 1Enoch<sup>8</sup>. No fragments of chapters 37-70 of the work appear among the Qumran fragments — it has already been supposed about these chapters that they are of later origin than the other parts of 1Enoch, and that at the least they show traces of a Christian revision<sup>9</sup>; this lack proved these suppositions right, and that these sections were of a later origin. The Qumran manuscripts, however, also contain texts — fragments of the parts called by their editor *Astrological Book* and *Book of Giants* (Milik 1976:273-317) — which were earlier not known from any of the translations<sup>10</sup>. The oldest Qumran manuscript of 1Enoch (4Q En.ar/a) may be dated to the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C., and already this manuscript contains the text of Chapters 1-12<sup>11</sup> (but most likely the entire *Book of Watchers*, the material of Chapters 1-36, belongs to this layer)<sup>12</sup>. The later manuscripts contain further parts of the work; this indicates

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<sup>6</sup> On the significance of the Aramaic fragments, see García-Martínez 1992:45-96.

<sup>7</sup> In his edition Milik identified seven manuscript copies on the basis of the fragments found in cave No.4, four manuscripts from the *Astronomical Book*, on the basis of the fragments of the *Book of Giants* we may also suppose the existence of several copies from this part as well, see Milik 1976:139-317.

<sup>8</sup> To mention just a few important examples: the *Book of Jubilees*, known already earlier from the pseudepigraphic literature, (whose Hebrew fragments were also found at Qumran) uses and explicitly quotes the book (see Charles 1913 II, 18-19), and elements originating from 1Enoch play an important role in its entire narrative; see below in greater detail. The *Damascus Document*, fragments of which were also found at Qumran, also alludes to the Enochic tradition in its historical overview; similarly the historical schema outlined in 4Q 180-181 is also based on the story of the *Watchers*, of the Enochic tradition. On the relationship of the *Book of Watchers* and the Aramaic *Levi*, and the interconnections and the origins of the sect see Stone 1988.

<sup>9</sup> Milik 1976 supposed a Christian origin; Milik's theory was sharply criticized. On the question see Schürer & Vermes 1973-79 III/1, 257-59

<sup>10</sup> The *Astrological Book* contains fragments of the 364 day calendar known at Qumran and fragments of other calendars. The *Book of Giants* contains the rich tradition concerning the giants, the children of the *Watchers*, unfortunately in a very fragmentary form. The order of the fragments is very problematic. On this see García-Martínez 1992:97-115.

<sup>11</sup> Earlier works, (such as Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 224; Martin 1906: lxxviii; Charles 1893:2-3) considered the material of Chapters 1-5 to be a subsequently written introduction to the whole work — in view of the Aramaic manuscript tradition, however, it seems certain that this part is contemporaneous with the narrative parts that follow, and that it represents a tradition predating the 2nd c. B.C.

<sup>12</sup> Milik 1976:140. Milik also supposes that the writer of the text followed the Northern Syrian or Mesopotamian scribal customs — and this may also indicate the origin of the tradition. The fragments also

that the work was continually transmitted until the 1st c. B.C., and that in the course of this transmission the collection was enriched by further pieces<sup>13</sup>. The manuscript tradition can be traced to the turn of the 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. — this means that the Book of Watchers was written at least during the 3rd c. B.C., but it may have been written even earlier.

A few years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts Jansen (1939) examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition. Grelot's works demonstrating the Mesopotamian origin of the Enoch-tradition were also written before the publication of the Aramaic fragments (Grelot 1958a, 1958b, 1958-59 and 1975). VanderKam's book (1984a) re-examines the origin of the tradition associated with Enoch in the light of the already published Aramaic fragments, and affirms the earlier findings relating to a Mesopotamian origin. In all likelihood then the tradition connected to Enoch originates from authors living in a Mesopotamian diaspora-community during the Babylonian exile or during the Persian rule following it. The figure of Enoch and the elements of the revelation-tradition associated with him originates in the figures of the Mesopotamian *apkallū*-s, i.e. wise ones<sup>14</sup>, more exactly in the figure of the 'Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki' and in the tradition about divine revelation given to him (VanderKam 1984a:116). In addition to these in the text of the Book of Watchers, numerous other Mesopotamian elements have already been shown to exist<sup>15</sup>. The kernel of the Enochic tradition then — similarly to the early pieces of the Danielic collection — may have come into being in Mesopotamia, most probably in a local Jewish diaspora-community.

The book of 1Enoch, however, contains more than these early pieces. The entire Book is constituted of a collection of pieces that came into being at different times, and even if the basis of the early pieces of the collection was the Mesopotamian Jewish tradition, certain later pieces may have been written much later in Palestine.

The text of Chapters 6-11 about the Watchers clearly contains at least two narratives<sup>16</sup>. Based on the names of the characters the texts of 6:1-7:6 (the narrative about

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prove that Chapters 1-5 already belonged to the so far known earliest Enoch-tradition.

<sup>13</sup> Milik 1976:164 dates 4Q En/b to the mid-second century (this manuscript also only contains the Book of Watchers; the later manuscripts, designated by c, d, and e which can be dated to the first c. B.C.-1st c. A.D., also contain parts of the Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83-90) and of the Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 91-107), see Milik 1976:178 and 12, 217 and 22, 225.

<sup>14</sup> Sir 44:16 also mentions Enoch as 'a wise one'.

<sup>15</sup> On the geographical description of the part following the Watchers-narrative see Grelot 1958a.

<sup>16</sup> This fact has already been noted by earlier scholars dealing with the work: Dillmann, "Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments", in *RE*<sup>2</sup>, 12.352; Beer, in Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, all differentiated between two narratives in the text of 1En. 6-11. More recently Hanson 1977 and Nickelsburg 1977 have analysed the constituents of the text and they too differentiated between two sources, while according to Dimant's analysis (1974:23-72), three versions of one story may be read in the text.

Shemihazah) and of 8:1-4 (Asa'el-tradition) are to be separated.

### The Shemihazah-Tradition

The narrative of the 'Shemihazah-tradition' can be read in 1En.6:1-7:62<sup>17</sup>. The story is the parallel of the narrative of Gen.6:1-4, about the angels and the daughters of men, but with a message different from the narrative of the Masoretic Text. According to the Shemihazah-story sons of heaven (6:2), whom the text similarly to the terminology of Dan.5 calls "watchers" (*ʿyryn*), glimpse the daughters of men, desire them, and decide to descend to them. Their leader Shemihazah (*šmyhzh*) considers the plan to be sinful, for which he does not want to bear the responsibility alone (6:3). Therefore the Watchers, in order to fulfill their plan swear to unite on the Mount Hermon (1En. 6:6)<sup>18</sup>. Then the Watchers "...began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them] and (they began) to teach them sorcery and spellbinding and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants..." (7:1). The women become pregnant from them and bear children, who growing up become giants. The giants "were devouring the labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply them." (7:4). After this the giants begin to devour men, then "... they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth [and reptiles ... and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were drinking blood. [Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it" (7:5-6)<sup>19</sup>.

These then are the transgressions, which finally bring about the punishment of the Flood (1Enoch 9:1ff)<sup>20</sup>, thus the story serves as a justification for the catastrophic punishment.

How the author of the story evaluated the relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men may be seen from two comments. One of them is heard before the

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<sup>17</sup> Wedged into the narrative about Shemihazah and his companions there is another story, which after its protagonist is called the Asa'el-story. The separateness of the two stories has long been recognized see Dillmann *ibid.*; Beer, in: Kautzsch 1900 II, 225; Charles 1893:13-14, more recently Hanson 1977, Nickelsburg 1977. On the precise delineation of the parts of the texts and with regard to the origin and role of the stories there are different opinions; on these see VanderKam 1984:123-24. D.Dimant supposes three versions of one story in the narrative of 1En. 6-11: 1/ the angels defile themselves with earthly women, who bear them giants, and these are the source of evil and aggression, 2/ the teachings of the angels betray secrets to humans, 3/ Asa'el's teachings corrupt people.

<sup>18</sup> Pun based on the similarity of the Aramaic *hym* 'devote', and the *hymam* placename.

<sup>19</sup> Translated by Milik, based on the Aramaic text reconstructed by him; see Milik 1976:166-167.

<sup>20</sup> In the Ethiopian text of the Enoch-book the narrative about Asa'el is wedged between the narratives of the sins and the punishment. The same is true for the Aramaic fragments. Based on the text of the first copy (Milik 1976:150, Pl. III) it is probable, and based on the second copy (Milik 1976:166, Pl. VI) it is certain, that the Aramaic texts also followed the same order. According to 1Enoch 9:1ff, however, the punishment is clearly connected to the sins (bloodshed upon the earth) described in the Shemihazah-story.

deed of the Watchers, from the mouth of Shemihazah: "I fear that you will not wish to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin (*\*h̄t' rb'*)" (6:3). The writer of the Shemihazah-tradition then considers the relationship to be a sin from the outset, which goes against some prescription, but he does not identify the nature of the transgression<sup>21</sup>. According to the second comment the Watchers defiled themselves<sup>22</sup> with the daughters of men (7:1c) — that is they offended against some prohibition relating to sexual relations<sup>23</sup>.

The elements of the Shemihazah-story: the naming of the protagonists *'yryn*, 'Watchers' and "sons of heaven" (*\*bny šmy'*) (6:2). The text also enumerates the names of their leaders<sup>24</sup>. Most of the names contain an element of the name of a deity (*'l*), furthermore the names of celestial bodies and natural phenomena (Ramṭ'el, 'Burning heat of God', Kokab'el 'Star of God', Ra'm'el, 'Thunder of God', Zeq(i)'el, 'Lightning-flash of God', Baraq'el, 'Lightning of God', Maṭar'el, 'Rain of God', 'Anan'el 'Cloud of God', Sataw'el 'Winter of God', Shamshi'el, 'Sun of God', Sahri'el, 'Moon of God', Turi'el, 'Mountain of God', Yomi'el, 'Day of God'. In other names the 'el element is not linked to natural phenomena (Dani'el, 'God has judged', 'Asa'el, 'God has made', Tummi'el, 'Perfection of God', Yehaddi'el, 'God will guide'). In two names a natural phenomenon and a geographical name appear but without the 'l name element ('Ar'taqoph 'The earth is power', Hermoni 'of Hermon'). Finally the meaning of the name of the leader, Shemihazah, 'My name has seen' probably also refers to the name of a deity. After their descent to the daughters of men the

<sup>21</sup> Most interpretations see the deed of the Watchers, based on the analogy of the theomachia-stories of Greek and Mesopotamian mythologies, as a rebellion against God; based on the text of 1Enoch it is not necessarily so, just as much as the other comment ('defiled themselves') does not refer to such kind of sin either. It is self-evident that the mixing of men of heaven and daughters of men violate unwritten laws concerning the relation of divine and human beings, and trespass on the Mosaic laws forbidding the mixing of different kinds.

<sup>22</sup> The part containing the expression is missing from the Aramaic manuscript fragments containing the story of the Watchers. In the Ethiopian translations "they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them", while in the Greek ones "they began ... to defile themselves with them". The basis for the difference is most probably the Aramaic *ṭm'* 'to be mixed up' and *ṭm'* 'to be defiled', see Knibb 1982: 2.77; VanderKam 1984:123.

<sup>23</sup> The cases of the sin of *ṭm'* as sexual impurity are enumerated in Lev. 18:19-25. According to this whoever lies with the wife of another, or lies with an animal, or with a menstruating woman will become defiled (although the verb *ṭm'* does not appear in this prohibition, logically it results in it); Lev. 15 which also deals with defilements expounds in detail that the bedstead and seat of a menstruating woman are also unclean and are defiling objects, and sexual relations with such a woman make the man unclean for seven days. Dimant (1974) suggests that the sin of Shemihazah and his companions was transgression against the latter prohibition.

<sup>24</sup> According to the Greek and the Ethiopian texts there are two hundred of the Watchers, and ten Watchers have a leader each, thus the number of names is twenty, of which, with the help of the names appearing in the Aramaic text, 19 can be identified, see Milik 1976:152-154.

Watchers teach them sorcery, spell-binding and 'the cutting of roots', and 'show them plants' (7:1). The first two terms (*brš*, *kšph*) determine the negative nature of the teachings. Thus the seemingly innocuous 'cutting of roots' and 'knowledge of herbs' in the view of the author of the Watchers-story are also considered to be negative, that is to say forbidden things<sup>25</sup>. After the interjection of the Asa'el-story we once again read about the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions (8:3); Shemihazah "taught spell-binding and cutting of roots", and Hermoni the reversing of these "taught the loosing of spells, magic, sorcery and skill" (8:3a). This section enumerates the teachings of the other Watchers as well, which are always related to those phenomena which appear in the name of the given Watchers: "Baraq'el taught the signs of thunders. Kokab'el taught the signs of the stars" etc. (8:3). The teachings of Shemihazah and Hermoni then are related to magic in general (in addition, those of Shemihazah also relate more particularly to the knowledge of herbs), and those of the Watchers to natural phenomena, and most probably to the interpretation of astrological and natural omens<sup>26</sup>.

The third element of the narrative, the motif of the giants devouring everything, seems to be without precedent<sup>27</sup>. In the narrative, however, it is an important

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<sup>25</sup> Knowledge and use of medicinal herbs in most cultures is considered natural and applied alongside with magical practices it belongs to the traditional practice of healing. Naturally the use of herbs for malefatory purposes is also known. The severe disapproval of the knowledge of herbs in the text of 1 Enoch may be related to a view that is also known from other non-canonical texts found at Qumran; according to this the only method of healing considered to be efficacious was the laying on of hands (*smylet ydym*, *g'yr*). The healer cured the patient with divine help, and exorcised the demon causing the illness through releasing the patient's sins; 4Q OrNab, its edition Jongeling et al. 1976:121-131; Genesis Apocryphon, see Fitzmyer 1971. On this method — which is not only known from Qumran, but also from the New Testament, see Fitzmyer 1971:140-141. Such a division of methods of healing, incidentally, corresponds to the two methods known from Mesopotamia which are carefully differentiated from each other, that of the activities of the *āšīpu*, and the *asū*-doctors. On the one hand, the *asū*-doctors identified the symptoms of the patient with the help of prognostic omnia, and also suggested medication for the patient on the basis of texts of omnia — usually herbs and potions prepared from them. On the other hand, the *āšīpu*-doctor after observing and noting the patient's symptoms cured by magical methods deemed to fit the particular case, see Oppenheim 1956:359-61.

<sup>26</sup> Others (e.g. VanderKam 1984a:55) have already noted the possible connection of these elements of the Watchers-story to the Mesopotamian Enūma Anu Enlil ("When Anu and Enlil") collection, which was the 'canonical' series of the interpretation of the omnia of the moon, sun and meteorological phenomena. Naturally, in the Enoch-Book this science appears as a synonym of magic and sorcery. The Mesopotamian tradition may have become known to the Jewish author or authors of the Aramaic-language Enochic tradition in the Babylonian exile through Aramaic intermediaries. On the Mesopotamian texts see Weidner 1941-69.

<sup>27</sup> The motif of non-human creatures who devour everything is familiar from the Mesopotamian literary tradition, namely in connection with the Anunnaki deities (see below). It seems that it is not only the figure of Enoch that can be traced back to the *apkallū*-s, wise men, of the Mesopotamian tradition, but also elements of the Shemihazah-story, although Enoch does not appear in this part at all, and thus the

element, since this is the origin of the cannibalism of the giants, of their sins against the creatures of the air, earth and the water, of the drinking of blood, and these sins lead eventually so far that the earth accuses against the sinners.

### The Asa'el-Tradition

The Shemihazah-narrative is directly followed by another, the protagonist of which is Asa'el (1Enoch 8:1-4), and which tells of the kind of teachings Asa'el (עֲשָׂוֵל) imparted to the people. According to the narrative it was he who taught the men the making of swords of iron and breastplates of brass, he showed them how they could make jewels out of gold and silver; he informed women of the use of antimon, eye shadow, precious gems and dyes. In the narrative of the Asa'el-tradition the teacher is that same Asa'el whose name had been also mentioned in the Shemihazah-story<sup>28</sup>. Asa'el's teachings differ from those we read about in the Shemihazah-story.

The story says nothing about who Asa'el is; it does not mention the motif of the oath or the rebellion or the nature of the relationship of Asa'el and the people. The fact that Asa'el does not teach women, but men and women, is also different; and the

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two traditions could be independent of each other. One of the motifs of the Shemihazah-story, which suggests a Mesopotamian background, is the motif of omen-interpretation relating to stars and natural phenomena; the omen-interpretation collection of the series entitled *Enūma Anu Enlil* contains the interpretations of the omnia of the moon, sun, meteorological phenomena and the stars — the same items that the Watchers teach the daughters of men. One of the title characters of the series is the god Anu, the mythological motifs relating to whom would deserve a thorough examination in the future, all the more so as in the second part of the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty in Uruk Anu appeared as a Sky God and the protector of the town, and according to Diakonoff he was worshipped as 'the god of the sky' — by the same name which becomes the adjective of Yahweh in the same period. Based on Anu's popularity during the Persian period and the similarities that can be demonstrated at this time between the figures of Anu and Yahweh it is not unimaginable, that the Watchers-story preserves a certain tradition relating to Anu and the gods connected to him and to demons. A discussion of the possible origin and relations of the literary material of the story of the Watchers would require much space, therefore let me just refer to a few possible points of connection with Mesopotamian mythological ideas. According to the Mesopotamian tradition Anu, the god and creator of the sky orders the birth of the Anunnaki deities on "the mountain of the sky and the earth". The Anunnaki eat cereals and drink milk — which is provided for them by a divine couple, Lahar and Asnan — however, their hunger and thirst is not quenched (Lahar and Asnan). In the Mesopotamian mythology the evil demons also appear as the progeny of Anu, he created them with the Earth (Ersetu), and then, determining their fate, he gave them to be the helpers of Erra, the god of pestilence (Epic Erra, Epic Lugalbanda, the collection of incantations entitled 'The evil utukku-demons'). The mention of the name of Gilgamesh elsewhere in the Enochic collection is also of Mesopotamian origin. In the Shemihazah-story the children of the Watchers are giants; later mentions of the Watchers stories within the Enochic collection, however, always clearly refer to demons.

<sup>28</sup> His name is the same as that of the tenth leader of the Shemihazah-story. The Aramaic text uses the same form of the name in both places, so it may be supposed that we are dealing with the same figure; the manuscripts of the Greek translations, however, provide two different names, it is likely that these forms are the result of corruption of text. Dimant 1974:52-59, supposes a different figure for the protagonist of the Asa'el-story.

motif of the consequence of the sin is also missing. The section about Asa'el is followed once again by a section belonging to the Shemihazah-story (the teachings of the Watchers), which is ensued by the description of the punishment in which elements of the Asa'el- and Shemihazah-traditions mingle. It seems that the punishment of Asa'el belongs to a separate Asa'el-tradition. Asa'el is punished by the angel Rapha'el for the sin perpetrated by him: he is cast in darkness, where he will stay until 'the great day of judgment' (10:4-8). (On the other hand, the punishment belonging to the Shemihazah-story, is the devastation by the Flood (10:1-3, 9-22)). Based on these Dimant has suggested that the Asa'el-part has a narrative-tradition of a different origin than the Shemihazah-story, and it has nothing to do with the story of the Flood (Dimant 1974:23-72).

If, however, one considers the general meaning of the Asa'el-narrative then one will find that a common feature of Asa'el's teachings to men is the destructive power of arms, and of those given to women is the seductive power of the cosmetics; violence and seduction are basic motifs of the Shemihazah-narrative (the motivation for the deed of the Watchers is that they desired the daughters of men, and in the latter parts the violence, and bloodshed begun by the giants becomes the reason for the punishment by the Flood).

The fact that the author of the Asa'el-story puts metallurgy, weapon- and jewelry-making into the center of the forbidden teachings may also have been caused by a homophony as well: the similarity of the Aramaic word *hereš* (magical method) and the Hebrew word *hrš* ('cut in', 'engrave', plough', 'devise' which may have led the author of the Asa'el-story to expand the tradition of magical methods to include teachings on metallurgy. That metallurgy and smithing are very closely related to the notion of magic cannot be left out of consideration; according to the belief system of the Near-East, ironsmiths are considered to be sorcerers<sup>29</sup>.

#### **Shemihazah, Asa'el and the Enochic Collection**

The two stories — the story of Shemihazah and that on the teachings of Asa'el, added later to the first one — serve as justification for the punishment of the Flood. The text of Chapters 1-5, which constitute the preface to the narrative, is considered to have been a later addition but it appears together with the narrative of 6-11 of the oldest extant manuscript tradition (Milik 1976:25). The first sentences of Enoch 1-5 are an admonition followed by teachings on the creation of the world and the precedents of the Flood. The preface of Enoch (1Enoch 1-5) mentions the fact of the creation, and talks of the ordered nature of the world. It does not narrate the process of the creation, only mentions the fact and provides a detailed description of everything being defined, and that the perpetual functioning and

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<sup>29</sup> In Ethiopian ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (*duban-ansa*), see Leslau 1989: 181; similarly the descendants of Cain — who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen. 4:16-24) — in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syriac 'Cave of Treasures', ed. C. Bezold 1983). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magic capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day, they are considered to be sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them.

annual changes are directed by unchanging eternal laws (2:1-5:3). The Book of Enoch does not mention the story of the Fall, the transgression of the divine prohibition by the first human couple, Adam and Eve, similarly, it does not refer to the tradition of Gen. 4-5 either. The absence of references to this tradition of Genesis cannot be an accident; that story tells how the violation of a rule puts an end to the golden age following creation, and that this is what brings upon man the burdens of toil, giving birth and death (Gen. 2-3)<sup>30</sup>. In 1Enoch, however, the first event after creation is the tradition also known from Gen. 6:1-4, the story of the 'sons of God' and the 'daughters of men', which in the text of Enoch appears as the story of the 'Watchers' and the daughters of men. This system compared to the 'Urgeschichte' of Genesis — which originates in different traditions, but its final form was shaped by P and P determined its theological message — carries a significantly different message. In the narratives of Genesis the origin of evil is associated with the disobedience of the first human couple, its cause is the violation of a rule. In Enoch, on the contrary, evil is of 'historical' origin<sup>31</sup>, it is associated with a particular era of the history of mankind, since in the generations prior to Enoch and the mankind of the period of the Flood, in the generations preceding the contemporaries of the giants there is no evil (although 1Enoch does not talk of the period between the creation and the deluge, it may be supposed that it imagines the 'Urgeschichte' of mankind similarly to the Biblical tradition, beginning with the creation).

In addition, according to the Enochic tradition the appearance of evil is not preceded by a prohibition. Shemihazah and his companions are aware that their act, the descent to the women is a sin — we do not know, however, whether the women are aware of this. In the Shemihazah-story the origin of evil is constituted by the relationship of the Watchers and the women, the giants born of this relationship, furthermore by the teachings given to the women — the receivers of evil and its earthly transmitters are exclusively the women. The Asa'el-story only relates to the teachings, complementing the Shemihazah story in such a way that it talks about two kinds of receivers of the teachings, men and women; thus here the transmitter of evil is the whole of mankind, and not just the women — the author of the Asa'el-story attempts to change the point of view according to which the origin of evil among humans would only be associated with women. The women mentioned in the Shemi-

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<sup>30</sup> This part of Genesis, or its paraphrase, incidentally, does not appear in the text tradition of the covenanters, neither among the texts created within the community, nor in the apocryphal texts transmitted by them — however, the Haggadic narratives relating to Gen.6:1-4 and to the history of the events of the Flood play an emphatic role.

<sup>31</sup> On the differing role of the story from that of Genesis see Delcor 1976. The story about 'the origin of evil' is the starting point of Sacchi's apocalypse-interpretation. Sacchi considers the story to be the starting point of an apocalyptic tradition and to be the definition of apocalypse as a genre, see Sacchi 1990. Sacchi's conclusions about the genre and about the 'apocalyptic point of view' may be debatable; in any case the appearance of a new viewpoint expressed in the Book of Watchers is very important from the point of view of the later Jewish tradition. In the later tradition both versions of the origin of evil appear, emphasizing different messages — Eve's responsibility, or the role of the 'sons of God, or the theory of two human inclinations —, see Baudry 1992.

hazah-story, and the men and women mentioned in the Asa'el-story are only receivers and transmitters, not instigators of the origin of evil; according to the Book of Enoch evil essentially springs from outside of mankind.

### Sins Causing the Flood – The Meaning and Origin of the Story of the Watchers

Does the origin of the story of the Watchers lie in historical or social models? There are several suggestions according to which the background and origin of the story of the Watchers and of Asa'el constitute a criticism of the practices of the Temple and in general of the priesthood of the post-exilic period (Suter 1979), others suppose that it may have been occasioned by the reforms of Ezra, the prohibition of mixed marriages (Rubinkiewicz 1988), or possibly by the diadochoi wars (Nickelsburg 1977). Talmon raises the question in one place, that Israel's errors mentioned in the Damascus Document ("those in which all Israel were in error", CD III.14), which began with the downfall of the Watchers, would in fact have been the use of a calendar system which was considered to be erroneous<sup>32</sup> — thus the isolated group which created 1 Enoch and also the Damascus Document, and which used its own calendar at variance with the official one, would have tried to justify its separateness and the correctness of its calendar by tracing back the differences in calendric systems to a cosmic upheaval in the mythical past.

In the story of the Watchers, however, with regard to the message of the story and maybe even its origin the key words are provided by the sins: the *tm'*, 'becoming defiled', which resulted from the relationship of the Watchers with daughters of men<sup>33</sup>, furthermore the sins of the giants descending from them, the cannibalism, the sins committed against the animals of the land, water and air, as well as the drinking of blood (1 En. 7:4-5) — this is why the earth "made the accusation against the wicked, concerning everything which was done upon it" (1 En. 7:6). The origin of evil then is found in the sins defiling the land. The relationship of the Watchers and the daughters of men — whether they transgressed against a specific sexual prohibition in their relationship or not — in and of itself is considered to be unclean, to be the violation of the boundaries raised between different groups<sup>34</sup>. The relationship of the Watchers and the women, as a sin belonging to the category of trans-

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<sup>32</sup> Talmon 1958. The close connection between the collection of Enoch and the calendrical tradition is shown by a part of the collection, the Book of Luminaries, which is dated as contemporaneous with the Watchers-tradition. Milik considers the Astrological Book, found among the Aramaic fragments, also to belong to the 1 Enoch-collection, see Milik 1976:7-22. In the Qumran library it is not only 1 Enoch that shows a special interest in calendars; the calendars surviving in the Temple Scroll, 4 Q MMT, and furthermore the so called Mishmarot-texts contain various calendar texts with a differing system from that of the official calendar of Jerusalem. On the calendars of Qumran see Glessmer 1993.

<sup>33</sup> See Dimant 1974:23-72, who considers the relationship of the Watchers and the women and the story of the giants to be separate narratives.

<sup>34</sup> According to Lev. 19:19 "You must observe my statutes. You may not allow two different kinds of animals to mate together. You are not to plant your field with two kinds of seed, nor to wear a garment woven with two kinds of yarn."

gression against a sexual prohibition, defiles the land<sup>35</sup>. According to Num. 35:33 murder defiles the land<sup>36</sup>; in several instances the Mosaic laws condemn the sin of sorcery (in one instance, Lev. 19:26, together with the consumption of blood; according to Deut. 18:9-14 the Canaanites are driven out by Yahweh before the Israelites, this is the reason why they loose their land. The sins committed against animals may mean the violation of dietary laws, that is consumption of animals of the land, water or air considered to be unclean, or the consumption of clean animals under circumstances considered to be unclean, e.g. that of fallen animal or an animal torn by beasts (cf. Lev. 11:39f, 17:15, 22:8); the consumption of meat without draining the blood (cf. Lev. 17:13-14)<sup>37</sup>. Prohibition against the consumption of blood appears separately and emphatically in several places, once among the Noahic laws (Gen. 9:4, Lev. 19 :26 and elsewhere). In the apochryphal works known from the Qumran library — from which we know the Aramaic texts of 1 Enoch — and from elsewhere similar prescriptions played an especially significant role, special emphasis was placed on the prohibition against the consumption of blood, and the requirement of strictly observing the Sabbath and the dietary laws.

### The Story of the Watchers as a Myth

The story of the Watchers is a myth written in the Persian period, an aitiology of the origin of the sin in the world. Sin is originated from the violation of certain prohibitions of the Mosaic law: 'sinners' in 1 Enoch are a group of people who do not follow the dietary laws, and engage in forbidden practices and magical practices. The elements of the story (the kinds of magical arts) come from Mesopotamian magical-scientific lore. The story is retrojected into the distant past, into the prehistory of mankind, the antedeluvian era; this behaviour is made to appear as the origin of evil and the sin which brought the punishment of the Flood onto mankind.

Thus then the Watchers-tradition also serves as self-definition, the tradition of a distinctive group. In the light of their written tradition it is clear that members of the Qumran community believed themselves to have lived in an age which was soon to be ended by divine judgment: these people saw a parallel between their own era and that of Enoch, between themselves and the elect of the antediluvian era.

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<sup>35</sup> Lev. 19:29, "The land is not to play the prostitute and be full of lewdness".

<sup>36</sup> Purification takes place when somebody is killed. If the murderer is unknown the inhabitants have to take care of purification, cf. Deut. 21:1-9; also in the case of someone who died in war, Num. 31-19.

<sup>37</sup> The latter is an especially severe prescription, its punishment is that "whoever eats it is to be cut off", while transgressing against the former merely makes unclean.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>FO</i>	<i>Folia Orientalia</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>PVTG</i>	<i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire Religieuse</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>