

WITH WISDOM AS A ROBE
QUMRAN AND OTHER JEWISH STUDIES
IN HONOUR OF IDA FRÖHLICH

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PUTTING ANGELS IN THEIR PLACE:
DEVELOPMENTS IN SECOND TEMPLE ANGELOLOGY*

Kelley Coblentz Bautch

1. *Introduction*

Angels, also referred to as watchers, are omnipresent in the *Book of the Watchers*.¹ In what many consider to be the core narrative of the work (chs. 6–11 of *1 Enoch*), angels predominate as both heroes (as the archangels who intervene) and villains (the rebellious angels who bring violence and

* It is a great pleasure to celebrate Professor Ida Fröhlich who has taught us all so much through her scholarship and collegiality. Professor Fröhlich's research on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been especially helpful to my studies in Second Temple Judaism; thus, I explore in this contribution to her Festschrift a text well attested at Qumran, the *Book of the Watchers*, in light of its angelology.

1. I would like to thank St Edward's University for a Presidential Excellence Grant that allowed me to conduct research on this topic. I extend my gratitude also to Dr Richard Bautch for reading a draft of this article and for his insightful comments. The designation 'watchers' occurs in Aramaic (ܥܝܪܝܢ; see 4QEn^c 1 xxii *1 En.* 22.6), Greek (ἐγρήγοροι; see, for example, Gr. *1 En.* 10.7) and Ge'ez (*teguhān*; see *1 En.* 1.5) and may derive from the notion that angels remain alert (or 'awake' per the root עור; that is, they do not sleep; cf. *1 En.* 71.7) and keep watch over the deeds of humankind (cf. *1 En.* 20.1). On the nature of the designation 'watchers', see Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (ed. Hugo Gressmann; HNT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr, 3rd edn, 1966), pp. 322-23; Robert Murray, 'The Origin of Aramaic 'ir, Angel', *Or* 53 (1984), pp. 303-17; George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), p. 140; and Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup, 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), pp. 38-39. Siam Bhayro has argued that the designation 'watchers' may derive from Babylonian mantic practices; Enochic texts employ the term in order to polemicize against such practices. Thus the fallen watchers are intended to represent the *bārû*, Babylonian diviners, and are used in the Shemihazah narrative to make the case against mantic arts. See Bhayro, who also addresses the occurrence of עיר and עירין in Dan. 4.10, 14, 20, in *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents* (AOAT, 322; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), pp. 20-28.

forbidden knowledge). Angels attend to God in the heavenly temple (*I En.* 14.20), oversee various functions within the cosmos (ch. 20) and serve as guides to Enoch, the antediluvian patriarch (chs. 17–36).² In fact, angels are at least as prominent as the seer in this text of the third century BCE.³

The complex nature of the *Book of the Watchers*—most scholars find within the work distinctive literary units which betray an amalgamation of sources⁴—manifests itself as well in the depiction of angels. Much study has been undertaken on the narratives treating the rebellious angels and their various sins which have been combined within *I Enoch* 6–11.⁵ One sees also some variety in the presentation of the archangels. Shifts from four (chs. 9–10) to seven archangels (ch. 20) occur within the *Book of the Watchers*. Along with these shifts, the order of the names of these archangels fluctuates, as do names on occasion.⁶ Examination of this Second Temple work suggests discrete traditions involving four archangels (elsewhere these four are situated around the throne of God) and seven archangels who tend to the maintenance of the cosmos. I take up these diverse perspectives in the present study in order to bring to light the complex nature of these traditions and the developing angelology in early Enochic literature. Finally, I consider overlap between

2. For a comprehensive study of angels in the *Book of the Watchers*, see Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*.

3. On the dating of the *Book of the Watchers*, see J.T. Milik with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 28, 140–41, and James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS, 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), p. 114.

4. Discussion of these distinct units within the *Book of the Watchers* and the sources that contribute to these is taken up in R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. xlvii–xlvi; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, I, pp. 7, 132, 169–70, 278, 230, 292–93, and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 110.

5. See, e.g., Devorah Dimant, 'The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Hebrew University, 1974), pp. 23–72 (Hebrew), and Bhayro, *Shemihazah and Asael Narrative*, esp. pp. 11–20.

6. Regarding the traditions of four and seven archangels in Enochic texts, see also Christoph Berner, 'The Four (or Seven) Archangels in the First Book of Enoch and Early Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period', in F. Reiterer, T. Nicklas, and K. Schöpflin (eds.), *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2007* (Deuterocanonical Yearbook 2007; Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 395–411. In our studies of angelology, Berner and I reach a number of the same conclusions, although our research was conducted wholly independent of one another. Lamentably I did not have access to Berner's work when composing my own article because his study appeared only after mine had gone to press.

the two trajectories or instances where the two traditions have converged even in Enochic literature.

2. The Tradition of Four Angels

As noted above, though angels play many roles in the *Book of the Watchers*, four, named by Syncellus οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι ('the four great archangels'), are distinguished especially in the first half of the work, *1 Enoch* 1–16. As is well known, in these chapters, which are reminiscent of (and most likely based upon) Gen. 6.1–4,⁷ certain rebellious angels decide to descend to the earth in order to have relations with the daughters of men and also teach humankind forbidden crafts (*1 En.* 6.1–8.3). At the same time, Michael, Sariel (Uriel in Greek MSS; see below), Raphael, and Gabriel, who observe from heaven the destruction upon the earth, petition God for an end to the evil watchers' activities (9.1–11); the four, in turn, are given the tasks of warning Noah about the flood, punishing the rebel angels, and cleansing the earth of impiety (10.1–13). Noteworthy is the proximity of these angels to the divine and their ability to intervene on humanity's behalf (*1 En.* 9).

The number and presence of celestial beings with such an exalted role recall the four living creatures (כרובים, later revealed to be cherubim in Ezek. 10.15) which support the divine throne in Ezekiel 1.⁸ The presence of the four in Ezekiel calls to mind God's dominion over the four quarters or regions of the earth (see Ezek. 10.9–11).⁹ Zechariah knows also of four spirits or winds of heaven (רוחות השמים) which inspect or patrol each direction of the earth (Zech. 6.1–7; cf. also LXX Zech. 1.8–11).

In a manner reminiscent of Ezekiel, later texts situate archangels around the throne of God. In the first century BCE or CE *Book of the Parables*, for

7. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 31) is one of the few to assert that this tradition transmitted in Enochic literature preceded the account in Gen. 6.1–4, a hypothesis that has been widely challenged. Cf., e.g., VanderKam, 'Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J.T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*', *Maarav* 3 (1982), pp. 85–97 (94–97), and Nickelsburg, Review of J.T. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 411–19 (416).

8. On the hierarchal arrangements of angels which develop in the Second Temple period, see Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), pp. 263–64.

9. Interest in accounting for the extent of the world is reminiscent of Sumerian and Akkadian divisions of the earth's surface into 'four quarters' or 'four regions'. The regions, all equal quadrants in size, correspond to the four compass points. See BagM Beih. 2 98, and Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), pp. 193–207, 259–60, 324–25, 334.

example, four 'presences' (Ge'ez *gaṣṣ*)¹⁰ or angels (*1 En.* 40.10)—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel—are stationed at each side of the divine (here called 'the Lord of Spirits'; see *1 En.* 40.2-10). Similar traditions situating the four archangels around the throne of God appear in Rabbinic and Christian literature as well.¹¹ The eighth-ninth century *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* provides another such instance of this phenomenon, locating Michael at the right hand of God, Gabriel to the left of God, Uriel in front of God, and finally Raphael behind God (*PRE* 4).¹² The *Book of the Watchers* does not offer, however, an orientation for the archangels *vis-à-vis* the throne of God. Its angelology would seem similar, rather, to that of Zech. 6.1-7 where אֲנֹכִי הַשְּׂמַיִם are responsible for safeguarding various regions or geographical areas.

Within the *Book of the Watchers*, the names and order of the four are not firmly fixed. An example of that fluidity with regard to names may be observed in the case of the four archangels who notice from heaven the destruction upon the earth and petition God for an end to the evil watchers' activities in *1 En.* 9.1-11. The earliest extant manuscripts from Qumran for *1 En.* 9.1 (4QEn^a 1 iv and 4QEn^b 1 iii) suggest that these angels are Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel. The Greek manuscripts feature Uriel (Codex Panopolitanus [Gr^{Pan}], Οὐριήλ; Syncellus [Gr^{Syn}], Οὐριήλ) in place of Sariel in this list; here some suggest that a Greek copyist confused an initial *sigma* for an *omicron*.¹³ Most Ethiopic manuscripts have *Sur'el* or *Suryāl*, which would seem to suggest a form of the name Sariel,¹⁴ while a few read instead 'Ur'el, reminiscent of Uriel. At the same time, some Ge'ez readings include both *Suryān* (or *Suryāl*) and 'Uryān (or 'Uryāl), and in these instances displace Raphael (or Michael) from the list of the four in *1 En.* 9.1.¹⁵

10. Perhaps *gaṣṣ* is to be understood as 'faces' (פָּנִים); the epithet 'angels of the presence' may derive from Isa. 63.9's angel of the presence (מַלְאָךְ פָּנָיו); cf. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 77, and Black, in consultation with VanderKam, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 199.

11. See below, and also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, p. 207, and Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 173; regarding the theme in Christian art, see P. Perdrizet, 'L'archange Ouriel', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 2 (1928), pp. 241-76.

12. On traditions of associating the four archangels with particular directions and attributes, see Cristiana Tretti, *Enoch e la sapienza celeste* (Florence: La Giuntina, 2007), pp. 197-204 (227 n. 41).

13. See, e.g., Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, p. 202.

14. See, however, Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 173, who observes that the reading for the angel's name in 4QEn^b 1 iii is open to doubt; Šari'el ('Prince of God') or a defective spelling of Šari'el ('Wall of God') are possible here.

15. See, e.g., Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 172, and Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, pp. 325-26.

In the next chapter, *1 Enoch* 10, the angels are articulated thus: Uriel in Gr^{Syn} (Istrael in Gr^{Pan} and variants comparable to 'Arsyalālyur, 'Asarya Leyēr or 'Asureyāl in Eth. MSS; 10.1), Raphael (*1 En.* 10.4), Gabriel (10.9) and Michael (10.11). Thinking Gr^{Syn}'s Uriel to reflect a possible corruption of Sariel¹⁶ and Gr^{Pan} and Eth. MSS to represent conflation of Sariel (or Suriel), Uriel and Israel,¹⁷ commentators typically follow the list of archangels articulated in the extant Aramaic of *1 En.* 9.1 and substitute Sariel in place of the various readings for 10.1. Reference to Michael, Gabriel, Sariel and Raphael also occurs in the War Scroll; there, the names of the angels (in the aforementioned order) are to be written on four shields which stand about a tower (see IQM ix 14-16).¹⁸

The name Sariel is not prominent outside of these contexts. The Enochic Parables identify the four angels around the throne of God as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel (*1 En.* 40.2-10; 54.6; 71.8-9, 13).¹⁹ Yet later traditions, both Rabbinic and Christian, name the four as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel, a list comparable to that given in Gr^{Pan} and Gr^{Syn} *1 En.* 9.1 (see *Sib. Or.* 2.2; *As. Mos.* 40.1; *PRE* 4; *Num. R.* 2.10; *Pesiq. R.* 46). This articulation of the four archangels is striking in light of the importance of Uriel both in the Astronomical Book (which predates the *Book of the Watchers*) and in the second half of the *Book of the Watchers*; there is no extant reference to Uriel, however, among the fragmentary Aramaic remains of the Enochic literature discovered in the Judean desert.

We observe that if order becomes important at some later point in the tradition (see, e.g., the Parables' presentation of the four, *1 En.* 40.2-10) and communicates something about hierarchy among the archangels or signals areas of dominion or functions, the first half of the *Book of the Watchers* adheres to no apparent or obvious order of archangels. Per 4QEn^a 1 iv and 4QEn^b 1 iii, *1 En.* 9.1 lists the four as Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel; yet in *1 En.* 9.4, Raphael, Michael, Sariel and Gabriel approach God to intervene. In the course of identifying the archangels who are appointed to tend to Noah and chastise the evil watchers, *1 Enoch* 10 introduces Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel and lastly Michael.²⁰

16. So Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, p. 216.

17. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 172.

18. In this instance a 'tower' may be a sort of battle formation. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 173.

19. The name 'Phanuel', perhaps with the sense 'presence of El' (פניאל), is rare among the names for the archangels. See Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 201.

20. Milik (*Books of Enoch*, p. 174) argues that there existed a fixed tradition concerning the archangels 'as early as the Persian period'. He names and orders the four according to the list of 4QEn^b 1 iii (*1 En.* 9.1): Michael, Sariel, Rafael and Gabriel. Yet given the diversity of references to the four in the *Book of the Watchers*, and the ascendancy of Uriel, Milik's assertion seems hard to maintain.

Thus, the first half of the *Book of the Watchers* and especially the core narrative, *1 Enoch* 6–11, focuses on four archangels and there is some consistency through the manuscript traditions in the names of these angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael). One observes also variation in the angelology. There is some instability with regard to the name of a fourth angel (Sariel, Suriel, Uriel [later Phanuel]); further, the angels are introduced in differing orders. Also interesting is that unlike many of the portraits of the four, the archangels in the *Book of the Watchers* are not explicitly oriented around the throne of God.

3. *The Seven Angels of the Powers*

In the second half of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 En.* 17–36), Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, and Michael, and at times unnamed angels, serve as guides to Enoch, the patriarch familiar from Genesis 5. Enoch is taken by these celestial beings on otherworldly journeys throughout the cosmos. At each stop the seer's celestial guide functions also as the *angelus interpres* and explains to Enoch the purpose of a site.

The second half of the *Book of the Watchers* knows the tradition of seven distinguished angels (they are designated archangels by Gr^{Pan} *1 En.* 20.8). Chapter 20 names each of the seven and describes their areas of dominion in the cosmos. We should recall that the second half of the booklet was not composed by the same hand as chs. 6–11. With this in mind, it is not surprising that chs. 17–36 should evidence a different or developed angelology.

How do we move from four to seven archangels? The idea of seven celestial beings may derive from the reference to the seven eyes of God in Zech. 4.10.²¹ Scholars have also sought the origin of this tradition outside of Ancient Israel.²² The tradition was pervasive within Second Temple Judaism such that seven angels also appear in *1 En.* 90.21 (the *Book of Dreams*), *T. Levi* 8.1–2; Tob. 12.15, and in some MSS of *1 En.* 81.5 (Astronomical Book), though in these contexts—with the exception of Raphael, who as one of the seven

21. One might think also of the tradition in Ezek. 9.2–11 in which six men appear as executioners and are joined by a man in white linen who serves as scribe.

22. Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, pp. 325–26) suggests that the motif of seven angels derives from Babylonian traditions of planetary gods; in Judean tradition, they come to represent assistants of the supreme god, YHWH. Charles relates the tradition to the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, the 'Immortal Holy Ones', who serve Ahura Mazda as attendant spirits (*Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 212). See also my *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: 'No One Has Seen What I Have Seen'* (JSJSup, 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 114–15.

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While seven angels are featured in *1 Enoch* 20, only four appear in the course of the journeys in the second half of the booklet (Uriel, 19.1; 21.5, 9-10; 27.1-4; 33.3; Raphael, 22.3, 6; 32.6; Reuel [Raguel], 23.4; Michael, 24.6-25.6). As we will see below, the discrepancy is easily accounted for by a redactor who revised the text, omitting three angels familiar from *1 Enoch* 20 who originally appeared as guides in the journeys in order to arrive at the number of four interpreting angels. This editorial move is best understood as a redactor attempting to reconcile the angelology of *1 Enoch* 20 (seven archangels) with that of the earlier core narrative which knew the tradition of four. A comparable phenomenon occurs in the second-century BCE *Book of Dreams*. There Enoch observes seven angels descend from heaven, but four of these are distinct (87.2). While four principal angels punish the fallen angels (here presented as stars), the other three whisk Enoch away to a lofty place from where he can view the action on earth (87.2-89.1). Based on the duties assigned to them, the four angels distinguished in the *Book of Dreams* appear to be modeled after Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Sariel/Uriel of *1 Enoch* 10.²⁴ Even so, toward the conclusion of the *Book of Dreams*, the four

23. On the tradition of seven angels, see also 4QShirShab^b 39 and 3 *En.* 18. Traditions concerning the seven angels within the *Book of the Watchers* are illumined also by parallels in the book of Revelation; seven is prominent in the latter as both a structuring device for the apocalypse and motif as well. One thinks, for example, of seven stars which represent seven angels (Rev. 1.16, 20; 2.1), seven lampstands which represent seven churches (1.12-13, 20; 2.1), seven angels with seven plagues (15.6), and seven bowls of God's fury (16.1). Especially relevant for our purposes are Revelation's references to the seven spirits before the throne of God (1.4; 3.1) which are also elsewhere described as the seven spirits of God (4.5). The seven are presented in Revelation as flaming torches burning in front of the throne; the imagery is indebted to Ezekiel's burning coals of fire, described as torch-like, that move among the living creatures (cf. Ezek. 1.13). Seven angels which blow trumpets and initiate plagues are described as standing before God (Rev. 8.2) and it may be that these angels are the seven spirits of Rev. 1.4; 3.1 and 4.5. Thus David Aune, *Revelation 1-5* (WBC, 52a; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997), p. 35. There is reason to conclude, with David Aune, that 'spirits' in this context refers to angels; other Second Temple period texts use the expression in this manner also. While the language of seven spirits (in Greek τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα) of God is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible (there is no reference to 'spirits of God' or to רוחות being used in association with angels), *Jub.* 1.25; 2.2; 15.31-32; 1QM 12.8-9; and *1 En.* 61.12 do speak of angels as 'spirits' (רוחות); see Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, pp. 33-34. Moreover, we learn that the seven horns and eyes of the slain Lamb, which signify power and knowledge respectively, represent the spirits of God sent out into the world (Rev. 5.6), reminiscent of Zech. 4.10. In like manner, one recalls, that in the *Book of the Watchers* the seven archangels are responsible for various tasks in the administration of the cosmos.

24. See Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 260.

angels and three who accompany them are designated simply 'those first seven' (90.21). Thus, with the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of Dreams*, we see how angelology has developed and how in both instances an attempt has been made to accommodate the traditions of four and seven archangels.²⁵

While the origin of the tradition concerning seven angels may be unclear, the number seven figures prominently as a motif of sorts in the second half of the *Book of the Watchers*. Enoch encounters in his journeys seven mountains of precious stones (*1 En.* 18.6-8 || 24.2-3; 25.3); the middle one of these reaches to heaven and serves as the throne of God for when he descends (25.3; cf. 18.8; 24.3).²⁶ There are also seven stars, appearing as burning mountains, which are chastised for transgressing the commandment of God concerning their rising (18.13-16 || chs. 21-36). It is fascinating that the journeys in the second half of the *Book of the Watchers* appear to have corresponded at an earlier time with the seven angels and their functions or areas of dominion, a characteristic we now consider.

4. *The Journeys of Enoch and the Angels*

Overall, one observes in the *Book of the Watchers* and other Second Temple period works various groupings of angels or celestial beings;²⁷ the traditions of four archangels and seven angels before God are seemingly dependent upon biblical predecessors (i.e. Ezekiel and Zechariah). The angelology of the *Book of the Watchers* also suggests development as names of the angels and their order vary. Even so, we can detect some patterns in the presentations of angels, especially in terms of how these angels are localized in the *Book of the Watchers*.

25. The angelology of Revelation highlights traditions of four and seven celestial beings. In addition to the seven spirits, Revelation includes the four living creatures around the throne of God (Rev. 4.6-8), alluding to the beings which accompany the divine throne in Ezek. 1.5-25 and 10.20.

26. Since the middle mountain functions as a throne for God, perhaps, suggests Nickelsburg, the other mountains in the configuration served as thrones for the divine entourage (*1 Enoch*, I, p. 286). Cf. my *Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, p. 115.

27. In addition to groups of four and seven angels, *3 Bar.* 4.7 speaks of five archangels. Some traditions also focus on six prominent angels. Cf., e.g., *Targ. Deut.* 34.6. The preference for six could be rooted in the tradition of the six angels of Ezek. 9.2 or be associated with Near Eastern traditions of six planetary deities (see also above, n. 20 and n. 21). See Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951), pp. 106-107. Moreover, one of the two copies of Gr^{Pan} names only six angels in the list of *1 En.* 20, as do Eth. MSS; a concluding reference to seven archangels (*1 En.* 20.8) in both copies from Panopolitanus (Gr^{Pan} 1, 2) strongly suggests, however, that the copy naming six angels and the Eth. MSS traditions have omitted a name and are hence deficient.

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We consider first the list of the angels provided in *1 Enoch* 20 and how the list relates to the journeys of the seer in the second half of the *Book of the Watchers*. The chapter which is devoted to the dominion of seven angels interrupts the otherworldly journeys that occur in *1 Enoch* 17–19 and 21–36, and thus one might think the chapter curious in its current context.²⁸ The chapter lists by name the ‘holy angels who watch’ (Eth. *1 En.* 20.1), also designated ‘angels of the powers’ (Gr^{Pan} 1 20.1)²⁹ and archangels (Gr^{Pan} 1, 2 20.8), and provides the role of each in the maintenance of the cosmos. Uriel is in charge of the world and Tartarus (*1 En.* 20.2).³⁰ Raphael is over the spirits of men (20.3). Raguel (Gr^{Pan}) or Reuel is said to take vengeance on the world of luminaries (20.4),³¹ and Michael is in charge of the best part of humanity and the nation³² (20.5). The next angel, Sariel (Gr^{Pan}), with whom we are acquainted from the four archangels described above, or Saraqael (Ethiopic MSS) is responsible for the spirits which cause humans to sin (20.6).³³ Gabriel is in charge of paradise, the serpents (or seraphim) and the cherubim (20.7) and, lastly, Remiel is over those who rise (20.8).³⁴

28. See, e.g., Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 15.

29. The expression occurs also in *1 En.* 61.10 along with ‘angels of dominion’. Both expressions are reminiscent of the Pauline ‘power and dominion’ (ἐξουσία and δύναμις) in Eph. 1.21 (cf. also Col. 1.16) and ‘rulers’ and ‘powers’ (ἀρχαί and δυνάμεις) in Rom. 8.38. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 162.

30. Several of the Eth. MSS associate Uriel, instead, with thunder and tremors. In light of other references to Uriel in Second Temple period texts which link the angel to post-mortem places of punishment and to resurrection (see below and also *1 En.* 19.1-2; 21.5-10; *L.A.E.* 48.1; *Apoc. El.* 5.5; *Sib. Or.* 2.215, 227-37), the Greek appears to offer the superior reading. See below, and also Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 43, and VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), p. 52. Even while there is good reason to associate Uriel with Tartarus, one wonders what the Aramaic *Vorlage* featured in place of this subterranean prison or abyss of Greek mythology where titans or other sorts of celestial beings were punished.

31. On the name Reuel, see Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, pp. 162-63, and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, p. 311. Perhaps the verse should be read as ‘tends the world of the luminaries’. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, pp. 163-64, and VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, p. 52.

32. Following the Ethiopic. Greek reads that Michael is over ‘the best part of humanity and chaos’; Black translates the Greek as ‘over the benefits of the people’. See also Dan. 10.13, 21; 12.1 where Michael is described as the patron of Israel.

33. Both the Greek and Ethiopic texts of the verse may be corrupt; cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p. 107, and Black, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 163. The translation above is proposed by VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, p. 53.

34. This verse is not included in Eth. MSS or in a second copy of Gr^{Pan}. The angel Jeremiel may be related to Remiel. Jeremiel appears in *4 Ezra* 4.36 and is in charge of the souls of the righteous which are confined (like *1 En.* 22) to a chamber. In *Apoc. Zeph.* 6.15-17, Eremiel is the angel of the abyss and Hades. One should note that his appearance,

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The angels first enumerated by *1 En.* 20.2-5, Uriel, Raphael, Raguel and Michael appear in the same order in *1 Enoch* 21-25, each providing Enoch with a tour of a specific site. There is a general correspondence between the description of these angels' dominion in 20.2-5 and the stops on the tour of *1 Enoch* 21-25. For example, Uriel, the angel in charge of Tartarus according to the Greek version of 20.2, gives Enoch a tour of the prisons of the watchers and stars (*1 En.* 21; cf. also chs. 18-19). Raphael, the angel in charge of the spirits of humans (20.3), discusses the realm of the dead with its different compartments for the spirits of the deceased (ch. 22). Raguel exercises control of some sort over the luminaries (20.4 and ch. 23). Michael, the angel in charge of the best part of humanity or the nation (20.5), leads a tour of the mountain-throne of God and tree of life reserved for the righteous (chs. 24-25).

Thereafter, the angels of *1 Enoch* 20 do not correspond to the angels who provide tours in chs. 27-33. In place of Sariel, we find Uriel (27.2), instead of Gabriel, Raphael (32.6), and instead of Remiel, Uriel again (33.3). The angels Sariel/Saraqael, Gabriel and Remiel (20.6-8) do not appear at all in chs. 21-36. If we follow the list of angels in *1 Enoch* 20, we would expect to find in ch. 27, which describes the persecution of blasphemers in Gehenna, Sariel or Saraqael, the angel in charge of the spirits who sin (20.6). Since 20.7 presents Gabriel as responsible for paradise, the serpents (or seraphim) and cherubim, that archangel would seem the appropriate interpreting angel for the tour of the garden of righteousness (32.6). Lastly, Remiel, in charge of those who rise (20.8), fits well as the angel who would show Enoch the place from where the stars rise to the heavens in ch. 33.³⁵ Indeed, many think that the journeys originally featured all the angels of ch. 20 and some scholars emend the text so as to include the names Sariel, Gabriel and Remiel.³⁶

What led a redactor, then, to replace the names of Sariel, Gabriel and Remiel as the interpreting angels in the journeys of the seer? I have suggested that a later redactor may have attempted to bring the angelology of the second half of the *Book of the Watchers* in line with the tradition of the four archangels so prominent in the first half. The angels which supplant the three serve well also in their stead.

face shining like the sun—golden bronze—may recall the solar attributes of Uriel, the angel over Tartarus, contributing to the confusion in *1 En.* 20.8 and *1 En.* 33.

35. Daniel Olson (*Enoch: A New Translation: The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch, Translated with Annotations and Cross-References* [North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2004], pp. 54, 66) and Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch*, I, p. 338) understand 'rising' in *1 En.* 20.8 to refer to resurrection, however, and not the movement of celestial bodies.

36. See, e.g., Charles, *Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, p. 43, and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, pp. 319-20, 338. Nickelsburg hypothesizes that the passage describing Remiel's dominion has been displaced and now may be found in *1 En.* 81. See his *1 Enoch*, I, pp. 296, 335-38.

Associating Uriel with Gehenna (the Valley of Hinnom) in *1 Enoch* 27 might make sense to a later redactor since Gehenna and Tartarus, with which the archangel is linked (20.2), are both places of punishment for the wicked.³⁷ Although the Garden of Righteousness in ch. 32 is primarily the former home of Adam and Eve and now inaccessible to humankind (with this early Enochic text, the dead remain in a mountain in the west [ch. 22] and the eschatological paradise is to occur in the vicinity of the Jerusalem Temple [chs. 25–26]), at a later time Eden was thought to be a place for the righteous dead (so 60.8). If a later redactor assumed Eden functioned as a realm of the dead, it would seem appropriate to have Raphael, in charge of the spirits of humanity according to 20.3, function as the interpreting angel in ch. 32. Lastly, it is conceivable that Uriel should provide the tour of the luminaries' portals in ch. 33 since there is a tradition evident in the earlier *Astronomical Book of Uriel* serving as the leader of the luminaries (72.1).³⁸ Thus we can see continuity in the functions and realms assigned to various angels in the list which describes the seven archangels (ch. 20) and in the interpreting angels who accompany the seer in the otherworldly journeys.

5. *A Meeting of Traditions?*

I consider now how the angelological traditions we observe in the *Book of the Watchers* may prove helpful for our comprehension of later traditions. That the figure Enoch familiar from both the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple period literature was influenced by or shaped according to the seventh Mesopotamian king, Enmeduranki, has been well established in scholarship of the last century.³⁹ Parallels to ancient Near Eastern traditions have also been adduced for other aspects of Enochic traditions.⁴⁰ Matthias Albani calls attention to one such correspondence relevant to our study; the angel Uriel, so prominent in the *Book of the Watchers* and *Astronomical Book* (e.g. *1 En.* 19.1; 21.5; 33.3; 72.1; 74.2), resembles in several respects the Babylonian

37. So Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 173.

38. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 173.

39. Cf., e.g., H. Zimmern, 'Urkönige und Uroffenbarung', in E. Schrader (ed.), *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament* (2 vols.; Giessen, 1902–1903), II, pp. 530–43; P. Grelot, 'La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification', *RSR* 46 (1958), pp. 5–26, 181–210 (184–88) and VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, pp. 23–51.

40. See, e.g., Helge Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT, 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), and Bhayro, 'Noah's Library: Sources for *1 Enoch* 6–11', *JSP* 15 (2006), pp. 163–77.

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deity Šamaš.⁴¹ Uriel's name, 'light' or 'fire of God', calls to mind the solar nature of Šamaš, the sun-god. Both Šamaš and Uriel play a role in judgment. Šamaš in his nightly journey through the nether region judges the deceased; Uriel is placed over Tartarus (Gr^{Pan} *1 En.* 20.2), leads Enoch to places where judgment and punishment are conferred on especially sinful celestial beings, and grants the seer access to the Tablets of Destiny (81.1-2). Further, Uriel and Šamaš's sphere of influence is in the east. Šamaš, for example, confers judgment ultimately at the point of sunrise, Du₆.kù.⁴² Uriel gives Enoch a tour of the east, where all the stars of heaven come out in 33.1.

In making the case for similarities between Uriel and Šamaš, Albani calls attention to an omen text, Utukki Limnûti, in which four principal divinities, including Šamaš, are said to be located in the cardinal directions.⁴³ Likewise, Albani, citing Alfred Jeremias, notes a similar pattern in *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, but instead of featuring Babylonian deities in each direction, the text envisions specific angels.⁴⁴ In this instance the four archangels are arranged around the throne of God: Michael is at the right hand of God (to the south), Gabriel to the left (north), Uriel before God in the east, and Raphael in the west (*PRE* 4).⁴⁵ Albani concludes that while it is difficult to say whether there

41. Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT, 68; Neukirchener-Vluy: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994), pp. 306-10.

42. In ancient Near Eastern cosmology, Du₆.kù, 'the holy mound', came to be identified with the underworld and is also described as the place of sunrise in the east, apparently along the horizon. There Šamaš delivered judgment or decided destinies (cf. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, pp. 315-16).

43. The omen text suggests the following sequence of deities: 'Šamaš before me, Sin behind me, Nergal at my right side, and Ninurta at my left side'. See Tablet III (CT XVI, PL 4) of 'Utukki Limnûti', in *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia. I. Evil Spirits* (trans. R. Campbell Thompson; London: Luzac, 1903), p. 5. One should also note the Sumerian predecessor ('Utu is [before me], Nanna is behind me, Nergal is at my right side, and Ninurta at my left side') in Markham Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-hul Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), p. 25, ll. 82-84. See also KAR 184 rev. 37 (= BAM 4 323.93, dupl. 228.28), a medical text with similar formula, in Marten Stol, 'The Moon as Seen by the Babylonians', in Diederik J.W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1992), pp. 245-77 (256). Directions in the ancient Near Eastern and Semitic cosmology were determined *vis-à-vis* one's position relative to the sun's rising. Cf. Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World* (Analecta biblica, 39; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), p. 102.

44. *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* is thought to be an eighth- or ninth-century work.

45. A. Jeremias (*Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929], p. 190) first drew attention to the similarities between the Mesopotamian omen and a form of this text preserved in the prayer to be recited before retiring at night: 'In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel, may Michael be at my right hand; Gabriel, at my left; before me, Uriel; behind me, Raphael; above my head the divine presence of God'.

is a connection between the two traditions which span at least a millennium, given other correspondences in his study, it would not be surprising if there were.⁴⁶

While Albani drew attention to this phenomenon as part of a study on Šamaš and Uriel, the pattern he and Jeremias observed is interesting in its own right. How would or how might a pattern attested in a Near Eastern incantatory formula like that identified by Albani be mediated to a midrash of late antiquity? Second Temple angelology is relevant to this issue not only because certain traditions of Late Antiquity are clearly indebted to Second Temple period predecessors, but also because Enochic literature, as noted above, demonstrates engagement with Near Eastern traditions.

Since the *Book of the Watchers*, as we have observed, also presents angels as responsible for specific areas or functions in the cosmos, the text may help us to discern a stage in angelology where the four archangels become associated with realms or particular stations around the divine throne. Though not arguing for the literary dependence of *Pirqe deRabbi Eliezer* upon the *Book of the Watchers*, we shall see the extent to which comparable patterns associated with angels are present already in this third-century BCE work. Why locate the four archangels about the throne in the manner of *Pirqe deRabbi Eliezer* 4? Is the arrangement arbitrary? The descriptions of the archangels in the *Book of the Watchers* (and other Second Temple period literature) do suggest certain logic to the association of angels with particular directions.

For example, it is appropriate that Michael is seated at the right hand of God or to the south.⁴⁷ Michael, the patron angel and protector of Israel (see Dan. 10.13, 20; 12.1), is elsewhere said to be lifted higher than all other celestial beings (cf. 1QM 17.6-7). In 2 *Enoch* 22, Michael, called the greatest archangel, anoints Enoch, transforming him into celestial being. The characterization of Michael as an angel associated with the south is also confirmed by the tour in 1 *Enoch* 24-25. Michael leads the seer to seven mountains of precious stone and describes one as the mountain throne of God (cf. also 18.6-8). These mountains, as suggested by Eth. 1 *En.* 18.6, are to the south.⁴⁸

The only possible rival to Michael for the position of pre-eminent angel in the Second Temple period, Bousset argues, is Gabriel. Gabriel, seated at the left hand of God, is also the angel who interprets visions for Daniel (cf. Dan.

Translation from *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregation of the British Commonwealth of Nations* (trans. S. Singer; New York: Bloch, 1962), p. 395.

46. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, p. 307.

47. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, pp. 327-28. Bousset (p. 325) observes Michael is right in the middle of the seven archangels of Gr^{Pan} 1 *En.* 20, signaling a position of honor.

48. See also my *Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, pp. 107-14.

8.16; 9.21-22) and announces the births of John and Jesus in Lk. 1.19, 26.⁴⁹ Following the emendation of Nickelsburg and others, I assume Gabriel to have been the interpreting angel who provided Enoch with a tour of the paradise of righteousness (*1 En.* 32.1-6; cf. 20.7);⁵⁰ this would appear located to the northeast.⁵¹ Moreover, Gabriel is said to sit to the left of God in *2 En.* 24.1, assuming a position second only to Michael.

As noted above, Uriel is associated with the place of the rising sun, the east. The angel Uriel, so prominent in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, resembles in several respects the Babylonian deity Šamaš. Finally, Raphael is located behind God or to the west. While the name of the angel connotes 'healing' (see *1 En.* 40.9; Tob. 3.17; 12.12-13)⁵² Raphael is also linked with the realm of the dead. Accordingly, Raphael is in charge of the spirits of men (*1 En.* 20.3). Moreover, Raphael introduces Enoch to the realm of the dead where the spirits of the deceased reside until the day of judgment (ch. 22). The archangel's profile recalls traditions of infernal deities in the Mediterranean as such beings were connected both with healing and death.⁵³ It is not coincidence that Raphael should be associated with the west in later traditions, as the west serves as the location of or entrance to the realm of the dead.⁵⁴

The associations of Michael with the south (or the right of God), Gabriel with the north (or to the left of God), Uriel to the east (before God) and Raphael to the west (behind God) find fullest expression in later traditions, where the four archangels appear situated around the throne of God.⁵⁵ Still one can observe how the localization and connections to particular realms are

49. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, p. 328.

50. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, pp. 320-28.

51. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, pp. 36-41; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, I, p. 326; and also my *Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19*, p. 186.

52. Raphael appears as a healer also in *Midrash Kohen* 26-27 and *Yerahme 'el* 14-15.

53. Michael Astour, *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 234. Astour also points to the Rephaim, shades or figures of the underworld in the Hebrew Bible, whose name also shares the radical רפח.

54. The realm of the dead, a place of darkness, is linked to the west because the sun sets in that direction. *1 En.* 22 situates the mountain with the hollows in which the dead await future judgment in the west also. For a survey of other Near Eastern traditions which locate the realm of the dead to the west, see M.-T. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu 1 Enoch 22* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982), pp. 151-60.

55. Cf. also Tretti, *Enoch e la sapienza celeste*, pp. 197-204. Though one sees some consistency, the roles are hardly immutable. The four archangels are sometimes situated around the throne in another order; see, for example, *Num. R.* 2.10 where Uriel is to the north and Gabriel is to the east. Traditions concerning Michael further develop such that the archangel absorbs many of the distinctive roles assigned to other of the angels in *1 En.* 20. See, for example, M. Mach, 'Michael מִיכָאֵל', in *DDD*, pp. 569-72.

already emerging in the *Book of the Watchers* (and one sees burgeoning traditions of angels being associated with particular directions or realms that are still recognizable in the later texts), especially in the second half of the book, which featured seven archangels who become explicitly linked to particular functions and realms. In this respect it would seem that the two types of angelology in the *Book of the Watchers*, one featuring four archangels and the other featuring seven, converge in later traditions.