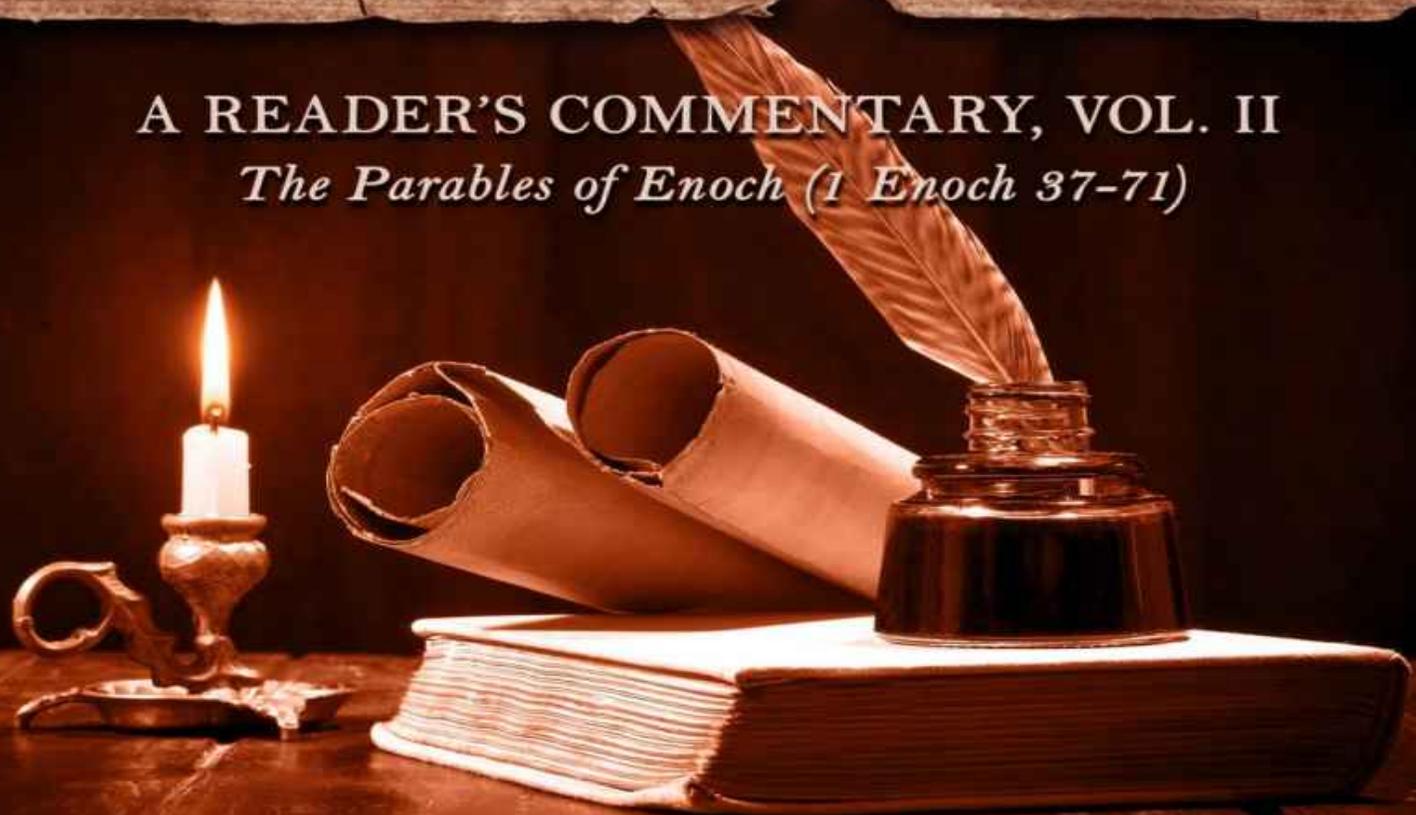


A COMPANION
— to the —
BOOK OF
ENOCH

A READER'S COMMENTARY, VOL. II
The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71)



DR. MICHAEL S. HEISER

A Companion to the Book of Enoch
A Reader's Commentary, Vol II:
The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71)

Michael S. Heiser

*A Companion to the Book of Enoch: A Reader's Commentary,
Volume I: The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)*

by Michael S. Heiser

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As noted in the work, unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes, the translation of 1 Enoch is that of R. H. Charles, which is in the public domain.

Dedication

To all enthusiasts of the Book of Enoch and those merely curious as to why anyone would care about it. I hope this helps a bit.

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Abbreviations of Ancient Sources

Abbreviations used in this book follow those recommended by The SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2014), 125–134.

Deuterocanonical (Apocryphal) Works and Septuagint

TobTobit

JdtJudith

Add EsthAdditions to Esther

WisWisdom of Solomon

SirSirach/Ecclesiasticus

BarBaruch

Ep JerEpistle of Jeremiah

Add DanAdditions to Daniel

Pr AzarPrayer of Azariah

Sg ThreeSong of the Three Young Men

SusSusanna

BelBel and the Dragon

1-2 Macc1–2 Maccabees

1 Esd1 Esdras

Pr ManPrayer of Manasseh

Ps 151Psalm 151

3 Macc3 Maccabees

2 Esd2 Esdras

4 Macc4 Maccabees

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

AhiqarAhiqar

Ant. bib.Use LAB

Apoc. Ab.Apocalypse of Abraham

Apoc. AdamApocalypse of Adam

Apoc. Dan.Apocalypse of Daniel

Apoc. El. (C)Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah

Apoc. El. (H)Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah

Apoc. Ezek.Use Apocr. Ezek.

Apoc. Mos.Apocalypse of Moses

Apoc. Sedr.Apocalypse of Sedrach

Apoc. Zeph.Apocalypse of Zephaniah

Apoc. Zos.Use Hist. Rech.

Apocr. Ezek. Apocryphon of Ezekiel
Aris. Ex. Aristeas the Exegete
Aristob. Aristobulus
Artap. Artapanus
As. Mos. Assumption of Moses
Ascen. Isa. Mart. Ascen. Isa. 6–11
2 Bar. 2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
3 Bar. 3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)
4 Bar. 4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)
Bib. Ant. Use LAB
Bk. Noah Book of Noah
Cav. Tr. Cave of Treasures
Cl. Mal. Cleodemus Malchus
Dem. Demetrius (the Chronographer)
El. Mod. Eldad and Modad
1 En. 1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)
2 En. 2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)
3 En. 3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)
Eup. Eupolemus
Ezek. Trag. Ezekiel the Tragedian
4 Ezra 4 Ezra
5 Apoc. Syr. Pss. Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms
Gk. Apoc. Ezra Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
Hec. Ab. Hecataeus of Abdera
Hel. Syn. Pr. Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers
Hist. Jos. History of Joseph
Hist. Rech. History of the Rechabites
Jan. Jam. Jannes and Jambres
Jos. Asen. Joseph and Aseneth
Jub. Jubilees
LAB Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)
LAE Life of Adam and Eve
Lad. Jac. Ladder of Jacob
Let. Aris. Letter of Aristeas
Liv. Pro. Lives of the Prophets
Lost Tr. The Lost Tribes
3 Macc. 3 Maccabees
4 Macc. 4 Maccabees
5 Macc. 5 Maccabees (Arabic)

Mart. Ascen. Isa. Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
Mart. Isa. Mart. Ascen. Isa. 1–5
Odes Sol. Odes of Solomon
PJUse 4 Bar.
Ph. E. Poet Philo the Epic Poet
Pr. Jac. Prayer of Jacob
Pr. Jos. Prayer of Joseph
Pr. Man. Prayer of Manasseh
Pr. Mos. Prayer of Moses
Ps.-Eup. Pseudo-Eupolemus
Ps.-Hec. Pseudo-Hecataeus
Ps.-Orph. Pseudo-Orpheus
Ps.-Philo Use LAB
Ps.-Phoc. Pseudo-Phocylides
Pss. Sol. Psalms of Solomon
Ques. Ezra Questions of Ezra
Rev. Ezra Revelation of Ezra
Sib. Or. Sibylline Oracles
Syr. Men. Sentences of the Syriac Menander
T. 12 Patr. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
 T. Ash. Testament of Asher
 T. Benj. Testament of Benjamin
 T. Dan Testament of Dan
 T. Gad Testament of Gad
 T. Iss. Testament of Issachar
 T. Jos. Testament of Joseph
 T. Jud. Testament of Judah
 T. Levi Testament of Levi
 T. Naph. Testament of Naphtali
 T. Reu. Testament of Reuben
 T. Sim. Testament of Simeon
 T. Zeb. Testament of Zebulun
T. 3 Patr. Testaments of the Three Patriarchs
 T. Ab. Testament of Abraham
 T. Isaac Testament of Isaac
 T. Jac. Testament of Jacob
T. Adam Testament of Adam
T. Hez. Testament of Hezekiah (Mart. Ascen. Isa. 3:13–4:22)
T. Job Testament of Job

T. Mos. Testament of Moses
T. Sol. Testament of Solomon
Theod. Theodotus, *On the Jews*
Treat. Shem Treatise of Shem
Vis. Ezra Vision of Ezra
Vis. Isa. Use Ascen. Isa.

Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

Q Qumran
Hēv Naḥal Hēver
Hēv/Se Used for documents earlier attributed to Seiyal
Mas Masada
Mird Khirbet Mird
Mur Murabbaʿat

Note (*SBL Handbook*, 127): The different caves at each site are denoted with sequential numbers, for example, 1Q, 2Q, and so on. Different copies of the same composition from the same cave are indicated by the use of raised lowercase letters, for example, 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b.

The first seven scrolls from Cave 1 are commonly given these abbreviations:

1Qap Gen arGenesis Apocryphon
1QH^a Hodayot^a or Thanksgiving Hymns^a
1QIsa^a Isaiah^a
1QIsa^b Isaiah^b
1QM Milḥamah or War Scroll
1QpHab Peshar Habakkuk
1QSSerek Hayahad or Rule of the Community
CD Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document

Philo

Abr. De Abrahamo
Abraham On the Life of Abraham
Aet. De aeternitate mundi
Eternity On the Eternity of the World
Agr. De agricultura
Agriculture On Agriculture
Anim. De animalibus
Animals Whether Animals Have Reason (= Alexander)
Cher. De cherubim
Cherubim On the Cherubim

Conf. De confusione linguarum
Confusion On the Confusion of Tongues
Congr. De congressu eruditionis gratia
Prelim. Studies On the Preliminary Studies
Contempl. De vita contemplativa
Contempl. Life On the Contemplative Life
Decal. De decalogo
Decalogue On the Decalogue
Deo De Deo
God On God
Det. Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat
Worse That the Worse Attacks the Better
Deus Quod Deus sit immutabilis
Unchangeable That God Is Unchangeable
Ebr. De ebrietate
Drunkness On Drunkenness
Exsecr. De exsecrationibus
Curses On Curses (= Rewards 127–172)
Flacc. In Flaccum
Flaccus Against Flaccus
Fug. De fuga et inventione
Flight On Flight and Finding
Gig. De gigantibus
Giants On Giants
Her. Quis rerum divinarum heres sit
Heir Who Is the Heir?
Hypoth. Hypothesica
Hypothesica Hypothesica
Ios. De Iosepho
Joseph On the Life of Joseph
Leg. 1, 2, 3 Legum allegoriae I, II, III
Alleg. Interp. 1, 2, 3 Allegorical Interpretation 1, 2, 3
Legat. Legatio ad Gaium
Embassy On the Embassy to Gaius
Migr. De migratione Abrahami
Migration On the Migration of Abraham
Mos. 1, 2 De vita Mosis I, II
Moses 1, 2 On the Life of Moses 1, 2
Mut. De mutatione nominum

Names *On the Change of Names*
Opif. *De opificio mundi*
Creation *On the Creation of the World*
Plant. *De plantatione*
Planting *On Planting*
Post. *De posteritate Caini*
Posterity *On the Posterity of Cain*
Praem. *De praemiis et poenis*
Rewards *On Rewards and Punishments*
Prob. *Quod omnis probus liber sit*
Good Person *That Every Good Person Is Free*
Prov. 1, 2 *De providentia I, II*
Providence 1, 2 *On Providence 1, 2*
QE 1, 2 *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum I, II*
QE 1, 2 *Questions and Answers on Exodus 1, 2*
QG 1, 2, 3, 4 *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin I, II, III, IV*
QG 1, 2, 3, 4 *Questions and Answers on Genesis 1, 2, 3, 4*
Sacr. *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
Sacrifices *On the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel*
Sobr. *De sobrietate*
Spec. 1, 2, 3, 4 *De specialibus legibus I, II, III, IV*
Sobriety *On Sobriety*
Spec. Laws 1, 2, 3, 4 *On the Special Laws 1, 2, 3, 4*
Somn. 1, 2 *De somniis I, II*
Virt. *De virtutibus*
Dreams 1, 2 *On Dreams 1, 2*
Virtues *On the Virtues*

Josephus
Vita *Vita*
A.J. *Antiquitates judaicae*
Life *The Life*
Ant. *Jewish Antiquities*
C. Ap. *Contra Apionem*
B.J. *Bellum judaicum*
Ag. Ap. *Against Apion*
J.W. *Jewish War*

Apostolic Fathers
Barn. *Barnabas*
1–2 Clem. *1–2 Clement*

Did. Didache
Diogn. Diognetus
Herm. Mand. Shepherd of Hermas, Mandate(s)
Herm. Sim. Shepherd of Hermas, Similitude(s)
Herm. Vis. Shepherd of Hermas, Vision(s)
Ign. Eph. Ignatius, To the Ephesians
Ign. Magn. Ignatius, To the Magnesians
Ign. Phld. Ignatius, To the Philadelphians
Ign. *Pol.* Ignatius, *To Polycarp*
Ign. Rom. Ignatius, To the Romans
Ign. Smyrn. Ignatius, To the Smyrnaeans
Ign. Trall. Ignatius, To the Trallians
Mart. Pol. Martyrdom of Polycarp
Pol. Phil. Polycarp, To the Philippians

What's a "Reader's Commentary"?

The book you hold in your hands is a commentary on the Book of Enoch, more properly known as 1 Enoch. Most readers will be familiar with books called "commentaries" due to the proliferation of Bible commentaries. A Bible commentary is just what it sounds like—a book that provides comments on the Bible. This is commentary on 1 Enoch, so at least the general approach should be familiar. But there are many kinds of commentaries, and all are not created equal. Consequently, the most straightforward way to explain the concept of a reader's commentary is to first distinguish it from other commentaries.

One thing that sets commentaries apart from each other is their scope. Bible commentaries range from a single book about the entire Bible to a multivolume commentary series with separate volumes about each book of the Bible. As you might guess, there's a great deal more detail in an entire book written about a biblical book (e.g., Esther) than the dozen or so pages devoted to talking about Esther in a one-volume commentary that covers the entire Bible. As a result, level of detail also distinguishes one commentary from another.

Aside from something as obvious as page count, there are many other differences between commentaries. Commentaries may be popular or devotional (written for the layperson and aimed at applying what a given English translation of the Bible says), expository (a verse-by-verse examination of the Bible using a particular English translation as its base), or scholarly (a verse-by-verse and even word-by-word analysis of the original language text that produces a new translation with attention to grammar and literary technique).

Obviously, readers who don't know the original languages of the biblical books are best served by the first two types of commentaries. However, you shouldn't conclude that scholarly commentaries would be impenetrable. While it's true you'd see a lot of Greek and Hebrew on the pages of such commentaries, there is a lot of discussion that would benefit anyone with a deep interest in understanding the biblical text.

In general terms, the purpose of this reader's commentary is to help readers of 1 Enoch comprehend what they're reading with greater insight and clarity of understanding. That's my goal. This *Reader's Commentary on 1 Enoch* is therefore not written for scholars. Rather, it's written for anyone who has decided to devote the time to reading 1 Enoch, perhaps for the first time.

Toward helping readers of 1 Enoch get more out of their reading experience, this this is something of a hybrid work. In a certain respect, it falls in between the expositional and scholarly commentary categories described above. This requires some brief explanation.

First, this *Reader's Commentary* is based on the translation of 1 Enoch by R. H. Charles.^[1] The rationale for doing so is twofold: (1) The Charles translation is in the public domain, and (2) I presume a readership of nonspecialists who do not know Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, or Ethiopic. Nothing from the 1917 edition of Charles' translation is changed, save for stylistic issues (e.g., converting capital letters of the initial words in lines presented in stanzas to lower case). The Charles translation informs readers of the meaning of the following symbols, which are retained in the presentation of the translation in this commentary.^[2]

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in G⁹ but not in E.

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in E but not in G⁹ or G^s.^[3]

⟨ ⟩. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are restored.

[]. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are interpolations.

(). The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are supplied by the editor.

The use of **thick type (boldfacing)** denotes that the words so printed are emended. (Chapter numbers are also shown in bold type.)

† . . . † The use of this type of ellipses indicates corruption in the text.

... The use of this type of ellipses indicates that some words have been lost.

In addition, the formatting of the Charles translation has been preserved (e.g., compare 1 Enoch 1 and 5; the latter has the verses broken out into separate lines).

Second, this *Reader's Commentary* spends little to no time chasing scholarly rabbit trails about subjects like the textual (manuscript) transmission of 1 Enoch, the compositional and editorial history of its sections, and comparative literary analysis of its content. While scholars are absorbed by such minutiae, these sorts of discussions are distractions to the general reader.

Third, this *Reader's Commentary* is neither a verse-by-verse nor a word-by-word treatment of 1 Enoch. Instead, the focus is on terms and phrases that are of the most consequence for understanding what is being read. The discussion in this regard is academic, as attention is paid to how more recent scholarly translations (Black, Nickelsburg and VanderKam, Charlesworth) differ from the public-domain Charles translation. Nevertheless, the litmus test for comparing translations and discussing original-language vocabulary is whether doing so illumines the content in some significant way.^[4] No effort is made to explain or comment upon every difference between these translations. This work focuses only upon items that this author believes might be of interest to the reader or that assist in comprehending or interpreting important items of content in 1 Enoch.

Translation Abbreviations

In the interest of readability, I have adopted a few conventions and abbreviations.

When comparing the Charles translation to other more recent translations, I avoid footnotes and instead reference the other translations by source (e.g., Matthew Black's translation in his commentary^[5] and Nickelsburg and VanderKam's translation and commentary).^[6]

- CW = Ephraim Isaac's translation of 1 Enoch within Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol 1.^[7]

When referring to original languages, the following abbreviations apply:

- Heb = Hebrew
- Aram = Aramaic
- Grk = Greek
- Eth = Ethiopic

Original-language words may appear in transliteration (English keyboard characters). These characters will be familiar to those who have had a year of Hebrew and Greek;^[8] *otherwise they can be ignored.*

Format of Presentation, Volume II

Readers should take note of the format adopted for this *Reader's Commentary*:

Section

The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) can be divided into thematic sections:

- 1 Enoch 37 (Introduction to the Parables)
- 1 Enoch 38–44 (First Parable)
- 1 Enoch 45–57 (Second Parable)
- 1 Enoch 58–69 (Third Parable)
- 1 Enoch 70–71 (Additions to the Parables)

Section Summary

Each of the above sections in the commentary will commence with a brief summary of the content of the section.

Translation

Each chapter within a section will be *individually* presented in translation.

Commentary

Comments will focus on one chapter at a time, in succession. Words drawn from the translation for comment are placed in *italics*.

Introduction to the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch)[\[9\]](#)

I. Why 1 Enoch?

The book known popularly as the Book of Enoch is properly called 1 Enoch. This is no mere academic convention. The name is essential for distinguishing the book from other books of Enoch (2 Enoch, 3 Enoch). The content, date, and original language of 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch differ from 1 Enoch in certain ways. Second Enoch “is an amplification of Genesis 5:21–32; that is, it covers events from the life of Enoch to the onset of the Flood.”^[10] It survives only in Old Slavonic and dates to the late first century AD. Third Enoch is even later. As Alexander notes, the book “purports to be an account by R. Ishmael of how he journeyed into heaven, saw God’s throne and chariot, received revelations from the archangel Metatron, and viewed the wonders of the upper world.”^[11] The book was written in Hebrew and, if the attribution to Rabbi Ishmael is accepted, must therefore date to the second century AD (Rabbi Ishmael died shortly before the Bar Kokhba War in AD 132).^[12]

II. The Books That Make Up 1 Enoch

As Wright notes, “One of the difficulties in dealing with 1 Enoch is that it is not a single work of one author, but rather a collection of at least seven (possibly eight) pieces of work.”^[13] The composite whole of 1 Enoch includes 108 chapters, most of them very short. Specialists in 1 Enoch outline the book as follows:^[14]

Chapters 1–36: Book of Watchers

This portion of 1 Enoch is classified in the Second Temple genre of “Rewritten Bible” in that it expands upon Genesis 6:1–5 and the Flood story. The section deals with the primeval rebellion of members of God’s heavenly host, their role in the proliferation of depravity on earth, and the expectation of their eschatological judgment. Enoch is commissioned as a prophet for this purpose and foresees the immediate and prospective judgment of the Watchers when he is brought into the heavenly realms for that commissioning.

Chapters 37–71: Similitudes of Enoch (Book of Parables)

^[15]

This is the longest section of 1 Enoch, dominated by three extended parables that deal with (and slightly alter) the account of Enoch’s visions during his heavenly journey.

Chapters 72–82: Book of the Luminaries (Astronomical Book)

This portion of 1 Enoch deals extensively with astronomical observations and the sacred calendar. More specifically, “The text as it presently stands is a narrative in which Enoch recounts to Methuselah (76:14; 79:1) his journey through the heavens and over the earth, during which Uriel, the angel in charge of the luminaries, interpreted what Enoch saw.”^[16]

Chapters 83–90: Book of Dreams (Chapters 85–90: Animal Apocalypse)

These chapters have Enoch recounting two dream visions to Methuselah: a vision of the Flood (chapters 83–84) and an extended allegory that tells the story of human history from Adam to the end of days wherein the people of God and the nations are portrayed as animals (chapters 85–90).

Chapters 93:1–10 and 91:11–17: Apocalypse of Weeks

Akin to the Animal Apocalypse, “this work presents itself as a selective review of the history of the world from antediluvian times until the eschatological future when the purposes of the God of Israel will ultimately be realized.”^[17]

Chapters 91:1–19; 92:1–5; 93:11–105:2: Exhortation and Epistle of Enoch

This section is in and of itself a patchwork composite whose points of focus include the state of human wickedness (in conjunction with the sin of the Watchers and the Flood), idolatry, and an apocalyptic vision of the end. Readers are exhorted to be ready.

Chapters 106–7: Book of Noah

These two brief chapters deal with the unusual circumstances of Noah’s birth.

Chapter 108: Another Book of Enoch

This chapter is thought to have been added to the preceding chapters “as a final word of exhortation to the righteous of the end time.... [in that] it presents a brief vision of the place of punishment as evidence of the coming judgment and calls on the suffering righteous to endure in anticipation of their glorification.”^[18]

The composite nature of the book means we cannot assume that its various components were written in the order of the chapter sequence

that is familiar to us. The order of the chapters conforms to the latest manuscript evidence (Ethiopic) for the book as an assembled whole. This also means that we cannot assume a common provenance and setting for the sections. Wright once again summarizes the current consensus in this regard:

A general setting is the period of the early Hellenization of Palestine and Judaism. Alexander the Great had conquered the land in approximately 332 BCE, which began the process of bringing the Greek world into the religious life of the Jews of Palestine. Not long after his victory, Alexander died an early death (at the age of thirty-three) in 323 BCE while conquering Persia. Shortly after his death, a power struggle among his generals began for control of the conquered world. This struggle, known as the “Wars of the Diadochi” (successors), lasted about forty years. As the land bridge between the Egyptian Empire and the rest of Alexander’s world, Palestine became a point of contention between two of the warring generals—Ptolemy and Seleucus; it would also become the location of the conflict between the God-fearing Jews and those who chose to become more adapted to the Hellenism that was now permeating their land. It has been argued that much of the Jewish literature that came out of this period was a direct result of this conflict.... It appears that the authors of 1 Enoch were speaking out of this cultural demise (in their eyes) when they wrote the material. In addition, despite the authors’ awareness of the Israelite religion and culture, it is clear that Greek and Mesopotamian sources have influenced their cosmology. It seems though that the authors were reacting in a polemical fashion against much of this outside influence.^[19]

Readers will note in the above discussion that 1 Enoch 37–71 may also be referred to as the “Similitudes of Enoch.” The term “similitude” refers to “an imaginative comparison.”^[20] Parables are short stories with double meanings. They are metaphorical narratives that infer meaning by analogy, so “similitude” and “parable” are broadly synonymous. For our purposes throughout this book, we will prefer the more familiar “Parables” for Chapters 37–71.

III. Authorship and Date

First Enoch as we know it today is a composite literary work whose parts can be dated to different periods. As Isaac notes, “1 Enoch is

clearly composite, representing numerous periods and writers.”^[21] This determination is based on several considerations: (a) internal evidence (e.g., historical reference points in 1 Enoch); (b) paleography (scribal handwriting style); and (c) grammatical-linguistic features. The first thirty-six chapters of 1 Enoch (the Book of the Watchers) have been dated with reasonable certainty to the third century BC. Chapters 37–71, however, are a different story. Leslie Baynes explains:

Dating the Similitudes is more than ordinarily difficult. Controversies begin with the fact that it is the only major section of 1 Enoch not discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran. If it had been discovered there, it could be dated confidently before 68 CE. In addition, unlike other sections of 1 Enoch, which have survived in fragmentary Aramaic and Greek manuscripts, the Similitudes exists only in Ge’ez, the ancient liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and there, only in very late manuscripts (fifteenth century CE and later). Adding to the difficulty, early Jewish and Christian writers apparently either did not quote the Similitudes or did so very rarely and obliquely. Because we have virtually no evidence external to the book with which to date the Similitudes, we must rely on internal evidence—that is, hints within the text of the Similitudes itself. The two classic loci are 1 Enoch 56:5–8 and 67:8. Many (but not all) scholars identify the warring Parthians in 56:5 with the ones who invaded the land of Israel in 40 BCE. In 67:8 wicked kings luxuriate in hot water spas, which may refer to King Herod the Great’s visit to Callirrhoe shortly before his death in 4 BCE (Josephus, *Antiquities* 17.168–72; see Josephus, *Antiquities*). If one understands 56:5–8 and 67:8 as referring to these identifiable historical events, the Similitudes may be dated at the earliest shortly after them. Some theological ideas in the text, especially regarding the Son of Man, also play a role in determining when it might have been written. Although a minority view argues for a post-Christian date, a growing scholarly consensus places the composition of the Similitudes around the turn of the millennium or somewhat later in the first century CE.^[22]

Despite the fact that the Parables (or Similitudes) of Enoch exists only in ancient Ge’ez (Ethiopic), scholars of 1 Enoch believe the Ge’ez was translated from Hebrew or Aramaic.^[23]

IV. Original Language and Manuscript Sources for 1 Enoch

The entirety of 1 Enoch is known only from Ethiopic translations of the book. The manuscripts for Ethiopic 1 Enoch are quite late, the earliest being from the fifteenth century AD. Earlier portions of 1 Enoch exist in Greek manuscripts and Aramaic fragments, with the latter being the most ancient. Consequently, the scholarly consensus is that 1 Enoch (probably in all its parts) was originally written in Aramaic.^[24] As Esler explains, 1 Enoch “was written mostly in Aramaic in stages from the third century BCE to the first century CE, translated into Greek around the turn of the first millennium and then from Greek into Ge’ez in the fifth and sixth centuries CE in Ethiopia.”^[25] In regard to the Ge’ez (Ethiopic) translation, Ephraim Isaac includes the following manuscripts (in all the languages) in his introduction to 1 Enoch:^[26]

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

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

1. Kebrān 9/II (Hammerschmidt—*Ṭānāsee* 9/II); fifteenth century.
2. Princeton Ethiopic 3 (Garrett collection—Isaac 3); eighteenth or nineteenth century.
3. EMMML 2080; fifteenth (possibly fourteenth) century.
4. Abbadianus 55; possibly fifteenth century.
5. British Museum Orient 485 (Wright 6); first half of the sixteenth century.

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

1. Codex Panopolitanus (two eighth-century or later MSS, found in 1886–87 in a Christian grave in Akhmim, Egypt), containing 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6 (designated G^a in this work).

2. Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus (c. 800), containing 1 Enoch 6:1–10:14; 15:8–16:1 (designated G^s in this work).
3. Chester Beatty papyrus of 1 Enoch containing 97:6–104; 106f. (published by C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*) (designated G^p in this work).
4. Vatican Greek MS 1809, containing 1 Enoch 89:42–49.

The following Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran are the heretofore noted Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch:[\[27\]](#)

- *4QEn^a* (4Q201); *DSSC*, 80; Milik, *Enoch*, 140–63; Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36:3–7
- *4QEn^b* (4Q202); *DSSC*, 80–81; Milik, *Enoch*, 164–78
- *4QEn^c* (4Q204); *DSSC*, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 178–217
- *4QEn^d* (4Q205); *DSSC*, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 217–25
- *4QEn^e* (4Q206); *DSSC*, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 225–44
- *4QEn^f* (4Q207); *DSSC*, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 244–45
- *4QEn^g* (4Q212); *DSSC*, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 245–72
- *4QEnastr^a* (4Q208); *DSSC*, 81; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, *DJD* 36:104–31
- *4QEnastr^b* (4Q209); *DSSC*, 81–82; Milik, *Enoch*, 274, 287–89, 293–96; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, *DJD* 36:132–71
- *4QEnastr^c* (4Q210); *DSSC*, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 287–88, 292
- *4QEnastr^d* (4Q211); *DSSC*, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 296–97

V. Reception of 1 Enoch by Jews in the Second Temple Period

Elements of sectarian Judaism appear to have considered 1 Enoch to be sacred. This is in part indicated by the presence of 1 Enoch in Aramaic at Qumran, along with the fact that many Second Temple Period books drew on 1 Enoch's content. Stuckenbruck notes in this regard that "not only the Enochic manuscripts themselves, but also materials among the Dead Sea Scrolls that belong to other documents, attest to the influence of the Enochic tradition."^[28] Nickelsburg and VanderKam elaborate on the scrolls that contain material known from 1 Enoch, especially the Book of the Watchers:

The influence of the Enochic tradition at Qumran is evident also in the community's possession of (multiple copies of) texts that employ or quote from the Enochic texts. These include the *Book of Jubilees* (eight copies) and a related text (three copies), the Genesis Apocryphon (one copy), a fragmentary Hebrew text from Cave 1 that contained a form of the story of the watchers very close to 1 Enoch 6–11 (1Q19), a *pešer* [*peshet*] on the story of the watchers (4Q180–181), a commentary or expansion on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247), and the Damascus Document (eight copies), which knows the story of the rebellion of the watchers and a tradition about the giants (CD 2:16–20; see comm. on 7:2) and also appeals to the authority of the *Book of Jubilees* (CD 16:2–4).^[29]

The term *peshet* means "interpretation," so *peshet* texts get their name from the fact that they are commentaries—interpretations of certain writings. *Peshet* texts known from Qumran are based on books in the Hebrew Bible. The fact that Jewish scribes at Qumran would produce a *peshet* text on the Book of the Watchers suggests that 1 Enoch was highly regarded, if not considered Scripture.

VI. Reception of 1 Enoch in the Early Church

It is well known that a handful of early Christian writers treated 1 Enoch as Scripture. Stuckenbruck notes, "The *Epistle of Barnabas*, composed during the late 130s CE, cites the patriarch Enoch as 'scripture' twice in 16.5 f when reviewing material from the Animal

Apocalypse (1 En. 89.56, 60, and 66f) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 91.13—which is taken as a prediction of an eschatological temple).”^[30]

Tertullian (ca. AD 155–240) used the same vocabulary. In his *On the Apparel of Women*, Book I, Ch. III, he calls *1 Enoch* “Scripture” and defends its status using 2 Timothy 3:16:

I am aware that the Scripture of Enoch, which has assigned this order (of action) to angels, is not received by some, because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon either. I suppose they did not think that, having been published before the deluge, it could have safely survived that world-wide calamity, the abolisher of all things. If that is the reason (for rejecting it), let them recall to their memory that Noah, the survivor of the deluge, was the great-grandson of Enoch himself; and he, of course, had heard and remembered, from domestic renown and hereditary tradition, concerning his own great-grandfather’s “grace in the sight of God,” and concerning all his preachings; since Enoch had given no other charge to Methuselah than that he should hand on the knowledge of them to his posterity. Noah therefore, no doubt, might have succeeded in the trusteeship of (his) preaching; or, had the case been otherwise, he would not have been silent alike concerning the disposition (of things) made by God, his Preserver, and concerning the particular glory of his own house.

If (Noah) had not had this (conservative power) by so short a route, there would (still) be this (consideration) to warrant our assertion of (the genuineness of) this Scripture: he could equally have *renewed* it, under the Spirit’s inspiration, after it *had* been destroyed by the violence of the deluge, as, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian storming of it, every document of the Jewish literature is generally agreed to have been restored through Ezra.

But since Enoch in the same Scripture has preached likewise concerning the Lord, nothing at all must be rejected *by* us which pertains *to* us; and we read that “every Scripture suitable for edification is divinely inspired.” By the *Jews* it may now seem to have been rejected for that (very) reason, just like all the other (portions) nearly which tell of Christ. Nor, of course, is this fact wonderful, that they did not receive some Scriptures which spake of Him whom even in person, speaking in their presence, they were

not to receive. To these considerations is added the fact that Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude.^[31]

Irenaeus (ca. AD 130–200) knew 1 Enoch well and accepted recounting of primeval history described in the Book of the Watchers. In the tenth chapter of his work, *Against Heresies* (sec. 1), he wrote:

The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [She believes] in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His [future] manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father “to gather all things in one,” and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, “every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess”⁸ to Him, and that He should execute just judgment towards all; that He may send “spiritual wickednesses,” and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire; but may, in the exercise of His grace, confer immortality on the righteous, and holy, and those who have kept His commandments, and have persevered in His love, some from the beginning [of their Christian course], and others from [the date of] their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory.^[32]

VanderKam comments as follows regarding this passage:

It is not impossible that Irenaeus, in the wording of his lines about the angels, is thinking of 2 Pet 2:4 and Jude 6, but the language he uses does not reproduce their vocabulary very closely. There is, however, some verbal similarity with 1 Enoch.... If Irenaeus is here reflecting the Watcher story, he is attributing it to the Holy Spirit's inspiration of the prophets and including it within a brief statement of the Christian faith shared throughout the scattered churches.^[33]

VII. The Relationship of 1 Enoch to the Book of the Giants from Qumran

Though closely related in content, the Book of Giants is not synonymous with 1 Enoch. However, nine of the Qumran Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch (found in caves 1, 2, 4, and 6) contain portions of the Book of Giants.^[34] Wright summarizes the similarities of this book with 1 Enoch as well as some of the differences:

The fragments of the Book of Giants from Qumran describe the actions and fate of the progeny of the rebellious Watcher angels found in the Book of Watchers (see Book of Watchers [1 Enoch 1–36]) and other Second Temple period literature. Similar to the Book of Watchers' focus on the antediluvian actions of the giants (7:2–5; 9:9), their postdiluvian existence (15:8–12; 16:1), and their final destruction in the judgment to come, the Book of Giants describes or alludes to the fall of the Watcher angels (4Q531 17) and their punishment (4Q203 7A, 8). In the same vein, the Book of Giants takes up 1 Enoch 12–16 and expands on the account of the punishment of the giant offspring of the Watchers and their future judgment.

Absent from the other versions of the giant tradition in Second Temple period literature but included in the Book of Giants are the names of the progeny of the Watchers (e.g., Gilgamesh, Hahyah, Hobabish, Mahaway, and 'Ohyah). Similar to the Watchers in the Book of Watchers, the giants are assigned specific tasks within the storyline; however, contrary to Enoch telling the Watchers of their fate in the Book of Watchers, the giants learn of their own fate through dreams and visions (see 2Q26; 4Q530 2; 4Q531 17.11.11–12; 6Q8 2). The active role of Enoch as seen in the Book of Watchers is downplayed in the Book of Giants. His role as intercessor and deliverer of the message of the fate of the Watchers is taken over by the giant Mahaway to a certain degree. He receives the message from Enoch and proceeds to pass it on to the Watchers, who in turn tell the giants (4Q530 3). The account of the giants in the Book of Giants appears more detailed than the accounts found in other texts such as the Book of Watchers and Jubilees (see The Book of Jubilees).^[35]

VIII. General Overview of 1 Enoch: What's the Book About?

First Enoch is apocalyptic literature; that is, it is broadly about the end of days. John J. Collins defines apocalyptic literature this way:

A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.^[36]

In regard to 1 Enoch, Susan Docherty explains:

The expectation that God will soon come in judgement is expressed from the first chapter of *1 Enoch* to the last, although no one systematic picture is given of this event. This theme of judgement is presented as a positive rather than a fearful message, as it is intended to console those who may be enduring suffering and oppression with the belief that something better awaits them. The scriptural flood narrative is a paradigm for this future act of God, so the figure of Noah is prominent throughout *1 Enoch*, and pre-existing sources about him may have been incorporated (see e.g. 10.1–22; 54.7–55.2; 60.1–25; 65.1–67.3; 106.1–19).^[37]

In addition, the figure of Moses and the importance of the Sinai covenant are downplayed in 1 Enoch in favor of the Enoch of Genesis 5:22–24. One reason for this is that the work is apocalyptic—concerned with what God is up to in the heavenly realms as the end of days unfolds on earth. It is Enoch, naturally, who would be privy to this information, not Moses, whose revelation from God has already played out.

Because 1 Enoch is apocalyptic in nature and tone, the *reason* for the final judgment is part of the work. Docherty again explains:

The reason for the presence of evil in the world is also a major theme [in 1 Enoch 1–16], and the origins of sin are not attributed, as in some traditions, to the disobedience of Adam (Gen. 3:1–24; cf. 4 *Ezra* 3:20–6; 4:30; 7:118; 2 *Bar.* 23.4; 48.42–3; 54.15; 56.5–8), but to an angelic rebellion against God. The story of the coming to earth of heavenly beings who mate with human women, known also from Genesis 6:1–4, is therefore told here in a much more elaborate form (6.1–10.22). It is these fallen angels who are said to have led human beings astray, by teaching them all kinds of things which God did not intend them to know, such as how to make weapons of

war, and how to ornament themselves with make-up and jewellery (8.1–2).... This narrative assumes a very significant place within the Enochic tradition (see also e.g. 64.1–2; 69.1–15; 86.1–6), and it affirms the supernatural rather than human origins of sin, although individual responsibility for sin is affirmed elsewhere in the text (e.g. 98.4).^[38]

First Enoch continues (chapters 17–36) to provide readers with a heavenly tour. This is no mere entertainment escapade. Rather, the tour is designed to convey the authoritative, heavenly nature of the revelation given to Enoch and relayed in the book that bears his name. To this end, Enoch is allowed access to God’s throne in divine council scenes much like those of the biblical prophets (e.g. 1 Kings 22:19; Isaiah 6:1–4; Ezekiel 1:3–28; Daniel 7:9–14).^[39]

Chapters 37–71 (known to scholars as the “Similitudes of Enoch”) is an apocalyptic vision of wisdom—that is, like biblical wisdom literature, its main purpose is to encourage right (wise) living, since God will vindicate the righteous and punish the wicked in the end, which is soon approaching.

The rest of 1 Enoch reinforces these themes. Enoch, as a heavenly scribe, understands the passage of time and history. Hence, the “Book of the Luminaries” (stars; chapters 72–82) is “a kind of compendium of ancient knowledge about astronomy and cosmology, which serves to illustrate the association of apocalyptic literature with learned circles.”^[40] The remainder of the book constitutes more review of history and impending apocalypse in the form of allegory—in particular, the “Animal Apocalypse” of chapters 85–90 and some of the circumstances of the birth of Noah, the central figure in the Flood.

IX. Theological Overview of the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71)

As suggested earlier, the Parables of Enoch are apocalyptic in tone. Baynes summarizes the major components:

The Similitudes incorporates theological themes typical of many apocalypses: God’s divine majesty and detachment, cosmic and personal eschatology, complex angelology and demonology, divine judgment, and dualism. Like much prophetic literature, it condemns the rich and powerful for their oppression of the poor, and it expresses the conviction that God ultimately will punish the former and vindicate the latter. The importance of wisdom pervades the

book. Perhaps the most intriguing and controversial element of the Similitudes, however, and thus the one that has received the most interest and attention, is the figure of the Son of Man. While not the only apocalypse to include this personage, the Similitudes offers the most extensive treatment of it in early apocalyptic literature. Here the Son of Man sits on a throne, implying authority equal to God's; he judges the righteous and the unrighteous, a task usually restricted to God; he was "named" before the creation of the universe, making him a preexistent heavenly figure; and he receives worship.^[41]

X. Content Summary of 1 Enoch 37–71

The section of 1 Enoch labeled “the Parables” (1 Enoch 37–71) is, in terms of word count, nearly twice the length of the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36). Scholars of 1 Enoch for the most part agree that it is chronologically the last section of the overall book with respect to composition.^[42]

Not surprisingly, large portions of 1 Enoch 37–71 are in poetic form. Unlike biblical (Old Testament) poetry, which generally communicates the parallel relationship between lines as “Line A, what’s more, Line B,” Nickelsburg and VanderKam note:

It has been convincingly argued that in biblical poetry the second member in a parallelistic structure reinforces, emphasizes, or intensifies what has been stated in the first member. It is doubtful that this analysis pertains to all the parallelistic lines in the Parables.^[43]

The section concentrates on the coming final judgment of the righteous and the wicked and the Messiah (the Son of Man, the Righteous One, and the Elect One). As such, it features visions with angelic interpreters that reveal secret heavenly knowledge to and through Enoch, the dimensions of the new earth, the resurrection of the righteous, and the punishment of the human wicked and the fallen Watchers. Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe:

The Book of Parables provides a classic example of an apocalyptic worldview, one whose construction of reality turns on a claim that the alleged author has received and now transmits the divine revelation of hidden things (see *1 Enoch 1*, 37–42). This particular apocalypse presents revelations from four worlds that are “other” in the sense that they stand in contrast to the present world. What little the Parables do tell us about the world in which their author and their audience live is negative and dark. The scene is dominated by “the kings and the mighty,” their defiance of the Lord of Spirits, and their persecution of “the houses of his congregation.” Alongside them are the arch-demon Azazel and his hosts, who lead humanity astray, notably through their evil revelations.... In short, this world is marked by oppression and persecution by those in

power and those who make common cause with them, a world in which phenomenal evil is a function of demonic powers, a place of unjust suffering and death for “the righteous and the chosen.”^[44]

In this regard, Docherty draws our attention to a significant characteristic of the Parables:

The imagery and language of this section is heavily influenced by the report of the vision of the divine throne in Daniel 7:9–14. Echoes of this passage are especially clear in the introduction of a “son of man” (e.g. 46.3–4; 48.2; 62.7; 63.11; 70.1; 71.14, 17), who is presently hidden in heaven but who will be revealed at the end of time. He is associated above all with righteousness (e.g. 46.3), and he will be involved in the enacting of God’s punishment on the wicked.^[45]

A Reader's Commentary on 1 Enoch 37–71 (The Parables of Enoch)

Section: 1 Enoch 37

Section Summary: In the manner of 1 Enoch 1:1, the section opens (1 Enoch 37:1) with the description of its contents as a vision—and specifies what is to follow as “the second vision” that Enoch saw.

Translation: Chapter 37

^{37.1} The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. ² And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. ³ It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom. ⁴ Till the present day such wisdom has never been given **by** the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me. ⁵ Now three parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

Commentary

37:1

The second vision—In relation to 1 Enoch 1:1. Many scholars consider this phrase to have been added by a final editor of the book. The wording suggests that the entirety of chapters 37–71 is a single vision: “The superscription construes the contents of the book as a single vision, which the visionary transmits in the form of three parables or revelatory discourses (v. 5).”^[46] On “parables,” see verse 5. The same wording is also found at the beginning of other sections of 1 Enoch (72:1, 92:1, 108:1).

vision of wisdom—The reference to “wisdom” is consistent with the focus of wisdom literature, whether in the Hebrew Bible or Second Temple Jewish texts. “Wisdom” refers to obedience to the Torah (i.e., to God). The vision is wisdom instruction in that it details the fate of the disobedient (the wicked) and the righteous. However, by virtue of being called a vision, the content is cast as a prophecy. In the Hebrew Bible, certain prophetic portions are referred to directly as visions (Isaiah 1:1; Ezekiel 12:23–24; Joel 2:28; Obadiah 1:1; Nahum 1:1; Habakkuk 2:2–3).

Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam—Not surprisingly, this follows the biblical genealogy of Seth. Enoch is the seventh from Adam (cf. 1 Enoch 93:3).

37:2–5

the beginning of the words of wisdom—Verses 2–5 are in fact an introduction to the parables that will follow.

those which dwell on earth—Verses 2 and 5. A descriptive phrase for humanity—as opposed to inhabitants of heavenly realms. What the wording telegraphs here is that mere mortals are about to receive divine, heavenly knowledge. Nickelsburg and VanderKam draw out the implication and how the wording foreshadows the content of Chapters 37–71 this way:

[Humans] are the recipients of Enoch’s divine revelation (37:2, 5), the beneficiaries of angelic oversight and intercession (40:6, 7; 43:4), the targets of demonic revelations that lead them astray (54:6; 67:7; 69:7); the objects of God’s judgment (55:4, 12; 60:5; 62:1; 65:6, 12; 66:1; 69:1), and the ones who will eventually fall

down and worship before the Son of Man and the Lord of Spirits (48:5; 53:1).^[47]

Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after—The wording of verses 2 and 3 connects the righteous of old with those of the future—i.e., those who obeyed God and those who are admonished to obey God. Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe:

This common element is the contrast between those living in Enoch's own time and the people of the end-time. It is a function of the author's pseudepigraphy. The book alleges to have been written by an author in antiquity, but in reality it is addressed to the people of the real author's own time.... In 82:1–2, Enoch's books are given to Methuselah, who is to transmit them to his children, but the author has in mind that they will be read by "the generations of the world."... Here, in addition to a double reference to "those who come after" (vv. 2c, 3b), the real audience of this text, Enoch addresses himself to the "ancients." They are the counterparts of Methuselah and of Enoch's sons mentioned in 82:1–2 and 92:1 (but never in the Parables).^[48]

the words of the Holy One—Wisdom is something that belongs to and stems from God. For humans to possess it, it must be given by God. There is an obvious parallel in the biblical book of Daniel:

[Wisdom] is a gift of God that Daniel and his three companions receive (1:17; 2:20, 21, 23, 30; 5:11, 14). There the verb "give" (*ntn*, *yhb*) appears three times (1:17; 2:21, 23) and "reveal" (*gl'*) once (2:30). Daniel's wisdom includes the ability to understand and interpret dreams and, if the handwriting on the wall is such, a vision. Overall, the concept involves secrets or esoterica, the meaning of which is "given" to the sage, who transmits it to those who are without understanding.^[49]

such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received—Per the earlier content of the chapter that has Enoch's message being for past, present, and future hearers and readers, the claim is that this revelation surpasses any competing content. Given Enoch's status as the seventh from Adam and its parallels to Mesopotamian wisdom and divination literature, the claim is a clear theological challenge to Gentile wisdom.^[50] Enoch is not claiming to be superior in himself; he "received" his knowledge from God.

the Lord of Spirits—This descriptive title is not used in other sections of 1 Enoch (i.e., outside 1 Enoch 37–71).^[51] It occurs three

times in verses 2 and 4. The general idea behind the title is that God is surrounded by, and sovereign over, myriad spiritual beings in the spiritual world. The epithet for God “is the most frequent title for God in the Parables, where it occurs 102 times.^[52] It is missing only in chapters 42, 44, 56, and 64, where God is not mentioned.”^[53] Black’s summary is thus appropriate: “No single term for deity in the intertestamental literature is as well-known as the Ethiopic title ‘Lord of spirits’ from the so-called *Book of the Parables of Enoch*.”^[54]

What does the epithet mean? What spirits does it have in view? Sometimes the phrase refers to God’s status as being Lord over human spirits (i.e., human beings). This is most likely the idea behind the similar New Testament phrase in Hebrews 12:9: “Shall we not much more be subject to the Father of spirits and live?” The author of that verse is discussing human fate in the context of the present distress of his readers. Even more telling, he does so by analogizing the “Father of spirits” with earthly fathers. Consequently, the phrase in Hebrews 12:9 refers to God being the father of all human spirits (i.e., human beings). This is reminiscent of Numbers 16:22 and 27:16, where the God of Israel is called “the God of the spirits of all flesh.”^[55]

Alternatively, God is also the Lord of all nonhuman spirits. Gieschen believes the title “reflects the Hebrew title YHWH Sabaoth” (“Lord of Hosts”).^[56] This point is put forth in the Old Testament in passages that utilize celestial terminology when speaking not only of heavenly objects (sun, moon, stars) but also spiritual (“heavenly”) beings. The members of God’s heavenly host are called “spirits” (1 Kings 22:19–23; Psalm 104:4 [cp. Psalm 103:20–22]).^[57] Psalm 148:1–5 reads:

¹Praise the Lord!
Praise the Lord from the heavens;
praise him in the heights!
²Praise him, all his angels;
praise him, all his hosts!
³Praise him, sun and moon,
praise him, all you shining stars!
⁴Praise him, you highest heavens,
and you waters above the heavens!
⁵Let them praise the name of the Lord!
For he commanded and they were created.

Other Second Temple Period Jewish texts affirm this Old Testament teaching. The Dead Sea Scrolls are a case in point: 1QH IX 9–11 (=Sukenik *Col. i*; = 4Q432 2) tells us that God has “fashioned every spirit” for His glory, those “powerful spirits, according to their laws, before they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: luminaries according to their mysteries.”^[58] The “holy ones” are the “army of his spirits” in 1QM (War Scroll) 12:8–9. According to 1QH XVIII 8 (=Sukenik *Col. x*; = 4Q427 3 i), God is “prince of gods and the king of the glorious ones, lord of every spirit, ruler of every creature.”^[59]

Another Second Temple example of an epithet nearly identical to “Lord of Spirits” in 1 Enoch 37:4 occurs in 2 Maccabees 3:24:

Now when he was already there in the treasury with his bodyguards, the Lord of the spirits and of all power made an amazing appearance with the result that all those who had dared to go in with him were astounded, and the power of God changed their boldness into feebleness and cowardice.^[60]

This verse occurs in the wider passage (2 Maccabees 3:22–30), when an apparently heavenly horse “having a fearful rider” and “two other young men...exceptional in strength” (angels?) appeared and struck down Heliodorus, an official of the Seleucid king, Seleucus, enemy of the Jews, preventing him from removing the money in the temple for deposit in the Seleucid treasury. Even more interesting, the word translated “power” in the verse is *exousia*. Black comments on the ramifications:

[The term may be taken] as an abstract for something concrete, giving the word the sense of the “principalities and powers” of the New Testament. This may be arguable, but there is no doubt that we are here [in 2 Maccabees 3:24] in the realm of supernatural powers or celestial spirits of which the mighty apparition was a visible demonstration.^[61]

Black concludes that “Lord of the spirits” in 2 Maccabees 3:24 is a divine title “selected to match the context of the story—it is Ruler of celestial spirits and angelic agencies who was responsible for this miraculous deliverance.”^[62] See 1 Enoch 39:12 for more on this title.

by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me—This line creates a firm equation between the Lord of Spirits and God, for in the Book of the Watchers, God Himself is the One in whose presence Enoch received wisdom, God Himself having brought Enoch into His presence (1 Enoch 12).

three parables were imparted to me—The parables that follow and make up this section of 1 Enoch are not Enoch's own creations. They were the wisdom given to him by the Lord of Spirits.

Chapters 38–44: The First Parable

Section: 1 Enoch 38–44

These chapters can be summarized as follows:

The beginning of the text of the Parables continues to imitate its counterpart in the Book of the Watchers with a poetic oracle that announces a coming epiphany, the great judgment, and its consequences for the sinners and the righteous (37:1–5; cf. 1:4–9, 5:5–9). In this case, instead of the deity in the company of the holy ones, it is the Righteous One who appears in the midst of the congregation of the righteous. He, rather than God, will preside over the judgment.^[63]

More particularly, readers will learn in 1 Enoch 38–44 how Enoch came to know the secrets that this parable contains. He sees “all the secrets of heaven,” which includes not only supernatural aspects, but also celestial and meteorological phenomena. The section introduces the main characters of the rest of the Book of the Parables: the righteous (humans), the wicked (also humans), the Lord of Spirits (God), and the Righteous One (the Messiah).

Translation: Chapter 38

The Coming Judgement of the Wicked

^{38.1} The first Parable.

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth,

² And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes
of the righteous,

Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell
on the earth,

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the
Lord of Spirits?

It had been good for them if they had not been born.

³ When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the
sinners judged,

And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous
and elect,

⁴ From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer
be powerful and exalted:

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

⁵ Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.

⁶ And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy
from the Lord of Spirits: For their life is at an end.

Commentary

38:1

the congregation of the righteous—Charles notes that this phrase “is peculiar to the Parables, and explained by [1 Enoch] 38:3, 53:6, 62:8. Cf. Ps. 1:5, 149:1, Pss. Sol. 17:18.”^[64] The phrase appears once in the Old Testament: “Therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous” (Psalm 1:5), where the context clearly indicates a congregation of human beings loyal to God.

shall appear—The fact that this congregation will “appear” indicates that the setting is the end of days. The futuristic tone fits with the ensuing phrases. Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The noun “congregation” ([Eth.] *maḥbar*) occurs three other times in the Parables. In 46:8 it refers to the present time—“the houses of his (the Lord’s) congregation.” Here, in 53:6 (“the house of his [sc. the Chosen One’s] congregation”), and in 62:8 (“the congregation of the chosen and the holy”), it denotes the eschatological community of God’s people... The Qumranic expression, “the assembly of his chosen ones” (4QpPs 37 [4Q171] ii.5, [‘*ădat bēḥîrô*]) parallels “the congregation of the chosen (and the holy)” in 1 Enoch 62:8.^[65]

sinners shall be judged for their sins, And shall be driven from the face of the earth—If we contrast the description here with “the congregation of the righteous,” the identification of the latter group appears to be human believers, those righteous before God. “Driven from the face of the earth” likely indicates a destiny in Sheol, the realm of the dead (see 1 Enoch 62:10; 63:6, 11). Nickelsburg and VanderKam add:

The term “the sinners” occurs seventeen times in the Book of the Parables, usually in explicit contrast to the righteous (twice the chosen or the holy), and almost always in connection with their coming judgment, which is the result of their having “denied (the name of) the Lord of Spirits” and oppressed the righteous. Thus, the term is generic, relating both to the *deeds* of these people and to the *consequences* of these deeds.^[66]

38:2

the Righteous One—As intimated in the summary statement above at the beginning of this chapter, scholars typically do *not* take this phrase as pointing to God Himself, but to another figure.^[67] Scholars are divided on the identification of this figure in the Parables (Similitudes) of Enoch. He will variously be called “Righteous One” (as here and elsewhere), “Anointed One” (1 Enoch 48:10, 52:4), “Chosen One” (e.g., 1 Enoch 45:3–4), and “Son of Man” (many times; e.g., 1 Enoch 46:2, 3, 4). Many take the position that the figure is the Messiah of Israel. Charles is of this view. In his commentary at 1 Enoch 38:2, he directs his readers to “other titles of the Messiah,” found at 1 Enoch 39:6; 40:5; 45:3; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10.^[68] Others, such as Orlov, lean heavily to identifying the figure as Enoch himself: “The enigmatic figure of the eschatological leader, possibly associated with Enoch, is designated in the *Similitudes* by four titles: righteous one (*ṣādeq*), anointed one (*masih*), chosen one (*xeruy*), and son of man (*walda sab*’).”^[69]

This latter view essentially has the writer viewing the Messiah as a returned Enoch. Though it is difficult (if not impossible) to see how this idea works with the Messiah as the son of David and Davidic king,^[70] the notion of Enoch as being God’s chief agent in the goal of reversing evil is rooted in the fact that Enoch was taken and given divine knowledge, in effect the “correct” or “godly” knowledge that was opposite the knowledge dispensed by the Watchers that corrupted humanity (1 Enoch 6–15). One might suggest that the writer of 1 Enoch was not conflating the Davidic Messiah with this glorified view of Enoch, essentially having Enoch be a “messianic” figure that was distinct from the son of David. This is difficult to maintain in view of the link in 1 Enoch between this figure and the final judgment. This writer will presume that the “anointed one” of the Parables (and the referent of the other titles) is the awaited messianic son of David.

As noted above, this figure appears elsewhere in the Parables, where the epithet is “the Righteous and Elect One” (1 Enoch 53:6; see also “the Elect One,” a title that occurs sixteen times in the Parables; e.g., 1 Enoch 52:6, 9).^[71] The title “Elect One” is translated by other scholars as “the Chosen One.” VanderKam has drawn attention to the fact that in the Parables, the title “Righteous One” is not used apart from “Chosen One” when the referent is an eschatological messianic figure.^[72]

Not surprisingly, the Righteous One (and, so, the Elect/Chosen One) is the defender of the righteous against their enemies, the wicked.

The titles will sound familiar to the biblical student, as they derive from the Servant Songs of Isaiah 40–55. One of the instances of “the Elect One” (1 Enoch 49:3–4) is in part a direct quotation of Isaiah 42:1 (“Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights”). Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The Parables do not describe how the epiphany of the Righteous and Chosen One is connected with the manifestation of the congregation of the righteous, but the imagery suggests a scenario similar to Mark 13:26–27—where the Son of Man appears and sends his angels to gather “his chosen ones”—and 1 Thess 4:16–17, which probably knows the same tradition.^[73]

Orlov adds:

The description of the “chosen one” in the *Similitudes* paints a picture of a highly elevated celestial being. This being apparently has his own throne in the celestial realm since of the passages, found in *1 Enoch* 45:3–4, depicts the chosen one as the one who has been installed on the throne of glory.^[74]

Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits—On “Lord of Spirits,” see comments on 1 Enoch 37:2–5. The “elect works” are those of the righteous. It is interesting that the Book of the Parables appears to define “righteousness” not as works or having to do with human meritorious performance. Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe:

These works, or deeds, depend on ([Eth] *sequi* = [Grk] *kremannumi*; lit. “hang on”) the Lord of Spirits.⁵ The idea recurs in 40:5 and 46:8, where “the faithful” ([Eth]; *mahāymenān* = [Grk] *hoi pistoi*) depend on ([Eth] *sequi*) the Lord of Spirits. Thus, this dependence seems to be the equivalent of faith.... Although the concept of “faith” or “faithfulness” is rare in the Parables, in its three other occurrences, it is associated with “righteousness.” The Chosen One is “the Chosen One of righteousness and faith (or faithfulness)” (39:6). The holy ones are to seek righteousness, the lot of faith (58:5). The ropes that the angels carry (61:4) are the measures that are given to faith and that strengthen righteousness. These passages suggest that the righteousness of the righteous is the fruit of faith, and this is begotten of the revelation that is promulgated in the Parables.^[75]

light shall appear—The description (“light” that “appears”) here at the beginning of the Book of Parables is similar to the one in the beginning of the Book of the Watchers:

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. (1 Enoch 1:8; cf. 5:6–7)

The “light” of God’s glorious appearing is a familiar Old Testament theme (Exodus 16:10, 24:17; Numbers 14:10). In the New Testament, this language (as here in 1 Enoch) is associated with the coming of the Messiah to deliver and reward the righteous:

Colossians 3:4: When Christ who is your life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory.

Titus 2:13–14: Waiting for our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all lawlessness and to purify for himself a people for his own possession who are zealous for good works.

1 Peter 5:4–5: And when the chief Shepherd appears, you will receive the unfading crown of glory. Likewise, you who are younger, be subject to the elders. Clothe yourselves, all of you, with humility toward one another, for “God opposes the proud but gives grace to the humble.”

to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth—Nickelsburg and VanderKam provide us with a tally of the usage of these terms in the Parables of Enoch:

The terms “the righteous,” “the chosen,” and “the holy,” employed separately and in various combinations, are this author’s designations for the individuals and/or group(s) who constitute one set of major characters in the Parables and who presumably constitute the book’s audience.... Of the triad of terms, “the righteous” (*ṣādeqān*) is the most frequently used and occurs twenty-five times *by itself*. *The combination* “the righteous and the chosen,” whether as a word-pair or in parallelism, occurs fifteen times, twelve times with “the righteous” mentioned first. “The chosen” (*ḥeruyān*) alone occurs only seven times.... *Both separately and in combinations*, “the righteous” occurs forty-eight times; “the chosen,” twenty-seven times.... Eleven times “the righteous” are paired with “the sinners” or an equivalent expression. As opposed to the sinners, who face damnation, the righteous will be the beneficiaries of the eschatological blessing that results from the coming judgment.^[76]

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners, And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits?—Ethiopic manuscript T⁹ has “the name of the Lord of Spirits,” which I judged as a superior reading by many scholars. Since the Lord of Spirits is identified as God, this crime refers to denying the Name (Yahweh); i.e., rejecting Him. The opposite is characteristic of the righteous (49:7).

These are rhetorical questions that imply that the sinners will have no resting place. In 1 Enoch 43:4, the holy ones dwelling on the earth are exalted or glorified humans, suggesting that the righteous will dispossess the wicked, inheriting the earth at the expense of “the kings and the mighty” (38:5). This is not a witness to the idea of the annihilation of the wicked, for 1 Enoch 22 (among other passages) has their spirits in eternal torment. The righteous inherit the earth in a glorified state, while the wicked suffer judgment in the afterlife in “the hollow places” (1 Enoch 22:2–3) deep within the earth. Nickelsburg and VanderKam elaborate:

Like the Book of the Watchers, the Parables depict Enoch’s visions of the places of eternal reward and, especially, punishment, which provide locative reinforcement for temporal statements about the judgment. Nonetheless, the Parables lack overall uniformity on this subject. Information about the places of punishment is most explicit. After Enoch visits the six mountains that provide the metals used by the kings and the mighty (chap. 52), he is shown a deep valley, where the angels of punishment prepare the chains that will shackle the kings and the mighty when they are thrown there after their judgment (53:1–7 + 54:2). The text does not specify the location of these mountains and this valley, except that they are hidden somewhere in the West (52:1). The Parables’ statements that the kings and the mighty will be driven (or will perish) from the face of the earth (38:1) is not incompatible with their punishment in a deep valley at earth’s perimeter. See 52:9 and 53:2, which make both assertions. The darkness that covers their faces as they are driven from God’s presence (62:10; 63:11) probably alludes to a descent into Sheol (cf. 103:7–8), but if so, it indicates the use of a traditional motif. After Enoch sees the valley by the six mountains, he is taken to another valley at an undisclosed location, where the angels are preparing iron chains for the host of Azazel. On the day of the great judgment, the four archangels will throw them into the

eternal burning furnace—wherever that may be (54:1–6; see also 55:3–56:4).^[77]

38:3

the secrets of the righteous—The secrets referred to here are either things to be revealed about the future, such as the coming of the Messiah and judgment, or revelation about the Lord of Spirits and/or the Righteous One.

38:4

those that possess the earth—The righteous, per the earlier content of the chapter, in contrast to “the kings and the mighty” who oppose the righteous and who are in current possession of the earth (verse 5). At the time of Messiah’s appearance and judgment of the sinners, the wicked opposers and persecutors of the righteous “shall no longer be powerful and exalted” and “shall not be able to behold the face of the holy.”

On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect—Here “holy” does not refer to God of the Holy One, for the Lord of Spirits, who is God, “has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy.” The reference is thus to people, the righteous and elect. They are “the holy” understood collectively (i.e., “the holy ones”). This attribution applied to people is a departure from the Book of the Watchers, but is very similar to the New Testament. Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize:

In biblical usage, “holy” denotes that which is peculiar to the divine sphere. In the book of Isaiah, “the Holy One” is a special designation for the deity. In the Enochic Book of the Watchers, “the Great Holy One” is the favorite title for God, who is preeminent among “the holy ones” (usually “the watchers and holy ones”), who constitute his heavenly entourage. The title “the holy ones” as a designation for the heavenly host appears also in Dan 7:18 and with some frequency in the Qumran scrolls, although in a number of these passages the members of the community are thought to mingle with the “holy ones” and “the sons of God.” The Parables break with this tradition of restricting the use of “the holy ones” to the heavenly entourage. Although this usage does occur some seventeen or eighteen times, the expression also occurs fifteen times with reference to human beings.^[78]

38:5

the kings and the mighty—The “kings and the mighty” are always characterized as the enemies of the righteous and God. Though phrases like “kings” and “mighty” can be used in the Old Testament for supernatural rulers and Nephilim, neither is in view with this phrase. Since the Book of the Parables exists neither in Aramaic nor Greek, we cannot know, for example, if Aramaic *gibārayā*’ (= Hebrew *gibborîm*) or Greek *gigantes* was the original text. Context, however, makes clear that the kings and the mighty are human rulers. For example, 1 Enoch 46:4:

4 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.

This example and many others of the fifteen occurrences^[79] of the coupling speak of “the present state of affairs (the kings and the mighty are presently in control of the land/the earth; see also 48:8) and its future resolution (the Chosen One will condemn them at the great judgment). The parties are complementary, with “kings” referring to political authorities and “the might” speaking to military power.^[80] The present line states the matter negatively: “Those who possess the land/the earth will no longer do so.”^[81]

Translation: Chapter 39

¹ And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the high heaven, and their seed †will become one with the children of men. ² And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.

And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

³ And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.

⁴ And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.

⁵ Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.

And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,

And righteousness flowed before them as water,

And mercy like dew upon the earth:

Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

^{6a} And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,

^{7a} And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.

^{6b} And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

^{7b} And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,

And their mouth shall be full of blessing,

And their lips shall extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,

And righteousness before Him shall never fail,

[And uprightness shall never fail before Him].

⁸ There I wished to dwell,

And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:

And there heretofore hath been my portion,

For so hath it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

⁹ In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits. ¹⁰ For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore." ¹¹ And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation. ¹² Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits." ¹³ And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever." ¹⁴ And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

Commentary

As indicated by the numerous (†) notations, the early verses of this chapter bristle with textual problems and grammatical uncertainties. See the ensuing discussion.

39:1

it † shall come to pass—The translation flavors what follows as though the future is intended. This isn't the case as the following discussion demonstrates. Nickelsburg and VanderKam take this phrase as dependent on 1 Enoch 6:2—that is, it is a deliberate allusion to 1 Enoch 6:1–2. [\[82\]](#)

in those days—The translation suggests that the Parable looks forward into the future, but this really is not the case. The same phrase in verse 2 is clearly a reference to the past—when Enoch (earlier in the Book of the Watchers) received revelation.

elect and holy children—See comments under 38:2, where the phrase refers to people (the righteous) on earth. That the phrase here refers to heavenly beings (“will descend from high heaven”), a unique reading in the Parables, has led scholars to suspect textual problems. Black writes of the first two verses:

Suspicion of corruption in the text is raised by the expression “the elect and holy” as, in this context, apparently a description of angels; elsewhere it describes the members of the congregation of the elect and holy, the saints (62:8; cf. 38:4). The phrase “from the highest heavens” is also unusual of Eth^M is also unusual. [\[83\]](#)

Nickelsburg and VanderKam note as well that the Ethiopic data could be read as either “chosen and holy children (‘sons’)” or “sons of the chosen and holy.” He opts for the latter on the basis of its comparison with the clear “children of men” at the end of the verse and “children of heaven” and “daughters of men” in 1 Enoch 6:2. [\[84\]](#)

† *will descend*—The verb form is a grammatical imperfect tense, which Charles translates as future. The same can be said for the following “will become.” This is not the only translation option. Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The imperfect tenses of the three verbs in this verse are problematic; contrast *(wa)yekawwen* with *(wa)kona* in 6:1. They can be translated as future tenses or as past imperfects. Verse 2 with its

perfect tense denoting roughly simultaneous action (“in those days”) suggests that we should understand the verbs in v. 1 as denoting a past tense: the angels were descending and sinning (an ongoing activity); Enoch received books (seen as a single event).^[85]

their seed † will become one with the children of men—On the translation “will become,” see the preceding note on “will descend.” The content of this part of the verse is obviously a reference to the sin of the Watchers, which was a past event in 1 Enoch 6–11.

39:2

in those days Enoch received—The reference is the story of Enoch in the Book of the Watchers, a past event (e.g., 1 Enoch 33:4). This has an impact on the interpretation of “in those days” in 39:1, and also guides translation of the imperfect verb forms in 39:1.

And mercy shall not be accorded to them—This wording is perhaps the most obvious contextual clue that verses 1–2 are speaking of a past event, not a future one. The reference is the Watchers under judgment (1 Enoch 12–16). Consequently, 1 Enoch 39:1–2 does not support the notion that 1 Enoch 39:1–2 forecasts a return of the Watchers and repetition of Genesis 6:1–4 at the end of days.

39:3

in those days—See the discussion above in verses 1–2.

a whirlwind carried me off from the earth—Enoch is transported to heaven, which is where he will receive his visions that will be the focus of his parables. The whirlwind is a familiar biblical mode of transport for such experiences (Elijah, 2 Kings 2:1, 11), as well as part of storm theophanies (Job 38:1, 40:6). As Black notes, verse 3 “is almost a paraphrase of 14:8.”^[86]

at the end of the heavens—N: “within the confines of the heavens”; CW: “into the ultimate ends of the heavens.” The reference point is the dwelling of God, beyond the point where “the heavens were completed” (1 Enoch 18:10; cf. 1 Enoch 24–26).

39:4-5

another vision—Though the writer connects Enoch’s transport (and thus the visions he will have) to his earlier visions about the Watchers, this is a new vision. Nevertheless, 1 Enoch 39:4–41:2, 9 will have a number of parallels to 1 Enoch 14:9–23. Nickelsburg and VanderKam describe the connections:

He sees the dwelling of the holy and righteous with the holy and the righteous angels (39:4–5) and the dwelling of the Chosen One (39:6–8). As he views that place, he praises the Lord of Spirits (39:9–11). Then he sees and hears the watchers praise God (39:12–14); he sees the myriads of angels; and he sees and hears the four archangels (40:1–10). Finally, he is witness to the expulsion of the sinners (41:1–2, 9)....

A comparison of these chapters with 14:9–23 reveals the unique character of this counterpart to the throne room vision in the Book of the Watchers. The earlier text describes the “physical” characteristics of the heavenly temple and divine throne room with their hailstones and fire and snow, and the vision climaxes with a description of the throne, the “Great Glory” who is seated on it, and the angels that surround the throne. All elements except the last are simply taken for granted in chaps. 39–40.... In short, this author is interested in the personnel in the heavenly temple and in their activity, not in the geography of heaven and the structure of its temple. He takes for granted, or is not interested in, these details in this description in 14:9–23.^[87]

the dwelling-places of the holy, And the resting-places of the righteous...their dwellings with His righteous angels...their resting-places with the holy—The description is of the heavenly home of the righteous faithful which, as we learn in verse 6, is the home of “the Elect One,” the Messiah. The righteous also share living space with those angels who did not rebel against God. Charlesworth draws attention to some interesting parallelism:

Although v. 4 may seem to indicate that Enoch has arrived at the place of the holy and righteous angels, the first reference (v. 4ab) is to righteous and holy human beings. The two distichs (vv. 4 and 5) are expressed in virtually synonymous parallelism...with an a-b | b-a structure (holy-righteous | righteous-holy):

And there I saw the dwellings of the holy ones,
and the resting places of the righteous.

There my eyes saw their dwellings with his righteous angels
and their resting places with the holy ones.

Thus, the title “the holy and righteous” parallels the same title for their angelic patrons and is a partial counterpart to the fuller title, the holy, the righteous, and the chosen. The passage reveals that the holy, the righteous, and the chosen who have died are not in the

mountain of the dead (see [1 Enoch] 22) or in Sheol (see 102:5) but already in heaven.^[88]

they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men—It would make little sense for the righteous humans to be interceding for the angels, so the reverse must be true. In this regard, it is equally obvious that the angels are not interceding for the righteous, for there would be no need—they're in heaven. Consequently, reference must be to angelic intercession for the unrighteous still on earth.

Angelic intercession is an idea known in the Old Testament, but not in the New Testament. Old Testament intercession of the heavenly (nonhuman) holy ones for people is an idea that is related to the keeping of heavenly books. After the advent and accomplished mission of Jesus the Messiah, He becomes the lone mediator between God and humankind (1 Timothy 2:5). As I have written elsewhere:

The notion that heavenly beings were presumed to function as mediators between the leadership of the divine council and mortal humans, in effect functioning as witnesses for humans to plead their case in the context of unjust suffering, is a very ancient one, perhaps going back to divine assemblies at Sumer.^[89]

One example of this role in biblical material is Job 5:1, where Eliphaz asks Job, “To which of the holy ones will you turn?” In his commentary on Job, Clines writes concerning this verse:

We have heard of such beings previously at 5:1, where Eliphaz warned Job that there was no point in calling out to such a heavenly being for deliverance from the web of sin and punishment in which he was now caught. There too the angel was envisaged as a mediator between humans and God who would seek mercy from God for the suffering human. The angel is an “interpreter” or “mediator” (*מלמד*), apparently meaning that its function is to...explain God's purpose in the infliction of suffering.^[90]

39:6–7

in that place—In context, the dwelling of the Elect One (see verse 7). Writing of verses 6–7, Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe:

Enoch's account now moves from the dwelling of the righteous and holy among the angels to the dwelling of the Chosen One, which is said to be at the same place (v. 6a), as is evident also from the fact that the chorus of the righteous and chosen stand before him, blessing and praising God (v. 7; cf. vv. 4–5).^[91]

the Elect One of righteousness and of faith—This verse introduces the Elect One (or “Chosen One” in other translations). This is language used of the Messiah. See 1 Enoch 38:2. Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that the Chosen One is “the dominant character” in the Parables, and add:

If the central message of the Parables is the coming of the final judgment...the Son of Man/Chosen One takes center stage as the agent of this judgment. There are two aspects to the judgment: the condemnation of the kings and the mighty and the vindication of the righteous and chosen.^[92]

under the wings of the Lord of Spirits—The “Lord of Spirits” is God. See 37:2–5. The descriptive term “wings” is drawn from Old Testament psalms (Psalms 17:8, 36:7, 57:1, 61:4, 63:7, 91:4; cf. also Ruth 2:12). The language here is odd, though, since it usually refers to the notion of protection, something the Chosen One would not require. Scholars have consequently wondered if the imagery (in the Psalms and here) might be an attempt to convey the notion of God’s presence more generally, given that the Lord is accompanied in His throne room with winged throne guardians (seraphim, Isaiah 6:1–3; cherubim, Ezekiel 1:4–28). This is a distinct possibility, given that the scene in 1 Enoch 39:12 and 40:2 seems to clearly draw on Isaiah 6 (“Holy, Holy, Holy”). The idea, then, would not be that the Chosen One needs protection, but that He is seen in the very presence of God.

†*strong*† *as fiery lights*—The luminosity included here as part of the description of the righteous elect is also found in 1 Enoch 104:2. It is reminiscent of Daniel 12:3 and especially Matthew 13:43 (“Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father”).

39:8

heretofore hath been my portion—Enoch has shared, and wants to continue to share, the experience of God’s presence.

For so hath it been established concerning me—Enoch believes in faith that his everlasting destiny is to dwell with the Lord of Spirits. He makes that point explicit in 39:9.

39:9

He hath destined me for blessing and glory—See 1 Enoch 39:8. On “destined,” B and N read “established.” Black considers the wording to be related to Psalm 7:9 (“Oh, let the evil of the wicked come to an end, and may you establish the righteous”).^[93] It seems unwise to take the

line as some sort of general predestination of the righteous in light of the special circumstances of Enoch's transport to the heavenly realm.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

39:11

before Him there is no ceasing—N: “In his presence there is no limit”; CW: “There is no such thing as non-existence [Lit., ending, ceasing] before him.” In light of what follows, the point seems to be that there is no end to God's knowledge and foresight.

39:12

those who sleep not—The Ethiopic has *teguhān*, the equivalent to Aramaic *ʿîrîn*, “Watchers.” The same wording appears in 1 Enoch 39:13; 40:2; 61:12; 71:7. Recall that Watchers in Enochian literature are not always fallen and evil. This is consistent with Daniel 4, where a Watcher, a “holy one” who announces judgment on Nebuchadnezzar, was emissary of the Most High.^[94] The translation “those that sleep not” is interpretive:

Scholarly understanding of the meaning of *ʿîr* depends on the presumed Semitic root from which one presumes it derived. Dahood proposed that the term came from Ugaritic *ǧyr* (“to protect”). Murray initially believed that a better option was Akkadian *êru* (“be wakeful”), but changed his mind after Kaufman's important work on Akkadian influences in Aramaic couldn't find primary source data for the connection.^[95]

Rather than a linguistic connection, the meaning of the term may indeed be related to Akkadian by virtue of the *apkallu* of Mesopotamian lore. In his study on the origin of the Watchers, Annus writes:

Figurines of *apkallus* were buried in boxes as foundation deposits in Mesopotamian buildings in order to avert evil from the house. The term *maššarē*, “watchers,” is used of these sets of figurines in Akkadian incantations according to ritual texts. This appellation matches the Aramaic term *ʿyryn*, “the wakeful ones,” for both good angels and the Watchers.^[96]

Annus' point is that the *maššarē* were thought to unceasingly watch over the house. Since the Aramaic term in this example does trace back to Akkadian, we have a similar conception of these supernatural figures, regardless of the lack of a connection to Akkadian *êru* (“be wakeful”).

stand before Thy glory...Holy, holy, holy—It is interesting that the Watchers are in the very presence of Yahweh—in the divine throne

room, as it were. The threefold “Holy, holy, holy,” of course, takes readers to the throne room scene of Isaiah 6. “Thy glory,” Nickelsburg and VanderKam note, “refers to the divine glory (*kābôd*), the splendid effulgence that radiates from the enthroned deity.”^[97]

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

He filleth the earth with spirits—The point is apparently that “the Lord of Spirits fills *the earth* with his spirits. That is, God and God’s glory remain in heaven, while on earth God is present in his spirits.”^[98] Black observes, “The world of the author of the Parables was one full of angelic beings and disembodied spirits of whom God was supremely Lord.”^[99]

39:13

those who sleep not—See 1 Enoch 39:12.

39:14

my face was changed; for I could no longer behold—Black believes that “we are to think of Enoch’s countenance changing for fear and awe than of any transformation or transfiguration.”^[100] Nickelsburg and VanderKam are less certain, as the wording here has points of contact with the transfiguration of Jesus in the gospels:

Has Enoch’s face been “blinded by an excess of light?” Does he grimace from fear and awe? Or is this a transitional verse: Enoch’s face must be transfigured into that of an angel in order for him to see the glory of God, which is surrounded by the myriads of angels (40:1), and the four archangels that flank the divine glory (40:2). For Enoch’s transformation into an angel, see 2 Enoch 22. For a parallel to the language here, see Luke’s account of Jesus’ transfiguration (9:29), which revises Mark’s “he was transfigured” (*metemorphōthē*, 9:2) to “the appearance of his face (was) different” (*to eidos tou prosōpou autou heteron*).^[101]

Nickelsburg and VanderKam also note that some of the description here is similar to that in 1 Enoch 14:19, where Enoch describes someone but cannot see or look upon “the Great Glory,” which is God.^[102] They conclude cautiously, “For this reason, we might place some weight on ‘my face was changed’ and interpret the passage to mean that Enoch’s face was transformed, because up to that point he was unable to see—which he is now able to do.”^[103]

Translation: Chapter 40

^{40.1} And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. ² And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel who went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

³ And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory. ⁴ The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. ⁵ And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. ⁶ And the third voice I heard **pray and intercede** for those who dwell on the earth and **supplicate** in the name of the Lord of Spirits. ⁷ And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. ⁸ After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?" ⁹ And he said to me: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel." ¹⁰ And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

Commentary

40:1

thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand—A similar expression is found in 1 Enoch 1:9, 14:22, 60:1, and 71:8, but the origin for both is likely Daniel 7:10 (cf. Revelation 5:11).

stood—The language of the heavenly host and its members “standing” before God is found in biblical passages such as 1 Kings 22:19, 21 and Zechariah 3:1, 5. It is also implied in passages like Daniel 7:9–10 (the divine council members take seats) and Job 1:6 and 2:1.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

40:2

the four sides—The Ethiopic word translated “sides” requires some comment. Nickelsburg and VanderKam explain: “The word here translated ‘sides’ denotes literally ‘wings,’ but it is also used figuratively to refer to a corner (of a garment or the earth). Thus, the author may imagine that the divine throne is set on a square platform with one of the archangels at each corner.”^[104]

four presences—The Ethiopic term translated “presences” is *gatsts*. It is the lexical equivalent of Hebrew *panim* (“presence” or “face”). Consequently, we have here “four faces”—really, four archangels (verse 9) who stand in God’s presence. Given the reference to wings above, the imagery is likely drawn from Ezekiel’s vision of the throne of God (Ezekiel 1, 10) supported by cherubim with four faces applied to the four archangels.^[105] Black writes of these “four presences”:

The term *mal’ak happanim* comes from Isa 63:9. When mentioned as a single angel it is sometimes identified with the “angel of the Lord” (*mal’ak YHWH*). Thus “an angel of the presence” appears at Jub 1.27–29, Test Judah 25.2, but “angels of the presence” at Jub 2.18, Test Levi 3.5. Here in Enoch they are distinguished from the watchers (Cherubim, Seraphim, Ophanim) and identified (v. 9) with Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel.^[106]

different from those that sleep not—Cf. Black’s remarks above; these angels are not equated with the Watchers.

the angel who went with me—This angel is also mentioned in 43:3, 46:2, 52:3–4, and 61:3. As in the Book of the Watchers, Enoch is

accompanied by an angel during his visions (1 Enoch 24:6, 27:2).

40:4

The first voice—The four ensuing voices are the four archangels. They are identified in verse 9 as Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

40:5

the Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2 and 39:6–7.

hang upon—i.e., depend upon; see 1 Enoch 38:2 and 46:8.

40:6

*the third voice I heard **pray and intercede** for those who dwell on the earth and **supplicate***—The third voice (archangel) offers prayers and petitions for people. The notion that angelic beings could be intercessors between humans and God is one that derives from the Old Testament. (See comments on 1 Enoch 39:4–5). Job 33:23 is an example:

If there be for him an angel,
a mediator, one of the thousand,
to declare to man what is right for him.

As I have written elsewhere of Job 33:23:

The Hebrew term translated “mediator” is *mēlîṣ*. It occurs in the phrase *mal’āk mēlîṣ*, a grammatical construction that is *not* a construct phrase that would require a translation like “a messenger/angel of a mediator.” Rather, as Meier notes, “they are either in apposition, function as poetic parallels, or the first noun is modified by the second adjectival participle.” The result is that Job 33:23 puts forth the concept of angelic mediation for human beings.

[107]

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

40:7

the fourth voice—The fourth archangel (in context, Phanuel).

fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth—Unlike the Old Testament, “multiple ‘satans’ were part of the demonology of other Second Temple Jewish texts.”[108] The term simply means “adversary” and should not be confused with either the figure in Job 1–2 (who is not the New Testament devil), nor the arch enemy of God in the biblical story.[109] The “satan” in Job 1–2 is actually a heavenly servant of God whose job it was to report on human activity—particularly concerning

obedience or disobedience. The notion of “accuser” is appropriate to understanding this service. Given the fact that divine council scenes follow a heavenly court motif (e.g., Psalm 82; Daniel 7:9–10; 1 Kings 22:19–23), the satan figure of Job 1–2 might be thought of as exercising a prosecutorial function. Understanding the term as well as the particular archangel standing against the multiple satans is key to comprehending the meaning of 1 Enoch 40:7:

The name Phanuel (*pnwʾl*) is a play on Peniel (*pn̄yʾl*) from Genesis 32:30, the place name where Jacob wrestled with the “man” who was actually an angel (Hos 12:3–4). The biblical place name means “face of God” (*pānīm + ʾēl*), whereas *penūʾēl* (Phanuel) combines the verb *pānāh* (“to turn,” literally or metaphorically in repentance) + *ʾēl*. Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that the result “often describes turning to other gods but can mean to turn *to* God.” It is for this reason that Phanuel can be construed as one “set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (v. 9).” Phanuel, then, is tasked with impeding the satans because their accusation is false or ineffectual with respect to faithful believers.^[110]

The sinister character of these satans is thus evident. Black adds, “In this passage, the satans are a special class of angels, no doubt subject to Satan (1 En. 54:6).”^[111]

40:8

angel of peace—A different angel than the four archangels. His function is to explain the activities of the four archangels so that Enoch is privy to “everything that is hidden” (1 Enoch 40:2, 8; 43:3; 46:2; 52:1, 3–4; 64:1–2). Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

In the Book of the Watchers, Enoch is accompanied by a number of interpreting angels—in chaps. 17–19, by Uriel and an unnamed angel (17:1; 19:1; 18:14), and in chaps. 20–36, by a series of named angels (Uriel, Raphael, Reuel, Michael, Sariel, Gabriel, Remiel; see chap. 20) who are in charge of the places whose content they respectively interpret. In the Parables, Enoch is accompanied by a single interpreting angel (presumably the same one in all cases), who is designated as “the angel (of peace), who went with me (and showed me everything that was hidden)” (40:2, 8; 43:3; 46:2; 52:3, 5; 53:4; 54:4; 56:2; 60:24 [an interpolation]; 61:2, 3; and 64:2 [“the angel” who explains the figures that have been

described as “hidden”]). He is distinct from the four archangels whose activities he interprets here.^[112]

Davidson notes that the function of interpreting angels is to “move around the universe, confidently explaining its mysteries” so that the reader feels certain that “the world and its future are firmly under divine control.”^[113]

Who are these four presences?—At this point Enoch questions his angel guide regarding the four presences. They are identified in the next verse.

40:9–10

Michael...Raphael...Gabriel...Phanuel—The four presences are angels (verse 10). The names of the first three are also found in 1 Enoch 9:1. Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe, “They are identified with the familiar quartet of archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Sariel, who is here replaced by Phanuel.”^[114] The names have the following meanings:

- Michael (“Who is like God?”)^[115]
- Raphael (“Healer of God”; i.e., “God’s healer” or “God heals”)
- Gabriel (“God is my warrior”)

On the meaning and role of Phanuel, see above at 40:7.

The roles of the four presences are related to their ministry to humanity (40:6). Michael is “merciful and longsuffering,” a description reminiscent of God Himself at Exodus 34:6. Raphael is a healer who “is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men.” Gabriel is “over all the powers,” which is more nebulous. In 1 Enoch 10:9, Gabriel is sent to destroy the giants, the offspring of the Watchers. Such a role is, of course, an assistance to humans. In 1 Enoch 10, all four of these angels are sent to deal with the Watchers and the giants, so the perspective here is not precisely the same.

Translation: Chapter 41

41.1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance. ² And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits. ³ And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. ⁴ And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world. ⁵ And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together. ⁶ And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. ⁷ And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

And they give thanks and praise and rest not

For unto them is their thanksgiving rest

⁸ For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse

And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous

And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord

Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,

And divided the spirits of men,

And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,

In the name of His righteousness.

⁹ For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him.

Commentary

41:1

secrets—The Ethiopic term is *ḥebu'āt* (“hidden things”). These “secrets” are revealed in sections in the ensuing chapters. See 41:3–9 for the first section and its astronomical secrets. Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that the word is “used frequently in the Parables to describe the hidden heavenly phenomena revealed to Enoch.”^[116]

the kingdom—In context, the kingdom of the earthly kings and the mighty (cf. 1 Enoch 38:5).

Divided...weighed in the balances—The language draws on Daniel 5:26–28, which (like 1 Enoch originally) was written in Aramaic.^[117] Later in the Parables, the Son of man “shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms” (cf. 1 Enoch 46:5). Black opines that “an allusion to Dan. 5 would support the view that the historical situation of the writer and his readers was that of the Seleucid or Roman period.”^[118]

41:2

mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy—N, CW: “dwelling place(s).” To the English reader’s ear, the wording sounds like John 14:1–2. First Enoch 41 does not exist in Greek, so comparison with the Greek wording of that New Testament passage cannot be made.

Lord of spirits—See 1 Enoch 38:2.

41:3

the secrets of—Verses 3–9 focus on astronomical and meteorological secrets. Nickelsburg and VanderKam draw attention to the setting: “Enoch has moved from the environs of the divine throne room—where he saw, in anticipation, sinners being dragged to their punishment—into the realm of the heavenly elements.”^[119]

the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew—The scene is very similar to that of 1 Enoch 17:2–3, where Enoch’s heavenly escorts brought him “to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasures of the stars and of the thunder.”

41:4

chambers—N: “storehouses”; CW: “storerooms.” See 1 Enoch 60:13–15 for a fuller description.

out of which the winds are divided—Nickelsburg and VanderKam alert readers that “the division of the winds (41:3b, 4a)—which blow from the various points of the compass, bringing with them dew and hail and mist—is the subject of a more systematic exposition in the Book of the Luminaries in chap. 76.”^[120]

the chamber of the mist...from the beginning of the world—The reference is to the mist of Genesis 2:6.

41:5

chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return...their stately orbit...they do not leave their orbit...they keep faith with each other—The language is reminiscent of Psalm 19:1–6. Nickelsburg and VanderKam contend that “like the winds and the various forms of moisture, the two great luminaries emerge from their storehouses and, moreover, return to begin the process again. The imagery is different from (though not necessarily incompatible with) chaps. 72–73, where the luminaries emerge...from gates in the firmament.”^[121] The point is that the sun and the moon obediently function as they were created to function (verse 6). They are indicative of a cosmic order.

41:7

the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—This is ordinary language for the change in appearance of the moon between new and full moon stages, along with the moon’s visibility at night and its faint visibility at times during the day. See 1 Enoch 73.

they give thanks and praise—In the author’s understanding, the sun and moon are part of the heavenly host, with one duty being to praise the Creator.

(they) rest not—The daily, monthly, and annual cycles of the sun and moon do not cease.

41:8

For the sun changes oft—The translation of Charles sounds contradictory to the preceding line and its point. The issue is one of translation. N: “For the sun (makes) many revolutions,” which provides consistency with verse 7.^[122] The wording is nevertheless odd. Nickelsburg and VanderKam explain:

[Verse] 8 links cosmology with anthropology. In addition to the sun and the moon, we hear about blessing and curse, the righteous and the sinners, the division of the spirits of humanity, and then again about the spirits of the righteous. The weight of the verse falls on its second half. God “has separated between light and darkness”...a precise word-for-word echo of Gen 1:4 (Eth., Gk., Heb.) and has divided the spirits of humanity, strengthening the spirits of the righteous while, presumably, leaving the spirits of the sinners to their own devices or those of an evil force that is influencing them.^[123]

And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous, And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord, Who made a separation between the light and the darkness, And divided the spirits of men—Scholars have noticed that the language here is similar to that of the “two spirits” doctrine from Qumran, a doctrine that held that God created two spirits within humanity (spirits of truth and falsehood). The belief is laid out 1QS iii.13:17–25; iv.15–20:^[124]

Col. iii

17 ...[God] created man to rule

18 the world and placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits

19 of truth and of deceit. From the spring of light stem the generations of truth, and from the source of darkness the generations of deceit.

20 And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of

21 Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness. From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of

22 all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts and their offensive deeds are under his dominion

23 in compliance with the mysteries of God, until his moment; and all their afflictions and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity;

24 and all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to fall. However, the God of Israel and the angel of his truth assist all

25 the sons of light. He created the spirits of light and of darkness and on them established every deed.

Col. iv

15 *Blank* In these (lies) the history of all men; in their (two) divisions all their armies have a share for their generations; in their paths they walk; every deed

16 they do (falls) into their divisions, dependent on what might be the birthright of man, great or small, for all eternal times. For God has sorted them into equal parts until the

17 last time, and has put an everlasting loathing between /their/ divisions. Deeds of injustice are an abhorrence to truth and all the paths of truth are an abhorrence to injustice. (There exists) a violent

18 conflict in respect of all their decrees since they can not walk together. God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time

19 of the visitation he will obliterate it for ever. Then truth shall rise up forever (in) the world, for it has been defiled in paths of wickedness during the dominion of injustice until

20 the time appointed for the judgment decided.

VanderKam explains the theology reflected by this Qumran scroll, which seems to be shared to some extent by the author of 1 Enoch 41:

In God's predestined plan there are two ways: the way of light and the way of darkness, the way of good and the way of evil. There is no mediating option. The entire universe is involved in this duality, which is ultimately under God's firm control. Angels, which are numerous, and humans belong in one or the other of the two camps. The two camps are engaged in constant warfare with one another, a conflict that will end only when God comes in final judgment and gives victory to the sons of light and their angelic allies.

The cosmic war between these two primal forces also played itself out in the lives of individuals. Each person had some amount of light and of darkness. Or, to put it another way, everyone is sinful, even if he is one of the sons of light. [\[125\]](#)

41:9

no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him—Black notes that

“this verse seems to refer back to the contents of 41:2. The reference must be the Elect Righteous One as Judge.”[\[126\]](#)

Translation: Chapter 42

¹ Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

² Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of
men,

And found no dwelling-place:
Wisdom returned to her place
And took her seat among the angels.

³ And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,
As rain in a desert,
And dew on a thirsty land.

Commentary

42:1

Wisdom—This is the personified female figure of Wisdom found in the Hebrew Bible, most frequently, the book of Proverbs (e.g., Proverbs 1:20–23; 8:1, 12–31 [cp. Proverbs 3:19]). Scholars refer to this figure as “Lady Wisdom” because the figure is referred to with feminine pronouns in the Hebrew Bible. For example:

- 20 Wisdom cries aloud in the street,
in the markets she raises her voice;
21 at the head of the noisy streets she cries out;
at the entrance of the city gates she speaks:
22 “How long, O simple ones, will you love being simple?
How long will scoffers delight in their scoffing
and fools hate knowledge?
23 If you turn at my reproof,
behold, I will pour out my spirit to you;
I will make my words known to you.

The reason for the feminine pronoun references in this and other biblical passages (as well as Second Temple Jewish literature) is that the word translated “wisdom” (*chokmah*) is grammatically feminine. As I have written elsewhere:

In English many words intuitively describe either males (“boy,” “man,” “priest,” “buck,” “bull”) or females (“girl,” “woman,” “priestess,” “doe,” “heifer”). But other English words are ambiguous, requiring some context to determine gender: “author,” “doctor,” “lawyer.” Since modern English does not grammatically assign gender to nouns, any gender reference for many English words is almost always entirely dependent on context. This isn’t the case for many languages around the world, though. Some use grammatical gender to resolve such ambiguity and provide a means of grammatical agreement with verbs and adjectives, which themselves also use gender classification. In some languages, grammatical gender is a means of relating words to each other. Hebrew is one of these languages.

Grammatical gender and biological gender have little to do with each other. The ancient biblical languages assign a gender to

all nouns, not just the ones associated with physical gender. For example, the Hebrew word *nephesh* (often translated “soul”) is grammatically feminine despite there being nothing “physical” about the term. The Hebrew word for “wisdom” is likewise feminine. The writer of Proverbs thus uses feminine pronouns to refer to the noun “wisdom” in Proverbs 8 and elsewhere. Wisdom’s “femininity” refers to its grammatical classification, not to a female goddess. The Hebrew word for “law” (*torah*) is also grammatically feminine, but it is also not female in a physical sense.^[127]

Since Proverbs 8:22–31 casts Wisdom as God’s agent of creation, and the verb *qanah* found in Proverbs 8:22 may be translated “created” (vs. “possessed” or “acquired”), there has been much discussion of how the figure of Lady Wisdom relates to Jesus as God’s agent of creation (Colossians 1:16; 1 Corinthians 8:6).

The writers of the New Testament apparently identify Jesus with the figure of Wisdom (1 Corinthians 1:24, 30; cp. Luke 11:46–51 with Matthew 23:29–36). The most direct point of comparison is likely Hebrews 1:1–3:

Although God spoke long ago in many parts and in many ways to the fathers by the prophets, in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the world, who is the radiance [Greek: *apaugasma*] of his glory and the representation of his essence, sustaining all things by the word of power.

The word *apaugasma* is very rare, occurring only in this passage and in the Septuagint in Wisdom of Solomon 7:24–26:

For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
because of her pureness she pervades and penetrates all things.

For she is a breath of the power of God,
and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty;
therefore nothing defiled gains entrance into her.
For she is a reflection [*apaugasma*] of eternal light,
a spotless mirror of the working of God,
and an image of his goodness.

In Wisdom of Solomon 7:22, *apaugasma*, the radiance of God’s glory, is used to describe Wisdom, but for the writer of Hebrews, it is a way of describing Jesus.

Other passages in Second Temple texts cast Wisdom as an enthroned divine figure—with language that echoes 1 Enoch 42 at several points:

O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, who has made all things with your word, And ordained man through your Wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which you have made, And order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with an upright heart: Give me Wisdom, who sits alongside your throne; and do not reject me from among your children:

And Wisdom was with you, who knows your works, and was present when you made the world, and knew what was acceptable in your sight, and right in your commandments. O send her out of your holy heavens, and from the throne of your glory, that being present she may work with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto you. For she knows and understands all things, and she shall lead me soberly in my doings, and preserve me in her power (Wisdom of Solomon 9:1–4, 9–11).

Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people. In the council of the most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power. I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud. I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep (Sirach 24:1–5).

These Jewish writers were all believers in the uniqueness of Yahweh. They adhered to the Shema from Deuteronomy 6:4 (“the Lord our God is one”). Yet they place Wisdom as enthroned with God, or as being sent from God’s throne.

It should be obvious that the language is reminiscent of New Testament passages that refer to Jesus as exalted and as God’s agent of creation (Colossians 1:16, 1 Corinthians 8:6). The link between the two is transparent. But how does this work for New Testament Christology, especially when Proverbs 8:22 can be translated to say that Wisdom was created? As I have written elsewhere:

The early church’s identification of Jesus with Wisdom in Prov 8 became a controversial issue in early theological debate. The Council of Nicaea was called in ad 325 to address a debate about the relationship of Jesus to God the Father. The dominant view at the council was that Jesus (the Son) was God in the flesh—that the

Word (or Wisdom) incarnated in the person known as Jesus of Nazareth. Consequently, there was never a time when the Son had not existed. In contrast, the Arians believed that there was a time when the Son had not existed—that he was a created being. One of their arguments came from Prov 8:22: “The Lord possessed me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of old” (esv).

The Hebrew verb translated “possessed” (*qanah*) was at the root of the controversy. The verb has a wide range of meanings in biblical usage, including “to create” (Gen 14:19, 22; Deut 32:6). Understanding it as such, the Arians argued that Prov 8:22 states that Wisdom is a created being. Therefore, they argued, since the nt identifies Wisdom with the Son, the Son is also created. However, they maintained that the Son (Jesus) served as the agent for the rest of God’s creation (Col 1:16; 1 Cor 8: 6) and Savior of the world.

Those who held that the nt presents Jesus as the truly incarnate, eternal God argued that the best translation of *qanah* in Prov 8:22 is “bring forth.” Genesis 4:1 provides an example of this translation, where Eve “brings forth” her son Cain. There, the use of *qanah* does not convey conception (i.e., bringing into existence)—another verb (*harah*) expresses this idea in the same verse. Rather, it speaks of Cain’s emergence from Eve’s womb after having been conceived. This reflects the ancient Israelites belief that *birth* was not “creation,” but a “bringing forth” of something already living inside the womb. Hence, *qanah* refers to *the moment of emergence*—not the beginning of the life. The Godhead therefore brought forth Wisdom to assist God the Father with creation. This understanding of the verb in Prov 8:22 preserves the Son’s eternality (who is Wisdom).^[128]

found no place where she might dwell; Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens—Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that, on the surface, this line from 1 Enoch 42:1 sounds oppositional to other Second Temple passages, including one noted above. In fact, the differences alert us to a theological competition in ancient Second Temple Judaism: the elevation of Torah vs. the Wisdom shown to Enoch, the man who walked with God. Nickelsburg and VanderKam explain:

The poem as a whole looks very much like a negative counterpart to Sir 24:7–11. In both cases, the personified Wisdom’s home is in heaven, but she descends to earth seeking a dwelling among humans. For Ben Sira, she becomes embodied in the

Mosaic Torah and finds her home in Jerusalem. When Torah is expounded in the temple, she flourishes like the tree of life and gushes forth like the rivers that surrounded Eden, bringing life to those who adhere to her words. In 1 Enoch 42, Wisdom finds no home among humans, and when she returns to heaven, her counterpart, Iniquity, descends and finds many adherents, who soak up her false teaching like moisture in a desert.... Ben Sira is optimistic that by means of his teaching and that of his scribal colleagues, the Wisdom resident in the Torah will enable one to live the right life. Conversely, he is dubious about the validity of dreams, dream visions, divinations, and omens, which are folly and lead many astray, as opposed to the Torah and its wisdom (Sir 34[31 Gk.]:1–8)....

Read in the light of these data, the poem can be understood as an outright attack on the notion that the Mosaic Torah embodies heavenly Wisdom and, thus, as a denigration of the Torah as an effective catalyst of the righteous life. Wisdom descended but found no home in the Torah or among the Jewish people, and after she returned to heaven, the Torah could promote nothing but iniquity. The corollary of this is that Wisdom dwells in heaven and that one has access to it through the writings of Enoch, which embody it. This interpretation of the poem as anti-Torah polemic is particularly attractive because it is a kind of parody of Sirach 24, and in that context the failure of Wisdom to find a dwelling presumes the invalidity of the Mosaic Torah as divine revelation.^[129]

The point of this last paragraph can be summarized easily. For some Second Temple Jews, particularly those who produced “Enochian” material, the Torah was *not* the apex of divine revelation. The writer of 1 Enoch and similar books assigned more authority to the revelation given to Enoch for two straightforward reasons: (1) Enoch came before Moses and was taken by God to heaven for instruction, and (2) Enoch’s revelation was universal—it was not isolated to the community of Israel. Enoch encounters Wisdom in his journey through the heavenlies, the dwelling place of God. His revelation is above Torah.

Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s wider point must also not be missed in another regard. For Jews like the writer of 1 Enoch, Wisdom, cast as agent of creation and enthroned with the true God, came to be parsed as the Torah. That the Hebrew word *torah* is grammatically feminine allowed this theological equation. This circumstance means

that Paul's message of salvation "apart from the law [Torah]" (Romans 3:21) requires more thoughtful consideration. The New Testament link between Jesus and Wisdom was strategic. The Torah was not the agent of creation, enthroned with God—that was Jesus.

42:2

Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men, And found no dwelling-place—The notion that Wisdom attempted to find a place in the human world is found in Proverbs 1:20–31. The passage from Proverbs makes it clear that people rejected her, behaving as fools and scoffers (Proverbs 1:22), refusing to listen (Proverbs 1:24), because they "hated knowledge" and "despised" Wisdom's reproof (Proverbs 1:29–30). First Enoch 94 is similar. While the present chapter of 1 Enoch offers no explanation as to why Wisdom found no home among humankind, 1 Enoch 94:5 insists that "sinners will tempt men to evilly-entreat wisdom" (1 Enoch 94:5).

returned to her place and took her seat among the angels—As noted earlier, Sirach 24 has Wisdom's throne "in a cloudy pillar" and a member of "the council of the Most High."

42:3

unrighteousness went forth from her chambers—Wisdom's counterpart, Unrighteousness (N: Iniquity) is here personified.

as rain in a desert, and dew on a thirsty land—Some scholars see an allusion or analogy to Sirach 24:12–22, 25–34 where:

Wisdom is depicted as the tree of life and the food and water of life, and...where she is associated with the rivers that surrounded and irrigated Eden and where Sirach depicts his teaching as the canal that channels that water.... Here, by contrast, Iniquity is portrayed as rain and dew that saturate the dry land.^[130]

Translation: Chapters 43–44

43 ¹ And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him.

² And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. ³ And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden: “What are these?” ⁴ And he said to me: “The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. ‘their parable’): these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.”

44 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

Commentary

First Enoch 43–44 resumes the revelation of cosmic (astronomical) secrets to Enoch. Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe that, “having focused on issues relating to divine justice and the great judgment, the first parable concludes with a section that covers another, related major Enochic issue, the order and the secrets of the cosmos.”^[131]

43:1

lightnings—See 1 Enoch 41:3.

the stars of heaven...He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him—The language is reminiscent of Isaiah 40:26 and Psalm 147:4. The focus is on the obedience of the stars; that is, they do what they were created to do. However, in Enochic literature (as in biblical material), “stars” is a way of describing heavenly beings. For example, in 1 Enoch 17–19, the transgressing Watchers are referred to as “stars.”

43:2

they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light—See verse 4, in connection with which Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The image of the balance reprises 41:1. Here, however, it depicts the peculiarity of the individual stars as this is related to size and calendar. That the balance is “righteous” emphasizes the rightness and order of God’s creation, and it may allude to the connection between the stars and the righteous that will become explicit in 43:4.^[132]

their revolution according to the number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other—See comments at 1 Enoch. 41:8.

43:3

showed me what was hidden—What is hidden will be explained in verse 4, the symbiosis between the heavenlies and earth.

43:4

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits—There is a connection between the righteous on earth and the angels in heaven who are loyal

to God. See 1 Enoch 39:4–5. For a biblical connection, see Daniel 12:2–3. Black writes:

Enoch has not only been given a vision of the heavens and the movements of the heavenly bodies, but these latter, individually named by the Lord of spirits, are somehow to be considered as “parabolically” representing the names of the faithful upon the earth. The text clearly owes much to Daniel 12:3.^[133]

44:(1)

cannot part with their new form—N: “cannot abandon their form.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam point out that the Ethiopic text here is problematic and note manuscript disagreements. The major Ethiopic manuscript of the Parables (labeled T⁹) has “remain with them,” prompting the two commentators to qualify, “T⁹ is our strongest witness, though it is sometimes wrong.”^[134]

Chapters 45–57: The Second Parable

Section: 1 Enoch 45–57

This section opens with the plight of the wicked, those who “have denied the Lord of Spirits” (45:2). They are juxtaposed with the Elect (Chosen) One, the Messiah figure, who is seated to judge them. From this point forward, the Messiah, a figure described by various titles (see the Excursus), takes the place of prominence in the Book of Parables. He is described as pre-existent, the seated Judge, the eschatological ruling Son of Man, the Anointed One. As Docherty summarizes:

The imagery and language of this section is heavily influenced by the report of the vision of the divine throne in Daniel 7:9–14. Echoes of this passage are especially clear in the introduction of a “son of man” (e.g. 46.3–4; 48.2; 62.7; 63.11; 70.1; 71.14, 17), who is presently hidden in heaven but who will be revealed at the end of time. He is associated above all with righteousness (e.g. 46.3), and he will be involved in the enacting of God’s punishment on the wicked.^[135]

Translation: Chapter 45

¹ And this is the Second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

² And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:
Such shall be the lot of the sinners
Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

³ On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall **try** their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.
And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name:

⁴ Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,

⁵ And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing:
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it:
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

⁶ For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones,
And have caused them to dwell before Me:
But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

Commentary

45:1

who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones—Black contends that the line “is odd and probably wrong.”^[136] The sentence has two nouns (“dwelling,” “holy ones”) dependent on the same construct noun. This syntax is unusual, but not without precedent (either in Hebrew or Ethiopic). The greater issue may be a textual one, as certain Ethiopic manuscripts have alternate readings: “the name of the Lord of Spirits and the dwelling of the holy ones” (MS t² and b’) and “the name of the Lord of Spirits and the dwelling of the congregation of the holy ones” (MS T⁹ and n).^[137] In any case, the referent of “the name of the dwelling of the holy ones” would be heaven. For this reason, Black notes that some scholars have interpreted the line as being a swipe at the Sadducees, who denied the life to come (cf. Acts 23:8).^[138] But the manuscript alternatives still leave the reader with the odd idea that “the dwelling of (the congregation of) the holy ones” is being denied. Black proposes that the original may have read “who deny the testimony of the holy ones” because the presumed Aramaic spelling of the respective “congregation” (‘dt) and “testimony” (‘dwt) are very similar. Consequently, Black suspects that the Aramaic text was misread by the Ethiopic translator.^[139]

the Lord of Spirits—see 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

45:2

into the heaven they shall not ascend, And on the earth they shall not come—The first part is clear. Those who make the denial of verse 1 “have denied the Lord of Spirits” and are sinners (verse 2). The phrase “on the earth they shall not come” is less clear (or a bit awkward). The meaning is unclear. It is possible that the point is that sinners will not go to heaven and be “angelified” (glorified) and return to the new earth.

the Lord of Spirits—see 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

45:3

Mine Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2 and 39:6–7.

shall sit on the throne of glory—See 1 Enoch 62:2.

*shall **try** their works*—The boldface indicates that Charles considered this a mistranslation issue. Ethiopic has “choose” instead of “try,” the apparent result of misreading an Aramaic *b-ḥ-r* (“to test, try”) as

b-h-n (“to choose”). (In Aramaic the “r” and final “n” look very similar). The boldfacing of Charles makes clear that he is reading the line as referring to the sinners. This in turn raises questions in the phrases that follow.

And their places of rest shall be innumerable.... And their souls shall grow strong—The referents here are apparently the sinners, which makes these lines difficult. Nickelsburg and VanderKam comment:

Scholars debate whether this verse refers to the judgment of the righteous or of the sinners or of both. For two reasons the most obvious way to read the verse is with reference to the judgment of the sinners. First, “the sinners” mentioned in the previous verse are the natural antecedent of the three occurrences of “their”...and “they” [earlier] in v. 3.... It is difficult to imagine the sinners having innumerable “resting places,” or, if one so translates it, innumerable “dwellings”.... In what sense would the threat of damnation cause the sinners’ souls or spirits to *grow strong*, as the line is usually translated (v. 3d)?

To solve these interpretive problems one way or another, one must either posit the loss of some reference to the chosen between vv. 2 and 3...or one must explain how the problematic elements can refer to the sinners in the context of their imminent condemnation.

[140]

Like Charles (see earlier note on the boldfacing), Black prefers “test” the works of the sinners over “choose.” On the “growing strong” problem, Nickelsburg and VanderKam cite the work of Sjoberg: “Eth. *ṣan‘a* is a normal translation of [Grk] *sklērunō*, which in turn usually translates the Heb. [*q-sh-h*], which can have the meaning of ‘be in distress’.”[141] The souls of sinners being in distress is a workable solution. Consequently, we should read: “their souls shall grow in distress within them.”

On the “innumerable resting places” for sinners, 1 Enoch 38:2 refers to resting places for sinners:

Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the
Lord of spirits?

The question is obviously rhetorical—there *are not resting places* for those who have denied the Lord of Spirits. Sinners have no “rest”; they have only torment. The same logic/rhetoric can apply here in 1 Enoch 45:3.

Mine elect ones.... And those who have called upon My glorious name—The second line defines the first. The referent is obviously the righteous.

45:4

Mine Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2 and 39:6–7.

I will transform the heaven—At first the line seems odd: Why would heaven need transformation? This is to misread “the heaven” and ignore the following “the earth” (verse 5). The idea is a biblical one, that both the “heavens and the earth” will be transformed at the end of days (Isaiah 65:17, 66:22; 2 Peter 3:13; Revelation 21:1). See 1 Enoch 51.

45:5

I will transform the earth—This wording, along with “the heaven” in verse 4, speaks of the transformation of the present world into the new earth (Isaiah 65:17, 66:22; 2 Peter 3:13; Revelation 21:1). See 1 Enoch 51.

Mine elect ones—As noted above, the reference is to the righteous remnant. That is made clear by the contrast with the “sinners and evil-doers” in the next line.

45:6

with peace—Nickelsburg and VanderKam express the thought well: “Appropriately, the author assures the audience that the Lord has seen the troubles of the righteous and that, in the judgment, God will grant them peace.”^[142]

Translation: Chapter 46

¹ And there I saw One, who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the
appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy
angels.

² And I asked the **angel** who went with me and showed me all
the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and
whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? ³ And
he answered and said unto me:

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of
Spirits in uprightness for ever.

⁴ And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners;

⁵ [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and
kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed
upon them.

⁶ And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

⁷ And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.

And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the †gods† which they have made with
their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
⁸ And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of
Spirits.

Commentary

46:1

who had a head of days.... His head was white like wool—The one described had the head (white hair; explained in the next phrase) of a man who had seen many days (i.e., an old man). The description, and the one that follows, is drawn quite clearly from the biblical book of Daniel (Daniel 7:9, 13). Nickelsburg and VanderKam comment on the odd phrase:

The element in 1 Enoch 46:1 that has most puzzled scholars is the difference between “head of days”...and “ancient of days”...in Dan 7:9. The expression, which is here descriptive of the deity—he “*had* a head of days”—becomes a title—he *is* “the Head of Days” (46:2; 47:3; 48:2; 55:1; 60:2; 71:10, 12–14).... The [Ethiopic] *re`ś* and the Aram. and [Hebrew] *rē`ś, rō`ś* can denote “beginning” as well as the “head” on a body. Thus, playing on the multivalence of the word, the author interprets the Danielic descriptive focus on the deity’s hoary “head” to refer to the “beginning” of days. [\[143\]](#)

with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man—with Him (the aged figure) was another figure, whose countenance looked human. The point is not that the aged figure didn’t look like a man as well, for he is described as an old man. The wording is what it is because it is “a concise but precise allusion to Dan 7:9, 13.” [\[144\]](#)

Daniel 7:9, 13	1 Enoch 46:1
<p>the Ancient of Days took his seat; his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool.</p> <p>I saw in the night visions...there came one like a son of man....</p>	<p>there I saw One, who had a head of days, And His head was white like wool,</p> <p>And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man....</p>

Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize the parallel:

The precise relationship between the Son of Man material in the Parables and Daniel 7 is a matter of dispute.... A close comparison of Daniel 7 and the Parables indicates the following. (1) The Parables omit the following Danielic elements: the setting of the scene and identification of Daniel as the seer (7:1); the four beasts rising from the sea (7:2–8); the punishment of the horn and the four beasts (7:11–12); the epiphany of one like a son of man on the clouds (7:13) and eternal dominion being given to him (7:14); the seer's terrified reactions (7:15, 28). (2) These omissions notwithstanding, chaps. 46–47 include a string of phrases that closely parallel Daniel 7: “one who had a head of days” (46:1a || 7:9); “and his head was white like wool” (46:1b || 7:9); “and with him was another, whose face was like the appearance of a man” (46:1c; 7:13); “I saw the Head of Days as he took his seat on the throne of his glory” (47:3a; 7:9); “and the books of the living were opened in his presence” (47:3b; 7:10); “and all his host...and his court were standing in his presence” (47:3c; 7:10).... In short, although the Parables omit many details in Daniel 7, they employ language found in Daniel 7 in order to spell out a common concern in similar fashion.^[145]

46:2

the angel—See 1 Enoch 40:8.

that Son of Man...the Head of Days—See the appendix (“The Messiah in the Book of Enoch”). This descriptive epithet occurs sixteen times in the Parables of Enoch (Charles' translation).^[146] As Nickelsburg and VanderKam observe:

The present verse provides a transition to all that follows in the sense that *characteristics* of the two figures in v. 1 are changed into *designations* for the figures. The one who “has a head of days” becomes “the Head of Days,” and the one whose face was like the appearance of a man, becomes “this/that/the Son of Man”.... Enoch does not inquire about the Head of Days but only about “that Son of Man.” The audience knows who the deity is. However, Enoch's Son of Man, who is so central to his text, is different from the Danielic figure and must be explained to the author's audience.^[147]

The answer to Enoch's inquiry about who “that Son of Man” is follows in verses 3–8, the remainder of the chapter.

Despite the above, one must be careful to observe that “son of man” does not always point back to Daniel 7. The Old Testament itself

uses the term to simply denote a human man (Numbers 23:19; Job 16:21, 25:6; Psalms 8:4, 144:3; Isaiah 51:12; Jeremiah 50:40; and many times in Ezekiel, such as: Ezekiel 2:6, 8; 4:1; 5:1; 21:6). The same is true for 1 Enoch. Commenting on the Ethiopic words behind the phrase, Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The noun *sab*’ denotes humankind or a human being, and in the Eth. Bible it regularly translates Greek *anthrōpos*. The noun *be’esi* designates, first of all, a male person—a man, in the Eth. Bible translating Greek ἀνὴρ six hundred times. Very frequently, however, it denotes a human being and translates Greek ἄνθρωπος. The third expression, *walda’egwala’emaḥeyāw*, lit., the “son of the offspring of the mother of the living,” that is, a child of Eve, is an often-used circumlocution for a human being, and in the Bible it translates Greek *anthrōpos* and *huios anthrōpou*, as well as *anēr* (*anthrōpos*, “human being,” *huios anthrōpou* [“son of a human being”], *anēr* [“man”]). Thus, in the Parables all three expressions can comfortably be understood as translation variants of a common Gk. *huios (tou) anthrōpou* (“son of [the] man”), which would reflect Aramaic *bar’enash*, and most translations render them uniformly as “Son of Man.”^[148]

When does the phrase likely denote a messianic figure instead of a generic human man? The answer can only be “context” due to the nature of the Ethiopic language that is behind the material we possess for 1 Enoch 37–71. Nickelsburg and VanderKam again note:

I have chosen to translate the expression as “Son of Man” (capitalized) rather than “son of man,” “son of a human being,” or even “human (being)” both in order to retain the echo of Dan 7:13 in its common English translation, and because in the Parables, with the exception of 71:14 (and Daniel) the figure is not human but transcendent.... The interpretive problem arises because the Ge’ez [Ethiopic] language has no definite article as such and often uses the demonstrative adjective “that” (*zekku*, *we’etu*) to translate the Greek definite article. Thus we must ask: Where in the Parables should we translate “the Son of Man” and where should we translate the qualifier literally, and where we translate “the Son of Man,” does this indicate that the expression is a formal (messianic) title. Rather than a formal or traditional messianic title as such, “Son of Man” in the Parables appears to be a designation employed in a coherent

set of texts that refer back to a character who has been introduced with the terminology that is incorporated in that designation.^[149]

In other words, Nickelsburg and VanderKam (and others) take note of “this” or “that” often preceding “Son of Man” in the Parables and interpret the demonstrative pronoun as limiting the reference to a human-like heavenly figure that is in the scene, as opposed to something as specific as a Daniel 7 messianic reference. Only context could specifically indicate whether the writer of the Parables is thinking of Daniel 7.^[150]

46:3

who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness—There is Old Testament precedent for the Messiah “having” righteousness or being associated with righteousness (Isaiah 9:6–7, 11:4; Jeremiah 23:5; Zechariah 9:9). For righteousness “dwelling” somewhere in association with the time of the end, see Isaiah 32:16. The messianic figure of the Parables is elsewhere the “Righteous One” (1 Enoch 38:2), “the Elect One of righteousness and of faith” (1 Enoch 39:6), and “the Righteous and Elect One” (53:6). Nickelsburg and VanderKam suggest:

This righteousness has two aspects. It will be enacted in the judgment over which the Son of Man/Chosen One will preside when he deals with the sins of the kings and the mighty (62:2, 3; 63:9). It is also a quality that he shares with his clients, “the righteous and chosen,” who have been oppressed by the kings and the mighty and whom he will vindicate in that judgment (48:1–7; 49:3; 53:6; 62:13, 15).... In a general sense, righteousness is such an essential quality because he is the agent of the righteous God. More specifically, this righteousness is related to his identity as the Servant of the Lord.

^[151]

treasures of that which is hidden—A reference to divine revelation, but see 1 Enoch 41:3–4 and its “storehouses” (“treasuries”). The notion that this figure will “have” righteousness and reveal things that are hidden likely also points to His role as Judge—He will know the secrets of sinners.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

46:4

Son of Man—See above at 46:2.

†*raise up*†—The idea is that the Son of Man will “rouse up” or “root up” (remove) the kings and might from their thrones. Black

comments that He will rouse them either to oppose them or require tribute from them.^[152]

loosen the reins of the strong—Black translates “loosen the loins of the powerful” and writes that “the expression means to demoralize, probably to disarm the powerful (Isa 45:1).”^[153]

break the teeth of the sinners—See Psalms 3:7, 58:6, and Job 29:17.

46:6

put down the countenance of the strong—Black notes that the Ethiopic verb has the idea of making the face pale, and he cites Jeremiah 30:6 for a direct parallel: “Why has every face turned pale?” The idea is to “turn white (as a ghost in our expression) with fear.”

darkness shall be their dwelling, And worms shall be their bed, And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds—These expressions are indicative of death and Sheol. The dead are lain in the grave, the underworld, and have no hope of removal. “Bed” does not require the notion of sleep as the biblical parallels Isaiah 14:11 and Job 17:13–16 indicate. Sheol is one’s “house,” the domicile of the dead. The other dead “see” newcomers and stare at them, pondering their arrival (Isaiah 14:15–16). This is not the language of sleep.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

46:7

these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven, [And raise their hands against the Most High]—The word “judge” is marked by Charles because it is highly questionable. Nickelsburg and VanderKam believe that “it is almost certainly a corruption.”^[154] Black writes that the idea of “judging” here “would make very poor sense” and opts for “ruling.”^[155] There is general consensus that the line is in some way related to Daniel 8:10, where the little horn “grew great, even to the host of heaven. And some of the host and some of the stars it threw down to the ground and trampled on them.”

Most scholars take the “stars” here as a reference to the (human) righteous at the eschaton (cf. Daniel 12:3). Nickelsburg and VanderKam acknowledge, though, that spiritual warfare (i.e., judging or condemning fallen supernatural beings) exists in Scripture, though he doubts that is the idea in the present passage. He asks, “In what sense might the author accuse the kings and the mighty [of the earth] of rendering negative judgment on rebellious angels, or indeed of condemning the

angelic patrons of the righteous?”^[156] This point is well taken, since the writer describes these “kings and mighty” as idolaters a few lines later. These human rulers are raising their fists against the Most High via their idolatry and persecution of the righteous.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

46:8

houses of His congregations—Religious communities, perhaps individual synagogues.

Translation: Chapter 47

¹ And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous.

And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

² In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice

And supplicate and pray [and praise,

And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]

On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,

And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before
the Lord of Spirits,

That judgement may be done unto them,

And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

³ In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, And the books of the living were opened before Him:

And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,

⁴ And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;

Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**,

And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,

And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

Commentary

47:1

in those days—The phrase points back to the circumstances of the persecution of the righteous faithful: “They persecute the houses of His congregations, And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits” (1 Enoch 46:8). Their supplication for justice has been and will be heard (verse 2).

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

47:2

the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens—In Second Temple Judaism, based on Old Testament precedent, the holy ones, members of God’s heavenly host, played a mediatorial role in the lives of people. In 1 Enoch 9:1, for example, the archangels of God (Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel) not only served the God of heaven, but also kept watch over humanity. Nickelsburg and VanderKam note in this regard:

Within the logic of the story, as narrated in 1 Enoch, the archangels serve not only as God’s eyes on the world, but also as intercessors for the human race. The angels’ prayer is an extension and explication of the cry of humanity.... The angels’ function as “the eyes of God” is an integral part of their role as mediators and intercessors or advocates for humankind.... In almost all the strata of 1 Enoch, angels play a crucial role as intercessors for humanity. Essential in all cases is a judgment context and a concern that the righteous get their due (which is often not the case at the present time).^[157]

Several passages in Job include the mediation element, a concept that is behind the “guardian angel” motif in Matthew 18:10 (“See that you do not despise one of these little ones. For I tell you that in heaven their angels always see the face of my Father who is in heaven”).

I have commented elsewhere on the Job material:

The verse of interest for our study is Job 33:23: “If there be for [a man] an angel, a mediator.” The Hebrew term translated “mediator” is *mēlîš*. It occurs in the phrase *mal’āk mēlîš*, a grammatical construction that is *not* a construct phrase that would

require a translation like “a messenger/angel of a mediator.... Job 33:23 puts forth the concept of angelic mediation for human beings.”

The notion that heavenly beings were presumed to function as mediators between the leadership of the divine council and mortal humans, in effect functioning as witnesses for humans to plead their case in the context of unjust suffering, is a very ancient one, perhaps going back to divine assemblies at Sumer.... [T]here is some indication that angelic mediation also involved record keeping. I refer here to the notion that either God or his heavenly agents keeps a record of human behavior (Isa 65:6–7; Dan 7:10; 10:21) or suffering (Ps 56:8), or of those who belong to God or not (Exod 32:32; Isa 69:28–29; Jer 17:13; Ps 87:5–7; Dan 12:1; Mal 3:16). While several of these passages have God keeping track of such things, the wider ancient Near Eastern context has such divine record keeping as a duty of the divine council.⁵⁰ The metaphor conveys a simple but profound thought: God and his agents will not overlook evil, injustice, and faithfulness.^[158]

Shall unite.... And supplicate and pray [and praise.... And give thanks and bless...]—Nickelsburg and VanderKam note of the grammatical forms of these verbs: “The imperfect tenses can be read either as future tenses (these things will happen after the time of Enoch’s visions, i.e., in the author’s time) or as present imperfect tenses (i.e., as descriptions of things that are in the process of happening).”^[159]

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

May not be in vain...that judgement may be done unto them, And that they may not have to suffer for ever.—The idea is not that the righteous are suffering some sort of everlasting punishment; that is reserved for the wicked. Rather, the present suffering of the righteous is in view. It will come to an end. The holy ones will not fail to take (or are in the process of taking) their prayers to the Lord of Spirits so that the present suffering of the righteous will not go on forever.

47:3

the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory—See 1 Enoch 46:1–3. As in Daniel 7, where the divine council meets before God to seal the fate of the four beasts (empires), so here the council meets to vindicate the righteous. The scene is also similar to one in 1 Enoch 9–10. Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize the similarities and differences:

The intercession of the holy ones prompts the deity to convoke the heavenly court so that the judgment mentioned in the previous verse may be enacted. The account differs from 1 Enoch 9–10 in several respects. (1) Chapter 9 records an extended angelic prayer; here the author states simply that the holy ones were interceding and praying (47:2). (2) In chap. 10, the deity simply orders his holy ones to execute judgment; here the author, writing after the composition of Daniel, draws on Dan 7:9–10 to describe the session of the heavenly court. (3) The reference to heavenly books here creates a sequence (death, complaint, angelic intercession, *heavenly books*, anticipated judgment) that parallels [1 Enoch] 103:9–104:3 and not just chaps. 9–10.... The double reference to “all his host” and to “the court” and the mention of the books also have counterparts in Dan 7:10.^[160]

the books of the living were opened before Him—As with the angelic mediation, the notion of “heavenly books” has Old Testament roots. A number of passages either state or presume that members of the heavenly host are keeping a record of events on earth as part of their ministering service to God (Isaiah 4:3, 65:6–7; Jeremiah 17:13; Psalm 69:28; Daniel 7:9–10, 10:21, 12:1; Malachi 3:16).^[161] The most familiar of these books, of course, is the “Book of Life” (Philippians 4:3; Revelation 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; cf. related wording in Luke 10:20 and Hebrews 12:23).

Given the context of the Parables, the final judgment, the role of heavenly books here bears close resemblance to those in the book of Revelation (Revelation 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27):

Heavenly books...play a special role in beliefs about the final judgment, as these are articulated in all the major strata of 1 Enoch.... In 1 Enoch heavenly books have three kinds of contents. They record: human deeds, notably those of the sinners who oppress the righteous; the names of the righteous; and the rewards of the righteous. These books are often explicitly associated with the angels who are their scribes.... In 103:1–4, employing language reminiscent of 81:1–2, Enoch claims to have seen heavenly tablets that contain a record of the rewards that have been prepared and thus must be given to the righteous who have died. The similarity to 81:1–2 suggests that these books are the counterpart to the books of human sins, containing not only the deeds of the righteous but the rewards that result from these deeds.^[162]

47:4

the number of the righteous had been offered—Ethiopic manuscript mT⁹ reads “the righteous one” instead of “the righteous. Instead of “had been offered,” N reads “had been heard.” Black has “the number of the righteous had been reached.”^[163] Despite the translation disagreement, Nickelsburg and VanderKam still see a parallel between verse 4 and Revelation 6:10–11:

¹⁰ They cried out with a loud voice, “O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before you will judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell on the earth?” ¹¹ Then they were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brothers should be complete, who were to be killed as they themselves had been.

The parallel is strong, as both passages put forth the notion that the suffering and destruction of the righteous had been seen by God and would be testimony to the merits of the justice about to be meted out on the wicked.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

Translation: Chapter 48

¹ And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness,
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom;
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and
elect.

² And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.

³ Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

⁴ He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay
themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

⁵ All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before
him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of
Spirits.

⁶ And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before
Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.

⁷ And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to
the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous;
Because they have hated and despised this world of
unrighteousness,

And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord
of Spirits:

For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to
their life.

⁸ In those days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,

And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands;

For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves,

⁹ And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect:

As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy:

As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,

And no trace of them shall any more be found.

¹⁰ And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,

And before them they shall fall and not rise again:

And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them:

For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.

The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

Commentary

Nickelsburg and VanderKam point out that chapters 48 and 49 continue the scene (and its themes) that began in 1 Enoch 46. They write, “First Enoch saw the Son of Man accompanying the Head of Days (chapter 46). Then he witnessed the session of the heavenly court and was assured that the suffering of the righteous was near its end and that judgment would be executed against their oppressors. Now his vision focuses again on the Son of Man, whose function as judge was described in chapter 46 but who was not mentioned in the court scene in chapter 47.”^[164]

48:1

in that place—The heavenly throne room described in 1 Enoch 47.

fountain of righteousness—There are similar Old Testament descriptions, particularly in the context of the dwelling place of God. For example, Ezekiel 47:1–12 describes water flowing from below the threshold of the temple and the throne of God. The psalmist informs us: “There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved; God will help her when morning dawns” (Psalm 46:4–5). The famous line from Amos 5:24 (“let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream”) is in the context of the Day of the Lord judgment. In the Parables, “The Son of Man, who will be introduced in the next verse, will be the executor of God’s justice.”^[165]

fountains of wisdom—See 1 Enoch 42 for the association of Wisdom and the abode of God.

all the thirsty drank of them—That is, from the fountains of righteousness and wisdom that flow from the throne of God. The language brings to mind John 7:37–39.^[166]

48:2

at that hour—Likely not the hour of the visions, but before creation (see verse 3). Nickelsburg and VanderKam, however, disagree:

“In that hour” has been interpreted to refer, variously, to the time of Enoch’s vision, to the time of the court’s session (47:3), and to the time before creation.⁶ The first two options seem to be false alternatives. During the primordial time of his heavenly journeys, Enoch sees events that will take place in the end-time, although

they are described in the past tense. In chap. 47, the prayer of the righteous, the intercession of the holy ones, the session of the court, and the rejoicing of the holy ones after the court's verdict are all described in the past tense, although all of these events will take place only in the future, during the author's own time, when the righteous are being persecuted. Put another way, the real author of the Parables, believing that he is living in the last times, places on the lips of Enoch of old the claim that he has seen events taking place in the heavenly courtroom. Thus, the session of the court and now the naming of the Son of Man occur in the real author's own time understood as the eschaton, which is alleged to have been seen in the ancient seer's time. Thus, in light of the Daniel-like sequence (session of the court/naming of the Son of Man), it seems best to read "in that hour" not as a reference to the time before creation—which has yet to be mentioned in the order of the text—but as the third in a unified series of introductory adverbial phrases ("in those days," 47:1, 3; "in that place," 48:1; "in that hour," 48:2), and to interpret it as one of a set of eschatological events that Enoch saw proleptically in his own time.^[167]

Nickelsburg and VanderKam navigate (or perhaps circumvent?) the explicit reference in the next verse to pre-creation time by positing parallel events, whereby God foresaw before creation the need for an eschatological deliverer, so ordained that deliverer before creation but only makes the delivering judgment real in the eschaton.

Son of Man—See 1 Enoch 46:2.

was named—See verse 3 as well. The meaning in this version of the text is likely "was designated" or "was appointed." Based on language from passages like Isaiah 49:2 ("The Lord called me from the womb, from the body of my mother he named my name"), Nickelsburg and VanderKam argue that "was named" refers to a commissioning or calling: "the Son of Man is here being named as God's "Chosen One" and designated for that unique high office."^[168] However, on the basis of other Ethiopic manuscript evidence, Ephraim Isaac translates verses 2–3 as "the Son of Man was named by the name, in the presence of the Lord of Spirits." This has the effect of having the Son of Man *possessing* the divine name, which in turns produces a Son of Man who is deity.^[169]

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

Head of Days—See 1 Enoch 46:1.

in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before Time; even before the creation of the sun and the moon—This description is a direct claim to the preexistence of the Son of Man. The language proclaims that “the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits even before the sun and the constellations were made.... These characteristics reveal the author’s belief that the Son of Man enjoyed a premundane existence.”^[170]

48:4

he shall be the light of the Gentiles—The language of this section of 1 Enoch 48 draws on Isaiah 49. Among more than a dozen shared elements are:

1 Enoch 48	Isaiah 49
v. 4 – the light of the Gentiles (nations)	v. 6 – a light for the nations
v. 5 – all...shall fall down and worship	v. 7 – they shall prostrate themselves
v. 6 – hath he been chosen and hidden before Him	vv. 2, 7 – he hid me away...the Holy One of Israel, who has chosen you
v. 7 – preserved the lot of the righteous	v. 6 – to bring back the preserved of Israel
v. 7 – in his name they are saved	v. 8 – in a day of salvation I have helped you

The focus of 1 Enoch 48 is the Son of Man. As Nickelsburg and VanderKam note, “both texts move from the call (1 Enoch 48:1–3; Isa 49:1–5b) to the figure’s salvific mission in behalf of the oppressed (1 Enoch 48: 4–7; Isa 49:5c–13).... According to 1 Enoch 48:4, the Son of Man has a double function—to minister to the righteous of Israel and to the nations.”^[171]

The “light to the nations” idea is not part of Daniel 7, where we read about the Son of Man. Rather, it is part of the Servant of Yahweh profile (Isaiah 42:6, 49:6). In 1 Enoch, this motif is associated with the people of the nations worshipping the true God (1 Enoch 10:21; cf. 1 Enoch 48:5), following God’s law (1 Enoch 91:14), and salvation (1

Enoch 48:7). The theme of worship is evident in Isaiah 49:7. In the New Testament, the theme is tied to salvation, where the agent and object of that salvation is Jesus the Messiah Son of Man (Luke 2:32; Acts 13:47, 26:23).

48:7

to the holy and righteous—See 1 Enoch 39:4.

have hated in the name of the Lord of Spirits...in his name they are saved—In the name of the Lord of Spirits, the righteous hate and are saved. The object of the hate is “this world of unrighteousness.” The concept of being saved in or by “the name” is found in the New Testament (Acts 2:21, 4:12; Romans 10:13), where the phrase points to the work of Jesus as that basis of salvation and everlasting life. The next two verses clarify the meaning “in the name of the Lord of Spirits” in 1 Enoch 48.

48:8–9

on the day of their anguish and affliction—Those who are in anguish are the kings of the earth (verse 8), “the strong who possess land” (verse 8).

they shall not (be able to) save themselves—In contrast to the righteous (verse 7; cf. 1 Enoch 50:1), they will not be able to save themselves when God gives them over “into the hands of Mine elect” (verse 9). They will be burned “as straw in the fire” and “no trace of them shall any more be found” (verse 9). “Mine elect” is the Chosen One (“Elect One”), the Son of Man in context:

The promise of the salvation and vindication of the righteous brings us to the complementary function of the Son of Man, namely, the judgment and condemnation of their oppressors, the kings and the mighty. While the Son of Man is not mentioned in these verses, his function as judge of the kings and the mighty elsewhere in the Parables implies his agency in the judgment here mentioned.... The text focuses not on the process of judgment but on the experience of the kings and the strong (downcast will be their faces | distress and tribulation) and on their fate (they will burn | they will sink | they will not be found | they will fall and not rise).^[172]

Daniel 7’s Son of Man provides a close parallel. “To the Son of Man is given dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not

be destroyed” (Daniel 7:14; cf. 7:22–28). Black comments that the burning imagery:

...can only be to the fires of Gehenna.... At [1 Enoch] 27:2–3 and 90:26–27 the torments of the wicked appear to be an ever present spectacle for the righteous, whereas in the Parables it appears to be a temporary spectacle only; the wicked are to vanish forever in Gehenna from the sight of the righteous [1 Enoch] 48:9; 62:12–13. [\[173\]](#)

48:10

there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them— Black suggests that in the reference to not being raised, “there may be a deliberate allusion to the resurrection which the wicked kings will be denied.” [\[174\]](#)

His Anointed—“Anointed One” occurs only in this verse and 52:4 in the Parables. This is the language of kingly status in the Old Testament and, consequently, the Messiah, for *mashiach* means “anointed one” (Psalms 2:2, 20:6, 45:7, 89:20). Nickelsburg and VanderKam tie this language to the Son of Man: “The title ‘Anointed One’ appears only one other time in the Parables (52:4); however, the enthronement of the Son of Man (45:3; 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2, 3, 5; 69:27, 29) presumes his kingly status.” [\[175\]](#)

Translation: Chapter 49

¹ For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.

² For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.

³ And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might.
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in
righteousness.

⁴ And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to
His good pleasure.

Commentary

At the beginning of Chapter 48, we noted Nickelsburg and VanderKam's summary of how 1 Enoch 48–49 continues the scene and themes of 1 Enoch 46–47. Chapter 49 is part of that ongoing description:

Chapters 48–49 reprise elements in chaps. 46 and 47 in two respects. Like chap. 46, the text depicts the Son of Man in the presence of the deity (46:1 | 48:2; 49:2) and goes on to provide information about the Son of Man and his mission (46:4–8 [is parallel to] 48:4–7 and by implication 48:8–10). As in chaps. 46–47, the deity is identified as “the Head of Days” (46:2; 47:3 [is parallel to] 48:2). These chapters also differ from chap. 46 in several respects. (1) The Son of Man is described with language that is derived from passages about the Servant of Yhwh in Isaiah 49 and Isaiah 42 (1 Enoch 48:4–7; 49:2, 4) and with language drawn from the Davidic oracles in Psalm 2 (1 Enoch 48:8, 10) and Isaiah 11 (1 Enoch 49:3). (2) He is associated with heavenly Wisdom and the language of preexistence (48:2–3, 6), which may provide an answer to Enoch's question in 46:2 (“whence is he?”). (3) The passage's description of the relationship between the Son of Man and the righteous and its anticipation of the judgment of the kings and the mighty employs numerous phrases that will recur in the actual description of the judgment in chaps. 62–63.... Thus these chapters advance the Son of Man scenario by fleshing out the identity of this figure (as Servant of Yhwh and God's Anointed One), by recounting additional events in the heavenly throne room (48:2–3; 49:2d–f), and by anticipating details of the judgment that he will enact. Thus, the function of the scene is to depict the commissioning of the Son of Man as the one who will execute the judgment that the heavenly court has determined in 47:3, to identify that Son of Man as the Chosen One and Anointed One of the Lord, and to anticipate the judgment that he will execute. [\[176\]](#)

49:1–2

glory faileth not before him for evermore—Nickelsburg and VanderKam believe that the “glory” refers to the Anointed One, not the Lord of Spirits: “The antecedent of the pronouns and all possessive adjectives in this section except the very last one is the Anointed One

rather than the Lord of Spirits, who is mentioned immediately before v. 1.”^[177] Black is less dogmatic on the point, noting that the descriptions could refer to either or both figures.^[178] The ambiguity is well illustrated by verse 2:

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever.

Whose glory is forever and ever—the Elect One or the Lord of Spirits? It is not possible to know with certainty. The idea that someone’s glory other than God’s could be in view (when God is in the room, so to speak) seems odd. Consequently, in defense of ascribing “glory” to the Anointed One instead of God (the Lord of Spirits), Nickelsburg and VanderKam state, “The attribution of “glory” (*sebhat* = *doksa*) to the presence of the Son of Man identifies this figure as an inhabitant of the divine throne room.”^[179]

The Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2, 39:6–7.

49:3

And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom.... the spirit which gives insight.... the spirit of understanding and of might—This verse bears a close resemblance to Isaiah 11:2:

And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
the Spirit of wisdom and understanding,
the Spirit of counsel and might,
the Spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.

The nearly identical overlap of this messianic passage and 1 Enoch 49:3:

...reaffirms the messianic identity of the Son of Man that has been asserted in 48:10.... Only the last line diverges significantly from the Isaianic model, presumably because the author does not consider the knowledge and, especially, the fear of Yhwh, ascribed to the human king, to be appropriate to this heavenly figure. Instead, he states that the spirit of those who have died in a state of righteousness, or as a result of their righteousness (chap. 47), dwells in the heavenly Messiah.^[180]

the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness—Somehow, the collective spirits of the righteous dead are “in him”—that is, in the messianic Elect One. The idea seems to be that the judging

activity of the Elect One secures the destiny of the righteous, but this is never made explicit and presumes that “in him” refers to this eschatological activity. The trajectory, though, may gain some traction in light of verse 4 (“he shall judge the secret things”), but even this does not make the connection certain. Black thinks the text is corrupt. [\[181\]](#)

49:4

The Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2, 39:6–7.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

Translation: Chapter 50

¹ And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,

And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,

² On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.

And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:

And He will cause the others to witness (this),
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.

³ They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,

Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.

⁴ And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:

At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

⁵ And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

Commentary

50:1

in those days—The phrase in this context points to both the glorification of believers (the ensuing phrases) and the judgment of the unrighteous (verse 4).

a change shall take place...glory and honour shall turn to the holy—This phrase (and this chapter) has the glorification of the righteous in view (the “holy and elect”). The coming judgment is not lost as a theme (see verse 2), but glorification now enters the picture. Nickelsburg and VanderKam add the note, “Noticeably missing from this chapter is any reference to the Son of Man/Chosen One/Anointed One, which is reserved for chap. 51.”^[182]

the light of days shall abide upon them—Nickelsburg and VanderKam suggest that the expression refers to an endless succession of daylight (days; i.e., everlasting days/life):

The difficult expression “light of days” seems to refer to the endless multiplication of days, the everlasting life, anticipated in 58:3, 6 in the

description of the light-filled glorious future of the righteous.^[183]

50:2

the day of affliction...against the sinners—The reference is to the judgment of the kings and the mighty referred to earlier in 1 Enoch 48:8–10. This affliction is an intentional contrast to the glorification of the righteous.

evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners—The phrase is somewhat odd, but if “evil” is designed as something calamitous happening to the sinners, the idea becomes clearer. The Hebrew Bible and the New Testament include this idea:

Job 21:19—“God stores up their iniquity for their children” (that is, the children of the wicked; Job 21:17).

Hosea 13:12—“The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up; his sin is kept in store.”

Romans 2:5—“But because of your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath when God’s righteous judgment will be revealed.”

the others.... That they may repent And forgo the works of their hands—The phrase is a reference to “other sinners,” but these have an opportunity to repent from “the works of their hands,” a common biblical phrase for idolatry (Jeremiah 1:16, 44:8; Acts 7:41; Revelation 9:20). This suggests the “others” are Gentiles. Nickelsburg and VanderKam concur and elaborate:

Given the references to the righteous and their oppressors in vv. 1–2b, “the others” mentioned in this section must be either the gentiles not included among the oppressors of the righteous or other Israelites not included among the righteous, the holy, and the chosen. Verse 2d, “the works of their hands,” seems to refer to idols (see comm. on 46:7 above, p. 160), especially with the verb “abandon” (*hadaga*). See 91:9 and its reference to the idols of the nations being “given up” (*yetwahab*). Thus, this section appears to be another reference to the repentance/conversion of the gentiles, attested also in 10:21 (“all the sons of the whole earth,” “all the peoples”); 90:30, 38; 91:9; 91:14 (“all humankind”); 100:6 (“the sons of the earth”). Thus, in a way that the author does not explain, God will reveal the victory of the righteous over their oppressors, and this, in turn, will lead others among the gentiles to repent and receive the honor in the Lord’s presence that has been granted to the righteous. [\[184\]](#)

50:3

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

through His name shall they be saved—See 1 Enoch 48:7.

50:4

At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish—It is the unrepentant sinners who will perish. Repentance was offered in verse 2 to Gentile idolaters who acknowledge the true God and His authority over all things. Only the defiant (“the kings and the mighty”) who oppress the righteous are not spared.

Translation: Chapter 51

¹ And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,

And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.

^{5a} For in those days the Elect One shall arise,

² And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:

For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

³ And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,
And his mouth shall **pour** forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:

For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

⁴ And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy. ^{5b} And the earth shall rejoice,

^c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,

^d And the elect shall walk thereon.

Commentary

51:1

shall the earth also give back...Sheol also shall give back...hell shall also give back—The phrases speak of resurrection, as “the earth” and “Sheol” and “hell” are synonymous references. *Sheol* is the Hebrew word for the “grave” (e.g., Genesis 37:35 and 44:29, 31; 1 Samuel 2:6) and the underworld realm of the dead (e.g., Proverbs 9:18, 30:16; Job 26:6; Psalm 9:17; Isaiah 14:9). The common term for “earth” or “land,” *’erets*, is also used for the underworld (Jonah 2:6 [cp. 2:2], Isaiah 44:23), as the realm of the dead was conceived as being inside the earth. Charles has “hell” as the third term in the sequence, but the Ethiopic term (*ḥagwal*) is thought by Black, Nickelsburg, and VanderKam to be a rendering of Aramaic *’abdown* (= Abaddon). Consequently, they render the term as “destruction” instead of the “hell” of Charles. [\[185\]](#)

51:5a/51:2

Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2, 39:6–7. Charles’ translation has verse 5a occur immediately after verse 1. In verse 5a, we find “Elect One,” a title that, as noted earlier, occurs sixteen times in the Parables.

Part of the reason that 5a is positioned here preceding verses 2–3 is that positioning 5a before verses 2–3 allows a coherent sequence of actions or postures for the Elect One. First, the Elect One stands or rises—a judicial posture. [\[186\]](#) Verse 2 apparently makes the point that the Elect One stands on behalf of the righteous (i.e., He arises to choose the righteous and holy from among those resurrected; cf. Daniel 12:1, Revelation 20:11–15).

51:3

the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne—Earlier the Elect One stood; here He sits to judge. The specifics of the judgment will be delineated in 1 Enoch 62–63.

the secrets of wisdom and counsel—Nickelsburg and VanderKam opine on this wording, “[1 Enoch] 49:2 associates the secrets of righteousness with the vanquishing of unrighteousness; 49:3–4, posits messianic wisdom as the basis for the judgment of secrets and the penetration of the sinners’ lies.” [\[187\]](#) The wording here corresponds closely to the description of Messiah, the Branch of David, in Isaiah 11:1–4:

¹ There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse,
and a branch from his roots shall bear fruit.

² And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
the Spirit of wisdom and understanding,
the Spirit of counsel and might,
the Spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord.

³ And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord.
He shall not judge by what his eyes see,
or decide disputes by what his ears hear,

⁴ but with righteousness he shall judge the poor,
and decide with equity for the meek of the earth;
and he shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth,
and with the breath of his lips he shall kill the wicked.

51:4

the mountains leap like rams, And the hills also shall skip like lambs
—The phrases describe creation’s response to the judgment rendered by the Messiah. The wording is virtually identical to that of Psalm 114:4 (“The mountains skipped like rams, the hills like lambs”). That Psalm uses this language of creation’s response to the Exodus (“When Israel went out from Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language”), thereby casting the messianic age as a new exodus, a familiar theme in the New Testament with respect to both messianic advents.^[188] Similar language is also found in Psalm 29:6 (“He [Yahweh] makes Lebanon to skip like a calf, and Sirion like a young wild ox”). Scholars have discerned echoes of Exodus 15, the Song of Moses after the Red Sea event, in this psalm.^[189] The Septuagint adds (or does the Masoretic Text delete?) the superscription comment “for the conclusion of Tabernacles” to Psalm 29. Goldingay comments that the superscription “makes a nice link with the modern hypothesis that Tabernacles (Sukkot) involved a celebration of Yhwh’s becoming king (see v. 10).”^[190] The general point being made by these connections is that they speak of the dawn of a new age, the return of the people of God to God’s kingdom, a theme that aligns with the ultimate outcome of the apocalypse described in the Parables of Enoch.

the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy
—As in earlier instances, the description here highlights the presence of angels in the heavenly throne room. The theme of angelic mediation is still in view here, as the wording suggests that the angels are pleased by

the outcome of the Messiah’s judgment—the righteous have finally been vindicated. See comments at 1 Enoch 39:4–5, 47:2. Similar rejoicing may be the point of Luke 15:7, 10.

Black, Nickelsburg and VanderKam, and Knibb all point out that the Ethiopic manuscripts disagree on a particular point of interest. Instead of “*the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy,*” manuscript m,β reads, “And all of them will become angels in heaven; their faces will be radiant with joy.”^[191] Black and Knibb choose the latter translation in their studies. Nickelsburg and VanderKam do not, noting that, while the idea of the righteous becoming angels is hardly foreign to other Second Temple Jewish literature, in the current context, “it makes little sense. What is the antecedent of ‘all’? Certainly not the mountain and hills, which immediately precede this line. If it is the righteous and holy and chosen, why do 5c and 5d state that the righteous and chosen will dwell on the earth?”^[192]

51:5

the earth shall rejoice...the righteous shall dwell upon it...the elect shall walk thereon—Nickelsburg and VanderKam provide an interesting parallel between these phrases and those found in Daniel 12:1–3, whose context is the final eschatological judgment.^[193]

Daniel 12	1 Enoch 51
Michael arises (v. 1a)	Chosen One arises (v. 5a)
Time of trouble (v. 1b)	presumed from previous context
your people will be saved (v. 1c α)	righteous and holy will be saved (v. 2)
the book (v. 1c β)	—(but see 47:3)
resurrection (v. 2α)	resurrection (v. 1)
long life in Jerusalem (v. 2β)	life on renewed earth (v. 5b–d)
condemnation of wicked (v.	condemnation of sinners (v.

2γ)	3b)
Everlasting life in Jerusalem	righteous will dwell on the earth
Righteous will shine like the stars (v. 3)	angels are radiant (v. 4c)

Nickelsburg and VanderKam comment that, “viewed as a whole, this final component of the section reinforces the notion already asserted in 45:4–5 that a renewed earth will be the place of eschatological blessing, at least for some of the righteous and chosen, perhaps those raised from the dead according to 51:1.”^[194]

Translation: Chapter 52

¹ And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—² There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

³ And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, “What things are these which I have seen in secret?” ⁴ And he said unto me: “All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.”

⁵ And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: “Wait a little and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things, which surround the Lord of Spirits.

⁶ And these mountains which thine eyes have seen, The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,

And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,

All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One,

As wax before the fire,

And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],

And they shall become powerless before his feet.

⁷ And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,

Either by gold or by silver,

And none be able to escape.

⁸ And there shall be no iron for war,

Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.

Bronze shall be of no service,

And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,

And lead shall not be desired.

⁹ And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,

When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.”

Commentary

52:1

after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions...they had borne me towards the west—As in other places in the Parables, this new chapter begins with a note of orientation, how Enoch moved from one place to another. Enoch the scribe uses the past tense to describe that things he had seen previously, as “they” (angels in earlier visions) had taken him to that place in the West. The points of reference are Enoch’s journeys in 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21–24 (the “West” is specifically mentioned in 1 Enoch 17:4–5 and 23:1). Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that, in those earlier journeys, Enoch had seen “seven mountains (one of them being the locus of the throne of God, 18:6–8, 24:2–25:3) and the abysses of punishment (18:10–11, 19:1–2, 18:12–16; see 53:1–54:6).”^[195] In the present chapter, the Anointed One/Chosen One is the agent of judgment, whereas God had played that role in the earlier visions.

52:2

a mountain of iron...copper...silver...gold...soft metal...and lead—See also verse 6. The text ties these six mountains with the revelation of “secret things of heaven” in some way that is not transparently evident. This is a surface reading, though, and not certain, if for no reason other than its lack of consistency. In verse 5, Enoch will learn secret things not associated with the mountains.

Most scholars would presume that the description here in 1 Enoch 52 derives from Daniel 2. If so, the metals represent empires or point the reader to the “kings of the earth” encountered in the Parables already. This would make sense in light of verse 6, where the mountains “shall become powerless before [the Elect One’s] feet.”

The parallel to Daniel 2, where Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a great image made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, and clay, seems apparent.^[196] The metals and the mixture of iron and clay represent a succession of empires extending beyond Daniel’s own time that will climax with the kingdom of God—a rock that becomes a mountain that crushes the series of kingdoms. Black agrees with this correlation: “The symbolism of world empires as mountains of metal may have been suggested by Dan

2:35, where the stone that smote the image is the new Israel or her Messiah.”^[197]

52:4

All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed—The point here is that “the world empires shall become subservient to the rule of the Elect One.”^[198]

potent and mighty—The reference to the “dominion of His Anointed” (i.e., the Messiah/Son of Man/Chosen One) takes us back to both Daniel 7:14, 27 and Psalm 2:8–10. Earlier in the Parables it was clear that the Anointed One would strip away the dominion of the “kings and mighty” and rule the earth in their place (38:4; 62:1, 3, 6, 9; 63:1, 12).

52:5

angel of peace—See 1 Enoch 40:8.

52:6

As wax before the fire, And like the water which streams down...they shall become powerless before his feet—Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

Here [Enoch] sees six mountains of metal and interprets them as the source of the metallic ores that enable the kings and the mighty to accumulate wealth and carry out their oppressive and bellicose activity. However, in keeping with the message that permeates his text, he promises that all this will change when the Chosen One, God’s Anointed One, appears on the scene. The mountains will not leap like rams; they will melt before the fury of the divine wrath.^[199]

Black notes as well that “the language and imagery is borrowed from Ps. 97:5, Nah. 1:5 and virtually verbatim from Micah 1:4.”^[200] The referents in these Old Testament passages are nations and their peoples, which again reinforces taking the metals as empires.

52:7

Either by gold or by silver—The nations will not escape judgment by bribery or tribute. Their wealth will be no protection.

52:8

shall be no iron for war, Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate. Bronze shall be of no service, And tin...[shall be of no service and]...And lead shall not be desired—These other metals, the choice elements of warfare, will be equally useless in preventing cataclysmic judgment at the hand of the Elect One.

52:9

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

Translation: Chapter 53

¹ There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.

² And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly **oppress**:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord
of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.

³ For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan. ⁴ And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: "For whom are they preparing these instruments?" ⁵ And he said unto me: "They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.

⁶ And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

⁷ And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners."

Commentary

53:1

There—The place in the west alluded to in chapter 52.

a deep valley—The expression sounds commonplace, but actually is not, at least with respect to antecedence in the Hebrew Bible. Black sees a possible allusion to LXX Isaiah 30:33, in which instance the “deep valley” is the Valley of Jehoshaphat adjacent to Jerusalem.^[201] This valley is in one of the descriptions of a final battle preceding the last judgment (Joel 3:2, 12), the Battle of Armageddon. The cosmic-geographical perspective that seems to be in play here accords well with the true meaning of “Armageddon” (described as a Hebrew phrase in Revelation 16:16). The location of that battle is not Megiddo, but Jerusalem.^[202]

open mouths—Most commentators take this to be another expression for the “hollow places” of 1 Enoch 22, which described the underworld realm of the dead.

gifts and presents and tokens of homage—The fact that 1 Enoch 53:1 has “all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands” (i.e., those peoples not in Israel) paying tribute would seem to suggest a defeat of the peoples in verse 1 by God.^[203] Verse 2 seems to support this as well, as it seems to elaborate on the aforementioned tribute payers as sinners who are banished from the face of the earth.

that deep valley shall not become full—If the language of verse 1 points to the realm of the dead, the point is that the underworld can never be filled.

53:2

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

53:3

the angels of punishment—The same or nearly identical phrase occurs in 1 Enoch 62:11 and 63:1. Nickelsburg and VanderKam add that the idea of sinners being punished in the underworld, presumably by fallen angels who reside there, is also implicit in 1 Enoch 41:2 and 63:11. The same idea seems to be present in Qumran sectarian texts (1QS iv.12 and CD ii.6), which speak of “angels of destruction” punishing the damned (see verse 5).^[204]

preparing all the instruments of Satan—See also verse 5. Because of the use of (Ethiopic) *sayṭān* here, Black and Nickelsburg and VanderKam all wonder whether the “angels of destruction” in verse 3 might be *satans* (plural; see 1 Enoch 40:7). The plural also occurs in 1 Enoch 65:6, but in neither case does the *satans* directly punish or torment the wicked in the underworld. The “instruments” here are most likely the chains of 1 Enoch 54:3–5 by which the wicked are bound in the underworld (see verse 5).

53:5

the kings and the mighty of this earth—See 1 Enoch 38:5, 46:4, 52:4.

53:6

the Righteous and Elect One—See the appendix on the Messiah in the Book of Enoch.

the house of his congregation to appear—In 1 Enoch 46:8, this phrase was pluralized (“houses of His congregations”) and perhaps referred to religious communities or individual synagogues. Here, it is corporate and has a more heavenly and eschatological feel. Nickelsburg and VanderKam suggest that “perhaps the appearance of the ‘house of his congregation’ denotes a resurrection of those persecuted and put to death.”^[205] While the idea of a corporate resurrection and an eternal place in God’s presence or house isn’t certain as the meaning here, it would cohere nicely with verse 7 (“righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners”).

Translation: Chapter 54

¹ And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire. ² And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley. ³ And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight. ⁴ And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "For whom are these chains being prepared?" ⁵ And he said unto me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.

⁶ And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth."

⁷ And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. ⁸ And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. ⁹ And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. ¹⁰ And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.

Commentary

54:1

Readers should be advised that 1 Enoch 54:1–6 is the initial installment (in the Parables section of 1 Enoch) of the valley wherein the rebellious Watchers are imprisoned. The description will be interrupted in 1 Enoch 54:7 with a digression about the Great Flood (1 Enoch 54:7–55:2). The description of the punishment of the Watchers resumes at 1 Enoch 55:3, continuing to 56:4. Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize the sections:

Enoch arrives at a valley and sees “them” (some angels) preparing chains for the host of Azazel (54:1, 3–5). The next verse then predicts that the four archangels will permanently imprison them “on that great day” (v. 6). With reference still to Enoch’s primordial time, 54:7–55:2 describes how the Lord of Spirits prepares for the flood (vv. 7–10), and “after that” how “the Head of Days,” speaking in the first person singular, announces that he will set in the heavens a sign of his pledge never again to unleash such a cataclysm on the earth (55:1–2). Still speaking in the first person, “the Lord of Spirits” announces the *future* destruction of the angels and informs the kings and the mighty that they will witness the enthronement of “my Chosen One,” who will judge Azazel and his associates (55:3–4). The text then returns to the previous narrative about Enoch’s visions (54:1–6).^[206]

Most scholars consider 1 Enoch 54:7–55:2 to be an intrusive interpolation. David Suter is an exception. Suter argues that the flow of 1 Enoch 54–56 follows the flow of Isaiah 24:17–23:^[207]

Isaiah 24:17–23	1 Enoch 54:1–56:4
A.Dread and pit, inhabitants of the earth (vv. 17–18e)	A.Kings and mighty thrown in the valley, Azazel and his host to the abyss in chains, two-stage eschatology (54:1–6)
B.Flood and earthquake (vv. 18d–20)	B.Flood (54:7–55:2)

A₁.Host of the height,
kings of the earth, bound
prisoners and the pit, two-stage
eschatology (vv. 20–23)

A₁.Mighty kings on the earth,
host of Azazel chains and the abyss
(52:3–56:4)

another part of the earth...a deep valley with burning fire—The “deep valleys” of 1 Enoch 53:1 described the underworld realm of the dead, so this “other part” of the earth with its “deep valley” at first seems contradictory. It is not. Whereas 1 Enoch 53 described the place where the wicked human dead will permanently reside under torment, this chapter begins a lengthy description of the place where the fallen Watchers will abide forever, themselves tormented. The torment of the rebel Watchers is “a spectacle for the righteous.”^[208] Not surprisingly, it is described earlier in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) in several places (1 Enoch 10:6, 13; 18:11; 19:1–3; 21:7–10). No less than seven features about the place of their punishment are described in both the Book of the Watchers and the Parables (1 Enoch 54).^[209]

54:2

the kings and the mighty—See 1 Enoch 38:5.

began to cast them into this deep valley—Since this is an obvious contradiction to 1 Enoch 53’s destination for these wicked “kings and the mighty,” Nickelsburg and VanderKam consider this verse textually suspicious:

Enoch has just recounted his vision in the valley in the West, where angels are forging the chains for the kings and the mighty (chap. 53). One would expect that the kings and the mighty would be thrown into *that* valley [of chap. 53] and not into another valley located at “another part of the earth” (54:1).... the verse is a gloss taken into the text at this point. For this reason, I leave the verse in its present location but place it in braces.^[210]

54:3–6

Scholars have noted that these verses have distinct parallels to 1 Enoch 8–10. Nickelsburg and VanderKam put these relationships in a table:[\[211\]](#)

Chapter 54	Chapters 8–10
1.the demon’s name: `azazēl (v. 5)	`azazēl (8:1; 10:4)
2.chains (vv. 3, 4)	binding (10:4)
3.jagged rocks (v. 5)	sharp and jagged rocks (10:5)
4.cover them (v. 5)	cover him (10:5)
5.later incarceration in flames (v. 6)	(10:6)
6.great day (v. 6)	the day of the great judgment (10:6)
7.teaching, lead astray (v. 6; cf. 69:6–12)	(10:8; cf. 8:1–2)

For more detailed commentary on the items in 1 Enoch 8–10, the reader is referred to volume 1 of this *Reader’s Commentary*. Nevertheless, some material can be added here.

In the first volume (commenting on 1 Enoch 8:1), I noted that some scholars, due to the similarity of the name “Asael” (used in earlier chapters of 1 Enoch and spelled with either *samekh* or *sin*: ‘s’/ ‘ś’l) and “Azazel,” believed that the rebellion of the Watchers borrowed material from Azazel in Leviticus 16 and the Day of Atonement ritual. A close

reading of Leviticus 16, however, produces no parallel content to this rebellion (or that of Genesis 6:1–4), save for the similarity of the names. For this reason, Knibb believes the name “Azazel” in some manuscripts “would appear to be a corruption of Asael.”^[212] Knibb further argues that corruption in Ethiopic 1 Enoch 8:1 (“Azazel”) is indicated by several inconsistencies.^[213] Among them, the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 6:7 reads “Asael,” not “Azazel.” The same consistency (reading either “Asael” or “Azazel”) shows up when other passages have the same figure in view (1 Enoch 10:4, 8; 13:1; 69:2). Nickelsburg and VanderKam, on the other hand, apparently buy into the idea of borrowing from Leviticus 16:

The name Asa`el appears to have been known by the Greek translator(s) of the Book of the Watchers, but the translators of the Eth. identified the demon with Azazel (‘z`z/, mentioned in Lev 16:6–10). The identification is much earlier, however, and is attested in 4Q180 frg. 1.7–8, a ms. from the first century c.e., where ‘zz’/ is twice mentioned in connection with the angels who spawned the giants. In the Parables, the name of this figure appears four times (54:5; 55:4; 69:2 twice), always spelled ‘azāz`ē/ or some orthographic variant thereof. Given the early attestation of both ‘zz’/ in 4Q180 and ‘s’/ / ‘ś’/ in the Aramaic Enoch fragments, it is impossible to decide whether the name in the original form of the Parables was Asael or Azazel.^[214]

that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.—This line is important, for it associates the sin of the Watchers with “becoming subject to Satan,” something the earlier chapters of 1 Enoch that describe the Watchers’ rebellion do not do. First Enoch 53:3 suggests that the “angels of punishment” work in the service of Satan, but there is no evidence that those angels were the offending pre-Flood Watchers who transgressed. Here that connection is more transparent, particularly in view of the clear parallels to the Watcher rebellion in 1 Enoch 8–10. If Asael/Azazel is perceived as the leader, this line in 54:6 could be read as identifying Azazel with Satan (i.e., “subject to Satan” = “subject to Asael/Azazel”). Though possible, this is not a necessary reading. Nevertheless, it is clear that, for certain Second Temple Jewish writers, Azazel was a Satan figure (cf. 1 Enoch 9:6). Perhaps most compelling is the destiny of Azazel—flames. It would seem that 1 Enoch 54:3–7 is part of the backdrop for the New Testament

teaching that hellfire was “for the devil and his angels” (Matthew 25:41), an idea not presented with any clarity in the Old Testament.

chains of immeasurable weight—This detail is not found in 1 Enoch 10:4. The description has prompted scholars to presume that the angels preparing the chains were huge in size (cf. the later work, 2 Enoch 1:4).

on that great day—The phrase points to the biblical Day of the Lord, the eschatological judgment (see 1 Enoch 10:6; 16:1; 19:1; 22:4, 11; 25:4).

54:7

He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth—First Enoch describes God’s decision to punish wicked humanity by means of a flood (54:7–10) and His subsequent regret for that decision (55:1–2). This, of course, is the pattern of the biblical Flood, a divine judgment in response to the proliferation of human depravity (Genesis 6:5–7). Afterward, God promises to never again judge the world with a flood (Genesis 9:8–11). The “chambers” of waters above the heavens and “fountains” under the earth are descriptions based on the biblical Flood’s “fountains of the great deep” that burst forth and the “windows of the heavens” that released the rain (Genesis 7:11).

54:8

all the waters shall be joined with the waters—In other words, the waters from the chambers above will mix with the waters from the subterranean fountains. As a metaphor for this joining, the verse identifies the two sources as male and female.

54:9

And when they have recognized their unrighteousness—Nickelsburg explains the line: “As the floodwaters accumulate, the sinners *come to recognize* that the deeds they have committed ‘on the earth’ (cf. Gen 6:5, 12–13) now stand under God’s judgment. But it is *too late*; they will be destroyed by the waters of the flood.”^[215]

Translation: Chapter 55

¹ And after that the Head of Days repented and said: “In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth.” ² And He swore by His great name: “Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And ³ ‘When this is in accordance with My command.’ I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of** this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith God, the Lord of Spirits. ⁴ Ye †mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.”

Commentary

55:1

after that—After the judgment of the flood described in 1 Enoch 54:7–9.

the Head of Days—See 1 Enoch 46:1.

repented—The term (Ethiopic *nasseḥa*) conveys the meaning of sorrowful regret. It is reminiscent of Genesis 6:6–7, though in Genesis the regret comes before the Flood, not afterward. God regretted the creation of humanity in the wake of the proliferation of depravity in the earth (Genesis 6:5). Here, the idea is that God knows His own anger has produced too disastrous a result.

55:2

I will set a sign in the heaven—As in the Genesis Flood story, after the deluge, God makes a covenant with humanity to never again flood the earth. The sign of that covenant was God’s “bow” in the clouds (Genesis 9:13)—i.e., the rainbow. First Enoch 55 does not identify the sign as the bow/rainbow, but, given the close parallels throughout this chapter with Genesis 9, another sign seems quite unlikely. In regard to the imagery and metaphorical context of the biblical “bow” sign, Hamilton comments:

The Hebrew language uses *qešet* for both the rainbow and the bow as a weapon. A common motif in ancient Near Eastern iconography is that of a bow-wielding deity. It is a symbol of his prowess. With this lethal weapon he eliminates his foes. The OT itself describes Yahweh as a warrior (Exod. 15:3) who vanquishes his opponents with a bow and a quiver full of arrows (Hab. 3:9). So too do God’s representatives fight off their assailants with the bow (Gen. 49:23–24).

But here, in what is nothing less than a radical reinterpretation of divine power, the bow ceases to function as a symbol of combat and is now a symbol of peace and well-being. Its placement in the clouds points to the cessation of God’s hostilities against mankind.^[216]

55:3

I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation...I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them—As noted earlier, 1 Enoch 54:7–55:2 was a sidebar about

the judgment of the flood that interrupted the punishment of Azazel and the transgressing angels that was the focus at the beginning of 1 Enoch 54. Here in 1 Enoch 55:3, the writer returns to the judgment of the Watchers. Consequently, “them” in these lines refers to the guilty Watchers. This return to the content of 1 Enoch 54:1–6, where Enoch sees the angels of punishment holding the chains to bind the Watchers, continues into 1 Enoch 56:1–4. Collectively, 1 Enoch 55:3–56:4 supplements the scene of 1 Enoch 54:1–6.

55:4

Mine Elect One—See 1 Enoch 38:2 and the appendix on the Messiah in 1 Enoch.

Azâzél—See 1 Enoch 54:3–6.

Translation: Chapter 56

¹ And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze. ² And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "To whom are these who hold the scourges going?" ³ And he said unto me: "To their elect and beloved ones that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.

⁴ And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,

And the days of their lives shall be at an end,

And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

⁵ And in those days the angels shall return

And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes: They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,

And they shall rouse them from their thrones,

That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,

And as hungry wolves among their flocks.

⁶ And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,

[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway]:

⁷ But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.

And they shall begin to fight among themselves,

And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,

And a man shall not know his brother,

Nor a son his father or his mother,

Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,

And their punishment be not in vain.

⁸ In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,

And they shall be swallowed up therein,

And their destruction shall be at an end;

Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect."

Commentary

56:1

there—The point of reference is the valley of 1 Enoch 54:1–6.

angels of punishment—See 1 Enoch 53:3.

scourges and chains of iron and bronze—The reference to scourges is not found in earlier references to the chains being cast for binding the transgressing Watchers. This translation is semantically questionable, and the text could be the result of scribal error. The Ethiopic word is frequently translated “snare,” but, as Black notes, “[it] is generally given the meaning here of ‘bond’.”^[217] Some manuscripts omit the reference. On the chains, see 1 Enoch 53:3 (“instruments” of punishment) and 1 Enoch 54:3–5.

56:3–4

To their elect and beloved ones that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley...the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned—In verse 2, Enoch asked where the angels who held the chains were going. This line is the answer, raising the question of just who the “elect and beloved ones” are. There are two candidates: “the kings and the mighty” of the earth (human rulers) or Azazel and his Watchers. Nickelsburg and VanderKam prefer the latter for several reasons, among them:

“Beloved” (*fequrān*, translating Gk. ἀγαπητοί) is used in chaps. 6–16—a text that is closer to the Parables than to the OT—to describe the giants’ relationship to their angelic fathers. Indeed it occurs three times (10:12; 12:6; 14:6)...the chosen and beloved are to be punished for “leading (humanity) astray.” This accusation fits the hosts of Azazel (see above comm. on 54:3–6, element 7) and not the kings and the mighty, who are the *oppressors* of humanity.... According to 1 Enoch 12–17, the death of the giants sets their spirits loose in the world as a horde of demons who wreak havoc on humankind (15:8–16:1), and according to the version of the myth in the book of Jubilees, the spirits of the giants lead humanity astray, to make and worship idols and to commit all manner of other sins (see especially Jub 10:1–11; 11:4).^[218]

the days of their lives shall be at an end—Though these “fallen angels” (Watchers) are spirit beings, their existence will end. See

Matthew 25:41 (cp. Psalm 82:6–7, though that judgment does not have the pre-Flood Watchers/sons of God in view).

56:5

And in those days the angels shall return—First Enoch 56:5 marks yet another shift of subject matter. Verses 5–8 are difficult. The content points to a conflict future to the time. The descriptions in verse 6 (“the land of his elect”) and “the city of my righteousness” (verse 7) lead scholars to conclude that the conflict was expected in Jerusalem.

The translation “return” is far from certain and makes little sense, as there is no contextual clue as to any prior engagement of angels against the Medes and Parthians or any other people related to them. The odd translation has manuscript support, but more and better manuscripts read that the angels “will assemble themselves,” an idea that makes far better contextual sense. [\[219\]](#)

The notion that angels would be behind conflicts between human nations has biblical precedent in Daniel 10. More broadly, scholars of Second Temple Jewish texts have noted that, “like earthly rulers who have their officers and soldiers, Yahweh had many heavenly subordinates at his disposal.” [\[220\]](#) In an essay entitled, “The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War,” Patrick Miller addressed the same issue:

In a few places in the prophets...there are indications that the divine council participates as a cosmic or heavenly army in the eschatological wars of Yahweh, those military activities associated with the Day of Yahweh, and that these conflicts (or this conflict?) involved a joint participation of human or earthly forces and divine or heavenly armies.... For from earliest times on Israel viewed its battles as under the aegis of Yahweh and with the participation of the various cosmic forces which he commanded as the divine warrior, general of the heavenly armies. [\[221\]](#)

the Parthians and the Medes—The “returning” angels “hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes” and “shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them” (verse 5). The reference to the Parthians and Medes have led to “intense scholarly scrutiny and debate because of their possible bearing on the dating of the Parables.” [\[222\]](#)

The Parthians were an Iranian people (hence the association with Media-Persia) who, in the third century BC, were military rivals of Rome.

This rivalry included Judea. Consequently, the Parthians and Medes were enemies of Jews like the writer of the Parables of Enoch.

Lions...hungry wolves—Here the enemies of Judea are likened to beasts of prey. In the later extended allegory known to scholars as the “Animal Apocalypse” (1 Enoch 83–90):

The wolf and the lion, representing the Egyptians and the Babylonians respectively, foremost among Israel’s enemies, are two of a whole menagerie of predators and scavengers who symbolize the ever-present enemies of the Israelite flock (1 Enoch 89:10–90:19). In this context the double simile here depicts the military might of the Parthians and the Medes as a violent, terrifying, and inescapable threat. [\[223\]](#)

56:7

their right hand shall be strong against themselves, And a man shall not know his brother, Nor a son his father or his mother—Given the extremely dubious thought of mothers being on the battlefield with their sons, the language here prompts some scholars to think of the Hasmonean interfamilial strife among Judea’s high priests and kings during the Maccabean era. [\[224\]](#) It seems more coherent to go a different direction, that the author has the angels tasked with judging the Parthians and the Medes adopt the tactic of having their armies turn against each other. The “familial” language would then be metaphorical and speak of blended people groups now undermining themselves.

no number of the corpses—The dead will be so numerous as to be uncountable.

56:8

Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.—The elect are the Jews/Judeans, or occupants of Jerusalem. Sheol, the underworld, is here personified. Similar personification occurs in the Old Testament (Isaiah 5:14, 14:9; Habakkuk 2:5).

Translation: Chapter 57

¹ And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. ² And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day. ³ And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

Commentary

57:1

it came to pass after this that I saw another host—It is not clear if “after this” refers to more enemies (but see below) followed the Parthians and the Medes (1 Enoch 56:5) or if this vision, described in the first person by Enoch, is an altogether different, subsequent conflict. Unlike previous visions narrated by Enoch, there is no angel in this chapter to assist interpretation. See more at verse 3.

host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south—“Wagons” is more coherently translated “chariots.” Instead of additional enemies, some scholars perceive the return of Jews from exile:

That the people riding in a host of chariots represent the returning Israelite dispersion is taken for granted by commentators who espouse the first interpretation. This is understandable, since such a return is a common topic in biblical and in later Jewish literature of this time. [\[225\]](#)

57:2

the holy ones from heaven remarked it...the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other—Instead of “remarked it,” Black, along with Nickelsburg and VanderKam, translates “was heard.” The latter source notes manuscript evidence for “there was sound.” [\[226\]](#) The point is that the clamor of battle is heard by God’s heavenly host.

the pillars of the earth were moved from their place—This is the language of the eschatological Day of the Lord (Isaiah 24:19–20; Haggai 2:6–7).

57:3

they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits—This line is part of the argument put forth that the “other host” of verse 1 is returning Jews, not Gentiles. Nevertheless, the Old Testament has Gentiles coming to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh as part of the end of days (Isaiah 66:21). First Enoch witnesses the same thought elsewhere (1 Enoch 62:9, 63:1, 90:30).

Chapters 58–69: The Third Parable

Section: 1 Enoch 58–69

Baynes introduces this section of the Book of Parables with these words:

While the second parable announces its intention to focus on the sinners, the third parable (chaps. 58–69) notes as its subject the righteous, who ultimately will live in light forever with the Lord of Spirits. Nevertheless, once again the sinners, the evil angels, and the Son of Man move into the foreground of the action, as well as the biblical character of Noah, suddenly introduced in chapter 60. There is a short digression on the flood in the second parable (54:7–55:2), but readers learn in the third parable that the Lord of Spirits sends the flood specifically because the teachings of the wicked angels have corrupted humanity with the violence, greed, and death, which proceed from knowledge of metal working, sorcery, and even writing, among other things (chaps. 65, 69).^[227]

Translation: Chapter 58

¹ And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

² Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
For glorious shall be your lot.

³ And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
And the elect in the light of eternal life:
The days of their life shall be unending,
And the days of the holy without number.

⁴ And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits:

There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

⁵ And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith:

For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
And the darkness is past.

⁶ And there shall be a light that never **endeth**,
And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
[And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

Commentary

58:1

I began to speak the third Parable—First Enoch 58 is the beginning point of the third and final parable in the Book of Parables.

the righteous and elect—See 1 Enoch 38:4.

58:3

the light of the sun—Scholars divide on whether the author of the parable intended this to be understood literally or metaphorically. The former is possible, since the righteous will enjoy the sunshine of a new Eden at the culmination of the eschaton. Since the sun is also mentioned in verse 5 with a clearer metaphorical usage, perhaps this instance in verse 3 should also be understood that way. The next line's reference to "light" may support a metaphorical understanding as well. "Light" in verse 4 is undoubtedly metaphorical.

the light of eternal life—As with the preceding phrase, this could mean eternal life in the light of the sun of the new earth, or it could be metaphorical for everlasting life in God's presence.

the days of the holy without number—See discussion under verse 5.

58:4

they shall seek the light and find righteousness—In view of righteousness being what is found, seeking the light (which is presumably synonymous in parallel) would be a metaphorical goal, not "seeking to live in the new Eden under its new, literal sun." To this author this seems clear enough, but one can see how both options are conceptually linked.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

58:5

the holy in heaven—Though Charles has "the holy," Nickelsburg and VanderKam have "holy ones." A group, not an individual, must be in view in light of the plural verb forms that follow. Verse 5 apparently transitions ("after this") to this group, suggesting it is a different group than the human righteous. This perspective would make "holy ones" the angelic members of God's heavenly host. Nevertheless, the Parables of Enoch do use "holy" terminology of the deceased and exalted human dead:

The Parables speak of “the holy ones” in heaven—whether the righteous dead (39:4; 41:2; 48:1) or the angels (39:5; 47:2, 4; 60:4; 61:8, 10, 12)—as well as the holy ones on earth (38:4, 5; 43:4; 48:7, 9). Does the majority reading of the present text refer to the angels in the sense indicated in 108:7 or 1 Pet 1:10–12? In what sense might it refer to the righteous dead in heaven?^[228]

Nickelsburg and VanderKam go on to note that “in heaven” in 58:5 appears in a different place in the verse in other manuscripts. Their translation reflects this alternative: “And after this it will be said to the holy ones, that they should seek in heaven the secrets of righteousness, the lot of faith.”^[229] Adopting this reading helps decipher the next phrase.

secrets of righteousness—In 1 Enoch 49:2, this phrase is contextually identified where “the secrets of righteousness” are held by the Chosen One/Anointed One. In 1 Enoch 71:3, Enoch is shown “all the secrets of righteousness” and “all the secrets of the ends of heaven.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam proceed to argue from these data that the “holy ones” of verse 4 are to strive for this knowledge. This view would suggest that the “holy ones” are exalted humans. A human referent would make sense in light of verse 3, where the days of “the holy” are without number, a reference to the everlasting life of the righteous.

Lastly, we should also recall that, elsewhere, “the holy” are mentioned with angels (1 Enoch 39:4–5), thus distinguishing the two groups.

58:6

*a light that never **endeth**.... For the darkness shall first has been destroyed*—In verse 5, we read that “the darkness is past.” The absence of darkness is a motif of the everlasting new Eden (cf. Revelation 22:5).

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

Translation: Chapter 59

[¹ In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. “their judgement”): and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth. ² And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the **judgements** executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse, according to the word of the Lord of Spirits. ³ And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

Commentary

59:1–2

the lightnings—See 1 Enoch. 41:3–9, 43:1–44:1.

the lights—See 1 Enoch 39:6–7. The term likely encompasses all heavenly lights, not just stars (i.e., it includes the sun and moon).

the judgements they execute (lit. “their judgement”)—The functions of the heavenly lights; they do what they were created to do.

secrets of the thunder—See 1 Enoch 41:3.

Collectively, these meteorological elements are found in Old Testament descriptions of divine judgment (cf. “judgements” in verse 2). For this reason, Black suggests that 1 Enoch 59 draws on Job 36:30–37:5, 13; 38:24–27. [\[230\]](#)

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

Translation: Chapter 60

¹ In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet. ² And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

³ And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.

⁴ And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven. ⁵ And Michael said unto me: “Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. ⁶ And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous **law**, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared; for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

²⁵ When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.”

⁷ And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. ⁸ But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom

the Lord of Spirits created. ⁹ And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. ¹⁰ And he said to me: “Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.”

¹¹ And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me, what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. ¹² And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the **portals** of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided. ¹³ And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey. ¹⁴ For the thunder has †places of rest† (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not. ¹⁵ For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth. ¹⁶ And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth. ¹⁷ And the spirit of the hoarfrost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. ¹⁸ And the spirit of the snow has forsaken (his chamber) on account of his strength—there is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. ¹⁹ And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is †glorious† both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel. ²⁰ And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one

gives to the other. ²¹ And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth.... ²² For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge. ²³ And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous. ²⁴ And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: "These two monsters, prepared, conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed."

Commentary

60:1–2

In the year five hundred, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†—The name “Enoch” is found in all the Ethiopic manuscripts, but the dominant consensus among scholars is that this name is textually corrupt (hence the cross marks in Charles’ translation).^[231] Nickelsburg and VanderKam emend the text to read “Noah.” The reasons are straightforward.

First, “the year five hundred” is drawn from Genesis 5:32, where it is part of the date formula for Noah’s life, not Enoch’s:

Given the present text’s dependence on the vision account in chaps. 14–15 and its present location in an Enochic text (the Parables), it is not surprising that all manuscripts ascribe the vision to Enoch. What *is* surprising is the year 500, since the biblical genealogy lists 365 as Enoch’s last year on earth (Gen 5:23). These considerations have led to a consensus that the present text is an interpolation of a text about the flood and Noah, whose name has been changed to fit the present Enochic context.^[232]

Second, verse 8 has the subject-figure of the chapter, speaking in the first person, allude to “where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam.” The seventh from Adam was Enoch, so the speaker cannot be Enoch—Noah is correct. Black writes, “If we substitute ‘Noah’ for ‘Enoch’ we restore something of the original Noah apocalypse. The interpolator has, however, clearly intended his readers to take this chapter as an Enoch vision, even though his original source obtrudes at v. 8.”^[233]

The obvious Noah context for the opening of this chapter is why scholars consider 1 Enoch 60 to have originally been an ancient “Noah apocalypse” that has been added to the first fifty-nine chapters of 1 Enoch and then adapted to read “Enoch” in this first verse.

If the above is the case, 1 Enoch 60 is actually *Noah’s* vision of the heavenly throne room of God. This commentary will treat it as such, as no coherent argument exists for “Enoch” in verse 1.

In that Parable—In his commentary, Charles noted that the phrase was “unsuitable to the words ‘I saw,’ and so no doubt inserted by

the interpolator. Read ‘in that vision.’”^[234] Commenting on Charles’ thought, Nickelsburg and VanderKam agree with his logic:

Charles suggests that “in that parable” is a substitute for “in that vision” and is the interpolator’s clumsy attempt to make this material fit the context of the Parables. A parable is an account of a vision and not the vision itself.^[235]

a mighty quaking...the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand—The description here has elements that are familiar to theophanies, both elsewhere in 1 Enoch and in the Old Testament. Specific elements are quite clearly drawn from Daniel:

The overlapping of some of the elements from chaps. 14–15 with counterparts in Daniel’s vision of the heavenly courtroom (Daniel 7) and the presence here of a few details uniquely paralleled in Daniel 7 suggest that Daniel 7 may also have helped to shape the present account.... The violent shaking of the heavens with which Noah’s vision begins parallels the actions of the winds of heaven that stir up the great sea in Dan 7:2–8 and brings violence on the earth. At the same time, violent cosmic quaking is typical of theophany accounts, and some of the wording of the text (“quaking,” “heaven of heavens,” “host”) recalls, in specific, the account of the theophany in 1 Enoch 1:4–6. The number of the heavenly host (thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand) is paralleled in both 1 Enoch 14:22 (only 10,000 × 10,000) and Dan 7:10.^[236]

The same source provides the following table illustrating the parallels between the present chapter, 1 Enoch 14–15, and Daniel 7:[\[237\]](#)

	1 Enoch 60	1 Enoch 14–15	Daniel 7
Chronological setting	Noah's 500th year		Belshazzar's first year
Chaos	Heavens quake		Winds of heaven stir up sea; four beasts
Vision	(10)1000 × (10)1000	10,000 × 10,000	(10)1000 × (10)1000
	Most High		Most High (v. 25*)
	Head of Days	Great Glory	Ancient of Days
	Holy angels	Holy ones	Holy ones
Seer's response	Noah collapses	Enoch collapses	Daniel's spirit troubled
Angel's response	Angel raises him	Holy one raises him	Interpretation of vision

Judgment oracle	Sinners, chosen	Rebel angels	Fourth beast
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and the angels and the righteous stood around Him—The inclusion of the righteous in this scene is a notable difference between this passage and Daniel 7. Additionally, scholars see problems for its coherence. Nickelsburg and VanderKam write: “I (sic) have not chosen the reading of the majority of mss. because I (sic) do not expect to find ‘the righteous’ standing among the entourage in the heavenly throne room, and because the context refers to ‘the holy ones’ (v. 4).”^[238]

the Head of Days—See 1 Enoch 46:1, 7.

60:3

A great trembling...fear took hold of me...my loins gave way...dissolved were my reins...I fell upon my face—This is familiar biblical vocabulary (also found in other ancient material) for the sort of awestruck, fearful response to the appearance of a divine being. See Daniel 10:9–10 and Nahum 2:10. The language is also found elsewhere in 1 Enoch (1 Enoch 14:13–14, 24–25).

60:4

Michael—Michael means “Who is like God?” The “who” in this name is the interrogative particle (*mî*), so the name forms a question. Michael appears in the Hebrew portions of the book of Daniel (Daniel 10:13, 21; 12:1). That Michael sends another angel in this verse is no surprise, as he is viewed as the chief archangel elsewhere (1 Enoch 40:4, 9). The angel sent will be the interpreting angel for Noah (60:24).

my spirit returned—This is not to be read as though Noah was struck dead by the visitation. The word “spirit” refers broadly to inner life, personal force or energy, and conscious thought and activity. See Genesis 45:27; Judges 15:19.

60:6

And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come—A reference to the impending eschatological judgment alluded to in various earlier passages of the Parables.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared; for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition—This is a clear statement that, for the author of

this chapter (and likely the authors of the rest of 1 Enoch), salvation was a matter of obedience to (even worship of) the Torah. God's election of Israel was covenant- and Torah-based in Second Temple Jewish thought, so obedience to Torah was necessary for salvation. This is only logical, given the circumstances of the exile and its impact on Israelites (later called Judeans/Jews). Israelite apostasy had resulted in exile—in God putting Israel under *herem*, the status of the noncovenantal nations to be removed or eliminated from Canaan (Jeremiah 25:9). Consequently, after the Exile, adherence to the Torah was considered essential to the integrity of Israel's covenantal relationship with God.

take His name in vain—The idea here is representing God in an unworthy manner—bearing the name as His people in a way that denigrates God's own character and reputation.^[239]

[60:25]

Readers will note that Charles' edition inserts verse 25 immediately after verse 6. This is because there are significant textual problems in 1 Enoch 59–60.^[240] Aside from inserting verse 25 after verse 6, Charles inserts verse 25 between verses 10–11 and then has verse 24 in its place in the ensuing versification sequence. Nickelsburg and VanderKam do not insert verse 25 after verse 6, but instead inserts both verses 24–25 after verse 10, then move verses 11–23 to follow 59:3 in their commentary.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers—The language in some way reminds the reader of the death angel of the last plague on Egypt, but the more accurate referent would be the circumstances of the Decalogue: “visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and the fourth generation” (Exodus 20:5, Deuteronomy 5:9).

the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience—In other words, were it not for God's mercy and patience, the judgment would be worse.

60:7–9

Female monster named Leviathan...the male is named Behemoth—Leviathan and Behemoth are mythological chaos monsters, the former a sea beast, the latter its counterpart land beast.^[241] The tradition history behind Leviathan is more ancient and more frequently witnessed. Chaos monsters of the sea go back well into Sumerian-Babylonian tradition. The mythological monster Leviathan appears by name (*litānū/liwyātān*)

in Canaanite (Ugaritic) texts. The language here is no doubt drawn from two earlier apocalyptic texts, 4 Ezra 6:49—52 and 2 Baruch 29:4a:

⁴⁹ Then you kept in existence two living creatures; the name of one you called Behemoth and the name of the other Leviathan.

⁵⁰ And you separated one from the other, for the seventh part where the water had been gathered together could not hold them both.

⁵¹ And you gave Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains; ⁵² but to Leviathan you have the seventh part, the watery part; and you have kept them to be eaten by whom you wish, and when you wish.

⁴ And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time.

These texts, along with 1 Enoch 60:7, have both monsters being created from the sea on the same day during the primeval creation week. Nickelsburg and VanderKam comment:

Unique to 4 Ezra is an explicit reference to the separation of the two monsters, which indicates that they originated in the same place, namely, the sea. The idea goes back to ancient Near Eastern creation myths. The pairing of the two beasts parallels Job 40:15–41:34, where their strength and fierceness betray their mythic background. The belief that these terrifying creatures would become the gourmet delight of the eschatological banquet may be a twist on the biblical and post-biblical tradition that posited a return to paradisiacal peace between humans and the wild beasts.... 1 Enoch identifies the male and female genders of the two monsters. This may well reflect the ancient Near Eastern myth. [\[242\]](#)

The gendered male-female description “may well reflect the ancient Near Eastern myth...and it is possible that the language about the separation of monsters is related to Noachic traditions in which the male waters above and the female waters below, separated at creation, collapse at the time of the flood.” [\[243\]](#)

The two chaos beasts are thus “participants” in the judgment of the Flood in the Noah apocalypse. After the destruction, one (Leviathan) returns to the oceans and thereafter serves as the chaos beast of the sea; the other (Behemoth) becomes the chaos beast of the dried up land after the Flood.

† *Dûidâin* † —Black notes two other spellings: *Duidain* and *Dendayn*.^[244] First Enoch 10:4–5 names the same place *Dûdâêl*. The terms are all related in that they refer to the same location and derive from alternate spellings present in various texts and translations of 1 Enoch.^[245] *Dûidâin/Dûdâêl* is a lifeless, threatening place. The descriptions in 1 Enoch draw on Old Testament descriptions of the grave/underworld (Sheol).^[246]

on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell— See 1 Enoch 32:3, 6. Some scholars speculate that the author had the land of Nod in mind with his “east of the garden” wording. While the location is here clearly associated with righteous Noah (and Enoch; below), in Genesis 4:16, Cain’s banishment led to his settling “in the land of Nod, east of Eden.” It is difficult to see how the land of Cain would become associated with the righteous and elect.

where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam— Enoch is the seventh from Adam (Genesis 5:18, Jude 14), and so he. Too. is associated with the “east of Eden” location. The righteous scribe, Enoch, taken by God into His own presence, offers another incompatibility obstacle for identifying “east of the garden” with the land of Nod.

whom the Lord of Spirits created—On “Lord of Spirits,” see 1 Enoch 37:2. The epithet clearly points to the biblical God of Israel.

the other angel—The one appointed by Michael in verse 4. See also verse 11.

60:11–22

The content of these verses is “an expansive counterpart to the account of Enoch’s cosmic journeys in the first parable (41:3–8; 43:1–44:1).... Enoch sees ‘hidden things’ or ‘secrets’...that relate to thunder and lightning, the luminaries and the winds.”^[247] The following table illustrates that “with one exception (the sun and the moon), they treat the same heavenly phenomena in the same order.”^[248]

Chapters 41–44	Chapters 59–60
41:3a secrets of lightnings and thunder	59:1–3 secrets of lightnings and luminaries, and thunder
41:3b–4 secrets of the winds, their storehouses	60:11–12f introduction, division of the winds

41:5–8 storehouses, functions of sun and moon	
43:1–2d other lightnings and stars of heaven	60:12gh division of the stars
43:2e–44:1 lightning	60:13–15 thunder, lightnings
	60:16–22 winds and the forms of moisture

For commentary on the cosmological terms of verses 11–23, see chapter 41–44.

thunder and lightning...both go together through the spirit and separate not—The word translated “spirit” here can also mean “wind.” Some scholars opt for “wind,” arguing that the result reflects the antiquarian belief that thunder and lightning were related to the movement of the winds (verse 15—“when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit [i.e., wind] enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them”). But while “wind” makes good sense in verse 15, there is some difficulty in whether Charles’ translation of “spirit” should be retained in verses 16–21. The content of verses 17–18 might make it seem that “spirit” (i.e., a spirit being) is best:

Common to vv. 17–18 is their concern with the cold forms of moisture—frost, hail, and snow. Verse 17 is the first verse in this whole section to identify a wind as an angel (*mal’ak*). Given the potential destructive power of hail, line b makes the opposite point. For hail is an instrument of divine judgment (against the enemies of God’s people), see Exod 9:18–25; Josh 10:11.^[249]

Angels are brought into the equation here, so “spirit” might seem to make sense. But the matter is not that simple. The first of the references that conclude this quotation takes us back to the plagues in Egypt, one of which was hail. This citation provides a noteworthy trajectory. Consider Psalm 78’s reminiscence of the plagues:

He [Yahweh] gave over their cattle to the hail
and their flocks to thunderbolts.

He let loose on them his burning anger,

wrath, indignation, and distress,
a company of destroying angels.

This passage links God's sending hail upon Egypt to His sending "a company of destroying angels." But the hail that hit Egypt was real, not metaphorical. The psalm reflects the belief that natural disaster was still in some way operating under the sovereignty of God. Verse 21 reinforces this symbiotic relationship: "And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth."

In the final analysis, a translation of "spirit" is not essential. Nothing is lost by the choice of "wind." The clear references to angels in the passage make clear the interrelationship between natural forces and supernatural spirits that was part of the author's worldview.

60:24

angel of peace—See 1 Enoch 40:8.

Translation: Chapter 61

¹ And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

² And I asked the angel, saying unto him: “Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?” And he said unto me: “They have gone to measure.”

³ And the angel who went with me said unto me:
“These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of
Spirits for ever and ever.

⁴ The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.

⁵ And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the
depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.

⁶ And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command
and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

⁷ And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

⁸ And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of
glory.

And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the
heaven,

And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

⁹ And when he shall lift up his countenance

To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name
of the Lord of Spirits,

And their path according to the way of the righteous
judgement of the Lord of Spirits,

Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,

And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of
Spirits.

¹⁰ And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the
holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin, and
Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of
principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and)
over the water. ¹¹ On that day shall they raise one voice, and bless and
glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in
the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of
judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say
with one voice: 'Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits
be blessed for ever and ever.'"

¹² All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:

All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless him,

And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and
extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,

And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy
name for ever and ever.

¹³ For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is
longsuffering,

And all His works and all that He has created

He has revealed to the righteous and elect,

In the name of the Lord of Spirits.

Commentary

61:1–2

angels—The plural here can't refer to the multiple thousands of angels from chapter 60. There is some Ethiopic evidence for “two angels,” which is likely an interpretive scribal gloss. It would make sense for there to actually be two angels in the scene—Enoch's interpreting angel from prior scenes, and a new angel with long cords introduced here.

long cords—In this vision, Enoch sees angels with long cords. As the interpreting angel will explain (verse 2), these cords are for measuring distances (verse 2), specifically the garden of the righteous and the elect (verses 3–4). These measuring lines were a common tool for determining distances over land and land area.^[250] The imagery is perhaps drawn from Zechariah 2:1–2:

¹ And I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold, a man with a measuring line in his hand! ² Then I said, “Where are you going?” And he said to me, “To measure Jerusalem, to see what is its width and what is its length.”

If this biblical connection is coherent, readers should note that this “man” in Zechariah is an angel who is joined by a second angel in verse 3 (“behold, the angel who talked with me came forward, and another angel came forward to meet him”). This context would align nicely with the presumption in verse 1 that “angels” refers to a pair of heavenly beings.

took to themselves wings and flew—As I have written elsewhere, the idea that angels in the Bible had wings is untrue. The misguided idea has its roots in the conflation of angels (*melakîm*) with *cherûbîm* and *seraphîm*. All three of these terms describe roles or functions, essentially job descriptions, not the ontological nature of the heavenly beings that bear these labels.^[251] Nickelsburg and VanderKam note the same truth as well:

Contrary to popular opinion, there is no evidence from the Greco-Roman period and earlier that “angels” were outfitted with wings. In the Bible these appendages are attributed only to the Seraphim in Isa 6:2 and the creatures that surround the chariot in Ezek 1:6, 8–11. In neither of these passages are these beings said

to be “angels” (*ml’kym*), and in both instances the wings function mainly to cover the body. Only Isa 6:2 indicates that wings are a means of locomotion, though presumably only to move up and down or around the divine throne. Thus, although “angels” function as “messengers,” there is no indication that they used “wings” as a means to take them to their destinations. [\[252\]](#)

61:3

measures of the righteous...ropes of the righteous—Nickelsburg and VanderKam note how the connection to Zechariah and other Old Testament passages assists in interpretation of these phrases:

That the object of the angels’ measuring is the dwelling of the righteous and chosen is suggested by the parallel in Zechariah 2 and is indicated by 1 Enoch 70:3, which refers back to this passage and speaks of “the place of the chosen and the righteous,” where Enoch “saw the first fathers and the righteous, who were dwelling in that place from of old,” a place that is located “between the North and the West,” here shortened to “the North.” For the location of the garden of righteousness in one of three parts of the North, see 77:3. Alternatively, 32:1–3 appears to place the garden of righteousness in the Northeast. [\[253\]](#)

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

61:4

measures which shall be given to faith—In contrast to 1 Enoch 60:6, this is a clear statement on the importance of faith to the righteous. The point seems to be that the measurement of the garden of the righteous is a faith-building exercise (“strengthening the righteous”), by which the righteous depend on (“lean on”) the name of the Lord of Spirits. “Leaning on the name” is thus a way of expressing dependence on the Lord to secure their place in the garden of the righteous. Black notes that the word translated “faith” by Charles more precisely means “fidelity, faithfulness.” [\[254\]](#)

61:5

all the secrets of the depths of the earth...those who have been destroyed by the desert...devoured by the beasts...devoured by the fish of the sea—The list is a comprehensive catalog of where the dead may be found. The phrases “devoured by the beasts” and “devoured by the fish” inform us of the belief that such dead, whose entire physical remains no longer exist, will be reconstituted at the resurrection. The

“depths of the earth” is not merely the grave, but also points to the underworld realm of the dead, Sheol.

the day of the Elect One—In other words, the final eschatological judgment, where the righteous and wicked are separated forever. On “Elect One,” see the appendix on the Messiah in 1 Enoch.

none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits, And none can be destroyed—The righteous will live forever; they cannot be destroyed.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

61:6

a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire—In view of what follows, the command and enablement (power) and voice are given to the righteous to bless and praise God (the Lord of Spirits) and the Elect One (Messiah) in verses 7–8. The “one light by fire” is apparently a signal to begin the chorus of praise, or perhaps the initial glimpse of the heavenly host around the heavenly throne that prompts the chorus.

The scene in 61:6–8 raises the obvious question of to whom the praise is directed—God or the Messiah. Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that either is possible:

Having received at once power, a single voice, and one light like fire, they burst into song. On the verbs here employed (bless, praise, glorify, exalt), see comm. on 39:9 above, p. 126. It is uncertain to whom they are directing their multifaceted praise. One naturally thinks of the deity, who is explicitly the object of these verbs in vv. 9, 11–12, as well as in chap. 39. Dillmann suggests that the emphatic position of “that one” hardly points to the deity, who is the natural object of such praise. He proposes, instead, that his praise is directed to the Chosen One, who, according to the very next verse, will be seated on the throne of God’s glory and receive divine status and prerogatives. The suggestion is plausible in light of 62:6–7, where the kings and the mighty “bless, glorify, and exalt” the Son of Man. [\[255\]](#)

61:7

the spirit of life—The phrase is paralleled by “blessed” and “with wisdom.” The “spirit” reference may refer to a heavenly entity (see the “spirit” vs. “wind” discussion at 1 Enoch 60:11–22). In this earlier passage, “spirit” may refer to a heavenly being charged with the operation of natural forces. In the present passage, the idea may

therefore be that a heavenly being assists the praise, “life” being understood as the energetic activity of the praise. This notion becomes more coherent when considering verse 11:

On that day shall they raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: “Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever.”

This verse clearly has a range of “spirits” involved in the praise generated by the righteous. These spirits describe the character of those rendering the praise and, therefore, the praise itself.

61:8

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

placed the Elect One—The significance of the Elect One, the Messiah (see the appendix), being “placed” on the throne of glory is explained by Nickelsburg and VanderKam:

This is the first of two passages that describe the Lord of Spirits seating the Chosen One on the throne of (his) glory (62:2). Three times the Parables have predicted what is now described and will be described again in 62:2.

- my Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory (45:3)
- the Chosen One ... will sit upon my throne (51:3)
- you will have to witness my Chosen One, how he will sit on the throne of glory (55:4)

The session of “the Son of Man” on “the throne of (his) glory” will be referred to an additional five times (62:2, 3, 5; 69:27, 29). In every case, this enthronement is associated with the Chosen One’s (or Son of Man’s) function as judge. [\[256\]](#)

throne of glory—See 1 Enoch 62:2.

he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed—It is likely that the referent here (and in other places; cf. 1 Enoch 58:5) are the exalted human righteous (see verse 10 as well). We are once again back to the notion of salvation earned by works (“deeds”), no doubt related to the “worship” of the Torah mentioned in 1 Enoch 60:6. The Christian reader should not

miss the irony. In this last parable, the Messiah is judging the righteous on the basis of their deeds, their loyalty to Torah. The notion of faith in the faithfulness of the Messiah carrying out a self-sacrificial work of atonement is not in view.

61:9

he shall lift up his countenance to judge—An expression drawn from the Hebrew Bible to denote favor, approval, or blessing (Genesis 19:21, 2 Kings 5:1, Esther 2:9). The Elect One, the Messiah, judges on behalf of the Lord of Spirits in accord with the righteous judgment of the Lord of Spirits.

Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless, And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits—See the praise of verses 6–7.

61:10

all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above—This line obviously refers to nonhuman holy ones. Consequently, “the holy” referenced above are best understood as exalted humans.

Cherubin—the *cherubim* of the Old Testament (Exodus 25:17–22; Ezekiel 1:4–11, 10:1–17). Cherubim are not angels, the Hebrew term for which (*mal'ak*) means “messenger.” The Hebrew term translated “cherub” (*kerûb*) derives from Akkadian and refers instead to a guardian of sacred space:

Shades of meaning that are attributed to the cherubim in the biblical texts can be further accentuated by means of a comparison with the corresponding Semitic data. It is the form *kurîbu*, derived from the Akkadian *karābu* “to pray”, which provides us with the closest lexical parallel to the biblical *cherûb*.... The cherubim are placed at the boundary between the sacred and the profane, to protect the holy from contamination.^[257]

Seraphin—The *seraphim* of the Old Testament (Isaiah 6:1–6). These heavenly creatures are also guardians of sacred space. The term is likely drawn from Egyptian:

It is common for interpreters to presume the lemma behind seraphim is the verb *śārap*, which means “to burn.” As recent research has shown, this is only part of the picture. As I noted in *The Unseen Realm*, “It is more likely that *seraphim* derives from the Hebrew noun *śārap* (“serpent”), which in turn is drawn from Egyptian throne guardian terminology and conceptions.” As recent research demonstrates, the Egyptian Uraeus serpent, drawn from

two species of Egyptian cobras, fits all the elements of the supernatural seraphim who attend Yahweh's holy presence in Isaiah 6. The relevant cobra species spit "burning" venom, can expand wide flanges of skin on either side of their bodies—considered "wings" in antiquity—when threatened, and are (obviously) serpentine. As Joines notes, the protective nature of the uraeus cobra is evident: "A function of the uraeus is to protect the pharaoh and sacred objects by breathing out fire on his enemies."^[258]

Ophannin—The term means "wheels"—specifically, the wheels associated with the divine throne-chariot vision of Ezekiel 1.

On the spellings of these terms, Nickelsburg and VanderKam point out that "the fact that these three titles as they appear here (and in 71:7) with the plural suffix *-in* rather than *-im*, might indicate that this text is based on an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew original."^[259]

the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities—The two terms here are the Ethiopic equivalents of Greek *dynameis* ("powers") and *kuriotētes* ("lords" or "dominions"). That these two Greek terms are paired in the New Testament (Ephesians 1:21, Colossians 1:16) indicates that 1 Enoch 62 is a contextual background for Paul's material. In the present passage, though, these heavenly beings are not evil. They are part of the chorus praising the Lord of Spirits and the Elect One (verse 11).

the other powers on the earth (and) over the water—In context (1 Enoch 60:11–22), the heavenly powers that were thought to be connected to natural forces.

61:12

All who sleep not above in heaven—The Watchers. The Aramaic term (*ʿîr*) derives from either Ugaritic *ǵyr* ("to protect") or Akkadian *êru* ("be wakeful"). The possibilities are not mutually exclusive, as faithful guardians must remain wakeful. Hence Watchers "sleep not" in heaven.^[260]

spirit of light—An expression for heavenly beings created by God, who is "the light" (i.e., the opposite of darkness, a metaphor for chaos and death). The idea is not unique to 1 Enoch. For example, the Dead Sea Scroll 1QS 3:25 refers to "spirits of light and darkness" for supernatural forces of good and evil. James 1:17 refers to God as the "father of lights," a phrase that speaks to God's status as Creator of the stars, which were at times conceived of as heavenly beings in the Old Testament and Second Temple Jewish literature.^[261]

Translation: Chapter 62

¹ And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: "Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One."

² And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

³ And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,

And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

⁴ Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

⁵ And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

⁶ And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

⁷ For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,

And revealed him to the elect.

⁸ And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

⁹ And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth

Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

¹⁰ Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness shall grow deeper on their faces.

¹¹ And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed
His children and His elect.

¹² And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His
elect:

They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.

¹³ And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the
sinners and unrighteous.

¹⁴ And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

¹⁵ And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.

¹⁶ And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,
And they shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits:
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

Commentary

62:1

thus the Lord commanded—God speaks to start the scene. In consideration of what follows, scholars have noticed parallels between 1 Enoch 62–63 and Isaiah 52:13–53:12. [\[262\]](#)

	Isaiah	1 Enoch
A. God speaks	52:13	62:1
B. Exaltation	52:13	62:2a
C. Audience	52:15	62:3ab
D. They see the Exalted One	52:15	62:3c
E. Their reaction	52:15	62:4–5
F. Recognition	implied	62:1b, 3c
G. They confess their sins	53:1–6	63:1–11
H. Acclamation by the audience	53:4–6	62:6, 9; 63:2–3

The parallels are interesting, but not compelling, at least in terms of providing insight for how New Testament writers understood Isaiah 53:

The protagonist here is called “the Chosen One,” a title of the Servant; the scene that describes his call (48:2–7) parallels that of the Servant (see 1 Enoch 48:2–3, 4–7; 1 Enoch 49:4cd echoes the presentation of the Servant in Isa 42:1–20.... [T]he Parables conflate the Servant material with language that echoes Isaiah 13 and 14.... The most striking difference between 1 Enoch 62–63, on the one hand, and Isaiah 52–53...on the other hand, is in the nature of the protagonist. The exalted figure in the Parables is not the one who suffered.... He is, instead, a transcendent figure, the Chosen

One and Righteous One, who is *the heavenly patron* of the suffering chosen and righteous ones. As such, he is identified as the one like a son of man in Daniel 7, whose enthronement after the judgment brings power to the people of the holy ones of the Most High. Moreover, his function as God's Anointed One (48:10; 52:4) and as judge of the kings and the mighty is described in language that echoes biblical texts about the Davidic king. [\[263\]](#)

the kings and the mighty—See commentary under 1 Enoch 38.

the exalted—People of high status. It is further defined as those who possess land in verse 3.

In 1 Enoch 62:1–8 the Lord of Spirits installs the Elect One on the throne of judgment (verse 2). The Elect One proceeds to demand that the kings and the mighty and the exalted look upon the Elect One (verse 3). Their distraught reaction and subsequent praise is described in verses 9–12.

lift up your horns—One manuscript (T⁹ 2080) reads “your eyelids.” The consonants of that noun are close to the Ethiopic for “horns,” so “horns” is likely the result of textual corruption. “Eyelids” makes much better contextual sense.

62:4–5

Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail...one portion of them shall look on the other, And they shall be terrified.... When they see that Son of Man Sitting on the throne of his glory—The point of the imagery is that the judgment of the Messiah Son of Man will be traumatic.

Son of Man—See the appendix on the Messiah in 1 Enoch.

the throne of his glory—See 1 Enoch 46:1. There are a number of references in the Old Testament to the divine throne (Jeremiah 14:12, 17:12; Isaiah 6:1–3; Ezekiel 1:26–28). If one includes throne theophanies, some consistent elements emerge: “A comparison of OT texts that describe throne theophanies (1 Kgs 22:1 + 19–23; Isa 6:1–13; Ezek 1:1, 25–27 + 2:1–7) indicates four consistent elements: (setting; Yhwh; the throne on which Yhwh is seated; and the presence of the heavenly host.” [\[264\]](#)

Nickelsburg and VanderKam go on to discuss the wider range of Second Temple Jewish texts in this regard. “Throne of glory” occurs five times (Wis 9:10; 4Q405 23 i 2; 11Q17 x.7; Sir 47:11; 4Q161 8–10 iii 19). The phrase occurs once in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 9:4; cf. 4Q202 1 iii 15). “Throne of (his) glory” appears a dozen times in the

Book of Parables (45:3; 47:3; 55:4; 60:2; 61:8; 62:2, 3, 5; 69:27, 29; 71:7). They conclude:

From these data we can deduce (a) that the throne of glory is God's throne, where God's *kābôd* is located; (b) that God shares this throne and his *kābôd* with the Chosen One/Son of Man; and (c) that "sitting" or "being seated" on the throne of glory is an essential part of the formula.... Of the nine passages in the Parables that refer to the Chosen One/Son of Man being seated on God's throne, all of them follow the aforementioned pattern in that judgment is the purpose of the session. Three of them do not provide a setting (element 1) or mention the presence of the heavenly host (element 3), because they are predictions rather than descriptions of the Chosen One's session (45:3; 51:3; 55:4). However, what is remarkable in all of them is the fact that it is the Chosen One/Son of Man and not the deity who is seated on the throne of divine glory.

[265]

who was hidden—See the next verse. Black comments that the verb form can also be rendered "hides himself," which is reminiscent of Isaiah 45:15, "a God who hides himself." Black observes that this biblical passage obviously refers to the God of Israel, but here in 1 Enoch 62:6 applies "to the concealment of the Elect One or Son of Man." [266]

62:7

from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden—First Enoch 48:6–7 put forth the notion of the preexistence of the Son of Man. The last line of verse 6 and this verse contribute to that theological point.

62:9

worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands—Unlike other passages, there is no ambiguity here. The object of worship and praise is the Messiah Son of Man.

62:10

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

62:11

And He will deliver them—The Messiah Son of Man hands over the unrighteous for judgment.

the angels for punishment—See 1 Enoch 53:3 for the similar "angels of plague." We will meet "the angels of his punishment" in the next chapter (1 Enoch 63:1). One study elaborates:

Angels continue to play a much more defined role at the judgement in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37–71). This differs from the depiction of angels punishing other angels in the *Book of the Watchers*. Here, they are portrayed at the judgement of the wicked (*1 Enoch* 38; 45; 56) where actions are weighed in a balance (*1 En.* 41.1; 61.8). Sinners are expelled from among the company of the righteous (*1 En.* 41.2) while the angels of plague work together to prepare the chains of Satan in order to help destroy the kings of the earth (*1 En.* 53.3–4). Like Matthew’s Parable of the Weeds (Mt. 13:41–43), the righteous are free from oppression when the wicked are destroyed (*1 En.* 53.7). Furthermore, angels are described as performing tasks of gathering as they bring kings and cast them into the deep valley (*1 En.* 54.2). These sinful kings and rulers will be delivered to the angels of punishment by the Lord of the Spirits, where vengeance is exacted for oppressing the elect ones (*1 En.* 62.11). Moreover, the saved righteous will put on garments of glory (*1 En.* 62.16) in a similar fashion to the righteous shining in Mt. 13:43.^[267]

62:14–16

with that Son of Man shall they eat—The imagery of a great eschatological meal with resurrected, exalted believers is familiar in biblical thought:

⁶ On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples
a feast of rich food, a feast of well-aged wine
of rich food full of marrow, of aged wine well refined.

⁷ And he will swallow up on this mountain
the covering that is cast over all peoples,
the veil that is spread over all nations.

⁸ He will swallow up death forever;
and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces,
and the reproach of his people he will take away from all the
earth,

for the Lord has spoken.

⁹ It will be said on that day,
“Behold, this is our God; we have waited for him, that he
might save us.

This is the Lord; we have waited for him;
let us be glad and rejoice in his salvation.”

Brand Pitre has devoted considerable attention to the eschatological banquet of the Old Testament and how its themes are developed in Second Temple literature. The eschatological feast or “meal with God” motifs are streams that feed into the Lord’s Supper and the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. He describes several aspects:

First, the coming feast is no ordinary banquet; it is an eschatological event. This eschatological dimension is evident from the fact that the banquet culminates in the overthrow of suffering and death: God will “swallow up death for ever” and wipe away “tears” from “all faces.” Indeed, just a few verses after describing the banquet, Isaiah goes on to speak about the resurrection of the “bodies” of the “dead” (Isa 26:19).... Second, the banquet is a feast of redemption; it will be tied to the forgiveness of sins. At the time of the banquet, God will take away “the reproach of his people” and give them salvation (Isa 25:8–9). Third, the coming feast will be a cultic or sacrificial banquet.... Fourth, in Isaiah, the eschatological banquet will be an international banquet, which will include both the restored tribes of Israel and the Gentile nations.²⁴ The feast will be “for all peoples” and will result in the “veil” that is cast over all the “nations” or “Gentiles” (*goyim*) being lifted. This is a startlingly universal vision of salvation, nestled right in the heart of one of the most widely read prophets of the Old Testament. Fifth and finally, given our focus in chapter 2 on Moses and Mount Sinai, it is significant that several scholars have suggested that the banquet in Isaiah 25 alludes to and is modeled on the heavenly banquet of Moses and the elders atop Mount Sinai (cf. Isa 24:23).^[268]

Aside from 1 Enoch 62:14, the concept of an otherworldly eschatological meal in God’s presence or sanctuary appears in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 25:4–6):

⁴ And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. ⁵ Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

⁶ Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad.
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,

Such as thy fathers lived:
And in their days shall no sorrow or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.

With respect to the present passage, Pitre writes that the eschatological feast:

....is linked with the salvation of the righteous elect; it is hosted by the “Son of Man,” who is elsewhere explicitly identified as the messiah (*1 En.* 48:6–10; 49:3–4; 52:4); and it is directly tied to the resurrection of the dead. Moreover, the imagery of “garments” of “glory” suggests that “the locus of everlasting life is heaven rather than earth,” where the “Lord of Spirits abide[s] over” the righteous, or on a supernaturally renewed earth, in which the two spheres somehow meet.^[269]

And lie down and rise up for ever and ever...the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth—The referent is the righteous and the elect. The wording suggests resurrection and glorification.^[270] As Keener notes, “Judaism sometimes connected resurrection with exaltation (*1 En.* 62:14–16; *2 Bar.* 51:5, 10; *Test. Benj.* 10:6, 9; cf. *Dan* 12:1–3).”^[271]

they shall have been clothed with garments of glory—The metaphor of clothing is designed to communicate the transformation of resurrection. Other Second Temple Jewish texts express the same thought:

These apocalyptic texts clearly indicate that righteous individuals will be donned with heavenly garments. The first two texts, *1 En.* 62:15 and *2 En.* 22:8, label these clothes “garments of glory” and “clothes of my [the Lord’s] glory.” In *2 Bar.* 51:3–10, *Ascen. Isa.* 8:14–15, and 9:9–10, the righteous are transformed “into the splendor of the angels” (*2 Bar.* 51:5) and become “equal to the angels” (*Ascen. Isa.* 8:15).^[272]

In one of the few scholarly studies on clothing imagery, Kim adds in regard to these verses:

The garments of glory or life, which the righteous will wear (*1 Enoch* 62:15–16), symbolize the heavenly body which they will possess from the day of judgment onwards. It will be a glorious body, which will resemble the appearance of God the Great Glory, and its outstanding characteristic will be immortality.^[273]

Translation: Chapter 63

¹ In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. ² And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say:

“Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom;

³ And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,

And Thy glory for ever and ever:
Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.

⁴ We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is King over all
kings.”

⁵ And they shall say:

“Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory!

⁶ And now we long for a little rest, but find it not:
We follow hard upon (it) and obtain (it) not:
And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever:

⁷ For we have not believed before Him,
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our
Lord]

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.

⁸ And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us
not,

And we find no respite for confession,
That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements
and His justice;

And His judgements have no respect of persons.

⁹ And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,

And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.”

¹⁰ Now they will say unto themselves: “Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burdent† of Sheol.”

¹¹ And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness

And shame before that Son of Man,

And they shall be driven from his presence,

And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

¹² Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: “This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.”

Commentary

63:1

the mighty and the kings who possess the earth—See 1 Enoch 62:1.

grant them a little respite...that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins—As noted earlier, 1 Enoch 62–63 describes the judgment of the wicked under the authority of the Elect One (1 Enoch 61:6–13), the Messiah Son of Man. The judgment having begun in 1 Enoch 62, those under judgment now seek mercy by admitting their unbelief and asking for the opportunity to praise God. Or, more colorfully, “Having failed to receive mercy from the Son of Man and the Lord of Spirits, in anguish and self-pity they address their petition to their brutal angelic guards, only to be rejected again and dragged off to hell.”^[274]

angels of punishment—See 1 Enoch 53:3, 62:11.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

63:5

confess our faith—The basis of salvation has been inconsistent (1 Enoch 60:6, 61:8), but here the appeal for mercy includes the content of faith, something that must be believed (and has heretofore not been believed) for the circumstances to change. See verse 7.

63:7

For we have not believed before Him, Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits—Again, faith is an issue for salvation; something must be believed that would have changed the judgment outcome. One wonders about the inconsistency earlier when the author casts one’s right standing before God as worship of the Torah (1 Enoch 60:6). Where is the worship Torah in this passage?

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom, And in our glory
—The substitute for faith in God for salvation was their own power.

63:10

Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.—The theology echoes Matthew 16:26, “For what will it profit a man if he gains the whole world and forfeits his soul?” What one gains in this life, especially if it is ill-gotten, has no basis for determining one’s own eternal destiny.

63:11

the sword shall abide before his face in their midst—The reference to a “sword” and God’s presence (“his face”) takes the reader’s mind back to Genesis 3:24, where the cherubim “and a flaming sword” guard the way to the tree of life after Adam and Eve were driven out of the Garden. The point is that those under judgment will be granted no access to God’s presence.

Translation: Chapter 64

¹ And other forms I saw hidden in that place. ² I heard the voice of the angel saying: "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men, and seduced the children of men into committing sin."

Commentary

64:2

in that place—See 1 Enoch 55:3–56:4.

the angels who descended to the earth—The Watchers of 1 Enoch 6–11.

revealed what was hidden to the children of men, and seduced the children of men into committing sin.—In the Book of the Parables, the focus of the crime of the Watchers is not their sexual transgressions, but the revelation of forbidden knowledge to humans. See 1 Enoch 54:3–6.

Translation: Chapter 65

¹ And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. ² And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: “Hear me, hear me, hear me.” ³ And I said unto him: “Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it.” ⁴ And thereupon there was a great commotion on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. ⁵ And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: “Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?”

⁶ And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth: ⁷ And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth. ⁸ For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.” ⁹ And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: “Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. ¹⁰ And He said unto me: ‘Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.’ ¹¹ And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

¹² And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,

And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.”

Commentary

65:1

Noah—In 1 Enoch 65, Noah, not Enoch, is the first-person narrator. In fact, 1 Enoch 65–69 has two lengthy sections with Noah, not Enoch, as the focus (1 Enoch 65:1–66:3, 67:1–68:1). See the note about the “Noah apocalypse” at 1 Enoch 60:1–2.

that it had sunk down—Nickelsburg and VanderKam read “had tilted” and later comment that the writer has Noah perceiving that the earth is “out of kilter.”^[275] What they mean by this is not explained (literal or metaphorical?). Black notes that the Hebrew equivalents of the Ethiopic verb here mean “fall into a decline.” He then interprets the term in light of verse 3, which describes the earth as (metaphorically) shaken. The imagery may come from Isaiah 24:18–20, where the threat of a flood is combined with the description of an earthquake.

65:2

he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch —Noah appeals to Enoch, the one to whom heavenly wisdom was revealed, for an explanation of what is about to happen. Noah wants to avoid perishing (verse 3), a detail at odds with the biblical story, where Noah knew that God was going to send a flood upon the earth and had told Noah what to do to avoid the judgment.

65:6

those who dwell on the earth—In other words, humanity.

their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels—Humanity is condemned as a result of learning forbidden knowledge. As the Book of the Watchers makes clear, the point here is not merely that humanity had learned secret knowledge, but that the result of doing so was humanity’s corruption: “And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azâzêl. To him ascribe all sin” (1 Enoch 10:8).

secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans—See 1 Enoch 40:7. Here “Satans” is parallel to “angels” (i.e., the phrases “the secrets of the angels” and “all the violence of the Satans” are in parallel). The Watchers are thus “Satans”—opposers, adversaries—of God’s will. God opposed “the secrets of the angels” being revealed to humanity.

This forbidden knowledge led to human corruption, one manifestation of which was violence on the earth (cf. 1 Enoch 8). Hence “secrets of the angels” and “violence of the Satans (the adversaries)” express the same transgression.

the power of those who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth—Continues the list of the points of forbidden knowledge (as does verse 7). See 1 Enoch 8.

65:7–8

Silver...soft metal...lead and tin—The Watchers taught humanity metallurgy, which led to violence (warfare) and the making of idols. See 1 Enoch 8.

it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.—The ideas here are odd. Scholars have been perplexed as to why these metals are associated with a fountain and an angel. Charles translates the description of this angel as “pre-eminent,” but Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that the term may mean “swift,” adding that at least one scholar has speculated that the silver in the context should be understood as quicksilver (mercury), leading to an identification of the angel with Hermes.^[276] Ultimately, they reject this notion for lack of data.

65:9

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

65:10

their judgement...searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed—The judgment of humans is in view. The condemnation of the rebellious angels, the Watchers, is in view in the next verse.

65:11

they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned—The transgressing angels are in view; there is no repentance offered to them. The key to identifying the referent as the Watchers is the line “because they have shown them [i.e., humans] what was hidden.”

my son...art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets—The speaker now seems to shift to be Enoch, speaking to his descendant, Noah, who (as in the biblical Flood story) was righteous. Noah was untainted by the forbidden knowledge and its corruption.

65:12

thy righteous seed—As in Genesis 9:9, Noah's descendants represent the continuation of God's covenant goals.

kingship—The term and idea are surprising here. However, scholars have noted how the promises given to the patriarch Abraham, from whom would come Judah and thus kingship (Genesis 49:10), resemble the Hebrew of the promises given to Noah:

That Noah will be the patriarch of kings is, at first, puzzling. The motif, however, is drawn from Gen 17:6–7, where, in an echo of the Noah story, God promises Abram, now Abraham, “I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you.”^[277]

Translation: Chapter 66

¹ And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. ² And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. ³ And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

Commentary

66:1

angels of punishment—See 1 Enoch 53:3.

all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth—The wording and imagery are drawn from Genesis 7:11 (“all the fountains of the great deep burst forth”). In relation to the angels of punishment, verse 2 tells readers that they were put in charge of the bursting forth of those waters. Nevertheless, scholars have wondered if these angels of punishment differ from other angels charged with unleashing judgment. The issue is one of timing. The angels here are clearly tasked with the primeval judgment of the Flood. Elsewhere “angels of punishment” exact God’s judgment on the Watchers and the unrighteous. Nickelsburg and VanderKam write:

The angels of punishment (v. 1), who are God’s agents at the time of the first judgment, may not be the same as the angels of punishment who function in the final judgment (62:11; 63:1; cf. 41:2). They are the angels “in charge of the power of the water(s)” (v. 2), who control the outlets of the subterranean waters, which will enact God’s judgment in the flood. [\[278\]](#)

66:2

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

the powers of the waters—See verse 1.

66:3

I went away from the presence of Enoch—Again, the speaker is Noah.

Translation: Chapter 67

¹ And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: "Noah, thy lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. ² And now the angels are making a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant. ³ And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not **be unfruitful** on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord."

⁴ And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. ⁵ And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters. ⁶ And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned beneath that land. ⁷ And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

⁸ But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. ⁹ And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. ¹⁰ For the judgement shall come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. ¹¹ And those same waters shall undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold. ¹² And I heard Michael answering and saying:

“This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.” ¹³ Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the **kings** and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

Commentary

67:1

in those days—The time of the Flood. Chapter 66 orients the phrase, as does the ensuing reference to Noah. Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize:

This section continues the first person Noachic narrative begun in chap. 65. In chap. 66, Enoch showed Noah the activity of the angels in charge of the waters, and Noah heard the Lord's command that they not yet proceed to unleash the subterranean waters that would join with the heavenly torrents to create the flood (see 54:7–9). Then Noah left Enoch, presumably to return home. The present section picks up at this point. God expands on what Noah already knows in part (65:11c–12). He will be saved from the flood and his descendants will repopulate the earth.^[279]

the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me—God is going to promise deliverance to righteous Noah. The wording is interesting. In the Hebrew Bible, there are instances where the “word of the Lord” is God Himself personified, even in the form of a man.^[280] That conclusion here cannot be drawn with certainty. The “word” may merely have been a voice.

67:2

the angels are making a wooden (building)—Unlike the biblical account (Genesis 6:14), this verse has the angels building the ark. The chapter actually contains a number of connections to the Flood narrative in Genesis 6–9, exclusive of the violence of the Flood itself. Since 1 Enoch 67 is God's promise to Noah, the emphasis is on protection and salvation. Black observes that this is the only place in Second Temple Jewish literature that has angels building the ark.^[281]

67:3

I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever—God promises Noah that his lineage will continue. His posterity will be blessed and multiply. Since human life is cast as being preserved only through Noah's salvation, the language here is reminiscent of Genesis 9:9, 11 (“I establish my covenant with you and your offspring after you.... I establish my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of the flood, and never again shall there be a flood to

destroy the earth”). The wording is also quite similar to God’s promises to the patriarchs (Genesis 12:7, 15:3–18, 17:7–12, 28:14, 32:12, 48:19).

I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee—A foreshadowing of Genesis 10, where the peoples of the earth derive from Noah’s sons.

67:4

He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness—Another reference to the judgment of the Watchers (1 Enoch 6–11, especially 1 Enoch 10:8–16), the transgressing sons of God of Genesis 6:2. See also 1 Enoch 65:1–11.

burning valley—See 1 Enoch 18:5–16, 54:1–6; verses 8–13 below.

shown to me in the west—The geographical description conflicts with earlier portions of 1 Enoch:

This verse states that the fiery valley of the angels’ confinement is located in the West, by the metallic mountains (chap. 52). But according to 52:1–54:6, Enoch is taken to the West (52:1); “there” he sees the seven metallic mountains (53:2–7); “there” he sees the valley in which the angels are preparing the instruments of punishment for the kings and the mighty (53:1–7) and in which they will be pitched (54:2). Then he travels “to *another part of the earth*,” where the angels are preparing the instruments of punishment for Azazel and his hosts (54:1–6).^[282]

67:5–7

fiery molten metal...smell of sulphur...connected with those waters... the valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned beneath that land...streams of fire, where those angels are punished—Some of these elements seem contradictory, such as fiery molten metal being in the same place as the waters of judgment. Nickelsburg and VanderKam offer an explanation:

The paradoxical presence of churning waters in the fiery valley suggests an allusion to the flood that is consonant with the violent imagery in 66:1–2. The subterranean waters that will engulf the inhabitants of the earth in the flood are here instrumental in the punishment of the angels. The churning of the waters, moreover, is associated with the gushing of fiery molten metal (v. 6), which recalls the angel’s prediction that the metallic mountains will melt before the presence of the Chosen One (52:6). The mention of subterranean hot springs that generate the smell of sulfur refers to the environs of Kallirrhoë...and the attribution of this smell to the

activity of fiery molten metal may indicate that this author has experienced, or knows accounts of, volcanic eruptions. Origen (*Cels.* 5.52–55) appears to refer to the present passage or the tradition from which it derives, when he states that Celsus associated certain warm springs with the subterranean place of punishment for the fallen angels.^[283]

Black also offers this insight: “This use of hot springs by ‘kings’ may imply a knowledge of Herod’s visits (to Kallirrhoë), giving some confirmation of dating the Parables c. 40 B. C.”^[284]

67:8

the kings and the mighty—See commentary under 1 Enoch 38:1–5, 54:1. The earthly kings and mighty (along with the unrighteous who dwell on earth) are punished in the same place as the fallen Watchers. Only Noah and his family will be spared.

their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in the body—The idea here is that sin and unrighteousness originate within (cf. James 1:12–15).

have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name—On the Lord of Spirits, see 1 Enoch 37:2. The issue of “believing” on God’s name is again present. See 1 Enoch 48:7, 60:6.

67:9–10

a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever.... For the judgement shall come upon them—The point seems to be that the unrighteous will forever admit within their hearts that they were wrong not to believe in the Lord of Spirits. There is nothing in this verse or those that ensue that suggest a postmortem conversion and deliverance from the torturous judgment. In fact, that notion is specifically contradicted in verse 10.

67:11

those same waters shall undergo a change in those days—Nickelsburg and VanderKam again suggest an environmental source for the idea of the temperature change described in verse 11:

According to v. 11, the waters are heated when the angels are placed there for temporary punishment, but they cool when the angels are taken out to the place of their final punishment. This contrasting of hot and cold waters may have been inspired by

second-hand knowledge of the hot and cold springs of Baaras
(Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.6.3 Par.178–89).[\[285\]](#)

67:12

Michael—See 1 Enoch 40:9.

Translation: Chapter 68

¹ And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book and in the Parables which had been given to him; and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables. ² And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: “The power of the spirit transports and **makes me to tremble** because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before which they melt away?” ³ And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: “Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?” ⁴ And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: “I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. ⁵ Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.”

Commentary

68:1

my grandfather Enoch—Noah has been the first-person narrator of this section of 1 Enoch. See 1 Enoch 65:1–2, 67:1–2.

the teaching—The Ethiopic term translated “teaching” is rendered by Greek *dēlōsis* in LXX Lev 8:8 for the Urim oracle. Some scholars have suggested, in light of the function of the Urim and Thummim in revealing God’s will, that that the Ethiopic term in 1 Enoch 68:1 should be rendered “explanation” on this account. Nickelsburg translates accordingly.^[286]

all the secrets in the book and in the Parables—This line creates the impression that 1 Enoch 68 (and perhaps 67) was added after the Book of Parables had been written.

68:2

Michael answered Raphael—On Michael, see 1 Enoch 40:9. On Raphael, see 1 Enoch 9:1, 10:7. Michael addresses Raphael three times in this chapter (verses 2, 3, and 4).

The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble—Scholars are uncertain about the authenticity of “power of the spirit” because it is unique in 1 Enoch and the context offers no clue as to its meaning. Black renders the Ethiopic as “seizes” rather than “transports,” presuming that the severity of the judgment is what rattles Michael.^[287] While this is sensible, it offers no clue as to the “power of the spirit.” If one assumes that the reference is God’s Spirit, one could further assume that the Spirit is the agent of judgment. The obstacle to that idea, however, is that the previous chapters made clear that the agents of punishment are angels (1 Enoch 66:1).

judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels—The first phrase points to the cause of the judgment—the revelation of forbidden knowledge. The second recalls the agents of the judgment (1 Enoch 66:1).

68:3

Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement—Michael expresses sympathy for the fallen Watchers, but of course does not intervene (see verse 4).

because of those who have thus led them out—Charles sees the referents here (“those who...”) as angels who led the Watchers astray, an idea heretofore not present in 1 Enoch, but which is put forth in 1 Enoch 69:4–5. Charles thus sees the line here as proleptic.^[288] Nickelsburg and VanderKam translate the line to reflect the idea that it is “the fallen angels who are being led from temporary confinement to permanent punishment.”^[289]

68:4

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them—Michael knows the judgment of the Watchers is under God’s watchful eye and does not interfere with the judgment of the Watchers (see verse 3).

they do as if they were the Lord—Michael will not presume upon God’s authority, something the Watchers did when they transgressed. God is sovereign; Michael knows his place, unlike his fallen brothers now under judgment. The language here recalls Isaiah 14:14.

68:5

all that is hidden—The idea here is akin to what has preceded, though with different words: the fact that the Watchers revealed hidden knowledge when they should not have will be their burden forever.

Translation: Chapter 69

¹ And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them to **tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

² And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâel†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâel†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Sîmâpêsîêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl, the twentieth †Rûmâel†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†.

³ And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens.]

⁴ The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. ⁵ And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men. ⁶ And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. ⁷ And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore. ⁸ And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. ⁹ And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. ¹⁰ For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. ¹¹ For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them; but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power †it is consuming me†. ¹² And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the

soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâ'ët. ¹³ And this is the **task** of Kâsbeël, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. ¹⁴ This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. ¹⁵ And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael. ¹⁶ And these are the secrets of this oath...

And they are strong through his oath:

And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,

And for ever.

¹⁷ And through it the earth was founded upon the water,

And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,

From the creation of the world and unto eternity.

¹⁸ And through that oath the sea was created,

And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,

And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

¹⁹ And through that oath are the depths made fast,

And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

²⁰ And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,

And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

²¹ And through that oath the stars complete their course,

And He calls them by their names,

And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

[²² And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths from all the quarters of the winds.

²³ And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. ²⁴ And all these believe and give

thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]

²⁵ And this oath is mighty over them,

And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved.

And their course is not destroyed.

Close of the Third Parable

²⁶ And there was great joy amongst them,

And they blessed and glorified and extolled,

Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

²⁷ And he sat on the throne of his glory,

And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,

And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,

And those who have led the world astray.

²⁸ With chains shall they be bound,

And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,

And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

²⁹ And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible,

For that Son of Man has appeared,

And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,

And all evil shall pass away before his face,

And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth

And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

This is the third Parable of Enoch.

Commentary

69:2

the names—In 1 Enoch 6:1–3, where a nearly identical list of Watchers appears. The list in 1 Enoch 69:4–13 is more similar to the list of names in 1 Enoch 8.

NOTE: Readers are directed to the first volume of this commentary (1 Enoch 1–36) in regard to the references that follow that contain names of the fallen Watchers. The corresponding list of names is found in 1 Enoch 6, which has a much stronger textual basis. Black suggests that “the variants of 69:2 are best accounted for as coming from a different Greek version of the [original] Aramaic names.”^[290]

the first of them Samjâzâ—This is but one of several spellings for this name (due to both spelling conventions and manuscript differences): *Semjâzâ*, *Shemihazah*, *Semyaz*, and *Semhazah* (see comments on 1 Enoch 6:3, 7). In 1 Enoch 6:1–3, the account of the rebellion of the two hundred Watchers (verse 6), there is a list of its ringleaders. In that passage, Shemihazah is cast as the leader. The designation “first” in the present verse is consistent with that role.

Artâqîfâ—First Enoch 6:7 has *Arâkîba* here, but *Artâqîfâ* is closer to the Greek transliteration to *ʿArʿtëqoph* (following G^s) in that earlier portion of 1 Enoch. Nickelsburg and VanderKam read *ʿArʿtëqoph*.

Armên—Nickelsburg and VanderKam read *Remashel* here, close to the *Râmêél* of 1 Enoch 6:7. As I noted in the first volume, *Râmêél* “is considered a corruption, even by Charles. Two other spellings have been proposed based on possible readings of the Aramaic material (one of the consonants is not clear): *Ramṭʿel* and *Remašʿel*.”^[291] The name *Armên* is regard as a corruption of *rameʿel*, itself a corruption as noted above.^[292] The issue involves consonant confusion.

Kôkabêl—The meaning is “star of God.” See 1 Enoch 6:7, 8:3.

†*Tûrâêl*†—The cross symbols denote the suspect nature of this name. Black writes, “Eth[iopic] 69:2 reads trʿl which Charles (followed by Knibb) suggests is a corruption of Tamiʿel at 6:7. It seems more likely, however, to be a duplicate of no. 18 [in the list of names], probably to replace an unrecognizable name.”^[293]

Rûmjâl—Possibly an alternate transliteration of Raʿmʿel from 6:7.

^[294]

Dânjâl—As with the preceding name, this spelling is apparently derivative of an alternative transliteration of Dan'el at 6:7.

†*Nêqâêl*†—Once again, Charles marks the name as suspect. In 1 Enoch 6:7, this name is *zîq'êl* (“shooting star of God”). The Ethiopic scribe misread the Aramaic letter *zayin* as *nun*, creating this odd, errant spelling. [\[295\]](#)

Barâqêl—“Lightning of God.”

Azâzêl—See comments for 1 Enoch 8:1, 3.

Armârôs—See comments for 1 Enoch 6:7.

Batarjâl—See comments for 1 Enoch 6:7.

†*Busasêjal*†—Another name flagged by Charles. There is no such corresponding name in 1 Enoch 6:7. Its insertion results in twenty-one names rather than the twenty of 1 Enoch 6. Scholars believe that a scribe encountered a textual corruption and inserted the name since it has no clear textual basis.

Hanânêl—An alternate transliteration of *Anânêl* in 1 Enoch 6:7.

†*Tûrêl*†—See comments above at †*Tûrâêl*† and 1 Enoch 6:7.

Sîmâpêsîêl—An alternate spelling for *Samsâpêêl* of 1 Enoch 6:7. The latter is more coherent, meaning “sun of God.”

Jetrêl—This name is a corruption. It appears to be an amalgam of *str'l* and *shry'l* from the textual data of 1 Enoch 6:7.

Tûmâêl—Black considers this to perhaps be derived from *Tâmîêl* of 1 Enoch 6:7. [\[296\]](#)

Tûrêl—See previous comments for two earlier forms of this name. This overlap shows the extent of the textual corruption of this list.

†*Rûmâêl*†—See earlier at *Rûmjâl* and 1 Enoch 6:7.

†*Azâzêl*†—See earlier for duplication of this name.

69:3

the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens—Nickelsburg observes:

The division of the two hundred watchers into groups of ten reflects Israelite practice from early biblical times to the Second Temple period.... Whether there are any military connotations in the arrangement here is uncertain, although the lack of reference to fifties and hundreds is noteworthy. [\[297\]](#)

This list of these chiefs picks up in verse 4. Nickelsburg and VanderKam introduce verses 4–12 this way:

The angels in this list divide into two groups, according to their sins. The first two are instrumental in the angels' mating with “the

daughters of men” (vv. 4–5). The others reveal secrets to humanity (vv. 6–12). What they have in common is the function of “leading astray” others.... Noteworthy in the list as a whole is the complete lack of correspondence between the names given here and the names in 6:7 and 8:1–3. A major hindrance to the exegesis of this list is the lack of a Gk. or Aram. text that would help us interpret the angelic names in these verses. As the Gk. and Aram. control texts in the Book of the Watchers indicate, there is a good chance that the names in the Eth. are corrupt and that their original forms cannot be recovered with any certainty.^[298]

69:4

The name of the first Jeqôn—The original Aramaic consonants would have been *yqwn* (Yaqôn), a derivative of the lemma *qwn* (cp. Hebrew *qwm*), which means “to rise up” (metaphorically, “to rebel”; i.e., to rise up [against someone or something]). This makes sense in light of the accusation against him in the words that follow.

*the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men*—Jeqôn is blamed for being the instigator of the rebellion of the Watchers (1 Enoch 6). Nevertheless, Shemihazah/Semyaz is identified as the leader of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 6:3. As noted above, the detail about Jeqôn (and Asbeêl in verse 5) is unique in 1 Enoch.

6:5

the second was named Asbeêl—This second angel is also associated with the Watchers’ decision to defile themselves with human women. Scholars have suggested that the Ethiopic name could derive from Hebrew *‘azabi’êl* (“one who forsakes God”) or *ḥašabi’êl* (“thought of God”).^[299] The first obviously connects to the angel’s role in the transgression behind 1 Enoch’s version of the events of Genesis 6:1–4. The second is less transparent, as it is drawn from Ezekiel 38:10 (“Thus says the Lord God: On that day, thoughts will come into your mind, and you will devise an evil scheme”).

69:6

the third was named Gâdreêl—The name of this third angel has no clear etymological sourcing. Black laments, “None of the derivations proposed is convincing.”^[300] Nickelsburg and VanderKam provide two suggestions, both proposed by earlier scholars:

The Eth. *gadre`el* is open to several interpretations. It might reflect Heb. or Aram. *gādēr`ēl*, “wall of God”) or Heb. [*ādēr`ēl*], understanding [*dr*] in its *nip`al* sense of “to be lacking or to fail.”^[301]

The Aramaic lemma *dr* is paralleled by Hebrew *zr* (“to help”), possibly leading to a Hebrew name *ezer`el* (“God helps”). The supposition with this option is that “this angel makes the bogus claim that weaponry provides God’s help and protection rather than bringing on death.”^[302] In agreement with Black, this seems forced and is unpersuasive.

The only point of clarity is that this angel’s instigative activity concerned weapons of warfare and death. Nickelsburg and VanderKam highlight an odd coincidence: “With respect to these particular revelations, this angel is the counterpart to Asael (Azazel) in the corresponding list in 8:1.”^[303]

he led astray Eve—The mention of Eve is quite unexpected, but it has its own internal coherence. *Gâdreêl* in 69:6 plays the role given to Asael (Azazel) in 1 Enoch 8:1, one of a handful of passages that casts this figure as the leader of the transgressing Watchers (cp. 1 Enoch 9:1–6, 10:1–4). This transgression is referenced in 1 Enoch 65, a chapter that includes the idea that humankind will be judged because they have acquired forbidden knowledge of the “the satans” (65:6), i.e., the Watchers. As I have written elsewhere:

This passage has the Watchers, the “armies of Azaz`el,” under the dominion of Satan (i.e., Azaz`el) and also labels them as satans. First Enoch 69:5–6 follows this same trajectory.... After the offending sons of God are listed (the group previously called satans in 1 Enoch 65:6) one of them (v. 6) is more specifically identified as the divine being who deceived Eve. The effect is jarring, to say the least. Previously (1 En 54:4–6) Azaz`el was identified as (uppercase) Satan, the ultimate evil authority. The modern reader familiar with the Old Testament would assume Azaz`el was being equated with the serpent of Eden. But in this chapter Azaz`el is relegated to the tenth angel listed, and a different angel/satan is credited with deceiving Eve.^[304]

The point here is that, although 1 Enoch is inconsistent, identifying at least two fallen Watchers as the supernatural agents who deceived Eve; one of those is Azazel/Asael—whose identity is assumed by *Gâdreêl* in 1 Enoch 69:6.

69:8–11

the fourth was named Pênêmûe...he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper—This name also defies clear etymology. Nickelsburg and Vanderkam offer only a conjecture: “*pênēmu`e* is a slight corruption of the Heb. *penê mût*, ‘the face(s) of death.’”^[305] What death has to do with teaching humanity “the bitter and the sweet” (whatever that might mean) and writing, ink, and paper (verse 9) is far from clear or even coherent. Black points out that “bitter and sweet” (verse 8) might be drawn from Isaiah 5:20 (“Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!”). The point would then be that Pênêmûe taught humanity the inverse of that which is good. There is no clear path between this idea and the name elements. The link to writing might conceivably be the Watchers tradition’s relationship to the Mesopotamian *apkallu*, who are intimately tied to the scribal tradition of Babylon. Rather than crave the secrets of the gods (*apkallu*), humanity was supposed to be content with the knowledge they were granted, showing their faith in the will of the gods (or God in the biblical trajectory). Nevertheless, this is also conjecture.^[306]

69:12

the fifth was named Kâsdejâ—The derivation of this name is, not surprisingly, obscure. Nickelsburg and VanderKam speculate that it could come from *kašday* (“Chaldean”), since what follows—the manipulation or afflictions of evil spirits and demons, and abortions—were associated with magical arts involving evil spirits. “Chaldean” derives from Babylonian *kaldu*:

The Kaldû were a people from southern Babylonia to whom Nebuchadnezzar’s father Nabopolassar belonged; they were thus the ruling caste in Babylonia during the exile.... The Babylonian sages combined many of the functions fulfilled by wise men, prophets, and priests in Israel, though they are to be distinguished from those cultic functionaries who were more especially concerned with the temple and its ritual. They were the guardians of the sacred traditional lore developed and preserved in Mesopotamia over centuries, covering natural history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, myth, and chronicle.^[307]

The ancient historian described the Chaldeans as follows:

29.1 But to us it seems not inappropriate to speak briefly of the Chaldaeans of Babylon and of their antiquity, that we may omit nothing which is worthy of record. 2 Now the Chaldaeans, belonging

as they do to the most ancient inhabitants of Babylonia, have about the same position among the divisions of the state as that occupied by the priests of Egypt; for being assigned to the service of the gods they spend their entire life in study, their greatest renown being in the field of astrology. But they occupy themselves largely with soothsaying as well, making predictions about future events, and in some cases by purifications, in others by sacrifices, and in others by some other charms they attempt to effect the averting of evil things and the fulfilment of the good. 3 They are also skilled in soothsaying by the flight of birds, and they give out interpretations of both dreams and portents. They also show marked ability in making divinations from the observation of the entrails of animals, deeming that in this branch they are eminently successful. [308]

the wicked smitings of spirits and demons—A Chaldean connection to the name *Kâsdejâ* is rendered more coherent by the fact that the writer(s) of 1 Enoch would certainly have considered any practices connected to the sins of the Watchers (e.g., astrology, spells, magical practices) to have been Babylonian in origin. The fact that the Watchers are inextricably connected to the Babylonian *apkallu* make this trajectory demonstrable and likely. [309] The *apkallu* are part of the anti-witchcraft Mesopotamian *maqlû* (“burning”) literature. [310]

the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away... the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâ’êt—Nickelsburg and VanderKam draw attention to research on Jewish magical texts indicating “that abortions were functions of demons that could be controlled by magic,” and that Qumran texts like 1QH xi.iii.12–18 contain the notion of women being impregnated by serpents (who are thus the cause of ill-fated birth). [311] The reference to noonday heat may refer to “the destruction (qeteb) that wastes at noonday” in Psalm 91:6. Qeteb is the name of a Canaanite deity who would have been perceived as an evil spirit by biblical and Second Temple Jewish writers. [312] No coherent explanation has been offered for the name Tabâ’et, though Black notes there is a demon responsible for infant deaths in Syriac material by the name *tb’*. [313]

69:13

this is the task—Nickelsburg and VanderKam have “number” instead of “task,” but offer no alternative textual basis for the translation. See the next line (“chief of the oath”).

Kâsbeêl, the chief of the oath—Kâsbeêl is one of the fallen Watchers, as the ensuing content makes clear. The name likely derives from either Aramai *kšpʿl* (literally, “sorcerer divinity,” as the final element, *ʿel*, is the normative word for a divine being, not “angel”) or *kzbʿl* (literally, “lying divinity”). The respective point would be a supernatural spirit who performs sorcery or who is a liar.

its name is Bîqâ—This name for either the hidden name of God or the oath also relates to the “number” and “sum” translation issues. See verse 15.

69:14

This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name—The text informs readers that Kâsbeêl had some sort of interaction with Michael wherein he learned the hidden name of God, ostensibly to include it in an oath given to other Watchers. Michael did not know precisely what oath was in view, for it turned out to be the oath to take human women and transmit secret knowledge to humanity.

While it is unclear exactly what is taking place, we can detect the general drift of the narrative. Kasbeʿel used some sort of cunning to extract from Michael some sort of secret information about the divine name and an oath, which he then passed on to the other rebel angels who transmitted heavenly secrets to humanity. Exactly how all this worked out is a matter of dispute among commentators.^[314]

Instead of “chief of the oath,” Black has “sum of the oath” and refers readers to verse 15.^[315] His interpretive suspicions also relate to “number” adopted by Nickelsburg and VanderKam in the initial line of verse 13. See below.

69:15

he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael—Black notes that other scholars suspected gematria behind the name of this oath (Akâe) and the earlier Bîqâ. The former adds up to 91, which corresponds to *yhwh ʿdny* (YHWH *Adonai*; “YHWH (is) Lord”). If one reads the latter as BIQAH, the expected spelling for Hebrew or Aramaic, the result is 117, which corresponds to *yhyh hʿlhyh* (YHWH *ha-elohim*; “YHWH (is) the God”; i.e., *par excellence*).^[316] Despite these interesting “hits” via gematria, it is difficult to know if the interpretation is sound.

If we follow this series of suggestions, the scenario described in these verses is as follows. Kasbeʿel tricked Michael into revealing the secret of the divine name. Kasbeʿel, in turn, revealed the name to his angelic colleagues, who used it in the oath they swore as they conspired

to rebel against God. Verse 14 may also imply that they revealed the divine name to humanity (“those who showed the sons of men everything that was in secret”). The difficulty with these suggestions is that they produce not simply the divine name, but also a qualifier (“Lord” and “God”).^[317]

69:16

these are the secrets of this oath—In view of what follows, the point seems to be that the revelation of the divine name and “oath names” results in the knowledge of how the heavens and earth came into existence (cf. verses 18–25).

the heaven was suspended before the world was created—The heavens, God’s abode, were just “there” in the void. That is, the sky was in its position before the world (earth) was created below it.

And for ever—The author does not envision a time when the heavens were not there.

69:17

through it the earth was founded upon the water—“It” refers to heaven. In this instance, “heaven” is likely an instance of metonymy, the use of one name or word for another in light of the close association between the two.^[318] Thus “heaven” really refers to God, the Creator. As in the Bible, the earth was created and placed upon the waters (Psalm 136:6; cp. Genesis 1:9–10).

69:18–19

the sea was created, And † as its foundation † ...he set for it the sand...it dare not pass beyond it...the depths made fast—The idea is also familiar from ancient Near Eastern and biblical cosmology.^[319] The sea on which the earth was placed had a boundary, as does the deep under the earth. See Job 26:10, 38:8–11; Psalm 104:5–9; Proverbs 8:29.

69:20

the sun and moon complete their course, and deviate not—See 1 Enoch 41:7.

69:21

He calls them by name—The language appears in Isaiah 40:26.

69:22–23

the spirits of the water, and of the winds...the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings...the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew—See comments at 1 Enoch 40,

60:13–21 for the notion that spirits or angels are behind these natural forces.

69:24

all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power—See above on the personifications (“these”) behind the workings of these natural forces. On the Lord of Spirits, see 1 Enoch 37:2–5.

69:26

the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them...he sat on his throne of glory—In context, the point is that the Son of Man is connected to the divine name. See 1 Enoch 48:2–3 for the Son of Man possessing the divine name. Nickelsburg and VanderKam argue that the naming of the Son of Man designated him for high office and heavenly rule.^[320] On the Son of Man, see the appendix on the Messiah in 1 Enoch.

69:27–28

He sat on the throne of his glory...the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man—See 1 Enoch 62:1–5; John 5:27.

those who have led the world astray. With chains shall they be bound—A reference to the rebellious Watchers (cf. 1 Enoch 54:3–6). The two clauses should be understood together. The punctuation of Charles is confusing.

all their works vanish from the face of the earth—Once judgment occurs at the end of days, the righteous are rewarded in the new earth, and sinners are punished, the effects of the transgression of the Watchers will be no more.

Chapters 70–71: Additions to the Book of Parables

Section: 1 Enoch 70–71

These two chapters are considered summary additions placed at the end of the Book of Parables by either the writer or an editorial hand. Surprisingly, at the end of the Book of Parables (71:14), Enoch himself is identified with the Son of Man (71.14). To that point in 1 Enoch, no such suggestion of this conclusion is evident. Baynes notes, “Since the text had not even hinted at this identification previously, this development is perhaps the most puzzling thing in the Similitudes and has been the subject of much debate.”^[321]

Translation: Chapter 70

¹ And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. ² And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. ³ And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them; and he set me between the two winds, between the north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. ⁴ And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

Commentary

70:1

his name—That is, Enoch (cf. 69:29).^[322] The third-person reference prompts this comment from Nickelsburg and VanderKam:

These two verses were composed, in my view, as the conclusion to the Book of Parables. Their third person form corresponds to 37:1, and in that they *follow the subscript to the third parable* (v. 69:29) they are a mirror counterpart to chap. 37 as a whole, which provides an introduction to the book *before the superscription to the first parable* in 38:1—thus giving the work a kind of ring structure.... Compatible with this—though surely not definitive—is the abrupt switch in 70:3 from the third person (70:1–2) to the first person autobiographical narrative that continues through chap. 71 to vv. 14b and 15b, the points at which the angel addresses Enoch in the second person.^[323]

In other words, 70:1–2 may have originally been the last two verses of 1 Enoch 69.

during his lifetime was raised aloft—The words reference the biblical transport of Enoch to the realm of God (Genesis 5:22–23).

70:2

he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit—Or “chariots of the wind.” The wording recalls the transport of Elijah, who ascended into the whirlwind on a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:11), but is also found in 1 Enoch 39:3.

his name vanished among them—The word rendered “vanished” by Charles is rendered “departed,” “went out,” or “bruided” (Black; the archaic English term means “spread abroad”).^[324] The idea seems to be that, upon Enoch’s descent, he became renowned (cf. Genesis 11:4).

70:3

from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them—Note the switch to the first person. The speaker is now Enoch. From the point he was taken up to the heavens, he was absent among humankind.

he set me—Whoever it was that set Enoch down at his destination is never clarified. Perhaps one could translate the third person as “it set me,” which would refer to the chariot, but one would

think chariots need charioteers (but none is specified for Elijah in the 2 Kings episode).

between the two winds, between the north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous—The material is familiar from earlier portions of the Parables:

The rest of v. 3 refers back to Enoch's vision in 61:1–5.... Enoch's immediate destination is "the place of the chosen and the righteous," here located "between the North and the West," and in 61:1, "toward the North," where "the garden of righteousness" is according to 77:3. In 32:1–3 "the garden of righteousness"...is located in the Northeast; however, there it is described as the former home of the first parents and not as the habitat of the righteous.... The tradition that the garden became the habitat of the ascended Enoch is an old one attested already in Jub 4:23, a text from the first half of the second century b.c.e. [\[325\]](#)

Translation: Chapter 71

¹ And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the **holy sons of God**.

They were stepping on flames of fire:
Their garments were white [and their raiment],
And their faces shone like snow.

² And I saw two streams of fire,
And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

³ And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by
my right hand,

And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

⁴ And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

⁵ And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
And between those crystals tongues of living fire.

⁶ And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
And they girt that house.

⁷ And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin:
And these are they who sleep not,
And guard the throne of His glory.

⁸ And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
Encircling that house,

And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
Go in and out of that house.

⁹ And they came forth from that house,
And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
And many holy angels without number.

¹⁰ And with them the Head of Days,

His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.

¹¹ And I fell on my face,
And my whole body became relaxed,
And my spirit was transfigured;
And I cried with a loud voice,
...with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

¹² And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days. ¹³ And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in 46³) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

¹⁴ And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me:

“**This is** the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness;
And righteousness abides over **him**,
And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes **him** not.”

¹⁵ And he said unto me:

“He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come;

For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,

And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

¹⁶ And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsakes **him**:

With **him** will be their dwelling-places, and with **him** their heritage,

And they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever.

¹⁷ And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way.
In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

Commentary

71:1

it came to pass after this—Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize the assessment of the chapter by many scholars: “Chapter 71 is an appendix to the Book of Parables the function of which is to identify the patriarch Enoch as the Son of Man who has dominated the action throughout the book.”^[326]

my spirit—First Enoch 71:1–4 describes the ascent of Enoch’s spirit into the heavens, the abode of the Lord of Spirits (verse 2; cf. verse 5).

was translated—In other words, taken or transported. The Ethiopic word here (*kabata*) occurs in Ethiopic translations of Genesis 5:24 and Hebrews 11:5.^[327]

the holy sons of God—The supernatural members of the heavenly host. First Enoch 14 and 39–40 recount the same elements of Enoch’s ascent (cf. 1 Enoch 14:21–23, 39:5–40:10). The line could more literally be translated “sons of the holy angels,” a phrase that appears elsewhere in 69:4–5. Nickelsburg and VanderKam speculate that the Ethiopic is the equivalent of Hebrew *benê-`elohîm*.

stepping on flames of fire—See 1 Enoch 14:9–22 and 61:6 for heavenly fire imagery.

their garments were white [and their raiment]—Nickelsburg and VanderKam note that “the white, snowlike appearance of the angelic garb corresponds to that of the deity in 14:20 (‘his apparel was like the appearance of the sun | and whiter than much snow’). No such description occurs in chaps. 39–40.”^[328]

like snow—See 1 Enoch 14:20. Hail and snow are elements of the heavenly realms (Job 38:22).

71:2

streams of fire...that shone like hyacinth—See 1 Enoch 14:19. English “hyacinth” is a transliteration of Greek *hyakinthos*. Ethiopic *yākent* is elsewhere used to translate Greek *sapphiron* (Hebrew: *sappir*), so scholars consider “hyacinth” here to speak of sapphire. While the referent may be 1 Enoch 18:6–9, Exodus 24:9–11 and its vision of Yahweh on Sinai contains Hebrew *sappir*, offering another possible point of contact.

Lord of Spirits—See 1 Enoch 37:2.

71:3

the angel Michael [one of the archangels]—See 1 Enoch 40:9–10. Michael proceeds to guide Enoch’s tour in which he sees the “secrets of righteousness” (on which see 1 Enoch 49:2, 51:3). In verses 5–17, an unnamed figure will escort Enoch to “the heaven of the heavens.”

he lifted me up—Michael lifts Enoch from his prostrate position. This is a consistent pattern, both in 1 Enoch (1 Enoch 14:25, 71:3, 60:4) and the Old Testament (e.g., Daniel 8:18, 10:7–11).

71:4

all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries—See 1 Enoch 41:4–5, 43:1; 59:1–3.

71:5

the heaven of heavens—Nickelsburg and VanderKam consider this phrase rhetorical hyperbole “that designates the highest part of the heavenly realm—the dwelling of God...(1 Enoch 1:4; 60:1; and 1 Kgs 8:27). Elsewhere it designates this part of the fullness of the cosmos (Deut 10:14; Neh 9:6; Ps 148:4).”^[329]

a structure built of crystals, And between those crystals tongues of living fire—“Crystals of fire”—that is, hailstones and fire.^[330] See 1 Enoch 14:9–15. “Tongues of fire” is familiar from Acts 2:3 and James 3:6, but is known from Qumran as well (1Q29 frg. 1.3; frg. 2.3; 4Q376 1 ii 1; 4Q530 2 ii 9).

71:6

the girdle which girt that house of fire—the reference is to the streams of fire, which surround the house of fire.

71:7

Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin...who sleep not, And guard the throne of his glory—See 1 Enoch 61:10. Here the three groups of heavenly creatures are seemingly labeled as Watchers—those who sleep not. Nickelsburg and VanderKam suggest as much, contending the description “is evidently the book’s term for the holy ‘watchers’ in the Book of the Watchers, which term does not occur in the Parables.”^[331] Their observation seems better understood to lead to the opposite conclusion. The panoply of holy ones and archangels encountered in the Parables are never called Watchers. In the Book of the Watchers, the archangels (who can leave the throne at God’s bidding) are called Watchers. It would seem better to take the description “who sleep not”

found here as highlighting the vigilance of the three classes of throne guardians.

71:8–9

A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand—See 1 Enoch 40:1.

Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel—See 1 Enoch 40:9–10.

that house—The house described here is the structure of verses 5ff. It is mentioned several times in this chapter. Its constituent elements are described here and in 1 Enoch 14:10–21. It is “the palace of the king, or the temple of the deity, depending on one’s imagery.”^[332]

71:10

the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool—See 1 Enoch 46:1–3, 47:3.

71:11

my spirit was transfigured—Enoch’s spirit was carried away in verses 5–6, so the wording here is consistent. However, the other elements in verse 11 (“face,” “whole body”) indicate a picture of totality—physical and spiritual: “The anthropological terminology in v. 11 is noteworthy: face, flesh, spirit, voice. Although it was Enoch’s spirit that was taken, the presence of God transforms his whole being.”^[333]

71:12–13

Head of Days—See 1 Enoch 46:1–3, 47:3.

Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel—See 1 Enoch 40:9–10.

71:14 and Charles’ “lost passage”

And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice...“This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness—As noted in the translation, Charles added these comments after 71:13:

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in 46³) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

Nickelsburg and VanderKam explain Charles’ comments this way:

In v. 14a the mss. differ as to who is speaking to Enoch. Instead of “and he” (*wawe`etu*) some mss. read “and that angel” (*wawe`etu mal`ak*). This looks like an attempt either to identify the vague “he” or to keep the text from saying that the deity spoke directly to the seer. If “that angel” is original, the text is vague as to

which angel is speaking to Enoch. However, if the author can depict God as actually approaching Enoch, there seems to be no reason why the Head of Days should not address him directly, although the third person reference to the Head of Days seems odd if the Head of Days is speaking. But see the comm. on vv. 15–17 below.

The next line [“This is the Son of Man...”] has been more problematic for exegetes. Charles could not imagine that this author would identify the Son of Man with Enoch. He claimed that a passage had dropped from the text that described the Son of Man accompanying the Head of Days and a conversation taking place between Enoch and an angel. Verse 14b–17, he supposed, are the remnant of the angel’s description of the function of the Son of Man, which some scribe mistakenly applied to Enoch and transposed into the second person. Charles, in turn, changed the second person pronoun in v. 14b and all the second person pronominal suffixes in vv. 14c–16 into the third person. Charles’s tour de force, however, has no foundation in the mss. and has been universally rejected by scholars. The language here is that of an installation formula, as, for example, in Ps 2:7, and this fits well with a commissioning scene. The identification of Enoch as the Son of Man can be read as a first step toward the angelification of the seer in 2 Enoch 22 and of his identification with Metatron in 3 Enoch.^[334]

Son of Man—See the appendix on the Messiah in 1 Enoch.

the righteousness...forsakes him not—Righteousness is an attribute of the Son of Man.

Head of Days—See 1 Enoch 46:1–3 and 47:3.

71:15–17

And he said unto me: “He proclaims unto thee peace”—The pronouns can only be interpreted in light of the reader’s prior conclusion about the speaker(s):

The speaker is unidentified and seems to be either an unnamed angel or the Head of Days, depending on one’s reading of the text in v. 14a. If it is the deity, then who is the subject of the verb in v. 15b (“*He proclaims peace to you*”)? On present evidence, this might force one to make “that angel” the speaker in v. 14 and the subject of “he said to me” in v. 15a, and the Head of Days, mentioned at the end of v. 14, the subject of “He proclaims peace to you” in v. 15b. However one resolves this question, vv. 15–17 describe the eschatological status and function of the Son of Man, here identified

with Enoch. Verse 17 with its shift to the third person is best ascribed to a narrator, who provides a summarizing conclusion to the section and the book, just as 70:1–2 provided a third person conclusion to the Parables before 70:3 moved into the first person.

[\[335\]](#)

all shall walk in his ways—“All” refers to the righteous whose destiny is with the Son of Man after judgment.

*they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever*
—The righteous have everlasting life.

Appendix: The Messiah in the Book of Enoch

The study of the Messiah in Second Temple Judaism is complex and controversial, a situation due in part to the ambiguities and difficulties about the subject that are present in the Old Testament. This assessment may surprise some readers, particularly Christians, for whom (they suspect) nothing could be more clear. Many Christians presume, largely on the basis of the later revelation of the New Testament, that a royal, end-of-days Messiah from the line of David who would die for the sins of not only the nation of Israel but all humankind is transparently evident in the Old Testament. That simply is not the case.

Two illustrations of why Jews and other non-Christian readers would find the question of whether the Old Testament overtly teaches the profile of the Messiah that is made evident in the New Testament presentation of Jesus will suffice for our purposes.

First, the Hebrew word translated “messiah” (*mashiach*) never occurs in Isaiah 52:13–53:12, the passage about a suffering servant that is the Old Testament touchstone for the assertion that the death of Jesus fulfilled messianic prophecy. The word also never occurs in Psalm 22, the psalm most famous for its descriptions of suffering that align well with crucifixion. Naturally, this begs the question of whether a passage must contain the word *mashiach* to be truly messianic. Most scholars would reply in the negative, since the profile of this figure is much wider than a single term. Nevertheless, these omissions foster uncertainty in the minds of some, while creating an opportunity for those who want to oppose the messiahship of Jesus at the outset.

Second, the word *mashiach* occurs thirty-nine times in the Old Testament. It is formed from the verb *mashach* (“to anoint”), and occurs frequently to describe anointed priests (Exodus 28:41, 30:30; Leviticus 4:3, 5, 16). It is perhaps more familiar in descriptions of Israel’s kings. The term is used with respect to that office in a variety of phrases: “the anointed of YHWH” (e.g., 1 Samuel 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16); God’s (his, my, your) “anointed one” (e.g., 1 Samuel 2:10, 35; 12:3, 5; 16:6; 2 Samuel 22:51). Nevertheless, it is a fact of the biblical text that, in all but one occurrence of *mashiach* being used to describe Israel’s king, the “anointed” refers to a contemporary Israelite king, not a future one. The

lone exception is in Isaiah 45:1, where Cyrus the Persian is called Yahweh's "anointed."^[336] The argument is then made by some that the talk of New Testament writers about a delivering Messiah, identified as Jesus, is somewhat contrived, since there is no specific prophecy about such a deliverer *that utilizes* the word *mashiach*.

The kingship factor is actually important in comprehending the messianic profile. The term *mashiach* was intimately tied to Israelite kingship. God had promised David a perpetual dynastic line with respect to Jerusalem's throne (2 Samuel 7). It would be the crisis of the exile that would propel the expectation of a deliverer. It was presumed that deliverance would mean a return to political sovereignty. Consequently, when the prophets spoke of a future "servant" (Isaiah 49:6, 52:13, 53:11), or preexistent "son of man" who would rule all the nations (Daniel 7:9–13), or the rise of a new "branch" from David's lineage "stump" (Isaiah 11:1, Zechariah 6:12), it was assumed that One would be from David's dynastic line and, hence, an anointed (Messiah) King. As many scholars have noted, the "Messiah" in Old Testament thought is actually a complex, composite figure. As such, the messianic profile included all these terms and more in Second Temple Judaism's expectant hope, a yearning reflected in many writings of the period. The idea did not depend on the presence of the word *mashiach*. Any intelligent Jewish reader or non-confessional scholar will know this. Yet the absence of the term is often used to trouble Christian readers. The tactic is dishonest but common.

First Enoch 1–36, the Book of the Watchers, knows nothing of a messianic figure. It is only with the Parables, 1 Enoch 37–71, that such a figure comes into view. The specific connection between this figure and Old Testament messianic thought is twofold: one of His titles is explicitly the "Anointed One"; His other titles (Chosen One, Righteous One, Son of Man) are drawn from Psalm 2, Isaiah 11, and Daniel 7, passages that describe an eschatological deliverer who would rule Israel and the nations. Further, the Old Testament Servant, Israel's King, the Branch of David, is described as God's "Chosen" (Psalm 89:3, 18, 27; Isaiah 42:1). Certain aspects of Old Testament Wisdom, a pre-existent figure in Proverbs 8:22–31 and Second Temple sources (*Wis* 7:24–26; *Sir* 24:7–11) are also repurposed in 1 Enoch 37–71 to create the profile of this messianic figure.^[337]

The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) and Their Date

The date of the Parables is of great importance to the discussion of their messianic content. The scholarly minority dates the Parables after the first century AD and thus argues that their messianic content is drawn *from* the New Testament. This makes the New Testament interpretation and application of Old Testament messianism in regard to Jesus appear idiosyncratic. If the Parables are earlier than the time of Jesus, the way New Testament writers interpret Old Testament content in regard to a Messiah operates within a stream of Jewish understanding.

In the introduction to this commentary, I noted that the dating of the Parables was difficult. I cited Baynes in this regard, who concluded, “Although a minority view argues for a post-Christian date, a growing scholarly consensus places the composition of the Similitudes around the turn of the millennium or somewhat later in the first century CE.”^[338] In a footnote, I drew attention to Bock’s opinion that the Parables are firmly pre-Christian. Bock’s essay is a lengthy survey of all the scholarly studies on the dating of the Parables and their conclusions. Bock writes in his own conclusion:

My chapter indicates one example where such careful attention may lead to a reconfiguration of a long-held debate. The other chapters in this volume hope to develop the implications of this fresh appreciation for the date of the *Parables of Enoch* for both New Testament studies and Second Temple Judaism. The starting point for such discussion is the strong likelihood that the *Parables of Enoch* are Jewish and most likely were composed prior to the work of Jesus of Nazareth or contemporaneous with his Galilean ministry.^[339]

Bock offered seven reasons for his conclusions that the Parables are Jewish in orientation and were composed earlier than, or contemporary to, the time of Jesus. I offer them here with some editorial commentary of my own interspersed:^[340]

(1) A variety of points urge us not to expect to find the *Parables of Enoch* at Qumran.^[341] (a) It was a late addition to the *Books of Enoch*. (b) It held to a different calendar than the Qumran

Community. (c) The Righteous Teacher is more important to the Community than Enoch, so it would not welcome a document in which Enoch becomes the key eschatological figure.

Comment: The second and third observations are decisive, especially given the obsession with calendar for which the Qumran community is known.^[342] This sort of “anti-Qumran” content provides a coherent rationale for the exclusion of the Parables. This means the exclusion does not require the conclusion that the Parables didn’t exist prior to the Common Era.

(2) The best date for the Parthian invasion discussed in 1 Enoch 56 is 40 bce. Although this connection is not certain, it seems the best candidate, especially given the nature of pattern fulfillment in eschatological texts and the lack of connection to an enemy like Rome in this material. One thing can be said. If the invasion is stereotyped, it is not foreseen as coming from Rome and the West but from older historical opponents that lie to the East. This is part of the rationale for seeing a historic backdrop that takes the reference to the Parthians as concrete and not merely stereotypical.

Comment: The reference to the Parthians in 1 Enoch 56:6–7 is an important external dating mechanism. Most scholars (with Bock) conclude that the passage describes an invasion that can be conclusively dated to 40 BC, strongly suggesting a date for the Parables before the Common Era (AD period).

(3) One should not expect to see the *Parables of Enoch* cited by Christians because Jesus is the Son of Man for them, not Enoch.

Comment: In 1 Enoch 71, Enoch apparently sees *himself* as the Son of Man.^[343] Scholars disagree on how to interpret the content of this chapter. Given the wording, it makes very good sense that Christian writers would find it incongruent to point readers to content that contradicted this fundamental theological point.

(4) The relegation of Jews behind the *Parables of Enoch* best fits the Herodian period with potential allusions to Calirrhoe.

(5) The making of Jews into “tenant farmers” on what was their land and the reference to being pushed off of dry land makes sense only after Herod the Great.

(6) The *Wirkungsgechichte*^[344] of the *Parables of Enoch* helps fit the time of 4 *Ezra* which as Stone has shown has pre-70 traditions in it, as does 2 *Baruch*.

Comment: In other words, it seems that the content of the Parables has influenced 4 Ezra, which has content that can be dated to before AD 70.

(7) The *Parables of Enoch* does not mention the fall of Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple in 70 ce which makes best sense if this text predates this event.

The Parables' portrait of an eschatological Messiah "reflects an exegetical conflation of several strands of Israelite religious thought."^[345] It is to these strands we now turn in our survey.^[346] The following designations are constituent parts of the Messianic profile in the Book of Enoch.

Anointed One

This is the most explicit and familiar title for the apocalyptic messianic figure in the Parables. It is also the least frequent, occurring only twice:

48:10: “For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.”

52:4: “All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.”

The wordings of these passages related to God’s Anointed and His dominion derive from Psalm 2:2:

The kings of the earth set themselves,
and the rulers take counsel together,
against the Lord and against his Anointed.

The ensuing elements of this well-known messianic psalm are significant to our inquiry into the Messiah in the Book of Enoch:

³ “Let us burst their bonds apart
and cast away their cords from us.”

⁴ He who sits in the heavens laughs;
the Lord holds them in derision.

⁵ Then he will speak to them in his wrath,
and terrify them in his fury, saying,

⁶ “As for me, I have set my King
on Zion, my holy hill.”

⁷ I will tell of the decree:

The Lord said to me, “You are my Son;
today I have begotten you.

⁸ Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage,
and the ends of the earth your possession.

⁹ You shall break them with a rod of iron
and dash them in pieces like a potter’s vessel.”

In Psalm 2, the “Anointed” of the Lord (v. 2) is given dominion over the nations of the world. The same is true in Daniel 7, where the one to whom this dominion is given is called the “son of man” (Daniel 7:13). This descriptive phrase (“son of man”) is the most frequent designation for a Messiah figure in the Parables of Enoch.

Son of Man

As Nickelsburg and VanderKam point out, this title is both frequent and problematic within the Parables: “This designation appears seventeen times in the Parables (one of them as a generic address to Enoch [60:10]). The expression is problematic from the outset, however, because it appears in the Eth[iopic] text in several different forms.”^[347] Those Ethiopic forms are:

walda sabʾ

walda beʾesi

walda ʾegwala ʾemaḥeyāw

Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize these three options as follows:

The noun *sabʾ* denotes humankind or a human being, and in the Eth. Bible it regularly translates Greek *anthropos*. The noun *beʾesi* designates, first of all, a male person—a man, in the Eth. Bible translating Greek *anēr* six hundred times. Very frequently, however, it denotes a human being and translates Greek *anthropos*. The third expression, *walda ʾegwala ʾemaḥeyāw*, lit., the “son of the offspring of the mother of the living,” that is, a child of Eve, is an often-used circumlocution for a human being, and in the Bible it translates Greek *anthropos* and *hūis anthropou*, as well as *anēr* (*anthrōpos*, “human being,” *huios anthrōpou* [“son of a human being”], *anēr* [“man”]). Thus, in the Parables all three expressions can comfortably be understood as translation variants of a common Gk. *hūis [tou] anthropou* (“son of [the] man”), which would reflect Aramaic *bar ʾenaš*, and most translations render them uniformly as “Son of Man.”^[348]

It should be noted that these three phrases in the Parables do not always have the eschatological Son of Man from Daniel 7 in mind. In some instances (like the Old Testament^[349]), the usage of the phrase merely describes a human being. That said, our focus is on the transcendent figure. Several of the “son of man” phrases in the Parables clearly describe an eschatological king who is more than a mere mortal:

1 Enoch 46

² And I [Enoch] asked the one—from among the angels—who was going with me, and who had revealed to me all the secrets

regarding the One who was born of human beings, “Who is this, and from whence is he who is going as the prototype of the Before-Time?”³ And he answered me and said to me, “This is the Son of Man, to whom belongs righteousness, and with whom righteousness dwells. And he will open all the hidden storerooms; for the Lord of the Spirits has chosen him, and he is destined to be victorious before the Lord of the Spirits in eternal uprightness.⁴ This Son of Man whom you have seen is the One who would remove the kings and the mighty ones from their comfortable seats and the strong ones from their thrones. He shall loosen the reins of the strong and crush the teeth of the sinners.⁵ He shall depose the kings from their thrones and kingdoms. For they do not extol and glorify him, and neither do they obey him, the source of their kingship.”

1 Enoch 48

¹ 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.² At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name, in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before Time;³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.

1 Enoch 62

² The Lord of the Spirits has sat down on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness has been poured out upon him. The word of his mouth will do the sinners in; and all the oppressors shall be eliminated from before his face.³ On the day of judgment, all the kings, the governors, the high officials, and the landlords shall see and recognize him—how he sits on the throne of his glory, and

righteousness is judged before him, and that no nonsensical talk shall be uttered in his presence. ⁴ Then pain shall come upon them as on a woman in travail with birth pangs—when she is giving birth (the child) enters the mouth of the womb and she suffers from childbearing. ⁵ One half portion of them shall glance at the other half; they shall be terrified and dejected; and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. ⁶ (These) kings, governors, and all the landlords shall (try to) bless, glorify, extol him who rules over everything, him who has been concealed. ⁷ For the Son of Man was concealed from the beginning, and the Most High One preserved him in the presence of his power; then he revealed him to the holy and the elect ones. ⁸ The congregation of the holy ones shall be planted, and all the elect ones shall stand before him. ⁹ On that day, all the kings, the governors, the high officials, and those who rule the earth shall fall down before him on their faces, and worship and raise their hopes in that Son of Man; they shall beg and plead for mercy at his feet.

1 Enoch 69

²⁶ This oath has become dominant over them; they are preserved by it and their paths are preserved by it (so that) their courses of travel do not perish. ²⁷ (Then) there came to them a great joy. And they blessed, glorified, and extolled (the Lord) on account of the fact that the name of that (Son of) Man was revealed to them. He shall never pass away or perish from before the face of the earth.

Of this eschatological king, Orlov writes, “As with the Chosen One, Son of Man is a character associated with celestial secrets who also has a throne of glory (62:5; 69:27, 29) from which he will judge sinners.”^[350]

Chosen (“Elect”) One^[351]

This title, occurring sixteen times in the Parables, is nearly as frequent as the preceding.^[352] The title has its origin in Isaiah 42:1, as this comparison illustrates:

Isaiah 42:1	1 Enoch 49:2b-4
Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen , in whom	² Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,

my soul **delights**;
I have put my **Spirit** upon
him;
he will bring forth **justice**
to the nations.

And his glory is for ever and
ever,
And his might unto all
generations.

³ And in him **dwells the spirit**
of wisdom,

And the **spirit** which gives
insight,

And the **spirit** of
understanding and of might.

And the **spirit** of those who
have fallen asleep in righteousness.

⁴ And he shall **judge** the
secret things,

And none shall be able to
utter a lying word before him;

For he is the **Elect One**
before the Lord of Spirits according
to His **good pleasure**.

First Enoch 48:1–7 also draws words and phrases from the “servant” passage of Isaiah 49. While doing so, 1 Enoch 48:2 also uses the title “Son of Man,” thereby connecting the two titles with the same figure. Kvanvig writes: “The presentation of the Chosen One is in the first person like the presentation of ‘my Servant,’ *abdī*, and ‘my Chosen One,’ *bēhīrī*, in Isa 42:1.... The most likely background for ‘Chosen One’ and ‘Righteous One’ is the oracles about the Servant of the Lord in the book of Isaiah (cf. esp. Isa 42:1 and 53:11).”^[353] Orlov notes that “the Chosen One in the Parables paints a picture of a highly elevated celestial being. This being apparently has his own throne in the celestial realm since one of the passages, 45:3–4, depicts him as the one who has been installed on the throne of glory.... From this elevated seat he will judge Asael and the angels associated with this rebellious leader.”^[354]

Righteous One

In the Old Testament messianic profile, God's "Chosen" is also referred to as the "Righteous One" (Isaiah 53:11). The specific designation used as a title occurs twice in the Parables,^[355] once in tandem with "Chosen One":^[356]

1 Enoch 38:2: "And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous..."

1 Enoch 53:6: "And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear..."

Only one passage in the Hebrew Bible combines "Righteous One" and "Chosen One": Psalm 110, a psalm that "contains the elements of enthronement, judgment, and polarization between the enthroned and his enemies, which is also combined in the passages [in 1 Enoch] about the Chosen One and the Son of Man."^[357] Orlov is representative of scholars who consider the Righteous One "an eschatological figure of great significance."^[358] As Nickelsburg and VanderKam add:^[359]

In addition to these texts, the designation may be implied elsewhere, where the quality of righteousness is associated with the Son of Man, the Chosen One, and the Anointed One (see below).

39:6:And in that place I saw the Chosen One of righteousness and faith

46:3:This is the Son of Man who has righteousness, and righteousness dwells with him.

49:2:(the Anointed One) is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness

62:2:And the Lord of Spirits <seated him> (the Chosen One) upon the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured upon him.

62:3:and righteousness is judged in his (the Chosen One's) presence

Summary

As noted above, the portrayal of the eschatological Messiah in 1 Enoch is a composite—precisely the sort of variegated profile one finds in the Old Testament.^[360] VanderKam is blunt: “The four terms in the present text of 1 Enoch 37–71 very clearly refer to the same being.”^[361] Nickelsburg and VanderKam summarize the logic:

The identification of these figures with one another is understandable; for all the differences between these figures, their characteristics and functions can be seen to be compatible and complementary. According to Psalm 2, the Davidic king, the Lord’s anointed and son, will exact divine judgment on the rebellious kings and rulers of the earth, whose kingdoms will be given to him as his “inheritance” and “possession.” Isaiah 11 emphasizes the royal function of judgment that is rooted in the wisdom bestowed by God’s Spirit. In Second Isaiah, the Servant of Yhwh has traits elsewhere ascribed to the Davidic king. The Spirit of Yhwh rests on him so that he is an agent of justice for the lowly (Isa 42:1–4; cf. Isa 11:2–5). His word is likened to a weapon (49:2; cf. 11:4). He is God’s chosen one and Servant (42:1; cf. Ps 89:3, 19–20; [4, 20–21 Heb.]). He is exalted (52:13–15) in the presence of kings and rulers (Isa 52:13–15; cf. 49:7), although they are not his opponents as in Psalm 2. In Daniel 7, after the judgment that destroys or neutralizes opposing monarchs and kingdoms, the heavenly one like a son of man is enthroned as the bearer of God’s royal power and dominion.^[362]

What is the purpose or function of this figure in the Parables? He is not expected to provide atonement in these titles. Rather, the entire thrust of the Parables is the final judgment, where the righteous are vindicated and sinners punished. The Anointed One, Son of Man, Chosen One, Righteous One is the eschatological Judge.

But is there no hint in the Book of Enoch of a suffering Messiah? There is, in one controversial passage outside the Parables.

1 Enoch 90:37–38 and a Josephite Messiah

1. Introducing the Animal Apocalypse

These two verses from 1 Enoch 90 are part of what is known as the “Animal Apocalypse,” part of 1 Enoch 83–90, the “Book of Dreams” portion of 1 Enoch. Herms explains:

The Animal Apocalypse is the second of two dream visions attributed to Enoch in the Book of Dreams (1 En 83–90). As an apocalyptic allegory (see Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature) recounting human history through the use of animal symbols...., the apocalypse purports to account for divine, angelic, and human activity on both cosmic (heavenly) and terrestrial (earthly) planes.... In true allegorical fashion, each symbol the author employs has a recognizable or concrete counterpart in the “real” world. The narrative strategy is to place each referent into a slightly diminished symbolic category within the created order: angelic beings are depicted as humans; fallen angels are described as stars;² human beings are assigned a variety of animal designations (intentional species associations determined by ethnic and/or ethical considerations); and inanimate elements also take a “lowered” form (i.e., Jerusalem is a “house”; the temple is a “tower”). It is noteworthy that even God (as shepherd of the sheep) is depicted in anthropomorphic terms.^[363]

With respect to the storytelling and its biblical flow-of-history counterpart, Herms adds:

The vision may be broadly divided into three narrative movements beginning with the primeval age (85:1–89:8), then the postdiluvian age (89:9–90:15), and, finally, the great judgment and eschatological age (90:16–38). The opening movement (85:1–89:8), set in the antediluvian (prediluvian) era, finds the first human family and succeeding generations wrestling with the problem of evil. They are assigned a “white cattle” symbol (bulls and heifers), which denotes the Edenic condition that is also anticipated in the eschatological future for all species (90:38). Here the author introduces the features of color and species to identify these referents in terms of ethnicity (race) and ethics (purity/impurity).

Adam is described as a white bull (85:3) and his offspring are also distinguishable by their color (Cain is a “black bull”—negative association; Abel is a “red bull”—suggestive of violent death; Seth is a “white bull”—indicating untainted status). In this way, the author retains the ethical valuation of these figures from their corresponding biblical traditions (Gen. 4–5) while placing them in his alternate symbolic world...the second visionary scene of the first movement (86:1–88:3) is an explicit expansion of the Watcher tradition (fallen angels; see Book of Watchers) as an explanation of the origins of evil (86:1–6; cf. Gen. 6:1–4). Described with the common apocalyptic designation “stars,” these Watchers (cf. 1 En. 6–11; Jub. 5–10; see The Book of Jubilees) are attracted to the women on earth and descend to mate with them. The moral decay of humanity to the point of diluvian judgment is explained through graphic descriptions of the Watchers’ illicit intent (what amounts to “cosmic” rape) and physiology (large sexual organs). This cosmic rape and its earthbound consequence are followed by recounting Enoch’s experience of the punishment of the fallen angels and their offspring (87:1–88:3). Response to the proliferation of evil comes in the form of a symbolic flood narrative (89:1–8) where the central figure (Noah) is described as a white bull who becomes a man (89:1, 9)—an indication of his exalted/righteous status.^[364]

For our purposes, it is the white bulls that are of interest. In 1 Enoch 90:37–38, we encounter a new white bull:

³⁷ And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. ³⁸ And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

Although it can hardly be discerned from this (Charles) translation, some scholars believe this passage, written 165–161 BC, describes not only the Messiah, but a suffering Messiah, from the line of Joseph.^[365]

No scholar has done more careful and persuasive work on this passage and the ancient Jewish “Josephite Messiah” (the “son of Joseph”) than David C. Mitchell. Over the past twenty-five years, Mitchell has collected all the textual data on the Josephite Messiah tradition and

published his analyses under peer review.^[366] As Mitchell notes, most Christian and Jewish scholars are not aware of the Josephite Messiah tradition. Those who reflexively presume the idea is post-Christian, originating in the wake of the death of the messianic pretender Simon Bar Kokhba (AD 135). This is not the case. The idea can be securely found in Second Temple Period texts, writings whose authors root their belief in the Old Testament. Indeed, the results of Mitchell's research are nothing short of shocking. He writes in the preface to his book, *Messiah ben Joseph*:

There is, in rabbinic literature, a figure called Messiah ben Joseph. This Messiah comes from Galilee to die, pierced by ruthless foes, at the gate of Jerusalem. Upon his death, Israel are scattered amidst the nations. But his death, as we shall see, confounds Satan, atones for sin, and abolishes death itself. And then he is raised to life again....

Now anyone with the least idea of what divides the Abrahamic faiths must find the existence of such a figure in Jewish literature remarkable. Yet there he is. In hundreds of passages, in scores of documents of every flavour: in the Targums and Talmud; in the homiletic and exegetic midrashim; in the apocalyptic midrashim and the geonic responsa; in the *hekhalot* literature and the *Zohar*, in the *rishonim* and the *aḥaronim*. In short, he features in Jewish literature of every genre and period....

In these documents, Messiah ben Joseph always appears before his better known comrade, Messiah ben David.... Nevertheless, Messiah ben Joseph is no minor figure.... The Talmud says Messiah ben David cannot come till Messiah ben Joseph appears. The Targum on the Song of Songs says Ben Joseph will rule with Ben David like Aaron with Moses. The full inauguration of the Messianic Age is to begin with the death of Messiah ben Joseph. And to this day, observant Jews await his coming as the beginning of the redemption.^[367]

This description quite obviously (for Christians with adequate biblical knowledge) sounds like the two advents of the New Testament Christ—the inauguration of the kingdom at His atoning death, resurrection, and ascension, followed by His Second Coming to consummate the age to come. Could it be that Jewish tradition discerned the two phases of the messianic plan in the Old Testament and cast them as two messianic figures? This would not be new in Jewish thought

of the Second Temple Period, as Qumran's doctrine of two Messiahs shows.^[368]

The broader question of two Messiahs at Qumran, or in Second Temple literature in general, is not the purpose of our appendix. Readers are thus directed to the sources in the footnotes. But this backdrop is necessary for Mitchell's study of 1 Enoch 90:36–37, to which we now return.

2. Analysis of 1 Enoch 90:37–38

Let us begin by quoting the passage in question once more with key terms from the original language inserted:

³⁷ And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. ³⁸ And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became (*konâ*) white bulls; and the first among them became (*konâ*) a lamb (*nagar*), and that lamb (*nagar*) became (*konâ*) a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

As Mitchell notes in his article, there are two fundamental issues to deal with in these two verses:

1. Who becomes what (i.e., should *konâ* be translated “was” or “became”)?
2. What is a *nagar* (i.e., whether “lamb,” the choice of Charles, is a good translation, or whether something else in view)?

Let's take the issue of the translation of *konâ* first. The verb form occurs three times:^[369]

They all were-became white bulls—Here the verb should clearly be taken as *became* rather than *was*, for the issue is the transformation of the beasts and birds of verse 37 into bulls. No other understanding is really possible, nor, to my knowledge, has it been proposed.

The first among them was-became a nagar—This is harder. Does the first bull become a *nagar*? Or is the *nagar* a new unrelated figure who appears at this point as “first” or chief among the white bulls?

The nagar was-became a great beast and had great black horns on its head—Is the *nagar* by nature a great horned beast, or does the *nagar* become a great horned beast?

Mitchell notes that most scholars endorse “became” with respect to the first line: “They *became* white bulls,” for precisely the reasons he indicates.

There is more disagreement on the second instance. Mitchell reasons that:

If the *nagar* is a completely new creature who appears at this point, then the white bull simply drops from the narrative after one verse. This would be surprising, given the detailed description of him and his importance among the animals. But if the *nagar* is the white bull transformed, it is consistent with the earlier transformation of the beasts and birds into white bulls. The lesser become great, the great become greater, in line with such descriptions of the messianic age as Zech. 12:8. [\[370\]](#)

Mitchell’s point is that we should translate the second occurrence as “the first among them was a *nagar*.” This *nagar* is not a newly introduced animal. Rather, it is the white bull transformed. This white bull/*nagar* is greatest among the white bulls.

This brings us to the third occurrence and an important interpretive issue: Was the *nagar* transformed yet again, did it “become” a great beast that “had great black horns on its head,” or is that description what a *nagar* is by nature (or what one looks like)? Mitchell notes that most scholars opt for the latter—suggesting that the “black horned beast” is what a *nagar* looks like. He explains the interpretive logic (before moving on to what the Ethiopic word *nagar* actually is):

For if the *nagar* is transformed into a great homed beast, then the *nagar* itself would be an incomprehensible bird of passage, appearing for a trice, a ‘thing’ nameless, functionless, formless, an unexplained pupa of the white bull’s frenetic metamorphoses into a great homed beast. And in that case, the great homed beast is itself nameless and unspecified. This would be surprising, for all other animals in the apocalypse are named by species (*1 En.* 85–90): bulls, elephants, camels, asses, lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; even “birds of the air” and “beasts of the field” are recognizable groups in the light of biblical usage. But “great beast with great black horns on its head” is a vague description of what is clearly an important figure in the narrative. However, all makes sense if the *nagar* is itself the great homed beast. In that case, the

Ethiopic translator wants to explain what the *nagar* is, and so he provided a gloss.^[371]

Mitchell proceeds to align the Ethiopic term with the zoological fauna of Ethiopia. A *nagar* is an auroch, a large ox with long, black horns. Its Hebrew name is *rem*, a term that “deriving from *r'm*, suggests its great size.”^[372] Mitchell goes on to describe rabbinic tales about the size of aurochs, one of which had aurochs too large for Noah’s ark, and so only its babies could enter.^[373] The word for “bull” is *shor*. Both terms are significant, as we shall see in a moment.

Mitchell then offers the following translation to transition into why this odd passage is messianic—and specifically describes a Josephite Messiah:

And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became an aurochs (the aurochs was a great beast and had great black horns on its head); and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over them and over all the oxen. (*1 En.* 90:37–38)

How is this messianic? Mitchell notes that:

On this basis we can now decode the imagery of *1 En.* 90:37–38 as follows. The Messiah, symbolized by a white bull, is born. Thereafter the nations—the beasts and birds—are transformed into his likeness. Then the Messiah is transformed into a more splendid state, represented by an aurochs. Then all dwell together in the favour of God.

The theology here is familiar, but it might feel contrived from this passage in *1 Enoch* 90. But the passage actually has roots in the Old Testament, in Deuteronomy 33:16–17—the only narrative in the Hebrew Bible that features a bull (*shor*) and an auroch (*rem*). In Moses’ final blessing on the tribes of Israel, he blesses “Joseph” explicitly as a tribe (comprised of his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh):

¹⁶ with the best gifts of the earth and its fullness
and the favor of him who dwells in the bush.

May these rest on the head of Joseph,
on the pate of him who is prince among his brothers.

¹⁷ A firstborn bull (*shor*)—he has majesty,
and his horns are the horns of a wild ox (*rem*);
with them he shall gore the peoples,

all of them, to the ends of the earth;
they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
and they are the thousands of Manasseh. (ESV)

The question at this point, logically, is what does the imagery of the *shor* and *rem* mean in this blessing of Joseph? Mitchell informs his readers up front what his article seeks to demonstrate:

I hope...to show that both the white bull and the *nagar* represent the Joseph Messiah in two different manifestations *or avatars*, one sacrificial, the other sovereign. Finally, I hope to show that the Josephite Messiah was not a later idea read into Deut. 33:17 [by 1 Enoch 90:37–38], but a necessary deduction from it from earliest times. [\[374\]](#)

The meaning of the imagery, of course, is integral to this deduction.

The *shor* is perhaps the most familiar to biblical students. The *shor* was a beast of burden. Every firstborn male animal belonged to Yahweh; that is, it was destined for sacrificial death. Numbers 18:17 illustrates the destiny of the *shor* in this fashion:

But the firstborn of a cow (*shor*), or the firstborn of a sheep, or the firstborn of a goat, you shall not redeem; they are holy. You shall sprinkle their blood on the altar and shall burn their fat as a food offering, with a pleasing aroma to the Lord.

Deuteronomy 33:17 tells us that Joseph (actually a son of Joseph, since it is the tribe that is the reference point) as “a firstborn *shor*” whose horns were like a *rem*—the *nagar*-auroch. The English translation above from ESV actually obscures an important item in this regard. The Masoretic Text literally tells us that Joseph is “*his* firstborn bull” (i.e., God’s or Israel’s/Jacob’s firstborn). Bible students will know that “firstborn” is a term used in various passages not of chronology, but of preeminence. For example, King David is called the “firstborn” in Psalm 89:27 (cp. 89:20), though he was the seventh son of Jesse. Joseph being God’s/Israel’s “firstborn” speaks to preeminence. The same point is expressed in Jeremiah 31:9: “[Thus says Yahweh, verse 7] I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn.” The wording is incomprehensible if it refers to chronology, because Israel (Jacob) was the progenitor of Ephraim through Joseph. By the time Deuteronomy was written, Joseph is a tribe—subsumed in Joseph’s progeny, Ephraim and Manasseh. Thus, Joseph is conceptually aligned with Ephraim in Deuteronomy 33:17. The imagery of the *shor* in Deuteronomy 33:17

therefore speaks of a “preeminent son” from Joseph who will die a sacrificial death.

The *rem* is not like the *shor*. As Mitchell summarizes:

The *rem*, on the other hand, is not a servant but a king, A majestic wild beast, it roams unyoked in virgin forest and steppe, its proverbial ferocity inspiring fear and awe among beholders (Num. 23:22; Job 39:9–12). It has no fear of being delivered up as a sacrifice. Not only would none dare meddle with it, but it had no place as a sacrifice in Israel's cult (Lev. 1, 2).

Mitchell goes on to quote rabbinic texts that offer the same interpretation of Deuteronomy 33:17, distinguishing two messianic figures, a Josephite Messiah who would die for the nation followed by a Davidic Messiah who would come as king.^[375] The Targums also regularly associate the pierced Messiah of Zechariah 12:8–10 as a Josephite Messiah.^[376] For his part, Mitchell sees 1 Enoch 90:37–38 as not presenting two Messiahs—as other Second Temple and rabbinic texts do—but one messianic figure that is presented in 1 Enoch's transformation language. He writes:

...the *shor* and the *rem* of Deut, 33,17 are one. This is seen principally from their symbolizing one entity, namely Joseph (Deut, 33,13–16) as the representative head of his tribes (v, 17), But it is seen also from the *shor*'s “majesty” which befits him to possess the *rem*'s fearsome horns, its *corona*. And with such horns, such a crown, the *shor* becomes the *rem*.

That a transformation of *shor* to *rem* is envisaged is logical, for if the two were simultaneously one, it would be a hybrid without the distinctive characteristics of either. That would make nonsense of the imagery. If, however, the *rem* was to become a *shor*, in defiance of their order of appearance in the text, they would depict a hero who briefly triumphs and is then consigned to humiliation. That would be a mediocre fate altogether compared to the suggested alternative, ascent from humiliation to lasting triumph, if the *shor* becomes the *rem*.

But how does the *shor* become the *rem*? How does a creature destined to sacrifice become triumphant? Clearly not by avoiding its destiny. Its way to resurgence and transformation must be in some way through sacrifice and death.^[377]

There is much more to Mitchell's presentations in his research on the Josephite Messiah. For our purposes, we need only point out that Deuteronomy 33:17 seems quite clearly to be the source text for 1

Enoch 90:37–38. Both the *shor* and the *rem* are present, in the same order. The one animal undergoes transformation that, based on the destiny of the *shor* in the source text (Deuteronomy 33:17), involves a death. The whiteness of the sacrificial *shor* speaks of its unblemished perfection. The rest of creation (the other creatures in 1 Enoch 90:37) are transformed into the sacrificial bull's image. If death leads to this transformation to a *rem*, then the *rem* is the *shor* brought back to life—as something transcendently powerful. Though it isn't stated in either text, one wonders if the likeness of the other animals is also changed into a resurrected transcendence—an idea that, as we have seen in this commentary, is certainly present in the Parables.

3. The Elevation of the Tribe of Joseph

One last element deserves consideration with respect to the ancient Jewish notion of a Josephite Messiah. It is axiomatic for Bible students to conclude that the tribe of Judah became prominent after the death of Jacob (Israel). Genesis 49:10, regardless of its translation difficulties, gives the impression that Judah would be the tribe from which the Messiah would come. What else could one conclude from the first half of the verse? “The scepter shall not depart from Judah, Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet.” How could one even think of a Josephite Messiah in light of these words?

The answer is actually not difficult. There is little doubt that Judah is a messianic tribe. David came from that tribe (1 Samuel 17:12, Micah 5:2, Hebrews 7:14), and God made a dynastic covenant with David (2 Samuel 7). But that doesn't mean that Judah had to be the lead royal tribe of Israel. David could have come from any tribe; God's choice of a king to whom He would grant a dynastic succession wasn't limited in any way. In other words, it is quite conceivable that the tribe of Joseph could also be presented in rulership terms prior to the time of David. And if both tribes are spoken of in ruling terms in the Hebrew Bible, it is no surprise that Jewish thinkers could parse the data as pointing to two Messiahs.

Usually, however, the two-Messiahs notion found in Second Temple Judaism is drawn from passages like Zechariah 4:4. Evans explains:

When the Dead Sea Scrolls first came to light, there was much interest in references to two Messiahs, one priestly and the other royal (e.g., 1QS 9:11 “until there come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel”; cf. CD 12:23–13:1; 14:19; 19:10–11;

20:1). This diarchic messianism, however, is not innovative, but was envisioned by the prophets Jeremiah, Zechariah and Haggai. The former anticipates a righteous Branch of David and a faithful priest (Jer 33:15–18). The second speaks of “two olive trees,” “two branches” and “two sons of oil” (Zech 4:11–14); and the coming of a man whose name is “Branch,” who will build the temple, and a “priest by his throne,” between whom there will be understanding (Zech 6:12–13). The reference here is to Zerubbabel, through whom the restoration of the Davidic dynasty was expected, and to Joshua, through whom the restoration of the Zadokite high priesthood was expected. [\[378\]](#)

Some observations are in order. It is worth noting that no tribal affiliation is assigned to either of the two “sons of oil” in Zechariah 4:4. Neither the noun *mashiach* nor the verbal counterpart *mashach* is in the passage. Rather, “sons of oil” is *bené hayyishar*. While David’s line is mentioned in Jeremiah 33:22 and thus is part of the context of Jeremiah 33:15–18, neither *mashiach* nor *mashach* occurs in the passage. Consequently, while it is obvious that the “Branch” of Jeremiah 33 refers to David from whose line the Messiah would come, the notion of a “messianic Levitical priest” is misguided. Does the promise of Jeremiah 33:18 require a priestly *Messiah* or only an ongoing priesthood? Nevertheless, this is how certain Jews of the Second Temple Period considered these passages. Due to the close political relationship between the king and the high priest of the temple, this is understandable. But the point must not be missed. There is no exegetical requirement that the Second Temple Jewish idea of two Messiahs includes a priest from Levi. God could promise an ongoing priesthood and not require that an ongoing Levitical priest be given the title of Messiah. [\[379\]](#)

And so we must ask: Is there evidence for Joseph’s line being perceived in royal/ruling terms prior to the time of David? Several clear lines of evidence point to the house of Joseph, not Judah, as heir to the lead tribe of Israel after the death of Jacob. What follows is a selective summary of the data marshaled by van der Merwe in this regard. [\[380\]](#)

1. Reuben was the logical successor to Jacob since he was (chronologically) Jacob’s firstborn son. However, we are told in Scripture that Reuben lost his claim to succeed his father by violating Jacob’s concubine Bilhah (Genesis 35:22, 49:4; 1 Chronicles 5:1). Because it was expected that a new leader/king was now lord of the previous king’s

harem, taking a leader's wives and concubines illegitimately was considered an act of usurpation (2 Samuel 12:8, 16:21ff.).

2. The two sons next in line after Reuben were Simeon and Levi. According to Genesis 49:5–7, Simeon and Levi were set aside “on account of their action in the Shechem affair (Gen 34)... Simeon and Levi violated the authority of Jacob by their action against the Shechemites which they entered upon without the consent or knowledge of Jacob.”^[381]

3. Next in line was Judah. Genesis 49:8–12 suggests that he became leader of the people of Israel. However, other passages flatly state that this was not the case. In 1 Chronicles 5:1–2, we read:

The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel (for he was the firstborn, but because he defiled his father's couch, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph the son of Israel, so that he could not be enrolled as the oldest son; though Judah became strong among his brothers and a chief came from him, yet the birthright belonged to Joseph).

This passage explicitly states that the leadership birthright fell to Joseph; he, not Judah, became leader or ruler of the family of Israel. It even notes that a “chief,” a *nagid*, the word used of royal messianic succession, would come from Judah—but that did nothing to alter the status of Joseph as the tribal leader.^[382] It is telling that Jacob bequeathed the city of Shechem to Joseph, not Judah—passing by Simeon, Levi, and Judah (Genesis 48:22; cf. Genesis 33:19).

4. Jacob adopted Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, as his own (Genesis 48:5, 12). Thus Joseph received a “double portion” of Jacob's blessing inheritance—something that was supposed to go to the new leader of the clan. The full status of Ephraim and Manasseh, half Gentile by Joseph's Egyptian wife, is indicated by the wording of Genesis 48:16: “In them let my name be carried on, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac.” Ephraim and Manasseh are “legitimate continuators of the patriarch's generation: an honour that belonged pre-eminently to the firstborn.”^[383]

5. Joseph was acknowledged as Jacob's successor. This is indicated in a variety of ways. For example, Joseph made Jacob's funerary arrangements. While some of this authority was no doubt due to his status in Egypt, this traditionally would have been the role of the firstborn. In Genesis 47:27, we read, “So Joseph remained in Egypt, he and his father's house.” The wording ties the “house of Israel (Jacob)” to

Joseph. Like Jacob, Joseph was also embalmed (Genesis 50:26; cf. Genesis 50:2), predicted the Exodus (Genesis 50:24; cf. Genesis 48:21), directed that he be buried in Canaan (Genesis 50:25; cf. Genesis 47:29ff., 49:29ff.). Joseph was buried in Shechem, the city given to him by Jacob.

6. Joseph's adoption of Machir's sons shows his status as leader of Israel. In Genesis 50:23, we read, "And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation. The children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were counted as Joseph's own [Lit.: "were born upon the knees of Joseph"]." Machir was either the oldest or only son of Manasseh by a foreigner, an Aramean (1 Chronicles 7:14, 16). Van der Merwe comments:

It is not absolutely clear why Joseph adopted Machir's sons. A solution may be found in 1 Chron 7:14 according to which Machir was born from an Aramean concubine of Joseph's son, Manasseh. To ensure that Machir's children would be regarded as legitimate lineal descendants, Joseph adopted them as his own.^[384]

Conclusion

The Messiah in the Book of Enoch echoes the Josephite Messiah profile found in in clear, profound ways. It includes a dying Messiah “from Joseph” who is also a kingly Messiah. The rulership status of Joseph’s line is not a foreign concept, but of course neither is the dynastic line of David. As noted, it is not inconceivable that Jewish writers of the Second Temple Period, like the author of 1 Enoch 90:37–38, were aware of both rulership lines and therefore had dual messianic expectations. On this last point, the irony of the circumstances of Jesus’ birth is palpable. Jesus traced His lineage through adoption by Joseph to the house of David. As the “son of Joseph,” He became the “son of David.” [\[385\]](#)

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[1] Specifically, I use the edition that includes an introduction by W. O. E. Oesterley: Charles, R. H., and W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Enoch* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917).

[2] Charles and Oesterley, *The Book of Enoch*, xxvii.

[3] G^g = "the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmîm, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo"; G^s = the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus." (Charles and Oesterley, *The Book of Enoch*, xxvii). In this commentary, I will rarely distinguish between these manuscripts. Rather, when a reading is found in Greek (vs. Ethiopic or Aramaic), I will merely note that the reading is found in "the Greek (Grk) material."

[4] Readers must remember that R. H. Charles and James H. Charlesworth are not the same writer!

[5] Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. VanderKam* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985).

[6] George W. E. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82 (Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible; ed. Klaus Baltzer; [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001])*. This commentary is the second of two on 1 Enoch. The first volume was authored by Nickelsburg only and covers 1 Enoch 1–36, 81–108. This volume of my *Reader's Commentary* deals only with 1 Enoch 37–71, so translation comments are also entirely drawn from the volume coauthored by Nickelsburg and VanderKam.

[7] Ephraim Isaac, “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85), 5–89.

[8] As a Semitic language, Ethiopic mostly follows the same transliteration scheme. However, it has a few more consonantal characters than Hebrew or Greek.

[9] Some of the material in this introduction appears in the appendixes to the author’s earlier work, *Reversing Hermon: Enoch, the Watchers, and the Forgotten Mission of Jesus Christ* (Crane, MO: Defender Publishing, 2017).

[10] F. I. Andersen, “A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Vol. 1; New York, London: Yale University Press, 1983), 191.

[11] P. Alexander, “A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Vol. 1; New York, London: Yale University Press, 1983), 1223.

[12] Alexander, 1225–226.

[13] Archie T. Wright, “First Enoch,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology* (ed. Brad Embry, Ronald Herms, and Archie T. Wright; vol. 2; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018]), 178.

[14] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 178.

[15] On “Similitudes,” see the discussion.

[16] George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, First Book of,” *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*, (ed. David Noel Freedman; [New York: Doubleday, 1992]), 509.

[17] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology* (ed. Brad Embry, Ronald Herms, and Archie T. Wright; vol. 2; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018]), 245.

[18] Nickelsburg, “Enoch, First Book of,” *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*, 512.

[19] Wright, “First Enoch,” vol. 2, 179–180.

[20] Merriam-Webster, Inc., *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 2003).

[21] E. Isaac, “1 Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Vol. 1; [New York, London: Yale University Press, 1983]), 16.

[22] Leslie Baynes, “Introduction to the Similitudes of Enoch,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology* (eds. Brad Embry, Ronald Herms, and Archie T. Wright; vol. 2; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018], 259–260). Readers will note that the present author departs from the majority of New Testament scholarship that assigns a 4 BC date to Herod’s death. Charlesworth also dates the Parables (Similitudes) of Enoch to the Herodian period. See James H. Charlesworth, “The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch,” in *Parables of Enoch: A Paradigm Shift* (eds. James H. Charlesworth and Darrell L. Bock; *Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies* [London: Bloomsbury, 2013]), 37–57 (esp. 43). Bock is firmer with respect to dating the Parables of Enoch earlier than the time of Jesus. See Darrell L. Bock, “Dating the Parables of Enoch: A Forschungsbericht,” *Parables of Enoch: A Paradigm Shift* (eds. James H. Charlesworth and Darrell L. Bock; *Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies* [London: Bloomsbury, 2013]), 58–113 (esp. 112–113).

[23] George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82 (Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible)*; ed. Klaus Baltzer [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012]), 3, 30 (note 42). This work will hereafter be referenced as: Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*. Michael Knibb favors the view that the Ethiopic translation of 1 Enoch was translated directly from Aramaic. However, in his study of the Ethiopic texts of 1 Enoch, he was appropriately cautious about that conclusion: “Although I think that there is good evidence available for the view that the Ethiopic translators had access to an Aramaic text of Enoch, it seems to me very difficult, in the absence of more substantial Aramaic and Greek texts of Enoch than we at present possess, to determine the extent to which the translators made use of an Aramaic text.” See Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:37–46. Nickelsburg and VanderKam add in a footnote: “In 1987, independently of each other, James C. VanderKam and Pierluigi Piovanelli scrutinized the examples provided by Ullendorff and Knibb, case by case, and concluded that the theory of a direct dependence of the Ethiopic on the Aramaic had not been demonstrated and that most of the examples could be explained by variations in the respective Greek mss. or translation(s) on which the Ethiopic and the

extant Greek were based.” See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 31, citing: James C. VanderKam, “The Textual Base for the Ethiopic Translation of Enoch,” in David M. Golomb and Susan Tower Hollis, eds., *Working with No Data: Studies in Semitic and Egyptian Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 247–50; Pierluigi Piovanelli, “*Sulla Vorlage aramaica dell’Enoch etiopico*,” *Studi classico e orientale* 37 (1987) 545–95, esp. 565–67, 592. The situation remains uncertain. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, with Knibb (still), favor an Aramaic original.

[24] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 9. Some scholars still speculate that a number of the authors of portions of 1 Enoch may have written in Hebrew. Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s footnote at the end of this selection reads (in part) as follows: “Throughout his edition, Milik assumes that Aramaic was the original language (J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976)... Michael A. Knibb (*The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, vol. 2:6–7) also considers an Aramaic original ‘most probable.’”

[25] Philip F. Esler, *God’s Court and Courtiers in the Book of the Watchers: Re-interpreting Heaven in 1 Enoch 1–36* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017), 7.

[26] E. Isaac, “1 Enoch,” 16. Isaac also includes mention of one Latin fragment (1 Enoch 106:1–18) that dates to the eighth century AD.

[27] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 9–10. See this source for descriptions of the contents of these fragments. These fragments are *not* manuscripts of the Book of Giants. The abbreviated sources in Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s listing are: *DSSC* = *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers* (Compiled by Stephen E. Reed. Revised and edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg with the collaboration of Michael B. Phelps; SBLRBS 32; [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994]); *Milik* = J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); *DJD* = *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951–2011). *DJD* is the forty-volume *edition princeps* series of scholarly editions of Dead Sea Scrolls.

[28] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and Christian Tradition,” *Early Christianity* 4 (2013): 7–40 (esp. p. 11).

[29] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 77.

[30] Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and Christian Tradition,” 17–18.

[31] Tertullian, “On the Apparel of Women,” in *Fathers of the Third Century: Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second* (eds. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe; trans. S. Thelwall; vol. 4; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*; [Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885]), 415–16.

[32] Irenaeus of Lyons, “Irenaeus against Heresies,” in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe; vol. 1; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*; [Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885]), 1330–331.

[33] James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (eds. James C. VanderKam and William Adler; *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 3/4; [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996]), 43.

[34] Wright, “First Enoch,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology*, vol. 2, 182. See also Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 9–11.

[35] Wright, “Introduction to the Book of Giants,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology* (ed. Brad Embry, Ronald Herms, and Archie T. Wright; vol. 2; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018]), 212.

[36] John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia 14: Apocalypse* (1979): 9.

[37] Susan Docherty, *The Jewish Pseudepigrapha: An Introduction to the Literature of the Second Temple Period* (London: SPCK, 2014), 130.

[38] *Ibid.*, 131.

[39] *Ibid.*, 132.

[40] *Ibid.*, 135.

[41] Baynes, “Introduction to the Similitudes of Enoch,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology*, vol. 2; 261.

[42] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 3.

[43] *Ibid.*, 28.

[44] *Ibid.*, 38.

[45] Susan Docherty, *The Jewish Pseudepigrapha: An Introduction to the Literature of the Second Temple Period* (London: SPCK, 2014),

133.

[46] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 85.

[47] *Ibid.*, 90.

[48] *Ibid.*, 90.

[49] *Ibid.*, 88–89.

[50] On the Enoch tradition as seventh from Adam and its connections to other literature, see Andrei Orlov, “The Learned Savant Who Guards the Secrets of the Great Gods’: Evolution of the Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in Mesopotamian and Enochic Traditions: Part I: Mesopotamian Traditions,” in *Scrinium I: Varia Ethiopica: In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943–2005)* (eds. D. Nosnitsin, et.al; Gorgias Press, 2009), 248–264; Andrei Orlov, “The Learned Savant Who Guards the Secrets of the Great Gods’: Evolution of the Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in Mesopotamian and Enochic Traditions: Part II: Enochic Traditions,” in *Scrinium II: Universum Hagiographicum: Memorial R. P. Michael van Esbroeck (1934–2003)* (eds. Basil Lourie and A. Mouraviev; Gorgias Press, 2009), 165–213.

[51] Docherty, *The Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, 134.

[52] Other scholars, such as Black in the ensuing source, put the number at 104.

[53] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 91.

[54] Matthew Black, “Two Unusual Nomina Dei in the Second Vision of Enoch,” in William Weinrich, ed., *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke* (2 vols.; [Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984]) 53–57 (esp. 53). Note that Black does not capitalize “spirits” as is found in Charles’ translation. The only reason it is capitalized in the present work is in conformity with Charles’ translation. The term should not be capitalized, as generic spirits (as opposed to the Holy Spirit) is the reference.

[55] Black (p. 54) suggests that the biblical phrase could be the source of the Ethiopic epithet.

[56] Charles Gieschen, “The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2007]), 238–249 (esp. 239).

[57] ESV and other translations reflect (or contribute to) a point of confusion. As I have written elsewhere, “It isn’t uncommon for

commentators to understand Psalm 104:4 as referring only to winds—elements of nature or the weather—and not divine beings.... This interpretation of Psalm 104:4 is unconvincing. The preceding psalm [Psalm 103:20–22] and comparative ancient Near Eastern descriptions of angels compel the conclusion that Psalm 104:4 is describing angels as spirits.... The observation to make here is that the angels are referred to as ‘ministers’ (v. 21). The Hebrew word thus translated is identical to that which occurs in Psalm 104 (‘his ministers a flaming fire,’ v. 4). Why translate *mal’akim* as ‘angels’ in Psalm 103:20 but ‘messengers’ in Psalm 104:4? The angels in Psalm 103:20 are also called ‘mighty ones’ who obey the command of God, obeying his voice. ‘Mighty ones’ (*gibborim*) is a term used of human warriors throughout the Hebrew Bible. It is nowhere else abstracted to speak of the forces of nature.” Michael S. Heiser, *Angels: What the Bible Really Says about God’s Heavenly Host* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2018), 6.

[58] Translation source: Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (translations)” (Leiden; NY: Brill, 1997–1998), 159.

[59] *Ibid.*, 187.

[60] The translation is from: Rick Brannan et al., eds., *The Lexham English Septuagint* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2012).

[61] Black, “Two Unusual Nomina Dei,” 54.

[62] *Ibid.*, 54.

[63] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 95.

[64] Robert Henry Charles, ed., *Commentary on the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Vol. 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 209.

[65] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 96–97. Psalm 149:1 (“congregation of the pious ones”), again referring to righteous humans, is also very similar. On “Chosen One” or “Elect One,” see 38:2.

[66] *Ibid.*, 97.

[67] It should be noted that “Righteous One” in this verse is textually disputed. Ethiopic manuscripts that some scholars consider superior have the reading as follows: “when righteousness appears before the face of the righteous ones.” Despite acknowledging the awkwardness of this reading, several notable scholars of the Parables opt for it due to the manuscript status. See James C. VanderKam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–

71,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins; ed. James H. Charlesworth; [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992]), 169–191 (esp. 170–171).

[68] Charles, ed., *Commentary on the Pseudepigrapha*, 209.

[69] Andrei Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 107; [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005]), 77.

[70] Orlov does not comment on this problem for messianic identity in his book. In 3 Enoch, a later work, there are two Messiahs: the son of Joseph and the son of David (3 Enoch 45:5). Alexander notes that this figure gets much more attention in later rabbinic material: “Messiah the son of Joseph’: a forerunner of the Messiah the son of David who will fight against Israel’s enemies at the end-time and fall in battle. In earlier texts he is a rather nebulous figure, but he is treated fully in the late apocalypses.” See P. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (ed. James H. Charlesworth; [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–85]), 198. At least one of the Dead Sea Scrolls mentions a Josephite Messiah. See David C. Mitchell, “The Fourth Deliverer: A Josephite Messiah in 4QTestimonia,” *Biblica* 86 (2005): 545–53. One encounters a Josephite Messiah in 1 Enoch 90 and other works of the Pseudepigrapha. See David C. Mitchell, “Firstborn Shor and Rem: A Sacrificial Josephite Messiah in 1 Enoch 90.37–38 and Deuteronomy 33.17,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 15.3 (2006): 211–228; idem, *Messiah ben Joseph* (CreateSpace, 2016).

[71] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 116. On all the occurrences of “the Chosen One” or “the Righteous and Chosen One,” see 1 Enoch 39:6; 40:5; 45:3, 4; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 53:6; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10; 62:1).

[72] James C. VanderKam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth, et al; [Minneapolis; Fortress Press, 1992]), 169–191 (esp. 170).

[73] *Ibid.*, 98.

[74] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 79.

[75] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 97, 101.

[76] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 98–99. On the references, Nickelsburg and VanderKam include the following: “the

righteous” (1 Enoch 38:1, 2, 3; 41:8; 45:6; 47:1, 2, 4; 48:4, 7, 9; 50:2; 53:7; 58:4; 60:2, 23; 65:12; 70:4; 71:17); “the righteous and the chosen” (either order; 1 Enoch 38:2, 3; 39:6, 7; 51:5; 56:6–7; 58:1, 2; 60:8; 61:3–4, 13; 62:12, 13, 15; 70:3); “the chosen” (1 Enoch 40:5; 45:3, 5; 56:8; 62:7, 8, 11).

[77] *Ibid.*, 51.

[78] *Ibid.*, 100. Nickelsburg and VanderKam list the following instances in the Parables: “Holy ones”: 1 Enoch 39:1, 5; 45:1 (?); 47:2, 4; 57:2; 60:4; 61:8, 10, 12; 65:12; 69:13; 71:4. “Holy angels”: 46:1; 69:5; 71:1, 8, 9. For “holy ones” as referring to humans, “either by itself or in combination with ‘the righteous’ and/or ‘the chosen,’” he lists: 1 Enoch 38:4, 5; 39:4; 41:2; 43:4; 48:1, 7, 9; 50:1; 51:2; 58:3, 5; 62:8; 65:12. See also John J. Collins, “The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93.1 (1974): 50–66; L. Dequeker, “The ‘Saints of the Most High’ in Qumran and Daniel,” *Oudtestamentische Studien* 18 (1973), 108–87.

[79] See 1 Enoch 38:4, 5; 46:4–6; 48:8; 53:5; 54:2; 55:4; 62:1–3; 62:6, 9; 63:1; 63:12; 67:8, 12.

[80] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 102.

[81] *Ibid.*, 102.

[82] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 107.

[83] Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* in consultation with James C. VanderKam (*Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 7; [Leiden: Brill, 1985]), 196.

[84] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 107.

[85] *Ibid.*, 107. They add in a footnote: “For a discussion of the various time connotations of the imperfect, see August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar* (2nd ed. by Carl Bezold with translation and additions by James A. Crichton; 1907; repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1974) 169–72.”

[86] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 197.

[87] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 110.

[88] *Ibid.*, 112.

[89] Michael S. Heiser, *Angels: What the Bible Really Says about God’s Heavenly Host* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2018), 49. On the Sumerian concept, see Thorkild Jacobsen, “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943): 159–

72; Samuel Noah Kramer, “Sumerian Theology and Ethics,” *Harvard Theological Review* 49 (1956): 45–62 (59).

[90] David J. A. Clines, Job 21–37, *Word Biblical Commentary* 18A (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 735.

[91] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 113.

[92] *Ibid.*, 113, 119.

[93] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 198.

[94] As I noted in volume 1 of *A Reader’s Commentary on the Book of Enoch*, “In Daniel 4:13 the Aramaic phrasing עִיר וְקָדִישׁ is to be translated, ‘a watcher, a holy one,’ instead of the more common ‘a watcher and a holy one,’ which suggests two entities, perhaps of different class. The *waw* conjunction between the two nouns should be understood as creating apposition between them. This is certain from the context—only *one* heavenly being speaks with Daniel in the passage.”

[95] Michael S. Heiser, *Angels: What the Bible Really Says about God’s Heavenly Host* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2018), 20. The sources alluded to here are: Robert Murray, “The Origin of Aramaic ‘îr, Angel,” *Orientalia* 53.2 (1984): 306; Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

[96] Amar Annus, “On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 19.4 (2010): 277–320 (esp. 283).

[97] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 127.

[98] *Ibid.*, 127.

[99] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 198.

[100] *Ibid.*, 198.

[101] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 129.

[102] *Ibid.*, 129.

[103] *Ibid.*, 129.

[104] *Ibid.*, 132.

[105] There is also biblical precedent for the idea of an “Angel of the Presence (*panim*)” (Isaiah 63:9), though that reference is to a single angel and never a group. Given the context of Isaiah 63 and its parallel in Psalm 78:40–41, the “Angel of the Presence” is an angel associated with God Himself (and interchanged with the Holy Spirit). See Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 127–148, 294.

[106] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 199.

[107] Heiser, *Angels*, 24. The source I cite is S. A. Meier, “Mediator,” *DDD*, 554.

[108] Michael S. Heiser, *Demons: What the Bible Really Says about the Powers of Darkness* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2020), 87.

[109] The term *śāṭān* found in Job 1–2 and Zechariah 3 is always prefixed with the definite article in those chapters. By rule of Hebrew grammar, the term cannot therefore be a proper personal noun (i.e., a name). See the discussion in Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 56–58. As I have written in another work, “The Hebrew lemma *śāṭān* is never used of the serpent of Eden. The *śāṭān* was, rather, a divine officer tasked with reporting disobedience to God (Job 1–2). During the Second Temple period, the prosecutorial role of the Job 1–2 figure shifted in the minds of certain authors. The behavior of the *śāṭān* could be (and was) parsed as opposing God’s assessment of Job (effectively accusing God of error).” See Heiser, *Demons*, 85.

[110] Heiser, *Demons*, 87–88, citing Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 134; Charles, “Book of Enoch,” *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2:211, note 7.

[111] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 200.

[112] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 133.

[113] Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108, and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* Supplement 11; Sheffield: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 1992), 77.

[114] *Ibid.*, 134.

[115] Michael appears in the Hebrew portions of the book of Daniel (Daniel 10:13, 21; 12:1) The “who” in this name is the interrogative particle (*mî*), so the name forms a question. This name element is *not* a relative pronoun.

[116] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 143.

[117] Recall that the Parables of Enoch survives only in Ethiopic, so scholars cannot be sure if the presumed Aramaic original matched that of Daniel.

[118] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 202. This assertion presumes a late (Second Temple era) authorship of the book of Daniel.

[119] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 143.

[120] Ibid., 144.

[121] Ibid., 144.

[122] Ibid., 142.

[123] Ibid., 145.

[124] Translation is that of Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Translations* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997–1998), 75–77.

[125] James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 110.

[126] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 203.

[127] Michael S. Heiser, “Personified Wisdom in the Old Testament,” in *Faithlife Study Bible* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2012, 2016).

[128] Ibid., n.p.

[129] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 138–139.

[130] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 141.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., 146.

[133] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 204.

[134] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 142, note a.

[135] Docherty, *The Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, 133.

[136] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 204.

[137] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 148, note a.

[138] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 204.

[139] Ibid., 205.

[140] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 150.

[141] Ibid., 150.

[142] Ibid., 151.

[143] Ibid., 156.

[144] Leslie W. Walck, “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and the Gospels,” *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2007]), 299–337 (esp. 303). In this essay, Walck notes more than two dozen features shared between the Parables of Enoch and the Gospel of Matthew.

[145] Ibid., 155.

[146] 1 Enoch 46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 62:5, 7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27, 29 [twice]; 70:1; 71:14, 17.

[147] Ibid., 157.

[148] Ibid., 115.

[149] Ibid., 115–116.

[150] Nickelsburg and VanderKam add (p. 116): “In short, although the Parables employ ‘Son of Man’ as a designator for the messianic (as we shall see) judge and they allude to a figure known from Daniel 7, they do not employ the expression as a formal messianic title nor do they indicate that ‘Son of Man’ was a traditional messianic title.” In other words, one cannot assume the writer is thinking “Messiah” by use of the phrase.

[151] Ibid., 158.

[152] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 208.

[153] Ibid., 208.

[154] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 153, note a.

[155] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 208.

[156] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 160. The bracketed “of the earth” added by this writer for clarity.

[157] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, vol. 1, 206–208.

[158] Heiser, *Angels*, 24, 49, 51–52. In regard to Sumer and recordkeeping in the divine council, see Thorkild Jacobsen, “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943): 159–72; Samuel Noah Kramer, “Sumerian Theology and Ethics,” *Harvard Theological Review* 49 (1956): 45–62 (59); Shalom Paul, “Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life,” in *Columbia University Ancient Near Eastern Studies* (New York: Columbia University, 1973), n.p.; Andrew R. George, “Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies,” *Iraq* 48 (1986): 133–46.

[159] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 163.

[160] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 164.

[161] Compare passages that suggest God is the recorder: Exodus 32:32, Psalm 87:5–7.

[162] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, vol. 1, 478–479.

[163] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 209.

[164] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 167.

[165] Ibid., 169.

[166] For a lengthy discussion of the Old Testament sources behind the language and imagery of John 7:37–39, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Anchor Yale Bible 29; [New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008]), 320–324.

[167] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 170.

[168] Ibid., 169.

[169] See Gieschen, “The Name of the Son of Man,” 240–241. On the Old Testament “Name theology,” whereby “the Name” is another way of referring to Yahweh Himself (cf. Exodus 23:20–21, where the Name, Yahweh, is in the angel), see Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 141–148; Charles Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 42; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 70–78; Jarl E. 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: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985]).

[170] Walck, “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and the Gospels,” 304. Walck lists in a footnote several major studies that agree with this assessment.

[171] Ibid., 171.

[172] Ibid., 174.

[173] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 211.

[174] Ibid., 211.

[175] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 176.

[176] Ibid., 167–168.

[177] Ibid., 177.

[178] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 212.

[179] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 177.

[180] Ibid., 178.

[181] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 213.

[182] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 181.

[183] Ibid., 182.

[184] Ibid., 182.

[185] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 214; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 182.

[186] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (p. 185) cite another of his works on this point: George W. E. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (expanded ed.; HTS 56; [Cambridge, MA: Harvard Divinity School, 2006]), 24. See also Simon B. Parker, “The Beginning of the Reign of God—Psalm 82 as Myth and Liturgy,” *Revue Biblique* 102 (1995): 534–535. In rebuttal to the point Parker is making about Psalm 82 utilizing this observation about standing in the divine court, see Michael S. Heiser, “Are Yahweh and El Distinct Deities in Deut. 32: 8–9 and Psalm 82?” *HIPHIL Novum* 3.1 (2009): 1–9.

[187] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 185–186.

[188] See for example, Bryan D. Estelle, *Echoes of Exodus: Tracing a Biblical Motif* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2018); Alastair Roberts and Andrew Wilson, *Echoes of Exodus: Tracing Themes of Redemption through Scripture* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2018).

[189] Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1–72: An Introduction and Commentary* (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries 15; [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1973]), 141.

[190] John Goldingay, *Baker Commentary on the Old Testament: Psalms 1–41* (ed. Tremper Longman III, vol. 1; [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006]), 414.

[191] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 214; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 136; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 180, note b. The abbreviation m, β refers to “group β [or II], manuscript m.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam (citing Knibb’s summary of Uhlig’s explanation in one place) explain the system of Ethiopic manuscript groups as follows: “Scholarly consensus has divided the mss. into two groups, designated as I and II or α and β (Charles and in this commentary). Manuscripts of the α group include g,m,q,t,u,T⁹,1768,2080,6281, all of which can be dated to the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century. The mss. of the second group, which date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are the product of scholarly recensional activity.... The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century recensional process that produced the mss. of the β group emended difficult passages, filled omissions, and corrected grammatical mistakes.” See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, vol. 1, 16; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 31.

[192] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 180, note b. On the concept of the righteous becoming angels in Second Temple Judaism, see James H. Charlesworth, John J. Collins, and George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism. Profiles and Paradigms* (1980): 135–151; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “He Has Established for Himself Priests’: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (JSOT/ASOR Monograph 2; [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990]); George J. Brooke, “Men and Women as Angels in Joseph and Aseneth,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14.2 (2005): 159–177; Devorah Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies* (FZAT 90; [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2014]): 465–472.

[193] *Ibid.*, 186–187.

[194] *Ibid.*, 186.

[195] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 180.

[196] Here there are six metals, unlike Daniel 2. The “soft metal” in 1 Enoch 52:2 is most likely tin, based on the content of 1 Enoch 65:7, 8. See Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 215.

[197] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 215.

[198] *Ibid.*, 215.

[199] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 188.

[200] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 216.

[201] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 216.

[202] See Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 368–375; Meredith Kline, “Har Magedon: The End of the Millennium,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 39.2 (June 1996): 207–22; C. C. Torrey, “Armageddon,” *Harvard Theological Review* 31 (1938): 237–48.

[203] Black adds that “land and sea and islands” is a way of describing the whole inhabited world.” Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 216. For this language used elsewhere to denote places outside Israel, see Psalm 72:10.

[204] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 196. See also *T.Abr.* 12:1.

[205] *Ibid.*, 197.

[206] *Ibid.*, 199–200.

[207] See David W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; [Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1979]), 39–123. Also cited (without agreement) in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, p. 200.

[208] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 219.

[209] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 201.

[210] *Ibid.*, 201.

[211] *Ibid.*, 201.

[212] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 79.

[213] *Ibid.*, 73, 79.

[214] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 202.

[215] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 204.

[216] Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1–17*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990), 317.

[217] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 220.

[218] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 207.

[219] *Ibid.*, note a.

[220] Aleksander R. Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature* (WUNT 330; [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012]), 2–3.

[221] Patrick D. Miller, “The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War,” in *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 397–400.

[222] *Ibid.*, 209. See also Charlesworth, “The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch,” 47–48; Bock, “Dating the Parables of Enoch: A Forschungsbericht,” 58–111. See the earlier discussion on the date of the Parables in this commentary.

[223] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 212.

[224] *Ibid.*, 213.

[225] *Ibid.*, 213.

[226] *Ibid.*, 208, note a; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 224.

[227] Baynes, “Introduction to the Similitudes of Enoch,” 259.

[228] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 219.

[229] *Ibid.*, 217.

[230] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 224.

[231] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 225.

[232] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 235.
[233] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 225.
[234] Charles, ed., *Commentary on the Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2,
223.

[235] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 235.

[236] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 234, 236.

[237] *Ibid.*, 234–235.

[238] *Ibid.*, 236.

[239] That this in fact is the meaning of the command of Exodus 20:7 is demonstrated by the fact that the word translated “take” in “take the name” is Hebrew *naša’*, which means “to bear” or “to carry.” For a scholarly treatment of this topic, see Carmen Joy Imes, *Bearing Yhwh’s Name at Sinai: A Reexamination of the Name Command of the Decalogue* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2018). A popular version of this study has been published as well: Carmen Joy Imes, *Bearing God’s Name: Why Sinai Still Matters* (IVP Academic, 2019).

[240] Nickelsburg and VanderKam discuss these problems in detail in pages 221–224 of their commentary.

[241] See C. Uehlinger, “Leviathan” *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (hereafter, *DDD*; edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst; [Leiden, Boston, Köln, Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Brill; Eerdmans, 1999]); B. F. Batto, “Behemoth,” *DDD*; J. Guttmann, Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz: Jewish Messianic Symbols in Art, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 39 (1968) 219–230; John Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge University Press, 1985); M. K. Wakeman, *God’s Battle with the Monster* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); K. W. Whitney, *Two Strange Beasts: Leviathan and Behemoth in the Second Temple* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2018).

[242] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 240. The authors cite several biblical, Second Temple, and rabbinic texts in regard to the tradition: See Isaiah 11:6–9, 43:18–20, 65:25; Ezeiel 34:25–28; Hosea 2:18; Philo *Praem.* 15 (§§85–90); 2 Baruch 73:6; Mark 1:13; Romans 8:22–23; T Iss 7:7; T Naph 8:4; T Benj 5:2; *Gen. Rab.* 95 (60a); *Exod. Rab.* 15 (77d); *Sipra Lev* 26:6 (449a).

[243] *Ibid.*, 240.

[244] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 227.

[245] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 240.

[246] See Job 17:13, 33:28; Psalm 49:19.

[247] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 245.

[248] *Ibid.*, 245.

[249] *Ibid.*, 231.

[250] H. A. Hoffner, “*ḥābal, ḥebel* (1),” *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren; translated by David E. Green; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980]), 4:172–178.

[251] Heiser, *Angels*, 1–26, 164–167.

[252] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 244.

[253] *Ibid.*, 244.

[254] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 232.

[255] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 250.

[256] *Ibid.*, 250.

[257] Alice Wood, *Of Wings and Wheels: A Synthetic Study of the Biblical Cherubim* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 155. See Heiser, *Angels*, 25–26.

[258] Michael S. Heiser, *Angels: What the Bible Really Says about God’s Heavenly Host* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2018), 26–27. The quotation cites Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm: Recovering the Supernatural Worldview of the Bible* (Lexham Press, 2015); Philippe Provençal, “Regarding the Noun *śārāp* in the Hebrew Bible,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 29.3 (2005): 371–79; Karen R. Joines, “Winged Serpents in Isaiah’s Inaugural Vision,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86.4 (1967): 410–15.

[259] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 250. They add: “However, in the Greek Bible, these titles with an ending in ‘n’ appear not infrequently to translate a Heb. ending in ‘îm.’ Thus, while the evidence is consonant with an Aram. original, it is not probative.”

[260] See Heiser, *Angels*, 20. Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 1: 1–50* (AYB 16; [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965]), 55; Robert Murray, “The Origin of Aramaic *‘îr*, Angel,” *Orientalia* 53.2 (1984): 306; John J. Collins, “Watcher,” *DDD*, 893–894.

[261] See P. W. van der Horst, “Father of the Lights,” *DDD*, 328–29.

[262] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 258. I have excluded the Wisdom of Solomon from their chart to focus only on the shared elements of 1 Enoch 62–63 and the famous Servant Song of Isaiah 52:13–53:12.

[263] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 258–259.

[264] *Ibid.*, 261.

[265] *Ibid.*, 260–262.

[266] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 236.

[267] Kristian A. Bendoraitis, “Behold, the Angels Came and Served Him”: *A Compositional Analysis of Angels in Matthew* (Library of New Testament Studies 523; T&T Clark; Bloomsbury, 2015), 86.

[268] Brant Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015), 449–450.

[269] *Ibid.*, 456.

[270] Scholarly research on belief in the resurrection and afterlife in Second Temple Judaism is considerable. Examples include: Richard Bauckham, “Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament* (McMaster New Testament Studies [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998]), 80–95; *idem*, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup 93; [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998]); Dina Teitelbaum, “The Relationship Between Ossuary Burial and the Belief in Resurrection During the Late Second Temple Judaism,” Masters Thesis, Carleton University, 1997; Grant Osborne, “Resurrection,” *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000).

[271] Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary & 2: Introduction and 1:1–14:28*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012–2013), 961, note 1094.

[272] Benjamin L. Gladd, *Revealing the Mysterion: The Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with Its Bearing on First Corinthians* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 160; [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008]), 255.

[273] Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (*Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series* 268; [London: T&T Clark, 2004]), 37.

[274] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 268.

[275] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 278.

[276] *Ibid.*, 284.

[277] *Ibid.*, 285.

[278] *Ibid.*, 285.

- [279] Ibid., 286.
- [280] See Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 127–149.
- [281] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 241.
- [282] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 289.
- [283] Ibid., 290.
- [284] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 242.
- [285] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 291–292.
- [286] Ibid., 274, note a.
- [287] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 244.
- [288] Charles, *Commentary on the Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, 232.
- [289] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 294.
- [290] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 123.
- [291] Heiser, *A Reader's Commentary on the Book of Enoch*, vol. 1, pp. 63.
- [292] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 159.
- [293] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120.
- [294] Ibid., 120.
- [295] Ibid., 121.
- [296] Ibid., 122.
- [297] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, vol. 1, 181.
- [298] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 300.
- [299] Ibid., 301; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 246.
- [300] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 246.
- [301] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 301.
- [302] Ibid., 301.
- [303] Ibid., 301.
- [304] Heiser, *Demons*, 94.
- [305] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 301.
- [306] See Amar Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 19.4 (2010): 277–320; Seth L. Sanders, *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylonia* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 167; [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017]), 1–102; Alan Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and*

Biblical Israel (State Archives of Assyria Studies, 19; [Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008]).

[307] John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (vol. 30; Word Biblical Commentary; [Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1998]), 16–17.

[308] Diodorus Siculus, “Library of History,” Book II.29:1–3; Loeb Classical Library edition, 1933. Accessed online at: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/2A*.html.

[309] See Amar Annus, “On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 19.4 (2010): 277–320; Michael S. Heiser, *Reversing Hermon: Enoch, the Watchers, and the Forgotten Mission of Jesus Christ* (Crane, MO: Defender, 2017), 37–52; idem, *Demons*, 127–144.

[310] See Zvi Abusch, *The Anti-Witchcraft Series MAQLÛ* (State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 11; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project; Eisenbrauns, 2015), 142–145; idem, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (Ancient Magic and Divination 5; [Leiden: Brill / Styx, 2002]).

[311] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 303. The authors cite Joseph Naveh and Shaul Saked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 105, 155, 161.

[312] See N. Wyatt, “Qeteb,” *DDD*; Heiser, *Demons*, 33–34.

[313] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 247.

[314] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 305.

[315] *Ibid.*, 247.

[316] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 247–248.

[317] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 307.

[318] A biblical example would be the reference to “Moses” in Luke 16:29 when actually referring to the Torah.

[319] On ancient biblical cosmology, see Michael S. Heiser, “Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Cosmology,” *Faithlife Study Bible* (ed. John D. Barry, Michael S. Heiser, Miles Custis, et al.; Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2012); John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 165–78; idem, “Creation in Genesis 1: 1–2: 3 and the Ancient Near East,” *Calvin*

Theological Journal 43 (2008): 48-63; idem, *Genesis 1 as Ancient Cosmology* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study*, Analecta Biblica 39 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

[320] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 169.

[321] Baynes, "Introduction to the Similitudes of Enoch," 259.

[322] See Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 250.

[323] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 315.

[324] Ibid., 315; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 250.

[325] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 322. The authors direct readers to other such references: 1 Enoch 106:7–8; 1QapGen ii.21–23.

[326] Ibid., 322; cf. pp. 330–332.

[327] Ibid., 332.

[328] Ibid., 324.

[329] Ibid., 325.

[330] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 251.

[331] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 326.

[332] Ibid., 326.

[333] Ibid., 327.

[334] Ibid., 327–328.

[335] Ibid., 328–329.

[336] For a thorough survey of Old Testament data related to Messiah and messianic expectations in Israel based on the Hebrew Bible, see J. J. M. Roberts, "The Old Testament's Contribution to Messianic Expectations," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins; ed. James H. Charlesworth; [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992]), 39–51.

[337] On the eschatological Messiah figure in the Parables of Enoch as a preexistent supernatural figure, see Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "The Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71): The Son of Man, Apocalyptic Messianism and Political Theology," in *The Open Mind: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (Edited by Jonathan Knight, Kevin Sullivan, and Chris Keith; Library of New Testament Studies 522; [London: Bloomsbury, 2015]) 58–79.

[338] Baynes, "Introduction to the Similitudes of Enoch," 260.

[339] Bock, “Dating the Parables of Enoch: A Forschungsbericht,” 112.

[340] *Ibid.*, 112.

[341] Recall that, unlike the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), there have to date been no fragments of 1 Enoch 37–71 found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[342] See for example, Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 1–40.

[343] See the commentary discussion at 1 Enoch 71.

[344] The German term means “effectual history,” which speaks to the notion that a text is understood by taking account of the effects that it has produced in history and in other literary works.

[345] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 118.

[346] For a voluminous bibliography of this subject, see Jason von Ehrenkrook, “The Parables of Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: A Bibliography, 1773–2006,” in Gabriele Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 512–39.

[347] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 113. The occurrences in 1 Enoch are: 46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 60:10; 62:5, 7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27, 29 [2x]; 70:1; 71:14, 17.

[348] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 114.

[349] See for example: Numbers 23:19; Job 16:21; Ezekiel 2:6, 8; 3:25; 4:1; 5:1.

[350] Andrei A. Orlov, “Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in the Parables of Enoch: A Departure from the Traditional Pattern?” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2007]), 110–136 (esp. 127).

[351] As noted in the commentary, “Elect One” is the translation choice of Charles.

[352] The sixteen occurrences are: 1 Enoch 39:6; 40:5; 45:3, 4; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 53:6; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10; 62:1.

[353] Helge Kvanvig, “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2007]), 179–215 (esp. 187–188).

[354] Orlov, “Roles and Titles,” 126.

[355] Orlov notes that the expression “Righteous One” occurs four times in the Ethiopic text, but “two of them do not constitute an individual title but rather represent collective designations.” See Orlov, “Roles and Titles,” 125.

[356] Recall in the commentary’s discussion of 1 Enoch 38:2 that some scholars reject the reading “Righteous One” here due to manuscript evidence that has “righteousness” instead. See James C. VanderKam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins; ed. James H. Charlesworth; [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992]), 169–191 (esp. 170–171).

[357] Kvanvig, “Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch,” 189.

[358] Orlov, “Roles and Titles,” 125.

[359] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 114.

[360] Orlov, “Roles and Titles,” 129.

[361] VanderKam, “Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71,” 185. See his fuller discussion of the overlap on pages 185–191.

[362] *Ibid.*, 118.

[363] Ronald Herms, “Introduction to the Animal Apocalypse,” in *Early Jewish Literature: An Anthology* (ed. Brad Embry, Ronald Herms, and Archie T. Wright; vol. 2; [Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018]), 227.

[364] *Ibid.*, 228–229.

[365] Ephraim Isaac’s date for the Animal Apocalypse is 165–161 BC. J. Milik opts for 164 BC. Patrick Tiller dates it to slightly after 165 BC in his major study on the Animal Apocalypse. The point is clear, though—this is indisputably a pre-Christian work. See E. Isaac, “1 Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York: Yale University Press, 1983), 7; P. A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 78–79; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 44, 244.

[366] Examples include: David C. Mitchell, “Firstborn Shor and Rem: A Sacrificial Josephite Messiah in 1 Enoch 90.37–38 and Deuteronomy 33.17,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 15:3

(2006): 211–228; idem, “A Dying and Rising Josephite Messiah in 4Q372,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18:3 (2009): 181–205; idem, “The Fourth Deliverer A Josephite Messiah in 4QTestimonia,” *Biblica* 86 (2005): 545–553; idem, “Messiah ben Joseph: A Sacrifice of Atonement for Israel,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 10:1 (2007), 77–94. Mitchel has also done amazing work in the Psalms, mapping out an “eschatological programme” in the arrangement of sections of the book. See David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 252; [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997]).

[367] David C. Mitchell, *Messiah ben Joseph* (Newton Mearns, Scotland: Campbell Publications, 2016), 1–2.

[368] The scholarly literature touching on this idea and the Qumran texts is copious. Some of the Qumran passages from which the idea generates are CD [Damascus Document] 12:23–13:1; 14:19; 19:10–11; 20:1. Among the studies are: C. A. Evans, “Messianism,” *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (InterVarsity Press, 2000), 701–3; J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; [New York: Doubleday, 1995]); K.G. Kuhn, “The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel,” *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954–55) 168–80 [= *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendahl (New York: Crossroad, 1992 [1957]) 54–64, 256–59]; J. Liver, “The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth,” *Harvard Theological Review* 52 (1959) 149–85. There are a handful of contrarian assessments: Larry D. Hurst, “Did Qumran Expect Two Messiahs?” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 9 (1999), 157–180; M. G. Abegg Jr., “The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995) 125–44.

[369] Mitchell, “Firstborn Shor and Rem,” 214–215.

[370] *Ibid.*, 214. Mitchell at this point devotes attention to why he disagrees with Torrey’s analysis, that the animals are distinct (as opposed to the same bull becoming greater), meaning that the white bull is Messiah ben David and the second (the *nagar*) is Messiah ben Joseph. This writer agrees with Mitchell. His reasoning is sound and the textual data are on his side.

[371] *Ibid.*, 215.

[372] *Ibid.*, 215.

[373] Ibid., 216.

[374] Ibid., 211–212.

[375] Ibid., 219. Mitchel cites Genesis Rabbah 39:11. This is but one passage discussed in his other article, “Messiah ben Joseph: A Sacrifice of Atonement for Israel,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 10:1 (2007), 77–94

[376] David C. Mitchell, “Messiah bar Ephraim in the Targums,” *Aramaic Studies* 4:2 (2006), 221–241.

[377] Ibid., 220.

[378] Craig A. Evans, “Messianism,” *Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 703.

[379] In regard to the question posed in our discussion, we cannot devote a great deal of space to how these promises maintain their integrity—i.e., how they were or will be fulfilled, especially the Levitical promise. Briefly, here are the words of Jeremiah 33:17–18: “David shall never lack a man to sit on the throne of the house of Israel, and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence to offer burnt offerings, to burn grain offerings, and to make sacrifices forever.” How was this promise fulfilled in light of the absence of a king and priesthood from the exile onward? Huey’s perspective provides a good summary: “Because no descendant of David has been on Israel’s throne for centuries, nor has Israel been a monarchy for centuries, one of several conclusions may be drawn from the promise of v. 17. One is that the promise has failed or that God changed his mind and withdrew the promise. Another is that Jeremiah was not a true prophet and was only speaking his own words. Neither interpretation satisfies the reader who has a high view of inspiration of the Scriptures and the reliability of God’s promises. A third interpretation advocated by many is that Christ (the ‘king of kings,’ Rev 19:16), descendant of David through his earthly genealogy (Matt 1:6, 16), is the fulfillment of this as well as other messianic texts (Rev 22:16). The prophecy of Jeremiah, therefore, was not fulfilled completely with the restoration of Judah in the communities of Ezra and Nehemiah but is fulfilled in Jesus Christ (in his present reign and future return). Verse 18 appears to parallel v. 17 with its promise of the restoration of the priests who were Levites and the sacrificial system with its burnt offerings, grain offerings, and sacrifices. It is the only statement in the book that appears to refer to renewal of the priesthood. Those who follow the hermeneutical principle that prophecy is to be

interpreted literally whenever possible usually interpret v. 18 to mean that the OT sacrificial system would be literally reinstated at a future time. This interpretation, however, is contrary to the biblical explanation that Christ abolished the sacrificial system once and for all (cf. Gal 3:1–3; Heb 10:1–16; cf. v. 16 and Jer 31:33). Christ as King-Priest would fulfill the promises of vv. 17–18 (see Ps 110:4). If the promise of a Davidic king is considered to be fulfilled in Christ, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Christ in his priestly role fulfills the Levitical priestly role (see Zech 6:13; Heb 7:23–28).” See F. B. Huey, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, vol. 16, *The New American Commentary* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1993), 301–302. Personally, while it is obvious from the book of Hebrews that Jesus fulfills high priestly duties, it is equally obvious that He was not a Levite. His priesthood lineage is that of Melchizedek (Hebrews 7), not Levi or Aaron. I would suggest that Holladay’s approach to this problem offers more promise. He writes: “Hope for the future here takes on a partisan form (see Structure, Form, Setting, Interpretation): it is not only the assurance of a future Davidic king that sustains this section of the community but also the affirmation of the future status of the Levitical priests as well. This hope continued to carry weight in the ensuing centuries: it entered into the perspective of Sir 45:15, 23–26, which exalts the covenant with Aaron over the covenant with David; into that of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which assume two Messiahs, from Judah and from Levi; and into that of the Qumran community, which likewise expected two Messiahs, of Aaron and of Israel. It evidently had a part to play in NT thinking as well: a priestly figure, John the Baptist, recorded as a descendant of Aaron on both his father’s and his mother’s side (Luke 1:5), is brought into conjunction with the Davidic Messiah Jesus.” See William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52*, ed. Paul D. Hanson, *Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989), 231. Holladay directs readers to Bruce Vawter, “Levitical Messianism and the New Testament,” *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (ed. John L. McKenzie; [New York: Herder, 1962]), 83–99. The point here is that Jesus and John the Baptist could be viewed as fulfilling Jeremiah 33:18 and, when the physical temple was superseded by the body of Jesus/body of Christ, individually and corporately (e.g., John 2:13–22; 1 Corinthians 3:16–17, 6:19–20; 2 Corinthians 6:14–18; 1

Peter 2:5), both the messianic promise to David's line and the temple service are everlastingly fulfilled.

[380] For more detail, see B. J. van der Merwe, "Joseph as Successor of Jacob," in *Studia Biblica et Semitica* (edited by W. C. van Unnik and A. S. van der Woude; [Wageningen: Veenman & Zonen, 1966]): 221–232.

[381] *Ibid.*, 223.

[382] On the *nagid*, see 1 Samuel 13:14, 25:30; 2 Samuel 5:2. Aitken notes: "The term denotes Solomon as the crown prince, appointed by David as his successor (1 Kgs 1:35; cf. 2 Chron 11:22). This may have been the original significance of the term (Mettinger, 158–62; differently Halpern, 8–11). However, in Sam–Kgs the term is otherwise used theologically to present the king-designate as the one chosen and appointed by God to rule his people Israel." See Kenneth T. Aitken, "נָגִיד (*nāgîd*)," *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, vol. 3 (Ed. Willem VanGemeren; [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997]), 20.

[383] Van der Merwe, "Joseph as Successor of Jacob," 226.

[384] *Ibid.*, 227.

[385] The obvious question that will surface in the Christian's mind is how Jesus can be the son of David and the son of Joseph. Recall that, due to His virgin birth, He is *neither* in a literal, bloodline sense. Both genealogies (Matthew 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38) run through Joseph to establish that Jesus was of the line of David through Joseph by adoption, a system of lineage that was acceptable for such a claim in Jewish thought. Joseph was of the tribe of David. (The point of the genealogies would be legal paternity and, via Joseph, ancestry back to David). But there are several suggestive passages where Jesus gets linked to Ephraimite (Josephite) ancestry, and the early church also recognized Joseph as a type of Jesus. Rather than reproducing these passages, I invite the reader to invest in Mitchell's book, *Messiah ben Joseph*, and read chapter 8. I will only say here that certain passages have an interesting play on words. The Gospel of John in particular seems to direct attention to Joseph/Samaria connections. In John 1:45, most English translations have something like this (ESV): "Philip found Nathanael and said to him, 'We have found him of whom Moses in the Law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.'" The Greek word order and the grammar, however, produce this: "...the one of whom Moses wrote in the law and the prophets we

have found: Jesus, son of Joseph, from Nazareth” (“Ὁν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὐρήκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ). We could also read John 4 more closely—Samaria is in Old Testament Ephraim. Samaritan messianism differed from Israelite expectations. Why does Jesus tell the Samaritan woman that He is the Messiah she and her community were hoping for? Does lower Galilee overlap with Manasseh, one of Joseph’s tribes? Sources conflict. For example: “On occasion there is similar confusion between Galilee as a geographic region and as a political or administrative province. For instance, the Mishnaic definition of the border between Samaria and Galilee at Kefar ’Otnay (Lejjun; M.R. 167220) (*m. Git.* 7:7) implies the inclusion of the Jezreel Valley in Galilee, as does Josephus’ definition of this border at Ginaē (Jenin; M.R. 178207) (*JW* 3.3.4). However, Josephus’ definition of the S border of lower Galilee at Exaloth (Iksal; M.R. 180232) (*JW* 3.3.1) would exclude the Jezreel Valley from Galilee.” See *Anchor-Yale Bible Dictionary*, 2:879. The point is that if the Jezreel Valley is included in lower Galilee at all, then lower Galilee overlaps with the northern parts of Manasseh. At the very least, Nazareth (in the tribe of Zebulun) would be in lower Galilee. Some Jews thought a Messiah from Galilee, not Bethlehem of Judah, to be no problem; others disagreed (John 7:41, 52). Jesus, of course, never corrects anyone when they say He is from Galilee. All these things can be simultaneously true, given the circumstances of Jesus’ birth and His upbringing under Joseph’s roof (in Nazareth). I point them out to highlight the fact that such details are often overlooked.