

**"They Revealed Secrets to Their Wives":
The Transmission of Magical Knowledge in 1 Enoch**

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1. Introduction

The Book of the Watchers expands upon the enigmatic story in Genesis 6:1-4, in which the "sons of God" (בְּנֵי-הַאֱלֹהִים) take human women for themselves. This paper focuses on how the Book of Watchers, later Enochic booklets, and the book of Jubilees reinterpret the biblical story so that the sin of the "sons of God" or Watchers (עִירִין) also includes the transmission of knowledge forbidden to human beings, especially to women. In particular, the Watchers teach women the heavenly mysteries of "sorcery and spells," among them methods of divination by observance of heavenly and earthly phenomena. These, however, are not the true secrets of heaven – they are the "rejected mysteries," which the Watchers ought not to have taught human beings. The Book of the Watchers sets up a gendered dichotomy between the Watchers' human wives and Enoch; women are recipients only of rejected mysteries, while Enoch learns the true secrets of heaven from the revealing angels when he ascends to heaven alive.

In this paper I will begin by briefly discussing the story of Gen. 6:1-4 as describing the illegitimate crossing of boundaries between the divine and the human, enacted upon the bodies of human women. I will then turn to the question of how and why women became associated with witchcraft in the prophetic corpus of the Hebrew Bible, and discuss how this might have

**The paper addresses several issues: 1) Why focus in particular on the role of women in the story of the fallen Watchers? Concern about women as mediators of the relationship between

the earthly and heavenly worlds is already found in the biblical story of the cohabitation of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of men”; 2) Why would the Book of the Watchers report that women in particular are recipients of magical knowledge from their angelic husbands? Earlier biblical associations of women with forbidden magic and sorcery, especially in the prophetic corpus, where foreign women, especially foreign cities imaged as women, are accused of sorcery, show that there is already an established tradition that connects women with witchcraft; 3) the Book of the Watchers itself, in particular 1 En. 6-11 and 12-16; 4) later texts, including ... ; 5) scribal social context - wisdom ideas of women’s association with evil in Proverbs and Ben Sira. [] Need to put in here an introductory paragraph on what I will be proving in the paper.

2. The Daughters of Men

Why focus in particular on the role of women in the story of the fallen Watchers? Concern about women as mediators of the relationship between the earthly and heavenly worlds is already found in the biblical story of the cohabitation of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of men.” Gen. 6:1-4 highlights the importance of women as the link between earth and heaven, between God (or gods) and man (or humanity).

(1) When men began to increase on earth, and daughters (בָּנוֹת) were born to them, (2) the sons of God (בְּנֵי-הַאֱלֹהִים) beautiful the daughters of men (בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם) were; and they took wives (נָשִׂים) from among those that pleased them. (3) YHWH said, “My breath shall not abide in man forever, since he too is flesh; let the days allowed him be one hundred and twenty years.” (4) It was then, and later too, that the Nephilim appeared on earth, when the sons of God cohabited with the daughters of men, who bore them offspring. They were the heroes of old, the men of renown.¹

In this passage, the “daughters of man” stand at the center point, between “men” and the “sons of

¹ Translation based on NJPS.

God.” They are the mediators between human and divine beings, providing a sexual and reproductive link between man and God. At the point where the “sons of God” take them from “men,” they become “women” whom the “sons” choose and then “cohabit with.” Despite their central position, the women do not act on their own behalf; rather, the sons of God “see,” “take,” “choose,” and “cohabit with” them. The only act that they themselves perform, rather than being the object of others’ actions, is giving birth – although in this case they also give birth to or for the sons of God. The text is even unclear on the identity of their children. Unlike other Genesis passages that speak of giving birth, this sentence does not tell us to whom they gave birth. Instead, it turns quickly to the matter of the “mighty men, the men of renown,” so that the reader is left guessing that the women gave birth to these “mighty men,” who were perhaps so “renowned” because their fathers were divine beings. Women may stand at the central point of this narrative, but they are not important for themselves – rather, their importance lies in how they furnish a link between earth and heaven. This mediating function is one of the reasons that women are important in the Book of the Watchers. In addition to their role as the sexual partners of the Watchers and mothers of the destructive giants, women are significant recipients, and transmitters, of the evil teachings the Watchers pass on to them.

3. Women as Witches

Why would the Book of the Watchers particularly single out women as recipients of knowledge about sorcery and divination? The image of women as witches is already built up in certain biblical traditions that the composers of the Book of the Watchers would have known.

The most detailed image of women as witches occurs in several places in the prophetic corpus, while the picture is more mixed in legal and narrative material. Exodus 22:17, part of the Covenant Code, explicitly uses the feminine form in commanding, “You shall not permit a witch (מְכַשְׁפָּה) to live.” Deut. 18: 9-18 provides a more comprehensive list of forbidden ritual practitioners and practices, all of them male, including, “one who passes his son or his daughter through the fire, or an auger (קָסָם קְסָמִים), a soothsayer (מְעוּנָן), a diviner (וּמְנַחֵשׁ), a sorcerer (וּמְכַשֵּׁף), (11) one who casts spells (וְחֹזֵר חֶבֶר), one who consults ghosts or familiar spirits (וְשֹׂאֵל וְשֹׂאֵלָה), or one who inquires of the dead (וְדוֹרֵשׁ אֶל-הַמֵּתִים).”² This passage is concerned with the ritual practitioners that the people of Israel should not consult, in contrast to the practices of the previous nations residing in Canaan; rather, they should depend upon God to give them a prophet like Moses, and he will tell them God’s will.³ Some of the terms that appear in this passage occur in the feminine in several other places, including the abovementioned Ex. 22:17 and Lev. 20:27, which decrees death for both men and women who “have in them” a ghost or a familiar spirit: וְאִישׁ אוֹ אִשָּׁה כִּי יִהְיֶה בָהֶם אוֹב אוֹ יִדְעֹנִי.⁴ After expelling הַיִּדְעֹמְנִים וְאֵת הָאֹבֹת וְאֵת הַיִּדְעֹמְנִים (those who act as mediums for ghosts and familiar spirits) from the land, King Saul resorts to a אִשָּׁת אוֹב (a woman who is a ghost-medium), who brings up Samuel from the dead (1 Samuel

² Translation based on NJPS.

³ James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 71-73.

⁴ See also Lev 19:31: “Do not turn to ghosts (הָאֹבֹת) and do not inquire of familiar spirits (הַיִּדְעֹנִים), to be defiled by them (לְטַמְּאֵם בָּהֶם); I am the Lord your God”; and Lev 20:6: “And if any person turns to ghosts and familiar spirits and goes astray after them (לְזַנוֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶם), I will set my face against that person and cut him off from among his people.” Male-only passages: Ex 7:11; Deut 18:9-18; Dan 2:2; 2 Kings 21:6; 2 Chron. 33:6; Isa 8:19-20, 44:24-25; Jer 27:9, 50:35-36; Ezek 21:26-28; Mic 5:11; Mal 3:5. Male and female passages: Lev 20:27.

28:3-28).

Several prophetic passages make a connection between evil women (or cities represented as evil women) and witchcraft or sorcery. The prophetic passages also often connect sorcery and sexual sins, and denounce foreign women (Jezebel) or cities (Nineveh, Babylon) as witches.

Jezebel is accused of performing "countless harlotries and sorceries (עַד זִנוּנֵי אִיזְבֵּל אִמְךָ וְכַשְׁפֵּיהָ)" (2 Kings 9:22). Ezekiel attacks the Israelite women "who prophesy out of their own imagination" (הַמְתַנְבֹּת מִלְבָּהָן) (Ezek. 13:17), using techniques of divination they learned in exile in Babylon.⁵

Nahum 3:4 denounces Nineveh as a prostitute and sorceress: "Because of the countless debaucheries of the harlot (זִנוּנֵי זֹנָה), gracefully alluring (טוֹבַת חַן), mistress of sorcery (בַּעֲלַת כַּשְׁפִּים), who enslaves nations through her debaucheries (בְּזִנוּנֶיהָ), and peoples through her sorceries (בְּכַשְׁפֵּיהָ)." Verse 5 goes on to describe her punishment in language very reminiscent of the humiliation of Jerusalem in Ezekiel 16 and 23: "I am against you, says the Lord of hosts, and I will lift up your skirts over your face; and I will display your nakedness to the nations and your shame to kingdoms (וּגְלִיתִי שׁוֹלְיֶיךָ עַל-פְּגִיךָ וְהִרְאִיתִי גוֹיִם מְעַרְךָ וּמַמְלְכוֹת קְלוּנֶיךָ)." In these two cases, the harlot (Jerusalem or Nineveh) is punished through public nakedness and shaming. Isaiah 47:9, 11-13 denounces Babylon as a sorceress, an enchanter, and one who resorts to those who predict the future by examining the skies. None of these skills can save her.

Both of these shall come upon you in a moment, in one day: the loss of children and widowhood

⁵ This same passage also denounces the male prophets who have "envisioned falsehood and lying divination" (Ezek 13:6). Moshe Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1-20* [AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983], 240) has argued that the description of the women's divinatory methods can be explicated by reference to Babylonian techniques. Nancy R. Bowen ("The Daughters of Your People: Female Prophets in Ezekiel 13:17-23," *JBL* 118 [1999] 417-433) argues that (pp. 421-22) Ezekiel's elaborate condemnation of these women "looks very much like a Mesopotamian magical ceremony. On the basis of both a structural and functional comparison with *Maqlû*, Ezekiel's oracle is as much an act of magic or divination as what the female prophets are engaged in."

shall come upon you in full measure, in spite of your many sorceries, and the great power of your enchantments (בָּרַב כְּשָׁפִיךְ בְּעֲצַמַת חֲבָרֶיךָ מֵאֵד). . . . But evil shall come upon you, which you cannot charm away (לֹא תִדְעֵי שְׁחָרָה); disaster shall fall upon you, which you will not be able to ward off (לֹא תוּכְלֵי בְּפָרָה); and ruin shall come on you suddenly, of which you know nothing. Stand up, with your spells (בְּחֲבָרֶיךָ) and your many enchantments (בָּרַב כְּשָׁפִיךְ), with which you have labored from your youth; perhaps you may be able to succeed, perhaps you may inspire terror. You are helpless despite all your art; let those who study the heavens (הַחֲזִיזִים בְּכּוֹכְבֵימַיִם) stand up and save you, those who gaze at the stars (מִדְּיַעֲמֵים לְחֻדְשֵׁימַיִם) what shall befall you.⁶

Babylon, like Nineveh and Jerusalem, is stripped naked as a mark of humiliation. Although the sins of Babylon do not include (in this passage) sexual sins, she still receives the same punishment:

Get down, sit in the dust, Fair Maiden Babylon; Sit, dethroned, on the ground, O Fair Chaldea; nevermore shall they call you the tender and dainty one. Grasp the handmill and grind meal. Remove your veil, strip off your train, bare your leg, wade through the rivers. Your nakedness shall be uncovered, and your shame shall be exposed (תִּגַּל עֲרוֹתְךָ גַם תִּרְאֶה חֲרַפְתְּךָ).⁷

The denunciations of Jezebel, Nineveh, and Babylon as sorceresses and harlots create a composite image that is more detailed than that found in legal and narrative biblical passages. They link sexual seductiveness with sorcery and the evil nature of foreign women (=nations) who oppress Israel and lure them to evil ways, building upon the already established prophetic sexual image of Israel's unfaithfulness to God through liaisons with foreign nations⁸ and the figure of the "strange woman" in Proverbs.⁹ While 1 Samuel 28 portrays the medium of Endor in a sympathetic manner, as a woman who assists Saul when all others have failed him, these

⁶ In Isa 44:24-25, the prophet also denounces the diviners and wise men (NJPS translation): "It is I, the Lord, who made everything, who alone stretch out the heavens and unaided spread out the earth; who annul the omens of diviners (מִפְּרֵי אֲתוֹת בְּדִים), and make fools of the augurers (וּקְסָמִים יְהוֹלֵל); who turn sages back (מְשִׁיבֵי חֲכָמִים אָחוֹר) and make nonsense of their knowledge (וְתַעְתֵּם יִסְכַּל)." According to VanderKam (*Enoch and Apocalyptic*, 72), in Isa. 44:25 the word בְּדִים, should be emended to בְּרִים, to refer to a certain kind of Babylonian diviner. John McKenzie (*Second Isaiah* [AB; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968], 73) comments: "The baru priest is known from Akkadian literature, and the text is restored from this word. The sage was the professional wise man, a counselor and a spokesman of traditional wisdom."

⁷ Isa 47:1-3; translation according to NJPS.

⁸ Hos 2:4-15, 9:1.

⁹ Prov 5; 6:24-35; 7; 10:13-18.

prophetic passages link female figures to the evil of witchcraft and divination. The prophetic image of the seductive foreign witch may provide some of the background for the connection between women and sorcery in 1 Enoch and in rabbinic texts.

4. Book of the Watchers

The short tale of Genesis 6 has been subjected to great elaboration in 1 Enoch. The Book of Watchers is the first part of 1 Enoch, comprising chapters 1-36, dated by most scholars to third century B.C.E. Palestine.¹⁰ Chapters 1-5 are an introduction to the book, while chapters 6-16 deal with the story of the fallen angels. The figure of Enoch does not appear in the Book of the Watchers until chapter 12. He is not part of the introduction (chs. 1-5) or part of the original story of the sinning Watchers (chs. 6-11).

Chapters 6-16 tell the story of the angels who saw that the "daughters of men" were fair and descended from heaven to take them as wives and beget children from them. According to 1 Enoch, the "sons of God" of Gen 6:2 were angels, the "Watchers" (עיריין) of heaven.¹¹ They lusted after the "beautiful and comely" daughters of men. Their leader, Shemiḥazah, persuaded them to swear an oath together to descend to earth and take human women as wives and beget children. Chapters 6-11 are composed of several separate traditions of the angels' descent that a later author has combined, but it is still possible to discern what some of these separate traditions

¹⁰ George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 7; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 17.

¹¹ 1 Enoch 6-11.

were.¹² Chapters 12-16 seem to assume the existence of 6-11 in its present form, building upon the earlier section but introducing the figure of Enoch (not present in chapters 6-11) and presenting details about the angels that are in some cases quite different from chapters 6-11.¹³

Annette Yoshiko Reed has convincingly argued that chapters 12-16 were written as a transition from chapters 6-11 to chapters 17-36 of the Book of the Watchers, and that they resolve some of the contradictory traditions found in chapters 6-11.¹⁴

Enoch is introduced rather abruptly at the beginning of chapter 12: “And before these things Enoch was taken up, and none of the children of men knew where he had been taken up, or where he was or what had happened to him. But his dealings were with the Watchers, with the holy ones, in his days.”¹⁵ When Enoch was “taken up” (Gen. 5:24), he did not die, but instead dwelled with the angels in heaven, the “Watchers” and “holy ones.” His task was to rebuke the fallen Watchers for their sins; he also served as their intermediary before God, and thus he is called “the scribe of righteousness.”

A. 1 Enoch 6-11

One tradition in chapters 6-11, in which Shemiḥazah is the leader of the sinning angels,

¹² Devorah Dimant, “*The Fallen Angels*” in *the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to them* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974 [Hebrew with English summary] 54).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 22; VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic*, 129-30.

¹⁴ Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 1 Enoch 6-16,” in Ra’anan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 53-56, 58-65.

¹⁵ Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch* (SVTP; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 31 (1 Enoch 12:1-2). In his translation, Black takes into account the Greek and Aramaic fragments, as well as the Ethiopic manuscripts.

concentrates on the sin of the Watchers – their descent from heaven, their defilement by intercourse with women, and the sins of their children, the giants, who destroy the earth. In this tradition, “there is no hint of the view that the women themselves are impure because of their human nature,”¹⁶ and human beings do not share any guilt with the angels or the giants. The flood comes upon them because of the sins of others.

A second tradition describes how the Watchers led human beings to sin by teaching them the secrets of heaven. This tradition occurs in two forms; in the first one, the angels, led by Shemiḥazah, teach women magical arts and heavenly secrets. In the second one, another rebel angel, Asael, teaches metallurgy, weapons, and cosmetics to human beings. According to the Shemiḥazah version: “These (leaders) and all the rest took for themselves wives from all whom they chose; and they began to cohabit with them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them sorcery (אֲרַשָׁא, φαρμακείας) and spells (ἐπαοιδὰς) and showed them the cutting of roots and herbs.”¹⁷

The text goes on to give more details about which angels taught what skills:

Shemiḥazah taught spell-binding (חברו) and the cutting of roots; Hermoni taught the releasing of spells, magic, sorcery, and sophistry (חרטמו ותושין); Baraqel taught the auguries of the lightning; Kokabiel taught the auguries of the stars (נחשי כוכבין); Zikiel taught the auguries of fire-balls; Arteqif taught the auguries of earth (נחשי ארע); Simsel taught the auguries of the sun (נחשי שמש); Sahrel taught the auguries of the moon. And they all began to reveal secrets to their wives (וכולהון שריו לגליה רזין לנשיהון).¹⁸

¹⁶ Dimant, *Fallen Angels*, 44.

¹⁷ 1 En. 7:1 (Ethiopic). Translation is by Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 28. Matthew Black edited the Greek manuscripts of 1 Enoch in *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG; Leiden: Brill, 1970). He describes the manuscripts as follows (7-9). The Gizeh fragment, also called Codex Panopolitanus, is a sixth-century papyrus from Akhmin in Egypt. It covers 1 En. 1-32:6. The second Greek manuscript, the Chester Beatty papyrus, is from the fourth century, and covers 1 En. 97:6-104 and 106-107. Substantial parts of 1 Enoch are also preserved in the works of Georgius Syncellus. The Aramaic texts were found at Qumran and subsequently published by J. T. Milik, in collaboration with Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

¹⁸ 1 En. 8:3, Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 29. The Aramaic is from the Qumran fragments, p. 150.

If we look back to the sins that Isaiah ascribed to Babylon, figured as a woman, several of them also occur here: casting spells (בְּחַבְרִיךְ), sorcery (בְּרַב קְשָׁפִיךְ), studying the skies (הַבְּרִי שָׁמַיִם), gazing at the stars (הַחַיִּים בְּכֹכְבֵימַיִם), and predicting by the moon (מִדְּיָעִים לְחַדְדָּשִׁים).¹⁹ According to Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Nahum, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, the mantic and magical arts that they denounce belong to the practices of foreign nations – the nations of Canaan, Babylonia, and Assyria, the latter two identified as female personifications of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh. Given the Babylonian antecedents of the figure Enoch, and the connections that VanderKam has demonstrated between Jewish apocalyptic and Babylonian divination, it is interesting to see that just those arts that the Babylonian wise men, astrologers, and diviners engaged in are those that the angels teach their human wives.²⁰

In the second version of the teaching tradition, Asael teaches the arts of civilization that lead people into sin. According to one of the Greek manuscripts of the Book of the Watchers, this form of instruction leads to women's seduction of the angels.

Asael taught men to make swords of iron and breast-plates of bronze and every weapon for war; and he showed them the metals of the earth, how to work gold, to fashion [adornments] and about silver, to make bracelets for women; and he instructed them about antinomy, and eye-shadow, and all manner of precious stones and about dyes and varieties of adornments; and the children of men fashioned for themselves and for their daughters and transgressed. And there arose much impiety on the earth and they committed fornication and went astray and corrupted their ways.²¹

¹⁹ Isaiah 47:9, 11-13.

²⁰ VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic*, 8, 52-75. He comments on 1 Enoch 8:3: "The context shows that the author considers this particular revelation of such knowledge to be sin; these arts lead to untold wickedness and misery. This approach to the secrets stands in a certain tension, it appears, with the AB [Astronomical Book] in which astronomical information was revealed to Enoch with no effort to suppress it (cf. also 2:1-5:3), but it also acts as a foil for Enoch's reception and transmission of revealed knowledge in the remainder of the AB." See also Michael E. Stone, "Enoch, Aramaic Levi, and Sectarian Origins," *JSJ* 19 (1988) 159-70, on the Babylonian antecedents of much of the learning in 1 Enoch.

²¹ 1 Enoch, 8:1-2; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 28-29.

The translation of Syncellus implies that the women who learned the arts of beautification from Asael then turned around and seduced the other angels: "And the sons of men made for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and they led astray the holy ones."²² In this case, when the women learned to adorn themselves with jewelry, precious stones, colored clothing, and makeup, they tempted the angels to sin with them. They are not innocent, as in the Shemiḥazah version, but share guilt with the angels for the downfall of humanity. The prophetic image of the foreign seductive woman who engages in witchcraft may have been a factor in the creation of this version. The idea that women were not innocent victims, but instead purposely lured the angels by their beauty is found in several sources dependent upon 1 Enoch and in rabbinic sources that incorporate earlier traditions.²³

When chapters 9 and 10 of 1 Enoch describe the punishment of the angels, the theme of secrets unjustly revealed, including the secrets of sorcery, is prominent among the reasons for their punishment. The four archangels, guardians of humanity, condemn Asael as a teacher of "the eternal mysteries prepared in heaven [who] made them known to men," presumably the arts of war and beauty that he taught to men and women, and Shemiḥazah as a teacher of "spell-binding," which probably includes the sorcery and divination mentioned earlier.²⁴ To counter the

²² Syncellus of 1 Enoch 8:1: καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ παρέβησαν καὶ ἐπλάνησαν τοὺς ἁγίους. George W. E. Nickelsburg ("Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 [1977] 398), accepts Syncellus' longer reading. See also Dimant, *Fallen Angels*, 56-57.

²³ T. Reuben 5 claims that the women charmed the Watchers, who appeared to them as they were engaged in sexual intercourse with their husbands, and as a result gave birth to the giants. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Genesis 6 says that the women painted their eyes and walked about naked to entice the angels to take them as wives. Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer 22 says that it was the daughters of Cain, the offspring of the union between Eve and Samael, who enticed the angels.

²⁴ P. Gizeh, 1 Enoch 9:6-8: "(6)And all that you see Asael has done, who taught all injustice on the earth and showed the mysteries of eternity that are in heaven. . . . (7) And Semiazas, to whom was given authority to rule

destruction that the revelation of these secrets caused, the angel Raphael (=God heals) is told to:

Heal the earth which the watchers have ruined, and announced the healing of the earth, that I shall heal its wounds and that the children of men shall not altogether perish on account of the mysteries which the watchers have disclosed and taught the children of men. The whole earth has been devastated by the works of the teaching of Asael; record against him all sins.²⁵

According to Jubilees, Noah himself was given the remedies for the “illnesses” and “seductions” brought by the evil spirits who came out of the bodies of the giants.²⁶ These remedies consisted of “herbs of the earth,” presumably beneficial in contrast to the maleficent “roots of plants” and “herbs” about which the Watchers told their wives.

B. 1 Enoch 12-16

Chapters 12-16 of 1 Enoch transform the combined traditions of chapters 6-11 in several ways.²⁷ One of the most noteworthy differences between them is that the miscegenation between

those who cast spells (τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἄμα ὄντων). (8) And they went into the daughters of men of the earth and lay with them and they were defiled, and they showed them all sins.” Black (*The Book of Enoch*, 131) explains the Greek of 1 Enoch 9:7 as a mistranslation: “The Greek version τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἄμα ὄντων (common to Sync. and G and behind Eth.) is an obvious mistranslation of חבורין, ‘spell-binders’, (e.g., Tg. Neoph. Dt. 18.1) which has here been confused with חברין = Heb. חברים, ‘companions, associates’. Semhazah, who taught mankind spell-binding (8.3) is the fallen watcher put in charge of those who cast spells, i.e. magicians and sorcerers.” Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth,” 398, argues that the mysteries that Asael taught were “more than metallurgy and mining,” and also included other mantic and magical arts that the angels taught.

Compare Syncellus; he says that Asael “(6) taught the mysteries and revealed (ἀπεκάλυψε) the eternal things in the heaven. . . (8) . . . and they (the angels) taught them (the women) to do hate-charms (μίσητρα).”

²⁵ 1 Enoch 10:7-8; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 30.

²⁶ Jubilees 10:12-14: “And the healing of all their illnesses together with their seductions we told Noah so that he might heal by means of herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote everything in a book just as we taught him according to every kind of healing. And the evil spirits were restrained from following the sons of Noah. And he gave everything which he wrote to Shem, his oldest son, because he loved him much more than all of his sons.” (Translation is from O. S. Wintermute, “Jubilees,” in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; garden City: Doubleday, 1983-85) 2:76.

²⁷ VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic*, 129. Chapters 12-16 presuppose the two main stories that were blended in chapters 6-11, “but the writer of the new section makes significant additions to and alterations of these accounts as he brings the Watchers into direct contact with Enoch for the first time. Actually, though the finished text indicates the author’s knowledge of both stories (or, rather, an editor’s awareness of them), aside from 13:1-2 which is most awkward in its present context, chaps. 12-16 recapitulate and expand only the version associated with Shemihazah

angels and women is now described in terms of a dichotomy between spiritual and fleshly. The text sharply distinguishes between spiritual angels, eternally dwelling in heaven, and human women (and men), who are mortal, fleshly, and dwell on earth.²⁸ The angels, who are clearly male in 1 Enoch, belong in heaven, but they have sought human women, who symbolize the passing, perishing nature of earth and flesh. 1 Enoch 15 explicitly opposes the angels as they

(without ever mentioning his name).” See also Dimant, *Fallen Angels*, 72-79, and Newsom, “Development,” 316-19; Reed, “Heavenly Ascent,” 53-65, and Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 44-49.

²⁸ 1 Enoch 15:2-11. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 34: “(2) Go and say to the watchers of heaven who sent you to intercede on their behalf: ‘It is you who should be petitioning on behalf of men, and not men on your behalf. (3) Why have you left the high heaven and the eternal Holy One, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and acted like the children of earth and begotten giants for sons? (4) But you were holy, spirits that live forever, yet you defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) by the blood of flesh; and you lusted after the daughters of men and have produced flesh and blood, just as they do who die and perish. (5) It was for this reason that I gave them females that they might impregnate them and thus produce children by them, that pregnancy should never fail them upon the earth. (6) But as for you, you formerly were spirits that live for ever and do not die for all generations for ever. (7) And for this reason I did not provide wives for you, because for celestial spirits heaven is their dwelling place. (8) And now the giants, who have been produced from spirits and flesh, shall be called mighty spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling place. (9) Evil spirits shall come forth from their bodies, for from men they have come, and from the holy watchers is the beginning of their creation and of their origins. Evil spirits shall they be called upon the earth. (10) As for celestial spirits, heaven shall be their dwelling-place: but for terrestrial spirits, born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling-place. (11) But the vicious spirits (issuing) from the giants, the Nephilim -- they inflict harm, they destroy, they attack, they wrestle and dash to the ground, causing injuries; they eat nothing, but fast and thirst and produce hallucinations, and they collapse.’”

Greek (P. Gizeh): 15:3 - διὰ τί ἀπελίπετε τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν ὑψηλὸν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκοιμήθητε καὶ μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμίανθητε καὶ ἐλάβετε ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς ἐποιήσατε καὶ ἐγενήσατε ἑαυτοῖς τέκνα, υἱοὺς γίγαντας. “Why did you leave the high, holy heaven of eternity, and lie with women, and become defiled with the daughters of men and take for yourselves wives, so that you acted like sons of the earth and begot offspring for yourselves, giant sons?” 15:4 - καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε ἅγιοι καὶ πνεύματα ζῶντα αἰῶνια ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῶν γυναικῶν ἐμίανωητε, καὶ ἐν αἵματι σαρκὸς ἐγενήσατε καὶ ἐν αἵματι ἀνθρώπων ἐπεθυμήσατε. “And you, holy ones, and spirits living forever, have defiled yourselves in the blood of women, and have begotten in the blood of flesh, and have desired the blood of men.”

Hermeneia translation, 1 En. 15:3-4, 6, 7: “Why have you forsaken the high heaven, the eternal sanctuary; and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men; and taken for yourselves wives, and done as the sons of earth; and begotten for yourselves sons, giants? You were holy ones and spirits, living forever. With the blood of women you have defiled yourselves, and with the blood of flesh you have begotten; and with the blood of men you have lusted, and you have done as they do – flesh and blood, who die and perish.... But you originally existed as spirits, living forever, and not dying for all the generations of eternity.... The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling” (George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001] 267).

used to dwell in "high heaven, the eternal sanctuary" "spirits, living forever," and their present condition in which they have defiled themselves with women on the earth and have begotten flesh and blood children, "who die and perish."²⁹ They have defiled themselves through sexual intercourse with women, and what is more, with the blood of women's menstruation.³⁰ The angels are spiritual and immortal beings who have now entered the fleshly realm. Philo makes a similar point in his remarks on this verse: "But the substance (οὐσία) of angels is spiritual (πνευματική); however, it often happens that they imitate the forms of men and for immediate purposes, as in respect of knowing women for the sake of begetting [giants]."³¹

Women may be the dupes of the angels, and thus not responsible for the evil of their giant children, but they are responsible for propagating the teachings the angels gave them and causing further evil on earth. Enoch denounces the fallen angels with these words: "You were in heaven, and there was no secret that was not revealed to you; and unspeakable secrets you know, and these you made known to women in your hardness of heart; and by these secrets females and mankind multiplied evils upon the earth."³² 1 Enoch 16 does not spell out what the "unspeakable" or "rejected" mysteries are but since chapters 12-16 were written with chapters 6-11 in mind, it is probable that the "rejected mysteries" that the angels have taught women were

²⁹ 1 Enoch 15.4 (Hermeneia translation).

³⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I*, pp. 269, 271

³¹ Philo, *Supplement I: Questions and Answers on Genesis* (trans. Ralph Marcus; London: Heinemann/Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953) 61.

³² 1 Enoch 16.3. Translation according to Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 35. Ephraim Isaac refers to the "rejected secrets" in his translation ("1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983-85] 1.22). Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch I*, 267) translates, "You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils upon the earth."

the previously mentioned cosmetics, sorcery, incantations, the loosing of spells and cutting of roots, as well as the signs of the stars, lightning-flashes, the earth, the sun, and the moon.³³ They are the opposite of the secrets of heaven that Enoch learns from God and the angels.

Chapters 6-16 of the Book of Watchers thus create an antinomy between the righteous knowledge that Enoch gains by ascent to heaven and the polluting knowledge that women and men gain from the descent of the Watchers to earth.³⁴ Enoch is the special one who can ascend to God's throne, speak with God, tour the heavens, and learn divine mysteries.³⁵ The women whom the angels take as wives, on the other hand, learn sorcery and other "rejected mysteries."

5. The Dream-Visions of Enoch, the Epistle of Enoch, and the Parables of Enoch

Is the idea that women and men gain polluting knowledge from the Watchers continued in the subsequent Enoch booklets and later texts dependent upon the Enochic traditions? The next section of this paper will discuss the story of the sinning angels and their intercourse with human

³³ Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 398

³⁴ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 48-49.

³⁵ VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic*, 131: "He now, during his 365 years, attains at least the status of an angel (though he is not called one), and, as a comparison of 14:21 with 14:24-15:1 shows, he was even granted the privilege of entering the luminous divine presence -- a privilege denied to some angels though apparently not the Holy Ones (cf. 14:23). Consequently, in these chapters one sees him not as only associating with angels (whether good or bad) but outranking at least some of them."

VanderKam also points out a number of contrasts between Enoch and the sinful Watchers (p. 133): 1) the angels descend from heaven to earth, while Enoch ascends from earth to heaven; 2) the angels, spiritual beings, contaminated themselves with humans, but Enoch, who was human, associated with spiritual beings. See Newsom, p. 316 -- in chs. 12-16 "evil is perceived as a rupture in the order of the universe." See Dimant, 74-77, who speaks of "a dualism of pure and impure, of flesh and spirit. The sin under consideration in 12-16 consists of a violation of these limits that the creator had established. Emphasis is not placed on violation of Noachic laws as had been the case in 6-11. Elsewhere (pp. 43, 73), she has drawn attention to the possibility that 15:4 means that the angels had mated with women during their menstrual impurity."

women in two second century B.C.E. Enoch booklets: the Dream-Visions of Enoch (1 Enoch 83-90) and the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 94-108), and then turn to the latest booklet in 1 Enoch, the Parables of Enoch, dated to the first century C.E.³⁶

In the Animal Apocalypse, part of the Dream-Visions (1 Enoch 85-90), a history of the world in which angels are depicted as stars, and humans are depicted as various types of animals, the story of the descending angels is described as follows:³⁷

A single star fell from heaven, and it became transformed (into a bull, i.e., a human being), and it fed and pastured among those oxen. And after this I saw the large and black oxen (i.e., the descendants of Cain), and behold, they all destroyed their stalls and their pastures and their calves, and they began to butt one another. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heavens, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven beside that first star, and like it they became bulls amongst those cattle, and pastured among them. And I looked at them and saw, and behold, they all let out their members, like horses, and began to mount the cows of the oxen; and they all became pregnant and bore elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour and gore with their horns. And they began to devour these oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee.

The single star represents Asael, who at 1 En. 88:1 is “seized and cast into the abyss by one of the four archangels,” which “corresponds to the action of Raphael at 10.4f on seizing Asael and casting him into the abyss.”³⁸ After Asael, many other angels descend and transform themselves into bulls who have intercourse with the cows; this corresponds to the two hundred angels in the Book of the Watchers who descend with Shemiḥazah and have intercourse with human women. The destructive giant children of these unions are represented here by elephants, camels, and asses, who attack the oxen (=human beings). Here, as in the first story in the Book of Watchers,

³⁶ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 17, 113.

³⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 73 (1 En. 86:1-6).

³⁸ Ibid., 258. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I*, 372, argues that this section is dependent on an earlier stage of the traditions in 1 Enoch 6-8 than we currently have: “Read in light of chap. 86, the present form of chaps. 6-11 looks like a revision of a stage of the tradition in which Asael was the first angelic rebel.”

women and men are innocent victims of the Watchers and the giants; the angels engage in no teaching, and women do nothing to seduce the angels

At the end of the Epistle of Enoch, Enoch tells the story of the fallen angels to his son Methuselah to explain to him the nature of his grandson Noah.³⁹ Lamech, Methuselah's son, fathers Noah, and is distressed that he "resembles the children of the angels of heaven" (1 En. 106:5). Lamech goes to his father Methuselah and asks him to speak on his behalf to Enoch, whose "dwelling-place is amongst the angels" (1 En. 106:7), and ask him about this son. In reply, Enoch tells him about the angels:

And I, Enoch, answered and said to him: 'Truly the Lord will make a Promise on the earth; and according as I was shown, (my) son, and informed you, in the generation of my father Jared exalted ones of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord and violated the covenant of heaven. And behold, they committed sin and transgressed the law, and they had intercourse with women and committed sin with them and have married some of them, and from them begotten children, and they bore children on the earth, the giants, not beings like spirits but like creatures of flesh.'⁴⁰

As in the Animal Apocalypse, the angels' transgression of divine law consists of their intercourse with women and fathering children of flesh. The sin is entirely theirs; the women are not mentioned as responsible for the sin.

The Parables of Enoch, the second part of Enoch in the Ethiopic translation (1 Enoch 37-72), also contain versions of the earlier myth of the descent of the angels to the daughters of

³⁹ 1 En. 106-107 probably uses older Noachic traditions. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 542) dates it after the incorporation of the Epistle of Enoch into the Enoch corpus in the first half of the second century B.C.E. and the copying of 4QEn^c in the last third of the first century B.C.E. See discussion in Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 79 - it may "derive from a tale that circulated independently, whether in a 'Book of Noah' or in a more diffuse body of Noachic literature and lore."

⁴⁰ Ibid., 100 (1 En. 106:13-14). This section survives in Greek and Aramaic as well as Ethiopic; see Black, *Henochi Graece*, 44 (P. Chester Beatty), and Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 209 (4QEnc 5ii). See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 538, for discussion of the textual issues. On p. 546, he comments that the statement in 106:14, that the Watchers have "transgressed the law" (ἔθεος), "the Greek formulation can be related to the indictments in 15:4-7. God has established appropriate modes of conduct for spirits and for human beings, and the watchers, who are spirits, have acted like human beings and thus transgressed the accepted custom."

men, including traditions about forbidden secrets that the angels taught to human beings. This work is much later than the Epistle of Enoch or the Book of Dreams, as it was probably composed in the first century C.E.⁴¹ The “First Parable” says that, “And it shall come to pass in those days that exalted ones from heaven shall descend to resemble the children of the elect and holy; and their seed shall become mingled with that of the children of men.”⁴² This is, however, not the most prominent way that the Book of Parables characterizes the fallen angels; instead, for the most part, they are condemned for leading human beings astray and teaching them forbidden secrets. On the day of punishment, the angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel will cast Azazel and his host “into the burning furnace, that the Lord of spirits may exact retribution from them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.”⁴³ A similar general statement says, “I heard the voice of the angel saying, ‘These

⁴¹ This part of 1 Enoch dates to the first century C.E., according to Black, *Book of Enoch*, 181-89, especially 187-88. He would date the Hebrew Urschrift of the Parables of Enoch to the early Roman period, probably before 70 C.E. (p. 188). See also James H. Charlesworth, “The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch,” *NTS* 25 (1979) 315-23; Michael A. Knibb, “The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review,” *NTS* 25 (1979) 345-59; C. L. Mearns, “Dating the Similitudes of Enoch,” *NTS* 25 (1979) 360-69; and Ephraim Isaac, trans., “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983-85) 1.7, who says: “I am convinced that 1 Enoch already contained the Similitudes by the end of the first century A.D.” See also, Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael Stone, “The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes,” *HTR* 70 (1977) 51-65; and J. C. Hindley, “Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch an Historical Approach,” *NTS* 14 (1968) 551-65. Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 113, also dates it to the first century C.E.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 43-44 (1 Enoch 39:1). Ephraim Isaac (OTP 1. 30) translates this passage: “And it shall come to pass in those days that the children of the elect and the holy ones [will descend] from the high heaven and their seed will become one with the children of the people.” Knibb gives a similar translation: “And it will come to pass in these days that the chosen and holy children will come down from the high heavens, and their offspring will become one with the sons of men.” See Black, p. 196, for an explanation of his emendations of the text to correspond more closely to the legend of the watchers known from the Book of the Watchers. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford, 1912) 74, considered this sentence to be an interpolation from an earlier book of Enoch like the Book of the Watchers.

⁴³ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 53 (1 Enoch 54:6).

are the angels who descended from heaven to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men, and led the children of men astray into committing sin.”⁴⁴ The human beings who have been led astray will also be punished, as Enoch says to Noah:

A command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord of spirits concerning those who dwell on the earth that this must be their end, because they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the wrong-doing of the satans, and all their secret powers, and all the powers of those who practise sorcery, and the power of spells, and the power of those who make molten images of every created thing.⁴⁵

Enoch goes on to say that,

Because of their iniquities their judgement shall be fully carried out and shall not be withheld before me; because of the sorceries which they have invented and learned, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed. And as for those (watchers) that they will have no return (to heaven) for ever, because they have shown them (mankind) what was hidden, and they have been condemned.⁴⁶

The angel Michael says to Raphael that they (the sinning angels) “will receive no mercy in the sight of the Lord, for the Lord of spirits has been angry with them because they have fashioned images of the Lord. Accordingly, there shall come upon them the sentence regarding the secrets for ever and ever; for neither idol nor man shall be accorded his (God’s) portion. But they by themselves will receive their condemnation for ever and ever.”⁴⁷ In these passages the angels are condemned for their mating with women (although there is no mention of giant children), coming under the influence of Satan, teaching secrets to human beings, and making images of God. Human beings will be punished because they have learned angelic secrets, evil-doing from the satans, sorcery, spells, and the making of molten images. The special relationship between the watchers and their human wives is not mentioned – they do not specifically teach their wives sorcery, unlike the story in the Book of the Watchers. It is clear, however, that among the secrets

⁴⁴ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 61-62 (1 Enoch 64:2).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 62 (1 Enoch 65:6).

⁴⁶ Ibid. (1 Enoch 65:10-11).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 64 (1 Enoch 68:4-5).

that humans learned from the angels are spells and sorcery, so that this idea, first appearing in the Book of the Watchers, continues into the Book of Parables.

Following the Book of the Watchers, the Book of Parables also lists the evil angels and the ways that they have led humans astray (beginning with Semyaza=Shemiḥazah),⁴⁸ but it also inserts a long indictment of five archangels who led humans astray in various ways.⁴⁹ In this passage, as in the Book of the Watchers, the angelic leaders incite their followers to mate with the daughters of men – both Yeḡon and ʿAsbeʿel are credited with this role, taken by Shemiḥazah in the Book of the Watchers and as in 1 Enoch 15:4, the angels defile themselves with human women. Gādreʿel takes the role of ʿAsaʿel/ʿAzazʿel in teaching men the “weapons of death,” the “shield, and the coat of mail, and the sword.” As well, he was the angel who led Eve astray, reminiscent of the role that Satan plays in later literature.⁵⁰ Contrary to the high evaluation of scribes in the Book of the Watchers, the angel Penemue taught “sophistry” and writing, which to the author of this passage mean the death-dealing knowledge that Adam and Eve learned from the serpent.⁵¹ As Charles and Black point out, the afflictions that Kasdeyaʿ showed human beings are related to the list of troubles in Psalm 91:5-6: “You need not fear the terror by night, or the

⁴⁸ 1 Enoch 69:2 gives the names of twenty-one angels, in a list which bears a great deal of similarity to 6:7.

⁴⁹ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 65 (1 En. 69:4-12). As he says, these five angels belong to a higher echelon in the hierarchy than the watchers. “The writer is evidently accommodating the older tradition of the fallen angels, the watchers, as ‘evil angels’ within a later demonology where Satan and his host, the ‘satans,’ had come to occupy the highest place in the hierarchy of evil angels” (p. 246). The angel ʿAsbeʿel (or Kasbeʿel) has taken over the role of Shemiḥazah as the leader of the angels and inciter to sin with women (verses 5 and 13), and Gādreʿel has the role of ʿAsaʿel as the teacher of the making of weapons and the arts of war. Even though the text here refers to the “sons of the holy angels,” they are clearly to be identified with the watchers, the “sons of God” of Gen. 6:2 (Black, p. 246). For discussions of the meanings of the angelic names, see Black, pp. 246-47, and Knibb, 160-62.

⁵⁰ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 114.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

arrow that flies by day, the plague that stalks in the darkness, or the scourge that ravages at noon.”⁵² It is interesting to note that this passage does not ascribe teaching sorcery to any of these archangels; instead, they are responsible for the illegitimate mating with women, teaching weaponry, sophistry, and writing, and illnesses that come from demons: miscarriage, snakebites, and heatstroke, as well as leading Eve astray. There is no mention of teaching people how to make adornments, or how to make the cosmetics that women use, which in turn permitted them to seduce the angels. In fact, women are not singled out at all as responsible for the ills of the world – instead, Eve is the victim of an angel, not his seducer. We thus see that the Book of Parables is not univocal about the evils that Watchers taught human beings; this passage, unlike the ones previously discussed from the Book of the Parables, does not ascribe the teaching of magic or sorcery to them.

5. Jubilees

Although the book of Jubilees is not, obviously, part of 1 Enoch, it nonetheless contains Enochic traditions that can be usefully compared to those in 1 Enoch. Jubilees is a second century B.C.E. retelling of biblical history from the creation of the world up to Moses. According to Jubilees, and contrary to 1 Enoch, the Watchers’ descent to earth was not initially an evil act. They descended in order to teach human beings and to act righteously: “He named him Jared because during his lifetime the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers

⁵² Charles, 138; Black, 247.

descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright on the earth.”⁵³ However, after the angels descended, they became entangled in sin. As in other accounts, their essential transgression was intercourse with human women, which defiled the angels. The sin of the Watchers, the birth of giants, and the corruption of “all animate beings” brings on the punishment of the flood and destruction of all life.⁵⁴ As in 1 Enoch, Enoch serves as the witness against the Watchers for their sins.⁵⁵ Noah’s instructions for his grandsons understand the sins of the Watchers and the destructive nature of the giants as cautionary tales for human actions.⁵⁶ Fornication, uncleanness, and injustice led to the flood: the illicit intercourse of the Watchers with women; their uncleanness after they married the women; and their destructive giant children. Since “uncleanness” is distinguished from “fornication,” this may mean that they are guilty of intercourse with women during their menstrual periods or other forbidden times.

The Watchers’ teaching function, mentioned originally in Jubilees as part of their positive mission to humanity, and which plays such a negative role in 1 Enoch, is hardly mentioned subsequently in Jubilees, but there is one significant reference to the science of omens that they taught. Kainan, the son of Elam (Gen. 10:22), is taught to read by his father, and then he goes to find a place where he can have his own city: “He found an inscription which the ancients had incised in a rock. He read what was in it, copied it, and sinned on the basis of what was in it, since in it was the Watchers’ teachings by which they used to observe the omens of the sun,

⁵³ Jubilees 4:15. This verse interprets Jared’s name (=he descends) to refer to the “descent” of the angels.

⁵⁴ Jubilees 5:1-4.

⁵⁵ Jubilees 4:22.

⁵⁶ Jubilees 7:20-22.

moon, and stars and every heavenly sign.”⁵⁷ In 1 En. 8:3, the Watchers also teach these heavenly signs (נחשים) to their wives, where they are also considered to be evil. The women in Jubilees are the objects of the Watchers’ lust, but they do not learn any of the forbidden knowledge of their husbands, nor are they blamed for seducing them to sin.

6. Magic and Sorcery in 1 Enoch and Jubilees

Taking 1 Enoch as a redacted whole - ranging from the third century B.C.E. Book of the Watchers to the first century C.E. Book of Parables, and the book of Jubilees as well, it is clear that the story of the descent of the Watchers and their mating with human women is very important in the development of the Enochic tradition. In 1 En. 6-8 Shemiḥazah and his angelic helpers teach sorcery, spells, spell-binding, the cutting of roots and herbs, the releasing of spells, magic, sorcery, and sophistry, and the auguries of lightning, stars, fire-balls, the earth, the sun, and the moon to their wives. Asael teaches men how to make weapons, the arts of metallurgy, and the making of adornments, bracelets, and cosmetics that women use to beautify themselves. Asael and Shemiḥazah are condemned for teaching the eternal mysteries and spell-binding. The magic, sorcery, omens, and other rejected mysteries are what the women learn from the Watchers, according to 1 En. 12-16.

The transmission of forbidden secrets to human beings, in particular sorcery, however, does not always play a role in the descent myth. It is absent from the Animal Apocalypse and the Epistle of Enoch, but is present in Jubilees and in the Parables of Enoch, which clearly know the

⁵⁷ Jub. 8:8.

version of the story told in 1 En. 6-16. In Jubilees, the angels originally descend in order to teach humanity and to act righteously on earth, but they become entangled in sin. This apparently leads to their teaching sinful knowledge, namely “the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign.”⁵⁸ In the Book of Parables two of the skills mentioned are taught by the fallen angels: spells and the practice of sorcery, both of which are part of the Shemiḥazah traditions.⁵⁹ The Asael tradition also reappears in the Parables of Enoch, in the person of the archangel Gādreʿel, who teaches men how to make weapons.⁶⁰ The Parables of Enoch, however, omit the detail that it is women in particular who learn sorcery and other rejected secrets from the fallen angel. It is only in the Book of the Watchers that we find all elements of the myth coming together - angelic descent, mating with women, producing giants, and teaching women the rejected mysteries of sorcery, spells, omens.

Why, then, do chapters 6-16 of the Book of the Watchers specify that it is women who learn the secrets of magic? From the comparison with the this particular tradition throughout the Enoch booklets and the book of Jubilees, it is clear that this detail can be left out without denying the general principle that the fallen angels taught human beings heavenly secrets that they should not know. What was particular about the situation of the composition of these chapters that made sense to single out women?

A number of writers have recently suggested a scribal social context for the composition of 1 Enoch, which may help further in understanding why women in the Book of the Watchers are

⁵⁸ Jub. 8:8.

⁵⁹ 1 En. 7:1 and 8:3.

⁶⁰ 1 En. 8:1-2.

associated with the origins of sin and evil. George Nickelsburg has compared the image of the scribe in the Wisdom of Ben Sira to 1 Enoch and shown how the titles and activity ascribed to Enoch in the Enochic booklets parallel Ben Sira.⁶¹ Benjamin Wright has demonstrated that Ben Sira and 1 Enoch have a common interest in the calendar, dreams and visions, and esoteric knowledge.⁶² Annette Yoshiko Reed has pointed out that the negative attitude in 1 En. 6-11 towards the angelic transmission of secrets to human beings is surprisingly similar to the “skepticism towards the quest for hidden knowledge” in the biblical and postbiblical Wisdom literature.⁶³ Both Qohelet and Ben Sira “level critiques against the apocalyptic claim to uncover the secrets of heaven.”⁶⁴ Ben Sira warns his students (3:21): “Seek not what is too difficult for you, nor investigate what is beyond your power. Reflect on what has been assigned to you, for you do not need hidden things.”⁶⁵ While 1 En. 6-11 may agree with this perspective, other parts of the Book of the Watchers certainly do not, especially chapters 17-36, which describe Enoch’s otherworldly journey. Ben Sira may esteem Enoch (44:19 and 49:14), as Reed points out, but he does not follow 1 Enoch and present him as the ideal scribe who ascends to heaven and receives the true knowledge of divine secrets.⁶⁶

⁶¹ George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion,” pp. 30-32 in Benjamin Wright and Lawrence Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (Symposium Series 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

⁶² Benjamin Wright, “Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” p. 108 in Benjamin Wright and Lawrence Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (Symposium Series 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

⁶³ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 43.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Translation from Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 43. See also Wright, “Puzzle,” pp. 97-98.

⁶⁶ Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 70-71.

There is one area in which Ben Sira and the Enoch books appear to have the same views, however - the connection between women and evil. In the Book of the Watchers, women are taught various evils by the Watchers, especially sorcery and methods of divination. Ben Sira, for his part, describes women as the origin of human sin: "From a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die" (25:24). In this case, he is probably referring to Eve and her eating from the Tree of Knowledge as the source of evil, rather than to the teachings handed down by the Watchers.⁶⁷ Ben Sira also writes, "From a woman comes woman's wickedness. Better is the wickedness of a man than a woman who does good" (42:13). If as Wright and others argue, both Ben Sira and the Enochic books stem from a scribal milieu, it is interesting that in this one area, they agree that women are a source of evil, although they each fix on a different point in the biblical story – for one the Garden of Eden story, for the other the story of the fallen angels.⁶⁸ This is obviously an important difference, because for the Book of the Watchers evil comes from the actions of the Watchers, whether transmitting forbidden knowledge to humans or cohabiting with women; the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden is barely even mentioned.

⁶⁷ Harold W. Attridge, et al, eds., *The HarperCollins Study Bible*, fully revised and updated (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2006) 1412; Patrick Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987) 348.

⁶⁸ The negative evaluation of women is also found in other wisdom books, for example in Qohelet. Qoh. 7:26 reads "Now, I find woman more bitter than death; she is all traps, her hands are fetters and her heart is snares. He who is pleasing to God escapes her, and he who is displeasing is caught by her." He continues (vs. 28): "As for what I sought further but did not find, I found only one human being in a thousand, and the one I found among so many was never a woman." See discussion in C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes* (AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997) 264-265 and 270-275, who argues that v. 28b "was a marginal gloss that had been inadvertently incorporated into the body of the text."