

Kelley Coblentz Bautch

A Study of
the Geography of
1 Enoch 17–19
*‘No One Has Seen
What I Have Seen’*



A STUDY OF THE GEOGRAPHY
OF 1 ENOCH 17-19

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A STUDY
OF THE GEOGRAPHY
OF 1 ENOCH 17-19

“No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”

BY

KELLEY COBLENTZ BAUTCH



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To my grandparents,
Phyllis and Harry Coblentz and Audrey and
Arthur Pedersen for their examples of love,
generosity and hard work.

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ABBREVIATIONS: JOURNALS, PERIODICALS, MAJOR REFERENCE WORKS AND SERIES

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . W. von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3d. ed. Princeton, 1969
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, 1956–
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CC	Continental Commentaries
ChrEg	<i>Chronique d’Égypte</i>
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Edited by K. van der Toorn, P. W. van der Horst, B. Becking. Leiden, 1999
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society

JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York, 1925
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JStJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NCB	New Century Bible
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PIBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SHAW	Sitzungen der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by

	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964–1976
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids, Mich.: 1974–
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by H.-J. Fabry and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln, 1993
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

PREFACE

GEOGRAPHY IN THE OTHERWORLDLY JOURNEYS OF ENOCH

Cosmicization of unknown territories is always a consecration; to organize space is to repeat the paradigmatic work of the gods.

Mircea Eliade¹

Enoch is especially familiar from Genesis where the seventh patriarch is distinguished from others in antediluvian times by a peculiar fate. According to Gen 5:21–24, Enoch walked with God (or with the angels) and after a life of 365 years is taken by God.² These curious statements gave rise to a belief that Enoch had been taken up to heaven.³ Pseudepigraphical traditions of Enoch from the Second Temple period reveal even more about this mysterious patriarch and his role in Judaism;⁴ Enoch is described in such works as an individual

¹ *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. Willard R. Trask; New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 32.

² ויחי חנוך חמש וששים שנה ויולד את־האלהים חנוך את־האלהים אחרי הולידו את־מתושלח שלש מאות שנה ויולד בנים ובנות: ויהי כל־ימי חנוך חמש וששים שנה ושלש מאות שנה: ויתהלך חנוך את־האלהים ואיננו כִּילֶקֶח אֶת־אֱלֹהִים

LXX is not so ambiguous about Enoch's traveling companion: Enoch walks with God. εὐηρέσθησεν δὲ Ενωχ τῷ Θεῷ (LXX Gen 5:22). Cf. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 16.

³ The later writings of Ben Sira interpret to some degree the enigmatic account of Gen 5:23–24. Enoch, one of Israel's pious men, is a model of repentance for the generations and is transferred or translated presumably to heaven (Sir 44:16). Additionally, Enoch is said to be unique among humankind by virtue of his being taken up from the earth (Sir 49:14).

⁴ Five selections attributed to Enoch and ranging in date from the third century BCE to perhaps the first century BCE or CE were assembled into a single collection, known as 1 Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch. The latter title derives from the fact that this collection of Enochic literature written in Ge'ez enjoys great antiquity within the Ethiopian Church and is a part of their canon. From the same writings, Greek fragments were discovered in Egypt in the late 1880's, and Aramaic fragments were found at Qumran among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Aramaic fragments suggest a strong interest in the enigmatic figure of Enoch as early as the third century BCE. For more information on traditions related to Enoch, see VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*. For more information about Enochic literature's place in the Ethiopian church, see R. W. Cowley, 'The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church today [sic],' *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974): 318–23; esp. 319–20.

who is taken on tours to the ends of the earth. One such story of a tour appears in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) which itself contains several distinct units.

Enoch's story in the Book of the Watchers begins with the seer being introduced as a deliverer of prophecy concerning judgment and the end time (1 Enoch 1–5). The narrative, though, abruptly shifts to the story of the watchers (1 Enoch 6–11). These ill-intentioned angels leave their heavenly dwelling to mate with mortal women in what appears to be an expansion of Gen 6:1–4.⁵ Enoch then reenters the story as an intercessor for the watchers, an event that prompts his heavenly ascent (1 Enoch 12–16). Following Enoch's audience with the Divine in chapters 14–16, the patriarch travels throughout the cosmos and is guided by mysterious beings, who, as the account progresses, appear to be angels (1 Enoch 17–19). These tours of sites primarily concerned with eschatology form the basis for this study of the geography of one important literary unit from the Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch 17–19.

Enoch's travels take him especially to the ends of the earth. There, among the various sites described, natural and cosmological phenomena figure prominently in the tour. 1 Enoch 17–19 relates that Enoch encounters the storehouses of the winds (1 Enoch 18:1), places of storm, lightning and thunder (1 Enoch 17:2–3), the cornerstone of the earth (1 Enoch 18:2), pillars of heaven (1 Enoch 18:3), the waters of life (1 Enoch 17:4), the river of fire (1 Enoch 17:5), and the firmament of the heaven (1 Enoch 18:5). We learn that these cosmological wonders are accessible to Enoch alone through the patriarch's statement that no other has seen as Enoch has.⁶

⁵ George W. E. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* [ed. Klaus Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001], 166–71) notes that 1 Enoch 6–11 is comparable to other works considered expansions of biblical texts from this period. The claim of J. T. Milik (with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 30–32) and of Margaret Barker (*The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* [London: SPCK, 1987], 18–19) that the account in Genesis 6 is an abbreviated form of 1 Enoch 6–11 has been frequently challenged. See also VanderKam, 'Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*,' *Maarav* 3 [1982]: 85–97; esp. 97 and Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 166) who demonstrates the implausibility of the alternative: if Genesis 6–9 is an abbreviated form of 1 Enoch 6–11, it is curious that a redactor did not seek to connect the story of the watchers (sons of heaven, in Gen 6:1–4) with the story of the flood.

⁶ "And I Enoch alone saw the sights, the ends of all (things) and no one has seen what I have seen." (1 Enoch 19:3) All translations of 1 Enoch 17–19 are my own.

In addition to the cosmological phenomena, Enoch is taken to sites with extraordinary topographical features. In the course of the journey Enoch sees two mountains whose summits reach heaven. From the vicinity of one, Enoch sees the storehouses of the luminaries and meteorological phenomena (1 Enoch 17:2–3). The other mountain stands in the middle of six mountains (1 Enoch 18:6; cf. 1 Enoch 24:2–3); all seven consist of precious stones. The highest mountain which stands in between the six is compared to the throne of God (1 Enoch 18:8; cf. 1 Enoch 24:3) and in a duplicate tradition also found in the Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch 25:3, we learn that the mountain is the site at which God will descend.

Enoch also visits sites connected with infernal places of punishment and the day of judgment. Most prominent among the places to which Enoch travels in 1 Enoch 17–19, in fact, are ‘holding places’ for angels and stars. In 1 Enoch 18:11 (cf. also the duplicate tradition 21:7) Enoch visits a deserted place located beyond the foundations of the earth and sees a chasm full of pillars of blazing fire. Enoch learns from the angel Uriel that this is the spot where the promiscuous watchers will stand until the great day of judgment (1 Enoch 19:1–2). Further, in 1 Enoch 18:14–16 (and the duplicate tradition 21:4–6) Enoch views the prison for the disobedient stars and host of heaven where they will be bound until the consummation of their sin. Cosmology in some sense becomes a medium for 1 Enoch’s eschatology. George W. E. Nickelsburg notes:

There are places structured into the cosmos that guarantee the coming reality of judgment and the consequent rewards and punishments. God’s creation anticipated God’s judgment and serves as its instrument.⁷

Apparently the mountain throne of God amid six other mountains and the holding places of the angels and stars were important enough that a redactor allowed their descriptions to be repeated in 1 Enoch 21 and 24.⁸

Though 1 Enoch 17–19 describes several notable sites, determining where the seer’s tours lead him in 1 Enoch 17–19 and clarifying the geography and the spatial relationship among various locales

⁷ ‘The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*,’ in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium* (ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth; JSOTSup 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 51–64; esp. 56.

⁸ 1 Enoch 18:6–9 = 24:1–3; 18:12–16 = 21:1–6; 19 = 21:7–10.

are not easy tasks. The prominent sites at which Enoch stops are introduced cursorily and with seemingly little orientation to any sort of fixed map. The landscape or celestial surroundings change abruptly and appear to do so in a random manner. In this way, the narration of Enoch's journey obfuscates the spatial relationship between locales.⁹ The tour also frequently reads like an abbreviated itinerary. Rarely does the text provide markers to give a sense of the general direction in which Enoch travels.¹⁰

Despite these disorienting features, discernible themes associated with various stops in Enoch's travels lend some continuity to the journey. Eschatology and divine judgment, prominent themes throughout the Book of the Watchers and 1 Enoch in its entirety, are related also to the geography in 1 Enoch 17–19. Eschatology and judgment are so prevalent in 1 Enoch 17–19, as well as in the remainder of the Book of the Watchers, that Nickelsburg is warranted in stating, "Cosmology undergirds eschatology."¹¹ These pervasive themes provide some clarity within the narrative to the otherwise bewildering geography described by Philip S. Alexander as "general, full of fantasy, and hard to relate to the world as we know it."¹²

Undaunted by the disorienting presentation of the geography, Enochic scholars in the last two centuries have attempted to elucidate a rationale for or map implicit in the geography described in chapters 17–19, as well the geography in chapters 20–36. In addition to defining and identifying the sites that appear in Enoch's journeys, three scholars transform the verbal description of sites from the Book of the Watchers into actual sketches of the geography. Pierre Grelot,¹³

⁹ 1 Enoch 17:1–2 displays this sort of ambiguity. We are informed of Enoch's journey and destination, but are not privy to the route he takes: "And taking me, they led me away to a certain place, where those who are there become like burning fire, and when they wish, they appear as though human. And they led me away to a dark place and to a mountain whose summit reached to the heavens."

¹⁰ Eth. 1 Enoch 18:6a reads, for example: "I passed in the direction of the south and it burns day and night."

¹¹ 'The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch,' 56.

¹² 'Notes on the "Imago Mundi" of the Book of Jubilees,' *JJS* 33 (1982): 197–213; esp. 211. Alexander describes Enochic geography thus in contrast to the sober, scientific description of geography in Jubilees.

¹³ Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales,' *RB* 65 [1958]: 33–69) appears to fashion his map on verbal descriptions of geography from various sections of 1 Enoch including the Book of the Watchers, the Similitudes, and the Astronomical Book, as well as Jubilees.

Józef T. Milik,¹⁴ and Jonathan Stock-Hesketh¹⁵ attempt to make sense of Enoch's journeys and also produce a map to illustrate the worldview behind the text. Further, the geography presented in 1 Enoch 17–36 has been studied in light of specific biblical traditions,¹⁶ as well as pseudo-scientific¹⁷ and mythic traditions of Second Temple period Israel.¹⁸ At the same time, Enochic geography has been compared to the geography of Greek,¹⁹ Mesopotamian,²⁰ Ugaritic,²¹ and

¹⁴ Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 18, 40) maps the worldview of both the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) and the Astronomical Book. Milik's map especially mirrors the basic design of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi.

¹⁵ Stock-Hesketh's study ('Circles and Mirrors: Understanding 1 Enoch 21–32,' *JSP* 21 [2000]: 27–58) focuses on 1 Enoch 21–32 in the second half of the Book of the Watchers; since his map engages the traditions parallel to 1 Enoch 17–19, the research of Stock-Hesketh will be important to consider as well.

¹⁶ Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch') understands the descriptions of the location of paradise, the divine mountain and the throne of God in 1 Enoch 17–36 to be largely informed by Genesis 2, Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28. Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' esp. 38–41) hypothesizes that 1 Enoch 17–36 presents two paradises, possibly the result of an attempt to harmonize the traditions of Genesis 2, where Eden is located in the east, Isaiah 14, where the mountain of the divine abode is located to the north, and Ezekiel 28, where Eden, the 'garden of God,' is equated with the 'mountain of God.' Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 39–40) similarly traces the depiction of the 'mountain of God' in the north and a pit beneath reserved for rebels to Isa 14:12–15 and Ezek 28:16–18.

¹⁷ Michael Stone called attention to 'scientific' traditions consisting of lists of cosmological phenomena that occur in apocalyptic literature including 1 Enoch 17–18. These learned traditions that concern astronomy, meteorology, uranography and cosmography are revealed in the course of the journey and are strikingly similar to phenomena revealed in wisdom literature. 'Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,' in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414–52 and his 'The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE,' *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479–92. Also VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), esp. 135–40.

¹⁸ M. Gil ('Enoch in the Land of the Living,' *Tarbiz* 38 [1968–69]: 322–37) argues, for example, that the geography in the latter chapters of the Book of the Watchers is not real geography, as Milik maintains (see below), but rather mythic geography related to resurrection. The aromatic spices prominent in 1 Enoch 28–32, Gil claims, were used by the ancients to treat corpses. They appear in this context to suggest that Enoch is en route to the land of eternal life.

¹⁹ As early as 1893, R. H. Charles (*The Book of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893], 87) called attention to the 'Greek elements' which lay behind several places listed in chapters 17–19. This thesis was later developed by T. Francis Glasson who perceived generic as well as geographical affinities to ancient Greece. *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961). Cf. also Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1893), esp. 217–19. Nickelsburg most recently again affirms that the author of 1 Enoch 17–36 appears familiar with popular Greek geography. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 54; also 66 n. 27 and 1 Enoch, 62.

²⁰ Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch') maintains that the *Weltanschauung*

Egyptian²² traditions. Finally actual Judean topography and geography have provided a template somewhat comparable to the geographical presentation of 1 Enoch.²³ Indeed the matter of possible influences for or traditions parallel to Enochic geography appears quite complex. John J. Collins sums up the *status quaestionis* thus:

In short, there is a wealth of suggestive possibilities and an acute lack of decisive evidence. The attempt to clarify Enoch's journey from a traditio-historical viewpoint has hitherto had very limited success, and progress in this area is unlikely without new discoveries.²⁴

As a part of one of the oldest apocalypses, 1 Enoch 17–19 rightfully deserves the attention of scholars.²⁵ Yet, while the geography

in 1 Enoch 17–36 and 77:8 closely parallels that depicted in the Epic of Gilgamesh and a late Babylonian Mappa Mundi. Milik (*Books of Enoch*) also concurs that certain features of the geography in the Book of the Watchers and Astronomical Book are informed by Mesopotamian centers of scholarship. Contra the views of Grelot and Milik, see VanderKam, '1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' *RevQ* 11 (1983): 271–78. Helge S. Kvanvig explores the topic of geography to some extent in *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 246–50. See also M.-T. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu 1 Henoch 22* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982), 161–66; 173–77.

²¹ According to Milik, the notion of the residence of Baal located in the north at the source of rivers is reflected in 1 Enoch 17:7–8. *Books of Enoch*, 39. Wacker (*Weltordnung und Gericht*, 148–49, 157–60) explores the Ugaritic motif concerning the entrance to the realm of the dead in relation to Enoch 22.

²² Wacker also examined the Egyptian necropolis depicted as a western mountain or desert, again, as a source for the realm of the dead in 1 Enoch 22. *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 147–48; 154–56; also F. Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906), esp. 58–59.

²³ It is frequently noted that 1 Enoch 26 and 27, for example, seemingly allude to Jerusalem and its environs. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 36–37 and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 137. Furthermore, Milik argues that 1 Enoch 27–32 portrays a land of aromatics, home to actual caravan spice routes which led from Gaza to Petra. 'Hénoch au Pays des Aromates [ch. XXVII à XXXII]: Fragments Araméens de la Grotte 4 de Qumran [Pl. I],' *RB* 65 (1958): 70–77.

²⁴ 'The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of the Watchers,' *CBQ* 44 (1982): 91–111; esp. 107.

²⁵ On the dating of the Book of the Watchers, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 28: "We may conclude that it was in Palestine under Lagid hegemony, towards the middle of the third century BC, at the height of the intensive commercial exchanges between East and West . . .". His study of the paleography of 4QEn^a leads Milik to describe the alphabet as archaic and as connected with the scripts of the late third and early second centuries BCE. Although Milik dates 4QEn^a actually to the first half of second century, he suggests that the manuscript may have been made from an earlier copy, perhaps from the third century BCE. See his *Books of Enoch*, 140–41. VanderKam also notes,

It is possible and indeed likely that the [Book of the Watchers] is a third-century composition; it is almost certain that it is pre-Maccabean and that it

and the journeys in the Book of the Watchers remain so elusive, there have been but few studies dedicated solely to their explication.²⁶ This monograph contributes to the study of geography in the Enochic corpus by focusing on one important literary unit, 1 Enoch 17–19 and its parallels in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25 and by examining its presentation of geography in a thorough and detailed manner. The challenges associated with the latter task include exploring in a systematic manner the geography described in 1 Enoch 17–19, considering the literary form behind such descriptions and examining the purpose of Enoch's journey in these chapters. This comprehensive sort of exercise, to the best of my knowledge, has not been undertaken, especially with regard to this distinct literary unit from the Book of the Watchers.

A benefit of the study of the geography in this text is that we ultimately learn more about the worldview that informed the author of 1 Enoch 17–19. This study tests the hypothesis that the presentation of the geography in 1 Enoch 17–19, even as myth,²⁷ is not haphazard, unserviceable, or nonsensical, but rather bears witness to cognitive mapping (“an attempt to impose order on the chaos of spatial perception”).²⁸ I argue that through careful reading of the text, one can discern an underlying map or mental map behind the verbal descriptions of the geography in 1 Enoch 17–19. Mental maps reveal geographical preferences and hint at sources of information and in these

had assumed its present form by the time of 4QEn^a. It is probably later than the [Astronomical Book], since chaps. 33–36 seem to summarize information from it. See his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic*, esp. 114; see 111–14 for his review of Milik's dating of the Book of the Watchers.

²⁶ I am aware of only four: Wacker's study of 1 Enoch 22 (*Weltordnung und Gericht*); Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch'; Stock-Hesketh, 'Circles and Mirrors'; and P. M. Venter, 'Die funksie van ruimte in die reisverhale in 1 Henog 12–36,' *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 56 (2000): 38–62.

²⁷ Jean-Pierre Vernant has described 'myth' according to three principal criteria. First, a myth, taking the form of a short tale or schematic summary, works out of a tradition. Even with innovations, Vernant suggests, myths “accept a number of constraints and observe the rules of a particular network of themes, associations, analogies, and oppositions without which the message would no longer be intelligible within a given culture.” *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (trans. Janet Lloyd; New York: Zone Books, 1988), 218–19. Second, while myths are to entertain and assume a 'fictional' or 'fantastical' manner of speaking, they communicate essential and fundamental truths. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, 219. Third, supernatural agents or powers, “from a different time, on a different level, and in accordance with a different mode of being from those of the life of ordinary men” determine key narrative events. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, 219.

²⁸ Alexander, 'Early Jewish Geography,' *ABD* 2:977–88; esp. 978.

respects, offer a significant expression of the author's worldview. The text's focus on a mountain of God in the north, a mountain throne of God in the south, and the places of imprisonment for celestial beings suggests much about the worldview behind 1 Enoch 17–19.

As we explore the contents of 1 Enoch 17–19, the reader might well wonder about the use of the term 'geography' since these chapters of 1 Enoch also concern cosmology to some extent. In antiquity, from the Hellenistic period onward, the term 'geography' was applied to a description of the earth, either written or drawn, but it was also common for Greek mapmakers to include delineations of the entire universe in their representations.²⁹ In the initial chapters of this book, I employ and emphasize the term geography because the focus of the study is upon discrete sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 that the author understands to exist in space and time. With the exception of 1 Enoch 18:1–5, a section emphasizing the function of the winds, the sites along Enoch's tour are fixed or locatable; geography provides descriptions of the spatial properties of things, an important part of this study.³⁰ For this reason, it is appropriate to speak of the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19.

Nonetheless, in the fourth chapter of the third section, we take up the issue of how the geography, as well as cosmology, of this work influenced later descriptions of the cosmos. There we examine the view of cosmology one gleans from 1 Enoch 17–19, drawing upon other sections from the Book of the Watchers inasmuch as chapters 17–19 and their parallel traditions present only a limited portion of the cosmos. Since 1 Enoch 17–19 does not treat the heavenly environs other than the nature of the atmosphere, the ascent described in 1 Enoch 12–16 is an especially necessary supplement to this study of the cosmos.³¹

²⁹ J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (6 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1:131.

³⁰ Robert David Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 3.

³¹ There is no indication in the tours of 1 Enoch 17–19 (or of 1 Enoch 21–36) that Enoch travels anywhere other than to the extremities of the earth. Martha Himmelfarb (*Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983], 51) notes, "It is true that Enoch sees heavenly sights but it appears that he sees them from the earth." Richard Bauckham ('Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' PIBA 18 [1995]: 78–93; esp. 81) concurs: Enoch in the Book of the Watchers travels to the extremities of the earth, in the tradition of the tours of the Odyssey and

I have divided this book into four sections. In this first section, we explore how the text (1 Enoch 17–19) fits in both the Enochic corpus and the Book of the Watchers. Next, I present the arguments for treating 1 Enoch 17–19 as a distinct literary unit. A final preliminary matter to be addressed is that of the literary form or genre of 1 Enoch 17–19. An appendix takes up text critical issues related to 1 Enoch 17–19.

The second section of the study offers an exegesis of 1 Enoch 17–19 (and its parallel traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25) as they have been preserved in Aramaic,³² Greek,³³ and Ethiopic³⁴ with the purpose of clarifying the geography and calling attention to prevalent themes.³⁵ Initially I provide my translation of 1 Enoch 17–19 and a synopsis of the Aramaic, Greek, and Ge'ez versions of the text. Thereafter, section two comprises four chapters, each dedicated to a segment of 1 Enoch 17–19. The first chapter explores the geography of 1 Enoch 17:1–3, a landscape dominated by a mountain reaching to the heavens. The second chapter discusses the geography and sites of 1 Enoch 17:4–8, apparently the realm of the dead. In the third chapter, we look at the various roles winds play in the cosmos and

Epic of Gilgamesh. Though the patriarch encounters in the tours all sorts of phenomena, 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21–36 do not include ascents to heaven. Unlike texts such as 2 Enoch and 3 Baruch, in which the cosmologies reflected multi-layered heavens and cosmic secrets were relocated from the earth's extremities to the heavens, the Book of the Watchers as a whole appears to subscribe to a Near Eastern model of the cosmos which featured only a single heaven. See J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 117–23. On the Jewish (and subsequent Christian) adoption of the multiple-heaven schema that became prominent in the Greco-Roman period, see Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 139–84. On the history of 2 Enoch, see F. I. Andersen, '2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,' in *OTP* 1:91–221; esp. 94–97; on the history of 3 Baruch, see H. E. Gaylord, Jr., '3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch,' in *OTP* 1:653–79; esp. 655–57.

³² Fragments of the Aramaic text for 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions, the earliest extant source preserved at Qumran, are found in 4QEn^a, 4QEn^d, and 4QEn^e. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*.

³³ See M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

³⁴ The most complete form of 1 Enoch occurs in Ethiopic. See Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1902), Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch edited from twenty-three mss. together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), and Michael A. Knibb, in consultation with Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

³⁵ While this study strives for thoroughness on the topic, the aim will not be to duplicate the work of the most complete commentary on 1 Enoch to date from Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*). Prof. Nickelsburg graciously sent me a copy of his commentary on 1 Enoch 17–19 prior to its publication. I wish to thank him for his generosity.

the seven extraordinary mountains of 1 Enoch 18:1–9. Finally, in the fourth chapter of this section, we examine a fiery chasm and desert beyond the boundaries of heaven and earth described in 1 Enoch 18:9–19:3.

In the third section I explore how the geographical descriptions of 1 Enoch 17–19 are useful in reconstructing the author's worldview and how they relate to worldviews prominent in the author's milieu. Most pertinent is the matter of how one is to make sense of the geography, the sites described and the journey of the seer itself. Thus, the first chapter of the third section examines how the various sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19, as well as in the duplicate traditions of 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25, stand in relation to one another. From verbal descriptions of the geography it is possible to reconstruct a mental map that, though not drawn by the author, may well have been visualized by that person. In this chapter I examine maps produced by Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh, all of whom seek to clarify the geography in various Enochic traditions. I also offer my reconstruction of a map of 1 Enoch 17–19's world.

In the second and third chapters of the third section I explore what information was available to the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and influential enough that it merited a place in his map of the cosmos. Here I inquire about shared traditions that may have contributed to the worldview of 1 Enoch 17–19. Thus, I consider the distinct sites mentioned in 1 Enoch 17–19 in light of comparable biblical, ancient Near Eastern and Greek traditions. In the fourth chapter of the third section, I explore how the geography and cosmology of these chapters reflect or differ from the views found in the remaining Book of the Watchers, the Enochic corpus, and more generally, other texts of Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity.

A summary of the results and a discussion of the conclusions reached in this study follow in section four. In this final section of the monograph, we consider 1 Enoch 17–19 in the context of Second Temple period Judaism. Thus we take up the matter of the social location of the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and of the community which first preserved or disseminated the text. We also explore theological issues and the nature of Judaism suggested by these three chapters from the Book of the Watchers.

SECTION ONE
PRELIMINARY DETERMINATIONS

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SECTION ONE
PRELIMINARY DETERMINATIONS

A. THE PERICOPE IN ITS SETTING:
CHAPTERS 17–19 WITHIN THE BOOK OF THE WATCHERS

1 Enoch 17–19 occurs in the Book of the Watchers, the first booklet of 1 Enoch. It has long been recognized that the most complete version of 1 Enoch consists of separate, independent works. Scholars have delineated at least five sections, though one should note that the booklets, in turn, have their own complex history of composition and redaction. 1 Enoch as preserved today includes the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82), Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83–90) and Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–108). Yet, the collection of works that make up contemporary 1 Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch may differ from assemblages of texts associated with Enoch in antiquity. For example, the Similitudes of Enoch, preserved only in Ethiopic, is a work that is absent from the discoveries at Qumran, while instead several manuscripts of the Enochic Book of Giants were recovered from there.¹ It may be preferable, therefore, to speak of an Enochic collection instead of 1 Enoch, whose contents have been more recently fixed, since we do not know precisely the exact contents or arrangement of ancient Enochic collections.² While recognizing this *desideratum*, I refer to and designate, nonetheless, selections from the Book of the Watchers by the conventional appellation 1 Enoch, applied most correctly to the Ethiopic collection.

In spite of the uncertainty as to the ancient compilation of works, individuals frequently contemplate Enochic collections of texts and attempt to elucidate a rationale for their content and/or order. R. H. Charles, for example, observed that the fivefold division of 1 Enoch

¹ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 57–58 and 298–317.

² See also VanderKam, ‘Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik’s *The Books of Enoch*,’ 90, Devorah Dimant, ‘The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,’ *VT* 33 (1983): 14–29; esp. 17–18, and M. A. Knibb, ‘The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review,’ *NTS* 25 (1979): 345–59; esp. 347–48.

reflected a common literary device found in Jewish literature;³ the division of a work into five books recalls the Pentateuch, an arrangement also apparent in the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and in Pirque Abot. Milik, like Charles to some extent and G. H. Dix especially,⁴ speaks of a first century BCE Pentateuch of Enoch made up of the Astronomical Book, Book of the Watchers, Book of Giants, Book of Dreams, and Epistle of Enoch.⁵ This sacred collection of Aramaic works, Milik suggests, was altered when the Christian Similitudes replaced the Book of Giants.⁶ Milik's provocative theory has been received as highly contentious.⁷

While acknowledging the composite nature of 1 Enoch, Nickelsburg focuses on three of the major divisions and posits a more definitive relationship among them. Nickelsburg theorizes that much of the core of 1 Enoch was structured as a testament, a testament made up of the Book of the Watchers, 81:1–82:4 + 91 and some portions of 92–105.⁸ If the Book of the Watchers once existed as a separate entity, he writes, it was soon supplemented by these selections from the contemporary Astronomical Book and Epistle of Enoch.⁹

Nickelsburg's hypothesis that the penultimate form of 1 Enoch was fashioned as a testament has thus far met with tempered reactions. Collins contests the testamentary nature of the Book of the Watchers, for example, noting that it lacks the familiar deathbed scene observable in the beginning of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs or farewell speech in the Testament (Assumption) of Moses.¹⁰ Likewise,

³ *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), xlvi and lxiv.

⁴ 'The Enochic Pentateuch,' *JTS* 27 (1925–26): 29–42.

⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 4.

⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 4.

⁷ See VanderKam ('Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch*,' 90–94) who calls into question Milik's presuppositions that we can assume the Qumran Enochic literature also favored a pentateuchal form. On this matter, see also Devorah Dimant, 'The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,' *VT* 33 (1983): 14–29; esp. 15–19, and Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, 'The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,' *HTR* 70:1–2 (1977): 51–65. Problematic as well, according to VanderKam, is the assumption that the Similitudes of Enoch is a later Christian work, from 270 CE according to Milik, which comes to replace the Book of the Giants. Cf. also Nickelsburg, review of Milik, *Books of Enoch*, *CBQ* 40 (1978): 411–19; esp. 417–18.

⁸ *1 Enoch*, 25, 335–37.

⁹ *1 Enoch*, 25.

¹⁰ 'Review of George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*' at the annual meeting of the SBL, Denver, 17 November 2001.

James C. VanderKam expresses reservation as to whether the entire collection of writings indicated by Nickelsburg be considered components of a testament. Had the Book of the Watchers been conceived of in this genre, VanderKam suggests, one would expect the testamentary form to be made explicit in the first chapter.¹¹ I concur with the hesitation of Collins and VanderKam in assigning the testamentary form to the Book of the Watchers and favor the notion that the Book of the Watchers circulated as an independent entity prior to its inclusion in a collection.

Though not suggesting yet another rationale for the content or order of the current or ancient collection of Enochic works, it seems prudent to consider how the pericope, 1 Enoch 17–19, and the booklet in which it appears contribute to 1 Enoch. The Book of the Watchers is among the earliest works of 1 Enoch—only the Astronomical Book is thought to predate it—and offers a fitting start to the Enochic collection. The themes and the events narrated in the Book of the Watchers seem to inform much of the other works which make up 1 Enoch. The themes of God's impending judgment and the coming eschaton, as well as the vindication of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked, are found throughout the Book of the Watchers, including chapters 17–19, and in all other sections of 1 Enoch. The patriarch Enoch, unique among humankind for his visionary experiences according to 1 Enoch 19:3, is distinguished as an extraordinary person capable of feats outside the purview of most individuals in almost all the works of 1 Enoch.¹² The visionary experiences of Enoch and his tours throughout the cosmos, so prevalent in 1 Enoch 17–19, are present as well in most of the sections of 1 Enoch; in addition to ascents to heaven which occur in the Book of the Watchers, the Similitudes, and perhaps the Book of Dreams, journeys to the extremities of the earth are to be found in the Similitudes, the Astronomical Book, and 1 Enoch 108. Finally the story of the watchers, from their descent to their judgment, plays a central role in many parts of 1 Enoch (cf., for example, 1 Enoch 6–16; 19; 21; 54; 86). In this manner, the Book of the Watchers

¹¹ 'Review of George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*.'

¹² The testamentary or parenetic segment of the Epistle of Enoch constitutes most probably an exception. The sapiential poem in 1 Enoch 93:11–14 appears to challenge Enoch's, or any person's, abilities as a seer.

and in part chapters 17–19 appear to presage many of the topics discussed in the Enochic collection.

One should consider how Enoch's journey in 1 Enoch 17–19 is relevant to the Book of the Watchers. Let us first examine the plot. In its current form, the Book of the Watchers incorporates Enoch in the story of the watchers by positing that once taken by God (cf. Gen 5:24), Enoch had been hidden away from humankind and was dwelling with angels (1 Enoch 12:1–2). The angels then request that Enoch deliver a message of judgment to the watchers who descended, and in the process the patriarch becomes the intercessor for these transgressors (1 Enoch 12:3–13:7). Yet, Enoch's supplications on their behalf prove futile. The seer is lifted up in a vision to the heavenly throne room where God reiterates a harsh message of condemnation (1 Enoch 13:8–16:4). Enoch apparently departs from the heavenly temple to continue a journey throughout the cosmos. He observes places of punishment for the watchers and other disobedient creatures as well as sites related to the visitation and future judgment of God (1 Enoch 17–36).

One might also take into account how the presentation of geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 serves the Book of the Watchers' narrative. A reading of the geography in 1 Enoch 17 that would be consistent with the setting established by 1 Enoch 13–16 is that after Enoch ascends to heaven while in the vicinity of, and perhaps by means of, Mount Hermon (1 Enoch 13:7, 9), he descends in the same manner by means of a northern mountain (1 Enoch 17:2). From there Enoch continues his amazing journey, serving as a firsthand witness to the places of judgment built into the cosmos for deviants like the watchers. Enoch's journeys take him not only to heaven and to what might be considered the nether regions of a sort, but also to the ends of the earth and to each cardinal direction. Enoch concludes his travels by praising the creative endeavors of God (1 Enoch 36:4).

Moreover, 1 Enoch 17–19 shares an undeniable affiliation with 1 Enoch 1–16 and 20–36 through the repetition of several key themes. VanderKam points out that common themes in the chapters preceding 1 Enoch 17–19 serve to unite seemingly different accounts.¹³ For example, the plot line concerning angels who are promiscuous with

¹³ *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 136.

women is resumed in 1 Enoch 19:1–2 (and again 1 Enoch 21:7–10), in tours of places of punishment. Likewise, 1 Enoch 17–19 and 1 Enoch 20–36 have a great deal in common. In addition to their attention to otherworldly journeys, the motivation for colorful descriptions of geography, both literary units concern the theme of divine judgment. Even the description of the most sacred geography of Jerusalem, including Mount Zion, is dominated by the account of the valley of Gehenna as a place of punishment for traitorous souls (1 Enoch 26).

Discoveries at Qumran have contributed to the discussion about the respective strata and their order in the Book of the Watchers as well. The fragments from 1 Enoch 1–12 in 4QEn^a, dated to the first half of the second century BCE,¹⁴ lead Milik to conclude that from that point on “the Book of the Watchers had essentially the same form as that in which it is known through the Greek and Ethiopic versions.”¹⁵ Hence, the union of the story of the watchers’ descent with the otherworldly journeys of Enoch is quite ancient.

B. REDACTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Though the Book of the Watchers appears to work as a whole, this first booklet, like 1 Enoch itself, appears to be the product of constituent parts. VanderKam remarks of the Book of the Watchers:

Perhaps no other part of 1 Enoch presents . . . such imposing literary problems as these chapters do. There is some reason for regarding the (Book of the Watchers) as a collection of several originally independent units which an editor has amalgamated into a passable literary unity.¹⁶

In fact, state Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, it is the scholarly consensus that the Book of the Watchers “consisted of elements of diverse origin and coming from different periods.”¹⁷ Yet, commentators disagree as to the nature of these divisions or redactional layers within the text.

¹⁴ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 139–41.

¹⁵ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 25.

¹⁶ *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 110.

¹⁷ ‘The Books of Enoch (1 Enoch) and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran,’ *RevQ* 14 (1989): 131–46; esp. 136–37.

Milik, for instance, proposes three distinct sections of the Book of the Watchers: 1 Enoch 1–5; 6–19; and 20–36.¹⁸ Charles,¹⁹ Nickelsburg,²⁰ and VanderKam,²¹ however, observe a minimum of five major divisions in the Book of the Watchers: an oracular introduction (1 Enoch 1–5), the story of the evil watchers (1 Enoch 6–11), Enoch’s ascent to heaven (1 Enoch 12–16), a first cosmic journey (1 Enoch 17–19), a brief discussion of the seven archangels and Enoch’s second tour of the cosmos (1 Enoch 20–36).²² The most extensive redaction criticism of the Book of the Watchers is undertaken by Tigchelaar who isolates the work of at least seven authors/redactors for the thirty-six chapters: 1–5; 6–11; 12–16; 17:1–18:5; 18:6–16; 19; 20–32; and 33–36.²³

In spite of what can appear to be a rather fluid narrative, chapters 17–19 still seem to introduce a distinct section of the Book of the Watchers that concerns otherworldly journeys (1 Enoch 17–36). Whereas chapters 6–16 are especially concerned with the watchers, their immoral conduct and subsequent punishment from God as well as Enoch’s intercession for the watchers and his ascent to the Divine, chapters 17–36 concentrate on the tours Enoch makes accompanied by angels. 1 Enoch 1–16 does not contain the elaborate travelogue or cosmological speculation of the sort found in 1 Enoch 17–36. Many of the sites observed in the latter half of the Book of the Watchers concern natural phenomena and seem to describe indifferently the ends of the earth. This leads Matthew Black, for one, to maintain that chapters 17–36 “form quite a new and separate apocalypse,” while “the so-called ‘Book of the Watchers’ . . . ends at 16.4.”²⁴

More specifically, however, there is an apparent disjunction between chapters 16 and 17. As Adolphe Lods observed, the story of the watchers and God’s rejection of their petition (1 Enoch 12–16) lacks

¹⁸ *Books of Enoch*, esp. 25, 33–35.

¹⁹ *Book of Enoch*, xlvii–xlviii.

²⁰ *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 48–55; 1 Enoch, 25.

²¹ *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 110.

²² García Martínez presents a useful tabulation of the various ways scholars divide the Book of the Watchers into independent units. See his *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 60–61.

²³ Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OtSt 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 152–64.

²⁴ Black, in consultation with James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 10.

a conclusion. There is no proper close to Enoch's ascent since 1 Enoch 17:1 does not explicitly refer to the vision of God, to the heavenly palace or to the message Enoch is to deliver. Further, the beginning of chapter 17 also is in need of an introduction. Immediately following God's address, creatures identified by no more than 'they' lead Enoch away to a certain place; presumably an introduction would have at least established who accompanies Enoch on this journey.²⁵ Thus, I observe, along with others, a literary seam between 1 Enoch 16:4 and 17:1.²⁶

Milik, however, challenges the assumption that 1 Enoch 17–19 is a literary unit distinct from 1 Enoch 6–16. He understands chapters 6–19 as the oldest Enochic document with chapters 14–19 conceived as a letter and bill of indictment that Enoch reads.²⁷ Yet, Milik's case is not compelling because, in addition to the disjunction between chapters 16 and 17 that he does not address, Milik does not explain how the cosmography, astronomy, and meteorology of 1 Enoch 17–19 fit in the letter Enoch delivers to the watchers. These notable elements, which I examine in more detail in the following chapters, would seem completely extraneous and unserviceable to a bill of indictment directed against the watchers.

The case may also be made that 1 Enoch 17–19 is distinguishable as a literary unit from chapters 20–36. Though 1 Enoch 21–36 also concerns cosmic journeys, the narrative presents a definitive conclusion to the tours of 1 Enoch 17–19. With a sense of finality, the seer states in 1 Enoch 19:3: "And I Enoch alone saw the sights, the ends of all (things) and no one has seen what I have seen." With that, Enoch's tour of the cosmos, as well as the literary unit, is seemingly

²⁵ *Le Livre D'Hénoch: Fragments Grecs, Découverts à Akhmûm (Haute-Égypte) Publiés Avec Les Variantes du Texte Éthiopien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 152. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 278.

²⁶ Like Milik, Carol Newsom regards 1 Enoch 6–19 as a literary unit ('The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,' *CBQ* 42 [1980]: 310–329; esp. 312), yet she observes that chapters 17–19 are not a "simple continuation" of 1 Enoch 6–16 and that they may have drawn on a journey account that was at one time independent. Certainly, Newsom observes, the redactor meant for 1 Enoch 17–19 to be attached to chapters 12–16 ('The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,' 322); at the same time, the abrupt beginning and duplications in the account suggest to Newsom that the cosmic journeys of 1 Enoch 17–19 derive from a pre-existing Enochic tradition excerpted from another context and pressed into service in its current position in the Book of the Watchers. See 'The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,' 322–23.

²⁷ *Books of Enoch*, esp. 25, 33–35.

brought to an end. The narrative resumes with a discussion of arch-angels and their respective dominions which appear to correspond generally with the stops on the tour described in 1 Enoch 21–33.²⁸ Thus, we encounter a literary seam between 1 Enoch 19:3 and 20:1.

Further indication that 1 Enoch 17–19 is a distinct literary unit may be found in the duplication of several stories from these chapters in 1 Enoch 21–36. The duplications suggest composition or compilation by different authors or redactors. It is commonly noted that the accounts of the prisons for the stars and watchers, as well as the description of seven mountains of precious stone in 1 Enoch 18–19, occur again in chapters 21 and 24–25 but with slightly different emphases.²⁹

August Dillmann observes, however, that there may be even more similarities in the journeys of the two sections. Dillmann suggests the following comparisons in the two texts:³⁰

Table 1. Comparison of Sites from 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21–36

Site	1 Enoch 17–19	1 Enoch 21–36
Prisons for the angels and seven stars	1 Enoch 18:11–16 and 19	1 Enoch 21
Realm of the dead	1 Enoch 17:6	1 Enoch 22
Place where lights are persecuted	1 Enoch 17:4	1 Enoch 23
Seven mountains of precious stone and mountain-throne of God	1 Enoch 18:6–9	1 Enoch 24–25
Tour around the atmosphere	1 Enoch 18:1	1 Enoch 34–36

The tours are virtually the same, though 1 Enoch 17–19's version is quite condensed compared to that of 1 Enoch 21–36. The desti-

²⁸ Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2), remarks: “20–36 springs apparently from one and the same hand. The connexion of 20 with 21–36 is loose it is true, and yet the functions ascribed to the Archangels in 20 are tolerably borne out in 21–36.” Cf. also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 25 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 290.

²⁹ Cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 55; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 25. Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, xlviii) notes 17–19's “close affinity to 20–36, since 18^{6–9} is a doublet of 24^{1–3}, 18¹¹ of 21^{7–10},” and “18^{12–16}, of 21^{1–6}”.

³⁰ *Das Buch Henoch Übersetzt und Erklärt* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Vogel, 1853), 121.

nations of the tour from 1 Enoch 21–36 that are noticeably absent in 1 Enoch 17–19 are the visits to Jerusalem and environs (1 Enoch 26–27) and to the garden of righteousness in the east or northeast (1 Enoch 28–32).

One might ask, then, how 1 Enoch 17–19 and the duplications in 1 Enoch 21–36 are related. Commentators tend to assume that the first journey of 1 Enoch 17–19 is the older of the versions for several reasons. Black, for example, observes that since 1 Enoch 18–19 lingers over the description of the prison for the watchers, this section is more germane to the story of the watchers in 1 Enoch 6–11, and therefore, likelier to have been composed first.³¹ From the perspective of the narrative, Nickelsburg notes that the point of departure in chapter 21 and the direction of the journey presume the place at which chapters 17–19 leave Enoch.³² Black also remarks that the journey of 1 Enoch 21–36 “looks like a later expansion to include the section on the promptuaria of the departed, but modeled on the account of the imprisonment of the stars and the Watchers;”³³ similarly, the account of the mountain-throne of God (1 Enoch 18:6–8) was expanded so as to include the tree of life in 1 Enoch 24–25. As if to synthesize Black’s observations, Milik suggests that 1 Enoch 17–19 is ‘reworked’ in 1 Enoch 21–25 “mainly from the eschatological point of view,” while the remainder of the Book of the Watchers is the unique product of the final redactor.³⁴

Though several scholars maintain the literary dependence of portions of 1 Enoch 21–36 on 1 Enoch 17–19, Tigchelaar claims that it is unlikely that 1 Enoch 21–25, at least, is a simple rewriting of 1 Enoch 17–19.³⁵ He suggests, instead, that the duplicate traditions in 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21–25 are literary renderings of a common tradition. While I do not agree with his analysis of 1 Enoch 17–19 since I follow Nickelsburg in relocating 1 Enoch 19:1–2 after 1 Enoch 18:11 (see below),³⁶ and like Dillmann, I detect more correspondences between the two journey accounts, I find Tigchelaar’s suggestion that

³¹ Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 16.

³² *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 55; see also his *1 Enoch*, 290.

³³ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 16.

³⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 25. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 290–92.

³⁵ *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 159.

³⁶ Tigchelaar suggests that 1 Enoch 19 is an addition to 1 Enoch 17–18 which may, in fact, have been influenced by 1 Enoch 21. See his *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 159–60.

both journeys derive from a common tradition, “either written or oral,” plausible.³⁷ At the least, however, the duplications and their differing emphases make clear that 1 Enoch 20–36 is a literary unit distinct from 1 Enoch 17–19. In light of this and the disjunction between 1 Enoch 16:4 and 17:1, the monograph proceeds, following the division of the Book of the Watchers suggested by Charles, Nickelsburg and VanderKam, with the premise that 1 Enoch 17–19 is a discrete literary unit.

Yet to suggest that there are distinct literary units or divisions in the Book of the Watchers is not to explain the process of composition or development of the text. Milik, for example, proposes an initial source, 1 Enoch 6–19, which he entitles the ‘Visions of Enoch.’ This nucleus of the Book of the Watchers, he argues, is adapted by a Judean author who subsequently contributes 1 Enoch 1–5 and 20–36 to the work.³⁸ While it is possible for one to read the cosmic journeys of chapters 17–19 as a continuation of Enoch’s ascent described in 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4 (see above), the ineffective transition from 1 Enoch 6–16 to 17–19 urges us to consider other scenarios that explain the union of 1 Enoch 6–16 (or 12–16) and 17–19.

Since 1 Enoch 17–19 does not smoothly pick up the narrative context of 1 Enoch 6–16, the implication is that 1) these chapters in the Book of the Watchers’ early history have been joined to 1 Enoch 6–16 or 2) a critical portion of the text has been lost. It is possible that 1 Enoch 17–19 was composed for the purpose of supplementing 1 Enoch 6–16. If this is the case, the author of these chapters was rather inept in the addition of the text to 1 Enoch 6–16; or, again, it is possible that a portion of the text following 1 Enoch 16:4 and preceding 1 Enoch 17:1 has been displaced or deleted.

The testamentary hypothesis notwithstanding, Nickelsburg also understands there to be “numerous layers of accretion” that constitute the Book of the Watchers.³⁹ Nickelsburg offers a plausible sequence of the development of traditions in the Book of the Watchers beginning with the initial myth of the watchers preserved in 1 Enoch 6–11. A reworking of that tradition in which Enoch figures prominently follows in chapters 12–16. 1 Enoch 17–19, a duplicate version of Enoch’s journey to the divine throne, was then added, suggests

³⁷ *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 159.

³⁸ *Books of Enoch*, esp. 25, 33–35.

³⁹ *1 Enoch*, 169.

Nickelsburg, but not created *de novo*.⁴⁰ Finally, the growing account is supplemented with a revised description of chapters 17–19’s journeys (1 Enoch 20–36) and an introduction (1 Enoch 1–5).⁴¹

Again, Nickelsburg suggests that 1 Enoch 17–19 was not produced to supplement chapters 12–16, but was secondarily attached to those chapters. According to Nickelsburg, the literary unit 1 Enoch 17–19 is another version of a tradition concerning Enoch’s journey to the throne of God and in light of 1 Enoch 14–16, would appear “excessively duplicative” in the current context.⁴² Nickelsburg also questions why Enoch is presented as traveling across the bounds of the earth if the ultimate purpose of the narrative is to show a journey from the heavenly throne room to the ends of the earth.⁴³

I find Nickelsburg’s reconstruction of the development of the Book of the Watchers, especially 1 Enoch 17–19, more convincing than that of Milik. Especially problematic are the lack of transition between 1 Enoch 16:4 and 17:1 and subsequent awkward narrative. It seems likely that the text as it now stands is the result of a later redactor awkwardly trying to adapt an independent Enochic tradition to the growing narrative. In this scenario, the author/redactor, while trying to honor the source, simply omits some of an original introduction which no longer would fit the new context following 1 Enoch 16.⁴⁴ In fact, Enoch’s visit to the heavenly temple in 1 Enoch 14–16 may have offered the redactor the most plausible point in the text for relocating chapters 17–19. The alternatives, that an author supplemented 1 Enoch 6–16 (or 12–16) rather haphazardly or that a critical portion of the text has been lost inadvertently, are less persuasive. Given the wide consensus that 1 Enoch 17–19 distinguishes itself from 1 Enoch 12–16 and 20–36 as a literary unit and evinces clear literary seams, it seems likely that in some form now lost to us 1 Enoch 17–19 circulated independently; this hypothesis is not, however, incontestable.

⁴⁰ 1 Enoch, 278.

⁴¹ 1 Enoch, 25.

⁴² 1 Enoch, 278.

⁴³ 1 Enoch, 278.

⁴⁴ Nickelsburg raises this possibility as well. 1 Enoch, 278.

C. THE LITERARY FORM OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

While geographical analogues of various origins have been cited in order to explain the view of the world implicit in 1 Enoch 17–19, few scholars have sought genre parallels to clarify why the geography in these chapters occurs in the particular form that it does. What sort of literary form serves as a vehicle for the geography and mental mapping in this literary unit? With this question in mind, 1 Enoch 17–19 should also be considered from the perspective of genre.⁴⁵

The purpose of analyzing the unit in terms of genre is to call attention to the way in which the text might have been perceived and understood in its original context.⁴⁶ Readers expect particular features to occur in a certain kind of text; the study of genre delineates these features. Further, such an analysis allows one to note what is unusual or distinctive in the literary form employed and is helpful for understanding how a text relates to or distinguishes itself from other contemporary works.

The writings attributed to Enoch which arose perhaps in the Persian but certainly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods are not only classified as pseudepigraphical literature, but also frequently labeled and studied as apocalypses. The expression ‘apocalypse’ merits defining. It derives from the Greek word ἀποκάλυψις (‘revelation, disclosure’) and refers most properly to a genre of literature that pertains to a revelation from the Divine.⁴⁷ The definition of ‘apocalypse’ proposed by Collins and the Apocalypse Group of the Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project has been influential in shaping the discussion of genre and is most helpful for this study of 1 Enoch 17–19:

⁴⁵ In his work on the Apocalypse of John, David Aune presents an eloquent definition of ‘genre’ to which I shall refer: “A literary genre consists of a group of texts which exhibit a coherent and recurring pattern of features constituted by the interrelated elements of form, content, and function.” See ‘The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre,’ in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, *Semeia* 36 (ed. Adela Yarbro Collins; 1986): 65–96; esp. 66.

⁴⁶ For a very helpful discussion of the purpose and value of generic studies, see John J. Collins, ‘Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,’ in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, *Semeia* 14 (ed. John J. Collins; 1979): 1–20.

⁴⁷ Cf. Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Crossroads, 1982), 14.

"Apocalypse" is 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.⁴⁸

Excursus: Apocalypse and Apocalyptic Literature

Related to the genre 'apocalypse' is the adjective 'apocalyptic.' In light of the fact that scholars have expended in the last four decades a great deal of energy defining the term 'apocalyptic,'⁴⁹ I briefly explore what the adjective denotes and its relationship to the genre apocalypse. While there appears to be general consensus on the nature of 'apocalypse' (see above) and 'apocalypticism' (a "socio-religious movement,"⁵⁰ "social ideology"⁵¹ or "historical movement,"⁵²) 'apocalyptic,' on the other hand, appears more difficult to define and in recent times has frequently been considered an inadequate or problematic term.⁵³ When the adjective 'apocalyptic' modifies 'literature,' it most properly suggests works that have something in common with apocalypses.

Scholars have also introduced the expression 'apocalyptic eschatology.'⁵⁴ Apocalyptic eschatology has been defined as "a set of ideas and motifs"⁵⁵ that concerns hope and retribution occurring outside of normal human experience.⁵⁶ Christopher Rowland, for example, makes note of key elements that typify apocalyptic eschatology: "the doctrine of the two ages, a pessimistic attitude towards the present, supernatural intervention as the only basis for redemption, and an

⁴⁸ Collins, 'Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,' 9.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (SBT 2/22; Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, 1972), 18–35; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 427–44; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (new ed.; New York: Crossroad, 1992), 2 and Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 1–15.

⁵⁰ Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 432.

⁵¹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2.

⁵² Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 9.

⁵³ See, for example, Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 5–8.

⁵⁴ Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 430–32; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2.

⁵⁵ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2.

⁵⁶ Mitchell G. Reddish, ed., *Apocalyptic Literature: A Reader* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995), 20.

urgent expectation of a dawn of a new age.”⁵⁷ 1 Enoch certainly features apocalyptic eschatology in several selections of the various works which contribute to the corpus. Still, we can offer more precise evaluations of the literary forms in Enochic works than to describe the works simply as ‘apocalyptic’ or to note that the literature contains apocalyptic eschatology.

The matter leads us to a discussion of genre. To what extent does 1 Enoch 17–19 correspond to the aforementioned definition of apocalypse, the genre? The definition proposes that within a narrative framework a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient. Indeed, 1 Enoch 17–19 reflects these features: the literary unit occurs as part of a narrative context, and in the three chapters information about the cosmos is revealed to the seer. Further, Enoch is accompanied on his journeys by angels who are mediators of revelatory knowledge. These divine beings frequently identify sites and explicate their significance.

Eschatological salvation is also an essential aspect of the definition of ‘apocalypse’ put forth by Collins and the Apocalypse Group of the Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project. In addition to salvation, eschatological crisis, judgment and destruction are elements of the paradigm in its most comprehensive form as well.⁵⁸ How might we define eschatology in this literature, and is 1 Enoch 17–19 oriented in its revelation to a future time?

For the purposes of this study, I understand eschatology (literally ‘study of the last things’) as “a form of radical orientation to the future, which may involve a sort of social and/or cosmic arrangement fundamentally different from that which currently exists.”⁵⁹ 1 Enoch 17–19, the subject of this monograph, as well as the Book of the Watchers, does not suggest, in my opinion, a cataclysmic end to the world or to human history.⁶⁰ The booklet envisions, rather, the end of a world corrupted by the wicked and impious (principally the fallen angels and their offspring) and the beginning of God’s reign on earth (see especially 1 Enoch 1, 5, 10, 25). This transfor-

⁵⁷ *Open Heaven*, 26.

⁵⁸ See Collins, ‘Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,’ 7.

⁵⁹ David L. Petersen, ‘Eschatology, Old Testament,’ *ABD*, 576.

⁶⁰ Cf. also Collins, ‘Apocalyptic Eschatology as Transcendence of Death,’ *CBQ* 36 (1974): 21–43; esp. 26.

mation of the old order and forward-looking nature constitute the eschatology of the Book of the Watchers.⁶¹

The transition from one period to the next occurs with God's return and a day of judgment. The chapters under consideration for this study, 1 Enoch 17–19, and its parallel traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25, are intensely focused on the end of the old, imperfect order that accompanies the transition. One may observe these chapters' eschatological perspective by the focus on infernal places of punishment (1 Enoch 18:11 || 21:7; 18:14–16 || 21:4–6) and sites connected with judgment (1 Enoch 18:8 || 24:3, 25:3; 19:1–2). We observe, therefore, that the eschatological content of 1 Enoch 17–19 also conforms to the genre expectation for apocalypses.

Lastly, to what extent does 1 Enoch 17–19 present a spatially transcendent reality (or supernatural world) required by the proposed paradigm of apocalypse? As mentioned in the Preface, the sites Enoch views in 1 Enoch 17–19 are to be found primarily at the extremities of the earth. Further, since the phenomena described in 1 Enoch 17–19 are inaccessible to other mortals (see 1 Enoch 19:3), they may be considered otherworldly, supernatural, or spatially transcendent. Since 1 Enoch 17–19 demonstrates the expected features with regard to mediation, eschatology, temporality and spatiality, the text fits the Apocalypse Group's definition. In fact, the Book of the Watchers, with 1 Enoch 17–36 as its "apocalyptic core," is included in the Group's study as a Jewish apocalypse.⁶² The Apocalypse Group further qualifies the Book of the Watchers as a Type II apocalypse—that is, an apocalypse which consists of an "otherworldly journey with cosmic and/or political eschatology."⁶³ This secondary classification seems especially à propos for the unit 1 Enoch 17–19.

Once the genre of a text is identified, we should have insight into the expectations an ancient reader would have brought to the work. Further, one ought to be able to compare the work (in this case, 1 Enoch 17–19) with other contemporary texts of the same genre (here, the apocalypse) to see the way in which the text follows or departs

⁶¹ Inasmuch as the great day of judgment described by the Book of the Watchers concerns the fate of individuals, one might argue that personal eschatology is a concern of this work as well. Cf. also 1 Enoch 22.

⁶² Collins, 'The Jewish Apocalypses,' in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, 21–59; esp. 38.

⁶³ Collins, 'The Jewish Apocalypses,' 37.

from the established genre. The only difficulty is that the Book of the Watchers is considered "quite probably the oldest of all the Jewish apocalypses."⁶⁴ If we are dealing with possibly one of the first Jewish apocalypses, to what can we compare the literary form of the Book of the Watchers (or more specifically, 1 Enoch 17–19) in order to understand why and how the pseudepigraphist employed the genre?⁶⁵ Is it possible that this literary form, in fact, originated with this author or within his community? The fruits of the analysis of genre, namely reader expectation and comparative data, are less forthcoming when one is dealing with new kinds of literature.⁶⁶

In light of this dilemma, one might search for other genres or literary forms that existed prior to the text of 1 Enoch 17–19. Nickelsburg notes that sub-units of the Book of the Watchers, while ultimately serving the macrostructure of testament, also employ various genres attested in Israelite and non-Israelite literature.⁶⁷ The Book of the Watchers includes, Nickelsburg observes, the literary forms of rewritten biblical narrative⁶⁸ (1 Enoch 6–11), prophetic call narrative (1 Enoch 14:8–16:4), prophetic oracle of judgment (1 Enoch 1–5), dream visions (1 Enoch 13:7–8; 14:1–2) and for the section under consideration, cosmic journeys (1 Enoch 17–19, 21–36).⁶⁹ Inasmuch as cosmic or otherworldly journeys facilitate revelation of the nature of the future, the secrets of the universe, and the structure of the cosmos,

⁶⁴ Collins, 'The Jewish Apocalypses,' 37.

⁶⁵ Hans Dieter Betz calls attention to the *mythos*, a genre he observes that has not been analyzed adequately, as having an affinity with apocalypticism. Betz discusses especially the function and purpose of the *mythos*, which especially engages the mythology of the underworld, but other than noting its relationship to philosophical dialogues and oracles, does not elaborate much on the specific features of the genre. See his 'The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius,' in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979* (ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), 577–98. His comments are intriguing, however, in light of the possible connection between the Greek cultic practice *katabasis* (descending to an underground crypt to learn something about the future or afterlife) and the dream incubation described in 1 Enoch 13.

⁶⁶ Such is the case with regard to the study of the gospels, which are said to have few generic parallels at the time of the early church. See Richard N. Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism* (2d ed.; Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 76.

⁶⁷ 1 Enoch, 28–29.

⁶⁸ Nickelsburg (1 Enoch, 29) defines rewritten biblical narrative as "a form of biblical exposition that interprets a narrative by retelling it in an elaborated form" with the purpose of expounding "sacred tradition so that it speaks to contemporary times and issues."

⁶⁹ 1 Enoch, 29–32.

this designation is appropriate for the literary unit of 1 Enoch 17–19. Yet, in terms of contemporaneous literary forms, Nickelsburg suggests that the *nekyia* offers the closest analogy to the otherworldly journey of 1 Enoch 17–19.⁷⁰

A term which originally referred to a ritual that conjured up spirits of the deceased, *nekyia* (νέκυια) came to be used for the Hellenistic genre featuring accounts of journeys to the land of the dead. Albrecht Dieterich's research on the Apocalypse of Peter as a Christianized *nekyia* originally contributed to the study of 1 Enoch 17–19. Although Dieterich's thesis primarily concerns the Apocalypse of Peter, which he maintains is related to Orphic-Pythagorean *nekyiai*, his research has proven of interest to Enochic scholars because of the extent to which Dieterich explores the traditions of the realm of dead and theme of punishment which figure so prominently in 1 Enoch 17–36.⁷¹

Glasson, building upon Dieterich's research on *nekyiai*, further maintains that the journey of 1 Enoch 17–36 is related generically to Greco-Roman literature.⁷² Glasson describes 1 Enoch 17–36 as a Jewish *nekyia*,⁷³ similar in form to other accounts such as Homer's *Odyssey*, Book 11 or Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 6, in which heroes journey to the underworld and then return. Glasson, unfortunately, does not provide extensive parallels: he looks foremost to Pythagorean and Orphic traditions, for which the evidence from antiquity is scant.⁷⁴ For the most part, there exist only descriptions of Pythagorean and Orphic traditions from antiquity rather than actual Orphic texts. In fact, the lack of texts identifiable as Orphic leads Himmelfarb to a strong critique of Dieterich's original hypothesis about Orphic-Pythagorean *nekyiai*.⁷⁵

Still, in addition to Glasson, both Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude that 1 Enoch 17–19 is most like the *nekyia* with regard to

⁷⁰ 1 Enoch, 31. Nickelsburg (1 Enoch, 279–80) does discuss other models or prototypes for Enoch's journeys but does not speak further of them as literary forms. These prototypical journeys will be explored in Section 3.

⁷¹ See, for example, VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 136, n. 94 and 137–38, n. 100; Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 8–26 and Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 54–55; 66, n. 26. Dieterich also makes several interesting observations about Hellenism and 1 Enoch in his discussion of Jewish apocalyptic literature. See his *Nekyia*, 217–21.

⁷² *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 8–26.

⁷³ *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 8–11.

⁷⁴ *Tours of Hell*, 41–45.

⁷⁵ *Tours of Hell*, 41–67.

the literary form.⁷⁶ As observed earlier, many of the places to which Enoch is taken in these chapters concern the realm of the dead or places of punishment. While the history of the *nekyia* and an assessment of this type of journey as a model for 1 Enoch 17–19 are considered more thoroughly in Section 3, let me state preliminarily that 1 Enoch 17–19 may also be regarded as a *nekyia*. If this Greek form were adopted by the pseudepigraphist, the content was certainly adapted to fit differing religious sensibilities. For example, 1 Enoch 17–19 is distinguished from other contemporary *nekyiai* by the nature of the afterlife envisaged in the Jewish apocalypse and by its view of the cosmos; the latter especially seems rather archaic compared to the cosmology proposed in the philosophically-oriented works of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Since the *nekyiai* often involve revelation by mediating figures of some sort, that occur in supernatural settings and concern personal eschatology and the nature of the afterlife, one might also explore this literary form as related to apocalypses according to the definition earlier proposed.⁷⁷ The *nekyiai* also share with certain apocalypses (those designated Type II by the Apocalypse Group) the conceit of otherworldly journeys by means of which they may include graphic descriptions of the structure of the world that would otherwise be unknown to human beings. In fact, Harold Attridge, who includes several *nekyiai* in his review of Greek and Latin apocalypses, proposes that “there may have been some historical connection between Greek and Latin literary traditions and the later Jewish apocalypses.”⁷⁸ While the development of the genre apocalypse and its genetic relationship to the *nekyia* are beyond the scope of this monograph, suffice it to say that both are apt designations for the unit 1 Enoch 17–19.

⁷⁶ Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 8–26; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 54–55; 66, n. 26; 1 Enoch, 31, 280. VanderKam suggests that the Greek *nekyia* is “a more precise literary or traditional model” for 1 Enoch than Near Eastern diplomatic practices, a comparison made by Newsom (‘The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmogony and Judgment’) though he tempers Glasson’s claim that the entire Book of the Watchers is a Jewish *nekyia*. *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 136, n. 94, 137–38, n. 100.

⁷⁷ Attridge provides a brief list of features common to various *nekyiai* (though he does not label them as such) and the genre apocalypse. See his ‘Greek and Latin Apocalypses,’ in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, 159–86; esp. 166–67.

⁷⁸ ‘Greek and Latin Apocalypses,’ 159–60. Bauckham approaches the topic from another angle: he describes the Greek accounts of descents to Hades as revelatory literature—that is, as apocalypses—providing ancient audiences with revelations concerning the journey the deceased take and the fate of dead. See *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup 93; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 28, 32.

SECTION TWO
DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF
1 ENOCH 17–19

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SECTION TWO
DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF
1 ENOCH 17–19

OVERVIEW OF SECTION 2

This section offers a close analysis of the geography in 1 Enoch 17–19 and its parallel traditions. The purpose of the section is largely descriptive—that is, the task is to explore initially the sites and cosmology described in 1 Enoch 17–19. For example, what is the nature of the site? What does the author have in mind by ‘river of fire’ or ‘chasm of fiery pillars’? In order to understand something about the geography, one must first understand the sites that occupy the world of 1 Enoch 17–19.

Before taking up the matter of the sites described though, the text of 1 Enoch 17–19 must be clarified. Since the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1 Enoch 17–19 are not all identical, it is important for one undertaking a study of the geography to decide upon and identify the base text he or she will use. Thus, I provide a translation of these chapters that is for the most part based on the Greek text; Gr^{Pan}, as observed below, has the advantage of being the most complete and oldest version of 1 Enoch 17–19. At times, however, I do prefer the Aramaic or Ethiopic reading; therefore, I include a synopsis of the text as well. Within the explication of the text which follows the translation, I examine the variants that pertain to geography and evaluate the case for each.

After clarifying the various sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19, a next step is to locate or place the sites from the tour on a hypothetical map. Where are the sites located relative to one another? To which of the four quadrants of the world—north, west, south or east—does a given site belong? First, we examine information that the text provides about the geography. Occasionally 1 Enoch 17–19 provides explicit indications: “And I went towards the south . . .” (Eth. 1 Enoch 18:6). It is more common, however, to encounter only faint clues about the location of sites. In some instances, the location of sites may be illumined by geographical traditions that are external to 1 Enoch 17–19, and external even to the Enochic corpus.

While I explore these traditions selectively in section two, I offer a systematic treatment of comparable geographical traditions from biblical texts, the ancient Near Eastern and Greek sources in section three. Ultimately, locating the sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 allows us to clarify the course of Enoch’s journey.

Following the translation, section two is divided into four chapters. The first chapter explores the geography of 1 Enoch 17:1–3. There a mountain reaching to the heavens dominates the scenery of this region. The second chapter discusses the geography and sites of 1 Enoch 17:4–8. This unit describes a place of great darkness that is surrounded by bodies of water. In the third chapter, we look at the various roles winds play in the cosmos in 1 Enoch 18:1–5. We also consider the seven fascinating mountains made of precious gems of 1 Enoch 18:6–8, and the duplicate tradition in 1 Enoch 24. Finally, in the fourth chapter of this section, we examine a fiery chasm and desert beyond the boundaries of heaven and earth described in 1 Enoch 18:9–19:3. There exist parallel traditions for these sites also in 1 Enoch 21, which aid in our quest to understand the geography of this section.

TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

17:1: And taking me, they led me away to a certain place, where those who are there become like burning fire, and when they wish, they appear as though human.

17:2: And they led me away to a dark place and to a mountain whose summit reached into the heavens.

17:3: And I saw a place of luminaries and the storehouses of stars and thunders and into the depths of the air where (there is) a bow of fire and arrows and their quivers and all the lightnings.

17:4: And they led me away to as far as the living waters and to the western fire that grants all the settings of the sun.

17:5: And we came to a river of fire in which the fire runs down like water and flows out into the great sea of (the) west.

17:6: I saw the great rivers and came as far as the great river and as far as the great darkness and I went to where no flesh walks.

17:7: I saw the wintry winds of darkness and the place where all waters pour out from the abyss.

17:8: I saw the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the abyss.

18:1: I saw the storehouses of all the winds; I saw that with them he arranged all that is created and the foundation of the earth.

18:2: I saw the cornerstone of the earth. I saw four winds supporting the earth and the firmament of heaven.

18:3: And I saw how the winds reach to the height of heaven and stand between earth and heaven; they are the pillars of heaven.

18:4: And I saw the winds turning the heavens and moving the orb of the sun and all the stars.

18:5: I saw the winds on the earth supporting clouds. I saw the ends of the earth, the support of the heaven above.

18:6: I passed in the direction of the south and it burns day and night where the seven mountains of precious stones are placed, three to the east and three to the south.

18:7: And those to the east (are) of colored stone, one of pearl and one of jasper. Those to the south of fiery (red) stone.

18:8: The middle one among them reached to the sky like the throne of God, of stibium and the top of the throne (was) of lapis lazuli.

18:9: and a burning fire, I saw and beyond these mountains

18:10: is a place, the end of the great earth. There the heavens are completed.

18:11: And I saw a great chasm among pillars of heavenly fire and I saw in it (among these) pillars of fire falling and they had no measure either in depth or height.

19:1: And Uriel said to me, "Here in this place the angels who mixed with the women will stand and their spirits, becoming many forms, hurt men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons until the great judgment in which they will be judged until brought to completion."¹

19:2: And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens."

¹ In my translation I follow the emendation proposed by Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 276, 287) who assigns 19:1–2 to the middle of chapter 18. I agree with Nickelsburg's suggestion that the verses have been displaced. See below.

18:12: And beyond this chasm, I saw a place where (there was) neither firmament of heaven above nor below it well founded earth, neither water was under it nor bird, but a deserted (empty) and fearful place.

18:13: There I saw seven stars like great burning mountains concerning which, when I asked,

18:14: the angel said, “This place is the end of heaven and earth. This has become a prison for the stars and for the powers of heaven.

18:15: And the stars rolling in the fire, these are the ones who transgressed the commands of the Lord in the beginning of their rising—for the place outside of heaven is empty—because they did not come out in their appointed time.

18:16: And he grew angry with them and bound them until the appointed time of completion of their sin, for ten thousand years.”

19:3: And I Enoch alone saw the sights, the ends of all (things) and no one has seen what I have seen.

Table 2. Synopsis of the Aramaic, Greek and Ge‘ez Versions of
1 Enoch 17–19

	Aramaic	Greek	Ethiopic
1 En 17–19	4QEn ^c (= 18:8–12) 4QEn ^c (= 18:15?)	Codex Panopolitanus	Ethiopic Group I ms
17:1		καὶ παραλαβόντες με εἷς τινα τόπον ἀπήγαγον ἐν ᾧ οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ γίνονται ὡς πῦρ φλέγον καὶ ὅταν θέλωσιν φαίνονται ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωποι	wa-naš’uni westa ‘ahadu makān xaba ’ella hallawu heyya kama ’essāt za-yenadded wa-soba yefaqqudu yāstare’u kama sab’
17:2		καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με εἰς ζοφώδη τόπον καὶ εἰς ὄρος οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν	wa-wasaduni westa makān za-‘awwelo wa- westa dabr za-katamā re’su yebaṣṣeh’ ’eska samāy

Table 2 (*cont.*)

	Aramaic	Greek	Ethiopic
17:3		καὶ ἴδον τόπον τῶν φωστήρων καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν βροντῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθὴ ὅπου τόξον πυρὸς καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ αἱ θῆκαι αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ ἀστρωπαὶ πᾶσαι	wa-re'iku makānāta berhānāt wa-nag ^w adg ^w ād westa 'aṣnāf xaba 'emāqā xaba qašta 'essāt wa-ḥaṣṣ wa-meg ^w enpātihomu wa-sayfa 'essāt wa-mabāreqt k ^w ellu
17:4		καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με μέχρι ὕδάτων ζώντων καὶ μέχρι πυρὸς δύσεως ὃ ἐστὶν καὶ παρέχον πάσας τὰς δύσεις τοῦ ἡλίου	wa-naš'uni 'eska māyāt ḥeyāwān za-yetnāgar wa-'eska 'essāta 'arab za-we'etu ye'exxez k ^w ello 'erbata daḥay
17:5		καὶ ἦλθομεν μέχρι ποταμοῦ πυρὸς ἐν ᾧ κατατρέχει τὸ πῦρ ὥς ῥέει καὶ ῥέει εἰς θάλασσαν μεγάλην δύσεως	wa-mašā'ku 'eska falaga 'essāt za-yewehḥez 'essātu kama māy wa- yetka'awe westa bāḥr 'abiy mangala 'arab
17:6		ἴδον τοὺς μεγάλους ποταμούς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου σκότους κατήνησα, καὶ ἀπῆλθον ὅπου πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ περιπατεῖ	wa-re'iku 'abayta 'aflāga wa-'eska 'abiy ṣelmat baṣāḥku wa-ḥorku xaba k ^w ellu šegā (?i)-yānsosu
17:7		ἴδον τοὺς ἀνέμους τῶν γνῶφων τοὺς χειμερινούς καὶ τὴν ἔκχυσιν τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων	wa-re'iku 'adbāra qobarat 'ella keramt wa-mek'awa māy za-k ^w ellu qalāy
17:8		ἴδον τὸ στόμα τῆς γῆς πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀβύσσου	wa-re'iku 'afuhoma la-k ^w ellomu 'aflāga medr wa-'afuhā la-qalāy
18:1		ἴδον τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν ἀνέμων πάντων ἴδον ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκόσμησεν πάσας τὰς κτίσεις καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς γῆς	wa-re'iku mazāgeḥta k ^w ellu nafāsāt wa-re'iku kama bomu 'asargawa k ^w ello feṭrata wa- masarratātiḥā la-medr
18:2		καὶ τὸν λίθον ἴδον τῆς γωνίας τῆς γῆς ἴδον τοὺς	wa-re'iku 'ebna mā'zanta medr wa-re'iku 'arbā'ta

Table 2 (*cont.*)

	Aramaic	Greek	Ethiopic
18:3		τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἱστᾶσιν μετὰ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ	naḫāsāta ʾella yeṣawwerewwā la-medr wa-šenʿa samāy wa-reʾiku kama naḫāsāt yerabbewewwā la-leʿelnā samāy wa-ʾemuntu yeqawwemu māʾkala samāy wa-medr ʾemuntu weʾetomu ʾaʾmāda samāy
18:4		ἴδον ἀνέμους τῶν οὐρανῶν στρέφοντας καὶ διανεύοντας τὸν τροχὸν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας	reʾiku naḫāsāta ʾella yemayyetewwā la-samāy wa-ʾella yāʾarrebū la-kebaba dahay wa-kʷello kawākebta
18:5		ἴδον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνέμους βαστάζοντας ἐν νεφέλῃ ἴδον πέρατα τῆς γῆς, τὸ στήριγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω	reʾiku za-diba medr naḫāsāta za-yeṣawwer ba-dammanāt reʾiku fenāwa malāʾekt reʾiku westa šenfa medr šenʿa za-samāy malʿelta
18:6		Παρήλθον καὶ ἴδον τόπον καίόμενον νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὅπου τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ λίθων πολυτελῶν εἰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τρεῖς εἰς νότον βάλλοντας	wa-ḫalafku mangala ʾazēb wa-reʾiku makāna za-yenadded maʾalta wa-lēlita xaba sabʾātu ʾadbār za-ʾem-ʾebn kebur šalastu-mangala šebāḥ wa-šalastu- mangala ʾazēb
18:7		καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ λίθου χρώματος τὸ δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ λίθου μαργαρίτου καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ λίθου ταθέν τὸ δὲ κατὰ νότον ἀπὸ λίθου πυρροῦ	wa-za-mangala šebāḥ-sa za-ʾem-ʾebna ḥebr wa-ʾaḫadu-sa ʾem-ʾebna bāḥray wa-ʾahadu-ni ʾem-ʾebna fawwes wa-za-mangala ʾazēb ʾem-ʾebn qayyih
18:8	...] 𐩦 𐩣𐩪𐩣 [	τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτῶν ἦν εἰς οὐρανόν ὥσπερ θρόνος θεοῦ ἀπὸ λίθου φουκά καὶ ἡ κορυφή τοῦ θρόνου ἀπὸ λίθου σαπφείρου	wa-māʾkalāy-sa yegʷaddeʾ ʾeska samāy kama manbaru la-ʾegziʾabḥēr za-ʾem-ʾebna pēka wa-demāḥu la-manbaru ʾem-ʾebna sanpēr

Table 2 (*cont.*)

	Aramaic	Greek	Ethiopic
18:9		καὶ πῦρ καιόμενον ἴδον καπέκεινα τῶν ὀρέων τούτων	wa-ʾessāta za-yenadded reʾiku wa-za-hallo westa kʷellu ʾadbār
18:10	...]תבא ויהי [	τόπος ἐστὶν πέρας τῆς μεγάλης γῆς ἐκεῖ συντελεσθήσονται οἱ οὐρανοί	wa-reʾiku heyya makān māʾdotu la-ʾabiy medr heyya yetgābeʾu samāyāt
18:11	...]בה עמוד [	καὶ ἴδον χάσμα μέγα ἐν τοῖς στύλοις τοῦ πυρὸς καταβαίνοντας καὶ οὐκ ἦν μέτρον οὔτε εἰς βάθος οὔτε εἰς ὕψος	wa-reʾiku neqʾata ʿemuqa ba-ʾaʿmādihi la-ʾessāta samāy wa-reʾiku ba- westētumu ʾaʿmāda ʾessāt za-yewarred wa-ʾalbomu xʷalqʷa wa-ʾi-mangala malʾelt wa-ʾi-mangala ʿemaq
18:12	...]מן דן [	καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χάσματος τούτου ἴδον τόπον ὅπου οὐδὲ στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω οὔτε γῆ ἢ τεθεμελιωμένη ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ, οὔτε ὔδωρ ἦν ὑπὸ αὐτῷ οὔτε πετεινόν ἀλλὰ τόπος ἦν ἔρημος καὶ φοβερός	wa-diba weʾetu neqʾat reʾiku makāna wa-ʾi-ʿšenʾa samāy lāʾlēhu wa-ʾi- mašarrata medr ba-tāhtēhu wa-ʾi-māya ʾalbo ba-lāʾlēhu wa-ʾi-ʾaʿwāfa ʾallā makāna badew weʾetu wa-gerum
18:13		ἐκεῖ ἴδον ἐπὶ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα περὶ ὧν πυνθανομένῳ μοι	reʾiku ba-heyya sabʾata kawākebta kama ʿabayt ʾadbār za-yenadded wa- kama manfas za- yessēʾalani
18:14		εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος Οὗτός ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τὸ τέλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς δεσποτήριον τοῦτο ἐγένετο τοῖς ἄστροις καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	yebē malʾak ze-weʾetu makāna tafšāmētu la- samāy wa-la-medr bēta moqeḥ konomu zentu la-kawākebt wa-la-xāyla samāy
18:15	...]תהי [	καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ κυλιόμενοι ἐν τῷ πυρί οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παρα- βάντες πρόσταγμα κυρίου ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀνατολῆς	wa-kawākebt ʾella yākʷarakkʷeru diba ʾessāt ʾellu weʾetomu ʾella xālafu teʾzāza ʾegziʾabhēr ʾem-qedma

Table 2 (*cont.*)

	Aramaic	Greek	Ethiopic
		αὐτῶν – ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστίν – ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆλθαν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν	ṣebāḥomu 'esma 'i-maṣ'u ba-gizēhomu
18:16		καὶ ὀργίσθη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοὺς μέχρι καιροῦ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν μυρίων	wa-tam'e'omu wa-'asaromu 'eska gizē taṣēmēta xāṭi'atomu ba- 'āmata meṣṭir
19:1		καὶ εἶπέν μοι Οὐριήλ 'Ενθάδε οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν στήνονται, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν πολύμορφα γινόμενα λυμαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πλανήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπιθύειν τοῖς δαιμονίοις μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως ἐν ᾗ κριθήσονται εἰς ἀποτελείωσιν	wa-yebēlani 'ure'el ba-zeyya tadammiromu malā'ekt mesla 'anest yeqawwemu wa- manāfestihoma bezuxa rā'ya kawinomu 'ark'asewwomu la-sab' wa-yāseḥḥetewwomu kama yeṣu'u la-'agānent kama 'amālekt 'eska 'elata 'abiy k'ennānē ba-za yetk'ēnanu 'eska yetfēṣamu
19:2		καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάτων ἀγγέλων εἰς σειρήνας γενήσονται	wa-'anestiyāhomu-ni la-seḥutān malā'ekt kama salāmāwiyāt yekawwenu
19:3		καὶ γὰρ Ἐνὼχ ἵδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος, τὰ πέρατα πάντων καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἐγὼ ἵδον	wa-'ana hēnok re'iku 'ar'ayā bāḥtūtu-ya 'aṣnāfa k'ellu wa-'albo za-yerē'i kama 'ana re'iku

CHAPTER ONE

DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 17:1–3: THE MOUNTAIN OF GOD AND PLACE OF THE LUMINARIES

A. 1 ENOCH 17:1

The first essential matter is determining the location from which Enoch commences his travels. Neither the starting point nor the initial destination, however, is clearly described. The information provided by 17:1 is vague at best: Enoch is led from an unnamed locale, to a certain place (εἰς τινα τόπον) for which no geographical coordinates are given. The most information provided about the destination concerns its exotic inhabitants, creatures of burning fire who at will appear as humans. The text of 1 Enoch 17:1 reads as follows: “And taking me, they led me away to a certain place, where those who are there become like burning fire, and when they wish, they appear as though human.”

Many commentators do not attempt to identify with precision the locale in 17:1. Black, for example, writes only: “This chapter begins a new section of the book from 17–36, dealing with the extra-terrestrial journeys of Enoch.”¹ VanderKam refers to Enoch’s vertical ascent in chapter 14 in contrast to a ‘horizontal’ tour of chapter 18.² Milik too distinguishes Enoch’s initial descent (from paradise) and ascent to the divine palace from chapters 17–36’s horizontal perspective.³ Collins maintains that it is unclear if the tour occurs in heaven, but that, in part at least, the tour appears to be at the “outer limits of creation,” inaccessible to humans.⁴ Rowland also describes Enoch’s journeys as taking place generally in parts unavailable

¹ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 155.

² *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 135.

³ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁴ ‘Apocalyptic Technique in the Book of the Watchers,’ 103; cf. also *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 42. Collins (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 44) differentiates chapters 17–36 from later Jewish apocalypses in which more orderly ascents occur through a series of stratified heavens.

to humans, but stresses especially that the tour embraces this world and the underworld.⁵

1. 'A Certain Place'

One might assume that the tour of 1 Enoch 17–19 begins from the heavens. The narrative up to chapter 17 places Enoch in the celestial abode of God (1 Enoch 14:8–16:4). The narrative changes abruptly in 17:1: Enoch is escorted to a place, presumably away from the heavenly temple of 1 Enoch 14–16. From the current position of the passage in the Book of the Watchers, Enoch departs for this voyage from within the heavens. Those that accompany Enoch in 17:1 could be the angels mentioned in 14:22–25.⁶ This reading is problematic, though, as the narrative does not offer an easy transition from Enoch's appearance in the divine chambers where he is given a rebuke to convey to the watchers (1 Enoch 14:1–16:4) to the start of his first tour (1 Enoch 17:1).

If 1 Enoch 17–19 had an existence independent of 1 Enoch 1–16 or 1 Enoch 14–16, then determining whence Enoch's journey begins is even more difficult. As Lods and Nickelsburg intimate (see above), chapter 17 could now be missing its introduction. Have chapters 17–19 in another incarnation been appended to the first half of the Book of the Watchers, in a process that displaced certain introductory verses? If these verses were lost in redaction, we can only hypothesize as to where Enoch originally begins his journey of chapters 17–19.

It is also possible that the introduction of the passage now known as chapter 17 may be found earlier in the Book of the Watchers. Dillmann thinks that 1 Enoch 17 continues in some respect the narrative of 1 Enoch 12:1–2, where Enoch has been taken up (to heaven or paradise?) and lives with the holy watchers.⁷ In Dillmann's view, the angels of 1 Enoch 12 and not the whirlwinds of 1 Enoch 14 transport the seer in 1 Enoch 17:1.⁸ If 1 Enoch 17:1 were at one

⁵ *Open Heaven*, 124.

⁶ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 281. So also Newsom, 'The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,' 322.

⁷ Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 35) agrees that Enoch begins his journey in chapter 12 from a celestial abode and reads Enoch's movement in chapters 12–16 as first a descent from paradise (1 Enoch 12) followed by an ascent to the celestial palace (1 Enoch 14).

⁸ *Das Buch Henoch*, 114.

time more closely connected to 12:1–2, then Enoch could be in the heavens or in a type of paradise at the start of his tours.

In order to assess Dillmann's theory that 1 Enoch 17:1 was initially bound in some way to 1 Enoch 12:2, it is necessary to qualify the relationship of 1 Enoch 12:1–2 to what follows. It is especially worthwhile to examine 1 Enoch 12:1–2 in light of chapters 13–16 since, in support of Dillmann's claim, spatial and temporal features distinguish the two respective sections. First, although 1 Enoch 12:1–2 depicts Enoch hidden either in paradise or in the heavens, 1 Enoch 13–16 presents Enoch initially on earth. There Enoch begins his mystical ascent from beside the familiar and accessible waters of Dan (1 Enoch 13:7), and is lifted up by winds to the heavens (1 Enoch 14:8). Second, chapters 14–16 recount a dream (1 Enoch 14:2 and 8), whereas 1 Enoch 12:1–2 and 1 Enoch 17–36 seem oriented toward a present reality.⁹ In contrast to the visionary experience of 1 Enoch 14–16, the context in 1 Enoch 12:1–2 suggests that Enoch resides with the angels in narrative time rather than in a dream. Similarly, Dillmann and Lods argue that the journeys in chapters 17–36 are depicted as perfectly real; Enoch tours the cosmos and requires a return to earth, such as occurs in 1 Enoch 81:5.¹⁰ With regard to time, Dillmann calls attention to the fact that although in chapters 37–71 Enoch views events destined for the future (such as the messianic judgment), activities of 1 Enoch 12:1–2 and 17–36 happen in the narrative's present. Enoch espies, for example, secret places that are already in existence in 1 Enoch 17–36.¹¹

It appears to me that chapters 6–19 have undergone considerable redaction (see above). The seams are visible especially at the end of chapter 16 and the beginning of chapter 17. What a redactor may have omitted is unknowable. Even if 17:1 were originally attached to 12:1–2 in some way, it would still appear that text is missing. Although this hypothetical reconstruction could offer the identity of Enoch's companions, it would lack clarity with regard to the passage's setting and the purpose of Enoch's travels. With this to consider, it is not imprudent to assume that in the process of redaction, the original beginning of chapter 17 has been lost.

⁹ Dillmann observes that chapter 14 occurs as a vision since no mortal can view God and live. See *Das Buch Henoch*, 114.

¹⁰ See respectively *Das Buch Henoch*, 114 and *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 152.

¹¹ *Das Buch Henoch*, 114.

Nonetheless the case could be made that Enoch begins his travels from a locale outside the inhabited world. When chapters 17–19 are read as part of the larger narrative of the Book of the Watchers, Enoch begins his journey through the cosmos from heaven. One might anticipate some sort of conduit by which one ascends to or descends from heaven. A mountain often served as the appropriate meeting point between heaven and earth in the ancient Near East.¹² Although no mountain is mentioned in 1 Enoch 16 and 1 Enoch 17:1, we will explore further the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2, which could indeed function as the site at which Enoch descends from heaven and commences his journey through the cosmos.

If 17:1 were once attached to 12:1–2, then Enoch was already hidden from humankind, and most likely in paradise (wherever its location, inaccessible to humans) or in the heavens (implied by Gen 5:24). In another scenario, an independently circulating 1 Enoch 17–19 may have presented Enoch as ‘taking off’ from earth, an event implicit in 1 Enoch 81 where Enoch is returned to his family for a limited time. In connection with 1 Enoch 17:1 Siegbert Uhlig calls attention to a tradition from *Vita et miracula Eustathii* in which Enoch is taken up in a whirlwind to heaven and there sees the secrets of angels.¹³ Such ‘transportation’ from the earth would not be unlikely given that a similar means of travel is evident in 14:8 where Enoch in his vision is lifted by the winds. The extant text is unable to confirm that reading, however, and does not provide other clues that Enoch begins the travel from earth. Further, the Book of the Watchers does not include any sort of homecoming for Enoch analogous to chapter 81; Enoch is never formally ‘returned’ to *terra firma* in 1 Enoch 17–36.

2. *Creatures Who Become As Burning Fire*

Although the origin of the journey is shrouded in mystery, one thing is known of Enoch’s destination in 1 Enoch 17:1. That ‘certain place’ to which Enoch is led is inhabited by creatures who become *like* (ὡς, *kama*) burning fire and can appear at times *like* (ὡσεί, *kama*) humans. The identity of the creatures could yield significant clues about Enoch’s whereabouts, whether in heaven, in the atmosphere

¹² Cf. Richard Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1972), 3.

¹³ *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit V; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1984), 546.

or at the ends of the earth. These enigmatic beings that become as $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu$ suggest the numinous or divinity. Brightness and fire are often attributes of angels especially of those who appear to humans (cf. Ps 104:4 and Dan 10:5). Various manifestations of fire also accompany theophanies in the Hebrew Bible, like the cloud of brightness with flashing fire in Ezek 1:4.¹⁴ In the Book of the Watchers fire is one of the prominent characteristics of the heavenly temple (1 Enoch 14:9, 17, 22) and of the cherubim within (1 Enoch 14:11).

In light of these examples, natural candidates for the fiery beings would be angels. Angels often appear with glowing features (cf. Dan 10:5–6) and in the form of humans in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Dan 10:16 and Tob 12:19).¹⁵ Lods hypothesizes that these shape-shifting beings are reminiscent of the spirits of angels who are able to assume many forms and lead humans astray in 1 Enoch 19:1.¹⁶ While neither fiery nor human forms are mentioned in 19:1, when the verse is read following 18:11 (see synopsis), it is plausible that an association between the pillars of heavenly fire (18:11) and the angels of 19:1 was intended by the author.¹⁷ In such case, it would not be a stretch to understand the fiery beings of 1 Enoch 17:1 as angels. Nickelsburg discourages this reading, however, arguing that the Book of the Watchers refers too often to angels in a straightforward manner to warrant such an evasive presentation here.¹⁸

Other candidates include cherubim, since fiery cherubim appear in 1 Enoch 14:11, or seraphim whose name may have some etymological connection to שרף, suggesting ‘ones who burn.’¹⁹ Grelot considers the fiery beings similar to the cherubim of Gen 3:24. That the cherubim of Gen 3:24 reside next to the garden of Eden is not inconsequential to Grelot, who understands Enoch to be en route to paradise in the Book of the Watchers.²⁰

¹⁴ Cf. the descriptions of the creatures of the merkavah in Ezek 1:13, 14. See also Exod 3:2; 19:18; 24:17; Num 9:15–16; Deut 1:33; 4:11, 12, 15, 33, 36; pillar of fire, Exod 13:21–22; 14:24; column of fire, Neh 9:12, 19.

¹⁵ In later rabbinic texts, angels appear in the form of fire. Cf., for example, *Pirqe R. El.* 4 and *Midr. Konen* 24 and 25.

¹⁶ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 153.

¹⁷ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 287.

¹⁸ *1 Enoch*, 281.

¹⁹ On the history and etymology of seraphim, see T. N. D. Mettinger, ‘Seraphim’ in *DDD*, 742–44. See also K. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism in the Old Testament* (Haddonfield, NJ: Haddonfield House, 1974) and M. Görg, ‘Die Funktion der Serafen bei Jesaja,’ *BN* 5 (1978): 28–39.

²⁰ ‘La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,’ 38.

Philo of Alexandria in *Planting* 12 and *Giants* 8 writes of diverse organisms, among which are creatures of fire that are fire-born (πυρὸς δὲ τὰ πυρίγονα).²¹ Philo's attestation of these beings could contribute to the profile of the creatures in 1 Enoch 17:1, except that Philo does not mention that they are able to become like humans. Philo's comment that the creatures are said especially to be found in Macedonia also makes 1 Enoch 17:1's creatures an unlikely match, since one would probably not expect to encounter the bizarre, shape-shifting creatures of 1 Enoch 17:1 in Macedonia. Perhaps Aristotle, like Philo, has knowledge of similar, earth-bound organisms since in *Hist. an.* 5.552 b 10 he describes creatures born in fire in Cyprian smelters, slightly larger than flies and with wings.²² Yet, Aristotle remarks in *Generation of Animals* 737 a 1 that fire generates no animal, and then contrarily writes that creatures born of fire exist on the moon (*Gen. an.* 761 b 20–22).²³

Given the exotic nature of the creatures in 1 Enoch 17:1 which appear *like* fire and *like* humans at will, it is unlikely the author refers to animals found in Macedonia or in a Cyprian smelter. Aristotle's claim that 'fire creatures' inhabit the moon is a more plausible match to 1 Enoch 17:1's fiery beings, especially in light of the fact that Enoch may be continuing his celestial voyage of chapters 14–16 and could encounter them among the heavens.

Greco-Roman mythology also knows of shape-shifting gods and goddesses. Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, for example, has the ability to change his form at will, appearing as a man, as various animals, as a tree, as water and even as a flame (Homer, *Od.* 4.315–462). Also the sea-nymph Thetis changes forms to elude the grasp of Peleus: she becomes a bird, tree and tigress (Ovid, *Metam.* 11.250–263). Inasmuch as the shape-shifting gods and goddesses assume many forms, and the myths suggest the deities have no special penchant for fire, it is not clear that these Greco-Roman traditions lie behind the image of the fiery creatures in 1 Enoch 17:1.

Fire is also associated with stars which were often transformed

²¹ Philo, *Giants* 8.449 (Vol. 2; F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL).

²² Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* 5. 552 b 10–11) states these creatures appear when copper ore is smelted in Cyprus, and ore is piled on furnaces. The animals jump and crawl through fire, but die when kept away from it. Aristotle then compares them to the salamander which is said to put out fires by crawling through them.

²³ Other contemporary traditions in Greece regarded the moon not only as inhabited, sometimes with fantastic creatures, but as the Isle of the Blest itself to which spirits of the dead look forward. See Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven: Yale, 1922), 93, 96–99.

into sentient, sidereal beings in the Second Temple period. Brightness is associated with stars, a status to which humans aspire for their afterlife in Dan 12:3, 4 Macc 17:4–5, and 4 Ezra 7:97. There is speculation that the stones of fire in Ezek 28:14, 16 are actually stars.²⁴ In Rev 8:10, a star blazing like a torch falls from the heavens upon various bodies of water.²⁵ In 1 Enoch 17–36 stars and meteorological phenomena are often associated with fire of some type: for example, fire describes lightning and the setting sun in 17:3–4. The stars punished in 18:13–15 are compared to burning mountains and are said to roll over fire. In 1 Enoch 21:3 seven stars of heaven are again described as great mountains burning in fire. Burning fire towards the west is the imagery used for the luminaries of the heavens in 1 Enoch 23:4.

At the same time stars were depicted as sentient beings in the Second Temple period. Bruce Malina describes stars, as well as other celestial phenomena like the sun and moon, as “nonhuman personages obedient to God and of service to God.”²⁶ Malina illustrates his point with Bar 3:34–35, a passage that describes the stars as participants in worship of the divine. Philo also depicts stars as living creatures endowed with mind and soul.²⁷ 1 Enoch 18:14–16 and Jude 13 preserve traditions, however, about disobedient stars that eventually are punished. These accounts bear witness to a tradition in Judaism that understood stars to be creatures with awareness and with will.

Stars also appear in Greco-Roman literature as divine souls or as fiery beings that are souls in the afterlife. Plato (i.e. *Phaedrus*), Aristophanes (*Peace*) and the Stoics especially understood stars as sidereal

²⁴ See Walther Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Chapters 25–48* [trans. James D. Martin; 2 vols.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983], 2:93), for example, who holds the stones of fire to be fellow inhabitants of the mountain; he thinks them to be creatures of light, stars or the originators of lightning flashes.

²⁵ David Aune (*Revelation, 6–16* [WBC; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998], 519–20) understands Rev 8:10 to be a doublet of Rev 8:8 which describes something like a burning mountain that is thrown into the sea. Aune notes also the seven stars compared to great burning mountains in 1 Enoch 18:13 and 21:3 and remarks that it makes sense to speak of stars like burning mountains cast into the sea, though this last part of the motif is not found in 1 Enoch. *Sib. Or.* 5.158–59 also refers to a star from heaven that burns the sea and Babylon.

²⁶ Bruce Malina, *On the Genre and Message of Revelation: Star Visions and Sky Journeys* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 15.

²⁷ Cf., for example, *Creation* 73.6; 144.3; *Giants*, 8; and *Planting*, 12.

beings connected to the afterlife.²⁸ The soul, in fact, was viewed among certain Greek philosophers as fiery in nature, much like the sun and moon.²⁹ The soul, according to Ionian philosophers, was created from a fiery principle, the divine ether, and as a part of the cosmos, it would return to this realm in death.³⁰ For instance, in 'Scipio's Dream' 16, Cicero has Africanus relate that the end to a good life is the road to the skies (*via in caelum*). This is where people, unburdened of their bodies, can join in the circle of light, the Milky Way (*Via Lactea*), brightest among the fires.

With regard to cherubim, seraphim, or sidereal beings, Nickelsburg's aforementioned objection is again valid. If the text wished to refer to cherubim or astral beings, why not name the fiery beings as such explicitly?³¹ References to all sorts of angels, to cherubim and to stars are frequent enough in the Book of the Watchers, that it makes little sense for the author in this instance to be oblique. Nickelsburg appears to be correct in concluding that the author either intended the passage to be cryptic or assumed that the fiery beings were familiar to his audience (as Philo and Aristotle may have assumed in their descriptions) and required no name.³² In any event, the identity of the fiery beings remains a mystery, though some class of angels would seem to make sense contextually, especially in light of a possible connection between the pillars of heavenly fire of 18:11 and the angels of 19:1.

A reasonable conclusion is, at the least, that the exotic, fiery creatures exist outside of the realm of the known world—that is, in the heavens, the atmosphere, or at the ends of the earth. Grelot intimates that Enoch is at the ends of the earth in 17:1, when he compares the fiery creatures in 1 Enoch 17:1 to the scorpion-people in the Epic of Gilgamesh.³³ In Tablet 9 Gilgamesh encounters scorpion-creatures as he makes his way to Utnapishtim who lives far away at the mouth of the rivers. The scorpion-beings guard the gate of Mount Mašû, which itself safeguards the rising and setting of the sun. Mount Mašû

²⁸ Cf. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 81, 93–95; Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (trans. Edwin L. Minar; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 360–62.

²⁹ Cf. Leucippus A28 and Democritus A 101–102. See also Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 361–63.

³⁰ Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 95; Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, 361–63.

³¹ See above.

³² *1 Enoch*, 281.

³³ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 57.

functions as a cosmic axis, ascending into the heavens, descending to the netherworld below and being the point at which the sun passes from east to west (see below). The scorpion beings evoke terror, perhaps to frighten mortals who attempt to cross the dark mountains in search of the mouth of the rivers.

It is not clear, however, that the fiery beings in 1 Enoch 17:1 guard anything, contrary to Milik who, seeking Babylonian parallels in the texts, implies that the beings of fire ‘watch over’ the region to which Enoch is taken.³⁴ Nor does 1 Enoch 17:1 suggest that the creatures are meant to inspire fear in Enoch. The purpose of the creatures in 1 Enoch 17:1 is not mentioned. Like the scorpion-men in the Epic of Gilgamesh, though, they appear as beings who dwell on the edge of a numinous zone. In Gilgamesh, the strange creatures presage the protagonist’s entry to Mount Mašū and highlight how extraordinary the path taken by Gilgamesh is. Similarly the fiery creatures relate how exceptional Enoch’s voyage is, hinting that the seer in 17:1 is in no ordinary place. That the Hebrew Bible and other ancient literature relate fire to theophanic experiences, descriptions of angels, and later to the soul’s nature in the afterlife, hints that these fiery beings are creatures with a special status. If the fiery beings are understood to be a type of angels, then the Book of the Watchers would most likely situate them in the heavens (cf. 1 Enoch 15:7, 10), a location also presumed by the larger narrative.

B. 1 ENOCH 17:2

The setting of 17:1 is illumined slightly by what follows in 1 Enoch 17:2. First Enoch is led to a ζοφώδη τόπον, ‘place of darkness’ or according to the Ethiopic, makān za-‘awwelo, ‘a place of storm,’ and then to a mountain with a peak that extends to the heavens. The enigmatic ‘place of darkness’ or ‘place of storm (clouds)’ and unnamed mountain prove most helpful for determining the locus of Enoch’s journey. The text of 1 Enoch 17:2 reads as follows: “And they led me away to a dark place (preferred; but stormy place, following Eth. not impossible [see below]) and to a mountain whose summit reached into the heavens.”

³⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

1. *The Dark Region or Place of Storm*

The expression ‘place of darkness’ can connote that Enoch is headed either to the place of darkness associated in biblical traditions and in Greek literature with the gloom of the netherworld (in the case of the latter, in the west) or to a place of darkness where the sun does not shine. Such a place would be reminiscent of an area designated by the Babylonian Mappa Mundi (see below), which is located in the north. If we read ‘place of storm (cloud),’ according to the Ethiopic version, the possibility exists that the locale is atmospheric, and conveys ‘north’ in a vertical sense. Nuancing the translation to ‘place of dark clouds,’ however, evokes theophanic or apocalyptic imagery to be encountered on this earth. All four possibilities merit consideration as they could suggest a visit to the western netherworld, to the north, in the heavens, or on earth.

a. *Place of Darkness in the West or Underground*

‘Darkness’ is used frequently as an epithet for the netherworld in the Hebrew Bible.³⁵ It appears, for example, as חשך and צלמות (LXX = σκότος and γνόφος) in Ps 88:12; Prov 20:20; Job 10:21–22 and 17:13. Job especially contains quite a few examples in which darkness, a metaphor for death, and light, a metaphor for life, are contrasted. Job 10:21–22a, for example, describes the land from which none return as a land of gloom and deep darkness, where light is like darkness.³⁶ ‘Darkness’ or ‘the place of darkness’ (ζοφώδη τόπος; it appears thus in 1 Enoch 17:2) is also associated with death and the underworld in Greek literature. While ζοφώδη simply means ‘darkness, dusky, gloomy,’ the related term, ζόφος or σκότος, is used as a synonym for the realm of the dead in early Greek literature. ζόφος conveys, for example, ‘gloom of the world below,’ and ‘nether darkness’ in *Od.* 11.57, 155; 20.356; *Il.* 15.191; 21.56 and in Aeschylus’s *Pers.* 839.³⁷ ζόφος, as ‘gloom’ or ‘darkness,’ designates subterranean

³⁵ Cf. Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (BibOr 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 95–98.

³⁶ MT: אפל בשרם אלך ולא אשוב אל-ארץ חשך וצלמות: ארץ עיפתה כמו אפל; LXX: πρὸ τοῦ με πορευθῆναι ὅθεν οὐκ ἀναστρέψω, εἰς γῆν σκοτεινὴν καὶ γνοφερὰν, εἰς γῆν σκότους αἰωνίου, οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν φέγγος οὐδὲ ὄραν ζωὴν βροτῶν. Cf. also Job 17:13 for meditations on darkness, Sheol and the Pit and Job 18 where light is denied the wicked who are thrust into darkness.

³⁷ In *Od.* 20.356, Ἑρεβος is located beneath (ὑπὸ) the darkness (ζόφος); in the *Il.* 15.191, Hades, Lord of the Dead, wins the murky darkness (ζόφος) as his region just as Zeus wins heaven.

Tartarus in Hesiod's *Theog.* 729 there under the misty Gloom (ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡερόεντι), the Titans are banished, at the ends of the earth. ζόφος was also apparently linked to the west,³⁸ and renders 'the Dark Quarter' or 'the west' in *Od.* 3.335; 9.26; 13.241 and *Il.* 12.240.

For Jews and early Christians σκότος ('darkness'; 'gloom') also was used to express 'chaos' (LXX Gen 1:2), 'non-existence' (*1 Clem.* 38:3), and a place of punishment (Philo, *Curses* 152; Wis 17:20; *Ps. Sol.* 14:9). The 'region of darkness' also occurs in the Hebrew Bible as a descriptive title for the netherworld. Certain later authors writing in Greek, such as Plutarch and Philo, use ζόφος in more allegorical ways.³⁹ Philo, for example, explains how the garden of Eden was planted toward the rising sun (ἀνατολάς) since reason does not 'set' but always rises and notes that just as the rising sun fills the gloom (ζόφος) of the atmosphere with light, so virtue rises in the soul, illumines its mist and disperses its deep darkness (πολὺν σκότον; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.46).

The New Testament epistles Jude and 2 Peter,⁴⁰ however, use ζόφος as a synonym for Hades. Both use ζόφος when recounting traditions familiar from the Book of the Watchers. Jude 6 recalls the story of the watchers, specifically the detail that the angels did not keep their assigned position but left their proper dwelling in heaven (cf. 1 Enoch 6:6; 12:4; 15:3–7; and 15:10). As a result, Jude 6 notes, the angels are kept under darkness (ὑπὸ ζόφον) until the day of judgment. Jude 13 also alludes to wandering stars, ἀστέρες πλανῆται, known from 1 Enoch 18:14–15 and 21:6, that are imprisoned in the eternal darkness. 2 Pet 2:4 refers to the watchers cast into Tartarus (1 Enoch 10:4–6; 10:12–14; 14:5; 19:1; 21:10) and committed to the deepest darkness, ζόφος.⁴¹

³⁸ Related words, ζεφυρίη ('west wind') and ζέφυρος ('westerly wind') also support the connection of ζόφος to the West.

³⁹ Cf., Plutarch, 'On the Signs of Socrates,' *Mor.* 7.591 f 3 and Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.46 and 3.171.

⁴⁰ The scholarly consensus today suggests that 2 Peter borrows from Jude. See J. Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1993), 30, 120–22 and Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC 50; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1983), 13–14; esp. 141–43. Both Jude and 2 Peter are said, however, to have their own rhetorical agendas influencing the style of the missives. One instance of this, according to Neyrey, (*2 Peter and Jude*, 132) is apparent in 2 Pet 2:4. There 2 Peter, appealing to a bicultural (Jewish and Greek) audience, purposefully uses 'Tartarus' for Hades. In this manner the biblical story of the angels resembles the myth of the fall of the Titans, cast into Tartarus as well. See also B. A. Pearson, 'A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at II Peter 2:4,' *GRBS* 10 (1969): 71–80.

⁴¹ See also 2 Pet 2:17.

One recalls that in Greek poetry ζῳφος not only represented the realm of the dead, but also indicated the west. The relationship of the realm of darkness, ζῳφος, to the west is clear: the sun sets in the west, hence, the west is void of light. Many cultures, especially in ancient Mediterranean environs and the Near East, understood the realm of the dead to be in the west, a place of darkness where the sun sets. In her study of 1 Enoch 22, Wacker surveys Egyptian, Ugaritic, Babylonian and Greek texts that all locate the realm of the dead in the west, relating the netherworld to the course of the sun. Wacker maintains that pre-exilic Israel would certainly have known such a trend so prevalent in its environs but that rigorous Yahwism suppressed the motif so intimately connected to cults of the sun.⁴² Nonetheless, 1 Enoch 17:4–8 preserves this tradition: 1 Enoch 17:4 (the journey ‘to the western fire that grants all the settings of the sun’) makes explicit that Enoch travels westward and the infernal rivers of 1 Enoch 17:5–6 establish that the tour then includes the realm of the dead (see below).⁴³

Returning to 1 Enoch 17:2, the reference to a mountain in the same verse may also hint that Enoch is in or near the realm of the dead.⁴⁴ 1 Enoch 22:1 features a mountain in the west that serves as a holding place for the dead. Likewise, mountains play prominent roles in the geography of the afterlife in Mediterranean, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian traditions.⁴⁵ Lods reads 1 Enoch 17:2 through this cipher: perhaps the reference to the dark region and high mountain intimates Sheol.⁴⁶ Another possibility, according to Lods, would

⁴² *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 151. See also Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. Ann E. Keep; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), 207, and Adolf Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (trans. A. S. Griffith; London: Archibald Constable, 1907), 87:

Every evening the Egyptian saw the sun sink in the west, to reappear at dawn in the east; during the night it must therefore have traversed an under-world, which was unapproachable for the living, as the abode of the dead. The sun sank in the west and sojourned there in a dark country which was only illuminated when he performed his nightly course and traveled through it. This conception early became popular, the realms of the dead were styled *the West*, and the dead were called *the dwellers in the west*.

⁴³ Grelot also observes that although the biblical texts do not speak of routes by which one travels to Sheol, 1 Enoch may preserve early ideas on the notion that were transmitted via oral traditions. ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 41.

⁴⁴ Cf. Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 53.

⁴⁵ Cf. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 151–60.

⁴⁶ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 153–54.

be that ζοφώδη τόπος signifies Sheol, whereas the high mountain is to be understood as paradise which is described as an elevated place in 1 Enoch 87:3.⁴⁷ Similarly, Ezek 28:13–14 describes the garden of God, Eden (understood as comparable to paradise?), as located on the mountain of God and Isa 14:13–15 places Sheol beneath (at the foot of perhaps?) Zaphon, God's mountain for assembly.

There are a few reasons, however, for not associating the 'dark place' of 1 Enoch 17:2 with the realm of the dead. First, while 1 Enoch 17:2 may refer to a 'region of darkness,' it does not use ζόφος, a term favored for Hades. It uses, rather, the expression ζοφώδη τόπον. Second, in light of the fact that the LXX employs σκότος (see below) and γνόφος as synonyms for 'death' or 'Hades', one observes that ζόφος is not the only word available for allusions to the nether-world (nor perhaps the word of choice) in prior biblical traditions. Third, and most critically, there are no obvious allusions to the realm of the dead in 1 Enoch 17:2 or in the verses which immediately precede and follow it. Since 1 Enoch 17:6 also features a region of 'great darkness' where no flesh goes (see below), a place in which one encounters the Pyriphlegethon and other infernal rivers, one discerns a more plausible location for the realm of the dead.

b. *Place of Darkness in the North*

Another interpretation of ζοφώδη τόπος, 'a dark place,' suggests that Enoch travels about in the north. The place, in the words of Milik, "must be the region of the Babylonian map of the world (from BM 92687 presumably) situated right in the north, 'where the sun cannot be seen'."⁴⁸ BM 92687, a late Babylonian tablet, features a sketch apparently of the earth's surface, although it is unclear whether the sketch is intended to convey a multi-dimensional image of the earth. Toward the top of the image, one of the five extant triangles extending from a 'disk' contains the following caption: "Great wall, 6 leagues in between where the sun is not seen."⁴⁹ The triangle is identified as a nagû, roughly translated as 'island.'⁵⁰ While the nagû appears

⁴⁷ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 154.

⁴⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

⁴⁹ Translation by Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 22.

⁵⁰ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 23. On the history of nagû, see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 30–32.

to radiate from the northeast of the outer circle of the *marratu*, when the map is correctly oriented on the basis of its depiction of the Euphrates, the nagû lies to the north. Horowitz notes that the 'great wall' could refer to a cosmic wall of some sort that separates the nagû from other regions or to a 'wall of mountains,'⁵¹ and offers two possible explanations for the statement that "the sun is not seen."

First, Horowitz suggests that the sun may not be seen in the northern nagû if it is a region of perpetual darkness.⁵² Similar 'regions of darkness' are found, Horowitz argues, in Epic of Gilgamesh 9 and in the literary traditions which concern Sargon of Akkad.⁵³ The Epic of Gilgamesh yields no explicit clues about the location of the dark region. After reaching Mount Mašu in Tablet 9, Gilgamesh travels along the 'road of the sun' on which he encounters dense darkness. Gilgamesh begins the journey into the twelve leagues of darkness at Mount Mašu which guards the rising and setting of the sun. With regard to Gilgamesh's travels, Horowitz can only suggest that a reference to the 'north wind' in Epic of Gilgamesh 9 v. 38 may indicate that the dark portion of the path of the sun is to the north.⁵⁴ Sargon of Akkad, on the other hand, is said in an omen apodosis to have reached a region of darkness in the east.⁵⁵ On the Babylonian Mappa Mundi, the region that lacks sunlight is located in the north. It is important to clarify, however, that the region 'where the sun is not seen' in the Babylonian Mappa Mundi has no relationship to the realm of the dead, which Horowitz stresses is always located under the earth in ancient Near Eastern traditions.⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 32.

⁵² *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 33.

⁵³ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 33. Horowitz (*Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 106) also calls attention to a region of darkness across the seas from the land of the Cimmerians in the *Od.* 11.13–22. The location of the Cimmerians is unclear, but demonstrates, according to Horowitz, that the tradition of regions of darkness was widespread in antiquity.

⁵⁴ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 100.

⁵⁵ See J. Glassner, 'Sargon, "Roi du Combat",' *RA* 79 (1986): 115–26, esp. 122–24.

⁵⁶ Personal communication, June 1999. Horowitz remarks that there are no traditions about the underworld being located in the north, or in any other direction other than underground. The portals or gates to the underworld, however, are situated in the west and east. See, for example, Inanna's Descent, where Inanna travels to gates of the underworld, presumably in the west. The gatekeeper is surprised that Inanna, who claimed to be traveling to the 'place of sunrise' where she would rise as the morning star, Venus, has instead come to the 'earth of no return,' to a

One finds that Aristotle also conceived of the north as a dark place. He suggests that after the sun sets, it makes its way east by traveling around the north; its course is not visible because of the elevation of the northern parts of the earth (*Mete.* 2.1.16).⁵⁷ A similar notion of sorts is presented in the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 77:3: "And the north (they call) North because in it all the bodies (lit. vessels) of the heavens hide and gather together and revolve, and proceed to the east of the heavens."⁵⁸

Horowitz offers a second potential explanation for the region where the sun is not seen in the Babylonian Mappa Mundi. The nagû, rather than merely an island radiating from the northeast corner of the continent, may correspond to a portion of the sky. Horowitz explains that the sun:

when viewed from the latitude of Mesopotamia, never passes through the northern portion of the sky. North of the tropic of cancer the Sun describes an arc in the southern sky throughout the entire year. Thus, some Babylonians might have believed that the Sun never reached the northern skies because of the 'Great Wall.'⁵⁹

If the inscription on BM 92687's northeastern nagû refers to the northern sky deprived of sun, perhaps previous renderings of nagû have neglected their relationship to the celestial world. Such an interpretation merits further study especially as one considers the role astronomy played in the geography of antiquity. The shift in focus away from the terrestrial to the celestial is attractive as we look forward to the phenomena Enoch encounters in 1 Enoch 17:3. Should Enoch be approaching or entering the northern portion of the sky, the meteorological phenomena like the lightning and thunder of 1 Enoch

path from which no traveler returns; personal communication, June 1999 and *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 354. But see Markham Geller, 'The Landscape of the "Netherworld"', in *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7-11 July 1997. Part III. Landscape in Ideology, Religion, Literature and Art* (ed. L. Milano, S. de Martino, F. M. Fales, G. B. Lanfranchi; History of the Ancient Near East III/3; Padova: Sargon, 2000), 41-49; esp. 41, 48-49, who, while agreeing that the realm of the dead was accessible from an east-west axis, also contends that Sumerian literature reflects a 'horizontal' cosmology, featuring a flat surface upon which the dead, as well as gods, humans, and demons, reside.

⁵⁷ Cf. Edward Herbert Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans from the Earliest Ages Till the Fall of the Roman Empire* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; New York: Dover, 1959), 34, n. 9.

⁵⁸ See Enastr^b 23 and Enastr^c I ii; translation from Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 289-90.

⁵⁹ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 33.

17:3 would be readily visible in a dimmer region. It is from this perspective that Nickelsburg understands 1 Enoch 17:2, as he translates ζοφώδη τόπος as 'dark place.'⁶⁰

c. *Making Sense of 'awwelo*

While the Greek of 1 Enoch 17:2 suggests 'a place of darkness,' the Ethiopic 'awwelo, 'storm' or 'dark cloud,' presents an interesting reading. Quite a few scholars accept the Ethiopic rendition and attempt to account for the discrepancy as an error in the Greek translation. Charles, for example, suggests that 'awwelo was the translation of γνοφώδη, not ζοφώδη, and that γνόφος is to be understood in the sense of a whirlwind or tempest as it is used in LXX Job 27:20.⁶¹

γνόφος also indicates 'gloom,' 'darkness,' and 'dusk' as well as 'storm clouds' (in the plural) in both classical and biblical literature.⁶² Knibb, aware that γνόφος is used for both 'storm' (i.e. in Job 9:17 and Job 27:20) and 'darkness' (i.e. in Joel 2:2 for אַפְלָה and 2 Chr 6:1 for עֲרַפֵּל) in the LXX, notes that 'awwelo carries both meanings as well. Knibb's suggestion allows both γνόφος and 'awwelo to refer to a 'place of darkness' as well as to a 'place of storms/whirlwinds/clouds.'⁶³ Black offers a unique solution: he argues that perhaps the translator of the original Aramaic into Greek mistakenly rendered עֲרַפֵּל as if it were אַפְלָה. He notes that עֲרַפְלָא ('dark and heavy clouds'; also 'thick darkness') was commonly used in Aramaic whereas the Hebrew אַפְלָה ('darkness, gloominess') does not occur in Aramaic.⁶⁴ Hence, Black translates the expression 'place of dark storm clouds.'⁶⁵ Still, it is clear that despite the skepticism concerning Gr^{Pan}'s ζοφώδη, the investigation of variants does not diminish the possibility that 'awwelo via γνόφος could still convey the sense of 'darkness' as opposed to 'storm.'

Yet, Charles, Black and Knibb's preferred translation, 'storm' for 'awwelo, merits exploration. What do dark storm clouds signify and

⁶⁰ 1 Enoch, 281.

⁶¹ *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 47.

⁶² See H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 354; also Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (ed. F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 163. For γνόφος as 'darkness', cf., for example, LXX Exod 10:22; Amos 5:20; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15; Prov 7:9; also *Sib. Or.* 5.378 and Heb 12:18.

⁶³ *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 103.

⁶⁴ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156.

⁶⁵ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 35.

where would they be located in biblical cosmology? The answer depends on whether the storm clouds the author has in mind are related to סופה or to ערפל.

d. *Place of Storm: Enoch in the Atmosphere*

Dillmann and Martin understand the text to be saying that Enoch was traveling to a 'place of storm' in 1 Enoch 17:2 and ask whether such a place would not be similar to the chamber of the whirlwind (סופה) in Job 37:9.⁶⁶ סופה, storm winds or whirlwind, is often described as an instrument of God's wrath and the means through which God acts.⁶⁷ Regarding possible locations for storm winds, Isa 21:1 depicts the whirlwind sweeping through the Negeb, in southern Israel. Job 37:9 apparently places the chamber (חדר) for the whirlwinds in the heavens, God's command post, according to Job 37, whence he issues lighting, thunder, snow, rain, and ice. The perception of storm clouds 'housed' among other cosmological phenomena is consistent with the text following 1 Enoch 17:2 in which Enoch observes a wide array of meteorological activity.

e. *Dark Clouds: Enoch on Earth?*

Black hypothesizes that ערפל may be the Aramaic original; unfortunately, the context of 1 Enoch 17 does not fit well with the nuances of the word. The ערפל, a dark, threatening cloud, occurs most frequently in the Hebrew Bible in connection with theophanies.⁶⁸ Scott notes that ערפל has the nuances of 'thundercloud' and 'lowering clouds obscuring the sky,' while also bearing a connection with the cloud which rests on Mount Sinai (cf. Exod 20:18).⁶⁹ The cloud accompanies God in his earthly appearances and is said to enwrap him in the heavens (cf. also Deut 4:11; 2 Sam 22:10; 1 Kgs 8:12;

⁶⁶ Respectively *Das Buch Henoch*, 115 and *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 46.

⁶⁷ Cf., for example, Prov 10:25; Job 21:18; Amos 1:14; and Nah 1:3. In light of biblical citations, R. B. Y. Scott ('Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the Old Testament,' *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 11–25; esp. 20, 24) presents סופה as a destructive storm-wind carrying dust and sand (known also as the 'Scirocco') deriving especially from the east or south. Cf. Isa 21:1; 66:15; Job 27:20; 37:9; and Hos 8:7. Scott also observes that סופה is synonymous with סערה associated with thunderstorms, violent rain and hail ('Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology,' 24). Cf. Ps 83:16 and Isa 29:6.

⁶⁸ Cf. Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World* (AnBib 39; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 100.

⁶⁹ See his 'Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology,' 25.

2 Chr 6:1; Ps 18:10; 97:2 and Job 22:13). According to the biblical texts, clouds could “both reveal and screen the presence of the God of heaven.”⁷⁰

ערפל, especially with the sense of ‘darkness,’ is related also to judgment and has apocalyptic-eschatological significance in later biblical works. Jer 13:16 describes the Lord’s coming judgment, the exile, as darkness (ערפל); Ezek 34:12 makes a similar allusion. ערפל as thick darkness is said to cover the earth and foreign peoples while the Lord’s glory is said to envelop simultaneously Israel (Isa 60:2). Further, in Zeph 1:15 ערפל accompanies the great day of the Lord, a day of wrath, anguish, devastation and gloom.⁷¹

According to Black’s translation of 1 Enoch 17:2, a mountain capped with dark storm clouds echoes the theophany of Exod 20:18. 1 Enoch 17 and Exodus 20 also share other clusters of motifs, such as fiery appearances and meteorological phenomena near the respective mountains. For example, in Exodus God descends upon the mountain in fire (Exod 19:18), and thunder and lightning are prominent during the theophany (Exod 19:16; 20:18). Yet, 1 Enoch 17 distinguishes itself from Exodus 19–20. Although meteorological phenomena are visible from the mountain in 1 Enoch 17:2, the shape-shifting, fire beings of 1 Enoch 17:1 are hardly comparable to God’s fiery descent in Exod 19:18. Furthermore, while the mountain with the magnificent summit and dark clouds may suggest an ideal location for a theophany, one similar to the setting of Mount Sinai, no theophany occurs in this section of 1 Enoch, nor is one intimated for this site in the future.⁷²

Likewise, ערפל as darkness which envelops the land either metaphorically in times of judgment or on the eschatological ‘Day of the Lord’ would not apply to 1 Enoch 17:2. If the author intended ‘dark clouds’ to be understood in 17:2, these clouds are limited to a single, clearly defined place, (ζοφώδη τόπον; *makān za-‘awwelo*) and not the land in general. Moreover, the existence of this supposed place of ‘storm cloud’ in 1 Enoch 17:2 is seemingly continual and does not appear only with the eschaton or during an occasion for Israel’s judgment. Hence, Black’s attempt to read ערפל back into an Aramaic original

⁷⁰ Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 101.

⁷¹ Cf. also Joel 2:2.

⁷² See, in contrast, the description of the mountain in 1 Enoch 25:3 (the duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18:8).

makes little sense in this context. 1 Enoch 17 does not provide the context one would expect for ערפל according to biblical traditions.

Four options for reading ζοφώδη τόπον/*makān za-ʿawwelo* at the start of 1 Enoch 17:2 have been assessed: 1) Enoch in a 'dark place' that suggests the underworld, in the west; 2) Enoch in a region where the sun does not shine, in the north; 3) Enoch amid storm clouds, most likely in the atmosphere (north in a vertical sense); and 4) Enoch in a place of dark clouds, associated with theophany and the eschaton. Of these possible renditions, the second and third options are most consistent with the narrative that follows, as we shall see.

2. *The Mountain Reaching to the Heavens*

The mountain with the magnificent summit in 1 Enoch 17:2 can also shed light on Enoch's location. The geographical relationship of the 'dark place' or 'place of storm' to the mountain is indeterminate. While it is reasonable to picture the 'place of storm' atop the mountain which Enoch then could view amid all the meteorological activity in 1 Enoch 17:3 (see below), neither the Greek nor the Ethiopic text offers that reading explicitly. Instead both the Greek and Ethiopic record that Enoch is led to one site (the place of darkness or storm) and to the other (the mountain).⁷³ Still, the dark region (or place of storm) and the mountain reaching into the heavens appear to be connected in some way and commentators tend to link the two.

With the perspective that the dark region signals the realm of the dead, the mountain attains eschatological significance. Lods, as mentioned above, speculates that the region of darkness in 1 Enoch 17:2 is Sheol.⁷⁴ The high mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2, then, represents paradise, comparable to the mountain of 1 Enoch 22:1 and the elevated/lofty place of 1 Enoch 87:3 which are connected respectively to the realm for the dead and paradise.⁷⁵ Black also inquires whether the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 is the same mountain described in 1 Enoch 18:8 (a mountain among six others which reaches up to heaven like the throne of God), 1 Enoch 22:1 (a mountain to the west, large and lofty with hollow places inside where the souls of

⁷³ 1 Enoch 17:2: εἰς ζοφώδη τόπον καὶ εἰς ὄρος/*westa makān za-ʿawwelo wa-westa dabr*.

⁷⁴ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 153–54.

⁷⁵ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 153–54.

the dead dwell [1 Enoch 22:2–3]), and 87:3 (the lofty place to which Enoch is taken away from the children of earth).⁷⁶ As I demonstrate in the chapters which follow, the mountains in 1 Enoch 18:8 and 1 Enoch 22:1 are not related to the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2. The elevated tower of the Book of Dreams to which Enoch is taken in 1 Enoch 87:3 may have been influenced by the description of the mountain in 1 Enoch 17:2, but unfortunately, this later work sheds no light on the nature of this site. It is apparent, though, that mountains occur in the sacred topography of the Book of the Watchers, especially as conduits for divinity, as the place where God or the watchers descend. In 1 Enoch 6:6, for example, the watchers descend from heaven by means of the summit of Mount Hermon (cf. also 1 Enoch 1:4 and 25:3).⁷⁷

The language used to refer to this mountain's summit yields few clues about the geography of 1 Enoch 17:2. The Greek version of 1 Enoch 17:2 describes the summit reaching to/into (εἰς) the heavens. Some Ethiopic manuscripts also read that the summit reached 'into the heavens' (*westa*), while others have the variant that the summit extended only until (*'eska*: 'up to, as far as') the heavens.⁷⁸ 1 Enoch 18:8 also features a mountain that reaches to (εἰς/*'eska*) the heavens. The difference between εἰς and *'eska* appears to be negligible in the context of 1 Enoch 17:2–3.

Another interpretation of the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 returns us to the setting of 1 Enoch 17:1. If one posits that Enoch begins his journey through the cosmos immediately following his visit to the heavenly throne room (1 Enoch 14–16), as the preceding narrative seems to suggest, then one expects some sort of conduit, such as a mountain, from heaven to earth. This mountain we may encounter in 1 Enoch 17:2. The notion of a mountain serving as an axis mundi or 'meeting place of heaven and earth' was a common motif in the ancient Near East.⁷⁹ One such mountain, according to Canaanite mythology, was Zaphon upon which Baal, the storm god, resided.⁸⁰ Additionally, the Canaanite god El ruled from another northern peak,

⁷⁶ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156.

⁷⁷ Mountains are also compared to God's throne; cf. 1 Enoch 18:8.

⁷⁸ BM 491, Abbad 55, and Tana 9 feature *westa*. EMM 6281 has both: 'as far as to heaven.' See Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 546.

⁷⁹ Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 3.

⁸⁰ Cf., for example, CTA 29.5; also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 57–79. Zaphon is the site of Baal's palace, the place whence Baal

possibly Aphaca, where the council of gods convened.⁸¹ There at the base of El's mountain was the source of waters, 'the double deep,' which inspired associations with paradise.⁸²

The cosmic mountains of Canaan were not unknown to the biblical authors who adopted and transferred attributes of these mountains to Sinai and Zion.⁸³ The Bible also bears witness to other 'cosmic mountains' which play a role in Israelite mythology. Ezek 28:13-14, as previously mentioned, describes a unique mountain of God that is, at the same time, the site of 'Eden, the garden of God.'⁸⁴ Ezekiel's mountain is sometimes compared to that of Isa 14:13, God's mount of assembly located on the heights of Zaphon.⁸⁵ Zaphon is a clear allusion to the cosmic mountain of the same name in Canaanite mythology and suggests that an Israelite tradition also thought there to be a sacred mountain in the far north.⁸⁶

Mount Hermon, a ubiquitous mountain in the Book of the Watchers, could well have been thought to be in the vicinity of such a mythic mountain, if it was not understood to be a mountain of God itself. Although the attributes of the cosmic mountain in Canaanite myth were primarily transferred to Sinai or Zion in biblical writings (see above), in intertestamental literature, according to Clifford, Hermon appears to be the bearer "of ancient traditions of the holy mountain."⁸⁷ Like the mountains of Canaanite myth, Hermon is located in the north. We know from the Book of the Watchers that Hermon was a meeting point between heaven and earth: it is there that the evil watchers descend from heaven (1 Enoch 6:6). It is in the shadow

does battle and hosts banquets. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 60-61. As Zaphon is located north of Israel (it is identified with modern Jebel Aqra', north of Ugarit), its name also denotes 'north' in biblical Hebrew.

⁸¹ Cf. Marvin Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (VTSup 2; Leiden: Brill, 1955), 61-81; also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 49; 101.

⁸² Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 51. On the expression 'double deep,' see *Ugaritica* 5.7,3; RS 24.244, 564; also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 48-49.

⁸³ Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 98-181. See also Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985). Ps 48:1-2, for example, describes Mount Zion in the extreme north: "Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised in the city of our God. His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation, is the joy of all the earth, Mount Zion, in the far north (הַר־צִיּוֹן יְרֵכָהּ צָפוֹן), the city of the great King."

⁸⁴ Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 159, 168-77.

⁸⁵ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 40.

⁸⁶ Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 160-62.

⁸⁷ See his *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 189.

of Hermon that Enoch's visionary journey to heaven commences (1 Enoch 13:7–16:4).

In similar fashion, a document sometimes referred to as 'Aramaic Levi,' written perhaps as early as the third century BCE, describes how the spirit of the Lord comes to Levi at Abel-Main.⁸⁸ Abel-Main is where the penitent watchers mourn in 1 Enoch 13. Levi then has a visionary experience where from the vantage-point of a high mountain, he ascends into the heavens (2.3). That mountain, according to the Greek Testament of Levi, is Hermon.⁸⁹ Just as Abel-Main and the waters of Dan are home to visionary experiences in intertestamental literature, so too is Hermon portrayed as the mountain conduit by which one ascends to or descends from heaven.⁹⁰

Indeed, there is historical and archeological evidence that Hermon and its environs were considered sacred prior to and during the writing of the Book of the Watchers.⁹¹ The very name of Hermon, connected to the root for 'sacred' or 'forbidden' (חרם) tells us something of how the biblical authors conceived of this the highest of the Lebanon mountains.⁹² In the shadows of Hermon lies Dan, which

⁸⁸ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 23–24; 252 and 'Le Testament de Lévi en Araméen,' *RB* 62 [1955]: 398–406; esp. 399–400. See also J. C. Greenfield and Stone, 'Aramaic Levi Documents,' in *Qumran Cave 4, XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72, and R. A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

⁸⁹ See *Greek T. Levi* 6.1 where the mountain would appear to be Sirion, another name for Hermon (cf. Deut 3:9; Ps 29:6). Cf. also Milik, 'Le Testament de Lévi en Araméen,' 404–5. For further information on the Testament of Levi, see, M. De Jonge, 'Notes on the Testament of Levi II–VII,' in *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (ed. M. De Jonge; SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 247–60; esp. 252–58 on Aramaic Levi and its relationship to the present Testament of Levi.

⁹⁰ Clifford (*Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 187) observes that Enoch's dream-vision comes to him at the waters of Dan, much like the revelation that Ezekiel receives at the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1) and Daniel at the Great River (Dan 10:4).

⁹¹ While one could argue that all mountains were considered sacred in antiquity (see, for example, 'ὄρος' *TDNT* 5:475–87), Clifford calls attention to select mountains, like Zaphon, Sinai, Zion, and Hermon, which were considered to be the 'axis mundi' of Canaanite and biblical traditions. Cf. his *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 238–47) also explores the sacred history of Hermon and Dan with regard to 1 Enoch 6–16.

⁹² The Hebrew Bible also refers to Hermon as Sirion and Senir; see Deut 3:9; 4:48 and 1 Chr 5:23. Ps 42:6 speaks of three Hermons, in reference to its three peaks. Similarly, the mountain appears as Hermonin (pl.) in the Aramaic Qumran fragments. See En^c I, 6, Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 195. Judg 3:3 may allude to the sacred character of the mountain by referring to it as Baal Hermon. Hermon is also recalled in the Hebrew Bible as the northernmost limit of Joshua's conquest (Josh 11:3, 17; 12:1, 5; 13:5, 11).

1 Kgs 12:29 and Amos 8:14 report was home to a royal high place; there Jeroboam placed the golden calf.⁹³ At Dan was found a bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic from the Hellenistic period, dedicated "to the God who is in Dan."⁹⁴ In the Hellenistic period, beneath Mount Hermon, a sacred cavern was dedicated to the Greek god Pan.⁹⁵ It is from this association with Pan that the site derived its name Paneas or Banias. While Polybius and Josephus are important historical witnesses to Banias's sacrality in the Second Temple period, archeologists have also unearthed remains of the Paneion, the structure around the grotto in which sacrifices to Pan were made.⁹⁶

Banias in the Roman period was home to a beautiful white tetrastyle temple erected by Herod the Great to honor Augustus who awarded him territory in the Golan in 20 BCE.⁹⁷ Thereafter Herod the Great's son, Philip the Tetrarch, established Panion as a *polis*, dubbing it Caesarea Philippi. This is the city Matthew reports that Jesus visited when he conferred authority on Peter.⁹⁸ The Book of the Watchers most likely predates the Hellenistic sites at Banias,⁹⁹ but Hermon

⁹³ Excavations at Tell Dan revealed a high place from the Middle Bronze Age. See A. Biran, 'Tell Dan,' *BA* 37 (1974): 43; also *IEJ* 24 (1974): 26; *IEJ* 25 (1975): 39–40; *IEJ* 26 (1976): 203–5; *IEJ* 27 (1977): 244–45. Judges 17–18 also tells of Israelite cultic activity in Dan prior to the Monarchy.

⁹⁴ See Biran, 'Tell Dan, 1976,' *IEJ* 26 (1976): 204–5.

⁹⁵ The Paneion or sacred grotto dedicated to Pan was constructed at the foot of Mount Hermon around 200–198 BCE, perhaps in tribute to Pan for a Seleucid victory over the Ptolemaic army near the site. Cf. Polybius, *Historiae* 16.18–19; 26.1–3; also Vassilios Tzaferis, 'Cults and Deities Worshipped at Caesarea Philippi-Banias' in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (ed. Eugene Ulrich, John W. Wright, Robert P. Carroll and Philip R. Davies; JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 190–201; esp. 191.

⁹⁶ Polybius, *Hist.* 16.18–19 and Josephus, *Ant.* 15. 364 and *J.W.* 1. 405. Zvi Ma'oz, 'Banias, Temple of Pan-1993,' *Excavations and Surveys* 15 (1996): 1–5. On the excavations at Banias see Tzaferis and Shoshana Israeli, 'Banias-1992,' *Excavations and Surveys* 14 (1994): 1–3; 'Banias-1993,' *Excavations and Surveys* 15 (1996): 5–7; and 'Banias-1993,' and 'Banias-1994,' *Excavations and Surveys* 16 (1997): 9–14; John F. Wilson and Tzaferis, 'Banias Dig Reveals King's Palace [But Which King?],' *BAR* 24 (1998): 54–61; 85.

⁹⁷ See Josephus, *Ant.* 15.10.3.

⁹⁸ Banias was established as a *polis* around 3 BCE. See Josephus, *Ant.* 18.28 and Matt 16:13–20. It was also at Caesarea Philippi that Jesus speaks of prevailing against the gates of hell. The 'gates of the netherworld' (πύλαι ᾗδου) to which Jesus refers in Matt 16:18 may bear some connection to the cave at the back of the Paneion where sacrifices to Pan were thrown. Cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 1.405.

⁹⁹ While the third century BCE Book of the Watchers predates Herod's tetrastyle Temple and Philip's founding of the *polis* by two hundred years, the work could possibly be contemporaneous with the initial construction of the Paneion.

with its numinous name and Dan, a royal high place, were certainly significant sites recalled in biblical traditions prior to the Book of the Watchers. The author of 1 Enoch 17–19 may have been aware that Hermon and its environs were considered sacred territory. In any event, since the Book of the Watchers refers to only Hermon, Abel-Main (between Lebanon and Senir), Dan (specifically described as ‘southwest of Hermon’) and Sinai by name,¹⁰⁰ it is clear that these locales, primarily situated in the Upper Galilee, are of significance to the authors or redactors.¹⁰¹

a. Excursus: the Mountain of God, Paradise and 1 Enoch

The area around Hermon has other mythological import, though. Reminiscent of El’s mountain by the source of the ‘double deep,’ the north serves as not only the abode of God, according to Grelot and Milik, but also home to Enoch’s paradise.¹⁰² The concept of paradise located in the north and situated atop God’s mountain is not without biblical precedent; it is known, in fact, from Ezekiel 28. The Book of the Watchers seems to locate paradise in the north, northeast or east. It is clear, at least, from 1 Enoch 32 that the garden of righteousness, where Adam and Eve dwelt, appears to be located to the east or northeast.

Unfortunately, the presentation of paradise varies in 1 Enoch and the Book of the Watchers does not linger on the description of paradise as other contemporary apocalyptic texts, like the Apocalypse of Abraham, do. Elsewhere in 1 Enoch, the Similitudes features a garden where the chosen and righteous dwell; this place also receives Enoch translated (1 Enoch 60:8). According to 1 Enoch 70:2, the place for the chosen and righteous is between the north and west. The descriptions of paradise in 1 Enoch 60:8 and 70:2 should be

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, 1 Enoch 1:4; 6:6; 13:7; 13:9.

¹⁰¹ On this point, see Nickelsburg (‘Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,’ *JBL* 100 [1981]: 575–600; esp. 586): “The present suggestion is only that the old sacred territory around Dan was recognized as sacred by our author and that it served as a locus that was catalytic of revelation.”

¹⁰² See respectively their ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 43 and *Books of Enoch*, 33; 39–40. Grelot (‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 43) and Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 33) maintain that the author of 1 Enoch, perhaps to reconcile disparate traditions, wrote of two paradises, one in the northwest and one in the northeast. Contra Milik and Grelot, see Tigchelaar, ‘Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (1 Enoch and Other Texts Found at Qumran),’ in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 37–62; esp. 47. See below.

considered carefully, though, when compared to other traditions from 1 Enoch, since the Similitudes is a much later work and the only section of 1 Enoch not represented at Qumran.¹⁰³ Paradise in the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 77:3) only is mentioned as one of three parts of the earth, located perhaps at the ends of the earth (see above). Furthermore, the Enochic corpus displays development with respect to how afterlife and eschatology are perceived, which affect, in turn, the understanding of paradise.¹⁰⁴

b. *The Mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 and Zaphon*

The mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 appears in the context a better match for the northern 'mountain of God' than a mountain associated with the realm of the dead. Reminiscent of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi's dark, northern region, it is from this peak (or from the environs of the mountain) that Enoch glimpses meteorological phenomena (see below). Further, it could well be that the mountain is to be identified with Hermon, a northern mountain that is not only very prominent, but is only one of two mountains to be named (see above) in the Book of the Watchers. The watchers descend from heaven atop this mountain in 1 Enoch 6:6 and Enoch's visionary journey to heaven commences (1 Enoch 13:7–16:4) from the vicinity of Hermon (so named explicitly in 13:7). Hermon, then, functions as some sort of a mountain conduit for ascents and descents in the Book of the Watchers. Hermon could also provide Enoch his means for descent, since Enoch seems to move from the heavenly regions to the terrestrial realm in the course of 1 Enoch 16 and 17. Although speculative, given Hermon's prominence in the Book of the Watchers,

¹⁰³ Tigchelaar also urges caution in using the Similitudes to illumine other, earlier parts of 1 Enoch. 'Eden and Paradise: the Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 38–39 and 47–49.

¹⁰⁴ See R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 213–23. According to Milik, Enochic traditions which locate paradise in the north may help us to understand Qumran's burial practices. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 41) claims that the orientation of burials at Qumran on a north-south axis with the head to the south is so "that when brought to life the just elect will be facing the Paradise-Abode of God." Cf. also E. Puech, 'The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumrân and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife,' *BASOR* 312 (1999): 21–36. Recently Milik's view has been challenged by Jürgen Zangenberg ('The "Final Farewell." A Necessary Paradigm Shift in the Interpretation of the Qumran Cemetery,' *The Qumran Chronicle* 8 [1999]: 213–18). Zangenberg argues that upon great inspection, there is no *one* burial type present at Qumran and that the ubiquitous single shaft graves, in light of excavations at Khirbet Qazone, can no longer considered a type of burial unique to Essenes.

perhaps 1 Enoch 17:2 alludes to it as the mountain which facilitates Enoch's return from his travels to the heavenly throne room (1 Enoch 14–16). If not Hermon, the author of 1 Enoch 17:2 may still indicate a northern peak, reminiscent of legendary Zaphon.

C. 1 ENOCH 17:3

Several scholars link the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 to the site of cosmological phenomena described in 1 Enoch 17:3.¹⁰⁵ It would appear that from the mountain peak Enoch observes astral bodies, thunder, and lightning. The text of 1 Enoch 17:3 reads as follows: “And I saw a place of luminaries and the storehouses of stars and thunders and into the depths of the air¹⁰⁶ where (there is) a bow of fire and arrows and their quivers and all the lightnings.”

The Greek and Ethiopic texts differ somewhat.¹⁰⁷ The Greek text speaks of the ‘place of luminaries’ (τόπον τῶν φωστήρων); the Ethiopic, ‘places of luminaries’ (makānāta berhānāt). The Greek text includes the variant ‘storehouses of stars’ among the phenomena Enoch sees. The Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 17:3 includes a reference to a ‘fiery sword’ which is lacking in Gr^{Pan}. I find the Greek text more compelling. Since 1 Enoch 17:3 concerns meteorological phenomena, the Greek ‘storehouses of stars’ fits well. Further, it is unclear how the Ethiopic ‘sword of fire’ pertains at all to the context, with the exception that it is an aspect of nature presented as a type of divine weaponry, as the lightning is compared to bow and quiver. Commentators typically ascribe the imagery of the fiery bow, arrows, quivers and sword to the weaponry of God from the Hebrew Bible (cf. Deut 32:41–42; 2 Sam 22:14–15; Pss 7:13–14; 18:15; 144:6).¹⁰⁸ I think it more probable that ‘the sword of fire’ is an Ethiopic expansion.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Cf., for example, Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 115; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 38 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 281.

¹⁰⁶ ἀερόβαθῆ (‘into the depths of the air’) is a puzzling expression that many commentators attempt to explain or emend. See, for example, Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156 and Martin, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 46. One might read with Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38), who emends the Ethiopic slightly, ‘the outermost depths,’ instead of ‘depths of the air.’ Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 281.

¹⁰⁷ See Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch* Vol. 1, 64–65) and Charles (*Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 46) for lists of the numerous variants.

¹⁰⁸ See Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116; Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 154; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 281.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156.

Despite textual uncertainties in 1 Enoch 17:3 and some enigmatic imagery, it is clear that Enoch observes meteorological phenomena. Thunder and lightning are also often presented as manifestations of God's presence in biblical texts, such as Job 37:2–5 and Ps 18:13–17.¹¹⁰ That Enoch observes these sights from the vicinity of or from upon the mountain of 17:2 may be implied by the text: while Enoch is taken to the dark place and then to the mountain, 1 Enoch 17:3 does not mention that the seer is led to another locale. Instead, Enoch only reports that he sees (ר'יִכּוּן/re'iku) the meteorological phenomena.

Hence Dillmann, in light of the meteorological activities of 1 Enoch 17:3, concludes that the mountain and its summit in 1 Enoch 17:2 must refer to a particular location at which place weather originates or clusters.¹¹¹ Milik considers the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 to be both the “mountain of the West,” and “the reservoir of the stars, of thunder, and of other natural phenomena.”¹¹² It would appear that Nickelsburg also locates Enoch *atop* the high mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 whose tremendous vantage point allows Enoch to see beyond the earth's surface to the celestial phenomena in the heavens.¹¹³ According to Stadelmann, biblical texts assert that the Israelites perceive the stars and planets only as situated in the heavens, keeping to their respective orbits;¹¹⁴ perhaps then storehouses of luminaries would need to be in the heavens. This interpretation of Enoch's vantage point for the meteorological phenomena accords well with the claim that the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 reached into heaven.

There are additional reasons for linking the meteorological phenomena with 1 Enoch 17:2's mountain. I argue above that the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 might be identified as a type of axis mundi, the ‘mountain of God’ that connects heaven and earth. Similar to

¹¹⁰ Cf. Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 111–14.

¹¹¹ *Das Buch Henoch*, 115.

¹¹² *Books of Enoch*, 38.

¹¹³ *1 Enoch*, 281.

¹¹⁴ See his *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 52–53, 66–75, 88; 94. Cf., for example, Gen 22:17; 26:4; Exod 32:13; Deut 1:10; 4:19; 10:22; 1 Kgs 22:19; 2 Kgs 21:3; Isa 34:4; Jer 8:2; Ezek 32:8; Nah 3:16; Neh 9:23; 1 Chr 27:23. Stadelmann (*Hebrew Conception of the World*, 70) further suggests that while the precise location of the luminaries is never articulated, the expression בְּרִיקֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם (cf. Gen 1:17) may indicate that the luminaries were thought to be “between the pavement of the firmament without and the heaven within.” On the orbits or courses of stars, cf. Judg 5:20.

Zaphon, the northern mountain of the storm god Baal, the mountain in 1 Enoch 17:2 reaches to heaven and, according to the Ethiopic ‘awwelo, was also ‘a place of storm.’ The imagery of thunder and lightning in 1 Enoch 17:3, frequent attributes of the Israelite deity (see above), recalls also Baal who was often depicted with a lightning bolt in hand. Storms, lightning, thunder, and other dramatic forces of nature are to be expected in the northernmost mountain of God that reaches to the heaven.

1 Enoch 17:3 may hold a further clue about the direction of the seer’s journey. The imagery of luminaries, stars and lightning in 1 Enoch 17:3, associated with the mountain of the preceding verse, is reminiscent of the phenomena Enoch encounters in his initial ascent to heaven. Enoch ascends to the divine palace (or has a dream of ascent) from along the waters of Dan, near to Mount Hermon (1 Enoch 13:7–8). The ascent occurs through clouds, mist, the paths of stars, and flashes of lightning. Since the watchers descend by means of Hermon (1 Enoch 6:6) and Enoch ascends to heaven from the proximity of Hermon (1 Enoch 13:7–14:8) I suggest that Enoch may, in fact, be descending in 1 Enoch 17:2 by means of the same mountain. The fact that Enoch encounters similar meteorological phenomena in 1 Enoch 14:8 and 17:3 strengthens the hypothesis.

D. THE MOUNTAIN OF GOD AND PLACE OF THE LUMINARIES IN THE NORTH

The initial description of fiery beings, possibly cherubim, seraphim, or type of angel, and the reference to a mountain that reaches into heaven are suggestive of a mythical ‘mountain of God.’ This mountain is traditionally situated in the north (in a dark place according to 1 Enoch 17:2 / ‘where the sun does not shine,’ as indicated on the Babylonia Mappa Mundi). Several attestations of Hermon, located in the north of Israel and only one of two mountains named in the Book of the Watchers (the other is Sinai), lead me to speculate that the author or later editor may understand the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 to be Hermon. While the watchers’ descent from heaven occurs upon Hermon in 1 Enoch 6, we can infer that Enoch ascends to the heavenly palace (1 Enoch 13) and returns to earth again by means of this most northerly peak (1 Enoch 17:1–2). In the vicinity of God’s mountain (perhaps atop it), a mountain of incalculable

height, Enoch sees meteorological phenomena. Perhaps further related to the mountain of God is Enoch's paradise, signaled by the waters of life in 1 Enoch 17:4 (see below). The mountain of God in the far north, understood to be a meeting point between heaven and earth, offers a fine segue from Enoch's visit to the heavenly throne room in 1 Enoch 14–16 to his tour of the cosmos.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 17:4–8: THE GREAT DARKNESS AND WATERWAYS

A. 1 ENOCH 17:4

Enoch is next escorted to an enigmatic body of water and to the fire of the west. The text of 1 Enoch 17:4 reads as follows: “And they led me away to as far as the living waters and to the western fire that grants all the settings of the sun.” The Greek version of 1 Enoch 17:4 describes the water as ‘living’ (ὕδατων ζώντων) while the Ethiopic text offers another variant: ‘waters of life, as it is called’ (māyāta ḥeywat za-yetnāgar).¹ Following Lods and Black who take ‘as it is called’ (za-yetnāgar) to be an Ethiopic gloss, only the expressions ‘living waters’ (idiomatic for ‘flowing water’)² and ‘waters of life’ are explored as we consider the implications of both possibilities.³ The second half of the verse also allows for different translations. The western fire, according to Gr^{Pan}, ‘grants,’ in the sense of ‘produces’ or ‘provides’ (cf. Nickelsburg)⁴ the setting sun. The Ethiopic, appearing the more awkward of the two, suggests, however, that the fire of the west ‘receives’ the setting sun.

Like El’s mountain by the source of the ‘double deep,’ it would not seem surprising to find mention of a body of water beside 1 Enoch 17:2’s ‘mountain of God.’ Certainly mention of the waters of life or living waters complements the notion of the ‘mountain of God’ that serves also as a paradise. According to the Near Eastern and biblical traditions surveyed above, we should expect to find such a mountain in the far north. If the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 were to be identified with Hermon (see above), perhaps this is an allusion to the headwaters of Dan.⁵

¹ Mss BM 485, Berl, Abb 35, Abb 55, and Tana 9 read ‘water’ (sg.)/māya in the construct. Note that Eth. BM 485, like the Gr^{Pan}, has the adjective ḥeyāwān (‘living’) in a supralinear addition.

² See MT Lev 14:5, 6, 50–52; Num 19:17 for use of מֵי חַיִּים and LXX Gen 26:19; Lev 14:5 for use of ὕδωρ ζῶν.

³ Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 154; Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156.

⁴ *1 Enoch*, 276, 282.

⁵ The author of 1 Enoch 13:7 links the two.

This paradisiacal scene is frustrated, however, by reference to the fire of the west in the same verse. Does the author intend for us to associate the mysterious waters of life (living waters) with the fire of the west or are we to understand these extraordinary phenomena as located in two different places? If the latter, then one can easily imagine the life-giving waters situated in the vicinity of the northern 'mountain of God' (1 Enoch 17:2) which also is reminiscent of paradise; the tour jumps, then, to the fire which receives every setting sun, another distinct site located in the west. If the life-giving waters are associated with the fire, they too are to be found in the west and hence, should be considered as part of a complex of traditions distinct from paradise. The west, as will be recalled, is frequently associated with the realm of the dead.

1. *The Water(s) of Life or Living Waters*

In general, water is life-giving as it sustains and nurtures humans, animals and plants. Water appears as vital to life and creation in the Hebrew Bible, most notably in the Yahwist's creation story. In Gen 2:5–6 an initially dry, infertile land is rendered fruitful when a stream rises from the earth watering all the ground.⁶ The stream apparently derives from subterranean waters, a fresh water ocean.⁷ The river, or *Urfluss* of Gen 2:10–14, that flows through Eden, waters the garden and divides into four rivers (which in turn water the earth), may also be fed by the subterranean ocean.⁸

In exilic and post-exilic literature, the imagery of the fertile spring in Eden is also applied to traditions associated with Zion.⁹ Streams appear prominently as part of Zion's landscape in Ps 46:4 and Isa 33:21, for example. Ezek 47:1–12 also features a stream flowing from

⁶ ואד יעלה מן-הארץ והשקה את כל פני-הארמה;

⁷ On the etymology and meaning of אד as the spring of the subterranean water, see J. Alberto Soggin, *Das Buch Genesis* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 59–60; D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2. A Linguistic Investigation* (JSOTSup 83; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1989), 93–94; M. Sæbø, 'Die hebräischen Nomina 'ed und 'ēd—zwei sumerisch-akkadische Fremdwörter?' *ST* 24 (1970): 130–41 and also W. F. Albright, 'The Babylonian Matter in the Predeuteronomiac Primeval History (JE) in Gen 1–11,' *JBL* 58 (1939): 102–3.

⁸ Cf. Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987), 64; also Soggin, *Das Buch Genesis*, 65–6; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978), 114–15.

⁹ See Jon Douglas Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 10; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 25–36 and Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 368–70.

below the threshold of the Jerusalem temple. From the temple, the place of God's throne, the stream then waters trees on the banks of the river in the infertile desert and finally turns the salt water of the Dead Sea into fresh water. The imagery of Ezek 47:1–12, in contrast to Gen 2:10–14, is understood to be symbolic of the prosperous future of Israel after the exile. Joseph Blenkinsopp points out that the symbolic language of Ezek 47:1–12 recalls the water source of Eden, but "it is the divine presence in the sanctuary which brings life to a world threatened with infertility and death." The actual watercourse deriving from the Jerusalem temple, as described in Ezek 47:1–12, is topographically and ecologically unrealistic.¹⁰

Still, post-exilic prophets like Zechariah and Joel build on Ezekiel's imagery as they depict water streaming down from Jerusalem or the Temple Mount in the eschatological future.¹¹ The depictions of Zechariah and Joel do not present contemporaneous realities, but rather envision water flowing from Jerusalem or from the temple as part of an eschatological scene. In Joel 3:18, for example, the fountain pouring out of the temple and watering the Wadi Shittim signals the general prosperity that will come to Jerusalem. This well watered land then stands in contrast to its earlier period of despair when watercourses are dried up (Joel 1:20) and in contrast to Egypt and Edom which are to become desolate wilderness (Joel 3:19) in the end-time.

Like the water welling up from the earth in Gen 2:6, a subterranean body of water figures prominently in Hebrew cosmography. We read of the waters below, for instance, in Gen 49:25, Exod 20:4, and Ps 33:7. Water surrounds the world, both above and below the earth.¹² While known for its life-giving potential, subterranean water

¹⁰ See *Ezekiel* (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 230–31. See also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 516; Daniel Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 700; and Peter C. Craigie, *Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 313.

¹¹ See Wilhelm Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona* (KAT; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1971), 86. 1 Enoch 26:2 most probably reflects the traditions of Zech 14:8 and Joel 3:18 but in this instance recalls the paradisiacal quality of the Temple Mount in the *Urzeit*. The imagery from Ezekiel 47 and Joel 3 is also preserved in Rev 22:1 in which an angel shows the seer the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the lamb in the New Jerusalem.

¹² Tikva Frymer-Kensky describes ancient Israelite cosmography thus: "Our universe is an earth-spaceship, a cosmic submarine." See her 'Biblical Cosmology,' in *Backgrounds for the Bible* (ed. Michael Patrick O'Connor and David Noel Freedman;

at the same time is linked to the netherworld.¹³ On the association of subterranean water with death, Tikva Frymer-Kensky remarks:

Somewhere below, perhaps on the bottom of the sea, is the realm of death, Sheol, and the way to this realm is always through water . . . the portals of Death are visible at the foot of the mountain, at the bottom of the seas (Jer 2:6; Job 38:16–17), and people cross a water-channel on their way to the netherworld.¹⁴

1 Enoch 17:4 speaks, though, of ‘water(s) of life,’ not ‘waters of death’: what could be the connection between subterranean waters that yield fertility while also harboring death? Tromp notes that תְּהוֹם, the primeval ocean, connotes both a source of blessing for the earth and the “waters round the earth . . . which continually threaten the cosmos.”¹⁵ Frymer-Kensky, observing that the cosmography of Israel is similar to that of Mesopotamia, further illumines the paradox. First establishing that Mesopotamian cosmography views water surrounding everything, both spatially and temporally, Frymer-Kensky notes that “water also forms the boundaries of human life.”¹⁶ At death a person must cross the river Hubur at the entrance of the netherworld. That Ti’amat (primordial sea) is referred to as ‘Mother Hubur, she who fashions all things’ in the *Enuma Elish* demonstrates that Hubur, the waters of the realm of the dead, are also connected to primordial waters.¹⁷ Even more fascinating is the parallel Frymer-Kensky adduces between waters of death and waters of life in Mesopotamian traditions:

The ‘waters of death’ may have a counterpart in the ‘waters of living’ that separate our world from the world of the as-yet-unborn.

Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 231–40; esp. 233. Also G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums* (SHAW, philosophisch-historische Klasse 1944/48, 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1949), 8–9.

¹³ Ezek 26:19, 31:15, Job 26:5, Lam 3:54, and Jonah 2:5–6 all associate subterranean water with the experience of being in Sheol and in the depths of the pit, (a synonym for Sheol). “In this sense death itself could be viewed as a journey through the *mayim rabbim* to Sheol.” R. E. Clements, מַיִם, in *TDOT* 8:269–85; esp. 275.

¹⁴ Frymer-Kensky, ‘Biblical Cosmology,’ 233. Bruce Vawter explains the relationship of the subterranean waters and Sheol as one of proximity as the subterranean ocean is not a part of Sheol proper, so that ‘waters beneath the earth’ or t’hôm become synonymous with Sheol in certain biblical texts. See his ‘A Note On “The Waters Beneath The Earth”’, *CBQ* 22 (1960): 71–73. See also Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 59–66.

¹⁵ Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 59.

¹⁶ See her ‘Biblical Cosmology,’ 234.

¹⁷ Frymer-Kensky, ‘Biblical Cosmology,’ 234.

Mesopotamian birth incantations refer to the birth boat which brings the baby across the seas toward life. The description of the boat and seas indicates that in the Mesopotamian traditions (as in the biblical, see Psalm 139:15), the womb can be seen as somehow equal to the nether regions of the earth. The waters at the edge of the human world are identified with the waters that a baby travels on its way to be born. Similar ideas are found in Egypt and Greece.¹⁸

Thus, in ancient cosmographies water separates the numinous from the profane, marking off the world of the living from the world of the dead or yet unborn. The experience of water, apparently the primordial ocean important to creation, precedes birth and follows death. In this manner, the primordial ocean and subterranean waters are tied to both waters of life and death.

The notion that water or the water(s) of life is encountered in death may be reflected, moreover, in 1 Enoch 22. We read in this chapter of a mountain in the west that serves as the realm of the dead for humans. In the mountain's hollows which serve as the temporary abode for all souls, the righteous are kept separate from the sinners and the former are said to enjoy in their place of waiting a spring of water (1 Enoch 22:9). One might think of the spring of water in 1 Enoch 22:9 as flowing (or 'living' according to the idiom) or as water meant to refresh the righteous and thus, life-giving in some sense. It is certainly possible that 1 Enoch 22:9 recalls the earlier encounter with living water or water(s) of life in 1 Enoch 17:4. If we are to imagine the waters from 1 Enoch 17:4 in association with the fire which provides for the setting sun, then we are pointed in the direction of the west. The west serves the same purpose in 1 Enoch 17, we shall see, as it does in 1 Enoch 22: it is the realm of the dead.

¹⁸ See her 'Biblical Cosmology,' 234. Cf. Henri Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 114, on Egyptian cosmology and the waters of death. In the Egyptian depiction of the afterlife, the deceased no longer have access to the 'waters of life.' See, for example, an Egyptian inscription from the end of the Ptolemaic period in which a priest's wife, Taimhotep, describes the fate of the dead:

The West, that is the land of slumber, a heavy darkness, the dwelling-place of those who are there. Sleeping is their occupation. They do not awaken to see their brothers. They cannot behold their fathers and their mothers. Their hearts are deprived of their wives and their children. The water of life, which contains the sustenance of every life, is for me thirst. It falls [only] to him who is upon the earth. I am thirsty although water is beside me, I do not know the place where I am since I have come to this valley.

Stele BM 157, H. K. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum* (Leipzig: Hinrichs'schen, 1883-91), 918-19; trans. by Otto, *Biogr. Inschr.*, 193; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 188.

While the Ethiopic manuscripts preserve the expression ‘water’ or ‘waters of life,’ the Greek version of 1 Enoch 17:4 relates that Enoch is led to the ‘living waters’ (ὑδάτων ζώντων). ὕδωρ ζῶν and its Hebrew equivalent, מַיִם חַיִּים, may be translated as ‘flowing,’ ‘running,’ or ‘fresh’ water.¹⁹ The geographical context of 1 Enoch 17:4 in which specific features and noteworthy characteristics of the landscape are described, however, is not illumined by reading ὕδωρ ζῶν as simply ‘flowing water’ or ‘running water,’ unless we consider this an allusion to the headwaters of Dan (see above).²⁰

Other cultures in Israel’s milieu also spoke of ‘living water’ which they often located below the surface of the earth. In ancient Egyptian lore, the water of the Nile was said to flow from the ‘living water’ in the earth, whereas the water given to other lands was said to descend from the ‘living waters’ in heaven.²¹ According to Seneca, living water (*aqua viva*) derives from the depths of the earth, feeding springs, rivers and seas.²² Could the expression ὕδωρ ζῶν signify subterranean waters or the primordial ocean, emerging at the ends of the earth? Although he does not interpret ὕδωρ ζῶν in this manner, Black also claims that subterranean waters fit the context of 1 Enoch 17. Black reads 1 Enoch 17:4 as “and they brought me to subterranean waters . . .”, arguing that the Aramaic original מַיָּא תַּחְתָּיָא (‘waters underneath [the earth]’) was mistranslated as מַיָּא חַיָּא (‘living waters’).²³

While the ‘water(s) of life’ or ‘living waters’ of 1 Enoch 17:4 could refer to a particular body of water, there are several biblical traditions that make use of the expression in a figurative manner. In the ancient Near East, water appears in myths as efficacious, raising the dead or conferring immortality upon humans. According to the Babylonian

¹⁹ Cf. LXX and MT Gen 26:19; Lev 14: 5; Num 19:17; Song 4:15 and Zech 14:18. ὕδωρ ζῶν/מַיִם חַיִּים is also used figuratively in Jer 2:13 and Jer 17:13 where God is depicted as the fountain of living water.

²⁰ See also Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156. While one might think that ‘flowing’/‘running water’ could refer in this context to a river, the several explicit references to rivers in 1 Enoch 17:5–8 militate against that interpretation. But perhaps the author envisions a stream (so Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116) or spring.

²¹ Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter: Ihr Werden und Vergehen in Vier Jahrtausenden* (Berlin/Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter, 1934), 16. Cf. Pyr 2063.

²² *De Quaestionibus Naturalibus* 3. *Aqua viva* is distinguished from *aqua caelestis*, however, which comes to the earth as rain.

²³ See *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156. Black (*Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156) notes that the descriptions of the rivers which follow in 1 Enoch 17:5 support his conjectured text.

myth, Ishtar is able to leave the netherworld once the Anunnaki sprinkle her with 'the water of life' (Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World, 34–38). Adapa, after he ascends to heaven, is given the opportunity by Anu to eat the bread of life and drink the water of life. Following the treacherous advice of Ea, Adapa forfeits his chance for eternal life by not eating or drinking the potent substances (Adapa, 2.62). L. Goppelt remarks that the ancient Greek world does not know a 'water of life' which engenders an afterlife or a return to the land of the living for humans: drinks of immortality belonged to the gods alone.²⁴ Yet, in the Hellenistic period a legend does circulate of Alexander's search for the water of life in the 'land of darkness' during his quest for immortality (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Romance of Alexander the Great*, 3. 26, 16).

'Fountain' or 'source of life' occurs in the Hebrew Bible not with any connotation of magical powers, but rather as a figure of speech to indicate God or the ways of the wise. God is described in Ps 36:10 as the fountain or source of life (מקור חיים/πηγή ζωής) and an invitation is issued in Isa 55:1 for people to come to the thirst quenching water, apparently signifying God.²⁵ The 'fountain of life' is also used in Proverbs primarily as a metaphor for or as the product of wise actions.²⁶

Water, while significant for its figurative use, does not occur in the Hebrew Bible as the potent potable of ancient Near Eastern myths where water sprinkled on a person or consumed produces revivification or eternal life.²⁷ Furthermore, unlike 1 Enoch 17:4, the 'fountain' or 'source of life' referred to by biblical authors is not depicted as a spring located in an actual place to which one could travel.²⁸ Nonetheless, Martin, Grelot, and most recently Nickelsburg

²⁴ 'ὕδωρ,' *TDNT*, 8:316.

²⁵ Clements ('חיים,' 281) seems correct in his interpretation of the expression: That God is a 'fountain of living waters' becomes a readily explicable metaphor of the life-giving power of Yahweh, in his role as giver of fertility and of salvation and righteousness (Jer 17:13). Yahweh is the source of life and blessing for his people.

²⁶ See Prov 10:11, where the mouth of the just is a fountain of life (מקור חיים/πηγή ζωής); Prov 13:14, where the teaching of the wise serves as a fountain of life (מקור חיים/πηγή ζωής); Prov 14:27, where fear of the Lord is a fountain (מקור חיים/πηγή ζωής); and Prov 16:22, where good sense is a fountain of life (מקור חיים/πηγή ζωής).

²⁷ Ezek 36:25, in which God promises to sprinkle clean water upon the House of Israel in order to cleanse the people from impurity and idolatry, may prove an exception.

²⁸ Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, 116) envisions the water of life in 1 Enoch 17:4 as a stream at the end of the earth.

sense that behind 1 Enoch 17:4's 'water(s) of life' ('living waters') are reverberations of the ancient Near Eastern tradition, as seen in Ishtar's descent and Adapa's ascent, in which waters confer life (eternal?) to mortals or those already dead.²⁹

The motifs of 'water(s) of life' and 'living waters' are prominent in other texts from Qumran. In the contexts, however, it is unclear that the authors refer literally to a site from which 'living waters' flow or whence 'waters of life' derive. For example, 1QH^a XVI, 16 employs a comparable expression as a synonym for divinely inspired revelation: the words which the hymnist will bring forth are "an early rain for all [...] spring of living waters" (מבוע מים חיים). Also in 1QHodayot 'living waters' and 'everlasting springs' are used metaphorically, that is, as paradisiacal imagery describing the fruits of the righteous. Yet, it is fascinating that the expressions appear frequently as part of a complex of images tied to Eden, the waters of the deep, and Sheol. In 1QH^a XIV 13–18 the men of God's council (together with the angels of God's presence?) will be a root causing a shoot to grow as (or in the foliage of) an everlasting plant (or plantation? לעופי מטעת עולם). The roots will reach to the abyss (תהום), will be watered by the stream of Eden, and extend finally to Sheol, becoming a fire to burn up men of guilt.³⁰ 1QH^a XVI 4–23 also uses the imagery of shoots from the trees of life taking root in living waters (מים חיים), also referred to as an everlasting spring (מקור עולם). The imagery serves as part of an extended metaphor for the righteous and their prosperity.³¹

Similarly, the hymnist of Odes of Solomon 11, who drinks from the spring of the Lord, becomes intoxicated by the living water and abandons vanity (Ode 11, 6–8). The Ode includes a description of paradise in which the righteous are presented as trees in the divine garden (Ode 11, 16–24).³² The vivid and mythological imagery of

²⁹ Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 47; Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 39; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 282.

³⁰ For alternative translations of 1QH^a XVI 13–18, cf. *The Dead Scrolls Study Edition* Vol. 1: 1Q1–4Q273 (ed. and trans. Martínez and Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 175 and Robert B. Laurin, 'The Question of Immortality in the Qumran Hodayot,' *JSS* 3 (1958): 344–55, esp. 348–49.

³¹ The hymnist expresses thanksgiving for being set at the source of streams in a dry land. Then the hymnist contrasts the paradisiacal imagery of Eden, featuring the trees of life and everlasting spring, with his distress and misery; the latter he associates with being in the pit or Sheol (1QH^a XVI 24–40).

³² Water in the Odes of Solomon becomes the fixed metaphor for salvation from

the Qumran Hodayot occurs in the context of poetry, a genre allowing rich symbolism.³³ Bonnie Kittel concludes with D. S. Russell that much of the imagery and symbolism taken from the Hebrew Bible or from ancient mythology is more fully developed in these new contexts and sometimes the original significance lost.³⁴ This is plausible as the stereotyped imagery and language “lend themselves to a kaleidoscopic variation in their presentation of the divine mysteries.”³⁵

Water is also a significant symbol in the New Testament. The range of interpretative possibilities that occur in the much later works of the New Testament are helpful to consider as we explore the motif in 1 Enoch 17:4. ‘Life-giving waters’ in the New Testament allow for manifold interpretations. In the New Testament, primarily the Johannine corpus, ‘life-giving water’ has saving powers and is principally linked to Jesus Christ and to eschatology.³⁶ John 4:10 and 14 utilize to the fullest extent the *double entendre* inherent in the expression ‘living water’ (ὕδωρ ζῶν). The dialogue with the Samaritan woman captures the ambiguity of ὕδωρ ζῶν, demonstrating to the audience how the expression can signify both running water and spiritual water which provides life eternal. In John’s gospel, Jesus is the well of water for eternal life and the rivers of living water in John 7:38 are waters which mediate life.³⁷

In the Book of Revelation, the expression ‘life-giving water’ occurs four times, modeled on prophecy from the Hebrew Bible.³⁸ Water has eschatological significance in Revelation since martyrs are shepherded to the spring of life-giving waters (ζῶνς πηγὰς ὑδάτων) as they participate in the heavenly court following their death (Rev 7:17). Rev 21:6 also relates that the righteous will be given a gift from the

above. See Aune, ‘Realization of Eschatological Salvation in the Odes of Solomon,’ in *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity* (NovTSup 28; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 164–94. Also J. H. Charlesworth, ‘Odes of Solomon,’ in *OTP* 2:725–71; esp. 726–27.

³³ Cf. Bonnie Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1981), esp. 173–79.

³⁴ See respectively *Hymns of Qumran*, 176–77 and *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 122–23.

³⁵ *Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 122–23.

³⁶ Goppelt, ‘ὕδωρ,’ *TDNT*, 325.

³⁷ Goppelt, ‘ὕδωρ,’ *TDNT*, 326. Cf. also John 6:32–33 and 7:38–39.

³⁸ Goppelt (‘ὕδωρ,’ *TDNT*, 326) claims that Rev 7:17 is based on Isa 49:10 and Ps 23:2, Rev 21:6 on Isa 55:1, and Rev 22:1 and Rev 22:17 on Ezek 47:1–12. Rev 22:1 features water flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb, as opposed to the expected flowing of water from the Temple of Ezekiel’s vision.

spring of life-giving water (ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς; note that water is in the singular form) along with the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:2), whereas the wicked are destined for a burning pool of fire and sulfur (Rev 21:8). In Revelation, water is described as a gift (δωρεάν, Rev 21:6; 22:17; also John 4:10) often with the connotation of a reward for the thirsty (Rev 21:6; 22:17), the martyrs (Rev 7:17) and the victors (Rev 21:6). Water is depicted as mediating life for the perfected believers, as “life is existence in fellowship with God.”³⁹

Overall, ‘life giving water’ is used figuratively in Revelation and in the New Testament and carries tremendous symbolic value: it is not an actual spring to which one travels nor is it the flowing water of Ezekiel, part of an eschatological scene affecting this earth.⁴⁰ Revelation does speak of ‘a spring of life-giving waters’ to which the righteous are led (Rev 21:6; 22:17); however, like the Hodayot and Odes of Solomon 11, the spring of water appears to serve the paradisiacal motif signifying well being and salvation.⁴¹

The motifs of ‘life-giving waters’ and ‘living waters’ in the Hodayot of Qumran and in the New Testament are used primarily in a figurative or symbolic manner. In keeping with the motif of the journey, the figurative reading of the ‘water(s) of life’ is not preferable for 1 Enoch 17:4. The text indicates that Enoch is brought to the ‘water(s) of life’ or ‘living waters.’ Hence, it would appear that the author has in mind a specific locale, a body of water or spring, and not water as a potion (as in the Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld and Adapa)⁴² or as a metaphor.

Still it is not so easy to discern further the meaning of this water. One can make a compelling case for either the Greek or Ethiopic variant; both ‘living waters’ and ‘water(s) of life’ are appropriate to

³⁹ Goppelt, ‘ὕδωρ,’ *TDNT*, 326.

⁴⁰ “Whereas Old Testament prophecies in Isa 49:10 and Ezek 47:1–12 refer to real water, the passages in Revelation take water figuratively like in Isa 55:1.” Goppelt, ‘ὕδωρ,’ *TDNT*, 326.

⁴¹ See also Michael Fishbane, ‘The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and its Ancient Transformations,’ in *Shā’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 3–16. Fishbane demonstrates through a variety of texts that “the motif of a well or fountain symbolizes the heavenly source of wisdom;” this wisdom, then, is transmitted “to the lower world by inspired teachers who are, moreover, spiritually transformed thereby.” Fishbane, ‘The Well of Living Water,’ 12.

⁴² Cf. also Wright, ‘The Cosmography of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch and its Affinities’ (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1992), 94, n. 72.

the context. Also one can envision the life-giving waters or living waters of 1 Enoch 17:4 in close proximity to the mountain of God, as part of the paradisiacal scene in the far north. Yet, a case can be made as well, that the living waters are to be found near the fire of the west. The west is evocative of infernal regions and we recall the spring of water for righteous souls in 1 Enoch 22's realm of the dead.

2. *The Western Fire*

We turn now to the second half of 1 Enoch 17:4 that describes the western fire. The fire is said to grant, produce, or receive the setting of the sun.⁴³ The Ge'ez *ye'ehhez k'ello 'erbata dahay* ('seizes/takes hold of/receives all the settings of the sun') is commonly considered more intelligible than the received Greek text, ὁ ἐστὶν καὶ παρέχον πάσας τὰς δύσεις τοῦ ἡλίου ('the one which provides/produces all the settings of the sun') and many commentaries emend παρέχον in some manner. Dillmann, for example, suggests παραδεχόμενον ('receives') for παρέχον.⁴⁴ Lods and then Black propose κατέχον ('holds back,' 'possesses,' 'occupies,' 'brings in').⁴⁵ Lods struggling with παρέχον, asks if the received text implies that the fire's principal function is to produce the lights to illumine the sky at the setting of the sun.⁴⁶

It is not clear, though, what is meant by a western fire receiving the setting sun. Nickelsburg explains the use of παρέχον ('provides') thus: "the fire of the West reflects on the sky (and the sun) at the time of sunset."⁴⁷ In contrast, the Ge'ez text, according to Nickelsburg, could indicate "that the sun sinks into a fire that renews it for its next rising."⁴⁸ While Dillmann,⁴⁹ Lods,⁵⁰ and Black⁵¹ consider a connection between the fire in the west of 1 Enoch 17:4 and that of 1

⁴³ Ge'ez: 'eska 'essāta 'arab za-we'etu ye'ehhez k'ello 'erbata dahay; Greek: μέχρη πρὸς δύσεως, ὁ ἐστὶν καὶ παρέχον πάσας τὰς δύσεις τοῦ ἡλίου. I translate 1 Enoch 17:4b thus: 'to the western fire, that grants all the settings of the sun.'

⁴⁴ 'Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text des Henoch-Buches,' in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1892), 1039–54; 1079–92; esp. 1045.

⁴⁵ Respectively, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155 and *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156.

⁴⁶ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155.

⁴⁷ *I Enoch*, 282.

⁴⁸ *I Enoch*, 282.

⁴⁹ *Das Buch Henoch*, 116.

⁵⁰ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155.

⁵¹ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 156.

Enoch 23 which burns without ceasing,⁵² Nickelsburg thinks such an equation doubtful.⁵³ Yet, Wright's observations regarding 1 Enoch 23 also support and inform Nickelsburg's translation of the received Greek. Wright suggests that this fire at the ends of the earth which illumines celestial bodies may represent an adaptation of the Pythagorean belief about the 'hearth of the universe.'⁵⁴ At the center of the cosmos, according to the Pythagoreans, was a fire by means of which planets and stars reflect light. Wright notes that while the Enochic cosmography also shows celestial bodies reflecting light, the fire which illumines is at the ends of the earth, rather than at the center of the cosmos, a position occupied by the earth itself.⁵⁵

Most significant is the connection of the western fire to the realm of the dead. Ludwig Blau calls attention to *b. B. Bat.* 84a, where the sun is said to receive its ruddy color at sunset from passing through the gate of Gehenna or alternatively its ruddy color at sunrise, reflecting the fire of Gehenna in the west.⁵⁶ Blau asks if the sun in 1 Enoch 17:4 could be said to take its fire from Gehenna, whose great expanse ranges to the far west.⁵⁷ Though Blau's argumentation is unclear with regard to the sun receiving its fire, Nickelsburg also affirms the similarities in the views of 1 Enoch 17:4 and *b. B. Bat.* 84a.⁵⁸ The exact nature of the fire and its location relative to the earth are not explicated in this passage. Is the fire of the west to be located properly in the realm of the dead, as Blau suggests, on the earth's surface, or is it a sort of meteorological phenomenon associated with the horizon? In the absence of other clues, the last option seems the most defensible.

⁵² In 1 Enoch 23 the seer witnesses at the ends of the earth a burning fire in the west which is said to be the fire of the lights of heaven. So Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 112. It is commonly assumed that the received Greek text and Ethiopic text in which the fire *persecutes* (ἐκδιώκων) or *takes vengeance on* (yesadded) the lights of heaven are corrupt.

⁵³ *1 Enoch*, 282.

⁵⁴ *Early History of Heaven*, 121.

⁵⁵ Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 121.

⁵⁶ 'Gehenna,' *JE* (1906): 5:582–84; esp. 582.

⁵⁷ 'Gehenna,' 582.

⁵⁸ *1 Enoch*, 282, n. 32. Against Blau's interpretation, see Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39 and Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156. Charles and Black object to the association on the grounds that Gehenna in 1 Enoch 26–27 is located in the middle of the earth, not in the far West; it is quite likely, however, that in *b. B. Bat.* 84a, Gehenna is meant as a synonym for Sheol, the realm of the dead (cf. *Erub.* 19a).

B. 1 ENOCH 17:5

The movement toward the fire in the west is complemented next by a journey to a river of fire (ποταμός πυρός/falaga 'essāt); this river, in turn, pours into the great sea that is toward the west (θάλασσα μεγάλη δύσεως/bāhr 'abiy mangala 'arab). The relationship of the river of fire and 'great sea' to 1 Enoch 17:4's living waters and fire of the west is, however, oblique. The text of 1 Enoch 17:5 reads as follows: "And we came to a river of fire in which the fire runs down like water and flows out into the great sea of (the) west."

1. *The River of Fire*

The river of fire is commonly understood as the Pyriphlegethon (Πυριφλεγέθων), a fiery stream associated with the realm of the dead in Greek mythology.⁵⁹ It is unclear what sort of effluence heading west into the sea an ancient Greco-Roman audience would have understood as a river of fire.⁶⁰ Plato, for example, explains that streams of lava found at various places on the earth are offshoots of the subterranean Pyriphlegethon (*Phaed.* 113b). Hot springs south of Cumae were thought to indicate also the proximity of the Pyriphlegethon (Strabo, *Geog.* 1.26 and 5.244).

Within biblical traditions, Isa 30:33 knows also of a river of brimstone or sulfur (נהל גפרית). The river appears in a description of coming judgment against the Assyrians; for God's enemies, a burning place (תפתח), recalling Tophet of 2 Kgs 23:10, has been prepared. The breath of the Lord, like a river of brimstone, kindles the fiery place of punishment. There is no indication in Isa 30:33 that the author understands the river as part of an actual scene of judgment; rather the river occurs in Isa 30:33 only as a simile.

⁵⁹ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116; Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155; Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38–39; Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 46–47; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 283. On Πυριφλεγέθων, see W. Ensslin, 'Phlegethon, Pyriphlegethon,' *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll and K. Mittelhaus; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1941), 20:1: 258–60. See also *Od.* 10.513 and Plato, *Phaed.* 112e–113c.

⁶⁰ In Plutarch's *nekylia* (*Gen. Socr.* 590–592), rivers of fire in the realm of the dead are associated with the Milky Way. According to Ensslin, Neoplatonists associated the Pyriphlegethon with fire and with the east; the other mythic rivers such as the Cocytus, the Acheron and Okeanos, they linked respectively with earth and west, air and south, and water and north. See Ensslin, 'Phlegethon, Pyriphlegethon,' 259.

Another example may be found in 1QH^a XI 29–31. According to this text, torrents of Belial will overflow with flames of fire consuming all life, turning rocks into lava, and breaking into Abaddon during a time of judgment. This eschatological scene featuring a river of fire is presented in the *Hodayah*, however, as a one time, future occurrence, rather than as a glimpse into an existing realm of the dead. In later rabbinic traditions there is also the river *Dinur* (נְהַר) (דִּינוּר) described as a river of fire (נְהַר שֶׁל אֵשׁ; cf. *m. Hag.* 13b; *Gen. Rab.* 78; *Ex. Rab.* 15). The description of *Dinur*, from *Yalqut Isaiah* 373, as the river of fire in which the suns bathes, recalls the fire that receives the setting sun of 1 Enoch 17:4.

For as unusual as the sight would seem, the river of fire in 1 Enoch 17:5 appears as part of an unchanging landscape. Although biblical traditions certainly know of a river of fire as a description of God's anger or as a part of an end time catastrophe, it is not given any geographical significance. The river of fire in 1 Enoch 17:5 is more similar to the *Pyrphlegethon*, one element in the infernal landscape.

2. The Great Sea

The 'great sea' of 1 Enoch 17:5 refers most likely to either *Okeanos*, the river which encircles the disk of the earth,⁶¹ or to the Mediterranean Sea.⁶² The expression *θάλασσα μεγάλη* is reminiscent of the Hebrew expression *הַיָּם הַגְּדוֹל* that refers to the Mediterranean Sea in the Bible.⁶³ The reference to the 'great river' in the Greek text of the following verse, 1 Enoch 17:6, may also shed light on the identity of the great sea. If the great river which Enoch encounters immediately prior to 'great darkness' in 1 Enoch 17:6 is original to the text, as it appears in Gr^{Pan},⁶⁴ it would be the better match for *Okeanos* or *marratu*, the Bitter River of the Babylonians which encircles the world.⁶⁵ This is the preferred reading, as it appears most probable

⁶¹ Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, 116), Lods (*Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155), Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39), Martin (*Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 47) and Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156) maintain that the river of fire pours into the great ocean stream, *Okeanos*.

⁶² See Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 283) who argues that the great sea of the west in 1 Enoch 17:5 is not *Okeanos*, but instead the Mediterranean.

⁶³ Cf., for example, Num 34:6–7; Josh 15:12, 47; Ezek 48:28; in the LXX the expression is translated also as *θάλασσα μεγάλη*.

⁶⁴ See Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155 and Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 47. Contra, see Dillmann ('Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text des Henoch-Buches,' 1045) who would strike καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ from Gr^{Pan}.

⁶⁵ Homer, for example, depicts *Okeanos* as a great river (Ὠκεανὸς ποταμός)

that the Ethiopic text omits ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου through homocoteleuton. If the great river of Gr^{Pan} 17:6 is not original to the text (the Ethiopic mss lack the expression; see below), then the great sea of 17:5 may well refer to Okeanos instead of the Mediterranean Sea.⁶⁶

C. 1 ENOCH 17:6

Following the Pyriphlegethon which pours into the Mediterranean, Enoch sees the enigmatic ‘great rivers’ (μεγάλοι ποταμοί/‘abayta ’aflāga) as well as ‘the great river’ (μεγάλου ποταμοῦ). As he sees the various mythical rivers, Enoch arrives at the great darkness (μεγάλος σκότος/‘abiy šelmat), where according to Gr^{Pan}, no flesh walks (πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ περιπατεῖ) or according to the Ethiopic, all flesh walks (k^wellu šegā yānsosu). The text of 1 Enoch 17:6 reads as follows: “I saw the great rivers and came as far as *the* great river and as far as the great darkness and I went to where no flesh walks.”

1. *The Great Rivers and the Great River*

Most scholars relate the ‘great rivers’ of 1 Enoch 17:6 to those of the Greek Hades, such as Styx, Cocytus and Acheron.⁶⁷ Through works such as Homer’s *Odyssey* and Plato’s *Phaedo*, certain rivers became associated with the realm of the dead.⁶⁸ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood suggests that the real life landscape of Thesprotia may have contributed to the imagery Homer employs for Hades, including the infernal waterways; the environs of Thesprotia included a *nekyomantion* (a site which involved the apparitions of spirits) near the river Acheron and lake Acherousia.⁶⁹ While it might seem surprising that

encompassing the earth’s disk. See *Il.* 18.399; 18.607; *Od.* 20.65. In the later works of Herodotus and Pindar, Okeanos is viewed as a great outer sea to be distinguished from the Mediterranean. See below.

⁶⁶ This interpretation is favored by the Ge’ez ms Abb. 35, which features the gloss weqeyanos (‘the ocean’) immediately following bāhr ‘abiy.

⁶⁷ Thus, Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116; Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38; Martin, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 47; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 156–57; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 283.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Od.* 10.508–15; 11.155–59; see also Plato, *Phaed.* 112e–113c. On Greek rivers associated with the realm of the dead, see, for example, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *‘Reading’ Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 61.

⁶⁹ See her *‘Reading’ Greek Death*, 307–8. Cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 112e–113a, in which the

the Enochic community would include such a minute detail from Greek descriptions of the netherworld, Black calls attention to *Sib. Or.* 4.185 in which Gehenna is referred to as the 'sister of Styx'.⁷⁰ Only Lods seeks out a biblical parallel for the rivers in 1 Enoch 17:6, calling attention to the 'streams of worthlessness' (נְחֻלֵי בְלִיעַל) in Ps 18:5.⁷¹ In light of the 'river of fire' in 1 Enoch 17:5 and the 'great darkness' of 1 Enoch 17:6, the infernal rivers of Greek mythology provide a better match to the great rivers here.

The 'great river' (singular), at the place of 'great darkness' compares best to the Babylonian Bitter River or the Greek Okeanos in the opinion of Nickelsburg.⁷² Indeed, both *marratu* and Okeanos were conceived as relatively narrow bodies of waters that encircled the earth.⁷³ The case could also be made that the great river of 1 Enoch 17:6 refers to one of the aforementioned rivers connected to the realm of the dead. Lods, for example, proposes the 'the great river' to be the Acheron, a river later synonymous with Hades.⁷⁴ Other likely candidates would be the Greek Styx⁷⁵ and Mesopotamian Huber

infernal scene of the Acheron flowing into lake Acherousia reflects the real life setting in Thesprotia (Thuc. 1.46). E. Vermeule (*Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 211, n. 6) offers a different perspective on the development of infernal rivers.

⁷⁰ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 157.

⁷¹ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 155.

⁷² *I Enoch*, 283. See above.

⁷³ See BM 92687, CT 13. 35–37; *Il.* 18.607–8; 21.195–96; *Od.* 11.13; 24.11–12; Hesiod, *Theog.* 789–91; *Scut.* 314; Strabo *Geogr.* 1.1.3–8. Cf. H. Herter, 'Okeanos,' *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1937): 17.2: cols. 2308–61; esp. 2311–29. See Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 29; 40–41. Although, Horowitz (*Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 29) notes that *marratu* is often accompanied by the determinative *id* used for rivers and canals, he describes the circular band of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi as an ocean, albeit one that is a narrow body of water, as opposed to a 'boundless sea.' Frymer-Kensky, however, refers to *marratu* as a river. See her 'The Judicial Ordeal in the Ancient Near East' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1977), 587; 596.

⁷⁴ See also Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156. Especially in fifth century literature, shades were said to cross the river Acheron (cf. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 856; Theocritus, *Id.* 17.47; *AP* [*Anthologia Palatina*] 7.68; cf., Melanippides, fr. 3; Bacchylides, 5.64 [Cocytus]; Apuleius, *Metam.* 6.18 [*flumen*]) or the lake Acherousia (Euripides, *Alc.* 252–53; 443; 900–2 [cf. also Cocytus in 458–59]; Euripides, fr. 868 n. 2. Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 20.1; *Men.* 10; *Cont.* 7) by means of Charon's ferry. Cf. also Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Death*, 307.

⁷⁵ Although the river is unnamed in *Il.* 23.71–74, it is the river Styx in *Il.* 8.369 that divides Hades from world of the living. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Death*, 61; R. G. Austin, *Aeneidos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 124 and Bölte, 'Styx,' *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1931): 2:4.1:458–65; esp. 464–65. Although Acheron plays a prominent role in separating the realm of

appearing in Akkadian literature,⁷⁶ rivers that explicitly separate the realm of the dead from the land of the living. Upon death, it was believed that souls need to cross such borders in order to enter the realm of the dead.⁷⁷

Mythic rivers as part of infernal scenes appear in later apocalyptic texts as well. In *T. Ab.* 8 Rec. B, for example, Michael and Abraham arrive at the river Okeanos whereupon Abraham encounters the gates to life or destruction.⁷⁸ Josephus, likewise, attributes to the Essenes a belief in an abode for virtuous souls beyond the ocean (ὑπὲρ ὠκεανόν).⁷⁹ Hence, either Okeanos or a Styx-type river would be appropriate prototypes for the ‘great river’ in 1 Enoch 17:6. While the geography associated with these mythical rivers is a bit opaque, the rivers are connected with the realm of the dead.⁸⁰ In 1 Enoch 17:6, the great rivers and ‘the great river,’ most likely Okeanos or Styx, indicate that Enoch is approaching this realm.

2. *The Great Darkness, Where No Flesh Walks*

A strong case can be made that the ‘great darkness’ of 1 Enoch 17:6 refers to Hades.⁸¹ Dillmann concludes that the dark land located west of the ocean, is the place where all the dead wander; Charles likewise observes that the great darkness signals that Enoch is in Hades in the west.⁸² The realm of the dead, as mentioned above, is understood to be a realm of darkness in the Hebrew Bible as well as in Mesopotamian and Greek cosmologies.

the dead from the upper world in *Od.* 10.513, W. W. Merry and J. Riddell (*Homer's Odyssey* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1886], 437), in addition to Sourvinou-Inwood, think that the Styx was the original underworld river.

⁷⁶ Cf. ‘The Babylonian Theodicy,’ 70:16–17; ‘Ištar and Dumuzi,’ 137:179–82; see above also. Frymer-Kensky, ‘Judicial Ordeal in the Ancient Near East,’ 596–99 and Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 353–56; 358; 360. Gilgamesh must cross the ‘waters of death’ (mê mûti) before he encounters Utnapishtim at the mouths of the rivers (*Epic of Gilgamesh* 10).

⁷⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood (‘Reading’ *Greek Death*, 308) states: “The crossing of the water is the last and definitive step that integrates the shade into the Land of the Dead.”

⁷⁸ Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 283. See also *3 Bar.* (Greek Apocalypse) 2:1 and *Apoc. Zeph.* 6.

⁷⁹ *J.W.* 2.155.

⁸⁰ For one ancient reconstruction of how the infernal rivers relate one to another, see *Phaed.* 112e–114c.

⁸¹ Cf. Hans Conzelmann, ‘σκότος,’ *TDNT*, 423–45; esp. 424–25; 428–29. See also discussion on ζόφος and 1 Enoch 17:2 above.

⁸² Respectively *Das Buch Henoch*, 116 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38.

In Mesopotamian literature the dark, infernal regions are typically described as subterranean, literally the netherworld.⁸³ In Sumerian, *kukku*, ‘darkness,’ is a name for the underworld in Diri IV 236–27 (CT 11 48 rev. iii 4’), used in a manner similar to that of ζόφος or σκότος (see above). The Descent of Ishtar and Epic of Gilgamesh 7.4.33 both describe the realm of the dead as the ‘house of darkness.’ In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Enkidu has a dream of death in which he is seized and led down to the ‘house of darkness’ (bit eṭi; bit ekleti). The place is described as the dwelling of Irkalla, “the house where those who enter do not come out, along the road of no return, to the House where those who dwell do without light.”⁸⁴ From Enkidu’s dream and Ishtar’s descent into the underworld, one learns that this house of darkness is located below the earth. Further, the use of arṣatu/erṣetu in Akkadian as alternative names for the realm of the dead, not unlike גֶּחֳמַי in Hebrew, is suggestive of its underground location.⁸⁵

There are similar descriptions of the realm of the dead in Greek literature. In *Od.* 11.13–22, Odysseus sails to the land of the Cimmerians, which is described as a region of perpetual darkness, although its direction is not indicated. On the far side of Okeanos he encounters Hades, also described as a gloomy realm (ζόφος ἡρόεντα). Here, as Nickelsburg suggests, the location of the land of the Cimmerians vis-à-vis Hades is not perceptible.⁸⁶ The Homeric works, in fact, do not present a consistent view of Hades or of the afterlife.⁸⁷ In the *Odyssey*, for example, Odysseus by means of his sacrifice, calls the hungry shades up to him (*Od.* 11.35–50). He inquires of the soul of his unburied comrade Elpenor how he came to descend to Hades, suggesting that

⁸³ But see Geller, ‘Landscape of the “Netherworld,”’ 41–44; 48–49, who distinguishes Sumerian and Akkadian cosmologies. Though there is some ambiguity, Sumerian cosmology, according to Geller, allowed for a realm of the dead on the surface of the earth, whereas Akkadian cosmology understood the realm of the dead as a netherworld.

⁸⁴ *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (trans. Maureen Gallery Kovacs; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989), 65.

⁸⁵ See, for example, Jon 2:7 and Job 10:21–22; cf. also Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World*, 23–46. For Geller, the use of erṣetu for either ‘earth’ or ‘realm of the dead’ however, may reflect the earlier Sumerian cosmology in which a ‘horizontal’ universe consisted of a one-dimensional surface. See ‘Landscape of the “Netherworld,”’ 49.

⁸⁶ 1 *Enoch*, 283.

⁸⁷ Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (trans. John Raffan; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 196.

the gloomy region is underground.⁸⁸ Yet, the narrative suggests that Odysseus himself enters the realm of the dead. Tiresias asks Odysseus, for example, why he left the light of the sun to come to the land of the dead (*Od.* 11.90–96). When Odysseus views Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisypheos suffering various punishments and apprehends the activities of heroes, again it appears that he has descended or entered into their realm and not they to his (*Od.* 11.538–601). In spite of this lack of clarity, it is evident that the realm of the dead is primarily described as a gloomy and dark place, outside the inhabited world.

A dark region identified as the realm of the dead, whether the realm is located to the west or underground, is common in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, biblical and Greek traditions. References to the west and to infernal rivers in 1 Enoch 17:5–6 strengthen the hypothesis that the great darkness of 1 Enoch 17:6 denotes the realm of the dead.

The declaration in 1 Enoch 17:6 that no human (specifically ‘flesh’ [σάρξ/šegā]—that is, the body or that which is carnal as opposed to spiritual)⁸⁹ travels here strengthens the association of the dark realm with Hades. The Greek translation invites an interpretation to the effect that humans set aside flesh at the time of death and that the psyche alone passes to the realm of the dead.⁹⁰ If the Ethiopic translation, ‘where all flesh walks,’ is original and the difference in the Greek ms due to the preference of a translator,⁹¹ the notion conveyed by 1 Enoch 17:6 would be that all humanity possessing creatureliness is subject to death, and hence, eventually comes to Hades, the dark realm. The Greek and Ethiopic versions both facilitate the notion that Enoch approaches the realm of the dead.⁹²

Another possibility is that the great darkness refers to the cosmological construction of the universe and does not relate to the realm of the dead directly. Lods, who finds the interpretation of the great darkness as Hades agreeable, also speculates that the darkness could

⁸⁸ “Πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡερόεντα;” See *Od.* 11.57–58.

⁸⁹ Cf. E. Schweizer, ‘σάρξ,’ *TDNT*, 98–151; esp. 120, and Wolf Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 54–55 and *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 526.

⁹⁰ Schweizer, ‘σάρξ,’ 120. See also 1 Enoch 22:3 and 102:5.

⁹¹ So Schweizer, ‘σάρξ,’ 120.

⁹² Black emphasizes that the Greek describes a place inaccessible to ordinary persons and that the translator has in mind Hades as the place where no flesh goes. See *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 157. Similarly, Lods (*Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156) maintains that the Ethiopic version, ‘where all flesh walks,’ is a clear allusion to Hades.

refer to the other side of the vault of heaven and terrestrial disk as one sees in Job 26:10.⁹³ Lods's interpretation of Job 26:10 is not without complication, as the imagery is not perfectly transparent in the context.⁹⁴ Similar to Lods's cosmological interpretation, Milik reconstructs Enoch's worldview by positing a region of darkness encircling the earth beyond the great river.⁹⁵ This reconstruction, Milik claims, is supported by the realm of darkness Enoch again encounters after crossing a body of water in 1 Enoch 32:2.⁹⁶ In 1 Enoch 32:2, Enoch passes over the Red Sea and through darkness (חשוכה) before he comes to the paradise of Righteousness.

The great darkness where no flesh walks, a realm that is inaccessible to living persons, seems an apt description for Sheol or Hades. If one accepts the Ethiopic 'where all flesh walks' as original to 1 Enoch 17:6, the great darkness must refer to Hades, the realm of the dead to which eventually all persons go. Otherwise, the reference is nonsensical: to what great darkness do all people travel?

Still, from the cosmological angle, a realm of darkness that encircles the great river, as Milik suggests, is attractive in light of the comparable geography in 1 Enoch 32:2. A realm of darkness that separates humans from the numinous, from the land of the dead or from a special paradise is comprehensible,⁹⁷ but requires the Greek reading that no flesh can go there. This explication of the text is reminiscent of Epic of Gilgamesh 9 and 10, where Gilgamesh must travel first through darkness along the path of the sun before arriving at the jeweled garden, the waters of death and Utnapishtim's

⁹³ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156. Job 26:10: חֲקֹחַן עַל-פְּנִימִים עַד-תְּכֵלִית אֹר עִם-חֹשֶׁךְ.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 42–43 and 134–35, who writes of Job 26:10:

Whether the boundary [תְּכֵלִית] between light and darkness designates the dividing line between the realm of light above the earth and the realm of darkness beneath the ocean and under the earth, or refers to the space surrounded by the dome of heaven, thus including heaven and earth and separated from the waters which encompass the world globe, cannot be determined on the basis of this reference.

See his *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 42.

⁹⁵ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15, 38.

⁹⁶ This reading of 1 Enoch 32:2 is confirmed by the Aramaic fragment 4QEn^a I xxvi 21. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15, 232, 291.

⁹⁷ 3 Bar 2:1 features a river at the place where heaven was set (upon the firmament? See 1 Enoch 33:2) which no one is able to cross. This also reminds one of the river set at the ends of the earth in antiquity which separates the world of the living from the world of the dead. Like 1 Enoch 17:6, 3 Bar 2:1 tells of a boundary marker that keeps the living from the entrance to the first heaven.

eternal abode. The prior references to the infernal rivers in 1 Enoch 17:6, however, strengthen the claim that Enoch approaches the realm of the dead.

D. 1 ENOCH 17:7

From his vantage point at the great darkness, where no human can go, Enoch beholds sites that are stormy or wintry and dark. Enoch also encounters a place where water pours out. What Enoch initially views is not entirely clear; the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 17:7 reads ‘mountains of the darkness (pl.) of winter’ (ʿadbāra qobarāt ʿella keramt) whereas the Greek preserves ‘stormy/wintry winds of darkness/twilight’ (τοὺς ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων τοὺς χειμερινούς). Much effort has been expended to reconcile the two versions or to attempt to explain how one of the ancient versions diverged from the original. Unfortunately neither the Greek nor the Ethiopic translation is compelling in this context. With few exceptions, Enochic scholars favor the Ethiopic text in which Enoch sees mountains of the darkness of winter.⁹⁸ Black chooses neither the Greek nor the Ethiopic version, offering instead another possibility: an Aramaic original that also differs in meaning from the Greek. We shall consider all three options. I offer a translation of the Greek text for 1 Enoch 17:7, which I deem slightly preferable to the Ethiopic: “I saw the wintry winds of darkness/storm (Eth. = “mountains of the darkness of winter”) and the place where all waters pour out from the abyss.”

1. *Mountains of the Darkness of Winter*

The reading typically favored for the first part of 1 Enoch 17:7 is the Ethiopic version in which Enoch views the wintry or stormy mountains of the darkness. Lods argues that this version is the more difficult of the readings, hence more likely to be original and to be preferred over the Greek.⁹⁹ Contrary to both Dillmann¹⁰⁰ and Lods,¹⁰¹ Charles

⁹⁸ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 116, Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156, Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39, Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 48, Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547 and Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 103.

⁹⁹ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156.

¹⁰⁰ *Das Buch Henoch*, 116.

¹⁰¹ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156.

finds the expression 'mountains of darkness' reminiscent of the mountains of twilights (הרי נשף) in Jer 13:16.¹⁰² Because Targum Jonathan translates 'mountains of twilights' as טורי קבל, Charles, in fact, proposes that the original Aramaic of 1 Enoch's comparable expression would have been טורי קבלא.¹⁰³ Since Gr^{Pan} describes wintry winds instead of mountains, Charles suggests that טורי "was corrupted into" רוּחַ in the received text of the Greek translator.¹⁰⁴ How, then, does the Ethiopic text preserve the Aramaic original of the verse? Charles explains: "We must suppose that the true reading was inserted in the margin and was reproduced as such in the Greek;"¹⁰⁵ the Ethiopic, then, followed the marginalia. Yet, Charles does not explain why the Ethiopic translator preferred the other option in the Greek text's margin. Furthermore, the rationale is not clear as to why an initial author would allude to the 'mountains of twilight' of Jer 13:16. The expression הרי נשף appears to be part of an extended metaphor in Jeremiah rather than the hint of any precise location.¹⁰⁶ In this regard, Jeremiah's mountains of darkness or twilight have little in common with the context of 1 Enoch 17:7.

The notion of mountains located in the region of the setting sun is not impossible,¹⁰⁷ when one considers the Babylonian mountains of sunrise and sunset.¹⁰⁸ Such mountains, which we explore further in the fourth chapter of this section, were located in the far west and the far east, at the place of sunset and sunrise. The mountains

¹⁰² *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 47 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39.

¹⁰³ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39. See also Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547.

¹⁰⁴ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39.

¹⁰⁵ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39.

¹⁰⁶ "Give glory to the Lord your God before he brings darkness, and before your feet stumble on the mountains of twilight; while you look for light, he turns it into gloom and makes it deep darkness." The *NRSV*'s translation of Jer 13:16 renders הרי נשף 'mountains at twilight', suggesting that no certain mountains are implied in the passage. The *LXX* (καὶ πρὸ τοῦ προσκύνειν πόδας ὑμῶν ἐπ' ὅρη σκοτεινὰ καὶ ἀναμενεῖτε εἰς φῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ σκιά θανάτου καὶ τεθήσονται εἰς σκότος) especially emphasizes that darkness and light are metaphors for death and life.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps it is to such mountains that Jer 13:16 refers. The 'mountains of twilight' could be the mountains of the setting sun, located in the west and associated with death; this interpretation would be suitable for this context in Jeremiah which alludes to death and life. I am not aware, however, of any scholarship which makes this connection.

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps it is to these mountains that Charles refers when he writes: "The mountains are probably those which the Babylonian Cosmogony represents as standing at the ends of the earth." See his *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 47 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39.

of the west, like the west itself in antiquity, were associated with the realm of the dead.¹⁰⁹

Later evidence of this tradition exists in *b. Tamid* 32a. Here Alexander of Macedon (Alexander the Great) tells the rabbinic sages that he wants to go to Africa. The sages inform him that he cannot because the ‘mountains of darkness’ (הרי חשך) are in the way. Nonetheless, with the advice of the sages, Alexander is able to traverse the mountains that were, apparently, a place of complete darkness.¹¹⁰ Further in *b. Tamid* 32b, it is reported that while Tanna de-be Eliyahu taught that Gehinnom is above the firmament, others said that it is behind the ‘mountains of darkness’ (הרי חשך). If the mountains of darkness are encountered prior to Africa and the sages thought to be in Israel or Mesopotamia, then one would need to travel approximately in the direction of southwest and would there presumably come in the vicinity of the dark mountains.

The dark mountains should, by these indications, be placed in the west or southwest. Still it is argued that the mountains of darkness in 1 Enoch 17:7 are in the north or northwest, because both the Greek and Ethiopic texts refer to ‘winter’ in some form. In Gr^{Pan}, the winds of darkness or of storm clouds¹¹¹ (τοὺς ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων) are wintry, conveyed by use of the adjective χειμερινός, ‘of or in winter.’¹¹² The Ethiopic text reads that the mountains of the darkness (pl.) are ‘of winter’ (’adbāra qobarāt ’ella keramt). The word for darkness (qobar), part of the construct expression with ‘mountains’ is in the plural, seemingly reflecting the Greek parallel, γνόφων. The common plural relative pronoun ’ella links keramt (‘winter or rainy season’) to what precedes.

2. Wintry Winds

The reference to wintry winds or mountains indicates, according to Nickelsburg, that Enoch is headed northwest. He concludes thus since one might think of the far north as a place of great darkness¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See Geller, ‘Landscape of the “Netherworld”,’ 47.

¹¹⁰ One strategy the rabbis recommended was that Alexander the Great take Libyan asses which were said to be able to travel in darkness.

¹¹¹ This is perhaps a more felicitous reading in light of the fact that γνόφων is plural. Cf. Aristotle, *Mund.* 392^b12. See also Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 35.

¹¹² χεῖμα, χειμάζω, χειμαίνω, χειμέριος, and χειμών also denote storm.

¹¹³ Nickelsburg calls attention to the Babylonian Mappa Mundi’s ‘place where

and because cold, snow, and frost (weather typically associated with winter) are carried by winds originating in the NNW and WNW in 1 Enoch 76:11–12.¹¹⁴ Lods calls attention to other storehouses of wintry weather in 1 Enoch 41:4 and 69:23 which appear to be situated in the atmosphere.¹¹⁵ Homer considered Boreas, the north wind, to bring fine weather and a clear sky as well as violent winds, frost and snow (*Il.* 19.358; *Od.* 14.475); but both Zephyrus, the west wind, and Notus, the south wind, were conceived as stormy as well.¹¹⁶ Aristotle in *Mete.* 2.6.364a reports, however, that winds are known as either northerly or southerly, respectively as cold or hot/warm winds. Westerly winds which are colder are counted as northerly, because they blow from the region of the sunset.¹¹⁷ Stadelmann also refers to the westerly winds coming from the Mediterranean as bringing cold air and moisture to northern and central Israel.¹¹⁸ The westerly winds, notes Stadelmann, occur normally in the winter season.¹¹⁹ The association in antiquity between winds and weather speaks in favor of the Greek version featuring ἀνέμοι. Furthermore, the reference to winter in 1 Enoch 17:7 points us to the west or northwest.

3. *Regions of Darkness*

Black offers another interpretation for this passage. He holds that instead of the received ‘mountains’ of the Ethiopic text or ‘winds’

the sun is not seen.’ But see discussion on ‘darkness’ above. Nickelsburg notes as well the Legend of the Hyperboreans, a mythical people who lived beyond the far north in a temperate place. 1 Enoch, 282, 284. See also James Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 60–67.

¹¹⁴ 1 Enoch, 284; see also 1 Enoch 34:2.

¹¹⁵ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156.

¹¹⁶ Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans*, 36.

¹¹⁷ The reverse is also true according to Aristotle (*Mete.* 2.6.364a): easterly, warmer winds are counted as southerly because they blow from the region of the sunrise. The rationale is that the temperature of the wind is proportional to the amount of time the winds are exposed to the sun.

¹¹⁸ *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 104. See 1 Kgs 18:43–45, for example.

¹¹⁹ *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 104. Of this, Scott writes:

In winter the eastern Mediterranean is normally an area of low barometric pressure between the continental high pressure areas of Europe and North Africa. Across this area move a series of depressions from west to east, and in their rear come outbreaks of cold moist air from Europe and ultimately from the North Atlantic. The atmospheric disturbance caused by the approach and passage of the ‘front’ or leading edge, of the cold air, brings about the precipitation of rain or snow.

‘Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the Old Testament,’ 14.

of the Greek text, the original Aramaic was רוחות, 'regions' or 'quarters'.¹²⁰ רוחות, which also means 'winds,' explains why Gr^{Pan} preserves ἀνέμους: the Greek translator, according to Black, misunderstood the nuances of the word.¹²¹ Black also seems to suggest that the Ethiopic 'adbār ('mountains') would have been based on a Greek translation closer to the original Aramaic than Gr^{Pan}'s ἀνέμους: he proposes the Greek ὄρια, (ὄρος = 'boundary' [then 'district' or 'quarter,' similar to the Latin *fines*]; ὄρος = 'mountain').¹²² Black's proposal helps to explain Gr^{Pan}'s variant. Yet what could be meant by 'wintry regions of storm-clouds' (Black's translation)? One dark region or quarter would make more sense in the context of 1 Enoch 17 which has thus far presented Enoch in a specific locale.

Of the three possibilities, the reading that makes the most sense is that of Gr^{Pan}: Enoch sees the wintry winds of darkness. Although one does not normally see 'wind,' according to 1 Enoch 18:1–5, the seer is capable of observing it in a variety of settings. The ancient association between wind and weather also lends plausibility to the Greek variant. These winds exist as a part of a western or north-western landscape. The Ethiopic reading of 'mountains of the darkness of winter' might also be appropriate, though. One recalls the tradition described in *b. Tamid* 32b in which the infernal region, Gehinnom, is thought to be located behind the 'mountains of darkness.' If understood as a feature of the realm of the dead, the mountains of the darkness of winter fit the context established by 1 Enoch 17:5–6. The reference to 'winter' suggests the mountains are located in the west or northwest, which is where one expects to find the realm of the dead in antiquity.

4. *The Place Where All Waters Pour Out*

Apparently near to the wintry winds or mountains of darkness, Enoch sees the place whence all waters pour out. The reading from Gr^{Pan},

¹²⁰ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 157. Cf. also Ezek 42:16–20; 1 Chr 9:24; and Jer 52:23.

¹²¹ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 157. Regarding the use of רוחות Black notes 1 Enoch 76:14 and 4QEnastr^c 1 ii 14; cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 288.

¹²² *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 157. The ambiguity of the Greek form does not also extend to the Ethiopic 'adbār, which is to be translated as 'mountains' and not 'districts' or 'quarters.' While dāber or dabr is the word for 'territory/city,' its plural is dabrāt or dabrāt, not 'adbār (the plural of dabr; mountain, hill, country, field) which we encounter in 1 Enoch 17:7. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 121.

τὴν ἔκχυσιν τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων, is a bit ambiguous. It suggests either that *all the waters* pour out from the abyss, or that it is all the waters of *the abyss* that pour out. The Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 17:7 conveys that it is the waters of the entire deep (or all the abysses [pl.] according to ms Tana 9) that pour out (mek'awa māy za-k'wellu qalāy). Though not the same, the Ethiopic text favors the second translation of the Greek expression τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων, 'all the waters of the abyss.'

ἀβύσσος, the primary translation for תְּהוֹם in LXX,¹²³ conveys 'the deep,' 'abyss,' 'primeval ocean,' 'deep sea,' and 'subterranean water.'¹²⁴ The abyss or the deep (תְּהוֹם) is well known from the cosmology of the Hebrew Bible. Lods, for example, associates the abyss with the lower waters described in Gen 1:9 on which the earth sits (Ps 24:2; 136:6; cf. also Prov 3:20; Amos 5:8; 9:6). These waters also provide for rivers (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13), the ocean (Prov 8:28; Job 38:16), and perhaps clouds (Job 36:27–36).¹²⁵

Neither the reading from Gr^{Pan} nor the reading from the Ethiopic mss offers a clear picture. Black favors the Greek text which he translates as waters pouring out from the abyss.¹²⁶ He wonders if the water refers to subterranean waters coming from "a central spring or source in the 'abyss'" like the fountains of the deep in Gen 7:11, 8:2 and Prov 8:28.¹²⁷ Nickelsburg prefers the second interpretation of the Greek that is similar in some respects to the Ethiopic reading: it is the waters of the abyss that pour out.¹²⁸ Nickelsburg also thinks that these waters come from the subterranean abyss and are those primordial waters out of which God creates in Gen 1:3. The water, suggests Uhlig, pours into the world ocean, Okeanos, that surrounds the earth.¹²⁹

E. 1 ENOCH 17:8

Keeping with the motif of water, Enoch next sees the mouth of all the rivers of the earth (τὸ στόμα τῆς γῆς πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν/'afuhomu

¹²³ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 284, n. 47.

¹²⁴ Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 13.

¹²⁵ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156.

¹²⁶ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 35.

¹²⁷ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 157.

¹²⁸ *1 Enoch*, 276, 284.

¹²⁹ *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547.

la-k^wellomu 'aflāga medr) and the mouth of the deep (τὸ στόμα τῆς ὀβύσσου/'afuhā la-qalāy). The text of 1 Enoch 17:8 reads as follows: "I saw the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the abyss."

These watery outlets are located at the ends of the earth. The mouth of the abyss is known from Gen 7:11; 8:2 and Prov 8:28.¹³⁰ The expression 'the deep' or 'the abyss' can imply a vast reservoir of water (see above), rather than a strictly delimited pool. Nonetheless, Enoch comes to the embouchement of the deep, which does occupy a particular place.

Other contemporary cultures speak of similar embouchements. In the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninhursag, the 'mouth whence issues the water of the earth' is located in the southeast near Dilmun which is depicted as a paradisiacal land.¹³¹ Also in the Babylonian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh, Utnapishtim is granted eternal life at the mouth of the rivers (pî nârâti); inasmuch as the Sumerian counterpart places Ziusudra in Dilmun where the sun rises (east/southeast), one may infer a similar location for the Babylonian 'mouth of the rivers.' S. N. Kramer argues that the well known 'mouth of the (two) rivers' is the Persian Gulf.¹³² It is from older Mesopotamian poetry which "places the god in paradise, the source of life-giving waters," that Ugaritic texts draw traditions of the sources of the two floods and the headwaters of the two oceans located near El's abode.¹³³ El, however, was thought to reside on the har-mô'ēd, which is identified with Mount Hamān of the Amanus mountain range north of Ugarit.¹³⁴

While Canaanite and Mesopotamian traditions place the source of waters, the larger body of water that feeds all rivers,¹³⁵ in the north or southeast, there is little indication that Enoch has traveled

¹³⁰ Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 156.

¹³¹ Cf. 'Enki and Ninhursag: A Paradise Myth,' translated by S. N. Kramer (*ANET*, 37-41), lines 55-56.

¹³² 'Dilmun, the Land of the Living,' *BASOR* 96 (1944): 28. Cf. also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 50. For an alternative view see W. F. Albright, 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJS* (1919): 161-95; Albright's attempt to place the Sumerian mouth of the rivers (killallê) in the north, however, is rejected by Clifford (*Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 50, n. 26).

¹³³ Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 50. Cf. also 'Poems about Baal and Anath,' translated by H. L. Ginsburg (*ANET*, 129-42), esp. VIAB and III; ABC, lines 4-5; e. IIAB iii 21-22.

¹³⁴ Cf. E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 148-49, 166-67.

¹³⁵ Kramer, 'Dilmun, the Land of the Living,' 28, n. 41.

in either direction. Because of the reference to 'wintry winds of darkness,' Nickelsburg thinks the mouth of the rivers and abyss is located in the northwest. To my thinking, the wintry winds in 1 Enoch 17:7 point to the location of the waterways in the west or northwest.

The mouth of the rivers is a curious expression as well. Nickelsburg explains that in 1 Enoch 18:8 'mouth' is used in two ways: first, the mouth of the abyss pours out water; second, this water is to be taken into the mouths of the rivers.¹³⁶ The mouth of the rivers, like the mouth of the abyss, suggests to Dillmann Okeanos encircling the earth disk.¹³⁷ In a similar respect, Nickelsburg calls attention to the *Weltanschauung* of Plato's *Phaed.* 111c–112e in which the water of the rivers of the earth derive from Tartarus, a subterranean chasm.¹³⁸ This parallel would seem appropriate for 1 Enoch 17:8 since the abyss can suggest subterranean waters in the biblical traditions as well. In the context of 1 Enoch 17:8, Nickelsburg understands the rivers and Okeanos to receive waters from the mouth of the deep. With the references to the infernal rivers of 1 Enoch 17:5–6 and great darkness where no humans go, the text may well point to the source of water or abyss intimately connected to the realm of the dead and comparable to Plato's Tartarus.

F. THE REALM OF THE DEAD IN THE WEST

After closely investigating the geographical markers, one notices that the narrative of 1 Enoch 17:4–8, like 1 Enoch 17:1–3, focuses on the extremities and on that which is external to the inhabited world. Seemingly discrete sites are described rather than the general landscape; yet most of the items appear to have some spatial relationship to each other. Natural phenomena are highlighted: mountains, meteorological sites, the setting sun, the great sea, rivers, and outlets. At the same time, Enoch witnesses the spectacular: beings that turn into fire, a mountain with a summit extending into heaven, a river of fire, and the place of great darkness.

References to the setting sun, to the great darkness, to infernal rivers, to the dark mountains or winds associated with winter and

¹³⁶ 1 Enoch, 284.

¹³⁷ *Das Buch Henoch*, 116. See also Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 547. Martin (*Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 48) also considers the possibility.

¹³⁸ 1 Enoch, 283–84.

the place where no flesh walks in 1 Enoch 17:4–8 overwhelming indicate a realm of the dead situated in the west. Why Enoch is led to such an extraordinary region is not yet made clear by the narrative. This infernal region is without inhabitants (compare 1 Enoch 22). Throughout 1 Enoch 17, Enoch is a passive and a quiet tourist. He is led by his mysterious guides and merely observes the various sites; that is the extent of Enoch's activities.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 18:1–9: THE FOUR WINDS AND THE SEVEN MOUNTAINS

A. 1 ENOCH 18:1–5

Rather than focusing on a selective range of sites in the north or west as we saw in 1 Enoch 17, the presentation of geography in the next chapter takes a sudden turn. The seer views cosmic phenomena that extend throughout the entire world. In particular, Enoch views the winds and their role in the cosmos.

There is no clear transition from the western phenomena associated with the realm of the dead, ends of the earth and sources of water, to the atmospheric realm with which 1 Enoch 18:1–5 is concerned. The narrative continues the description of the surroundings but does not indicate further travel of any sort as we find in 1 Enoch 17:4 ('they led me away to . . .'). While in chapter 17 Enoch views rivers, a particular mountain, and the mouth of the abyss—all features of a certain landscape—the tour in 1 Enoch 18:1–5 encompasses the whole of the atmosphere. Hence, Black and Milik note that Enoch's tour of the west is 'interrupted' by the orbital journey in 1 Enoch 18:1–5.¹ This apparent journey around the world is certainly more extensive in scope than Enoch's previous foray.

In fact, because the nature of the phenomena of 1 Enoch 18:1–5 is so different from that of the previous chapter and lacks the localization of 1 Enoch 17, one might wonder if the text conceals a seam of sorts. Nickelsburg remarks that it is not certain why the verses are inserted at this point; they seem to represent, however, a tradition of a circuitous visit which one observes also in 34:1–36:3 and 1 Enoch 76.² Nickelsburg proposes that perhaps 1 Enoch 18:1–5 was placed in this context due to the catchword, 'winds,' which occurs in 1 Enoch 17:7, if that is the correct reading (see above).³

¹ Respectively *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158 and *Books of Enoch*, 39. But see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 284.

² *1 Enoch*, 284.

³ *1 Enoch*, 284.

The narrative, previously occupied with terrestrial sites, is in 1 Enoch 18:1–5 focused on the function of winds. One learns from this pericope that winds support the foundations of the earth, the firmament of heaven, and heaven itself. Winds cause the sky to turn and the sun and stars to revolve. They carry clouds. Enoch is said actually to see (יִדּוֹן/re'iku) the wind, otherwise imperceptible to the human eye, in its various functions.

Winds and other meteorological elements (rain, hail, and snow) appear frequently in wisdom literature as examples of phenomena which are created, observed and understood only by God. Job 38:37 asks rhetorically: “Who has the wisdom to number the clouds?”⁴ Elsewhere we are reminded that it is God who “gave to the wind its weight, and apportioned out the waters by measure . . .” (Job 28:25).⁵ Though we return to the role these motifs from wisdom literature may play in Enoch’s journey, we focus first on 1 Enoch 18:1–5’s presentation of the winds. The examination of the winds and their function is not as extensive as the discussion of geographical sites surveyed elsewhere in this monograph.

1. 1 Enoch 18:1

Enoch first encounters the storehouses of all the winds (θησαυροὺς τῶν ἀνέμων πάντων/mazāgebta k^wellu nafāsāt). The winds, according to 1 Enoch 18:1, play a vital role in the creation of the earth: through them, God set in order all created things. The text of 1 Enoch 18:1 reads as follows: “I saw the storehouses of all the winds; I saw that with them he arranged (ordered) all that is created and the foundation of the earth.”

Storehouses of winds are familiar from the Hebrew Bible⁶ and appear elsewhere in the Enochic corpus as well.⁷ 1 Enoch 34–36 describes in more detail these windy storehouses, the manner in which they are ordered and the types of winds that come from them. The winds of 1 Enoch 18:1, Dillmann emphasizes, are not the usual drifting winds to which we are accustomed, but winds which hold together the universe and carry the foundations.⁸ In addition to the

⁴ מִי־יִסְפֹּר שְׂחָקִים בַּחֲכָמָה.

⁵ לַעֲשׂוֹת לְרוּחַ מִשְׁקָל וּמִים תִּכְנֶן בַּמֶּדֶה.

⁶ Compare Jer 10:13; 51:16 (רוּחַ מֵאֲצֻרֹתָיו); Job 37:9 (מִן־הַחֹדֶר תִּבּוֹא סוּפָה) and Ps 135:7 (רוּחַ מֵאֲצֻרֹתָיו).

⁷ See 1 Enoch 41:4 and 60:11–12.

⁸ *Das Buch Henoch*, 116.

storehouse of the winds, Enoch also sees the foundations of the earth, another motif from the Hebrew Bible.⁹

2. 1 Enoch 18:2

Next Enoch encounters the cornerstone of the earth (τὸν λίθον τῆς γωνίας τῆς γῆς/'ebna mā'zanta medr) and sees the four winds (τέσσαρες ἀνέμους/'arbā'ta nafāsāta) that support the earth and firmament of heaven. The text reads as follows: "I saw the cornerstone of the earth. I saw four winds supporting the earth and the firmament of heaven."

The imagery of the cornerstone, the largest stone in the foundation that is positioned in the primary corner of a building, is recalled also in biblical texts. For example, in Job 38:6 God lays the cornerstone upon which he constructs the world. There are no indications in Job or in the Enochic text that the authors have any specific site in mind; rather it appears that the motif has been merely appropriated. The reference in 1 Enoch 18:2 to the cornerstone of the earth is intriguing, for on the surface a specific locale might seem to be inferred. Yet one is unable from the context of 1 Enoch 18 and Job 38 to adduce any setting for this interesting detail.

Following the cornerstone of the earth, Enoch sees the four winds. The relationship of the cornerstone to the winds supporting the earth and firmament of heaven is not entirely clear. Nickelsburg proposes that the cosmos is depicted in this chapter as a building: the earth sits atop a foundation with a cornerstone, while the firmament rests on the ends of the earth and is supported by winds.¹⁰

One might surmise that the winds correspond to the four directions and blow from the four quarters of the earth.¹¹ Martin understands 'the four winds' to be a Babylonian expression, although he notes within Babylonian cosmology that the winds of the four cardinal points did not support the earth or firmament.¹² Homer also distinguishes the quarters of heaven by the four winds.¹³

⁹ On 'foundations of the earth,' see 2 Sam 22:16; Isa 24:18; 40:21; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2; Job 38:4; Ps 18:15; 82:5; 104:5; Prov 8:29. See also *3 Bar.* 2:1 and Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des Hebräischen Altertums*, 10–11.

¹⁰ *1 Enoch*, 284.

¹¹ Compare 1 Enoch 76; Black, *Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158.

¹² *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 48.

¹³ Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans*, 36.

We learn that the function of the winds in 1 Enoch 18:2, however, is to support the earth as well as the firmament of heaven.¹⁴ Dillmann understands the four winds to carry the whole system of earth and heaven and proposes that, although not specified in the Hebrew Bible, the composer may be addressing a riddle posed by Job 26:7:¹⁵ “He stretches out Zaphon over the void and hangs the earth upon nothing.”¹⁶ Job 26:7’s assertion may be contrary to the cosmology suggested by Job 9:6 and Ps 75:3 in which the earth is said to rest upon pillars.¹⁷

3. 1 Enoch 18:3

Enoch then sees winds ‘spread out’ between heaven and earth. The text is not without some difficulties. The winds are said to stretch out the height of heaven with the sense of reaching up to the heavens. For this reason, I follow the variant in ms Tana 9 of yerakkebewwā (‘reach to’ the height of heaven) instead of yerabbebewwā (‘expand or stretch out’) that is found in most Ethiopic mss.¹⁸ The same expression (‘and I saw how the winds reach to the height of heaven’) is missing in the Greek altogether, most probably due to *homoioleuton*.¹⁹ I translate 1 Enoch 18:3 as follows: “And I saw how the winds reach to the height of heaven and stand between earth and heaven; they are the pillars of heaven.” The expression ‘they are the pillars of heaven’ is missing in Greek as well, again probably due to *homoioleuton*.²⁰

The narrator designates the winds pillars of heaven (ʿaʿmāda samāy) for they support the firmament of heaven.²¹ Dillmann notes comparable imagery between 1 Enoch 18:3 and what one finds in the preceding verse in which the winds are said to support the earth

¹⁴ Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 39–40) makes the case that 18:2 should read “the four winds which bear the firmament.” Charles argues that dittography in the Aramaic led to ארבע being mistaken for ארבע.

¹⁵ See his *Das Buch Henoch*, 117. See also Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 157.

¹⁶ נִשָּׂא צִפּוֹן עַל־תְּהוֹם תִּלְהָ אֶרֶץ עַל־בְּלִיַּמָּה.

¹⁷ Ps 75:3 states, for example: נִמְנִיִּם אֶרֶץ וְכָל־יִשְׁבֶּיהָ אֲנִי תִכְנִי עֲמוּדֶיהָ. See also 1 Enoch 57:2.

¹⁸ See Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 548. Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158) accepts the former sense of the verse.

¹⁹ Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40.

²⁰ Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40.

²¹ See Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158.

and firmament of heaven.²² Lods argues, however, that the winds in 1 Enoch 18:3 are not the same as the winds described in 1 Enoch 18:2 which support the earth.²³ The winds of 1 Enoch 18:3, in Lods' estimation, hold open the immense vault of the firmament and prevent its collapse.²⁴ One also finds the concept of 'pillars of heaven' in Job 26:11,²⁵ though Charles declares without explanation that the idea conveyed by 1 Enoch 18:3 is neither biblical nor Babylonian.²⁶ Edward Bunbury reports that ancient Greeks from Homer's time forward thought that a vaulted heaven rested on pillars; no indication is given as to where the pillars are situated, however.²⁷

Only Flemming, to the best of my knowledge, reports an intriguing supralinear addition for 1 Enoch 18:3 in Eth. ms BM 485: 'where he saw seven mountains of precious stones' (xaba re'ya sab'atu 'adbār za-'em'ebn kaburān).²⁸ The addition makes little sense in the context of the winds. The winds are compared to pillars, located perhaps at the ends of the earth. Is the scribe of BM 485 thinking of seven mountains also at the ends of the earth? The addition may be looking ahead to 1 Enoch 18:6–8 which also refers to seven mountains (see below) or may be referring to the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 77:4 described as higher than all other mountains on earth.

4. 1 Enoch 18:4

Next Enoch sees the winds that turn heaven and cause the sun and stars to set. Again the Greek and Ethiopic of the verse differ slightly. The Greek of 18:4 reads: 'I saw the winds of the heavens turning . . .' (Ἰδὼν ἀνέμους τῶν οὐρανῶν στρέφοντας). Charles emends τῶν οὐρανῶν to τὸν οὐρανόν in favor of the Ethiopic text, 'I saw the winds turning the heavens' (re'iku nafāsāta 'ella yemayyetewwā la-samāy).²⁹ Like Charles, I follow the Ethiopic in my translation of

²² *Das Buch Henoch*, 117.

²³ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 157.

²⁴ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 157.

²⁵ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 117, Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 157, Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 49, Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40 and Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158.

²⁶ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40.

²⁷ Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans*, 33.

²⁸ *Das Buch Henoch*, 23.

²⁹ *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 49.

1 Enoch 18:4: “And I saw the winds turning the heavens and moving (with the sense of ‘to cause to set’)³⁰ the orb of the sun and all the stars.”

Dillmann considers these to be yet another kind of wind whose functions are explained more fully in 1 Enoch 72:5 and 73:2.³¹ In those passages from the Astronomical Book we read that the sun and moon traverse the sky climbing in chariots which are driven by the winds. Lods rightly inquires about this ‘reconstructed’ cosmology: if the winds of 1 Enoch 18:4 turn the heavens with the result that the sun and stars may set, then what need exists for the chariots powered by the wind to transport the sun and stars for their setting?³² Because of this inconsistency, Lods favors the Greek variant of 1 Enoch 18:4, ‘the winds of the heavens turning’³³ which conforms more closely to the theory of celestial chariots. The idea of the sun traversing the sky in a chariot, Lods recalls, is familiar from Indo-European lore, the myth of Apollo and 2 Kings 23:11.³⁴ Neither reading impacts, though, the question of the text’s sense of geography.

5. 1 Enoch 18:5

Enoch’s vision brings him now to the atmosphere where he sees the winds of earth carrying the clouds (τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνέμους βαστάζοντας ἐν νεφέλῃ/za-diba medr nafāsāta za-yeṣawwer ba-dammanāt) and other unusual phenomena. Charles notes that later Ethiopic manuscripts feature the plural form of ‘clouds’ instead of the awkward ἐν νεφέλῃ; he suggests that Job 36:29 and 37:16 may offer a precedent for the use of the singular since ‘cloud’ (עַב) appears in these instances in the singular to convey a plural.³⁵ Charles also observes that the best Ethiopic manuscripts have the singular form, ‘cloud,’ as well. The Greek text of 1 Enoch 18:5 reads as follows: “I saw the winds on the earth supporting clouds.³⁶ I saw the ends of the earth, the

³⁰ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 276.

³¹ *Das Buch Henoch*, 117.

³² *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 157–58.

³³ See above.

³⁴ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 158. We read in 2 Kgs 23:11 that prior to the reign of Josiah, the kings of Judah had dedicated horses to the sun at the entrance to the temple, apparently near to representations of ‘chariots of the sun’ (מַרְכָּבוֹת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ).

³⁵ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40 and *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 49. On the use of the preposition ἐν and the Ethiopic ba see Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 104) who proposes that ἐν νεφέλῃ may reflect an Aramaic original of a construction with ܢ.

³⁶ Emended according to later mss. See above.

support of the heaven above.” Also plausible is the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch 18:5: “I saw the winds on the earth supporting clouds. I saw the paths of angels; I saw at the ends of the earth the firmament of the heaven above” (westa šenfa medr šen’a za-samāy mal’elta).

Winds again play a prominent role in the maintenance of the cosmos, carrying the clouds. Dillmann³⁷ and others³⁸ have observed that with this reference to the winds the Enochic text again seems to offer a response to an enigma presented in Job 37:16: “Do you know the balancing of the clouds, the wondrous works of the one whose knowledge is perfect?”³⁹

The Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 18:5 notes that the seer encounters the paths of angels (fenāwa malā’ekt) as well. Charles suggests that the expression is missing in Greek most probably due to *homoioteleuton*.⁴⁰ Black considers these paths to be the means by which angels, including the rebel angels of 1 Enoch 6, ascend to heaven and descend to earth.⁴¹ One should note, however, that we do not read elsewhere in the Enochic corpus of ‘paths for angels’ and there is no mention of the watchers descending by means other than Mount Hermon.⁴² Perhaps the author of 1 Enoch 18:5 considers these paths of angels to be similar to the ladder or stairway (סלם) by which angels ascend and descend in Jacob’s dream at Bethel (Gen 28:12).⁴³ Yet unlike the vision of Genesis 28 which leads Jacob to declare the site נֹרָא and to proclaim it the gate of heaven (שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם), there is no hint in 1 Enoch 18 that Enoch has observed the paths of angels at any one place in particular. For this reason, and in accord with the Greek text, I omit ‘paths of angels’ from my translation.

Finally, concluding the orbital journey Enoch views the firmament of heaven at the ends of the earth according to the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 18:5. I prefer the Ethiopic (re’iku westa šenfa medr šen’a za-samāy mal’elta) over the Greek variant (ἴδον πέρατα τῆς γῆς, τὸ στήριγμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω). It would appear from Eth. 1 Enoch

³⁷ *Das Buch Henoch*, 117.

³⁸ Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 158; Martin, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 49; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158.

³⁹ הַתָּדַע עַל-מַפְלֵאֵת הַמַּיִם דַּעִים. See also Job 36:29: “Can anyone understand the spreading of the clouds?” (אֵף אִישׁ יֵבִין מִפְרֵשֵׁי עָב).

⁴⁰ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40.

⁴¹ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 158.

⁴² With regard to ‘paths’ as a means for ascent, Enoch does ascend to the heavenly Palace, propelled by the winds, apparently along the paths (course = rušata) of stars in 1 Enoch 14:8; there is no allusion to angels, however, in this context.

⁴³ Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 158.

18:5 that the firmament of heaven rests upon the ends of the earth, a cosmological view also suggested by 1 Enoch 33:2.⁴⁴ The Greek of 1 Enoch 18:5, however, suggests no relationship between the ends of the earth and the firmament of heaven. This last stop of the orbital tour returns Enoch to the periphery.

Since in many respects 1 Enoch 18:1–5 with its intense focus on winds distinguishes itself from what precedes and what follows, Black wonders if the astronomical and meteorological phenomena may derive from an original ‘astronomical’ source.⁴⁵ Winds along with astronomical lore are considered elsewhere in the Enochic corpus. 1 Enoch 34–36, for example, resumes interest in the winds. These last chapters of the Book of the Watchers concern, however, the types of winds that come from each of the cardinal directions and the twelve portals through which they pass. VanderKam proposes that 1 Enoch 34–36 may, in fact, summarize the contents of 1 Enoch 76 of the Astronomical Book, which also treats the winds and their respective gates.⁴⁶

Still, the interest of 1 Enoch 18:1–5 lies not in the gates the winds pass through, but rather in the critical role the winds play in the cosmos. They adorn all creation and perpetually support heaven and earth. Winds turn the heavens and cause the celestial bodies to move. Yet, no ordinary person can see the winds, as Enoch does, nor could a mere mortal view the cornerstone of earth, the ends of the firmament and the paths of angels.

Curiously many of the details from 1 Enoch 18:1–5 are to be found in wisdom literature. In Job, for example, various aspects of the cosmos that are inaccessible to mortals are catalogued apparently to underscore the omnipotence and omniscience of God. The reader of Job is reminded that only God is knowledgeable about the cornerstone of the earth or the manner in which the clouds hang (see below). Motifs which concern the measurement of the winds and exits of the winds occur frequently in what Michael Stone refers to as ‘lists of revealed things’; these lists feature natural phenomena, perhaps building from the tradition established in Job.⁴⁷ It is possi-

⁴⁴ See Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 548.

⁴⁵ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 15.

⁴⁶ See *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 114. So also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 331–32.

⁴⁷ See his ‘Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature.’

ble that the author of 1 Enoch 18:1–5 has knowledge of standard wisdom motifs from such a list and we take up the matter of sources again in the second chapter of the third section.⁴⁸ From 1 Enoch 18:1–5 we learn more about the cosmology that underlies the text than the geography. Nonetheless, 1 Enoch 18:1–5 does serve to underscore the seer’s uniqueness: Enoch is *the* individual to rise to the challenges presented in wisdom literature like Job.

B. 1 ENOCH 18:6

Following the tour of the all-encompassing winds that brings Enoch to the end of the earth, the seer then travels to the south. There he encounters seven mountains oriented in a particular manner. While 1 Enoch 18:1–5 never reports that Enoch travels in a specific direction (we read only that he observes [ἴδον/*re’iku*] the phenomena),⁴⁹ 1 Enoch 18:6 explicitly states that Enoch travels (‘passes by’ = παρῆλθον/*halafku*) and that he is headed to the south (mangala ’azēb).⁵⁰ Though ‘south’ is missing in the Greek text, Dillmann considers the word’s absence to be an error. Following Dillmann, my translation of 1 Enoch 18:6 is as follows: “I passed in the direction of the south and it burns day and night where the seven mountains of precious stones are placed, three to the east and three to the south.” This pericope suggests a great deal about Enochic geography and has been studied extensively. Thus, we take up the previous scholarship and explore the critical role these mountains play in reconstructing an implicit map for 1 Enoch 17–19.

1. *The Place Where It Burns Day and Night*

Enoch heads to the south or southwest⁵¹ (mangala ’azēb), to a place that burns day and night (καίόμενον νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας/*z/wa-yenadded*

⁴⁸ But note that Stone (‘Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,’ 417) underscores the significance of ‘measures’ (“regular or measured function of . . . elements”), an aspect of these lists which does not occur at all in 1 Enoch 18:1–5.

⁴⁹ So also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 284.

⁵⁰ ‘Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text des Henoch-Buches,’ 1049. According to Isaac, ’azēb is more correctly translated as ‘southwest.’ Personal Correspondence, June 14, 2000.

⁵¹ See above.

between them was of burning [fire, glowing during the night . . .].⁵⁴ Just as the mountains or the area around the mountains of 18:6–10 have some connection to fire which does not cease burning, so too do the mountains of 1 Enoch 24.

Similarly, Jubilees is acquainted with a tradition of mountains of fire (Jub 8:22); these mountains lie in the south in the portion of the earth assigned to Ham. O. S. Wintermute describes the mountains of fire in Jubilees as “ringing the southern boundary of the world just as the Rafa Mountains marked a northern border.”⁵⁵ Hölscher envisions the location of the mountains of fire and Rafa (or Ripian) mountains similarly, while Alexander positions the mountains of fire more precisely in the southeast on the reconstructed Jubilees’s world map.⁵⁶ No further identification of the mountains has been made and it is unclear which mountains the author of Jub 8:22 has in mind. Hölscher remarks that the notion of ‘fire mountains’ could be Egyptian and that in the least they pertain to the sun’s course in the south.⁵⁷ While the exact nature of the mountains of fire eludes us, it becomes clear that one can isolate a tradition in which mountains burn incessantly suggesting a location subject to severe conditions. The location of the mountains according to the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 18:6 and Jubilees 8:22 is in the south.

2. *The Seven Mountains*

In the location which burns day and night, Enoch encounters seven mountains of precious stones (τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀπὸ λίθων πολυτελῶν/sab’ātu ’adbār za-’em-’ebn kebur). The mountains are oriented in a particular manner: three toward the east and three toward the south ([τρία] εἰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τρία εἰς νότον βάλλοντα/šalastu mangala šebāḥ wa-šalastu mangala ’azēb). We learn in 1 Enoch 18:8 that the

⁵⁴ Milik’s reconstruction and translation of 4QEn^d lxi. See *Books of Enoch*, 218, 354. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 354) suggests that the Greek and Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 24:1 have omitted a good portion of the text by homoeoarcton.

⁵⁵ See ‘Jubilees’ in *OTP*, 2:35–142; esp. 73, n. q.

⁵⁶ *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des Hebräischen Altertums*, 58 and ‘Notes on the “Imago Mundi” of the Book of Jubilees,’ 208. On the geography of Jubilees, see also James C. VanderKam, ‘Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,’ in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 46–69.

⁵⁷ *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des Hebräischen Altertums*, 60.

mountain between the three to the east and three to the south reaches to heaven.

The mountain range depicted in 1 Enoch 18:6 is understood to form a right angle. Nickelsburg describes it thus: “Its apex, to the northwest, is the throne of God, and its two sides, comprising three mountains each, lie on west-east and north-south axes.”⁵⁸ Nickelsburg expresses a consensus view with regard to the arrangement of the mountains. Next Nickelsburg states: “The arrangement indicates a location in the northwest.”⁵⁹ Nickelsburg’s hypothesis that the mountain range is situated in the northwest is one shared by Charles,⁶⁰ Grelot,⁶¹ Milik,⁶² and Black.⁶³ Yet one must note that, contrary to Nickelsburg’s assertion, there is nothing about the arrangement that indicates, ipso facto, that the mountain range is located in the northwest. It is made clear by the text that the apex of the arrangement is toward the northwest, but there is no indication in 1 Enoch 18:6 where the range itself is located. It is not difficult to demonstrate that such a configuration of mountains could appear in any direction: the southwest, southeast, northeast or even the northwest.

Fig. 1. Possible Arrangements of the Seven Mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6

NW	NE	NW	NE	NW	X xxx NE
					x
					x
					x
	X xxx	X xxx			
	x	x			
	x	x			
SW	x SE	x SW	SE	SW	SE

Nickelsburg,⁶⁴ Charles,⁶⁵ Grelot,⁶⁶ and Milik⁶⁷ seek to strengthen their position by appealing to similar traditions in 1 Enoch. There are

⁵⁸ 1 Enoch, 285.
⁵⁹ 1 Enoch, 285.
⁶⁰ Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch, 40–41.
⁶¹ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40, 46.
⁶² Books of Enoch, 38–41.
⁶³ Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch, 36.
⁶⁴ 1 Enoch, 285.
⁶⁵ Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch, 40–41.
⁶⁶ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40.
⁶⁷ Books of Enoch, 39.

references to seven mountains elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers, namely in 1 Enoch 24–25 and 1 Enoch 32.⁶⁸

a. *The Seven Mountains of 1 Enoch 24–25*

A tradition parallel to that of 1 Enoch 18:6 is to be found in 1 Enoch 24:1–3, in which seven mountains of precious stones are arranged similarly, three toward the east and three toward the south. Charles and apparently Nickelsburg take this mountain range which features a tree with life-giving fruit to be a northwestern paradise.⁶⁹ Perhaps they associate the scene with paradise because the presence of a tree with life-giving fruit is reminiscent of the tree of life in Eden (Gen 3:9, 22, 24). Moving from the assumption that 1 Enoch 24–25 describes a sort of paradise, Charles points to 1 Enoch 70:3 where angels measure a location in between the north and the west winds which serves as an abode for the departed righteous.⁷⁰ Charles connects this (heavenly?) respite to a garden, specifically the garden described in 1 Enoch 24–25 with its seven mountains and ‘tree of life.’⁷¹ But there is no reference made to a garden or to a tree of life in 1 Enoch 70:3. Neither is a garden mentioned in 1 Enoch 24 and 25. One finds described in 1 Enoch 24–25 fragrant trees and among them a life-giving tree that no human can touch.

This tree appears to be especially associated with a mountain (the middle mountain in the configuration) intended only for God. Following the great judgment, the fruit of this tree is to be given to the righteous and humble (1 Enoch 25:4) but it will be replanted to the north, by the ‘house of the Lord’—that is, the temple in Jerusalem (1 Enoch 25:5). There, in what is referred to as ‘a holy place’ (1 Enoch 25:5), in the shadow of the temple in Jerusalem, people will rejoice and live a long life as if in a kind of paradise. But there is little sense in a tree of a northwestern paradise being moved *further north* (unless north is to be understood on the vertical axis) in order to be replanted by the temple. 1 Enoch 24–25’s life-giving tree and the mountain

⁶⁸ One recalls the supralinear addition for 1 Enoch 18:3 that Flemming observes in Eth. ms BM 485 (see above). The addition reports that the winds which are the pillars of heaven are located near to where Enoch sees the seven mountains of precious stones. Since we know only that these winds stretch out the height of heaven and position themselves between heaven and earth, the relationship between the winds and the location of the mountains that the scribe had in mind is not clear.

⁶⁹ Respectively *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40–41, 53 and *1 Enoch*, 285–86, 313.

⁷⁰ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40, 59.

⁷¹ See above.

range it originally occupies must be located to *the south* of Jerusalem.⁷²

Furthermore, once the life-giving tree is repositioned alongside the temple in Jerusalem, the environs fit the description of a paradise more than the site of the seven mountains in 1 Enoch 24. Hence, there exists no reason for associating the seven mountains and life-giving tree of 1 Enoch 24–25 with a paradise for the righteous and elect, or with a northeastern locale. Based on the textual evidence of 1 Enoch 24–25, rather, the mountain range lies south of Jerusalem.

b. *The Seven Mountains of 1 Enoch 32*

There exists also in the Greek and Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 32 a tradition concerning seven mountains surrounded by fragrant trees. While the expression ‘seven mountains’ occurs in Gr^{Pan} and Ethiopic mss, the earliest extant tradition from 4QEn^c 1 xxvi shows instead that 1 Enoch 32:1 speaks only of ‘other mountains,’ without reference to a specific number.⁷³ These mountains are understood to lie in the north or northeast (see 1 Enoch 30:1 and 32:1). Beyond these mountains and to the east lies the ‘garden of Righteousness’ with the ‘tree of wisdom’ (1 Enoch 32:3–6). This garden is easily identifiable: because of the allusion to Adam and Eve in 1 Enoch 32:6, we know that the author has the garden of Eden in mind.⁷⁴

There is little connection made between the mountains full of various spices and fragrant trees and the garden of Righteousness in 1 Enoch 32. No commentator considers this mountain range of the east or northeast to be a parallel tradition for 1 Enoch 18:6 or 1 Enoch 24–25. In fact, in order to maintain their interpretation of a northwestern paradise, Nickelsburg,⁷⁵ Charles,⁷⁶ Grelot⁷⁷ and Black⁷⁸ must assert the existence of two paradises or gardens in the Enochic corpus. Following Tigchelaar, whose careful study of this hypothesis

⁷² See below. This view is shared by Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 130 and Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 186.

⁷³ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 232, 234.

⁷⁴ 1 Enoch 32:6 reads:

And the holy angel Raphael, who was with me, answered me and said to me: “This is the tree of wisdom from which your old father and your aged mother, who were before you, ate and learnt wisdom; and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven from the garden.”

Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 123.

⁷⁵ 1 Enoch, 285–86, 326.

⁷⁶ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 59.

⁷⁷ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 43.

⁷⁸ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 17.

merits attention, I too maintain that there is only one garden described in the Book of the Watchers, the garden of Righteousness of 1 Enoch 32 (the Enochic garden of Eden).⁷⁹ Further, it is not clear that the garden of Righteousness is synonymous with the Enochic concept of an eschatological paradise for the righteous.⁸⁰ It certainly appears to be in the opposite direction of the temporary abode of the dead (1 Enoch 22). Perhaps, though, the garden of Righteousness recalls the tradition of a northern or northeastern paradise like Ezekiel 28. That paradise, located in the vicinity of a northern 'mountain of God' would be similar, then, to the site described in 1 Enoch 17:2.

c. *The Seven Mountains in 1 Enoch 77*

Charles also looks to the Astronomical Book for insight into the location of 1 Enoch 18:6's mysterious mountain range. 1 Enoch 77:4 refers to seven mountains which are higher than all other mountains on earth. Although the Ethiopic of the preceding verse features a description of the north as a region divided into three parts, the Aramaic text recovered for 1 Enoch 77 demonstrates that the Ethiopic reading is an abridgment. The Aramaic tells of a fourth quarter in the north, but then returns to a description of the eastern quarter. Following the description of the east, the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 77:3 recounts the three divisions of the entire earth. This, in turn, is followed by a mention of seven mountains in 1 Enoch 77:4.⁸¹ We find ourselves again with a motif of seven mountains, but no mention of the location of these mountains to prove useful to the task of exegeting 1 Enoch 18:6.

Again in an attempt to establish a northwestern paradise that relates to the mountain where God will descend at a future time and the life-giving tree of 1 Enoch 24–25, Charles, Grelot and Black

⁷⁹ See above. Tigchelaar concludes, since the identification of the seventh mountain in the northwest (in 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25) with a garden or 'paradise' is not explicit in the text, and cannot be based upon contemporaneous data, one must conclude that the *Book of the Watchers* knows only one 'paradise', corresponding more or less to the garden of Eden, be it without the Tree of Life.

See his 'Eden and Paradise: the Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 47.

⁸⁰ But Nickelsburg rightly notes that though the garden does not function as a type of paradise for the dead, the author explicitly refers to the garden not with the expected גֶּדֶן (the Aramaic equivalent of גַּן), but instead with the Persian loan-word פֶּרֶדֶס, "as if it were a technical term." See *1 Enoch*, 327.

⁸¹ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 289–90.

point to 1 Enoch 77:3. In this passage from the Astronomical Book, the earth is divided into three sections: the last division is home to paradise. While the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 77:3 seems to imply that the three divisions are to be found in the north, the Aramaic clearly indicates that the text refers to a general division of the earth as a whole and does not make reference to the northern quarter at all.⁸²

When one examines the tradition of the seven mountains as they occur in 1 Enoch 24, 1 Enoch 32 and 1 Enoch 77, it becomes clear that the mountains function as part of a motif, but one that is not fixed. The mountains of 1 Enoch 32 (seven in number only in the Greek and Ethiopic mss and not in the more ancient Aramaic) which are before the garden of Righteousness in the east do not include a mountain that reaches to heaven like the throne of God. No orientation of any sort is provided for the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 77:4, nor is there mention of a 'mountain of God,' a paradise or a life-giving tree. The tradition which most closely approximates that of 1 Enoch 18:6 is the description of the seven mountains in 1 Enoch 24, mountains of precious stones arranged similarly with three mountains to the east and three to the south. 1 Enoch 32 and 1 Enoch 77 do not shed light on the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6 nor do they hint at their location.

Against the claim that the mountains are located in the north-west, Dillmann and Lods both affirm the variant reading of the Ethiopic for 1 Enoch 18:6 (*ḥalafku mangala 'azēb z(w)a-yenadded*), which indicates that the seven mountains must be located in the south as well.⁸³ The fire mountains which burn day and night, Dillmann suggests, might best be understood as rooted in traditions concerning the hot South (Africa).

One fascinating hypothesis regarding the purpose of the mountains is suggested by Nickelsburg: since the middle mountain represents the throne of God (1 Enoch 18:8; 25:3), perhaps the six mountains to the east and west are thrones of his divine entourage.⁸⁴

⁸² [ולצפונא צפון] בדי בה צפנן ומתכנסין וסחרין כל ערבי שמיא ואולין למדנחי שמיא [ולמדנחא מ]

דנח בדי מן תמן דנחין מאני שמיא ואף מזרח בדי מא[ין] [וחזית תלת . . .] ת ארעא חד מנחון למדבר בה בני

אנשא וחד מנחון [לכל] [ימין] [ולנחרין וחד מנחון] למדברין ולש[ב]ע [ן]ל[פרד]ס קושטא vacat

See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 289–90.

⁸³ *Das Buch Henoch*, 117 and *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 158.

⁸⁴ *1 Enoch*, 286.

A similar phenomenon may be attested in a later Zoroastrian work. A. V. Williams Jackson, reflecting upon the seats of the archangels around the throne of God in *Num. Rab.* 2, calls attention to a passage from the Zoroastrian Great Bundahishn.⁸⁵ In the text (Gd. Bund. 2.4), the Amesha Spentas (Amshaspands or 'Immortal Holy Ones') are seated near the throne of Ahura Mazda where they serve him as 'attendant spirits or ministering angels.'⁸⁶ Three of the celestial council sit to the right of Ahura Mazda, three to the left. Jackson reproduces their arrangement thus:⁸⁷

	Ahura Mazda	
	Vohu Manah	Spenta Armaiti
Asha Vahishta		Haurvatat
Khshathra Vairya		Ameretat

A reference to a seventh, Shraosha, who is *not* regarded as an Amshaspand, but takes part in the council and sits opposite from Ahura Mazda, recalls the seven archangels that we encounter in Gr^{Pan} 1 Enoch 20. Though there is no reference to mountains in the Zoroastrian source—Jackson presumes the ministering spirits and Ahura Mazda are in heaven⁸⁸—the number of divine beings, each with special throne⁸⁹ to the right and left of the deity, is intriguing in light of 1 Enoch 18:7.⁹⁰ Since the middle mountain, we learn, serves as the throne for God (1 Enoch 18:8; 25:3), perhaps, as Nickelsburg suggests, the other six function as thrones for the archangels, prominent members of the divine court elsewhere in 1 Enoch (cf. 1 Enoch 9–10, 20). Of all attempts to explain the purpose or origin of the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–8, I find this proposal the most compelling.⁹¹

⁸⁵ 'A Brief Note on the Amshaspands, or a Contribution to Zoroastrian Angelology,' *AR* 1 (1898): 363–66.

⁸⁶ 'A Brief Note on the Amshaspands,' 364. On the antiquity of the Amesha Spentas, see Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2001), 21–24.

⁸⁷ 'A Brief Note on the Amshaspands,' 364.

⁸⁸ 'A Brief Note on the Amshaspands,' 364, 366.

⁸⁹ See also Vendidad 19:32.

⁹⁰ One thinks of the thrones of the twenty-four elders that surround the heavenly throne of God in Rev 4:2–4.

⁹¹ The 'Son of Man,' most likely Enoch in the Similitudes, judges from upon a throne; see 1 Enoch 69:27 and cf. also 1 Enoch 45:3. Similarly, Enoch as Metatron sits on a throne in the highest heaven. Cf. 3 Enoch 10:1–2. The righteous, perhaps martyrs, will each be given a throne in the afterlife according to 1 Enoch 108:12. Cf. Matt 19:28; Rev 3:21; *Ascen. Isa.* 9:10, 18; and *Apoc. El. (C)* 1:8. Thrones,

C. 1 ENOCH 18:7

These mountains are further described in 1 Enoch 18:7. The three to the east are of colored stone; one is referred to more specifically as pearl (ἀπὸ λίθου μαργαρίτου/⁹²em-²ebna bāḥray) and another as ‘healing stone,’ following the Ethiopic ²em-²ebna fawwes; the Greek ἀπὸ λίθου θαθέν is unclear. Since ‘healing stone’ makes little sense, emendations such as ‘violet’ or ‘blue’ stone (ἰανθίνου or ὑακίνθου), indicating perhaps sapphire or jasper (ἰάσπιδος) have been proposed.⁹² The mountains to the south are of red stone, literally of a ‘fiery stone’ (ἀπὸ λίθου πυρροῦ/⁹³em-²ebn qayyih).⁹³ Nickelsburg notes that the author’s gemology is obscure in many respects.⁹⁴ The intricacies of 1 Enoch 18:7’s gemology do not critically impact our understanding of the geography with but few exceptions. The text of 1 Enoch 18:7 reads as follows: “And those to the east (are) of colored stone, one of pearl and one of jasper.⁹⁵ Those to the south of fiery (red) stone.”

An association of mountains with gems recalls Ezekiel 28’s ‘mountain of God’ where the primal human being dwelt with a covering of precious stones. The ‘mountain of God’ in this context appears as Eden, the garden of God (Ezek 28:13). The inhabitant of the garden had precious jewels to serve as a ‘hedge’ (‘wall’)⁹⁶ or a ‘garment’⁹⁷ (כסו). The precious gems mentioned in Ezek 28:13, nine

most likely for the divine court, are set up in proximity to God’s throne for judgment in Dan 7:9. Though we read in *b. Hag.* 15a that only God is allowed to sit in heaven, *Massekhet Hekhalot* 7 reports that the seven angels first created are allowed to sit. In the *Sefer ha-Razim* 3:2–3 and 5:4, certain angels possess thrones. Angels also appear to belong to a rank called ‘thrones’; cf. Col 1:16; *Apoc. El. (C)* 1:11–12; *T. Adam* 4:8.

⁹² See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 286.

⁹³ Does this recall the stones of fire of Ezek 28:14 and 16? See, however, Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 2:93), who suggests the stones of fire are fellow inhabitants of the mountain or stars. This understanding of ‘stones of fire’ would not seem compatible with the context of 1 Enoch 18:7.

⁹⁴ *1 Enoch*, 286.

⁹⁵ Following Nickelsburg’s emendation. *1 Enoch*, 276, 286.

⁹⁶ So H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel’s Prophecy on Tyre* (Ez. 26,1–28,19): *A New Approach* (BibOr 20; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968), 116–18 and Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 579, 581–82. Cf. Isa 54:12 (see below).

⁹⁷ So Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 389, 393 and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:82; 92. Blenkinsopp notes that the inhabitant (or the ‘First Man’ since the account in Ezekiel 28 is comparable in many respects to Genesis 2–3) appears imbued with priestly status, perhaps conferred by the garment resembling that of the high priest’s breastplate. See his *Ezekiel*, 124.

in number, correspond roughly⁹⁸ with the gems that are to be laid in the high priest's breastplate in Exod 28:17–20.⁹⁹ The gems of Ezekiel 28 are carnelian, chrysolite (peridot),¹⁰⁰ moonstone (diamond), beryl (gold topaz),¹⁰¹ onyx, jasper, sapphire, turquoise (garnet), and emerald.¹⁰² The nature of the relationship between the gems of Ezek 28:13 and Exod 28:17–20 is difficult to establish.¹⁰³ Zimmerli, observing that the enumeration of the jewels destroys the parallelism in Ezek 28:13, considers the list a secondary insertion.¹⁰⁴ There remains a connection, nonetheless, between the precious stones (כל־אבן יקרה), a paradise and the primeval man of Ezekiel 28 and the Yahwist account of Eden in Genesis 2–3.¹⁰⁵

From Urzeit to Endzeit, precious stones also appear in the prophecy of Isa 54:11–12 of Jerusalem refashioned as God's city.¹⁰⁶ Looking forward to a time following the exile, a new Jerusalem will be built with foundations of sapphires, pinnacles of rubies, gates of crystals and walls of precious stones.¹⁰⁷ This restored Jerusalem, Claus Westermann suggests, is of "supernatural splendor," a fact underscored by the references to gems and precious stones.¹⁰⁸ Similar imagery occurs in

⁹⁸ But see LXX Ezek 28:13, which features twelve jewel names in the exact sequence utilized by Exod 28:17–20.

⁹⁹ There are to be twelve gemstones, arranged in four rows (first row: carnelian, chrysolite, emerald; second row: turquoise, sapphire, moonstone; third row: jacinth, agate, amethyst; fourth row: beryl, onyx, jasper) on the priestly breastplate to recall the twelve tribes of Israel:

טור אדם פטדה וברקת הטור האחד והטור השני נפך ספיר ויהלם והטור השלישי לשם
שבו ואחלמה והטור הרביעי תרשיש ושהם וישפה

¹⁰⁰ See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 579.

¹⁰¹ See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:82–83.

¹⁰² אדם פטדה ויהלם תרשיש שהם וישפה ספיר נפך וברקת

¹⁰³ Greenberg asks judiciously:

Was there a version of the Paradise story that told of these stones, which our passage reflects directly, and from which ultimately derived the stones of the priest's breastpiece (increased to twelve—one for each Israelite tribe)? Or was the reference to hedge (or garment) of precious stones particularized by borrowing from Exodus' list, reducing it by a set of three and changing its order so as to forestall associating the Tyrian king's regalia with that of the Israelite priest . . . ?

See *Ezekiel 21–37*, 582.

¹⁰⁴ *Ezekiel*, 2:82; 89. See also Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 123.

¹⁰⁵ See Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 123–24. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:90.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary* (OTL; trans. David M. G. Stalker; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 278.

¹⁰⁷ הנה אנכי מרביץ בך אבניך ויסדהך בספירים: ושמתי כדכר שמשתיך ושעריך
לאבני אקדה וכל־גבולך לאבני־הפז

¹⁰⁸ *Isaiah 40–66*, 277–78.

Tob 13:16–17 and is recalled in Rev 21:18–20’s vision of the New Jerusalem. The city which descends from heaven in Revelation 21 has a wall of jasper and its foundations are adorned with every jewel (jasper, sapphire, agate, emerald, onyx, carnelian, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprase, jacinth, and amethyst).¹⁰⁹

The appearance of gems is not insignificant. In Ezekiel 28 the gems relate to a covering or garment for the primeval man or refer to a hedge of sorts located in Eden, on the mountain of God. The motif of the jeweled hedge or fence recurs as the wall of precious stones in Isaiah 54, Tobit 13, and Revelation 21. In Ezek 28:13, it would seem the author meant to call attention to the priestly breastplate of Exodus 28. Similarly, the twelve gems in Revelation 21 remind us of the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve apostles and so on.¹¹⁰ Precious stones suggest, according to Leonard Thompson, “the images of perfection, holiness, and permanence.”¹¹¹

One recalls also that Gilgamesh encounters a garden full of gems en route to Utnapishtim. Gilgamesh spies an extraordinary grove of trees, some bearing carnelian as fruit or lapis lazuli as foliage after he passes through the realm of darkness (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). Horowitz suggests that this tradition in the Epic of Gilgamesh reflects “an ancient Mesopotamian belief that gemstones, which had to be imported into the Mesopotamian plain from afar, were plentiful in

¹⁰⁹ καὶ ἡ ἐνδόμησις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἴασις καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρὸν ὅμοιον ὕαλφ καθαρῷ. οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως παντὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ κεκοσμημένοι ὁ θεμέλιος ὁ πρῶτος ἴασις ὁ δεῦτερος σάπφειρος, ὁ τρίτος χαλκηδών, ὁ τέταρτος σμάραγδος, ὁ πέμπτος σαρδόνυξ, ὁ ἕκτος σάρδιον, ὁ ἕβδομος χρυσόλιθος, ὁ ὄγδοος βήρυλλος, ὁ ἕνατος τοπάζιον, ὁ δέκατος χρυσόπρασος, ὁ ἐνδέκατος ὑάκινθος, ὁ δωδέκατος ἀμέθυστος.

Charles (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Revelation of St. John* [2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920], 2:167–68) and Ernst Lohmeyer (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes* [HNT; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953], 171) draw attention to the connection between the twelve gems of Revelation 21 and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. See also Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (JSJSup 50; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 130–34 and *The Apocalypse* (New Testament Message 22; Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1979), 149. Charles (*The Revelation of St. John*, 167–68) notes that the stones of Revelation 21 are given in the reverse order of that required by the signs, in order to disassociate the New Jerusalem from astrology and to imply instead a new order at work. But see Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, 132–33.

¹¹⁰ M. Eugene Boring (*Revelation* [Louisville: John Knox, 1989], 214) suggests that the jewels in the foundation of Rev 21:19–20 are related to Exod 28:17–21 and LXX Ezek 28:13 and observes, “Since a similar description is found in both Josephus and Philo, it is clear that John is following a tradition of interpreting the stones of the breastplate of the High Priest in this symbolic manner.”

¹¹¹ *Revelation* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 183.

distant lands.”¹¹² Hence, the gems serve to underscore the exotic nature of regions outside the inhabited world. Horowitz also recalls a much later tradition in which Alexander the Great comes upon a region of darkness at the ends of the earth; the ground of this mysterious region was covered with gems. Due to the utter darkness, Alexander and his traveling companions were unaware, however, of all the rich resources of the terrain.¹¹³ Yet, neither the grove-bearing gems of Gilgamesh nor the gems that cover the ground of a region of darkness in the Alexander Romance are comparable to the mountains of gems in 1 Enoch 18:3.

Another possible parallel may be found in a Mesopotamian tradition in which the layers of heaven (as part of a multileveled universe) are each composed of a different precious stone. KAR 307 30–38 and AO 8196 iv 20–22, which describe the three layers of heaven and their divine denizens, both date from the first millennium, though Horowitz notes that the tradition may be as old as the Kassite period.¹¹⁴ Horowitz explains that it is the floor of each of the heavens that is composed of the precious stones (luludanitu-stone, saggilmund-stone, and jasper).¹¹⁵ Each floor, then, would presumably be visible from below, comparable to the account in Exod 24:9–10 in which Moses and the elders of Israel see beneath God’s feet “something like a pavement of sapphire stone, like the heavens for clearness.”¹¹⁶ Similarly, Charles thinks the idea of seven mountains is derived from Babylonian sources and pertains to the seven planet gods, the sevenfold division of the heaven, or the sevenfold division of the earth.¹¹⁷ It is not clear that Charles has any one tradition from the ancient Near East in mind; rather the primary motif that he isolates is one favoring the number seven.¹¹⁸

¹¹² *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 101–2, 329.

¹¹³ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 102. See also Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Iskandarnama* (trans. Minoo S. Southgate; New York: Columbia University Press), 58.

¹¹⁴ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 4.

¹¹⁵ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 9.

¹¹⁶ כמעשה לבנת הספיר וכעצם השמים לטהר. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 9.

¹¹⁷ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 41. See also Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, 101, who notes correspondences between the gems which make up the seven mountains in 1 Enoch 18 and precious stones associated with the seven planets of antiquity. Collins’ observation is most intriguing. If the author of 1 Enoch 18:6–8 intends to connect the seven mountains in some way with the seven planets, the reason for the association is unclear.

¹¹⁸ On the motifs of seven heavens and seven planets, as well as the prevalence of the number seven in Mesopotamian magic, see Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, 21–23; 28–29; 53–54.

There is no obvious indication in 1 Enoch 18:7, however, that the mountains to the east and to the south are in any way similar to various levels of heaven. In fact, notes Wright, the Book of the Watchers indicates there to be only one heaven in its depiction of the cosmos, in contradistinction to the “complex schema of multiple heavens of the Greeks,” or the seven heavens of later Jewish and Christian apocalypses (as well as in *hekhalot* and *merkabah* literature).¹¹⁹ Likewise, it appears that the mountains of precious stones in 1 Enoch 18:7 are *sui generis* when compared to garments or hedges of gemstones, the walls of precious stones in the New Jerusalem, the groves of trees which produce jewels or the various layers of heaven composed of gems.

D. 1 ENOCH 18:8

Although these mountains remain enigmatic, the seventh mountain, occupying the apex of the three mountains to the south and the three mountains to the east, is more fully described. It reaches up to heaven and is made of stibium (or alabaster, emeralds, antimony? φοικά/pēka)¹²⁰ with a summit of lapis lazuli (ἡ κορυφή τοῦ θρόνου ἀπὸ λίθου σαπφείρου/demāḥu la-manbaru ’em-’ebna sanpēr/4QEn^c 1 viii 27 כֶּרֶסָא אֵ).¹²¹ Furthermore, this seventh and most spectacular mountain is said to be like the throne of God (ὡςπερ θρόνος θεοῦ/kama manbaru la-’egzi’abḥēr). The text reads as follows: “The middle one among them reached to the sky like the throne of God, of stibium and the top of the throne (was) of lapis lazuli.”

The reference to lapis lazuli and the suggestion that this mountain is in some way like a seat for God call to mind several of the theo-

¹¹⁹ See ‘Cosmography of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch and Its Affinities,’ 80, 105; cf. his *Early History of Heaven*, 123. See also Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, 25.

¹²⁰ φοικά (and pēka as well) appears to be a transliteration of the Hebrew פֶּיךָ (‘antimony’; see Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch*, 47, Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 160 and Black, *Books of Enoch or I Enoch*, 159; cf. Isa 54:11) or נֶפֶךָ (‘emerald’; Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch*, 47 and Black, *Books of Enoch or I Enoch*, 159, who calls attention to emeralds in Exod 28:18; 39:11 [one of the gems in the ephod] and Ezek 27:16; 28:13) or the Aramaic כֶּרֶסָא (proposed by Knibb [*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 104], but not attested elsewhere in Aramaic). Charles (*Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 40) describes the stone as alabaster.

¹²¹ See also Milik’s (*Books of Enoch*, 200, 350) reconstruction of 4QEn^c 1 viii: [. . .] כֶּרֶסָא אֵינִי בַסְפִּיר (“[. . . the top of] the throne was [of sapphire . . .]”).

phanies in the Hebrew Bible. As previously mentioned, Exod 24:9–10 suggests that the bottom surface of God's realm is made of lapis lazuli. Ezek 1:26–28 and 10:1 also know of a throne of God that is in the appearance of lapis lazuli.¹²² The description of a mountain-top throne recalls the setting of Isaiah's vision in the temple, where he sees the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne (Isa 6:1). The references to lapis lazuli and to a summit like the throne of the Lord in 1 Enoch 18:8 indicate that the mountain will be the site of a theophany, a place where God would appear and could be seen on earth.

When this mountain-throne is considered in light of 1 Enoch 18:9 ("And flaming fire I saw"; καὶ πῦρ καίόμενον ἴδον/wa-'essāta za-yenadded re'iku), the reader is reminded again of the Sinai theophany. There God descends upon the mountain in fire (Exod 19:18).¹²³ Once more the Glory of the Lord appears in the form of a devouring fire atop the mountain (Exod 24:17).¹²⁴ Neh 9:13 also intimates that Sinai's summit extends to heaven like that of the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8.¹²⁵

If one recalls that Eth. 1 Enoch 18:6 points the reader in the direction of the south, it appears quite plausible that 1 Enoch 18:8 might well have in mind Mount Sinai itself as the mountain throne of the Lord. Yet, unlike Exodus's depiction of Mount Sinai, the theophany or hint that something as momentous as the giving of torah will occur at the site is lacking in 1 Enoch 18:8. We find in the parallel tradition of 1 Enoch 24, in the introduction to the Book of the Watchers, and in the equally ancient Astronomical Book, however, confirmation that this southern mountain is Sinai, and that Sinai will be the site of a theophany—that place on earth, where God will descend in the near future.

In 1 Enoch 1:4 and 77:1, God's descent in order to bring judgment or blessings (eschatological?) will occur *unambiguously* on Mount Sinai or in the south. 1 Enoch 1:4 reads: "... and the Eternal God will tread from there (the heavenly abode) upon Mount Sinai, and he will appear with his host."¹²⁶ Lars Hartman acknowledges in 1

¹²² כמראה אבן־ספיר דמות כסא

¹²³ ירד עליו יהוה באש

¹²⁴ ומראה כבוד יהוה כאש אכלת בראש ההר

¹²⁵ ועל הר־סיני ירדת ודבר עמהם משמים; since the verse suggests that God is atop Sinai while speaking from heaven, the contradiction is resolved if one imagines the mountain's summit extending heavenward. I thank Richard Bautch for this observation.

¹²⁶ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 58–59. See also Nickelsburg,

Enoch 1:4 echoes of Deut 33:2 (“YHWH came from Sinai . . .”; יְהוָה בָּא מִסִּינַי) but remarks that it is not just happenstance that Sinai occurs in the text.¹²⁷ Believing Sinai to have some meaning in the context, Hartman explores how Sinai occurs in other contemporary Jewish texts. Hartman concludes that the Sinai theophany becomes in postbiblical texts a significant *topos* that is frequently embellished.¹²⁸ The theophany at Sinai becomes in works such as Philo, *Spec.* 2.188 and Ps.-Philo 11.5 a world altering, cosmic event.¹²⁹ Hartman also notes how the law-giving at Sinai assumed an eschatological aspect: “people had better use the respite for conversion to the law before God renews the world and takes vengeance on the wicked who have transgressed His word.”¹³⁰

As a *coincidencia oppositorum* of the Divine Warrior returning to right wrongs, 1 Enoch 77:1 presents the south as a site of good tidings: “. . . they call the second (quarter) the south, because there the Most High descends, and there especially the one who is blessed for ever descends.”¹³¹ According to Isaac, an unpublished Amharic commentary on the verse identifies this site as Mount Sinai.¹³²

The identification of the mountain as Sinai accords well with what appears to be the duplicate version of 1 Enoch 18:6–9’s seven mountains in 24:1–25:7. In this account we also read of the seven mountains of precious stone. The highest one in the middle, according to 1 Enoch 25:3, will serve as the throne of the Lord of Glory when he comes to visit the earth in goodness or for blessing. In its vicinity is the tree of life; it will be given to the righteous and humble

1 Enoch, 144–45. Sinai in 1 Enoch 1:4 and Hermon in 1 Enoch 6:6 and 13:7 (also called Senir in 13:9) are the only mountains to be named in the Book of the Watchers.

¹²⁷ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1979), 42.

¹²⁸ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, 42.

¹²⁹ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, 42–43.

¹³⁰ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, 43. Cf. Tg. Hab 3:2–3; Ps.-Philo, 11:1–2; *Exod. Rab* 20:2.

¹³¹ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 179.

¹³² Cf. Neugebauer in Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 407; L. Fusella, ‘Libro dei giubilei, Libro di Enoc’ in *Apocrifi dell’Antico Testamento* (ed. P. Sacchi; Torino: 1981), 413–22; 467–667; esp. 587–88; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 290, who sees in 1 Enoch 77:1 an unmistakable reference to Sinai, states the mountain could not be that of 25:3 which he places in the north; yet, in Charles’ estimation (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 165) 1 Enoch 77:1 recalls the mountain throne of 1 Enoch 25:3. Cf. *Jub.* 4:26; 8:19, *Pirqe R. El.* 41 and *Pr. Jac.* 8, a magical text from perhaps the second century CE: “You (God) who s[et] upon (the) mountain of h[oly] [S]inaios.” Charlesworth, ‘Prayer of Jacob,’ in *OTP*, 2:715–23; esp. 720. On Mount Sinai as a type of cosmic mountain, see Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 107–23.

following the great judgment when God takes vengeance on all and brings consummation to the world.

But of the tree, the Ethiopic text reports that “towards the north, it will be planted, in a holy place, by the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.”¹³³ Inasmuch as it is clear that the house of the Lord refers to the temple, the text would indicate that the tree in 1 Enoch 25:5 is south of Jerusalem. As noted above, for those who would argue that 1 Enoch 25’s mountain-throne of God and tree of life are already in the northwest, it is certainly a textual conundrum: as Black observes, how can one envision the tree in the northwest moving *further north* in order that it be located at the Jerusalem temple?¹³⁴

Lods remarks that without a doubt 1 Enoch 25:5 indicates that the mountains are in the south.¹³⁵ Observing that the description of the seven mountains is reminiscent of the environment around Jebel Musa, he writes: “Je ne vois en somme pas de raison sérieuse de douter qu’il s’agisse ici du Sinaï, d’un Sinaï idéalisé, à la fois le Sinaï des temps primitifs et celui des temps messinaïques.”¹³⁶ Yet, such an interpretation provokes the question about the location of the tree of life near or on Mount Sinai. The presence of the tree of life, after all, brings to mind the primeval garden paradise of Genesis 2–3, not the site of the ‘great theophany’ and the giving of torah familiar from Exodus. What indeed is meant by this combination of motifs?

There are traditions postdating the Book of the Watchers that link torah with not only the primeval paradise but the tree of life as well.¹³⁷ God relays his statutes and judgments to Moses on Sinai,

¹³³ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 114. Gr^{Pan} 25:5 reads instead: ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς εἰς ζωὴν εἰς βορὰν καὶ . . . (‘its fruit to the elect for life for food’). Charles thinks εἰς ζωὴν derives from לחייה לחיין, a corruption of ליהויה (‘will be’; hence ‘its fruit shall be for food to the elect’); he also holds that the Ethiopic confused εἰς βορὰν with εἰς βορρὰν (‘to the north’), resulting in wa-mangala mes^c (the conjunction ‘wa’ misplaced). Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 63 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 53. But see Gadla Abbuna ‘Ezra (A. Caquot, ‘Les Actes d’Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē,’ *Annales d’Éthiopie* 4 [1961]: 69–121; esp. 77) in which a majestic tree is planted to the north and its fruit given to the elect. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 561.

¹³⁴ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 171.

¹³⁵ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 186. So also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 130.

¹³⁶ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 185; cf. also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 129.

¹³⁷ Consider, however, Ps 1:2–3 where those who delight in the law of the Lord are compared to trees yielding fruit and with leaves that do not wither: כִּי אֵם בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה חֲפָצוֹ וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ יִהְיֶה יוֹמָם וּלְיָלִיָּהּ וְהָיָה כַעֲץ שְׂתוּל עַל-פְּלִי מִיָּם אֲשֶׁר פִּרְיוֹ יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ וְעָלָהּ לֹא-יִבּוֹל וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ. So also Ps. Sol. 14:1–4 which associates those who follow the law with the tree of life.

according to Ps.-Philo 11:15, and additionally shows him there the tree of life. In *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer* Adam is told to keep and dress the garden; this means, the sages explain, he is to keep torah and the commandments. Observing torah is the means by which one keeps “to the way of the tree of life.” According to *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer*, the tree of life, in fact, signifies torah (*Pirque R. El.* 14a ii).¹³⁸

The connotation could be, then, that the law itself is life-giving. Further, this interpretation of 1 Enoch 24–25 would imply that *the* theophany, God’s descent on Sinai (which proves to be a time of judgment for the watchers according to 1 Enoch 1:4, but a time of great blessing for the people [1 Enoch 77:3]), has already occurred from the perspective of the audience in the form of events at Sinai described in Exodus. From the antediluvian perspective of the Book of the Watchers, this important event would be yet to come. Perhaps, then, replanting the tree of life, a source of life and happiness for the righteous and the humble (1 Enoch 25:4–6), near to the Jerusalem temple recalls the author’s own sense of God acting in history, with the locus of religious activity shifting from the scene of the exodus to that place where God chooses to make his name dwell.¹³⁹

Although Jon Levenson suggests that Mount Zion was heir to the legacy of Mount Sinai and assumed many of its characteristics,¹⁴⁰ it is clear from intertestamental literature like the Enochic corpus and Jubilees, that Sinai continued to play an important role in sacred cosmology and remained distinguishable from sites like Zion and the garden of Eden in the Second Temple period.¹⁴¹ Given the significance

¹³⁸ *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great) According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna* (trans. and annotated Gerald Friedlander; New York: Hermon Press, 1970), 85. For other associations of torah and Genesis 2–3 see the Targum on Gen 2:15 (“And the Lord God took the man from the mountains of worship, where he had been created and made him dwell in the Garden of Eden to do service and to keep its commandments”). Cf. also a similar interpretation in Church Father Theophilus (*To Autolytus* ii 24) and in 2 Enoch 31:1 regarding a garden in Eden in the east where Adam should observe the law and keep the instructions. See also Tg. Neof. to Gen 3:24, Tg. Ps.-J., Tg. Yer. II; and Tg. Yer I which suggests that following torah is better than the tree of life.

¹³⁹ Perhaps the presence of Michael, the archangel in charge of the people of Israel (1 Enoch 20:5) who provides Enoch a tour of the mountain throne of God (1 Enoch 24–25), also hints that this mountain is Sinai. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 129; Lods, *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 183: “Michel, le prince des enfants d’Israël, est qualifié pour veiller sur les trésors qui leur sont destinés.” See also Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1.

¹⁴⁰ *Sinai and Zion*, 187.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, *Jub.* 4:25–26 and 8:19–20. See also Philo, *Moses* 2.70.

of Sinai in 1 Enoch 1:4 (along with Hermon, it is one of the few locales to be referred to by name!) and the important role the south plays as the site where the Most High will descend (1 Enoch 77:1), connecting the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 that reaches to heaven (a mountain with a lapis lazuli summit that is a veritable throne of God) with Sinai appears a most plausible reading. This interpretation is confirmed as well by the parallel tradition in 1 Enoch 24–25 which provides more information about the coming theophany and the tree of life to be replanted in the north near the temple.

E. CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY OF THE WINDS AND SEVEN MOUNTAINS IN THE SOUTH

Following tours of the extreme northern and the western regions, Enoch completes an orbital journey structured around various winds. The seer, as well as the audience of the Book of the Watchers, learns of the critical role winds play in the upkeep of the cosmos. In 1 Enoch 18:1–5 Enoch is privy to phenomena to which no human would have access. It is most unusual that the very phenomena Enoch views in these chapters are the same sort said to be outside the purview of humanity according to wisdom literature. Job 37:16, for example, asks rhetorically if humanity knows the balancing of the clouds. 1 Enoch 18:5 provides an answer: the seer views the winds that support the clouds.

After the orbital journey, Enoch travels first to the south where he sees seven extraordinary mountains. The mountain with a summit of lapis lazuli that reaches up to heaven is described as comparable to the throne of God. We learn from 1 Enoch 24–25, the duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18:6–9, that this mountain will be the site of a theophany. It is here that God will descend when he visits the earth in blessing. Could the blessing which imparts life be torah itself, the fruit of the theophanic experience at Sinai? It is possible in my estimation, but one should observe that reference to torah is almost completely absent in the Enochic corpus.¹⁴² The importance of Sinai and that of the south is recalled in several Enochic works, strengthening the hypothesis that the middle mountain of 1 Enoch 18 (and 24–25) is Sinai.

¹⁴² See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 50–51.

Like 1 Enoch 17, we have again a first person narration of Enoch's journey. The seer describes only that which he sees ([ἴδον/re'iku . . .]) and there is no real indication of movement, although it can be inferred especially in 1 Enoch 18:1–5 by the wide range of phenomena viewed. Only 1 Enoch 18:6 states definitively that Enoch passes (παρῆλθον/ḥalafku) to the south. In 1 Enoch 18:1–9, the seer's travels appear rather solitary. Unlike 1 Enoch 17, there is no reference to traveling companions or guides escorting Enoch (cf. 1 Enoch 17:1, 2, 4).

Like the prior chapter, 1 Enoch 18:1–8 appears devoted to the periphery. In 1 Enoch 18:1–5 elements related to the atmosphere and firmament might be considered remote if viewed along a vertical axis. Extraordinary phenomena like the storehouses of winds, cornerstone of the earth, and pillars of heavens suggest that Enoch observes the structure of the universe. It is clear that in 1 Enoch 18:6 the seer has been transported again to a distant location: where else could one find a place that burns day and night? The mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 is also exceptional: its summit, reminiscent of the mountain in 1 Enoch 17:2, reaches to heaven. While the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2 is associated with storm or possibly darkness, and with luminaries and meteorological phenomena, the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 is associated with fire (1 Enoch 18:6, 9). Further, as one of seven extraordinary mountains made of a precious stone, it has a lapis lazuli summit and is compared to the throne of God.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 18:9–19:3: THE PRISON OF THE STARS AND ANGELS

A. 1 ENOCH 18:9

The first half of 1 Enoch 18:9 may be translated with some certainty since the Greek and Ethiopic mss traditions offer the same reading: ‘and a flaming fire I saw’ (καὶ πῦρ καίόμενον ἵδον/wa-’essāta za-yenadded re’iku). The second half of the verse is less transparent. Gr^{Pan} reads ‘and beyond these mountains’ (κάκεινα τῶν ὀρέων τούτων). The Ethiopic reads: ‘and what was in all the mountains’ (wa-za-hallo westa k’ellu ’adbār).

Most commentators maintain that the Ethiopic translator misinterpreted κάκεινα (= ἐπέκεινα) in 1 Enoch 18:9 as elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers.¹ While ἐπέκεινα corresponds to להלא מן (‘beyond, further from’) in extant Aramaic passages like 1 Enoch 30:1, 3 and 31:2, the Ethiopic does not provide a consistent reading. ἐπέκεινα is rendered westa (‘in, into, to’) in 1 Enoch 18:9, but it is rendered xaba (‘by, with, at, near’) in 1 Enoch 30:3 and 31:2 and as mangala (‘to, toward, in the direction of’) in 1 Enoch 24:2. No Aramaic is extant for the verse but Milik reconstructs 1 Enoch 18:9 in a manner like that of the Greek: ונור דלק חזית ולהלא מן ונוריא אלן.² I also translate 1 Enoch 18:9 similarly: “and a burning fire I saw, and beyond these mountains.”

It is unclear if one should view the sites described in 1 Enoch 18:9 in conjunction with those of 1 Enoch 18:6–8 or of 1 Enoch 18:10. I understand 1 Enoch 18:9 to pertain initially to the context of the seven mountains, but ultimately to direct the audience away from that locus. There is good reason for associating the burning fire of 1 Enoch 18:9 with the mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–8. First, there is no transition between the description of the mountain reaching

¹ Cf. for example, Charles, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 41–42, Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 105, and Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 159.

² *Books of Enoch*, 200.

to the heavens in 1 Enoch 18:8 and the burning fire of 1 Enoch 18:9. Second, Charles also notes that the parallel tradition of the seven mountains in 1 Enoch 24–25 includes a mountain range of fire (1 Enoch 24:1). The reference to a mountain or mountain range of fire in 1 Enoch 24 may intimate that the burning fire of 1 Enoch 18:9 pertains at least to the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8, if not to the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–7.³ Finally, the burning fire again reminds one of the Sinai theophany which joins the imagery of a mountain, a summit of lapis lazuli and the fiery presence of the divine (cf. Exod 24:9, 10, 17 and see above).

Since I follow the Greek reading for 1 Enoch 18:9b ('and beyond these mountains . . .'), I understand the second half of the verse to point the audience toward a new location. Further, like Nickelsburg and Milik, I read 1 Enoch 18:9b in conjunction with 1 Enoch 18:10a:⁴ thus, "And beyond these mountains, is a place, the end of the great earth" (κακεινα τῶν ὀρέων τούτων τόπος ἐστὶν πέρας τῆς μεγάλης γῆς). I find Milik's reconstruction of the Aramaic for 1 Enoch 18:9 and 1 Enoch 10a quite interesting; he conjectures: "And I saw a flaming fire, and beyond those mountains there is a region on the other side of the great earth."⁵ I prefer to follow the Greek text more closely in my translation, although in accord with Milik's reading I understand Enoch to be traveling in 1 Enoch 18:9b–10a to 'the other side of the great earth.' While Enoch's travels to the seven mountains brought him to the burning south (1 Enoch 18:6), 1 Enoch 18:9b describes the next tour which occurs in the east.

B. 1 ENOCH 18:10

The place beyond the mountains brings Enoch to the 'end of the great earth' (πέρας τῆς μεγάλης γῆς) according to the Greek, or 'beyond the great earth' (mā'dotu la-'abiy medr) according to the Ethiopic. The site offers a terminus of some sort; it is here apparently where the heavens meet the earth. I translate 1 Enoch 18:10 as follows: "is a place, the end of the great earth. There the heavens are completed."

Black considers this expression 'great earth' to be highly unusual. He suggests that a misreading of the Aramaic has occurred and

³ Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 41.

⁴ *1 Enoch*, 276; *Books of Enoch*, 200.

⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 200.

offers instead 'beyond the ends of the earth' (לְעֵבֶר בְּרִיתָא דְאַרְעָא), a phrase familiar from Tg. Prov. 30:4.⁶ While the expression 'great earth' seems rather awkward, Nickelsburg observes a verbal parallel with Hesiod's *Theogony* which locates Tartarus, the prison of the titans, at 'the ends of the huge earth.' (πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης).⁷

We learn, then, in 1 Enoch 18:10 that at this site the heavens are finished or gathered together (אֲשֶׁתִּי צִיִּי שְׁמַיָא / συντελεσθήσονται οἱ οὐρανοί/yetgābe'u samāyāt). For Charles and Black, this latter expression conveys that the site is where the heavens come to an end or are completed (so 1 Enoch 18:5 and 33:2).⁸ Some Ethiopic mss read instead: 'there the waters (māyāt) were gathered together.'⁹ Dillmann,¹⁰ Lods,¹¹ and Uhlig¹² prefer this variant. Dillmann describes the site as the place where waters are collected, the same as the encircling Okeanos of 1 Enoch 17:7–8;¹³ for Lods this is an ocean located at the extremities of the earth that Enoch comes upon anew.¹⁴ Curiously, though, there is nothing in the context of 1 Enoch 18 and 19 to suggest that Enoch is near to an ocean or to any body of water. In fact, 1 Enoch 18:12 explicitly states that there is no water in the region (see below). The Greek and fragmentary Aramaic, as well as the majority of Ethiopic mss, supply the correct reading: Enoch has traveled to the perimeters of the earth, where the heavens come to an end. Though Dillmann is inclined to locate the site in the vicinity of the seven mountains, to the south, there is nothing in the text to indicate that Enoch remains in that region.¹⁵

C. 1 ENOCH 18:11

From this location at the ends of the earth, Enoch sees a deep chasm (χάσμα μέγα/neq'ata 'emuqa) with pillars of fire (בְּהַ עֲמֹוד / ἐν τοῖς

⁶ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 36, 159–60.

⁷ *1 Enoch*, 286.

⁸ Respectively, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 160. Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 160) calls the future tense of the Greek inappropriate and assigns it to the work of a later translator.

⁹ Abb 35 and Abb 55.

¹⁰ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

¹¹ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 161.

¹² *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 549.

¹³ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

¹⁴ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 161.

¹⁵ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

στήλοις τοῦ πυρὸς/ba-ʾa-mādiḥu la-ʾessāta samāy; 1 Enoch 18:11). The fiery pillars are said to be ‘falling’ (καταβαίνοντας/za-yewarred) and are described, with respect to height and depth, as immeasurable. The text reads as follows: “And I saw a great chasm among pillars of heavenly fire and I saw in it (among these) pillars of fire falling and they had no measure either in depth or height.”

Nickelsburg observes many similarities between the chasm of 1 Enoch 18:11 and the description of Tartarus, the prison of the titans, in Hesiod’s *Theogony*. 1 Enoch 18:11’s χάσμα μέγα is a close verbal parallel to the description of Tartarus, a great chasm (χάσμα μέγ).¹⁶ Nickelsburg also notes that in *Theog.* 713–48 Atlas is nearby, holding up the heavens.¹⁷ Perhaps the reference to Atlas’s supporting the heavens may speak to the close proximity of the place of punishment in 1 Enoch 18:11 and site where the heavens are completed in 1 Enoch 18:10.

The imagery of the pillars of fire is especially unusual. We learn that they are gigantic, and in fact, beyond measure. It is hard to envision exactly their relationship to the chasm; they appear to be continually descending into the pit. It is possible, Nickelsburg suggests, that it is the chasm rather than the pillars that is of immeasurable height or depth. The chasm, then, would be a veritable bottomless pit, similar to the description of Tartarus in the *Theogony*, a chasm with the same dimensions as the distance between heaven and earth.¹⁸

As the text stands, it is not entirely evident what the author has in mind by the chasm and falling pillars. The narrative changes abruptly in 1 Enoch 18:12 (see below) without providing an explanation of the site. For this reason, Nickelsburg suggests that part of 1 Enoch 18:11 has been displaced from its original context.¹⁹ Nickelsburg’s exegesis demonstrates that 1 Enoch 19:1–2 fits best following the description of the chasm and the fiery pillars of 1 Enoch 18:11.²⁰ With the emendation that Nickelsburg recommends, the nature and purpose of the site gain clarity. A parallel tradition in 1 Enoch 21 also strengthens Nickelsburg’s suggestion that 1 Enoch 19:1–2 has been displaced and belongs, rather, immediately after 1 Enoch 18:11

¹⁶ 1 Enoch, 286–87.

¹⁷ 1 Enoch, 287.

¹⁸ 1 Enoch, 286–87.

¹⁹ 1 Enoch, 287.

²⁰ So also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

(see below). I follow Nickelsburg's emendation and treat 1 Enoch 19:1–2 as the description of the site in 1 Enoch 18:11.

D. 1 ENOCH 19:1–2

In 1 Enoch 19:1, the *angelus interpretes* Uriel indicates that an unnamed site serves as the spot where the promiscuous angels—apparently with the exception of their evil spirits which still plague the world (cf. 1 Enoch 12–16)—will stand until the great judgment. The unnamed site, given no physical description in 1 Enoch 19:1–2 but identified as the prison of the angels, is in all probability the deep chasm of 1 Enoch 18:11, an idea considered already by Charles.²¹ We learn much about the prison-chasm's inhabitants. They are angels (ἄγγελοι/*malā'ekt*) guilty of intercourse (literally of 'mixing with' [μιγέντες] or in the Ethiopic of 'uniting' [tadammiromu]) with women. They also have enticed men to commit idolatry. The text of 1 Enoch 19:1–2 reads as follows: ⁽¹⁾ "And Uriel said to me, 'Here in this place the angels who mixed with the women will stand and their spirits, becoming many forms, hurt men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons until the great judgment in which they will be judged until brought to completion. ⁽²⁾ And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens.'"

1. *The Watchers and their Wives*

The promiscuous angels described in 1 Enoch 19:1–2 who led men astray so that they sacrificed to demons are known from earlier in the narrative of the Book of the Watchers. These angels are none other than the watchers (ἐγγήγοροι/*teguhān*), 'the children of heaven,' of 1 Enoch 6–16. The watchers, led by Semhazah (1 Enoch 6:3, 7; 10:11) and Azazel (1 Enoch 10:4, 8), descend to earth via Hermon initially to mate with the daughters of men (1 Enoch 6:3–4; 7:1). This is an especially egregious act for we learn in 1 Enoch 15:3–7 that the watchers as immortal, spiritual beings should not have left the heavens to mix with humans. The watchers impregnate the women (1 Enoch 6:2) and teach humanity various crafts considered impious, such as metallurgy leading to the production of weapons

²¹ See *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42.

of war and jewelry, and cosmetology (1 Enoch 8:1). The offspring of the divine and mortal pairing were giants who committed violent acts against all creatures of earth (1 Enoch 7:2–6). Lastly, the watchers are accused of fornication or leading people astray by teaching them all sorts of magical arts, auguries, and astrology (1 Enoch 8:2–3). The story of the watchers from 1 Enoch 6–16 is recalled in the description of the angels in 1 Enoch 19:1–2.

Many commentators note the use of the term ‘siren’ (σειρήν) for the wives of condemned watchers. In Greek mythology the term refers to deceitful, charming women, sometimes depicted as ‘half-women, half-birds,’ who lure and then slay men.²² The expression occurs only in the Greek of 1 Enoch 19:2. The Ethiopic states that the women shall become ‘peaceful’ (salāmāwiyāt) and it appears that the Ethiopic translator confused εἰς σειρήνας for ὡς εἰρηναῖαι.²³ Elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers, the women who have united with the angels are not referred to as sirens, nor are their fates disclosed. The use of this particular term in the Book of the Watchers calls our attention to Greco-Roman mythology perhaps with implications about the background of 1 Enoch 17–19, but it does not suggest much about the geography in this passage.

2. *Fiery Pillars of Heaven and the Angels*

The expression ‘pillars of heavenly fire’ calls to mind a display of divine might. For example, in Gen 19:24, Ps 11:6 and Ezek 38:22 God rains fire and sulfur from heaven on the wicked. In light of the explanation in 1 Enoch 19:1–2, however, Nickelsburg hypothesizes that the falling pillars of fire from 1 Enoch 18:11 could be the angels themselves that are held within the chasm.²⁴ After all, we read that the angels are capable of changing their form in 1 Enoch 19:1. The proposal is quite intriguing when one thinks of the description of the fiery shape-shifting beings in 1 Enoch 17:1.

The identity of the creatures who appear as flaming fire and have the ability to metamorphose into humans is never established in 1 Enoch 17:1 (see above). While likely candidates include angels or

²² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 288.

²³ Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 43, Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 106, and Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 551.

²⁴ *1 Enoch*, 287.

seraphim, we remarked previously that it is odd that the creatures are not referred to as such in 1 Enoch 17:1 while they are so named elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers. Nonetheless, Enoch encounters the fiery shape-shifting creatures immediately after departing from the heavenly palace (1 Enoch 16:4) and as he is led to a place of darkness (or storm) and a mountain reaching to heaven (1 Enoch 17:2). The mountain, I argued above, is the northern mountain of God, possibly Hermon, by which the watchers descend (cf. 1 Enoch 6:6) from heaven. If my identification of the mountain in 17:2 is correct, the fiery beings of 1 Enoch 17:1 are located where one would expect to see a watcher. Thus, perhaps the pillars of fire in 1 Enoch 18:11 are the shape-shifting watchers of 1 Enoch 19:1 and are comparable in kind to the fiery beings of 1 Enoch 17:1.

3. Uriel, Angel of Tartarus

Uriel, familiar from 1 Enoch 9, has not yet made an appearance in the otherworldly journey. He is described in 1 Enoch 20:2 of Gr^{Pan} and Eth BM 485, Berl, and Tana 9, as the angel in charge of Tartarus (ταρτάρως). The other Ethiopic mss preserve a variant reading for 1 Enoch 20:2 that associates Uriel with thunder and tremors. Charles, for one, suggests that the Ethiopic variant is corrupt.²⁵

There is good reason especially to associate an angel whose name is related to light such as 'Uriel' (= 'Light' or 'Fire of God') with a place of judgment or punishment like Tartarus. In Near Eastern traditions, the sun-god Šamaš is portrayed as the arbiter of decisions.²⁶ After traveling through the netherworld at night, he decided fates at Du₆.kù in the eastern horizon, just prior to his rising between the peaks of Mount Mašu (see below).²⁷ The Sumerian Two Elegies, for example, speaks of the sun-god's role as an infernal judge: "Utu, the

²⁵ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 43.

²⁶ See, for example, Šamaš Hymn, 11.1–20; also BWL 130:72. Cf. J. F. Healey, 'The Sun Deity and the Underworld: Mesopotamia and Ugartic,' in *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (ed. B. Alster; Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), 239–42.

²⁷ See Janice Polonsky, 'ki-^dutu-è-a: Where Destiny Is Determined,' in *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997. Part III. Landscape in Ideology, Religion, Literature and Art*, 89–100; esp. 96–97. Cf. also Geller, 'The Landscape of the "Netherworld",' 45–47.

great lord of the underworld, after changing the place of darkness to light, will render your judgment.”²⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that in *Sib. Or.* 2.228 it is Uriel who leads the titans and the giants (offspring of the watchers) out of Hades to judgment.

Black, however, is inclined to view Uriel as the angel of tremors according to the Ethiopic variant for 1 Enoch 20:2, because he rejects the reading of Tartarus.²⁹ Black, assuming Tartarus signifies the realm of the dead, thinks it would be more probable to render ‘Sheol’ or ‘Gehenna’ as Hades (ᾠδης) instead.³⁰ But Black has confused the realm of the dead with Tartarus. Tartarus, famed as the prison for notorious villains or evildoers of antiquity, was initially the place where unruly divinities, like the titans, were kept in punishment.³¹

In 1 Enoch 18:11 and 19:1–2 (also 21:1–9; see below), Uriel serves as the interpreting angel for sites comparable to Tartarus especially since the chasm is a sort of prison for the infamous watchers. In 2 Pet 2:4, in fact, the name of the watchers’ place of imprisonment is Tartarus. When we recall that the watchers’ prison in 1 Enoch 18:11, χάσμα μέγα/νεq’ata ‘emuqa, is strikingly similar to Hesiod’s prison of the titans (also χάσμα μέγ’), the site described in 1 Enoch 18:11 and later explained in 1 Enoch 19:1–2 appears an excellent candidate for a type of Tartarus.

With the introduction of Uriel, the nature of the account has shifted: from minimal descriptions of various sites, there is finally some explanation of the scenery’s significance provided by the accompanying angel.³² Up to this point, Enoch and his guides have been silent. The interpretation provided in 1 Enoch 19:1–2, therefore, highlights the importance of the site presumably described in 18:11. In terms of the location of the prison, the text does not offer many clues. Dillmann, assuming that the seer remains near the seven

²⁸ *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (ed. Åke W. Sjöberg with the collaboration of Hermann Behrens, et al.; Philadelphia: Babylonian Section of the University Museum, 1984), 54:88–89. Cf. also Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 353.

²⁹ See *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 162.

³⁰ See *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 162.

³¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 729, 742, 806; Homer, *Il* 8.13, 451, 481; Pherecyd. frag. 5. Cf. Scherling, ‘Tartaros,’ cols. 2440–45 in *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll and K. Mittelhaus; 2d ed.; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche, 1932), 2440–41; M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 26 and Sourvinou-Inwood, ‘Reading’ Greek Death, 66 n. 165. Plato, *Phaed.* 113e–114a, Virgil, *Aen.* 6.548.

³² Tigheelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 158.

mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–8, understands the fiery pit to be located at the ends of the earth to the south. The great chasm of 1 Enoch 18:11 and the prison for the angels, Milik locates due north.

Unlike Dillmann, Milik places the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–8 in the northwest and considers the mountain reaching into heaven to be the equivalent of Zaphon, the northern mountain of God.³³ The reference to a chasm or pit from 1 Enoch 18:11 reminds Milik of the mouth of the abyss and the source of rivers (cf. 1 Enoch 17:7–8). This cluster of imagery (God's mountain in the north[west] near to the mouth of the abyss, the source of waters, [= the chasm in 1 Enoch 18:11]), recalls, in turn, the mountain residence of Baal (perhaps more correctly El), in the north, at the source of the rivers.³⁴ Similarly, suggests Milik, the mountain of God is to the north, as is the pit, located at the base of the mountain, into which "rebels are hurled down (the star of Hêlêl of Isa. 14:12–15, the king of Tyre of Ezek. 28:16–18)."³⁵

Milik's view of the relationship of the divine residence to the pit (of death)³⁶ is agreeable if understood on a vertical axis: in Isaiah 14, for example, God, located in heaven or upon Zaphon, stands in contrast to the Day Star thrown into the deepest pit, a synonym for Sheol.³⁷ It is not clear, though, that the pit lies alongside the mountain of God on the horizontal axis. The realm of the dead in Israelite tradition was thought to be located below the earth. Horowitz underscores that there are no traditions about the underworld being located in the north, or in any other direction other than underground.³⁸ The portals or gates to the underworld, however, are situated in the west and east. In other traditions, and perhaps in 1 Enoch 17–36, one reached the realm of the dead by traveling west (see above).

One may observe the western entrance to the underworld in Inanna's Descent. Inanna, also known as Ištar and Venus, surprises the gate-keeper of the 'land of no return.' Inanna claimed to be traveling to

³³ *Books of Enoch*, 39–40.

³⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 39.

³⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 39.

³⁶ On the use of the term 'pit' (בֹּרַי) for the netherworld, see Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 66–71.

³⁷ Thus, Tromp (*Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 181), who notes concerning the reaches of the north (יִרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן; Isa 14:13) and the reaches of the 'pit' (יִרְכְּתֵי בֹרַי; Isa 14:15), that "apparently the two extremes of the universe are indicated in this way here."

³⁸ Horowitz, Personal communication, June 1999.

the 'place of sunrise' (in the east) where she would rise as the morning star, Venus, but instead has come to the 'land of no return' (in the west), to a path from which no traveler returns.³⁹ The sites and their geography in the myth derive from observation of a natural phenomenon.

It is possible that the Myth of Baal and Anath may also reflect a similar understanding of the realm of the dead. In the myth, Baal, the storm god, struggles with and is defeated by Mot (Death). Perhaps their respective kingdoms are juxtaposed on the vertical axis as well: Baal's mountain residence, Zaphon, and Mot's realm of the dead, the 'pit.' To retrieve Baal from the netherworld, Anath asks Shapsh (the sun god) to lift up her brother-lover's corpse. It is the sun, Shapsh, traveling daily east-west, who has access to the netherworld (see above) and recovers Baal's body.⁴⁰ While I think Milik is right to compare Isa 14:12–15 to 1 Enoch 18:11, I do not agree with his interpretation of the geography.⁴¹ For this reason I would not locate the realm of the dead, the 'pit,' or a prison for rebel angels in close horizontal proximity to God's mountain. The most we can say with certainty about the location of the chasm is that it lies somewhere at the ends of the earth, near to where the firmament of heaven meets the earth.

4. *The Duplicate Tradition in 1 Enoch 21:7–10*

The duplicate tradition concerning the prisons for the watchers occurs in 1 Enoch 21:7–10. This parallel account describes a site much like that in 1 Enoch 18:11. The seer in 1 Enoch 21:7 comes upon a horrible place with a cleft reaching to the abyss (διακοπήν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου/wa-metarta [mamotart] botu makānu [wassanu] 'eska qalāy). The cleft is full of great pillars of fire made to fall (πλήρης στύλων πυρὸς μεγάλου καταφερομένων/feṣsem 'a'māda 'essāt 'abayt za-yāwarredewwomu). Though the verbal correspondences are not exact, the description of the site in 1 Enoch 21:7, identified in

³⁹ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 354.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 49; 1:35–37.

⁴¹ I find Ezek 28:16–18 less helpful in the matter of locating the holding cells of rebel angels. We learn from Ezek 28:16 that the king of Tyre (or some sort of primal human being) is cast from Eden, the mountain of God. The 'king' is, then, cast to the ground, consumed by fire and turned to ash after his ejection from Eden (Ezek 28:17–18). But the text does not convey the sense of a prison where the 'king' is held, nor does the text provide clues as to the location where the 'king' is decimated.

1 Enoch 21:10 as the prison for the angels, is remarkably similar to that in 1 Enoch 18:11. Both know of: (1) a great chasm or deep cleft, (2) and columns of fire (3) that descend in the pit (4) and are of enormous (immeasurable) proportions.

In this second account the chasm full of pillars of fire (1 Enoch 21:7, comparable to 1 Enoch 18:11) is explicitly linked with the promiscuous angels. Uriel calls the chasm in 1 Enoch 21:8–10 the prison for the angels: “Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, ‘Enoch, why are you frightened and shaken?’ And I replied, ‘Because of this terrible place and because of the fearful sight.’ And he said, ‘This place is a prison (δεσμωτήριον/bēta moqəḥomu) for the angels. Here they will be confined forever.’”⁴²

Table 3. Comparison of the Duplicate Traditions Concerning the Prison of the Fallen Watchers in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7b

Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:11	Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 21:7b	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 18:11	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 21:7b
καὶ ἴδον (1) <u>χάσμα μέγα</u> ἐν τοῖς (2) <u>στόλοις</u> τοῦ πυρὸς (3) <u>καταβαίνοντας</u> , καὶ (4) <u>οὐκ ἦν</u> <u>μέτρον</u> <u>οὔτε εἰς βάθος</u> <u>οὔτε εἰς ὕψος</u>	καὶ (1) <u>διακοπὴν</u> <u>εἶχεν ὁ τόπος</u> <u>ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου</u> , πλήρης (2) <u>στόλων</u> <u>πυρὸς μεγάλου</u> (3) <u>καταφερομένων</u> (4) <u>οὔτε μέτρον οὔτε</u> <u>μέγεθος</u> ἡδυνήθην ἰδεῖν οὔτε εἰκάσαι	wa-re'iku (1) <u>neq'ata</u> ‘emuqa ba- ’a‘mādiḥu la- ’essāta samāy wa- re'iku ba- westētumu (2) <u>a‘māda ’essāt</u> (3) <u>za-yewarred wa-</u> (4) <u>alḥomu x'walc'wa</u> <u>wa-'i-mangala</u> <u>mal'elt wa-'i-</u> <u>mangala</u> ‘emaq	wa-(1) <u>metarta</u> (mamotart) botu makānu (wassanu) ’eska qalāy feṣṣem (2) <u>a‘māda ’essāt</u> ‘abayt (3) <u>za-</u> <u>yāwarredewwomu</u> wa-(4) <u>i-’amtāno wa-</u> <u>i-’ebayo i-kehelku</u> <u>nassero wa-se’enku</u> [naṣṣero] ‘ayno

Uriel’s explanation of the site in chapter 21 resembles 1 Enoch 19:1–2 (see above), where again the angel Uriel identifies a locale as the watchers’ place of confinement. The correspondence confirms Nickelsburg and Dillmann’s suggestion that 1 Enoch 19:1–2 is displaced in the narrative and belongs, rather, with 1 Enoch 18:11.

⁴² Translation from Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 297.

5. *Other Enochic Traditions Concerning the Watchers' Prisons*

There are not many clues provided, though, about the location of the watchers' prison from the parallel tradition in 1 Enoch 21:7–10. Since the story of the watchers, their sins, and punishment plays a significant role earlier in the Book of the Watchers, we may find other clues in the Enochic corpus about the place of incarceration. In 1 Enoch 10:11–12, the angels, following the destruction of their offspring, will be bound under hills for seventy generation until their time of judgment. From there they shall be led to an abyss of fire (τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρὸς/mathetta 'essāt) which will serve as their prison (τὸ δεσμωτήριον/bēta moqeh) for all eternity (1 Enoch 10:13). It not clear from this tradition, though, where the pit is to be found.

Similar accounts of the angels' prison are found elsewhere in the Enochic corpus. The Similitudes also feature a place of imprisonment for Azazel and fellow angels: a deep valley of burning fire (1 Enoch 54:1–6). Charles identifies the place as the Valley of Hinnom in Jerusalem, also referred to as Gehenna.⁴³ More reminiscent of 1 Enoch 18:11 is the description of the watchers' prison as a pit full of pillars of fire ('emaq wa-melu' 'essāta wa-yelehheb wa-melu' 'a'māda 'essāt) in 1 Enoch 90:24 of the Animal Apocalypse. Though a second abyss for apostates appears in the middle of the earth in 1 Enoch 90:26, there is no indication of the location for the abyss filled with pillars of fire.

There are other traditions, however, that locate the pit into which the watchers were cast in a desert. We learn in the verse that follows 1 Enoch 18:11 that the watchers' chasm is in proximity to a desert place of sorts. Unlike the fiery pits that are difficult to locate, evidence from the Enochic corpus suggests that desert prison of the watchers might be located to the east. Like the angels of 1 Enoch 19:1–2 and 21:10, at least one of the leaders of the promiscuous watchers, Azazel, is to be cast into an opening (chasm) according to 1 Enoch 10:4. That chasm is located in the desert in Dudael (Gr.^{Pan} = Δαδουήλ; Gr.^{Syn} = Δουδαήλ; Eth. = Dudā'ēl). The location and even the identity of Dudael are enigmatic.

Though the origin of 'Dudael' is unknown, its etymology has been explained variously. One frequently cited proposal is that Dudael is the Beth Hadure (בֵּית הַדּוּרִי, from דּוּרִי or דּוּרִי) mentioned in

⁴³ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 105.

Targum Ps. Jonathan in connection with the place where the goat for Azazel is led (cf. Lev 16:21).⁴⁴ The place, alternatively named Beth Ḥadudu (בֵּית חֲדָדֻד), is described as a precipitous or rocky wilderness, located in the vicinity of Jerusalem according to *m. Yoma* 6:8.⁴⁵ Since חֲדָד refers to that which is sharp or pointed, one can detect perhaps some word play in 1 Enoch 10:5 as Azazel is to be tossed upon rough and jagged rocks.⁴⁶

Favoring Δαδουήλ from Gr^{Pan}, however, Milik has argued that the word derives from the Aramaic ܐܕܕܐ ('breast').⁴⁷ Milik notes that the etymology is also reflected in 1 Enoch 60:8, in which Behemoth is said to dwell in Dendayn ('the two breasts'). Dendayn is characterized by the Similitudes as a desert which cannot be seen⁴⁸ but which lies east of the garden where the chosen and righteous dwell.⁴⁹ Milik considers the desert region in Dadouel of 1 Enoch 10:4 identical to the desert of 1 Enoch 18:12 and he thinks that Dendayn of the Similitudes (1 Enoch 60:8) is related to both.⁵⁰

Milik also proposes that the 'two breasts' imagery is comparable to the Babylonian Mount Mašu. Mašu, the mountain with twin peaks which oversees the setting and rising of the sun, is located in the east or west, at the point of sunrise or sunset.⁵¹ Comparable to the

⁴⁴ This hypothesis was proposed originally by M. Geiger (*Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 3 [1864/65]: 196–204), then promulgated by Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 22–3. Cf. also Milik, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of the Book of Enoch,' *Bib* 32 (1951): 393–400, esp. 395.

⁴⁵ Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 22–23.

⁴⁶ Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 87.

⁴⁷ *Books of Enoch*, 15, 30. See also Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 247; contra Kvanvig's location of Mašu, see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 96–98; esp. 266 and 332. Against Kvanvig's interpretation of geography described in the Epic of Gilgamesh, see Wolfgang Heimpel, 'The Sun at Night and the Doors of Heaven,' *JCS* 38 (1986): 127–51.

⁴⁸ za'i-yāstar'i perhaps with the sense 'empty' (Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 227) or 'immense' (Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 143).

⁴⁹ Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 115) suggests, rather, that the author of 1 Enoch 60:8 has in mind the land of Nod, east of Eden (cf. Gen 4:16).

⁵⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 30. Milik does not evaluate in this context whether the Similitudes, lacking at Qumran, may be used as a reliable source for shedding light on the geography of the Book of the Watchers. On this topic, see the cautious remarks of Tigchelaar, 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 38–39 and 47–49.

⁵¹ Cf. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 97 n. 3 and D. O. Edzard, 'Mašu,' *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (ed. D. O. Edzard; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 531. Horowitz, noting that "Mount Mašu is probably to be translated 'Twin (Mašu) Mountain(s)' and may be compared with twin-peaked mountains that the Sun rises through in Old Akkadian cylinder seals," calls

mountains of sunrise and sunset in Mesopotamian cosmic geography, celestial bodies were thought to rise and set between Mašu's twin peaks.⁵² Both Dendayn and Mount Mašu may also bear some connection to שדי, known from the theophanic title for God, 'El Shaddai.' Shaddai has been associated with the Ugaritic *tdw/y* ('breast,' 'mountain') which, in turn, is related to the Akkadian *šadû*.⁵³ *Šadû*, encompassing a range of meanings, is typically rendered 'mountain,' or 'steppeland,' but also 'east' and 'east wind.'⁵⁴ Mountains with peaks compared to breasts appear a common feature in Near Eastern cosmology and are associated with the east where the sun rises. If, as Milik suggests, the etymology of Dendayn/Dadouel may be adduced as 'the breasts,' a connection to the east is strengthened.

Likewise, there is internal evidence in the Enochic corpus that the mythic desert in which the watchers are held is to the east. Recall, first, that in 1 Enoch 60:8 Dendayn lies east of the garden of righteousness. Also in the Book of Giants, Mahawai crosses 'Solitude (Milik's translation; perhaps better: 'wasteness' or 'ruin?'), the great desert' (לְשׁוֹן מְדְבָרָא רְבָא) in order to reach Enoch, who is located, according to Milik, "in the extreme east, beyond the *oikoumene* . . .".⁵⁵ There appear to be numerous indications throughout the Enochic corpus, but especially in chapters 17–36, that a type of Eden is located to the east, northeast, or north (see above).⁵⁶ Since the 'great desert' or Dadouel is either east of such a garden, according to the Similitudes, or in its general vicinity in the east, there is reason to believe that the desert prisons of 1 Enoch 10:4, 18:12 and 21:1 are to the east or northeast. As Tigchelaar has remarked, one should be cautious in using the later Similitudes to explain earlier Enochic traditions;⁵⁷ still, some of the traditions contained may be much older than the composite work.

attention to the use of the plural KUR.ME *ma-a-šu* in *Epic of Gilgamesh* 9 iv 40. See his *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 97. See also Heimpel, 'The Sun at Night and the Doors of Heaven,' 127–51.

⁵² Edzard, 'Mašu,' 531 and Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 266, 322.

⁵³ See Frank Moore Cross, 'El,' *TDOT* 1:242–61; esp. 257. See also H. Niehr, 'שדי,' *ThWAT* 7: cols. 1068–83; esp. 1080–82.

⁵⁴ Cf. Wolfram Von Soden, 'Šadu,' *AHW* 3:1124–25 and 'Šadû,' *CAD* 17:49–61; esp. 59.

⁵⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 306.

⁵⁶ 1 Enoch 32:3; cf. also Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 43 and Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 13, 33, 36–37, 231, 235, 313.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tigchelaar, 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 39.

After surveying various accounts in Enochic works, one observes that the promiscuous angels are held in a fiery chasm or abyss, as in 1 Enoch 18:11, 19:1–2 and 21:7–10. At the same time, there is another tradition that locates the watchers' prison in proximity to a desert or in a deserted place at the ends of the earth. The connection of the desert in (or between) Dendayn, to Mašu, the twin-peaked mountain of Babylonian cosmology, suggests the author is thinking of an eastern locale for the watchers' prison, hinted at also by later Enochic traditions (e.g. 1 Enoch 60:8).

E. 1 ENOCH 18:12

Next Enoch tours a place more fantastic than that of the prison of the watchers. Beyond the chasm of 1 Enoch 18:11 is a site described as a place that has neither firmament of heaven above it, nor foundation of earth below it (1 Enoch 18:12). This place, we learn, lacks water and fowl; instead, there is only desert or wasteland (ἔρημος/*makāna badew*). The text of 1 Enoch 18:12 reads as follows: "And beyond this chasm, I saw a place where (there was) neither firmament of heaven above nor below it well founded earth, neither water under it nor bird, but a deserted (empty) and fearful place."

1 Enoch 18:12 indicates that Enoch has traveled to a place that lies outside not only the inhabited world, but also the bounds of the cosmos. Enoch is beyond the terrestrial disk, the atmosphere and the heavens. Enoch has eclipsed even the waters that surround the earth disk or make up the firmament. Lods, preferring Gr^{Pan}'s reading of water located 'under it' (ὑπὸ αὐτῷ)—that is, the surface of the earth—as opposed to the Ethiopic reading of water located 'on it' (*ba-lā'lēhu*), thinks that 1 Enoch 18:12 reflects the Israelite view of the world made up of three levels superimposed: the firmament, the earth, and the waters below (the abyss).⁵⁸ The place is devoid not only of water, it also has no fowl. Perhaps this latter detail is included to stress how very remote the location is. The claim that the place is absent of birds is reminiscent of the Latin synonym for Hades, Avernus, after the lake in Campania.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 162.

⁵⁹ Yet, birds often appear in the realm of the dead in ancient Near Eastern texts (cf. The Descent of Ishtar to the Underworld, 10) and symbolize the soul released from the body in the eastern Mediterranean (Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 157).

As with 1 Enoch 18:11, there is not a great deal in the verse to help us place more precisely the wasteland beyond the chasm. Above we examined traditions of deserts associated with the angels' prisons. The desert, referred to in some passages as Dendayn, appears to be located to the east or east of paradise. Though the name Dendayn might, according to Milik's hypothesis, originate from the idea in the ancient Near East of a twin-peaked mountain located at the eastern and western horizons, no mountains are referred to in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 12. Again, the desert site of 1 Enoch 18:12 occurs outside the scope of the well-founded earth.

The Duplicate Traditions in 1 Enoch 21:1–2

The duplicate tradition in 1 Enoch 21:1–2 presents a site that is quite similar to the one described in 18:12. Both versions highlight a place where: (1) there is neither heaven above, (2) nor earth below, and (3) nothing prepared in the wasteland. In this place Enoch encounters (4) a terrible or frightful sight.

The parallel tradition is repetitious in some respects: the author twice mentions that the site is fearful (φοβερόν/gerum) and that it is a place where nothing is constructed

Table 4. Comparison of the Duplicate Traditions
Concerning the Prison of the Disobedient Stars
in 1 Enoch 18:12 and 21:1–2

Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:12	Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 21:1–2	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 18:12	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 21:1–2
... ἴδον τόπον ὅπου οὐδὲ ⁽¹⁾ στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ ἐπάνω, οὔτε ⁽²⁾ γῆ ἢ τεθεμελιωμένη ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὕδωρ ἦν ὑπὸ αὐτῷ οὔτε πετεινόν ἀλλὰ ⁽³⁾ τόπος ἦν ἔρημος καὶ ⁽⁴⁾ φοβερός	καὶ ἐφώδευσα μέχρι τῆς ⁽³⁾ ἁκατασκεύαστον. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔθεασάμην ⁽⁴⁾ ἔργον φοβερόν ἑώρακα οὔτε ⁽¹⁾ οὐρανὸν ἐπάνω οὔτε ⁽²⁾ γῆν τεθεμελιωμένην, ἀλλὰ ⁽³⁾ τόπον ἁκατασκεύαστον καὶ ⁽⁴⁾ φοβερόν	... re'iku makāna wa- i- ⁽¹⁾ sen'a samāy lā'lehu wa-'i- ⁽²⁾ mašarrata medr ba-tāhtēhu wa-'i- māya 'albo ba- lā'lehu wa-'i- 'a'wāfa 'allā ⁽³⁾ makāna badew we'etu wa- ⁽⁴⁾ gerum	wa-'odku 'eska-na xaba ⁽³⁾ albotu za- yetgabbar. wa-ba- heyya re'iku ⁽⁴⁾ gebra geruma re'iku wa-'i- ⁽¹⁾ samāya lā'la wa-'i- ⁽²⁾ medra surerta 'allā ⁽³⁾ makān za- 'akko delew wa- ⁽⁴⁾ gerum

(ἀκατασκεύαστον/'albotu za-yetgabbar). At the same time, 1 Enoch 21:1–2 lacks the detail of 1 Enoch 18:12 that describes the place as absent of water and fowl. There are no further clues from the duplicate tradition that indicate the location of the site.

F. 1 ENOCH 18:13–16

The ‘terrible thing’ (φοβερός/gerum) that Enoch sees in this vacuous desert region is seven stars comparable in appearance to burning mountains (ἐπὶ ἀστέρας ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα/sab'ata kawākebta kama 'abayt 'adbār za-yenadded). Enoch learns in 1 Enoch 18:14 from an angel (here unnamed) that this is a prison (δεσμωτήριον/bēta moqeh) for the stars and the host of heaven. In this desert place, which is the end of the heaven and earth (τὸ τέλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς/taḫāmētu la-samāy wa-la-medr; 1 Enoch 18:14) the stars will remain until, according to 1 Enoch 18:16, the time of the consummation of their sin.

The Greek and Ethiopic texts of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 are similar with two exceptions. Gr^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:15 includes the gloss ‘for the place outside the heaven was empty’ (ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν) which appears ill placed in its current context. Charles believes the gloss to belong after 1 Enoch 18:12 (see above) which describes the desert place as lacking in every sort of creation (i.e. land, water, birds).⁶⁰ Charles’s suggestion seems correct to me, though I preserve the location of the gloss in my translation according to the received tradition. Additionally, the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch 18:16 states that the stars will be held until the year of mystery (‘āmata meṣṭir). The Ethiopic translator mistook ἐνιαυτῶν μυρίων (‘ten thousand years’) for ἐνιαυτῷ μυστηρίου.⁶¹ I translate 1 Enoch 18:13–16 as follows: ⁽¹³⁾ “There I saw seven stars like great burning mountains concerning which, when I asked, ⁽¹⁴⁾ the angel said, ‘This place is the end of heaven and earth. This has become a prison for the stars and for the powers of heaven. ⁽¹⁵⁾ And the stars rolling in the fire, these are the ones who transgressed the commands of the Lord in the beginning of their rising—for the place outside of heaven

⁶⁰ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42; also Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 160.

⁶¹ Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42. Cf. 1 Enoch 21:6 and below.

is empty—because they did not come out in their appointed time.
 (16) And he grew angry with them and bound them until the appointed time of completion of their sin, for ten thousand years.’”

1. *The Seven Disobedient Stars*

The disobedient stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 are rather enigmatic: unlike the watchers in 1 Enoch 19:1–2 and 21:10 (see above) which are introduced earlier in the narrative, the stars appear in Enoch’s journey with little explanation. As mentioned above, stars and other heavenly bodies were understood in antiquity to be sentient beings. 1 Enoch 18:14 refers also to the powers of heaven (ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) or host of heaven (xāyla samāy). The expression recalls צבא השמים found, for example, in 1 Kgs 22:19 and Isa 24:21.⁶² LXX renders the phrase δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν (cf. Isa 34:4; 2 Kgs 17:16; Dan 8:10) as one finds in 1 Enoch 18:14, and sometimes στρατία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. 1 Kgs 22:19, Zeph 1:5 and Jer 19:13).⁶³ In the Hebrew Bible, the host of heaven refers to angels and perhaps to astral deities (cf. Zeph 1:5; Jer 19:13). Isa 24:21 is quite reminiscent of 1 Enoch 18:13–14: at a time of universal judgment the Lord will punish both the host of heaven (here צבא המרום) and kings of the earth, throwing them into a pit where they will be shut up as in a prison and punished.⁶⁴

In the context of 1 Enoch 18:13–16, it is not clear what natural phenomena the author has in mind by stars that fail to come out at their appointed times. We know only that these stars are imprisoned at the end of heaven and earth (1 Enoch 18:14); according to the Greek gloss of 1 Enoch 18:15, that place is located outside of the heavens, best understood as a void.

There are several references to stars in the Enochic corpus, though they reveal little about the location of the stars’ prison in 1 Enoch 18. The reader is informed that the stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 are imprisoned (more accurately, bound) from the beginning of their ris-

⁶² Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42.

⁶³ The concept continues in the New Testament appearing both as δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν (cf. Matt 24:29; Mark 13:25; Luke 21:26) and as στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (cf. Luke 2:13; Rev 19:14).

⁶⁴ ויהי ביום ההוא יפקד יהוה על צבא המרום במרום ועל מלכי האדמה על האדמה: ואספו אספה אסיר על-בור וסגרו על-מסגר ומרב ימים יפקדו:

ing for not coming out at the proper time. The stars seem to provide in the narrative an example of disobedience because they were inattentive to the mandated schedule. In fact, they stand in contrast to 1 Enoch 2:1's lights of heaven which *rise* and set *at their proper time*, neither changing course nor *transgressing their law*. Also helpful is the duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 that occurs in 1 Enoch 21:3–6, featuring seven bound stars. Finally, the Animal Apocalypse makes mention of stars that will be punished (cf. 1 Enoch 86–88), but in this account, the stars represent the fallen angels from the Book of the Watchers.

2. *The Duplicate Traditions in 1 Enoch 21:3–6*

In 1 Enoch 21:3–6 Enoch also sees seven stars burning and bound in the desert wasteland where nothing is made (1 Enoch 21:1–2; see above). In the duplicate tradition, the stars are said to be 'bound' (δεδεμένους/'esurāna) together in the desert place (1 Enoch 21:3). As in 1 Enoch 18:13, the seven stars are compared to great mountains that burn like fire. Only in this parallel account, 1 Enoch 21:4, is Enoch's question preserved (cf. 1 Enoch 18:13 above): Enoch asks why the stars were bound. Uriel, challenging the seer's question in 1 Enoch 21:5, finally responds that the stars of heaven have transgressed the command of the Lord (οἱ παραβάντες τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου/'ella xālafu te'zāza 'egzi'abḥēr) and are to be kept in the location until ten thousand years, the number of the days of their sins (1 Enoch 21:6). Ten thousand (or a myriad of) years is the same amount of time that the stars are to be held according to Gr^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:16.

Again, the duplicate tradition in 1 Enoch 21:3–6, while offering few exact verbal parallels to 1 Enoch 18:13–16, describes the stars and their prison in a similar manner. Both accounts share the following details: (1) the stars number seven; (2) they appear as enormous, burning mountains; (3) they are held for transgressing the command of the Lord; (4) they will bound until the completion of the punishment for their sins; (5) that is, for ten thousand years.

Table 5. Comparison of the Duplicate Traditions
Concerning the Seven Disobedient Stars in 1 Enoch 18:13a and 21:3

Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:13a;	Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 21:3	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 18:13a	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 21:3
ἐκεῖ ἴδον ⁽¹⁾ ἐπτά ἀστέρας ὡς ⁽²⁾ ὄρη μεγάλα καιόμενα	καὶ ἐκεῖ τεθέσμαι ⁽¹⁾ ἐπτά τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δεδεμένους καὶ ἐρριμμένους ἐν αὐτῷ, ὁμοίους ⁽²⁾ ὄρεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιομένους	re'iku ba-heyya ⁽¹⁾ sab'ata kawākebta kama ⁽²⁾ 'abayt <u>'adbār za-yenadded</u>	wa-heyya re'iku ⁽¹⁾ sab'ata kawākebta samāy 'esurāna ba- lā'lehu xebura kama ⁽²⁾ 'adbār <u>'abayt wa-ba-'essāt</u> <u>'enza yenaddu</u>

Table 6. Comparison of the Duplicate Traditions
Concerning the Stars' Sin and Length of Punishment
in 1 Enoch 18:15 and 21:6

Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 18:15–16	Gr ^{Pan} 1 Enoch 21:6	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 18:15–16	Ethiopic 1 Enoch 21:6
¹⁵ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ κυλιόμενοι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ, οὗτοί εἰσιν ⁽³⁾ οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα Κυρίου ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀνατολῆς αὐτῶν* ὅτι οὐκ ἐξηλθαν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν ¹⁶ καὶ ὀργίσθη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔδῃσεν αὐτοὺς ⁽⁴⁾ μέχρι καιροῦ τελειώσεως ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν ⁽⁵⁾ μυρίων	οὗτοί εἰσιν τῶν ἀστέρων οἱ ⁽³⁾ παραβάντες τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὥδε ⁽⁵⁾ μέχρι τοῦ πληρῶσαι μύρια ἔτη, ⁽⁴⁾ τὸν χρόνον τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν	¹⁵ wa-kawākebt 'ella yāk'arakk'eru diba 'essāt 'ellu we'etomu 'ella ⁽³⁾ xālafu te'zāza 'egzi'abhēr 'em- qedma šebāhomu 'esma 'i-maš'u ba- gizēhomu ¹⁶ wa- tam'e'omu wa- 'asaromu ⁽⁴⁾ 'eska gizē tafšēmēta xāti'atomu ba- ⁽⁵⁾ 'āmata mešīr (the latter phrase is to be emended according to the Greek; see above)	'ellu we'etomu 'emenna kawākebt ⁽³⁾ 'ella xālafu te'zāza 'egzi'abhēr wa- ta'asru be-zeyya ⁽⁵⁾ 'eska soba yetfēšam te'lefita 'am ⁽⁴⁾ x'alq'wa mawā'ela xāti'atomu

* I omit the gloss ὅτι τόπος ἕξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστίν (see above) in this comparison.

In the table above, I place the word for ‘to bind’ or ‘to be bound’ in bold. The fact that the stars are bound is not an inconsequential detail as I shall demonstrate below in a comparison of the account of the seven stars to traditions external to the Enochic corpus.

3. *The Seven Stars in Other Traditions*

Black connects the stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6 to the seven recognized planets in antiquity,⁶⁵ which have an irregular course in the heavens compared to the ‘fixed stars.’ These, he maintains, are the ‘wandering stars’ (ἄστερες πλανῆται) of Jude 13.⁶⁶ Yet, as Matthias Albani points out, the rising of the planets changes continually in their movements amid the fixed stars, so that one could not expect a fixed time for their rising in the course of a year’s orbit.⁶⁷

Albani asks, instead, whether the stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6 could refer to the Pleiades, a cluster of seven stars which played an important role in the ancient calendar.⁶⁸ Albani notes that the stars in 1 Enoch 18:15 are chastised for not coming out at the proper time (ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆλθαν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν/’esma ’i-maṣ’u ba-gizēhomu), in the beginning of their rising (ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀνατολῆς αὐτῶν/’em-qedma šebāhomu).⁶⁹ The ‘beginning of their rising’ recalls the heliacal rising of the Pleiades, the first constellation to appear in the eastern morning sky shortly before the sun’s ascent.⁷⁰ The rising of the Pleiades was noteworthy in antiquity as it conveyed information

⁶⁵ *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 160; cf. also the observations of Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 550.

⁶⁶ Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 160.

⁶⁷ “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” in *Religionsgeschichte Israels: Formale und materiale Aspekte* (ed. Bernd Janowski and Matthias Köckert; Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser/Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 139–207; esp. 168.

⁶⁸ “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 168.

⁶⁹ “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 168. On the notion of celestial bodies appearing in the sky at their appointed time, see ‘Assurbanipal’s Hymn to Assur,’ (K3258/ ABRT 1 32) l. 19 and l. 22: “Assur, whose command is far reaching! [A . . . whose] foundation, like a mountain, cannot be shaken! [Whose . . .], like the writing on the celestial firmament, does not miss its appointed time.” Alasdair Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (SAA 3; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989), 4–5.

⁷⁰ Albani, “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 168.

about weather, the phases of the stars and the agricultural calendar.⁷¹ In Mesopotamia, for example, the rightly timed rising of the seven stars was a positive omen for the land;⁷² when the Pleiades did not rise at the expected time, an evil portent was given.⁷³

In the ancient Near East, the Pleiades were associated with the binding of the Sibettu demons of which there are seven. The Sibettu-Pleiades were designated sons of the underworld god Enmešarra,⁷⁴ who, when defeated by Marduk, were bound and placed in jail.⁷⁵ Enmešarra and his sons remain under permanent guard,⁷⁶ and at night the demon sons are the Pleiades in the eastern sky, seven stars bound.⁷⁷ Job 38:31 may know of a similar tradition as it also refers to the chains or shackles of the Pleiades.⁷⁸ The bound stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6 greatly resemble Enmešarra's sons confined in the form of the constellation and the fettered Pleiades in Job.⁷⁹

The hypothesis that the imprisoned stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6 allude to the Pleiades is an intriguing one. Albani demonstrates

⁷¹ See Hesiod, *Op.* 383–4. Cf. “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 152–66.

⁷² For example, K 1341 + K 1586 reads: “If in Iyyar the Pleiades, the Seven Gods, the great gods, rise at their appropriate time: the great gods will gather and make a favorable decision about the land.” *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (ed. H. Hunger; SAA 3; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992), 282, n. 507. Cf. Albani, “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 163.

⁷³ For example, we find in *Enuma Anu Enlil* Tablet 51, Text IX: “If it [the Seven Gods = Pleiades] rises heliacally not at its specified time: (the great gods will assemble and) will give bad counsel to the land, evil winds will blow, there will be grief for the people.” Erica Reiner, with David Pingree, *Enuma Anu Enlil Tablets 50–51* (Babylonian Planetary Omens: Vol. 2, Part 2; Bibliotheca Mesopotamica; Malibu: Undena, 1981), 59.

⁷⁴ Livingstone, ‘Commentary to the Assyrian Cultic Calendar,’ *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, 103, ll. 5, 21.

⁷⁵ F. Wiggermann, ‘Mythological Foundation of Nature,’ in *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1992), 279–306; esp. 287–88. See also E. Douglas Van Buren, ‘The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and their Meaning,’ *AfO* 13 (1939–41): 277–89.

⁷⁶ Cf. also H. W. F. Saggs, *The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1978), 97–102, on the complex of traditions associated with Enmešarra and his sons.

⁷⁷ Wiggermann, ‘Mythological Foundation of Nature,’ 302, n. 50. On the location of the Pleiades, see also ‘Assurbanipal’s Acrostic Hymn to Marduk and Zarpanitu,’ *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, 9 (2 r. 4).

⁷⁸ Job 38:31: הַתִּקְשֶׁר בַּעֲדֵנֹת כִּימָה

⁷⁹ Albani, “‘Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion macht’ (Am 5,8) Zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,” 168.

the limitations of the argument that the disobedient stars in 1 Enoch refer to the planets. Because of the very precise language we encounter in 1 Enoch 18:15—the stars ‘transgressed the commands of the Lord in the beginning of their rising because they did not come out in their appointed time’—there is reason to believe the author has a specific phenomenon in mind. The correspondence between the Pleiades and the seven stars in 1 Enoch 18:13–16 chastised for not appearing at the expected time is strong. Furthermore, 1 Enoch 21:6 describing the stars as ‘bound’ by God (ἔδησεν/’asaromu; for use of the passive, see δεδεμένονς/’esurāna in 1 Enoch 21:3; cf. also 1 Enoch 21:4) recalls that in the ancient Near East, the Pleiades were also associated with the rebellious sons of Enmešarra, who appear ‘imprisoned’ in the eastern sky in the form of this constellation.

One cannot say with certainty that the stars portrayed in 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6 are intended to represent the Pleiades for stars and other astronomical phenomena, as well as items numbering seven, figure prominently in the Book of the Watchers (cf. 1 Enoch 17:3; 18:6; 20:1–8; 23:4; 24:2). While the relationship between the Pleiades and the bound stars in 1 Enoch 18 and 21 requires further study as we attempt to identify what the author had in mind, this brief comparison yields an important dividend. The Near Eastern tradition concerning Enmešarra’s rebellious sons, bound in the form of the Pleiades in the eastern horizon, is a functional parallel to the seven disobedient stars imprisoned in 1 Enoch 18:13–16 and 21:3–6.

4. *Witches Bound at the Gate in the Horizon*

Perhaps also comparable to the imprisoned stars in 1 Enoch 18:12–16 and 21:1–6 is the confinement of witches, a goal of the Maqlû (‘burning’) ceremony.⁸⁰ As described in the Akkadian magical series, this first millennium ritual seeks to combat witchcraft by subjecting witches, living or dead, to judgment, punishment, and binding.⁸¹ Since witches, in the ancient mind, were capable of casting spells on humans from

⁸⁰ See G. Meier, *Die ass. Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (AfO Beih. 2, 1937); Meier, ‘Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû,’ *AfO* 21 (1966): 70–81; T. Abusch, ‘Maqlû,’ in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 7:346–51; also ‘Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies. Part I: The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting,’ *JNES* 33 (1974): 251–62.

⁸¹ Abusch, ‘Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,’ in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 15–39; esp. 18.

the netherworld, they needed to be confined far from the realm of both the living and dead.⁸² The witches, like stars, were thought to make a circuit from the netherworld to the celestial realm; therefore, according to Tzvi Abusch, they were to be imprisoned at the *neberu* ('ford')⁸³ or *karu* ('quay').⁸⁴ These terms refer to the 'passageway or transit point on the eastern horizon,' located at the entrance from the netherworld to the heavens. Abusch argues that *neberu* ('ford') is to be understood as located on the eastern horizon on the basis of how it appears in other Near Eastern texts (cf. *Enuma Elish* 5.1–10 and *MUL.APIN* 1.i.37).⁸⁵ The incantations relate that the witches were incarcerated at a place on the horizon, a place which served as the meeting point of heaven and earth and the gate through which the sun rose.⁸⁶ In this regard, Abusch notes, "the participant (in the Maqlû ceremony) is a sort of jailer of the demonic witches," and the quay (*karu*) a place of imprisonment.⁸⁷ Abusch himself wonders whether one should compare the prison for the stars in 1 Enoch 18:12–16 with the quay where the witches are imprisoned so that they "can-

⁸² Abusch, 'Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,' 18–19.

⁸³ See 'Neberu,' *CAD* 11:145–47.

⁸⁴ See 'Karu,' *CAD* 8:231–35.

⁸⁵ 'The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part II,' in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Ziony Zevit, et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 467–94; esp. 476 and 'Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,' 37 n. 32. See Tablet I. 50–51. On *neberu* in the *Enuma Elish*, cf. Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 62 and *Mul.Apin: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (*AfO* Beiheft 24; Horn, Austria: Ferdinand Berger und Söhne, 1989), 28 and esp. 126 where it is concluded that no definition of *neberu* can fit all the evidence available (see also A. Schott, 'Marduk und sein Stern,' *ZA* 43 [1936]: 124–45, esp. 128 and 141), but Hunger and Pingree remark that the very name *neberu* "recalls the concept of passing from one side to another which is associated with crossing the horizon."

⁸⁶ Abusch, 'Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,' 19–21. Cf. also Tablet I. 43–5. The witches were also banished to the steppe where they became formless wind. See Abusch, 'The Demonic Image of the Witch in Standard Babylonian Literature: The Reworking of Popular Conceptions by Learned Exorcists,' in *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and Conflict* (ed. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs and Paul Virgil McCracken Flesher; New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 27–58; esp. 49–50.

⁸⁷ 'The Socio-Religious Framework of *Maqlû*,' 477 and 'Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,' 37 n. 32. See Tablet I. 50–51. Further, Abusch ('The Socio-Religious Framework of *Maqlû*,' 477) thinks the quay may designate a jail in which the imprisoned witches were held before their trial.

not go either forward into the inhabited world or backward into the netherworld.”⁸⁸ We find again a functional parallel in the Maqlû series. Like the disobedient stars and watchers of 1 Enoch 18, 19, and 21, the witches in the Maqlû ceremony approximate celestial beings who require imprisonment at a distant site, a place distinct from the land of the living and the realm of the dead. This place where the witches are held is located also on the eastern horizon.⁸⁹

Perhaps consideration of the location of the bound Sibettu demons and witches may suggest something about the geography of sites related to imprisonment in the Enochic corpus. Distinct Near Eastern traditions locate sites related to the imprisonment of malevolent beings in the east. The recurrence of this pattern urges us to consider that the disobedient celestial beings—both the stars and the watchers (cf. 1 Enoch 15:10) would by nature belong in the heavens—in the Book of the Watchers may also have been confined in the east. This location coincides well with the internal evidence from Enochic traditions in which the enigmatic desert (alternatively named Dadouel and Dendayn) that corresponds to the watchers’ prison in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7, lies in the east near paradise.

G. 1 ENOCH 19:3

The current position of 1 Enoch 19:1–2 in the text awkwardly implies that the site described in 1 Enoch 18:12–16 is the prison of both the stars and angels. It is made clear from the narrative in 1 Enoch 21, however, that the prison of the angels is distinct from the desert prison of the bound stars (1 Enoch 21:2–3). Nickelsburg is justified in repositioning 1 Enoch 19:1–2 after 1 Enoch 18:11 and I examine those verses in the context of 1 Enoch 18 above.

After visiting the prisons of the watchers and stars, Enoch concludes his journey. If, following the Near Eastern parallels, Enoch views this sort of Tartarus in the east, the seer has come full circle in his counterclockwise travels. Milik suggests 1 Enoch 19:3 not only

⁸⁸ ‘The Socio-Religious Framework of *Maqlû*,’ 477.

⁸⁹ I would like to thank Matthias Albani for calling to my attention that the location of the Marduk star, *Neberu*, is in the eastern horizon, as has been demonstrated by Johannes Koch (‘Der Mardukstern *Neberu*,’ *WO* 22 [1991]: 48–72; esp. 56, 58). *Neberu*-Marduk binds Tiamat as well (*Enuma Elish* 7.124–31) because he guards and exercises authority in the eastern horizon.

brings to an end the first voyage of the seer, but concludes the first source identified by Milik as ‘the Visions of Enoch’ (1 Enoch 6–19; see above) as well.⁹⁰ The seer reports that only he, and no other human being, was privy to the sights (θεωρήματα/ʾarʾayā [sg.]; perhaps with the sense of ‘visions’) he observed on his tour, which included the ends of all things (τὰ πέρατα πάντων/ʾaṣnāfa kʷellu). Signaling a conclusion to the journey, as well as to the literary unit, the text of 1 Enoch 19:3 reads as follows: “And I Enoch alone saw the sights, the ends of all (things) and no one has seen what I have seen.”

1. *The End of All Things*

1 Enoch 19:3 does not present significant textual issues with regard to variants. Milik argues, however, that Gr^{Pan}’s τὰ πέρατα πάντων is a mistranslation.⁹¹ He believes the Greek translator mistook סוף (‘end’) for סִיף (‘extremity’). Thus, Milik would restore the Aramaic behind the Greek to סוף כלֵא or סוף כלֵהן (to be translated: ‘where everything ends?’). The expression would be, then, comparable to דִּי מִלְחָא עַד כֵּה סוּפֵא (‘here the account ends’) in Dan 7:28 and to עַד כֵּה סוּף חִלְמָא (‘here the dream ends’)⁹² in 4QEnGiants^b.⁹³ Yet, Milik does not provide his preferred translation for 1 Enoch 19:3 based on the reconstruction of the Aramaic סוף כלֵא or סוף כלֵהן. Should the expression be translated ‘where everything ends’ or ‘here all concludes’ in order to conform with Dan 7:28 and 4QEnGiants^b? The difference between Milik’s reconstruction and the Greek of 1 Enoch 19:3 is quite subtle to my mind. Nickelsburg notes, against Milik’s comparison of the phrase to Dan 7:28, that the verse in Daniel refers to the end of a matter.⁹⁴

An expression parallel to that of 1 Enoch 19:3 might be said to occur in 1 Enoch 1:5; there we read that fear will seize the watchers to the ends of the earth (τὰ πέρατα πάντων). Comparable to his understanding of 1 Enoch 19:3, Milik would reconstruct the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 1:5 as סִיפֵי אֲרֵעָה.⁹⁵ I share Nickelsburg’s understanding of τὰ πέρατα πάντων: the expression pertains to the “geographical extremities

⁹⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁹¹ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁹² Milik’s translation, cf. *Books of Enoch*, 305.

⁹³ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁹⁴ *1 Enoch*, 289, n. 84.

⁹⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 142.

of the cosmos which Enoch visited.”⁹⁶ This interpretation is confirmed by the numerous references to the ends of the heavens and earth that Enoch observes in his travels (cf. 1 Enoch 18:5, 10, 12, 14).

2. *The Vision of Enoch Alone*

Dillmann notes that Enoch can claim to have been the only one to see all things; the places of punishment explicitly lie at the ends of the world and would have been, apparently, inaccessible to others.⁹⁷ Additionally, Enoch was clearly a figure of some prominence in Second Temple Judaism, acquiring a reputation as the one who walked with God or the angels and who was taken (cf. Gen 5:22–24).⁹⁸ Enoch, a figure whom many speculated never tasted death (for example, *Jub.* 4:23–25 [but see *Jub.* 7:39] and Heb 11:5–6), would certainly be well qualified to see all manner of things. Perhaps reflecting upon his own uniqueness, the seer is made to remark in 1 Enoch 37:4 (The Similitudes): “Until now there has not been given by the Lord of Spirits such wisdom as I have received in accordance with my insight, in accordance with the wish of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me.”⁹⁹

With regard to Enoch’s solitary experience in the course of his vision, however, a striking comparison to Daniel has been made. Daniel concludes his visionary experience with a statement much like we find in 1 Enoch 19:3. Dan 10:7 reads: “And I, Daniel, alone saw the vision, and the people who were with me did not see the vision” (MT: וראיתי אני דניאל לבדי אתהמראה והאנשים אשר היו עמי לא ראו וראתהמראה/θ’: καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιηλ μόνος τὴν ὄπτασίαν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ’ ἐμοῦ οὐκ εἶδον τὴν ὄπτασίαν). Nickelsburg notes that the formulation of 1 Enoch 19:3 (καὶ ἐγὼ Ἐνὼχ ἵδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος . . . καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἐγὼ ἵδον) is almost identical.¹⁰⁰

Could a stereotyped formula lie behind both works? If we consider the possibility that Enoch’s author knew of a like convention or context for visionary experiences, then perhaps Enoch’s visions

⁹⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 289.

⁹⁷ *Das Buch Henoch*, 120.

⁹⁸ Regarding the many Enochic traditions that circulated in this period, some portraying the seer negatively, but many positively, see VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*.

⁹⁹ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 124. Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 120–21.

¹⁰⁰ *1 Enoch*, 289.

began, like that of Daniel, with the seer in the company of others who were subsequently not privy to the vision. As the narrative of the Book of the Watchers stands, however, 1 Enoch 12:1 ("And before everything Enoch had been hidden, and none of the sons of men knew where he was hidden, or where he was...")¹⁰¹ argues against the notion of Enoch dwelling among people prior to the visions. Perhaps 1 Enoch 19:3 forms an inclusio with 1 Enoch 12:1–2. Enoch's guided tours take him to places that no others have seen (1 Enoch 19:3) while 1 Enoch 12:2 establishes that no one knew where the seer was when his travels began.

1 Enoch 19:3 reflects how unique Enoch, the cosmos-touring patriarch is. In light of the many traditions which ascribe to the seer extraordinary abilities and feats (for example, inventor of astrology [cf. Pseudo-Eupolemus] and divine scribe [cf. 1 Enoch 12:4 and 15:1]), there is every reason, I believe, to read 1 Enoch 19:3 as a testament to Enoch's unique status.¹⁰² Only Enoch has seen the geographical extremities as well as the heavenly mysteries.

H. THE PLACE OF IMPRISONMENT IN THE EAST

To review, after the orbital journey reveals to Enoch the critical role played by the winds in the cosmos (1 Enoch 18:1–5), Enoch travels to the south where he sees seven extraordinary mountains (1 Enoch 18:6–9a). Enoch passes beyond these mountains to the ends of the earth, and perhaps as Milik conjectures, to the other side of the 'great earth'. Nickelsburg detects several verbal correspondences in 1 Enoch 18:10–16 with the description of Tartarus in Hesiod's *Theogony*.

With little transition Enoch journeys next to a type of Tartarus. There he sees a desert place that serves as the prison for seven disobedient stars and also a great chasm, which is identified as the prison for the evil watchers. These watchers are familiar from the earlier narrative in the Book of the Watchers. It is clear that these prisons, similar in many respects to the Greek notion of Tartarus, are not part of Enoch's realm of the dead. The realm of the dead,

¹⁰¹ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 92.

¹⁰² The sentiment is in contrast to 1 Enoch 2–5, in which nature serves as a witness to humankind of regularity and orderly behavior, and to 1 Enoch 36:4, where God is said to have created all the wonders of the cosmos so that he might show them to angels and humans eliciting their praise. So, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 289.

rather, appears later as a mountain in the west (1 Enoch 22). Further, based on comparable Near Eastern traditions, there is good reason to suspect that Enoch's Tartarus is located in the east, perhaps understood to exist along the horizon. The extraordinary journey concludes with 1 Enoch 19:3: "And I Enoch alone saw the sights, the ends of all (things) and no one has seen what I have seen."

I. SUMMARY OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 17-19

At the beginning of the literary unit, 1 Enoch 17-19, Enoch descends from the heavenly temple to earth via the mountain of God in the north. This mountain may be in close proximity to a garden paradise. He then travels west to the realm of the dead, a site that is described in more detail in 1 Enoch 22. Following a tour of phenomena related to the winds, Enoch travels south to Sinai where he sees the site of a future theophany. Finally Enoch travels to the east, to Tartarus, where the watchers and disobedient stars are imprisoned.

The cosmic tour of 1 Enoch 17-19 is one that includes all directions, but most specifically, the tour highlights sites connected with God and with eschatology. The mountain with its summit reaching to heaven (1 Enoch 17:2), home to the storehouses of luminaries (1 Enoch 17:3) and in proximity to fiery shape-shifting beings (1 Enoch 17:1), calls to mind the majesty and remoteness of God. The same may be said of the meteorological phenomena, the various winds that support and serve the cosmos, and the cornerstone of the earth: all are in the purview of God alone, according to wisdom literature. In the Book of the Watchers these phenomena also remind us of God's omnipotence and omniscience; yet in 1 Enoch 17:3 and 18:1-5 the seer *does* have access to these exclusive areas of divine knowledge (1 Enoch 19:3).

In contrast to these sites related to God's majesty and mastery, Enoch observes places created for lesser beings. Unlike the immortal, all-powerful God, humans as well as other celestial creatures are subject to death, judgment and punishment. Thus Enoch visits the realm of the dead in the west. Though 1 Enoch 17:4-8 only minimally describes the site, an expanded form of the tradition in 1 Enoch 22 presents the realm of the dead in greater detail. In the parallel tradition, we learn more about how humans are distinguished

in death by their actions and how God demonstrates his role as adjudicator of human affairs. Enoch also learns that celestial beings, the angels as well as the stars and the host of heaven which should have been mindful of the divine order at work in the cosmos, are subject to God's judgment and punishment. They, like humans, are subject to being confined or bound but their prisons lie to the east (1 Enoch 18:9–19:2).

Yet, in the midst of the frightful tours of holding cells, our attention is directed to the future, to God's descent upon his mountain-throne in the south (1 Enoch 18:6–8). In parallel traditions, God descends there when he visits the earth for blessing (1 Enoch 25:3; 77:1). Whether one understands the future theophany described in 1 Enoch 18:6–8 (and in 1 Enoch 1:4, 24–25, 77:1) as an allusion to the giving of the law on Sinai (facilitating proper conduct) or as a reference to God's return to earth for final judgment at the end of time, the mountain throne of the south assures the reader of God's omnipotence.

SECTION THREE
MAKING SENSE OF THE GEOGRAPHY
OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

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SECTION THREE
MAKING SENSE OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF
1 ENOCH 17–19

OVERVIEW OF SECTION 3

In this third section we explore what the geographical descriptions of 1 Enoch 17–19 mean. Most pertinent is the matter of how one is to make sense of the geography, the sites described and the journey of the seer itself. The topics covered in this final section pertain ultimately to the background of 1 Enoch 17–19's geography and its *Nachleben*.

The first chapter examines how the various sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19, as well as in the duplicate traditions of 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25, stand in relation to one another. From verbal descriptions of the geography it is possible to reconstruct a mental map that, though not drawn by the author, may well have been visualized by that person. I offer my reconstruction of a map of Enoch's world and discuss maps produced by Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh, all of whom seek to clarify the geography in various Enochic traditions.

Geographers observe how it is that individuals mentally arrange and reach conclusions regarding space. A significant issue in mental mapping is the information available to the one who constructs such a map. In the second and third chapters I explore what information was available to the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and influential enough that it merited a place in his map of the cosmos. Geographers also argue that people map what they know. Though we do not have the personal library of the author to consult, we can consider the distinct sites mentioned in 1 Enoch 17–19 that appear comparable to contemporary traditions and study them in light of these traditions. Finally, in the fourth chapter, we consider the extent to which the cosmology and geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 influenced later descriptions of the cosmos or, at the least, continued to be operative in the Enochic corpus and more generally in other texts of Second Temple Judaism. We explore comparable views of cosmology in works from the Second Temple period and in some cases from Late Antiquity. We also examine in such works geographical sites that are familiar from the tours of Enoch in chapters 17–19.

CHAPTER ONE

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER:
MAPPING THE WORLD OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

A. MENTAL MAPPING

Despite the uneven narrative or obscure references of 1 Enoch 17–19 it is still possible for us to craft a map that reflects the geography and cosmology of the text. More properly, we should speak of fashioning a mental map based on a reading of the text. A mental map might be described as the projection of order onto a conceptualized space by which spatial data is processed.¹ Mental maps are constructed according to information at one's disposal, information that one gleans firsthand or receives from a shared tradition. I explore the construction of mental maps more fully in chapter two of this section. When imaging maps, it is important to keep in mind that "geographic space is seen and evaluated in different ways at different times and in different cultures."² Conceptions of space may pertain to abstractions, but belong to the world of perception, evaluation, analysis, and description.³ Hence, examining the concepts of space and the cognitive map of 1 Enoch 17–19 provides important information about the worldview that lies behind (or is in imbedded in) the narrative.

Although the Book of the Watchers lacks cartography or a drawn map, it might still be regarded as a geographical text. Although the geography of 1 Enoch has been described as 'mythique',⁴ 'mystical',⁵ and 'full of fantasy',⁶ Alexander cautions that "such descriptions should not disguise the fact that 1 Enoch has a model of the world which is meant to organize phenomena and explain how they work. Parts of that model are clearly visualized and must have constituted

¹ Cf. Alexander, 'Early Jewish Geography,' 2:978 and Peter Gould and Rodney White, *Mental Maps* (2d ed.; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986), esp. 1–5.

² Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought*, 3.

³ Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought*, 4–5.

⁴ Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 1.

⁵ Neugebauer in Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 407.

⁶ Alexander, 'Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish),' 2:983 and 'Notes on the "Imago Mundi" of the Book of Jubilees,' 211.

for their author(s), a *mental*, if not a *drawn* map.”⁷ Although sites like the realm of the dead and abyss may not be easily correlated with ‘real geographical space,’⁸ the Book of the Watchers nonetheless takes care to locate them. This act conveys a great deal about the cognitive map behind the text: “things occur or exist in relation to space and time . . . to exist is to have being in relation to space and time.”⁹ For the author of 1 Enoch 17–19, these fantastic places exist in some manner.

In the previous section I present a descriptive examination of the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. A second purpose of this study is to clarify the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 and to attempt to elucidate the mental map that stands behind the descriptions of the cosmos in these chapters. What follows is a summary of the geography based on my analysis of the text, on comparison with parallel traditions, and on my sense of the internal logic of the three chapters. I also include a sketch of how one might accurately reconstruct the geography described.

Only three others, to the best of my knowledge, have attempted to transform the verbal description of the mental map into an actual sketch of the geography. Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh attempt to make sense of Enoch’s journeys and to produce a map that is based (in part, in the case of Grelot and Milik) on the latter half of the Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch 17–36. Yet, the aim of their studies is different from the current study. Grelot appears to fashion his map on verbal descriptions of geography from various Enochic traditions, including the Book of the Watchers, the Similitudes, and the Astronomical Book, as well as Jubilees.¹⁰ Milik presents the Book of the Watchers’ (1 Enoch 1–36) map of the world;¹¹ Stock-Hesketh’s study focuses on 1 Enoch 21–32.¹² In terms of scope, this monograph does not attempt to produce a mental map or elucidate the cosmology for all of the Enochic corpus, but the conclusions I draw for 1 Enoch 17–19 may be useful for a study of the geography in the Book of the Watchers.

Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh’s work provides significant models for my own study. First, the maps they produce and conclusions they

⁷ Alexander, ‘Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish),’ 2:983.

⁸ Alexander, ‘Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish),’ 2:984.

⁹ Sack, *Conceptions of Space in Social Thought*, 4.

¹⁰ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch.’

¹¹ *Books of Enoch*, 22–41.

¹² ‘Circles and Mirrors.’

reach concerning the mental map behind the texts offer different reactions to 1 Enoch 17–19. Second, the scholars employ different methodologies in constructing their maps. Stock-Hesketh utilizes a structuralist approach in articulating the worldview of 1 Enoch 21–32. The methodologies of Grelot and Milik are more variegated, but essentially they appear to employ the historical-critical method and form maps largely on the basis of contemporary traditions which may have provided sources for the Enochic community.

B. GRELOT'S MAP

Grelot was the first to undertake a study focused solely on the geography of the Enochic corpus. Basing his map and conclusions on most sections of 1 Enoch (the Astronomical Book [72–82], the Similitudes [36–71—sic], the Animal Apocalypse [83–90], selections from the Book of the Watchers [17–19; 21–36], and the so-called Book of Noah [6–11; 54–55; 65–69; 106–7]) and on the Book of Jubilees (3–4 and 8), Grelot reconstructs a worldview that derives from multiple Enochic traditions.¹³ Thus, the map that he proposes is synthetic, taking into consideration diverse presentations of geography and cosmology that arise from essentially independent sources.

The map Grelot fashions from Enochic traditions consists of three concentric circles (see figure 2). The innermost circle he labels 'Terre Sainte,' and in its center stands Mount Zion. To the southeast of the circle is Sinai. In the next circle we encounter the habitation of humans, the great darkness, and the aromatic region. Its outer edges are presented as the limits of the dry earth. The outermost circle is home to the ocean, the Sea of the Occident, the Erythrean Sea, the abyss and rivers. Its outer edge constitutes the limits of heaven and earth. From the outermost circle juts a triangular shaped region in the northwest that features the residence of God, and the 'garden of justice.' Also from the northeast of the circle extends a region entitled Eden. This design of three concentric circles Grelot most likely adopts from the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 77:3 (cf. Enastr^b 23 and Enastr^c I ii 13–20): "[And I saw three sections] of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men in it; and one of them for all [the seas, and rivers and one of them] for the deserts and

¹³ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 46.

for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness.”¹⁴ We should note, though, that VanderKam has rightly observed that the relationship of the three sections, one to another, and the form that these sections take (Grelot suggests circular) is not clear from the text.¹⁵

In terms of the location of specific sites, Grelot places to the north various water ways, to the northeast, Eden, to the east, the aromatic region and Erythrean Sea, to the west, the mountain and ocean of the Occident, to the northwest, the mouth of the abyss, the garden of righteousness and the residence of God (see figure 2). He envisions the great darkness as a region beginning in the west and extending, by route of the north, to the northeast. Although Grelot’s map is based on a variety of Enochic traditions (e.g. his placement of Sinai comes from *Jub.* 4:26 and ‘the habitation of humans’ comes from 1 Enoch 77:3), it is clear that some of his cartography derives from 1 Enoch 17–36. For example, the mountain in the west appears in 1 Enoch 22:1, Jerusalem (and thus, Zion) occupies the middle of the earth according to 1 Enoch 26:1 and the garden where Adam and Eve dwelt (called ‘the garden of righteousness’ in 1 Enoch 32:3 but labeled Eden on his map) is in the northeast according to the Greek and Aramaic of 1 Enoch 32:1. Grelot’s placement of these sites on his reconstructed map is indisputable since the aforementioned texts give explicit indications about the sites’ locations.

Grelot also attempts to place on his map some key sites from 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25. His study of 1 Enoch 17–19, which he thinks to contain the first voyage of Enoch, suggests that Enoch travels only to the northwest in these chapters; likewise in the parallel traditions, he argues, Enoch remains in the northwest.¹⁶ Initial indications hint that Enoch is west (1 Enoch 17), which, according to Grelot, is the direction of paradise, home to the tree of life.¹⁷ The reference to the sword of fire in 1 Enoch 17:3 (in the Ethiopic only!) reminds him of Gen 3:24 where God places the cherubim and a fiery revolving sword to guard

¹⁴ Translation from Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 289–90; see also ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 35, n. 1.

¹⁵ VanderKam, ‘1 Enoch 77,3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,’ *RevQ* 11 (1983): 271–78; esp. 274, 278. In this article, VanderKam addresses directly the work of Grelot and Milik that compares Enochic geography to the Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* (see below).

¹⁶ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40.

¹⁷ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 38.

range is in fact an island in his estimation.²¹ He also notes that Isa 14:13 features a ‘Mount of Assembly’ located in the recesses of the north and standing in close proximity to the pit or netherworld for the Morning Star (Isa 14:19); this scene (mountain and pit) parallels the mountain of God and the place of chastisement for the rebellious angels and stars in 1 Enoch 18–19.²²

In the parallel traditions of 1 Enoch 21–25 the seer goes again to the northwest with the same trajectory as 1 Enoch 18. When he comes upon the seven mountains of precious jewels in chapter 24, Enoch beholds fragrant trees surrounding the middle mountain. The most fragrant tree, Enoch learns, will be transplanted to the north beside the ‘Lord’s house’ after the great judgment and its fruit given to the elect (1 Enoch 25). Grelot considers the fragrant trees, in the tradition of Ezek 28:13, to be the ‘garden of the just’ and identifies the most fragrant, magnificent tree as the tree of life that will be transplanted in the ‘New Jerusalem.’ He proclaims: “Cette montagne est la résidence divine et ce jardin l’arbre de vie.”²³ Thus on Grelot’s map, a triangle-shaped mass extends from the northwestern corner of his terrestrial disk which is labeled ‘residence of God’ and ‘garden of justice.’

Grelot does not really explain why Enoch makes the journeys or is led to the sites of 1 Enoch 17–36. After his travels to the northwest (Grelot’s view), Enoch visits Jerusalem (1 Enoch 26–27) and then the northeast, where he finds the ‘garden of righteousness’ (1 Enoch 32). Grelot explains this garden, the site where Adam and Eve dwelt and from which they were expelled, as a second garden of justice, the Eden of Gen 2:8.²⁴ The author of 1 Enoch distinguishes two gardens of justice in his cosmology, suggests Grelot, in order to harmonize the garden of Eden in the east from Genesis 2, the divine mountain in the north of Isaiah 14 and the mountain identified as Eden in Ezekiel 28.²⁵ For the author, he suggests, the traditions could be resolved thus:

Dieu réside au paradis sur la montagne du N.-O. Avant de créer l’homme, il a planté un «jardin de justice» au N.-E.; c’était une réplique du «jardin de justice» du paradis. Il y a temporairement transporté

²¹ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40.

²² ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40–41.

²³ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 42.

²⁴ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 43.

²⁵ ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 43.

l'arbre de vie; mais après la chute il l'a ramené au paradis du N.-O. C'est dans ce paradis qu'il a transféré Hénoch, pour l'y mettre en réserve en attendant le jour du jugement.²⁶

Hence, Grelot understands an exegetical problem stemming from multiple depictions of paradise in the Hebrew Bible to have contributed to a view of the world in which there exist paradises located in the east and in the west.²⁷

There are some difficulties, however, with Grelot's reconstruction of the map based on the mythic geography in Enochic traditions and difficulties with his reading of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions of 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25. His location of the seven mountains (1 Enoch 18 and 24–25) in the northwest and his identification of the middle mountain as 'the divine residence' are not justified. Grelot does not make a strong case for locating the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 in the north or northwest. We learn from 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 only how the mountains are arranged—that is, their orientation relative to each other (see below). While the Greek text does not state where the mountain range is located, the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 18 states that Enoch encounters the mountains when he travels south.

Also problematic is that on his map Grelot designates the middle mountain of 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 which reaches to heaven 'the divine residence.' We read in 1 Enoch 25:3 that the mountain is not the place where God currently resides; the mountain is, rather, the place where God *will* descend when he comes down to visit the earth with goodness. The mountain illumined by 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 is not a good match for a divine residence in the tradition of the cosmic mountain of the northern recesses. It is, instead, the site of a future theophany, similar to the one described in 1 Enoch 1:4 which is to occur on Sinai.

Further, Grelot does not succeed in establishing the existence of a second paradise in the northwest based on 1 Enoch 17–19 or 21–25. He suggests 1 Enoch 17:3 alludes to a 'garden of justice,' like that depicted in Gen 3:24 by reference to a fiery sword. There is no mention of a fiery sword, however, in the Greek of 1 Enoch

²⁶ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 43.

²⁷ The interpretation was not an innovation on the part of the author of 1 Enoch 21–36, says Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 43), but rather common exegesis from the author's erudite milieu.

17:3. In fact, I omit the reference in my translation; the series of items that Enoch views (for example, storehouses of stars, thunder peals, lightning) reflect meteorological phenomena and the sword of fire, absent from the earliest extant tradition, does not fit that pattern. The fragrant tree of 1 Enoch 25 commonly identified as the tree of life also contributes to his identification of the site as a paradise. Yet, there is no reference in 1 Enoch 18, 24 or 25 to a garden, a 'garden of justice' or paradise, evocative of Eden.²⁸ Upon careful inspection, as Tigchelaar demonstrates, Grelot's hypothesis that 1 Enoch 17–36 refers to two paradises cannot be maintained.²⁹

In the course of his study of the mythic geography, Grelot does not explain the purpose of the voyages or why Enoch travels as he does, yet Grelot emphasizes Enoch's visits to paradise. I concur with Grelot's location of the divine residence in the form of a mountain of God in the north, which also serves as paradise, but not with his identification of the mountain in 1 Enoch 18, 24 and 25 with that site. Further, I demonstrate below that the mountain of God in the north is only one site, among several, to be highlighted in the latter part of the Book of the Watchers.

C. MILIK'S MAP

Milik especially builds on the work of Grelot, and as a consequence their presentations of an 'Enochic worldview' are not very different. The former, though, reconstructs the geography for two sections of the Enochic corpus: the Astronomical Book (most specifically 1 Enoch 77)³⁰ and the Book of the Watchers.³¹ Unlike Grelot who offers a broad study of geography in Enochic traditions, Milik keeps his analysis of the two sections fairly distinct, resulting in two comparable but differing maps deriving from 1 Enoch. His examining the Book of the Watchers alone permits a more focused study of the geography than that of Grelot, since Milik recognizes the complex textual history of the Enochic corpus. Dealing with fewer textual traditions than his predecessor allows Milik to craft a more detailed map for the Book of the Watchers.

²⁸ Tigchelaar, 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 44.

²⁹ 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 47.

³⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 18.

³¹ *Books of Enoch*, 40.

Milik's discussion of redactional layers, of which he thinks there are two,³² also demonstrates his attention to the history of the text.³³ He proposes that the Book of the Watchers is the product of two traditions. There was an earlier written source, 1 Enoch 6–19, that he refers to as the 'Visions of Enoch.' The source, according to Milik, was minimally revised and completed by a third century Judean (1 Enoch 1–5, 20–36).³⁴ Milik's analysis of the text results in reflections on the author's *Sitz im Leben*: the Judean responsible for the Book of the Watchers in its final form was most likely a merchant and writer from Jerusalem who participated in caravans from Gaza to Petra.³⁵ Still, the geographical descriptions from the 'Visions of Enoch' and those of the final redactor must be thought to be essentially compatible or were harmonized by the final redactor so that it is possible for Milik to create one map representative of the two traditions.

Similar to that of Grelot, Milik's map of the Book of the Watchers consists of three concentric circles (see figure 3). The innermost area is not a perfect circle, though; the world continent is misshapen by inlets of various bodies of water (e.g. the great sea [i.e. the Mediterranean] and Erythraean Sea [Red Sea]).³⁶ On the continent, Milik features mountains and trees especially clustered in the northeast and southeast of the land mass. He demarcates a holy mountain (מֹרֶה קְדוּשָׁה) towards the center; the area south of the mountain, he labels 'the desert' (מִדְבָּרָה) and beyond the desert, he places Petra (רִקְמָה), a city with which he thinks the author is familiar because of the reference in 1 Enoch 28:3 to a well known nearby aqueduct.³⁷ By the southwestern grove of trees, Milik places 'incense' and 'myrrh' from 1 Enoch 29:2. To the north he identifies on his map all the aromatic plants, like nard, mastic, cardamom, pepper and cinnamon that the seer encounters in 1 Enoch 30–32. It becomes clear that for Milik the noteworthy sites on the continent derive from 1 Enoch 26–33.

The second concentric circle consists of waters, such as 'the great river' (Okeanos) and the Erythraean Sea (Red Sea). Flowing out of this realm and into the furthest of the concentric circles are the great rivers and the river of fire of 1 Enoch 17:5–6. The mouth of the deep lies to the north in between the middle and outer circles. Also

³² *Books of Enoch*, 25.

³³ *Books of Enoch*, 22–41.

³⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 25–28.

³⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 25–28.

³⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 40.

³⁷ *Books of Enoch*, 26 and 233.

appearing in this circle are the pillars of heaven and two triangular shapes. In a separate map of 1 Enoch 77, Milik has the triangles representing islands or regions “situated beyond the circular Ocean, which float in the dark emptiness.”³⁸ One lies WSW, the other ESE. He depicts the Book of the Watchers’ realm of the dead as four compartments in the base of the western mountain (cf. 1 Enoch 22). At the top of this mountain or triangular region Milik has placed nine stars to represent the storehouse of the luminaries in 1 Enoch 17:3: “The depository of the luminaries was to become, in the Judaeen author’s version, the quadruple *depositorium* of souls.”³⁹ The eastern triangle with various animals depicted represents, presumably, the region of beasts and birds of 1 Enoch 33:1.

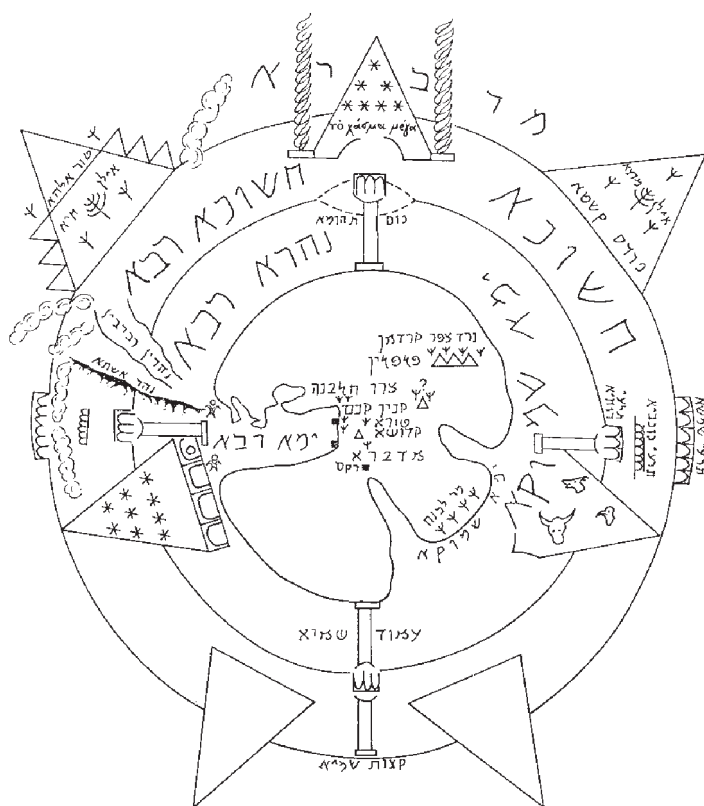


Fig. 3. J. T. Milik's Map of 1 Enoch 1–36 (*Books of Enoch*, 40)

³⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 15.

³⁹ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

The outermost circle Milik labels 'the great darkness' (חשוכא רבא). To the east and west one encounters first the gates of the winds, then gates of the stars and finally the gates of the sun. In the south, two of his triangular-shaped objects (SSW and SSE of center) jut out from the last concentric circle; they bear no identification. In the northwest he labels a similar triangle 'mountain of God' with three mountains on each side. Though they are not marked thus, these mountains along with Milik's mountain of God are probably to represent the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25. In the middle of the triangle is located the 'tree of life.' To the north, a sixth triangle extends from his region of 'great darkness.' This triangle is called 'the great chasm' (τὸ χάσμα μέγα).⁴⁰ In this region Milik depicts seven stars which, I would conclude, are the seven stars bound in 1 Enoch 18 and 21. On either side of this triangle are two columns of sorts which perhaps represent the fiery pillars of 1 Enoch 19 and 21. He calls the area behind the triangular shaped region in the north the 'desert.' To the northeast is the seventh triangle of Milik's map labeled 'paradise of righteousness' following 1 Enoch 32; it features the tree of wisdom.

The maps of Milik and Grelot share a common design. They both depict the Enochic cosmos as consisting of three realms, represented as concentric circles. Grelot considers the innermost circle to be the 'Holy Land.' The second realm is that of the land where humans reside in general and where one comes to the aromatic land and great darkness. The third realm is that of the waters (the abyss, the Mediterranean, the Erythraean Sea and Okeanos). Milik understands, however, the entire landmass to constitute one realm; the waters, a second; and the great darkness, a third.

Additionally, both Milik and Grelot feature a mountain of God with six accompanying mountains in the northwest, extending from the outermost circle. Both locate a paradise of sorts in the northeast (Grelot's Eden; Milik's 'paradise of righteousness'). With the exception of the mountain residence of God in the northwest and Eden in the northeast, Grelot's map lacks Milik's five other triangular shaped regions in the middle and outer circles.

Quite original is Milik's understanding of his outermost concentric circle as the equivalent of a third celestial sphere. His map should

⁴⁰ Since Milik creates Aramaic names for all the places he features, even if the names are unattested among the Qumran fragments, it is not clear why in this instance he switches to Greek.

not be understood as a two dimensional depiction, but as one with depth, since Milik locates paradise in “the third and highest celestial sphere.”⁴¹ He argues that paradise—both his paradise of the northwest and northeast?—“is thus to be found in the third supra-terrestrial sphere.” Drawing attention to 2 Cor 12:2–4, Milik recalls Paul’s ecstatic journey to paradise in the third heaven.⁴² Wright, with whom I am inclined to agree, remarks, however, that the Book of the Watchers, like its literary forebears in the Israelite tradition, conceives of only one heaven, not the multiple heavens to which Paul and later apocalyptic/*hekhalot* traditions refer.⁴³ The sites of 1 Enoch 17–36 including paradise or the ‘garden of righteousness’ (Eden) appear, rather, to be located on the earth’s surface, frequently at the ends of the earth.⁴⁴

To understand his treatment of the geography and the seer’s journeys, we should recall that Milik considers 1 Enoch 6–19, the ‘Visions of Enoch,’ the primary source for a second author who augments and completes the work, resulting in the Book of the Watchers. The seer first appears in the Visions of Enoch, and his journey commences from a “dwelling-place beyond the earth to which Enoch was carried,”⁴⁵ though it is not located in detail in 1 Enoch 12. Milik identifies the site as paradise and, recalling the Sumerian myth in which Ziusudra is placed in Dilmun by Anu and Enlil, suggests it is in the east or northeast. Enoch descends from paradise and is asked to intercede for the watchers by the waters of Dan, southwest of Hermon where he has a visionary experience (1 Enoch 13:7).⁴⁶ Enoch then makes a “vertical ascent towards the polar star,” suggests Milik, citing 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4.⁴⁷ The text certainly suggests that Enoch travels heavenward, though it is not clear how Milik discerns that Enoch travels toward a polar star. There Enoch encounters one of God’s abodes, the ‘palace of ice.’⁴⁸

⁴¹ *Books of Enoch*, 41, n. 1.

⁴² *Books of Enoch*, 41.

⁴³ See *Early History of Heaven*, 119, 123. Cf. 1 Enoch 12:4 and 14:8; Erik W. Larson (*The Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek* [JSSup; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming]) notes that the Aramaic plural form for heaven is rendered by οὐρανοί only four times but by οὐρανός 52 times.

⁴⁴ *Early History of Heaven*, 121–22.

⁴⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 33.

⁴⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁴⁷ *Books of Enoch*, 33.

⁴⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 33.

Milik notes that Enoch also “has a sea-voyage towards the West and the North (En. 17–19);” there lies the mountain-throne, God’s other abode, previously inaccessible to Enoch.⁴⁹ These travels, in contradistinction to Enoch’s tour of God’s heavenly palace, are “carried out in a ‘horizontal’ sense.”⁵⁰ At the same time he observes that the abode of God in 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 lies essentially in the north, “in particular if one looks at it on the vertical axis.”⁵¹ This location of God’s abode in the north along a vertical axis would appear to complement his notion that the northeastern paradise, also from his map’s outermost concentric circle, is located in the celestial realm. The visit to the mountain of God is followed by a ‘journey round the world’ in 1 Enoch 18:1–5.⁵² Finally, Enoch travels to the far north where he encounters the prison of the angels; thus ends the ‘Visions of Enoch.’ Milik does not deliberate extensively on the purpose of the journey; he notes, however, “The theological interest is blurred by scholarly curiosity in such fields as cosmography, astronomy, meteorology.”⁵³

Though the section “Visions of Enoch” (1 Enoch 6–19), as demarcated by Milik, ends, the seer’s travels continue through the work of the second author. He argues that the Judean author, who reproduced 1 Enoch 6–19, provided a “substantially rewritten version of the western journey of the patriarch (21–5, corresponding to 17–19).”⁵⁴ Yet Milik does not elaborate on the duplicate version of the western and northern tours (the parallel traditions of 1 Enoch 17–19) in 1 Enoch 21–25.

The Judean author then presents Enoch on an eastward journey, in Milik’s estimation. The seer travels to Jerusalem, and the description, according to Milik, in 1 Enoch 26–27 demonstrates great knowledge of its environs. Enoch next visits the ‘land of the aromatics’ where he finds nard, mastic, cardamom and pepper. The rationale for such a tour is not made explicit in the text (1 Enoch 28–32). On the one hand, Milik holds that like the seer, the author himself makes expeditions along trade routes.⁵⁵ On the other hand, he suggests,

⁴⁹ *Books of Enoch*, 33.

⁵⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁵¹ *Books of Enoch*, 39.

⁵² *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁵³ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁵⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁵⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 36.

“The constantly eastern (and, towards the end, north-eastern) direction of the journeys of the patriarch is necessarily imposed by the final destination of his journey, namely the eastern Paradise.”⁵⁶ Hence, the eastward journey presumably required travel through the aromatic region. To get to the paradise of righteousness, Enoch must cross the Red Sea, and a barrier of darkness.⁵⁷ This paradise then is located in the northeast and contains the tree of knowledge.⁵⁸ The seer continues along the east, to the ends of the earth, where he comes across a region of beasts and birds. Finally Enoch takes a circular flight along the perimeters of heaven and earth (1 Enoch 33:2–36:3).

Concerning the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, Milik fixes the “mythological geographical features” on the western and northern boundaries of the cosmos.⁵⁹ Enoch is first in the far west where he sees the beings of fire (1 Enoch 17). When Enoch travels to the ‘dark place’ in 1 Enoch 17:2, Milik claims the site must be comparable to the region ‘where the sun cannot be seen’ on the Babylonian Mappa Mundi. This region is due north on the Mappa Mundi, as Milik observes.⁶⁰ Next Enoch encounters the ‘mountain of the west’ (1 Enoch 17:2–3) which serves as a reservoir of stars and natural phenomena near to the ‘living water’ (1 Enoch 17:4); according to Milik’s map this mountain is located WSW. From here Enoch sees the great rivers, to be found WNW on the map. The references to winter winds and the mouth of the abyss (1 Enoch 7–8) lead him to locate Enoch in the far north; the mouth of the abyss reminds Milik of the residence of Baal, situated on the heights of the north where the source of the rivers is located.⁶¹

Following the sightseeing and a journey around the world (1 Enoch 18:1–5), Enoch comes to the northwestern mountain-throne of God and finally to the northern desert prison. Milik follows Grelot’s logic (see above) for locating the mountain-throne in the northwest: “The precise detail, ‘three mountains on the eastern side and three on the southern side,’ shows clearly that the mountain throne of

⁵⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 36.

⁵⁷ *Books of Enoch*, 37.

⁵⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 37.

⁵⁹ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

⁶⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

⁶¹ *Books of Enoch*, 39.

God occupies the north-western corner of the universe.”⁶² Above I argue that the details provided in 1 Enoch 18:6 do not necessarily lead to this conclusion.

Next, Milik envisions the prisons of the stars and watchers situated in the extreme north. Though 1 Enoch 18:12–19:3 does not assist him in the location of the prisons, he refers us to Asael’s prison in the desert, which is in (or better, according to Milik, between) Dadouel from 1 Enoch 10:4.⁶³ This desert prison, Milik argues, is located in the north in or between the two mountains Dadouel. He pictures Dadouel or Daddu’el, which he interprets to mean ‘the breasts of El,’ as eastern and western mountains on either side of the desert; he sees them as comparable to the Akkadian Mount Mašu.⁶⁴

Milik’s map for the Book of the Watchers and his location of sites in 1 Enoch 17–19 deserve further scrutiny. I first address the general concerns that I have with his map for the Book of the Watchers. Milik’s reconstruction of the map reveals much about how he assesses the Book of the Watchers. As mentioned above, the only ‘terrestrial’ sites labeled on the land mass and explored in his study of the geography are from 1 Enoch 26–32: the tours of Jerusalem and the land of the Aromatics. In fact, according to Milik, the whole point of the journey eastward is so that Enoch can get to the ‘garden of righteousness.’ It would appear from his map that the Judean author, also the Book of the Watchers’ final redactor, only refers to Jerusalem and the lands of the east and northeast in his description of the world continent.

Yet, there are several terrestrial sites to which 1 Enoch 1–25 refers that Milik’s map of 1 Enoch 1–36 ignores. For example, we read in 1 Enoch 1:4 of Mount Sinai, in 1 Enoch 6:6 of Mount Hermon, in 1 Enoch 13:7 of the water and land of Dan, and in 1 Enoch 13:9 of Abel-Main. These sites do not appear on his map, though they stand out in the Book of the Watchers. Sinai, Hermon, Dan and Abel-Main are referred to by name and no other sites are, including Jerusalem which is known in the Book of the Watchers only as the ‘blessed place’ (1 Enoch 26:1). It is, thus, curious that the map which Milik derives from the Book of the Watchers lacks any ref-

⁶² *Books of Enoch*, 39.

⁶³ *Books of Enoch*, 30. See also his ‘Fragments grecs du livre d’Hénoch (P. Oxy. XVII 2069),’ *ChrEg* 46 (1971): 321–43; esp. 337.

⁶⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 30; also ‘Fragments grecs du livre d’Hénoch,’ 337.

erence to these sites. They are clearly important to the author's mental map.⁶⁵

Another area for concern is that while Milik intimates that he limits the scope of his map to the geography of the Book of the Watchers, the work seems to be informed, in part, by his reading of other sections from the Enochic corpus. In certain respects, Milik's map for the Book of the Watchers resembles the one he produces for the Astronomical Book which he primarily bases on 1 Enoch 77; the latter depicts two concentric circles and seven islands that float along the perimeter of the outer circle.⁶⁶ The geography of 1 Enoch 77, he claims, is like that depicted in the Babylonian Mappa Mundi (see figure 6). It is curious, however, that Milik features seven triangular-shaped regions or islands emanating from the middle and outer concentric circles in his map for 1 Enoch 1–36. There are no seven regions or islands referred to in the Book of the Watchers that are set beyond a circular ocean, as VanderKam observes.⁶⁷ Milik suggests that at least five of seven regions mentioned in the Astronomical Book 'are described in detail' in the Book of the Watchers⁶⁸ yet he does not enumerate these regions or otherwise document his claim. Further, Milik does not explain how the regions are presented in a distinct manner ('in detail') in the Book of the Watchers or why he would give them a triangular shape on his map. This aspect of his map for 1 Enoch 1–36 would appear to derive from other sources.

With regard to the geography for 1 Enoch 17–19, Milik's map mirrors that of Grelot in several respects: the mountain throne of God from 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 is in the northwest and is a paradise of some sort with the tree of life is in the northwest (1 Enoch 25). The issues with Grelot's map have been discussed above, and when they recur in Milik's map, they are again problematic. There is nothing in the text to suggest that the mountain range of 1 Enoch 18 and parallel tradition 1 Enoch 24–25 is located in the northwest. Further, there is nothing explicit in 1 Enoch 18 or in the parallel tradition of 1 Enoch 24–25 to suggest that the author envisioned another paradise nearby the mountain throne of God. There is also no evidence from the Book of the Watchers to support his location

⁶⁵ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 238–47.

⁶⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 15–18.

⁶⁷ '1 Enoch 77,3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 272.

⁶⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 37–38.

of the prisons for the stars and watchers in the north. 1 Enoch 10:4, a comparable tradition concerning the prison for Asael, does not indicate that it is to the north.⁶⁹

Finally, the course of Enoch's journey in 1 Enoch 17–19 does not make sense according to Milik's reconstructed map. Although Milik himself thinks that locating the geographical features is necessarily 'imprecise,'⁷⁰ the journey he proposes is especially awkward. Enoch goes from west (17:1), to due north (17:2a), to WSW (17:2b–4a), to WNW (17:5), to far north (17:7–8), around the world (18:1–5), to northwest (18:7–8), then finally to far north again (18:12–19:3). His depiction of the journey results in the seer resembling a fluttering moth; Enoch does not really move in any particular direction and the journey does not aspire toward any particular goal. Indeed, from the perspective of geography, if we follow his reconstructed map, Enoch's cosmic tour guides do not plan an efficient tour.

In the final analysis, Milik's map, like that of Grelot, highlights a world consisting of three concentric circles, two paradises, and one mountain of God. While the northwest and northeast paradises dominate Grelot's depiction of the geography, (they harmonize diverse biblical traditions), the map of Milik emphasizes the land of the aromatics on the terrestrial disk and the seven triangular regions coming from the realms of water and darkness. He does not explain how these sites contribute to Enoch's journeys and the narrative, though one might infer from his study much about the author's *Sitz im Leben*.

D. STOCK-HESKETH'S MAP

Stock-Hesketh explores only 1 Enoch 21–32 and focuses almost exclusively on these chapters in his map of the Enochic world. He argues

⁶⁹ Elsewhere Milik describes what he perceives to be various attestations of a northern desert. 'Fragments grecs du livre d'Hénoch,' 337. For example, he writes that there is a 'Désert de ténèbres' (a desert of darkness) where no flesh walks in 1 Enoch 17:6, that is located to the north in the same region where the prison for the stars is located. There is certainly no desert described in 1 Enoch 17:6: rather the 'great darkness,' in all likelihood an allusion to the realm of the dead, is surrounded by various bodies of water (see above). On Milik's hypothesis that Dadouel or Daddu'el replicates Mount Mašu, see above.

⁷⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

that 1 Enoch 21–32 constitutes the second of three journeys. The seer's travels in 1 Enoch 21–32 are based in part on 1 Enoch 17–20, the first journey. His study is useful to the task at hand inasmuch as he treats the parallel traditions of 1 Enoch 18–19. The scope of Stock-Hesketh's map is the most limited of those previously considered. His study remains focused on the travels of the seer presented in 1 Enoch 21–32.

An important contribution of his study is attention paid to Enoch's journeys. Focusing on the travels of the seer instead of the geography of 1 Enoch 21–32, Stock-Hesketh argues that there is a rationale for Enoch's journey that he then attempts to elucidate. He begins by positing that 1 Enoch 17–36 provides numerous 'stage directions' to indicate where Enoch travels. Further, the authors would want the directions and structure of the journeys to be comprehensible to their audience, because the authority of the seer and credibility of the work would be at stake.⁷¹ He theorizes that the travel directions do serve a purpose in the text, and therefore, the journeys in 1 Enoch 21–32 (as well as 17–20 and 33–36) have a coherent structure.

Although Stock-Hesketh focuses more on the journey of Enoch than on the geography, he still produces a map that locates the significant sites of 1 Enoch 21–32.⁷² His map shows a circular landmass with Jerusalem in the center (see figure 4). The map suggests a terrestrial disk (like Grelot's innermost concentric circle), but it is not clear if Stock-Hesketh understands 1 Enoch 21–32 (or 17–36) to depict anything beyond the boundaries of the earth.⁷³ He explains that the sphere may be divided into a western and an eastern semicircle; the halves mirror each other.⁷⁴ He locates the prisons of the angels and stars (1 Enoch 21 [= 1 Enoch 18–19]) in the northwestern corner. The mountain where the dead await future judgment (1 Enoch 22) is located due west. To the southwest is located the mountain-throne of God along with six mountains of precious stone (1 Enoch 24 [= 18:6–9]). To the southwest as well but separated from the perimeter by the aforementioned mountain range is the tree described in

⁷¹ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 28–29.

⁷² 'Circles and Mirrors,' 30.

⁷³ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 30.

⁷⁴ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 28–29.

1 Enoch 25. Next Stock-Hesketh depicts a tree of judgment, mountain of water, and desert in the southeast. These are followed by a valley of water (1 Enoch 30), spice trees and seven mountains in the southeastern corner of the map. Due east are several trees (1 Enoch 31) and the Erythraean Sea (1 Enoch 32). Finally the 'garden of righteousness' and tree of wisdom from 1 Enoch 32 lie to the northeast.

Stock-Hesketh's map has little in common with those produced by Grelot and Milik. Confining his study to the geography of 1 Enoch 21–32 he does not attempt to locate the bodies of water or the abyss of 1 Enoch 17. Though Milik's map features a realm of

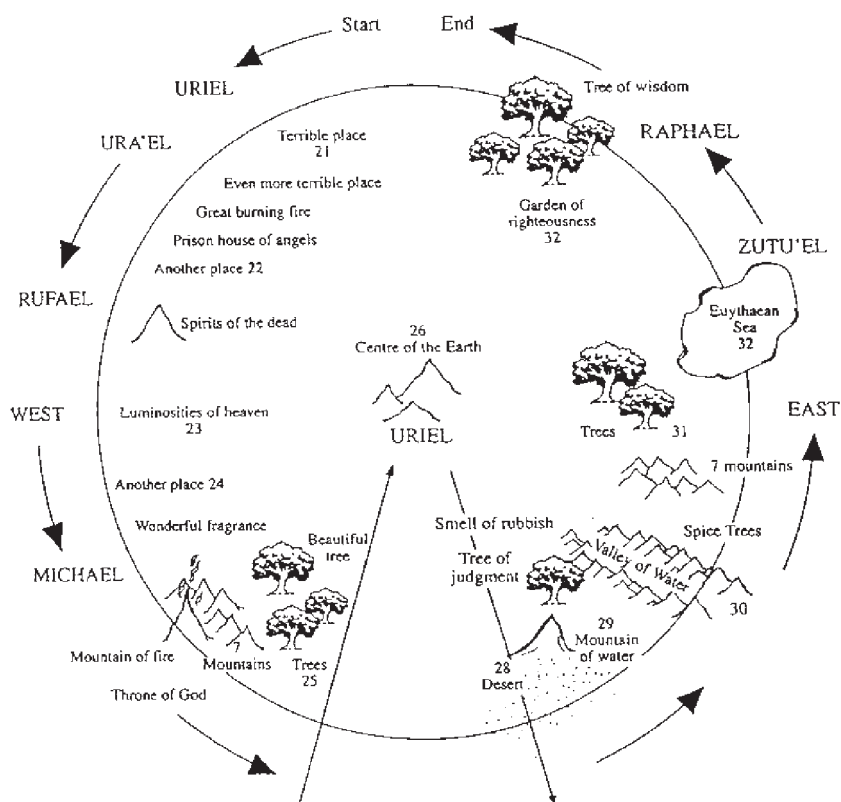


Fig. 4. J. Stock-Hesketh's Map of 1 Enoch 21–32 ('Circles and Mirrors,' 30)

darkness based on 1 Enoch 17:6 and 32:2 which he takes to be the outermost region of the cosmos, Stock-Hesketh does not elaborate on what lies beyond the terrestrial sphere nor does he attempt to place 1 Enoch 32's dark region.

In terms of the location of sites, all three scholars locate Jerusalem in the center of the map and the 'garden of righteousness,' as well as the tree of wisdom, in the northeast. While Grelot and Milik's land of aromatics extends over the eastern part of the earth, Stock-Hesketh's aromatics are confined to the southeast. The seven precious mountains, including the mountain-throne of God, he locates in the southwest; one recalls that Grelot and Milik, however, locate the mountain range to the northwest. While Milik locates the prisons for angels and stars in a desert due north, they appear to the northwest on Stock-Hesketh's map. Although the maps of Grelot and Milik tend to feature all significant sites in the northeastern or northwestern quadrants, his map embraces the entire earth, with sites located in every direction. Stock-Hesketh knows the work of Grelot and Milik, yet he does not address the differences in the maps.

Stock-Hesketh explains his location of the sites by examining closely the journey of Enoch in 1 Enoch 21–32 and by following the 'stage directions' he observes in the text. According to Stock-Hesketh, the seer traverses a semi-circular path along the perimeter to the west (chapters 21–25, following 1 Enoch 17–20, the first journey) and then a semi-circular path to the east (1 Enoch 28–32). Between these legs of the journey, Enoch takes a detour to Jerusalem, located in the center of the earth (1 Enoch 26–27). He understands Enoch's journey to commence in the northwest, with the visit to the prisons of the stars and angels (1 Enoch 21 [= 1 Enoch 18:11–19:2]); he does not explain why he assumes the prisons are located in the northwest.⁷⁵ Next Enoch, moving in a counterclockwise direction, comes to the mountain that serves as the realm of the dead; according to 1 Enoch 22:1 it is toward the west. Moving on to the southwest, Enoch encounters a mountain of fire, among six others of precious stone (1 Enoch 24 [= 1 Enoch 18:6–9]). These six are arranged, according to Stock-Hesketh, three to the north (!) and three to the east, as a sort of barrier between the seventh mountain in the middle and the earth. The fragrant tree (which he later identifies as the tree of

⁷⁵ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 30.

life) of 1 Enoch 24:3–25:6 is located also in the southwest. This location he can easily defend: “That we are right about the original position of this tree in the south-west segment of the perimeter now becomes clear, as moving it in a northerly or north-easterly direction (suggested by 1 Enoch 25:5) would indeed bring it to the ‘house of the Lord,’ the temple in Jerusalem at the centre of the earth.”⁷⁶

Enoch, after viewing the tree to be moved eventually to the ‘house of the Lord,’ follows suit, traveling on to Jerusalem in 1 Enoch 26–27.⁷⁷ The journey to the center of the earth is the only interruption in Enoch’s travel around the perimeter, according to Stock-Hesketh. The seer returns to the edge of the earth, traveling in a counterclockwise direction, but this time along the eastern half. The tour resumes in the southeast, a landscape dominated by water, trees, and mountains (1 Enoch 28–31). Stock-Hesketh does not explain how he adduces that these sites are located in the southeast; the ‘stage direction’ given in Eth. 1 Enoch 28:1 points only to the east, as he is aware.⁷⁸ Enoch concludes the journey traveling due east and then northeast, as the text does indicate; there he finds the ‘garden of righteousness’ (1 Enoch 32). Enoch, in the course of chapters 21–32, circumnavigates the earth, with the journey beginning and ending more or less in the north.

One distinguishing feature of Stock-Hesketh’s explication of the text is that Enoch’s journey follows the narrative; the sites are located on the map according to the order in which they appear in 1 Enoch 21–32. As Stock-Hesketh perceives it, the itinerary is not at all desultory; the narrative moves the seer (and us) in one constant direction, with the exception of the detour to Jerusalem. The interpretation of Stock-Hesketh differs markedly from an understanding of the tour which views the seer randomly going back and forth between sites; one recalls that the latter view is suggested by Milik’s reconstruction of the journey in 1 Enoch 17–19.

Thought provoking is the structuralism that Stock-Hesketh employs in his analysis of Enochic geography. He argues that mirrors and circles are the key structures that underlie the symbolic universe of 1 Enoch 21–32. He also suggests that the fundamental structure of the world in 1 Enoch 17–36 is enantiomorphic. By enantiomorph he means the mirror image of an asymmetric figure, like the two parts

⁷⁶ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 31.

⁷⁷ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 32.

⁷⁸ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 32.

of the yin-yang symbol or like a pair of shoes. Thus, the eastern side of the earth is the enantiomorphic representation of its western side; it is the same but in the opposite manner.⁷⁹ For example, the prisons of the northwest are opposed by the ‘garden of righteousness’ in the northeast. We find, claims Stock-Hesketh, that east is home to positive sites encountered by Enoch; the east “is characterized by water, sweet-smelling trees and spices.”⁸⁰ The journey to the west, however, is distinguished “by fire, the luminaries of heaven, terrible places and the place where the souls of the dead await judgment.”⁸¹

Of course, there are important exceptions to this hypothesis. Stock-Hesketh observes that it is surprising to encounter the tree of life in the southwest and the tree of judgment that smells like rubbish in the southeast.⁸² Also noteworthy is that the mountain range in the southwest is populated with many fragrant trees. Further, the mountain of 1 Enoch 22 located in the west features a spring of water for the righteous dead. Though outside the purview of his study I would also note that the sites from the seer’s first journey in 1 Enoch 17—placed by most commentators in the west or northwest—include the living waters (or water of life), the great sea and the mouth of all rivers and of the deep. By extension of his hypothesis, one would expect to encounter these phenomena in the east.

Especially problematic for Stock-Hesketh’s overall reconstruction of the geography is the sometimes quirky manuscript tradition or translation upon which he bases his map. Although he demonstrates awareness in his notes of the translations and commentaries of Charles, Black, Knibb, and Milik, he refers only to the translation of Isaac from *OTP* 1 for the examination of 1 Enoch 21–32.⁸³ Isaac chooses ms Tana 9, widely thought to be the earliest extant Ethiopic ms, as his base text and avers faithfulness to it, following Tana 9 even when other Ethiopic mss, the Greek text,

and all other known witnesses, attested by the variations of other manuscripts given in the apparatus of Charles . . . , disagree with it, except in clear cases where A (Tana) obviously transmits grammatical, syntactical, or scribal errors.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 29.

⁸⁰ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 36; 37, n. 1.

⁸¹ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 36.

⁸² ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 39.

⁸³ ‘1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,’ in *OTP* 1:5–89.

⁸⁴ ‘1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,’ 10–11.

Furthermore, though Isaac knows of the Aramaic fragments from the Enochic corpus, he reports that they have not influenced his translation.⁸⁵ The end result is that Isaac's translations of some selections from the Book of the Watchers which are utilized by Stock-Hesketh and considered in the current study are quite different from those of other commentators, differences not observed in Isaac's notes or in Stock-Hesketh's article.⁸⁶ In fact, Stock-Hesketh, citing exclusively from Isaac's translation, seems to be unaware of the significant differences in the translations and he does not explain why he prefers the variant readings from Tana 9 or from Isaac's translation over other well attested readings.

For example, Stock-Hesketh describes the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 24:2, following Isaac's translation of Tana 9, as 'three towards the north and three towards the east.'⁸⁷ For this reason, Stock-Hesketh writes that the mountains form a sort of barrier presumably between the middle mountain on the edge of the earth and the inhabited world.⁸⁸ All other translations feature three mountains to the south (*samēn*) and three to the east, just as we find in 1 Enoch 18:6. I know of no other attestations of 'north' in the extant Greek or Ethiopic mss of 1 Enoch 24:2, nor do other translations show awareness of this tradition (see below). Another instance concerns one of Stock-Hesketh's enantiomorphs, the tree of judgment from 1 Enoch 29:2. The tree of judgment located in the southeast is opposed to the tree of life located in the southwest.⁸⁹ Yet, all other Ethiopic mss and the Greek text of 1 Enoch 29:2 speak of *trees* (pl.) of judgment (uncertain) while Milik conjectures that the fragmentary Aramaic text be emended to 'wild trees.'⁹⁰ Further, Stock-Hesketh calls attention to seven mountains in 1 Enoch 32:1. In this case the reference to 'seven mountains' is attested by Gr^{Pan} and Ethiopic mss, but the ear-

⁸⁵ '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,' 11.

⁸⁶ Isaac states that his notations include only the most significant or relevant variations; thus he must not regard those variants that I note as worthy of mention. '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,' 11.

⁸⁷ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 31.

⁸⁸ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 31.

⁸⁹ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 32, 39.

⁹⁰ Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 117) has 'trees of judgment,' which he thinks makes little sense. Cf. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 565. Black (*Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 40, 176) emends the text to 'juniper trees' deeming the Greek and Ethiopic corrupt. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 232–33. Nickelsburg (*I Enoch*) suggests 'trees of the field.'

liest extant tradition from 4QEn^c 1 xxvi shows instead that 1 Enoch 32:1 only speaks of ‘other mountains,’ not seven.⁹¹ Finally, Stock-Hesketh refers to ‘the great and glorious seat’ in the north of 1 Enoch 34:1.⁹² With Tana 9 as the exception, the other extant Ethiopic mss, just as the Aramaic fragment from Qumran, describe a ‘great and glorious wonder’ (or ‘device’) rather than a ‘seat.’⁹³ That he chooses Isaac’s translation, and thus Tana 9 as his base text, is not itself problematic; making no mention, however, of the significant variants that contribute to his discussion of the topic is.

Since the current study is focused on the geography and journey of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions inasmuch as they prove helpful, it is right to consider possible implications of Stock-Hesketh’s map. As previously noted, he is concerned with 1 Enoch 21–32, which he considers to be the second journey featured in 1 Enoch 17–36. Stock-Hesketh compares features of the first (1 Enoch 17–20) and second (1 Enoch 21–32) journeys, noting that the latter literary unit most probably depends on the former.⁹⁴ But his comparison is quite minimal and he does not discuss geographical locations. Most significant, then, to our understanding of 1 Enoch 17–19 is what Stock-Hesketh makes of the sites in the parallel traditions of 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25. The prisons of the stars and angels of 1 Enoch 21 he locates to the northwest (see above); he provides no basis for their location in this direction, however, other than that they seem to offer a suitable enantiomorph for paradise in the northeast. Perhaps also a northwestern location is necessary to sustain his theory that Enoch travels along the entire perimeter of the sphere. The mountain-throne of God, the accompanying six mountains, and the tree of life of 1 Enoch 24–25, Stock-Hesketh places in the southwest. I think he is correct to place the mountain range and tree of life in this direction. I provide below further evidence from 1 Enoch 18 to support his conclusion.

⁹¹ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 33; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 232, 234.

⁹² ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 41, n. 38.

⁹³ Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 123 and Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 570. Cf. also Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 235.

⁹⁴ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 36.

E. AN ALTERNATIVE MAP FOR 1 ENOCH 17–19

Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh's maps are all commendable attempts at making sense of difficult texts. In each instance, the scholar works with the assumption that behind the verbal description of geography in the Enochic text(s) stands a model of the world meant to organize phenomena. Grelot and Milik shape their maps primarily on the basis of comparable traditions from the milieu. Stock-Hesketh develops his map from a close reading of the 'stage directions' in 1 Enoch 21–32 and from sensitivity to the structure underlying the text. Like Stock-Hesketh, I assume that 1 Enoch 17–19 is structured in a way that would have been meaningful to a contemporary audience and therefore, I follow the text closely. Like Grelot and Milik, I consider the environment out of which the text emerged and explore comparable traditions that might shed light on the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19.

Similar to the depictions of Grelot, Milik, and Stock-Hesketh, my map is in the shape of a disk (see figure 5). The horizon suggested to those in antiquity that the earth was a flat disk.⁹⁵ Agathemenus, a fourth century BCE geographer, remarks that the ancients drew the inhabited world as round,⁹⁶ and the Babylonian Mappa Mundi depicts the world thus as well (see figure 6).⁹⁷ The innermost circle of my map represents the land mass or world continent and the outer circle is that of Okeanos, referred to as 'the great river' in 1 Enoch 17:6. Commonplace, though not universally accepted in the ancient world, was the view that the earth disk is surrounded by a circular ocean. Bunbury holds that from the time of Homer to that of Hecataeus, the circular earth was thought to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean, a vast, continuous stream.⁹⁸ Homer (*Il.* 18.607–8; 21.194–96; *Od.* 10.510–12; 11.13; 24.11–12), Hesiod (*Theog.* 789–91; *Op.* 170–73), and Strabo (*Geogr.* 1.1.8) all observe that Okeanos encircles the inhabited world, a notion Herodotus deems laughable (*Hist.* 4.36). The Babylonian Mappa Mundi also shows *marratu* ('ocean' or Bitter River) encircling the continent (see figure 6).⁹⁹ Israelite cosmology envisions the sky

⁹⁵ Cf. William A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map* (New York: Arno, 1976), 12, 18.

⁹⁶ C. Muller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2, 471–72. Cf. also Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans*, 33.

⁹⁷ Cf. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 21, 41.

⁹⁸ Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans*, 33.

⁹⁹ Cf. also Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 21, 29–30, who refers to The

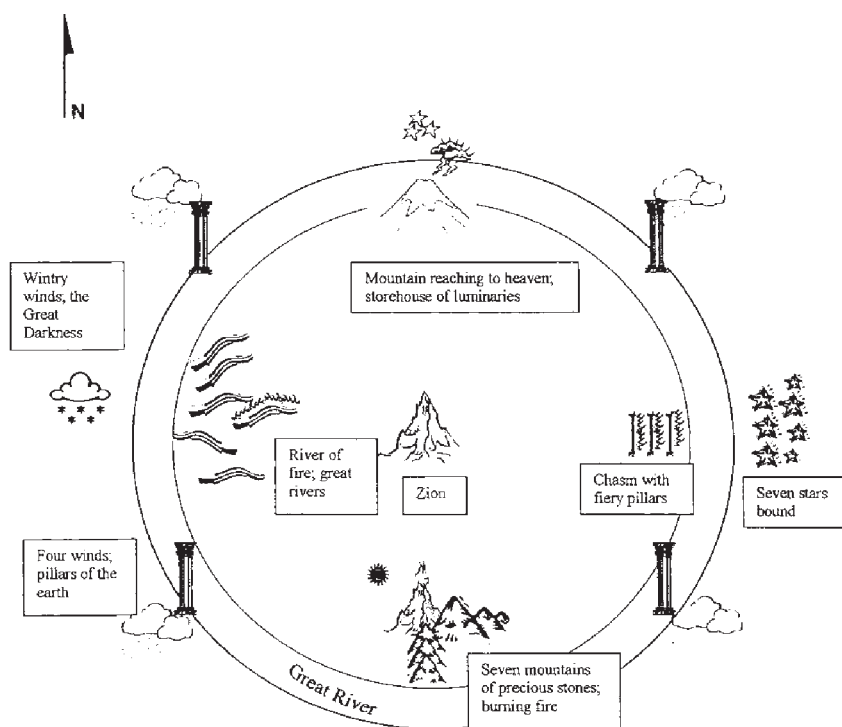


Fig. 5. Map of 1 Enoch 17–19

as a dome of water that sits upon the land mass. In this respect as well, water would be thought to surround the earth on all sides, where the sky meets the earth (cf. Gen 1:6–7; Deut 4:32, 30:4).¹⁰⁰

Although it adds to the difficulty of mapping, I do not intend to fix precisely the sacred sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 or the parallel traditions. In the ancient Near East, compass-point directions “included a range of 90°, with ‘north’ including areas from northeast to northwest, ‘south’ areas from southeast to southwest, ‘east’ areas from northeast to southeast, and ‘west’ areas from northwest to southwest.”¹⁰¹ While I present many sites aligned with cardinal directions, I would allow, in fact, for a 90° range for possible locations.

Bilingual Creation of the World by Marduk (CT 13 35–37) in which Marduk creates land that floats upon and is surrounded by the sea. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 41.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 55.

¹⁰¹ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 199. See also E. Weidner, ‘Die Himmelsrichtungen bei den Babyloniern,’ *AfO* 7 (1932): 269–71, esp. 271.

Similar to Stock-Hesketh, I too follow the narrative order as I reconstruct the map and discern from the text that the seer travels in a counterclockwise direction. The first place the seer would encounter upon exiting the heavenly palace (1 Enoch 14:8–16:4) is the mountain of God located on my map in the north, possibly northeast or northwest (1 Enoch 17:2). Reminiscent of Near Eastern traditions that locate paradise in the north or northeast, Enoch also comes to the ‘living waters’/‘waters of life’ (1 Enoch 17:4) which lie in close proximity to the northern mountain.

To the west or northwest (less likely southwest) on my map are located various bodies of water: the infernal river, the Pyriphlegethon (‘river of fire’ of 1 Enoch 17:5), the Mediterranean (‘great sea’ of 1 Enoch 17:5), and the great rivers (which some speculate refer to other infernal rivers; e.g. Acheron); following these Enoch comes upon Okeanos (‘the great river’ in 1 Enoch 17:6; see above). The area beyond Okeanos, called ‘the great darkness,’ where no flesh walks (1 Enoch 17:6), is the realm of the dead. An elaboration of this visit occurs in 1 Enoch 22.

The counterclockwise journey is interrupted with a tour of the winds (1 Enoch 18:1–5) and Enoch sees how the four winds contribute to the universe in various ways. For example, he sees the winds supporting the earth and firmament. Thus the winds as the ‘pillars of heaven’ appear in the northeastern, northwestern, southwestern, and southeastern corners of my map.¹⁰²

Enoch resumes travel in a counterclockwise direction, going to the south, according to the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 18:6. Thus, on my map the place that burns day and night (1 Enoch 18:6) is to be found in the south, southwest, or possibly southeast. There Enoch sees seven mountains of precious stone with a middle mountain that reaches to heaven. This mountain featuring a lapis lazuli summit (1 Enoch 18:8) is the mountain upon which God will descend in the future (1 Enoch 25:3). It is also a place of burning fire (1 Enoch 18:9). Finally, Enoch travels east or southeast (less probably northeast) beyond the inhabited world. In this site where there is neither firmament of heaven nor foundation of earth, Enoch views the prisons for the disobedient stars and angels. Having traveled along the perimeter of the earth and having toured the significant sites of each

¹⁰² On the location of the four winds in the northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest, see BagM Beih. 2 no. 98 in Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 193–207.

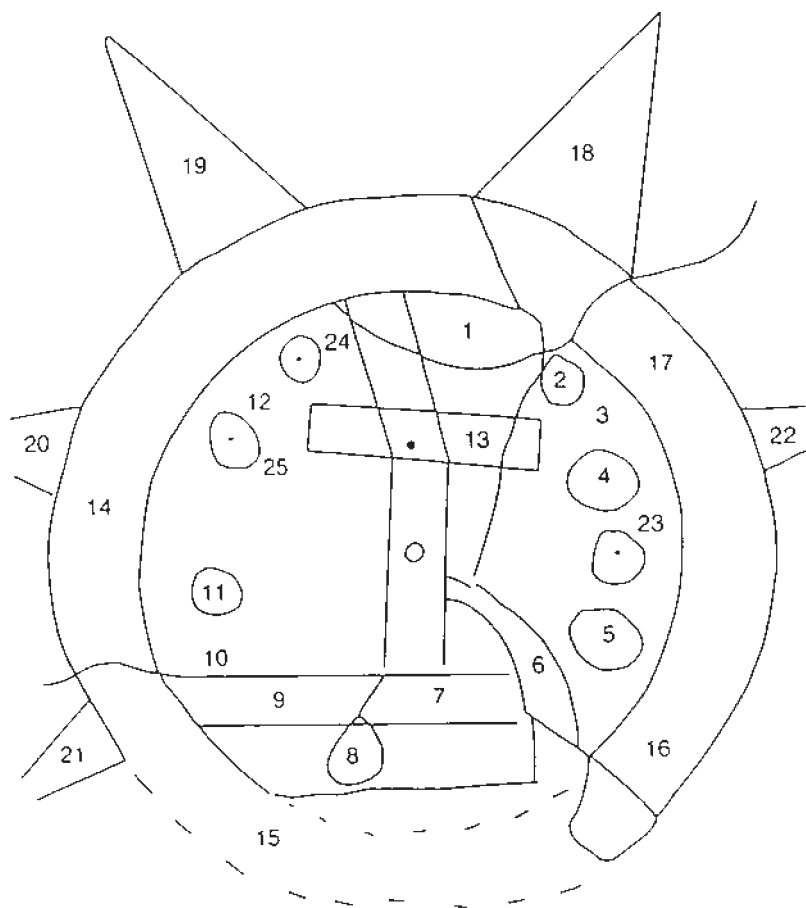


Fig. 6. Babylonian Mappa Mundi (Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, 20-22)

- | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Mountain | 6. x-ra-[...] | 11. city | 16. [o]cean | 21. [Re]gion [(...)] |
| 2. city | 7. swamp | 12. Habban | 17. oce[an] | 22. Region 8 leagues in between |
| 3. Urartu | 8. Susa | 13. Babylon | 18. Great Wall 6 leagues in between where the Sun is not seen | 23. no inscription |
| 4. Assyria | 9. channel | 14. ocean
(^{id} mar-ra-tum) | 19. Region 6 leagues in between | 24. no inscription |
| 5. Der | 10. Bit Yakin | 15. [ocean] | 20. [Re]gion [(...)] | 25. no inscription |

direction, Enoch concludes that he has seen the ends of everything (1 Enoch 19:3).

From the indications in 1 Enoch 17–19, the parallel traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25, and in some cases from comparable traditions external to the Enochic corpus, the worldview that emerges is one dominated by sacred sites. 1 Enoch 17–19's attention to particular sites in the depiction of the cosmos (the mountain of God [Mount Hermon?], realm of the dead, mountain-throne [Mount Sinai?] and prisons for the stars and angels [Tartarus]) is reminiscent of two other extra-biblical works.

The second century BCE Book of Jubilees speaks of four sacred places on the earth: the garden of Eden, the mountain of the east (Mount Qater?), Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (*Jub.* 4:26). Hölscher, Alexander, and VanderKam reconstruct maps from the verbal descriptions in Jubilees and adduce a mental map behind the text that resembles in many respects Ionian maps.¹⁰³ At least three of the four holy sites listed in Jubilees 4 are located in the territory of Shem, the most temperate region, and appear to be facing one another (*Jub.* 8:19–21). We see in Jubilees a mental map that places Israel in the center and takes care to locate holy sites, especially those associated with mountains. 1 Enoch 17–19 also calls attention to four important sites in its mental map; they are located, however, on the perimeter of the inhabited world. Further, the only site the two works have in common would be Mount Sinai, if my identification of the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:7–8 is correct, though Zion and the garden of Eden play a large role in 1 Enoch 20–36. Perhaps the difference can be explained by the respective interests of the mental maps. After Jubilees describes Enoch offering incense to God on Mount Qater (*Jub.* 4:25), the text lists sites that are sacred; these all 'happen' to belong in Shem's territory, making Israel a holy land indeed. 1 Enoch 17–19's geography especially concerns, however, the extremities and eschatology.

Most similar to the geography and journey of 1 Enoch 17–19 is that of the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah. Though the present form may date from the sixth or seventh century CE, Moses Buttenwieser

¹⁰³ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums*, 57–73; Alexander, 'Notes on the "Imago Mundi" of the Book of Jubilees,' 210–13 and VanderKam, 'Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,' 46–69.

maintains that the original apocalypse is from the third century CE.¹⁰⁴ The third century apocalypse, Bauckham suggests, may derive, in turn, from a first century CE Apocalypse of Elijah of which only a few fragments exist.¹⁰⁵ Noting the archaic character of the tour, Bauckham proposes that the version in the Apocalypse of Elijah was abridged from a longer account.¹⁰⁶

In the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah, the prophet is taken by the Spirit of God first to the south where he views a high place, burning with fire which no created being could enter.¹⁰⁷ Next the prophet by means of the Spirit, is taken to the east where he sees seven stars fighting against one another and none resting. Then the prophet travels west where he sees souls undergoing judgment according to their deeds. This abbreviated tour mirrors well that of 1 Enoch 17–19. In fact, Bauckham observes:

The sights Elijah sees on his tour can be identified from Enoch's tours in the Book of the Watchers, *though the points of compass do not correspond* [my emphasis] . . . the high place in the south must be the central of Enoch's seven mountains (1 Enoch 18:6–8; 24–5) . . . The stars Elijah sees in the east must be the seven erring stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16; 21:3–6 . . . The place of the dead which Elijah sees is in the west, like Enoch's Sheol (1 Enoch 22).¹⁰⁸

Unlike Bauckham, I think a careful reading of 1 Enoch 17–19 demonstrates that the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah shares a comparable mental map. Extraordinary is that this abbreviated cosmic tour focuses on the same type of sites connected to eschatology or theophany; further striking is that the text locates the sites in exactly the same

¹⁰⁴ *Der hebräische Elias-Apokalypse und ihre Stellung in der apokalyptischen Litteratur des rabbinischen Schrifttums und der Kirche* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1897), 68–82; *Outline of Neo-Hebraic Apocalyptic Literature* (Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1901), 30–32.

¹⁰⁵ 'Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' 81. See also M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 60; though James thinks that much of the Apocalypse of Elijah is from a later time, he suggests that the introduction of this work bears a connection with earlier apocalypses.

¹⁰⁶ *Fate of the Dead*, 57.

¹⁰⁷ For the text of apocalypse, see Buttenwieser, *Der hebräische Elias-Apokalypse und ihre Stellung*, 15–16 and also Ibn Schmu'el, *Revelation and Redemption: Jewish Documents of Deliverance from the Fall of Jerusalem to the Death of Nahmanides* (trans. G. W. Buchanan; Dillsboro, N.C.: Western North Carolina Press, 1978), 428.

¹⁰⁸ 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell,' *JTS* 41 (1990): 355–85; esp. 363. See also his *Fate of the Dead*, 58. Concerning 1 Enoch 17:5–8's depiction of the realm of the dead, see above.

directions as can be argued for 1 Enoch 17–19. Both the Book of Jubilees and the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah offer later manifestations of mental maps that are highly reminiscent of 1 Enoch 17–19.

In addition to proposing a map for 1 Enoch 17–19, one might also articulate what purpose the geography and Enoch's journey serve in the narrative. In 1 Enoch 17–19, and as well in chapters 20–36, the geography highlights God's dominion over the cosmos as represented by the four directions.¹⁰⁹ In the context of Enoch's otherworldly journeys, 1 Enoch 17–19, like 1 Enoch 20–36, presents sites associated with the Divine, with judgment, and with personal eschatology in each direction: the mountain of God (and paradise) in the north (northeast, northwest), the realm of the dead in the west (northwest, southwest) the mountain on which God will descend, Sinai, in the south (southwest, southeast) and the location of prisons for the malevolent beings in the east (southeast, less likely northeast). The geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 (and of 1 Enoch 17–36) might be said to serve the theology of the Book of the Watchers in the following manner. Just as a Mesopotamian regent would be known by the royal epithet 'King of the Four Regions,' so too was Enoch's God sovereign over all the cosmos.¹¹⁰ Following the visit to the heavenly palace where God gives Enoch a powerful condemnation to deliver to the evil watchers (1 Enoch 16), the tour of 1 Enoch 17–19 reminds the audience that sites related to judgment, punishment, future reward, and God's return have already been established and are powerfully present, though not yet accessible to anyone but Enoch.

¹⁰⁹ One recalls Newsom's examination of 1 Enoch 6–19 in light of Near Eastern suzerainty. Newsom's treatment, especially her insight that 1 Enoch 17–19 emphasizes the dominion of God, is helpful. I would not argue, however, that Enoch's tour in 1 Enoch 17–19 may be explained primarily as a reflection of Near Eastern diplomacy. See her 'Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,' 324–25.

¹¹⁰ The expression occurs, for example, in both Sumerian and Akkadian during the reign of Naram-Sin. Cf. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 298–99. Similarly, Grelot ('La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 34), observing that the four quarters are emphasized in 1 Enoch 77:1–3, is reminded of the royal Akkadian title, 'King of the Four Regions.'

CHAPTER TWO

COMPARABLE GEOGRAPHICAL DATA AND PARALLELS IN ISRAELITE AND JEWISH TRADITIONS

A. MENTAL MAPPING AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In the first chapter of section three, we examined the ‘mental map’ one could extract from the geographical descriptions of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the duplicate traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25. In this second chapter we explore how it is that mental maps are constructed in the first place. Working from the theory that people fashion mental maps according to that which they know, we consider possible sources of information, more specifically comparable worldviews, that might have contributed to the mental map behind 1 Enoch 17–19.

Peter Gould and Rodney White observe that geographers have become more interested in questions concerning the relative location of places, than in geography focused on the fixed coordinates, or longitude and latitude, of places.¹ Gould and White especially study how the distance between the person and a given place affects the manner of building up images of places and the final product of the ‘image building process.’² In their research, they asked subjects to make maps reflecting the subjects’ ‘space preferences.’ Gould and White requested that the subjects mark on maps where the subjects would most like to live and how they would evaluate places in the categories of environment/landscape, climate, language and culture, and political and social attitudes. From the maps of subjects’ ‘space preferences’ Gould and White attempted to “explain the ways in which ‘mental maps’ are related to the characteristics of the real world” and then to discern what affects one’s mapping and evaluation of places.³

In this process, a first principle would be that individuals map what they know, either through firsthand familiarity or from a name around which a person builds a mental image.⁴ It is possible for a

¹ *Mental Maps*, 1.

² *Mental Maps*, 3.

³ *Mental Maps*, 3–5; esp. 3.

⁴ *Mental Maps*, 4–5.

person to have heard of a certain place and to have an idea about the place without his or her ideas coinciding with geographical reality. Frequently people form a mental image of Bermuda or Alaska without having much idea about the size or location of these places.⁵ Hence, “there need be no direct correlation between preferences and accuracy of location, nor between imageability and the task of locating a place exactly.”⁶

Usually the knowledge people possess of their environment determines, however, their mental maps or spatial preferences.⁷ Most of the maps by the subjects of Gould and White demonstrated “highly localised spatial perception,” or in other words, provincialism.⁸ What sorts of data make up a person’s map? Gould and White report,

Human behavior is affected only by that portion of the environment that is actually perceived . . . Our views of the world, and about people and places in it, are formed from a highly filtered set of impressions and our images are strongly affected by the information we receive through our filters.⁹

In one instance, Gould and White demonstrate that three individuals from one region draw maps of the same locale differently based on their diverse socio-economic background.¹⁰

Gould and White show, though, that people map what is familiar to them and what they have information about.¹¹ Most significantly, people make mental maps 1) according to shared, national viewpoints and 2) according to the “dome of local desirability, representing feelings people have for the familiar and comfortable surrounding of their home area.”¹² In terms of spatial perceptions, there is a strong preference for the immediate area of the subject. Beyond the matter of geographical proximity, people typically map territory by paying attention to man-made boundaries. Language and culture, factors that contribute to invisible landscapes, play roles as well in the perceptions of space.¹³

⁵ Gould and White, *Mental Maps*, 83.

⁶ Gould and White, *Mental Maps*, 82.

⁷ Gould and White, *Mental Maps*, 15–19; esp. 17.

⁸ *Mental Maps*, 24.

⁹ *Mental Maps*, 28.

¹⁰ *Mental Maps*, 17.

¹¹ *Mental Maps*, 90–94.

¹² *Mental Maps*, 52.

¹³ *Mental Maps*, 108–14.

While Gould and White conducted their research by asking subjects to make maps or to list geographical preferences and then by reconstructing the subjects' social views of geography from that data, we do not have exactly this luxury with 1 Enoch 17–19. Though we cannot ask of this ancient author his geographical preferences we can conclude that the mere mention of a site in this cosmic tour suggests that it is of some (theological) significance to its author. With all the information about space available to every person, reference to a site indicates that the place has permeated one's filters. People are bombarded constantly with geographical information, and some mental process of selection at a time of recollection must follow. A person selects or recalls, perhaps unconsciously, certain information pertinent to him or her to include in a mental map. Of all the geographical sites known to the author(s) of 1 Enoch 17–19, from experience or from shared viewpoints, only certain sites merited inclusion in the seer's tour.

Gould and White claim that people construct mental maps with a strong preference toward the surroundings of their home. Within the Book of the Watchers, there are several sites of which the author(s) would seem to have firsthand knowledge. In 1 Enoch 13, there are several references to sites in northern Galilee: Mount Hermon, Abel-Main, Dan, and the headwaters of Dan. The author seems to have a sense of the locations of the sites relative to each other. Based on the references to such sites, Nickelsburg wonders if visionaries, including the author(s) of the Book of the Watchers, were active in the Upper Galilee.¹⁴ Milik calls attention to the eastern tour of 1 Enoch 28–32, suggesting that these chapters describe an actual setting along a trade route that runs from Petra to Gaza. The author of these chapters had firsthand knowledge of the locales, according to Milik, and may have been a merchant himself.¹⁵ Likewise, great detail in the description

¹⁴ Nickelsburg observes:

... the precise and correct location of the sites of Dan and *Abel-Maîn* indicates firsthand familiarity with the area at some point in the chain of tradition ... (the) data are best explained, I believe, by the hypothesis that these chapters (of 1 Enoch) constitute a tradition of northern Galilean provenance which, in turn, reflects visionary activity in the area of Dan and Hermon.

'Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,' 586. See also 1 Enoch, 231, 238–47 and Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 28–30.

¹⁵ On this topic, Milik writes:

His (the author's) information about the aromatics ... suggests fairly clearly, in my opinion, that he was engaged, in his role as a modest official, in the perfume

of the Jerusalem environs—the placement of various mountains, valleys and streams—seems to reflect direct knowledge of the landscape. This has led some to conclude also that the author of 1 Enoch 26–27 knew Jerusalem well.¹⁶ If Gould and White's theory of provincialism, that one maps what one knows, is valid, then Nickelsburg and Milik's hypotheses concerning the authors' respective backgrounds are plausible.

Yet, for the current study we observe that most of the sites of 1 Enoch 17–19 are located by the author on the periphery of earth. They are described as far from the inhabited world and thus would not be a part of the author's immediate environs. While mental maps are frequently dominated by local surroundings, Gould and White assert that people also construct maps according to shared, national viewpoints. For example, an Indiana teenager, though unable to name or place correctly southern states on a map, has some idea of Florida, *the* place to be for spring vacation. I might modify their principle for the scope of this project: people construct mental maps according to shared, cultural or religious viewpoints. An American Catholic might be ignorant of the geography and significant cities of much of Europe but still include Rome on his/her mental map of the world.

Mount Sinai (also known as Horeb) might prove an analogous example from antiquity. The site is significant in pre-exilic and post-exilic literature (cf. Exod 3:1–2; 19–24; Lev 26:46; Deut 33:2; Judg 5:5; 1 Kgs 19:3–18; Ps 68:8; Neh 9:13; Acts 7:30; Heb 12:19–21; 1 Enoch 1:4) and is associated with the exodus, the theophany, and the giving of the torah. We have no indications, however, that people in antiquity sought out, visited or made pilgrimages to what they

and spice trade. This hypothesis is confirmed by his reference to a second town which he must have known *de visu*, namely Petra, the capital of the Nabataeans. He admires above all the aqueduct of the city, impressive remains of which can still be seen today in the es-Sîq gorge of the Wâdi Mûsa.

Books of Enoch, 26; see also 25–27; 36. Cf. his 'Hénoch au Pays des Aromates [ch. XXVII à XXXII],' 70–77. Against Milik's interpretation of the geography in 1 Enoch 28–32, see Gil, 'Enoch in the Land of the Living' and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 323.

¹⁶ "He (the author) shows, in En. 26, an astonishingly detailed knowledge of the surroundings of Jerusalem, with their mountains and rivers." Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 36. Also:

He was perhaps himself a Jerusalemite, for he has an excellent knowledge of the environs of the Holy City (26:2–27:1); at the very least he must have traveled there frequently.

Books of Enoch, 26. Cf. also Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 42.

thought was Mount Sinai until the fourth century CE.¹⁷ Paul even refers to Sinai in Gal 4:25, but with the purpose of communicating not the location of the mountain (he does note that it is in Arabia) but rather the 'idea' of Sinai; for Paul the mountain represents law and a first (inferior) covenant (cf. Gal 4:21–31). If Israelites or Judeans were not in the habit of making visits to the mountain, why does Sinai continue to function as a noteworthy site for authors and their audiences? We recall that a mental map is based upon information of geography that one has gained directly or experientially through one's surroundings or travel. A mental map also derives, though, from information one gleans about places indirectly from shared traditions. Thus, Mount Sinai as a literary construct provides an example of a shared tradition that remained pertinent within the Jewish community of the Second Temple period.¹⁸

Excluding the possibility of firsthand knowledge, when the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 describes sites located at the geographical extremities, we should seek the shared viewpoint from which he derives his geographical information. Since we do not know precisely the social location of the author of 1 Enoch 17–19, it would seem worthwhile to consider all comparable geographical traditions that shed light on the Enochic worldview. As a member of the *cognoscenti* and of a religious community, the author surely is familiar with various peripheral sites through shared traditions, as is illustrated by the example of Sinai. The geographical traditions or sites featured in other works that best compare to 1 Enoch 17–19 suggest a shared worldview and perhaps a similar social location.

To complicate matters, though, most of the peripheral sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 are unidentifiable. Unlike Mount Sinai, one cannot easily link the chasm of fiery pillars of 1 Enoch 18:11 (and 1 Enoch 21:7) with any known site. A place like the chasm of fiery pillars might be considered mythical, even if it exists in the mind of the author. As Gould and White demonstrate, the idea of a place

¹⁷ An exception would be Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:3–18; I understand the account, however, to be a literary tradition rather than an actual report of a visit to Mount Horeb (Sinai). It is in the fourth century CE, with the support of Helen, mother of Constantine, that Christians sought out many biblical sites for the purpose of pilgrimage. Sinai was one such location. Christians identified Jebel Musa in the Sinai peninsula as Mount Sinai and built in its shadow the Monastery of St. Catherine in the fourth century.

¹⁸ On traditions concerning Sinai in Second Temple literature, see above.

need not correspond to its reality (see above) in order to loom large in someone's imagination.¹⁹

The mostly unidentifiable, peripheral sites of 1 Enoch 17–19 include unusual mountains, bodies of water, phenomena associated with fire, astral or meteorological phenomena, winds and abysses. The following table includes all the sites referred to in 1 Enoch 17–19:

Table 7. A List of the Sites Referred to in 1 Enoch 17–19

❖ place of darkness (or of storm)	❖ winds (adorning all creation and foundation of the earth, supporting the earth and firmament, serving as the pillars of heaven, turning the heavens, supporting clouds)
❖ mountain reaching to heaven	❖ cornerstone of the earth
❖ storehouse of luminaries and meteorological phenomena	❖ firmament of heaven, at the ends of the earth
❖ water of life	❖ seven mountains of precious stones
❖ fire of the west receiving the setting sun	❖ middle mountain with summit extending to the heavens
❖ river of fire	❖ place where the heavens come to an end
❖ great sea toward the west (Mediterranean)	❖ chasm with fiery pillars
❖ great rivers	❖ desert beyond heaven and earth with seven stars
❖ the great river (Okeanos)	❖ ends of everything
❖ great darkness (where all flesh goes)	
❖ winds of winter (or mountains of darkness of winter)	
❖ place where the deep pours out	
❖ mouth of the rivers and mouth of the deep	

For the author to have mentioned these sites, according to the research of Gould and White, means the places were selected (consciously or unconsciously) by a highly filtered set of impressions. The peripheral sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 were significant enough that they merited inclusion in the tour.

Yet how did the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 learn about such enigmatic sites? Did the author create such extraordinary places *ex nihilo* (as an imaginative artist or visionary in an altered state) or did the author know of such places from a shared worldview and tradition? It is clear from the second section, 'Description of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19,' that most commentators and I hold the second option to be the case. Since many of the sites in 1 Enoch 17–19

¹⁹ One might think of Atlantis or of the North Pole at Christmas time.

are not easily identifiable, we seek parallel traditions to help explain the phenomena described in these chapters.

Even if the author presents in the contents of 1 Enoch 17–19 an actual visionary experience in which the sites described are obtained from a trance or a dream (cf. 1 Enoch 13:8), it is likely that elements of the altered state are culturally conditioned. E. R. Dodds observes that dream structures depend on socially transmitted patterns of belief and the choices of symbols, as well as the nature of the dream itself, conforms to a rigid, traditional pattern.²⁰ Daniel Merkur offers another perspective, maintaining that the visionary experiences of apocalypticists happened as a result of waking states, rather than dreams.²¹ Following Rowland, he suggests that the content of the visions may have been produced by discursive meditations on older texts or traditions which determined in advance the contents of the revelation.²² Thus it is most probable that sites which make up the mental map of 1 Enoch 17–19 would have been known to the author prior to the visionary experience.

With these considerations in mind, I examine the geographical traditions or sites from other works that are comparable to but probably antedate those in 1 Enoch 17–19. In this chapter, we explore passages from the Astronomical Book, a contemporaneous if not earlier work in the Enochic corpus and selections from the Hebrew Bible (from Genesis, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Exodus and Job). In the following chapter traditions from the ancient Near East (the Epic of Gilgamesh and the Babylonian Mappa Mundi) and from Greece, in works ranging from Homer to Plato, will be considered in light of the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. The aim is to discern close parallels that, in turn, may suggest a shared worldview.

In highlighting parallel traditions, it is not my goal to suggest any

²⁰ *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 104–8.

²¹ Merkur observes:

... we have evidence neither of daydreams nor of dreams, but of an alternate psychic state that combined features of both: a waking dream state that permitted limited conscious control of unconsciously originating materials.

'The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalypticists,' in *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 14 (1989): 119–48; esp. 131.

²² 'The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalypticists,' 140–41. See also Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 215–28. Says Merkur ('The Visionary Practices of Jewish Apocalypticists,' 141) of the visionary's technique: "The seers rehearsed what they knew in order to encourage their psychic states to manifest further and unknown matters on the same topics." See also Alan Segal, 'Apocalypticism and Life After Death,' *PIBA* 22 (1999): 41–63; esp. 43–46 and 54–61.

direct literary dependence. Indeed, the matter of possible sources for or influences behind Enochic geography appears quite complex. VanderKam, on the topic, concludes:

... the features (of 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21–36) which are present strongly suggest that the writers have borrowed mythological geographical motifs from the literature and/or traditions of their international environment. It is not impossible that they drew them from Mesopotamian, Phoenician, Classical, and biblical sources or from sources in which these traditions were somehow combined.²³

Further, as Martin Hengel²⁴ and Wacker note,²⁵ one must differentiate between a mediating culture and a culture of derivation. It is difficult to ascertain who mediated traditions to whom and when, especially if motifs are common to several cultures or works. The geography in 1 Enoch 17–19 may appear similar to that of the Astronomical Book, Isaiah 14 and the Odyssey. Yet, the Astronomical Book which shares much with the geographical views of 1 Enoch 17–19, may have been influenced by Mesopotamian views of astronomy.²⁶ The mountain of God of Isa 14:13, which many consider comparable to the mountain-throne of God in 1 Enoch 18:8,²⁷ appears fashioned after the Ugaritic notion of El's mount of assembly and Baal's Mount Zaphon. Grelot, observing that the unusual rivers of 1 Enoch 17:5–6 resemble the infernal rivers, Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus of Greek mythology, argues that Greek mythology, in turn, most probably derived from oriental prototypes.²⁸ While I think it most difficult to identify the ultimate sources that contributed to 1 Enoch 17–19's geography, I do think it worthwhile to identify and study comparable presentations of geography and sites. The parallels can teach us a great deal about the general environment from which 1 Enoch 17–19 emerged.

²³ See *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 139. Also on the matter of sources and influences contributing to apocalypses, Collins remarks:

While many of the tenets of the old *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* have been discredited, the religious traditions of the Near East and the Hellenistic world remain indispensable for the understanding of apocalypticism.

See his 'Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalyptic,' in *Mysteries and Revelations*, 11–32; esp. 32.

²⁴ Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. John Bowden; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 1:181.

²⁵ *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 175.

²⁶ See VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 91–102.

²⁷ Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 40.

²⁸ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 39.

B. THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK

The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82)²⁹ is, like the Book of the Watchers, a work from the Enochic corpus that was written around the third century BCE.³⁰ I discuss the Astronomical Book and not other sections of the Enochic corpus in this chapter because it is clear that the Astronomical Book is at least as old as, but mostly likely older than, 1 Enoch 17–19. While it is most improbable that the Book of the Watchers and Astronomical Book were authored by the same party,³¹ some have asked whether sections from the Book of the Watchers were based on or demonstrate familiarity with the writings of the Astronomical Book.³² For example, VanderKam wonders if 1 Enoch 33–36 might reproduce in abbreviated form the tour and topics of the Astronomical Book.³³ While the content of 1 Enoch 33–36 does not concern immediately this study of the geography in 1 Enoch 17–19, 21, and 24–25, there is a chapter from the Astronomical Book that provides some interesting parallels. 1 Enoch 77 describes unusual geography and topography of the earth that invite comparison with the geographical descriptions in 1 Enoch 17–19.

1 Enoch 77:1–3 describes the four quarters of the earth and their distinguishing characteristics. Following the Aramaic, it is clear that 1 Enoch 77:3 also indicates that the earth is divided into three parts: a first part for the dwelling place of humans, a second part for waters, forests, darkness and mist, and finally a third part for the ‘garden of righteousness.’ 1 Enoch 77:4 tells of the seven highest mountains of the earth from which snow comes. 1 Enoch 77:5–7 describes the seven largest rivers of the earth: one from the east that

²⁹ The Astronomical Book may well be a composite work. The ethical concerns of 1 Enoch 80–81 especially distinguish the chapters from the Astronomical Book’s ‘scientific’ interests; hence, 1 Enoch 80–81 may not have been a part of the original text. See VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 77–79 and Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, xlix–l; 147–49. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 333–44 on 1 Enoch 81–82.

³⁰ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 7–8; 273–74 and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 79–88.

³¹ See Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 149, who enumerates the many differences between the Book of the Watchers and Astronomical Book.

³² See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 38 and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 114, 136. Charles (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 149) acknowledges that there could be some sort of relationship between the Astronomical Book and the later chapters of the Book of the Watchers, but stresses that it is not “that of one and undivided authorship.”

³³ VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 114, 136.

flows into the ‘great sea’ (77:5); two from the north to the Erythraean Sea (77:6); four others to the north, with two of those four going to the Erythraean Sea and the other two to the ‘great sea’ (77:7). Finally, 1 Enoch 77:8 speaks of seven large islands in the sea and on land.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Ethiopic of the Astronomical Book is shown to be periphrastic when compared to the Aramaic.³⁴ To illustrate the difference between the two ms traditions, I give first the Ethiopic reading of 1 Enoch 77:1–4, from Knibb’s translation³⁵ and then the Aramaic reading based on Milik’s translation.³⁶ I have made addenda to Milik’s translation: I include the Aramaic to demonstrate the etymological explanations of the name for each direction and indicate in the text where one might question Milik’s reconstruction.³⁷ Most importantly, verses from 4QEnastr^b 23 that are underlined call the reader’s attention to text that is different from or lacking in the Ethiopic reading.

Table 8. Comparison of the Text of Ethiopic
1 Enoch 77:1–3 and 4QEnastr^b 23, 77:1–3

Ethiopic 1 Enoch 77:1–3	4QEnastr ^b 23, 77:1–3
77:1 They call the first quarter eastern because it is the first; and they call the second the south, because there the Most High descends, and there especially the one who is blessed for ever descends.	77:1 [And they call the east ‘east’ (קדים) because it] is the first (קדמיה); and they call the south ‘south’ (דרום), because the Great One <u>dwells</u> (דאר רבא) ³⁸ there, and in it dwells [. . .] blessed forever.
77:2 And the western quarter is called waning, because there all the lights of heaven wane and go down.	77:2 And the great quarter (they call) the west quarter (רוח מערבא), because there go the stars of heaven; there they set (ערבין) <u>and there all stars enter. And for this reason they call it ‘west.’</u>
77:3a And the fourth quarter, named the north	77:3a [And the north (they call) ‘north’] (צפון), <u>because in it all bodies (lit. vessels) of the heavens hide (צפנין) and gather</u>

³⁴ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 7–8; 291; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 13; 180; VanderKam, ‘1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,’ esp. 274–75.

³⁵ See *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 179–81.

³⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 289–91.

³⁷ On difficulties in Milik’s reconstruction, see VanderKam, ‘1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,’ 275–78.

³⁸ Milik’s transcription of 1 Enoch 77:1’s דאר suggests that ד and ר are uncertain as appears from Plate 27 of 4QEnastr^b 23. The Ethiopic reads ‘descends’ instead of ‘dwells.’

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Ethiopic 1 Enoch 77:1–3	4QEnastrb 23, 77:1–3
77:3b is divided into three parts. And the first of them (is) the dwelling-place for men; the second (contains) seas of water, and the deeps, and forests, and rivers, and darkness, and mist; and the third part (contains) the garden of righteousness.	together and revolve, and proceed to the east of the heavens. [And the east (they call)] ‘east’ (מִדְנָח) because from there arise (רָאָה) the bodies of the heavens; and also (they call it) מִזְרָח because thence they arise (רָאָה). 77:3b [And I saw three sections] of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men in it; and one of them for all [the seas, and the rivers; and one of them]³⁹ for the deserts and and for the [seven]⁴⁰ and for the [paradise of] righteousness.

The Ethiopic text, as one can see, is quite different from the Aramaic in 1 Enoch 77:3a and b. Following the Ethiopic, many scholars mistakenly assumed that 1 Enoch 77:3 describes the north as the place divided into three sections. Hence, they located the inhabited world, the forests, rivers, and seas, and finally paradise in the north.⁴¹ But the Aramaic proves to be the better reading, providing for the north, as with the other directions, an explanation as to why the region is so named. The Aramaic then returns to the description of the east, giving yet two more etymological explanations for the direction's name.

As for the division of the earth into three sections, it is not clear how the parts are related to one another nor is it clear whether they are to be located in any one direction.⁴² I think, as suggested by Knibb's translation, that the author indicates the whole of the earth to be divided into three sections, rather than a single region of the

³⁹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 290–91; VanderKam ('1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 276–77) notes that there is no way to be certain with so much of the Aramaic text missing, that there is a second section described in the divisions of the earth or what its contents would have been. Milik suggests 'seas and rivers' for this section, though the Ethiopic reading features also items not related to water like forests and darkness there.

⁴⁰ Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 291) is confident about reading שִׁבְעַת from a barely visible 𐤔; VanderKam ('1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 277) less so.

⁴¹ Cf., for example, Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 40–41, n. 6; Black, although he is aware of the Aramaic, also makes the same mistake: "Certainly at 77:3 we read of a Paradise of righteousness situated in the North." See his *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 17.

⁴² VanderKam, '1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 277.

earth. For this reason, I am inclined to agree with the basic design of Milik's map of the world for 1 Enoch 77.⁴³

Concurring with Grelot and Milik's view of the geography in the Astronomical Book,⁴⁴ I think it conceivable that the outermost space around the earth disk is where one encounters the deserts and 'garden of righteousness' of 1 Enoch 77:3. The deserts, in fact, might be understood as comparable to the region described in 1 Enoch 18:12 and 21:1–2: a place where nothing is made, a deserted place.⁴⁵ If one accepts this understanding of the three divisions of the earth, the Astronomical Book, like the Book of the Watchers, intimates that the most illustrious places for punishment and reward (Tartarus and Eden) are beyond the inhabited earth. I argue that Tartarus is in the east and Eden in the northeast or east according to the tours of the Book of the Watchers. Yet, there is no indication in the Astronomical Book that the author wanted to call attention to the east as a place of judgment, punishment or reward.

With regard to Milik's reconstruction and interpretation of the Aramaic for 1 Enoch 77, I offer a few comments. Milik's identification of seven regions or ultraterrestrial regions⁴⁶ based on his reading of 'seven' in 1 Enoch 77:3 is not well substantiated. From an older photograph he claims to have observed an שבע of the word שבע but VanderKam notes that his reconstruction is "dubious" and that there is no textual warrant for introducing 'seven' in this context.⁴⁷ Even if one could observe 'seven' in 1 Enoch 77:3, there is no reason to assume it refers to ultraterrestrial regions. Further, Milik interprets the 'rivers' of the second division of the earth from 1 Enoch 77:3 as a reference to the great river, Okeanos, and reads 'deserts' of 1 Enoch 77:3 as "the Great Desert."⁴⁸ Milik's notion that the plural form of rivers and deserts should be read as though singular is challenged, correctly in my estimation, by VanderKam.⁴⁹

The geography of 1 Enoch 77 and 1 Enoch 17–19 do have a few additional points in common. 1 Enoch 17:5–8 shows an interest in

⁴³ *Books of Enoch*, 18.

⁴⁴ See respectively 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 35, n. 1 and *Books of Enoch*, 15.

⁴⁵ Cf. Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 35, n. 1.

⁴⁶ *Books of Enoch*, 15, 291.

⁴⁷ '1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 277–78.

⁴⁸ *Books of Enoch*, 15.

⁴⁹ '1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,' 278.

rivers as does 1 Enoch 77:3, 5–7. Both seem to refer to the ‘great sea’ (Mediterranean) in the west (1 Enoch 17:5 and 77:5, 7). 1 Enoch 77:5–7 describes the largest rivers that crisscross the face of the earth; the author even provides their general place of origin and eventual outlets. Descriptions of rivers, various bodies of water and outlets occur in 1 Enoch 17:5–8, however, they appear to be limited to a particular geographical location. The reader may recall that I place the rivers of 1 Enoch generally to the west; Milik and Grelot would situate the abyss or outlets for rivers to the northwest (see above). Interesting perhaps is the reference to the great rivers in 1 Enoch 17:6. In light of the river of fire in 1 Enoch 17:5, typically identified with the Pyriphlegethon, the great rivers of 1 Enoch 17:6 are often associated with other Greek infernal rivers (see above). Perhaps, though, these rivers (μεγάλοι ποταμοί/‘abayta ’aflāga) recall the seven largest rivers of the earth (‘abayta emk^wellomu ’aflāg) of 1 Enoch 77:5.

Like 1 Enoch 77:4, 1 Enoch 17:2, 18:6–8, and 24:2–3 refer to unusual mountains. One noticeable similarity between the mountains of the Astronomical Book and the Book of the Watchers is that both Enochic works refer to seven mountains. In 1 Enoch 18:6–8 and its duplicate tradition in 24:2–3 we read of seven mountains of precious stone that stand in close proximity to one another. These feature arrangements of seven mountains, associated with fire (1 Enoch 18:6, 9; 24:1). The mountains of 1 Enoch 77:4 are distinguished not by precious stone or fire, but by their extraordinary height. They are, in fact, the tallest mountains in the world, appropriately capped with snow. Of the seven mountains in 1 Enoch 18:6–8, the middle mountain whose summit reached to heaven would certainly qualify as one of the tallest mountains. A similar mountain reaching to the heavens is described in 1 Enoch 17:2.

With regard to location, the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18 and 24 are to be found in one particular area. According to 1 Enoch 18:6, the seer encounters the mountains in a place that burns day and night. The Ethiopic of that verse states that this place is to the south. Yet, unlike the mountains of the Book of the Watchers and the seven rivers and seven islands which 1 Enoch 77:5–8 situates somewhat, 1 Enoch 77:4 provides no information about the location of the mountains or their location relative to one another.

1 Enoch 17–19 and 1 Enoch 77 share some similar notions of geography and sacred sites as well. Most noticeable in the geography is the number seven. In the Astronomical Book seven mountains

(77:4), seven rivers (77:5–7) and seven islands (77:8) are prominent. In the Book of the Watchers, there are not only seven mountains (18:6–8; duplicate tradition 24:2–3) but also seven bound stars (18:13; duplicate tradition 21:3). Looking ahead to the chapter that follows, seven archangels are featured in 1 Enoch 20.

Another fascinating similarity is how the mental map behind 1 Enoch 77 presents an understanding of the four regions (directions) that generally corresponds to the map I propose for 1 Enoch 17–19 (see above). One recalls that 1 Enoch 77:1–3 explains how each of the four quarters receives its name. The east is named קרִים because it is the first quarter (77:1). The south is so named because that is where the Most High will descend, or, according to the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 77:1, where the Great One will *dwell* (דָּאַר רַבָּא). This passage refers unmistakably, says Milik, to Mount Sinai.⁵⁰ The west is the location where the celestial luminaries set; these luminaries then circle around to the north (צַפּוֹן) where they are hidden from view before they proceed on to the east. We learn finally that the east is the place whence the luminaries arise. Thus, 1 Enoch 77:1–3 describes an important characteristic of each direction proceeding in a clockwise direction.

Returning to the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, I argue above that Enoch begins his voyage from the north. Two distinguishing features of the place include its darkness and a mountain reaching to heaven (1 Enoch 17:2). It is apparently from this site that Enoch sees ‘the place of the luminaries’ and storehouses for the stars (1 Enoch 17:3). The description of the north, as a dark place through which the luminaries pass and may even be ‘stored’ accords well with the description of the north in 1 Enoch 77:3; there the stars hidden from view revolve and continue to the east. I understand Enoch to journey next to the west. It is there that he sees the fire of the west which receives the setting sun (1 Enoch 17:4). The passage again recalls how 1 Enoch 77 presents the west; it is where the luminaries set or wane (1 Enoch 77:2).

In the tour of 1 Enoch 17–19, Enoch travels on to the south. Of the seven extraordinary mountains that Enoch sees, the one that reaches to heaven is compared to the throne of God (18:8). In the

⁵⁰ *Books of Enoch*, 290.

duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 25:3 we learn that the middle mountain *is* the throne of God, the place where God will sit when he descends to visit the earth in blessing. Because of its association with fire and its lapis lazuli summit, I suggest that this exceptional mountain is to be understood as Sinai (see above). Similarly, we learn in 1 Enoch 77:1 that the south is the direction in which the Most High will descend (or dwell). The place to which 1 Enoch 77:1 refers is identified by Milik⁵¹ and by an Amharic commentary⁵² as Mount Sinai.

Finally Enoch is taken to 'holding cells' for the evil watchers and disobedient stars; these are located beyond heaven and earth, but still to the east (18:10–19:2). According to 1 Enoch 77:3, the east is so called because it is from this direction that the luminaries rise. Yet the stars of 1 Enoch 18:13–16 did not arise at their proper time and so are perpetually held in the east. The seer's tour concludes with the visit to the east in 1 Enoch 19. In many respects the description of sites from the counterclockwise tour of 1 Enoch 17–19 resembles the geography in 1 Enoch 77:1–3.

One important difference is that 1 Enoch 17–19 is dedicated to sites on the periphery of the earth. We have no reason for thinking that the mountains, rivers and island of 1 Enoch 77 are located at the ends of the earth. Within the inhabited world, however, the mountains and rivers of 1 Enoch 77 especially stand out in terms of their respective height and length.

There are certainly many sites and phenomena described in 1 Enoch 17–19 that are never mentioned in 1 Enoch 77: for example, the abyss, the cornerstone of the earth, and the chasm full of fiery pillars. Still, I would argue that there is a similar worldview behind each work. VanderKam suggests that perhaps 1 Enoch 33–36 shows awareness of the Astronomical Book, presenting its tour of the heavenly gates in abbreviated form. I might suggest that the opposite type of process has occurred in 1 Enoch 17–19. We see in these chapters of the Book of the Watchers a worldview that is similar to that of 1 Enoch 77, but the author provides a more detailed view of the cosmos. The author of 1 Enoch 17–19 is not concerned with the course of astral bodies but instead with sites located on the periphery and associated with theophany or theodicy.

⁵¹ *Books of Enoch*, 290.

⁵² Neugebauer, 'Appendix A' in *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 407.

C. TRADITIONS FROM THE HEBREW BIBLE

As is the case with the Astronomical Book, the Hebrew Bible provides examples of geography and cosmology that may shed light on the Book of the Watchers' geographical descriptions. Commentators have long studied the geography of the Book of the Watchers in comparison to the geography and sites described in the Hebrew Bible. Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh demonstrate that the description of Eden in Genesis 2 and 3 lies behind the location of the garden of Righteousness in 1 Enoch 32 (see above).⁵³ Grelot, Charles and Black think that 1 Enoch 25 (duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18:6–8) may refer to the tree of life from Genesis 2–3.⁵⁴ Grelot also understands the descriptions of the location of paradise, the divine mountain and the throne of God in 1 Enoch 17–36 to be largely informed by Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28.⁵⁵

Dillmann and Lods hold that the mountain throne of 1 Enoch 18 and 1 Enoch 24–25 reflects Mount Sinai from Exodus 24.⁵⁶ Grelot and Milik suggest that behind the chasm where the promiscuous angels are held (cf. 1 Enoch 18 and 21) is the notion of the 'pit' into which the pretentious Morning Star is thrown in Isaiah 14.⁵⁷ Finally, references to sites in 1 Enoch 17–18, like the cornerstone of the earth and the winds which support clouds and the firmament, are similar to phenomena enumerated in Job, much like the lists of revealed things that Stone observes in wisdom and apocalyptic literature.⁵⁸ We explore further all these texts in the Hebrew Bible which seem to share analogous sites with 1 Enoch 17–19 and evaluate the extent to which the works share a worldview.

⁵³ Cf. also VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 59. Reminiscent of Genesis 2–3, 1 Enoch 20:7 describes Gabriel as the archangel in charge of paradise, serpents and cherubim; it is Raphael, though, who is mentioned in connection with the 'garden of Righteousness' in 1 Enoch 32.

⁵⁴ Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 42; Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 53, n. 4; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 171.

⁵⁵ See his 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' esp. 38–41.

⁵⁶ Respectively *Das Buch Henoch*, 129 and *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 185.

⁵⁷ Respectively 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 40 and *Books of Enoch*, 39–40.

⁵⁸ 'Lists of Revealed Things.' I thank also David Aune for his observations on this topic.

1. *Genesis 2-3*

Genesis 2-3 has often been cited in connection with the geography of the Book of the Watchers especially because of paradise traditions in both. The biblical account describes how God planted a garden in Eden and the location of the garden of Eden is said to be to the east (מִקְדֶּם, Gen 2:8), though מִקְדֶּם can have a range of meanings.⁵⁹ Still the precise setting of paradise is obscure and perhaps purposefully so.⁶⁰ Ed Noort suggests that the narrator wants to present a "mystified location for Paradise."⁶¹ By means of references to familiar rivers in Gen 2:10-14, the author demonstrates the reality of paradise. Yet the narrator is portraying paradise as inaccessible and does not want the audience to locate the garden of Eden; for this reason, the geography is only discussed in a very general way.⁶²

In the garden God placed first, the man and second, the woman God created (Gen 2:22). The tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil are also in the garden (Gen 2:9), but the people are commanded not to eat of the latter (Gen 2:16-17). After partaking of the forbidden fruit, the people are expelled from the garden so that they do not take of the tree of life and live forever (Gen 3:22-24).

Genesis 2-3 is clearly important to the geography and sacred sites of the Book of the Watchers inasmuch as the garden, Adam, Eve, and the tree of wisdom are all featured in 1 Enoch 32. 1 Enoch 32:3-6 describes the 'garden of righteousness' in the eastern or north-eastern extremities; this garden includes the tree of wisdom. The angel Raphael even summarizes for the seer the story of Adam and

⁵⁹ For example, 'from ancient times.' Cf. BDB 869-70. Also Ed Noort, 'Gan-Eden in the Context of the Mythology of the Hebrew Bible,' in *Paradise Interpreted*, 21-36; esp. 22.

⁶⁰ Many attempts have been made to locate the paradise of Genesis 2-3. Cf., for example, E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; 1964), 20 and W. F. Albright, 'The Location of the Garden of Eden,' *AJS* 38 (1922): 15-31. Noort evaluates many of the theories concerning the garden of Eden's location and ultimately deems the attempts unsuccessful since the geography is insoluble. In his estimation, the text does not mean for the garden to be locatable. See 'Gan-Eden in the Context of the Mythology of the Hebrew Bible,' 28-33. Cf. also Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (2 vols.; WBC; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 1:66-67.

⁶¹ 'Gan-Eden in the Context of the Mythology of the Hebrew Bible,' 33.

⁶² 'Gan-Eden in the Context of the Mythology of the Hebrew Bible,' 34.

Eve (referred to as “your old father and your aged mother”) and their expulsion from the garden (1 Enoch 32:6).

1 Enoch 24:4–25:6, the duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18:6–8, also describes a veritable tree of life that exists alongside a mountain-throne of God. The mountain is one of seven made of precious stone and it will serve as the throne of God when he descends at some future time. Though the tree is not referred to explicitly as the tree of life as in Gen 2:9 (אֲדָמָה יַעַבְרָה/τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς), it will be given to the righteous and humble at the time of great judgment (1 Enoch 25:4) and as the tree’s fragrance enters their bones, the pious will live a long life without suffering (1 Enoch 25:6).

For Grelot, Charles and Black, the imagery of a mountain-throne of God near to a tree of life suggests a second paradise or Eden.⁶³ In fact, Grelot argues that there are two paradises described in the Book of the Watchers: the ‘garden of righteousness’ of Adam and Eve with the tree of wisdom (1 Enoch 32:3–6) and a garden with the tree of life by Eden, the mountain of God (see above). According to Grelot, the author of the Book of the Watchers sought to harmonize diverse biblical traditions. The process resulted in two paradises, one located in the northeast and one located in the northwest.⁶⁴ The paradise of Genesis 2–3 is located to the east in Enoch’s world-view (cf. 1 Enoch 32), but the second mountain paradise of God which Grelot discerns in 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3 lies to the northwest following Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28. We return to the second paradise hypothesis below in light of Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28.

Stock-Hesketh theorizes that there could be a different sort of connection between Genesis and 1 Enoch 24–25, the duplicate tradition of 1 Enoch 18. He suggests that 1 Enoch 21–32 is an enantiomorph, a mirror image posited in the opposite direction of Genesis 2–3.⁶⁵ In the biblical account God is afraid that Adam having the knowledge of good and evil will take from the tree of life and live forever (Gen 3:22). Therefore, God expels humans from the garden of Eden, a holy place, and guards the way to the tree of life (Gen 3:23–24). Humans, in turn, are condemned to hard work and suffering (Gen 3:16–19).

⁶³ Grelot, ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 42; Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 53, n. 4; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 171.

⁶⁴ See his ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ esp. 38–41.

⁶⁵ ‘Circles and Mirrors,’ 47.

In contrast to Genesis, Enoch's vision in 1 Enoch 25 reveals that in the future, the tree of life will be replanted by the Lord's temple, a holy place, and there the righteous will enter and eat of its fruit. The righteous will then live a long life upon the earth and not be subject to pain or torment of any kind (1 Enoch 25:6).⁶⁶ It was humankind's disobedience to God that caused so much trouble in Genesis 3, thus Stock-Hesketh reasons that it will be Israel's obedience to God's word, most specifically to torah, that will allow people to return to 'paradise' (the temple complex) envisioned in 1 Enoch 25.⁶⁷

While I think Stock-Hesketh is correct to see the Book of the Watchers engaging certain motifs of Genesis like the tree of life and a return to a paradisiacal state, there are, in fact, not many points of connection between the geography or sites of Genesis 2–3 and 1 Enoch 17–19. Grelot suggests that by reference to a fiery sword 1 Enoch 17:3 alludes to a 'garden of justice,' like that depicted in Gen 3:24.⁶⁸ Yet, the Greek of 1 Enoch 17:3 does not mention a fiery sword which is, in fact, out of place in the series of meteorological phenomena (the storehouses of stars, thunder peals and lightning) described in the verse.

One important similarity is that Genesis 2–3 and 1 Enoch 17–19 (21, 24–25 as well) concern sites located along the periphery that are inaccessible to other humans (1 Enoch 19:3; Gen 3:24). But, unlike Genesis 2–3's idyllic Eden, 1 Enoch 17–19 is most concerned with sites pertaining to theophany or punishment. Further, even the 'garden of righteousness,' former home of Adam and Eve, in 1 Enoch 32 does not present itself as a future paradise for the good or righteous (deceased or living). The site that will serve the righteous as a future eschatological hub, according to the Book of the Watchers, appears to be the temple complex in Jerusalem (25:5–6).

2. *Isaiah 14*

The geography of Isaiah 14 helps to tell the story of the insurrection of the Day Star who attempts to take over the Most High's kingdom on the mountain of the north. This geography has been compared to the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 in two respects. First,

⁶⁶ Stock-Hesketh, 'Circles and Mirrors,' 50.

⁶⁷ 'Circles and Mirrors,' 51.

⁶⁸ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 38.

scholars have compared the mount of assembly and heights of Zaphon in Isa 14:13–14 with the mountain-throne of God in 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3. Second, the pit into which the rebellious Day Star is thrown is thought to be similar to the chasm in which the wicked angels are held (cf. 1 Enoch 18:11; 19:1–2; 21:7–10). Especially significant for those who map the world of the seer is the supposed proximity between Mount Zaphon and the pit for the Day Star. Milik suggests that just as the pit into which the Day Star is hurled is close to the mountain of God, so too should the chasm-prison of the angels be located near to the mountain-throne of God.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, Grelot hypothesizes that the Book of the Watchers promotes two paradises. The paradise to the east in 1 Enoch 32 is that associated with Genesis 2–3's garden of Eden. References to a mountain-throne of God in 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3–25:3 in the vicinity of a tree of life (see above) suggest a second paradise. This paradise, in Grelot's reckoning, was not modeled on Eden of Genesis, but rather on the mountain of the Most High in Isaiah 14 and the holy mountain of God, in Ezekiel 28. We will concern ourselves for the moment with the tradition in Isaiah.

In the midst of a prophecy concerning the demise of the king of Babylon, Isaiah 14 tells the tale of the Day Star, son of Dawn (הלל בן-שחר). The Day Star desires to scale the mountain of God and become like the Most High. Isa 14:13–14 reads:

You said in your heart, "I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will sit on the mount of assembly, on the heights of Zaphon; I will ascend to the tops of the clouds, I will make myself like the Most High."⁷⁰

Helel of Isa 14:12, the 'shining one,' is an epithet of Venus, the Morning or Day Star, and Shahar refers to the dawn.⁷¹

Blenkinsopp notes the close parallel between Isaiah 14's tale of the Day Star and the story of Phaëthon son of Helios.⁷² Phaëthon ('shining') is permitted to drive his father's sun-chariot, which he is not able to control, and plunges down to the earth (cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 1.747–79;

⁶⁹ *Books of Enoch*, 39–40.

⁷⁰ Translation from the NRSV. ¹³ ואחזה אמרת בלבבך השמים אעלה ממעל לכוכבי-אל ארים. כסא' ואשב בהר-מועד בירכתי צפון: ¹⁴ אעלה על-במתי עב אדמה לעליון:

⁷¹ See W. G. E. Watson, 'Helel,' in *DDD*, 746–50. On the history of 'Helel,' see also Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (trans. Thomas H. Trapp; CC; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 63–65.

⁷² See *Isaiah 1–39* (AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 288.

2.1–366). In Euripides's account, Zeus, in order to protect the earth from the out of control vehicle, strikes Phaëthon with a thunderbolt, bringing him down. The geographical sites described and the myth itself in Isa 14:12–15 recall also the story of Athtar from Ugarit. In the Baal Cycle, Athtar assumes Baal's kingdom and mountain Zaphon when Baal is 'incapacitated' by Mot. Yet Athtar finds that he cannot rule in Baal's stead and he voluntarily abdicates the throne. He assumes, instead, control over the earth or netherworld.⁷³ Though the nature of this Ugaritic deity remains enigmatic, Athtar may possibly be identified with Venus, the morning star.⁷⁴

The similarities that we see between this myth from ancient Ugarit and the story of the Day Star in Isaiah 14 are numerous: Baal Shamaim, like the deity of Isa 14:14, is called the Most High. Baal's mountain residence is referred to as Zaphon; Zaphon, a title applied to Zion in Ps 48:3, occurs in Isa 14:13 as well. The Dawn Star aspires to the heights of Zaphon in Isa 14:13, just as Athtar attempts to rule from Baal's mountain Zaphon in the Baal Cycle. Upon abdicating Baal's Zaphon, Athtar descends and rules over a lesser realm (the earth or the underworld); similarly the Day Star must descend to the pit in Isa 14:15. It is also possible that Athtar, like the Day Star, bears a connection to an astral deity.

Since the focus of this study is geographical, we shall consider only the sites described in Isaiah 14 and the parallel account in the Baal Cycle. One should first note the sparse descriptions of God's mountain provided in Isa 14:12–15: its summit apparently rises above the stars and is found at the tops of the clouds.⁷⁵ Second, the mountain is referred to both as the mount of assembly and Mount Zaphon (Isa 14:13). The mount of assembly is home to El of the Ugaritic pantheon, as Zaphon is home to Baal. Both mountains, located at Israel's northern boundary, have been associated with contemporary sites: El's mount of assembly may be possibly identified with Aphaca,

⁷³ Athtar comes to rule over arš. On earth as a synonym for the netherworld, see Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of the Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 7; but see also Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of the Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 13 on the use of arš in the story of Athtar.

⁷⁴ On the mysterious Athtar, see Hugh R. Page, Jr., *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion: A Study of Its Reflexes in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature* (VTSup 65; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 60–107; esp. 85, n. 93 and 103.

⁷⁵ Page (*The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion*, 131–32) suggests that these stars of El (כוכבי־אל) are the circumpolar stars that do not move; further, the reference to clouds in Isa 14:14 recalls Baal's epithet 'cloud rider.'

where the council of gods convened,⁷⁶ and Zaphon with modern Jebel Aqra' (Mount Casius).⁷⁷ Zaphon also connotes 'north' in biblical Hebrew, in both a vertical sense (heavenward) and horizontal sense (toward the cardinal direction).⁷⁸

1 Enoch 17–19 features two sites comparable to Isaiah 14's northern mountain of the Most High. The first mountain appears to be in close proximity to God's heavenly palace and to the storehouse of stars. As the narrative of the Book of the Watchers stands, after Enoch's visit with God in the heavenly palace (1 Enoch 16:4), he is taken to a place of fiery shape-shifting creatures (1 Enoch 17:1). Next he is led to a dark place (or place of storm) and to a mountain with its summit reaching to heaven (1 Enoch 17:2). From here Enoch views the storehouses of the luminaries and meteorological phenomena. Since it was common in the Second Temple period to think that the stars and other celestial bodies set in the west and had a northerly circuit (see above), it is plausible that this mountain is in the north, like Zaphon in Isaiah 14:14. Furthermore, the reference in 1 Enoch 17:3 to the storehouses of luminaries reminds us that God's mountain residence sits above the stars in Isa 14:13. Also the imagery of storm (1 Enoch 17:2) and meteorological phenomena reminiscent of Baal, the storm god, are associated with the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2.

A second mountain in 1 Enoch 17–19 might also appear comparable to Isa 14:13's Zaphon. This mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 has a lapis lazuli summit and also reaches to heaven. The mountain is located in the midst of six other mountains of precious stones in a place that burns day and night. According to the Ethiopic, this mountain is in the south. In the duplicate tradition, 1 Enoch 24:3–25:3, we learn that the middle mountain will serve as a throne for God when he descends to the earth for blessing (1 Enoch 25:3). Near the mountain stands a tree that will grant the righteous long life when it is replanted toward the north by the temple (1 Enoch 25:5–6). Because Grelot and Milik locate this seven mountain arrangement to the northwest, they think that the mountain which will serve as

⁷⁶ Cf. Marvin Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (VTSup 2; Leiden: Brill, 1955), 61–81; also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 49; 101.

⁷⁷ Cf., for example, CTA 29.5; also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 57–79.

⁷⁸ See also Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 65.

God's throne is like Zaphon of Isa 14:13.⁷⁹ As I demonstrate above, the seven mountains are most probably, following the Ethiopic, to the south, and the middle mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3 best compares to Sinai.

The better parallel to the mountain residence of God in the far reaches of the north that was known to both Ugaritic and biblical traditions (cf. Isa 14:3 and Ps 48:3) is the mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2. Although that mountain is not named in 1 Enoch, I propose above that the mountain might be identified as Hermon. The watchers descend from heaven via Hermon (1 Enoch 6:6) and Enoch's ascent to heaven occurs in its vicinity (1 Enoch 13:7, 9). Similarly it could be the means by which Enoch descends from his visit to the divine palace. Paul Hanson, tracing the motif of the rebellion of astral deities, suggests the same: "Mount Hermon is one of the cosmic mountains, and hence descent upon it by the rebellious angels symbolizes an attack on the Divine King enthroned thereupon."⁸⁰ Hermon, like Zaphon, is a mountain of some height near the northern border of Israel. It seems plausible that traditions of a northern mountain, like Zaphon of Isaiah 14, that were rooted in Canaanite or Ugaritic mythology would have been known to the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and may well be reflected in 1 Enoch 17:2. But unlike Isaiah 14, the angels get into trouble for descending to the realm of mortals (1 Enoch 15:3–7) and for disruptive actions on earth (1 Enoch 7–8) rather than for ascending to the divine realm.

With regard to the rebellious angels of 1 Enoch, Milik and Hanson connect the location of the chasm-prison of the watchers in 1 Enoch 10, 18 and 21 to the pit in Isa 14:15–16.⁸¹ In the Isaianic account, the Day Star seeks to ascend to the Most High's mountain, but he is instead brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the pit.⁸² Milik's understanding of the pit in Isa 14:15 leads him to two conclusions that pertain to the Enochic traditions of the angels' prisons. First, Milik, as well as Hanson, assumes that the pit of Isa 14:15 is the

⁷⁹ Respectively, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 40 and *Books of Enoch*, 39–40.

⁸⁰ See his 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,' *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; esp. 199.

⁸¹ *Books of Enoch*, 39–40 and 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,' 208–9. To be fair, Hanson is only concerned with chapters 6–11 from the Book of the Watchers. 1 Enoch 10, which describes the prisons of the watchers (1 Enoch 10:4–5, 11–14), is important, though, to the arguments of Milik in his attempt to locate the prisons of the angels in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7.

⁸² Isa 14:15: אֶךְ אֶל־שְׂאוֹל תּוֹרֵד אֶל־יִרְכַּת־יָבֹר.

same as the chasm of fiery pillars in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7.⁸³ Second, because Milik, like Grelot, understands the pit in Isa 14:15 to be in close geographical proximity to the mountain of God of Isa 14:13, he locates the prison-chasm of the angels in the Book of the Watchers by the mountain of God in the north.

Isa 14:15 tells the reader that the Day Star, contrary to its aspirations, is brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the pit. Hanson attempts to make the case that the pit of Isa 14:15 is the same as the desert opening where the angels will be held according to 1 Enoch 10:1–15. Hanson argues that both sources describe a special pit where astral deities and “former potentates, mighty ones of old . . . guilty of similar acts of rebellion” were kept.⁸⁴ Isa 14:15’s juxtaposition of the pit and Sheol argues against that reading, however. The pit (בֹּרַי), like Sheol in Israelite tradition, is merely a designation for the realm of the dead.⁸⁵ It is for ordinary humans as well as for kings and astral deities (cf. Ps 40:3; Isa 38:18; Lam 3:43; Ezek 26:20; 31:14, 16). The matter is also illumined by the Ugaritic parallel involving Athtar: Athtar, after abandoning Zaphon, becomes king of arṣ, understood by many as a reference to the netherworld, the realm for all the dead.⁸⁶ Hence, Milik and Hanson fail to prove that Isa 14:15 describes a special prison like Tartarus where only the infamous dead reside.⁸⁷

At the same time, we know that in the Book of the Watchers, the realm of the dead for humans is clearly distinct from the holding cells of the angels and seven burning stars. In fact, one of the unique elements of the Book of the Watchers with regard to biblical tradition is that the human dead have a temporary resting place in a mountain to the west (cf. 1 Enoch 22). Only the promiscuous

⁸³ As noted above though, the Sibettu demons, functional parallels to the stars of 1 Enoch 18 and 21, were thought to be confined as the Pleiades in the eastern horizon.

⁸⁴ ‘Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,’ 208; cf. also 210–11.

⁸⁵ Cf. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 66–69.

⁸⁶ So Page, *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion*, 92.

⁸⁷ ‘Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,’ 208–9. With regard to Hanson’s thesis that both Isaiah 14 and the Book of the Watchers present similar accounts of rebellious astral deities being confined, more in-depth study of Near Eastern sources reveals a variety of traditions that may bear on the texts. For example, Inanna, as Venus, descends to the realm of the dead through western and eastern gates and is held in the netherworld. Cf. Heimpel, ‘A Catalog of Near Eastern Venus Deities,’ *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4 (1982): 9–22.

angels are kept in the chasm of 1 Enoch 10:4, 18:11, and 21:7, while the seven disobedient stars of 1 Enoch 18:12–16 and 21:1–6 are held beyond even the firmament of heaven or of earth. Hence, the pit into which the Day Star is cast in Isa 14:15 is different in kind from the chasm in the Book of the Watchers.

Isa 24:22–23 offers a better parallel to the account of the bound angels and stars in the Book of the Watchers.⁸⁸ Isa 24:22–23 relays that one day the Lord will punish the hosts of heaven and kings of the earth, gathering them together as prisoners in a pit (בֹּר) and that on that day the Lord of Hosts will reign on Mount Zion. The passage does not suggest an understanding of the pit (בֹּר) as a special place for the infamous wicked,⁸⁹ but it makes clear that the author does not see the hosts of heaven and kings of the earth simply passing on to a shadowy existence in Sheol.⁹⁰

The second matter is where one locates the pit of Isa 14:15 in relation to Mount Zaphon of Isa 14:14. Following Isaiah 14, Grelot and Milik are inclined to place the prison of the angels from 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7 to the north so that it is in close proximity to the mountain of God.⁹¹ While it is fair to argue that the mountain of God is in the north (though Milik, Grelot and I differ as to which mountain in 1 Enoch 17–19 may best be identified as such), it is less clear how the author of Isa 14:12–15 wished to express the relationship of the pit, also known as Sheol, to Zaphon. We recall that Isaiah juxtaposes יִרְכָתִי בֹר and צִפּוֹן יִרְכָתִי. According to Tromp, the text emphasizes the two extremes of the universe: the height of heaven, God's realm, and the depths of the netherworld, where the Day Star is vanquished.⁹² Thus, there is no indication in Isaiah 14 or in Ugaritic traditions that the pit, Sheol, or the netherworld was

⁸⁸ See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 356–57. See also David W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 68, who notes:

The imprisonment of the stars in 1 En. 18:12–16 and 21:1–6 seems to be related to Is. 24:21–23 in some way, although it is difficult to determine if it is a parallel tradition or if it represents a different tradition of interpretation than the Is. 24:17–23 midrash.

⁸⁹ So Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), 195, who says that the author seems to be “thinking only of a great cistern in the underworld (cf. Isa 14.15), the kingdom of the dead under the earth.” Against this reading, see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39* (NCB; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 206.

⁹⁰ See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 68.

⁹¹ Respectively, ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40 and *Books of Enoch*, 39–40.

⁹² *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 181.

In the abundance of your trade you were filled with violence, and you sinned; so I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub drove you out from among the stones of fire.⁹⁵

After his expulsion from the mountain, the man is incinerated and turned to ash (Ezek 28:18).

The account features an unusual amalgamation of motifs. Eden, here called the 'garden of God,' is familiar from Genesis 2–3, though not so named.⁹⁶ The garden provides for its inhabitant a 'covering' ('garment')⁹⁷ or 'hedge' ('wall')⁹⁸ of precious stone (cf. Ezek 28:13). The precious stones call attention to the breastplate of the high priest in Exod 28:17–20⁹⁹ and the gates and walls of jewels of the restored Jerusalem in Isa 54:11–12. We also read about precious gems in Gen 2:11–12; gold, bdellium and onyx stone are found in the land of Havilah.¹⁰⁰ In Ezek 28:14 Eden is also described as the mountain of God. The expression 'mountain of God' brings to mind Zion, Sinai, or in light of Isaiah 14, Zaphon, the northern residence of God. Though other biblical traditions do not explicitly associate Eden with a distinct mountain,¹⁰¹ the Book of Jubilees may link the garden, one of four sacred places on earth, with a mountain to the

⁹⁵ Translation from NRSV. Ezek 28:16: רַב־בְּרַכְתְּךָ מָלֵךְ תֹּכֵךְ חֲמֵס וְתַחֲטָא וְאַחֲלִלֶךָ מִדֶּהַר אֱלֹהִים וְאַבְדֶּךָ כְּרֹב הַסֶּכֶךְ מִתּוֹךְ אֲבְנֵי-אֵשׁ

⁹⁶ See also Isa 51:3 where Eden is set in apposition to the 'garden of the Lord.'

⁹⁷ So Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 389, 393 and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:82; 92. Blenkinsopp notes that the inhabitant (or the 'First Man' since the account in Ezekiel 28 is comparable in many respects to Genesis 2–3) appears imbued with priestly status, perhaps conferred by the garment resembling that of the high priest's breastplate. See his *Ezekiel*, 124.

⁹⁸ So van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre*, 116–18; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 579, 581–82. Cf. Isa 54:12 (see below).

⁹⁹ The precious gems mentioned in MT Ezek 28:13, nine in number, correspond roughly and the gems of LXX Ezek 28:13 exactly with the gems that are to be laid in the high priest's breastplate in Exod 28:17–20. The nature of the relationship between the gems of Ezek 28:13 and Exod 28:17–20 is difficult to ascertain; see Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 582. Zimmerli, observing that the enumeration of the jewels destroys the parallelism in Ezek 28:13, considers the list a secondary insertion. *Ezekiel*, 2:82; 89. See also Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 123. On the gems of Exod 28:17–20 and Ezek 28:13, see above.

¹⁰⁰ Wenham, noting the other occurrences of Havilah in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Gen 10:7, 29; 25:18; 1 Sam 15:7; 1 Chr 1:9, 23), suggests that the place is in Arabia. See *Genesis 1–15*, 65. The gold and onyx overlap with the gems of Ezek 28:13 and Exod 28:17–21.

¹⁰¹ I exclude here the Edenic imagery applied to Zion in Ezek 47:1–12 and Zech 14:8.

east.¹⁰² We also learn that enigmatic ‘stones of fire’ share the mountain with the man (Ezek 28:14), though there is no consensus concerning the nature of the stones.¹⁰³ The reference to Eden in Ezekiel 28 and the unusual elements (such as the hedges or covering of precious jewels and stones of fire) suggest that the mountain lies on the periphery of the earth.¹⁰⁴ There is no indication, however, as to where the author of the text imagined the mountain of God to be.¹⁰⁵

Grelot, Milik, Charles, and Nickelsburg suggest that like Ezek 28:14 and 16, the Book of the Watchers also features a mountain of God that is associated with Eden: this, they indicate, is the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3–25:3.¹⁰⁶ We learn from 1 Enoch 18:6 that the mountain lies to the south (in the Ethiopic) in a place burning day and night. It also is one of seven mountains made of precious stone and it occupies the middle position of the mountain formation. The mountain’s summit, which reaches to heaven, is lapis lazuli and a place of burning fire. The author of 1 Enoch 18:8 compares it to the throne of God.

While there is little in 1 Enoch 18:6–8 that calls to mind a garden environment, the seven mountains of precious stones resemble, according to Grelot and Black, Eden, the mountain of God.¹⁰⁷ Yet, the precious stones that make up the mountains of 1 Enoch 18:7—colored stone, pearl, jasper,¹⁰⁸ and fiery (red) stone—have no clear connection to the stones of Ezekiel which are related to the twelve gemstones in the priestly breastplate. Further, there is no indication that like 1 Enoch 18:6–7 the mountain of Ezek 28:14 and 16 is

¹⁰² See *Jub.* 4:25–26 and 8:19, which identify the garden as the Holy of Holies, the dwelling of God. Cf. also VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 184–87.

¹⁰³ Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 2:93) suggests the stones of fire are stars or fellow inhabitants of the mountain. Hanson (‘Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,’ 209) thinks them to be astral deities or stars.

¹⁰⁴ In a similar fashion, according to Greenberg, the king of Tyre imagines himself to be a god living in an inaccessible, invulnerable place. See *Ezekiel* 21–37, 590.

¹⁰⁵ But, Greenberg understands the imagery of Ezekiel 28 to be evocative of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. See *Ezekiel* 21–37, 591.

¹⁰⁶ Respectively ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40–43, *Books of Enoch*, 40, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42, and *1 Enoch*, 285–86.

¹⁰⁷ Respectively ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 40 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 159.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Healing stone’ in the text, but following Nickelsburg’s emendation (*1 Enoch*, 276) I favor jasper.

made up of the precious stones listed in Ezek 28:13; the gems in Ezekiel are part of a hedge or covering. Again, given the most specific exposition of Ezek 28:13's gems, it appears that the author wishes to call attention to the tradition of the priestly breastplate rather than to the mountain.

The duplicate tradition, 1 Enoch 24:3–25:3, provides more elaboration on the subject of the seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6–8. In 1 Enoch 24:3 we learn that fragrant trees surround the middle mountain of great height. One exceptional tree, beautiful in appearance and most fragrant, catches Enoch's attention (1 Enoch 24:4) and he learns from the angel Michael that at the great judgment the fruit of the tree will be given to the righteous and humble (1 Enoch 25:4). The tree will be replanted by the house of God (the temple) and its fragrance, filling the bones of those who enter the sanctuary, will grant them long life without torments or suffering (1 Enoch 25:5–6). As for the high mountain, it will serve as the throne of God when he comes down to visit the earth for blessing (1 Enoch 25:3). Unlike 1 Enoch 18:6–8, the duplicate tradition provides more by way of imagery that one would expect for an Edenic scene. The fragrant trees and the tree which gives long life certainly call to mind the paradise of Genesis 2–3.

Though 1 Enoch 24:3–25:3 appears to combine the motifs of the mountain of God and garden of Eden, like Ezek 28:11–19, the mountains are quite different in purpose. The mountain of 1 Enoch 24:3–25:3 is of exceptional height, but at the time of Enoch's tour, it does not yet serve as God's throne. While the mountain *will* be the site of God's descent, 1 Enoch 25:3 does not present it as God's current seat of power. The trees which surround the mountain suggest the fecund environment one would expect of Eden, but the 'tree of life' is only temporarily housed in the garden-like place until it can be moved north and replanted beside the temple.

Grelot considers the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:6 and 24:3–25:3 like Eden, the mountain of God of Ezekiel 28, and locates it to the northwest (see above). But he recognizes that 1 Enoch 32 already locates Eden, the 'garden of righteousness,' in the northeast or east. He suggests, then, that the Book of the Watchers describes two paradises, one in the northwest and one in the northeast.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 43.

It is inadvisable, though, to maintain that there is a second paradise or Eden in the Book of the Watchers. There is no reference in 1 Enoch 18, 24 or 25 to a garden, a 'garden of justice' or paradise. Likewise the mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8, 24:3, and 25:3 will become (but is not at present) a throne for God when God descends to the earth.¹¹⁰ Lacking any explicit mention of paradise or of a garden in these chapters, as Tigchelaar demonstrates, Grelot's hypothesis that 1 Enoch 17–36 refers to two paradises cannot be substantiated.¹¹¹

Yet, one could still conclude that Ezekiel 28's fusion of Eden with the mountain of God may lie behind the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. We have no description of a paradise or garden in 1 Enoch 17–19, but 1 Enoch 17:2 describes a mountain reaching to heaven that we may identify with the mountain of God. That mountain lies in the north and may also be located quite near to the 'living waters' or 'waters of life' of 1 Enoch 17:4 (see above), imagery evocative of paradise. 1 Enoch 32 locates Eden, here called the 'garden of righteousness,' to the northeast or east. Perhaps the final redactor of the Book of the Watchers, like the author of Ezekiel 28, thought that paradise and the mountain of God are near to one another.

The myth of Ezek 28:11–19 reminds us of the account of Adam and Eve's expulsion from the garden of Eden in Genesis 2–3. The references to Eden (Ezek 28:13), to the cherubim (Ezek 28:14, 16) and to the notion of primordial innocence (Ezek 28:15) destroyed through insolence (Ezek 28:15–16) recall themes of Genesis 2–3. But there is little in the myth of Ezekiel 28 about the man expelled from Eden, the garden of God, that is similar to events in the Book of the Watchers. Stock-Hesketh suggests that 1 Enoch 21–32 is an entimorph of Genesis 2–3; as the humans are banned from paradise and forced to toil in Genesis, 1 Enoch 21–32 shows how humans return to an idyllic world and long life without struggle. Perhaps 1 Enoch 17–19, and more strongly the duplicate traditions in 1 Enoch 24–25, hint at a reversal of the predicament of Ezek 28:11–19. Elements of paradise, like that described in Ezek 28:13–14, return to the earth when God descends with blessings (1 Enoch 25:3). Humans again encounter the holy mountain of God (Ezek 28:14, 16) with the 'tree of life' replanted there, but this time, according to 1 Enoch 25:5–26:2, that holy mountain will be none other than Zion.

¹¹⁰ Tigchelaar, 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 44.

¹¹¹ 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,' 47.

4. *Exodus 19 and 24*

With Dillmann and Lods, I understand the mountain which reaches to heaven in 1 Enoch 18:8 and in the duplicate tradition 1 Enoch 24:3 to be located in the south; we also think that the mountain is reminiscent of traditions associated with Mount Sinai.¹¹² In the Hebrew Bible, there is not much by way of description of Sinai, also referred to as Horeb. We read mostly of the mountain in conjunction with theophany and thus the details provided relate to how Sinai and its environs are affected by God's presence.¹¹³

God first appears to Moses in a flame of fire from the midst of a bush on Horeb, 'the mountain of God' (הַר הָאֱלֹהִים; Exod 3:1–2; cf. also 1 Kgs 19:8). Moses returns to the same mountain located in the wilderness of Sinai with the Israelites he leads out of Egypt in Exodus 19. God descends upon Sinai in Exod 19:16–23 in the form of fire which results in smoke encompassing the mountain (Exod 19:18).¹¹⁴ Thunder, lightning, a thick cloud, blasts of trumpets (Exod 19:16) and earthquakes (Exod 19:18) also accompany God's descent. Similar imagery recurs in Exodus 24. Moses, this time with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders of Israel, ascends the mountain and sees something like a pavement of sapphire (or lapis lazuli) under God's feet (Exod 24:9–10).¹¹⁵ Moses again goes up the mountain, which is now covered with a cloud that cloaks God's presence, and the appearance of God is compared to a devouring fire atop the mountain (Exod 24:16–17).¹¹⁶

The mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 is described in a manner that recalls the Sinai theophany. The mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 reaches to heaven and features a summit of lapis lazuli. This detail is reminiscent of the sapphire pavement under God when he appears atop Sinai in Exod 24:10. The mountain of 1 Enoch 18:8 is also said to be like the throne of the Lord. The throne of God, while not depicted in Exodus 19–24, occurs in other theophanies. The description of a

¹¹² Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 129 and Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, 185; on my own position, see above.

¹¹³ See also Sara Japhet, 'Some Biblical Concepts of Sacred Place,' in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land* (ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky; New York: New York University Press, 1998), 55–72, esp. 65–67.

¹¹⁴ Exod 19:18: וְהָרַסְנִי עֵשֶׂן כָּלֹּם מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד עָלָיו יְהוָה בְּאֵשׁ וְיַעַל עֵשֶׂן כְּעֵשֶׂן הַכֹּבֶשֶׂת וְיִחָרַד כָּל־הָהָר מְאֹד

¹¹⁵ Exod 24:10: וַיֵּרְאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְתַחַת רַגְלָיו כִּמְעָשָׁה לְבֵנַת הַסַּפִּיר וְכַעֲצֵם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְשֹׁהַר

¹¹⁶ Exod 24:17a: וּמֵרָאָה כְּבוֹד יְהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר אָכַלְתָּ

mountain-top throne recalls Isaiah's vision in the temple, where he sees the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne (Isa 6:1). Ezek 1:26 and 10:1 describe a mobile throne of God made of lapis lazuli.¹¹⁷ From the Second Temple period, Ezekiel the Tragedian depicts Moses dreaming of a throne atop Mount Sinai, a throne so great in size that it touches heaven (cf. Ezek. Trag. 68–82).¹¹⁸

The mountain-throne of 1 Enoch 18 is also associated with fire. Like the other six mountains to the east and south, the mountain lies in a place that burns day and night (1 Enoch 18:6). Furthermore, following the description of the mountain throne, the seer sees a burning fire in 1 Enoch 18:9. The Sinai theophany presents God in the form of blazing fire three times (Exod 3:2; 19:18; and 24:17). A later tradition from Aristobulus suggests that fire encompasses the region of Sinai during the theophany (frag 2. from Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.10.12–17). The imagery of burning fire and a mountain with a summit of lapis lazuli that reaches up to heaven is most like Sinai of Exodus 19–24. Since Eth. 1 Enoch 18:6 indicates that the mountain complex to which this special mountain belongs is in the south, 1 Enoch 18:8 may have in mind Mount Sinai itself as the mountain throne of the Lord.

The parallel tradition of 1 Enoch 18:6, 1 Enoch 24:3–25:3, does not provide as much description of the mountain-throne. We learn that the mountain is in a region burning with fire (1 Enoch 24:1; cf. 4QEn^d 1xi),¹¹⁹ that it is made of precious stones (1 Enoch 24:2), and has tremendous height (1 Enoch 24:3; 25:3). More importantly, though, 1 Enoch 25:3 declares that the mountain will serve as the throne of the Lord when he descends in blessing (1 Enoch 25:3). The location of 1 Enoch 24–25's mountain in the south is confirmed by 1 Enoch 77:1. In that passage from the Astronomical Book, the south is the site where the Most High will descend.¹²⁰

Not only do the mountain-thrones of 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3–25:3 resemble Mount Sinai of Exodus 19 and 24 in detail, but they too

¹¹⁷ כמראה אבן־ספיר דמות כסא

¹¹⁸ On the dating of the text, see R. G. Robertson, 'Ezekiel the Tragedian,' *OTP* 2:803–19; esp. 803–6. The reading of Sinai in this passage is a widely accepted conjecture, as the mss provide different versions of a corrupt reading. See Robertson, 811, n. 2a.

¹¹⁹ The remaining Aramaic of 1 Enoch 24:1 appears the superior reading. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 218, 354, and above.

¹²⁰ An unpublished Amharic commentary explains that the verse refers to Mount Sinai. See Neugebauer, 'Appendix A' in Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 407. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 290) sees in 1 Enoch 77:1 an unmistakable reference to Sinai.

will serve as theophanic sites. The Book of the Watchers shares the biblical tradition of God descending from heaven to Sinai (cf. Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4, Ps 68:17–18, Hab 3:3) whence he launches his campaigns or earthly sojourn.¹²¹ Given the location of the mountain-throne in the south, and the explicit reference in 1 Enoch 1:4 to Sinai,¹²² one might presume that the authors of 1 Enoch 18:6–8 and 1 Enoch 24–25 knew of traditions related to Sinai. The mountain-throne that reaches to heaven in 1 Enoch 18 and 24–25 will be the site of God's descent, but it is not God's mountain residence in the north which we might associate with the heavenly palace (see above) nor is it Mount Zion, home to the temple, which 1 Enoch 25–26 clearly distinguishes from this site (cf. esp. 1 Enoch 26:1–2).¹²³

5. *Job and Lists of Revealed Things*

Many of the sites that the seer encounters in 1 Enoch 17–19 are phenomena of nature. Unusual mountains, the foundations of the earth, the cornerstone of the earth, bodies of water, the abyss, meteorological phenomena, winds, and the firmament of heaven are among the peripheral sites that Enoch sees. Most pertain in some way to the structure of the universe, and in this respect, are cosmological, rather than geographical. They are only vaguely described, as if the reader of 1 Enoch 17–19 will understand what the author has in mind.

References to like natural phenomena occur in the Hebrew Bible and other Second Temple period literature as well. Michael Stone observes that "lists of revealed things," catalogues of natural wonders, occur in apocalyptic literature and he suggests that such lists may derive from psalms (especially hymns of praise to the creator, like

¹²¹ Ps 68:17–18, for example, describes God's descent upon Sinai, but then ascent of Zion:

With mighty chariotry, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands, the Lord came from Sinai into the holy place. You ascended the high mount, leading captives in your train . . .

Translation from NRSV.

¹²² 1 Enoch 1:4, echoing Deut 33:2, explains how God will tread from the heavenly abode upon Mount Sinai whence he will commence judgment. See VanderKam, 'The Theophany of Enoch, 1.3b–7.9,' *VT* 23 (1973): 129–50.

¹²³ See also Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 139, n. 6 and 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,' in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Contributions to the Study of Religion 30; ed. Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley; New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 63–78; esp. 77, n. 27.

Psalm 148) and wisdom literature.¹²⁴ In earlier manifestations, the phenomena of the cosmos are catalogued as information of which only God has knowledge for the purpose of demonstrating the omnipotence and omniscience of the Divine.¹²⁵ Job, for example, is quizzed by God concerning his knowledge of various aspects of the cosmos that are inaccessible to mortals: “Have you entered the storehouses of the snow, or have you seen the storehouses of the hail . . . ?” (Job 38:22).¹²⁶ The reader of Job is reminded that only God is knowledgeable about creation and the regulation of the universe.

Curiously enough, much of the natural phenomena recounted in Job have counterparts in Enoch 17–19.¹²⁷

Table 9. A Comparison of the Natural Phenomena and Sites Described in Job and 1 Enoch 17–19

Job 28:11: the sources of the rivers	1 Enoch 17:8: mouth of all the rivers
Job 28:24: the ends of the earth (MT only אֶרֶץ תְּהוֹמֹת)	1 Enoch 18:5: the ends of the earth (πέρατα τῆς γῆς) 1 Enoch 18:14: the end of heaven and earth 1 Enoch 19:3: the ends of all things
Job 37:9: chamber of the whirlwind and cold from scattering winds	1 Enoch 17:7: wintry winds of darkness
Job 37:16: the balancings of the clouds	1 Enoch 18:5: the winds which bear clouds
Job 38:4: the foundation of the earth (θεμελιοῦν τὴν γῆν)	1 Enoch 18:1: the foundation of the earth (θεμέλιον τῆς γῆς)

¹²⁴ ‘Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,’ 414–52; esp. 426.

¹²⁵ Perhaps lists of phenomena originally derived from ancient Near Eastern onomastica or from Egyptian wisdom traditions. See Gerhard von Rad, ‘Hiob XXXVIII und die altägyptische Weisheit,’ in *VTSup* 3 (1955): 293–301. See also Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies* (Moreshet 2; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1978), 562–63, who suggests that the author of Job may have been familiar with Near Eastern catalogues which classified natural phenomena, but that Job distinguishes itself from the Egyptian and Near Eastern onomastica by means of its descriptions. Job’s descriptions of phenomena, according to Gordis, are meant to encourage awe and wonder: “not information but inspiration is the poet’s goal.”

¹²⁶ Translation from the NRSV.

¹²⁷ Newsom (‘The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,’ 326) also observes points of contact between Job 38 and Enoch’s journey.

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Job 38:6: the bases and cornerstone of the earth (λίθον γωνιαῖον)	1 Enoch 18:2: the cornerstone of the earth (λίθον γωνίας) 1 Enoch 18:3: the winds which bear the earth
Job 38:16: the springs of the sea and recesses of the deep (ἀβύσσου)	1 Enoch 17:7: place where the water of the deep (ἀβύσσου) pours out 1 Enoch 17:8: mouth of the deep (ἀβύσσου)
Job 38:17: the gates of death and the gates of deep/death's shadows (MT) or gates of deep Hades (LXX)	1 Enoch 17:6: the great darkness where no flesh goes
Job 38:18: the expanse of heaven (LXX)	1 Enoch 18:3: the height of heaven 1 Enoch 18:5: the firmament above at the ends of the earth
Job 38:19: the way to the dwelling of light and the place of darkness (ὁ τόπος σκότους); its territory and paths to its home	1 Enoch 17:2: the dark place (ζοφώδη τόπον) 1 Enoch 17:3: the place of the luminaries and storehouses of the stars 1 Enoch 17:4: the fire of the west which provides the sunset 1 Enoch 18:4: the winds of heaven that cause the sun and the stars to set
Job 38:22: the storehouses (θησαυρούς) of snow and hail	1 Enoch 17:3: the place of thunders and lightnings 1 Enoch 17:7: wintry winds of darkness 1 Enoch 18:1: storehouses (θησαυρούς) of the winds
Job 38:24: the place where light is distributed	1 Enoch 17:3: the place of the luminaries and storehouses of the stars 1 Enoch 18:4: the winds of heaven that cause the sun and the stars to set
Job 38:31: the chains of the Pleiades	1 Enoch 18:12–16; 21:1–6: the seven bound stars
Job 38:33: the ordinances of the heavens	1 Enoch 18:3: the height of heaven 1 Enoch 18:4: the winds of heaven that cause the sun and the stars to set
Job 40:11–14: wicked bound in the hidden place	1 Enoch 18:11, 21:7–10: angels sentenced to imprisonment in a chasm of immeasurable depth

The expressions used to describe the natural phenomena of 1 Enoch 17–19 and 21 offer slight verbal parallels to Job 28–40,¹²⁸ but both sources cover a similar range of topics.¹²⁹

Apparently related to the phenomena described in wisdom literature are the “lists of revealed things” which occur in texts like 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. An abbreviated list of revealed phenomena may be found in 1 Enoch 60:11–21 as well. Enoch learns secrets such as:

¹¹ what (is) first and last in heaven, in the heights, and under the dry ground, in the depths, and at the ends of heaven, and at the foundations of heaven, and in the storehouses of the winds;¹² and how the spirits are distributed, and how they are weighed, and how the springs and the winds are counted . . . the divisions of the stars . . .¹³ and the thunder according to the places where it falls; and all the divisions that are made in lightning that it may flash (1 Enoch 60:11–13)

The interest of 1 Enoch 60:11–13 in what lies at the ends and at the foundations of heaven, in storehouses of winds, and in thunder and lightning recall certain of the phenomena of 1 Enoch 17–19.

Yet, three characteristics distinguish the phenomena described in 1 Enoch 17–19 and its duplicate traditions from the phenomena of wisdom literature and the “lists of revealed things.” First, from the point of view of intent, the lists of natural phenomena in Job are certainly distinct from 1 Enoch 17–19; all the knowledge inaccessible to Job and denied to humanity is readily available to Enoch—though presumably to him alone (cf. 1 Enoch 19:3; but see also 1 Enoch 93:11–14). Second, unlike 1 Enoch 17–19, we see in 1 Enoch 60 an emphasis on measurements, proportions, divisions, and distributions. Stone observes that the lists stress “the regular or measured function of each of the elements,” as well as the naming and counting of phenomena such as stars.¹³⁰ This aspect of the lists is lacking in the report of 1 Enoch 17–19 and its duplicate traditions. Third, Stone calls attention to the “formulaic nature” of the lists of revealed things in 4 Ezra 4, 2 Bar 59, and 1 Enoch 41.¹³¹ The narration of

¹²⁸ The Aramaic is not extant for most of the Enochic parallels (there are only few words of 1 Enoch 18:8–12; 21:2–4 preserved); following the Greek, we can see that the vocabulary of LXX Job 28–40 is for the most part sufficiently different.

¹²⁹ On the phenomena described by Job in chapters 28, 37, 38 and 40 see Marvin Pope, *Job* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 202–3, 205, 281, 284–85, 288–303, 320.

¹³⁰ ‘Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,’ 417, 427.

¹³¹ ‘Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,’ 415–31.

the journey in 1 Enoch 17–19 does not present, however, the phenomena encountered in such a catalogued fashion.

Given the similar range of topics covered in Job and in 1 Enoch 17–19, it is possible, though, that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 has knowledge of standard wisdom motifs from comparable lists and that, as Merkur, Rowland and others assert (see above), the visionary experience or worldview that informs 1 Enoch 17–19 may have been influenced by discursive meditations on texts like Job. Newsom, in fact, asks:

Does one have here a heavenly journey which is constructed on the basis of some such wisdom-catechism as Job 38 and which functions to establish the credentials of the apocalyptic hero as possessing knowledge beyond that allotted to normal humankind?¹³²

As for the vaguely described phenomena of 1 Enoch 17–19, perhaps it is not important for the reader to understand what the phenomena are or where they are located precisely. Maybe it is only important that Enoch, the seer par excellence (cf. 1 Enoch 19:3), has seen these natural wonders. One recalls from Wis 9:16–17: “We can hardly guess at what is on earth and what is at hand we find with labor; but who has traced out what is in the heavens? Who has learned your counsel, unless you have given wisdom . . .”¹³³ The type of cosmological phenomena that Enoch sees underscores the seer’s uniqueness; Enoch is *the* individual to rise to the challenges presented in wisdom literature and other apocalypses.¹³⁴

6. *Excursus: A Parallel Journey from Ezekiel 40–48, the Tour of the Future Temple*

While selections from the Hebrew Bible offer geographical features comparable to those of 1 Enoch 17–19, Ezekiel offers a unique formal parallel in terms of its tour of the future temple (Ezekiel 40–48).¹³⁵ Martha Himmelfarb maintains that the journeys in 1 Enoch 17–36 are modeled, to some extent, after Ezekiel’s tour of the eschatological temple (Ezekiel 40–48).¹³⁶ Ezekiel, prophesying from the Babylonian

¹³² ‘Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,’ 326.

¹³³ Translation from the NRSV.

¹³⁴ See also Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 75–78.

¹³⁵ The latter part of the tour (Ezek 47:13–48:29) also includes the boundaries and redistribution of the land of Israel among the twelve tribes.

¹³⁶ *Tours of Hell*, esp. 50–67; see also her *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian*

Exile, describes a utopian vision he has after the fall of Jerusalem. His is a vision of restoration for Israel in which the temple and God's presence will be central to the land and people. God transports Ezekiel by means of a vision (במראות אלהים) from Babylon to the land of Israel and sets the prophet-priest down upon a high mountain (Ezek 40:1–2). Guided by a man whose appearance shone of bronze, Ezekiel sees the measurements and plan for a new temple (Ezekiel 40–43), learns the mores for a new community (Ezekiel 44–46), and discerns the boundaries for the restored land (Ezekiel 47–48).

In the course of the tour, the divine guide explains to Enoch the sites he sees. For example, the guide says: “This is the place where the priests shall boil the guilt offering and the sin offering . . .” (Ezek 46:20a)¹³⁷ and “These are the kitchens where those who serve at the temple shall boil the sacrifices of the people” (Ezek 46:24).¹³⁸ According to Himmelfarb, the angelic guide's use of the demonstratives זה and אלה to refer to specific sites is a feature unique to Ezekiel 40–48, “the oldest extant tour in Israelite literature.” Similar use of the demonstrative reappears in the guided tours of the Book of the Watchers and also becomes prominent in later Jewish and Christian tours of hell.¹³⁹

The genetic link between Ezekiel and the Book of the Watchers is revealed by the *angelus interprets*'s use of the demonstrative οὗτος to explain the tour's scenery to Enoch. Himmelfarb, sensitive to the Book of the Watcher's redaction, considers the first tour of the seer, 1 Enoch 17–19, apart from the second tour, 1 Enoch 20–36. The first tour contains only one dialogue between Enoch and the *angelus interprets* (identified as Uriel in 1 Enoch 19:1) in 1 Enoch 18:13–19:2. This dialogue, however, yields two examples of the demonstrative form that Himmelfarb highlights: 1 Enoch 18:14 (“this is [οὗτός ἐστιν] the place of the end of heaven and earth”) and 1 Enoch 18:15 (“these are [οὗτοί εἰσι] the ones which transgressed the command of the Lord . . .”). The second tour contains nine dialogues

Apocalypses, 72–78. Elsewhere Himmelfarb speaks more strongly of the importance of Ezekiel 40–48 for the tours in the Book of the Watchers: “On strictly formal grounds, the best precedent to Enoch's tour is Ezekiel's tour of the restored temple and its environs.” See her ‘The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,’ 68.

¹³⁷ זה המקום אשר יבשלוֹשם הכהנים את־האשם ואת־החטאת

¹³⁸ אלה בית המבשלים אשר יבשלוֹשם משרתי הבית את־זבח העם

¹³⁹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 57.

between the interpreting angels and the seer. Three of these conversations involving the use of the demonstratives are from the duplicate traditions of 1 Enoch 17–19; 1 Enoch 21:4–6; 21:8–10; and 24:5–25:6.¹⁴⁰

Himmelfarb also observes the common interests the tours of Ezekiel 40–48 and the Book of the Watchers have.¹⁴¹ For example, both are concerned with Jerusalem and its environs (Ezek 47:1–12 and 1 Enoch 26–27).¹⁴² Ezek 47:1–12 and 1 Enoch 26:2 especially call attention to a stream that flows from the area of the temple. These similarities lead Himmelfarb to maintain that both works employ the imagery of Eden (flowing streams, tree[s] of life) in their depictions of the temple.¹⁴³

Himmelfarb demonstrates that the form of Ezekiel 40–48's tour (i.e. interpreting angel, use of the demonstrative) could well be the model upon which the tours in the Book of the Watchers were based. We observe that the first and second tours in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 17–19 and 1 Enoch 20–36) feature explanations from an *angelus interpres* and several instances of the use of demonstratives. Furthermore, both Ezekiel 40–48 and the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 25:5–26:2) take an interest in the temple of a future time.

Yet the concerns of 1 Enoch 17–36, and specifically of 1 Enoch 17–19 and its duplicate traditions, encompass more than the temple. Both cosmic tours in the Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch 17–19 and 20–36, emphasize sites located along the periphery of the earth; in fact, the temple and Jerusalem play no role at all in the first tour of 1 Enoch 17–19. Additionally, the sites that most elicit conversation between the interpreting angel and the seer are related to post-mortem fate and punishment. Of the ten conversations noted by

¹⁴⁰ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 53–55.

¹⁴¹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 57–58; also 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,' 64–72.

¹⁴² But see Kalinda Rose Stevenson, *Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40–48* (SBLDS 154; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), 151–60, who stresses that Ezekiel 40–48 contains a vision *not* of a New Jerusalem, since Zion is a cursed city from Ezekiel's perspective, but rather of a New Israel, with the principal city named YHWH Shammah.

¹⁴³ 'The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira,' 64–72. See also Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*, 25–36 on the imagery common to the mountain from Ezekiel 40–48 and to the garden of Eden.

Himmelfarb, seven concern the realm of the dead, punishment or future judgment.¹⁴⁴ Ezekiel 40–48 focuses on a new temple in an ideal city, but when Enoch finally does tour Jerusalem in the Book of the Watchers, the site that receives the most attention is the accursed valley of Hinnom, where the blasphemers will be judged in the last days (1 Enoch 27:1–4). Although the journeys of Ezekiel 40–48 and 1 Enoch 17–36 have stylistic features in common, they are different in kind.

D. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER AND CONCLUSIONS

From this survey of comparable geographical data, we note that many of the geographical traditions of 1 Enoch 17–19 and duplicate traditions 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25 appear to share a common worldview with Israelite and Jewish works. Specifically 1 Enoch 17–18 and 24–25 reflect the Israelite tradition, though not an exclusive one, of mountains related to the divine abode or to theophany. 1 Enoch 17:3–18:5 exhibits cosmological interests similar to Job. 1 Enoch 17–19's focus on sites located at the geographical extremities may correspond to the locations of Eden (Genesis 2–3) and Zaphon, the mountain of God (Isaiah 14) far from mere mortals. 1 Enoch 17–19 mirrors especially the scope of interests of 1 Enoch 77, from the Astronomical Book. The sites in 1 Enoch 17–19 and the duplicate traditions that demonstrate God's majesty, like the well ordered cosmos and fabulous mountains, are quite comparable to the biblical worldview. The sites that pertain to the afterlife, however, find no parallels in the biblical literature or the Enochic work (1 Enoch 77) surveyed above.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. 18:13–19:2; 21:4–6; 21:8–10; 22:2–4; 22:6–7; 22:8–13; and 27:1–4.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARABLE GEOGRAPHICAL DATA AND
PARALLELS IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN AND
GREEK TRADITIONS

A. TRADITIONS FROM THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

In the fourth chapter of the second section, I explore how the prison of seven stars in 1 Enoch 18 and 21 is comparable to Mesopotamian traditions in which the Pleiades are bound in the eastern horizon. The research of H. L. Jansen,¹ VanderKam,² and Kvanvig³ also demonstrates many points of comparison between the traditions of the Near East and lore associated with Enoch. Grelot⁴ and Milik⁵ have been especially attuned to geographical works of the Near East that appear similar to the worldview of 1 Enoch. Though Grelot observes that the geography manifested in the Enochic corpus has parallels in Ugaritic and Greek mythology, he thinks there to be greater correspondence with the Babylonian Mappa Mundi and descriptions of geography from the Epic of Gilgamesh:

On a signalé quelques recoupements entre *I Hen.* et les textes grecs; mais les parallélismes avec l'épopée mésopotamienne sont incomparablement plus frappants. La dépendance doit donc être cherchée de ce côté.⁶

Rather than approach the Babylonian Mappa Mundi and Epic of Gilgamesh as sources for the author of 1 Enoch 17–19, I restrict the discussion to comparable traditions present in both literary streams.

1. *Gilgamesh*

After the death of his friend, Enkidu, Gilgamesh despairs about his own mortality and seeks out Utnapishtim, the man who escaped the

¹ *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1; Oslo: Dybwad, 1939).

² *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*.

³ *Roots of Apocalyptic*.

⁴ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch.'

⁵ *Books of Enoch*.

⁶ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 64.

great flood of the gods and death. Utnapishtim resides at the mouth of the waters (Epic of Gilgamesh 11), and also, we learn from the prologue to the tale, at the place of the rising sun.⁷ In order to reach Utnapishtim, Gilgamesh travels first to Mount Mašû (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). We learn that Mount Mašû guards the rising and setting of the sun; the mountain is of considerable height and depth, its flank extending to the netherworld (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). At the mountain Gilgamesh comes upon scorpion beings who guard the gate and watch over the sun's rising and setting; they allow Gilgamesh to cross through the mountain. Gilgamesh then travels through twelve leagues of darkness along the 'path of the sun.' He emerges from that leg of the journey at the place where the sun rises. There he finds trees with precious stones that serve as fruit and foliage (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). After an encounter with the ale-wife Siduri near the cluster of trees, he must cross the sea as well as the waters of death (Hubur) to arrive at Utnapishtim's home (Epic of Gilgamesh 10).

The geography in this selection of the Epic of Gilgamesh is, like 1 Enoch 17–19, concerned with sites located on the periphery of the earth. Mount Mašû may be compared to the 'mountains of the rising and setting of the sun,' and in the context of Epic of Gilgamesh 9, Horowitz considers Mount Mašû to be like the Mountain of Darkness or of Sunset.⁸ The mountain is located, therefore, in the west. Gilgamesh is allowed to pass through the mountain on the 'path of the sun.' The 'path of the sun,' which ironically has Gilgamesh travel through utter darkness, refers most probably to the sun's travels at night on its way to emerge in the east in the morning. The dark path of the sun could refer to either a route in the far north⁹ or the sun's travel through the netherworld.¹⁰ Gilgamesh arrives in the east, where the sun rises, to find a garden of trees with gems. Horowitz suggests that the garden in the Epic of Gilgamesh reflects "an ancient Mesopotamian belief that gemstones, which had to be imported into the Mesopotamian plain from afar, were plentiful in distant lands."¹¹ Hence, the gems indicate again exotic regions beyond the inhabited world.

⁷ Cf. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 96–97; 104. Similarly in the Sumerian version, the antediluvian hero, Ziusudra, is relocated to Dilmun.

⁸ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 331–32.

⁹ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 100.

¹⁰ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 352.

¹¹ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 102.

Gilgamesh must next cross the sea and waters of death. We do not know much about the course of the waters of death, though this infernal river is said to flow alongside the underworld.¹² After crossing the sea, Gilgamesh arrives at the mouth of the waters to the east where Utnapishtim dwells. In summary, the Epic of Gilgamesh depicts the earth's surface as consisting of a central continent, a cosmic sea, and a land(s) across the sea.¹³

Grelot observes several similarities between the geography of Enochic works and the Epic of Gilgamesh. Grelot argues that the scorpion beings which guard Mount Mašū in Epic of Gilgamesh 9 are lesser deities or genies and he compares them to the shape-shifting fire beings in 1 Enoch 17:1.¹⁴ The fiery beings of 1 Enoch 17:1 also echo the cherubim of Gen 3:24 who guard Eden from humans. Yet, there is no indication that the fiery shape-shifting beings of 1 Enoch 17:1 guard anything. Grelot imagines that Gilgamesh's travels on the 'path of the sun' take him to the northwest where Gilgamesh encounters the place of jeweled trees.¹⁵ The site, according to Grelot, is the equivalent of a garden of God and parallels the seven mountains of precious gems in 1 Enoch 18:6–8 and 21–25. Both sites constitute for Grelot a paradise located to the northwest.¹⁶ Although Grelot envisages two paradises from the Book of the Watchers in the north, he is aware that Utnapishtim's home at the mouth of the waters is to the east. Milik, occasionally following Grelot's interpretation, argues that Gilgamesh travels west and then north to arrive at the abode of Utnapishtim.¹⁷ Finally, Grelot maintains that the waters of death that Gilgamesh must cross are comparable to the river of fire of 1 Enoch 17:5 which he considers a sort of Pyriphlegethon.¹⁸

I prefer to draw more cautious conclusions about perceived similarities in the two works. In my estimation, 1 Enoch 17–19 seems to share only general notions about peripheral geography with the Epic of Gilgamesh. For example, 'the great river' of 1 Enoch 17:6 appears to be the equivalent of Gilgamesh's cosmic sea that encircles the continent.

¹² *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 357.

¹³ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 105.

¹⁴ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 57.

¹⁵ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 59.

¹⁶ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 60.

¹⁷ Respectively 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 62–63 and *Books of Enoch*, 33.

¹⁸ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 61.

In both works as well peripheral geography is keyed to the ascent and descent of the sun. 1 Enoch 17:4 highlights the fire that receives every setting sun. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, the scorpion beings guard the twin-peaked mountain through which the sun sets. Although 1 Enoch 17–19 does not explicitly feature mountains to the west or east like Mašu, reference to comparable mountains may be found elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers. I argue above that the west, depicted in 1 Enoch 17:4–8, is home to the realm of the dead; 1 Enoch 17:4–8 may have a duplicate tradition in 1 Enoch 22 in which a mountain to the west houses the spirits of the human dead. Milik suggests that the desert where the angels and disobedient stars are imprisoned lies between Dadouel, a twin-peaked mountain comparable to Mašu (see above).¹⁹ Further, if one understands the ‘path of the sun,’ that utterly dark route which Gilgamesh travels in order to reach Utnapishtim, to be a northerly route of the sun at night, the northern mountain of 1 Enoch 17:2, which lies in a dark region near to the storehouses of the luminaries, may be similar.

One last comparable detail would be that both Enoch and Gilgamesh view locations normally inaccessible to human beings. We learn that Enoch alone is permitted to witness the sites he has seen (1 Enoch 19:3). Similarly, in Epic of Gilgamesh 9 the scorpion beings warn that no people can cross through the peaks of Mašu; later the alewife informs Gilgamesh that crossing the sea, a feat performed only by the sun-god, would be difficult (Epic of Gilgamesh 10). Yet Gilgamesh accomplishes both tasks impossible for ordinary humans.

2. *The Babylonian Mappa Mundi*

Both Grelot²⁰ and Milik²¹ maintain that one can discern behind the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19—in fact, of 1 Enoch 17–36 in general—and of 1 Enoch 77 a view of the world comparable to that of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi. The Babylonian Mappa Mundi, found on a tablet designated BM 92687, is a sixth century BCE map with fragmentary text on the obverse and reverse.²² The Mappa

¹⁹ *Books of Enoch*, 30.

²⁰ Grelot, ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 66–69.

²¹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15–18, 33–41.

²² The map is thought, however, to be based on an earlier text from at least the ninth century BCE. See Horowitz, ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ *Iraq* 50 (1988): 147–66; esp. 153.

Mundi presents the world as a flat disk surrounded by a circular body of water. Seven or eight²³ triangular shaped areas, the nagû (roughly translated as ‘distant land’ or ‘island’),²⁴ jut out from the circular body of water and encircle the outermost region of the map (see figure 6 above). Within the circular body of water (*marratu* or the ‘bitter river’) lies a single continent, not exactly drawn to scale or with attention to reality. Babylonia, for example, is drawn as a large rectangle in the center of the map; a handful of other cities and areas are demarcated by smaller circles with, oddly, Asshur drawn too far south of Babylon.²⁵

The fragmentary text on the reverse appears to describe travels through nagû (distant lands or islands) and gives a brief description of what one encounters there.²⁶ The text refers to Marduk, his acts of creation, and animals considered exotic within Mesopotamia, like the viper, winged horse, gazelle, and monkey.²⁷ There is also a single mention of Utnapishtim, Sargon (renowned as ruler of the world), and his nemesis, Nur-Dagan, ruler of Burshahanda. Though the extant text on the obverse appears to be an addition, it complements well one of the primary emphases of the map;²⁸ both the text and the map call attention to distant regions, far-off exotic lands, and their relationship to Babylon.²⁹

The Babylonian Mappa Mundi’s interest in peripheral geography is most reminiscent of 1 Enoch 17–19 and prompts comparison of the two works. Grelot and Milik suggest, for example, that the circular body of water around the Mappa Mundi’s earth-disk is like the body of water described in 1 Enoch 17:5 and ‘the great sea’ of 1 Enoch (Astronomical Book) 77:5.³⁰ Another interesting feature of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi that captures Milik’s attention is a nagû at the top of the map with the following caption: “Great wall, six leagues

²³ So Horowitz; see his ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 30, 156–58.

²⁴ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 23. On the history of nagû, see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 30–32.

²⁵ Horowitz (‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 154) notes that BM 92687 is unique among Mesopotamian maps as most have local or regional interest and do not attempt to present the entire world.

²⁶ We cannot correlate, however, the nagû described in the text with the nagû of the map; we cannot establish that the text even refers to the nagû of the map. See Horowitz, ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 30.

²⁷ Horowitz, ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 160.

²⁸ Horowitz, ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 153.

²⁹ Horowitz, ‘The Babylonian Map of the World,’ 165.

³⁰ Grelot, ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 67; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15, 38.

in between where the sun is not seen.”³¹ Horowitz suggests that the ‘great wall’ could refer to a ‘wall’ of mountains or to a cosmic wall of some sort that separates “this nagû from some other cosmic region.”³² As for the place where ‘the sun is not seen,’ Horowitz offers two possible explanations. First, this distant land or island may be a region of perpetual darkness. Second, from the latitude of Mesopotamia the sun did not pass through this portion of the sky.³³ This northern region where the sun is not seen Milik emphatically connects to the dark place of 1 Enoch 17:2.³⁴ Both aspects of the Mappa Mundi to which Grelot and Milik call attention—the circular ocean that encompassed the earth-disk and the dark region to the north where the sun is not seen—do seem to find parallels in the geography of 1 Enoch 17.

Grelot and Milik are less successful, however, in their attempt to coordinate the nagû of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi with the geography of Enochic works. I discuss above Milik’s suggestion that seven ultraterrestrial regions comparable to the nagû of the Mappa Mundi are described in the Astronomical Book; his theory, one recalls, is soundly challenged by VanderKam.³⁵ Grelot also understands the seven mountain arrangement of 1 Enoch 18:6 (three to the east and three to the south of the middle mountain; see figure 2) to be in the shape of a triangle just as we find the nagû depicted on the Mappa Mundi (see figure 6). The seven mountains of 1 Enoch 18:6 which he refers to as the divine residence mimic the nagû of the Mappa Mundi. Grelot exclaims, “Comme si l’auteur du passage avait sous les yeux un schéma analogue à la cart babylonienne et en transposait directement les données.”³⁶ Yet, the nagû represent distant lands or islands, not a cluster of mountains. I see no connection between the distant lands or islands of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi and the seven mountains (or any mountains) featured in 1 Enoch 17–19, 21, and 24–25. If the Enochic authors knew and had wished to imitate the nagû of the Mappa Mundi, presenting the distant region or island in the form of seven mountains was a most unnecessary transformation.

³¹ Translation by Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 22.

³² *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 32.

³³ *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 33.

³⁴ *Books of Enoch*, 38.

³⁵ See above.

³⁶ Grelot, ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 44.

3. *Excursus: A Parallel Journey from the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Quest for Immortality*

As with the tour of the new temple in Ezekiel 40–48, Enoch's tours of the cosmos might be also compared to a literary journey from the ancient Near East. Gilgamesh, a legendary king, is presented traveling to the ends of the earth in a journey that in many respects resembles the tours from the Book of the Watchers.

Gilgamesh's journey is a circumvention of the gods' incomprehensible decree denying immortality to mere men: the proximity of death supplies the chief motive for his departure . . . The circumvention of death, too, is at the root of travel literature, those stories of journeys that seek to fix and perpetuate something as transient and impermanent as human action and mobility. The ideas of death and departure have long been linked historically. In Gilgamesh's text, the order of their occurrence is meant to suggest a causality: the idea of death awakens the idea of departure.³⁷

Gilgamesh enjoys his royal life until the untimely death of his friend, Enkidu. Realizing his own mortality, Gilgamesh undertakes a journey to the ends of the earth in search of the one man known to the ancient world who has escaped death. Gilgamesh's travels take him to places inaccessible to most mortals. Imitating Shamash (Utu), Gilgamesh seeks to pass through Mount Mašû (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). The scorpion beings, though at first incredulous, permit Gilgamesh to travel through the mountains of sunset, on the 'path of the sun' (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). The 'path of the sun,' a route which runs almost entirely through total darkness, may, in fact, suggest the sun's nightly passing through the realm of the dead.³⁸ Gilgamesh emerges in the east at the place of the rising sun to see a magnificent garden of jeweled trees (Epic of Gilgamesh 9). Grelot compares the locale to the garden of God. Gilgamesh must then cross the waters of death, a feat, the ale-wife reports, performed only by Shamash (Epic of Gilgamesh 10). With the assistance of Urshanabi the ferryman, Gilgamesh crosses the infernal waters to reach Utnapishtim (Epic of Gilgamesh 10). Utnapishtim and his wife, sole survivors of the flood, were removed from the inhabited earth by the gods to dwell forever on an island at the source of the waters (Epic of

³⁷ Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 28.

³⁸ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 352.

Gilgamesh 11). Utnapishtim provides Gilgamesh with challenges to earn his immortality, but Gilgamesh ultimately fails each test (Epic of Gilgamesh 11). The hero returns to his home Uruk defeated and resigned to seek immortality through his legacy (Epic of Gilgamesh 11).

Enoch's tours to wonderful sites at the ends of the earth recall the journey of Gilgamesh to the geographical extremities (see above). Mountains, places of darkness, the source of waters, gardens and precious gems are noteworthy features in both the Epic of Gilgamesh and 1 Enoch 17–19. Yet, Enoch's journeys do not compare well with that of Gilgamesh.³⁹ Gilgamesh travels in search of immortality, a state Enoch has apparently achieved according to some traditions (*Jub.* 4:23–25; Heb 11:5–6). Enoch, like Utnapishtim, is removed from humankind and exists in a distinct place (cf. 1 Enoch 12:1–2).

In certain traditions Enoch makes a better match for the static Utnapishtim than for the traveling Gilgamesh.⁴⁰ A distraught Noah travels to the ends of the earth to consult with Enoch, his great-grandfather, in the Similitudes (1 Enoch 65:2). Likewise, in 1 Enoch 106 Methuselah seeks out Enoch to ask him about the unusual birth of his grandson Noah. Methuselah must travel to the ends of the earth where Enoch dwells with the angels in order to make his inquiry (1 Enoch 106:7–8). VanderKam wonders if Jewish writers wished to downplay the association of the flood hero with the figure of a distant primeval sage available to answer difficult questions.⁴¹ With the characteristics of an undying sage transferred to Enoch, Noah appears not as an immortal like Utnapishtim and instead as an individual who plays a special role in God's plan.⁴² Lastly, unlike Gilgamesh, Enoch does not take the tour of his own volition but is directed in his journey by angelic guides, according to the plan of the Divine.

B. GREEK TRADITIONS

Turning to traditions of the west, scholars have also sought out parallels from Greek sources. Discerning allusions to the Pyriphlegethon, Styx and Okeanos, R. H. Charles was one of the first to call attention to Greek mythical sites which occur in 1 Enoch 17–19.⁴³ Dieterich

³⁹ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 279.

⁴⁰ Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 69, n. 2.

⁴¹ See his *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 101.

⁴² VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 101.

⁴³ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38.

also claims that it is the Greek view of the realm of the dead, and not the Babylonian, which stands behind 1 Enoch 17–19.⁴⁴ In similar manner, Glasson attempts to demonstrate that much of the Enochic corpus is influenced by Greek traditions.⁴⁵ The current study focuses exclusively, however, on the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 21, and 24–25 that may be comparable to Greek traditions. The following parallels are adduced from a wide range of Greek works.

1. *Geography from the Works of
Homer and Hesiod (the Archaic Period)*

We see that the general outlines of the Greek cosmos were not so different from those of the Babylonian Mappa Mundi. The Greek cosmos was similarly fashioned with the earth in the shape of a disk, encircled by the river Okeanos. Homer may provide an early example of this worldview;⁴⁶ it is possible that the shield of Achilles presents the verbal description of a cosmological map from the eighth century BCE in the *Iliad*.⁴⁷ Hephaestus fashions for Achilles a shield that depicts the universe in miniature in *Il.* 18.480–610. The map presents the inhabited world as an island surrounded by water.⁴⁸ Achilles's shield does not provide the extent of the geographical knowledge known to early Greeks but it does inform us that limits of the inhabited world were fixed by means of Okeanos.⁴⁹ We know that the worldview suggested by the *Iliad* was quite common even until the Classical period; Herodotus (489–425 BCE) reports that he laughs at the large numbers of persons who think that an ocean stream flows around the earth and that the earth is in the shape of an exact circle.⁵⁰ Though we cannot ascertain that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 (or author of the duplicate traditions in 1 Enoch 21 and 24–25) thought the 'earth continent' to be in the shape of a circle, 1 Enoch 17:6 suggests that the inhabited world was indeed bounded by a great river. We know that the great river sets the limits of the

⁴⁴ *Nekyia*, 218–19.

⁴⁵ *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*.

⁴⁶ Strabo refers to Homer as the first geographer whose successors in geography were notable individuals like Anaximander and Hecataeus of Miletus. Cf. *Geogr.* 1.1.11.

⁴⁷ On the date of the passage in question, see P. R. Hardie, 'Imago Mundi: Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105 (1985): 11–31.

⁴⁸ *History of Cartography*, 1:131. Cf. *Il.* 18.607–8.

⁴⁹ *History of Cartography*, 1:132.

⁵⁰ *Hist.* 4.36. See also above.

inhabited world, for beyond this river lies the great darkness where no flesh may go (1 Enoch 17:6).

The great darkness of 1 Enoch 17:6 is itself comparable to the Greek notion of the realm of the dead. The term ζόφος in *Od.* 11.57, 155; 20.356 and *Il.* 15.191; 21.56 conveys, for example, the ‘gloom of the world below’ and ‘nether darkness.’⁵¹ ζόφος, as ‘gloom’ or ‘darkness,’ denotes in Hesiod’s *Theog.* 729 subterranean Tartarus where the titans are banished. In this work Tartarus is located under the misty gloom (ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡερόεντι) at the ends of the earth (*Theog.* 731). Grelot observes that 1 Enoch 17:6’s representation of the realm of the dead as a place where no flesh walks is comparable to what Odysseus says of Hades: no one has ever traveled there by ship (εἰς “Αἴδος δ’ οὐ πῶ τις ἀφίκετο νηὶ μελαίνῃ; *Od.* 10.503).⁵²

We do not derive an entirely consistent picture of the realm of the dead from the Homeric sources. Sometimes Hades is depicted below earth (cf. *Il.* 3.278) but other times the realm of the dead is located far away at the edge of the world.⁵³ In the case of the latter, there are several indications that Hades was located, according to the perceptions of archaic Greece, in the west. ζόφος, which can refer to the gloom of the netherworld, could be translated as ‘the Dark Quarter’ or ‘the west’ in *Od.* 3.335; 9.26; 13.241 and *Il.* 12.240.⁵⁴ Dieterich, reflecting on the western location of the realm of the dead in 1 Enoch, considers it comparable to Greek notions of Hades or the Isle of the Blessed, which was certainly located in the west.⁵⁵ The Enochic realm of the dead as depicted in 1 Enoch 17:4–8 is located in the west, a fact confirmed by 1 Enoch 22:1. Wacker notes that the connection of the realm of the dead with the west, the direction of the setting sun and waning light, is, in fact, a worldwide motif common to Egypt, Ugarit, and Mesopotamia, as well as ancient Greece.⁵⁶

⁵¹ In *Od.* 20.356, ἔρεβος is located beneath (ὑπὸ) the darkness (ζόφος); in *Il.* 15.191, Hades, Lord of the Dead, wins the murky darkness (ζόφος) as his region just as Zeus acquires heaven. See also Aeschylus’s *Pers.* 839.

⁵² ‘La géographie mythique d’Hénoch,’ 48.

⁵³ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 196.

⁵⁴ See above.

⁵⁵ *Nekyia*, 218.

⁵⁶ *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 146–51. Dieterich (*Nekyia*, 23–29; esp. 24) poetically opines: “Licht ist Leben, das Lebenslicht verlöscht; aber die hier erloschenen Strahlen sind drunten im Palast des Helios aufbewahrt, im Sonnengarten.”

Odysseus makes reference to other landmarks in the description of his travels to Hades: he notes that arrival at the river Okeanos also brought him to the dark country of the Cimmerians where the sun never shines. Mention of the Cimmerians, whom Strabo (*Geogr.* 1.1.10) connects with the north, suggests to Grelot that the realm of the dead is to the north or northwest; there he believes the sites of 1 Enoch 18:6–8 and 24–25 also lie.⁵⁷ Grelot is focused, however, on the location of the garden of Eden. It is clear that the Book of the Watchers distinguishes Eden (1 Enoch 32) and even the paradisiacal Zion (1 Enoch 25:5–26:1) from the realm of the dead (1 Enoch 22). Nickelsburg cautions that the *Odyssey* provides no indication as to where the Cimmerians and Hades were located other than on the far side of Okeanos.⁵⁸ Given the semantic range of ζόφος the Homeric sources may have the west in mind as well for the realm of the dead. Similarly the realm of the dead in the Book of the Watchers is a place of great darkness, that lies to the west (cf. 1 Enoch 22) at the periphery of the earth; Homer's Hades is thus a gloomy realm far from the inhabited world.

En route to Hades, Odysseus encounters several infernal rivers which converge: the Pyriphlegethon, Cocytus, and Acheron (see above). Most commentators consider the river of fire of 1 Enoch 17:5 and the great rivers of 1 Enoch 17:6 comparable to these infernal rivers of ancient Greece.⁵⁹ Further, Grelot calls attention to the fact that the realm of the dead in the *Odyssey* is near sources of water, especially near the source of Okeanos (cf. *Od.* 11.639; *Il.* 21.194–99).⁶⁰ Enoch's realm of the dead is as well: 1 Enoch 17:7–8 refers to the outpouring of the deep, the mouth of all the earth's rivers and the mouth of the deep. The many details that Enoch's realm of the dead shares with the Homeric *Weltanschauung* led Charles to report that 1 Enoch 17–19 is “full of Greek elements.”⁶¹

The archaic world yields other parallels as well. Like the Ugaritic and biblical traditions that place the Divine's residence upon Zaphon, Homer and Hesiod describe Olympus as the northern mountain

⁵⁷ ‘La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,’ 48.

⁵⁸ 1 Enoch, 283.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 219, Grelot, ‘La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,’ 39, Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38, and Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, xxii; 47.

⁶⁰ ‘La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,’ 50.

⁶¹ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 38.

where the gods assemble.⁶² Though widespread, the name Olympus was especially associated with the highest mountain in northern Thessaly, understood to be the dwelling place of the gods.⁶³ Reminiscent of Eden, the mountain of God in Ezekiel 28, Olympus becomes a sort of paradise for Heracles who lives there as a god.⁶⁴

There are other traditions in archaic Greek sources of paradises of sorts situated at the extremities of the earth. In *Od.* 24.11 Hermes escorts the dead, souls of murdered suitors, past Okeanos, past the White Rock, past the 'gates of the sun' to the meadows of Asphodelos, a pale lilac plant.⁶⁵ Hesiod writes of the Islands of the Blest located near Okeanos at the ends of the earth. There the heroes who fell at Troy or Thebes are given life.⁶⁶ A tradition also exists about the land of the Hesperides (Daughters of the Evening) who guard a tree with golden fruit (apples); the land is located far away in the west.⁶⁷

The Elysium or Elysian Fields offer yet another place where only a few individuals can go to escape death. Much like Olympus, the Islands of the Blest, and the Garden of Hesperides, the Elysian Fields are not for everyone.⁶⁸ Menelaus, son-in-law to Zeus, for instance, is not to die but instead will be led to the Elysian Fields, also the abode of Rhadamanthys, which is located at the ends of the earth (cf. *Od.* 4.563–569). The Elysian Fields were thought of essentially as a far-off island with a most favorable climate. There is no indication as to where the Elysian Fields are precisely, though we learn that Zephyros, the western wind, will blow a gentle breeze there from the ocean. Grelot maintains that this island paradise is in the northwest.⁶⁹

1 Enoch 17–19 does not describe exactly a paradise like the Elysian Fields or Mount Olympus where only a few individuals can escape death. But like Menelaus and Heracles, Enoch appears as the rare individual not to suffer death. We learn in 1 Enoch 12:1–2 that Enoch is hidden and dwells among angels; this information recalling Gen 5:24 leads to speculation that Enoch is removed to par-

⁶² Cf., for example, *Od.* 6.41–46; *Theog.* 678–721; 820–80 and *Op.* 108–110.

⁶³ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 126. Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 801–4.

⁶⁴ Cf. Hesiod, fr. 25.28; *Od.* 6. 43–45; 11.601–3 but see also *Il.* 18:117–19 which speaks of Heracles' death. See also Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 19–22.

⁶⁵ *Greek Religion*, 196.

⁶⁶ *Op.* 161–73; cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 198.

⁶⁷ Minnervmus, fr 10; Hesiod, *Doubtful Fragments*, fr. 5.

⁶⁸ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 198.

⁶⁹ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 49.

adise (see above). No description of Enoch's 'hiding place' is provided, but inasmuch as the Book of the Watchers restricts the watchers and angels to heaven (1 Enoch 15:3, 7, 10), perhaps Enoch joins them in that realm.⁷⁰

Unlike the Greek traditions of the Islands of the Blest and the meadows of Asphodelos, the dead in the Book of the Watchers, do not have access to a post-mortem island or garden paradise. The dead, righteous and wicked alike, are all confined to a western mountain in hollows until the great day of judgment (1 Enoch 22), though the righteous, separated from the wicked, may enjoy a spring of water (1 Enoch 22:9).⁷¹ In this respect, the realm of the dead in the Book of the Watchers appears much more like gloomy Sheol or Homer's Hades. After the great judgment (1 Enoch 22:11), however, the pious and the humble may partake of the fruit and fragrance of the tree of life at the temple in Jerusalem (1 Enoch 25:5-7). Zion, a blessed and holy place (cf. 1 Enoch 26:1-2), is not like Olympus, the Elysian Fields or Asphodelos meadows located at the geographical extremities; Zion as the paradise of the future is situated at the very center of the earth (1 Enoch 26:1).⁷²

In addition to the realm of the dead in the west, the mountain residence of the Divine to the north, and the paradise-like realms at the ends of the earth, Greek traditions also know of post-mortem places of punishment. Odysseus sees as part of his tour of Hades the punishment of Tityos, Tantalos and Sisyphus (cf. *Od.* 11:576-600).⁷³ More pertinent to this study of 1 Enoch 17-19, though, are Homer and Hesiod's description of Tartarus (cf. *Il.* 8.13, 481 and *Theog.* 717-819). Hesiod recounts in *Theog.* 713-35 that the titans, who lose their fight against Zeus, are hurled beneath the earth, bound in chains, and imprisoned in Tartarus. Tartarus is described as a region

⁷⁰ The tradition of Enoch removed from earth is also similar to the story of Ganymede who is carried off to heaven by Zeus in *Il.* 20.232-35; cf. the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 5.202-17. But see also 1 Enoch 106:7-8 where Enoch is said to dwell with the angels at the ends of the earth.

⁷¹ Bauckham refers to the mountain of 1 Enoch 22 as a 'place of detention' not as a place of punishment, a distinction reserved for the valley of Hinnom (Gehenna) in 1 Enoch 27. See his 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell,' *JTS* 41 (1990): 355-85; esp. 359.

⁷² On Jerusalem as the center of the earth, see VanderKam, 'Putting Them in Their Place,' 46-69 and Alexander, 'Omphalos of the World,' *Judaism* 46 (1997): 147-58.

⁷³ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 280.

of misty gloom at the ends of the huge earth; it is as far beneath the earth as heaven is above the earth.⁷⁴ According to *Il.* 8:13–16, Tartarus is a bottomless pit located below Hades. Above we note, following Nickelsburg, the close verbal parallels between the description of Tartarus in the *Theogony* and the chasm-prison of the angels in 1 Enoch 18:11 and 21:7–11. In both traditions it is especially infamous beings (titans or wicked angels) who are confined to such prisons.⁷⁵

2. *The Geography in Classical and Hellenistic Sources*

Depictions of geography in works from the Classical and Hellenistic periods offer many potential parallels to Enochic literature. Several comparable traditions derive from Plato who, in turn, gives us a glimpse into Orphic and Pythagorean traditions.⁷⁶ Many of these later traditions concerning geography also derive from the works of Homer and Hesiod.

Plato's underworld, for example, features the infernal rivers we encounter in *Odyssey* 10 and 11. The Pyriphlegethon of *Phaedo*, like that in the *Odyssey*, is comparable to the river of fire in 1 Enoch 17:5.⁷⁷ The Pyriphlegethon is one of four rivers that originate in and return to Tartarus according to *Phaed.* 111c–112e. The others include Okeanos, Acheron, and Styx (*Phaed.* 112e–113c). The rivers, like Tartarus, offer sites where post-mortem punishment is meted out for a period of time (*Phaed.* 113d–114b). Since Enoch encounters the river of fire and great rivers (1 Enoch 17:5–6) immediately prior to the great darkness where no flesh walks, it is safe to assume that they are rivers of the realm of the dead, comparable to the rivers of earlier Homeric traditions and of the later *Phaedo*.

Orphic and Pythagorean traditions also describe the realm of the dead. Gold plates from tombs of southern Italy, Thessaly and Crete were intended to tell most probably Orphic, Bacchic, or Pythagorean

⁷⁴ Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 286–87 and Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 63.

⁷⁵ Glasson (*Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 63) notes that Jude 6 and 2 Pet 2:4 use language to describe Tartarus where the angels are held that is most similar to Hesiod's description of Tartarus in the *Theogony*.

⁷⁶ On the influence of Orphic and Pythagorean traditions, see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 113–19 and Isidore Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1927). Plato, though not uncritical of such traditions (*Resp.* 364–5), is an important source for information concerning Orphic and Pythagorean views of the afterlife. Cf. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 212.

⁷⁷ Cf. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 22–23.

initiates what conditions to expect in the afterlife; the plates provide a sort of road map for the deceased. The oldest plate, dated by archeological context to the start of the fifth century BCE, describes what the initiate will find in the house of Hades.⁷⁸ A white cypress stands by a spring in which the souls that descend are cooled. The initiates are not to drink from this spring, but instead from the cool waters of the lake of recollection.⁷⁹ They must first provide a particular answer to guardians of the lake before they are permitted to drink.⁸⁰ Glasson and Hengel both compare the 'waters of recollection' in the Orphic account of Hades to the spring of water permitted the righteous in the realm of the dead of 1 Enoch 22:9.⁸¹ Wacker also finds the spring in 1 Enoch 22:9 reminiscent of the waters of Mnemosyne.⁸² The spring of waters from 1 Enoch 22:9 may, in turn, have some relationship to the living waters (water of life) of 1 Enoch 17:4; these appear to be located near the realm of the dead as well (cf. 1 Enoch 17:4–8). Yet upon closer scrutiny, there is no clear connection between the waters of the Orphic Hades which help an individual recall initiation rites and the spring of water for the righteous in 1 Enoch 22:9 or 17:4. The righteous dead in 1 Enoch 22, after all, are not in the position to affect their destiny in the post-mortem state; rather, they must bide their time in the mountain prison until the day of judgment. The most plausible explanation for the spring of water in 1 Enoch 22:9 to my mind is that the dead were thought to suffer from thirst in the netherworld (cf. Luke 16:22–24).

In terms of other peripheral geography, James Romm calls attention to an unusual pattern in Greek ethnography and mythic geography where the only people more fortunate than those who inhabit the center of the earth (the Greeks or Ionians) are those who dwell

⁷⁸ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 293.

⁷⁹ Plato tells also of a myth in which souls must drink of the river of indifference on the Plain of Lethe prior to reincarnation (*Resp.* 10.621); it should be noted, however, that both Pythagorean and Orphic traditions appear to regard highly the practice of recollection. An Orphic hymn admonishes recollection of the sacred initiation (Hymn. Orph. 77.9) and Plato also describes how forgetfulness causes the soul much misery (cf. *Phaedr.* 250a and *Gorg.* 493c). See also Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 294.

⁸⁰ A place of refreshment in the afterlife that is attended by guardians has parallels in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. See Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 200–1 and M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 64.

⁸¹ Respectively, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 19, 34 and *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.198; cf. also Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 95.

⁸² *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 217.

in the most remote locations.⁸³ Subsequently, the Ethiopians in the southwest and the Hyperboreans in the extreme north were regarded as pious and flourishing peoples; their respective lands located at the outermost extremes of the earth also acquire a degree of sacrality. The land of the Hyperboreans was thought to be a temperate and pleasant land that was the special possession of Apollo, the sun god; thus the inhabitants were not subject to disease or wasting old age.⁸⁴

Grelot connects the northern paradise of the Hyperboreans with a northwestern 'garden of justice' he perceives in the Enochic corpus.⁸⁵ We do not read in 1 Enoch 17–19 (or the duplicate traditions) of especially scenic, temperate lands at the geographical extremities where certain races of people live secluded, blessed lives as the Hyperboreans and Ethiopians of Greek traditions do. The Book of the Watchers does refer to the 'garden of righteousness' where Adam and Eve dwelt (1 Enoch 32). This garden is located in the northeast or east and apparently at the ends of the earth. We have no sense, though, that other humans beyond Adam and Eve enjoy the garden paradise clearly modeled after Genesis 2–3.

One interesting connection between Pythagorean traditions and apocalyptic literature is the vision of the Divine enthroned. Guy Stroumsa suggests that the culmination of *katabasis*, a ritual descent, was the vision of the divine throne.⁸⁶ Pythagoras, who is associated with *katabasis* experiences, has a vision in the cave of Ida in Crete. Porphyry informs us of the ascetic preparations of Pythagoras prior to *katabasis* in the cave; these included offerings made to Zeus.⁸⁷ Eventually Pythagoras sees the god's throne as it appears when spread annually with leaves. Stroumsa theorizes that perhaps יוֹרֵד מֵרֶכֶבֶה, the ecstatic experience and mystical vision of God's chariot-throne in *hekhalot* literature, may be connected to *katabasis*. The expression יוֹרֵד מֵרֶכֶבֶה, which literally means 'one descending to the chariot,' perplexes scholars of *merkabah* and *hekhalot* mysticism since it describes the visionary experience of heavenly *ascents*. The seer in such ascents,

⁸³ *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, 45–81.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.29–48; Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.32–36.

⁸⁵ 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch,' 51–52.

⁸⁶ Stroumsa, 'Mystical Descents' in *Death, Ecstasy and Other Worldly Journeys*, 139–54. On the topic of *katabasis* and apocalyptic literature, see Betz, 'The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature,' 577–97.

⁸⁷ See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 2.8.2–3 and 2.8.41; also Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 17.

like those of 1 Enoch 14 and *T. Levi* 2–7, sought out a vision of God enthroned (cf., for example, *Hekhalot Rabbati*).⁸⁸

In addition to the heavenly throne the seer encounters in chapter 14, 1 Enoch 18:8 and 24:3–25:3 discuss an earthly throne of God. We learn in these passages that a mountain will serve as a throne for God when he descends to earth. Above I suggest that the mountain-throne might be Sinai. Ezekiel the Tragedian in Exagoge also presents Moses having a vision of a throne on Sinai.⁸⁹ If the purpose of *katabasis* was, as Stroumsa suggests, a vision of the divine throne, there may be another connection yet between apocalypses, including the geographical interests of 1 Enoch 17–19, and Greek traditions.

Finally Plato, like Homer and Hesiod, describes Tartarus as a place for the wicked (cf. *Phaed.* 113d–114c). Plato's Tartarus is clearly the place of punishment for wicked humans, the place where people are purified of their misdeeds before moving on to further self realization. Those deserving of punishment are sent to Hades/Tartarus, while the pious are sent to the Islands of the Blest (cf. *Gorg.* 524–25). Similarly in the Myth of Er a fallen Pamphylian warrior sees places of judgment and punishment for the wicked (*Resp.* 10.614–21). The soul, according to Plato, is forced to stay in its prison (the body) for 10,000 years, reminiscent of the length of punishment for the disobedient stars in 1 Enoch 18:18 and 21:6; the ultimate goal of the individual is to escape reincarnation (*Phaedr.* 248c–249a).⁹⁰ As Wacker notes, Plato's conception of Tartarus as a place with specific punishments to be meted out to different types of sinners is quite similar to the realm of the dead in 1 Enoch 22.⁹¹ The comparison, however, does not yield many specific dividends for this study of geography in 1 Enoch 17–19 that allow us to claim a relationship between the two traditions.

⁸⁸ Stroumsa, 'Mystical Descents,' 146–47.

⁸⁹ Stroumsa, 'Mystical Descents,' 141.

⁹⁰ See also Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 201.

⁹¹ Wacker (*Weltordnung und Gericht*, 217) remarks:

Dann aber gewinnen auch andere, bereits genannte griechische Parallelen zu Motiven und Vorstellungen in Hen 22 an Gewicht . . . Angesichts dieser grossen Fülle von vergleichbaren Motiven, Stoffen und Vorstellungszusammenhängen hat die Annahme einer direkten Berührung der Henochtradition mit dem griechischen Traditionsbereich sehr viel für sich.

3. *Excursus: A Parallel Journey from the Nekyia, a Visit to the Realm of the Dead*

It is clear from the study thus far that Enoch's journeys are concerned with much more than geography. The tours include visits not only to the wonders of the cosmos but also to sites connected with eschatology. Glasson, following the work of Dieterich, proposes that 1 Enoch 17–19 is a *nekylia*, a journey to the realm of the dead.⁹² Glasson's hypothesis merits consideration as it has been favorably received by Enochic scholars such as Nickelsburg.⁹³

véκνυα is a term originally applied to the rite by which spirits of the dead were conjured up and questioned. It is also used to describe Homer's journey to Hades in *Odyssey* 11. The lost Odysseus, following the counsel of Circe (*Odyssey* 10), travels to the realm of the dead to get directions to his home from Teiresias, the blind Theban seer. When he arrives at Hades, Odysseus performs libations and sacrifices in order to conjure up the dead (*Odyssey* 11). Odysseus encounters the soul of Teiresias who delivers his oracle. Odysseus lingers a bit longer in the realm of the dead visiting with family and illustrious individuals. Before departing from Hades, Odysseus sees Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos receiving divinely decreed punishments. Through Odysseus's journey to the realm of the dead the reader, like the hero, gets a glimpse of the landscape of Hades and an idea as to what awaits mortals. According to Achilles, residence in the realm of the dead is less than desirable for all but Heracles who is permitted dalliance with the immortal gods. Hades, though, is especially terrible for those few individuals who earned the ire of the gods and received never-ending punishment for notorious crimes.

Subsequent to the *Odyssey*, the term véκνυα came to refer to encounters with the dead.⁹⁴ Dieterich advanced the thesis that the Apocalypse of Peter, an early Christian tour of hell, is a Christianized version

⁹² *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, 8–11.

⁹³ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 54–55; 66, n. 26; also *1 Enoch*, 280.

⁹⁴ The scenes of judgment and punishment offer such a different take on the afterlife from the disembodied spirits initially depicted in *Odyssey* 11, that the section is thought to be a later interpolation. Still, notes Attridge ('Greek and Latin Apocalypses,' in *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre*, 159–85; esp. 165), the scenes of punishment and judgment in the *Odyssey* predate Plato (*Gorg.* 525e) who refers to the infernal scenes as Homeric. See also Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 27, who calls attention to other epic poems, now lost, that included descents to the underworld.

of a Greek *nekyia*.⁹⁵ Dieterich suggests that there was an Orphic literary source that in the form of a report describes a descent to Hades. The report would have included all that the individual making the descent would see: the judgment of the dead, those punished and those rewarded, rivers of torment and of Tartarus, and the Fields of the Blest.⁹⁶ Such a work, according to Dieterich, would have been known to and utilized by Empedocles, Pindar, and Plato in their own writings.

Dieterich's claim that the second century CE Christian apocalypse derived from an unbroken Orphic-Pythagorean tradition from the sixth century BCE draws the criticism of Himmelfarb.⁹⁷ She soundly criticizes Dieterich's thesis that there existed an Orphic-Pythagorean 'descent to Hades' tradition that one can readily reconstruct and delineate.⁹⁸ A real weakness to Dieterich's speculation is the paucity of sources to confirm the existence of such a tradition.⁹⁹

Nonetheless, Dieterich does succeed in calling attention to a Greek and later Roman interest in the topic of visits to the realm of the dead.¹⁰⁰ Descents to Hades similar to that of Homer were later parodied by Lucian (second century CE) in works like *Nekyomanteia* and *Cataplus*. In *Nekyomanteia*, for example, Menippus (a third century BCE satirist) makes a descent to the realm of the dead to consult Teiresias (the Theban sought out in *Odyssey* 11 as well) about the best course for life. Like Odysseus, the protagonist descends to Hades to learn information otherwise inaccessible to mortals, and the journey in the most general sense provides insight into the nature of the afterlife. Visions of post-mortem punishment, though, are an essential component, according to Nickelsburg, in other *nekyiai*.¹⁰¹

One of the most familiar accounts of a journey to the realm of dead is an allegory about the soul from Plato. At the end of the *Republic*, Socrates tells the myth of Er, a fallen warrior of Pamphylia (*Resp.* 10.614–21). Er, whose body does not decay with death, comes back to life after twelve days and reports all that he viewed in the

⁹⁵ *Nekyia*.

⁹⁶ *Nekyia*, 125–27.

⁹⁷ *Tours of Hell*, 41–45.

⁹⁸ *Nekyia*, 108–29 and 126–27.

⁹⁹ *Tours of Hell*, 43. Dieterich relies primarily on the gold plates found in graves (see above).

¹⁰⁰ See also Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 27–28.

¹⁰¹ 1 *Enoch*, 280.

afterlife. Initially Er sees two openings in the earth and two in the sky; judges stationed by the openings send the just through a heavenward opening and the unjust through one of the openings in the earth (*Resp.* 10.614). Er also sees coming out of the second opening in the earth souls that are rather dusty in appearance, while shiny and pure souls descend from the other opening in the sky. The souls ascending from the earth describe the suffering they endure in the nether realm, and the souls descending from the heavens describe their happiness in places of indescribable beauty (*Resp.* 10.615). Er learns that each soul has to pay a penalty for sins committed but that once retribution is exacted, the souls may ascend. If an especially wicked soul attempts to leave before his time, he is cast into Tartarus, a special place of torment within Hades (*Resp.* 10.616). Souls, following purification, go to a meadow where they choose by lot their daemon or guardian spirit (*Resp.* 10.616–20). Finally, souls drink from the River of Forgetfulness as a precursor to rebirth (*Resp.* 10.621). Er, not permitted to drink from the water, awakens from death and reports his experience in Hades.

Virgil's *Aeneid*, composed in the last quarter of the first century BCE, seems to follow closely in terms of its journey's details the *Odyssey* and Myth of Er. Aeneas wishes to visit his deceased father and so accompanied by a sibyl of Apollo descends to Hades. Instead of traveling to the far reaches of the earth for the journey to Hades, Aeneas along with his guide perform libations and sacrifices in the vicinity of a deep and rocky cave (*Aen.* 6.236–254).¹⁰² The cave itself is located near Avernus, a lake with a stench so powerful birds would not fly above it (*Aen.* 6.236).¹⁰³ They encounter a dark and empty realm and then a path leading to Acheron, Cocytus, and the marshes of Styx (*Aen.* 6.295–324). The ferryman Charon guards the waters, letting cross only those souls who have received proper burial. Aeneas and the sibyl appease with a golden bough Charon who will otherwise not transport the living to Hades, and he ferries them across (*Aen.* 6.405–16). They also elude Cerberus, the hound of hell, by feeding him a drugged treat (*Aen.* 6.417–25). In this realm, Aeneas

¹⁰² The entrance to Hades in later *nekyiai* need not be located at the geographical extremities. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Orpheus, in search of his deceased wife, Eurydice, descends to Styx by an entrance near Taenarus (*Metam.* 10.1–63); a cave near Taenarus, a city of Laconia, was one site in antiquity identified as an entrance to the netherworld.

¹⁰³ One recalls that the prison of the disobedient stars in 1 Enoch 18:12 was located in a place devoid of birds.

sees a fork in the road with one path leading to Elysium and the other to Tartarus (*Aen.* 6.539–43). Virgil's Hades is a veritable gated community or dark fortress. Tartarus is depicted as a sort of chasm where Tityus, Sisyphus (from the *Odyssey*) and the titans (from the *Theogony*) are imprisoned (*Aen.* 6.577–607). But unlike Homer and Hesiod's Tartarus where only the most infamous personalities receive punishment, Virgil's Tartarus is a hell where all receive punishment for sins (*Aen.* 6.608–28). Aeneas and the sibyl then visit the fields of Elysium, green valleys with shady groves and streams where blessed souls frolic and feast (*Aen.* 6.637–702). In a secluded grove of Elysium, Aeneas sees the stream of Lethe ('forgetfulness') and learns from his father, Anchises, that souls must drink of its water prior to reincarnation (*Aen.* 6.703–51).

Though the nature of afterlife is vastly different in the Book of the Watchers (the dead await the great day of judgment at which time the wicked are punished and the righteous avenged) and in these Greco-Roman works (souls are subject to metempsychosis), the two traditions have some features in common. Reminiscent of the journeys of Enoch, Aeneas has a guide who explains the sites and persons the seer encounters. Uriel makes known to Enoch the identity of the prisoners of the chasm and desert place as well as their misdeeds; similarly the sibyl tells Aeneas: "Here were they who in lifetime hated their brethen, or smote a sire, and entangled a client in wrong . . . all these, immured, await their doom" (*Aen.* 6.608–15).¹⁰⁴ Further, Plato and Virgil's *nekylai* offer explicit parenesis as the reader learns along with Er and Aeneas that one's deeds have consequences in the afterlife. Er is commissioned by the infernal judges to inform humankind about the afterlife (*Resp.* 10.614). Socrates concludes the tale with an exhortation to heed the myth, to cling to the upward path and to pursue justice with wisdom (*Resp.* 10.621). Phlegyas' admonition in the *Aeneid*, "Be warned! Learn justice and not to despise the gods," might fit well with Enoch's tours of the places of the punishment and the realm of the dead.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.608–15 (Fairclough, LCL).

¹⁰⁵ The message is made more explicit in Enoch's prophecy ("For the chosen there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth"; 1 Enoch 5:7) and doxology which he delivers upon viewing the tree of life to be given to the pious and the humble ("Then I blessed the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, because he has prepared such things for righteous men . . ."; 1 Enoch 25:7). Translations from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 66, 114.

In addition to Virgil's *nekyia* that resembles in many respects *Odyssey* 11 and the *Republic's* Myth of Er, other sorts of *nekyiai* arose in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Earlier views of the world as a flat disk surrounded by Okeanos with the realm of the dead below were challenged perhaps as early as the sixth century BCE and replaced with the notion of the spherical earth freely suspended and surrounded by planets and fixed stars.¹⁰⁶ With a new cosmology come new perceptions of Hades: Martin Nilsson suggests that with the spherical earth there was no place left for a realm of the dead under the earth.¹⁰⁷ Thus, souls at death were thought to ascend to heaven in order to become stars, to rise through the spheres of the seven planets or to reside in a heavenly type of Hades.¹⁰⁸ The new ways of looking at the afterlife resulted in different sorts of journeys to Hades; in order to learn about eschatology and the nature of the afterlife the seer must ascend to a heavenly realm of the dead.

Plutarch of the second century CE describes two heavenly journeys that concern the topic of afterlife. In *De genio Socratis* an initiate in philosophy, Timarchus, consults the oracle of Trophonius to learn about Socrates' sign. The oracle required seekers to perform a ritual descent in a cave or crypt; there they would await a divine message to be conveyed in a dream. Timarchus remains underground for almost three days. In a dream-like state, he views celestial spheres, stars, and the universe from afar (*Gen. Socr.* 590). A disembodied voice offers to answer Timarchus's questions about these sites (*Gen. Socr.* 591). Timarchus gets a glimpse of Hades—a great abyss, round, terrible, deep, and filled with darkness—from which he hears roars, groans, and lamentations (*Gen. Socr.* 590). Hades, Timarchus learns, is none other than the earth and the earth's shadow is Styx, the path to Hades (*Gen. Socr.* 591). The initiate also learns about the nature of the soul, whose fate depends on whether the daemon of the individual was submissive or hard-mouthed and restive (*Gen. Socr.* 592).

In *De sera numinis vindicta* Plutarch also tells of a baleful character named Thespesius who has a life-altering, near-death experience. After a fall that appears fatal, the soul (or 'intellect,' as it is called here) of Thespesius ascends, and he sees the souls of others (*Sera* 563–64). A

¹⁰⁶ See *History of Cartography* 1:136.

¹⁰⁷ See 'The Late Conception of the Universe in Late Greek Paganism,' *Eranos* 44 (1946): 20–27; esp. 22.

¹⁰⁸ 'The Late Conception of the Universe in Late Greek Paganism,' 22. See also Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 81–106.

kinsman explains to Thespesius that all crimes must be accounted for and he describes the nature of punishment (*Sera* 564). As a result of this near-death experience Thespesius becomes an honest and pious man to the amazement of his fellow Cilicians.

The *nekyia*, as a literary form, shows incredible continuity and elasticity, especially with regard to the features of the realm of the dead. For example, the Pyriphlegethon familiar from *Odyssey* 10 and *Aeneid* 6, appears also in the philosophically-oriented *nekyiai*. Since Stoic cosmology distinguishes the sub- and supra-lunar environs, with a preference for the latter, Plutarch (*De genio Socratis*) relocates eschatological sites upward. Thus, Homer's 'river of fire' becomes Plutarch's Milky Way. In this respect, the later literature appropriates various motifs from journeys to the realm of the dead and tailors them to a new context.

It is clear from the diverse works summarized above that the motif of a journey to the realm of the dead was quite popular in antiquity. The *nekyia* not only provided images of Hades but also offered the comfort of theodicy; just and wicked deeds precipitate reward or punishment in the afterlife. Enoch's journeys in 1 Enoch 17–19 serve a similar purpose. The watchers who introduce evil to the earth and the seven disobedient stars, infamous characters in Jewish traditions of this time (cf. *Jub.* 4:21–22; *CD* 2:14–3:1; *Sib. Or.* 1.88–103; *Jude* 6, 13; 2 *Pet* 2:4), are ultimately subject to God. The places of punishment that Enoch encounters are similar to Homer's Hades where Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisypchos are punished and to Hesiod's Tartarus where the titans are banished.

C. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER AND CONCLUSIONS

In this survey of Mesopotamian and Greek sources we encounter descriptions of geography and cosmology that are comparable to those of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the duplicate traditions. An initial observation is that the view of the world as a flat disk encircled by an ocean-stream as found in the Babylonian Mappa Mundi, Homer and Herodotus seems to lie behind the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 as well.

Near Eastern sources also show interest in extraordinary sites located at the geographical extremities. Both Gilgamesh and Enoch travel to the far west which is perhaps the entrance to realm of the dead. Gilgamesh, the Babylonian Mappa Mundi and 1 Enoch 17:2 make reference to a 'dark region.' That region as depicted on the Mappa Mundi lies to the far north of the inhabited world. It is most

probable that the dark region of 1 Enoch 17:2 lies to the north, and very possible that the 'path of the sun', a route through utter darkness featured in Epic of Gilgamesh 9, may also lie to the north.

Further, a paradise of sorts beyond the inhabited world and perhaps in the far east occurs in both the Epic of Gilgamesh and in 1 Enoch 32. In both accounts, paradise is not a place for ordinary humans to visit or to encounter after death. In the Epic of Gilgamesh the remote land is inhabited by Utnapishtim and his spouse; similarly in 1 Enoch 32, we learn only about Adam and Eve's time in the garden of Righteous. In the second section I present the possibility that the places in which the angels and stars are detained—the chasm of the fiery pillars and the desert beyond the foundation of the earth—in 1 Enoch 17–19 might be analogous to a mythic site from the ancient Near East. In these Near Eastern traditions, celestial beings were held in a location on the eastern horizon. The recurrence of this pattern urges us to consider that the celestial beings imprisoned in the Book of the Watchers may also have been confined in the east.

Greek sources from the Archaic and Classical periods provide much by way of similar geographical data. Like the biblical worldview, gods dwell on a northern peak. That same mountain might even serve as a paradise for the select few (cf. Ezekiel 28). Greek texts also describe a realm of the dead that appears to be both a shadowy netherworld and a place to the far west beyond Okeanos. Hades located below the earth recalls biblical perceptions of Sheol, but a realm of the dead located to the far west is most like the mountain prison of 1 Enoch 22. 1 Enoch 17:4–8 with its depiction of infernal rivers may also represent the western realm of the dead. Paradise, a place where the righteous dead may go like the Elysian Fields or Islands of the Blest, is a concept that we do not find in the Book of the Watchers. At most the righteous dead are treated to a spring of water in their mountain abode until judgment day. At that time, the righteous receive vindication at Zion located in the middle of the earth.

The Book of the Watchers is especially concerned with places of punishment and the afterlife, an important aspect of the *nekyia*, especially the later *nekyiai* of the Classical period. When we turn to the tour of 1 Enoch 17–19, we notice that the dialogue between the *angelus interpres* and Enoch concerns the holding cells for the watchers and stars. This interest in eschatological judgment is revisited in 1 Enoch 20–36 where we read about the places of punishment for

the watchers and stars again, the mountain abode for the dead, the place where the righteous will receive fruit of the tree of life (Zion) and the place where the wicked will be judged (Gehenna).

At the beginning of chapter two we noted that mental maps are constructed according to information at one's disposal, information that one gleans firsthand or receives from shared traditions. Since many of the peripheral sites of 1 Enoch 17–19 are not the product of direct knowledge, we have explored sources from the Enochic author's general milieu that could provide evidence of shared traditions available to the author and capable of informing his mental map. To conclude this chapter, I provide an evaluation of the biblical and non-biblical sources in terms of their compatibility to the worldview of 1 Enoch 17–19.

The biblical texts suggest a worldview in which mountains serve as a connecting point between the heavens and the earth.¹⁰⁹ These mountains, such as the northern peak that is also God's abode or Sinai, the place of theophany, occur at the geographical extremes of Israel's boundaries. Even Zion, God's dwelling place by virtue of the temple, is said to lie in the far north (Ps 48:3). Enoch also presents a worldview in which God and other celestial or extraordinary beings (the watchers, Enoch) ascend and descend via mountains. With the exception of Zion, these mountains also appear on the periphery.

Paradise or the garden of God with life-giving waters and a tree of life is another prominent site described in biblical texts. Though the concept of a far-off paradise may ultimately derive from the Near East, Eden in various manifestations (a garden in Genesis 2–3, a mountain in Ezekiel 28) occurs frequently in the biblical text. The motifs associated with paradise eventually come to be applied to Zion (Ezek 47:1–12). In the Book of the Watchers, Eden appears as a remote garden ('the garden of Righteousness'), apparently uninhabited (1 Enoch 32) and the motifs of paradise, the tree of life and stream of water are transposed to a future temple in Jerusalem (1 Enoch 25–26). Also interesting is that many of the cosmological items named in 1 Enoch 17–18 are reminiscent of natural phenomena described in Job. The mountains, paradise-like sites, and natural phenomena

¹⁰⁹ This is not to suggest that mountains had no significance in other cultures. Mountains have long been perceived as sacred places, or as an axis mundi, in a variety of cultures and religions. But I do mean to affirm that mountains more than other *topoi* play a highly visible role in Israelite perceptions of sacred space, especially with regard to theophany.

enumerated in 1 Enoch 17–18 and the duplicate traditions in 1 Enoch 24–25 suggest that Enoch was indeed acquainted with the worldview known also to various biblical authors.

At the same time much of 1 Enoch 17–19's worldview appears similar to that of Mesopotamia and ancient Greece. The outline of the earth bound by Okeanos especially suggests that the Enochic author was somewhat cosmopolitan in his outlook. The interest in places of judgment distinguishes 1 Enoch 17–19 and duplicate traditions most, however, from biblical predecessors. Sheol, though not a desirable place (cf. Sir 14:16), is no Tartarus, nor is it a Mesopotamian prison for celestial beings on the eastern horizon. A possible exception occurs in Isa 24:21–23 which discusses the imprisonment and punishment of the host of heaven and kings of the earth. The biblical text does not offer, however, any specific geographical information as to where the host of heaven and kings are to be kept, other than to say they will be imprisoned in a pit, a synonym for Sheol.¹¹⁰ With regard to the places of punishment, I am inclined to see the worldview behind 1 Enoch 17–19 as colored more by traditions of Mesopotamia and ancient Greece than by the biblical sources in question.

Finally, one might consider which journey from the ancient world the seer's tour in 1 Enoch 17–19 most resembles. 1 Enoch 17–19 shares a great deal with the prophet's tour of the temple in Ezekiel 40–48 in terms of form, and like Gilgamesh, Enoch's journeys take him to the edge of the world. Yet the Greek *nekylai* offer the most analogous journeys. 1 Enoch 17–18 and 24–25 present sites such as mountains that reach to heaven or the cornerstone of the earth in order to communicate God's majesty. But more than that, 1 Enoch 17–19, 21, and 24–25 express interest in the fate of the dead and the question of justice.

Such themes may well be anticipated in apocalypses like the Book of the Watchers. One recalls that the intent of apocalypses with cosmic tours is the revelation of the cosmos' secrets, as well as revelation of divine purpose.¹¹¹ Further, it is frequently noted that apocalyptic literature concerns the fate of the dead, especially that of the per-

¹¹⁰ The passage does not suggest an understanding of the pit (בֹּרַי) as a special place for the infamous wicked; it is also common in the Hebrew Bible to speak of Sheol as both a pit and a prison. See Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Dead and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, 66–70; 154–56.

¹¹¹ Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 21–22; see also above.

secuted.¹¹² Given the literature's interest in the fate of the dead, it is not surprising, notes Bauckham, that the seer journeys to infernal regions as he is transported throughout the cosmos.¹¹³ The visionary in apocalypses is taken to view places where the dead are now or where they will be after the last judgment.¹¹⁴ Yet, Bauckham observes, these visits do not exist in biblical literature.¹¹⁵ Contrary to one's expectations, Revelation 21–22's depiction of the New Jerusalem would not constitute a visit to the realm of the dead according to the literary form that Bauckham seeks to delineate; the literary form he traces does not concern visions of the future, as Revelation 21–22 does, but instead visions of sites associated with the afterlife and eschatology as they currently exists. In this respect, the interests of 1 Enoch 17–19 are quite similar to those of a *nekyia*. At the same time, however, we are reminded that apocalyptic literature in general displays a special concern with the fate of the dead.

¹¹² 'Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' 79.

¹¹³ 'Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' 79–80.

¹¹⁴ 'Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' 80.

¹¹⁵ 'Visiting the Places of the Dead in the Extra-Canonical Apocalypses,' 80.

CHAPTER FOUR

COSMOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY IN THE ENOCHIC CORPUS AND IN SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD AND LATE ANTIQUE TRADITIONS

A. COSMOLOGY AND THE ENOCHIC CORPUS

The Book of the Watchers, as one of the earliest apocalypses, is thought to have influenced later works from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods which appropriated the ascent and descent narratives as well as the journeys to the ends of the earth. While 1 Enoch 17–19's literary form was employed in subsequent Jewish and Christian works, we should also consider the extent to which the cosmology and geography of this work influenced later descriptions of the cosmos or, at the least, continued to be operative in the Enochic corpus and more generally in other texts of Second Temple Judaism. There are essentially two principal areas to be considered in this chapter. First, to what extent do works from the Second Temple period and in some cases from Late Antiquity feature comparable views of cosmology? Second, do these works also show interest in the types of geographical sites that figure prominently in the tours of 1 Enoch 17–19?

Prior to reviewing the cosmology of 1 Enoch 17–19, one should state that the chapters are not concerned with providing either a complete or consistent view of the world. In fact, the cosmology, which articulates to a great extent the work's eschatology, is neither the sole nor even, one might argue, a primary focus of these chapters. Thus, I do not maintain that the descriptions offered below present a systematic or entirely cohesive view of the cosmos, rather I present only observations one gleans from a close reading of the text. While in chapter one of the third section, I restricted my map of the geography to 1 Enoch 17–19, inasmuch as these chapters and their parallel traditions represent only a limited portion of the cosmos, it is helpful here to draw on other sections from the Book of the Watchers as well. Since 1 Enoch 17–19 does not treat the heavenly environs, other than the nature of the atmosphere, the ascent described in 1 Enoch 12–16 is a necessary supplement to this study of the cosmos. Further, since the journeys of Enoch in chapters 20–36 seem to

replicate in many respects 1 Enoch 17–19, they could prove very useful in reconstructing the cosmology behind the chapters under consideration. The cosmology of the Book of the Watchers, including 1 Enoch 17–19, tends, actually, toward a fair degree of consistency, even though the geography of the same exhibits greater variety.

The prominent Near Eastern and biblical model of the cosmos is tripartite, a view of the cosmos that, in many respects, 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers appear to accept.¹ According to this model, the cosmos consists of three levels: the netherworld (chthonic realm), the earth and the heavens. While 1 Enoch 17–19 especially provides descriptions about the realm of the dead and the world continent, the Book of the Watchers offers more explicit accounts of the heavenly region as well. As is the case with the tripartite model, 1 Enoch 6–16 suggests that there is above the earth only a single heaven populated by God and his agents, the angels; we have no reason to assume that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 thought otherwise. 1 Enoch 17–19 does not concern a heavenly ascent, though it does, however awkwardly in the current narrative, present a descent from the heavenly temple and a brief account of the atmosphere and meteorological phenomena.

One may presume that 1 Enoch 17–19, as well as the Book of the Watchers, envisioned the earth as a flat disk encircled by Okeanos. If one accepts the reading of 1 Enoch 17:6 in Gr^{Pan}, the ‘great river’ which, in turn, is surrounded by the ‘great darkness,’ makes an excellent candidate for Okeanos. The claim that the Book of the Watchers or 1 Enoch 17–19 understood the earth as a disk is more tenuous as there are no explicit indications to that effect. There is little to suggest, on the other hand, any other view of the earth’s shape, as we find, for example, in the descriptions of the works from Aristotle, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus in the Hellenistic period.² Furthermore, the reference to a great river that one encounters at the ends of the earth is comparable to both the Babylonian *marratu* and Greek Okeanos, rivers which encircled a landmass represented as a disk, a shape suggested to those in antiquity by the horizon. It is not too much of a leap, therefore, to assume a similar world view for 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers. One can be even more confident,

¹ On the tripartite model of the cosmos in the ancient Near East and in ancient Israel, see Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 30–37 and 53–58.

² See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 123.

though, that 1 Enoch 17–36 presents the world as flat. As Wright observes, 1 Enoch 17–36 allows one to travel only so far before reaching the ends of the earth; beyond the surface of the flat earth and the numinous zone which surrounds it, is only chasm (cf. 1 Enoch 18:11–12), a notion also familiar from the ancient Near East.³

At the ends of the earth Enoch encounters first water, most likely an Okeanos of sorts, and then darkness (1 Enoch 17:6; cf. 1 Enoch 32:2). If one follows the sequence of phenomena described in 1 Enoch 17:4–18:5 and understands Enoch to be traveling continuously toward the outermost region, the seer reaches winds and firmament beyond the darkness.⁴

At the same time, heaven is said to meet earth at the latter's boundaries (1 Enoch 18:10); more specifically it is the firmament of heaven that is located at the ends of the earth (1 Enoch 18:5b; 33:2). The storehouses of the winds, which play a role in sustaining the earth and firmament (1 Enoch 18:1–5a), as well as the gates through which they pass, may be found at the ends of the earth (1 Enoch 18:1; cf. 1 Enoch 33–36). The periphery, where Enoch observes the winds, also accommodates gates through which heavenly bodies pass.

These descriptions of the cosmos would seem to point to two differing views: heaven, perhaps understood as the firmament, meets earth at the edge of the landmass; or heaven ends beyond the 'great river.'⁵ The former view may imply that heaven in this context is actually the firmament, the barrier familiar from Gen 1:6–7, which rests upon the edge of the earth disk, while heaven, a watery mass beyond the firmament, merges with the 'great river.' The ambiguity regarding the Enochic perspective on the foundation of heaven may have been given expression in the variants of 1 Enoch 18:10. In Gr^{Pan} after reaching the end of the earth, Enoch encounters the place where the heavens are completed. Some Ethiopic mss, however, describe a place where the waters are gathered together beyond the 'great earth' (see chapter four of the second section). At this border of water or of sky is a chasm, the end of all natural phenomena (1 Enoch 18:11).

³ *Early History of Heaven*, 121.

⁴ One should recall, however, that 1 Enoch 18:1–5 is considered by some a later addition to the narrative. See above.

⁵ The firmament, רָקִיעַ, acts as a barrier separating the heavenly waters from the waters below according to Gen 1:6–8. Ancient Mesopotamian cosmologies also conceived of lower waters of the earth and celestial waters above the atmosphere. See the Enûma Elish; also Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 32–37.

Prior to this boundary, we observe that the periphery of the earth disk is dominated by unusual topographical features and extraordinary natural phenomena. Enoch finds there mountains, storehouses for celestial bodies and winds, and various sources of water. Beyond the earth disk, the 'great river,' heaven, and a chasm, however, one encounters a numinous zone, one that may well be signaled by a region of utter darkness (1 Enoch 17:6; 32:2).⁶ Most notable is that Enoch encounters a fearful realm beyond the chasm of 1 Enoch 18:11, where there are no vestiges of life. 1 Enoch 18:12 describes a place that lacks the firmament of heaven above, the earth below, water and sky. While the great darkness most likely indicates the realm of the dead,⁷ or at the least, a limit of some sort for mortals, the chasm beyond the darkness and the place beyond heaven, earth and water, serve as holding places for impious celestial creatures.

It is curious that 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers do not present a realm of the dead as one might expect from the ancient Near Eastern or biblical tripartite models. The tripartite view of the cosmos understands there to be a realm of the dead below the earth disk, such as Sheol. The Book of the Watchers envisions, instead, a place for the dead to the west, which is located beyond the inhabited world, and along a horizontal plane. The dead in the Book of the Watchers inhabit a dark realm (1 Enoch 17:6) or a mountain in the west (1 Enoch 22:1–13); the west, though, does serve as the traditional entrance to the netherworld in the ancient Near East. The early Greeks also appear to have held a modified view of the tripartite model so popular in ancient Israel and the Near East, in which the netherworld and then Tartarus were accessible at the ends of the earth.⁸ In the Book of the Watchers, however, the disembodied spirits of the human dead dwell in the mountain only temporarily and may anticipate both a future judgment and eventual new residence associated with recompense (1 Enoch 22).

⁶ According to Gr^{Pan} 1 Enoch 17:6, no living beings enter this realm. Again, the order of sites observed in 1 Enoch 17:4–18:5 and 1 Enoch 32–36 suggest that Enoch encounters heavenly phenomena after passing through the 'great darkness.' For a comparable Egyptian view of the cosmos in which total darkness lay beyond that regarded as heaven, see H. Brunner, 'Die Grenzen von Zeit und Raum bei den Ägyptern,' *Afo* 17 (1954–55), 141–45 and E. Hornung, 'Chaotische Bereiche in der geordneten Welt,' *ZÄS* 81 (1956): 28–32.

⁷ See 1 Enoch 17:6; cf. also 1 Enoch 22, where the realm of the dead occurs in the west, home to the setting sun.

⁸ See above; also Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 110.

The cosmology of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers is not consistently maintained throughout the Enochic collection of writings nor does it find many exact analogues in other Second Temple period works, though certain aspects are comparable. Most Second Temple period works reflect either what might be considered a Near Eastern and biblical view of the cosmos or Persian, Greek and Roman perspectives, ranging from the seventh century BCE to the beginning of the Common Era. Wright distinguishes these two types thus: the Near Eastern and subsequently the biblical model of the cosmos are tripartite as described above whereas the Persian, Greek and Roman sources from later periods offer diverse models.⁹ The latter category especially demonstrates a view of the cosmos that owes much to growing speculation and sophistication in the area of astronomy. Greek and Roman philosophers, astronomers, and geographers proposed models of the cosmos in which the earth was depicted in various shapes, multiple heavens prevailed, and the spirits of the deceased went heavenward. Since Wright, in fact, surveys a number of Jewish and Christian works from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods in order to determine their respective cosmologies, I offer only a brief summary including some of his observations as well as my own concerning the cosmologies in texts which are most reminiscent of the cosmology and geography in 1 Enoch 17–19.

The Astronomical Book and portions of the Similitudes suggest a view of the cosmos similar to that of the Book of the Watchers.¹⁰

⁹ *Early History of Heaven*, 98–116.

¹⁰ See the second chapter of the third section for a more detailed analysis of the Astronomical Book. Scholars think the Astronomical Book to be the oldest work in the Enochic collection, written around the third century BCE. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 7–8; 273–74. The Similitudes of Enoch are preserved only in Ethiopic and there remains no scholarly consensus with regard to the book's date or background. For instance, commentators have asked whether the Similitudes of Enoch are a Jewish or Christian work. For the latter view, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 91–96. More scholars think the composition to be Jewish in origin. See Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 67; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 221–23; Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, 'The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,' *HTR* 70:1–2 (1977): 51–65; esp. 55–58, and Michael Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review,' *NTS* 25 (1979): 345–59; esp. 350–52. While Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 91–96) dates the second section of 1 Enoch as late as 270 CE, others appear inclined to date the text to the first century BCE or CE. See Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 67; Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 188; Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, 29; Greenfield and Stone,

Again neither the Astronomical Book nor the Similitudes sets out to provide a systematic cosmology. The Astronomical Book and the first and third parables of the Similitudes (1 Enoch 38–44 and 1 Enoch 58–69) indicate, however, the tripartite model of the cosmos, reflecting to various degrees the expected single heaven, flat earth, and nether-world.¹¹ 1 Enoch 70–71 of the Similitudes suggests, on the other hand, a cosmology with multiple heavens.¹²

Enochic works also display an interest in the ends of the earth and elaborate on the exotic nature of the periphery. In the first parable of the Similitudes, Enoch commences his visionary activity at the ends of heaven; this suggests either that the seer travels to the ends of the earth or that Enoch ascends to the heavenly realm (1 Enoch 39:3).¹³ 1 Enoch 106–107, referred to frequently as the Birth of Noah, presents Enoch hidden away from humankind at the ends of the earth.¹⁴ Methusaleh must travel to the earth's periphery in order to consult Enoch about the unusual appearance of his newborn grandson, Noah.

Other Enochic works share acquaintance with the less benign places located along the periphery or even beyond the edges of the earth. The last chapter of 1 Enoch, 108, considered an enigmatic and later addition to the Epistle of Enoch, for example, features an

'The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,' 60; and Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review,' 358–59. Also Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 574. For a review of Milik's hypothesis, see VanderKam ('Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*,' 90–94), Nickelsburg, review of Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 417–18 and Greenfield and Stone, 'The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes.' The work itself suggests an amalgamation of several sources, thus lending to the complex history of the composition. See Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 64–65 and Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 184.

¹¹ See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 124–27. The Similitudes adopts, however, Hellenistic notions of the afterlife, in which souls of the righteous may ascend (1 Enoch 39) and dwell with angels while the impious, banished to Sheol, are subjected to punishment (1 Enoch 63).

¹² See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 140–42.

¹³ See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 124.

¹⁴ This section of the Epistle of Enoch is clearly from another author. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 55) considers these chapters, 1 Enoch 106–107, which are devoted to the story of Noah, a summary from a larger work devoted to the survivor of the flood. Further Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 57) thinks these chapters are an appendix to the entire Enochic collection, rather than to the Epistle of Enoch alone. For a substantive treatment of these chapters, including the dating of the Birth of Noah, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 536–50.

interesting description of the place where the wicked will be punished.¹⁵ The imprisonment of the impious occurs in a chaotic desert (1 Enoch 108:3), where there is no earth. In another instance, the third parable of the Similitudes knows of numinous sites seemingly located on the outskirts of the inhabited earth. Leviathan will inhabit the sea and to the east of the garden-paradise for the righteous, lies an empty wilderness, Dendayn, home to Behemoth (1 Enoch 60:7–8). While the sea in this context may be comparable to the ‘great river’ of 1 Enoch 17:6, the desert of 1 Enoch 60:8 has been considered in light of the holding place to the east where the watchers are held (1 Enoch 18:11).¹⁶

When considered as a whole the Enochic corpus preserves a conservative view of the cosmos that stems from tradition: the various works reflect especially the tripartite cosmology favored by biblical authors, who based their own models predominantly on those from the ancient Near East. The Enochic authors/redactors largely ignore the cosmologies of their Greek and Roman contemporaries, though they do seem to be acquainted with views of the afterlife that circulated in the Hellenistic period. It is also important to consider, however, that with the exception of the Astronomical Book, which is considered a work earlier than the Book of the Watchers, the Similitudes, the Birth of Noah (1 Enoch 106–107) and the last chapter of the Epistle of Enoch, 1 Enoch 108, may have been influenced in their portrayal of the ends of the earth by the cosmology presented in 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers.¹⁷ 1 Enoch 108 especially demonstrates that the cosmology and otherworldly tours of 1 Enoch 17–19 were still relevant and worthy of adaptation by Enochic circles of a later period.¹⁸

¹⁵ The chapter is not extant in either Greek or Aramaic. 1 Enoch 108, in fact, presents itself as “another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah, and for those who should come after him, and keep the law in the last days” (1 Enoch 108:1). Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 249.

¹⁶ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15, 30; see also chapter four of the second section.

¹⁷ With some examination, for example, one can discern the many ways in which the Similitudes of Enoch imitate the structure or order of events in the Book of the Watchers. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 184–85 and Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 90–91.

¹⁸ Charles (*Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 269) suggests that the author of 1 Enoch 108 may have been acquainted with the Book of the Watchers, or at least with parts of these works. The description of the prison for the sinners in 1 Enoch 108:3–5 appears to be based on the prison for the disobedient stars from 1 Enoch 18 and 21. In 1 Enoch 108, the prison is described as a chaotic desert, where there is no earth (ba-makāna badew za-’i-yāstar’i . . . ’i-hallo heyya medr). Similarly 1

B. COSMOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN
WORKS OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD AND LATE ANTIQUITY

Outside of the Enochic collection a few other texts from the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity share similar cosmological perspectives. Ben Sira, for example, recalls the classical tripartite model when he writes: "The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom—who can search them out?" (Sir 1:3)¹⁹ Wright also maintains that the relatively late Greek Apocalypse of Ezra may at one time have referred to the tripartite model of ancient Israel, though in its current form the text suggests a multi-heaven schema.²⁰ Especially provocative are the allusions to the four corners of the earth, suggestive of a flat earth (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 3:6) and the possibility that the author situates an eastern paradise with the tree of life at the ends of the earth as well (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:21).²¹ Similarly, Josephus reports that the Essenes, a group that may have been especially active in preserving Enochic literature, thought virtuous souls to reside after death in a pleasing abode beyond the ocean (Okeanos).²²

Enoch 18:12 presents the prison of the seven stars as "... a place where (there was) neither firmament of heaven above nor below it well founded earth, neither water under it, nor bird, but a deserted and fearful place" (... makāna wa-'i-šen'a samāy lā'lēhu wa-'i-mašarrata medr ba-tāhtēhu wa-'i-māya 'albo ba-lā'lēhu wa-'i-'a'wāfa 'allā makāna badew we'etu wa-gerum). The duplicate tradition, 1 Enoch 21:1–2 reads: wa-'odku 'eska-na xaba 'albotu za-yetgabbar. wa-ba-heyya re'iku gebra geruma re'iku wa-'i-samāya lā'la wa-'i-medra surerta 'allā makān za-'akko delew wa-gerum. The imagery 1 Enoch 108:4 applies to the tormented souls of the wicked, as burning, whirling mountains recall as well the disobedient stars of 1 Enoch 18 and 21 which are depicted as great burning mountains in this desert prison. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 552–53. Though the author seems familiar with the stars' prison from the Book of the Watchers, his acquaintance with the tradition appears very inaccurate. So Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 269. The author of 1 Enoch 108 turns the prison of the stars into a veritable Gehenna, which the deserted chaotic place of 1 Enoch 18 and 21 is clearly not (cf. 1 Enoch 27). Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 323) also suggests that the author of 1 Enoch 108 is developing ideas about Gehenna on the basis of the descriptions in 1 Enoch 18 and 21.

¹⁹ ὕψος οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλάτος γῆς καὶ ἄβυσσον καὶ σοφίαν τίς ἐξιχνιάσει;

²⁰ *Early History of Heaven*, 135–37. On the date and provenance of this work, see Stone, 'Greek Apocalypse of Ezra,' in *OTP* 1:561–70; esp. 563.

²¹ *Early History of Heaven*, 137. The place of eternal punishments, which is apparently Tartarus, also appears to be located in the east (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:23–27). Reminiscent of the impious angels who descended from heaven in order to mate and are charged with illicit boundary crossing (1 Enoch 15:2–10), the individual whom Ezra sees in torment is punished for 'transferring boundaries' (*Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:26).

²² *J. W.* 2.154–58.

Josephus's account points to the belief in a numinous realm beyond the inhabited earth and the river which encircles it, as we find in 1 Enoch 17.²³

There are other texts from the Second Temple period and from Late Antiquity, discussed above in the first chapter of this current section, that especially call to mind specific sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers. Thus, these works reflect the Book of the Watchers' sense of geography. The Book of Jubilees, we observed, emphasizes four sacred places on the earth (*Jub.* 4:26). Three of these, Garden of Eden, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion also figure prominently in the journeys of Enoch in the second half of the Book of the Watchers.²⁴ These same sites occurring respectively in 1 Enoch 32, 1 Enoch 18 (|| 1 Enoch 25) and 1 Enoch 26–27, however, are not depicted in analogous manners.²⁵

More precise parallels for the geographical tendencies of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the sites accentuated in these chapters, however, occur in the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah.²⁶ In this third century CE work, reflecting most probably an earlier apocalypse, a high place, burning with fire lies in the south, seven stars fighting with one another are to the east, and souls undergoing judgment are observed in the west. Similarly Enoch observes a burning mountain, which I identify as Mount Sinai, to the south (1 Enoch 18:6–9 || 1 Enoch 24:1–3; 25:3), seven stars held to the east (1 Enoch 18:12–16 || 1 Enoch 21:1–6), and the realm of the dead to the west (1 Enoch 17:6 || 1 Enoch 22). Bauckham also relates the sites detailed in the introduction to the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah to those in the Book

²³ Since Josephus compares the Essene view of the afterlife to the Greek notion of the Isle of the Blest, one might wonder about the extent to which Josephus tailors his account so as to make Essenes appear comprehensible to a Greco-Roman audience. On Josephus as an apologist, see Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Harvard Dissertations in Religion 7; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 17–27.

²⁴ The fourth sacred site highlighted by *Jub.* 4:26, the Mountain of the East, finds no parallel in the Book of the Watchers.

²⁵ 1 Enoch 32:3 refers to Eden of Genesis 2–3 as the garden of Righteousness, whereas Jubilees speaks of the garden of Eden, for example. Furthermore, while 1 Enoch 18 (|| 1 Enoch 25) and 26–27 allude to sacred places through descriptions alone, the author of Jubilees does not provide details about Mount Sinai or the environs of Zion, other than to suggest that Sinai is in the desert and Zion in the middle of the earth (*Jub.* 8:19).

²⁶ On the history of the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah and relevant bibliography, see chapter one, of the third section.

of the Watchers.²⁷ In this instance, one might argue more confidently for the literary dependence of the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah upon 1 Enoch 17–19, given the high degree of correspondence in geographical traditions, though in the later work development of these traditions is also clear.²⁸

Many apocalypses and other Second Temple period works, while not sharing the conservative cosmological perspective of the Book of the Watchers, still feature specific sites that pertain to eschatology or the afterlife, as well as a sense of geography, that are quite familiar from 1 Enoch 17–19. Indeed, it is highly likely that some of these works have been influenced by the Book of the Watchers and by 1 Enoch 17–19's portrayal of an otherworldly journey, or have drawn from a stock of imagery common to apocalypses.²⁹

Several works, demonstrating familiarity with what might be deemed the innovative cosmology popular among Greek and Roman philosophers, especially seem to share 1 Enoch 17–19's notion that the ends of the earth provided accessibility to places associated with the afterlife. The Testament of Abraham, recension A, is an example of a Hellenized work in which the pseudepigraphical hero Abraham is able to gaze down upon the inhabited world from a realm of ether located above the atmosphere.³⁰ Yet, the text's sense of direction may recall Near Eastern and subsequently, Enochic traditions about the location of places of punishment and reward. Disembodied souls after death travel to a place in the east (the easternmost region of the ethereal realm) where heaven and earth intersect (*T. Ab. Rec. A* 11:1).³¹ To the right, the soul encounters a path leading to destruction,

²⁷ 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell,' 363 and *Fate of the Dead*, 57–58.

²⁸ For example, disembodied spirits appear to be kept in the realm of the dead to the west in 1 Enoch 17:6 and 1 Enoch 22, but are not described as subject to judgment in this location.

²⁹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 127–68 and *Ascent to Heaven*, 29.

³⁰ For a translation of the text, see Stone, trans., *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Recensions* (Text and Translations 2; Pseudepigrapha Series 2; Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972). Though its extant forms are Christianized, the Testament of Abraham is most likely a Jewish text in origin, perhaps from the first century, CE. See E. P. Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham,' in *OTP* 1:871–81; esp. 874–75. On the Testament of Abraham's provenance and date, see also Mathias Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham: Introduction, traduction du texte grec et commentaire de la recension grecque longue* (SVTP 2; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 63–76.

³¹ Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 153. Cf. also Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham*, 132–33 who discusses as well the rationale for an eastern locale.

while to the left, the path leads to paradise. At this proverbial fork in the road, the soul's fate is decided (*T. Ab. Rec. A* 11–12). It is not clear exactly where the author thought the place of life, paradise, or the place of destruction and eternal punishment to lie. In fact, the Testament of Abraham, recension A, only depicts the site of judgment itself, not the place where souls reside or are punished in the afterlife.³² Still it is noteworthy that both the place of reward, paradise, and the place of punishment are accessed by a gate located in the east.

In contrast, recension B, the shorter of the extant forms of the Testament of Abraham, reflects distinctly the Near Eastern and biblical model of cosmology. Here the earth is undoubtedly depicted as flat and there appears to be only one heaven. In this version of the testament, the archangel Michael takes Abraham to the earth-encircling Okeanos, where the righteous and wicked are separated (*T. Ab. Rec. B* 8). The site of this preliminary judgment which leads to reward or punishment occurs at the ends of the earth, reminiscent of the location of the holding places in 1 Enoch 17–19. The Testament of Abraham gives no further indication, however, as to the exact location or general direction of this place of judgment at Okeanos. Wright considers recension B's Okeanos similar to recension A's place of judgment in the east: both serve as functional boundaries between the earth and heaven, or one might also suggest, between the inhabited world and the numinous.³³

Especially fascinating is the Apocalypse of Paul, a third or fourth century CE work.³⁴ Though the apocalypse was originally composed in Greek, it is best preserved in Latin and Coptic manuscript traditions.

³² Sanders ('Testament of Abraham,' 880), in fact, observes that the Testament of Abraham distinguishes itself from other apocalypses and 'tours' in that it lacks descriptions of places of rewards and punishments for the deceased, which typically help underscore parenesis.

³³ *Early History of Heaven*, 154.

³⁴ Several scholars have assigned to the apocalypse a third century CE date of composition. See, for example, R. Casey, 'The Apocalypse of Paul,' *JTS* 34 (1933): 1–32; Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Early Christian Apocalypses,' *Semeia* 14, 61–121; esp. 85–86 and also Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 16–19 and 'The Experience of the Visionary and Genre in the Ascension of Isaiah 6–11 and the Apocalypse of Paul,' *Semeia* 36 (1986): 97–111; esp. 104–6. Kirsti Barrett Copeland, however, presents a persuasive case that the work is a product of late fourth century Egypt. See her 'Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001), 20–50. See also Hugo Duensing and Aurelio de Santos Otero, 'Apocalypse of Paul,' in *New Testament Apocrypha* (rev. ed.; ed. Edgar Hennecke, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Cambridge/Louisville, Kent.: James Clarke/Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991–92), 2.712–48.

Though most likely later than the other texts we are considering for their presentations of cosmology and geography, the Apocalypse of Paul makes reference to several sites familiar from the Book of the Watchers, including chapters 17–19. Places such as Tartarus (*Apoc. Paul* §18), the ‘land of promise’ (*Apoc. Paul* §21), and Lake Acherusia (an infernal river transformed into baptismal waters for the dead; *Apoc. Paul* §22) contribute to the theme of personal eschatology that is taken up by the apocalypse; at the same time, the locales are reminiscent of the Enochic concern with the realm of the dead.

Though reflecting a multiple heaven schema, the apocalypse presents a view of cosmology not unlike that of 1 Enoch 17–19. The land mass of earth is surrounded by Ocean (Okeanos) where heaven meets the encircling river (*Apoc. Paul* §21; §31). Beyond Ocean is the dazzling ‘land of promise,’ where the souls of the righteous reside for a time.³⁵ The souls of the unrighteous, however, await the day of judgment amid wailing and gnashing of teeth in a realm of outer darkness (*Apoc. Paul* §16).³⁶ We learn later that this dark realm of punishment lies to the west, where the sun sets, and is located beyond the Ocean (*Apoc. Paul* §31). Other righteous souls, namely noteworthy biblical characters, however, reside in a garden-paradise, perhaps to be equated with the biblical Eden of Genesis 2–3 (*Apoc. Paul* §45).³⁷ Though no location for this garden paradise is provided, Wright suggests it could lie to the east at the ends of the earth as a balance to the infernal regions in the west.³⁸

An obvious parallel with the Book of the Watchers is the view of the earth as a landmass surrounded by a cosmic river. As in 1 Enoch 17:6, one encounters a realm of darkness beyond the Ocean in the

³⁵ This temporary paradise is to be distinguished from the City of Christ (*Apoc. Paul* §§23–30). See Copeland, ‘Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,’ 121–48, who explores in detail the respective natures and inhabitants of the Land of Promise and the City of Christ. One is reminded that the realm of the dead provided only a temporary resting place prior to judgment according to 1 Enoch 22 as well.

³⁶ Since the angel Tartaruchus is appointed over these souls, one might conclude that the outer darkness is to be identified with Tartarus. See *Apoc. Paul* §16 and cf. *Apoc. Paul* §§18 and 40.

³⁷ See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 162; but also Copeland, ‘Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,’ 124–25, who notes that Edenic imagery is applied to the description of the ‘land of promise’ (*Apoc. Paul* §22).

³⁸ *Early History of Heaven*, 162. Cf. also *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5:21. Wright observes that this paradise, located at the edges of the earth or just beyond the Ocean, is different from the paradise in the third heaven that Paul visits later in *Apoc. Paul* §45.

Apocalypse of Paul.³⁹ To the west of this cosmic boundary lies a land of the dead as one finds in 1 Enoch 17:6, where, according to 1 Enoch 22, human dead, both righteous and impious, await the day of judgment.⁴⁰ Enoch later encounters to the east, beyond a body of water—though not clearly Okeanos—and beyond a region of darkness, the garden of Righteousness where Adam and Eve resided (1 Enoch 32). If Wright is correct in identifying the paradise inhabited by biblical figures in *Apoc. Paul* §45 as comparable to Eden and in locating the site at the easternmost edges of the earth, we have another significant resemblance between the geographical traditions in the Book of the Watchers and the Apocalypse of Paul.

In addition to these comparable views of the edges of the earth, other texts, like Jubilees, feature mountains that serve as conduits to

³⁹ Copeland ('Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,' 56–59) challenges the extent to which the Apocalypse of Paul draws upon the geographical traditions of the Book of the Watchers, calling attention to several important differences between the works. One difference that is significant to Copeland's contrast between geography in the Book of the Watchers and the Apocalypse of Paul concerns the role of Ocean. Copeland describes Ocean in the Apocalypse of Paul as separating the inhabited land from the realm of the dead and as serving as the base for the firmament of heaven. The Book of the Watchers' great ocean to the west (presumably from 1 Enoch 17:5), should be identified with the Atlantic Sea and not Okeanos, argues Copeland ('Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,' 57). Further, the Book of the Watchers does not present Okeanos as the foundation for the heavens; winds or the ends of the earth provide that function ('Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,' 58). Yet, Copeland does not make mention of the 'great river' of Gr^{pan} 1 Enoch 17:6 which precedes the 'great darkness' as a possible match for Okeanos, focusing instead on the great sea to the west described in 1 Enoch 17:5. I agree with her conclusion that the 'great sea' of 1 Enoch 17:5 is not the best match for Okeanos, but suggest, rather, that the 'great river' of 17:6 functions as the earth-encircling river that cuts off the 'great darkness,' realm of the dead or numinous zone, from the land of the living. I also note above that one possible interpretation of the cosmology in 1 Enoch 17–19 is that while the firmament, the barrier separating the waters of heaven from the earth, rests on the edges of the earth (1 Enoch 18:5), the heavens understood as composed of water, may meet at and unite with the 'great river' (cf. 1 Enoch 18:10). While not challenging Copeland's hypothesis that the Apocalypse of Paul does not depend upon the Book of the Watchers in formulating its view of the edges of the earth, one is struck, nonetheless, by the appropriation of similar sites by both texts—perhaps independent of each other—that depict places associated with the afterlife.

⁴⁰ The disembodied souls of both the righteous and the sinners are held in caverns or pits in the western mountain; the only difference in accommodations appears to be the spring of water the righteous enjoy in this temporary abode. Cf. 1 Enoch 22. Copeland is right to point out that the dead already partake more explicitly of rewards or punishments in the temporary dwelling places assigned to them according to the Apocalypse of Paul. See her 'Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre, and History,' 56.

the divine realm, much like 1 Enoch 17–19. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah, a Jewish work from the first century BCE to the first century CE that was preserved in Christian circles, features prominently a mountain in the south.⁴¹ This mountain, Seir, is depicted as a place where heaven and earth meet and as the site of judgment (*Apoc. Zeph.* 3). Zephaniah is led by an angel to Mount Seir, where he views angels recording the deeds of people. The author of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, was familiar most likely with Mount Seir, the mountain of God according to Judg 5:4.⁴² Deut 33:2 also associates Seir with Sinai and its environs.⁴³ Though Wright thinks it improbable that the author of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah knew of the biblical tendency to relate Seir with Sinai, it is still noteworthy that this mountain is understood to be a site of judgment, and perhaps theophany, in the south.⁴⁴ Sinai, as we observed, also functions in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1:4, 18:8 and 25:3) as a mountain where God will descend and bring justice to earth.⁴⁵

In addition to this notable mountain in the south, we encounter in another tradition from the Second Temple period a reference to a mountain in the north serving as a conduit to heaven. In the fragmentary Aramaic Levi document the spirit of the Lord comes to the seer at Abel-Main (2:3).⁴⁶ One recalls that Abel-Main is the place where the penitent watchers mourn in 1 Enoch 13:9. In the Greek Testament of Levi, however, the seer has a vision of ascending into heaven from Mount Hermon (*Greek T. Levi* 6:1). This event is also

⁴¹ O. S. Wintermute ('Apocalypse of Zephaniah,' in *OTP* 1:497–515; esp. 500–1 and 510, n. 3b), suggesting that the reference to Mount Seir signals the pro-Edomite stance of the author, argues that the apocalypse was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah, while partially preserved in Coptic, is presumed to have been composed in Greek originally. See also Albert-Marie Denis, 'Les fragments grecs de l'Apocalypse de Sophonie,' in *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs D'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 192–93, on the date and provenance of this work.

⁴² See Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 157.

⁴³ On Mount Seir and Sinai as part of the 'March in the South' traditions, see Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 114–20.

⁴⁴ See *Early History of Heaven*, 264, n. 68.

⁴⁵ Like the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 32) and the Apocalypse of Paul (*Apoc. Paul* §21), Zephaniah must cross a vast body of water, which Wright relates to earth-encircling Okeanos, in order to arrive at the land of the righteous (*Apoc. Zeph.* 8). See *Early History of Heaven*, 157. The imagery of a body of water at the earth's edges that leads to a numinous zone again recalls the cosmology of 1 Enoch 17.

⁴⁶ The Testament of Levi and its references to cosmic mountains in the north are treated above in the first chapter of section 2.

reminiscent of the watchers' descent (1 Enoch 6) and presumably Enoch's ascent (13:7–8) from the same mountain. These texts associated with Levi, like 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers, know of the ancient tradition of a northern mountain of God that serves as or leads to the heavenly abode of the divine.⁴⁷

C. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER AND CONCLUSIONS

From this brief examination of Second Temple period works, we see that no one work replicates exactly the cosmology or geographical interests of 1 Enoch 17–19, though the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah certainly comes close. Even within the Enochic corpus itself, the cosmos as well as sacred sites are often transformed—as one finds in 1 Enoch 108's depiction of an eastern place of punishment beyond the edges of the earth—or reflect other paradigms, such as the multiple heaven schema in portions of the Similitudes.

Yet we should not expect to find many texts which consistently maintain or slavishly follow 1 Enoch 17–19's cosmology or sense of geography. Wright's astute observations regarding the lack of consensus on the structure of the heavenly realm in early Judaism and Christianity seem appropriate to recall in our study as well. Every text, though generally reflecting a cosmology derived from either the ancient Near Eastern (and biblical) model or the Greco-Roman model of the cosmos, partakes of its own idiosyncrasies. Each work reflects the imagination of that text's author and the historical context from which it emerges, including religious and 'scientific' trends at hand. The cosmology and manner in which space is construed are also tailored to suit the literary and theological goals of the author.⁴⁸

At the same time, this survey demonstrates that 1 Enoch 17–19 is not entirely *sui generis* in its depiction of geography or in its interest in the ends of the earth. As we observed in chapters two and three of this third section, the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 acquires geographical sensibilities, sacred sites, and cosmology from Near Eastern, biblical and Greek traditions. Many of these same traditions would be available to the authors of other apocalypses as well.

⁴⁷ Cf. also Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 188.

⁴⁸ Cf. Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 200.

The depiction of the cosmos as tripartite or the view that the earth is a flat disk encircled by a great river were familiar images in the Near East and classical Greece. The view of the earth as a flat disk surrounded by an ocean did not originate within Enochic circles nor did this trend end with the Book of the Watchers. We should not be surprised to find similar depictions of the cosmos in works which follow 1 Enoch 17–19 and indeed, many Jewish and Christians writings of the Second Temple and Late Antique periods still feature Okeanos as a distinctive boundary. The interest in eschatology and afterlife, manifest so plainly in the otherworldly journeys of the Book of the Watchers, was shared by Hellenistic Jews and early Christians, contributing also to continued speculation about the realm of the dead. In addition to the ascents to heaven and descents to hell which allowed apocalypticists opportunities to explore paradisiacal and infernal landscapes further, some works continued to send their protagonists to the edges of the earth. Thus, even later works featuring multiple heavens (e.g. Apocalypse of Paul) often locate places of recompense for the righteous and wicked beyond Okeanos and the region of darkness, as we find 1 Enoch 17:6. In other instances, Okeanos becomes the site of judgment (Testament of Abraham, recension B).

The significance of directions—east, where the sun rises, is linked to paradise while west, where the sun sets, signals death—also is not original to 1 Enoch 17–19, and could well have been assumed by other journey accounts as well. The far west, connected to the infernal region, becomes a place of punishment in the Apocalypse of Paul, and where souls undergo judgment in the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah. The east, likewise, recalling the realm of the dead or a place of recompense, is associated with judgment in the Testament of Abraham, recension A, and with paradise in the Greek Apocalypse of Ezra. Finally, prominent sites like Eden, Mount Sinai, Seir and Zion, could be deemed worthy of inclusion in Jewish and Christian works of later times, as in Jubilees and the Testament of Zephaniah, if only because these places merited mention first in biblical traditions.

It is possible that 1 Enoch 17–19 and the Book of the Watchers contributed to the imagery that would be recycled in later apocalypses. Also probable is that the authors of other apocalypses, like the person responsible for 1 Enoch 17–19, drank deeply from the well of traditional motifs and images while still absorbing and appropriating

from their environment and context new information about geography, sacred sites, and cosmology. It is certain, at least, that other apocalypses and works from the Second Temple and Late Antique periods were products of a complex Mediterranean environment, one infused by echoes of the Near East, as well as Persian, Judean and Hellenistic influences, similar to the milieu out of which 1 Enoch 17–19 emerged.

SECTION FOUR
CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY
OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

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SECTION FOUR

CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

A. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

At the beginning of the monograph, we observed that in spite of the many fascinating sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19, the narration of the journey can be quite opaque. The chapters present themselves like an abbreviated travelogue and, with only a cursory reading, it is very difficult to reconstruct from obscure descriptions the course of Enoch's journey and the geography that stands behind the various sites appearing in 1 Enoch 17–19. A discussion of genre suggests that these chapters from the Book of the Watchers be considered an apocalypse; we noted, however, that the Greco-Roman genre *nekryia* is also appropriate for 1 Enoch 17–19 given the focus on tours to places of punishment.

In the second section we examined the text with an aim of explicating the various sites described in 1 Enoch 17–19. The dark region of 1 Enoch 17:2 is most likely a region to the far north where the sun is not seen. The mountain reaching to the heavens is a plausible match for Zaphon, the northern mountain of God in Canaanite and subsequent biblical traditions. It is possible that Enoch descends from the heavenly temple (1 Enoch 16:4) to earth via this mountain of God in the north. Given the prominence of Hermon in the Book of the Watchers, perhaps the author intimates that Hermon is the northern mountain portrayed in 17:2. Enoch then travels west to the realm of the dead (1 Enoch 17:4–8), a site that is described in more detail in 1 Enoch 22. Following a tour of sites related to the winds (1 Enoch 18:1–5), Enoch travels south to Sinai where he is told a future theophany will occur (1 Enoch 18:6–9). Finally Enoch travels to the east, to a sort of Tartarus, where the watchers and disobedient stars are imprisoned (1 Enoch 18:10–19:2).

The cosmic tour of 1 Enoch 17–19 is one that includes all directions, but most specifically, the tour calls attention to sites that highlight God's majesty or are associated with eschatology. The mountain with its summit reaching to heaven (1 Enoch 17:2), home to the

storehouses of luminaries (1 Enoch 17:3) and in proximity to fiery shape-shifting beings (1 Enoch 17:1), calls to mind the sovereignty and remoteness of God. The same may be said of the meteorological phenomena, the various winds that support and serve the cosmos, and the cornerstone of the earth: all are in the purview of God alone, according to wisdom literature such as Job. In the Book of the Watchers these sites or phenomena also remind us of God's omnipotence. In addition to God, only the seer among humankind is witness to these secrets of the cosmos depicted in 1 Enoch 17:3 and 18:1–5 (cf. 1 Enoch 19:3). We also learn of God's descent upon his mountain-throne in the south (1 Enoch 18:6–8). In the parallel traditions, God descends there when he visits the earth for blessing (1 Enoch 25:3; 77:1).

Sites related to God's majesty and command of the cosmos are juxtaposed with places of death, judgment and punishment. Though only minimally described in 1 Enoch 17:4–8, the realm of dead in the west is revisited in greater detail in 1 Enoch 22. In the parallel tradition, we learn more about God's role as judge, distinguishing humans in death according to their deeds. Enoch's Tartarus, a chasm full of fiery pillars and a deserted realm beyond the earth's foundation, exists as a place to imprison and punish disobedient angels and stars (1 Enoch 18:9–19:2).

In the third section, we explored the issue of mental maps and how they are constructed. Verbal descriptions from the Enochic corpus are translated into maps by Grelot, Milik and Stock-Hesketh. Their maps are dissimilar from the map developed in this study, especially since the textual bases are different. My own map is restricted to the geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. The map that I put forward, like those of Grelot and Milik, shows the earth as a flat disk surrounded by a circular ocean. The worldview, as I reconstruct it for 1 Enoch 17–19, is one especially dominated by sacred sites. These sites related to judgment, punishment, future reward, and God's return are normally inaccessible and serve to reassure readers of God's control over the world.

In the second and third chapters of this section, we considered other traditions that possibly reflect comparable worldviews. The mountains related to theophany, paradise-like sites, and natural phenomena enumerated in 1 Enoch 17–18 and the duplicate traditions, 1 Enoch 24–25, suggest that Enoch was indeed acquainted with the worldview known also by various biblical authors. The interest in

places of judgment or in places associated with post-mortem punishment most distinguishes 1 Enoch 17–19 and duplicate traditions, however, from biblical predecessors. These traditions are more reminiscent of Tartarus or a Mesopotamian prison for celestial beings on the eastern horizon than they are of Sheol. Similar to the Greek *nekylia* there is a special fascination in 1 Enoch 17–19, also in 1 Enoch 21–36, with places of punishment and places associated with post-mortem judgment. Also like the Epic of Gilgamesh and the Odyssey, 1 Enoch 17–19 demonstrates an interest in a protagonist journeying to the ends of the earth.

In the fourth chapter we observed that the cosmology and geography of 1 Enoch 17–19 continued to be operative in the Enochic corpus and are reflected occasionally in other texts of the Second Temple period and of Late Antiquity. Several works assume the Near Eastern and biblical tripartite model of the cosmos, as the Book of the Watchers does. Even those texts exhibiting the latest cosmologies of Greek and Roman speculation, which usually are distinguished by multiple heavens, share 1 Enoch 17–19's interest in the edges of the earth. Several apocalypses make use of notable sites from the Hebrew Bible, just as the Book of the Watchers does. Yet, we concluded by noting that such similarities are less likely to be due to literary dependence upon 1 Enoch 17–19 than to a comparable provenance; the works, like chapters 17–19, emerge out of a complex Mediterranean environment, influenced by Near Eastern, Persian, Judean and Hellenistic traditions.

B. 1 ENOCH 17–19 IN CONTEXT

The social location of the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and of the community which first preserved or disseminated the text merits further discussion. Most commentators agree that these chapters, and most likely the whole of the Book of the Watchers, were produced prior to the establishment of the community at Qumran. To be sure, we can deduce a great deal more about the people who lived at Qumran than we can about the people who produced early Enochic literature prior to the founding of that community in the Judean desert.¹ We are left wondering who produced a text like 1 Enoch 17–19 and

¹ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 64–65.

the Book of the Watchers.² Previous research undertaken on the issue of social location tends to concern the authors of the Book of the Watchers, especially of 1 Enoch 6–16, instead of the authorship of the more narrowly defined unit 1 Enoch 17–19; thus, we survey initially what scholars have suggested about those authors and redactors responsible for the Book of the Watchers, before taking up the issue of the social location for the author of chapters 17–19.³

In spite of the fact that the antediluvian setting and pseudepigraphical attribution work to obscure the book's true background, there have been several attempts to describe the social location of the authors of the Book of the Watchers. Nickelsburg suggests that elements in the description of the seer, in part, may suggest "some cautious inferences about the authors."⁴ In other words, by examining the way Enoch is characterized in the Book of the Watchers we may gain insight into the authors' situation or be able to shed light on the community's concerns. Himmelfarb and Nickelsburg, for example, have explored Enoch as a priestly figure in the Book of the Watchers.⁵ The question has also been raised whether the authors and the Enochic community, in part, were disaffected priests, inasmuch as the Book of the Watchers seems to criticize subtly the Jerusalem priesthood.⁶

² See Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), for a recent noteworthy attempt to delineate more precisely the community behind the Enochic texts. Boccaccini thinks that those at Qumran only constitute a fraction of the group we refer to as Essenes. Other Essenes from this period, even prior to the establishment of the community at Qumran, Boccaccini argues are Enochic Jews. For a critical review of Boccaccini's study, see Tigheelaar, review of G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, *JSS* 31 (2000): 308–11.

³ On the existence of an Enochic community, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 64. As Nickelsburg notes, although there is not much explicit evidence in the Book of the Watchers to assist us in defining the community, we can assume that a community existed since the text refers to a specific group of persons as 'the chosen' and 'the righteous.' Cf. respectively 1 Enoch 5:8 and 10:17.

⁴ *1 Enoch*, 65.

⁵ Respectively *Ascent to Heaven*, 23–28 and 'Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,' 584–85. See also Nickelsburg, '1 Enoch and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and Some Prospects for Answers,' in *SBLSP* 25 (ed. K. H. Richards; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 341–60; esp. 358–59. Cf. *Jub.* 4:25 in which Enoch, offering incense, resembles a priest.

⁶ On the matter of priestly concerns in 1 Enoch, cf. Stone, 'The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century BCE,' 73 and Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 28. Boccaccini (*Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 71–79; 185) sees the Enochic community as priestly in origin, but describes them as an anti-Zadokite tradition from the Second Temple period; the Enochic priests considered themselves to be from a more ancient

Enoch has also been characterized as a sage who is learned in the ways of God, wisdom, and cosmology, topics which describe the interest of the authors as well.⁷ In a similar vein, the Book of the Watchers refers to Enoch explicitly as a scribe (cf. 1 Enoch 12:3–4; 15:1).⁸ With regard to the role or place of the scribe in antiquity, Richard Horsley observes that since there was a low rate of literacy, it was primarily the scribe who could read and write, producing and leaving works like 1 Enoch.⁹ Horsley suggests, concerning the Epistle of Enoch, that the work was produced by an individual or small circle of scribes, who would have been among the educated elite rather than part of a community or sect.¹⁰ Though his comments pertain to the Epistle of Enoch, Horsley's observations about the scribal office could also be applicable to the social milieu of the period during which the Book of the Watchers was being produced and redacted; Suter, for example, attributes 1 Enoch 6–16 to scribal circles as well.¹¹

It should be stated that we have much yet to learn about the nature of the priesthood in the Second Temple period and likewise, about the social location and interests of the sage and the scribe.¹²

priestly line. See also Benjamin Wright III, 'Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira,' in *SBLSP* 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 133–49; esp. 142–44. With regard to a critique of the priesthood, David Suter suggests that the story of the watchers' impropriety in mixing with women offers a polemic against priests of the Second Temple engaged in exogamy. See his 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16,' *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 67.

⁷ R. Argall provides a thorough study of 1 Enoch in light of wisdom traditions, especially as they are embodied in Ben Sira. See his *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995). See also Nickelsburg, "'Enoch" as Scientist, Sage, and Prophet: Content, Function, and Authorship in 1 Enoch,' in *SBLSP* 38 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 203–30; esp. 227.

⁸ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 65–67.

⁹ See 'Social Relations and Social Conflict in the Epistle of Enoch,' in *For a Later Generation: The Transformations of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, R. A. Werline; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 100–15; esp. 103.

¹⁰ Horsley ('Social Relations and Social Conflict in the Epistle of Enoch,' 110) notes the conservative side to scribes and sages whom he describes as guardians and interpreters of sacred Israelite traditions, including Mosaic covenant principles; they were economically dependent upon rulers of the temple-state or aristocracy. At most, he concludes, the individual(s) responsible for the Epistle of Enoch were a small clique of dissident scribes, not a movement. 'Social Relations and Social Conflict in the Epistle of Enoch,' 115.

¹¹ See 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,' 134.

¹² The sage has been described as a teacher of wisdom that was especially universal in its focus. See James Kugel, 'Ancient Biblical Interpretation and the Biblical Sage,'

Figures such as Ezekiel (prophet and priest) and Ezra (a scribal priest) from the Hebrew Bible indicate that many of the aforementioned roles were not mutually exclusive in the post-exilic period. As some have observed, Enoch's profile, as it is presented in the Book of the Watchers, is not unlike the visionary Ezekiel¹³ and Ezra, insofar as he acts as intercessor.¹⁴ Yet Enoch is not referred to explicitly as a priest and unlike Ezra, 'scribe skilled in the Law of Moses' (ספר מוֹדִיר בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה; cf. Ezra 7:6), Enoch is referred to as a 'scribe of righteousness' (γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης; cf. 1 Enoch 12:4). With regard to the social location of the authors of the Book of the Watchers, they are, like Enoch, scribal figures. Similar to the scribe presented in many biblical and Second Temple period texts, the authors and redactors of selections of the Book of the Watchers demonstrate acumen with the written word, especially through mastery and adaptation of Scripture.¹⁵ Here one could refer specifically to 1 Enoch 6–11, perhaps the original nucleus of the Book of the Watchers, which

in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. J. L. Kugel; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–27; esp. 7–15. According to Kugel ('Ancient Biblical Interpretation and the Biblical Sage,' 6–7), the sage became in the post-exilic period also an interpreter of Scripture, including biblical law. For a description of the scribe and respective duties, see Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 136–38; also Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), 67–71 and Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:78–81. See also Sir 39:1–4 (cf. Sir 38:24 as well) for a portrait of the scribe in antiquity.

¹³ Ezekiel's visionary experiences of the divine may have contributed to descriptions of those in the Book of the Watchers. Cf. esp. Ezekiel 1 and 10. See Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 9–28, for correspondences between the Book of Ezekiel and the Book of the Watchers. Cf. also Ben Zion Wacholder, 'Ezekiel and Ezekielianism as Progenitors of Essenianism,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 186–96 who suggests a further relationship between Ezekiel and sectarian literature, including the Book of the Watchers. Ezekiel's 'sons of Zadok' are, according to Wacholder, a movement opposed to the priestly authorities who controlled the Temple. See 'Ezekiel and Ezekielianism as Progenitors of Essenianism,' 191–94.

¹⁴ Noted parallels include the description of both figures as scribes (Ezra 7:1–6, 11, 21; Neh 8:9 || 1 Enoch 12:3; 15:1) and as intercessors (Ezra 9 || 1 Enoch 13–16). See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 67, Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 25, and Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest.'

¹⁵ On the use of Scripture in the Book of the Watchers, see VanderKam, 'The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch' in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P. W. Flint with assistance of T. H. Kim; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 129–48 and also his 'Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees,' in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Charlesworth and Evans; JSPSup 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 96–125. Cf. also Kenneth E. Pomykala, 'A Scripture Profile of the Book of the Watchers,' in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 263–84.

seems to work from and interpret Gen 6:1–4, and 1 Enoch 1–5, most likely the latest stratum of the Book of the Watchers, which alludes to, or quotes, according to Hartman, portions of the Pentateuch as well as prophetic texts.¹⁶

When we consider, however, chapters 17–19 as an independent literary unit, as was argued in the first section of the monograph, we can be even less confident about the social location of the author. Enoch is presented in this unit primarily as a seer or a visionary; there are no obvious indications from 1 Enoch 17–19 to connect Enoch or the authors of 1 Enoch 17–19 to the priesthood or to priestly concerns.¹⁷ Chapters 17–19 demonstrate the author's interest in the cosmos and in the ends of the earth, which we might consider topics of speculation for a sage. The author of these chapters might also be thought to be a scribe, if literacy is the primary criterion required for the role. Yet, beyond literacy, it is difficult to deduce more about the nature of the scribal position from 1 Enoch 17–19 alone.

Scribes have been described as elite members of society, who would be in a position to travel and interact with others in diplomatic missions, and would, hence, have the opportunity to encounter Near Eastern and Greek traditions, be it their sacred stories or manner of depicting the world and cosmos.¹⁸ As suggested in the Summary of Results, there appear to be enough points of contact to suggest that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 was familiar with traditions from the Near East and from Greece. While it is possible that the author was knowledgeable about these foreign traditions through travel or through interaction in diplomatic contexts, we cannot exclude the prospect that the author could have been exposed to Near Eastern or Greek culture in Judea and elsewhere in the land of Israel during the early fourth and third century BCE.¹⁹

¹⁶ See VanderKam, 'Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch,' 136–40 and 'Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees,' 96–125, and Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 22–38. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 57) also suggests that knowledge of the prophetic corpus is reflected in 1 Enoch 5:5–9, 10:16–22, and 25:5–6.

¹⁷ Crispin Fletcher-Louis has argued, however, that 1 Enoch 2–19, the product of the Jerusalem priesthood, alludes to Israel's autumnal New Year festivals (the Wood offering, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur and Sukkoth). 'The New Year Festival Cycle as the Formulative Context for the Early Enoch Literature' (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Nashville, 21 November 2000).

¹⁸ Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 136–37, Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,' 135, and 2 Kgs 18:18–27; 19:2–7; 22:14–20.

¹⁹ See Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism From Cyrus to Hadrian. Volume One: The Persian and Greek Periods* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 217; Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees*, 57–71; cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, esp. sections I and II.

Unlike other sections of the Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch 17–19 does not refer to Enoch as a scribe nor does the author make use of Scripture in the same manner as the authors of 1 Enoch 6–11 and 1 Enoch 1–5. Rather than exegeting or alluding to language of Scripture as we see in these literary units from the Book of the Watchers, it appears that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 is familiar with biblical traditions concerning geography or with motifs known also from wisdom literature; yet we cannot assert the literary dependence of 1 Enoch 17–19 on Scripture. While it does not seem premature to locate the composition of 1 Enoch 17–19 in learned circles comprised of scribes, we must acknowledge that the interests of the author differ from those of a scribe like Ezra especially inasmuch as the former is focused on cosmological secrets and eschatology.

Additionally vexing is the fact that there are few geographical clues to assist us in locating the provenance of the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 since most of the sites described in this unit lie at the ends of the earth, at the edges of or outside of what the ancients might call the inhabited world. If we consider the larger frame for these chapters, the Book of the Watchers in its entirety, I might make the following observations based on my reading of the geographical traditions. The Book of the Watchers refers to extraordinary sites, like the water of life, and to known places, such as Mount Hermon in the Upper Galilee. Those sites of the inhabited world that occur in the Book of the Watchers include the Mediterranean Sea (= ‘the great sea’ towards the west, 17:5), the Red Sea (32:2), Mount Sinai (1:4), Jerusalem, here referred to as ‘a blessed place’ in the middle of the earth (26–27), Mount Hermon (6:1; 13:7), Dan (13:7) and Abel-Main located between Lebanon and Senir (13:9). With the exception of Jerusalem, these sites all occur along Israel’s boundaries. For this reason, I would conclude, based on Gould and White’s principle of provincialism—that people construct mental maps based upon geography with which they are most familiar—that the authors and redactors of the Book of the Watchers work from within the land of Israel. Furthermore, the authors (or at least those responsible for 1 Enoch 20–36) apparently have no disagreement with the traditional capital of Judah; Jerusalem, in fact, is located at the very center of the world (1 Enoch 26:1). Yet, because there are references to several sites in the northern Galilee that suggest firsthand knowledge of this area, it would appear that the authors and their respective communities

were displaced at some point to this region for a certain amount of time (1 Enoch 6, 13).²⁰

It is a difficult task to offer more precise reflections about the author's setting, especially concerning the date of composition of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the historical situation serving as impetus for the writing. We can be fairly confident that the chapters were in existence by the early second century BCE.²¹ Paleographic study of 4QEn^a's script indicates a date for the earliest manuscript of the Book of the Watchers in the late third and early second centuries BCE.²² Though selections from 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions were preserved in manuscripts dated to later periods,²³ the inclusion of various portions of the Book of the Watchers in the earliest manuscript suggests that this first section of the Enochic corpus had assumed its present form by the time of 4QEn^a.²⁴ Nickelsburg also offers a relative chronology for chapters 17–19 on the basis of the literary unit's relationship to 1 Enoch 12–16 and 1 Enoch 20–36.²⁵ *In their present form and context*, emphasizes Nickelsburg, not discounting an independent existence for the first journey of the seer as preserved in 1 Enoch 17–19, the chapters are to be dated to the early second half of the third century BCE.²⁶ A *terminus post quem* in the second half of the third century seems a prudent estimate to my mind for the incorporation of these chapters into the developing Book of the Watchers. Further, if one provides for the composition (and circulation?) of 1 Enoch 17–19 prior to these chapters being joined to 1 Enoch 6–16, an even earlier date is not unreasonable.

²⁰ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 65, 231, 238–47.

²¹ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 293.

²² See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 140–41.

²³ Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 178) dates 4QEn^c, featuring a very fragmented form of 1 Enoch 8:8–12, from the Herodian period or last third of the first century BCE. To 4QEn^d which preserves some of the parallel tradition, 1 Enoch 25:7–27, Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 217) assigns a date similar to that of 4QEn^c. 4QEn^c, which may include a very few words from 1 Enoch 18:15, in addition to the parallel tradition in 1 Enoch 21:2–4, is dated to the Hasmonean period, perhaps from the first half of the first century BCE (*Books of Enoch*, 225).

²⁴ See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 141 and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic*, 114; cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 7.

²⁵ Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, 279) argues that 1 Enoch 17–19 is later than chapters 12–16, which he dates to 300–250 BCE (*1 Enoch*, 230); the second journey in 1 Enoch 21–36, dated to the late third century BCE (*1 Enoch*, 293), he maintains, presupposes chapters 17–19.

²⁶ *1 Enoch*, 279.

With regard to the circumstances that stand behind the composition of the chapters, few historical allusions can be found in 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel traditions. In fact, one would do well to heed Collins' admonition not to view the Book of the Watchers as a mask for a particular development or crisis;²⁷ instead one might more profitably focus on the polyvalent symbols that are useful ciphers for any crisis.²⁸ Nonetheless, we can speculate with caution about the general reflection of author and audience one gains through 1 Enoch 17–19. Instead of sketching a precise historical scenario that the author wished to portray obliquely, I offer observations about the concerns underlying 1 Enoch 17–19 and to some extent, the Book of the Watchers.

Chapters 17–19 and other sections of the Book of the Watchers seem to hint especially at dissatisfaction with the author's own society or at the threat of internal dissolution.²⁹ For example, the watchers' sexual liaisons with mortals is an element of plot that recurs in the Book of the Watchers, including 1 Enoch 18:11, 19:1–2 (and || 1 Enoch 21:7–10; cf. 1 Enoch 6:2–3; 7:1). As Suter observes, the story manifests concern with the issue of intermarriage or miscegenation.³⁰ The watchers are not *ipso facto* agents of evil, Suter points out; rather, it is the misdeeds they commit which lead to a transformation in status.³¹ In addition to mixed marriages, the authors and redactors are concerned with idolatry or disrespect of God (1 Enoch 19:1; cf. also 1 Enoch 5:4; 27:2) and disobedience (1 Enoch 18:15; cf. also 1 Enoch 2:1; 5:2–4; 8:2) in the society at large.³²

Other sections of the Book of the Watchers, especially 1 Enoch 6–11, suggest that there are external factors as well that trouble the author and audience. Nickelsburg has called attention to the topic of violence that is visited upon humanity by the giants (1 Enoch 7:4–5; 8:1, 4; 9:1). This aggression and fighting which results in humanity crying out to God for aid and for justice (1 Enoch 7:6; 8:4; 9:2–3), he hypothesizes, may be a reference to the military exploits of the

²⁷ 'Apocalyptic Technique,' 98–99.

²⁸ See also Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 46.

²⁹ Cf., for example, Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,' 134.

³⁰ Suter ('Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,' 119–31) argues that the issue of mixed marriages at this time concerns specifically priestly unions. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 223; 269; 271–72.

³¹ 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,' 119.

³² See also Wright, 'Putting the Puzzle Together,' 134–35.

Diadochoi that occurred in Israel in the late fourth century BCE.³³ Further, chapter 8 especially points to a world that is now different or corrupt since the watchers have introduced all sorts of forbidden arts and crafts (cf. also 1 Enoch 7:1; 8:1–3). One assumes that this hostility to new skills introduced from external forces could reflect the negative reaction of the authors and their community to Hellenism.³⁴

Yet, the attitude with respect to Hellenism, as Nickelsburg observes, is one of ambivalence, since the authors and redactors reflect and make use of classical Greek traditions.³⁵ This conclusion rings true with regard to 1 Enoch 17–19. As we observed, many of the sites and phenomena of 1 Enoch 17–19 could be argued to reflect Greek geographical traditions, just as these chapters might be said to adopt and adapt the literary form of the *nekylia*.³⁶ I conclude that the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 was not only knowledgeable of mythic traditions from classical Greece, but was scarcely reticent in employing Greek *topoi*. At the same time, the author was firmly rooted in the traditions of ancient Israel and knowledgeable, as well, of Mesopotamian traditions. Chapters 17–19, and we may assume the author and intended audience of this section, express concern about issues that are internal to the larger Jewish community, especially with regard to right conduct. They do not seem to dwell on the matter of intrusive Hellenism.

C. THE THEOLOGY OF 1 ENOCH 17–19

History and theology intersect in the geographical interests of 1 Enoch 17–19. Enochic traditions emphasize that God will return to restore order, to reward the righteous, and to punish the sinners. In the context of a guided tour, 1 Enoch 17–19 describes two types of disarray in God's creation: angels who are promiscuous with women and introduce men to idolatry, and stars that do not arise at their appointed time. A first judgment, the flood, is accompanied by the

³³ 1 Enoch, 63, 170.

³⁴ See also Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 62.

³⁵ 1 Enoch, 62.

³⁶ Especially provocative is the use in 1 Enoch 19:2 of the term *σειρήν* in reference to the wives of the watchers. On the use of 'siren' in the Enochic corpus, see also 1 Enoch 96:2 and Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 465.

imprisonment of watchers and stars, and demonstrates God's mastery over the universe. Yet, irreversible damage has been done on earth necessitating the eschaton, an end of time, or more correctly in the Book of the Watchers, an end to the present age of discord and derangement. Enoch, contrary to the view put forth in wisdom literature like Job and the parenetic segment of the Epistle of Enoch, is the singular witness to the secrets of the universe, known otherwise only to the angels and to God. As a result of Enoch's visionary experiences, the reader is assured that accounts will be balanced and order will again be restored to the earth by sinners and celestial dissidents being punished.

As an apocalypse, 1 Enoch 17–19 also concerns the acquisition of knowledge through revelation. It, like other apocalypses, informs the readers of topics that are generally unknowable, like the secrets of the cosmos, as well as the revelation of divine purpose. Enoch, like the seers of many apocalyptic works which are also pseudepigraphical, has the proper pedigree to receive such revelation; according to biblical tradition he is said to have walked with God or the angels. 1 Enoch 17–19 as an apocalypse assumes the form of an otherworldly tour as the choice means of relaying information. Like Ezekiel, Gilgamesh, or Odysseus, Enoch is privy to exceptional knowledge that is gained through a journey. Similar also to the prophet Ezekiel, Enoch's tour is a visionary experience initiated and directed by the divine.

Apocalyptic literature also concerns the fate of the dead, often times in order to account for the fate of those persecuted or martyred. In the Book of the Watchers, Enoch is taken to view places where the dead rest or where they will be at the time of the last judgment. As 1 Enoch 17–19 follows the condemnation of the watchers in 1 Enoch 6–16, Enoch is taken especially to places where the celestial beings are held and punished. Within apocalyptic literature such visions demonstrate that sites associated with the afterlife and eschatology are already in place within the universe. In this respect, the interests of 1 Enoch 17–19 are quite similar to those of a *nekylia*, with its vision of Hades. Indeed in 1 Enoch 17–19 the matter of justice is more significant than the whereabouts of the cornerstone of the earth or the four winds supporting the earth and firmament. In 1 Enoch 17–19 Enoch notes that he sees all sorts of natural phenomena but he provides vivid descriptions only of those places related to eschatology and God's descent. Job confronts the issue of theodicy and God responds that humans cannot understand the divine purpose if

they do not even understand the nature or the workings of the world (cf., for example, Job 38:1–42:9). Enoch's community asserts that there are select individuals, divinely ordained, who know all about the secrets of the cosmos. They have access, therefore, to the rest of the divine plan as well, a plan that offers justice and solace to the pious.

These theological issues, justice, revelation, and the afterlife, have been well recognized by students of the Enochic corpus and other apocalypses. Within circles of Enochic scholarship today, however, an issue that is frequently raised concerns the extent to which the Book of the Watchers, as well as the collection of works in 1 Enoch, relates to Mosaic Judaism. That is, does the Book of the Watchers ignore or esteem the Sinaitic covenant and torah, thought by many to be essential components of faith and tradition in Second Temple period Judaism?³⁷ This question has recently elicited a great deal of speculation and remains a matter of some debate. Below I briefly survey the major positions taken on the Enochic community's relationship to the Mosaic law and thereafter, I discuss what light 1 Enoch 17–19 sheds on the issue of ambivalence toward or esteem for the Mosaic law.

D. EXCURSUS: LAW AND THE ENOCHIC COMMUNITY

Many scholars familiar with the Enochic corpus are struck by the lack of attention the collection pays to the law. To begin with, there are few references to the Sinaitic covenant and to torah, as Nickelsburg notes.³⁸ The only explicit mention of the Sinai covenant occurs in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:6). In contradistinction, the

³⁷ E. P. Sanders is one such proponent of the notion that Palestinian Judaism from 200 BCE–200 CE exhibits a certain uniformity when it comes to issues of covenant and obedience to the law. Judaism of this period, he suggests, is defined, in part, by 'covenantal nomism,' the idea that God elected Israel and gave Israel laws to obey which assist in maintaining the state of election. Obeying or transgressing the laws leads to reward or punishment, but there are also means for atonement and re-establishment of the covenantal relationship. See his *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 419–23. Even works considered apocalyptic, according to Sanders (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 423–24), partake of this interest in nomism.

³⁸ 'Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?' in *Hesed ve-emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (ed. J. Magness and S. Gitin; Brown Judaic Studies 320; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 123–32; esp. 124 and 1 Enoch, 50, 58–59. Collins (panelist, 'Review of George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*' and VanderKam concur with Nickelsburg on this matter, thinking 1 Enoch to be remarkably silent on the matter of the Mosaic covenant and law.

author of the Animal Apocalypse, while transparently alluding to the Sinai theophany, neglects to mention the establishment of a covenant or the giving of torah (cf. 1 Enoch 89:29–35).³⁹ Even the word for ‘covenant’ (διαθήκη; Eth. šer‘at) is rare, according to Nickelsburg; in addition to 1 Enoch 93:6, it occurs with the sense of ‘covenant’ in 1 Enoch 99:2 and 106:13.⁴⁰ In the case of 1 Enoch 99:2, Nickelsburg maintains, it is uncertain that the expression ‘eternal covenant’ found in this verse refers to the Mosaic covenant;⁴¹ in the second instance, 1 Enoch 106:13, διαθήκη or Eth. šer‘at refers expressly to a heavenly covenant violated by the watchers.⁴² Still Nickelsburg admits, following the conclusions of Hartman, that covenantal language familiar from the Pentateuch is used in 1 Enoch 1–5.⁴³

Also striking, according to Nickelsburg, is the absence of torah. He notes that there are no formal parallels to the laws and commandments detailed in the Pentateuch.⁴⁴ Sabbath observance, the rite of circumcision, and cultic laws do not concern the Enochic authors, save for the prohibition on shedding or consuming blood (cf. 1 Enoch 93:4; 98:11).⁴⁵ Further, Nickelsburg observes, there is an alternative or rival to the Mosaic torah: revealed wisdom serves as divine law which, in turn, is the basis for judgment.⁴⁶ This revealed wisdom or divine law concerns especially calendrical practices (cf. 1 Enoch 72–82), prohibition against murder and violence (cf. 1 Enoch 7:4–8:1, 4; 9:1), and sexual impropriety (cf. 1 Enoch 15:3–7). Rooted in sapiential traditions, moreover, Enochic wisdom emphasizes the cosmic order or the law of nature, instead of the Mosaic law (cf. 1 Enoch 2–5).⁴⁷

³⁹ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 125, see also VanderKam, ‘The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch,’ 142 and Boccaccini, ‘Qumran and the Enoch Groups,’ in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. Charlesworth; N. Richland Hills, Tex.: Bibal Press, 2000), 63–92; esp. 72. But see also Stock-Hesketh, ‘Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1993), 194–95.

⁴⁰ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 125 and 1 Enoch, 50; 486; 536; 538. But see, Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 420–21.

⁴¹ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 124 and 1 Enoch, 50, 489. But see Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 304.

⁴² ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 125. See also 1 Enoch, 546.

⁴³ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 124 and 1 Enoch, 147–48. See Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 22–38.

⁴⁴ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 126 and 1 Enoch, 51.

⁴⁵ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 126 and 1 Enoch, 51. See also VanderKam, ‘The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch,’ 142, who remarks: “It would be impossible to reconstruct the pentateuchal legislation from 1 Enoch and to infer anything about its cultic law.”

⁴⁶ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 124, 126 and 1 Enoch, 50–51.

⁴⁷ ‘Enochic Wisdom,’ 126 and 1 Enoch, 51. See also Argall, ‘The Creation Theme in 1 Enoch and Sirach,’ in 1 Enoch and Sirach, 101–64. Cf. 1 Enoch 2–5; 15:1–6; 72–82; and 98:1–3.

VanderKam also takes up the matter as to why the Mosaic law is seemingly ignored in the Enochic corpus. The corpus focuses primarily on the antediluvian period, which, if following the biblical treatment, might be thought to be a time of universalism inasmuch as God's people are not distinguishable from the nations. The early chapters of Genesis treat the fate of all peoples, rather than that of the elected ancestors that subsequently are to become the people Israel.⁴⁸ Similarly, Nickelsburg and Boccaccini are struck by the 'universality' of the tone of the Enochic corpus.⁴⁹ VanderKam also observes that the authors of the corpus allude to laws applicable to all peoples, like the shedding of blood, illicit sexual intercourse, and idolatry (cf. 1 Enoch 19:1; 91:9; 99:7). These sorts of prohibitions, that merit attention in the biblical text prior to the giving of the torah, are comparable to the Noachic laws of Genesis 9, again incumbent upon all humanity.⁵⁰

Nickelsburg, VanderKam and Boccaccini call attention to the same matter in the Enochic corpus: torah and the Sinaitic covenant do not play a significant role in Enochic traditions. Since other forms of Judaism, especially as attested in the second century BCE, do underscore the importance of the Mosaic law, Enochic literature represents yet another kind of Judaism according to these three scholars.⁵¹

⁴⁸ VanderKam, 'The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch,' 142.

⁴⁹ Respectively, *1 Enoch*, 54 and 'Qumran and the Enoch Groups,' 73.

⁵⁰ 'The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch,' 142.

⁵¹ See, for example, Sir 19:20; 21:11; 24:23–29; 32:23–24; 35:1–2; 42:2 and Jub 7:20–39; 20:2–11; 21:1–25; further, Moses' reception of the law at Mount Sinai serves as the setting for the account of biblical history (along with halakic expansions; cf., for example, Jub 3:8–14) that Jubilees provides. On halakic interpretations inserted within rewritten biblical narratives, see John C. Endres, S. J., *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, D. C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 213–19. Mark A. Elliott (*The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000]) provides a broader view of Second Temple period Judaism by reevaluating the notion of 'covenantal nomism' proposed by Sanders, and offers, instead, another perspective on Enochic literature. Elliott counters the view that Judaism of this time embraced an essentially unilateral, irrevocable, and nationalistic understanding of covenant. Elliott (*Survivors of Israel*, 307) identifies forms of Judaism, as represented by Enochic literature in part, which viewed covenant as "conditional and individual, as well as dynamic and dualistic." This form of covenant was not created *de novo*, he argues, but was based, instead, in "scriptural dualistic covenantal formulations, the witness motif, blessings and curses, and the revelations of the cosmos (notably the viewing-of-fates motif)." *Survivors of Israel*, 307; cf. also 245–306. In fact, Elliott (*Survivors of Israel*, 306) maintains that the descriptions of places of punishment and reward in the Book of the Watchers derive at least partially "by extending the descriptions of covenantal blessing and curse and converting them into eternal states." By emphasizing the elements that constitute covenants, Elliott offers a critical perspective on 'covenantal nomism' and the Enochic community's place in Second Temple period Judaism.

For example, Nickelsburg describes the Enochic works as a type of prophetic wisdom or sapiential prophecy within Judaism that emphasizes revealed wisdom and eschatology.⁵² Boccaccini, on the other hand, suggests that the Enochic community was originally a priestly faction of Jews that rivaled Zadokite Judaism.⁵³

The case has been made, however, that Enochic traditions were not ambivalent with regard to the Mosaic law. E. P. Sanders, to whom some of the aforementioned scholars have reacted, suggests that covenantal nomism characterizes Judaism during the time when Enochic literature was composed; thus, he concludes that Enochic literature presents salvation as dependent upon election which, in turn, is maintained by obedience to law and covenant.⁵⁴ Sanders notes that the themes of obedience and punishment are prevalent in the Enochic corpus, but he acknowledges that the literature is not entirely clear as to what one is to obey.⁵⁵ Recalling the composite nature of 1 Enoch, Sanders enumerates unlawful behavior presented in various sections of the corpus. We shall survey briefly some of those sins to which he calls attention in the Book of the Watchers. In addition to indeterminate charges of oppression, unrighteousness, and godlessness in 1 Enoch 10:20 (cf. also 1 Enoch 13:2), Sanders observes, as do others, that the unlawful fornication of the watchers with women constitutes sin.⁵⁶ He also suggests that the author of 1 Enoch 6–11 is concerned with defilement through intercourse with a menstruant (cf. 1 Enoch 10:11; 15:4); another transgression attributed to the watchers is that of teaching magic and sorcery (1 Enoch 7–8).⁵⁷ Just as unlawful behavior is only vaguely defined, so too is what constitutes righteousness.⁵⁸ Yet, Sanders does not offer evidence from the Enochic corpus to allow us to determine more specifically

⁵² 1 Enoch, 59–61. Nickelsburg also calls attention to the Wisdom of Solomon as an example of this religious trend. On the topic of revealed wisdom, see also Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*.

⁵³ 'Qumran and the Enoch Groups,' 67 and *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 68–79.

⁵⁴ See *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 346–62.

⁵⁵ See *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 348–49.

⁵⁶ See *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 349.

⁵⁷ See *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 349. See also Stock-Hesketh, 'Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,' 132, who notes that sorcery and foretelling the future from heavenly bodies (1 Enoch 7:1–8:4) are forbidden in the Pentateuch (cf. Exod 22:17 and Deut 17:3).

⁵⁸ See *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 350–51. A fitting definition for the righteous, with whom the authors of the Book of the Watchers identified, maintains Stock-Hesketh ('Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,' 158–59), can be found in Ezek 18:5–9, where the righteous one (צַדִּיק), is said to do what is lawful and right

the nature of law and covenant for the authors and their respective communities.

Himmelfarb most recently emphasized that the Book of the Watchers does not understand itself to be in conflict with torah; the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book reveal, instead, a reorientation of priorities, such as a concern for calendar (cf. 1 Enoch 72–82).⁵⁹ She also notes that if Enochic traditions challenged Mosaic law, it would be difficult to explain why so many copies of Enochic texts were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which include many compositions clearly dedicated to the very strict observance of torah.⁶⁰ Himmelfarb's observation about the apparent popularity of Enochic works in a community passionate about the Mosaic law is worthy of further consideration, and we return to the matter of Enochic compositions found at Qumran below.

The question was raised by Nickelsburg and VanderKam about the extent to which the Enochic corpus manifests interest in cultic legislation or law particular to the torah. Some passages in the Book of the Watchers might be said to display concern for certain halakic laws even while not explicitly invoking specific commandments. For example, Suter notes that 1 Enoch 6–11 would seem to prohibit miscegenation, at least to denounce mixed marriages of priests (on prohibitions of mixed marriages, see Deut 7:1–6).⁶¹ The reference to the giants as *mamzerim* (the Hebrew, מַמְזֵרִים, is transliterated

(עָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט וְצַדִּיקָה); such a person does not engage in idolatry, improper sexual relations, including contact with a menstruant, does not oppress but rather tends to justice and the plight of the poor, and follows God's statutes and ordinances. On use of the term 'righteous' in 1 Enoch, cf. also Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 361.

⁵⁹ 'Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls' (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Denver, 17 November 2001).

⁶⁰ On Enochic literature at Qumran, see VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 121–30; Nickelsburg, 'The Books of Enoch at Qumran. What We Know and What We Need to Think about,' in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold, and A. Streudel; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 99–113 and '1 Enoch and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and Some Prospects for Answers,' 341–60. See James E. Bowley ('Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed,' in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, 159–81; esp. 181), who concludes his survey of Mosaic traditions at Qumran thus:

Moses can be said to dominate many of the texts of this community and probably much of its outlook. The faithful of Qumran were those abiding in the shadow of Sinai, reading God's words in Moses' Torah according to the group's inspired interpretations, following the details of the Torah which reveal everything, studying Moses' *Book of the Divisions of the Ages*, and writing in the spirit of Torah—the Torah of Moses, God's servant and messiah.

⁶¹ "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest," 122–23.

in Greek as $\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\upsilon$) in 1 Enoch 10:9, a term denoting “offspring of a marriage contracted beyond the legitimate degrees of matrimony,” also suggests violation of halakic marriage rules (cf. Deut 23:2).⁶² More suggestive of cultic law, however, are the pronouncements against the watchers for being defiled by menstrual blood (see 1 Enoch 10:11; 12:4; 15:3–4 and Lev 15:19–24; cf. also 1 Enoch 7:1; 9:8), as Sanders noted.⁶³ Stock-Hesketh also observes allusions to dietary laws in 1 Enoch 6–11; in addition to the crime of shedding blood, he notes, the giants, offspring of the watchers, are condemned for eating flesh with blood (cf. Gen 9:4; Deut 12:23–27) and also for eating unclean creatures in 1 Enoch 7:5 (cf. Lev 11:41–42; Deut 14:3–21).⁶⁴

Sanders, Suter and Stock-Hesketh call attention to matters in the Book of the Watchers which might best be described as halakic in nature. It should be noted that these examples of legal concerns in the Book of the Watchers all come from 1 Enoch 6–16. Yet Sanders and Stock-Hesketh concede that the Enochic corpus provides neither legal injunctions, nor direct references to the torah’s regulations.⁶⁵ Without the ability to demonstrate points of contact or literary dependence, there is, thus, difficulty in proving that the communities’ mores derive from torah or in discerning the authors and their communities’ position on the Mosaic law.

For those who observe in the Enochic corpus the curious absence of torah, the figure of Moses and his receiving the law on Sinai are also noticeable lacunas. While the life story of Moses, including the exodus and events at Sinai, is transparently described in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 89:16–38), Moses, the prophet *par excellence* according to Deut 34:10, scarcely appears in the Enochic corpus.

⁶² Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,” 118–19. Zech 9:6 may also employ the term מַמְזֵר in reference to a mixed population.

⁶³ *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 349. See also Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,” 118–19, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 225, and Stock-Hesketh, “Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,” 134–38.

⁶⁴ See ‘Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,’ 133. On the subject of unclean creatures, the Animal Apocalypse represents Israel and its heroes with clean animals, according to the stipulations of the dietary law, while other nations are represented by unclean animals. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 377, Stock-Hesketh, ‘Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,’ 195, and David Bryan, *Cosmos, Chaos, and the Kosher Mentality* (JSPSup 12; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995). On the use of ἀκαθάρσια (“uncleanness”) in the Book of the Watchers (cf. 1 Enoch 10:20, 22), see Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 349.

⁶⁵ ‘Law in Jewish Intertestamental Apocalyptic,’ 163; 207.

Sinai, the site of the theophany and the giving of the law, appears to enjoy, however, more prominence (see section two, chapter three). One recalls the explicit reference in 1 Enoch 1:4 to God's descent on Sinai and the statement in 1 Enoch 77:1 that God would descend in the south. According to this author's reading, the mountain reaching to heaven of 1 Enoch 18:8, especially when considered together with the parallel in 1 Enoch 25, is Sinai. What is implied by the allusions to Sinai?

As noted above, Hartman considers the Sinai theophany as a significant *topos* in postbiblical Jewish texts. This burgeoning Sinai tradition emphasizing God's appearance (rather than Moses' participation or the covenant) is elaborated in such a way in the Second Temple period that it becomes a world altering event with an eschatological dimension.⁶⁶ Hartman suggests that this Sinai tradition provides a call to conversion to torah, before God returns for vengeance upon the wicked and for renewal of the world.⁶⁷

Sinai, the site of the theophany and the giving of the law, is present in the Enochic corpus. Still, where is Moses? Nickelsburg suggests that the diminishment of Moses in the Enochic corpus coincides with the elevation of Enoch: "Although there is no evidence that the Enochic authors disregarded the content of the Pentateuchal laws, they have leapfrogged Moses and identified Enoch as the primordial recipient of all heavenly Wisdom."⁶⁸ Nickelsburg calls attention to an instance in 1 Enoch 1:1–9, where a version of Moses' blessing from Deut 33:1–3 is given by Enoch.⁶⁹ This act of attributing to Enoch the words of Moses is, according to Nickelsburg, a devaluation of Moses and his authority.

Conceding Nickelsburg's assertion that Enoch is the prominent figure while Moses plays virtually no role in the Enochic corpus, I do not detect in the literature any polemic or criticism directed against torah, against the Mosaic covenant or against the authority of Moses. In fact, in the Animal Apocalypse, where humans are typically depicted as animals or birds, Moses is one of the few characters

⁶⁶ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, 42–43.

⁶⁷ *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, 43. Cf. Tg. Hab 3:2–3; Ps.-Philo, 11:1–2; *Exod. Rab* 20:2.

⁶⁸ 'Enochic Wisdom,' 127.

⁶⁹ 'Enochic Wisdom,' 127. Similarly, notes Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 91–93's testamentary setting and prediction of future events recalls Deuteronomy 28–32, but features Enoch instead of Moses.

from Israel's past to have been transformed from an animal to a man, a status otherwise reserved for the angels (cf. 1 Enoch 89:38). Granted, few references are made to Moses, though his words are sometimes placed in the mouth of Enoch. Sinai is referred or alluded to, however, perhaps as many as four times as a holy site, and specifically as the setting for theophany. Parallels to pentateuchal laws are not completely absent from the Enochic corpus either. The references to improper sexual relations, to purity concerns and to dietary issues in 1 Enoch 6–16, as mentioned above, may provide allusions to Mosaic law that are in this context recalled obliquely. The plausibility of this hypothesis, however, should not be overstated, because the instances of legal concerns are not associated explicitly with the laws of Moses, and one cannot substantiate literary dependence or points of contact.

Nickelsburg, VanderKam, and Collins are correct to observe that Enochic literature, especially when compared to Jubilees and Ben Sira, has relatively little to say about torah, the Sinaitic covenant, or the figure of Moses. Still, the Enochic corpus is far from blatantly hostile to these categories, and even includes a few references to Moses and Sinai. Andreas Bedenbender and Boccaccini pose an explanation that reconciles these seemingly opposed sets of data. Enochic Judaism as a tradition comes to have some rapprochement with Mosaic torah.⁷⁰ This development in Enochic Judaism occurred in the Maccabean era, according to Bedenbender. An example of what Bedenbender refers to as a 'Mosaisierung' of Enochic literature occurs in 1 Enoch 1:4; there, reference to Sinai points to a tradition added later.⁷¹ Boccaccini, on the other hand, notes that while torah was conspicuously absent from the early literature of the Enochic corpus, the Enochic community in post-Maccabean times became savvy to the value of including Mosaic traditions, which had been promoted during the Maccabean uprising, alongside their own. This adoption of the law, he asserts, is evidenced by the book of Jubilees.⁷² Jubilees, which drew heavily on Enochic traditions, is structured around the figure of Moses and the giving of the law at Sinai.⁷³

⁷⁰ Respectively, *Der Gott der Welt tritt auf den Sinai: Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktionsweise der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik* (ANTZ 8; Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2000), 175–200; 215–30 and *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 86–98; 167.

⁷¹ *Der Gott der Welt tritt auf den Sinai*, 228–30.

⁷² 'Qumran and the Enoch Groups,' 73 and *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 86–98.

⁷³ See VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 110–20. Interestingly, Jubilees

If there was an initial devaluation of Mosaic torah and covenant in the Enochic community as some suggest, Bedenbender and Boccaccini seem correct to posit a growing affinity for Mosaic traditions. Such a rapprochement or the "Mosaisierung" of specific texts may have rendered the Enochic literature more suitable for the community at Qumran for the contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that the inhabitants valued the Sinaitic covenant, the law, and Moses, and at the same time, included Enochic literature among their collection of texts.⁷⁴ If Bedenbender and Boccaccini are not correct in their hypothesis that the community, and subsequently the literature, come to reflect an interest in torah, then one needs to explain how a Jewish community like that of Qumran which did highly esteem the law and maintained very strict interpretations of it, was also attracted to Enochic literature and traditions and had no obvious difficulty with them at one time.⁷⁵

What do we learn about the Mosaic law and the Sinaitic covenant from 1 Enoch 17–19? With regard to law, 1 Enoch 17–19 calls attention to various sins: disobedience (1 Enoch 18:15), illicit relationships (or mixed marriages), the transgressing of boundaries (1 Enoch 19:1; cf. also 1 Enoch 15:3–11) and idolatry (1 Enoch 19:2). The concerns of the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 and, one would presume, of his community are not unlike those of other post-exilic texts. Ezra and Nehemiah, for example, also express consternation about intermarriage, especially of priests to foreign women (Ezra 9–10; Neh 13:28–30; cf. Mal 2:10–16) and about idolatry to which intermarriage contributed (Ezra 9:10–15; Neh 13:23–27).

Yet, these shared concerns and even legal parallels in the Pentateuch, especially injunctions against improper sexual relations and idolatry (see above), do not demonstrate points of contact between 1 Enoch 17–19 and Mosaic torah. One recalls this was also the case with regard to 1 Enoch 6–16. Lacking in chapters 17–19 as well are

attributes to Enoch halakic teachings on when to pick fruit from fruit trees and present it as an offering to God (*Jub.* 7:38–39) and sacrificial laws (*Jub.* 21:6–10). See VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 117–18.

⁷⁴ Cf., for example, Hannah K. Harrington, 'Biblical Law at Qumran,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Flint and VanderKam with the assistance of Andrea E. Alvarez; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:160–85. See also *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 160–62.

⁷⁵ The community at Qumran appears to have lost interest in Enochic literature towards the end of the first century BCE. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 7.

references to Moses and to the Sinaitic covenant, even though, as argued above, 1 Enoch 18:8 (|| 1 Enoch 24:3; 25:3) seems to allude to Mount Sinai.

1 Enoch 17–19 may have circulated independently at one time in the estimation of this author, and does not necessarily, therefore, presuppose other sections of the Book of the Watchers. Yet, 1 Enoch 17–19 is not so dissimilar from the rest of the Book of the Watchers on the matter of torah and Sinaitic covenant. Sinful behavior, especially as exemplified by the watchers, is noted, but not explicitly associated with torah. Sinai, familiar from 1 Enoch 1:4 (cf. also 1 Enoch 77:1), is a prominent site recalled for the theophany, but Moses is not present. I argue above that the parallel tradition found in 1 Enoch 24:3 and 25:3 may allude to the Sinai theophany familiar from Exodus 19–24; further, the parallel tradition may connect the giving of the law with the tree of life. But this reading gains no support from 1 Enoch 17–19 and the parallel passages because these do not cite directly the biblical text, though the chapters demonstrate awareness of traditions also familiar from the Hebrew Bible. In the final analysis, 1 Enoch 17–19 and parallel texts may be of negligible value to the discussion about the Enochic communities' relationship to torah and the Mosaic covenant. Generally speaking, the text is concerned with lawful behavior, but it is difficult to determine what constitutes law for the author.

Beyond 1 Enoch 17–19, I conclude this discussion of the Enochic corpus's relationship to the Mosaic law and Sinaitic covenant by noting that this decidedly complex matter deserves further consideration beyond what this study of geography can take up. As observed by others, the matter is complicated by the fact that sections of the Enochic corpus derive from different periods, reflecting diverse communities and concerns. The Book of the Watchers does not make mention of Moses or the Sinaitic covenant, although Moses' words are recalled (and reassigned to Enoch) in 1 Enoch 1. Sinai appears as *the* site for theophany, instead of the location where the law was given. Unlawful behavior is noted, though not explicitly associated with Mosaic law. Do the authors and intended community deem Mosaic law and the Sinaitic covenant unimportant or are they opposed to these categories? Nothing in the text requires this conclusion, though their absence may seem curious given the significance of the law, Moses, and the Sinaitic covenant in other Second Temple period texts. Do the authors wish to challenge those who accorded Moses

a prominent or preeminent role in Judaism by increasing the status of Enoch? Here too the evidence does not necessarily indicate this. For those who understand the Enochic community to be ambivalent toward the Mosaic legacy, it would seem that still more evidence would be helpful in order for us to clearly discern a divide between the developing Enochic tradition and that of Mosaic Judaism. On the other hand, for those who understand the Enochic corpus as further proof of covenantal nomism or as consisting of works that attest to the same kind of Judaism as presented in Ezra or Ben Sira, it would seem more substantial evidence that establishes a direct relationship between the Enochic works and Mosaic law is a *desideratum*.

APPENDIX

TEXT CRITICAL ISSUES

The task of clarifying the geography would be aided by a stable textual tradition for 1 Enoch 17–19; what one must work with, however, is a more complicated textual history. The extant texts in Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic are not without shortcomings. Portions of Aramaic 1 Enoch 17–19, as well as the parallel traditions, are preserved in 4QEn^c, 4QEn^d, and 4QEn^e. Yet in light of the fact that these are the earliest extant manuscripts of 1 Enoch 17–19 and the duplicate traditions,¹ it is disappointing that the texts are so fragmentary. We have from Qumran Cave 4 fragments only of 18:8–12 and 18:15,² in addition to 21:2–4 and 24:1 of the parallel traditions.³ Most useful for the study of these fragments is the *editio princeps*, Milik's *The Books of Enoch*.⁴ Still, in certain instances very little of the text is actually extant, and Milik's speculative restorations are simply that—restorations of what may have been there.

The Codex Panopolitanus, also known as the Gizeh Manuscript after its initial home in the Gizeh Museum, provides a relatively early, almost complete form of the Book of the Watchers in Greek.⁵ Chapters 1–32:6 and 19:3–21:9 in duplicate form were discovered at Akhmîm

¹ 4QEn^c dates from the Herodian period or last third of the first century BCE (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 178). Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 217) assigns a comparable date to 4QEn^d. 4QEn^e most likely derives from the first half of the first century BCE (Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 225).

² Milik is tentative in identifying the fragment from 4QEn^e with 1 Enoch 18:15; see his *Books of Enoch*, 228.

³ In addition to these selections 1 Enoch 17–19, 21 and 24, fragments of 22:3–7, 22:13–24:1, 25:7–27:1, 28:3–32:1, 32:3, 6, 33:4–34:1 and 35:1–36:4 were found. While it may appear that a goodly amount of the text survives from 1 Enoch 17–36, the numbers may, in fact, be misleading, since in most cases only a few letters or words of a verse are preserved.

⁴ See also Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitate* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 225–41.

⁵ See Larson, *Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*, who, it would seem, favors a fourth or fifth century dating. Milik dates Codex Panopolitanus to the end of the fifth or to the sixth century. See his *Books of Enoch*, 70.

by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo.⁶ Charles designates the Codex Panopolitanus G^s and the duplicate passages G^{g1} and G^{g2} respectively.⁷ Knibb, for one, criticizes Codex Panopolitanus, noting the careless way in which the copy was made:⁸ “Amongst the many mistakes in the manuscript particular attention—so far as this edition of Enoch is concerned—should be drawn to the existence of numerous omissions,⁹ many through homoioteleuton, but also of some additions.”¹⁰ It is unfortunately the only early Greek manuscript with chapters 17–32.¹¹

Especially problematic is the fact that the most complete version of 1 Enoch—preserved in Ge‘ez, for which there are at least twenty-six

⁶ Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 8. U. Bouriant published the text in 1892 (‘Fragments grecs du livre d’Énoch,’ in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* 9 [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892], 91–147). Differences in the duplicate versions are not great, suggesting both are from the same parent ms. Cf. Larson, *Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*. For a detailed study of the relationship of G^{Pan1} and G^{Pan2} (G^{g1} and G^{g2}), see Larson, *Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*.

⁷ *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*. Charles claims that Bouriant’s ‘Fragments grecs du livre d’Énoch’ as a first edition is praiseworthy, but marked by many errors. *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, xi. Of his own earlier investigation of 1 Enoch from 1893, Charles writes that his exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic texts moved scholarship of these works forward but his overestimation of the Ethiopic version led Charles to make certain “unjustifiable changes in the Greek text.” *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, xi.

⁸ Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 17) thinks that there is some plausibility in the notion that the ms was copied hurriedly so that it could be included in the grave in which it was discovered. Cf. also Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 8. But see Larson (*Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*) who corrects this view initially proposed by E. Schürer (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* [3 vols.; 4th ed.; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909]). While the earliest date for the burial at Panopolis where the mss was discovered is from the eighth century, the ms appears to have been copied two or three centuries earlier. Larson, *Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*.

⁹ Knibb cites several from 1 Enoch 1–10. *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 17.

¹⁰ *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 17. On the textual character of G^{Pan1} and G^{Pan2}, see Larson, *Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*, who also observes there to be many misspellings, omissions, corruptions, and evidence of stylistic modifications in the mss.

¹¹ The fourth-century Chester Beatty Papyrus preserves the majority of 1 Enoch 97–104 only. Although Charles (*Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, xiv) maintains that the Greek version excerpted in Syncellus’s work (G^{Syn}), in which no part of 1 Enoch 17–36 exists, has preserved a more original text than G^{Pan} (G^s) and the Ethiopic, Black (*Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 8) suggests, rather, that the text of Syncellus is at times periphrastic, indicative perhaps of a recension or rewriting of the Greek text. Larson (*Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*) argues, however, that G^{Pan} and G^{Syn} should be used together to arrive at the earliest form of the text.

manuscripts—is at times unreliable.¹² The Ethiopic recensions are difficult to date, but it is commonly noted that the earliest ms traditions are from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³ Both Charles and J. Flemming¹⁴ sorted the mss into two groups 1) an older recension based on a Greek version (Flemming's Group I; Charles's α text) and 2) a later recension of the Ethiopic (Flemming's Group II; Charles's β text).¹⁵ Charles's edition of 1912 and Flemming's edition were based on Group I/ α recension. Although the distinction between the textual families is not always so clear,¹⁶ Black is still able to maintain that "no discoveries or studies since the appearance of the Flemming and Charles editions have substantially altered their basic

¹² Milik writes:

... The study of the Aramaic fragments of 4QEnoch and the collation of them with existing witnesses of Enochic Books reveal the very secondary, periphrastic, and often confusing nature of the Ethiopic text. One should never trust any given detail of this version. Its only merit, and that a considerable one, however, consists in the fact that it is relatively the most complete and will no doubt always remain so.

See his *Books of Enoch*, 88. But note also Ephraim Isaac's defense of the Ethiopic text in 'The Oldest Ethiopic Manuscript (K-9) of the Book of Enoch and Recent Studies of the Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4,' in *Working With No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (ed. David. M. Golomb with the assistance of Susan T. Hollis; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 195–207; esp. 198.

¹³ See Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 3. Note, however, Isaac dates the recently discovered (available on microfilm since 1968) ms Tana 9 (his 'K-9') to the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. See his 'New Light upon the Book of Enoch from Newly-Found Ethiopic MSS,' *JAOs* 103 (1983): 399–411 and 'The Oldest Ethiopic Manuscript (K-9) of the Book of Enoch and Recent Studies of the Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4.' The *editio princeps* came from Richard Laurence in 1821 (*Maṣḥafa Henok Nabiy, The Book of Enoch the Prophet. An Apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia; and now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1821). Dillmann is also responsible for the early work on 1 Enoch (*Liber Henoch Aethiopice* [Leipzig: Wilhelm Vogel, 1851]) and *Das Buch Henoch*.

¹⁴ Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text*.

¹⁵ Black (*Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 2) notes that Group II was designed as an ecclesiastical Vulgate of a book included in the Ethiopic Old Testament. Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 5) comments that Charles's β group is larger than Flemming's Group II, although his α group and Flemming's Group I correspond exactly.

¹⁶ Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, 3. Flemming himself observes that occasionally Group I mss appear to support Group II mss, while Group II mss supporting Group I is less frequent:

Diese beiden Gruppen stehen aber nicht geschlossen einander gegenüber: oft sind Vertreter von Gruppe I auf Seite von Gruppe II zu finden, seltener tritt der umgekehrte Fall ein ...

See his *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text*, ix.

division of the mss into the two groupings or recensions.”¹⁷ While Group I mss remain favored as the ‘superior’ textual tradition,¹⁸ contemporary Enochic scholars work from a broader base of mss than Charles or Flemming.¹⁹

For this study I use primarily Codex Panopolitanus (G^{Pan})²⁰ as my base text, since it is the most complete version of the ancient work that is also the most reliable.²¹ On the rare occasions when the text from Qumran is extant (for the purposes of this work, principally 1 Enoch 18), the Aramaic is consulted. I also refer to the Ge‘ez text, with a bias toward Group I traditions, although I note significant variants. I rely on two critical editions of the Ethiopic text, by

¹⁷ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 3.

¹⁸ Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 423–24) concludes that Group I (which he designates Eth. I) offers the superior text, belonging to the first recension of the Ethiopic, based on a ms which is close to the Panopolitanus ms; compared to Group II, this ms family provides a fuller and better text. The foundation of Black’s translation is Group I, “the best editions of which are still those of Charles and Flemming (supplemented by Knibb).” (Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 7). Still, there are important variants preserved in Group II (with regard to this study, notably in 1 Enoch 24:3). “. . . The greater number of Eth II variations are of the inner-Ethiopic variety, even in some cases where they are construable and make sense, frequent omissions, expansions, misunderstandings, due to the carelessness and at times the presumption of medieval Eth. scribes.” Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 424; cf. also Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text*, x.

¹⁹ Since Charles’s day, other mss have come to light; these include Tana 9 (Group I; see above) and Ull (Group II), which Knibb utilizes. See his *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 22. Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 6) bases his translation on Rylands Eth ms 23 (Ryl), a Group II ms. See, however, the remarks of Tigheelaar (*Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 144–45), who refers to Knibb’s choice of manuscripts as “infelicitous.” Black considers Tana 9 (‘Eth^{Tana}’), new to Group I, the *facile princeps* among Eth mss for 1–36. See his *Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 6; so also Isaac, calling Tana 9 “an older and more reliable Enochic textual tradition.” See his ‘New Light upon the Book of Enoch from Newly-Found Ethiopic Mss,’ 407. Knibb (*Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2, 32) tempers Charles and Flemming’s reliance on Group I, noting that in places Group I is corrupted while the original survived in Group II mss. Charles (*Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, xxii) does note that Group II (his β text) preserves “in a limited number of cases” the original text. See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 19.

²⁰ I consult both Black’s *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* and Charles’s *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*. With regard to the former, I am mindful of Black’s own ‘Addenda et Corrigenda’ in his *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 419–20. Cf. also Tigheelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 146, who notes additional “misprints” and “conjectures” in the Book of the Watchers; with the exception of Tigheelaar’s correction for 1 Enoch 21:8, those errors do not impact this study. Charles (*Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, xi) considers the 1906 publication of the Greek text to be an improvement of his earlier work, *The Book of Enoch*.

²¹ But see the critical observations of Larson (*Translation of Enoch from Aramaic into Greek*) on the textual character of G^{Pan1} and G^{Pan2}.

Flemming²² and by Charles,²³ and when necessary make note of the variants listed by Michael Knibb²⁴ in his apparatus. Also helpful are the translation and notes of Nickelsburg's commentary on 1 Enoch.

²² *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text.* Of Flemming's work, for which he relied upon twenty-six Ethiopic manuscripts, Milik writes: "... From the textual point of view his edition has virtually not been surpassed until the present day." Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 83. Knibb also commends Flemming, remarking:

Flemming's collation of BM 485, BM 491, and Berl are, as Charles indicates (1906, xxvi) not entirely accurate, but, apart from this, Flemming's text-edition and translation are in many ways the most convenient and helpful of the tools hitherto available for the study of Enoch, since Flemming's judgement on textual matters was often more sensible than that of Charles.

See his *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:4.

²³ *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch.*

²⁴ *Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, Vol. 1.

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