The Book of

ENOCH

(1 ENOCH)

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ENOCH

Translated by
R. H. CHARLES

with a new Introduction by
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Introduction

Writing nearly a hundred years ago, W. O. E. Oesterley began his introduction to this translation of *1 Enoch* by R. H. Charles with the following words: '. . . the Book of Enoch is, in some respects, the most notable extant apocalyptic work outside the canonical Scriptures'. In the intervening years much has happened in what scholars now call Second Temple Studies (covering the period from around 535 BC, when the Second Temple in Jerusalem was begun, to the destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70). There has been an explosion of research into all the Jewish texts written in this period, with many important advances in scholarship being made and fresh translations produced. There have also been exciting archaeological finds, most notably the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1940s and 1950s. Nevertheless, Oesterley's judgement about the importance of *1 Enoch* still stands. Much has changed in scholarship since 1917, when this translation of *1 Enoch* was first published; but in terms of its significance for Second Temple Studies, and for the light it sheds on the New Testament, *1 Enoch* still towers above the vast majority of other texts written in this period.

Discoveries and Manuscripts

The story of the finding of the first manuscript of *1 Enoch* captures something of the romance and excitement of the discoveries that were taking place in the eighteenth, nineteenth and then twentieth centuries. In 1773, a Scottish traveller returned from a trip to Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) with what were reported to be three manuscripts of *1 Enoch*. Scholars had been aware of *1 Enoch*'s existence for many years and even before they had seen a full manuscript felt that it would be a manuscript of great importance.

Until this discovery people were conscious of the existence of parts of *1 Enoch* in Greek. In 1606 J. J. Scaliger had re-published the work of George Syncellus, a Byzantine chronicler who had lived for many years in Palestine and died in the ninth century. Syncellus' work contained a small portion of the Greek text of *1 Enoch*. This was followed

by two others (J. A. Fabricius in 1713 and S. de Sacy in 1800) who also found and published parts of *1 Enoch* in Greek. Imagine the excitement, then, among scholars who knew a little of this book when they heard that not one but three manuscripts of the whole work had been discovered and brought back to Europe.

Despite this initial excitement, the complexity of the task (and the length of the text) meant that it took another 48 years for the text to be translated into English and another 55 years for an edition of the Ethiopic text to appear. Both the translation and the edition were produced by R. Laurence who in his introduction to the book comments: 'the copy deposited in the Bodleian library has quietly slept there undisturbed to the present day. At length, however, I have ventured to break in upon its repose . . .' The peace of *1 Enoch*'s repose has been disturbed ever since as scholars began to realize quite how important the text was. It went on to capture many people's imaginations, including that of William Blake, the eighteenth-century poet, painter, mystic and political activist, who began to produce illustrations of the book which, sadly, remained incomplete at his death in 1827.

Further Greek manuscripts of *1 Enoch* have since been discovered (most notably at Akhmîm, or Panopolis, in 1886) but, even more important than that, was the finding of 11 substantial fragments of *1 Enoch* in Aramaic alongside other Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran. This finding has transformed the study of *1 Enoch*, our view of the text and even its content.[1] As a result, the study of *1 Enoch* is very different than it was in 1917 when Oesterley wrote his introduction to R. H. Charles's translation.

1 Enoch *and the Pseudepigrapha*

Today, *1 Enoch* is often published in collections like *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* or *The Apocryphal Old Testament*.[2] The problem with the titles of these books is that they appear to lend some kind of authority to the books they contain. It is easy to assume that they occupy some kind of tertiary importance behind the Canon and the Apocrypha (otherwise known as the deuterocanonical literature). In reality these are an entirely unofficial collection of texts. The word 'pseudepigrapha' means, in Greek, falsely ascribed or falsely attributed, and refers to the common practice of falsely attributing the authorship of texts to characters in the Hebrew Bible – as in, for example, *The Ascension of Isaiah* or *The Testament of Levi*.

These texts have no official significance and the collections in which we find them have no fixed or agreed form. In 1913 some of the most significant were published in English translation under the supervision of R. H. Charles and called *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Somewhat confusingly he also included the books of the Apocrypha which, again, suggested some kind of historic official status for the others. In 1983 J. H. Charlesworth produced a new collection of texts (newly translated with critical introductions) this time with the Apocrypha removed, called *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; this was followed in 1984 by a slightly different but overlapping collection edited by H. D. F. Sparks called *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. All of these collections simply contain texts which date to the last few centuries BC and first few centuries AD, and which in the minds of the editors were of significance for the study of the Old and New Testaments.

As with the other texts in these loose collections of Pseudepigrapha, *1 Enoch* is attributed to a famous character from the Bible. Enoch was the mysterious character from Genesis 5.24 who 'walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him'. Around this character grew up vast legends about who he was and what happened to him when he was taken. The focus of the speculation about Enoch concerns his ascent into heaven and transformation into angelic form. Enoch is mentioned in a range of Jewish texts. The three most important of these are *1*, *2* and *3 Enoch*.

The Enoch Tradition

The names *1*, *2* and *3 Enoch* are somewhat misleading as they imply a coherence among these texts that simply does not exist. Each of them contains a different form of an Enoch legend. What they do reveal is that speculation about Enoch was rife over many centuries. These three substantial texts all point to the vast extent of this speculation, though there is a high likelihood that there were many others as well which are no longer extant. I will focus on *1 Enoch* below, but before that a brief account of *2* and *3 Enoch* will help to illustrate the variety within the Enoch tradition.

2 (Slavonic) Enoch[3]

In 1892, R. H. Charles who was at the time working on a translation of and introduction to *1 Enoch* became aware of references to Russian

pseudepigraphic literature including the hint that there was a Slavonic translation of the Ethiopic of *1 Enoch*. With the help of a colleague, W. R. Morfill, who subsequently produced a translation of the text, Charles explored the manuscript and discovered that it bore no relation to *1 Enoch* at all (beyond its common use of the Enoch legend) but was of enormous interest in its own right. *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* contains an elaborate account of Enoch's ascent into heaven in which he travelled through seven different levels of heaven until, in the seventh heaven, he was anointed by the archangel Michael and transformed to be like one of the glorious ones, i.e. an angel.

R. H. Charles initially dated *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* to an early date prior to AD 70. Subsequent debate suggested a date even as late as the eleventh century AD. Most recently the majority of scholars have returned to an earlier date maybe in the second century AD, while some key scholars agree with Charles that this text can be dated as early as the first century AD.

3 Enoch (Sepher Hekhalot)[4]

In 1928, H. Odeberg produced a critical edition of a text which he called *3 Enoch* or the *Hebrew Book of Enoch*. By calling it this he was drawing explicit attention to the similarities between this text and *1* and *2 Enoch*. There is little agreement about a proper title for this material, with titles as varied as *The Book of Enoch by Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest*; *the Matter of the Elevation of Metatron* and *The Book of the Palaces* (which in Hebrew is *Sepher Hekhalot)*, though the title *3 Enoch* remains quite popular.

The main connection between this material and *1* and *2 Enoch* is Enoch's angelic status. In *1 Enoch*, Enoch is given a status above the fallen angels, in *2 Enoch* he is transformed into an angel, in *3 Enoch* Rabbi Ishmael, who had ascended into heaven, is met and guided by Metatron who is later revealed to be the angelic Enoch.

As with *2 Enoch* there is considerable disagreement about the dating of *3 Enoch (Sepher Hekhalot)*, with some arguing for a date as late as the ninth century AD and others for one as early as the first century AD, though somewhere between these two extremes around the fifth–sixth centuries seems the most likely.

Although it is probably wrong to call this disparate material *1*, *2* and *3 Enoch*, since doing so implies some kind of historic connection between the three, the value of the titles is that they serve to remind

us that speculation about the character of Enoch was rife in Second Temple Judaism and beyond and that *1 Enoch*, though much earlier than *2* and *3 Enoch*, represents an important stage in the development of the legend about the man who 'was no more, because God took him'.

1 Enoch and the Canon of Scripture

Although *1 Enoch* is a part of the canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, *1 Enoch* is not and never has been considered part of the Western canon of Scripture. But such a statement does not do justice to the unique position that *1 Enoch* has occupied both within Judaism and Christianity.

The finding of Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* at Qumran indicated the book's importance to the Essene community, but there is also evidence that it was popular much more widely than in one small sectarian Jewish movement. Other texts from the Second Temple period such as *Jubilees*, *the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *4 Ezra* also make reference to *1 Enoch*. However, the rise of Rabbinic Judaism began to challenge the place of these popular Jewish Apocalyptic texts within mainstream Judaism, and although Jewish Apocalyptic literature remained popular in some circles it was often heavily discouraged by the Rabbis. As a result texts like *1 Enoch* never even came close to being included in the Hebrew canon of Scripture. This rapid fall from popularity might also have been influenced by *1 Enoch*'s popularity within Christianity.

In recent years Margaret Barker has argued extensively for the rehabilitation of *1 Enoch* back into the way in which we understand the development of Old Testament theology. Her argument is that *1 Enoch* preserves an alternative strand of Israelite faith in which there is a High God and several sons of God. This strand of belief, she believes, was squashed out by the writing of, among others, the Deuteronomistic historians (i.e. the writers of books such as 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings), but was preserved in *1 Enoch* and other similar texts. This world-view which included angels and a central place for the temple, she thinks, is the world-view which underpins the writings of the New Testament and provides a vital background for understanding many of the writings of the New Testament.[5]

The problem with any theory that involves an argument about a strand or tradition that might have been successfully squashed by a subsequent later tradition is lack of evidence. Almost by definition if they have been in anyway successful the tradition is hard to discover and as a result the theory is hard to prove or disprove either way. It is also disputable whether this strand of thinking can in fact be said to be suppressed by an antagonistic later tradition. If this tradition was squashed it remains remarkably vibrant well into the period after the fall of the temple. In addition, 1 Kings 22 contains an important strand of heavenly visions in which Micaiah ben-Imlah reports a vision of God seated on his throne surrounded by a heavenly court.

Having said that, however, Barker's work has very helpfully brought the question of the role of the temple and the significance of an angelic court back into discussions of the New Testament texts. It is not necessary to accept every point that she makes to recognize the importance of her contribution to this area of New Testament studies. The stress she places on this world-view (especially on the themes of the throne of God, angels and the central place of the temple) provide an important backdrop for understanding much of the New Testament.

The debate about how far reaching *1 Enoch*'s influence was on New Testament texts continues. The issue is the question of direct influence. It is clear that Jude was directly influenced by *1 Enoch* since it is quoted in verses 14–15:

> It was also about these that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied, 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.'

Particularly interesting is that Jude quotes from *1 Enoch* in a way that does not distinguish it from the other Old Testament quotes that are given elsewhere in the book. As a result it raises the suspicion that Jude was treating *1 Enoch* as though it were a part of Scripture.

While it is easy to demonstrate Jude's direct reliance on the text of *1 Enoch*, it is harder to demonstrate a direct connection between *1 Enoch* and other New Testament books. Some scholars see the influence of *1 Enoch* in Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2

Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, 1 John, Jude and Revelation.[6] The challenge is to distinguish direct from indirect influence. It is certainly helpful to understanding the books of the New Testament to recognize that some of the ideas that influenced *1 Enoch* also influenced many of the writers of the New Testament. It is harder to discern whether they had a copy of parts of *1 Enoch* in front of them as they wrote.

The Content and Dating of *1 Enoch*

1 Enoch is more of a collection of texts about this ancient and clearly fascinating character Enoch than it is a book. Most scholars today would argue that *1 Enoch* is made up of five smaller collections:

1 the Book of the Watchers (1—36);
2 the Similitudes of Enoch (37—71);
3 the Astronomical Book (72—82);
4 the Book of Dreams (83—90);
5 the Epistle of Enoch (91—107).

Each one of these is in turn a collection of traditions about Enoch dated from the late third century or to the late first century AD. The full text of *1 Enoch* only exists in Ethiopic, but large passages from the first and fifth sections (as well one from the fourth section) have been found in Greek and most of four out of the five sections have been found in Aramaic among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

One of the interesting features about the text of *1 Enoch* found at Qumran is that it does not contain the second collection, the Book of the Similitudes, but does contain a different collection known as the Book of the Giants. As well as being found at Qumran, this collection was spread by the Manichaeans (a Gnostic belief system based on the teaching of Mani, a prophet of Iranian origin in the third century AD), and exists in Syriac, Greek, Persian, Sogdian (a middle Iranian language), Uyghur (a Turkic language spoken in western China) and Arabic.

Józef Milik argued that the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* formed what he called an 'Enochic Pentateuch' which matched and counterbalanced the Mosaic Pentateuch. Taking this one step further he also argued that what was found at Qumran formed a much earlier pre-Christian Enochic Pentateuch with the Book of the Giants replacing

the Book of the Similitudes in the collection.[7] On the whole scholars have been unconvinced by Milik's arguments and see no evidence for the existence of any kind of Enochic Pentateuch (either pre- or post-Christian).

Nevertheless the Book of the Giants is an important collection and will be explored in brief following an overview of the other five collections below.

The Book of the Watchers (1—36)

Along with the Astronomical Book, parts of the Book of the Watchers are thought by scholars to date as early as the third century BC. If this is true then parts of *1 Enoch* pre-date the earliest biblical apocalyptic text – Daniel – which is widely believed to come from the mid-second century. The third century BC was the period of the Diadochi in Greek history. Following the early death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC the newly formed Greek empire was plunged into internal strife as rival generals from Alexander's army fought for control of the empire. This struggle for power continued from 323 to *c.* 280 BC when, eventually, the empire stabilized once more in the form of four different kingdoms:

- the Antigonid dynasty in Macedon and central Greece;
- the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt;
- the Seleucid dynasty in Syria and Mesopotamia;
- the Attalid dynasty in Anatolia.

In this partition Judea was initially ruled by the Ptolemaic empire, until in *c.* 200 BC the Ptolemies lost some of their power to the Seleucids including control of Judea.

Like *1 Enoch* as a whole, the Book of the Watchers is a composite text that shows evidence of accumulation over time. The core of the narrative is in chapters 6–11, but this core was expanded over time, adding on additional strands of material until the full 36 chapters were reached. It is worth noting that this expansion happened really quite early and even the earliest manuscript of this part of *1 Enoch* found at Qumran (and called 4QEn^{a}) shows evidence of the core text having been expanded to chapter 1 and chapter 12. Not only that but the book of *Jubilees* (on which see more below), which is commonly dated to the mid-second century BC, appears to be dependent on the whole 36 chapters of the Book of the Watchers.

Chapters 1—36 fall easily into three main sections:

- the introduction (1—5);
- the story of the Watchers (6—16);
- The otherworldly journey (17—36).

The Introduction (1—5)

The first five chapters set the scene for what is to come. The first verse of chapter 1 identifies everything that follows as the words of Enoch, and the next verses (1.2–3) points to the means by which Enoch got these words. It claims that Enoch's eyes were opened and he 'saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, which the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come'.

This sets the scene significantly in two ways. First, and most straightforwardly, the reader now knows that what is to follow is visionary material and should be understood as that; second, this vision is to be interpreted not for Enoch's generation but for a remote generation to come. This alerts us to a key factor for understanding texts like *1 Enoch*. This is that, although nearly all apocalyptic texts are set in a period many years before the time when they were written, they are to be understood as directly relevant to the context of the text's first readers. Apocalyptic texts speak truth into their own context by apparently looking directly at another context: by doing so their readers are invited to learn lessons about the world they live in. One of the challenges of understanding apocalyptic texts has always been taken to be the complex task of trying to work out to which people and events the texts are really referring.

Close examination of apocalyptic literature suggests that this might be mistaken. The purpose of locating the main focus of action at a different time (and often also a different realm – the realm of heaven) may have been to be allusive and suggestive. So that rather than criticizing the main protagonists in the period of the Diadochi directly, the authors evoke a different way of viewing the world and what is going on in it. Whether intentionally or not, this seems to have had the effect of making what is being said relevant for a wider range of generations. As a result the Enoch traditions were picked up again and again, in subsequent decades and centuries, and added to as the image was applied and re-applied to events and people long after it was originally written.

Chapter 1.3–4 issues a warning about God's coming judgement followed, in chapters 2—5, by reflections on who will be found righteous and who not. What is interesting about chapters 2—5 is that they contain a strong strand of what we would now call natural law. Readers are invited to observe the heavens and the earth (chapter 2), the seasons (chapters 3—4) and nature (chapter 5), and to see how they 'change not their tasks from his commandments' (5.3). The message is clear. If even the created order knows how to obey the law laid down for them, how much more should human beings behave in the same way.

The Story of the Watchers (6—16)

This leads directly into the story/stories of some angelic beings who have not done this, and not followed the commandments laid down for them. This part of the text is made more confusing because two separate traditions about these angels are woven together here.

One tradition focuses around Semjaza[8] (6—7) and follows the account in Genesis 6.1–4 quite closely in that the angels in heaven, led by Semjaza, lusted after the daughters of men and fathered giants from their union with them. These giants then turned on humankind and devoured them. The other tradition (8) focuses around Azazel as the leader of the angels who taught human beings heavenly secrets (like how to make weapons, cosmetics and magic) that he should not have done.

These two traditions both lead to the same outcome: that blood was shed on the earth and lawlessness was rife. This Enoch tradition, then, lays the evil of the world not at the door of humanity but firmly at the door of the fallen angels, or Watchers as they are called in *1 Enoch*. Chapter 10 weaves the narrative back into the more familiar text of Genesis 6—9 when Noah is warned about a deluge, and introduces another strand to it that meant that the angels who had caused all of this torment were imprisoned.

Chapter 12 introduces the character of Enoch once more and attempts to explain two conundrums in one. First, what the odd reference to Enoch in Genesis 5.24 meant ('Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him') and how he survived the flood. He was hidden so that no human being knew where he was and his 'activities had to do with the Watchers' (12.2).

Enoch's first vision was a message to the Watchers that they would have no peace or forgiveness (chapter 12) but they sent a message

back with Enoch begging God to forgive them. Enoch's second vision confirmed their punishment (chapter 13).

Chapter 14 begins the next phase of the book which continues all the way through to chapter 36. In 14.8, Enoch was summoned up to heaven and had a vision of God's throne. As with nearly all other throne visions, Enoch's vision of God's throne led to a revelation which in this case was an answer to the plea of the Watchers. An answer that is summed up in 16.4: 'You have no peace.'

The Otherworldly Journey (17—36)

The rest of chapters 17—36 recount the journey that Enoch is then taken on, guided by angels. Most of the places he visited during this journey are located at the far ends of the world but are not reachable by other human beings.[9] One of the most significant features of this otherworldly journey is often considered to be the sections that contain speculation about life after death. Chapter 22 contains the description of 'another place' (given the rest of the journey this other place is probably to be understood as being at the extremities of the earth). Here Enoch saw a mountain of hard rock in which there were four hollow places. Raphael, Enoch's angel guide, told him that these four hollow places (which later in the chapter become just three) 'have been created for this very purpose that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein' (22.3–4) and await judgement. One hollow place was for the righteous, one for sinners and the third for those who have been murdered and are awaiting vengeance. This theme is picked up again in chapters 25—27. This makes it very clear that the fate of the Watchers is to be taken as a warning for the whole of humanity; what happened to them could well happen to others on the day of judgement. The rest of the book contains descriptions of further journeys that Enoch took with his angelic guides.

The Similitudes of Enoch (37—71)

The dating of the second collection, the Similitudes of Enoch, has caused much discussion among scholars. As we noted above, the Similitudes are the only collection from the corpus of *1 Enoch* that were not discovered at Qumran. This led J. T. Milik to conclude that they were a much later text (he dated them to around the third century AD). This view is now largely discounted by the majority of Enoch specialists on the grounds that absence from the Dead Sea Scrolls does not mean

that the Similitudes did not exist in this period. There are a number of arguments put forward in support of an earlier date for this collection, one of them being the importance of the phrase 'Son of Man' both in the Similitudes and in the Gospels. It is unlikely that the phrase would have been attributed to Enoch well into the Christian era when this became a significant title for Christ. Some even argue that the language of the Son of Man sitting on a throne of glory in Matthew 19.28 and 25.31 suggests a dependence on the Similitudes.[10]

As a result most scholars today now view the Similitudes as dating to the end of the first century AD, maybe around AD 66–70, though others would place them slightly later than that.

The Similitudes are an entirely different kind of writing to the Book of the Watchers. Although the opening verse of chapter 36 declares that it is a vision, the Similitudes are really made up of three 'parables' (which is what the book itself calls them at chapters 38, 45 and 58). They appear to be further reflections on the judgement passages from the Book of the Watchers and include wicked kings, alongside the fallen angels, in its vision of judgement. The first 'parable' (38—44) focuses on the resting place of the sinners; the second (45—57) on the fate of 'those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits', and the third (58—69) on the righteous and their destiny. The Similitudes end with two epilogues, one in chapter 70 and the other in 71, both of which describe the assumption of Enoch into heaven.

One of the most significant features of the Similitudes is the regular use of the phrase 'Son of Man'. The Similitudes are the only Jewish apocalypse in which attention is focused on a single figure who is the 'Chosen One' and called 'the Son of Man'. Given the interest in New Testament scholarship in the title 'Son of Man' for Jesus, it is unsurprising that this area is one which has caused particular interest. The key question is, what does 'Son of Man' mean in the context of *1 Enoch*?

The phrase first appears in 46.3 where Enoch asked the angel guide concerning 'that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, [and] why he went with the Head of Days'. In the context it is clear that the phrase here means the one who had the appearance of a man (46.1). The angel went on to explain that the Son of Man would intervene in the events on earth, raising up kings from their seats and breaking the teeth of sinners (46.4). In other words, the Son of Man will be the one

to reveal the righteous and condemn those who oppose them. This Son of Man is associated with both the human and the heavenly righteous and is, in the words of J. J. Collins, 'the heavenly *Doppelgänger* of the righteous community on earth'.[11]

The Astronomical Book (72—82)

The Astronomical Book is probably the earliest of all the texts in *1 Enoch*. Although the Book of the Watchers is thought to date to the third century BC, the earliest extant fragments from it date to the early second century BC. In contrast the earliest extant fragments of the Astronomical Book date to around the late third century BC.

As its name suggests, the Astronomical Book is largely concerned with the Sun and the stars ('the courses of the luminaries of the heavens', 72.1). The material it contains is not the most interesting of the texts of *1 Enoch* at face value. Indeed the Ethiopic text of the Astronomical Book is much shorter than the Aramaic text – a result, according to Milik, of the Ethiopic translators being 'at pains to shorten the voluminous, prolix and terribly monotonous original'.[12]

Although not a rip-roaring read, the Astronomical Book is important for other reasons: it becomes clear as you read through it that it supports a 364-day solar calendar ('and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four': 72.33), whereas later, in the rabbinic period, the 354-day lunar calendar became commonly used. It is interesting to note that various texts from Qumran as well as the book of *Jubilees* also used a solar calendar, whereas Ben Sirach, which was thought to have been written in the early second century BC, seems to be working with a lunar calendar (see Ben Sirach 43.6–8).

Some scholars have argued that the lunar calendar was also dominant in the pre-rabbinic era and that the use of the solar calendar at Qumran and elsewhere was a sign of sectarian rebellion against the norm. There is insufficient evidence to support this view, and much more likely was a situation in which both lunar and solar calendars were used until the calendars became standardized in the rabbinic period.[13]

The only chapter that does not fit into the rest of the book is chapter 81, in which the content and even the style of writing are markedly different. In this chapter Enoch reads everything that is written on the heavenly tablets and discovers even more about the fate of the

pseudepigraphic literature including the hint that there was a Slavonic translation of the Ethiopic of *1 Enoch*. With the help of a colleague, W. R. Morfill, who subsequently produced a translation of the text, Charles explored the manuscript and discovered that it bore no relation to *1 Enoch* at all (beyond its common use of the Enoch legend) but was of enormous interest in its own right. *2 (Slavonic) Enoch* contains an elaborate account of Enoch's ascent into heaven in which he travelled through seven different levels of heaven until, in the seventh heaven, he was anointed by the archangel Michael and transformed to be like one of the glorious ones, i.e. an angel.

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As with *2 Enoch* there is considerable disagreement about the dating of *3 Enoch (Sepher Hekhalot)*, with some arguing for a date as late as the ninth century AD and others for one as early as the first century AD, though somewhere between these two extremes around the fifth–sixth centuries seems the most likely.

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