

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³² Cf. Neugebauer in Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 407; L. Fusella, ‘Libro dei

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

But of the tree, the Ethiopic text reports that “towards the north, it will be planted, in a holy place, by the house of the Lord, the Eternal King.”¹³⁵ Inasmuch as it is clear that the house of the Lord refers to the temple, the text would indicate that the tree in 1 *Enoch* 25:5 is south of Jerusalem. As noted above, for those who would argue that 1 *Enoch* 25’s mountain-throne of God and tree of life are already in the northwest, it is certainly a textual conundrum: as Black observes, how can one envision the tree in the northwest moving *further north* in order that it be located at the Jerusalem temple?¹³⁴

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

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

¹³⁵ Translation from Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 114. Gr⁹⁰⁰ 25:5 reads instead: ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς εἰς ζῶην εἰς βορρᾶν καὶ . . . (‘its fruit to the elect for life for food’). Charles thinks εἰς ζῶην derives from וְיִשְׁמְרֵם אֱלֹהִים, a corruption of וְיִשְׁמְרֵם אֱלֹהִים (‘will be’; hence ‘its fruit shall be for food to the elect’); he also holds that the Ethiopic confused εἰς βορρᾶν with εἰς βορρᾶν (‘to the north’), resulting in *wamangala mes* (the conjunction ‘wa’ misplaced). Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 63 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 53. But see Gadla Abbuna ‘Ezra (A. Caquot, ‘Les Actes d’Ezra de Ganda-Gandi,’ *Annales d’Éthiopie* 4 [1961]: 69–121; esp.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. 1 **ENOCH** 18:9

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

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

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

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

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

B. 1 **ENOCH** 18:10

The place beyond the mountains brings **Enoch** to the 'end of the great earth' (πέρας τῆς μεγάλης γῆς) according to the Greek, or 'beyond the great earth' (mā'dotu la-'abiy medr) according to the Ethiopic. The site offers a terminus of some sort; it is here apparently where the heavens meet the earth. I translate 1 **Enoch** 18:10 as follows: "is a place, the end of the great earth. There the heavens are completed."

Black considers this expression 'great earth' to be highly unusual. He suggests that a misreading of the Aramaic has occurred and

³ Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 41.

⁴ *1 Enoch*, 276; *Books of Enoch*, 200.

⁵ *Books of Enoch*, 200.

offers instead ‘beyond the ends of the earth’ (לְעֵבֶר בְּרִיתָא דְאַרְעָא), a phrase familiar from Tg. Prov. 30:4.⁶ While the expression ‘great earth’ seems rather awkward, Nickelsburg observes a verbal parallel with Hesiod’s *Theogony* which locates Tartarus, the prison of the titans, at ‘the ends of the huge earth.’ (πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης).⁷

We learn, then, in 1 **Enoch** 18:10 that at this site the heavens are finished or gathered together (אֲשֶׁר יִבְרָא אֱלֹהִים/συντελεσθήσονται οἱ οὐρανοί/yetgābe’u samāyāt). For Charles and Black, this latter expression conveys that the site is where the heavens come to an end or are completed (so 1 **Enoch** 18:5 and 33:2).⁸ Some Ethiopic mss read instead: ‘there the waters (māyāt) were gathered together.’⁹ Dillmann,¹⁰ Lods,¹¹ and Uhlig¹² prefer this variant. Dillmann describes the site as the place where waters are collected, the same as the encircling Okeanos of 1 **Enoch** 17:7–8;¹³ for Lods this is an ocean located at the extremities of the earth that **Enoch** comes upon anew.¹⁴ Curiously, though, there is nothing in the context of 1 **Enoch** 18 and 19 to suggest that **Enoch** is near to an ocean or to any body of water. In fact, 1 **Enoch** 18:12 explicitly states that there is no water in the region (see below). The Greek and fragmentary Aramaic, as well as the majority of Ethiopic mss, supply the correct reading: **Enoch** has traveled to the perimeters of the earth, where the heavens come to an end. Though Dillmann is inclined to locate the site in the vicinity of the seven mountains, to the south, there is nothing in the text to indicate that **Enoch** remains in that region.¹⁵

C. 1 **Enoch** 18:11

From this location at the ends of the earth, **Enoch** sees a deep chasm (χάσμα μέγα/neq’ata ‘emuqa) with pillars of fire (]בַּה עַמּוּדָי/έν τοῖς

⁶ *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 36, 159–60.

⁷ *1 Enoch*, 286.

⁸ Respectively, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 42 and *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 160. Black (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 160) calls the future tense of the Greek inappropriate and assigns it to the work of a later translator.

⁹ Abb 35 and Abb 55.

¹⁰ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

¹¹ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 161.

¹² *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 549.

¹³ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

¹⁴ *Le Livre D’Hénoch*, 161.

¹⁵ *Das Buch Henoch*, 118.

στύλοις τοῦ πυρός/ba-ʾa-mādiḥu la-ʾessāta samāy; 1 **Enoch** 18:11). The fiery pillars are said to be ‘falling’ (καταβαίνοντας/za-yewarred) and are described, with respect to height and depth, as immeasurable. The text reads as follows: “And I saw a great chasm among pillars of heavenly fire and I saw in it (among these) pillars of fire falling and they had no measure either in depth or height.”

Nickelsburg observes many similarities between the chasm of 1 **Enoch** 18:11 and the description of Tartarus, the prison of the titans, in Hesiod’s *Theogony*. 1 **Enoch** 18:11’s χάσμα μέγα is a close verbal parallel to the description of Tartarus, a great chasm (χάσμα μέγ).¹⁶ Nickelsburg also notes that in *Theog.* 713–48 Atlas is nearby, holding up the heavens.¹⁷ Perhaps the reference to Atlas’s supporting the heavens may speak to the close proximity of the place of punishment in 1 **Enoch** 18:11 and site where the heavens are completed in 1 **Enoch** 18:10.

The imagery of the pillars of fire is especially unusual. We learn that they are gigantic, and in fact, beyond measure. It is hard to envision exactly their relationship to the chasm; they appear to be continually descending into the pit. It is possible, Nickelsburg suggests, that it is the chasm rather than the pillars that is of immeasurable height or depth. The chasm, then, would be a veritable bottomless pit, similar to the description of Tartarus in the *Theogony*, a chasm with the same dimensions as the distance between heaven and earth.¹⁸

As the text stands, it is not entirely evident what the author has in mind by the chasm and falling pillars. The narrative changes abruptly in 1 **Enoch** 18:12 (see below) without providing an explanation of the site. For this reason, Nickelsburg suggests that part of 1 **Enoch** 18:11 has been displaced from its original context.¹⁹ Nickelsburg’s exegesis demonstrates that 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 fits best following the description of the chasm and the fiery pillars of 1 **Enoch** 18:11.²⁰ With the emendation that Nickelsburg recommends, the nature and purpose of the site gain clarity. A parallel tradition in 1 **Enoch** 21 also strengthens Nickelsburg’s suggestion that 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 has been displaced and belongs, rather, immediately after 1 **Enoch** 18:11

(see below). I follow Nickelsburg's emendation and treat 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 as the description of the site in 1 **Enoch** 18:11.

D. 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2

In 1 **Enoch** 19:1, the *angelus interpres* Uriel indicates that an unnamed site serves as the spot where the promiscuous angels—apparently with the exception of their evil spirits which still plague the world (cf. 1 **Enoch** 12–16)—will stand until the great judgment. The unnamed site, given no physical description in 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 but identified as the prison of the angels, is in all probability the deep chasm of 1 **Enoch** 18:11, an idea considered already by Charles.²¹ We learn much about the prison-chasm's inhabitants. They are angels (ἄγγελοι/*malā'ekt*) guilty of intercourse (literally of 'mixing with' [μυγέντες] or in the Ethiopic of 'uniting' [tadammīromu]) with women. They also have enticed men to commit idolatry. The text of 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 reads as follows: ⁽¹⁾ "And Uriel said to me, 'Here in this place the angels who mixed with the women will stand and their spirits, becoming many forms, hurt men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons until the great judgment in which they will be judged until brought to completion. ⁽²⁾ And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens.'"

1. *The Watchers and their Wives*

The promiscuous angels described in 1 **Enoch** 19:1–2 who led men astray so that they sacrificed to demons are known from earlier in the narrative of the Book of the Watchers. These angels are none other than the watchers (ἐγγήγοροι/*teguhān*), 'the children of heaven,' of 1 **Enoch** 6–16. The watchers, led by Semhazah (1 **Enoch** 6:3, 7; 10:11) and Azazel (1 **Enoch** 10:4, 8), descend to earth via Hermon initially to mate with the daughters of men (1 **Enoch** 6:3–4; 7:1). This is an especially egregious act for we learn in 1 **Enoch** 15:3–7 that the watchers as immortal, spiritual beings should not have left the heavens to mix with humans. The watchers impregnate the women (1 **Enoch** 6:2) and teach humanity various crafts considered impious, such as metallurgy leading to the production of weapons