

Chapter Two

1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature

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The Status of Enochic Literature in Early Christianity

INTRODUCTION

From early times there were booklets which circulated under the name of Enoch. Scholars have long recognized that several of these are pre-Christian in date, but the recovery of significant parts of this corpus among the Dead Sea Scrolls has added decisive evidence for the antiquity of most of 1 Enoch. It appears that the five booklets which constitute this work belong in the following chronological order:

1. The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72-82= AB): 3rd century BCE.
2. The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36= BW): 3rd century BCE.
3. The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91-108= EE): 2nd century BCE.
4. The Book of Dreams (1 Enoch 83-90= BD): 2nd century BCE.¹
5. The Book of Parables (1 Enoch 37-71= BP): 1st century BCE/CE

As is well known, sizable pieces from four of these sections were found among the fragments of Qumran Cave 4, but not a single scrap of The Book of Parables has been identified. This fact has added fuel to the debate among New Testament scholars about the relevance of these parables for understanding Jesus' self-designation 'son of man'. Is the text pre-Christian, or was it written during or even after New Testament times and hence clearly not a source for the gospels' 'son of man' usage? In recent times opinions about the date of 1 Enoch 37-71 have ranged from the first century BCE to the first century CE.² Whatever one decides about this issue, it is clear that several Enochic texts were available for reading by the time of Jesus and the early church. The Qumran library has divulged that there was an Enochic Book of Giants (BG) as

¹ For discussion of the paleographical data and other dating considerations, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 4-59; and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 76-178.

² For references, see Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables'. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 89-98 has stimulated the most recent discussion with his contention that the Parables were written in the third century CE.

well.³ It is noteworthy, too, that some copies of the Enoch material combined several booklets in a single scroll:

4QEn ^c :	BW, BG, BD, EE ⁴	last third of the first century BCE ⁵
4QEn ^d :	BW, BD	last third of the first century BCE ⁶
4QEn ^e :	BW, BG(?), BD	first half of the first century BCE ⁷

There are two other books which bear the name Enoch, but both of them belong to later times. 2 (Slavonic) Enoch may have been written in the late first century CE.⁸ No MS of it antedates the fourteenth century, however.⁹ G. Nickelsburg notes that a date in the first century CE is often suggested but it is uncertain.¹⁰ It was probably written in Greek and comes from Egypt.¹¹ 3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch, which is a work from perhaps the fifth or sixth century CE, falls outside the purview of this study.¹²

The survey that follows will adduce the surviving evidence regarding the assessments given the writings of Enoch by those early Christian authors who mention them.¹³ The major concern here will not be to identify the places where an Enochic theme or phrase may lie behind an expression in a text written by a Christian; rather the focus will be on those relatively few passages from which we can glean something about the status Enochic writings had for a particular author. Clearly, only limited conclusions may be drawn from the sparse evidence. It hardly follows from one writer's lofty claims about the value of Enoch's books that all those in his area at that time shared his opinion. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that some early Christian authors accorded high, indeed scriptural standing to the writings of Enoch. The order of the ensuing survey is chronological, and where possible the geographical locations of the authors are specified.

³ It may have been composed in the second century BCE (Milik ib 58).

⁴ On inclusion of the BG, see Milik ib 57f.

⁵ ib 5.

⁶ ib.

⁷ ib 5, 227.

⁸ This is the date indicated in the title of the translation of it in *OTP* 1, 91. F.I. Andersen, the translator, however, writes (97): 'In every respect 2 Enoch remains an enigma. So long as the date and location remain unknown, no use can be made of it for historical purposes. The present writer is inclined to place the book – or at least its original nucleus – early rather than late; and in a Jewish rather than a Christian community.'

⁹ Andersen ib 94.

¹⁰ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 188.

¹¹ ib 185, 188.

¹² For the dates see P.S. Alexander in *OTP* 1, 225-29.

¹³ It should be kept in mind that early readers of Enochic literature may have had available only a single part of it, not the full collection that is now designated 1 Enoch.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

Jude (Palestine?; second half of the first century). The Letter of Jude, which identifies itself as being written by 'a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James' (v1),¹⁴ is often thought to be among the latest of the New Testament writings;¹⁵ and the early canon lists evidence some uncertainty within different parts of the church regarding its standing. It appears among canonical works in the Muratorian Canon, and both Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria recognize it. Nevertheless, as late as the fourth century, Eusebius placed it among the disputed writings. It seems that Jude's use of traditions from documents not found in the most widely accepted forms of the Old Testament had something to do with its tenuous status.¹⁶ Among these traditions are, of course, words attributed explicitly to Enoch.

Much of the little epistle consists of examples which illustrate divine punishments in the past or evils like those committed by the writer's opponents: 1) those who were saved from Egypt were later destroyed when they failed to believe (v5); 2) the 'angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling, he has kept in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day' (v6) – a clear allusion to material in 1 Enoch 6-11;¹⁷ 3) Sodom, Gomorrah and surrounding cities (v7). Here, then, he has aligned references to episodes in Exodus/Numbers, 1 Enoch, and Genesis. Nothing is said about the status of any of these works, nor is it said that one was ranked higher or lower in authority than another. Each is considered an appropriate source of information about the Lord's punishing acts in the past. That is, like Genesis and Exodus/Numbers, 1 Enoch is a source of facts about what God has done.

Jude then proceeds to indict 'certain intruders' (v4) for slander and for pursuing the way of Cain, Balaam, and Korah (vv8-11) – examples from Genesis and Numbers. At an earlier point he had noted about them that they were '...people who long ago were designated for this condemnation as ungodly' (v4),¹⁸ and to

¹⁴ All biblical citations are from the NRSV.

¹⁵ Cf Kümmel, *Introduction*, 300-302; but see Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 13f, who puts it in the second half of the first century CE and even remarks: 'All the same, once one has cast off the spell of the early catholic and antignostic reading of Jude, the letter does give a general impression of primitiveness. Its character is such that it might very plausibly be dated in the 50's, and nothing requires a later date.' As the destination for the letter, he notes (16) Syria, although it was not accepted there. Asia Minor or Egypt are also possibilities. The author himself, Bauckham thinks, may have been from Palestinian apocalyptic circles. See most recently his 'Jude, Epistle of.'

¹⁶ See Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 400f. He cites Didymus the Blind and Jerome in support of this point. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 17 mentions Origen, Eusebius, Didymus, and Jerome as attesting to doubts about the book because it used apocryphal material.

¹⁷ So Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xciv. Odeberg, 'ENQX' claims that Jude 4 cites 1 Enoch 48:10. If so, the allusion would be vague (it has to do with denying the Lord and Messiah). The reference is more likely to 1 Enoch 67:10; see Osburn, '1 Enoch 80:2-8', 300-2.

¹⁸ Cf Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 97.

this point he returns in his famous citation from 1 Enoch 1:9:¹⁹

It was also about these that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied [ἐπροφήτευσεν], saying, "See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgment on all, and to convict everyone of all the deeds of ungodliness that they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things that ungodly sinners have spoken against him." (vv14-15)

Several items in this passage should be highlighted. First, Enoch is credited with 'prophesying'²⁰ and the sense of the verb here is that he predicted because, though he was the seventh from Adam, he had already spoken about the ungodly intruders who so severely exercised Jude.²¹ Second, in his prediction, Enoch had in view not only Jude's impious foes but also the eschatological judgment. From his vantage point before the flood, Enoch spoke of the final courtroom and the sentence that those who slander the Lord would there receive. Thus, Jude knew several parts of The Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1, 6-11 at least), and believed that in prophetic fashion the ancient patriarch had spoken these words. It is also worth mentioning that in calling Enoch ἔβδομος ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ Jude uses a phrase²² found in 1 Enoch 60:8 – though it may be a simple inference from Genesis 5.²³

The Epistle of Barnabas (Alexandria; second half of the first century). The letter, though falsely attributed to Paul's colleague Barnabas,²⁴ is nevertheless among the earliest surviving specimens of Christian literature. Scholars place its date of composition between ca. 70 and 100 CE. It was written in Greek, perhaps in Alexandria. Its general purpose was to show that the Old Testament scriptures, far from enjoining the practices current among the Jews, actually provided advance testimonies about Christ – if only they were read correctly and not as the Jews understood them.²⁵ Thus he cites passages which show that

¹⁹ This is the only place in which he quotes a source and uses a standard introductory formula; see Bauckham ib 93. On the wording of the citation – an early witness to the text of 1 Enoch 1:9 – see the comparison in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 184-6 on 4QEn^a 1 i.15-17; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* 2, 59f; Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 93-98 who thinks that 'Jude knew the Greek version, but made his own translation from the Aramaic'; and Osburn, 'The Christological Use'.

²⁰ Bauckham ib 96: 'While this word indicates that Jude regarded the prophecies in 1 Enoch as inspired by God, it need not imply that he regarded the book as canonical scripture. At Qumran, for example, the Enoch literature and other apocryphal works were evidently valued without being included in the canon of Scripture.' So too Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 403. Their claims about a Qumran canon are highly dubious.

²¹ Note the repeated use of ungodliness/ungodly and the same word for these opponents in v4.

²² 2 Peter, which many think is dependent on Jude, lacks the explicit citation from 1 Enoch but refers to the ancient condemnation of deceptive teachers/prophets (2 Pet 2:3), while 2:4 refers to the Watcher story. Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 401f thinks the absence of a direct reference shows the writer's suspicion about pseudepigrapha.

²³ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, xcvi; Odeberg, 'ENQX', 559; see Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 96; cf 1 Enoch 93:3; Jub. 7:39 but neither one is phrased as here; only 1 Enoch 60:8 is.

²⁴ By Clement of Alexandria, for example.

²⁵ See J.B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 133.

the Lord wanted neither sacrifices (par. 2) nor fasts (par. 3). In the fourth paragraph he urges the readers to flee from the works of lawlessness and adds: 'The final stumbling-block is at hand of which it was written, as Enoch says, "For to this end the Lord has cut short the hours and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance"' (4:3).²⁶ Elsewhere in Barnabas, when an authority is named, the cited material follows rather than precedes the reference.²⁷ Yet, the statement that Barnabas relates to Enoch is the first part, according to a number of scholars. It reads in this way: τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἤγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται. While Barnabas' reference to a written work that circulated under the name of Enoch seems clear, the passage to which he is referring is not. As R. H. Charles wrote about it: 'Not in our Enoch'²⁸ – that is, this exact statement does not appear in the extant texts of 1 Enoch.²⁹ Milik³⁰ suggests that it, like the reference to Enoch's writing in Barn. 16:5, is a summary, 'a recapitulatory note to En. 106:19-107:1, where the word γέγραπται refers to the contents of the heavenly Tablets...' The passage to which he alludes occurs in Enoch's response to Methuselah regarding the meaning of Noah's remarkable nature already at the moment of birth. He predicts,

But after this [i.e. the flood] there will be yet greater iniquity than that which was committed in the earth before. For I know the mysteries of the holy ones, for that Lord showed (them) to me and made (them) known to me, and I read (them) in the tablets of heaven. And I saw written on them that generation upon generation will do wrong until a generation of righteousness shall arise, and wrongdoing shall be destroyed, and sin shall depart from the earth, and everything good shall come upon it.³¹

It is true that these verses refer to something written, but no σκάνδαλον, much less the final one, figures here, nor is there any prediction that one has drawn near (if Enoch's words are contained in the first part of the passage). It is possible that Barnabas is not citing but paraphrasing or summarizing, as Milik proposes; but one must also remember that the text of 1 Enoch has in places been altered in transmission. Or, possibly Barnabas is not referring to something in 1 Enoch. Of these various possibilities, it seems safest to say, given the character of the references later in Barnabas, that the writer is referring to teachings in 1 Enoch – a book dominated by concerns with the growth of evil

²⁶ Translations of Barnabas are from Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*. Lake identifies the Enochic words as those that follow 'as Enoch says', not those which precede, unlike many commentators. Cf ANF 1, 138. Lake notes in the margin that the passages intended are 1 Enoch 89:61-64; 90:17. Both have to do with the shepherds' excesses and their punishment; neither resembles Barnabas' words literally or in content.

²⁷ On this point see Reeves, 'An Enochic Citation'.

²⁸ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxii.

²⁹ Nor does it figure in any other Enochic text.

³⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 73f.

³¹ All English citations from 1 Enoch are from Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*.

until the final judgment. In addition, there are several references in it to the belief that the end is drawing nigh.³² The material summarized from 1 Enoch would then be the words which come after 'as Enoch says' – thus conforming with the practice in Barnabas.

The context in Barnabas 4 also includes references to Daniel,³³ Exodus,³⁴ Isaiah,³⁵ Matthew³⁶ and allusions to some New Testament epistles. The setting, then, shows that Enoch's words are among those γέγραπται, and they are aligned with references to other books widely recognized as scriptural.

The same author resorts to the writings of Enoch again in chap. 16, where his subject is the temple. He wishes to 'show how the wretched men erred by putting their hope on the building, and not on the God who made them, and is the true house of God'. (16:1) He proceeds to quote from Isa. 40:12; 66:1; and 49:17 in order to demonstrate his point (16:2-3). He alludes to the destruction of the temple at the end of the revolt (70 CE) as more confirmation of Old Testament sentiments about the building that could not contain the Lord. In 16:5-6 he writes:

Again, it was made manifest that the city and the Temple and the people of Israel were to be delivered up. For the Scripture says [λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή], "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the Lord shall deliver the sheep of his pasture, and the sheepfold, and their tower to destruction." And it took place according to what the Lord said. But let us inquire if a temple of God exists. Yes, it exists, where he himself said that he makes and perfects it. For it is written [γέγραπται γάρ], "And it shall come to pass when the week is ended that a temple of God shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord."

Charles³⁷ identified these references as drawn from 1 Enoch 89:56 for Barn. 16:5 and 91:13 for 16:6. In 1 Enoch 89:56, part of the second dream vision of Enoch in which Israel is represented as sheep, one reads: 'And I [=Enoch] saw how he left that house of theirs and their tower and gave them all into the hands of the lions, that they might tear them in pieces and devour them, into the hands of all the animals.'³⁸ 1 Enoch 91:13³⁹ adds: 'And at its end they will acquire

³² See, for example, 45:6 ('for the sinners my judgment draws near before me'); 47:2; 51:2; 91:6; 93:9 (which places the final apostasy in the seventh week – apparently the author's time, after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple had occurred at the end of the sixth week); 94:6-7; 95:6; 96:1; 97:10; and 98:15. R. Kraft has emphasized, in an oral discussion of the present chapter, that at least in the manuscript tradition of a work such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the names of the person to whom a statement is attributed change from manuscript family to manuscript family.

³³ Dan 7:24 and 7:7f.

³⁴ Exod 34:28; 32:7.

³⁵ Isa 5:21; 33:18.

³⁶ Matt 22:14.

³⁷ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxi; cf 199.

³⁸ Cf 89:54 in which the house of the Lord of the sheep and the tower are mentioned together with their pastures.

³⁹ Part of the description of the eighth week in the Apocalypse of Weeks.

houses because of their righteousness, and a house will be built for the great king *in glory* for ever.' M. Black⁴⁰ makes the same identification of Barnabas' words in 16:5 and writes: 'In spite of its being introduced as a scriptural quotation, the verse in Barnabas looks more like a free reminiscence of vss. 55, 56 here. It appears to be drawing on a Greek version: νομή = ארבע ימות, πύργος = מגד(?)'⁴¹ One can make a good case that Barnabas, who seems fairly loose in his citations of passages, has something like this context in 1 Enoch in mind because he mentions each of the items which the images in the second dream vision symbolize.⁴²

city = house/pasture/sheepfold – cf 89:54, 66-67⁴³

temple = tower

people = sheep

It is transparent from Enoch's dream, however, that the temple is the first temple; the time is therefore not the last days. This is one reason why Milik has demurred regarding the standard theory: '...the Book of Dreams is quoted only once [in early Christian literature], in a recapitulatory manner, by the Epistle of Barnabas 16:5 ...this quotation is generally compared with En 89:56-74. But the precise detail, "at the end of time", which was essential for the author of the Epistle makes me think rather of En 90:26-8.'⁴⁴ "And I saw at that time a precipice... And these blinded sheep were brought and they were ...cast into this abyss of fire and they burned... And I rose to watch until they folded up that old house (sc. Jerusalem) and all the columns were swept away... and they were cast into a place to the right of the earth."⁴⁵ There is no doubt that Milik is right: Barnabas' introductory words require an eschatological source; but it is awkward for Milik's case that the temple, the point of Barnabas' remark, is not mentioned in 90:26-29, since the house is Jerusalem in this vision, not the temple. It is not impossible that the original mentioned the tower/temple, but the extant texts do not.⁴⁶ More acceptable is Milik's remark that 16:5 is '... a conglomerate of expressions scattered all over our Enochic writing'.⁴⁷

As for Barn. 16:6, there is also some uncertainty regarding the passage in-

⁴⁰ Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 270. Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 396 suggests 1 Enoch 91:5-7, but this is unlikely.

⁴¹ There is no Greek version for this section of 1 Enoch.

⁴² Lawlor, 'Early Citations' studies this passage in connection with Testament of Judah 18 where, he believes, 1 Enoch 89:53f is under consideration, and where the Testament introduces the words of Enoch with ἐπ' ἔσχαταις ἡμέραις: 'The conclusion seems irresistible that somewhere in En lxxxix.53-56 the words "in the last days" occurred, though they have disappeared from the text now in our hands' (171).

⁴³ For sheepfolds in the desert period, see 89:34-35 (לְרִירֵיךָ in 4QEn^c 4.6.8). Cf Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 198, comment on 89:50 and T. Levi 10:4; but see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 46f, who thinks he misinterpreted it.

⁴⁴ ib 73 he writes 90:26-29.

⁴⁵ ib 46.

⁴⁶ 89:73 does mention the building of the second temple.

⁴⁷ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 47.

tended, but, as in 16:5, 1 Enoch is the most likely source for the statement if not for the precise formulation: 'And it shall come to pass when the week is ended that a temple shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord.' These words appear nowhere verbatim in 1 Enoch, but the reference to a *week*, especially the end of one, reminds one of a repeated phenomenon in the Apocalypse of Weeks. Thus Charles⁴⁸ finds echoes of 91:13 here: 'And at its end they will acquire houses because of their righteousness, and a house will be built for the great king [God] in glory for ever.' The verses in Barnabas and 1 Enoch share the mention of a week, of the 'weekend,' and a temple built gloriously for the Lord. Much of this verse now is available in Aramaic in 4QEn⁶ 1 iv 17-18:

ועם סופה יקנו נכסין בקשום 17
 ויתבא היכל [מלך] וח רבא ברבוה יה לטול ררי עלמין 18

¹³And with its end they shall acquire riches in righteousness, and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour, for all generations forever.⁴⁹

Milik comments that רבא, 'the Great One,' 'by itself is a substitute for the name of God',⁵⁰ and that Barnabas refers to the name of God. Therefore, it is surprising to find Milik opting for 1 Enoch 90:29,⁵¹ which shares with Barnabas only the reference to the house. But in 90:29 the house is Jerusalem, not the temple.

There is no doubt that in these two places in chap. 16 the author is alluding to, though not citing from 1 Enoch. For the present purposes the most significant fact about the context is that Barnabas, after several quotations from Isaiah, introduces the Enochic material with, 'For Scripture says'. For this ancient writer, then – perhaps from Alexandria⁵² – 1 Enoch constituted scripture and hence its teaching could be used to establish points that he wished to convey to his Christian audience so that they would, in this case, have a proper understanding of the Old Testament temple.

The two works just surveyed exhaust the first-century Christian references to the writings of Enoch. Jude cannot be located with certainty but may come from Syria/Palestine; Barnabas is somewhat more securely situated in Egypt. The writers of both works accord high status to Enoch's words – they are prophecy and scripture. How widespread their views may have been cannot be determined, but at least these two authors greatly valued Enoch's words and expected use of them to be acceptable to their audiences, since neither defends his practice of citing from them.

Athenagoras, Embassy for the Christians (Alexandria; 176-80 CE). The Embassy of the apologist Athenagoras can be dated quite precisely to 176-80 by its

⁴⁸ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxx.i.

⁴⁹ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, text, 266; translation, 267.

⁵⁰ ib 268.

⁵¹ ib 46.

⁵² See Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, 337.

address to the two emperors – Marcus Aurelius and Commodus – who were associated in office for those years.⁵³ The sources place him in Alexandria.⁵⁴ His Embassy defends Christians against the charges of atheism, cannibalism and incest – charges that arose from popular perceptions of Christian rituals and practices.

As he rebuts the charge of atheism, Athenagoras defends Christian monotheism and opposes statues of pagan gods. At par. 23, he turns to a new objection which might be raised against his position: 'Your surpassing wisdoms [the emperors] might ask me: How do some of the idols show activity, if those are not gods to whom we set up statues?'⁵⁵ He then adduces Plato's accommodation of his philosophical view regarding the one God with the popular notion of Zeus. In par. 24 he explains the Christian concept of God⁵⁶ and refers to angels to whom God entrusted the regulation of the material world. These angels had the ability to choose good or evil: some selected well, others did not.

...Some remained at the task for which they were created and to which they were appointed by God (for they had received free will from God), while others acted wantonly towards their own nature and their charge, that is, the ruler of this realm of matter and of the forms that are in it, and others that were in charge of the first firmament. Pray, realize that we tell of nothing without evidence, but expound what the prophets have declared (ὁ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκφώνηται). Well, then, these angels fell a-lusting after maidens and yielded to fleshly desires, and he, the chief of them, became heedless and wicked in the administration of his charge. Thus by those that went after maidens were the so-called giants begotten, and it is no marvel that an account, though incomplete, of the giants was told by the poets. Earthly wisdom differs from that of the prophets as a likely tale does from the truth: the one is earth bound and under the rule of matter, the other is from heaven. (par. 24)

Such spirits, he later⁵⁷ explains, draw people toward idols.

In this citation, Athenagoras indicates his familiarity with the myth of the angels who descended and mated with women. The giants who were engendered have souls which 'are those spirits that wander about the world'⁵⁸ and produce evil in people. Though the angel story has its exegetical base in Gen 6:1-4, Athenagoras transparently knows a more developed form of it – specifically, the elaborations best known from 1 Enoch. Crehan refers to the account in Jub. 4:22; 5:1-9⁵⁹ and does not mention 1 Enoch. In fact, he notes in connection with the first instance of the word *prophet* (above): 'The prophets were held to include Moses as their chief (Deut. 18:15) and hence Gen 6:1-4, which is the source of the myth about the fornicating angels, might be said to come

⁵³ Crehan, *Athenagoras*, 9-11; Barnard, *Athenagoras*, 19-22.

⁵⁴ Barnard ib 13-17; Crehan ib 4-7.

⁵⁵ Translations of Athenagoras are from Crehan ib.

⁵⁶ He mentions Father, Son, and Spirit.

⁵⁷ Par. 26.

⁵⁸ Par. 25.

⁵⁹ Crehan, *Athenagoras*, 154 n208.

from the prophets.⁶⁰ But he misses the point that Moses can hardly be said to be the prophetic source of the angel story which Athenagoras presents. This raises the possibility – a rather likely one – that among the *prophets* to whom he refers is Enoch. Barnard correctly appeals to 1 Enoch 15:3.⁶¹ Others have also concluded that Enoch is meant among the prophets.⁶² One cannot be certain about the conclusion, because the watcher myth is more widely attested, though 1 Enoch is the earliest, most developed source for it. Nevertheless, it is probable that Athenagoras, like Jude, classified Enoch as a prophet.⁶³

Irenaeus (*Gaul; ca. 130 – ca. 200*). Irenaeus mentions Enoch in *Against Heresies* 4.16.2.⁶⁴ In chap. 16, he deals with Old Testament laws such as circumcision and sabbath. Both meant more than their literal signification. Moreover, people were not justified by such ordinances, as the examples of Abraham, Lot, and Noah show. The next model for his point is Enoch: ‘Enoch, too, pleasing to God, without circumcision, discharged the office of God’s legate to the angels although he was a man, and was translated, and is preserved until now as a witness of the just judgment of God, because the angels when they had transgressed fell to the earth for judgment, but the man who pleased [God] was translated for salvation.’⁶⁵ Lawlor⁶⁶ saw here a reference to 1 Enoch 12, 13, 6ff., and 10; Charles⁶⁷ listed 12:4, 6; 13; 14:3-7; and 15; and 16. The source for Irenaeus’ allusion is not in doubt, but the context in which he places it is of greater interest. None of his other examples in this section goes beyond the givens of Genesis; only the lines about Enoch do. This suggests that Irenaeus understood Genesis 5:21-24; 6:1-4 in the light of 1 Enoch and placed its account of Enoch on the same plane as the other scriptural references.

The first example mentions Enoch by name but elsewhere Irenaeus shows that he knows the Watcher story, even if he does not attribute it to Enoch. In a remarkable passage, after summarizing the Gnostic systems, the Bishop of Lyon sketches the one Christian faith confessed by believers throughout the world on the basis of what they have received from the apostles and disciples. His résumé follows the triune pattern. Here the section on the Holy Spirit is of special interest:

⁶⁰ ib 154 n209.

⁶¹ Barnard, *Athenagoras*, 114. He also notes the Jubilees passage.

⁶² Lawlor, ‘Early Citations’, 177; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxii-lxxxiii. He adds 1 Enoch 6:7; 13:5; 14:5; 15:8-10.

⁶³ It is clear, however, that his reference to angelic control over the lower realm is not from 1 Enoch.

⁶⁴ See ANF 1, 312; the work was written during the bishopric of Eleutherus, who held the office in Rome during these years.

⁶⁵ ANF 1, 481; The full text is available only in Latin, but parts of it are extant in Greek, and some also in Syriac and Armenian (see the article ‘Irenaeus’, in Cross-Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary*, 713f.

⁶⁶ Lawlor, ‘Early Citations’, 195f.

⁶⁷ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxiii.

...And in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His [future] manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father “to gather all things in one,” [Eph 1:10] and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, “every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess” [Phil 2:10-11] to Him, and that He should execute just judgment towards all; that he may send “spiritual wickednesses”, [τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας]⁶⁸ [=Eph 6:12] and the angels who transgressed and became apostates [καὶ ἀγγέλους [τούς] παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας], together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire...⁶⁹

It is not impossible that Irenaeus, in the wording of his lines about the angels, is thinking of 2 Pet 2:4 and Jude 6, but the language he uses does not reproduce their vocabulary very closely. There is, however, some verbal similarity with 1 Enoch. For example, at 1 Enoch 106:14, in reference to the angels, Enoch says to Methuselah: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀμαρτάνουσιν καὶ παραβαίνουσιν⁷⁰ τὸ ἔθος – the very verb used by Irenaeus. 1 Enoch 106:13 does the same.⁷¹ If Irenaeus is here reflecting the Watcher story, he is attributing it to the Holy Spirit’s inspiration of the prophets and including it within a brief statement of the Christian faith shared throughout the scattered churches.

Irenaeus makes clear in several other passages that he knows this story and accepts it in his system. In *Against Heresies* 1.15.6 he notes the words of a certain ‘divine elder and preacher of the truth’ who says of the gnostic Marcus that he is involved in the ‘black arts of magic’ and signs and wonders

Which Satan, thy true father, enables thee still to accomplish
By means of Azazel, that fallen and yet mighty angel.⁷²

Or, in 4.36.4 he writes: ‘And in the days of Noah He justly brought on the deluge for the purpose of extinguishing that most famous race of men then existant, who would not bring forth fruit to God, since the angels that sinned had commingled with them, and [acted as He did] in order that he might put a check upon the sins of these men, ...’⁷³

⁶⁸ The Greek is cited from Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 11.

⁶⁹ ANF 1, 330f.

⁷⁰ 4QEn^c 5 ii.17 has יעבןִרְי (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 209).

⁷¹ There the Greek has παρέβησαν = עברו in 4QEn^c 5 ii.18 (Milik ib).

⁷² ANF 1, 340.

⁷³ ANF 1, 516. The Latin has ‘commiati fuissent’ = 1 Enoch 7:1. So Lawlor, ‘Early Citations’, 196. Cf 4.37.1, where angels are rational beings with moral choice, like humans; or 5.29.2: the beast with the number 666 in the Apocalypse has their number, ‘...since he sums up in his own person all the commixture of wickedness which took place previous to the deluge, due to the apostasy of the angels.’ ANF 1, 558.

Clement of Alexandria (Egypt; ca. 150 – ca. 215). Clement begins his *Selections from the Prophets* (ἐκ τῶν προφητικῶν ἐκλογαί)⁷⁴ by citing several summonses to praise found in the Danielic hymn of the three young men,⁷⁵ referring to it as part of αἱ γραφαί (1.1). In par. 2.1 he quotes Dan 3:54 (= θ’):

εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ βλέπων ἀβύσσους, καθήμενος ἐπὶ χειρουβίμ.
Blessed are you who look into the depths from your throne on the cherubim.

To the quotation he adds the words:

ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει, ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνώχ τῷ εἰρηκότι· »καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πασας⁷⁶
Daniel says, agreeing with Enoch who had said: “I saw all the matter.”

The short extract is attributed specifically to Enoch, but its location has caused some debate. A. Dillmann believed that Clement was quoting from 1 Enoch 19:3: ‘And I, Enoch, alone saw the sight, the ends of everything; and no man has seen what I have seen.’ The Greek has: κάγω Ἐνώχ ἴδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος, τὰ πέρατα πάντων, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐγὼ ἴδον.⁷⁷ His suggestion has often been repeated, despite the clear fact that the two do not match all that closely.⁷⁸ Lawlor,⁷⁹ however, had already observed that Clement ‘...assigns to Enoch a saying which is nowhere found in our Book...’ He concluded as he frequently did: ‘The passage therefore must be added to the list of extracts from the Book of Enoch not found in our present text.’⁸⁰

The citation should, nevertheless, be read in context. As Lawlor said,⁸¹ Clement pairs the citations from Daniel and Enoch – two prophets – in order to show that the terms ἀβύσσους in the former and ὕλας in the latter are synonymous. The sequel further explicates the two words:

ἄβυσσος γὰρ τὸ ἀπεράττωτον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν, περαιούμενον δὲ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ. αἱ τοίνυν οὐσαὶ ὕλικαί, ἀφ’ ὧν τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους γένη καὶ τὰ τούτων εἶδη γίνεται, ἀβύσσοι εἰρηγνται· ἐπεὶ μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ἀβύσσον. καίτοι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀβύσσος ἢ ὕλη ἀλληγορεῖται. (2.2-3)
For “abyss” is the unlimited according to its own essence, but bounded by the power of God. Hence the material properties from which the individual types and their forms come are called “abysses”, since he would not have called the water alone “abyss”. Yet water is allegorized as “abyss” or “matter”.

⁷⁴ For the Greek text, see Stählin-Früchtel-Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vol. 3.

⁷⁵ Dan 3:59, 58, 60, 61-63, 90; so Stählin ib 137.

⁷⁶ See below for Origen’s use of the same passage.

⁷⁷ G² = εἶδον. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 32. The passage is not preserved in Aramaic. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 145 notes the use of פוצק for extremities = all, entirety, as in פוצק פוצק.

⁷⁸ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 43; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 11; see also his *The Book of Enoch*, 161; Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 397.

⁷⁹ ‘Early Citations’, 182.

⁸⁰ ib.

⁸¹ ib.

Here one is reminded of words from 1 Enoch 19:3: τὰ πέρατα πάντων. That is, Clement draws a distinction between the singular ἀβύσσος = τὸ ἀπεράττωτον and plural ἀβύσσοι (in the Enochic quotation) = αἱ οὐσαὶ ὕλικαί. Consequently, when Enoch is cited as saying that he saw τὰς ὕλας πάντας, whereas the passage in 1 Enoch says τὰ πέρατα πάντων, the two are the same. Clement has drawn information from this passage in 1 Enoch without citing it verbatim. If this explanation is correct, it also renders superfluous the additional claim that 2 Enoch 40:1,12 may be behind Clement’s attribution.⁸² Those verses are farther removed from Clement’s text. In 40:1, Enoch claims: ‘I know everything; for either from the lips of the Lord or else my eyes have seen from the beginning even to the end, and from the end to their commencement.’⁸³ This appears to be an explication of words such as those in 1 Enoch 19:3. 2 Enoch 40:12 simply notes that Enoch saw where hell was. The explanation given above also entails that Milik’s thesis is unnecessary in this case. Here again he infers from the difference in wording between what Clement writes and what is found in extant texts of 1 Enoch 19:3 that the Christian author was not citing a text of Enoch: ‘At the very most one might envisage it as an explanatory gloss of the Enochic passage [the position defended above] indicated; note in particular the philosophical meaning of ὕλη, a term which one just would not expect in a literal translation of a work of Enoch. Such an explanatory phrase – in which an attempt is made to elucidate the rather unclear expression, τὰ πέρατα πάντων, which is moreover, a mistranslation⁸⁴ – would have its appropriate place in a collection of Old Testament quotations, enriched with glosses, exegetical notes, summaries, etc.’⁸⁵ It seems simpler to say that Clement was referring to 1 Enoch 19:3 and explaining the word ἀβύσσοι from the terms used in that verse, i.e., he provided the explanatory gloss.

A larger inference may be drawn from Clement’s use of 1 Enoch here: he refers to it in clarification of a term in Daniel and locates it in a work entitled ‘Selections from the Prophets’. Thus Clement joins the early Christian witnesses (Jude, apparently Athenagoras and Irenaeus) to the belief that Enoch was among the prophets.

In *Selections from the Prophets* 53.4 one encounters another early Christian reference to the angel myth, and again it is attributed to Enoch. The passage is set in a context in which Ps 19:2 is under discussion. The verse reads:

Day to day pours forth speech
and night to night declares knowledge.

In explanation, Clement notes that the demons have special knowledge:

⁸² So Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 137; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 11.

⁸³ So recension J; A is almost identical (translation of F.I. Andersen in *OTP* 1, 164f).

⁸⁴ See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 35.

⁸⁵ ib 73.

“νύξ νυκτί” πάντες οἱ δαίμονες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι κύριος ἦν ὁ ἀναστάς μετὰ τὸ πάθος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ἐνώχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάοντας ἀγγέλους διδάξει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας. “Night to night”: All the demons knew that it was the Lord who arose after the passion, for Enoch already said that the angels who transgressed taught humanity astronomy, divination, and the other arts.

It is undoubted that Clement has in mind the various arts, enumerated in 1 Enoch 7:1-8:3,⁸⁶ which the fallen angels taught to humans. The three categories that he mentions – astronomy, manticism, and the other arts – are not named in those very words and in that precise order in 1 Enoch 7:1-8:3, but all appear to be there. The first category is largely undefined, but ἀστρονομία = ἀστρολογία (=8:3); cf also τὰ σημειωτικά, ἀστεροσκοπία, σελιναγωγία. The form ἀστρολογία actually occurs in Syncellus’ version of 8:3. The Aramaic fragments have preserved this verse partially,⁸⁷ and in them some terms explicating Clement’s μαντική appear:

4QEn ^a 1 iv.2-4	כשפ וחרטמו [כ]	‘magic, sorcery’ ⁸⁸
	נן כוכבין [נ]	‘signs of the stars’ ⁸⁹
	שן שש [נ]	‘the signs of the sun’ ⁹⁰

cf 4QEn^b 1 iii.2-4.⁹¹

So, in this instance, too, an early Christian writer alludes to rather than quotes 1 Enoch, but he gives sufficient information so that the object of the allusion can be identified. The Book of Enoch could, therefore, be used to explain a phrase in a psalm. Also, Clement’s use of ἤδη indicates that he regarded the book, not as a recent forgery, but as an ancient work. This ancient work was, on this point, a reliable source of information.

Stromata 5.1.10,1-2 differs from the preceding instances in that Clement does not name Enoch here, but he once more alludes to the angel story in a way that expresses his confidence in it. Indeed he mentions it in a context in which Moses and the prophets appear. The general subject is Greek theft from the Old Testament:

And we showed in the first Miscellany⁹² that the philosophers of the Greeks are called thieves, inasmuch as they have taken without acknowledgement their principal dogmas from Moses and the prophets (παρὰ Μωυσεως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων οὐκ εὐχαρίστως εἰληφότας). To which also we shall add that the angels who had obtained the superior rank, having sunk into pleasures, told to the women the secrets which had come to their knowledge; while the rest of

⁸⁶ So Lawlor, ‘Early Citations’, 182; Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 397; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxv, 19 – he mentions only 8:2,3; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 11 notes 8:1-3.

⁸⁷ En^a and En^b.

⁸⁸ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 157f.

⁸⁹ ib.

⁹⁰ ib; see his general comment on p160.

⁹¹ ib 170.

⁹² = Stromata 1.17.87,2.

the angels concealed them, or rather, kept them against the coming of the Lord. Thence emanated the doctrine of providence, and the revelation of high things; and prophecy having already been imparted to the philosophers of the Greeks, the treatment of dogma arose among the philosophers, sometimes true when they hit the mark, and sometimes erroneous, when they comprehended not the secret of the prophetic allegory.⁹³

Lawlor finds here a reference to 1 Enoch 16:3, where Enoch is ordered to say to the angels:⁹⁴

You were in heaven, but (its) secrets had not yet been revealed to you and a worthless mystery you knew [μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγεννημένον] ἔγνωτε.⁹⁵ This you made known to the women in the hardness of your hearts, and through this mystery the women and the men cause evil to increase on the earth.⁹⁶

It is likely that Clement had this verse (and the general story in 1 Enoch 6-16) in mind when he penned these lines. It is not obvious, however, that he meant to include the Enochic material within the literary categories ‘Moses and the prophets’. In fact one might more convincingly argue that he considered the contents of the book a truthful supplement to Moses and the prophets in that he writes, directly after noting the Greek theft from them: οἷς δὴ κακείνα προσθήσομεν. Then follows the Enochic material. What is happening here is that Clement is surveying the various means by which the Greeks stole the truth from the Old Testament authorities and other sources: the demonic angels, about whom one learns the truth in 1 Enoch, were another such source. As a result, here, unlike in the Ekloge, Clement may not be including Enoch among the prophets.

Tertullian (North Africa; ca. 160 – ca. 220). Tertullian converted to Christianity in 195 or 196 CE and went back to his native Carthage. He became a Montanist in ca. 207. He is of special interest as a fervent defender of Christianity for whom the authenticity of the Book of Enoch was worth supporting and from which he cites as from a great authority. There is substantial disagreement about the dates for Tertullian’s various writings (within very limited chronological confines), but all of the texts in which he uses 1 Enoch antedate his Montanist phase, with the possible exception of *On Idolatry*.

Barnes dates the *Apology* to ‘autumn 197 or later’.⁹⁷ As he deals with ‘the existence of certain spiritual essences’,⁹⁸ Tertullian cites the support of Socrates

⁹³ ANF 2, 446.

⁹⁴ ‘Early Citations’, 182; so, too, Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 37; Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 332, n. to lines 16-20 = *Stromata Bücher I-IV* (GCS 52/2); Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi*, 11, 30; id, *The Book of Enoch*, 155; Martin, *Le livre d’Hénoch*, cxxv.

⁹⁵ Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*, 47 noted that E read ἐξουθενημένον. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 155 accepts this explanation.

⁹⁶ Cf 9:6-8

⁹⁷ Barnes, *Tertullian*, 55.

⁹⁸ ANF 3, 36.

and Plato and then adds (22): 'We are instructed, moreover, by our sacred books how from certain angels who fell of their own free-will, there sprang a more wicked demon-brood, condemned of God along with the authors of their race, and that chief we have referred to.'⁹⁹ As the detail regarding the angels exceeds that of Genesis and reflects clearly what is found in 1 Enoch 6-15, and especially 15:8-9, it is likely that Tertullian is including 1 Enoch among 'our sacred books'.¹⁰⁰

Scholars have formulated arguments for dating this treatise in 196-197¹⁰¹ or 198-208,¹⁰² although it has at times been assigned to his Montanist phase. Waszink and van Winden write: '*De idololatria* is a treatise on the practice of Christian life in relation to the (often hidden) religious elements in the heathen world.'¹⁰³ In this work, in chaps. 3-23, Tertullian deals with the sundry ramifications of idolatry, and in 3-11 specifically with the sort of idolatry that arises through the arts and professions. Within these general confines, he makes his initial foray into 1 Enoch.

In 4.1 Tertullian cites the decalogue's command against making idols. He then (4.2-3) turns to 1 Enoch.

2. Already earlier Enoch had prophesied (*praedicens*) that the demons and spirits, that is the apostate angels, would employ all elements, everything belonging to the world, everything that the heaven, the sea, and the earth contain, for idolatrous purposes, so that they were hallowed, instead of God, against God. Everything, therefore, is worshipped by human error except the Creator of everything Himself. The images of these things are idols, the consecration of the images is idolatry. Every offence committed by idolatry must of necessity be imputed to every maker of every idol.

After all, the same Enoch threatened and forejudges at the same time both the worshippers and the makers of an idol: 3. "And again I swear to you sinners, that unrighteousness has been prepared for the day of the destruction of blood. You, who serve stones and who make images of gold and silver and wood and stone and clay, and serve ghosts and demons and spirits in sanctuaries and all errors, not according to knowledge, you will not find any help for them."¹⁰⁴

In this case, Tertullian just alludes to Enoch's prophecy that the apostate angels would employ all elements for idolatrous purposes. It has long been suggested that the Latin father here intends 1 Enoch 19:1: 'And Uriel said to me: "The spirits of the angels who were promiscuous with the women will stand here; and they, assuming many forms, made men unclean and will lead men astray so that they sacrifice to demons as gods – (that is,) until the great judgement day

⁹⁹ He has mentioned Satan just before this.

¹⁰⁰ See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxiv, 36.

¹⁰¹ Barnes, *Tertullian*, 55.

¹⁰² Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 10-13 say it is probably to be dated between 203 and 206.

¹⁰³ ib 9; cf Barnes, *Tertullian*, 96f.

¹⁰⁴ Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 27, 29.

on which they will be judged so that an end will be made of them.'" Charles¹⁰⁵ pointed to this passage and to 99:7¹⁰⁶ (the only two verses in which the word *demons* appears in the Greek texts) as the source of Tertullian's remarks. Lawlor had earlier done the same,¹⁰⁷ though he admitted the source was 'not quite clear'. Typically, however, he seizes upon the differences in wording between the Ethiopic of 1 Enoch 19:1 and Tertullian's text to conclude that '[e]ither Tertullian's text of xix.1 was very unlike ours, or he was quoting a passage not in our Book of Enoch at all.'¹⁰⁸ But Tertullian is clear enough that he is alluding to, not quoting from, the Book of Enoch in these comments. Waszink and van Winden, after noting that Charles and Black point to 1 Enoch 19:1, object that though this is the only passage which exhibits similarity with what Tertullian says, there are additional items mentioned by Tertullian but not found in 1 Enoch 19:1. They propose that the elements named by Tertullian are from a passage such as 1 Enoch 80:2-8.

...We do best to assume that Tertullian is here expressing in his own words a combination of ideas which he had found in the book of Enoch. That the formulation is entirely his own is also evident from the structure of the sentence, which bears the stamp of Tertullian's style, especially the climax built up by successive parts of the sentence.¹⁰⁹

Thus, it seems likely that Tertullian is more broadly alluding to the contents of various parts of 1 Enoch. Milik, who agrees that he is referring to 19:1, also believes that Tertullian's *omnia elementa*, etc. reflects the world as pictured in the report of Enoch's travels in 1 Enoch 17-36; while his phrase 'quae in caelo sunt' echoes, not 80:7, but chaps. 33-36.¹¹⁰ However, the material in 99:6-7 is similar to Tertullian's reference in 4.2.

The situation is much different for the words in 4.3 because here Tertullian is clearly quoting. All commentators recognize that he is reproducing a form of 1 Enoch 99:6-7, although it is not identical to the readings in the surviving manuscripts of the book.¹¹¹ The wording employed by Tertullian is noteworthy. There is no doubt that he connects the statements with the antediluvian sage.¹¹² These he considers prophetic – apparently in the sense of prediction. Moreover,

¹⁰⁵ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 42f; see, too, Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxvi; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 161; Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 397 (who suggests either 19:1 or 65:6-8, but the latter is unlikely to be the source).

¹⁰⁶ Tertullian quotes this passage in the next paragraph.

¹⁰⁷ Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 181.

¹⁰⁸ ib.

¹⁰⁹ Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 116.

¹¹⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 79.

¹¹¹ For comparisons, see especially Milik ib and Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 117-9. Milik ib 80 concludes from Tertullian's uses of 1 Enoch that he had a manuscript which contained both the Book of the Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch.

¹¹² 'Antecesserat Enoch praedicens' (Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 26); cf 'praedamnat' in 4.3 (ib 28).

Enoch is referred to and cited as an authority. The material from 1 Enoch is sandwiched between a citation from the pentateuch¹¹³ and quotations from Isaiah 44:8-9 and Ps 115:8; 135:18,¹¹⁴ with no indication in the text that Tertullian puts them on different levels. If this were not clear enough, the rhetorical flourish with which he ends the section clinches the case:

And why should I, a man of limited memory, suggest anything more, why remind you of anything more from Scripture (*de scripturis*)? As if the voice of the Holy Spirit were not sufficient, or as if it deserved any further consideration whether the Lord has not rather cursed and damned the makers themselves of those things, whose worshippers He curses and damns.¹¹⁵

In the same work Tertullian again resorts to 1 Enoch but does so in an unexpected manner. Chap. 15 appears within the more general context of his discussions of the kinds of idolatry which come about through participation in social life,¹¹⁶ 14.6-15.11 deals with the celebrations in which Christians participate. In the paragraph in question the issue is the decoration of doors with lamps and laurel wreaths – a practice (found also among Christians) which Tertullian took to be idolatrous. Enoch is then adduced as an authority on the superstitions which involved the gods of doors, which apparently attract demons.

Moreover, demons have no name individually but they find a name where they also find a pledge. The Greeks, too, as we read, have in Apollo Thyraeus and the Antelian demons protectors of entrances. Therefore the Holy Spirit, foreseeing this from the beginning, predicted through the intermediary of the oldest prophet, Enoch, that even entrances were to become objects of superstition. For we see that other entrances, too, are worshipped, viz., in the baths. (15.6)¹¹⁷

Waszink/van Winden¹¹⁸ maintain that Tertullian here is recalling his earlier listing (in 4.2) of what the demons would lead people to worship: 'In this conversation Tertullian wants to say: "Enoch also predicts the adoration of doors": hence *etiam ostia*.' Lawlor¹¹⁹ believed Tertullian had in mind 1 Enoch 19:1 or whatever passage he was referring to in 4.2.¹²⁰ Milik¹²¹ demurs, seeing here allusions to 1 Enoch 9:2 and 9:10 '...where the complaints of men, which rise as far as the "doorways of heaven," are mentioned'. But this seems highly implausible, since different doorways are involved.

If it is acceptable to conclude that Tertullian is referring to the same pas-

¹¹³ It is from the decalogue (4.1).

¹¹⁴ Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 119: 4.4.

¹¹⁵ ib 29.

¹¹⁶ ib 15f.

¹¹⁷ ib 53.

¹¹⁸ ib 244.

¹¹⁹ Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 181.

¹²⁰ Similarly Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 397.

¹²¹ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 79.

sage(s) as he was using before, then we find here another strong statement about his view of the Enoch whose words appear in 1 Enoch: he was the most ancient prophet, and the Holy Spirit predicted through him that this kind of idolatry would occur.

There is some disagreement about the unity of the work that goes under the name *De cultu feminarum*. Barnes holds that the second book was written in 196 or 197. Later, before becoming a Montanist, Tertullian 'reworked' this document, the results of which are now presented as the first book, though its original title may have been *De habitu muliebri*.¹²² He dates the latter, in which the reference to Enoch occurs, to perhaps 205-206.¹²³ Turcan, however, considers the whole work a unity and places it in 202.¹²⁴ As he opens Book 1, Tertullian reminds women that each of them is an Eve, due to whose transgression the Son of God had to die (1.1). He goes on to explain in the second chapter that the ornaments and finery worn by women are really to be traced back to the angels who '...conferred properly and as it were peculiarly upon women that instrumental means of womanly ostentation, the radiances of jewels wherewith necklaces are variegated, and the circlets of gold wherewith the arms are compressed, and the medicaments of orchil with which wools are coloured, and that black powder itself wherewith the eyelids and eyelashes are made prominent' (1.3).¹²⁵ These angels the Christians are some day to judge, according to the Pauline promise (1 Cor 6:3). Reference to the angel story¹²⁶ raises in Tertullian's mind the status of the Book of Enoch from which the account comes. To it he then devotes chap. 3 – '...n'étant qu'une parenthèse destinée à prouver l'authenticité du livre d'Énoch, qui affirme cette origine satanique...'¹²⁷

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

¹²² Barnes, *Tertullian*, 137, cf M. Turcan, *Tertullien*, 20.

¹²³ Barnes, *Tertullian*, 55.

¹²⁴ Turcan, *Tertullien*, 30.

¹²⁵ *ANF* 4, 15.

¹²⁶ Tertullian turns to it a number of times: De idol. 9; De or. 22; De cult. fem. 1.2 ch. 10; De virg. Vel. 7.

¹²⁷ Turcan, *Tertullien*, 21.

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

[3.] But since Enoch in the same Scripture [*scriptura*] has preached likewise concerning the Lord, nothing at all must be rejected by us which pertains to us; and we read that 'every Scripture [*scripturam*] suitable for edification is divinely inspired'. By the Jews it may now seem to have been rejected for that (very) reason, just like all the other (portions) nearly which tell of Christ. Nor, of course, is this fact wonderful, that they did not receive some Scriptures which spake of Him whom even in person, speaking in their presence, they were not to receive. To these considerations is added the fact that Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude.¹²⁸

Tertullian's primary concern here is to support the genuineness of the Enochic scripture, which provides him with the basis for his argument about the origin of women's finery. In building his case he formulates four arguments:

a) The flood need not have destroyed the writing because Noah could have preserved his prophetic deposit.¹²⁹

b) If that did not happen, the Spirit could have renewed it through inspiration, just as happened much later with Ezra.¹³⁰

c) Enoch preached or prophesied about the Lord in this book, and Christians must not reject such inspired words, though the Jews, to no one's surprise, do not accept them.

d) Enoch has the support of Jude.

Here, then, for the first time in extant Christian literature one finds arguments for the genuineness or scriptural status of 1 Enoch, which speaks not only about the evil origins of feminine ornamentation but about Christ himself. This latter claim may, as Turcan observes, point to the Similitudes of Enoch¹³¹ in which a judicial Son of Man figures. However, it is also possible that passages such as the theophany in 1:3-9 are meant. It is beyond doubt that Tertullian knows the story in 1 Enoch 6-11, while the allusion to the transmission of Enoch's words through his son Methuselah arises from 1 Enoch 82.

Tertullian opens the second chapter of *De cultu feminarum* with some sarcastic remarks (such as God's forgetting to create purple and scarlet sheep) to show that the deity was not the author of womanly ostentation. Within the paragraph he alludes at some length to 1 Enoch:

So true is it that it is not intrinsic worth, but rarity, which constitutes the goodness (of these things): the excessive labour, moreover, of working them with arts introduced

¹²⁸ ANF 4, 15-16.

¹²⁹ Apparently this would have happened through Noah's memory, not by his having the book on the ark; cf also 1 Enoch 68:1.

¹³⁰ This entails that Tertullian also found 4 Ezra authoritative or at least accurate on this matter.

¹³¹ Turcan, *Tertullien*, 60.

by the means of the sinful angels, who were the revealers withal of the material substances themselves, joined with their rarity, excited their costliness, and hence a lust on the part of women to possess (that) costliness. But if the self-same angels who disclosed both the material substances of this kind and their charms – of gold, I mean, and lustrous stones – and taught men how to work them, and by and by instructed them, among their other (instructions), in (the virtues of) eyelid-powder and the dyeings of fleeces, have been condemned by God, as Enoch tells us, how shall we please God while we joy in the things of those (angels) who, on these accounts, have provoked the anger and the vengeance of God? (2.10)¹³²

The passage to which he refers is 1 Enoch 8:1, the text which he used in 1.2.¹³³ Though Tertullian draws a number of terms and ideas from this passage in 1 Enoch, he uses the phrase 'ut Enoch refert'¹³⁴ specifically in connection with the words 'damnati a Deo sunt'. Here he probably intends 1 Enoch 10.¹³⁵ Thus it is the Book of Enoch which contains within it the account of what God did with regard to the sinful angels.

Barnes¹³⁶ dates the treatise *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* to 206-207, still before Tertullian became a Montanist. Ernest Evans¹³⁷ outlines the first parts of *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* in this way: 'The first (paras. 1-4), which almost serves the usual purpose of an exordium, relates the heretical half-beliefs with which Tertullian is in conflict, to the opinions of philosophers and to the prejudices of the general non-Christian public. In part two (paras. 5-17) are set out the general principles which are to govern the interpretation of the relevant passages of Scripture: namely, the dignity of the flesh, the power of God, and the necessary requirements of the divine judgement. Parts three (18-39) and four (40-56) take up the testimony of the Scriptures, first expounding their positive teaching, and then rescuing from perverse misunderstanding or misinterpretation a number of apostolic texts of which the adversaries have claimed the support.'¹³⁸ It is within this third part that Tertullian may again resort to the Book of Enoch.

32. But lest it should seem that the only resurrection preached is of those bodies which are consigned to sepulchres, you have it written [*habes scriptum*], "And I will command the fishes of the sea and they shall spew up the bones that are consumed and I will bring joint to joint and bone to bone."¹³⁹

Tertullian then goes on to defend this thesis in the remainder of the paragraph, later saying:

¹³² ANF 4, 23.

¹³³ See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxiv, 19.

¹³⁴ Turcan, *Tertullien*, 148.

¹³⁵ See especially 10:8; cf also 13:1-2; 14:4-5; chap. 16.

¹³⁶ Barnes, *Tertullian*, 38, 55.

¹³⁷ Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Treatise*, xvi-xvii.

¹³⁸ *ib.*

¹³⁹ *ib.* 87.

Will any one then, ...who is rather in awe of the divine wisdom than rashly confident of his own, when he hears that God has appointed a certain destiny for flesh and skin and sinews and bones, invent some other meaning for these, as though that which is preached respecting these substances were not the destiny of man?¹⁴⁰

Once he has argued his point, he begins 33 with: 'That is enough concerning the prophetic document'.¹⁴¹ Evans notes regarding the way in which Tertullian opens his quotations ('et mandabo', etc.) that this seems as if it should derive from Rev 20:13, but that the line actually comes from 1 Enoch.¹⁴²

Now Tertullian does not here claim to be citing from Enoch, but some scholars identify the source of his words as 1 Enoch 61:5.¹⁴³ If it is a paraphrase of this passage, it is not a very tight one:¹⁴⁴ 'And these measurements will reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who were destroyed by the desert, and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea and by animals, that they may return and rely on the Chosen One: for no one will be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits, and no one can be destroyed.' The two passages share only a reference to 'fishes of the sea' (in somewhat different settings); and perhaps Tertullian's 'and they shall spew up' is not entirely unlike 'that they may return'. The thought of the two passages is similar but the wording is not. If one is generous and grants that Tertullian is echoing, however loosely, the thrust of 1 Enoch 61:5, then he is once again recognizing its scriptural status, since he attributes the teaching to God and refers to it as *scriptum* and *praedicari*.

Tertullian, then, echoes the high esteem in which earlier writers held 1 Enoch but he, for the first time, as far as one knows today, overtly defends the genuineness of the book. While his arguments articulate only his views, they also reflect the fact that use of the book in the sorts of contexts in which he employed it required defending. Not all may have shared his enthusiasm for it.

Origen (Egypt and Palestine; ca. 185 – ca. 254). In Origen's writings one finds evolving attitudes about the Book of Enoch, and these follow chronological lines. He alludes to the book in four of his writings, all of which can be dated fairly accurately to specific stages in his career.

On First Principles appears to have been completed in about 225 CE,¹⁴⁵ that is, when Origen was still associated with the catechetical school in Alexandria. Though much of this work is extant only in Rufinus' Latin translation, there is

¹⁴⁰ ib 89.

¹⁴¹ ib, though this may refer to Ezekiel, since he has been discussing Ezekiel 37 since par. 29 (see p266).

¹⁴² ib 266; 87 n5.

¹⁴³ ib; see also Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 397: '...what appears to be a paraphrase of 1 En. 61:5'.

¹⁴⁴ An angel is answering Enoch's question about the cords which other angels carried.

¹⁴⁵ Butterworth, *Origen*, xxix-xxx.

no reason for doubting that the references to Enoch stood in the original Greek text.

Chap. 3 of Book 1 is devoted to the Holy Spirit; in it Origen adduces various passages from Scripture which attest to the existence of the Holy Spirit. In the third paragraph he handles the question whether there is any substance not created by God and thus coeternal with God. To refute this notion, he first cites the Shepherd of Hermas (Mandate 1) which asserts that God did create everything.

Similar statements are also made in the book of Enoch [*Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur*]. But up to the present we have been able to find no passage in the Holy scriptures which would warrant us in saying that the Holy Spirit was a being made or created, not even in that manner in which we have shown above that Solomon speaks of wisdom, nor in the manner in which the expressions we have dealt with, such as life, or word, or other titles of the Son of God, are to be understood. (1.3.3)¹⁴⁶

The passage to which Origen makes reference may be 1 Enoch 2-5,¹⁴⁷ in which one reads: 'And understand in respect of everything and perceive how He who lives for ever made all these things for you...' (5:1) This seems, nevertheless, a rather unlikely source for Origen's plural *similia*. In fact there are not many statements in 1 Enoch about the subject. Milik, however, while conceding the point, adds that the Enochic booklets '...do speak..., in great detail, in the Book of the Watchers and in the Astronomical Book, of terrestrial and celestial worlds, that is of the results of creation, and it is these descriptions which Origen has in mind'.¹⁴⁸ However that may be, it does appear possible that Origen is including Enoch among the sacred books here, as suggested by his subsequent comment about not finding indications in *scripturis sanctis* that the Spirit was made or created.

In the fourth chapter of the fourth book of On First Principles, Origen begins by summarizing sundry trinitarian points that he had earlier clarified.¹⁴⁹ This topic raised the issue of substance, matter and qualities (beginning with par. 5). For him there is no unbegotten or uncreated matter (par. 6); further, he believes '...that a substance never exists without quality, and that it is by the intellect alone that this substance which underlies bodies and is capable of receiving quality is discerned to be matter'.¹⁵⁰ In par. 8 he seeks scriptural warrant for this assertion. One instance he finds in Ps 139:16 (LXX 138:16) which he read in the form, 'Mine eyes have seen thine incompleteness'.¹⁵¹ He takes God's in-

¹⁴⁶ This is Butterworth's rendering of the Latin, ib 31; for the Latin text, see in Görgemanns-Karpp, *Origenes*, 162.

¹⁴⁷ So Görgemanns-Karpp ib 163 n6a. Butterworth, *Origen*, 31 n3 must mean the same section but he writes 11.5 – there is no 2:5 in 1 Enoch.

¹⁴⁸ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 109.

¹⁴⁹ Or, according to the Greek text, points that he had previously omitted.

¹⁵⁰ Butterworth, *Origen*, 4.4.7.

¹⁵¹ I.e. he read: τὸ ἀκατέργαστον σου εἶδον ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου.

completeness to refer to that entity to which qualities are added in order to bring it to completeness.

Moreover Enoch speaks thus in his book: "I walked until I came to what is incomplete," which I think may also be understood in a similar way, namely, that the prophet's mind, in the course of its investigation and study of every visible thing, came right to the very beginning, where it beheld matter in an incomplete state without qualities. For it is written in the same book, Enoch himself being the speaker: "I perceived every kind of matter." Now this certainly means: "I beheld all the divisions of matter, which from one original have been broken off into all the various species, of men, animals, sky, sun and everything else in the world."¹⁵²

The first citation in the passage is from 1 Enoch 21:1 where the text reads: 'And I went round to a place where there was nothing made'.¹⁵³ Görgemanns and Karpp¹⁵⁴ make this identification and note that the Greek term ἀκατασκευάστου appears in LXX Gen 1:2;¹⁵⁵ hence it would have been an especially suggestive term for Origen.¹⁵⁶ Origen took it to mean matter without any qualities. The second quotation from Enoch's book has been noted before: Clement of Alexandria cited it in his Selections from the Prophets 2.1.¹⁵⁷

The context in which Origen uses these verses from the Book of the Watchers and the way in which he refers to Enoch document the fact that he considered the book inspired and authoritative. It will be recalled that he introduces them in a paragraph in which he is adducing scriptural support for his philosophical point.¹⁵⁸ In addition, he calls Enoch himself a prophet.¹⁵⁹ Origen's attitude toward 1 Enoch will change with time.

In two of his numerous expositions of biblical books Origen also exploits the contents of 1 Enoch. He wrote extensively on the Gospel of John during his Alexandrian phase.¹⁶⁰ In book 6, chap. 25 he draws upon the Book of Enoch. In the context he is highlighting the importance of paying attention to names in

¹⁵² Butterworth, *Origen*, 323; the text reads: "Sed in libro suo Enoch ita ait: "Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum," quod et ipsum puto posse similiter intellegi, quod scilicet "ambulaverit" mens prophetae perscutans et disserens singula quaeque rerum visibilia, usquequo ad principium perveniret illud, in quo "imperfectum" materiam absque qualitatibus pervideret; scriptam namque est in eodem libello, dicente ipso Enoch: "Universas materias perspexi" (Görgemanns-Karpp, *Origenes*, 806).

¹⁵³ Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch 2*: wa-'adku 'eska makān xaba 'albotu za-yetgabbar; Greek: καὶ ἐφώδευσα ἕως [Gr: μέχρι] τῆς ἀκατασκευάστου = Black, *Apocalypse*, 32.

¹⁵⁴ Görgemanns-Karpp, *Origenes*, 807 n51.

¹⁵⁵ It translates Hebrew שָׁמַיִם.

¹⁵⁶ For the identification of 21:1 as the verse Origen uses, see also Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 44n; Butterworth, *Origen*, 323 n2; Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 398; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 73.

¹⁵⁷ See above for a discussion; there it was identified as coming from 1 Enoch 19:3, not from 2 Enoch.

¹⁵⁸ "Sed fortasse requirat aliquis, si possumus etiam de scripturis occasionem aliquam intelligentiae huius accipere" (Görgemanns-Karpp, *Origenes*, 806).

¹⁵⁹ "Mens prophetae perscutans", Görgemanns-Karpp ib.

¹⁶⁰ Butterworth, *Origen*, xxv.

Scripture: 'Names are not to be neglected, since indications may be gathered from them which help in the interpretation of the passages where they occur'.¹⁶¹ Chap. 25 then opens with an etymology of the name 'Jordan':¹⁶²

Let us look at the words of the Gospel now before us. "Jordan" means "their going down". "Jared" is etymologically akin to it, if I may say so; it also yields the meaning "going down"; for Jared was born to Maleleel, as it is written in the Book of Enoch – if any one cares¹⁶³ to accept that book as sacred – in the days when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men.

He follows with an allegorical interpretation of both the descent and the waters of the Jordan. The explanation of Jared's name occurs at 1 Enoch 6:6; cf 106:13,¹⁶⁴ and the genealogical descent from Maleleel is found in 1 Enoch 37:1; see also 83:3-9. But here already one detects a hesitation in Origen vis-à-vis 1 Enoch: some apparently do not accept it as sacred. Origen, while he is still willing to use it, nevertheless reveals an awareness that not all may be ready to classify it among the sacred works – a hesitation he did not show in *On First Principles*.¹⁶⁵ In the same commentary (2.25) Origen makes a similar remark about a work called *The Prayer of Joseph*.¹⁶⁶

The Homilies on Numbers must come from much later in Origen's life, since he did not allow his homilies to be transcribed and circulated until he was 60 years of age. Most of the more than 200 extant ones survive only in Rufinus' Latin translations.¹⁶⁷ In the twenty-eighth homily on Numbers Origen deals with the fact that the various places in Judea and other neighboring areas have their own particular names. The apostle Paul said that the earthly was a shadow and example of the heavenly realm; thus, there may also be various areas in heaven: the regions and the stars have their own names and signs:

"Qui enim fecit multitudinem stellarum, ut ait Propheta,¹⁶⁸ omnibus eis nomina vocat." De quibus quidem nominibus plurima in libellis qui appellantur Enoch, secreta continentur et arcana; sed quia libelli ipsi non videntur apud Hebraeos in auctoritate haberi, interim nunc ea quae ibi nominantur, ad exemplum vocare differamus.¹⁶⁹

For "he makes the multitudes of the stars", as the prophet says, "he gives names to all of them." Regarding these names many secret and hidden matters are also contained in the booklets called "Enoch". But since those booklets do not appear to be regarded as authoritative among the Jews, for the moment we should postpone appealing to those matters that are there mentioned as an example.

¹⁶¹ 6.24; ANF 9, 371

¹⁶² He is commenting on John 1:28.

¹⁶³ This translation seems a bit strong: ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γέγραπται, εἰ τῷ φιλῶν παραδέχουθα ὡς ἄγιον τὸ βιβλίον. For the text, see Preuschen, *Origenes*.

¹⁶⁴ See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 117.

¹⁶⁵ Cf Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 203; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxv.

¹⁶⁶ See Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 398.

¹⁶⁷ Butterworth, *Origen*, xxv.

¹⁶⁸ He is quoting Ps 147:4.

¹⁶⁹ PG 12, 802

Lawlor understands this as a reference to 1 Enoch 82:9ff (assuming that the antecedent of 'quibus ... nominibus' is the names of the stars); if the antecedent is the heavenly regions, he thinks it refers to 2 Enoch 21:6; 22:1 (A). But he concludes that Origen is probably referring to both.¹⁷⁰ Milik thinks the passages intended are 1 Enoch 75:3; 82: 10 (for the names of the stars); and 77: 13 (for the names of the quarters of heaven).¹⁷¹ While Origen does mention a problem with the status of the books (pl.) of Enoch, that difficulty seems to be only that they are not considered authoritative by the Jews.¹⁷²

Origen's apologetic work was written, according to Eusebius (Hist. eccl. 6.36.2), during the reign of Philip the Arabian (244-49), when Origen was more than sixty years of age. The data suggest that it was composed in ca. 248,¹⁷³ that is, later in his career when he was in Caesarea. In this composition Origen mentions the Book of Enoch several times and shows the degree to which his opinion of the book had shifted in a negative direction.¹⁷⁴

The context in which he comments on 1 Enoch is in Against Celsus 5.52-55. In 5.52 Origen quotes Celsus as saying:¹⁷⁵

We leave on one side the many arguments which refute what they say about their teacher: and let us assume that he really was some angel, Was he the first and only one to have come? Or were there also others before him? If they were to say that he is the only one, they would be convicted of telling lies and contradicting themselves. For they say that others also have often come, and, in fact, sixty or seventy at once, who became evil and were punished by being cast under the earth in chains. And they say that their tears are the cause of hot springs.

Commentators have observed that Celsus here mirrors 1 Enoch 6-10 and 67-69;¹⁷⁶ the latter passage (esp. 67:11) is possibly the source for the theory about angels' tears and hot springs, though 1 Enoch does not mention the connection. 1 Enoch 6:6, 8 specify two hundred as the number of angels who descended; Celsus' comment about sixty or seventy may derive from 1 Enoch 89:59-90:25 which chronicles the misdeeds of the seventy shepherds who shared the same judgmental fate as the stars (which represent the angels who descended [90:24-25; cf also 10:12]).

Origen wrote the following sections in reply to this and related claims. In 5.53 he counters that '...no real Christian says that Christ is the only one who has visited mankind...' Later he admits that the Marcionite heretic Apelles did believe Jesus was the only supernatural being who had come to visit human-

¹⁷⁰ Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 203.

¹⁷¹ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 20.

¹⁷² See Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 398.

¹⁷³ Chadwick, *Origen*, xiv-xv.

¹⁷⁴ See Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 204.

¹⁷⁵ Translation of Chadwick, *Origen*, 305.

¹⁷⁶ Koetschau, *Origenes Werke* 1, 56; Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxvii; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxv; Chadwick, *Origen*, 305 n1.

kind, so that Celsus' argument that there were others would be valid against him.

For Apelles ...does not believe the books of the Jews which relate miracles. He will much less admit what Celsus seems to have affirmed because he misunderstood what is written in the book of Enoch.¹⁷⁷ Nobody, then, convicts us of telling lies and of contradicting ourselves as if we said both that only our Saviour has come and that none the less many others have often come. However, because he was hopelessly muddled in his discussion about the angels who have come to men, he uses the instances, which he failed to understand, that were suggested to him by what is written in the book of Enoch. He seems neither to have read them nor to have been aware that the books entitled Enoch are not generally held to be divine by the churches,¹⁷⁸ although perhaps he took from this source his statement that sixty or seventy angels came down at once and became evil. (54)

Origen goes on to isolate the basis for the words of Enoch in Genesis 6 and cites Philo's allegorical interpretation of the passage.¹⁷⁹ But, after some additional comments, he returns to Celsus' statement about the angels.

Then he muddles and confuses what he has somehow heard, and what is written in some book or other,¹⁸⁰ whether believed by Christians to be divine or not, saying *that sixty or seventy angels came down at once, and were punished by being cast under the earth in chains*. And he quoted as from Enoch, though he does not name it, *their tears are the cause of hot springs*, a notion neither mentioned nor heard of in the churches of God. For no one has been so stupid as to imagine that the tears of the angels that came down from heaven were physical tears like those of men. If we may be frivolous about objections which Celsus seriously brings against us, we would remark that nobody would say that warm springs, most of which are fresh water, are angels' tears since tears are naturally salt – unless perhaps Celsus' angels weep tears of fresh water!

From these remarks it is unmistakable that, in Origen's opinion, the books (again plural) of Enoch are not generally considered divine in the churches. Moreover, he seems to be almost derogatory toward Enoch's compositions when he calls his writings 'some book or other' (55). He considers it inane to believe angels' tears have anything to do with hot springs, but this need not be a criticism of 1 Enoch since the book does not say they do.

SUMMARY

In the first part of this chapter the writings of seven authors from the first three centuries of Christian history have been studied. All of them show familiarity

¹⁷⁷ Koetschau ib: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γεγραμμένων.

¹⁷⁸ ANF 4, 507: 'do not at all circulate...' Koetschau, ib: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ γεγραμμένων βιβλία οὐδ' αὐτὰ φαίνεται ἀναγνοῦς οἷδ' ἰσχυρῶς ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐ πάνυ φέρεται ὡς θεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνώχ βιβλία.

¹⁷⁹ As he does in his Commentary on John; see above on this work, and Chadwick, *Origen*, 307 n1.

¹⁸⁰ καὶ τὰ ὅπου ποτ' οὖν γεγραμμένα, clearly referring to 1 Enoch again.

with Enochic books and accord them authoritative standing (all use words such as *scripture* or *prophet/ prophesy* in connection with them) although in his later works Origen was plainly moving away from this conviction. Jude and the Epistle of Barnabas adduced Enoch's words in connection with the final judgment; later writers (Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Clement, Tertullian, and Origen) found the story of the fallen angels more helpful and applied it to various ends (see the second part of this chapter). Clement and Origen used words from 1 Enoch to clarify philosophical points. Some of the witnesses cannot be located with precision, but four of the seven authors were associated with Alexandria (Barnabas, Athenagoras, Clement, and Origen), and one with Carthage (Tertullian). That is, five of the seven were from two north African cities. Only Jude and Irenaeus fall outside these geographical settings, the former perhaps in Syria/Palestine and the latter in Gaul (though he had come from the East and had studied with Polycarp in Smyrna).¹⁸¹ It is also noteworthy that Origen seems to have changed his mind about 1 Enoch upon moving from Alexandria to Palestine.¹⁸²

Early Christian Uses of the Enochic Angel Story

INTRODUCTION

Another way in which to gauge the influence of the Enoch traditions on early Christian writers is to select a prominent theme in 1 Enoch and to trace where and how it was employed by the authors whose works have survived. The obvious choice for such a theme is the central Enochic myth of the angels who descended from heaven to earth and married the daughters of men. This familiar exegetical expansion of Gen 6:1-4¹⁸³ is elaborated most extensively in the

¹⁸¹ At the end of this section, it should be added that the Book of Giants, which is now known from Qumran, is an Enochic work whose unusual fate betrays the esteem in which it was held: Mani himself, the founder of the highly syncretistic Manichean religion in the mid-third century CE, seems to have revised the Book of Giants (which he may have read during his association with the Elchasaites) and made it one of the authoritative works for his followers. For the evidence, see Henning, 'The Book of Giants'; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 57f, 298-339; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*.

¹⁸² Although little could be derived from it about the authority which early Christians accorded parts of 1 Enoch, it is worthwhile to mention that Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 7.32.19) quotes from the Canons on the Pascha of Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea (in Syria) who found in the Book of Enoch that for the Hebrews the first month occurs around the time of the equinox. I thank W. Adler and J. Treat for the reference.

¹⁸³ Many of the Greek copies of Genesis that might have been available to early Christian writers read ἄγγελοι for Hebrew אֲנָשִׁים in Gen 6:2 (in the phrase 'the sons of God'); fewer copies attest this reading in v4. For the evidence, see Wevers, *Genesis*. It should also be noted that not all agree that 1 Enoch 6-16 is an expansion of Gen 6:1-4; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 30-33 considers 1 Enoch 6-16 to be the older document.

corpus of books that circulated under Enoch's name, though it is, of course, attested elsewhere.¹⁸⁴ The fact that the myth is articulated in other works entails that one should not assume all early Christian allusions to it arose from the authors' knowledge of 1 Enoch. Nevertheless, it is a fact that 1 Enoch is the earliest attested and most extensive presentation of the myth—one that was probably the source for the others; and at times Christian authors identify it as the book from which they drew.

The myth is first set forth in 1 Enoch 6-16 – a work which dates from the third century BCE. According to these chapters, the heavenly angels lusted after the daughters of men, swore an oath to carry out their plan, and descended in the days of Jared on Mt. Hermon – more than 200 of them in all under Shemihazah's leadership. Once married, they taught their wives divinatory techniques and engendered from them giants, who in turn devoured people's crops and eventually the people themselves. Azazel, one of the angelic leaders, taught humans the making of armaments, ornaments and cosmetics. All of the evil that resulted from the angelic invasion provoked a human cry to heaven. Four good angels brought the humans' complaint before God himself. God determined to send a flood to punish the giants (after they had slaughtered many of their own number), while the angels (who were immortal) were to be bound under the hills until the final judgment, when their eternal punishment will begin. Enoch himself, who had been hidden before all this, was delegated by the doomed angels to plead their case before God, but that plea was rejected. Later one learns that the death of the giants was not the end of the evil associated with the angelic descent:

And now the giants who were born from body and flesh will be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth will be their dwelling. And evil spirits came out from their flesh because from above they were created; from the holy Watchers was their origin and first foundation. Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and spirits of the evil ones will they be called... And the spirits of the giants ...which do wrong and are corrupt, and attack and fight and break the earth, and cause sorrow; and they eat no food and do not thirst [unlike the voracious giants], and are not observed. And these spirits *will rise* against the sons of men and against women because they came out from them. (15:8-9, 11-12)

The story of the angels, which even in 1 Enoch 6-16 may be an amalgam of more than one tradition, explains the phenomenal increase of evil on the earth before the flood (the angels and giants caused it) but it also accounts for baleful changes which originated then but continue now and will remain until the final judgment: the angels instructed humanity in divination, warfare, and cosmetics, all of which have evil consequences; and the evil spirits or demons¹⁸⁵ who

¹⁸⁴ Examples are Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The motif of a positive reason for sending the angels to the earth does not come from 1 Enoch, but it is attested initially in Jub. 5:6.

¹⁸⁵ For use of the word 'demon' for the spirits that issue from the giants' bodies, see 1 Enoch 19:3; 99:7; and Jub. 10:1, 2.

emerge from the corpses of the giants exercise an ongoing and malicious influence on humanity. These themes came to play prominent and diversified roles in ancient Christian literature until the beginning of the fourth century and became much more widespread than the relatively infrequent explicit mentions of the Book of Enoch would lead one to believe. Here, as in the first part of our chapter, the survey will proceed chronologically and if possible, geographical distribution will be noted. Since some of the passages are the same as those cited and analyzed in the first part, they can be handled more briefly in this section.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

Three New Testament writings make explicit use of the angel story: 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude.

1 Pet 3:19-20. The date of the letter is disputed – a dispute which focuses around whether Peter himself wrote (or was ultimately responsible for) the work, or whether it is a pseudepigraphon. Whatever decision one reaches on the issue, the book is almost certainly a product of the period 60-100 CE. It is quite possible that it was written in Rome – the Babylon of 5:13.¹⁸⁶ In the third chapter, after exhortations to wives¹⁸⁷ and husbands (vv1-7), the writer urges unity for his readers and calls upon them to be ready to suffer, if need be, just as Christ suffered for sins.

He was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit, in which also¹⁸⁸ he went and made a proclamation to the spirits in prison, who in former times did not obey, when God waited patiently in the days of Noah, during the building of the ark, in which a few, that is, eight persons, were saved through water. (3:18b-20)

Commentators have pointed out that the spirits to whom Christ preached could hardly be those of individuals who had died. As the reference to the time of the flood shows, they are the imprisoned spirits who, according to 1 Enoch, sinned at the time of Noah. The writer puts the theme to creative use by casting the spirits as the audience for Christ's post-passion proclamation. If this is what the author has in mind, then he is calling the angelic Watchers of 1 Enoch – the ones who were imprisoned in the earth – 'spirits in prison'. The Watchers are indeed said to be spiritual in 1 Enoch 15:4, 6, 7 – at least they were before lust overcame them. It is quite likely, however, that 1 Peter reflects a passage such

¹⁸⁶ Cf Kümmel, *Introduction*, 292-99; Donfried, 'Peter', 262f.

¹⁸⁷ Note the reference to admonition, etc in vv3-4.

¹⁸⁸ Some commentators have proposed that in the original form of the Greek text Enoch's name was mentioned here: ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἐνώχ became the present ἐν ᾧ καὶ through homoiographon. For an analysis and refutation of the suggestion, see Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 197f.

as 1 Enoch 19:1,¹⁸⁹ where the angel Uriel paints for Enoch a scene of judgment:

The spirits of the angels who were promiscuous with the women will stand here; and they, assuming many forms, made men unclean and will lead men astray so that they sacrifice to demons as gods – (that is,) until the great judgement day on which they will be judged so that an end will be made of them.

Jude 6. The author cites the story of the angels – particularly the judgment which they experienced – as an example of how the Lord, in the past, had destroyed those who had begun in his favor.

And the angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling, he has kept in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day. (v6)

The themes articulated in this verse echo the contents of 1 Enoch 12:4; 14:5; 15:2-10 (leaving their proper dwelling) and 10:4-6, 12-14.¹⁹⁰

2 Pet 2:4. This short epistle has proven notoriously difficult to date and locate. It is reasonable, however, to assign it to the end of the first century (the opponents do not appear to be gnostic and thus it need not have been written in the second century) and to place it in Asia Minor in a locale where the author could be familiar with Jewish and Greek traditions.¹⁹¹ After warning about false teachers who will arise as deceptive prophets did in the past and declaring that their punishment has been determined long ago (2:1-3), the writer documents his case by citing ancient instances of God's definitive judgments:

For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell [=ταρταρώσας]¹⁹² and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgment; ...then the Lord knows how to rescue the godly from trial, and to keep the unrighteous under punishment until the day of judgment... (vv4, 9)

There can be no doubt that the same Enochic sections which underlie Jude 6 also inspired this passage,¹⁹³ although, unlike Jude (one of his sources), the writer never names Enoch as the authority on which his words rest.

Justin Martyr (Syria-Palestine; died ca. 167). Justin Martyr appears to be the first writer outside the New Testament to employ the angel story, but he presses

¹⁸⁹ See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, xcvi. Nickelsburg, 'Two Enochic Manuscripts', 252-54 draws attention to a number of points of contact between Enochic and Petrine traditions as he highlights the fact that Codex Panopolitanus contains extracts from the Gospel of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, and large portions of the Book of Watchers in Greek.

¹⁹⁰ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, xcvi.

¹⁹¹ See the introductory sections in Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude* for a discussion of these matters.

¹⁹² Cf 1 Enoch 20:2. Naturally, this term would have special meaning for a reader familiar with Greek myths.

¹⁹³ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, xcvi.

it into service in his own way. There are two principal passages in which the story surfaces, both of which make the same point.

In his first apology (ca.155) Justin defends the Christians against, among other slanders, the charge of atheism. He accuses their detractors of not examining what they say and responding with passion under the guidance of evil demons.

For the truth shall be spoken; since of old these evil demons, effecting apparitions of themselves, both defiled women and corrupted boys, and showed such fearful sights to men, that those who did not use their reason in judging of the actions that were done, were struck with terror; and being carried away by fear, and not knowing that these were demons, they called them gods, and gave to each the name which each of the demons chose for himself... For not only among the Greeks did reason (Logos) prevail to condemn these things through Socrates [the demons brought about his death], but also among the Barbarians were they condemned by Reason (or the Word, the Logos) Himself, who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; and in obedience to Him, we not only deny that they who did such things as these are gods, but assert that they are wicked and impious demons, whose actions will not bear comparison with those even of men desirous of virtue.¹⁹⁴

Here Justin argues emphatically that Greek religion is demon-based – a theme which will emerge among other apologists for the faith.¹⁹⁵ But who are these demons who through terror induced humans to call them gods? Justin answers this query in his second apology (ca.161). In it he explains that God entrusted the care of humanity and all things under heaven to angels:

But the angels transgressed this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons; and besides, they afterwards subdued the human race to themselves, partly by magical writings, and partly by fears and the punishments they occasioned, and partly by teaching them to offer sacrifices, and incense, and libations, of which things they stood in need after they were enslaved by lustful passions; among men they sowed murders, wars, adulteries, intemperate deeds, and all wickedness. Whence also the poets and the mythologists, not knowing that it was the angels and those demons who had been begotten by them that did these things to men and women, and cities, and nations, which they related, ascribed them to god himself, and to those who were accounted to be his very offspring, and to the offspring of those who were called his brothers, Neptune and Pluto, and to the children again of these their offspring. For whatever name each of the angels had given to himself and his children, by that name they called them.¹⁹⁶

Justin reproduces several aspects of the angel story – their lust, fatherhood, and teachings – but also their role in religion. However, in his version the demons are the offspring of the angels, not apparently the emanations from the giants' dead bodies. Here, as in 1 Pet 3:19-20, the basis for Justin's claims is 1 Enoch

¹⁹⁴ ANF 1, 164 = Apology 1.5.

¹⁹⁵ See Athenagoras and Tertullian below; cf Droge, *Homer or Moses?* 54-57.

¹⁹⁶ ANF 1, 190

19:1.¹⁹⁷ Justin's point is that the gods of Greek mythology, who committed a host of immoral deeds, were actually the evil demons depicted in the Enochic angel tale.¹⁹⁸

Tatian (Rome and Antioch; ca. 110-72). Justin's student Tatian also used the Watcher story in his Address to the Greeks, though he does so in less clear form than his mentor. His allusion comes in a section of the Address that is dominated by his views about the demons (from chap. 8 on). Christians have repudiated the demons and follow the one God who created all things (chap. 19). Even if drugs effect cures, one must give the proper thanks to God.

For the world still draws us down, and through weakness I incline towards matter. For the wings of the soul were the perfect spirit, but having cast this off through sin, it flutters like a nestling and falls to the ground. Having left the heavenly companionship, it hankers after communion with inferior things. The demons were driven forth to another abode; the first created human beings were expelled from their place; the one, indeed, were cast down from heaven; but the other were driven from earth, yet not out of this earth, but from a more excellent order of things than exists here now.¹⁹⁹

While not all is pellucid in this statement, the parallelism – the demons driven to another abode which is then equated with being cast from heaven – shows that the beings whom Tatian called demons are the angels of 1 Enoch 6-16.²⁰⁰

Athenagoras. Much of the segment in question, from the Embassy 24-25, was quoted above in the first part of this chapter. The apologist uses the Watcher story much as Justin did: the angels who sinned with women became the fathers of giants; the souls of these giants are the demons who mislead people and, along with the angels, give rise to false religion. Note the sequel (25-26):

These angels, then, that fell from heaven, dwell about our earth and sky and can no longer stretch upwards into the regions that are above the heavens. The souls of the giants are those spirits [δαίμονες] that wander about the world, and both classes are productive of motions, the spirits producing motions akin to the natures they have received, and the angels of such desires as those to which they fell victims, while the ruler of this material world guides and directs it in a manner opposed to the goodness of God, as is evident from what happens...

Now these spirits [δαίμονες] are they that drag men towards idols..., while the gods that catch the popular fancy and give their names to the idols were originally men –

¹⁹⁷ 'The spirits of the angels who were promiscuous with women... made men unclean and will lead them astray so that they sacrifice to demons as gods...'

¹⁹⁸ See Droge, *Homer or Moses?* 54-57; and Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels', 319. In his Dialogue with Trypho 79.1, Justin quotes Trypho as accusing him of saying that the angels committed evil and apostatized from God (I thank J. Treat for the reference).

¹⁹⁹ ANF 2, 74.

²⁰⁰ Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxiv; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxxii. Cf also Address to the Greeks 8.

as one can ascertain from their history. That it is the evil spirits who usurp these names one can prove from the cult-operations in each case.²⁰¹

Irenaeus. Irenaeus exhibits his familiarity with the angel story in several passages of his *Against Heresies*. The following were cited above in the first part of the chapter: 1.10.1;²⁰² 1.15.6;²⁰³ 4.16.2;²⁰⁴ and 4.36.4.²⁰⁵ He also mentions it in *In Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 18:

...The angels brought as presents to their wives teachings of wickedness, in that they brought them the virtues of roots and herbs, dyeing in colours and cosmetics, the discovery of precious substances, love-potions, amours, concupiscence, constraints of love, spells of bewitchment, and all sorcery and idolatry hateful to God.²⁰⁶

Clement of Alexandria. The great Alexandrian scholar not only displays his awareness of the angel myth but also adapts it in his system to a unique purpose. His allusions in *Selections from the Prophets* 53.4 have been cited above.²⁰⁷ Also, note has been taken of *Stromata* 5.1.10,1-2 where Clement, in innovative fashion, maintains that Greek philosophy arose from the angels who had sinned – one of several opinions he expressed on the issue.²⁰⁸ This figures in a context where Clement is discussing faith which, he affirms, must not stand alone and passive but needs to be accompanied by investigation.

Clement alludes to the angel myth in a few other contexts. In *The Instructor* 3.2 he lashes out against ornamentation of the body, especially the painstaking hours devoted by women to beautifying themselves. He cites various poets who ridicule such practices²⁰⁹ and these he reinforces with scriptural references.

²⁰¹ Crehan, *Athenagoras*, 63-65; placing the good angels higher and the evil ones over the lower parts of the universe may originate in Platonic sources. See Barnard, *Athenagoras*, 111-114 for an explanation of Athenagoras' angelology – entirely set within the overall providence of God. Cf also Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxiv; and Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxvii-lxxviii.

²⁰² '...That he may send ...the angels who transgressed [καὶ ἀγγέλους (τοὺς) παραβηκότας] and became apostate, ...into everlasting fire...'

²⁰³ There he mentions magic, signs, and wonders '... which Satan, thy true father, enables thee to accomplish/By means of Azazel, that fallen and yet mighty angel.' Azazel is, of course, one of the two chiefs of the angels in 1 Enoch 6:7; 8:1; 10:4,8; 13:1; there he is charged with teaching various subjects (making weapons, ornaments, make-up [8:1]) and with being responsible for all sin (10:8; 13:2).

²⁰⁴ Here Enoch is '...God's legate to the angels, ...because the angels when they had transgressed fell to the earth for judgment...'

²⁰⁵ 'And in the days of Noah He justly brought on the deluge for the purpose of extinguishing that most famous race of men then existant, who would not bring forth fruit to God, since the angels that sinned had commingled with them...' See also 5.29.2 which mentions the prediluvian apostasy of the angels. Cf Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxiv; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lxxiii-lxxiv.

²⁰⁶ The translation is from Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels', 320.

²⁰⁷ 'Enoch says that the angels who transgressed taught mankind astronomy, divination, and the other arts' (my translation).

²⁰⁸ Bauckham, 'The Fall of the Angels', 313-30; Droge, *Homer or Moses?* 138-41; See also *Stromata* 1.81.4-5.

²⁰⁹ Meander, Antiphanes, and Alexis.

After a series of criticisms on the subject, he rounds it off with the words:

Heaven delights in two charioteers,²¹⁰ by whom alone the chariot of fire is guided. For the mind is carried away by pleasure; and the unsullied principle of reason, when not instructed by the Word, slides down into licentiousness, and gets a fall as the due reward of its transgression. An example of this are the angels, who renounced the beauty of God for a beauty which fades, and so fell from heaven to earth.²¹¹

At about the same time Tertullian was applying the story to the same end. Elsewhere, in *Stromata* 3.7. 59, in a section on continence, Clement refers to the angels who lacked this virtue, were overcome by desire, and descended from heaven.²¹²

Bardaisan (Syria; 154-222). Bardaisan (Bardesanes) was from Edessa and converted to Christianity in 179. After he was excommunicated from the church, he went to Armenia.²¹³ In the work *The Book of the Laws of Countries* (written in Syriac) he (or a disciple) holds that humans have received a freedom which they share with the angels.

We understand well, that if the angels had not possessed free-will, they would not have had intercourse with the daughters of men, they would not have sinned and would not have fallen from their state.²¹⁴

As Lawlor has observed, the ending of the statement, while it echoes Genesis 6, goes beyond what Genesis says and thus is probably based on the Enochic elaboration of Gen 6:1-4.²¹⁵ The story for Bardaisan, then, established a point in his philosophical or theological understanding of the created nature of humans and angels.

Tertullian. Tertullian employs the angel story in several of his compositions, some of which were mentioned above. For instance, in *Apology* 22 he reports that the sacred books spoke of fallen angels who gave rise to a demon-brood. On *Idolatry* 4.2-3 charges the apostate angels with using everything in creation for idolatrous purposes (cf. 15.6). Tertullian attributes to the angels who sinned the crime of teaching women about finery, cosmetics, and the like in *De cultu feminarum* 1.2 (cf. 2.10). To that list a few more should now be added; they are treated here because they appeal to the angel story but do not mention the Book of Enoch explicitly.

²¹⁰ The image is related to a passage of Homer which he has just quoted.

²¹¹ *ANF* 2, 274 = *The Instructor* 3.2.14

²¹² The editors of the Ante-Nicene Fathers series decided to print the entire book in Latin rather than in English translation, because of its explicit subject matter.

²¹³ See 'Bardesanes', in Cross-Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary*, 132; Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, 217f.

²¹⁴ Translation of Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, 15. See also Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, cxxv.

²¹⁵ Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 194.

The first is the early²¹⁶ treatise *On Prayer*. In chap. 20 Tertullian takes up the issue of women's dress. Naturally, modesty is to be observed, in accord with the teachings of Peter (1 Pet 3:1-6) and Paul (1 Cor 11:1-16). This, however, raises the problem whether Paul's instructions, addressed to *women* (1 Cor 11:5) also apply to virgins (chap. 21). Chap. 22 is Tertullian's answer. He argues that in scriptural usage 'woman' means all of the feminine gender, not just one group of them; hence virgins are included in Paul's teachings on women. Continuing to explicate 1 Cor 11:5 ('but any woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled disgraces her head') he writes:

For indeed it is "on account of the angels" [1 Cor 11:10] that he saith the woman must be veiled, because on account of "the daughters of men" angels revolted from God. Who, then, would contend that "*women*" alone – that is, such as were already wedded and had lost their virginity²¹⁷ – were the objects of angelic concupiscence, unless "virgins" are incapable of excelling in beauty and finding lovers? Nay, let us see whether it were not *virgins alone* whom they lusted after; since Scripture saith "*the daughters of men*"; inasmuch as it might have named "*wives of men*", or "*females*", indifferently. Likewise, in that it saith, "And they took to themselves for *wives*", it does so on this ground, that, of course, such are "*received for wives*" as are devoid of that title. But it would have expressed itself differently concerning such as were *not* thus devoid. And so (they who are named) are devoid as much of *widowhood* as of *virginity*. So completely has *Paul* by naming the sex generally, mingled "*daughters*" and *species* together in the genus.²¹⁸

Tertullian's insistence that virgins are included in the generic term 'women' leads him to Gen 6:1-4, and nothing he says in this passage (except perhaps 'angelic concupiscence') proves that he knows the greatly enlarged interpretation of these verses in 1 Enoch. However, in a treatise from his Montanist phase – *On the Veiling of Virgins* (ca. 208/9)²¹⁹ – he explores the matter in far greater detail and there leaves no doubt that he reads Genesis through the lens of 1 Enoch – a book whose genuineness he defends, as noted above. 1 Corinthians 11 is again the starting point of the argument.

If "the woman ought to have power upon the head [= 1 Cor 11:10]", all the more justly ought the *virgin* to whom pertains the essence of the cause (assigned for this assertion). For if (it is) on account of the angels – those, to wit, whom we read of as having fallen down from God and heaven on account of concupiscence after females – who can presume that it was bodies already defiled, and relics of human lust, which such angels yearned after, so as not rather to have been inflamed for *virgins*, whose bloom pleads an excuse for human lust likewise? For thus does Scripture withal suggest: "And it came to pass", it says, "when men had begun to grow more numerous upon the earth, there were withal daughters born them; but the sons of God, having descried the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves

²¹⁶ Barnes, *Tertullian*, 55 puts it between 198 and 203; see also p117f.

²¹⁷ This is a definition of *women* that Tertullian rejects.

²¹⁸ ANF 3, 688.

²¹⁹ So Barnes, *Tertullian*, 47.

wives of all whom they elected'.²²⁰ For here the Greek name of *women* does seem to have the sense "*wives*", inasmuch as mention is made of marriage. When, then, it says "the *daughters* of men", it manifestly purports *virgins*, who would be still reckoned as belonging to their *parents* – for *wedded women* are called their *husbands* – whereas it *could* have said, "the *wives* of men": in like manner not naming the angels adulterers, but husbands, while they take *unwedded* "daughters of men", who it has above said were "born" thus also signifying their *virginity*: first "born"; but here, wedded to angels. Anything else I know not that they were except "born" and subsequently wedded. So perilous a face, then, ought to be shaded, which has cast stumbling-stones even so far as heaven: that when standing in the presence of God, at whose bar it stands accused of the driving of the angels from the (native) confines, it may blush before the other angels as well; and may repress that former evil liberty of its head – a liberty now to be exhibited not even before human eyes. But even if they were females already contaminated whom those angels had desired, so much the more "on account of the angels" would it have been the duty of virgins to be veiled, as it would have been more possible for virgins to have been the cause of the angels' sinning.²²¹

His argument about this practical matter rests upon a combined reading of 1 Corinthians 11 and Genesis 6. But an unusual feature crops up here: the scriptural text from which Tertullian quotes reads 'sons of God,' not 'angels of God'; nevertheless, he understands the phrase as if it did say 'angels of God' and in doing so he moves beyond the literal text. Other elements also show that he does have the more elaborate Enochic version in mind: the angels left heaven because of their lust. Neither of these themes is mentioned in Genesis.

In this context note should also be taken of *On Idolatry* 9 where he asserts that certain professions are idolatrous. One of these is astrology, and happily an astrologer had recently defended his calling. Against him Tertullian declares:

9.1 I only put forward one thing: that it is those angels, apostates from God, lovers of women, who introduced also this inquisitiveness and who are, also for this reason, damned by God. 2. Oh divine sentence which in its working even reaches the earth and to which even those ignorant of it bear testimony: the astrologers are banned just like their angels.²²²

As the editors comment, Tertullian here echoes 1 Enoch 8:3.²²³ He expresses a similar thought in *Apology* 35.12 where he mentions the crafts of astrologers, soothsayers, augurs, and magicians – "...arts which, as made known by the angels who sinned, and forbidden by God, Christians do not even make use of in their own affairs".²²⁴

Tertullian, then, more than any other early Christian writer, appeals to the Watcher myth. For him it comes from an authoritative source, proves the de-

²²⁰ Gen 6:1-2.

²²¹ On the Veiling of Virgins 7 = ANF 4, 31f.

²²² Waszink – van Winden, *Tertullianus*, 35.

²²³ ib 160.

²²⁴ ANF 3, 44.

monic origins of pagan religions and some professions, and places appropriate condemnation on the immodest dress and make-up of women.²²⁵

Gnostic Uses of the Angel Story. A number of texts show that the angel story, first and best known from 1 Enoch, figured prominently in gnostic views about evil and its origins. There is no doubt that this elaboration of Gen 6:1-4 lies behind several key passages, but there is also no denying that the myth was transformed as it was adapted to gnostic forms of thought. Stroumsa writes that the fallen angel theme '...played a major function in the development of Gnostic mythology, and that it is at the very core of the mythological expression of Gnostic consciousness'.²²⁶ In the gnostic system(s), the two biblical stories which could account for the entry of evil into the world – the fall of Adam and Eve in Genesis 3 and the presumed descent of the sons of God in Gen 6:1-4 – were combined to produce new theories about the mixture between the pure and impure worlds from which the current human situation emerged. As Stroumsa puts it: 'The two original myths were integrated into a much broader mythical frame, intended to make manifest the basic pattern of both history and cosmogony: the evil deeds of the lustful demiurge and his associates, the archons. For Gnostic mythology, indeed, evil stemmed from a series of sexual sins. In its new frame the myth focused upon the escape of pure women from the lust of the angels (i.e. the archons). These women, having remained unsoiled, were thus able to transmit the pure seed.'²²⁷ The texts which underlie these comments should now be examined.

A fairly extended borrowing of the angel theme appears in the Apocryphon of John which may date from before ca. 180, since Irenaeus seems to use it or something much like it. The earliest manuscript evidence (ca. 350) contains the Coptic translation of an original (now lost) Greek text.²²⁸ In the Apocryphon the writer devotes some introductory comments to the subjects of God and the structure of the divine world and then turns (in 12.33) to the events of Genesis.

²²⁵ Mention should also be made of the references in Five Books in Reply to Marcion, wrongly ascribed to Tertullian, in which the unknown author writes:

Her [the mother, formerly barren] Enoch, signal ornament,
Limb from her body sprung, by counsel strove
To recall peoples gone astray from God
And following misdæd, (while naves on earth)
The horde of robber-renegades, to flee
The giants' sacrilegious cruel race;
Faithful in all himself.
With groaning deep
Did he please God, and by deservèd toil
Translated is reservèd as a pledge,
With honour high. (ANF 4, 151).

²²⁶ Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 32.

²²⁷ ib 33; cf also 171.

²²⁸ B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 23-26. Cf also Wisse, 'The Apocryphon of John', 104; id, 'John, Apocryphon of'; Fallon, 'The Gnostic Apocalypses', 130f.

The framework into which the teachings of the book have been placed is a dialogue between the resurrected Christ and John the son of Zebedee. The key passage for the present study is 29.14-30.9. Just before this Christ, in answering John's question about the origin of the counterfeit spirit, says that the chief archon, realizing that the perfect race was superior to him, decided to act.

He made a plan with his authorities, which are his powers, and they committed together adultery with Sophia, and bitter fate was begotten through them, which is the last of the changeable bonds. And it is of a sort that is interchangeable. And it is harder and stronger than she with whom the gods united and the angels and the demons and all the generations until this day. For from that fate came forth every sin and injustice and blasphemy and the chain of forgetfulness and ignorance and every severe command and serious sins and great fears. And thus the whole creation was made blind, in order that they may not know God who is above all of them.²²⁹

Next the chief archon decided to bring a flood, but Noah was supernaturally warned and told mankind about it. Strangers, however, did not listen to him. Many from the immovable race did hide with Noah in a luminous cloud amid the darkness sent by the chief archon.²³⁰ So it was time for the chief archon to move to his alternative plan:

And he made a plan with his powers. He sent his angels to the daughters of men, that they might take some of them for themselves and raise offspring for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. When they had no success, they gathered together again and they made a plan together. They created a counterfeit spirit, who resembles the Spirit who had descended, so as to pollute the souls through it. And the angels changed themselves into their likeness into the likeness of their (the daughters of men) mates, filling them with the spirit of darkness, which they had mixed for them, and with evil.²³¹ They brought gold and silver and a gift and copper and iron and metal and all kinds of things. And they steered the people who had followed them into great troubles, by leading them astray with many deceptions. They (the people) became old without having enjoyment. They died, not having found truth and without knowing the God of truth. And thus the whole creation became enslaved forever, from the foundation of the world until now. And they took women and begot children out of the darkness according to the likeness of their spirit. And they closed their hearts, and they hardened themselves through the hardness of the counterfeit spirit until now.²³²

One can see plainly the major elements of the Watcher myth: angels descend, couple with daughters of men for the purpose of raising offspring, provide them with something they did not have before, and terrible evil results. But these elements are here transformed into a new setting and their contents are some-

²²⁹ 28.11-28.29; tr Wisse in *NHL*, 121.

²³⁰ 28.32-29.15.

²³¹ The reason in Codex III.39.4-5 is 'so that mankind might not think about their immortal Pro-noia', i.e., their celestial origin.

²³² tr Wisse in *NHL*, 121f = 29.16-30.11. Janssens, 'Le thème de la fomication', 490; and Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 36 have pointed out that all of this occurs after the flood, not before it.

what altered as well. M. Scopello has subjected the passage to a careful, comparative analysis and notes the following: 1) the angels do not fall of their own accord as in 1 Enoch 6; instead they are sent by the chief archon or demiurge; 2) the women are not blamed for enticing the angels as in some forms of the myth.²³³ The explanation seems to be that the 'daughters of men' in this text are souls (cf. 29.25-26), and thus the physical theme is irrelevant; 3) the angels' metamorphosis into the image of the women's mates reflects a similar theme found in T. Reub 5:6-7; Philo, Quaestiones in Genesin I.92; Pseudo-Clementine Homily 8.12-13;²³⁴ 4) the angels here do not reveal knowledge and arts to the women; rather, they bring raw materials only. The purpose for this is not noted; only the harmful results are; 5) in 1 Enoch a generation of giants comes from the union of angels and women; in the Apocryphon there is a generation which comes out of darkness – the result, as in 1 Enoch, of the mating of beings with different natures. This sexual sin, like that involved in the fall of the first couple (according to the gnostic story), served to consolidate the rule of fate in the world.²³⁵ One has, then, in this document of Sethian gnosticism, a clear reapplication of the story about the angels who descended.

The angel story figures in several other gnostic texts. The Acts of Thomas was probably written in the first half of the third century, perhaps in Syriac, though Greek and other versions of it have survived.²³⁶ The context for the passage in question is an encounter with a serpent who had killed a young man – the lover of a beautiful maid in whom the serpent is interested. Thomas makes him explain who he is (30-31), and chap. 32 conveys his reply:

I am a reptile of reptile nature, the baleful son of a baleful father; I am son of him who hurt and smote the four standing brothers; I am son of him who sits upon the throne <and has power over the creation, S> which is under heaven, who takes his own from those who borrow; I am son of him who girds the sphere about; and I am kinsman of him who is outside the ocean, whose tail is set in his own mouth; I am he who entered through the fence into Paradise and said to Eve all the things my father charged me to say to her; I am he who kindled and enflamed Cain to slay his own brother, and because of me thorns and thistles sprang up on the earth; I am he who hurled the angels down from above, and bound them in lusts for women, that earth-born children might come from them and I fulfil my will in them; I am he who hardened Pharaoh's heart...²³⁷

²³³ See Pirke R. El. 22; Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 6:2.

²³⁴ Cf Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 35-38.

²³⁵ Scopello, 'Le mythe de la "chute"', esp 221-8. As Pearson, 'Jewish Sources', 453-5 notes, after tabulating the similarities between the material in the Apocryphon of John and 1 Enoch, the imitation or counterfeit spirit is the 'most substantial deviation from the passage in 1 Enoch 6-8'. In a related essay, Pearson ('Use, Authority', 647-51) characterizes the Apocryphon of John's exegesis of Genesis as similar to the Jewish books of the so-called re-written Bible (eg. 1 Enoch, Jubilees).

²³⁶ Bornkamm, 'The Acts of Thomas', 441; Goodspeed, *A History*, 78, 80; and Attridge, 'Thomas, Acts of', 531. On the theoretical and geographical location of the 'School of St. Thomas', see Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, 359-64.

²³⁷ Translation of Bornkamm ib 460.

The entire pericope demonstrates that the serpent, once he reaches the story of Eve, merely surveys biblical instances of temptation or misleading and attributes them to his influence. The angel section follows the Cain story and precedes that of Pharaoh. But it involves more than Gen 6:1-4 alone provides: angels being hurled from above, lusts for women, and the children of the unions as agents of the serpent. Not all of these come from 1 Enoch either,²³⁸ but in other respects it mirrors the Enochic story.

A Valentinian Exposition is also indebted to the Enochic story.²³⁹ The general setting is a description of Jesus' act of creating: '...He brought [forth] for the All those of the Pleroma and of the syzygy, that [is, the] angels. For simultaneously with the [agreement] of the Pleroma her consort projected the angels, since he abides in the will of the Father' (36.20-28).²⁴⁰ After additional remarks about putting forth other entities, the text moves to creation of mankind by the demiurge and the role of the devil in the life of the first family:

[And] Cain [killed] Abel his brother, for [the Demiurge] breathed into [them] his spirit. And there [took place] the struggle with the apostasy of the angels and mankind, those of the right with those of the left, those in heaven with those on earth[,] the spirits of the carnal, and the Devil against God. Therefore the angels lusted after the daughters of men and came down to flesh so that God would cause a flood. And he almost regretted that he had created the world. (38.24-39)

As in the Acts of Thomas 32, the author documents the role of evil and the devil in biblical history. A new note is that the purpose of the angels' descent was to compel God to send a flood. As Stroumsa observes, the passage also connects the myth with the beginnings of humanity.²⁴¹

The text referred to as Untitled Text (On the Origin of the World) may have been written in Alexandria in the early fourth century.²⁴² 'The cosmogony and anthropogony that follow upon the semi-philosophical beginning are in part oriented to Genesis 1-2, but beyond that to concepts such as those known from Jubilees or the Enoch literature. In general, characteristically Jewish influences dominate, e.g., in the angelology, demonology, and eschatology, as well as in etymologies'.²⁴³ The writer offers an extensive gnostic explanation of the first

²³⁸ The hurling theme does not. It is related to the version in the Apocryphon of John (Scopello, 'Le mythe', 226).

²³⁹ Turner, 'Valentinian Exposition', 782 dates the composition between Irenaeus' anti-gnostic writing in ca. 180 and Constantine's edict against heretics in 326 on the ground that it defines its theology over against other Valentinian views, not against that of the Catholic church (a procedure that one would expect after 326).

²⁴⁰ Translations of this text are from J.D. Turner, 'A Valentinian Exposition' in *NHL*.

²⁴¹ Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 33.

²⁴² Bethge, 'On the Origin of the World', 170. Perkins, 'World, On the Origin of', 973 writes that the text is '... a rich source for 2nd century cosmological speculation, for gnostic traditions of Genesis exegesis and for other elements of popular mythology'.

²⁴³ Bethge ib 171.

chapters in Genesis. The rulers, who were responsible for much of what Genesis 3 attributes to God, aroused – by their actions and by the curse placed upon the first couple – the ire of Sophia Zoe who expelled the rulers from their heavens and threw them into the world to serve as demons upon the earth (118.17-121.35). There follows a section on the phoenix and then these words:

Let us return to the aforementioned rulers, so that we may offer some explanation of them. Now, when the seven rulers were cast down from their heavens onto the earth, they made for themselves angels, numerous, demonic, to serve them. And the latter instructed mankind in many kinds of error and magic and potions and worship of idols and spilling of blood and altars and temples and sacrifices and libations to all the spirits of the earth, having their co-worker fate, who came into existence by the concord between the gods of injustice and justice.

And thus when the world had come into being, it distractedly erred at all times. For all men upon earth worshipped the spirits (*daimones*) from the creation to the consummation – both the angels of righteousness and the men of unrighteousness. Thus did the world come to exist in distraction, in ignorance, and in a stupor. They all erred, until the appearance (*parousia*) of the true man.²⁴⁴

The rulers here play the role of the angels in the Enoch story, since they are the ones who come down from heaven. They in turn made (not engendered) angels of a demonic character who not only served the unfortunate rulers but also carried out the teaching function, which in 1 Enoch the angels also perform. Evil is explained through the misguided pedagogy in which they engaged. It should be emphasized that in the Untitled Text, as in the writings of Justin and Clement of Alexandria, the angelic teachings included the elements of false religion. Moreover, as elsewhere in the gnostic texts, the angel story is brought into immediate connection with the first couple and their sin.

While there may be several other allusions to the angel story in gnostic works (Tri. Trac. 135:1-15 [?]; Testim. Truth 41;²⁴⁵ Gos. Eg. 61.16-22;²⁴⁶ and Apoc. Adam 83:14-17²⁴⁷), a more important incorporation of elements from the tale can be found in Pistis Sophia. This work, which probably dates from the late third or early fourth century,²⁴⁸ deserves attention because it not only reflects the angel story but also mentions books written by Enoch himself. The two passages in which his compositions figure are 2.99 and 3.134. The former

²⁴⁴ Translation of Bethge, Layton, and the Societas Coptica Hierosolymitana. 'On the Origin of the World', in *NHL*, 186f = 123.2-24.

²⁴⁵ The saw which cut Isaiah into two '...is the word of the Son of Man which separates us from the error of the angels' (tr S. Giversen – B. Pearson. *NHL*, 453 = 41.2-4).

²⁴⁶ It mentions that Seth saw the 'persecutions of his [the devil's] powers and angels, and their error, that they acted against themselves' (tr A. Böhlig – F. Wisse. *NHL*, 216).

²⁴⁷ 'Then the peoples will cry out with a great voice saying, "Blessed is the soul of those men [=the chosen] because they have known God with a knowledge of the truth! They shall live forever, because they have not been corrupted by their desires, along with the angels..."' (tr G.W. MacRae. *NHL*, 285 = 83.8-17); cf also 77.18-26. See, too, Paraph. Shem 44.13-17 and Aesclepius 73.5-12.

²⁴⁸ So Perkins, 'Pistis Sophia', 376.

occurs within a complicated reply by Jesus to Mary Magdalene's question, 'My Lord, how many years of the *world* is a year of the light?'²⁴⁹ After a detailed explanation, he tells her that '[t]he *mysteria* of these *portions* of the light are exceedingly numerous. You will find them in the two great Books of Jeu.' (2.99) He then continues: 'Now you have no *need* for the remainder of the inferior *mysteria*, but you will find them in the two Books of Jeu which Enoch has written as I spoke with him out of the Tree of Knowledge and out of the Tree of Life in the *paradise* of Adam.'

The second reference is similar. In 3.134 Mary's question concerns how people will know, when they come into contact with erroneous teachings, whether they belong to Jesus. In the course of his reply he says:

Now at this time, for the sake of sinners, I have *troubled* myself. I have come to the *world* that I might save them. Because even for the righteous *themselves* who have never done evil, and have not committed sin at all, it is necessary that they should find the *mysteria* which are in the Books of Jeu, which I caused Enoch to write in *Paradise* when I spoke with him from the Tree of Knowledge and from the Tree of Life. And I caused him to place them in the *rock* of Ararad, and I placed the *archon* Kalapatauroth, which is over Gemmut, upon whose head are the feet of Jeu, and who goes around all the *aeons* and the *Heimarmene*, I placed that *archon* to watch over the Books of Jeu because of the *Flood*, so that none of the *archons* should *envy* them and destroy them ...

Despite the attribution to Enoch, there is no Enochic book whose contents correspond with what is said to be found in these Books of Jeu. In fact, Books of Jeu were discovered in the late nineteenth century and have been published; they have little in common with 1 Enoch.²⁵⁰

Though the author's motive for claiming that the Books of Jeu were revealed to Enoch remains unclear, it is evident that he had some acquaintance with the central Enochic myth. The relevant section is in Book I, chap. 15 – part of the oldest layer of the work.²⁵¹ Jesus describes the journey involved in his ascension when he was clothed in a garment of light, the rebellion of the aeons against that light, and their consequent loss of power. The following passage occurs in his account of the rebellion by the tyrants who were in the aeons:

Now it happened when they *waged war* against the light, they were all exhausted together, and they were cast down into the *aeons*, and they became like the earth-dwellers who are dead and have no breath in them. And I took a third part of all their power so that they should not *work* their wicked *actions*, and in order that when men who are in the *world* call upon them in their *mysteria* – those which the *transgressing angels* brought down, namely their *magic* – that when now they call upon them in their wicked *actions*, they are not able to complete them.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Quotations from Pistis Sophia are taken from Schmidt (the old text) and MacDermot (a new translation), *Pistis Sophia*.

²⁵⁰ See Schmidt-MacDermot, *The Books of Jeu*.

²⁵¹ Puech, 'The Pistis Sophia', 252 (between 250 and 300).

²⁵² 'Jeu, the *Overseer* of the Light' is mentioned just a few lines later.

Similar words surface in Book I, chap. 18 where this magic is related to astrologers, soothsayers, and foretellers. The setting (at the ascension of Jesus) is sharply different, but the contours of the Watcher story are clear: a sinful action leads to the tyrants' (the transgressing angels) being thrown down among humans to whom they teach magic (mysteries) and by whom they are called upon as deities.²⁵³ There is little doubt that the author has inserted the angel myth, not into a creation setting, but into a New Testament scene.

The Pseudo-Clementine Literature. It is convenient to begin a study of third-century sources with two documents which are not categorized as gnostic but have clear gnosticizing tendencies – the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The former is a collection of 20 discourses which, according to the pseudepigraphic setting, Clement of Rome sent from the imperial capital to James in Jerusalem. They relate Clement's travels on which he met Peter and witnessed his struggles with Simon Magus. The Recognitions, which are divided into ten books, resemble the Homilies quite strongly. The two texts, which in their present form date from the fourth century, are thought to be revisions of a *Grundschrift* that was composed in the early third century, possibly in Syria.²⁵⁴ They express a Jewish-Christian viewpoint and at times attack Paul's theology. They are intriguing for the present study because they combine elements of diverse ways in which Gen 6:1-4 was interpreted in early Christianity. Moreover, in line with their anti-Pauline stance, the Homilies appeal to the angel myth as an explanation for the origin of evil whereas the apostle based his teaching on Genesis 3.²⁵⁵ The somewhat parallel sections in which the two texts deal with Gen 6:1-4 are Homilies VIII.12-18 and Recognitions I.29 – both of which belong to the presumed *Grundschrift*.²⁵⁶

In the pertinent sections of the Homilies, Peter has arrived at Tripolis where, on the second day, he addresses a large crowd about the worship of God, after Simon Magus had earlier corrupted their minds (VIII.8). He draws attention to the eternal law that God had given to the first man and to the abundance enjoyed by humans when they obeyed it. They, however, became ungrateful and were punished. Nothing is said about Adam's sin. Chap. 12 then depicts what happened after ingratitude had set in:

For of the spirits who inhabit the heaven, the angels who dwell in the lowest region, being grieved at the ingratitude of men to God, asked that they might come into the life of men, that, really becoming men, by more intercourse [*sic*] they might convict those who had acted ungratefully towards Him, and might subject every one to adequate punishment. When, therefore, their petition was granted, they metamor-

phosed themselves into every nature; for, being of a more godlike substance, they are able easily to assume any form. So they became precious stones, and goodly pearl, and the most beautiful purple, and choice gold, and all matter that is held in most esteem. And they fell into the hands of some, and into the bosoms of others, and suffered themselves to be stolen by them. They also changed themselves into beasts and reptiles, and fishes and birds, and into whatsoever they pleased. These things also the poets among yourselves, by reason of fearlessness, sing, as they befell, attributing to one the many and diverse doings of all.

13. But when, having assumed these forms, they convicted as covetous those who stole them, and changed themselves into the nature of men, in order that, living holily, and showing the possibility of so living, they might subject the ungrateful to punishment, yet having become in all respects men, they also partook of human lust, and being brought under its subjection, they fell into cohabitation with women; and being involved with them, and sunk in defilement and altogether emptied of their first power, were unable to turn back to the first purity of their proper nature, their members turned away from their fiery substance: for the fire itself, being extinguished by the weight of lust, and changed into flesh, they trod the impious path downward. For they themselves, being fettered with the bonds of flesh, were constrained and strongly bound; wherefore they have no more been able to ascend into the heavens.

14. For after the intercourse, being asked to show what they were before, and being no longer able to do so, on account of their being unable to do aught else after their defilement, yet wishing to please their mistresses, instead of themselves, they showed the bowels [literally = the marrow] of the earth; I mean, the choice metals, gold, brass, silver, iron, and the like, with all the most precious stones. And along with these charmed stones, they delivered the arts of the things pertaining to each, and imparted the discovery of magic, and taught astronomy, and the powers of roots, and whatever was impossible to be found out by the human mind; also the melting of gold and silver, and the like, and the various dyeing of garments. And all things, in short, which are for the adornment and delight of women, are the discoveries of these demons bound in flesh.

15. But from their unhallowed intercourse spurious men sprang, much greater in stature than ordinary men, whom they afterwards called giants; not those dragon-footed giants who waged war against God, as those blasphemous myths of the Greeks do sing, but wild in manners, and greater than men in size, inasmuch as they were sprung of angels; yet less than angels, as they were born of women. Therefore God, knowing that they were barbarized to brutality, and that the world was not sufficient to satisfy them (for it was created according to the proportion of men and human use), that they might not through want of food turn, contrary to their nature, to the eating of animals, and yet seem to be blameless, as having ventured upon this through necessity, the Almighty God rained manna upon them, suited to their various tastes; and they enjoyed all that they would. But they, on account of their bastard nature, not being pleased with purity of food, longed only after the taste of blood. Wherefore they first tasted flesh.

16. And the men who were with them there for the first time were eager to do the like. Thus, although we are born neither good nor bad, we become one or the other; and having formed habits, we are with difficulty drawn from them. But when irrational animals fell short, these bastard men tasted also human flesh. For it was not a long step to the consumption of flesh like their own, having first tasted it in other forms.

²⁵³ See Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 182-86.

²⁵⁴ See Irmscher, 'The Pseudo-Clementines', 533-5; Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 116-19; and Jones, 'Clementines, Pseudo-', 1061.

²⁵⁵ Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 30.

²⁵⁶ Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 116f (following G. Strecker).

17. But by the shedding of much blood, the pure air being defiled with impure vapour, and sickening those who breathed it, rendered them liable to diseases, so that thenceforth men died prematurely. But the earth being by these means greatly defiled, these first teemed with poison-daring and deadly creatures. All things, therefore, going from bad to worse, on account of these brutal demons. God wished to cast them away like an evil leaven, lest each generation from a wicked seed, being like to that before it, and equally impious, should empty the world to come of saved men. And for this purpose, having warned a certain righteous man, with his three sons, together with their wives and their children, to save themselves in an ark. He sent a deluge of water, that all being destroyed, the purified world might be handed over to him who was saved in the ark, in order to [sic] a second beginning of life. And thus it came to pass.

18. Since, therefore, the souls of the deceased giants were greater than human souls, inasmuch as they also excelled their bodies, they, as being a new race, were called also by a new name. And to those who survived in the world a law was prescribed of God through an angel, how they should live. For being bastards in race, of the fire of angels and the blood of women, and therefore liable to desire a certain race of their own, they were anticipated by a certain righteous law. For a certain angel was sent to them by God, declaring to them His will, and saying:... [chap. 19 contains that revelation]²⁵⁷

In this version, the angels who live in the lower celestial regions most nearly in contact with the earth (a theme met before) descend to participate even more closely in human life and to effect punishment for the ingratitude of people. That is, their motive is positive, and to it God gives his imprimatur. The angels metamorphose rather than retaining their angelic nature. The list of entities into which they transformed themselves is highly unusual, but the different kinds of animals into which they are shaped reminds one of 1 Enoch 7:5 where the giants begin '... to sin against birds, and against animals, and against reptiles and against fish...' The 'precious stones, and goodly pearl, and the most beautiful purple, and choice gold, and all matter that is held in most esteem' (chap. 12) overlap with the items in 1 Enoch 8:1: '... bracelets, and ornaments, and the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids, and the most precious and choice stones, and all (kinds of) coloured dyes'. The Greek text prefaces 'metals' to the list, and in fact the same word may underlie the Ethiopic for 'after these' in 8:1.²⁵⁸ Also, Syncellus' version of the passage mentions '... the metals of the earth and gold, how they work (them) and make them into ornaments for women, and silver'.²⁵⁹ The Homily notes that people stole the precious stones and metals into which the angels were transmogrified. In response, they changed themselves into humans – again for a positive reason: to live virtuous lives, thereby proving that it could be done and punishing the wicked. Alas, by becoming human they also acquired lust. The consequence is the familiar tale of sex and defilement. In their depraved and impure condition,

²⁵⁷ ANF 8, 272f.

²⁵⁸ See Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* 2, 80.

²⁵⁹ cf. Knibb ib. 4QEn^b 1 ii 27 has KSCD .

they were unable to return to their fiery natures and original home. The motif of teaching, too, is somewhat altered: the subjects on which the erstwhile angels instructed women were substitutes for what the latter really wanted – for the angels to show them their original nature. When they proved incapable of doing that, they disclosed to them the insides of the earth, i.e., metals and precious stones. Entailed in these were the arts that accompanied each. In this manner they transmitted the techniques of magic, astronomy, roots (see 1 Enoch 7:1; 8:3), melting gold and silver, dyeing garments (thus including feminine adornment), etc. The author designates the transformed angels 'demons bound in flesh'.

As in 1 Enoch, the children issuing from the unnatural unions were gigantic men. Strangely, God provides for their immense appetites and attempts to prevent their consuming meat (illegal before the flood) by raining manna on them. But the bastards preferred blood and eventually turned to cannibalism (1 Enoch 7:3-4; 9:9). The impure air produced by bloodshed was the cause for diseases and poisonous creatures. God decided to intervene with a flood to rid the earth of the demons. Their large souls, however, survived the deluge that claimed their bodies. To these surviving souls God gave a righteous law communicated through an angel. That law (in chap. 19), which begins in a way reminiscent of the apostolic decree in Acts 15, provides that demons may dominate and receive worship only from those who willingly accept these conditions. The others they were not allowed to touch. In chap. 20 Peter underscores the point that demon worship involves being subject to them. Consequently, the Homily explains the nature of pagan religion as the second-century apologists had.

In the Recognitions, as Peter presents an orderly exposition of the faith for Clement, he begins with a summary of the biblical creation stories (chaps. 27-28). Directly afterwards, without mentioning the events of Genesis 3, he rehearses the story of Gen 6:1-4.

29. All things therefore being completed which are in heaven, and in earth, and in the waters, and the human race also having multiplied, in the eighth generation, righteous men, who had lived the life of angels, being allured by the beauty of women, fell into promiscuous and illicit connections with these; and thenceforth acting in all things without discretion, and disorderly, they changed the state of human affairs and the divinely prescribed order of life, so that either by persuasion or force they compelled all men to sin against God their Creator. In the ninth generation are born the giants, so called from of old, not dragon-footed, as the fables of the Greeks relate, but men of immense bodies, whose bones, of enormous size, are still shown in some places for confirmation. But against these the righteous providence of God brought a flood upon the world, that the earth might be purified from their pollution, and every place might be turned into a sea by the destruction of the wicked. Yet there was then found one righteous man, by name Noah, who, being delivered in an ark with his three sons and their wives, became the colonizer of the world after the subsiding of the waters, with those animals and seeds which he had shut up with him.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ ANF 8, 85.

It is surprising that of the parallel versions in Homily VIII.12-18 and Recognitions I.29 the former articulates the angelic interpretation of Gen 6:1-4 while the latter opts for a non-supernatural reading. The writer of the Recognitions must have had the word 'angels' in his biblical text but he reinterpreted it: the righteous *lived the life of angels* until the eighth generation. The nature of their life accounts for Genesis' use of *angels* for them. In the eighth generation, however, the beauty of women seduced men who had followed this manner of life. They not only sinned through the illicit relations but also transformed their conduct in a radical way and induced others to sin. Their children were called giants; God imposed the flood to punish them. As the last pages of the present survey will show, the sort of interpretation found in the Recognitions will come to dominate Christian exegesis of Gen 6:1-4.²⁶¹ The first extant evidence for it appears only in the third century; by the fourth century it will, for all practical purposes, have forced the angelic reading from the field.

Julius Africanus (various places; ca. 160-ca. 240). Africanus, who came from Palestine, laid the foundations for Christian world chronologies in his Chronicle which traced events from creation to about 220 CE. The book itself is lost, but extracts from it survive in the writings of Eusebius and the Byzantine chronographer George Syncellus. In one of the passages cited by the latter, Africanus wrote about Gen 6:1-4. In his exposition he shows his awareness of a problem that was more and more to exercise Christian exegetes:

When mankind became numerous upon the earth, angels of heaven had intercourse with the daughters of men. In some copies, I found: 'the sons of God'. In my opinion, it is recounted that the sons of God are called sons of Seth by the Spirit, since the genealogies of the righteous and the patriarchs up until the Savior are traced from him. But the descendants of Cain it designates as human seeds, as having nothing divine because of the wickedness of their race and the dissimilarity of their nature, so that when they were mingled together, they caused God vexation. But if we take this to mean 'angels,' we would conclude that it refers to those who transmitted knowledge about magic and sorcery, as well as motion of the numbers [and] astronomical phenomena (?), to their wives, from whom they produced the giants; and because of them, depravity came into being, and God resolved to destroy the whole faithless race of living things in a flood.²⁶²

The great scholar was clearly familiar with the angelic understanding of Gen 6:1-4, but he rejects it, it seems, in favor of the theory that the 'sons of God' are the Sethites and the 'daughters of men' are from the Cainite branch of humanity (a distinction not found in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions). His analysis of the passage was informed by manuscript study. He was aware that the copies

²⁶¹ Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 119 finds the Pseudo-Clementines to be a 'Kampffeld zwischen der alten Engeleideutung und der neuen Sethitendeutung'.

²⁶² I thank W. Adler for allowing me to use his forthcoming translation of Syncellus' work. The reference in Syncellus is 19.24-20.4 (ed Mosshammer).

did not agree regarding the proper reading ('sons of God' or 'angels of God/heaven'). Although he apparently finds the Sethite reading more compelling, he does enumerate some details of the Enochic understanding of the passage.²⁶³

Origen. The explicit references which Origen made to the Book of Enoch were treated in the first part of the chapter. Among the passages cited there, the only ones in which he displays his knowledge of the angel story as presented in 1 Enoch are his Commentary on John 6.25 and Against Celsus 5.52-55. In the former, his etymological explanation of 'Jordan' (derived from 777, just as Enoch's father Jared's name was) calls forth a reference to the Book of Enoch:

...For Jared was born to Maleleel, as it is written in the *Book of Enoch* – if anyone cares to accept that book as sacred – in the days when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men. Under this descent some have supposed that there is an emmational reference to the descent of souls into bodies. Taking the phrase "daughters of men" as a tropical expression for this earthly tabernacle.²⁶⁴

Origen, who by this time plainly had reservations about the value of 1 Enoch, here offers a figurative interpretation of the passage. Wickham maintains that the wording of Origen's statement implies that he did not accept the allegorical reading to which he refers (note: '... some have supposed').²⁶⁵

In Against Celsus 5.52 he quotes his opponent's allusion to many angels who came to humankind other than Christ – a claim which, according to Celsus, some Christians denied:

If they were to say that he is the only one, they would be convicted of telling lies and contradicting themselves. For they say that others also have often come, and, in fact, sixty or seventy at once, who became evil and were punished by being cast under the earth in chains. And they say that their tears are the cause of hot springs.

Celsus, then, had heard that some Christians accepted the story about a large group of angels who visited the earth, became corrupt, and were punished. Origen, of course, scoffed at his charge:

However, because he was hopelessly muddled in his discussion about the angels.... he uses the instances, which he failed to understand, that were suggested to him by what is written in the book of Enoch. He seems neither to have read them nor to have been aware that the books entitled Enoch are not generally held to be divine by the churches, although perhaps he took from this source his statement that sixty or seventy angels came down at once and became evil. (5.54)

After his rebuttal, Origen turns to the interpretation of Gen 6:2, 'which he [Celsus] did not notice'. For the report about the marriages between the sons of

²⁶³ Cf Lawlor, 'Early Citations', 212f; Wickham, 'The Sons of God', 144f; and Klijn, *Seth*, 61f. As Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 106 reports, Africanus had contact with the royal house of Edessa (during the reign of Abgar IX), just as Bardaisan did.

²⁶⁴ ANF 9, 371.

²⁶⁵ Wickham, 'The Sons of God', 142f.

God and daughters of men he offers a different reading but one supported by precedent:

..Nevertheless even here we shall convince those who are able to understand the meaning of the prophet that one of our predecessors referred these words to the doctrine about souls who were afflicted with a desire for life in a human body, which, he said, is figuratively called "daughters of men". Yet whatever the truth may be concerning the sons of God who desired daughters of men, the idea does not help him at all towards showing that Jesus, if an angel, is not the only one who has visited men. Indeed, he has manifestly become Saviour and benefactor of all who change their lives from the flood of iniquity.²⁶⁶

The predecessor mentioned here is Philo.²⁶⁷ In this passage, Origen does not explicitly embrace Philo's exegesis, but for him the more important point is that as always Celsus' argument fails. He simply was ignorant of the Christian texts and how to read them.

Commodian (mid-third century). Commodian was a Latin Christian poet who, though he became a bishop in North Africa, may have had some connection with Palestine.²⁶⁸ In his *Instructiones adversus Gentium Deos pro Christiana Disciplina* 3 Commodian, like the earlier apologists, deals with demons in connection with the angel story.

When Almighty God, to beautify the nature of the world, willed that earth should be visited by angels, when they were sent down they despised his laws. Such was the beauty of women, that it turned them aside; so that, being contaminated, they could not return to heaven. Rebels from God, they uttered words against Him. Then the Highest uttered His judgment against them; and from their seed giants are said to have been born. By them arts were made known in the earth, and they taught the dyeing of wool, and everything which is done; and to them, when they died, men erected images. But the Almighty, because they were of an evil seed, did not approve that, when dead, they should be brought back from death. Whence wandering they now subvert many bodies, and it is such as these especially that ye this day worship and pray to as gods.²⁶⁹

It is noteworthy that Commodian sets forth a rather full form of the Watcher myth, but his initial words reveal that he knew a version in which the descent was God's will, not the result of angelic lust from heaven.

Cyprian (Carthage; died 258). The bishop of Carthage, who may have been converted to Christianity as late as 246, was an admirer of Tertullian and

²⁶⁶ tr Chadwick, *Origen*, 307.

²⁶⁷ ib 307 n1; Wickham, 'The Sons of God', 141f. See Philo, *On the Giants* 2; cf *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.92.

²⁶⁸ See 'Commodian', in Cross-Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary*, 319-20.

²⁶⁹ *ANF* 4, 203 (the Latin original is in poetry). Commodian's comments about the angels follow a preface and an opening paragraph in which he deals with the prohibition of idol worship in the decalogue.

adopted a number of his teachings. He, too, was concerned about the garb of virgins and devoted a treatise to the subject; and he, like Tertullian, found the Enochic reading of Gen 6:1-4 to suit his needs admirably in this area. In *On the Dress of Virgins*, he rails against the wealthy women who were zealous for all sorts of ostentatious finery (chaps. 7-13). Against them he cites Isa 3:16-24 and charges: 'Having put on silk and purple, they cannot put on Christ; adorned with gold and pearls and necklaces, they have lost the adornments of the heart and soul'.²⁷⁰

For God has not made sheep scarlet or purple, nor has He taught how to tint and color with the juices of herbs and with shell fish, nor has He made necklaces of precious stones set in gold, or of pearls arranged in chains with numerous joinings, wherewith to hide the neck which He has made so that what God has created in man may be covered, and what the devil has invented may be exposed to view. Has God wished that wounds be inflicted on the ears, by which childhood still innocent and without knowledge of the evil of the world may be tortured, so that later from the incisions and holes in the ears precious stones may hang--heavy, although not by their own weight but by their high prices? All these things the sinful and apostate angels brought into being by their own arts, when, haven [sic] fallen into earthly contagion, they lost their heavenly power. They also taught how to paint the eyes by spreading a black substance around them, and to tinge the cheeks with a counterfeit blush, and to change their hair by false colors, and to drive out all truth from the countenance and head by the assault of their corruption. (14)

Cyprian's comments, which betray an attentive eye, attribute numerous corrupt sorts of bejewelment and cosmetics to the teachings of the sinful angels who had fallen from their heavenly home. 1 Enoch 8:1, the passage which underlies his charge, left the way open for the prudish expositor to expand the angelic curriculum. It lists among Azazel's teachings: '... bracelets, and ornaments, and the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids, and the most precious and choice stones, and all (kinds of) coloured dyes'.²⁷¹

Zosimus of Panopolis (late third-early fourth century). Zosimus's own writings have perished, but Syncellus has preserved from him a citation that deals with the angelic teachings in an interesting context.

Thus, for the benefit of those who want them, I have cited these passages from the divine scriptures. But it is also fitting to cite a passage regarding them from Zosimus, the philosopher of Panopolis, from his writings to Theosebeia in the 9th book of *Imouth*, reading as follows: "The holy Scriptures, that is the Bible, say, O woman, that there is a race of demons who avail themselves of women. And Hermes mentioned this in his *Physica*, and nearly every treatise, both public and esoteric, made mention of this. Thus, the ancient and divine scriptures said this, that certain angels lusted after women, and having descended taught them all the works of nature.

²⁷⁰ tr Deferrari, *St. Cyprian*. This passage is on p42, the following one on p43f.

²⁷¹ For the textual problems in the verse and the somewhat fuller Greek versions, see Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* 2, 80f.

Having stumbled because of these women, he says, they remained outside of heaven, because they taught mankind everything wicked and nothing benefitting the soul. The same scriptures say that from them the giants were born. So the first tradition of Chemeu concerning these arts is theirs. He called this the book of Chemes, whence also the art is called Alchemy, ... and so forth.²⁷²

It appears that 'the ancient and divine scriptures' to which Zosimus refers were books such as the writings of Enoch because his comments go well beyond what Genesis says about the angels.²⁷³

Gen 6:1-4 in the Fourth Century. As seen above, already in the third century some Christian writers (the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions and Julius Africanus) favored a non-angelic interpretation of Gen 6:1-4. It is abundantly clear that in the fourth century the so-called Sethite interpretation commended itself more and more to expositors. The result was that soon it completely drove the older angelic understanding from the field.

Perhaps the last major writer to embrace the Enoch-inspired exegesis of the passage was Lactantius (ca. 240 – ca. 320) in his *Divine Institutes* (written from 304-11). He begins his work by affirming divine providence and the unity of God but soon turns to pagan accounts of origins and the evil effects produced by the Greek and Roman cults. The second book of the *Divine Institutes* focuses on worship of humans and celestial phenomena. As Lactantius tries to explain how such religions began, he bases himself heavily on the Watcher myth, though he fails to name the source from which he drew it. The relevant sections are book 2, chaps. 14-17. It may seem that he places the angel narrative after the flood. He treats that event in chap. 13 and proceeds beyond it to trace ignorance of the deity to the descendants of the accursed Canaan and to charge the Egyptians with being especially inclined to worship the stars and to indulge in other forms of idolatry. However, he closes the thirteenth chapter by saying: 'Now let us return to the beginning of the world'.²⁷⁴ The opening words of chap. 14 leave no doubt that Gen 6:1 underlies the report: 'When, therefore, the number of men had begun to increase...' Lactantius indicates that God sent the angels to foil the devil, the ruler of the earth. They were to prevent him from corrupting humanity as he had at the first. In spite of God's warnings to the angels 'not to lose the dignity of their celestial substance through contagion with the stain of the earth,' the plan went awry:

So, while they were dwelling with men, that most astute master of the earth coaxed them little by little according to the same custom to vices, and he stained them by contacts with women. Then, not being received into heaven because of the sins in which they had immersed themselves, they fell to the earth. Thus, the devil made them from angels of God into his satellites and ministers. Those who were sprung

²⁷² tr Adler (forthcoming). The reference in Syncellus is 14.1-14 (ed Mosshammer).

²⁷³ On Zosimus, see Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 103.

²⁷⁴ tr McDonald, *Lactantius*.

from these, because they were neither angels nor men, but having a certain middle nature, were not received into the lower world as their parents were not received into heaven. Thus, there were made two classes of spirits, one heavenly, the other earthly. The latter are the unclean spirits, the authors of the evils which are done, and of these the same devil is chief. From this Trismegisthes calls him the *daemoniarch*.

The grammarians say that these were called spirits, like indwelling powers (*daemones*), that is, skilled and knowing things; for they think that these are gods. (14)

Lactantius asserts that the poets and philosophers also deal with demons; from them the magi, too, receive their powers.

These spirits, contaminated and lost, as I say, wander over all the earth, and they work toward a solace of their own perdition by destroying men.

Thus, they fill all things with trickeries, frauds, deceits, and errors. They cling to individual men and they seize all homes, indeed, every last doorway. They take to themselves the name of *genii*, for thus they translate the word *daemones* into Latin. Men honor them in their inner chambers, and daily for them do they pour out wines. Knowing these demons, they venerate them as though they were terrestrial gods and dispellers of the evils which they themselves make and bring upon them. (14)

He charges that they produce poor health and disturb people's thoughts so that they run for help to them. In chap. 15 he explains the harm that demons can do to those who fear them and conversely the terror that they feel in the presence of the righteous. Hermes and Aesclepius understood all this: 'Each of them in truth affirms that demons are enemies and annoyers of men. Trismegistus calls them "harming angels". Therefore, he was not unaware that from celestial beings they had begun to be depraved earthly ones.' (15) After such sentiments, the reader is not surprised to learn in chap. 16 that divinatory and magical arts are likewise the gift of the demons. Indeed, the magi even summon the demons by name (16; cf. 17) and mislead people by mixing truth with error. They ensnare people in false religions in various ways, including the prodigies which they perform. God merely permits this sham and will inflict appropriate punishment in due time.

Subsequent to the time of Lactantius, a series of writers refer to the Genesis passage but consistently opt for the Sethite interpretation. The attraction of this reading became so strong that the older angelic exegesis could be eventually be called *stupid*²⁷⁵ or *heresy*.²⁷⁶ Little is known about what may have motivated the change in reading the biblical text. One possibility is that the Enochic understanding fell prey to Christological arguments according to which Old Testament references to 'sons of God' proved that Christ was the divine Son before the incarnation since others are called sons of God only in a derivative way through their relationship with Christ.²⁷⁷ But there is reason for thinking that more was being rejected than the older view.

²⁷⁵ It was so characterized by Theodoret in his *Questions on Genesis* 6.48 (in ca. 466).

²⁷⁶ So Philaster (d. ca. 397) in *On Heresy* 108. Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria also wrote against the angelic interpretation. On Theodoret, Philaster and the others, see Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne*, 106f.

²⁷⁷ This point is made by Wickham, 'The Sons of God', 145f.

Augustine of Hippo (354-430) discusses the problem, and his analysis is a good point at which to end this survey. He takes up the topic in the fifteenth book of *The City of God* in which he treats early biblical history in connection with the theme of the two cities. For him the two categories of beings in Gen 6:2 – the sons of God and the daughters of men – belonged to the two cities of his theory, and the mixing of these two produced the evil which Scripture records.

And by these two names (sons of God and daughters of men) the two cities are sufficiently distinguished. For though the former were by nature children of men, they had come into possession of another name by grace. For in the same Scripture in which the sons of God are said to have loved the daughters of men, they are also called angels of God; whence many (!) suppose that they were not men but angels. (15.22)²⁷⁸

He then turns to this last issue: do angels have bodies such that they could have intercourse with women? He notes that there are scriptural references to tactile angelic bodies and hence he would not rule out the possibility:

...But certainly I could by no means believe that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen, nor can I think that it is of them the Apostle Peter said, "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment" [1 Pet 2:4]. I think he rather speaks of those who first apostatized from God, along with their chief the devil, who enviously deceived the first man under the form of a serpent. But the same holy Scripture affords the most ample testimony that even godly men have been called angels; for of John it is written: "Behold, I send my messenger (angel) before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way." And the prophet Malachi, by a peculiar grace specially communicated to him, was called an angel. (15.23)

He also counters the argument that the gigantic size of the children born from these marriages suggests a supernatural element in their conception. He mentions other very tall individuals whose parents were not of exceptional height. Augustine also makes an exegetical point: Gen 6:4, as he read it ("There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became giants, men of renown"), demonstrates that giants existed before the unions in question. Moreover, in the same pericope, the Scriptures call the same individuals both 'angels of God' (v2) and 'men' (v3: 'My Spirit shall not always strive with these men, for that they also are flesh'). 'For by the Spirit of God they have been made angels of God, and sons of God; but declining towards lower things, they are called men, a name of nature, not of grace; and they are called flesh, as deserters of the Spirit, and by their desertion deserted [by Him]' (15.23).²⁷⁹ He concludes his study of the issue with a general statement about apocryphal books:

²⁷⁸ tr Dods, *The City of God*.

²⁷⁹ Augustine in the sequel discusses the readings of the LXX and Aquila ('sons of gods'). He also cites Ps 82:6, in which he thought the ones called 'gods' are humans.

Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, because their obscure origin was unknown to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-ascertained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority. We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for that is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. But it is not without reason that these writings have no place in that canon of Scripture which was preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by the diligence of successive priests; for their antiquity brought them under suspicion, and it was impossible to ascertain whether these were his genuine writings, and they were not brought forward as genuine by the persons who were found to have carefully preserved the canonical books by a successive transmission. So that the writings which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the giants, saying that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine; just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets, and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of Apocrypha. There is therefore no doubt that, according to the Hebrew and Christian canonical Scriptures, there were many giants before the deluge, and that these were citizens of the earthly society of men, and that the sons of God, who were according to the flesh the sons of Seth, sunk into this community when they forsook righteousness. (15.23)

For Augustine, then, Enoch's book was not canonical; hence, it could not dictate the exegesis of sacred Scripture which contained within itself the means for properly interpreting the words of Gen 6:1-4.

SUMMARY

Early Christian appeal to the angel story – whether based on I Enoch directly or indirectly – occurs over a wider horizon than explicit appeals to the book itself (see the first part of the chapter). In this case there is stronger evidence from the Syro-Palestinian area (Jude, Justin, Tatian, Bardaisan, Acts of Thomas (?), the Clementine literature, Africanus for a time), while Egypt (Athenagoras, Clement, Origen, the gnostic texts [they were at least found in Egypt, though some may have been composed elsewhere], and Africanus) and North Africa (Tertullian, Commodian, and Cyprian) continue to be well represented. The tradition was present in Rome at an early time (1 Peter; Africanus was also there for some years), and Irenaeus knew it in Gaul. Moreover, 2 Peter may come from Asia Minor, and much later Lactantius wrote about the angel story while he was in Nicomedia in Bithynia; it was in Asia Minor, too, that Irenaeus had received his instruction. Consequently, one may say that Christian employment of the Watcher myth is attested throughout the Roman world, in all the leading centers of the church. The story, in various forms, was used in different ways but a prominent purpose was to account for the angels or demons (Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clement, Tertullian, gnostic texts, the Pseudo-Clementines, and

Lactantius) who gave rise to false teachings, including idolatry (Justin, Athanasius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, gnostic works, the Pseudo-Clementines, Commodian, and Lactantius).

The Person of Enoch in Early Christian Literature

INTRODUCTION

Enoch himself, one of the more enigmatic characters in the Hebrew Scriptures, also became a productive subject for deployment in various contexts within the early church period. The most intriguing fact about him was, of course, the report of Gen 5:24: 'Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him'. Whereas all others in the priestly list of long-lived antediluvian patriarchs have their deaths recorded, Enoch alone does not and thus was paired with Elijah as the only Old Testament characters who bypassed death and continued to exist without interruption. Early writers also noted that in Gen 5:24 it was said for a second time that 'Enoch walked with God' and that in this instance, unlike in v22, that sojourn was dated to the end of his 365 years. In both cases of Enoch's walk, he is said to go about with אלהים, but the one who took or removed him was designated אלהים (without the definite article). The definite form was understood to refer to the angels, while the anarthrous term was interpreted as the deity himself. Hence, both during his 365 years (Gen 5:22) and after (5:24), when God took him, Enoch spent time with the angels. According to Jub. 4:23-25 his task after removal had eschatological implications:

4:23 He was taken from human society, and we [the angels] led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind. 4:24 Because of him the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment. 4:25 He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense.²⁸⁰

I Enoch, most of which was written before Jubilees, focuses more on Enoch's contacts with the angels during his 365 years, but it, too, knows of his post-removal experience of angelic company (e.g., the entire scene in the Animal Apocalypse after 87:2-4) and his presence at the final judgment (I Enoch 90:31). With the existence of such traditions about Enoch, it is understandable that early Christian authors incorporated him into their eschatological tableaux.

Enoch is mentioned fairly often in texts from the first three centuries. At

²⁸⁰ Ir VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* 2. For the interpretation of Gen 5:21-24 implied in this passage, see id. *Enoch and the Growth*, 31f. 184-88.

times the authors simply reproduce the genealogy of Genesis 5 or allude to some other feature of the biblical notice about him. The most famous borrowing that New Testament writers made from traditions about the person Enoch was, however, the phrase 'son of man' used of the superhuman eschatological judge in 1 Enoch 37-71 (the Similitudes or Parables of Enoch). It is true that not all contemporary scholars would agree with this statement, since the date of the Similitudes, in which the phrase is employed 16 times (using three expressions), is disputed. It is quite possible, however, that it was written in pre-Christian times and that it was therefore a potential source for the usage of this remarkable self-designation attributed to Jesus in the gospels.²⁸¹ But since that set of issues has been canvassed many times and with great thoroughness, and since use of 'son of man' for Jesus is rare outside the canonical gospels (it does figure in some gnostic texts),²⁸² it seems more profitable simply to mention it here and to turn to another context in which early Christian writers found a role for Enoch as they portrayed the great events that would bring this world to an end. That context is the interpretation of the two witnesses in Revelation 11. In the first three centuries there is a consistent though not very widely attested tradition that those two witnesses were Elijah and Enoch. Later, the more obvious inference that Moses, not Enoch, was Elijah's partner came to dominate exegesis of the passage. In the next paragraphs Revelation 11 will be studied, the texts in which Enoch is one of the witnesses will be adduced, and finally the source(s) for the identification will be sought.

REVELATION 11²⁸³

The chapter opens at the temple of God. John the seer is told to measure it, the altar, and the worshipers but not the outer court to which the nations could come. The language of measuring the sanctuary and its appurtenances reminds one of Ezekiel 40:3-42:20; but the writer also predicts that the nations '...will trample over the holy city for forty-two months' – a clear citation of Daniel's frequent appeal to days and months totalling three and one-half years (e.g., 7:25; 8:13-14 [where the trampling theme also figures; cf. Luke 21:24]; 9:26-27 [where destruction of temple and city appears]; 12:7, 11, 12). That is, the seer is addressed in words that recall two eschatological works of the Hebrew Bible in

²⁸¹ For recent discussions of the problems involved and solutions suggested, see Hindley, 'Towards a Date'; Greenfield-Stone, 'The Enochic Pentateuch'; Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables'; Mearns, 'Dating the Similitudes'; and VanderKam, 'Some Major Issues', 89-94.

²⁸² The literature on this subject is, of course, immense. Much material can be found in Borsch, *The Son of Man*. Later analyses include Donahue, 'Recent Studies'; A.Y. Collins, 'Origin of the Designation'.

²⁸³ For a thorough study of the passage in question, see Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 3-34, 84-85 (where the biblical and extra-biblical background for the various elements in the pericope are adduced and discussed).

which temple and city play a role. Within this setting he introduces the two witnesses.

The general context for Rev 11:3-13 is the period between trumpets six and seven (one-six are treated in 8:1-9:21). Rev 10:5-7 had announced that the divine mystery conveyed through the prophets would be fulfilled when the seventh angel, without delay, blew his trumpet; the seventh one is then sounded in 11:15 (just after the two-witnesses section), and it ushers in '...the kingdom of our Lord and of his Messiah'. The two-witnesses pericope is also set within the second of the three woes. Rev 7:13-8:12 presents the first, and 11:14 notes that the second woe has passed with the episode of the witnesses and that the third will come soon. In other words, the two witnesses are located very near to the end of the world.

The passage names several actions that the witnesses perform and attributes a number of qualities to them. First, they receive '...authority to prophesy for one thousand two hundred sixty days, wearing sackcloth' (v3). The danielic number of days (though Daniel never uses this precise figure) reprises the forty-two months of gentile trampling in v2. The backdrop for the prophetic ministry of the two witnesses is, then, the unpromising period when the nations smash Jerusalem and the court of the gentiles. Perhaps their clothing (sackcloth) is conditioned by these circumstances.

Who are the individuals characterized as 'my two witnesses'? The sequel provides a string of clues strongly implying that they are Elijah and Moses. The initial identifying comment seems, at first blush, to be unhelpful: 'These are the two olive trees and the two lampstands that stand before the Lord of the earth'. (v4) The allusion should be to Zechariah 4 (rebuilding the temple is part of the vision) in which the prophet sees *one* lampstand. On it are seven lamps and next to it are two olive trees (Zech 4:2-3). The interpreting angel explains to Zechariah that the seven lamps are '... the eyes of the Lord, which range through the whole earth' (v10), while the two olive trees are '... the two anointed ones who stand by the Lord of the whole earth'. (v14) These last words are repeated in Rev 11:4. However, the single lampstand of Zechariah has become two, and the lampstands and olive trees symbolize the two witnesses.

The light imagery already recalls traditions about Elijah who had, of course, seen his sacrifice devoured by a heavenly bolt (1 Kings 18:38) and had been separated from Elisha by 'a chariot of fire and horses of fire' (2 Kings 2:11). Moreover, the Lord's messenger who like Moses had experienced a flame on Sinai (1 Kings 19:12) was remembered by Ben Sira as '... a prophet like fire, and his word burned like a torch. He brought a famine upon them, and by his zeal made them few in number. By the word of the Lord he shut up the heavens, and also three times brought down fire' (Sir 48:1-3; cf. v9 where the whirlwind which took him up is also said to have been fiery). The lampstand alone, however, probably would not have convinced an ancient reader that one witness was Elijah. But in Rev 11:5-6a the author drops enough hints to remove any doubt that he was the Tishbite. 'And if anyone wants to harm them, fire

pours from their mouth and consumes their foes: anyone who wants to harm them must be killed in this manner. They have authority to shut the sky, so that no rain may fall during the days of their prophesying...' Rev 11:5 harks back to 2 Kings 1:10, 12 where Elijah summons celestial fire to consume two military units (cf. v14; Sir 48:3). It should be added, nevertheless, that Jeremiah, too, was associated with similar imagery: '...I am now making my words in your mouth a fire, and this people wood, and the fire shall devour them'. (Jer 5:14) He also was to become a candidate for one of the witnessing positions. Authority to shut the sky so that no rain could fall would remind any reader of Elijah's efforts in 1 Kings 17-18. It is of some interest that the drought in his time lasted into the third year according to 1 Kings 18:1 but that Luke 4:25 and James 5:17 extend it to three and one-half – the same amount of time that the witnesses would prophesy.²⁸⁴ Rev 11:6b provides the documentation that Moses would be the second witness: '...and they have authority over the waters to turn them into blood, and to strike the earth with every kind of plague, as often as they desire'. The plagues leave no doubt who is meant, and turning water to blood evokes the first of the ten inflicted by Moses on Egypt (see especially Exod 7:17, 19).

These indications have led expositors to identify the two witnesses of Rev 11:3-13 as Elijah and Moses. Their names are also consistent with the fact that they are said to prophesy (11:3, 6); in addition, they were a natural pair as both had fiery experiences at Sinai (note the reference to 40 days and nights in 1 Kings 18:8). Malachi's prophecy associated the two as well. After mentioning the coming day (it will burn the evildoers [Mal 4:1 (Heb. 3:19)]), he urges his readers: 'Remember the teaching of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel. Lo, I will send you the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes'. (4:4-5 [Heb. 3:22-23]). These were the two who visited Jesus on the mount of transfiguration (Mt 17:1-9; Mark 9:2-10; Luke 9:28-36; 2 Pet 1:17-18). Elijah's irregular removal from the earth is familiar from 2 Kings 2:11; and Moses' death as told in Deut 34:5-6 has a mysterious quality about it in that it was the Lord who buried him. It gave rise to speculation such as that found in T. Moses 11:4-8 where Moses' tomb is '... from the rising to the setting of the sun, and from the South to the limits of the North, the whole world is your sepulcher' (v8).²⁸⁵

Revelation 11, after describing the two witnesses, proceeds to relate their experiences. Once they have finished their testimony (two witnesses were required to convict in some cases: Num 35:30; Deut 17:6; 19:15; 31:19, 21, 26), the beast from the abyss,²⁸⁶ who is to figure prominently in chaps. 13 and 17, will conquer and kill them, leaving their corpses exposed in Jerusalem for three

²⁸⁴ Charles, *Revelation of St. John* 1. 279f. For the Elijah allusions see, too, Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 89-93 (he also adduces the other NT and the rabbinic references to Elijah's return).

²⁸⁵ Tr Priest, 'Testament of Moses', 933.

²⁸⁶ See Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 21f for connections between this creature and the fourth beast of Daniel 7.

and one-half days. The nations gloat over their demise 'because these two prophets had been a torment to the inhabitants of the earth' (v10). After three and one-half days (thus longer than their Lord lay in the tomb), a divine breath revives them, and their resuscitation produces fear in all who see them. A loud voice summons them from heaven (v12): "'Come up here!'" John the seer, who was also a witness, had been called in the same way (1:2; 4:1). They ascend in a cloud as Jesus had after he had commissioned witnesses (Acts 1:8-9). An earthquake, the fall of a tenth of the city, the deaths of 7000, and general terror accompany the event (v13).

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

Early Christian exegetes agreed that Elijah was one of the witnesses, but the other one was identified by some as Enoch, not Moses, despite the clear hints in the text.

The Apocalypse of Peter (second century). There is debate about the date of the Apocalypse, which may be a unified composition though it is attested in different sources (Greek and Ethiopic). It was known by the time of Clement of Alexandria and may have been written in Egypt before 150.²⁸⁷ Use of the text appears to have been widespread; in fact it is attested in all the major centers of Christianity and copies of it continued to be made for centuries.²⁸⁸ A substantial amount of space in the document is devoted to Jesus' parable of the fig tree and his explanation of it. As he details the signs of his coming for Peter and his other followers, Jesus mentions the parable: 'But you learn from the fig tree its parable: as soon as its shoot has gone out and its branches have sprouted, then will be the end of the world' (2:1). Peter then requests and receives clarification (2:2-13) within which the two witnesses surface. Apparently a false messiah is to arise (2:8, 10); when some reject him he will lead many to die as martyrs.

So then the branches of the fig tree will sprout. This is the house of Israel only. There will be martyrs by his hand. Many will die and become martyrs. For Enoch and Elijah will be sent that they might teach them that this (is) the Deceiver who must come into the world and do signs and wonders to deceive. And on account of this those who die by his hands will be martyrs and will be reckoned with the good and righteous martyrs who have pleased God in their life. (2:11-13)

²⁸⁷ Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 17. He collects (20-79) the direct and indirect allusions to it and argues (398-412) for a date during the Bar Kochba revolt of 132-35. He also defends the value of the Ethiopic text, about which Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch', 454-56 voices some scepticism. The translation used here is that of Buchholz.

²⁸⁸ Buchholz ib 20-81.

The identification of the two witnesses, listed in chronological order, is assumed, not demonstrated.

Tertullian. Tertullian, whose witness to the text of 1 Enoch and to the Watcher story was noted in the first two parts of this chapter, also employed the exegetical tradition which identified one of the two eschatological prophets in Revelation 11 as Enoch. The manner in which he refers to it suggests that he was not innovating. He was merely reproducing an accepted view. The relevant passage occurs in *A Treatise on the Soul*, chap. 50, in which he is refuting the opinions of Epicurus, who claimed that humanity owed the deity no natural debt, that is, to die, and of Menander, who maintained that upon baptism his followers became immortal without delay. Tertullian disputes their views but feels the need to deal with some exceptions to the one-hundred percent mortality rate among humans (he mentions Christ and Medea). 'Enoch no doubt was translated, and so was Elijah; nor did they experience death: it was postponed (and only postponed,) most certainly: they are reserved for the suffering of death, that by their blood they may extinguish Antichrist'.²⁸⁹ So, while the fates mentioned for Enoch and Elijah in the Old Testament make them appear to be exceptions to the requirement that all die, Revelation 11 discloses that their deaths will come at the end when they oppose Antichrist. His short statement betrays a reason for identifying the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah: they did not die at the expected time. Hence they lived on and were the best candidates to be the witnesses who would still be alive when the Antichrist became manifest. It seems likely that for him Elijah was an obvious choice and Enoch, the only biblical parallel to Elijah, was the logical selection for the other position.

Hippolytus (Rome; ca. 170-236). Hippolytus evoked the theme of the two witnesses in his treatise on Christ and the Antichrist and in his commentary on Daniel. The latter contains his more significant and developed statements about the matter. His exegetical comments demonstrate that he understood Revelation 11 in the light of the teaching in Daniel 9 about the 70 weeks. As noted above, Rev 11:2-3 draws the reader's attention to Daniel by its allusions to 42 months and 1260 days; these numbers are not, however, found in Daniel 9. But Rev 11:9, which mentions the three and one-half days during which the two witnesses' bodies lie unburied in Jerusalem, and 11:11, which tells of their resuscitation after that span of time, would remind one of the detailed account in Dan 9:24-27. Hippolytus, of course, believed that Daniel's 70-week prophecy foretold the coming of Jesus. On his chronology, the 62 weeks of Dan 9:25 covered the 434 years that, according to his chronology, transpired between the return from Babylonian exile and the birth of Christ. Since this period is preceded by the first seven weeks, the total of 69 weeks of years left just one remaining (see

²⁸⁹ ANF 3, 227f.

13-16). Hippolytus notes that in Dan 9:27 the final week is divided into two parts. The version of this verse that he interpreted read: 'After threescore and two weeks the times will be fulfilled, and one week will make a covenant with many; and in the midst (half) of the week sacrifice and oblation will be removed and in the temple will be the abomination of desolation (21).'²⁹⁰ At this point he adduces the scene of Revelation 11.

For when the threescore and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the Gospel is preached in every place, the time being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested, viz., Antichrist, announcing desolation to the world. And when he comes the sacrifice and oblation will be removed, which now are offered to God in every place by the nations. (22)

Revelation 11, then, provides additional detail about Daniel's seventieth and last week. The first part of it is the occasion for the appearance of the two witnesses Elijah and Enoch; but afterwards Antichrist (= the abomination of desolation) will arise – the beast from the abyss in Revelation 11. It is noteworthy that at this juncture Hippolytus gives no exegetical warrant for identifying the witnesses as Elijah and Enoch; he simply names them as if the point were self-evident.

He returns to the two when interpreting Daniel 11. He offers identifications for the sundry kings and events in that chapter (see 29-37) and brings the story down to Maccabean times. As he sees it, Daniel turns his attention to the last days in 11:36. Hippolytus thought the verse referred to a new king, not to Alexander Balas who had been under discussion in the previous section (see section 38 where he cites and summarizes Dan 11:36-43). The shameful and blasphemous monarch here described is Antichrist, and with him he associates the witnesses of Revelation 11, though he does not name them in this context (39).

Given the close connection between Antichrist and the two martyrs, it is not surprising that Hippolytus returns to the theme in his treatise on Christ and the Antichrist. There he surveys many biblical passages, especially ones from Isaiah, Daniel, and Revelation. In the sections immediately preceding his first reference to the witnesses, he quotes Revelation 17-18 at considerable length (37-42). In the sequel he delves into the torments of the last times and the period when they will take place. Daniel becomes important for these subjects:

But it becomes us further diligently to examine and set forth the period at which these things shall come to pass, and how the little horn [Dan 7:8, 11, 20-21, 24-26] shall spring up in their midst. For when the legs of iron have issued in the feet and toes, according to the similitude of the image and that of the terrible beast [Daniel 2 and 7]..., (then shall be the time) when the iron and the clay shall be mingled together. Now Daniel will set forth this subject for us. For he says, "And one week will make a covenant with many, and it shall be that in the midst (half) of the week

²⁹⁰ tr of Hippolytus: ANF 5.

my sacrifice and oblation shall cease" [Dan 9:27]. By one week, therefore, he meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world; of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach 1,260 days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations. (43)²⁹¹

Shortly after this explanation Hippolytus returns to the topic as he discusses the two advents of the Lord, both of which have a precursor: John the Baptist for the first, and Elijah the Tishbite for the second (see Mal 3:23-24 [English 4:5-6]). He introduces Elijah in section 46 and, quoting Malachi, he begins speaking in the plural of ones who will proclaim Christ's manifestation and do miracles in order to shame people to repentance. This leads to a quotation from Rev 11:3 (where the two witnesses prophesy for 1260 days in sackcloth) and the comment: 'That is the half of the week whereof Daniel spake.' (47) He also cites Rev 11:4-6, which concludes with the death of the two witnesses. For him the little horn of Daniel 7 was the Antichrist.

The Apocalypse of Elijah (Egypt; third-fourth centuries). Scholars have assigned the Apocalypse of Elijah and the Jewish traditions which may lie behind it to a variety of dates. The earliest manuscript evidence for it consists of Coptic and Greek witnesses of the fourth century.²⁹² It is possible that material in it served as the source for some very early Christian references to an Elijah document,²⁹³ but the Christian version of the work probably dates from no earlier than the third and perhaps from the fourth century.²⁹⁴

The Apocalypse of Elijah places the episode of the two witnesses within a larger eschatological context. It relates that the lawless one, who claims to be Christ, will arise and be opposed by a series of righteous individuals in Jerusalem. Tabitha comes to Jerusalem to rebuke him and is killed for her efforts (she later arises and rebukes him again). Elijah and Enoch oppose him but he fights them for seven days, kills them, and leaves them lying dead for three and one-half days. On the fourth, however, they once again turn against him; this time he is not able to overcome them. Some 60 righteous individuals also enter the lists against the lawless one. The treatment of Elijah and Enoch differs here from that in other texts through the more extensive speeches that it credits to them.

²⁹¹ For Enoch and repentance, see Sir 44:16 (LXX): '...an example of repentance to all generations'.

²⁹² Pietersma et al. *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, 6.

²⁹³ For a survey of these see Schürer, *History* 3, 799-803. He considers it possible that the citation in 1 Cor 2:9, which according to Origen came from a book of the prophet Elijah, actually does so. Cf also, Winterrute, 'Apocalypse of Elijah', 728.

²⁹⁴ Winterrute ib 729f places it between 150 and 275; Jenks, *Origins*, 33f puts it in the second half of the third century; and Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch', 450f prefers a time no earlier than the fourth century, since its version of the Enoch-Elijah story has the nearest affinities with fourth-century and later traditions. Cf Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 94f. For the most recent treatment of the texts and date for the book see Frankfurter, *Elijah*, 17-30.

Then when Elijah and Enoch²⁹⁵ hear that the shameless one has appeared in the holy places, they will come down and wage war against him saying, 'Are you not ashamed seeing that you are estranged constantly? You became an enemy of heavenly beings, now you have acted against those on earth as well. You became an enemy of angels and powers. You are the enemy for all time. You fell from heaven like the morning stars. You have changed. Your substance (?) has been darkened. Are you not ashamed, you who hurl yourself against God? You are the devil.' The shameless one will hear, become angry and wage war against them in the market place of the great city. He will spend seven days fighting with them and kill them. For three and a half days they will lie dead in the market place in full view of all the people. But on the fourth day they will arise again and rebuke him, saying to him, 'O you shameless one, are you not ashamed, you who deceive God's people, for whom you have not suffered? Do you not know that we live in the Lord, in order that we may rebuke you whenever you say, "I have overpowered them?" We will lay aside the flesh of this body and kill you without you being able to utter a sound at that time, because we live in the Lord always, whereas you are a perpetual enemy.' The shameless one will listen in anger and wage war against them. The whole city will surround them. At that time they will raise cries of joy towards heaven, shining forth as the whole world watches them. The lawless one will not prevail against them. (15:8-17:4)²⁹⁶

Much later, after the lawless one has suffered various setbacks, Elijah and Enoch annihilate him and his followers.

After that Elijah and Enoch descend. They lay aside the flesh of the world and put on the flesh of the spirit. They pursue the lawless one and kill him without his being able to utter a sound. At that time he will melt before them like ice which melts through fire. (Ach 5:32-33)

Finally, Christ descends and spends a millennium in Jerusalem and creates a new heaven and earth.

The Apocalypse of John (third-fifth centuries). This work, the Greek manuscript of which entitles it *Apocalypse of Saint John the Theologian*,²⁹⁷ is of uncertain date. As Jenks notes, it has been located at various times from the third to the fifth centuries.²⁹⁸ It may, then, come from the end of the period covered by this chapter or from a somewhat later time. At the beginning of the text, John, who is sitting on Mt. Tabor after the ascension, asks the Lord to teach him about his coming, when it will occur, and what will happen then (1). After seven days of prayer, a cloud takes the apostle, sets him before heaven, and tells him to look into it. A voice gives him commands, and, as in the biblical Revelation, a book

²⁹⁵ This reverse order of the names is shared with few texts which reproduce the story. According to Bauckham's chart ('The Martyrdom of Enoch', 449), only Hippolytus in his *Christ and the Antichrist*, Ephraem 'Græcus', *Sermo in adventum Domini*, and the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl do likewise among the 24 texts that he lists.

²⁹⁶ Translations of the document are from Pietersma *et al.* *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, 49, 51, 53. For parallel translations of the Sahidic and Achmimic witnesses see Frankfurter, *Elijah*, 317-19.

²⁹⁷ The text is in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 70-94.

²⁹⁸ *Antichrist Myth*, 35 (where there is additional bibliography).

with seven seals is involved. John is given various pieces of information, such as an account of the Antichrist including a description of his physiognomy (7). In section 8 John asks how many years Antichrist will operate on the earth, and the voice answers:

Those times will be three years, and I will make the three years like three months, and the three months like three weeks, and the three weeks like three days, and the three days like three hours, and the three hours like three moments – as the prophet David said; You have broken down his throne to the earth; you have shortened the days of his time; you have poured out shame for him. And then I will send Enoch and Elijah for reproving him. They will show that he is a liar and deceiver. He will kill them on the altar, as the prophet said: Then they will offer on your altar young bulls. (my translation)

In the sequel all human nature dies. The unusual feature here is that the altar is specified as the place of execution. This may be an inference from Rev 11:1-2 which places the scene at the temple in Jerusalem.

POSSIBLE SOURCES FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF ENOCH AS ONE OF THE WITNESSES

There would be no difficulty in extending the survey because the identification of the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah continued for some time in Christian literature. W. Bousset collected references to it and considered it to be a '...fast einstimmige[] Überlieferung' that they were Enoch and Elijah.²⁹⁹ Bauckham has supplemented his list so that it has grown to 24 texts which evidence the tradition.³⁰⁰ Most of these, however, are later in date than the period which is considered in the present survey; hence they need not be included. It should be stated, though, that this tradition does not seem to have suffered the same fate as I Enoch itself and the Watcher myth in the fourth century and later. Rather, it continues to be attested for centuries thereafter.³⁰¹ What might be the source(s) of this tradition?

The most obvious answer is, of course, that Enoch and Elijah were presented in the Old Testament as the only two individuals who bypassed death and would therefore continue to be alive at the end.³⁰² Also, Malachi prophesied that Elijah would be part of the final scenario. In extra-biblical texts the same was the case for Enoch. Rev 11:2 adds that they are witnesses and that they prophesy. These two characteristics may assist in tracking down items in the traditions about Enoch that could have inclined early Christian authors to name him as one of the heroes of the chapter.

First, Jubilees places heavy stress on Enoch's role as witness in the short

²⁹⁹ Bousset, *Antichrist*, 134-39; quotation p134.

³⁰⁰ Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch'.

³⁰¹ See also Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 96f, 100-102.

³⁰² *ib.* 98.

pericope which it devotes to him. Jub. 4:18 reports that he '... was the first to write a testimony. He testified to mankind in the generations of the earth'. Moreover, he '... wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history'. (v19) As in 1 Enoch 12-16, Jubilees makes Enoch testify against the Watchers (v22). When he was translated from earth after his 365 years, the angels escorted him to the Garden of Eden where he writes the '... judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind' (v23) and his labors serve '... to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment'. (v24)³⁰³ In other words, for the author, Enoch carried out the role of a witness both during and after his time on earth. His testifying role continues until the final judgment.³⁰⁴ The motif is reinforced by 4Q227 (copied in the early Herodian period)³⁰⁵, on which one reads about Enoch:

ויעד על כולם
 וזם על העירים [

And he testified against them all
] and also against the Watchers.

There is, then, documentation in pre-Christian times for the theme of Enoch as witness.

One of the early Christian texts cited above – the Apocalypse of Elijah – offers a broader clue regarding a source for identifying one of the witnesses in Revelation 11 as Enoch. The second passage quoted from it (Ach 5:32-33) is immediately preceded by words which betray a dependence on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch (chaps. 85-90).

On that day, the Lord will judge the heaven and the earth.
 He will judge those who transgressed in heaven,
 and those who did so on earth.
 He will judge the shepherds of his people.
 He will ask about the flock of sheep,
 and they will be given to him,
 without any deadly guile existing in them. (5:30-31)³⁰⁶

The setting at the final assize and the allusions to shepherds who are to be judged and the flock which is to receive divine attention all recall 1 Enoch 89:59-90:36. There in Enoch's dream vision, the oppressors of God's people are shepherds and his people are his sheep. Once the appointed time has arrived, the shepherds who had exceeded their orders in punishing the flock are judged and destroyed, while the sheep – who had become pure – are brought

³⁰³ tr VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees 2*.

³⁰⁴ Some of these themes are, of course, drawn from 1 Enoch. For a comparison, see VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 231-36. Note in particular 1 Enoch 80-82 and 91-93.

³⁰⁵ A transcription appears in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 12.

³⁰⁶ tr Wintermute, 'Apocalypse of Elijah', 752.

into their Lord's new house. Enoch himself plays a part in this symbolic drama. The vision, which surveys biblical history, describes Enoch's removal as being brought to a tower from which he is able to view what is to transpire (87:3-4). Once history runs its course and several events of the judgment occur, Enoch returns to the earth. 'And after this those three [angels] who were dressed in white and had taken hold of me by my hand, the ones who had brought me up at first – they, with the hand of that ram also holding me, took me up and put me down in the middle of those sheep before the judgement was held'. (90:31) That is, though the temporal sequence is difficult to follow, Enoch is present on earth while these final events take place.

In this context, an exegetical problem is of special interest: who is the ram who, with the angels, holds Enoch as he is placed amid the sheep? Charles³⁰⁷ identified him as Elijah who, according to 1 Enoch 89:52, was removed from the earth: 'But one of them [Elijah] was saved and was not killed, and it sprang away and cried out against the sheep, and they wished to kill it; but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the hands of the sheep, and brought it up to me [Enoch], and made it remain *there*.' It would be only natural, one would think, that the two, who are paired in 89:52, would be returned to the earth together as well. One problem is that in 89:52 Elijah is classified as one of the *sheep*, not as a *ram*.³⁰⁸ Rams are also under consideration in 90:10-11, while in 90:13-16 there appears a special ram who is usually thought to represent Judas Maccabeus.³⁰⁹ Milik infers from these data that the ram of 90:31 is also Judas.³¹⁰ This is not a very likely conclusion though, since, as Black notes, elsewhere in the Animal Apocalypse other leaders are also termed sheep.³¹¹

As a result, one may conclude that the passage certainly does place Enoch on the scene 'before the judgement was held' (90:31) and the context uses language that is resumed in the Apocalypse of Elijah. It may also bring Elijah into the same situation, though that is uncertain. The Apocalypse of Elijah, as 1 Enoch does certainly for Enoch and possibly for Elijah, also speaks of their returning from above (4:7; 5:32).³¹² While there are these connections between

³⁰⁷ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 215n.

³⁰⁸ Martin, *Le livre d'Énoch*, 233.

³⁰⁹ See for example Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 211.

³¹⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 45.

³¹¹ Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 279; see too his 'The "Two Witnesses"', 227f.

³¹² On the subject of the Apocalypse of Elijah and 1 Enoch 90:31, see also Haug, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 15, 99f; and Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch', 450-52. Bauckham is critical of Rosenstüchli, *L'Apocalypse d'Élie* who argued that the Apocalypse of Elijah was a first-century BCE Essene work, although chap. 2 has expansions from a third-century CE Jewish author.

the two texts, 1 Enoch does not assign any function to Enoch (or Elijah?) at the judgment.³¹³

There is, as a consequence, documentary evidence for a pre-Christian Jewish expectation that both Enoch and Elijah, the two men who had escaped death, would return at the time of the final judgment. The author of Revelation has built upon such sources but has added a number of features to them to fashion his own understanding of the eschatological drama.

Conclusion

The foregoing three-part study of Enochic writings, Enochic themes, and Enoch himself in early Christian literature has shown that the writings that circulated under the patriarch's name had a noticeable but limited role to play in the first several centuries of the Common Era. The booklets that comprise 1 Enoch, especially the Book of Watchers, were apparently more popular among Christian readers than among their Jewish contemporaries, or at least the surviving literature suggests as much. In Jewish literature Enoch and themes associated with him nearly disappeared, although they are a major part of the early Jewish apocalyptic heritage.³¹⁴ Even among Christians, while Enoch's writings were a legitimate source of authority for some time, by ca. 300 CE they no longer enjoyed the status they once had. Enoch himself is named often in early Christian texts but primarily as the intriguing, enigmatic character found in Gen 5:21-24, not as the more spectacular figure of revelations and the last days as he appears in the Enochic literature. The major exception is the limited but persistent tradition that identifies him as one of the two end-time witnesses in Revelation 11.

The greatest contribution of the Enochic apocalyptic tradition to early Christian thought was its angelic reading of Gen 6:1-4. Its influence can be traced in the various centers of Christianity from New Testament times until the early fourth century. In one form or another it gave Christian writers ammunition for explaining the presence of evil, idolatry, and demons in the world and the certainty with which wickedness would be punished at the judgment. However,

³¹³ Black, "The 'Two witnesses'", 229 conjectures that the curious order of the materials for the judgment scene in 1 Enoch 90 (Enoch (and Elijah) return before the judgment occurred, even though their return is mentioned after it) is purposeful: 'It is possible that the presence of the two Israelite immortals was to be that of witnesses to see that justice was done, on the principle that a valid testimony requires two witnesses (Num. 25:30; Deut. 17:6; Heb. 10:28).' Black ib 230-35 also explores other possible sources for the theme of the eschatological appearance of Enoch and Elijah (2 Esdr 6:25-28 [he gives 8:18ff as the reference]; Bib. Ant. 48:1), but none of these is specific enough to be a plausible source for the picture in the early Christian texts. See also Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 14f, 86; Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch', 451f.

³¹⁴ For brief surveys and further literature see Himmelfarb, 'A Report on Enoch'; VanderKam, *Enoch - A Man for All Generations*, chap. 5.

with the declining popularity of Enochic literature came rising doubt about the angelic reading of Gen 6:1-4. As the Sethite interpretation became more and more dominant, the mythological scenario of the Enochic exegesis lost its appeal and place in the early church. The Enoch literature itself, apart from excerpts here and there, fell out of circulation and would have been lost had it not been for the survival of the Ethiopic translation and the discovery of the Aramaic fragments in Qumran cave 4.

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