The basic text for the Watchers is 1 En 6-11, containing a story on the rebellion of a group of heavenly beings, which is the origin of further sins and serves as a basis for the punishment of the flood.\(^1\) Scholarship generally considers the story as an interpretation of Gen 6:1-4.\(^2\) Questions of dependency between the two texts cannot be solved with philological methods but rather with a systematic analysis for the message and meaning of the story of 1 En 6-11, and an examination of the use of the elements of the story’s later works might be helpful in solving some of the mysteries of the narrative in 1 En 6-11 and might shed some light on the relationship between the two texts. Our following presentation is targeted to one important element of the story, the figure of the Watchers in 1 Enoch and in later Enochic literature.

*The story in Qumran manuscripts and literary tradition*

Four preliminary remarks are in order before our analysis:

a) Manuscript tradition:

Paleographic data show that 1 En 6-11 is represented in the oldest manuscript tradition in Qumran. Thus the narrative on the Watchers belongs to the earliest textual layer of the Enochic collection, and it represents the earliest narrative tradition in the collection. Seven copies of the work were

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\(^2\) The text of 1 Enoch 6-11 is generally considered an interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4; see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), p. 166. Milik argues on the basis of the similarities of the vocabulary of 1 Enoch 6-11 and Gen 6-9; see J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (London: Clarendon Press, 1976). Verbal similarities do not in themselves prove the dependency; they may reflect also an acknowledgement of both sources with a common tradition on the flood. Similarly, the length of texts is not a decisive factor concerning dependency. Thus, questions as to the relationship between the two texts need a different approach than sylleastics and textology.
found, the earliest copies originating from the end of the third century B.C.E., while later copies are from the second century B.C.E. These data indicate the importance of the work which represents not only the earliest Qumran narrative tradition known to us but also proves that the work had been transmitted continuously, and during its transmission new parts were added. One may suppose that the work was not merely known at Qumran, but it was an important work in the spiritual tradition of the community.

b) Continuity of the tradition:

References to 1 En 6-11 as well as interpretations of the narrative in later Qumran tradition are numerous. It seems to be a kind of reference story, used often in the interpretations as the example for the sinner and their judgement.

c) Narrative background of the story: The Qumran tradition on the Watchers is larger than the story preserved in the Greek and Ethiopic translations. The Qumran Aramaic manuscripts of the Enochic collection also contain fragments of the so-called Astrological Book and the Book of Giants, neither of which were known from the Greek and Ethiopic translations. The Aramaic astrological fragments represent, together with the manuscripts containing 1 Enoch 6-11, the earliest textual tradition at Qumran (1 En 1-36).

3 In his edition Milik identified seven manuscript copies on the basis of the fragments found in cave No. 4, four manuscripts from the Astronomical Book. On the basis of the fragments of the Book of Giants we may also suppose the existence of several copies from this part as well, see Milik, The Books of Enoch, pp. 139-317. See also E. Eshel – H. Eshel, “New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGen1, 4Qlsa2, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XqapapEnoch,” DSD 12 (2005), pp. 134-157.


5 To mention the most obvious examples: the Book of Jubilees uses and explicitly quotes the book – see R.H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), vol. 2, pp. 18-19–, and elements originating from 1 Enoch play an important role in its entire narrative. The Damascus Document alludes to the Enochic tradition in its historical overview (CD II, 2-III, 12). Similarly, the historical schema outlined in 4Q180-181 is also based on the story of the Watchers. Cf. also T. Reuben 5:6-7; T. Naphtali 3:5 (Greek: egrēgoroi). It is to be noted that references are made in each case on the traditions related to the Watchers; no reference is made to 1 En 37-71, and no fragments of this part of the Enochic collection were found at Qumran, which proves that these chapters are of a later origin than the other parts of 1 Enoch.


7 Paleographic characteristics and radiocarbon data allow us to date the scroll to the very beginning of the second century B.C.E., see Qumran Cave 4 – XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part I (DJD 36; London: Clarendon Press 2000), p. 106.
d) 1 Enoch 1-36 and Mesopotamian tradition:

Parts of 1 Enoch found in Qumran were written in Aramaic, the vernacular in Mesopotamia in the period of the exile. Qumran Aramaic works are well acquainted with historical, literary, and other traditions of the eastern Diaspora, and they reflect Mesopotamian and Persian lore.\(^8\) 1 Enoch 1-36 reflects a solid awareness of a particular Mesopotamian tradition.\(^9\) The figure of Enoch and the elements of the revelation tradition associated with him originate in the Mesopotamian tradition about the *apkallū* (wise ones).\(^10\) The Astrological Book reflects a thorough knowledge of Mesopotamian astrology, and moon computation in the work was inspired by the Babylonian series *Enûma Anu Enlil.*\(^11\) Revelations on the secrets of the cosmos given to Enoch during his heavenly voyage as well as geographical ideas reflect an impact of Mesopotamian cosmological lore.\(^12\) Thus it can be assumed that the kernel of the Enochic tradition (1 En 1-36) was shaped either in a Babylonian Jewish Diaspora community or perhaps in a community of returnees that maintained traditions from the Babylonian exile. This group of writings was expanded by later additions to the text.\(^13\)

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\(^{9}\) H.L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung,* Skrifter utgitt av det Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-filos. klasse no. 1 (Oslo: Norske videnskaps-akademi I komisjon hos J. Dybwad 1939), examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts.


\(^{13}\) A similar case is the Danielic collection, the earliest pieces of which reflect a Mesopotamian milieu and show a good knowledge of Mesopotamian lore.
Although the text has undergone a process of textual redaction(s) resulting in several textual additions and comments, the narrative in 1 En 6-11 has a consistent structure and meaning. The bulk of this early tradition is contained in the Shemihazah story (1 En 6:1-7:62) where a group of the sons of heaven (6:2), whom the text calls ‘Watchers’ (’yryn). These Watchers see the daughters of men, desire them, and decide to descend to them. Two hundred Watchers, under the leadership of Shemihazah (šmyḥzḥ), take an oath on Mount Hermon (1 En 6:3-6). Their names are: Shemihazah, their leader; Arteqoph; Remashel; Kokabel; <Armumahel>; Ramel; Daniel; Iqel; Baraqel; Asael; Hermani; Matarel; Ananel; Samshiel; Sahriel; <Tummiel>; Turiel; Yamiel; Yejadiel, all of them chiefs of tens. Descending to the women they defile themselves with them. These Watchers also teach the daughters of men various kinds of sorcery and magic (7:1). Their offspring are giants who devastate the earth, devouring the labor of men, killing men, sinning against the animals of the earth, water, and heaven, practising cannibalism, and consuming blood (7:4). Finally, “the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones” (7:5-6). It was “the godlessness and violence” on earth which led to the catastrophic punishment of the flood (and served as a justification for it) (1 En 9:1ff).

The tradition contained in 1 En 8:1-2 says that Asa’el taught men metalworking and how to make weapons and use jewels for ornamentation. His teachings to women included the knowledge of eye-shadows, precious gems, and dyes of mineral origins. The theme of teaching continues with information complementing the story on Shemihazah and adding that the Watchers taught the interpretations of

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14 We do not discuss here the question of redactions and their order and the changes in meaning due to these redactions. Following J.J. Collins, it is the meaning of the final text which is to be considered in discussing the meaning of the story; see Collins, “The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,” *CBQ* 44 (1982), pp. 91-111 (esp. p. 102).

15 Watchers are attested in Dan 4:10, 14, 20 as heavenly beings, called as Watchers (’yryn) and “holy ones” (qdwsym).

16 They became impure by this process (1 En 7:1, cf. 4Q531 5.1). The Book of the Giants qualifies their relation as a case of zenūt (4Q203 = 4QEnGiants/a 8,9).


18 One of the Greek manuscripts (Gk/s) adds (and the Ethiopic translation follows this tradition): “And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led the holy ones astray.” 1 En 65:6 supplements the list of the teachings of Asa’el by adding that the Watchers also taught people to cast metal and to make cast metal statues. According to 1 Enoch 69 a Watcher named Pinem’e taught people writing and the use of ink and papyrus, items that later could be the source of several misunderstandings.
heavenly _omina_, each Watcher teaching the signs of that natural phenomenon which was included in his name (1 En 8:3-4).\(^\text{19}\)

The report on the punishment of the Watchers says that Asael was bound by the angel Raphael, and was cast into darkness (1 En 10:4-7) while Shemihazah and his companions were bound by Michael “for seventy generations” (1 En 10:11-12). The inclusion of the Asael material, the mention of Asael among the leaders of the Watchers, and the redoubled motif of the punishment suggest a dual leadership of the rebel Watchers.\(^\text{20}\)

The narrative tradition in 1 En 6-11 on Shemihazah, Asael, and the flood revolves around the problem of the origin of evil attributed to the sexual relations of the heavenly with the earthly beings.\(^\text{21}\) Their deeds result in anomalies and impurity which defiles the land. Determining the origin of evil and shaping it into a story is a prime concern for any sectarian group at the beginning of its formation.\(^\text{22}\)

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\(^{19}\) Only eight names are readable in the Aramaic text, one among them is new: Shemihazah (šmyḥzḥ) who taught spells and the cutting of roots. Hermann taught sorcery for the loosing of spells and magic and skill; Baraqel taught the signs of the lightning flashes; Kokabel taught the signs of the stars; Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth; Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun; Sahriel taught the signs of the moon.

\(^{20}\) 1 En 8:1-2 does not call Asael a Watcher. On the other hand his name is mentioned in the list of the rebel Watchers among the leaders of ten. The name is similar (but not identical in 1 Enoch) with that of Azazel (‘zzḥ) mentioned in Lev 16:8, 10, and 26, possibly as a desert demon. For a recent discussion of the question of the two names, see S. Bhayro, _The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents_, Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments 322 (Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 2005), pp. 246-247.

\(^{21}\) Concluded first by M. Delcor, “Le mythe de la chute des anges et de l’origine des géants comme explication du mal dans le monde dans l’apocalyptique juive: histoire des tradition,” _RHR_ 95 (1976), pp. 3-53. The background and origin of the story was seen in historical and social phenomena like the wars of the Diadochi and the myth of Prometheus; see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11,” _JBL_ 96 (1977), pp. 383-405. Others attributed it to social phenomena, namely priestly marriages: D. Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16,” _HUCA_ 50 (1979), pp. 115-135; R. Rubinkiewicz, “The Book of Noah and Ezra’s Reform,” _FO_ 25 (1988), pp. 151-155. Of course, neither historical-sociological, nor mythological models, including Greek images, can be ruled out. However, observation of only one or two motifs of the narrative does not illuminate the background and meaning of the whole story. Some elements of the story, like cannibalism and consuming blood, as well as the basically negative nature of the teachings of the Watchers, magic and interpretation of _omina_, are left unexplained. In order to look into the background and to ascertain the exact meaning and message of the narrative, all major elements of the narrative must be examined and taken into consideration. This can be followed by a discussion of the question of foreign literary influences.

\(^{22}\) According to Sacchi the peculiar conception of evil based on 1 En 6-11 was a distinct ideological tradition which was the catalyst of the schism between the group and Judaism in the fourth century B.C.E. M.E. Stone and D. Suter date the schism to the third century; see G. Boccaccini, _Beyond the Essene Hypothesis, The Parting of Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism_ (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 76-77. The _nachleben_ and influence of the Watchers’ story in the literature of Qumran requires a separate study.
on the origin of evil may explain its basic importance in the community, being a relevant part of their self-definition. In order to gain some insight into the theological and social meaning of the narrative on the Watchers one needs, first of all, to carry out a thorough analysis, taking into consideration the complexity of the motifs in the story. Looking through these motifs one can conclude that their common denominators are, on the one hand, their relation to *sin and impurity* and, on the other, their relation to *magic and the demonic*.

Sins mentioned in 1 En 6-11 are related to the idea of ethical impurity. The main list of sins is related to it: bloodshed, consuming blood, physical impurity not being removed, various categories of *zenūt*, idolatry, and cultic offenses. A main list of ethical impurities is given in the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26). Results of ethical impurities listed in it are summarized as follows: “The people who were there before you did those abominable things and the land became unclean. So do not let the land spew you out for making it unclean as it spewed them out. Observe my charge, therefore” (Lev 18:27-30). Magic can be added to this list, mentioned in Deuteronomistic legislation several times as defiling and resulting in people being “spewed out” by the land. Sins mentioned in 1 En 6-11 – illicit sexual contamination (*zenūt*), magic, bloodshed, consuming blood – were considered in ancient Judaism as ethical impurities and resulted in the sinner(s) being banished from the land or the extinguishing of one’s family (*kārēt*).

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24 Sins related to blood/bloodshed (Deut 21:1-9; Gen 4:10; Ps 106:38f.).

25 Sins related to sexual relations are cases of *zenūt*, usually translated as fornication, that is, all kinds of illicit sex: sex among blood relatives, with another’s wife, homosexual relations, sex with menstruating woman, and prostitution (see Lev 18:1-30; 19:29). A special case in the list is *kiyāym*, the prohibition of mixing together different kinds of animals, plants and materials in human clothing (Lev. 19:19, Deut. 22:9-11). A special case of *zenūt* not listed in Leviticus 17-26 is remarriage with one’s divorced wife, she having in the meantime been remarried and then divorced or widowed (Deut 24:1-4; cf. Jer 3:1).

26 The citation is a summary of the Holiness Code in Leviticus 17-26. The land is the land of Canaan into which the people were about to enter.

27 Sins related to magic: “Do not resort to ghosts and spirits or make yourselves unclean by seeking them out. I am the Lord your God” (Lev 19:31). Magical practice is sometimes conceived as *zenūt* (Lev 20:6), and those who practice it are to be killed (Ex 22:17).

28 The purity system of the Old Testament is acquainted not only with physical impurities, but also ethical ones. Ethical impurity grows out of situations that are controllable and are not natural or necessary, such as delaying purification from physical impurity, polluting specific sancta, sexual transgressions, idolatry, and murder. The locus of uncleanness may be the person, but proscriptions talk more of the pollution of the sanctuary or land. E.g., the Assyrian exile of Israel is explained in 2 Kings 17:5-23 as a punishment resulting from “the sin of Jerobeam,” the improper cultic practice of the northern kingdom. D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism; With a Symposium and Further Reflections* (Minneapolis:
The second common denominator of the motifs is the idea of the demonic. Sorcery (hršḥ) and spellbinding (kšph) mentioned in 1 En 7:1 are, *de par leur nature*, connected to the realm of magic and the demonic. Furthermore, the characteristics of the giants evoke demons, well known from Mesopotamian descriptions as tall and obtrusive beings, roaming in bands, attacking their victims indiscriminately. Demons ravage the work of humans,29 devour the flesh of animals and humans, and consume their blood. They were born from the illegitimate relations between heaven and earth. The binding of the Watchers calls to mind the binding of the demon, the only successful method against them. Metallurgy, various forms of which are mentioned in the Asael-tradition (1 En 8:1), is again closely related to the notion of magic, ironsmiths being considered as sorcerers in the belief system of the ancient and modern Near East,30 and weapons were attributed to magical power. The same is true for jewels and cosmetics, which served originally as amulets with apotropaic functions.31 *Omina* were considered in the holistic worldview of Mesopotamian man as a presage for future events, and interpretation of *omina* was generally practiced; interpretive traditions were collected and systematized.32 Biblical – and Enochic – tradition condemns this practice, together with magic. The Book of the Watchers attributes the origin of the demons to the Watchers (through the giants) (1 En 15:8-16:1). The continuing presence of evil in the world is explained in terms of the activities of evil spirits.


29 4Q531 5 1 speaks in more concrete terms than the Shemihazah story, and mentions that the giants were devastating fruit, wheat, trees, sheep, and cattle.

30 On the general idea see M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes* (Homo Sapiens; Paris: Flammarion, 1956). In Ethiopic, ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (duban-ansa); see W. Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge’ez* (Classical Ethiopic) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1989), p. 181; similarly the descendants of Cain, who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen 4:16-24), in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syrian “Cave of Treasures” folia 12a, col. 2, for an edition see C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1883]). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magical capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day; they are considered to be sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them. In an incantation of the series Maqlû (II.128) the witch (kaššaptu) is called silversmith, whose spells are to be solved by the incantation; see G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschworungssammlung Maqlû neu bearbeitet* (AfO Beiheft 2; Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1937, Neudruck 1967).


Characteristics of the Watchers

The Watchers in 1 En 6-11 are called heavenly beings. Their name – the Watchers – might refer to the stars and heavenly bodies of the night sky. The idea of the Watchers was not exclusive in the Enochic tradition. Watchers (‘yryn) are also mentioned in the book of Daniel. They are heavenly beings, which transmit heavenly decisions uttered by their council. In 1 En 6-11 the Watchers might have been intended as kinds of angelic figures with human appearance, since Asael was bound “hand and foot” (1 En 10:4). Similarly, the angels executing the act of punishment might have been visualized as human figures. The giants, the offspring of earthly women and the Watchers, were probably imagined as human figures with giant stature. According to the Book of the Giants they were able to fly with the help of their hands. Coming back to the Watchers, their group is characterized by a strict military organization, the two hundred Watchers being ordered in a military hierarchy in groups of ten, each group having its chief, and the whole army having Shemihazah as their leader. The members of the group take an oath before their common act of rebellion. The inclusion of the Asael material, the mention of Asael among the leaders of the Watchers, and the redoubled motif of the punishment suggest a dual leadership of the rebellious Watchers.

The Watchers as heavenly bodies

Most of the names of the Watchers refer to heavenly phenomena, astral bodies and meteorological incidents. Their sin was to descend to have sexual relations with earthly women, and thus rebellion in the story is equated with leaving their heavenly stations. Heavenly bodies and stars in biblical worldview were meant as members of a heavenly host; the idea being also reflected in the term YHWH šb ‚wt, “the Lord of the hosts.” Cosmology of the Priestly source identifies the moon and sun as the leaders

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33 Zech 4:10 refers to seven “eyes of the Lord which range through the whole earth.” God himself is called the “guardian of Israel” who never sleeps; cf. Ps 121:4.
34 Also the motive of lust which led the Watchers to the earthly women is, in the mind of ancient Judaism, a characteristic of the natural (and human) world, and not of the heavenly one.
35 Cf. 4Q530 (4QEnGiants/b III, 4), see Stuckenbruck, The Book of Giants, pp. 128-134.
37 1 En 8:1-2 does not call Asael a Watcher; on the other hand his name is mentioned in the list of the rebel Watchers whose leader is Shemihazah.
of the heavily bodies who were commanded by the act of the creation to rule night and day (Gen 1:14-18). Mesopotamian thinking had two traditions. According to the one penned in Enûma eliš V.3-9 the star Neberu (often identified with the god Marduk) governed the heavenly bodies of the night sky.\textsuperscript{38} Heavenly bodies could not neglect their ways and their positions, their stations (manzâzu) being divinely determined (Enûma Eliš V.7).\textsuperscript{39} The text called Exaltation of Ištar\textsuperscript{40} says that “the twinned gods, the watchmen of heaven and earth” (ma-as-sar šamē u eresitim) who open the door of Anu/Heaven (line 26) were designated “to keep all the stars in places,” and “to make the gods at the fore keep the path like oxen” (lines 29-30). Fixed stars were thought to be inscribed onto the surface of the heavens; that implies that that they thought the surface of the heaven rotated every 24 hours, since inscribed stars could not move independently. At the same time it was observed that the sun, moon, and planets do not maintain fixed positions in relation to the stars.\textsuperscript{41} Irregularities on the moving of certain stars were also observed.

The Late Babylonian astrological tractate Enûma Anu Enlil contains a so-called “schematic” (ideal) calendar, a systematic arrangement of certain astrological phenomena (solstices and equinoxes, risings of the stars, etc.) established within a constructed time frame. In this schematic calendar, thirty days comprise one month, and twelve months, that is, three hundred and sixty days, comprise one year.\textsuperscript{42} The beginning of the year is the zagmukku (lit. “the treshold of the year”), the new year, from which the dates of the various phenomena in the year are determined. Observations of three different systems were made: the day of the disappearance of the moon in every month, i.e. the interval between the last visibility of the moon at the end of a month and its first visibility that marked the beginning; the dates of the first appearances of the stars; and their time periods. The schematic calendar was a “blueprint” to be used to compare the actual date on which a phenomenon occurred against the corresponding schematic date. Such a comparison can be useful to indicate whether one needs to

\textsuperscript{38} Some verses later the moon-god Nannar was entrusted with the same task by the god Marduk; see Enûma eliš V.11-12.


\textsuperscript{40} A bilingual text known primarily from two Late Babylonian tablets originating from the Reš temple in Uruk. They preserved an account of the appointment of the moon and sun-gods to their heavenly duties by Anu, Enlil, and Ea. The text was edited by B. Hruška, “Das spätbabylonische Lehrgedicht ‘Inannas Erhöhung,’” ArOr 37 (1969), pp. 473-522, see esp. p. 484.

\textsuperscript{41} This observation led later Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic astronomers to speculate that these heavenly bodies were located on different levels or spheres from the fixed stars; see Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, p. 15.

intercalate. The Diviner’s Manual calls attention to the “balancing” (šįtqultu) of the Pleiades (a phenomenon documented in several other sources on which intercalation rule was based). The balancing means that the data of the conjunction of the Pleiades with the moon changes in subsequent years; intercalations can be made or omitted according to the date of the conjunction.  

A computation system influenced by the Babylonian system represented by the Enûma Anû Enûl was practiced at Qumran and was noticed in their astronomical tradition. The astronomical texts belong, along with the fragments containing 1 En 6-11, to the earliest manuscript tradition in Qumran. The basic model of the idea of the revolt of the Watchers might have been also an astrological one. It was based on a kind of irregularity, the observation of a virtual alteration of the path of a star (or of a constellation) from their regular orbital path as compared to the fixed heavenly bodies. It is to be supposed that the astronomical model of the revolt of the heavenly bodies was the “balancing” of the Pleiades, the altering time of its conjunction with the moon. The idea of the dual leadership of the Watchers might have been associated either with the two major stars of the Pleiades, or to the idea of the twin gods articulated in Enûma Eliš, the watchmen of the gates of the heavenly paths.

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43 “[If on the 1st of Nisannu] the Stars and the Moon are in conjunction, this year is normal. [If] on the 3rd [of Nisannu] the Stars and the Moon are in conjunction, this year is normal” (MUL.APIN II Gap A 8-9). See Williams, “Signs from the Sky, Signs from the Earth,” pp. 473-485 (esp. pp. 478-79).

44 See Drawnel, “Moon computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book (1),” pp. 3-42.

45 The imagery may have also had multiple models. Enûma Eliš mentions also “the captive gods” who, having been slain for their rebellion against the established pantheon (and perhaps imprisoned in their sepulchers) could be released from the netherworld only by the appropriate means, whether it be the requisite incantational procedure or the decree of Marduk at creation; cf. Enûma Eliš IV:93-120 (esline 120), VI:11-34, VII:26-32.

46 The danger of the disturbance of the cosmic order is the theme of several Mesopotamian myths. Cosmic destinies are established at the time of creation, at which time the gods become their guardians. The cosmic destinies, inscribed on a tablet (tuppi šimmtā), while symbolic of eternal order, can be disturbed, as in the Anzû epic, resulting in chaos until the tablet is restored to its place. Marduk’s acquisition of the right to maintain (and alter?) destinies emerges in Enûma Eliš (IV.121). On the other hand the universal order maintained by the trio Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk and written down in the GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ (uṣurūtu), “the designs,” is continuously referenced in Mesopotamian texts, among them incantations. See F. Rochberg-Halton, “Aspects of Babylonian Celestial Divination: The Lunar Eclipse Tablets of Enûma Anû Enûl,” Archiv für Orientforschung, Beih 22 (Horn: Verlag Ferdinand Berger &Söhne Gesellschaft, 1988).

47 Identified differently in various cultures, the Greek depicts it as a couple with their seven daughters.
Stars and spirits

Heavenly bodies are often described in Mesopotamian cosmography with names of gods (e.g. Šamaš); similarly, heavenly phenomena are generally associated with gods. Heavenly gates (on which the heavenly bodies were thought to enter to the sky) were guarded by gods or fabulous beings (like scorpion-men called girtablullû-s) bearing human and animal as well as cosmic traits. A double nature (fire, and human figure) is attributed to the heavenly beings in the report of Enoch’s heavenly journey to the Northwest (1 En 17-19), heavenly beings shown to Enoch, who “were like a flaming fire; and whenever they wished, they appeared as human beings” (1 En 17:1). As to the nature of the heavenly bodies the idea of the basic identity of the stars and spirits was also present in Mesopotamia; the biblical concept of the heavenly hosts might have been connected with similar ideas. By all means, the way the Watchers were punished following their rebellion reflects that they were attributed a spiritual nature: being eternal beings they were bound but not killed. It was the spiritual nature of the Watchers (expounded on in 1 En 15:8-16) that finally generated the perpetual working of the evil spirits in the world: The eternal heavenly spirits, “living forever” defiled themselves “with the blood of women,” and had begotten giants with the perishable “blood of flesh.” When the giants were killed in the flood, evil spirits or demons came from their dead bodies. They are told to work on their dwelling place, the earth, attacking indiscriminately humans, men and women. The demons are called in the Greek text of 1 Enoch pneuma, and their name is nafsat in the Ethiopic text. The Greek pneuma reflects exactly the Aramaic word rwḥ which could be used for them in the Aramaic text of 1 Enoch.

According to the witness of some Greek magical papyri the idea of the spirit related to astral bodies was not uncommon in the ancient world. Similarly the word ‘spirit’ (rwḥ) appears in an astrological framework in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy (4Q186), concerning the spirit of the zodiacal sign. The Testament of Salomon, a Jewish magical book from late antiquity uses the general word pneuma with reference to zodiacal signs and

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48 E.g., the Neberu star identified with Marduk; the division of the sky into bands of stars, so-called “paths,” belonging to Anu, Enlil, and Ea. See Horowitz, Cosmic Geography, pp. 158-159.
49 They are often (but not always) described as male and female. The twin deities bearing the heaven are often represented as males.
50 M. Black cites several references to “similar descriptions of the origin of the evil spirits,” including Jub 10; The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 143.
51 Ch. 15 is not represented in the Aramaic fragments. The expression is standard in the Aramaic magical texts of incantations and amulets. New Testament Greek renders it usually with pneuma.
decans. The concept of a dual character of the heavenly bodies (stars and zodiacal spirits) might explain the motifs of the story of 1 Enoch 6-11 which attributes the origin of evil to astral irregularities – the story at the same time being an etiology of the *rwḥwt*, i.e. evil spirits in the world, issuing from the contamination of heavenly spiritual beings and humans. Thus impurity originates from heavenly stars, i.e. zodiacal spirits who were able to come to earth and mingle with humans, bringing forth impurity on the earth. Impurity was a basic concept at Qumran and in continuous references to the Watchers in later tradition.

The Watchers in the later tradition of 1 Enoch

Beside the theme of the reprimand of the Watchers, tradition subsequent to 1 En 6-11 deals mainly with elaborating a demonology issuing from the Watchers (1 En 15:8-16). A retelling of their story is to be found in the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 85-90), an overview of human history from the beginnings shown to Enoch in subsequent visions and shaped in terms of animal imagery. The sole divergent metaphor from the system of the animal imagery is the sideral image referring to the leader of the Watchers. In his vision of antediluvian history Enoch sees a star which “fell from heaven,” then “arose and was eating and pasturing among those cattle” (1 En 86:1). In a second vision Enoch saw other stars which descended “and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star.” They mounted the cows, and they all conceived. The beings born from their union are elephants, camels, and asses who began to terrify and devour the bulls (1 En 86:3-6). They are to be identified in the work with the peoples surrounding Israel. Thus the Animal Apocalypse attributes to the Watchers a depiction of Israel’s neighbours as voracious beasts and monstrous animals.

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54 Of course this does not exclude parallel meanings and interpretations of the story as mixed marriages of the priests. However, evil is originated in the myths or various cultures from cosmical (and not historical or sociological) sources.

55 The reprimand of the Watchers is an exclusive theme in The Epistle of Enoch (1 En 91-105). References to their sin and their fear of the future judgment are to be found in the introductory part of the book (1 En 1:5). Enoch’s prophecy on the destruction of the rebellious Watchers is centered on their sin committed beforehand (1 En 12:4). Enoch reprimands the heavenly Watchers, referring to the visions he had seen before (1 En 13:10): “The Book of the truth and the reprimand of the Watchers” has the same theme (1 En 14:1-7). The Watchers ask Enoch to intercede for them (1 En 15:2; 16:2).

56 For the symbols, and their identifications, consult Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (EJL SBL 4; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993). The only character depicted as a human figure is Noah.
The Book of the Parables is probably a later addition to the collection that subsisted only in Ethiopic.\textsuperscript{57} Astronomical questions and heavenly secrets are prevalent themes in the text.\textsuperscript{58} God is usually called the Lord of the spirits while the heavenly beings are called angels and spirits: the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs (1 En 69:22).

The astronomical secrets described in 1 En 41:3-8 and 43:1-44:1 deal with astronomical and calendrical questions. Heavenly secrets are shown and explained to Enoch: the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder; those of the winds, “how they are divided to blow upon the earth;” the secrets of the clouds and dew; the storehouses of the winds, hail, mist, and the clouds; the storehouses of the sun and the moon, “from which they emerge and to which they return.” It is highlighted (and in the text that follows demonstrated) that the heavenly bodies never leave their courses and never change orbit since “they keep faith with one another according to the oath that they have sworn” (1 En 41:5).\textsuperscript{59} The angelic world is headed by the four archangels standing on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits. They are “different from those who sleep not” and are uttering praises before the Lord of Glory (1 En 40:2-3). It is not explicit but is probable that they are identical with those “who judge the stars of heaven” (1 En 46:7).

During his vision of punishment (1 En 67:4-68:4) Enoch sees a deep burning valley located in the west among “the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.” This is the place of the punishment of “those angels... who led astray... those who dwell on the earth” (1 En 67:4-5).\textsuperscript{60} The motif of the metals is highlighted (and no sideral motifs are used) in reference to them, similarly in the description of the punishment scene (1 En 55:3-56:4).\textsuperscript{61} The sinners to be judged are Azazel and his host and “their chosen and beloved ones.”\textsuperscript{62} Angels are holding chains of iron and bronze in order to punish Azazel and his host, to bind “their chosen and beloved ones,” before throwing them into the chasm of the abyss of the valley until

\textsuperscript{57} This part is known only from the Ethiopic translation. Fragments of this part were not found among the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts; supposedly this part was not known in the community.

\textsuperscript{58} The theme was introduced in 1 En 12-36 where Enoch learns heavenly secrets from angels during his heavenly visions.

\textsuperscript{59} The description highlights their perfect regularity, their movements being determined by oath.

\textsuperscript{60} The text mentions four angels (Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel) who will punish them “on that great day,” casting them into a burning furnace (1 En 54:3-10).

\textsuperscript{61} Final judgement of the sinner will be by God’s “Chosen One,” judging on the “throne of glory.”

\textsuperscript{62} The Asael tradition speaks only about teachings related to metals and minerals and does not mention mixing with earthly women and offspring resulting from this relation. The reference links the Asael tradition with that on Shemihaza and his companions and with the tradition on the giants.
“that valley will be filled with their chosen and beloved ones, and the days of their life will be at an end” (1 En 56:4). The punishment of the earthly kings will be analogous with their own according to the following scene of the eschatological war among humans. “Until the number of corpses will be enough due to their slaughter” Sheol will open its mouth and will “devour the sinners from the presence of the chosen” (1 En 56:8).

In the vision of 1 En 67:4-68:4 the angels who led astray humans are punished with fire in a burning valley in the West, at “the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin” (1 En 67:4-5). 1 En 69:2-3 and 4-12 give two lists of the names “of those angels.” The names in these lists correspond, with some changes, to those in 1 En 6:7 and 8:1-3. The military hierarchy of the group is highlighted.

2 Enoch

Survived only in Church Slavonic and some other Slavic languages, 2 Enoch is clearly a translation of a Greek text. Some terms and abundant Semitisms in the text suggest that its original might have been Hebrew or Aramaic. A strong interest in sacrificial practice allows us to posit a priestly author. The composition of the work is usually dated to the late first century C.E. Evident biblical style and affinities with the Qumran writings have been noticed. Enochic themes and influence (although the work is not a free revision of 1 Enoch) might be attributed also to an effect of a

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63 The punishment of Assael is an ongoing process with new sinners arriving continuously from the elect – victims misconducted by Assael.
64 The punishment of the earthly kings is analogous with the lot of the Watchers. Similarly, 1 En 53 and 54:2 speak about evil kings. Angels of punishment punish humans in 1 En 66:1.
65 Now, also known in a Coptic translation. See Joost Hagen’s contribution to the Fifth Enoch Seminar, “No longer ‘Slavonic’ only: 2 Enoch attested in Coptic from Nubia,” in a forthcoming volume.
69 Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” vol. 1, pp. 91-221 (esp. vol. 1, p. 95).
Qumran spiritual tradition. The narrative covering the life of Enoch and of his posterity until the flood is a midrashic expansion of Gen 5:21-32.

Themes of 1 Enoch are continued in 2 Enoch: The first part of the book consists of a description of Enoch’s heavenly journey and revelations of heavenly secrets. The frame of the work is a heavenly journey where Enoch is taken by two very big men (muž) who take him on their wings (na krilě svoj) and carry him to heaven. They are angels, with faces shining like the sun, their eyes are like burning candles, fire is coming out of their mouths, their clothes and singing are various, and their arms are like golden wings. They call Enoch by name, and take him to heaven (nebo) on their wings (2 En 1:5-3:1). Above a heavenly lake more angels are shown to Enoch; their clothes are like all the flowers of the earth (2 En 6:1).

Enoch’s description is perpetrated by a system of the heavenly hierarchy and their tasks. The heavenly secrets are showed Enoch by “the ancient rulers of the stellar orders” (starěšín<vladík> zvězních činovní) (2 En 4:1). Informed on the courses of the heavenly bodies and the causes of the natural phenomena, Enoch sees the storehouse of cloud, snow and cold (2 En 5:1), and of dew (2 En 6:1) all of them guarded by “terrible angels” (2 En 5:1). The angels flitting above the “very great sea” might have also roles as guardians (2 En 4:2).

Stars/heavenly bodies and angels are not separate figures in 2 Enoch. The “four great stars on the right of the sun’s chariot and four on the left going with the sun always” might be similar in function to “the angels going before the sun’s chariot” (2 En 11:3-4). The angels that roll the chariot have twelve wings; they are the same who carry dew and heat on the earth when the Lord commands them to descend onto the earth with the sun’s rays (2 En 12:1). Flying spirits with twelve wings and with undetermined functions are also part of the heavenly realm (2 En 12:1). “Armed troops” (vůřeženů vůja) – members with an indeterminant figure – appear in the second heaven, “serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice” (2 En 17:1 = Vaillant VI [16]).

The figures of the angels seen by Enoch in various heavens are basically the same. They all have a nature of fire and light. Angels in the higher heavens are described in more detail. The seven angelic order/ranks in the sixth heaven are very bright and glorious, their faces shining like the sun, and there is no difference between them (2 En 19:1). Angels of the seventh heaven appear in

70 Especially 1 En 12-26 (in 2 En 3-37); 1 En 81, 91-105 (in 2 En 38-66); 1 En 106-107 (in 2 En 67-73, the descendants of Enoch).
72 Vaillant, 7: “les chef maîtres des ordres des étoiles” 2Hén III.(8).
73 The system of 2 Enoch visualizes seven superimposed heavens.
great light, they are of “the fiery troops of incorporeal archangels and the shining station of the Ostanim (corr. Ophanim)” (2 En 20:1).

The reference to the “two hundred angels” in the first heaven is, in all probability, to the Watchers, without naming them. Nothing but the number refers to the tradition of the Watchers. Their appearance is not described but they must be of the same nature as the heavenly angels; the place of their punishment is also in the first heaven. Their sin is that they followed their own will – the same sin which is mentioned in the story of the Watchers from BW.

Probably the same group of Watchers is mentioned in the second heaven (na vtoroe nebo) along with the condemned. Enoch was shown “prisoners kept of the measureless judgement” (i pōkazasta mi užnik bljudom sud a bezměrn) (2 En 7:1). The second group is that of the condemned angels (angelū ósužden) (2 En 7:2). Their sin is apostasy: “these are the Lord’s apostates (otstupnic), not listening to the Lord’s voice, but taking counsel of their own will” (2 En 7:3). A different place in the same heaven is the site of the punishment of a group of sinners who committed the same sins as the Watchers. They are tormented by “cruel relentless angels” for the sins of witchcraft and sorcery, social violence and neglect, and idolatry (2 En 10:1-6). Sins and their punishments seemingly show a tendency of sublimation since the sins of those tortured in the higher heavens reveal a more extended, and more socially focused, list of ethical sins, some items being shaped in the spirit of the New Testament.

The fifth heaven is the place where the Watchers appear with the name “Grigorii” (in other manuscripts: Egrigorē). They form a mighty army (mnogovja). Their appearance was like the human’s, and their size greater than that of great giants (veličštvo že išu vjašte čudov velikāx) (2 En 18:1 =Vaillant VII).

3 Enoch

The collection of mystical tractates known as 3 Enoch is part of the so-called Hekhalot literature. A number of different titles in the manuscripts

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74 Vaillant: “et toutes les milices de feu des incorporels, archanges, anges, et les Ophanim qui se tenaient brillants” (i světlo složení ophanimské).
75 The place is north from the first place; it is an awful place, no light there, but fire and flame, and obscurity comes down at that place.
76 The magical arts of “stealing of men’s souls secretly” and curses, incantating “a binding yoke,” are especially mentioned.
77 The same matters are discussed in a parable of Jesus, see Mt 25:34-46.
78 They “bowed down to vain gods.”
79 The first and second names are corrupted forms of Greek egrēgoroi, “Watchers;” it is the third name which has preserved the Greek form.
80 For the text and an English translation, see H. Odeberg, 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch. With a Prolegomenon of Jonas C. Greenfield (New York: KTAV Publishing
show that the tractates were originally separate works collected into one major collection.\textsuperscript{81} Seemingly, the redactor wished to give a sort of midrash on Gen 5:24, but the biblical text rather serves as a pretext to expose the main concern of the tractates, which is to describe the secrets of the heavenly world. Descriptions in 3 Enoch reflect a system of seven heavens.\textsuperscript{82} A complex angelology is given, occasionally mentioning the tradition of the Watchers. The story itself is usually not retold; only reference is made to the tradition, sometimes without names or with names different from those of the story in 1 Enoch. Only the motifs mentioned lead us to think that the authors of the 3 Enoch tractates knew the story of 1 Enoch.

The tractate of 3 En 28 makes a global reference to the Watchers (ʾyryn) and the Saints (qdšyn) as to the four angles at the top of the heavenly hierarchy. Curiously enough, the text mentions separately the category of the Watchers (ʾyryn) and those of the Saints (qdšyn), referring to two Watchers and two Saints. They are high, terrible,\textsuperscript{83} and honored above all others (3 En 28:1).\textsuperscript{84} “Their abode is opposite the throne of glory” (3 En 28:2). The brilliance of their image (zyw dmwtm) is as the brilliance of the Divine Presence (škynh) (3 En 28:2), they receive glory from the glory of the Almighty (gebūrā) (28:3). They form a board, with whom God is taking counsel, similar to the heavenly court known from Dan 4, which is cited here: “As it is written: ‘Such is the sentence proclaimed by the Watchers (ʾyryn) and the holy ones (qdšyn)’ [Dan 4:14]” (3 En 28:3-5). They stand on the two sides of the throne of judgment and judge all the celestials (no reference is made to any special group of angels among those who are to be judged).\textsuperscript{85} They sanctify the body and the soul (nšmh) of those judged with lashes of fire (plsʾ wt šlʾš) on the third day of judgment.\textsuperscript{86}


\textsuperscript{82} For multiple heavens in OT texts, see Jacobs, “Ancient cosmologies,” pp. 66-84. The idea of seven heavens might have originated from Mesopotamian astronomical lore, see Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, pp. 216-218.

\textsuperscript{83} The awesome nature of the heavenly beings and the fear of the visionary is a constant element of the descriptions in the tractates. See J. Maier, “Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und in der jüdischen Gnosis,” Kairos 5 (1963), pp. 18-40.

\textsuperscript{84} The “Watchers and Saints” are, in Dan 4 divine mediators and members of a heavenly court; their number is not known. The same name is used for a rebellious group of heavenly beings in 1 Enoch 6-11; their number is 200. The text refers to the latter ones.

\textsuperscript{85} The scene of the judgment is similar to those in Dan 7, and Rev 4-19. The figure sitting on the throne is the Ancient One in Dan 7: “the one” in Rev 4:2. The figure in 3 Enoch is identified with God.

\textsuperscript{86} I.e. the individual judgment of the dead.
The tractate of 3 En 29 gives information on the names and appearances of the Watchers. Each one of them has seventy names “and all of them are based on the name of the Holy One.” “Every single name is written with a pen of flame upon the terrible crown” (keter nōrāḥ) (3 En 29:2). Their appearance is awesome; from each of them sparks and lightnings (brqym) shoot forth, and rays of splendor (qrny zwḥr) stream out. They are surrounded with a splendid aura; and even the seraphim and the creatures cannot look at (lhšṭkš) them.

The astral nature of the angels is clear in 3 Enoch. Some of the tractates explicitly refer to the idea of the zodiacal spirits when mentioning the spirit in their fiery bodies. They go every night into the sky and stand in the Raqia’ (3 En 46:1). The tractate gives an example of the possibility of changing the order of their courses – but in this case the change is made on an explicit divine order: “At once [Metatron] clapped his hands and chased (hpryd) them all from their places. Immediately they flew up on wings of flame and fled to the four sides of the throne of the chariot, and he told me the name of each of them, as it is written: ‘He counts the number of the stars and gives each of them a name’ [Ps 147:4].”

Names of the Watchers known from 1 Enoch appear, too, in 3 En 14. The world is ruled by angels invested with astronomical and meteorological functions, having the rank of “prince”(šr). The list of the princes who guide the world given in 3 Enoch is astonishingly similar to that of 1 Enoch:

- Gabriel, the angel of fire;
- Baradi’el, the angel of hail;
- Ruḥi’el, who is in charge of wind;
- Baraqi’el, who is in charge of lightnings;
- Za’mi’el, who is in charge of whirlwind;
- Ziqi’el, who is in charge of comets,
- Zi’i’el (prb. Zev’i’el), who is in charge of tremors;
- Za’api’el, who is in charge of hurricanes;
- Ra’ami’el, who is in charge of thunder;
- Ra’aši’el, who is in charge of earthquakes;
- Šalgi’el, who is in charge of snow;
- Matari’el, who is in charge of rain;
- Šamši’el, who is in charge of day;
- Laili’el, who is in charge of night
- Galgali’el, who is in charge of the orb of the sun;
- ‘Ofanni’el, who is in charge of the disk of the moon;
- Kokabi’el, who is in charge of the stars;

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87 A rwlm (rāḥān) in mss. A, E, F. The “seven spirits of God” and the “seven stars” mentioned together in Rev 3:1 may have been influenced by a similar idea.

88 That is, the appearance of the stars in the nocturnal heaven, in a regular order. The stars glorify God by their shining.
Rahaš’el, who is in charge of the constellations.⁸⁹
They all fell prostrate when they saw Metatron who is higher than they are (3 En 14:4ff).

The names – altogether 18 of them – are more or less the same as in 1 Enoch. However, the angels are mentioned as rulers of heavenly bodies and phenomena and not as rebels. The names of Shemihazah and Asaël are not to be found among them, and the list is headed by Gabriel, angel of fire, an essential characteristic of angels in 3 Enoch.

Some of the names of the Watchers known from 1 Enoch are among those of the princes of the seven heavens in 3 Enoch (3 En 17). They are mentioned together with the archangels Micha’el and Gabri’el (the first one being the punisher of Shemihazah and his companions in 1 Enoch).⁹⁰ The list continues with Šaqi’el, Şaqi’el, Baradi’el, Baraqi’el, and Sidri’el. Baraqi’el (“Lightning of God”) is mentioned by name in 1 Enoch among the rebels. The name of Baradi’el is connected with natural phenomenon (hail). Probably the same is the case for Šaqi’el, Şaqi’el and Sidri’el. In 3 Enoch all of them are princes of various heavens with 496,000 myriads of ministering angels (melḵ). The tractate envisages a military imagery with Michael and Gabriel on the top of the hierarchy.⁹¹

Under the above seven there is a fourfold hierarchy with names of heavenly bodies: Galgali’el (in charge of the orb of the sun), ‘Ofanni’el (globe of the moon), Rahaš’el (in charge of the constellations), and Kokabi’el (in charge of the stars); under them are 72 princes of kingdoms in the height, corresponding to the 72 nations in the world (3 En 17:4-8).

The description of the judgment on the souls carried out by two angels (3 En 44) refers to the punishment of the Watchers apropos of the judgment of the human souls. Following their judgment the souls of the sinners and the “intermediate” are brought down to Sheol, by two angels of destruction, Za’api’el and Samki’el.⁹² The motif of the fire is highlighted in the text: They are punished “with the fire of Gehinnom (b’s lghnm), with rods of burning coal (bmqlw ṣl ghlym).” The motif of human deeds being registered by Enoch known from 1 Enoch is also present here (3 En 44:9).

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⁸⁹ Elements which make up the names of the angels are usually related to their functions, e.g. brd “hail,” rwḥ “wind.” This is not true for the name Gabriel (gbr “man”).
⁹⁰ Cf. 1 En 10:11-12.
⁹¹ Two princes of the heavenly host are known by name from the book of Daniel: Gabriel (Dan 8:16, 9:21), and Michael (Dan 10:13, 12:1). 1 Enoch knows four princes, Uriel (1 En 19:1, 27:2), Raguel (1 En 23:4), Raphael (1 En 32:6), and Michael (1 En 60:4). Another tradition in the same collection counts seven angelic princes (1 En 20). Seven archangels are known from the book of Tobit (Tob 12:15), and from the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-403, 405), found both at Qumran and Masada. No names of the angels are known from the latter one.
⁹² From the noun za’a’ap, “wrath,” and saenek, “assistance, support.” For the “angels of destruction,” see also 3 En 31:2. Cf. also 4Q510-511, m’ky ḫbl.
The story according to which 'Uzza, 'Azza, and 'Azazel taught sorcery to humans, to the generation of Enosh (3 En 5:7) makes reference to the story of the Watchers. 'Uzza, 'Azza, and 'Azazel amassed silver, gold, precious stones, and pearls from the world and fashioned them into idols in the four quarters of the world. Besides, they brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations and stationed them before the idols, to serve them (3 En 5:8). Thus the sin of revolt originates not in heaven and among the heavenly bodies but on earth when 'Uzza and his companions bring down the heavenly bodies and take them into the service of magic. 'Azazel’s name might refer to that of Asael from the story of the Watchers in 1 Enoch. The motif of fostering magic is also apparent in 1 Enoch. On the other hand the motif of sexual relations with earthly women – a basic idea in 1 En 6-11 – is not present here.

The story of the Watchers is best reflected in the midrash on Shemhazai and Aza’el. The text mentions two heavenly beings by name but the term “Watchers” is not used here. Following their dispute with God Shemhazai and Aza’el go to earth with his permission. God lets the evil instinct (yrs hr’) rule over them, and they feel lust for the human women. Shemhazai wants to have one of the women named Estera. She consents, under condition that Shemhazai teach her the divine name with the help of which the angel is able to ascend into heaven. Shemhazai discloses the name, and Estera ascends to the heaven. Since that time she is shining among the seven stars of the Pleiades.

Following this, Shemhazai and Asael marry earthly women. Shemhazai engendered two sons, Heyya and Aheyya. 'Azazel was over the various kinds of the colors and over jewels, with the help of which women seduce men. Shemhazai’s sons saw dreams. Their dreams (the inscribed stone and the trees of the miraculous garden) are presages of their doomed future about their destruction in the flood and the rescue of Noah and his family.

Shemhazai repented, unlike Aza’el, who did not do so. Azazel incites humans to commit sins, and 'Azazel keeps perverting them. 'Azazel is identical with the figure mentioned in the Torah in relation to the ritual of the Day of Atonement (yom kippur).

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93 For the lust of the Watchers, cf. 1 En 6:2
94 The story of the giants, the sons of the Watchers is contained in the Book of the Giants, which we know in a fragmentary state from Qumran. The names 'Ohya and Hahya are mentioned in the fragments; the origin of the names in the midrash must be this tradition. For the Qumran fragment, see Milik, The Books of Enoch; Stuckenbruck, The Book of Giants from Qumran.
95 The vision on the garden was probably part of the Aramaic Book of the Watchers, see 4Q530 II.3-23.
96 Cf. Lev 16:8, 10, 16.
Conclusions

The idea that the story of the Watchers is at least partially based on an astronomical tradition built upon observation (probably the phenomenon of the “balancing” of the Pleiades) seems to be attested by an overview of the motifs related to the Watchers in the later Enochic tradition where both angels and Watchers are presented as showing sideral characteristics. On the other hand, Azazel is related instead with the motif of metals (as he was in 1 En 8:1-2). The Watchers (and even their punishment) are always related to heaven. Their sideric origin common with the angels is also known in later Enochic literature – the latest example in 3 Enoch even associating a tradition about Shemhazai and Asael with the Pleiades.
The Enochic tradition finds its cornerstone not in the Sinaitic covenant and law but in events around the time of the flood. The primary revelations to which the tradition appealed were those disclosures given to Enoch before the flood. At that time, an extraordinary wisdom and an understanding of the course of human history were disclosed to him.

6.1. Introduction: The Figure of Enoch. The Enochic traditions to which the author of Jubilees appeals include major parts of the corpus we know as 1 Enoch: the Book of the Watchers; some form of the Book of the Luminaries; the Animal Vision; and, if not the whole Epistle, at least the testamentary scene in 81:1–82:4 and the Apocalypse of Weeks now at the beginning of the Epistle. The purpose ascribed to the watchers' descent differs, however, from 1 Enoch 6–11 and epitomizes a tradition to which 1 Enoch only alludes (see comm. on 8:1; 86:1). In 1 Enoch 6–11 the descent is an act of rebellion, while according to Jubilees, God sent them to instruct humanity and to practice justice and faithfulness. The predominant tradition and main thread in the Book of Watchers, into which the other traditions are interwoven, focuses on the desire of the angels, led by Shemihaza, to mate with human women. 6:1 And it came to pass, when the sons of men had increased, that in those days there were born to them fair and beautiful daughters. 6:2 And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. Benefits of a Belief in the Fall of the Watchers. Why did this story become so popular in the Second Temple period? When Human Sin Became Unbearable. The image of Enoch walking with angels in heaven caused Second Temple Jews to speculate about what heavenly mysteries he could have witnessed.